# THE FAMILY OF AHMOSE, THE OWNER OF THEBAN TOMB 224 [NEW DATA]

By

# Nelli Boraei

Lecture at Egyptology Department, Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University, Egypt.

# **ABSTRACT**

# [AR]

# عائلة إعح-مس ،صاحب المقبرة الطيبية 224

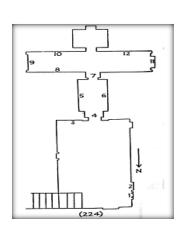
طلا بنيت الحضارة الإنسانية على أساس الأسرة- فقد تكونت الأسرة النواة من الزوج والزوجة والأطفال. أما الأسرة -الممتدة- فتتكون من من خلال وجود علاقات- عائلية مباشرة أو غير مباشرة، مثل الأجداد والأحفاد -الأعمام والعمات- وبنات الأخت وأبناء الأخ وأبناء العم كلها كأمثلة على الأقارب. تحتوي هذه المقالة على معلومات جديدة عن عائلة إعح-مس- المشرف على الحبوب الذي عمل في عهد تحتمس الثالث (الأسرة 18)- الأقارب. تحتوي هذه المقالة على معلومات جديدة عن عائلة إعح-مس- المشرف على الحبوب الذي عمل في عهد تحتمس الثالث (الأسرة 18)- وصاحب مقبرة طيبة 122 TT ونظرًا لعدم نشر المقبرة المفادر وصاحب مطلقًا أو الكشف عن مناظر جدرانها، بالإضافة إلى الحالة -السيئة للمقبرة- والجدران المحفوظة بشكل سيء- ونقص المصادر التاريخية عن إعح-مس- فلا يعرف العلماء الحاليون سوى القليل عن حياته وعائلته ومسيرته المهنية. نتيجة لذلك-سيتم إعادة بناء عائلة إعح-مس والتعرف عليم- باستخدام مناظر ونقوش لم تنشر من قبل من 224 TT بالإضافة إلى الإستعانة بالمناظر والنقوش الخاصة بمقابر أبنائه- وقد كشفت هذه المصادر، إلى جانب جهود فريق الترميم المصري لتنظيف وترميم المقبرة 224 عن معلومات جديدة حول أفراد شجرة عائلة وقد كشفت هذه المادر، إلى جانب جهود فريق الترميم المصري لتنظيف وترميم المقبرة 224 عن معلومات جديدة ول أفراد شجرة عائلة وعح-مس- مثل الآباء والأشقاء والزوجات والبنات والأبناء -مع التعريف بألقابهم إن أمكن-. كل ذلك يساعد على معرفة إعح-مس وعائلته ومكانته- الاجتماعية ومسيرته المهنية. نتيجة لذلك، يهدف هذا البحث إلى إلقاء مزيد من الضوء على السياق التاريخي وأهمية عائلة مالك مقبرة طيبة 224 كما تبحث المقالة أيضًا في أبناء إعح-مس- من صلبه- بالإضافة إلى -العلاقة بين إعج-مس و سن نفر-ابنه المزعوم طبقا لمعظم المراجع الأساسية.

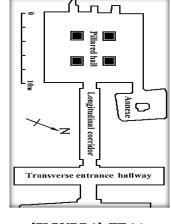
[EN] The family has always been the cornerstone of human civilization. The nuclear family is comprised of the husband, wife, and children. The extended family consists of direct and indirect familial relations, such as grandparents and grandchildren. Uncles, aunts, nieces, nephews, and cousins are all examples of relatives. This article contains new information on Ahmose's family, the grainers' superintendent who served under Thutmose III's reign (18th dynasty), and the owner of Theban Tomb (TT 224), which is located in the lower necropolis on Thebes' western bank, at Sheikh 'Abd el Qurna. Because of the tomb's current condition, which includes its poorly preserved walls, the fact that it has never been published or examined, and the lack of Ahmose's historical documents, current scholars know very little about his life, family, and career. Ahmose's family members -will be identified, and their relationship reconstructed, using previously unpublished scenes and inscriptions from TT 224, which the Egyptian conservation team cleaned and restored, as well as scenes and inscriptions from his sons' tombs. These sources have revealed new information about Ahmose's family tree, including his parents, siblings, wives, daughters, and sons, along with their titles. As a result, this research aims to provide more context about Ahmose's historical position and rank and shed more light on the significance of his family. The article also looks into Ahmose's biological son and the relationship between Ahmose and his alleged son, Sennefer, as indicated by primary sources.

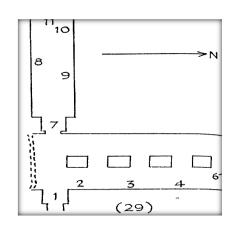
**KEYWORDS:** Ahmose, Kinship, Ahmose's sons, Ahmose's parents, historical background, revealed texts and scenes.

# I. Introduction

This article sheds light on the family of the tomb owner of TT 224, Ahmose, who lived and worked during Thutmose III's reign (18<sup>th</sup> dynasty). Ahmose's family tree will be reconstructed using unpublished scenes and inscriptions from TT 224. However, due to the tomb's current state, poorly preserved walls, and a lack of Ahmose's historical materials, such as fragments of Thebes' statues¹ and a doubted² funerary cone³, the researcher was compelled to examine other sources, mainly the tombs of his sons. Notably, the study gathers data from his sons' tombs, texts and scenes rather than studying their previously published tombs. These sources, together with the effort of the Egyptian conservation team to clean and restore the tomb, revealed new data about his family tree, particularly the relationship between Ahmose and Sennefer, his alleged son. The primary sources are as follows: TT 224⁴ [FIGURE 1]⁵, TT 96⁶ [FIGURE 2]ⁿ, TT 29⁶ [FIGURE 3]ී.







[FIGURE 1]: TT 224

[FIGURE 2]: TT 96

[FIGURE 3]: TT 29

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>A fragment of a statue of Hu, and a granite statue of a kneeling man; ROEDER 1899: 88, №.3426; WEIGALL 1906: 133[18]; ENGELBACH 1921: 70 [7]; PORTER & MOSS 1960: *PM* II-2: 427.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Davies & Macadam 1957: №.94; Helck 1958: 439; Porter & Moss 1960: *PM* I-1: 325; Zenihiro 2009: 77; West 2019:155.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$ For more information about the details of the cone N $^\circ$ .94, PETRIE 1887: 24; DARESSY 1893: 275 (19), Fasc.2; NAGUIB 1987: 75; MUNSELL 1988: 7.5 R 5/8, 7.5R N3/0.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>It is located on Thebes' western bank, close to the Ramessuem, at the foot of Sheikh 'Abd el Qurna. It belonged to Ahmose, the overseer of grainers who lived and worked during Thutmose III's reign. HELCK 1958: 297, 439; PORTER & MOSS 1960: *PM* I-1: 325; KAMPP 1996: 498.WEST 2019:155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>PORTER & MOSS 1960: PM I-1: 325

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>It is located on Thebes' western bank, high on the hill's southern slope, at Sheikh- 'Abd el Qurna. It belonged to the mayor of Thebes, Sennefer; HELCK 1958: 297, 439; PORTER & MOSS 1960: *PM* I-1: 325; KAMPP 1996: 498.WEST 2019:155. For the relevant texts. HELCK 1961:Urk IV: 1417-38. For more information about the tomb, see:

<sup>«</sup>The Tomb of Sennefer»:https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/sennefer/e sennefer, 1-9, accessed on 25/05/2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>PORTER & MOSS 1960: PM I-1: 196

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>It is located on Thebes' western bank high on the hill's southern slope, at Sheikh-'Abd el Qurna. It belonged to the vizier Amenemopet. The tomb is nearly completely unpublished, while URK1439-40 has the relevant inscriptions. HELCK 1961: *URK* IV: 1439-40; PORTER & MOSS 1960: *PM* I-1: 45-46; KAMPP 1996: 214; STRUDWICK & TAYLOR 2003: 3.

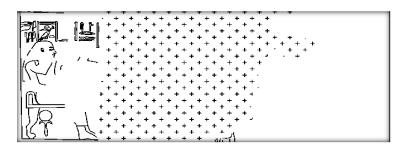
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Porter & Moss 1960: *PM* I-1: 44.

# II. AHMOSE'S PARENTAGE AND FAMILY

The family has always formed the cornerstone of any society. The nuclear family consists of the husband, wife, and children. The extended family<sup>10</sup> includes linear connections, such as grandparents and grandchildren, in addition to collateral relations, such as siblings, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, and cousins<sup>11</sup>. The researcher will investigate Ahmose's extended family using relevant resources such as tomb scenes and texts.

# 1. Parents

Ahmose's parents, the prominent members of his extended family<sup>12</sup>, were depicted in his tomb. However, the severely damaged walls of tomb TT 224, which depicted the parents, were destroyed. Only one scene, - at the end of the right wall of the long hall, the second register, depicts his parents, who are facing Ahmose, their son while in front of a-banquet scene [FIGURE 4]. Their names were revealed after cleaning the wall.



[FIGURE 4]: Ahmose's parents' images and names on the long hall walls© Photo taken by Researcher.

#### **Father**

Name:  $\sqrt[3]{2}$  S-n - $wsrt^{14}$  «Senusert», as mentioned beside Ahmose's mother's name on the third register on the right wall of the long hall of TT 224 [FIGURE 5].



[FIGURE 5]: The names of Ahmose's parents, (father) S-n-wsrt, is shown in Ahmose tomb on the right wall of the long hall before and after cleaning© Photo taken by the researcher.

[Before restoration]

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$ For further information about the family structure. ALLAM, 1977:  $L\ddot{A}$  II: 104-113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Whale 1989:240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>WHALE 1989: 259.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>LEPSIUS 1970: *Denkmäeler* Text III: 286, №. 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>There are some variations:  $\sqrt[12]{s}$ ,  $\sqrt[8]{s}$   $\sqrt$ 

# Mother

Name:  $\triangle \sqrt[6]{15}T3$ - $idy^{16}$  «Ta-idy» as recorded alongside Ahmose's father's name on the third register on the right wall of the long hall of TT 224 [FIGURE 6]. Interestingly, his parents' titles are not preserved.





[FIGURE 6]: The names of Ahmose's parents (mother) Ta-idy, is shown in Ahmose tomb on the right wall of the long hall before and after cleaning© Photo taken by the researcher.

[After restoration]

# 2. Family

# Husband

Name: Th-Ms «Ahmose» named Humay 17. Hmy «Humy» as a short name 19. Titles 20:

The second of the god's wife's estate?»<sup>21</sup> and  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2$ 

«overseer of the double granaries of the god's wife (Ahmose Nefertarey)»<sup>22</sup>.

Apparently, his name is recorded in his tomb TT 224 and the inscribed tombs of his sons (TT 96, TT 29) In addition, -Ahmose-Humay is called Father and nurse (*it mn*<sup>c</sup>y),

11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>LEPSIUS 1970: *Denkmäeler* Text III: 286,  $N^{\circ}$ . 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>The owner tombs TT83, TT 121, and TT 241 were also called *T'h- ms* .PORTER & MOSS 1960: *PM* I-1: 167, 325, 235, 331; GARDINER & WEIGALL 1913: 36; RANKE 1935: PN I: 12, Nº.19; WEST 2019: 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Ranke 1935: PN I: 12, №.19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>For more short names, see: SETHE 1907: 87-92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>The researcher investigates Ahmose's titles and rank in a separate article which is under the process of publication in *IGUAA2*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>FISCHER 1966: 66, n.39. Another meaning of *gs-pr*; FISCHER 1979: 42.

 $<sup>^{22}\</sup>text{Gardiner}$  & Weigall 1913: 36; Porter & Moss 1960: PM I-1: 325.

overseer of the ipt-nswt, overseer of the  $^{c}\underline{h}nwty$  (chamberlain), and overseer of Stables- $^{23}$  on his funerary cone [N $^{\circ}$ . 94] $^{24}$ .

Wife

Name: 
$$\stackrel{\sim}{\circ} \circ Nbw \ll Nbw^{25}$$
.

Title:  $\stackrel{\downarrow}{+} \circ \stackrel{\downarrow}{=} hkrt \ nsw \ll Lady \ in \ Waiting^{26}$ .

*Nbw*, who held the title «Royal Concubine», was Ahmose's wife. She must have been his sole wife, as there is no mention of any other spouses in the tomb. She is prominent in her husband's tomb and is called hmt.f nbt pr to identify her as the principal wife<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>SHIRELY 2005: 249.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>DAVIES & MACADAM 1957: Nº.94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>It was a common name that meant «gold », dating from the Old Kingdom until the Late Period; RANKE 1935: *PN* I: 190, N°. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>The basic meaning of the title consists of the two elements nswt «king» and hkrt is either as a noun «Jewels» equals «King's Jewels», or it can be translated as «the one that adorns the king», «the king's adorned/the one adorned by the king. «Ornament of the king», «she(one) who is ornamented by the king» « lady in waiting», «Concubine of the king», «kings adorner women of married status as opposed to the nfrw or maidens»; Some scholars consider the title hkrt nsw as a non royal title, synonymous with the title hkrt nsw w<sup>c</sup>tt «lady in waiting of the first ranke», «sole lady in waiting». It is simply an abbreviation version of hkrt nsw w<sup>c</sup>tt;. According to Ward, hkrt nsw designates for a married woman. He clasified the title among others in the category of intermediate stratum of the society and it is different from hkrt nsw watt which belongs to the highest stratum. On the other hand, Franke disputes Ward's claim about the title, claiming that the social status of married women with the titles «Sole Lady-in-Waiting» and «Lady-in-Waiting» and their combination is heavily biased because Ward grossly underestimates the dimension of time. As a result, he concluded that the difference in status between the titles «Sole Lady-in-Waiting» and «Lady-in-Waiting» was irrelevant because the titles were recorded at different times. The titles «Sole Lady-in-Waiting» and «Lady-in-Waiting» on the other hand, both refer to the wives of courtiers. During the Thirteenth Dynasty, the term «lady-in-waiting» was reserved for ladies of the royal court, whereas «sole lady-in-waiting» was reserved for women of the higher aristocracy of the provinces in the First Intermediate Period. This is the only difference that remains. There were two groups of women who held the title in the period from the Old to the New Kingdom: One group received the title «adorned the king» it applies equally to daughters, wives and women, who are responsible for certain tasks at court including bringing the king close (as head of Harem, and providing the king with «entertainment» (singing, dancing royal nurse). The second group consists of wives and daughters of counts, simple provincial women, daughters of humble origins and wives of very high officials. The title *lkr* nsw is given to this second group without any discernible qualifications and is valid for all women. Therefore, It can only be an honorary or court rank title bestowed by the king;. hkr as verb means «to adorn». The title has long been debated by Egyptologists. After conducting this brief examination of the title, one could conclude that whatever the reason behind Ahmose wife's title was due to her status as a wife of an important man, Ahmose, who held high- ranking titles, and a mother of sons who were given prominent positions. Furthermore, her title indicates that she was affiliated with the Royal Court, whether in charge of court tasks or received an honorary bestowed by the king. This affiliation with the royal court may have aided Ahmose later in his career when he held the title «Tutor of the King». NORD 1970: 1–16; DRENKHAHN 1976: 59ff; WARD 1982: 143, №.1234; WARD 1986: 28; Franke 1990: 229; Faulkner 1991:205; Gillam 1995: 227, №.178; Sabbahy 1997: 16; Jones 2000: II: 794, No.2899; 795, No.2900; Espinel 2016: 106.

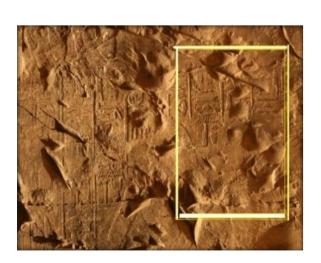
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Perhaps for this reason, the wife of the tomb owner is referred to as *hmt.f.*, to distinguish her from other minor wives or concubines. The title *nbt pr* «Lady of the house» is a very common title that was only

Although Ahmose's wife was a notable lady in her own right, Whale noted that she was not as visible in his tomb as one might expect<sup>28</sup>. Whale further claims that her name occurs exclusively in her son's tombs TT 29<sup>29</sup>, TT 96, with no reference to her husband's tomb TT 224, according to Whale<sup>30</sup>.

Although it seems unlikely, the researcher believes she was included with her spouse in most scenes throughout the tomb, but her absence is because of how heavily damaged the tomb is; yet her presence in the tomb may be proven. For example, in the fourth register (near the bottom) of the long hall's left wall painting [FIGURE 7], there is a scene representing Ahmose and his wife. The text is as follows:



 $hmt.f \ mrt.f \ n \ st - ib[.f]^{31} \ [Nbw]$  « His wife, his beloved, [his] favorite, [Nbw] ».





[FIGURE 7]: Painting of Ahmose's wife Nbw on the long hall's left wall.

used by married women and indicated the wife's duties as director of household affairs; it corresponded best to English «Mrs. »; Franke 1983: 138ff; Ward 1986: 8; Whale 1989: 249.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Whale 1989: 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Amenemopet has other tomb №.48 in the Valley of the Kings (KV48) near the tomb of Amenhotep II (KV 35) at Thebes; PORTER & MOSS 1960: *PM* I-2: 565.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Whale 1989: 280, №.35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>*n st- ib.f* literally means « in place of his heart » his favorite ERMAN & GRAPOW 1971: Wb IV 4(6); WILSON 1997: 947.

In the tomb of her son Amenemopet (TT 29), the text reads:

Imn m Ipt m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw ir (w) n imy- r3 pr n hmt ntr Hmy ms(w) n nbt pr Nbw «Amenemopet, justified, begotten by the steward of the god's wife, Humy and born of the lady of the house, Nbw»<sup>33</sup>.

The text used the phrase *nbt pr* to indicate that his mother was prominent in his tomb<sup>34</sup>. However, the assumption that the mother was more important than the wife in her son's tomb is not supported by evidence from the 18th dynasty35. In TT 9636, she is also referenced. The text is as follows: 237 hmt.f nbt pr hkrt nsw Nbw «His wife, the lady of the house and royal Concubine, Nbw».

# **Daughters** [FIGURE 8]

Unfortunately, no records have been found in the tombs of Ahmose's sons, and most references do not mention Ahmose having daughters. The only reference to Ahmose's daughters is the banquet scene on the right wall of the long hall in TT 224. It is divided into four registers, with Ahmoses' children shown in the second and third registers from the top. In the second register there are nine young women<sup>38</sup>. The distinguishing feature is that the name s3t.f mrt.f «his beloved daughter» is kept for most of them, including  $\frac{1}{2} - S3t \, \underline{D} h w t y^{39}$ ,  $\square = M N b w \, m \, [irit]^{240}$ , and one whose name ends with  $\bigcirc$   $hb^{41}$ ,  $\bigcirc$   $B3kt^{42}$ , and  $\bigcirc$   $\bigcirc$   $\bigcirc$  Tti & Tti & aughters havesurvived.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>HELCK 1961: URK IV: 1438, 13-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>HELCK 1961: Übersetzung: 97; CUMMING 1984: 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>There was a definite trend for the title *nbt pr* to occur first, which was the most frequently used title on several monuments, outnumbering other titles to confirm that she is an individual and prominent woman; Whale 1989: 263, 264; Onstine 2005: 129-130, n. 4.

<sup>35</sup>Whale 1989: 263, 264.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>HELCK and other Egyptologists mentioned her as the mother of Sennefer. HELCK 1961: URK IV: 1432, 16; the researcher will discuss this in the next pages.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>HELCK 1961: URK IV: 1432, 16.

 $<sup>^{38}</sup>$ Porter & Moss 1960: *PM* I-1: 325(6), Plan 318; Roehrig 1990: 190, №.602.

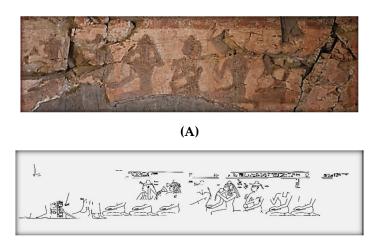
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>It is attested from the Middle Kingdom and means «Djehuty's daughter»; RANKE 1935: PN I: 295, № 5.

<sup>40</sup>  $\bigcirc$  Nbw m// [irit] It is attested in the New Kingdom «Gold is comrade (companion)? »; RANKE 1935: PN I: 190, Nº.19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>ROEHRIG incorrectly read the word h3t instead of bb, and she read the name Rsyt of another daughter, which I did not recognize; ROEHRIG 1990: 190, No.602.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>It is attested from the Middle and New Kingdom; RANKE 1935: *PN* I: 92, №.5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>It is attested from the Middle and New Kingdom and means «the Younger». RANKE 1935: PN I: 384, Nº .8.

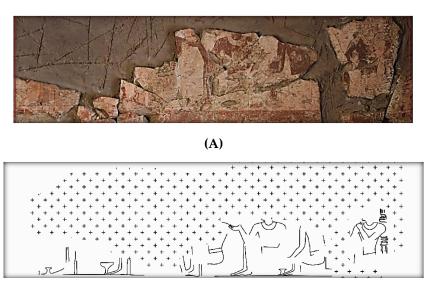


(B)

[FIGURE 8]: The daughters of Ahmose are depicted in the second register on the right wall of the long hall© Photo taken by the researcher

# Sons [FIGURE 9]

As mentioned above, the third register of the banquet scene in TT 224 depicts young boys below the daughters in the second register, and there may be up to six sons? whose names or titles are not preserved. They appear to be Ahmose's sons. Humy and his wife are seated in front of an offering table, and both registers are set up in front of them<sup>44</sup>. *Msw.f* «his children» of Ahmose is written in the band between the first and second registers. **[FIGURE 10].** 



(B)
[FIGURE 9]: The sons of Ahmose are depicted in the first register /right wall ©Photo taken by Researcher.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>PORTER & MOSS 1960: *PM* I-1: PLAN 318, 325[6]; ROEHRIG 1990: 190, n. 602.





(A) (B)

[FIGURE 10]: An inscription naming Ahmose's children are between the first and second registers in the long hall of the right wall<sup>®</sup> Photo taken by the researcher

However, most references<sup>45</sup> mention that Ahmose, the owner of TT 224, had two sons. The eldest son, son = son =«the Mayor of the Southern City (Thebes)» under Amenhotep II<sup>47</sup>, and was the owner of TT 96. Moreover, the younger son is Imn-m ipt 48 «Amenemopet», the vizier of Amenhotep II, who owned tomb TT 29, and held the titles of iry-p't h3ty-c «Hereditary prince and mayor»<sup>49</sup>.

According to Whale, the eldest son is consistently depicted and named first in a row of sons and is the most prominent son in the performance of offerings and rituals his parents<sup>50</sup>. Unlike Whale, Roehrig claims that the younger son, Amenmopet, is identified as overseer of the granaries of the God's Wife of Amun (*imy-r*3 pr n šnwty n hmt ntr n Imn) on the west wall of the long hall and is represented making offerings to Ahmose and Nbw51. However, Amenmopet does not claim this title on any of his monuments. When applying Whales' claim to TT 224, the researcher explores Sennefer on the tomb's walls, performing rituals in front of Ahmose and Nbw. Furthermore, the disappearance of the younger son, Amenemopet, as well as his name, title, and physical description, may be because of the wall damage. He could be one of the sons whose names were lost in the banquet scene. According to the tombs (TT 224, TT 96, and TT 29), two sons were identified:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>DAVIES 1913: 16; HELCK 1958: 423; PORTER & MOSS 1960: PM I-1: 325; GRAEFE 1981: 15; WHALE 1989: 84,145-6; KAMPP 1996: 499; EATON 1999: 113,1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Ranke reads it sn.(i)nfr «(my) good brother». It is attested from the Middle Kingdom. RANKE 1935: PN I: 309, Nº.5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>For more titles of Sennefer and his rank. EATON 1999: 113; 1; SHIRELY 2005: 249 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>It is attested in the New Kingdom. It means «Amun is in Luxor». RANKE 1935: PN I: 27, Nº.18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>DAVIES 1913: 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>Whale 1989:256

 $<sup>^{51}</sup>ROEHRIG$  1990: 191,  $N^{\circ}.604$ .

# Sennefer

One of the most challenging aspects for the researcher was confirming the relationship between Ahmose and Sennefer, since most scholars believed that Sennefer was Ahmose's son based on inscriptions in TT 96 and TT 29<sup>52</sup>. however, they should have taken into consideration another crucial piece of evidence.

Nonetheless, the genealogical relationship is nebulous, with much doubt about Sennefer and Ahmose's relationship. This misunderstanding is caused by the following fact, which appears to have gone unnoticed when considering two sets of parents in Sennefer's tomb (TT 96)<sup>53</sup>. According to the inscription on the west wall painting of the inner pillared hall, Sennefer is dedicated in front of his parents. The text is as follows<sup>54</sup>:

«Making occasionally Hotp-di-nesu offering to (his) father, the steward of the god's wife, Humy, justified, by the Mayor of the Southern City, Sennefer»<sup>56</sup>.

Another couple depicts their parental relationship with Sennefer as shown in the banquet scene on the east wall, north of the transverse hallway. The text is as follows <sup>57</sup>:

$$n[Hr]$$
 nb Ksi Nnw m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw ,mwt.f mrt .f Hnw(t) -iri<sup>60</sup> nbt im3h

«His father, the second prophet of Horus, lord of Qus<sup>61</sup>, Nenu, justified, his mother, whom he loves, the mistress of the house, Henutiry, possessor of the blessed state»<sup>62</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>HELCK 1958: 423; PORTER & MOSS 1960: *PM* I-1: 325; HELCK 1961: *URK* IV: 1432-35; GRAEFE 1981: 15; WHALE 1989: 84, 145-6; KAMPP 1996: 498.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>Both occur on Pm plan at (21) and are identified as Amenemopet's parents, and at (22) where Sennefer offers «to his father» (*n it-f*). HELCK 1961: *Urk* IV: 1432(10). For the text, see: PORTER & MOSS 1960: *PM* I-1: 199, PLAN 196; «The Tomb of Sennefer»:https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/sennefer/e sennefer\_ 1-9. Accessed on 25/05/ 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>PORTER & MOSS 1960: *PM* I-1: 199, PLAN 196; «The Tomb of Sennefer»:https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/sennefer/e sennefer 1-9. Accessed on 25/05/ 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> HELCK 1961: *URK* IV: 1432.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>CUMMING 1984: 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>«The Tomb of Sennefer»:https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/sennefer/e sennefer\_ 1-9. Accessed on 25/05/ 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>HELCK 1961: *URK* IV: 1433, A. 15-16.

<sup>59</sup>HELCK & CUMMING read it *Nw*, while it reads *Nnw*, as Ranke mentioned. Show appeared in the New Kingdom; Erman & Grapow also read it *Nnw*, however that writing of Nnw appeared in 21st dynasty. Ranke 1935: *PN* I: 206; Helck 1961: Übersetzung: 94; Erman & Grapow 1971: Wb I: 214 [18-19]; Cumming 1984: 131; Nº.10.

<sup>61</sup>Qus (*Arabic*: فوص is a city in the modern Qena Governorate in Egypt, located on the east bank of the Nile. In Graeco-Roman times, it was called Apollonopolis *Parva* or Apollinopolis *Mikra* (Greek: Ἀπόλλωνος ἡ μικρά; Ἀπόλλων μικρός), or Apollonos *minoris*; «Qus», https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qus. Accessed on 08/04/2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>CUMMING 1984: 131.

The same couple is recognized as a seated pair on the north wall of the inner pillared hall once more<sup>63</sup>:

Market for the second priest of Horus, the Elder, Nenu, justified. His wife, the mistress of the house, Tit- iry, justified»66.

The following questions arise: Who are Sennefer's biological parents? What is the most significant evidence that could be found in Ahmose's tomb? Is there anything in the Egyptian inscriptions that supports my point of view? To do so, the researcher will examine what is mentioned about Sennefer's parents and what may be revealed in Ahmose's tomb, TT 224—while keeping in mind the confusion caused by the kinship<sup>67</sup> system's basic terminology, which has both primary and extended meanings<sup>68</sup>. As previously stated, most scholars assume that Ahmose and *Nbw* were Sennefer's genuine parents; nonetheless, several suggestions have been made to identify Sennefer's second pair of parents (Nenu and Henutiry,) as follows:

According to Helck, *Nbw* and Ahmose were the parents of Sennefer, while Nenu and Henutiry were the maternal grandparents of Sennefer and Amenemopet<sup>69</sup>. Then Helck) supports another interpretation in his genealogy of the family of Sennefer and Amenemopet, claiming that they were the parents of Senet- nefret, or Mryet Sennefer's wives, and hence their in-laws<sup>70</sup>.

Graefe outlines the genealogy of Ahmose's family in a way similar to Helck), with two sets of parents as follows:

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup>«The Tomb of Sennefer»: https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/sennefer/e sennefer\_ 1-9. Accessed on 25/05/2020

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup>HELCK 1961: URK IV: I433, B. 17-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup>Same woman Henutiry; GRAEFE 1981: 17; CUMMING 1984: 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>HELCK 1961: Übersetzung: 94; CUMMING 1984: 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>My research only goes into a little detail about kinship systems, as several Egyptologists have already done extensive research on this subject. For more extended meaning of kinship terms, see: ROBINS 1979: 197–217; BIERBRIER 1980: 100; FRANKE 1983: 400; FRANKE 2001: 245–248; REVEZ 2003: 123-131; CAMPAGNO 2009: 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup>For example, the kinship term previously mentioned refer to Sennofer's two fathers (8-9), which could also be used to refer to more distant ascending generations' lineal kin; «grandfather» or «ancestor » It can also mean «protector» or «teacher », metaphorically. To put it another way, anyone who embodies the concept of authority has the potential to be it or a «father». It expresses the concept of «spiritual» kinship that fatherhood is much more than the natural biological ties that bind a father to his son; fatherhood can be acquired or relinquished because behavior and attitude play a significant role in defining a father. Leprohon also explains the relationship between the two men of stela BM 2029; they both identify with their father. He states that the word «father» takes on its broader sense of «protector», «patron», or «adoptive father». BRUNNER 1959: 4; LEPROHON 1978: 33-34; REVEZ 2003: 123; CAMPAGNO 2009: 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup>HELCK 1961: *URK* IV: 1433, 13-14; HELCK 1961: *Übersetzung*: 94 (2<sup>nd</sup> text).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup>HELCK 1958:424, 439.

Nenu and Henutiry were the parents of Nbw Ahmose's wife, while Taidy and Senwesrt were the parents of Ahmose, making them the maternal grandparents of Sennefer and Amenemopet<sup>71</sup>.

As suggested by Helck Cumming notes that Ahmose and his wife are Sennefer's biological parents, whereas Nenu and Henutiry are presumably his maternal grandparents 72.

In contrast to previous suggestions, Roehrig argues that Sennefer's biological father was most likely Nenu, the second priest of Horus, the Elder of Qus. Nenu and his wife, Henutiry, are identified as Sennefer's parents at least twice in TT 96.

Sennefer, on the other hand, had other ties to Qus that supported the idea that his biological father was Nu rather than Ahmose-Humy. Sennefer was known as the «overseer of the prophets of Horus Lord of Qus» (imy-r3 hmv ntr n hr wr nb Gsy), indicating that Sennefer had connections to the Qus region even while serving as the mayor of Thebes<sup>73</sup>.

Shirley states that Sennefer's biological parents were Nenu and Henutiry, while his uncle and aunt were Ahmose Humay and Nub. Although Sennefer never refers to himself as «born of» (ir n or ms n) anyone, it appears that Nu and Hunetiry/Ta-iry are Sennefer's parents based on the extant inscriptions and visual composition in Sennefer's tomb TT 9674.

According to Whale, Nenu and Henutiry are not Sennefer's parents. The extensive use of kinship terms might imply that they were either Sennefre's grandparents or his in-laws, since they were only displayed in the scenes with Sennefer and his wife, Senetnay. She believes they were probably the parents of Senetnay and potentially Sennefer's family if he and Senetnay were cousins<sup>75</sup>. She added that Nenu was known as hm ntr 2 nw n hr nb Gsy, while Sennefer was known as imy r3 hmw -ntr n hr nb Gsy. Perhaps he inherited the title from his father-in-law, who could not bestow it to a son. Another suggestion is that Sennefer, as priest supervisor, married the older second priest's daughter<sup>76</sup>.

Fortunately, the inscriptions and scenes on TT 224's walls were visible after being cleaned, revealing the most important information concerning Ahmose and Sennefer's relationship. An image of Sennefer is written before him in three<sup>77</sup> different locations s3(n) snt f as follows: the first location is on the long hall's right wall, where a small image of Sennefer making an offering to Ahmose and his wife and before him is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>GRAEFE, 1981: 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>CUMMING 1984: 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup>Humy has no titles connected to the city of Qus, nor does his son, the vizier Amenemopet. ROEHRIG 1990:154-155, Nº.497.

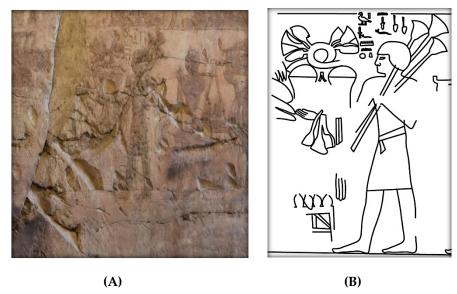
<sup>74</sup>SHIRELY 2005: 241ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup>Whale 1989: 265.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup>Whale 1989: 150.

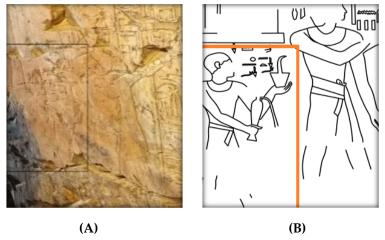
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup>ROEHRIG was incorrect when she stated that Sennefer appears only twice in (TT224), and she thought the small image on the left wall was for Amenmopet, not Sennefer, and she held the title (Imy-r3 pr n *Snwty n hmt ntjr n 1mn*). However, Ahmose himself is the owner of this title. ROEHRIG 1990:190.

inscribed: 3(n) snt .f mnh n sn.f Sn-nfr « The son (of) his (Ahmose's) sister, the one who is devoted to his brother, Sennefer» [FIGURE 11].



[FIGURE 11]: The first location of a small image of Sennefer with text is on the right wall of the long hall<sup>©</sup> Photo taken by the researcher

The second location is on the long hall's left wall, where a small image of Sennefer is carrying a hes vase and an incense burner behind the person who is offering to Humy<sup>78</sup>. Before Sennefer the following words are inscribed:  $s_1 = 1$   $s_2 = 1$   $s_3 = 1$   $s_4 =$ 



[FIGURE 12]: The second location of a small image of Sennefer with text is on the left wall of the long hall<sup>®</sup> Photo taken by Researcher.

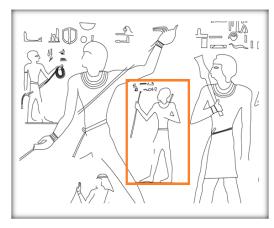
The third location is in the marsh scene of the second transverse hall<sup>79</sup>. Humy is shown standing on a boat, ready to throw a throwstick. Sennefer, a little figure in front of him, holds a spear with a rope connected to it, and before him is inscribed:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup>PORTER & MOSS 1960: *PM* I-1:325 [5, IV].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup>PORTER & MOSS 1960: *PM* I-1:325 [8].

who is pleasing to the heart (to) his//, Sennofer» [FIGURE 13].





(A) (B)

[FIGURE 13]: The third location of a small image of Sennefer with text is on the left wall of the second hall© Photo taken by the researcher

Investigating this phrase s3 n snt f, as well as other kinship phrases, demonstrates that there were no specific Egyptian words for multiple-link ties such as with our terms «grandmother» and «uncle»<sup>81</sup>. This kinship was thus expressed through compound phrases like n hmt f for "father-in-law» or sn (n) mwt f for «his mother's brother» or «maternal uncle»<sup>82</sup>. Or, s3t snt f «his sister's daughter»<sup>83</sup>. Based on the preceding, we conclude that the phrase s3 n snt f of relationship in tomb relief indicates a genuine tie rather than a nebulous kinship.

Based on the fresh information found in Ahmose's tomb, should we thus accept two sets of parents who have been named as Sennefer's parents? It is improbable. Since Humy often refers to Nub as his wife (*hmt.f*)<sup>84</sup> rather than his «sister» (*snt.f*), this phrase is unlikely to indicate anything other than «nephew ». This new fact is also significant in terms of genealogy. This evidence suggests that Sennefer was Ahmose's nephew, who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> *mnl*<sub>1</sub> *lir-ib*: it appeared in the middle kingdom and 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, which means «pleasing to the heart, splendid of buildings, of workmanship». FAULKNER 1991: 10; ERMAN & GRAPOW 1971: WB II 86[5-11].

<sup>81</sup>CAMPAGNO 2009: 1.

<sup>82</sup>BIERBRIER 1980: 100.

<sup>83</sup>During the reign of Thutmose III, Baketamon, the wife of Amenemhat, the owner of TT82, was described as as *s3t snt.f* «daughter of his sister». This phrase expresses the basic meaning of niece without a doubt, and her husband is her maternal uncle. There are also two cases from Setau's tomb, the high priest of Nekhbet at El Kab (under Ramesses III's reign), where two of Setau's parental brothers were married to their nieces. The evidence is quite clear and unarguable: A married pair is depicted sitting before Setau (South wall), and over their heads, we read: *sn.f h3 n s3t.f*. Next to them is a man described as *sn.f h3 n s3t.f mryt.f....hmt.f nbt pr hnwt shmt*. GARDINER 1911: 50-51; DAVIES & GARDINER 1915: 4.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Notably, we can conclude from the text that Sennefer refers to \*Nbw\* as. \*hmt.f\* \*(his wife)\* rather than \*mwt.f\* (\*his mother)\*, a phrase which Sennofer used to refer to his actual mother, \*hnwt iri\*, the text as follows: \*\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}

was possibly adopted<sup>85</sup>. Therefore, Sennefer's biological parents are Nu and Henutiry, while his uncle and aunt are Ahmose Humay, and *Nbw*. Sennefer and Amenemopet are cousins. As a result, this part of the study disproves one of the popular misconceptions concerning Ahmose and Sennefer's kinship that most Egyptologists believe.

Sennefer had three wives<sup>86</sup>, according to the inscriptions in his tomb<sup>87</sup>; the first one was called Meryt, who held the title:

«His sister, his beloved, the great chantress of Amun, Mreyt, justified»88.

Another wife, Senetnay<sup>89</sup> held the following titles:

«His sister, the lady of the house and royal nurse, Senetnay, justified. His sister, his beloved, the lady of the house and great nurse who nourished the divine person»<sup>91</sup>.

The third one, Senetnefret, with the title:

« His sister, his beloved, the nurse of the king, Senetnfrt »92.

Sennefer also had at least three daughters<sup>93</sup>: Mutnofret, Nefertiry and Muttawy<sup>94</sup>. Mutnofret and Nefertiry were identified as Sennefer and Senetnay's daughters. Mutnofret is known from various sources including a statue of her parents, her father's tomb (TT 96), and the vizier Amenemopet's tomb (TT 29)<sup>95</sup>. She holds the title:

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup>Sennefer was originally from Qus through his father's family, based on the title (*imy-r3 hmv ntr n ḥr wr nb Gsy*) (See 10). In contrast, his mother's family may have been from Thebes. Sennefer may have been sent to Thebes, where he became close to his mother's family, especially his uncle Humay, who regards him as his father (*it.f*) and relies on him, mainly because he is Ahmose's eldest son, whether alive or dead, and performs all funerary duties for his close uncle. ROEHRIG 1990: 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup>For more information about Sennefers's wives, see: ROEHRIG 1990:150ff; «The Tomb of Sennefer»:https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/sennefer/e sennefer\_ 1-9. Accessed on 25/05/ 2020 .

<sup>87</sup>HELCK 1961: *URK* IV: 1434.

<sup>88</sup>HELCK 1961: URK IV: 1434 [1]; CUMMING 1984: 131.

<sup>89</sup>According to ROEHRIG, Sennefer had two wives, Sentnay, Mreyt, Senetnay and Senetnefrt are the same person. SHIRLEY, on the other mentions Sennefer having only two wives, Senetnay and Senetnefrt. For more details, see: ROEHRIG 1990:150ff; SHIRLEY 2005: 246.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup>Sethe incorrectly transcribed the name of  $\delta nt$ -n3y as Snt-my in URK IV 1434[3-4]; ROEHRIG 1990:150, N°.478.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup>HELCK 1961: *URK* IV: 1434 [3-4]; CUMMING 1984: 131.

<sup>92</sup>HELCK 1961: URK IV: 1434 [6]; CUMMING 1984: 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup>According to Shirley, Sennefer had two daughters. SHIRLEY 2005: 246; «The Tomb of Sennefer»:https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/sennefer/e sennefer\_p.1-9. Accessed on 25/05/ 2020.

<sup>94</sup>HELCK 1961: URK IV: 1434; WHALE 1989: 145.

<sup>95</sup>ROEHRIG 1990:163.

«the chantress of Amun» 96.

While Nefertiry held the previously mentioned title hkrt  $nsw^{97}$ . However, some argue that Mutnofret and Muttawy are the same ones who held the same title:  $sm^{c}yt$  nt  $Tmn^{98}$ .

# Amenemopet

He served as vizier during the reign of Amenhotep II and married Weretmaatef(?)99, who held the title hkrt  $nsw^{100}$ . Several sources identify him as the biological son of Ahmose and  $Nbw^{101}$ , as revealed in Amenemopet's tomb inscription (TT29) as follows:

«Prince and count...Amenemopet, justified, begotten by the Overseer of the god's wife, Humy and born to the mistress of the house, Nbw<sup>103</sup>.

Even though most sources<sup>104</sup> refer to Sennefer as sn.f «his brother»<sup>105</sup>, but when used in an extended sense, Sennefer and Amenemopet are cousins, as previously stated. The text in TT 96 is as follows:

«Sitting in a hall of amusement and spending a good day with his brother whom he loves... the vizier Amenemopet, who was called Pairi»<sup>107</sup>.

Another text in Amenemopet's tomb attests to a speech to his brother Sennefer (his cousin). «The text reads as follows:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup>HELCK 1961: URK IV: 1435[11], 1436[15]; CUMMING 1984: 134.

<sup>97</sup>Whale 1989: 145.

<sup>98</sup>ROEHRIG 1990:150ff; Shirley 2005: 246.

<sup>99 [2] [</sup>M] According to HELCK's restoration, Wr[t] [M3°t.f]? HELCK 1961: URK IV: 1438(20). However, the researcher needed help finding this name among other names in Ranke's book. However, Helck reads it writ.f?; While GRAEFE considers that the name is misread; Amenemopet's wife does not appear to play a very prominent role in his tomb despite her status as hkrt nsw. HELCK 1958: 439; GRAEFE 1981: 18. N°.16; WHALE 1989: 265.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup>The same title as *Nbw*, Amenemopet's mother. HELCK 1961: *URK* IV: 1438, 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup>Porter & Moss 1960: *PM* I-1: 325; Graefe 1981: 15; Whale 1989: 152; Roehrig 1990:190; «The Tomb of Sennefer»:https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/sennefer/e sennefer\_\_.1-9. Accessed on 25/05/ 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup>HELCK 1961: URK IV: 1438, 13-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup>HELCK 1961: Übersetzung: 97; CUMMING 1984: 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup>See: 8-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup>The Egyptians only had the terms *sn* and *snt* for sibling relationships and collateral kin in a broader sense. The term was mainly used to refer to ego's «brother" or "sister," but it could also refer to the link with ego's mother/father «uncles» and «aunts», as well as their sons/daughters «cousins», and the sons/daughters of ego's brothers/sisters «cousins» «nephews» and «nieces». CAMPAGNO 2009: 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup>HELCK 1961: *URK* IV: 1424[5-15].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup>HELCK 1961: Übersetzung: 90; CUMMING 1984: 124.

«you are with your brother, Pa(iri), the superintendent of the city in his mansion of eternity» 109.

Whatever their ancestry, Sennefer and Amenemopet had a close bond. Sennefer's parents are recognized as Humay and Nub in his tomb, while Sennefer and his first wife Senetnay, who was a nurse of Amenhotep II, are extensively depicted in Amenmope's tomb<sup>110</sup>.

Unfortunately, Ahmose's tomb does not contain any textual references or visual representation of Amenemopet<sup>111</sup>. It could be for one of two reasons: either he was still young and was replaced by Sennefer as the eldest son, or the current tomb's poor condition caused damage to the banquet scene, which depicted Ahmose's sons but did not preserve their names or titles.

In an inscription from Amenemopet's tomb, only one son's name, Paser, (Ahmose's grandson) with his title, is mentioned, which is as follows <sup>112</sup>:

\*\*Sif mr.f hry-hbt n[Imn] P3-sr m3° hrw whis son, his beloved, the lector priest of Amun, Paser, justified.\*\*114.

# II. SOME REMARKS ON THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RANK OF THE FAMILY OF AHMOSE

According to the current state of TT 224, most of Ahmose's family members' titles have not survived. As a result, the only sources of his importance and rank were some of his available titles in his tomb, TT 224; Amenmopet's titles and ranks in his tomb, TT 29; and Sennefer's titles in his tomb, TT 96. Sennefer's tomb, on the other hand, provides additional details about him and his family<sup>115</sup>.

Ahmose-Humay gained prominence in his administrative role within the gods wife estates. As a result, he was offered jobs that allowed him access to the palatial sphere. It is unclear how he did it. However, when his son, Amenemopet's, and nephew, Sennefer's, careers are examined, it becomes clear that his relationship with the young Amenhotep II facilitated their careers. In order to select a new vizier after ascending to the throne, Amenhotep II chose the son of his tutor. It strongly suggests

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup>HELCK 1961: URK IV: 1440, 3-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup>HELCK 1961: Übersetzung: 98; CUMMING 1984: 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup>ROEHRIG 1990: 192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup>ROEHRIG 1990: 191, see: p.7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup>HELCK 1961: URK IV: 1439,18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup>Incorrect spelling of the word <sup>113</sup>Incorrect spelling of the word <sup>114</sup>Incorrect spelling of the word <sup>115</sup>Incorrect spelling of the word <sup>116</sup>Incorrect spelling of the word <sup>118</sup>Incorrect spelling of th

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup>For more details about the civil and priestly role of the sons and daughters of Ahmose under the reign of Amenhotep II, see: CUMMING 1984: 137; SHIRLEY 2005: 250ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup>See: the introduction of the article.

that Amenemopet's position almost entirely depended on his father's status and relationship with Amenhotep II<sup>116</sup>.

Amenemopet, the vizier of Amenhotep II, and Sennefer, the mayor of Thebes during the reign of Amenhotep II, were Amenhotep II's two most powerful men. Nonetheless, neither tomb mention titles nor details about how they came to hold these positions. Ahmose Humay's connection to the palace as an overseer of the *ipt-nswt* and tutor may be the common thread. Both Amenemopet and Sennefer benefited directly from the power that these positions provided. Furthermore, Ahmose-Humay appears to have used his influence within the estate of the god's wife to bring Sennefer into this domain, possibly shortly after Sennefer's parents died and Ahmose-Humay «adopted» him. Sennefer may have continued to administer the priesthood. Moreover, there is no evidence that Amenemopet would have been promoted in the administration without the assistance of his father<sup>117</sup>.

Furthermore, most women of Ahmose's family had important titles: <u>hkrt nsw, mn't wrt, šm'yt nt Imn</u>. It is unclear whether they belonged to the elites due to their husbands' positions or their birthright. However, the titles indicate an important position in the palace and closeness to the royal family during the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II.

# III. CONCLUSION

The importance of TT 224 stems primarily from the textual information and visual representations on the tomb walls. It helped to combine the various pieces of extensive genealogical data about the Ahmose's family. His parents, Senwesrt and Taidy, are mentioned in his tomb, as is common in most Theban tombs to express their respect, but their status is unknown due to the absence of their titles in his tomb.

*Nbw* was Ahmose's sole wife, as no other spouses are mentioned in his tomb. She bore the title «lady in waiting » ,indicating that she was close to the Royal Court, whether in charge of court tasks or an honorary bestowed by the king. This title may have been facilitated by Ahmose's association with the royal court through the title «Tutor of the King», which he later held in his professional career.

At least nine of Ahmose's daughters were depicted in his tomb (TT224), seven of whom have names but no titles and are unknown to us. His sons are represented in his tomb, but due to the lack of text and wall damage, we are unsure of how many sons Ahmose had.

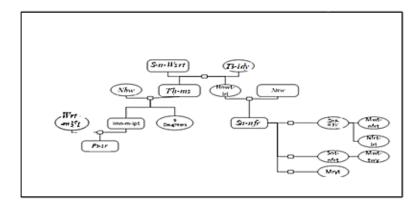
Primary sources confirmed true kinship, specifically the relationship between Ahmose and Sennefer, his alleged son. Sennefer was possibly Ahmose's adopted nephew, who was sent from Qus to Thebes and lived with his relatives (Ahmose and his wife *Nbw*). He trusted him as his eldest son and delegated all funerary duties to him rather than Amenmope (his real son), who was most likely absent from Ahmose's tomb due to his youth. Sennefer's biological parents are Nenu and Henutiry, and his uncle and aunt are Ahmose Humay and *Nbw*, respectively. Amenemopet and Sennefer are

<sup>117</sup>HIRLEY 2005: 250ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup>SHIRLEY 2005: 250-1.

cousins. As a result, this part of the study disproves one of the most widely held misconceptions about Ahmose and Sennefer's kinship among Egyptologists. Amnemopet, on the other hand, has a close relationship with his cousin Sennefer, whom Amnemopet regards as «his brother». His parents are identified as Humay and Nub in his tomb, while Sennefer and his first wife, Senetnay, an Amenhotep II nurse, are prominently depicted.

Amenemopet and Sennefer were Amenhotep II's two most powerful men. Ahmose Humay's connection to the palace as an overseer of the *ipt-nswt* and tutor, and his influence within the estate of the god's wife may be the common thread of gaining their positions. Both Amenemopet and Sennefer benefited directly from the power that these positions provided. According to the researcher, Ahmose's family held a high societal position and was close to the royal family. Here is a simplified version of the researcher's correction of Ahmose's family<sup>119</sup> genealogy [TABLE 1].



[TABLE 1]: Geneaology of Sennefer according to the researcher.

# IV. ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This article is part of the researcher's publication of Tomb 224. As a result of the conservation team's efforts, the researcher is grateful to the Ministry of Antiquity for allowing me to reopen, clean, and publish the tomb.

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup>According to SHIRLEY, it differs slightly from Sennefer's family genealogy. SHIRLEY 2005: 246.

# THE FAMILY OF AHMOSE, THE OWNER OF THEBAN TOMB 224

#### **BIBLOGRAPHY**

- **ABDUL-QADER**, M.: The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes, PhD thesis, Cambridge, 1957.
- ALLAM, Sh.: «Familie (Struktur) », LÄ II, Wiesbaden (Otto Harrassowitz) 1977, 104-113.
- BIERBRIER, M. L.: «Terms of Relationship at Deir el-Medîna», JEA 66, 1980, 100-107.
- **BRIANT**, B.: The Overseers of Double Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Egyptin New Kingdom, 1570-1085BC, New Haven (CU), Yale University, 1991.
- **BRAYN**, B.: «Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III», in: E.H. CLINE & D. O'CONNOR (eds.), *Thutmose III*, A New Biography, Michigan (University of Michigan Press) 2006, 69-122.
- BRUNNER, H.: «An Honoured Teacher of the Ramesside Period», JEA 45, 1959, 3-5.
- CAMPAGNO, M.: Kinship and Family Relations, UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, Los Angeles (Cambridge University Press) 2009, 1-8.
- CUMMING, B.: Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty, Fasc. II, England (Aris & Phillips Ltd) 1984.
- DARESSY, G.: Recueil de cones funéraires, MMAF 8, Fasc.2, Ernest Leroux, Paris (Ernest Leroux )1893.
- **DAVIES**, N., Five Theban Tombs (being those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemawaÿ and Tati), London ( Egypt Exploration Fund/University Press)1913.
- DAVIES, N. & GARDINER, A. H.: *The Tomb of Amenemhet (No 82)*, Oxford (Egypt Exploration Fund/University Press) 1915.
- DAVIES, N. & MACADAM, M. F. L.: *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, vol.1, Oxford (Egypt Exploration Fund/University Press) 1957.
- DRENKHAHN, R.: «Bemerkungen zu dem Titel hkr.t nswt » SAK 4, 1976, 59-67.
- EATON, M.: «The Fate of Sennefer and Senetnay at Karnak Temple and in the Valley of the Kings», *JEA* 85, 1999, 113-129.
- ENGELBACH, R.: « Report on the Inspectorate of Upper Egypt from April 1920 to March 1921», ASAE 21, 1921, 188-196.
- ERMAN, A. & GRAPOW, H. (eds.): Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache / im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien herausgegeben [=Wb], Berlin, 7Bde., 1926 –1963.
- **ESPINEL**, A.: «Bringing Treasures and Placing Fears: Old Kingdom Epithets and Titles Related to Activities Abroad», *ISIMU* 18, 2016, 103-145.
- **FAULKNER**, R.: A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, Oxford (Griffith Institute Ashmolean Museum) 1991.
- FISCHER, H. G.: «An Old Kingdom Monogram», ZÄS 93, 1966, 56-69.
- FISCHER, H. G: «Two Old Kingdom Inscriptions Restored», JEA 65, 1979, 42-46.
- FRANKE, D.: «Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich», PhD thesis, Universität Hamburg, 1983.
- **FRANKE**, D: Book review, «Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects by William A. Ward», *JEA* 76, 1990, 228-232.
- GARDINER, A.: «The Goddess Nekhbet at the Jubilee Festival of Rameses III», ZÄS 48, 1911, 47-51.
- GARDINER, A. H. & WEIGALL, A.: A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes, London (Bernard Quaritch) 1913.
- **GARDINER**, A.: Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs, 3<sup>rd</sup> (ed.), Oxford (Oxford University Press)1957.
- GILLAM, R.: «Priestesses of Hathor: Their Function, Decline and Disappearance», JARCE 32, 1995, 211-237.
- GRAEFE, E.: Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 37, Bd.1, Wiesbaden (Harrassowitz Verlag; Print on Demand-Nachdruck Edition) 1981.

- HELCK, W.: Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs. Probleme der Agyptologie, 3. Bd., Leiden (Brill) 1958.
- HELCK, W.: Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22/Bearbeitet und Übersetzt, Berlin (Akademie Verlag) 1961.
- JONES, D.: An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom, 2 vols., Oxford (Archaeopress) 2000.
- **KAMPP**, F.: Die Thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. Bis zur XX. Dynastie. 2Bde, Mainz am Rhein (Philipp von Zabern) 1996.
- KEES, H.: Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit, Leiden-Köln (Leiden & Köln: Brill) 1953.
- LEPROHON, R.: «The Personnel of the Middle Kingdom Funerary Stelae» JARCE 15, 1978, 33-334
- LEPSIUS, K. R.: Denkmäeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, Text, Bd.3, Berlin (Nicolaische Buchhandlung) 1970.
- LUSTIG, J.: «Kinship, Gender and Age in Middle Kingdom Tomb Scenes and Texts», Anthropology and Egyptology: A Developing Dialogue, Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 8, 1997, 43-65.
- MELTZER, E.: «Queens, Goddesses and Other Women of Ancient Egypt (review article on W. A. Ward, Essays on Feminine Titles, and L. Troy, » (Patterns of Queenship), *JAOS* 110, 1990, 503-509.
- MUNSELL, C.: Munsell Soil Color Charts, (Addition), Baltimore, Maryland 1988.
- NAGUIB, A.: «Le cône 483 de Macadam et autres cônes funéraires à Oslo», BSEG 11, 1987, 71-86
- NEWBERRY, E.: « The Sons of Thutmose IV», JEA 14, 1928, 82-85.
- **NORD**, DEL.: «hkrt-nswt = 'King's Concubine'», Serapis 2, 1970, 1–16.
- **ONSTINE**, S.: *The Role of the Chantress (Sm'yt) in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford (BAR Publishing) 2005.
- PETRIE, W.F.: A Season in Egypt 1887, London (Field & Tuer, «The Leadenhall Press» E.G.) 1887.
- **PORTER,** B. & MOSS, R.: Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings I, vol.1, Oxford (The Griffith Institute, University of Oxford) 1960.
- QUIRKE, S.: Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC, GHP Egyptology 1, London (Golden House Publications) 2004.
- «Qus»: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki., accessed on 8 /4/ 2022
- RANKE, H., Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, Bd.1, Verzeichnis der Namen, Glückstadt, 1935.
- REVEZ, J.: «The Metaphorical Use of the Kinship Term sn Brother», JARCE 40, 2003, 123-131.
- ROEDER, G.: Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Band.2; Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Ausführliches Verzeichniss der Aegyptischen Altertümer, Gipsabgüsse und Papyrus, Berlin (Spemann) 1899.
- **ROBINS**, G.: «The Relationships Specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms», *CdÉ* 54, 1979, 197–217.
- **ROEHRIG**, C.H.: «The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse (*mn*<sup>c</sup>*t nswt*), Royal Tutor (mna nswt) and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (*sn/snt mn n nb t3wy*)», PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1990.
- SABBAHY, L.: « The Titulary of the Harem of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, Once Again», *JARCE* 34, 1997, 163-166.
- SETHE, K.: « Über einige Kurznamen des neuen Reiches», ZÄS 44, 1907, 87-92.
- **SHIRLEY**, J.: The Culture of Officialdom, an Examination of the Acquisition of Offices during of the Mid of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Baltimore, 2005.
- STRUDWICK, N. & Taylor, H.: The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present, and Future, London (British Museum Press) 2003.
- **TAYLOR**, A.: An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets & Phrases of the 18th Dynasty, London (Museum bookshop publications) 2001.

# THE FAMILY OF AHMOSE, THE OWNER OF THEBAN TOMB 224

- «The Tomb of Sennefer»: https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/sennefer/e sennefer\_.1-9, accessed on 25/05/2020.
- ZENIHIRO, K.: The Complete Funerary Cones, Tokyo (Maruzen Co., Ltd.) 2009.
- **ZENIHIRO**, K.: «The Career of Nakhtmin (TT 87) as Revealed by his Funerary Cones», *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists, Florence Egyptian Museum*, Florence, 2015, 2017.
- **WARD**, W.: *Index of Administrative and religious titles of the Middle Kingdom*, Beirut (American University of Beirut) 1982.
- **WARD**, W.: Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Relate Subjects, Beirut (American University of Beirut) 1986.
- **WEIGALL**, A.: «A Report on the Excavation of the Funeral Temple of Thoutmosis III at Gurneh», *ASAE* 7, 1906, 121-141.
- WEST, G.: The Tekenu and Ancient Egyptian Funerary Ritual, Archaeopress Egyptology 23, Oxford, 2019.
- **WHALE**, SH.: The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: A Study of the Representation of the Family in Private Tomb, Sydney (Australian Centre for Egyptology) 1989.
- **WILSON**, P.: A Ptolemaic Lexicon. A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu, Leuven (Peeters) 1997.