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## An Egyptian Gold Necklace for Sale

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This article is supposed to be published in the next BSAES since June 2016. As more than two and a half years have elapsed since, it is reasonably time to make it available for colleagues. The version here edited is the last corrected proof. However this copy does not correspond to the final publication and the figures have been inserted into the text to help the reader.

### **An 18th-Dynasty gold necklace for sale: Comparisons with Tutankhamun's jewellery**

*Marc Gabolde*

On 1 October 2015, Christie's auctioneers in London tried, unsuccessfully, to auction an 18th-Dynasty gold necklace (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> It includes 20 pairs of drop-shaped beads, 19 slightly convex discs each pierced twice, 2 rows of minute cylindrical/discoidal gold beads, a spindle-shaped bead, and a safety chain. The inner row of beads, the spindle-shaped bead and the safety chain are modern, but the rest of the necklace is typical of ancient Egyptian craftsmanship. Clearly the collar has been restrung, so the beads are not in their original positions. To my knowledge, ancient Egyptian craftsmen never arranged drop-shaped beads in isolated pairs.



Fig. 1: Dynasty 18 gold necklace offered for sale at Christie's (London) on 1 October 2015, lot 178.

<sup>1</sup> Christie's [auctioneers] 2015, lot 178.

Another auctioneer, Pierre Bergé in Paris, already offered the necklace for sale on 17 June 2010,<sup>2</sup> but also then it found no buyer. The owners are American collectors<sup>3</sup>, who purchased the piece on 8 December 1995<sup>4</sup> at a Sotheby's sale in New York. Prior to this, it was owned by the late Mr and Mrs John Renshaw from California, who purchased it from André Emmerich Gallery around 1979.<sup>5</sup> This gallery in turn bought it from the Bruce McAlpine Gallery in London on 4 July 1978. Earlier owners are unknown, but the box is inscribed 'medalist Spink & Son Ltd 5/7 King Street St James London'.<sup>6</sup>

When I first saw an image of the necklace, a few weeks before the sale, its workmanship struck me as familiar. For more than five years I had been trying to determine the strange fate of the missing broad collar that Carter found in 1925 on the chest of King Tutankhamun's mummy. The story of this masterpiece deserves to be told.<sup>7</sup>

### Collar Carter no. 256ttt

On 15 November 1925, Carter described the discovery of this beautiful collar on Tutankhamun's breast in the 16th layer of ornaments:

**Below the whole group and at the lowest level before reaching the skin, was a bib-like Collar composed of fine green faience & gold bead matting having a zigzag pattern, having a border of gold sequins and drop-pendant margin. This bib covers the whole of the upper part of the chest as far as the clavicles.**<sup>8</sup>

Two cards at the Griffith Institute describe the object:

**256, TTT. *Bead Collar* – with flexible gold hawk-headed clasps.**

**POSITION: Suspended from the neck, covering shoulders and chest as far down as the lower edge of the mammae. A decorative bib-like collar made up of gold, turquoise, red haematite, yellow glass beads with gold pendant drops and sequins. The main design of the collar being of chevron pattern with pendant-border. ... The greater portion of this collar has been left *in situ* (under wax) upon the King's mummy. ... It covered the whole of the chest of the King, extending down as far as the bottom of the breasts.**<sup>9</sup>

The second card also provides a sketch of the collar's design (Fig. 2).

<sup>2</sup> See Pierre Bergé [auctioneers] 2010, 76–77, lot 140.

<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to the owners for giving me all the information at their disposal about the object's modern history.

<sup>4</sup> See Sotheby's [auctioneers] 1995, lot 173.

<sup>5</sup> This information was kindly provided by Richard Keresey of Sotheby's in New York. Papers of André Emmerich are preserved at the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institute, Washington DC; see <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/andr-emmerich-gallery-records-and-andr-emmerich-papers-6275> [9 Dec. 2016]. File no. GR 180e cautiously suggests the 'Tomb of Three Princesses' as a possible provenance.

<sup>6</sup> According to the present owners, the box is of old-fashioned craftsmanship and might date back to the 1930s or 40s.  
<sup>7</sup> This object and various other items of jewellery from Tutankhamun's tomb never reached the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. See Gabolde 2015, 497–504, 508, 515–16, 520–22.

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/discoveringTut/journals-and-diaries/season-4/journal.html> [9 Dec. 2016].

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/256ttt-c256ttt-1.html> and <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/256ttt-c256ttt-2.html> [both 9 Dec. 2016].

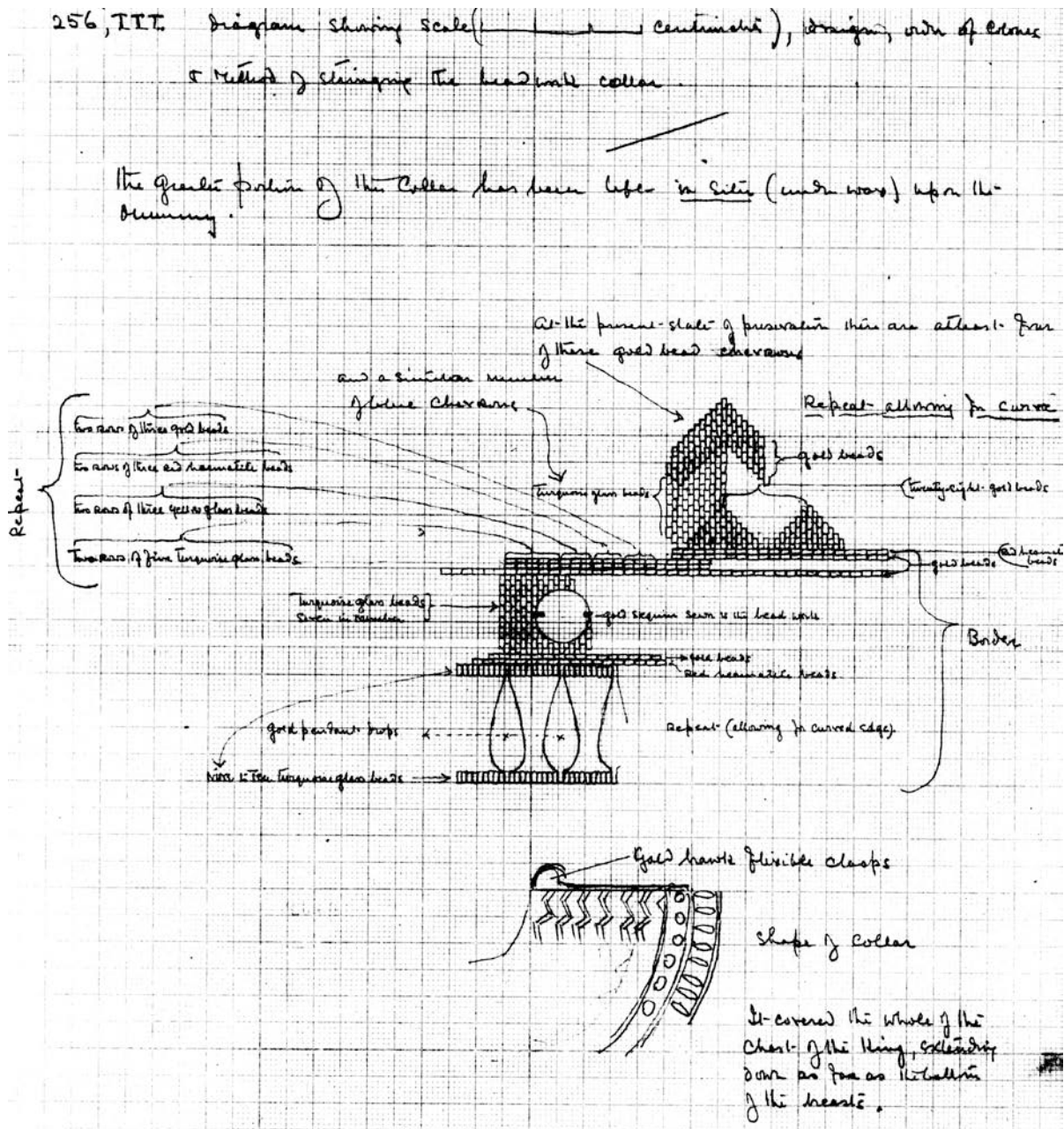


Fig. 2: Second of the two object cards concerning broad collar Carter no. 256ttt at the Griffith Institute. Courtesy Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

Burton’s photograph p1561 (Fig. 3) confirms Carter’s report that ‘the greater portion of this collar has been left *in situ* (under wax) upon the King’s mummy’. Carter’s diary makes clear that the photograph was taken on 21 October 1926: ‘Oct. 21<sup>st</sup> – ... Burton made photos of the King’s mummy and detail photographs of the bead work left (under-wax) upon the King (i.e., Nos SSS and TTT).’<sup>10</sup> In Burton photograph p0802 (Fig. 4), a few beads that were located below the shoulder blades are visible.

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/discoveringTut/journals-and-diaries/season-5/journal.html> [9 Dec. 2016].

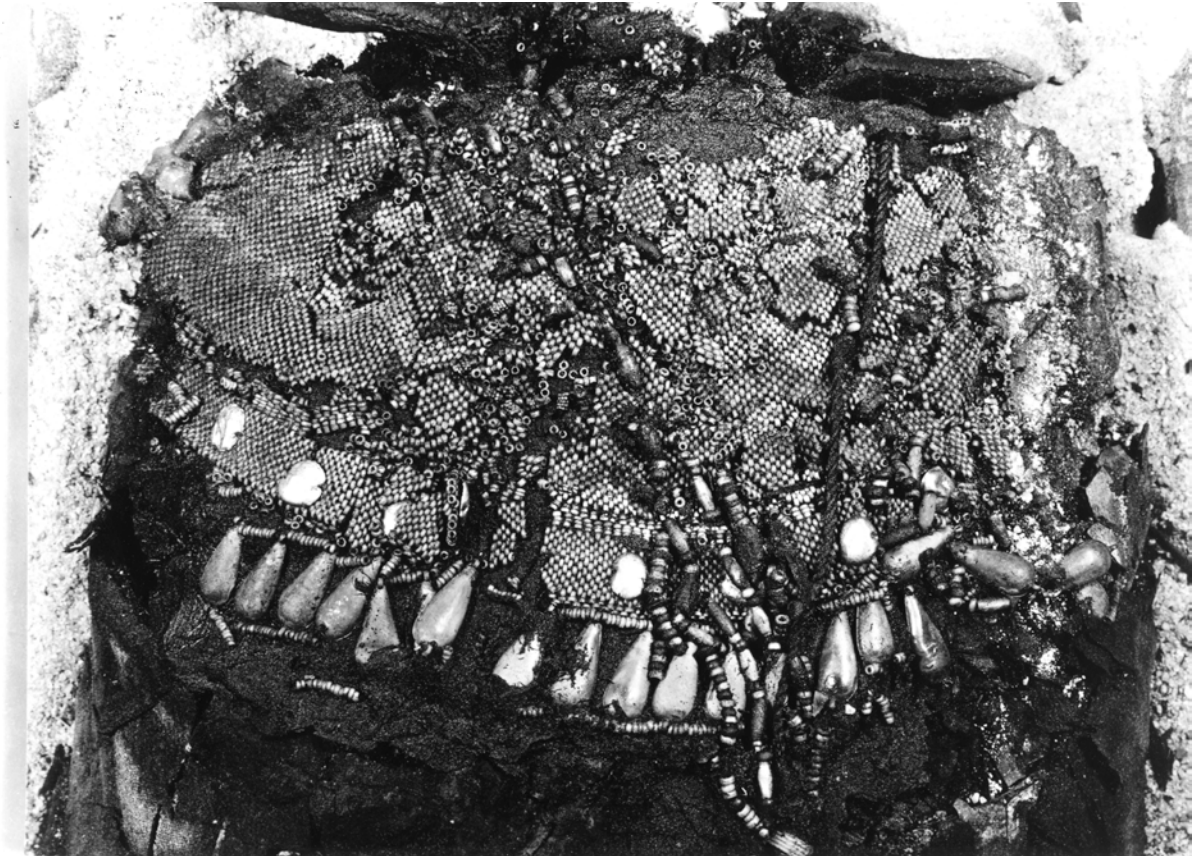


Fig. 3: The central part of broad collar Carter no. 256ttt as left in place on the mummy in October 1926. Burton photograph p1561. Courtesy Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 4: Some pieces of broad collar Carter no. 256ttt scattered in the debris under the back of Tutankhamun's chest. Detail of Burton photograph p0802. Courtesy Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

Two days later, on 23 October 1926, the mummy was returned to the outer gilded coffin, presumably along with the remaining jewellery: ‘Oct. 23<sup>d</sup> – The first outermost coffin containing the King’s mummy, finally rewrapped, was lowered into the sarcophagus this morning.’ But while we learned that Carter left ‘the greater portion’ of the collar, no doubt chiefly beadwork, *in situ* upon the mummy, the parts that he did remove never entered the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. H. Beinlich and M. Saleh erroneously assigned them the number JE 61840 (exhib. no. 310),<sup>11</sup> which actually belongs to a knot-shaped amulet of gold foil.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the Egyptian Museum in Cairo has no registration or exhibiton number for Carter no. 256ttt.<sup>13</sup>

Between 1926 and 1968, the greater part of collar Carter no. 256ttt, the string of beads no. 256sss, and the ‘skull cap’ no. 256tttt, which the excavator had all left *in situ* on the mummy, mysteriously disappeared. When the king’s body was revealed for X-raying in 1968, physicians and inspectors discovered that someone had violently removed all the jewellery that Carter had left on the corpse.<sup>14</sup> When the thieves seized the delicate blue, red, and gold beadwork from the head, they scraped and peeled the skin off the skull, as well as destroying the eyelids and ears.<sup>15</sup> The breast suffered even greater damage. The thieves cut the ribs and removed the front part of the chest – including the breastbone – so that they could take the large collar in one piece without wasting time laboriously extracting each bead.<sup>16</sup>

Poorly informed authors have suggested that the loss to the ribs took place in antiquity, proposing the strangest hypotheses about Tutankhamun’s death and subsequent embalming. Some have suggested that the embalmers had to remove the front part of the chest because it was severely damaged when the boy king was killed in a chariot accident, kicked by a horse, or collided with a hippopotamus.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 254.

<sup>12</sup> See Burton’s photograph p0849 at <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/256tt-p0849.html> [9 Dec 2016]. The objects in the image include two such amuletic knots of gold: Carter nos 256kkk (Cairo JE 61841, exhib. no. 309) and 256tt (JE 61840; exhib. no. 310). As the photograph slightly crops the ‘IT’ label in the top right corner, Beinlich and Saleh have wrongly read that number as 256tt[t].

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Kamrin et al. 2010, 259 and 275, n. 29: ‘Note that there are no cross-references on the web site [of the Griffith Institute]. Note also that the correct JE for Carter 256ttt has not yet been discovered by the team.’

<sup>14</sup> Harrison and Abdalla 1972.

<sup>15</sup> See the photograph published in Filce Leek 1971, pl. 29.

<sup>16</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that between 21 and 23 October 1926 Carter removed the jewellery as a precaution. The theft might have occurred during World War II or during the Egyptian Revolution of 1952. Some rather extensive looting occurred between 1937 and 1945 in the Theban necropolis; see Fakhry 1947, 31:

**I have already referred, in my article on the Tomb of Kheruef [*Annales du Service des antiquités de l’Égypte* 42 (1944), 449–51], to the extensive damage which happened to a large number of the tombs of Thebes between the years 1937 and 1942. The enquiry proved that there had been a great neglect and disclosed many serious and heart-breaking facts. It may be many years – perhaps never – before the full details are made known but anyhow the loss is great and irreparable. A Report will be published by Mohammad Effendi Zakaria Ghoneim, the curator of the Theban Necropolis, who was on the spot and who himself conducted a great part of the investigation and was with me during the general inspection of the accessible tombs and who has personally supervised all the cleaning done in the Necropolis which was necessary for the enquiry. It was expected that the report of Ghoneim Effendi would have appeared in the last number of the *Annales* and I am assured by him that the report will be published in the near future.**

Unfortunately, Zakaria Ghoneim’s report was never published. The only mention of possible activity in the Valley of the Kings during these years is a short uninformative article by Boulos 1947, 263–64, and a photograph in É. Drioton’s archives with evidence of excavation to the east of Tutankhamun’s tomb, cf. M. Juret 2013, 89, image captioned ‘Fouilles dans la Vallée des Rois (1939)’.

<sup>17</sup> Harer 2006, 83–88; Forbes et al. 2007, 50–56; Harer 2011, 228–33.

Today there is no trace of collar Carter no. 256ttt anywhere in Egypt. Unfortunately, the beadwork that Carter left on the mummy in 1926 and subsequently stolen has not yet resurfaced on the art market. Possibly the precious metal was melted down and the faience beads may have been sold to tourists for little money. As noted above, the parts that Carter removed never entered the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. As we shall see, it now appears that he took these parts back to England and that, after his death, they were dispersed to various collections.

Two gold, falcon-headed elements on display at the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City (inv. nos 67-21/1–2; Fig. 5) can in fact be identified as parts of the collar's missing terminals.



Fig. 5: Necklace terminals of gold with lapis lazuli in Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. William Rockhill Nelson Trust, inv. nos 67-21/1, 2. Copyright Nelson-Atkins Museum.

The story of these objects reads like a novel. In 1967, the museum purchased the elements along with other small gold items. Thomas Hoving has briefly mentioned that the acquisition may come from Tutankhamun's tomb, but suggested no particular location within the burial,<sup>18</sup> and Rolf Krauss has partly published the pieces.<sup>19</sup> Robert Cohon, curator at the Nelson-Atkins Museum, has kindly provided the following information from the museum archives,<sup>20</sup> as contained in a letter written, on 26 May 1967, by David E. Newman<sup>21</sup> of Spink & Son to Ross Taggart, a former curator at the Nelson-Atkins Museum (Decorative Arts department):

**The necklace consists of the pair of hawk-headed terminals, a small *ankh* sign and a bell, the rosette with distinctive iron-oxide red patina from the shroud which covered the coffin, and two sequins which bear the cartouches of Smenkare (*sic*) and are therefore of great interest.**

**The pieces were given by a member of the Carter family to a surgeon who was an amateur Egyptologist, and who attended Mr. Carter. On the surgeon's death we purchased them and sold them to a private collector who has had them until now. It came to our notice at the time of the purchase that the rest of the necklace, which consists mainly of faience beads and other gold *ankh* signs, was given by a niece of Mr. Carter to a museum in this**

<sup>18</sup> Hoving 1978, 303.

<sup>19</sup> Krauss 1990, 209, fig. 2.1, and 213, n. 3. The objects are described as « *Zwei falckenköpfige Endstücke von Halskragen.* »

<sup>20</sup> E-mail sent 20 August 2014.

<sup>21</sup> In 1961 David E. Newman joined London auction house Glendinnings as a cataloguer specialising in Far Eastern Art. In 1965 he joined Spink & Son to found the Japanese department. In 1968, he became an independent dealer. Born in 1936, he apparently died on 27 June 2012 as two obituaries seem to attest : The New York Times on June 30, 2012 : <http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/nytimes/obituary.aspx?pid=158285414> ; The Times, July 1, 2012 : <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/david-newman-90780ljkvks>.

country [the UK] who have not displayed them for private reasons connected with the Carter family.

An identical necklace to this one [i.e. to Nelson-Atkins Museum, inv. no. 67-21/1-2] is illustrated in “The Tomb of Tutankhamun” by Howard Carter Vol. 2 plate LXXXI, fig. A. The only remaining parts of the necklace are the faience beads and a few gold *ankh* signs; these remain in this country [the UK] in the museum which I told you of at the time. I have spoken to Mr. Phippen of our Antiquities Department and he tells me that when one of you visit England in the near future, if you could let us know, in advance, when you will be coming, we would do our best to have the remaining faience beads here for you to see.

The Spink & Son invoice, dated 6 June 1967, states for Kansas City inv. nos 67-21/1-7 (so for the entire assemblage): ‘This suite was purchased originally from the family of Howard Carter.’

Carter was acquainted with several physicians. The most famous was probably Lord Dawson of Penn, King George V’s physician, who fatally injected the old monarch and whose wife was the employer of Carter’s niece, Phyllis Walker.<sup>22</sup> In 1928, Carter underwent a tonsillectomy by an unknown physician and suffered deteriorating health for some time.<sup>23</sup> During the mid-1930s, an ‘excellent doctor’ dosed Carter with arsenic and gave him deep X-rays.<sup>24</sup> However, the most likely candidate to have acquired the necklace elements is Lord Berkeley Moynihan, the king’s surgeon, who removed Carnarvon’s appendix in 1918 and extracted Carter’s gall bladder at the end of 1921. The operation delayed his departure to Egypt for some weeks.<sup>25</sup>

Moynihan was a renowned surgeon in Leeds and became also deeply interested in Egyptology. His biographer, Donald Bateman, mentions several meetings between him and Carter: ‘His extensive reading in Egyptology was the result of casual talk with Mr. Howard Carter, the famous Egyptologist. With the enthusiasm of a schoolboy he dug into the subject and visited Egypt.’<sup>26</sup> Bateman adds: ‘Visits to Egypt became a favourite jaunt, and the reading of Egyptology became Berkeley’s hobby.’<sup>27</sup> Moynihan also met Carter on his trips to Luxor. Bateman reports that Herbert Winlock of the Metropolitan Museum of Art asked Moynihan to combine his surgical interests with his passion for Egyptology. Moynihan told: ‘I was called in professionally and reduced the subcoracoid dislocation of the shoulder of a sphinx. The accident occurred 1450 BC, and there was a compound fracture to complicate matters.’<sup>28</sup>

As Moynihan was a surgeon and amateur Egyptologist as well as Carter’s physician,<sup>29</sup> he best fits the description of the surgeon mentioned in the Spink & Son’s correspondence, although this

<sup>22</sup> James 2001, 423 and 468.

<sup>23</sup> James 2001, 423 and 454, mentions a letter by Winifred Mace to Lythgoe written on Saturday, 7 July 1928: ‘Mr. Carter had his tonsil out on Monday [2 July] and has done very well.’

<sup>24</sup> James 2001, 454–55.

<sup>25</sup> Bateman 1940, 243.

<sup>26</sup> Bateman 1940, 245.

<sup>27</sup> Bateman 1940, 325.

<sup>28</sup> Bateman 1940, 325.

<sup>29</sup> Moynihan is mentioned in Carter and Mace 1923, 34, and Carter 1933, 128–29. A letter from Moynihan to Carter, written in ‘Carr Manor, Meanwood, Leeds’ on 13 January 1929 is in the Carter archives at the Griffith Institute, for which see [http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/tut-scans/TAA\\_i\\_2\\_10\\_19a.jpg](http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/tut-scans/TAA_i_2_10_19a.jpg) and [http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/tut-scans/TAA\\_i\\_2\\_10\\_19b.jpg](http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/tut-scans/TAA_i_2_10_19b.jpg) [9 Dec. 2016]. The text reads:

**Dear Mr Carter**

**By the time this letter reaches you it will appear to be a very belated acknowledgement of your kindness in showing us the Tomb, & its wonderful contents. We have all thought & talked of our morning with you, as one of the most interesting & impressive we have known. Lady Mackenzie said at lunch that she felt as**



would imply that Carter himself gave or sold the ancient artefacts to Moynihan before Moynihan's death in 1936, *not* that a member of Carter's family gave them after Carter's own death in 1939.<sup>30</sup> I contacted two Moynihan descendants, Lord Colin Moynihan and his sister Melanie June Corbett, and they have kindly informed me that the family papers in their possession indicate nothing about the objects now in Kansas City.<sup>31</sup>

The high-quality goldwork of the terminals in the Nelson-Atkins Museum befits a king. Delicate hinges on each terminal once linked to missing extensions. The only Egyptian collar that is known to have had such articulated terminals is Carter no. 256ttt. The Griffith Institute cards describe its terminals as 'flexible gold hawk-headed clasps' and 'gold hawk flexible clasps' (Fig. 2). From all the data it is perfectly clear that the collar terminals at the Nelson-Atkins Museum came from the 'clasps' of Carter no. 256ttt. Based on Carter's description and sketches, we can reconstruct the entire collar (Fig. 6).

As we have noted, the Spink & Son correspondence with the Nelson-Atkins Museum intriguingly states that other parts of the collar remained in an unidentified museum in the United Kingdom. These missing parts are said to include 'faience beads and a few gold *ankh* signs'. It is known that, after Carter died, his niece Phyllis Walker gave objects to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. These have been meticulously examined by C.N. Reeves:

**Other, lesser objects were presented by Miss Walker to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, in 1946, 1959, 1960, 1961, and 1963. Note that several of the pieces now in Oxford (e.g. 1959.426, glazed steatite knob; 1959.432, square faience plaque; 1961.399, limestone relief**

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though she had been in church all the morning! I think your reverence for everything greatly impressed us all.

On Thursday I had lunch with Lady C. & Eva & told them all our experiences with you, & of our examination of the specimens in Cairo.

There are two points which have been causing me a great deal of thought –

i. The foetuses. Do you think if they were female they would have been buried with the King? Would they not have been with the Queen? If you can have a section made by Ruffer's method the sex should easily be determined. It is recognisable at a much earlier date than this. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> month the testes are in the iliae fossa.

ii. The little achondroplastic dwarf on the boat. This condition in a female is very rare. I have been looking through my photographs & have only one of a woman. In every example in art (& there are many) there is not a single female so far as I can discover. The inward rotation of the feet, which you told us was to be observed in Egypt, is so rare that I have never seen it in this country: & I am sure no such example is shewn by any artist. I have written to Sir R. Jones to ask him if he has ever seen a case. I think I have a record of almost every achondroplastic in Art from Saqqarah onwards, including Ptah & Bes in the British Museum. There is no example such as yours. That is quite unique.

I am re-reading your book, with an added interest. I really do feel that it is most fortunate that the tomb was discovered by one who has the artist's gifts & spirit. It has made all the difference. I confess I should like to see you put the two guardians back in the tomb, if the mummy is to remain there. They are so very striking & impressive & you could secure their permanence, & freedom from injury. Our little party agreed that you were in the highest class as a demonstrator – it was all wonderful.

With most grateful thanks

Ever sincerely

Berkeley Moynihan.

<sup>30</sup> Nearly nothing about Moynihan's collection is known. A photograph attests, however, that he lent portraits for an exhibition in January 1927 at the City Art Gallery of Leeds: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/version/8662987> [9 Dec. 2016].

<sup>31</sup> It is possible that the gold terminals were sold by a grandson of Berkeley Moynihan's, the picturesque Lord Anthony Berkeley Moynihan, who succeeded his father Lord Patrick Moynihan on 30 April 1965. His obituary published in *The Telegraph* on 26 November 1991 depicts an eccentric character who regularly found himself strapped for cash: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/6604750/Lord-Moynihan.html> [9 Dec. 2016].

fragment with marine; 1961.400, wood Ptah-Soker-Osiris base with papyrus; 1961.401, blue faience vessel [restored]; 1961.405, steatite scarab of Amenhotep III; 1961.406–.409, faience scarabs [2 of Tuthmose III] 1963.173–.174, uraeus and red-crown amulets) appear to have been excluded from the Spink probate listing ...<sup>32</sup>



Fig. 6: Virtual reconstruction of broad collar Carter no. 256ttt, based on Carter's notes and using photographs of the terminals in Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum, inv. nos 67-21/1–2. Illustration: R. Cohon. Copyright M. Gabolde.

<sup>32</sup> Reeves 1997, 246, n. 11. Here is a concordance of the Ashmolean and Spink numbers:

1959.425 = Spink no. 34, 'small gold scent bottle with filigree work, 2" high – £8.0.0'

1959.426–.431 = Spink no. 47, 'five Uchat eyes in green faience – £2.0.0'

?1959.433 (height 3.1 cm) = Spink no. 53, 'bright blue foundation deposit inscribed, 2" high – £16.0.0'

1959.434 = Spink no. 32, 'blue faience relief amulet of Maat, 1 3/8" high – £1.0.0'

?1959.435 = Spink no. 29, 'small blue faience seated figure – £8.0.0'. See also Spink no. 60, which is described as 'minute green and blue faience figure of squatting Isis, 1 3/4" high – £3.0.0'

1959.436–.437 = Spink no. 44, 'two green faience large tubular beads'. With Spink nos 42–43 and 45–46 this was valued at a total of £2.0.0.

1959.438 (Brovarski et al. 1982, no. 189) = Spink no. 21, 'yellow glass minute vase'. With Spink nos 20 and 22 this was valued at a total of £2.0.0.

1959.439 = Spink no. 22, 'yellow glass hair-ring. £2.0.0'. For the valuation, see 1959.438 above.

1959.440 = Spink no. 45, 'amethyst Scarab'. For the valuation, see 1959.436–.437 above.

1959.441 = Spink no. 20, 'blue scarab in faience'. For the valuation, see 1959.438 above.

1959.442 = Spink no. 30, 'Egyptian flint knife – surmounted in part with gold, 6 3/4" long – £6.0.0'

?1959.443 = Spink no. 43, 'small fragment of flint'. For the valuation, see 1959.436–.437 above.

1959.444–.445 = Spink no. 42, 'two flint arrow heads'. For the valuation, see 1959.436–.437 above.

1959.446 = Spink no. 18, 'blue glass armilla (incomplete)'. With Spink no. 19 this was valued at a total of £1.0.0.

1959.447 = Spink no. 33, 'Graeco-Egyptian bronze head of a woman – £1.0.0'

1960.725 = Spink no. 38, 'Graeco-Egyptian faience Diogenes Head – mounted as trinket box, 2 1/4" long – £6.0.0'

1961.402–.404 = Spink no. 35, '29 blue and green faience finger rings – £10.0.0'

Liam McNamara, curator at the Ashmolean Museum, has informed me that its Egyptian collection holds nothing that could possibly be identified with the missing pieces mentioned in the Spink letter.

Different from what the letter suggests, the ‘faience beads’ and ‘gold *ankh* signs’ are not from the same item of jewellery as the hawk-headed terminals: they do not tally with the images and description of collar Carter no. 256ttt. By contrast, their description calls to mind a necklace purchased from Spink & Son in 1940 by the Saint Louis Art Museum, inv. no. 16.1940 (Fig. 9). This ornament, to be discussed in detail further below, also comes from Carter’s collection. The little *ankh* sign now in the Nelson-Atkins Museum (inv. no. 67-21/4) comes undoubtedly from the same necklace. Just like the gilded rosette, the two inscribed gold sequins, and the small gold bell that were all purchased by the Nelson-Atkins Museum in 1967, the *ankh* sign does *not* derive from the same object as the simultaneously acquired gold terminals. However, as we shall see, it was certainly found in the same tomb.

The letter of Spink & Son to the Nelson-Atkins Museum is a vivid account of the collection history of the hawk-headed terminals, but it deliberately or inadvertently mixes information from different sources and suppresses crucial data such as personal names (‘a surgeon’, ‘a private collector’), precise dates (‘on the surgeon’s death’), and museum names (‘a museum in this country’). The description of the first owner points indisputably to Moynihan, but as he died before Carter, the claim that he received objects from ‘a member of Carter family’ after Carter’s death is patently wrong. The next claim, now difficult to verify, is that the ‘private collector’ who later owned the terminals not just bought them from Spink & Son, but also sold them again through the same auctioneer. A particularly odd assertion is that a niece of Carter’s gave missing parts of the collar to an unnamed UK museum with the ostensible request not to display them. This is particularly noteworthy in light of our observation that Spink & Son sold a similar object to the Saint Louis Museum in 1940. Clearly the Spink & Son letter to the curator of the Nelson-Atkins Museum should be taken with a grain of salt.

When we compare the Christie’s necklace sold in 2015 with our reconstruction of collar Carter no. 256ttt (Fig. 6), it is clear that the numbers of gold discs and drop-shaped beads on the necklace closely match the numbers of those on the collar that Carter removed in 1926, leaving only the central portion of Carter no. 256ttt stuck to the mummy (Fig. 7).<sup>33</sup>

It is highly unlikely that the similarities between the Christie’s necklace and collar Carter no. 256ttt are just a coincidence. The low probability of these matches occurring purely by chance can be shown in a simple statistic calculation. Take, for instance, the combined recurrence of the convex discs, the drop-shaped beads and the tiny gold beads: the probability of all three recurring by chance amounts to  $0.5 \times 0.5 \times 0.5 = 0.125$  (each 0.5 stands for ‘present’ or ‘absent’ as the only possible outcomes); the probability of this *not* being a coincidence therefore amounts to 0.875. Multiply this by the recurrence of Spink & Son as a recent provenance and by the fact that the numbers of discs and drop-shaped beads in the necklace closely match the numbers of those that Carter removed

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<sup>33</sup> The necklace as presented at Christie’s in 2015 had 19 double-pierced discs and 40 drop-shaped beads. These figures do not match those of the corresponding elements that Carter left on Tutankhamun’s chest in 1926 and subsequently stolen. The latter elements, judging from Burton’s 1926 photograph (Fig. 3), comprised only some 9 discs and 20 drop-shaped beads. It is therefore certain that the elements restrung in the Christie’s necklace are not the same as those that Carter left on the mummy in 1926 and subsequently stolen.

from the mummy,<sup>34</sup> the probability becomes  $0.125 \times 0.5 \times 0.5 = 0.3125$ . In other words, there is a 3,125% chance of mere coincidence and a 96,875% chance that the combined recurrence of all these features is *not* a coincidence. Thus, it is very close to certain that the Christie's necklace in fact comprises parts of broad collar Carter no. 256ttt, and that it complements the terminals now on display in Kansas City (Fig. 7). Some parts of the broad collar are still missing, but one hopes that they too may resurface one day.<sup>35</sup>

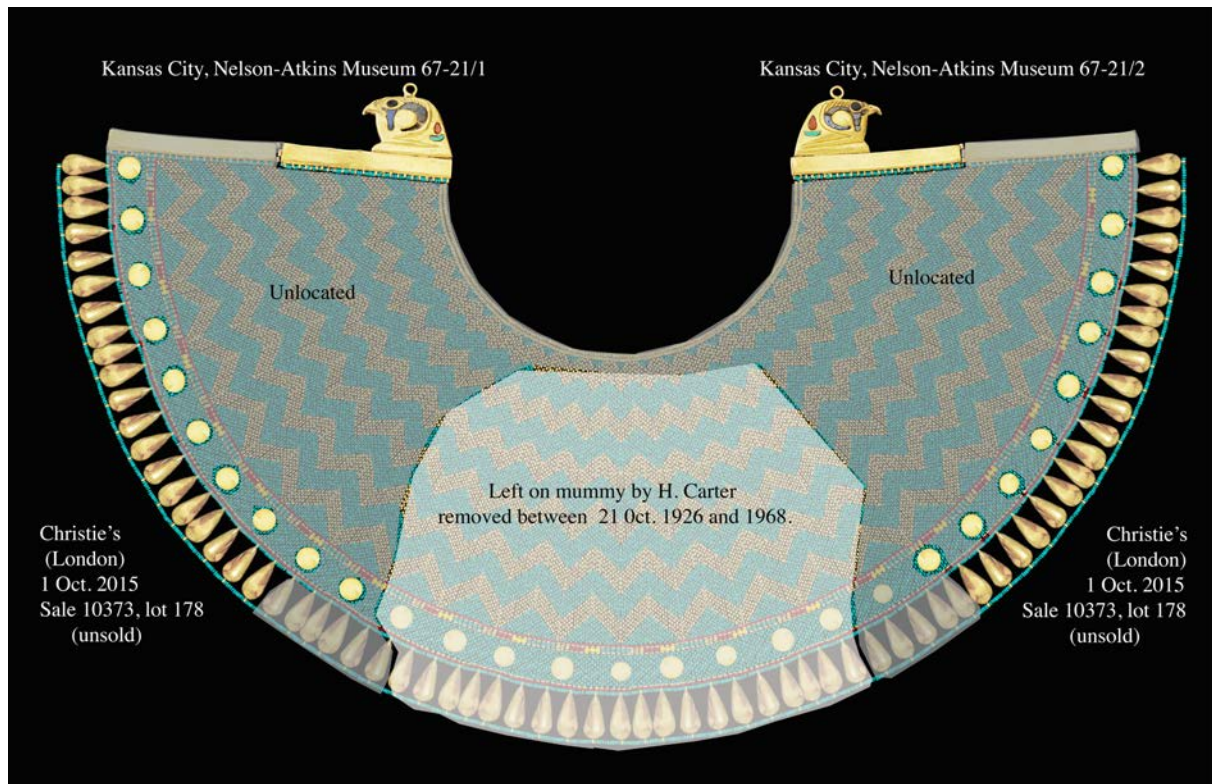


Fig. 7: Virtual reconstruction of broad collar Carter no. 256ttt, indicating possible present locations of different parts. Copyright M. Gabolde.

This study shows that in searching for missing jewellery from Tutankhamun's tomb, we must reckon with the possibility that items were restrung in shapes radically different from the originals, that elements may have gone missing, and that unrelated elements were added. Bearing these possibilities in mind, we may cautiously proceed to search for other missing jewellery.

### Headdress Carter no. 547a

In the so-called Annex of Tutankhamun's tomb, Carter found a headdress box (Carter no. 547; lid Carter no. 615). Although the hieratic label on the lid describes the original contents as 'shabtis',<sup>36</sup> the rounded support pegged into the bottom indicates that the box was made to hold headgear.

<sup>34</sup> See previous note.

<sup>35</sup> If it was the eccentric Lord Anthony Moynihan who sold the objects that are now in Kansas City (see n. 31 above), he might have kept parts of the collar and sold them later. The second of his many wives, Shirin Berry, was a belly dancer under the alias of 'Princess Amina'. One can only hope she never employed any parts of Tutankhamun's collar in her belly dancer's outfit!

<sup>36</sup> Černý 1965, 14, §60, Carter no. 615 (Cairo JE 61457, lid of Carter no. 547); 27 no. 50; pl. 9 no. 60.

Object no. 547a, found inside the box, was described by Carter as ‘fragment of cap’ and as ‘beads of gold, & blue, green, yellow glass. Strung with thread & sewn onto cap.’ Fortunately, Burton’s photograph p1215 (Fig. 8) shows that the object was a fragmentary piece of fabric woven with six rows of beads in the shape of *hs*-vases, each separated by three rows of tiny beads. The bottom row was composed of gold *ꜥnh*-signs. In the photograph one counts at least 143 *hs*-beads and 14 *ꜥnh*-beads, but evidently they only comprise a small part of the original headgear. Burton photographed only the largest and best-preserved fragment of the headdress. It can be determined from the black-and-white photograph that the *hs*-beads were of different materials and colours, arranged in groups of three, four or five. This precious artefact never reached the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The object list provided by H. Beinlich and M. Saleh jumps straight from Carter no. 547 (JE 61457, exhib. no. 751) to Carter 547b (JE 61939, exhib. no. 1307).<sup>37</sup>

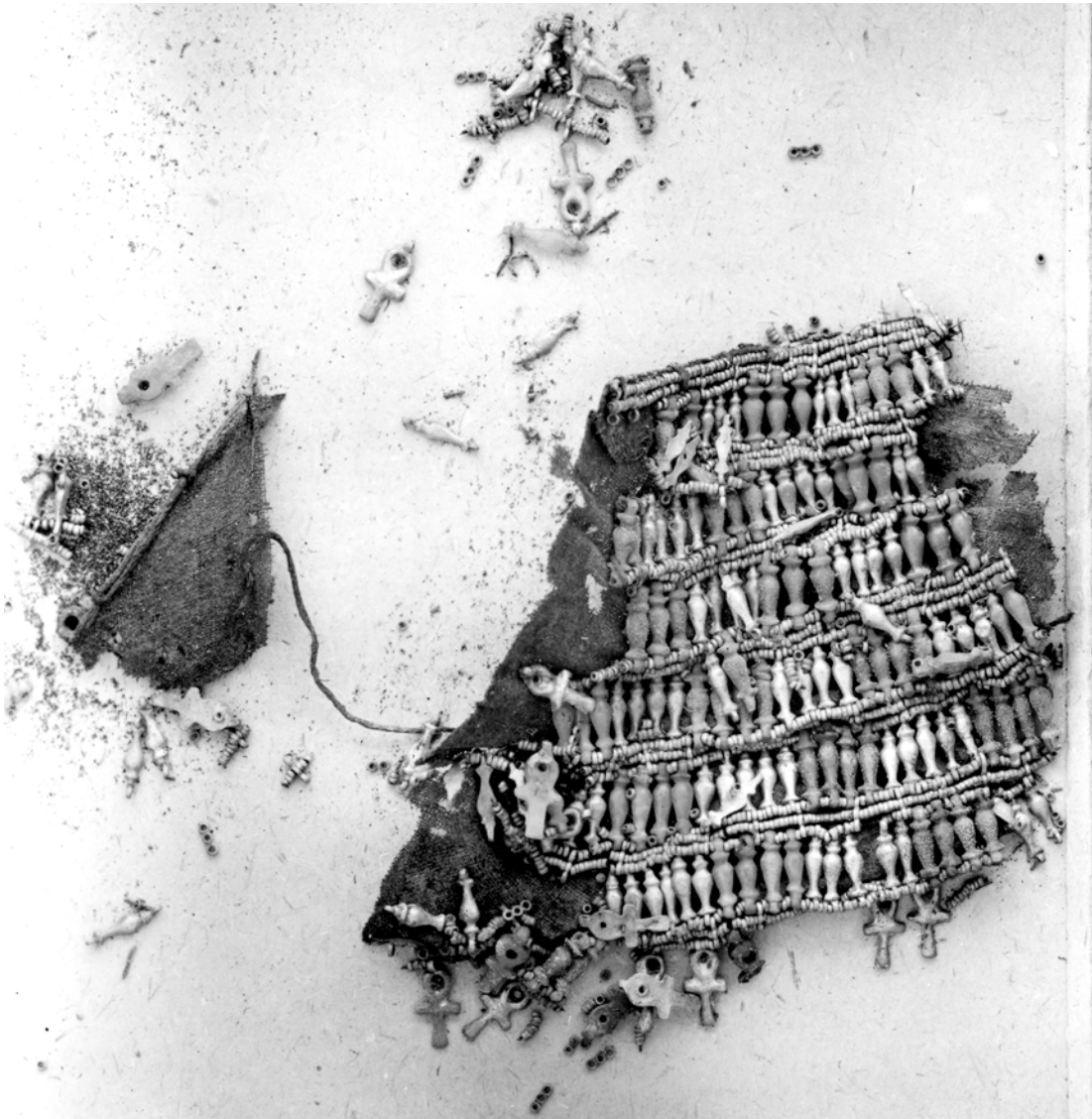


Fig. 8: Headdress Carter no. 547a in Burton photograph p1215. Courtesy Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

<sup>37</sup> Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 258.

In 1940, however, the Saint Louis Art Museum purchased from Spink & Son a necklace from Carter's collection (inv. no. 16.1940) (Fig. 9). It comprises an upper row of 105 beads in the shape of *hs*-vases, arranged in 21 groups of 5 beads: there are 5 groups of dark blue beads, 5 groups of light blue beads, 5 groups of red beads, and 6 groups of gold beads. A second, lower row consists of 59 gold *ꜥnh*-signs. The strings are set with numerous tiny beads of gold.

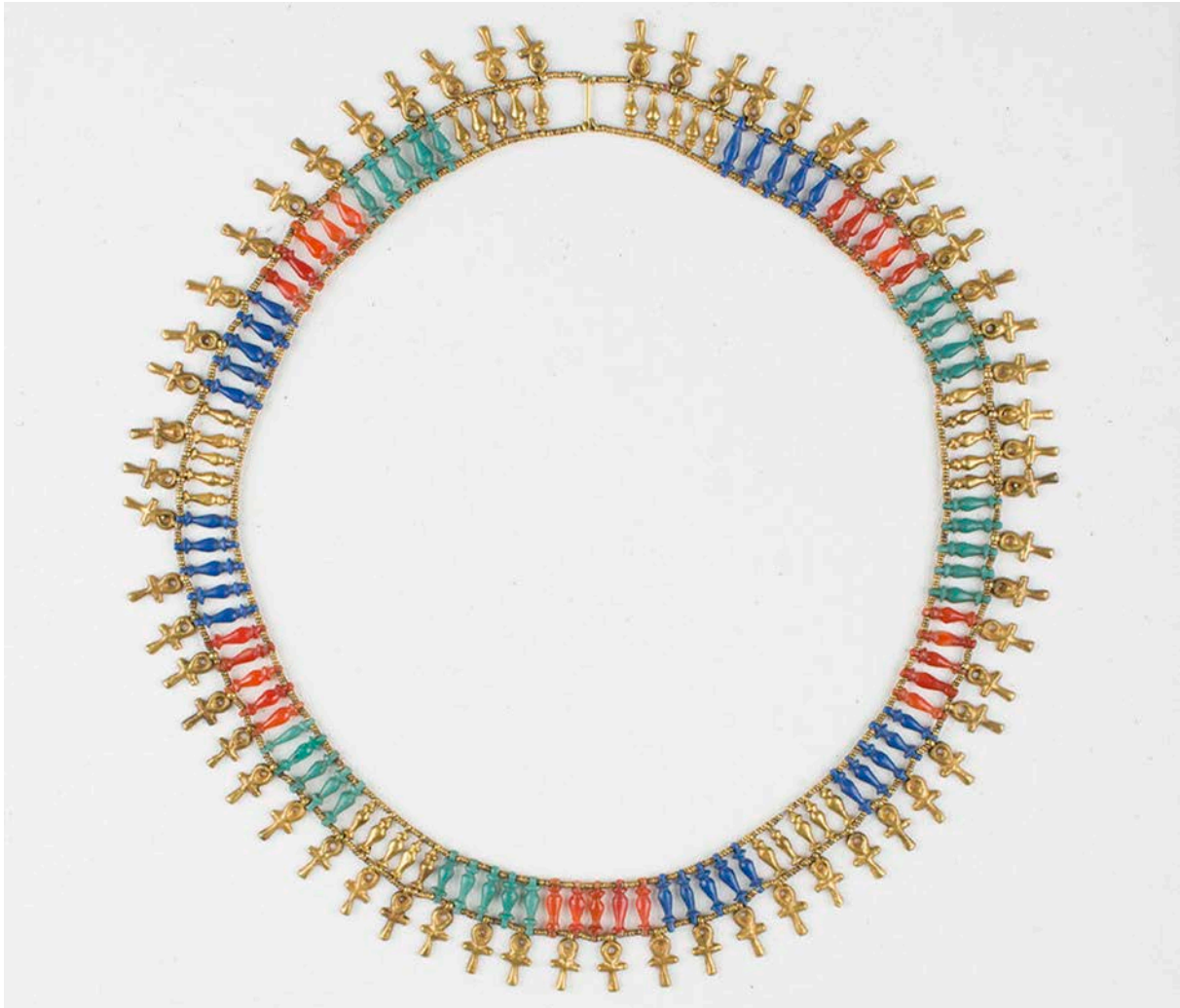


Fig. 9: Dyn. 18 necklace at the Saint Louis Art Museum, 16:1940. Gold, carnelian, and coloured glass. ; 45.7 x 2.4 cm Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 16:1940. Courtesy Saint Louis Art Museum.

There are discrepancies between Carter's notes for object no. 547a and the restrung beads in Saint Louis: the beads he calls green are rather light blue, those he calls yellow are red and the numbers of beads are very different. Discrepancies notwithstanding, the similarities are also obvious and they suggest that the necklace in Saint Louis is a modern creation made of beads that were recycled from headdress Carter no. 547a.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Another object that is probably linked to Tutankhamun's tomb is Saint Louis Art Museum, no. 20.1940. It, too, was sold by Spink & Son in 1940. The museum file describes it as 'ancient Egyptian lid of Kohl Vase in faience – a conventional star in design in green – brick and yellow colors on a white ground. Dr. H. Carter Collection. 18th Dynasty' (courtesy of Lisa Çakmak, curator, e-mail 8 September, 2014). The object appears in the Spink & Son probate listing as no. 57: 'Circular coloured faience lid of a vase, 3¼" diameter — £18.00'; cf. Reeves 1997, 244. These descriptions fit also with the file at the Griffith Institute for object Carter no. 54m: 'Faience vase lid. Decoration (see

### Beads Carter no. 256y

In 1925 Carter found a puzzling object on Tutankhamun's mummy, which he gave the number 256y. He described it as:

**Small group of round gold and lapis blue glass beads of unknown use. They do not seem to belong to any of the objects found upon the King – i.e. as far as it is humanly possibly to judge. Possibly of a short necklace. Strung alternate gold and glass.<sup>39</sup>**

Unfortunately, Carter failed to specify the number of beads or any dimensions, and Burton never photographed these beads. H. Beinlich and M. Saleh's listing of objects jumps from Carter no. 256x (JE 62367, exhib. no. 236) to Carter 256z (JE 61877, exhib. no. 314),<sup>40</sup> which shows that Carter no. 256y was never registered at the Cairo museum.

In 1964, C.E. Chapman, an otherwise unknown antiquities collector, donated to the British Museum an object from Dynasty 18: EA 66638. The on-line database describes it as a 'string of forty-four gold beads and forty-three blue glass beads' with a length of 34.3 cm (as strung) and once belonging to Howard Carter<sup>41</sup> (Fig. 10). A comparison of data suggests that this may well be Carter no. 256y, restrung as a necklace.



Fig. 10: British Museum EA 66638, from Carter's private collection and purchased in 1964 from C.E. Chapman. Gold and blue glass. Copyright Trustees of the British Museum.

phot.). Inner ring yellow, 8 outer petals green, 8 inner petals white with blue (?) tops, outer triangles red. Basis white: line of blue (?) round rim', which corresponds with Burton's photographs p9122 (left) and p0175 (left). Note that the circular faience lid Carter no. 54m never entered the Egyptian Museum in Cairo: the listing in Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 252, jumps from Carter no. 54l (JE 62212, exhib. no. 206) to Carter no. 54n (JE 62257, exhib. no. 50). See also Gabolde 2015, 504–5.

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/256y-c256y.html> [9 Dec. 2016].

<sup>40</sup> Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 254.

<sup>41</sup>

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=117497&partId=1&searchText=string+gold+glass&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=117497&partId=1&searchText=string+gold+glass&page=1) [9 Dec. 2016].

### Carter nos 256o and 256bb

On 11 November 1925, Carter revealed two broad collars: nos 256o and 256bb. His journal describes the first (no. 256o)<sup>42</sup> as an ‘object of gold and beadwork, at slightly lower level over left side of abdomen: this being in fragile condition was consolidated with melted paraffin wax.’<sup>43</sup> The object card at the Griffith Institute describes the object as a ‘collar of minute violet faience beads, woven or threaded after the fashion of mat-work, having semi-circular shoulder pieces and pendant border.’ Carter notes on the same card, ‘This collar has not yet been restrung.’<sup>44</sup> A second card gives a sketch of the bead pattern including terminals, as schematically reproduced in Fig. 11.

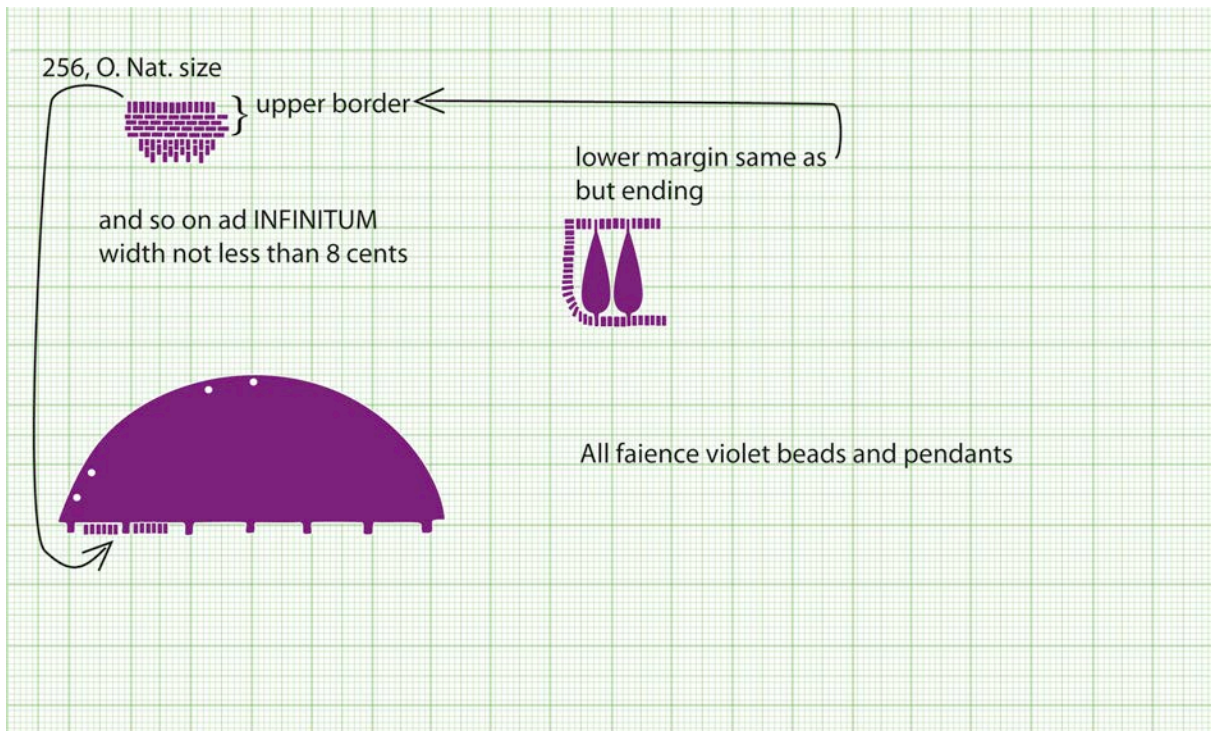


Fig. 11: Schematic rendition of the sketch on the object card of Carter no. 256o, at the Griffith Institute. Drawing: Marc Gabolde.

Apparently, the Cairo museum never registered collar Carter no. 256o. It is reasonable to assume that Carter kept it.<sup>45</sup> The same fate seems to have befallen collar Carter no. 256bb (Fig. 12), which Carter found on the same day at a slightly deeper level in the wrappings. Carter’s journal gives the following account of its discovery:<sup>46</sup>

**(BB) [= no. 256bb] A mesh of gold and other beads of various forms lying over the pubis. These were so mixed up and their strings decayed, for the moment it is not possible to recognize their significance, with these beads were further portions of (O) [= no. 256o]. To reconstruct these bead-work objects will be a difficult, if not impossible, task – not merely on account of the threads [which] have decayed, but also the jumbled manner in which**

<sup>42</sup> One of the terminals of Carter no. 256o is partly visible on Burton’s photographs p0774 and p0777.

<sup>43</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/discoveringTut/journals-and-diaries/season-4/journal.html> [9 Dec. 2016].

<sup>44</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/256o-c256o-1.html> [9 Dec. 2016].

<sup>45</sup> In the listing of Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 254, Carter no. 256n (Cairo JE 62382, exhib. no. 240) is immediately followed by Carter no. 256p (JE 61914, exhib. no. 321).

<sup>46</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/discoveringTut/journals-and-diaries/season-4/journal.html> [9 Dec. 2016].



they occurred. They were treated with paraffin-wax with the hope of preserving some kind of record of their order of threading.

The pertaining object card at the Griffith Institute only says: ‘Group of bead work not yet completed.’<sup>47</sup> The sketch on a second card shows the beading pattern, as schematised in Fig. 12. Once again, the object was given no known *Journal d’Entrée* or exhibition number, which suggests that it never reached the Cairo museum when Carter was in Egypt.<sup>48</sup>

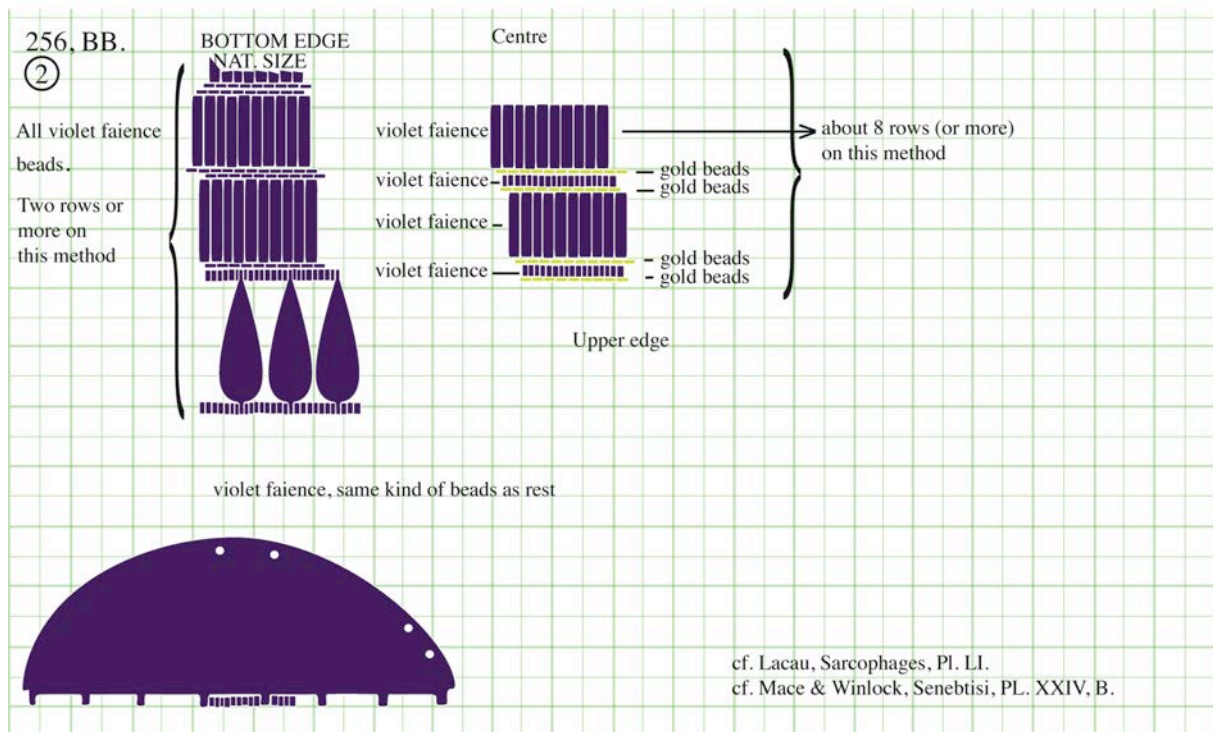


Fig. 12: Schematic rendition of the sketch on the object card of Carter no. 256bb, at the Griffith Institute. Drawing: Marc Gabolde.

However, two objects held in American public collections are similar to collars Carter nos. 256o and 256bb. One is still at the Brooklyn Museum, no. 40.522 (Fig. 13). The museum bought this collar in the 1940 sale of Carter’s collection and it featured as no. 8 in the Spink probate listing: ‘Pectoral in lapis-coloured faience beads’.<sup>49</sup> The collar’s deep violet colour and the shape of the beads compare well with collar Carter no. 256bb, except for two minor details: Carter’s drawing of the terminal suggests that there were seven rows of tubular beads whereas the terminals of the Brooklyn collar have slots for only six rows. Moreover, the Brooklyn collar has only beads of faience, none of gold. Once again, one suspects that the collar was recently restrung, with parts omitted and/or added.

<sup>47</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/256bb-c256bb-1.html> [9 Dec. 2016].

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 254: after Carter nos 256aa\* (Cairo JE 61880, exhib. no. 518) and 256aa\*\* (JE 61881, exhib. no. 516), the list jumps straight to Carter no. 256dd (JE 61584, exhib. no. 225).

<sup>49</sup> Reeves 1997, 243.



Fig. 13: Faience broad collar (36.6 x 11.3 cm) from Carter's collection. Now Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, 40.522. Courtesy Brooklyn Museum.



Fig. 14: Faience broad collar from Carter's possessions returned to Egypt in 2010–2011. Ex Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 49.105.1. After <https://memphistours.files.wordpress.com/2010/11/reconstruct-faience-broad-collar-photo-metropolitan-museum-of-art.jpg> [9 Dec. 2016]

The other object sharing similarities with Carter nos 256o and 256bb is a collar formerly at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 49.105.1 (Fig. 14), along with a significant number of unstrung faience beads. Carter chose two executors to carry out the provisions of his will: Harry Burton and Bruce Ingram. Burton apparently picked up this collar from Carter's house at Luxor in 1940, after Carter's death. Burton died the same year while he was planning arrangements with the Egyptian authorities, and in 1948 the collar and other items were sent to the Metropolitan Museum along with the expedition's materials. The collar was exhibited for more than sixty years but returned to Egypt, with eighteen other items, in 2011.<sup>50</sup>

The modern arrangement of the beads of the Brooklyn and ex MMA collars resembles that shown on the object card of Carter no. 256bb, and the shoulder terminals resemble those of Carter nos 256o and 256bb, but due to various differences it is difficult to offer definitive identifications.

### Other missing jewellery?

At first it would seem that two more collars from Tutankhamun's tomb were never registered at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo: Carter nos 46rr and 53. However, the investigations of J. Kamrin, E. Nuutinen and A. el-Baroudi have proven that these pieces were actually given numbers but confused with Carter nos 46r<sup>51</sup> and 53a.<sup>52</sup>

Although no further jewellery from Tutankhamun's tomb seems to be missing from the Cairo museum, questions remain over the provenance of a few more pieces from Carter's collection, now displayed in major museums around the world.

The first intriguing object is a marvellous faience broad collar on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, no. 40.2.5 (Fig. 15a). Purchased thanks to the Rogers Fund in 1940, this ornament was indisputably part of Howard Carter's personal collection<sup>53</sup> and appears as no. 10 in the Spink & Son probate listing: 'circular pectoral of faience plaques, petals, etc. in yellow, blue, red and green, 7" high – £15.0.0'.<sup>54</sup> The terminals look very similar to those of Carter no. 44n (Cairo JE 62754, exhib. no. 944) but differ in detail (Fig. 15b). The terminals of collar Carter no. 53a (JE 61908, SR A/2913)<sup>55</sup> involved the same technique. It is next to certain that all three collars were made in one workshop, perhaps by the same craftsman.

The second piece is a simple faience collar purchased by the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels and registered as E.7534 (Fig. 16).<sup>56</sup> This collar was bought at the 1940 sale of Carter's property and is no. 7 in the Spink & Son probate listing: 'Necklace of Tell-el-Amarna coloured

<sup>50</sup> For a full listing, see n. 71 below (the collar is no. 18).

<sup>51</sup> Carter no. 46rr is in fact JE 61910 = SR 1/2923 and exhib. no. 951, which numbers were previously wrongly attributed to Carter no. 46r. This latter object, a 'conical object of ivory and ebony', is actually JE 62358 and exhib. no. 157. Cf. Kamrin et al. 2010, 266–67, no. 16.

<sup>52</sup> Carter no. 53 has been used to refer both to a collar and to paws with rings. The collar appears to be the same as the one described in the object card of Carter no. 53a, which is identical to Cairo JE 61908 and SR A/2913; cf. Kamrin et al. 2010, 267–68, no. 17.

<sup>53</sup> Hayes 1959, 321, fig. 203; Scott 1973, 152–53, fig. 26.

<sup>54</sup> Reeves 1997, 243.

<sup>55</sup> Kamrin et al. 2010, 267–68, no. 17, figs 23–24.

<sup>56</sup> Werbrouck 1941, 133–35; [anonymous] 1958: Égypte no. 20; Van de Walle et al. 1980, 33, n. 81; Freed 1981, 45, fig. 84; Brovarski et al. 1982, 234, no. 308; Lefebvre and Van Rinsveld 1990, 107–8.

faience beads and plaques.<sup>57</sup> The beads seem to have issued from the same workshop as those of the similar collars Carter nos 21u (Cairo JE 61907; exhib. no. 948),<sup>58</sup> 46rr (JE 61910 = SR 1/2923)<sup>59</sup> and 53a (JE 61908 SR A/2913),<sup>60</sup> and the terminals resemble those of Carter no. 46c (JE 61905; exhib. no. 946).

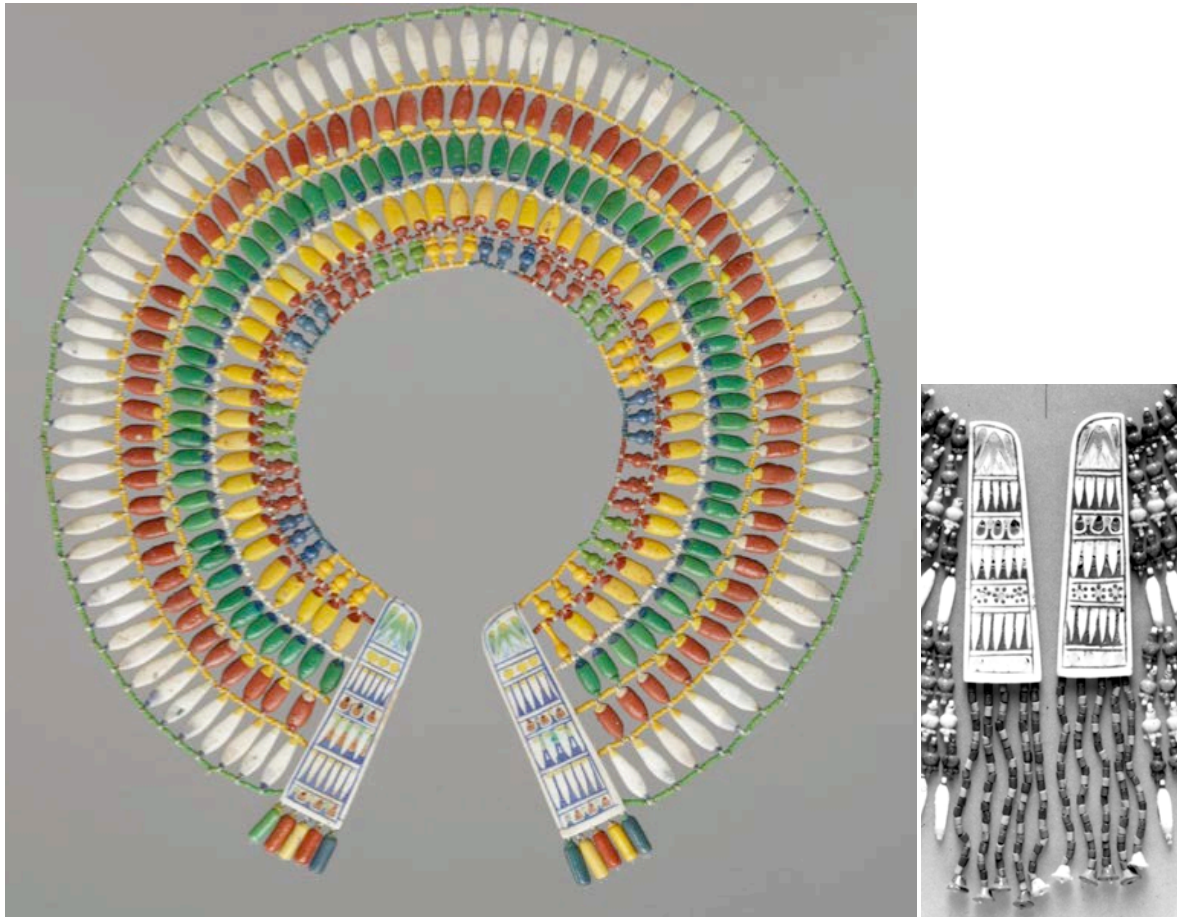


Fig. 15a: Faience broad collar from Carter's collection. Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 40.2.5. Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 15b: Shoulder terminals of collar Carter no. 44n (Cairo JE 62754, exhib. no. 944). Detail of Burton photograph p0241 (here shown upside-down for easy comparison), linked to the object card of Carter no. 44n at the Griffith Institute. Courtesy Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

Notwithstanding the parallels, we must remain cautious in assessing the provenance of these two collars, especially the one in Brussels, because some necklaces from Amarna have almost identical faience beads.<sup>61</sup> A list of the most important parallels includes:

– Three restrung collars on display at the Swansea Museum.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Reeves 1997, 243.

<sup>58</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/021u.html> [9 Dec. 2016].

<sup>59</sup> Kamrin et al. 2010, 266–67, no. 16.

<sup>60</sup> Kamrin et al. 2010, 267–68, no. 17.

<sup>61</sup> Compare these collars with Andrews 1990, 122–23, fig. 105.

<sup>62</sup> Swansea Museum W.8–.10; cf. Bosse-Griffiths 2001, 27–30, and Györy 1998, 497–507. These objects may have been part of those looted from the Royal Tomb at Amarna.

- Beads from a collar found at Amarna, now at the Petrie Museum, UC1957.
- A faience broad collar at the Royal Ontario Museum, no. 910.48.15, acquired by Charles Trick Currelly in 1909, perhaps from Petrie's excavations at Amarna.
- A complete(?) collar in the British Museum, EA 59334, found in 1926 'beyond' S35.4, a large enclosure in the North Suburb at Amarna, and given by the Egypt Exploration Society to the museum in 1929.<sup>63</sup>
- A complete, restrung collar in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 53023, found during Frankfort's excavations at Amarna during the 1928–1929 campaign in the North Suburb house U36.25. A well-known photograph shows J. D. S. Pendlebury proudly displaying the collar on his bare chest.<sup>64</sup>
- Elements from a broad collar at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 31.114.2a, given to the New York collection in 1931 by Mrs. John Hubbard and the Egypt Exploration Society. The beads and sole remaining terminal were found at Amarna during the 1928–1929 and 1930–1931 excavations.<sup>65</sup>

Much more recently two collars surfaced on the art market that also exhibit similarities to the faience jewellery from Amarna and Tutankhamun's tomb. One was auctioned at Bonham's in London on 16 April 2015<sup>66</sup> as part of the Scheps Collection (Switzerland). The other was offered for sale by the London dealer Artemission (item no. 25.25985) and includes beads from three different collections (Lady Dale, R. Gill, B. Brice).<sup>67</sup>



Fig. 16: Collar from Carter's collection. Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E.7534. After Freed 1981, 45, fig. 84.

<sup>63</sup> [https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=111516&partId=1&searchText=YCA69211&page=1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=111516&partId=1&searchText=YCA69211&page=1) [9 Dec. 2016]. In 1956, seven further collars were given to the museum by Percy Edward Newberry's widow, Essie Winifred: EA 65615 and EA 65617–65622. These are supposed to come from the Valley of the Kings. Newberry's archaeological activity in the Valley of the Kings, however, was limited to his participation in the publication of tombs KV 46 (Yuya and Tuya) and KV 43 (Thutmose IV) under the direction of Th. M. Davis. It is doubtful that this jewellery has anything to do with either tomb, and hard to see why Davis should have given such rare pieces to Newberry. As Carter was very close to the Newberrys between 1932 and 1939, it is quite possible that this jewellery is linked to Carter's activity in the Valley of the Kings. See James 2001, 459–60.

<sup>64</sup> The photograph is negative no. 28-29 O/77 in the Egypt Exploration Society archives. The necklace must be object 29/400. See Frankfort and Pendlebury 1933, 18, pl. 36.2. I am greatly indebted to B. J. Kemp for this information.

<sup>65</sup> <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/549198> [9 Dec. 2016].

<sup>66</sup> See <http://www.alaintruong.com/archives/2015/04/04/31834595.html> [9 Dec. 2016].

<sup>67</sup> See <http://www.artemission.com/ViewItemDetails.aspx?ItemNumber=25.25985> [9 Dec. 2016].

## Conclusions

We have seen that not all of the jewellery found on Tutankhamun's mummy went to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Carter kept some pieces for himself, and these are now on display in various museums. They almost certainly include the following objects:

- collar Carter no. 256ttt, of which the shoulder terminals ended up in Kansas City, Nelson Atkins Museum, no. 67-21/1–2, while part of the gold beads were later strung into a fantasy necklace, offered for sale by Christie's (London) on 1 October 2015, lot 178 (gold beads).
- headdress Carter no. 547a, of which many beads were later strung into another fantasy necklace, now at the Saint Louis Art Museum, no. 16.1940.
- beads Carter no. 256y, probably identical with necklace British Museum, EA 66638.
- collar Carter no. 256bb and/or collar Carter no. 256o, probably identical with (parts of) Brooklyn Museum, no 40.522, and/or Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 49.105.1 (returned to Cairo in 2010–2011).<sup>68</sup>

Other ornaments also originated from Carter's private collection, but whether they also derive from Tutankhamun's mummy is difficult to establish beyond all doubt:

- collar Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 40.2.5.
- collar Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E.7534.

Carter was evidently responsible for diverting these objects. However, he and his team are owed a tremendous debt of gratitude for all the restoration work they had to do on Tutankhamun's jewellery, enabling their modern display. The team patiently restrung the collars and necklaces in accordance with their original designs. The task was enormous: the original strings had almost completely decayed. Thousands of beads had to be rethreaded, respecting the ancient knotting as much as possible. Carter and his collaborators almost certainly lacked the time to restrung all the collars and necklaces, and had to put some aside in boxes for future restrung.<sup>69</sup> Carter might have intended to complete some of this work in Britain, but eventually found himself stuck with somewhat embarrassing 'loans'.

As noted, after Carter's death in 1939, various objects from his collection were sold by Spink & Son in 1940. Quite a few items in Carter's possession were indisputably from Tutankhamun's tomb and several, after Spink's valuations for probate, were returned to Cairo on behalf of Carter's niece Phyllis Walker. In the 1940s she sent them back to Cairo with the assistance of Bruce Ingram and Harry Burton. It was decided not to send them straight to the Museum where they should have been all along. Étienne Drioton, who was then the director of the Egyptian Antiquities Service,

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<sup>68</sup> Despite my suspicions, I have excluded one object from the list: a necklace restrung with amulets and with a faience cartouche bead of Tutankhamun (Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 66.99.163), purchased in 1966 as part of the estate of Albert Gallatin, who had purchased it from Spink & Son, London, in August 1954. The previous owner was Princess Patricia, Duchess of Connaught, whose father, Prince Arthur of Connaught, was Queen Victoria's seventh child. Prince Arthur visited Tutankhamun's tomb and the laboratory with Carter on 20 January 1924, but we have no proof that Carter gave him any object from the tomb. The beads of MMA 66.99.163 have no parallel among the objects of the tomb, except perhaps collar Carter no. 46 comprising 92 cartouche-shaped beads naming the king. However, such beads are common, and the British Museum preserves an identical faience cartouche of Tutankhamun from Gurob (EA 59597), which calls for caution in assessing the provenance of MMA 66.99.163.

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, Carter no. 256o: 'this collar has not yet been restrung' (<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/256o-c256o-1.html> [9 Dec. 2016]).

suggested sending them to King Farouk, who would ultimately give them to the national collections, which indeed happened shortly after World War II, in 1946.<sup>70</sup> Harry Burton found other objects from Carter's collection in Carter's house at Luxor. Burton was planning discuss these with the Egyptian authorities when he died in 1940. The war intervened and the items were sent to New York in 1948, along with the Metropolitan Museum's expedition materials. There they joined other pieces from Carter's and Carnarvon's collections. Nineteen of the pieces were returned to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in 2010–2011, including a large faience beads collar and two small boxes filled with blue faience beads (ex. MMA 49.105.1).<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Thanks to Yasmine al-Chalzy, assistant to the Minister of Antiquities of Egypt, and with the help of Eman Amin, I can offer the following list of items returned this way:

- (1) Gold plaque with openwork design showing Tutankhamun on chariot. JE 87847.
- (2) Gold plaque with openwork design showing Tutankhamun as a sphinx. JE 87848, SR 1/ 3412 exhib. nos 539–542.
- (3) Gold plaque with openwork design showing Tutankhamun as a sphinx. JE 87849, SR 1/ 3413, exhib. nos 539–542.
- (4–12) Eight silver nails with gold heads from coffin SR 1/3540–3547(a–b). A ninth nail, JE 87850i was at the British Museum for analysis from the time of the tomb's discovery until March 1984, when T. G. H. James, then keeper of its Egyptian department, brought it to Cairo. Compare with [P]JE 60670b and JE 60671b with apparently the same SR numbers. Similar nails were returned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2010 (former nos 26.241.2, 35.9.11).
- (13) Bronze tenon from coffin of Tutankhamun, with cartouche of the king. JE 87851, SR 1/3245.
- (14) Faience shabti with *kebat* headdress and cartouches of Tutankhamun. JE 87852, SR 1/461 = Carter no. 519c (d); see Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 202.
- (15) Blue faience shabti of Tutankhamun. JE 87853, SR 1/424 = Carter no. 602f (30); see Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 212–15.
- (16) Dark blue faience shabti with cartouche of Tutankhamun. JE 87854, SR 1/421 = Carter no. 602f (31); see Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 212–15.
- (17) Faience *nemset* libation vase. JE 87855, SR 1/3092.
- (18) Blue faience cup with cartouche of Tutankhamun. JE 87856, SR 1/3087.
- (19) Blue faience *ankb*-sign with cartouche of Tutankhamun. JE 87857, SR 1/28.

<sup>71</sup> Thanks to documentation the Metropolitan Museum of Art provided to press at the time of the return, the list can be established as follows :

- (1–2) Finger rings with the prenomen of Tutankhamun. Ex MMA 26.7.797–798.
- (3) Nail from the second coffin of Tutankhamun. Ex MMA 26.241.2.
- (4) Nail of silver with gilded head. Ex MMA 35.9.11.
- (5) Nail from the third (innermost) coffin of Tutankhamun. Ex MMA 26.241.3.
- (6) Nail of gold from the tomb of Tutankhamun. Ex MMA 35.9.10.
- (7) Fragments of wood from the inside of the innermost shrine of Tutankhamun, where they lay on the floor as they had fallen during burial. Ex MMA 26.241.4a–o.
- (8) Sample of hardened substance in a glass beaker (substance is possibly a resinous material applied to the innermost coffin and mummy inside Tutankhamun's tomb). Ex MMA 26.241.5.
- (9) Rosette (from pall which hung within outermost shrine in Burial Chamber of tomb of Tutankhamun). Ex MMA 35.9.12.
- (10) Fragments of pall from within the outermost shrine in Burial Chamber of the tomb of Tutankhamun. Ex MMA 35.9.13a, b.
- (11) Fragments of matting from the doorway of the outermost shrine, part of the matting with which the stone floor of the Burial Chamber in the tomb of Tutankhamun was covered. Ex MMA 35.9.16.
- (12) Textile specimen from a large bag whose flap had been tied and sealed with the king's name (bag contained 20 or more scepters, staves, and walking sticks). Ex MMA 35.9.14.
- (13) Textile fragment from the tomb of Tutankhamun. Ex MMA 35.9.15.
- (14) Fragments from the innermost shrine in the Burial Chamber of the tomb of Tutankhamun, found on the ledge of the eastern side of the sarcophagus. Ex MMA 35.9.17a–g.
- (15) Fragment of sarcophagus (potentially) found in the antechamber of the tomb of Tutankhamun (fragment made of quartzite). Ex MMA 35.9.18.
- (16) Figure of dog, black bronze with gold collar. Ex MMA 47.58.1. This is Spink & Son probate listing no. 16: 'small basalt dog'; cf. Phillips 1948, fig. 17; Reeves 1997, 243 = Carter no. 620 (51).
- (17) Bracelet inlay in the form of a sphinx (one paw broken), lapis lazuli. Ex MMA 47.58.4. This is Spink & Son probate listing no. 26: 'small lapis-lazuli Sphinx (one foreleg missing), 14" long'; cf. Hayes 1959, 182, fig. 101, middle right, and Reeves 1997, 243 = Carter no. 44hh.

Further exploration of public and private collections will surely yield more missing bits of Tutankhamun's jewellery. Sale catalogues and the art market should be systematically scanned for candidate objects. Recognition of relevant pieces is complicated by the modern restringings of beads, which are often fanciful and baseless, but there is good reason to hope that more lost pieces from Tutankhamun's tomb will ultimately resurface.

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(18) Broad collar with additional ring beads and pendants, purple-blue faience. Ex MMA 49.105.1.

(19) Part of a handle with broken upper band (perhaps handle of a mirror or sceptre). Ex MMA 49.105.2. For some of these objects, see Hoving 1978, 297.



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