THE FAMILY OF AHMOSE, THE OWNER OF THEBAN TOMB 224

[NEW DATA]

By

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ABSTRACT

[AR] عائلة إعج-مس صاحب المقبرة الطيبة 224

[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includes its poorly preserved walls, the fact that it has never been published or examined, and the lack of Ahmose’s historical documents, current scholars know very little about his life, family, and career. Ahmose’s family members will be identified, and their relationship reconstructed, using previously unpublished scenes and inscriptions from TT 224, which the Egyptian conservation team cleaned and restored, as well as scenes and inscriptions from his sons’ tombs.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.

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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 (18th 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 Ahmose’s family tree will be reconstructed using unpublished scenes and inscriptions from TT 224.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’ statues\(^1\) and a doubted\(^2\) funerary cone\(^3\), 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 224\(^4\) [FIGURE 1]\(^5\), TT 96\(^6\) [FIGURE 2]\(^7\), TT 29\(^8\) [FIGURE 3]\(^9\).


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

\(^4\)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.

\(^5\)PORTER & MOSS 1960: PM I-1: 325


\(^7\)PORTER & MOSS 1960: PM I-1: 196

\(^8\)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.

\(^9\)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\(^{10}\) includes linear connections, such as grandparents and grandchildren, in addition to collateral relations, such as siblings, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, and cousins\(^{11}\). 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\(^{12}\), 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.

![Ahmose’s parents’ images and names on the long hall walls](Photo taken by Researcher)

1. Parents

Father

Name: \(\text{S-n-wsrt}^{14}\) «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].

![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)

\(^{10}\) For further information about the family structure. ALLAM, 1977: LÄ II: 104-113.

\(^{11}\) WHALE 1989:240.

\(^{12}\) WHALE 1989: 259.

\(^{13}\) LEPSIUS 1970: Denkmäeler Text III: 286, Nº. 85.

\(^{14}\) There are some variations: \(\text{S-n Wsrt}^{14}\) «The man of the Goddess Wesret»; RANKE 1935: PN I: 279, Nº.1.
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Mother

Name: 𓀐𓊠𓊓 IPv T3-idy16 «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: 𓊝𓊐حظ Mh-Humay «Ahmose» named Humay 17, Hmy «Humy»18 as a short name19. Titles20:

- imy r3 gs-pr «overseer of the god’s wife’s estate?»21 and
- imy r3 śnwty n hmt ntr Th-h-ms-Nftriri

«overseer of the double granaries of the god’s wife (Ahmose Nefertarey)»22.

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 mmf’y),

16Ranke references Lepsius, who misspelled this example as Idy, and provides other spelling 𓀐𓊠 IPv T3-idy? He mentions a daughter of Paheri of el-Kab who does not appear to be the same person. However, the name 𓀐𓊠 IPv T3-idy appears on the wall of the Ahmose tomb with an unidentified determinative 𓀐, which could be a determinative of the ear 𓀐. So, the names could be the article «the» 𓀐 IPv and 𓀐 IPv Idy ‘elder’? Helck referred to her as Idy without &A, whilst Graefe reads T3 Idy; RANKE 1935: PN I: 54, Nº.2, 354, Nº.11; GARDINER 1957: 544, Sign-list F; HELCK 1958: 439; ERMAN & GRAPOW 1971: WB V: 211 (5); GRAEFE 1981: 17; WHALE 1989: 84.
17The owner tombs TT83, TT 121, and TT 241 were also called T3h-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.
18Ranke 1935: PN I: 12, Nº.19.
19For more short names, see: SETHE 1907: 87-92.
20The researcher investigates Ahmose’s titles and rank in a separate article which is under the process of publication in JGUAA2.
22GARDINER & WEIGALL 1913: 36; PORTER & MOSS 1960: PM I-1: 325.
overseer of the ipt-nswt, overseer of the "hnwty (chamberlain), and overseer of Stables" on his funerary cone [Nº 94].

**Wife**

Name: ☐ ☐ ☐ Nbw « Nbw»

Title: ☐ ☐ ☐ hkrt nsw « Lady in Waiting»

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.

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23Shirely 2005: 249.
24Davies & Macadam 1957: Nº 94.
25It was a common name that meant «gold », dating from the Old Kingdom until the Late Period; Ranke 1935: PN I: 190, Nº 3.
26The 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 nswt as a non royal title, synonymous with the title hkrt nsw w'itt «lady in waiting of the first rank», «sole lady in waiting». It is simply an abbreviation version of hkrt nsw w'itt; According to Ward, hkrt nswt designates for a married woman. He classified 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 hkrt 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; hkrt 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, N° 1234; Ward 1986: 28; Franke 1990: 229; Faulkner 1991:205; Gillam 1995: 227, N° 178; Ella 1997: 16; Jones 2010: II: 794, N° 2899; 795, N° 2900; Espinel 2016: 106.
27Perhaps 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. Whale further claims that her name occurs exclusively in her son’s tombs TT 29, TT 96, with no reference to her husband’s tomb TT 224, according to Whale.

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, there is a scene representing Ahmose and his wife. The text is as follows:

\[
hmt.f\ mrt.f\ n\ st – \textit{ib[f]}^{31} [Nbw]
\]

« 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.

28WHALE 1989: 84.
29Amenemopet has other tomb N.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.
31\textit{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:

\[Imn\ m\ Tpt\ m\ Hm\ htw\ \text{ir}\ \text{(w)}\ n\ \text{imy-r pr} n\ \text{hmt\ ntr\ Hmy\ ms(w)}\ n\ \text{nbt\ pr\ Nbw}\]

«Amenemopet, justified, begotten by the steward of the god’s wife, Humy and born of the lady of the house, Nbw».

The text used the phrase \text{nbt pr} to indicate that his mother was prominent in his tomb. 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 dynasty. In TT 96, she is also referenced. The text is as follows:

\[hmt.f\ nbt\ pr\ Xkrt\ nsw\ Nbw\]

«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. The distinguishing feature is that the name \text{sAt.f mrt.f} «his beloved daughter» is kept for most of them, including \text{Nbw m [irit]} and one whose name ends with \text{Hb}, \text{BAkt}, and \text{&ti Srit}. Notably, no titles for his daughters have survived.

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34 There was a definite trend for the title \text{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.
36 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.
39 It is attested from the Middle Kingdom and means «Djehuty’s daughter»; Ranke 1935: PN I: 295, N°.5.
40 It is attested in the New Kingdom «Gold is comrade (companion)? »; Ranke 1935: PN I: 190, N°.19.
41 Roehrig incorrectly read the word \text{hit} instead of \text{hb}, and she read the name Rsyt of another daughter, which I did not recognize; Roehrig 1990: 190, N°.602.
42 It is attested from the Middle and New Kingdom; Ranke 1935: PN I: 92, N°.5.
43 It is attested from the Middle and New Kingdom and means «the Younger». Ranke 1935: PN I: 384, N° .8.
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[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. Msw.f «his children» of Ahmose is written in the band between the first and second registers. [FIGURE 10].

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

However, most references mention that Ahmose, the owner of TT 224, had two sons. The eldest son, sn-nfr «Sennefer», held the chief title h3ty-c n Niwt rxyt «the Mayor of the Southern City (Thebes)» under Amenhotep II, and was the owner of TT 96. Moreover, the younger son is Imn-m ipt «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».

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 for his parents. Unlike Whale, Roehrig claims that the younger son, Amenemopet, is identified as overseer of the granaries of the God’s Wife of Amun (imy-r pt n šnwt yt n lmt ntr n lnn) on the west wall of the long hall and is represented making offerings to Ahmose and Nbw. However, Amenemopet 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:

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46Ranke reads it sn.(i)nfr «(my) good brother». It is attested from the Middle Kingdom. Ranke 1935: PN I: 309, Nº.5.
48It is attested in the New Kingdom. It means «Amun is in Luxor». Ranke 1935: PN I: 27, Nº.18.
49Davies 1913: 16.
50Whale 1989:256
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\textsuperscript{52}. 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)\textsuperscript{53}. 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\textsuperscript{54}:

\begin{quote}
irt htp di nsw (n) w\textsuperscript{6}b sp-sn n it.(f)\textsuperscript{imy-r3 pr n hmt-ntr Hmy m\textsuperscript{3} hw r in hty \textsuperscript{c} (n) Niwt rsy H Sn-nfr
\end{quote}

«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»\textsuperscript{56}.

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 \textsuperscript{57}:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{58} it f hm ntr 2-\textsuperscript{Nnw}\textsuperscript{59}
\textsuperscript{60} n[Hr] nb K\textsuperscript{3} Nnw m\textsuperscript{3}-hrw m.wt.f mrt f Hnw(t) -iri\textsuperscript{60} nbt im2i[h
\end{quote}

«His father, the second prophet of Horus, lord of Qus\textsuperscript{61}, Nenu, justified, his mother, whom he loves, the mistress of the house, Henutiry, possessor of the blessed state»\textsuperscript{62}.


\textsuperscript{53} 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.


\textsuperscript{55} Helck 1961: URK IV: 1432.

\textsuperscript{56} Cumming 1984: 129.


\textsuperscript{58} Helck 1961: URK IV: 1433, A. 15-16.

\textsuperscript{59} Helck & Cumming read it Nw, while it reads Nnw, as Ranke mentioned. \textsuperscript{60} Nnw appeared in the New Kingdom; Ermann & Graenow also read it Nnw, however that writing of\textsuperscript{61} Nnw appeared in 21\textsuperscript{st} dynasty. Ranke 1935: PN I: 206; Helck 1961: Übersetzung: 94; Ermann & Graenow 1971: Wb I: 214 [18-19]; Cumming 1984: 131; N°10.

\textsuperscript{61} Qus (Arabic: قوس) 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 Apollonopolis Mikra (Greek: Απόλλωνος ἢ μικρός; Απόλλων μικρός), or Apollonos minories; «Qus», https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qus. Accessed on 08/04/2022.

\textsuperscript{62} Cumming 1984: 131.
The same couple is recognized as a seated pair on the north wall of the inner pillared hall once more:

\[\text{Hm ntr 2 -nw Hr Wr Nnw m3t-hrw hmt.f nbt pr Tit- iry}\]

m3t hrw «The second priest of Horus, the Elder, Nenu, justified. His wife, the mistress of the house, Tit- iry, justified.»

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 system’s basic terminology, which has both primary and extended meanings. 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. 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.

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

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67 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.

68 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.


70 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.\(^{71}\)

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 hm ntr n hr wr nb Gsy), indicating that Sennefer had connections to the Qus region even while serving as the mayor of Thebes.\(^{73}\)

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 96.\(^{74}\)

According to Whale, Nenu and Henutiry are not Sennefer’s parents. The extensive use of kinship terms might imply that they were either Sennefer’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.\(^{75}\) She added that Nenu was known as hm ntr 2 nw n hr nb Gsy, while Sennefer was known as imy r3 hm 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.\(^{76}\)

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 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

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\(^{71}\)GRAEFE, 1981: 16.

\(^{72}\)CUMMING 1984: 131.

\(^{73}\)Humy has no titles connected to the city of Qus, nor does his son, the vizier Amenemopet. ROEHREG 1990:154-155, N°497.

\(^{74}\)SHIRELY 2005: 241ff.

\(^{75}\)WHALE 1989: 265.

\(^{76}\)WHALE 1989: 150.

\(^{77}\)ROEHREG was incorrect when she stated that Sennefer appears only twice in (TT 224), and she thought the small image on the left wall was for Amenmopet, not Sennefer, and she held the title (imy-r3 pr n snt n hm ntr n Imn). However, Ahmose himself is the owner of this title. ROEHREG 1990:190.
inscribed: \( s\text{n}(n) \text{snt} f \text{mnh} n \text{sn.f} \text{Sn-nfr} \) « 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 © 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\textsuperscript{78}. Before Sennefer the following words are inscribed: \( s\text{n} n \text{snt. f mnh} n \text{sn.f} \text{Sn-(nfr)} \) « The son of his sister, the one who is devoted to his brother, Sennofer» [FIGURE 12].

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

The third location is in the marsh scene of the second transverse hall\textsuperscript{79}. 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:

\textsuperscript{78}PORTER & MOSS 1960: PM I-1:325 [5, IV].

\textsuperscript{79}PORTER & MOSS 1960: PM I-1:325 [8].
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”81. 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”.82 Or, s3t snt.f “his sister’s daughter”83. 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)84 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

s3 (n) //nt. f mnh hry-ib 80||/ Ns-(nfr) «The son (of) his sister, the one who is pleasing to the heart (to) his//, Sennofer» [FIGURE 13].

[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

80 mnh hry-ib: it appeared in the middle kingdom and 18th dynasty, which means «pleasing to the heart, splendid of buildings, of workmanship». FAULKNER 1991: 10; ERMAN & GRAPOW 1971: Wb II 86[5-11].
81 CAMPAGNO 2009: 1.
82 BIERBRIER 1980: 100.
83 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 sAt.f. Next to them is a man described as sn.f h3 n sAt.f mryt.f…hmt.f nbt pr hmt slhmt. GARDINER 1911: 50-51; DAVIES & GARDINER 1915: 4.
84 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, hnewt iri, the text as follows: hmt.f nbt pr hkt nsw Nbw «His wife, the lady of the house and royal Concubine», Nbw. HELCK 1961: Urk IV: 1432. (See the text of his mother Hnewt iri 9).
was possibly adopted\(^85\). Therefore, Sennefer's biological parents are Nu and Henutiry, while his uncle and aunt are Ahmose Humay, and \(Nb\). 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\(^86\), according to the inscriptions in his tomb\(^87\); the first one was called Meryt, who held the title:

\[
\text{snntf mrtf smyt wrt n Imn Mryt m3-hrw}
\]

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

Another wife, Senetnay\(^89\) held the following titles:

\[
\text{snntf nbt pr mnat Nsw Snt-myr}^{90}\ m3t - \text{hrw snntf mrtf nbt pr mnat wrt sdt hfw ntrw}
\]

«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»\(^91\).

The third one, Senetnefret, with the title:

\[
\text{snntf mrt(t)f mnat Nsw Sntr nfr(t)}
\]

« His sister, his beloved, the nurse of the king, Senetnfrt »\(^92\).

Sennefer also had at least three daughters\(^93\): Mutnofret, Nefertiry and Muttawy\(^94\). 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)\(^95\). She holds the title:

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\(^85\)Sennefer was originally from Qus through his father's family, based on the title \((\text{imy-r3 hmv ntr n hr wr nb Gsy})\) (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 \((\text{it.f})\) 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.


\(^87\)HELCK 1961: URK IV: 1434.


\(^89\)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.

\(^90\)Sethe incorrectly transcribed the name of \(\text{smntjy}\) as \(\text{Smnt-my}\) in URK IV 1434[3-4]; ROEHRIG 1990:150, N°.478.


\(^95\)ROEHRIG 1990:163.
While Nefertiry held the previously mentioned title $hkrt\ nsw$. However, some argue that Mutnofret and Muttawy are the same ones who held the same title: $sm^3yt\ nt\ Inn$.

**Amenemopet**

He served as vizier during the reign of Amenhotep II and married Weret-maatetf(?)\(^9\), who held the title $hkrt\ nsw$\(^10\). Several sources identify him as the biological son of Ahmose and Nb\(w\)\(^11\), as revealed in Amenemopet’s tomb inscription (TT29) as follows:

\[
sm^3yt\ nt\ Inn\ imy\ -Mt\ pr\ n\ hmt\ -mtr\ Hmy\ n\ nbtr\ pr\ Nb\w\(96\)
\]

«Prince and count…Amenemopet, justified, begotten by the Overseer of the god’s wife, Humy and born to the mistress of the house, Nb\(w\)»\(^103\).

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

\[
hms\ m\ sh\ n\ shmh\ -ib\ ntr\ htw\ nfr\ .hn\ -mtr\ sn.f\ mrr.f\ …\ hty\ Inn\ m\ ipt\ pr\ n.f\ P?3\ Iry
\]

«Sitting in a hall of amusement and spending a good day with his brother whom he loves… the vizier Amenemopet, who was called Pairi»\(^107\).

Another text in Amenemopet’s tomb attests to a speech to his brother Sennefer (his cousin). «The text reads as follows:
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. Unfortunately, Ahmose's tomb does not contain any textual references or visual representation of Amenemopet. 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:

\[ \text{his son, his beloved, the lector priest of Amun, Paser, justified} \]

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.

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...
that Amenemopet’s position almost entirely depended on his father’s status and relationship with Amenhotep II\textsuperscript{116}.

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 \textit{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\textsuperscript{117}.

Furthermore, most women of Ahmose’s family had important titles: \textit{hkrt nsw, mn’t wrt, Smayt Imn}. 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.

\textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{Nbw}, respectively. Amenemopet and Sennefer are

\textsuperscript{116}Shirley 2005: 250-1.
\textsuperscript{117}Hirley 2005: 250ff.
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\textsuperscript{119} genealogy [TABLE 1].

![Genealogy diagram]

\textbf{[TABLE 1]: Genealogy of Sennefer according to the researcher.}

\section*{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.

\textsuperscript{119}According to SHIRLEY, it differs slightly from Sennefer’s family genealogy. SHIRLEY 2005: 246.
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