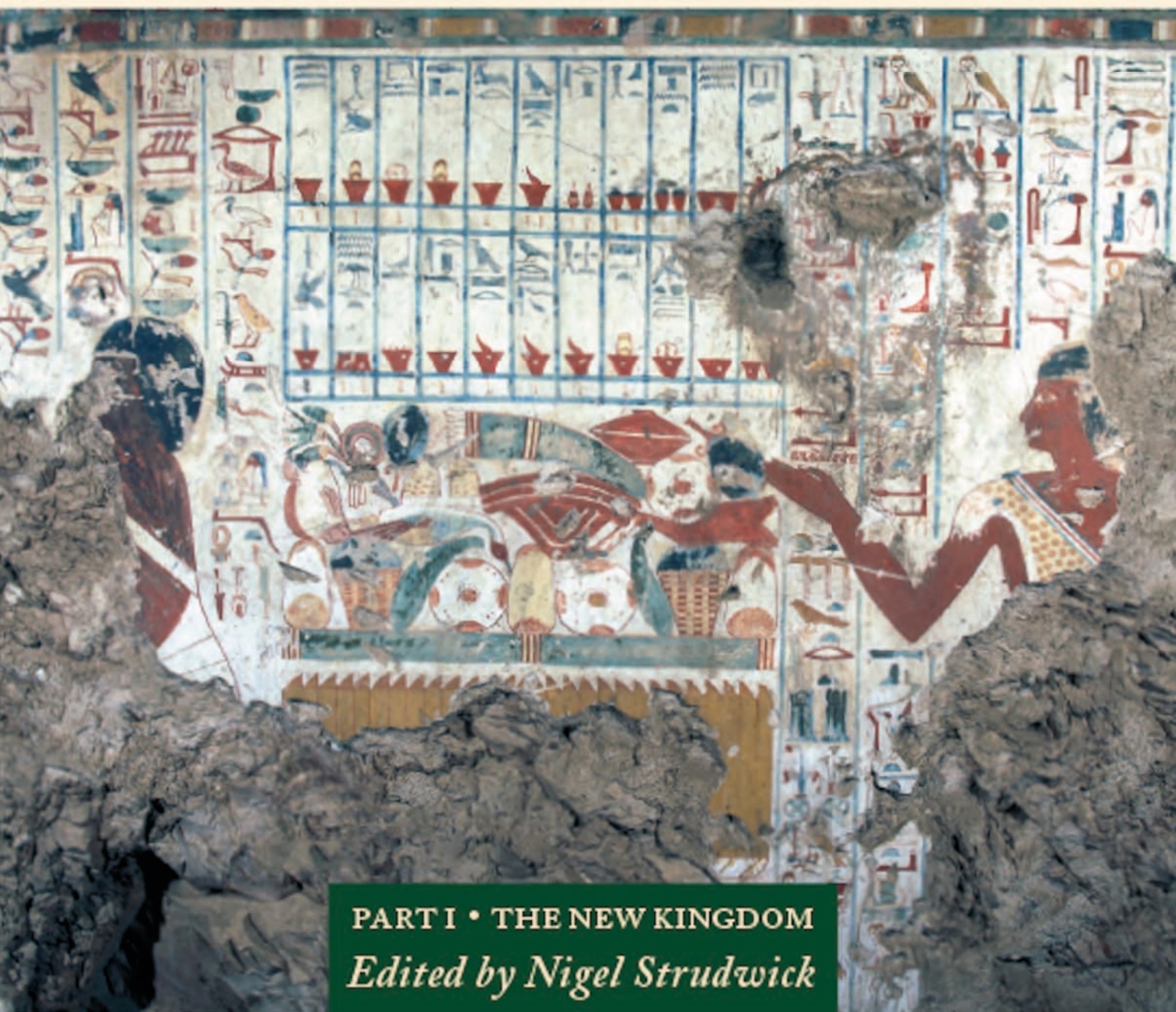




THE TOMB *of* PHARAOH'S CHANCELLOR
SENNEFERI

— *at* THEBES (TT99) —



PART I • THE NEW KINGDOM

Edited by Nigel Strudwick

THE TOMB OF PHARAOH'S CHANCELLOR SENNEFERI AT THEBES (TT99)

Volume I: The New Kingdom

Edited by

NIGEL STRUDWICK

*with contributions by Helen Strudwick, Trevor F. Emmett, Irmtraut Munro,
John H. Taylor, Pamela Rose, B. Bohleke, Tony Waldron, Nigel Strudwick
and appendices by Julie Dawson and Bridget Leach*

Published in the United Kingdom in 2016 by
OXBOW BOOKS
10 Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford OX1 2EW

and in the United States by
OXBOW BOOKS
1950 Lawrence Road, Havertown, PA 19083

© Oxbow Books and the individual authors 2016

Designed and typeset by Nigel Strudwick. Cleo font by Cleo Huggins

Hardcover Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-331-7
Digital Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-332-4 (epub)

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016947651

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission from the publisher in writing.

Printed in Malta by Melita Press

For a complete list of Oxbow titles, please contact:

UNITED KINGDOM
Oxbow Books
Telephone (01865) 241249, Fax (01865) 794449
Email: oxbow@oxbowbooks.com
www.oxbowbooks.com

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Oxbow Books
Telephone (800) 791-9354, Fax (610) 853-9146
Email: queries@casemateacademic.com
www.casemateacademic.com/oxbow

Oxbow Books is part of the Casemate Group

*Front cover: Wall 16, Sc. 16.1, one priest making a libation to the couple (not in photo) and another priest presenting offerings.
Photo by Anthony Middleton*

Back cover: TT99 from the south-east in 1992. Photo by Nigel Strudwick

Contents

List of tables	vi	2.5 Uncertain possible references	35
List of scenes and texts	vii	2.5.1 Karnak	35
List of figures	ix	2.5.2 Hildesheim, Römer und Pelizaeus Museum 5810	35
List of line plates	xiii	2.6 Summary list of titles and epithets of Senneferi	35
List of colour plates	xiv	The geological and geographical setting of TT99	37
Bibliography	xvi	<i>Helen Strudwick and Trevor F. Emmett</i>	
Preface	xxix	3.1 The geographical context (<i>Helen Strudwick</i>)	37
Introduction	1	3.1.1 Location in the necropolis	37
<i>Nigel Strudwick</i>		3.1.2 Necropolis development, orientation and pathways	37
1.1 Publication structure	1	3.2 The geological setting (<i>Trevor F. Emmett</i>)	40
1.2 Recent history and earlier work in TT99	1	3.2.1 An outline of Theban geology	41
1.3 The Cambridge Theban Tombs Project	3	3.2.2 The interior of TT99	43
1.4 Theft and damage	4	The tomb, its architecture and history	45
1.5 Presentation of the material in this volume	4	<i>Helen Strudwick and Nigel Strudwick</i>	
1.6 General description of contexts	6	4.1 Superstructure	45
Senneferi, his family and related monuments	8	4.2 Facade of the tomb chapel	45
<i>Nigel Strudwick</i>		4.2.1 Niche	46
2.1 Senneferi	8	4.2.2 Side extensions	48
2.1.1 Writing of name	8	4.2.3 Funerary cones	49
2.1.2 Titles and epithets	9	4.2.4 Courtyard	54
2.1.3 Career	16	4.3 Chapel	55
2.1.4 Dating	17	4.3.1 General characterisation of the Chapel	55
2.2 Family	18	4.3.2 Entrance doorway	56
2.2.1 Parents	18	4.3.3 Front room	58
2.2.2 Wife	19	4.3.4 Passage	58
2.2.3 A brother?	19	4.3.5 Rear room	61
2.2.4 Children	19	4.3.6 Preparation of the wall surfaces	61
2.2.5 Son-in-law: Amenhotep	20	4.3.7 Damage to the wall paintings	62
2.3 Monuments of Senneferi other than in TT99	22	4.4 Burial Shafts A–F inside the Chapel	65
2.3.1 Block statue in the British Museum, EA 48	22	4.5 The Courtyard burial shafts	65
2.3.2 Pair statue, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1013	25	4.5.1 Shaft G	65
2.3.3 Fragment of a statue, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1112	29	4.5.2 Shaft H	66
2.3.4 Fragment of block statue, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien ÄS 5978	32	4.5.3 Shaft I	70
2.3.5 Shrine 13 at Gebel Silsila	32	4.5.4 Construction sequence and history of Shaft I	77
2.3.6 Stela from Serabit el-Khadim (199)	33	The decoration of the Chapel	84
2.3.7 A second stela from Serabit el-Khadim (71.93)	33	<i>Nigel Strudwick</i>	
2.4 Senneferi on other monuments or documents	34	5.1 Scene structure	84
2.4.1 Papyrus Louvre E 3226	34	5.2 Decorative programme, colours and techniques	84
2.4.2 Scene in the temple of Serabit el-Khadim (194)	34	5.3 Other fragments of decoration	84
2.4.3 Wadi Hammamat inscription 103	34	5.4 Entrance	86
2.4.4 Theban tomb C.3	34	5.4.1 Entrance reveals	86
		5.5 Front room	86

5.5.1 Wall 1: east wall, south of entrance	86	The coffins from Shaft I	181
5.5.2 Wall 2: south wall	89	<i>John H. Taylor</i>	
5.5.3 Wall 3: west wall, south of entrance to Passage	98	8.1 18th dynasty coffin types in the Theban necropolis	181
5.5.4 Wall 4: west wall, north of entrance to Passage	100	8.2 Coffin fragments from Shaft I	183
5.5.5 Wall 5: north wall	105	8.2.1 Black-varnished coffins of reddish-coloured wood	184
5.5.6 Wall 6: east wall, north of entrance	114	8.2.2 Black-varnished and painted coffin(s) of reddish-coloured wood	187
5.5.7 Wall 7: west wall, entrance to Passage	116	8.2.3 A painted coffin of a light wood	187
5.6 Passage or Corridor	118	8.2.4 Conclusion	190
5.6.1 Door reveals	118	The ceramics from Shaft I	191
5.6.2 Wall 8: east wall, over entrance from Front room	118	<i>Pamela Rose</i>	
5.6.3 Wall 9: south wall	118	9.1 Introduction and overview	191
5.6.4 Wall 10: west wall, entrance to Rear room	122	9.2 Dating	193
5.6.5 Wall 11: north wall	123	9.3 Descriptions	194
5.7 Rear Room (Shrine)	123	9.3.1 Fabrics	194
5.7.1 Doorway to Passage	123	9.3.2 Type nomenclature	195
5.7.2 Wall 12: east wall, south of entrance from Passage	123	9.3.3 Provenance terminology	195
5.7.3 Wall 13: south wall	128	9.3.4 Abbreviations	195
5.7.4 Wall 14: west wall, south of central niche	131	9.4 Catalogue	195
5.7.5 Wall 15: west wall, central niche and surrounds	134	9.4.1 Marl Clays	195
5.7.6 Wall 16: west wall, north of central niche	137	9.4.2 Nile silt vessels	209
5.7.7 Wall 17: north wall	142	9.4.3 Imported vessels	217
5.7.8 Wall 18: east wall, north of entrance from Passage	143	The hieratic jar labels	239
5.7.9 Pillars	143	<i>B. Bohleke</i>	
5.7.10 Decoration of abaci of columns	148	10.1 Introduction	239
5.8 Chapel ceiling decoration and texts	149	10.2 Dockets contemporary with Senneferi	241
5.8.1 Decoration	149	10.2.1 Transcription, translation and commentary	241
5.8.2 Texts	152	10.2.2 Conclusion (dockets contemporary with Senneferi)	250
5.8.3 Discussion and parallels	158	10.3 Highly fragmentary and intrusive ostraka	251
The decorative programme, painting styles and colours	161	10.3.1 Transcription, translation and commentary	251
<i>Nigel Strudwick</i>		10.3.2 Conclusion (fragmentary and intrusive docketts)	259
6.1 The decorative programme of the Chapel	161	Small finds from Shaft I and an overview of the burial assemblage of Senneferi	260
6.2 Painting styles	162	<i>Nigel Strudwick</i>	
6.3 Colour	162	11.1 Opening of the Mouth objects	260
6.3.1 Notes on method	162	11.1.1 Summary of publication status	260
6.3.2 Colour in Egyptology since 1996	163	11.1.2 Adzes	260
6.3.3 Visualisation	164	11.1.3 Other possible Opening of the Mouth items	263
6.3.4 The colours of TT99	164	11.1.4 Probable label (<i>with B. Bohleke</i>)	263
Papyri und Leichentuch aus Shaft I	169	11.1.5 Probable box	268
<i>Irmtraut Munro</i>		11.1.6 Related ostraka	268
7.1 Papyri	169	11.1.7 Summary of archaeological contexts	271
7.1.1 Beschreibung und Befund	169	11.1.8 Images of the Opening of the Mouth in TT99	271
7.1.2 Statistik	169	11.2 Jewellery	271
7.2 Leichentuch	175	11.2.1 Beads	271
7.2.1 Beschreibung	175	11.2.2 Faience bracelets	272
7.2.2 Spruchvorkommen, Sequenz und stemmatische Einordnung	177	11.2.3 Summary of archaeological contexts	273
7.3 Bewertung des Gesamtbefundes	177	11.3 Stone and other non-ceramic vessels	273
7.4 The provenances of the Shaft I fragments	178	11.3.1 Vessels	273
7.5 Conservation of the papyri of Senneferi	178	11.3.2 Lids	276
7.5.1 Method	178	11.3.3 Cosmetic items	276
7.5.2 Observations made during conservation	178		
7.6 Conservation of the shroud of Senneferi	179		

11.3.4 Summary and contexts	277	The human and animal remains from Shafts I and H	315
11.4 Food containers and provisions	277	<i>Tony Waldron</i>	
11.4.1 Containers	277	13.1 Human remains from Shaft I	315
11.4.2 Provisions	279	13.1.1 Disarticulated bone	315
11.5 Secular and religious furniture	279	13.1.2 Minimum number of individuals	315
11.5.1 Non-specific boxes	279	13.1.3 Sex of the individuals	316
11.5.2 Canopic box or chest	282	13.1.4 Height of the individuals	316
11.5.3 Knobs	283	13.1.5 Skeletal indices	316
11.5.4 Other furniture from Shaft I	283	13.1.6 The teeth	316
11.5.5 Summary and contexts	286	13.1.7 Pathology	319
11.6 Figured, hieroglyphic and other ostraka	286	13.1.8 Mummified material	319
11.6.1 Hieroglyphic ostraka	286	13.2 Human remains from Shaft H	321
11.6.2 Figured ostraka	286	13.2.1 Disarticulated bone	321
11.6.3 Summary of archaeological contexts	287	13.2.2 Minimum number of individuals	321
11.7 Other items from Shaft I	289	13.2.3 Sex of the individuals	321
11.7.1 Papyri	289	13.2.4 Height of the individuals	321
11.7.2 Mummy shroud	289	13.2.5 Skeletal indices	321
11.7.3 Textiles other than the shroud	289	13.2.6 Teeth	322
11.7.4 Basketry	289	13.2.7 Pathology	322
11.7.5 Gold leaf	289	13.2.8 Normal variants	329
11.7.6 Jar sealings	289	13.2.9 Children's skeletons	331
11.8 The burial assemblage of Senneferi		13.2.10 Mummified remains	332
<i>(with Helen Strudwick)</i>	289	13.3 Animal bones from TT99	332
11.8.1 Overview of burial equipment found	289	13.3.1 Shafts H and I	333
11.8.2 Burial sequence and distribution of objects	291	13.3.2 NISP and MNI	333
The ceramics from Shaft H	293	13.3.3 Modification of the bones	333
<i>Pamela Rose</i>		13.3.4 Conclusions	333
12.1 Introduction and overview	293	Indexes	335
12.2 Dating	294	Names of Kings	336
12.3 The Courtyard Pottery	296	Names of private individuals	336
12.4 Terminology	297	Deities	337
12.5 Fabrics	297	Museum objects	337
12.6 Catalogue	297	TT99 object numbers	338
12.6.1 Marl clay wares	297	Theban tomb numbers	340
12.6.2 Oasis wares	298	Titles and epithets in transliteration	341
12.6.3 Nile silt wares	298	Line plates	
12.6.4 Open forms	305	Colour plates	
12.6.5 Imports	307		

List of tables

1. Titles of Senneferi across all of his monuments	10	19. Summary of Smith's types of tomb equipment as applied to the burial of Senneferi	290
2. Titles of Senneferi in TT99 alone	11	20. Shaft H distribution of vessel sherds across contexts	295
3. Epithets of Senneferi as found across his monuments	12	21. Number of males and females estimated to be present in assemblage from Shaft I, based on several criteria	320
4. Summary of find spots of TT99 cones	53	22. Femoral and tibial indices of assemblage from Shaft I	320
5. Cones from known tombs found at TT99	53	23. Measurements (mm) taken on female mummy from Shaft I	320
6. Cones from unknown tombs found at TT99	53	24. Relative survival of skeletal elements from Shaft H	331
7. Summary of all cones found at TT99 by type and place in the tomb where they were found	53	25. Number of males and females estimated to be present in assemblage from Shaft H, based on several criteria	331
8. Erasures in TT99	64	26. Femoral and tibial indices of assemblage from Shaft H	331
9. Ceiling text layouts in TT99, TT96 and TT131	160	27. Measurements (mm) of long bones from the skeleton of a child from Shaft H	331
10. Munsell ranges for ten colours in TT99	166	28. Minimum number of individuals from animal bones in Shaft H and I	334
11. Last element of NBS colour names in Table 12	166	29. Number of burnt animal bones from Shaft H and I	334
12. NBS colour names for colours in TT99	166	30. Distribution of anatomical elements of animal bones: Shaft H	334
13. Distribution of papyrus and shroud fragments	178	31. Distribution of anatomical elements of animal bones: Shaft I	334
14. Shaft I distribution of vessel sherds across contexts (part 1)	220		
15. Shaft I distribution of vessel sherds across contexts (part 2)	221		
16. Shaft I distribution of vessel sherds across contexts (part 3)	222		
17. Shaft I distribution of vessel sherds across contexts (part 4)	223		
18. Summary of contexts of Opening the Mouth objects from TT99	271		

List of scenes and texts

Scene 1.1: Deceased making a burnt offering	86	Scene 9.1a/b: Funerary equipment	120
Text 1.1	87	Scene 9.1.a: Upper sub-register	120
Scene 1.2: Deceased receiving dues	88	Scene 9.1.b: Lower sub-register	121
Text 1.2	88	Scene 9.2: Uncertain scene	121
Scene 1.2.a: Goods being received; procession of men bearing boxes	88	Text 9.3	121
Scene 2.1: Senneferi and others offering to Anubis	89	Scene 10.1: Lintel over entrance to Rear room	122
Text 2.1	90	Text 10.1	122
Text 2.2. Panel	96	Scene 10.2: Southern reveal of doorway	123
Text 2.3. Outer jambs	97	Text 10.2	123
Text 2.4. Middle jambs	97	Scene 12.1 right: [Senneferi] seated	124
Text 2.5. Inner jambs	97	Scene 12.1.a Bed-making scene	124
Scene 3.1: Senneferi before the king?	98	Scene 12.1.b left: Biography	125
Text 3.1	99	Text 12.1	126
Text 3.2	99	Text 12.2	126
Scene 3.2: Uncertain scene	99	Scene 13.1: Senneferi before Osiris	128
Text 3.3	99	Text 13.1	129
Scene 4.1: Senneferi before the king in a kiosk	100	Scene 13.1.a: Carrying funerary equipment	129
Text 4.1	101	Scene 14.1: Senneferi with parents	131
Text 4.2	101	Text 14.2	132
Scene 4.1.a: A procession of men, horses and chariots	102	Text 14.1	133
Scene 4.1.b: A procession of men bringing wood	104	Scene 14.1.a: Large offering list	133
Scene 5.1: Asiatics in a fortress	106	Scene 14.1.b: [Priest] making an offering ritual	134
Scene 6.1: Uncertain scene, probably Senneferi making burnt offerings	114	Text 14.3	134
Text 6.1	114	[Scene 14.1.c: The offering ritual]	134
Scene 6.2: Senneferi watching weighing (and activities now lost)	114	Scene 14.2: Scene below the offering ritual?	134
Text 6.2	115	Scene 15.1: left scene	135
Scene 6.2.a: Weighing	115	Text 15.1	135
Scene 7.1: Lintel, left, Senneferi and mother offering to Osiris	116	Scene 15.2: Right scene	136
Text 7.1	117	Text 15.2	136
Text 7.2	117	Scene 16.1 Part 1: a priest pours a libation for the couple in the Opening of the Mouth	137
Text 7.3	117	Text 16.1	137
Text 7.4	117	Text 16.2	138
Scene 7.2: Lintel, right, Senneferi and [father] offering to Osiris	117	Scene 16.1 Part 2: another priest makes offerings to the couple	138
Text 7.5	117	Text 16.3	138
Text 7.6	117	Text 16.4	139
Text 7.7	117	Scene 16.1.a: Procession of people with offerings I	139
Text 7.8	117	Scene 16.1.b: The Opening of the Mouth: rites before mummies II	140
Scene 9.1: Deceased seated viewing funerary equipment	119	Scene 16.1.c:	141
Text 9.1	119	Scene 16.2: Perhaps the Opening of the Mouth?	141
Text 9.2	120	Scene 17.1: Senneferi adoring Osiris	142
		Text 17.1	142
		Scene 17.2: Uncertain scene	143
		Scene 18.1: Uncertain scene	143

Pillar A East face (Pillar AE)	144	Pillar B South face (Pillar BS)	148
Text AE.1: left	144	Text BS.1	148
Text AE.2: right	144	[Text BS.2]	148
Pillar A North face (Pillar AN)	144	Ceiling texts	152
Text AN.1	145	Ceiling text 1: Front room centre	152
Text AN.2	145	Ceiling text 2: Front room north, west side	152
Pillar A West face (Pillar AW)	145	Ceiling text 3: Front room north, middle	153
Text AW.1	145	Ceiling text 4: Front room north, east side	153
Text AW.2	145	Ceiling text 5: Front room south, west side	153
Pillar A South face (Pillar AS)	146	Ceiling text 6: Front room south, middle	156
Text AS.1	146	Ceiling text 7: Front room south, east side	156
Pillar B East face (Pillar BE)	146	Ceiling text 8: Passage, south side	156
Text BE.1	146	Ceiling text 9: Passage, middle	158
Text BE.2	146	Ceiling text 10: Shrine, north	158
Pillar B North face (Pillar BN)	146		
Text BN.1	147		
Pillar B West face (Pillar BW)	147		
Text BW.1	147		
Text BW.2	147		

List of figures

1. Schematic diagram of a Theban tomb such as TT99	6	36. Two fragments of a funerary cone brick bearing stamp DM 93 (objects 99.97.1525 and 99.97.0702a)	51
2. Text on statue of Amenhotep (99.93.0308)	21	37. Sketch map of the main area of Sheikh Abdel Qurna showing the tombs in which funerary cones discovered in TT99 may have originated	52
3. Texts on statue BM EA 48 of Senneferi in normalised hieroglyphs	23	38. Two joining fragments of sandstone which may belong to the original entrance jambs of TT99 (object 99.97.1562a)	56
4. Texts on statue Cairo CG 1013 in normalised hieroglyphs	26	39. Front room, north side	57
5. CG 1013, front	27	40. The Passage, looking from the doorway from the Front room	57
6. CG 1013, front and part of proper right side	27	41. The Passage, looking towards the entrance doorway of the tomb	57
7. CG 1013, back	27	42. The Shrine from the west end of the Passage	58
8. CG 1013, back and part of proper right side	27	43. Pillar A, north and west sides	59
9. CG 1013, proper right side and part of front	28	44. Pillar A, north and east sides	59
10. CG 1013, proper left side	28	45. Pillar A, south and east sides	59
11. Texts on Cairo CG 1112 in normalised hieroglyphs	29	46. Pillar A, south and west sides	59
12. CG 1112, top	30	47. Pillar B, north and east sides	60
13. CG 1112, front	30	48. Pillar B, north and west sides	60
14. CG 1112, proper right side	31	49. Pillar B, south and east sides	60
15. CG 1112, front and proper left side	31	50. Pillar B, south and west sides	60
16. Texts on Wien AS 5978 in normalised hieroglyphs	32	51. Wall 13 left, hand-smoothed plaster	62
17. Shrines 12–17 at Gebel Silsila, with Shrine 13 marked	33	52. Wall 3 right, stones inserted into plaster	63
18. Section of Baraize map of the area around TT99, with the location of other easily identifiable local tombs added	38	53. Join of Walls 16 and 17, showing use of stones in plaster for building up the wall surface	63
19. Section of Kampp map of the area around TT99, with the location of tomb C.3 added	39	54. Final grid used in Courtyard 1996–1997	65
20. Sketch indicating the likely appearance of the area around TT99 in Sheikh Abdel Qurna in the New Kingdom	40	55. Robert Mond's published sketch plans of the shafts cleared in the courtyard of TT99	66
21. Geological Map of Sheikh Abdel Qurna and Surroundings	42	56. Shaft H, Room 2, showing uneven floor level	66
22. Location of fractures in Pillar B and in the roof of the Shrine. Drawn from Colour pl. 7A	43	57. Shaft H, Room 2, niche in north wall	67
23. Cone-in-cone ('diablo') fractures in Pillar A	44	58. Furniture fragment?, object 99.98.0336	67
24. Cone-in-cone fractures in Pillar B and the roof of the Shrine	44	59. Headrest, object 99.98.0585	67
25. The Facade of TT99 in 1997	46	60. Coffin fragments 99.98.0549 (left), eye socket 99.98.0445 (centre), hand 99.98.0460 (right)	68
26. Niche in Facade: top	47	61. The underground chambers of Shaft I, from the larger plan of the complex	71
27. Niche in Facade: bottom	47	62. 3D schematic reconstruction of Shaft I with the individual elements labelled	71
28. Niche in Facade: south side	48	63. Shaft I, Corridor 1 viewed from the bottom of Shaft I.	72
29. Niche in Facade: rear	48	64. Shaft I, Corridor 2 showing the entrance to Room 1 and the opening of the Staircase shaft below	72
30. Cone DM 154, after Davies and Macadam	49	65. Shaft I, the Staircase shaft and the entrance to Room 2	72
31. Cone DM 93, after Davies and Macadam (left); reconstruction of text in normalised hieroglyphs (right)	50	66. Shaft I, Room 2	73
32. Example of cone DM 93 bearing the upper part of the stamp (object 99.97.1484)	51	67. The depression in Shaft I, Room 2, leading into Room 3	73
33. Another example of cone DM 93 bearing the upper part of the stamp (object 99.97.0843)	51	68. Salt crystals on the walls of Shaft I, Room 2 in 1998	74
34. Example of cone DM 93 bearing the lower part of the stamp (object 99.97.0920)	51	69. The entrance into Shaft I, Room 3 from the depression in Room 2	75
35. Funerary cone brick 99.98.0231 bearing stamp DM 93	51	70. The interior of Shaft I, Room 3	75

71. Possible tomb sealing, 99.98.0440a	76	114. Schematic diagram (not to scale) of the different ceiling areas and texts in TT99.	150
72. Possible tomb sealing, 99.98.0497	76	115. Ceiling text 2 in normalised hieroglyphs	154
73. Possible tomb sealing, 99.98.0500a	76	116. Ceiling text 3 in normalised hieroglyphs	154
74. Room 3 as found, with limestone debris partially covering a ransacked bundle of mummy linen	77	117. Ceiling text 4 in normalised hieroglyphs	154
75. The original form of the Shaft I complex	79	118. Ceiling text 5 in normalised hieroglyphs	155
76. The Shaft I complex with Room 1 extended	79	119. Ceiling text 6 in normalised hieroglyphs	155
77. The Shaft I complex with the addition of the Staircase shaft and Rooms 2 and 3	79	120. Ceiling text 7 in normalised hieroglyphs	155
78. Schematic diagram of the Chapel of TT99, showing numbering of the walls and summary of their thematic content.	85	121. Ceiling text 8 in normalised hieroglyphs	155
79. Wall 1, schematic diagram	86	122. Ceiling text 1 in normalised hieroglyphs	157
80. Wall 2, schematic diagram	89	123. Ceiling text 9 in normalised hieroglyphs	157
81. False door panel fragments 99.02.0015 (smaller) and 99.02.0027 (larger), found stored in TT96A	92	124. Ceiling text 10 in normalised hieroglyphs	157
82. False door jamb fragment 99.02.0019, found stored in TT96A	92	125. Schematic diagram of TT99 with ceiling texts and parallels marked to TT96A and TT131	159
83. Principal false door fragments of Senneferi superimposed on a likely outline reconstruction of the original	93	126. Schematic diagram of TT96A with ceiling texts and parallels marked to TT99	159
84. Numbers of principal false door fragments of Senneferi in Fig. 83	94	127. Schematic diagram of TT131 with ceiling texts and parallels marked to TT99	159
85. Schematic reconstruction of the texts on the false door of Senneferi	95	128. Chromaticity diagram showing the male skin colour in TT99, TT253 and TT254	165
86. False door fragment 99.96.0456	96	129. Chromaticity diagram showing the female skin colour in TT99, TT253 and TT254	165
87. Wall 3, schematic diagram	98	130. Chromaticity diagram showing the range of TT99 for 'White scene background colour'	167
88. Wall 4, schematic diagram	101	131. Papyrus Fragment 99.95.0416	170
89. Text 4.1	103	132. Papyrus Fragment 99.93.0388	170
90. Text 4.2	103	133. Papyrus Fragment 99.93.0472	170
91. Wall 5, schematic diagram	106	134. Papyrus Fragment 99.97.0556	170
92. Possible outline reconstruction of the lunette of the stela of Senneferi	108	135. Umschrift von Tb 80, Rolle 1	171
93. The numbered fragments in Fig. 92	109	136. Tb 124, Rolle 1	172
94. Fragment of stela, probably from TT99, discovered in TT29	111	137. Tb 85, Rolle 1	173
95. Fragments of stela text	112	138. Tb 125, Rolle 2	174
96. Wall 6, schematic diagram	115	139. Tb 182, Rolle 3	175
97. Wall 7, schematic diagram	116	140. Carved wooden beard made to be attached to the face of a coffin (99.98.0686)	183
98. Wall 9, schematic diagram of right-hand section	118	141. Part of the contoured edge of a coffin lid or case (99.98.0464)	184
99. Wall 9 reconstruction of texts 9.1 and 9.2 in normalised hieroglyphs	119	142. Coffin fragments bearing traces of inscriptions in sunk and raised relief	186
100. Wall 10, schematic diagram	122	143. Coffin fragment with traces of designs drawn in red on a yellow-coated plaster overlying black varnish (99.98.0681)	186
101. Wall 12, schematic diagram	124	144. Coffin fragment with part of the name of Senneferi (99.98.0370)	186
102. Facsimile of Text 12.2	127	145. Coffin fragment with Senneferi's title <i>imy-r sḏswty</i> (99.98.0519a)	187
103. Wall 13, schematic diagram	128	146. Coffin fragment with Senneferi's title <i>imy-r sḏswty</i> (99.98.0519b)	187
104. Wall 14, schematic diagram	131	147. Coffin fragment with Senneferi's title <i>imy-r sḏswty</i> (99.98.0519d)	187
105. Wall 15, schematic diagram	134	148. Fragment of coffin wig with black and yellow stripes (unnumbered)	188
106. Wall 16, schematic diagram	136	149. Lower right side of a carved wooden face from a coffin (99.98.0679a)	188
107. Wall 17, schematic diagram	141	150. Section of foot of coffin, with end of a central inscription between frame-lines in yellow paint and coated with orange-yellow varnish (99.98.0407 + 99.98.0634a)	188
108. Wall 17, reconstruction of the left part of Text 17.1 in normalised hieroglyphs	142	151. Elements of eyes from coffins (from top, 99.98.0308, 99.98.0636, 99.98.0637)	189
109. Location of pillar texts in TT99	144		
110. Reconstructed text on Pillar AS in normalised hieroglyphs	144		
111. Scene on intercolumnium in TT46 paralleling Text AE.2	145		
112. Reconstructed text on Pillar BW in normalised hieroglyphs	147		
113. Reconstructed text on Pillar BS in normalised hieroglyphs	148		

152. Pair of coffin ears (99.98.0615 (left), 99.98.0652 (right))	189	205. Inscription 99.94.0183	252
153. Fragment of coffin wig and part of left ear (99.98.0379c (right)), and another fragment of wig (believed 99.98.0344a (left))	189	206. Inscription 99.97.1298 + 99.98.0282	252
154. Fragment of side of a coffin case with depiction of a false door and part of a column of text (unnumbered)	190	207. Inscription 99.98.0748	252
155. Canopic jar (Hapy) (Cat. no. 1)	196	208. Inscription 99.97.1441	255
156. Canopic lid 1 (Cat. no. 5) (Object 99.98.0589): Top, underside and profile	197	209. Inscription 99.96.0302	255
157. Canopic lid 3 (Cat. no. 7) (Object 99.98.0481): Top, underside and profile	197	210. Inscription 99.94.0831	255
158. Canopic lid fragment from Courtyard, underside	198	211. Inscription 99.93.1115	258
159. Loop handled jar 2 (Cat. no. 9)	199	212. Inscription 99.94.1149	258
160. Loop handled jar 2 (Cat. no. 9): Residue inside jar	199	213. Inscription 99.94.1150	258
161. Pilgrim flask 2 (Cat. no. 19)	202	214. Inscription 99.94.1153	259
162. Pilgrim flask 1 (Cat. no. 20)	202	215. Adze fragments 99.98.0518 (left), 99.98.0619 (centre), 99.98.0601 (right)	261
163. Pilgrim flask 5 (Cat. no. 23): Residue inside flask	203	216. Adze fragments 99.98.0518 and 99.98.0601 together, showing the descriptive texts	261
164. Pilgrim flask 5 (Cat. no. 23): Top (left); Binding (right)	203	217. Proposed shape of original adzes	261
165. Bottle B (Cat. no. 25): Binding traces on rim top	204	218. Adze fragments 99.98.0518 and 99.98.0601 together, showing the beginning of the offering formulae	262
166. Bottle B (Cat. no. 25): Binding	204	219. Hieroglyphs on 99.98.0518 and 99.98.0601	262
167. Bottle C (Cat. no. 26): Binding	204	220. <i>wr-hkꜣw</i> implement, Pushkin Museum Inv. I, 1a 2072 (images courtesy the Pushkin Museum)	262
168. Footed jar (Cat. no. 32)	205	221. Objects 99.98.0608/99.98.0609 joined	264
169. Amphora 1 (Cat. no. 38) Stamp of Thutmose III	207	222. Object 99.98.0640	264
170. Amphora 2 (Cat. no. 39)	207	223. Object 99.98.0650	264
171. Amphora 6 (Cat. no. 43) Stamp	208	224. Object 99.98.0648	264
172. Large silt jar 2 (Cat. no. 51)	211	225. Drawing and photographs of object 99.98.0665	264
173. 'Flowerpot' 1 (Cat. no. 82)	215	226. Object 99.98.0622, with transcription into normalised hieroglyphs	265
174. Offering stand 1 (Cat. no. 107)	218	227. Bag inside a basket or box (TT217)	268
175. Base ring ware juglet (Imported vessel 4) (Cat. no. 109)	218	228. Object 99.98.0658, Box H	268
176. Ceramics from Shaft I	224	229. Drawings of objects 99.98.0362, 99.98.0433, 99.98.0578, 99.98.0625, 99.98.0626, 99.98.0654, 99.98.0726 and 99.98.0382, with a diagram of how they fit together	269
177. Ceramics from Shaft I	225	230. Similar ostraka to previous 99.97.0055 (left) and 99.98.0725 (right)	271
178. Ceramics from Shaft I	226	231. Beads 99.98.0652a and 99.98.0727	272
179. Ceramics from Shaft I	227	232. Bracelet B (left) and Bracelet A (right)	272
180. Ceramics from Shaft I	228	233. Reconstruction of alabaster vessel A	274
181. Ceramics from Shaft I	229	234. Reconstruction of alabaster vessel B	274
182. Ceramics from Shaft I	230	235. Fragment of alabaster vessel C	274
183. Ceramics from Shaft I	231	236. Kohl stick (object 99.98.0657)	274
184. Ceramics from Shaft I	232	237. Lid A	275
185. Ceramics from Shaft I	233	238. Rim from Vessel D	275
186. Ceramics from Shaft I	234	239. Lid B	275
187. Ceramics from Shaft I	235	240. Lid B located on rim of Vessel D	275
188. Ceramics from Shaft I	236	241. Cattle bone from Shaft I, Room 3	277
189. Ceramics from Shaft I	237	242. Food container 99.98.0611	278
190. Ceramics from Shaft I	238	243. Food container 99.98.0623	278
191. Inscription 99.98.0742 + 99.98.0526a Amphora 1 (Cat. 38)	244	244. Food container 99.98.0684	278
192. Inscription 99.98.0526b Amphora 6 (Cat. 43)	244	245. Fragments of Box A	279
193. Inscription 99.98.0527 Amphora 4 (Cat. 41)	244	246. Box B, fragment 99.98.0530	281
194. Inscription 99.98.0745 Pilgrim flask 2 (Cat. 19)	244	247. Box C, fragment 99.98.0346d	281
195. Inscription 99.98.0735 Pilgrim flask 1 (Cat. 20)	244	248. Fragments of Box D	281
196. Inscription 99.98.0736 Pilgrim flask 3 (Cat. 21)	244	249. Box E, fragment 99.98.0666	281
197. Inscription 99.98.0738 Bottle B (Cat. 25)	244	250. Fragments of sledge of canopic box 99.98.0379 and 99.98.0525b	284
198. Inscription 99.98.0739 + 99.98.0744 Bottle C (Cat. 26)	244	251. Selection of possible canopic box fragments	284
199. Inscription 99.98.0734 Single-Handled Jar 9 (Cat. 11)	247	252. Wooden fragment 99.98.0462, possibly from base of canopic box	285
200. Inscription 99.98.0737 Single-handled jar 5 (Cat. 12)	247	253. Knob 99.98.0525a	285
201. Inscription 99.98.0740 Amphora 1 (Cat. 38)	247		
202. Inscription 99.98.0741 Amphora 6 (Cat. 43)	247		
203. Inscription 99.98.0390 Amphora 5 (Cat. 42)	247		
204. Inscription 99.98.0747 Amphora 3 (Cat. 40)	247		

254. Knob 99.98.0610	285	278. Base of skull of female mummy from Shaft I shown in Colour pl. 47B	318
255. Uncertain object 99.98.0462a	285	279. Proximal surface of right tibia viewed from above from a female mummy from Shaft I	318
256. Furniture fragments	285	280. Mandible from Shaft H	323
257. Brace 99.98.0461a	285	281. Distal femurs and patellas from Shaft H	323
258. Ostrakon 99.98.0437	287	282. Cervical vertebra from Shaft H.	324
259. Figured ostrakon 99.98.0389 and 99.98.0450 (both sides after joining)	288	283. Fused thoracic vertebrae from Shaft H.	324
260. Figured ostraka: left: 99.98.0724; right: 99.98.0723	288	284. Two left rib fragments from Shaft H showing well healed fractures.	326
261. Plan of Rooms 2 and 3 with some suggested positions of objects after all burials complete and before robbery	292	285. Thoracic vertebra from Shaft H with a wedge fracture.	326
262. Shaft H dating (weight)	294	286. Well-healed spiral fracture of the left humerus from Shaft H.	327
263. Courtyard dating (weight)	297	287. Male skull from Shaft H.	327
264. Wavy-necked jar 2 (Cat. no. 7)	299	288. Fifth lumbar vertebra from Shaft H showing the loss of the lamina as the result of spondylolysis.	328
265. Wavy-necked jar 3 (Cat. no. 8)	299	289. Three thoracic vertebrae from Shaft H fused together by ossification of the anterior longitudinal ligament.	328
266. Biconical jar 1 (Cat. no. 22)	302	290. Bifid left rib from Shaft H.	330
267. Biconical jar 3 (Cat. no. 24)	302	291. Posterior surface of the distal end of a left femur from Shaft H showing a cortical defect on the lateral condyle.	330
268. Silt jar 1 (Cat. no. 33)	303	292. Well preserved but incomplete skeleton of a child aged between 3 and 4 years of age found in Shaft H	332
269. Bowl 11 (Cat. no. 61)	307		
270. Ceramics from Shaft H	308		
271. Ceramics from Shaft H	309		
272. Ceramics from Shaft H	310		
273. Ceramics from Shaft H	311		
274. Ceramics from Shaft H	312		
275. Ceramics from Shaft H	313		
276. Ceramics from Shaft H	314		
277. Two views of partial skull from a male mummy found in Shaft I	317		

Illustration credits

B. Bohleke 200, 225R

Trevor F. Emmett 20–23

Anthony Middleton 35, 40, 60, 71L, 72–73, 131–134, 135–139, 140L, 142, 45, 149, 152, 155–159, 161, 164–168, 170, 172, 174–175, 191, 192, 194, 197, 215–216, 218, 226L, 228, 230, 232, 238Lower, 240–243, 245, 247, 249, 251, 250R, 259, 264–268

Anthony Middleton/B. Bohleke 205–214

Pamela Rose 160, 163, 169, 171, 173, 176–190, 193, 195, 196, 199, 201–204, 269, 270–276

Helen Strudwick 55, 58–59, 62, 75–77, 221–225L, 233–237, 239, 238Upper, 250, 252–255, 257

Nigel Strudwick 1–16, 24–28, 31–34, 36–39, 41–54, 56–57, 63–70, 71R, 74, 78–93, 95–130, 141, 144, 151, 162, 217, 219, 225R, 229, 231, 244, 246, 256, 258L, 260–261, 277–292

John H. Taylor 143, 146–148, 150, 153, 154

List of line plates

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-----|--|
| 1 | TT99, complete plan | 25B | Wall 1, centre (Sc. 1.2.a) |
| 2 | TT99, Sections A–B, A'–B' and A''–B'' | 25C | Wall 3, left (Sc. 3.2) |
| 3A | TT99, Section G–H | 26A | Wall 3, left of centre (Sc. 3.1) |
| 3B | TT99, Section C–D and Section S–T | 26B | Wall 2, all painted decoration (Sc. 2.1) |
| 3C | TT99, Section I–J | 27 | Wall 3, centre (Sc. 3.1) |
| 4A | TT99, Section W–X | 28A | Wall 4, left (Sc. 4.1) |
| 4B | TT99, Section Ä–Ö | 28B | Wall 4, right (Sc. 4.1.a) |
| 4C | TT99, Section. Y–Z | 28C | Wall 5, top right (Sc. 5.1) |
| 4D | TT99, Sections U–V and U'–V' | 29 | Wall 4, centre (Sc. 4.1, 4.1.a–b) |
| 5A | TT99, Section E–F | 30A | Wall 6, right of centre (Sc. 6.2, 6.2a) |
| 5B | TT99, Section K–L | 30B | Wall 7, complete (Sc. 7.1, 7.2) |
| 5C | TT99, Section M–N | 31A | Wall 9, right (Sc. 9.1) |
| 5D | TT99, Section Q–R | 31B | Wall 9, right of centre (Sc. 9.1a–b) |
| 5E | TT99, Section O–P | 31C | Wall 9, left of centre (Sc. 9.2) |
| 6A | Facade of TT99 | 32A | Wall 12, top left (beginning of Sc. 12.1.b) |
| 6B | Profile of south side of Courtyard | 32B | Wall 12, remains of Sc. 12.1 (Sc. 12.1) |
| 6C | Profile of north side of Courtyard | 32C | Wall 12, text fragment at bottom left (part of Sc. 12.1.b) |
| 7 | Wall 1 wall plan | 32D | Wall 18, top left |
| 8A | Wall 2 wall plan | 32E | Wall 10, lintel over doorway (Sc. 10.1) |
| 8B | Wall 5 wall plan | 32F | Wall 10, Southern reveal of doorway to Rear room (Sc. 10.2) |
| 9 | Wall 3 wall plan | 33 | Wall 12, centre (Sc. 12.1.a–b) |
| 10 | Wall 4 wall plan | 34A | Wall 13, complete |
| 11 | Wall 6 wall plan | 34B | Wall 14, centre and left (Sc. 14.1.a–b) |
| 12A | Wall 7 wall plan | 35A | Wall 14, right (Sc. 14.1) |
| 12B | Wall 10 wall plan | 35B | Wall 14, bottom (Sc. 14.2) |
| 13 | Wall 9 wall plan | 35C | Wall 16, lower scene, rites before mummies (Sc. 16.1.b) |
| 14 | Wall 11 wall plan | 35D | Wall 16, lower scene (Sc. 16.2) |
| 15 | Wall 12 wall plan | 36A | Wall 15, complete (Sc. 15.1–2) |
| 16 | Wall 13 wall plan | 36B | Wall 16, top right (Sc. 16.1.a) |
| 17 | Wall 14 wall plan | 37 | Wall 16, left and centre (Sc. 16.1 parts 1–2) |
| 18 | Wall 16 wall plan | 38A | Wall 17, left text fragment, with isolated fragment (Sc. 17.1) |
| 19 | Wall 17 wall plan | 38B | Wall 17, right text fragment (Sc. 17.1) |
| 20 | Wall 18 wall plan | 38C | Shrine, Abacus South |
| 21A | Wall 15 wall plan | 38D | Shrine, Abacus North |
| 21B | Ceiling plan | 39A | Pillar AE |
| 22A | Pillar AE wall plan | 39B | Pillar AN |
| 22B | Pillar AN wall plan | 39C | Pillar AW |
| 22C | Pillar AW wall plan | 39D | Pillar AS |
| 22D | Pillar AS wall plan | 40A | Pillar BE |
| 23A | Pillar BE wall plan | 40B | Pillar BW |
| 23B | Pillar BN wall plan | 40C | Pillar BN |
| 23C | Pillar BW wall plan | 40D | Pillar BS |
| 23D | Pillar BS wall plan | | |
| 24 | Wall 1, left (Sc. 1.1) | | |
| 25A | Wall 1 right (Sc. 1.2) | | |




Illustration credits

Günter Heindl 1–4

Helen Strudwick 5

Nigel Strudwick 6–37

List of colour plates

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|---|
| 1A | Aerial view of Sheikh Abdel Qurna with location of TT99 indicated in red, and Deir el-Medina in blue | 18B | Wall 7, left hand figures and texts, Senneferi and mother |
| 1B | Early morning aerial view of Sheikh Abdel Qurna from the south showing the location of TT99 and the disposition of the surrounding tombs | 19A | Wall 7, figures of Osiris and right hand texts |
| 2A | TT99 from the south-east in 1992 | 19B | Wall 9, Sc. 9.1.a, deceased viewing funerary equipment |
| 2B | TT99 from the east in 1992 | 20A | Wall 9, Sc. 9.1.a/b, funerary equipment |
| 3 | Diagram of the earlier 18th dynasty tombs and putative access paths in Sheikh Abdel Qurna | 20B | Wall 9, Scene 9.2 |
| 4 | Views of the reconstructed statue of Amenhotep, 99.93.0308 and associated fragments | 21A | Wall 10, above doorway to Rear room |
| 5 | Views of the reconstructed statue of Amenhotep, 99.93.0308 and associated fragments | 21B | Wall 10, detail of winged sun disc |
| 6A | Rear room, south end from next to Pillar A | 22A | Wall 12, overview of decorated area |
| 6B | Rear room, looking south from north end | 22B | Wall 12, Sc. 12.1.a, Bes and bed-making scene |
| 7A | Rear room, looking south from north end, adjacent to Shaft C | 23A | Wall 12, biographical text, Text 12.1/2 |
| 7B | Rear room, looking north, with Pillar B in the centre, from adjacent to Shaft B | 23B | Wall 13, decorated area |
| 8A | Rear room, ceiling above Wall 12 | 24A | Wall 13, detail of Text 13.1 |
| 8B | Rear room, ceiling above left end of Wall 16 | 24B | Wall 13, Sc. 13.1.a, procession of men bearing funerary equipment (right) |
| 9A | Rear room, ceiling above right end of Wall 16 | 25A | Wall 13, Sc. 13.1.a, procession of men bearing funerary equipment (left) |
| 9B | Rear room, join of Walls 13 and 14 | 25B | Wall 14, Sc. 14.1.a, offering list (right) |
| 9C | Rear room, join of Walls 17 and 18 | 26A | Wall 14, Sc. 14.1.a, offering list (left) |
| 10A | The Shaft I complex after all burials completed | 26B | Wall 15, including adjacent areas of Wall 14 (left) and Wall 16 (right) |
| 10B | The Shaft I complex after robbery at the end of the New Kingdom | 27A | Wall 15, Sc. 15.1/2 |
| 10C | The Shaft I complex after robbery in the 19th century AD | 27B | Wall 16, Sc. 16.1 part 1, libation scene, with part of Text 16.1 and 16.2 |
| 11A | Wall 1, left, remains of making a burnt offering and text (Sc. 1.1) | 28A | Wall 16, Sc. 16.1 part 2, offering scene and parts of Texts 16.3 and 16.4 |
| 11B | Wall 1, right, receiving dues (Sc. 1.2) | 28B | Wall 16, Sc. 16.1.a/b, offering bearers and rites before mummies |
| 12A | Wall 1, detail of Text 1.1 showing restorations | 29A | Wall 16, Sc. 16.2, remains of possible second rites before mummies scene |
| 12B | Wall 1, detail of Text 1.2 showing red marks | 29B | Wall 16, detail of Sc. 16.1.b |
| 13A | Two sample joining fragments of the false door of Senneferi (99.02.0002 and 99.02.0009) | 29C | Wall 12, detail of Text 12.2 |
| 13B | Fragment of text relating to the royal figure on the stela (99.97.1107) | 29D | Wall 16, detail of Text 16.2 |
| 14A | Fragment of stela from excavations of the Université Libre de Bruxelles in the area of TT29 | 29E | Wall 16, detail of Text 16.4 |
| 14B | Three larger fragments of the stela text | 30A | Wall 17 |
| 15A | Wall 3, centre, part of Text 3.2 | 30B | Wall 17, detail of left part of Text 17.1 |
| 15B | Wall 3, detail of  sign in Text 3.2 | 31A | Pillar AE |
| 15C | Wall 4, detail of  sign in Text 4.2 | 31B | Pillar AN and part of southern abacus |
| 15D | Wall 4, detail of unusual  sign in Text 4.2 | 32A | Pillar AW |
| 16A | Wall 4, text and men carrying wood (Sc. 4.1, 4.1ab) | 32B | Pillar AS |
| 16B | Wall 4, Sc. 4.1.a, detail of men and horses | 33A | Pillar BE |
| 17A | Wall 4, Sc. 4.1.b, detail of men bringing wood | 33B | Pillar BN |
| 17B | Wall 5, top right, detail of figures on fortress | 34A | Pillar BW |
| 18A | Wall 6, surviving scene (Sc. 6.2, 6.2a) | 34B | Pillar BS, part of northern abacus and part of Ceiling text 10 |
| | | 35A | Beginning of southern abacus |
| | | 35B | Beginning of northern abacus |
| | | 35C | Detail of Ceiling text 9 in Passage, with name of Senneferi in the centre |
| | | 35D | Detail of Ceiling Text 2, Front room north, west side, with name of Haydjehuty, father of Senneferi |

- 35E Detail of Ceiling text 10 in Shrine showing change in orientation
- 36A Pattern P1, above Wall 4 in Front room
- 36B Pattern P2, above Wall 18 in northern section of Shrine
- 36C Pattern P1, southern area of Shrine
- 36D Pattern P4, above, in Passage
- 37A Pattern P3, above, in northern section of Shrine
- 37B Pattern P5, above, west of Pillar A
- 37C Pattern P6, above, east of Pillar A
- 37D Pattern P7, above, east of Pillar B
- 38A Vignette aus Tb 1, Rolle 1
- 38B Vignette aus Tb 85, Rolle 1
- 39 Leichentuch Fragment 99.98.0612
- 40 Leichentuch Fragment 99.98.0616
- 41 Fabrics: Marl A4 and A2
- 42 Fabrics: Marl A3, B, D, F 1
- 43A Fabrics: Oasis wares and Imports
- 43B Silt jar 5 from Shaft H (Cat. no. 37)
- 44A Loop-handled jar 1 from Shaft I (Cat. no. 8)
- 44B Single-handled jar 6 from Shaft I (Cat. no. 13)
- 44C Imported flask? (Imported vessel 2) from Shaft I (Cat. no. 112)
- 44D Wavy-necked jar 1 from Shaft H (Cat. no. 6)
- 44E Wavy-necked jar 5 from Shaft H (Cat. no. 10)
- 45A Alabaster vessel A as partially reconstructed
- 45B Interior of three fragments forming alabaster vessel A showing oily residue
- 46A Opening of the mouth ostraka fragments
- 46B Carved wooden beard made to be attached to the face of a coffin (99.98.0639)
- 46C Fragment of the frontal section of a coffin wig, with the upper part of an ear (99.98.0436)
- 46D Coffin fragment with an unidentified motif carved into the plaster substrate (99.98.0667)
- 47A Canopic box fragment 99.98.0679b
- 47B Skull from a female mummy from Shaft I
- 48A A screen image of a sample patch diagram showing the range of values broadly covered by the term 'red-brown'
- 48B A patch diagram showing a mosaic of all readings broadly classified as 'blue'
- 48C A patch diagram showing a mosaic of all readings of the scene background colour in TT99
- 48D A patch diagram showing a mosaic of all readings broadly classified as 'light brown'

Illustration credits

Anthony Middleton 4–9A, 11–12, 13B, 14B, 15A, 16A, 17B–29A, 30A–35D, 36–40, 44, 46–47A

Pamela Rose 41–43

Helen Strudwick 10A–C

Nigel Strudwick 3, 9B–c, 13A, 15B–D, 16B, 17A29B–D, 35E, 35, 47B

Bibliography

This bibliography does not include entries for basic reference works, which are instead referred to by their conventional abbreviations. This includes PM; LD; Ranke, PN; Wb.; LÄ; LGG; ANET. Journals and series are also referred to by their usual abbreviations.

Abd er-Raziq, Mahmud,

‘Die altägyptischen Weingärten (*kmw/kmw*) bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches’, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 227–247

Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin (2 vols, Leipzig 1913–1924)

Akpınar, F., A. Aydinliolu, N. Tosun, A. Doan, I. Tuncay and Ö. Ünal, ‘A morphometric study on the humerus for intramedullary fixation’,

Tohoku Journal of Experimental Medicine 199 (2003), 35–42

Allen, J. P.,

‘The Amarna Succession’, in P. J. Brand and L. Cooper (eds), *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane* (CHANE 37, Leiden 2009), 9–20

The Ancient Egyptian language. An historical study (Cambridge 2013)

Altenmüller, H.,

‘Eine neue Deutung der Zeremonie des *init rd*’, *JEA* 57 (1971), 146–153

‘Bes’, in *LÄ* I, 720–724

‘Zwei Stiftungen von Tempelbauten durch Amenemhet II.’, in H. Guksch and D. Polz (eds), *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens: Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet* (Mainz 1998), 153–163

Andrews, C.,

Amulets of Ancient Egypt (London 1994)

Angenot V. and F. Tiradritti (eds),

Artists and Painting in Ancient Egypt. Proceedings of the Colloquium held in Montepulciano, August 22nd–24th, 2008, forthcoming

Arnold, Dieter,

‘Bemerkungen zu den Königsgräbern der frühen 11. Dynastie von El-Tarif’, *MDAIK* 23 (1968), 26–37

Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry (Oxford 1991)

Assmann, J.,

Grabung im Asasif 1963–1970. Band 2: das Grab des Basa (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole (AV 6, Mainz 1973)

Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern (Theben 1, Mainz 1983)

‘Das Grab mit gewundenem Abstieg. Zum Typenwandel des Privatfelsgrabes im Neuen Reich’, *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 277–290

Das Grab des Amenemope (TT 41) (2 vols, Theben 3, Mainz 1991)

Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt (Ithaca and London 2001)

Altägyptische Totenliturgien II: Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches (Supplemente zu den Schriften

der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 17, Heidelberg 2005)

Assmann, J., E. Dziobek, H. Guksch, F. Kampp (eds),

Thebanische Beamtennekropolen. Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung (SAGA 12, Heidelberg 1995)

Assmann, J., G. Burkard and V. Davies (eds),

Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology (Studies in Egyptology, London 1987)

Association Boulogne,

Des dieux, des tombeaux, un savant. En Egypte, sur les pas de Mariette Pacha (Paris 2004)

Aston, B.,

Ancient Egyptian stone vessels: materials and forms (SAGA 5, Heidelberg 1994)

Aston, D. A.,

‘The Pottery’, in G. T. Martin, *The tomb of Tia and Tia: a royal monument of the Ramesside period in the Memphite necropolis* (EES EM 58, London 1997), 83–102

Die Keramik des Grabungsplatzes Q I. Teil 1: Corpus of fabrics

(Forschungen in der Ramses-Stadt: die Grabungen des Pelizaeus-Museums Hildesheim in Qantir–Pi-Ramesse 1, Mainz 1998)

Elephantine XIX. Pottery from the Late New Kingdom to the Early Roman Period (AV 95, Mainz 1999)

‘New Kingdom pottery phases as revealed through well-dated tomb contexts’, in M. Bietak (ed.), *The synchronisation of civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the second millennium B. C. II* (Wien 2003), 135–162

‘Amphorae in New Kingdom Egypt’, *Ä&L* 14 (2004), 175–213

‘Making a splash: ceramic decoration in the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II’, in E. Czerny, I. Hein, H. Hunger, D. Melman and A. Schwab (eds), *Timelines: studies in honour of Manfred Bietak* (Leuven 2006) I, 65–74

‘Kom Rabi’a, Ezbet Helmi and Saqqara NK 3507: a study in cross-dating’, in M. Bietak and E. Czerny (eds), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the eastern Mediterranean in the Second millennium B. C. III* (Wien 2006), 207–248

The Pottery. Untersuchungen im Totentempel des Merenptah in Theben IV (BeiträgeBf 17, Mainz 2008)

‘Blue-painted pottery of the late Eighteenth Dynasty. The Material from the Tomb of Maya and Merit at Saqqara’, *CCE* 9 (2011), 1–35

‘Radiocarbon, wine jars and New Kingdom chronology’, *Ä&L* 22/23 (2012/2013), 289–316

Aston, D. A., B. Aston and D. P. Ryan,

‘Pottery from tombs in the Valley of the Kings KV 21, 27, 28, 44, 45 and 60’, *CCE* 6 (2000), 11–38

- Aubry, M.-P., Berggren, W. A., Dupuis, C., Ghaly, H., Ward, D., King, C., Knox, R. W. O. B., Ouda, K., Youssef, M. and Galal, W. F.,
 'Pharaonic necrostratigraphy: a review of geological and archaeological studies in the Theban Necropolis, Luxor, West Bank, Egypt', *Terra Nova* 21 (2009), 237–256
- Badawy, A.,
Le dessin architectural chez les anciens Egyptiens (Cairo 1948)
A History of Egyptian Architecture III. From the Eighteenth Dynasty to the End of the Twentieth Dynasty. 1580–1085 B. C. (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1968)
- Baines, J.,
 'Color Terminology and Color Classification: Ancient Egyptian Colour Terminology and Polychromy', *American Anthropologist* 87 (1985), 282–297
- Baines, J. and J. Malek,
Atlas of Ancient Egypt (Oxford 1980)
- Baines, J. and L. McNamara,
 'The Twin Stelae of Suty and Hor', in Z. A. Hawass and J. Richards (eds), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt. Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor* (Cairo 2007) I, 63–79
- Baker, H. S.,
Furniture in the ancient world. Origins & Evolution. 3100–475 B. C. (London 1966)
- Baraize, E.,
Plan des nécropoles thébaines (Cairo 1904–1913)
- Barta, W.,
Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche (MÄS 3, Berlin 1963)
Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel (ÄF 24, Glückstadt 1968)
 'Nehebkau', in *LÄ* IV, 387–390
- Bartelmeß, P.,
Der Übergang ins Jenseits in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern der Ramessidenzeit (SAGA 2, Heidelberg 1992)
- Barwik, M.,
 'Typology and Dating of the "White"-type Anthropoid Coffins of the Early XVIIIth Dynasty', *Etudes et Travaux* 18 (1999), 7–33
- Baud, M.,
Les dessins ébauchés de la Nécropole Thébaine (MIFAO 63, Cairo 1935)
- Bavay, L.,
 'La tombe perdue du substitut du chancelier, Amenhotep. Données nouvelles sur l'organisation spatiale de la nécropole thébaine', *BSFE* 177–178 (2010), 23–43
- Bavay, L. and D. Laboury,
 'Dans l'entourage de pharaon. Art et archéologie dans la nécropole thébaine', in *Ceci n'est pas une pyramide... Un siècle de recherche archéologique belge en Egypte* (Leuven–Paris 2012), 63–79
- Bavay, L. S., S. Marchand and P. Tallet,
 'Les jarres inscrites du Nouvel Empire provenant de Deir al-Médina', *CCE* 6 (2000), 77–86
- Behlmer, H.,
 'Streiflichter auf die christliche Besiedlung Thebens – Koptische ostraka aus dem Grab des Senneferi (TT 99)', *Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft* 36 (2003), 11–27
- Beinlich-Seeber, C. and Shedid, Abdel Ghaffar,
Das Grab des Userhat (TT56) (AV 50, Mainz 1987)
- Bell, L.,
 'The New Kingdom "divine" temple: the example of Luxor', in B. E. Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca 1997), 127–184
- Bell, M.,
 'An armchair excavation of KV 55', *JARCE* 27 (1990), 136–137
- Belzoni, G.,
Narrative of the Operations and Recent discoveries within the pyramids, temples, tomb, and excavations in Egypt and Nubia (2nd edition, London 1821)
- Berman, L. M.,
 'Coffin of the Singer of Amen, Henut-wedjebu' in A. P. Kozloff, B. M. Bryan and L. M. Berman (eds), *Egypt's Dazzling Sun. Amenhotep III and his world* (Cleveland Museum of Art 1992), 312–317
- Berns, R. S. (ed.),
Billmeyer and Saltzman's Principles of Color Technology (3rd Edition, New York 2000)
- Betrò, M.,
 'The Lorena Archive in Prague and the collection from the Tuscan Expedition to Egypt in the Florence Museum' in M. Betrò and G. Miniaci (eds), *Talking along the Nile. Ippolito Rosellini, travellers and scholars of the 19th century in Egypt* (Pisa University Press 2013)
- Betsy, M., L. M. Kupersmith and D. S. Springfield,
 'Metaphyseal fibrous defects', *Journal of the American Academy of Orthopaedic Surgeons* 12 (2004), 89–95
- Bickel S. and Paulin-Grothe E.,
 'KV 40: a burial place for the royal entourage', *EA* 45 (2014), 21–24
- Bierbrier, M. L. (ed.),
Who was who in Egyptology (4th ed., London 2012)
- Bietak, M.,
Theben-West (Luqsor). Vorbericht über die ersten vier Grabungskampagnen (1969–1971) (Wien 1974)
 'Horuswege', in *LÄ* III, 62–64
 'Ein altägyptische Weingarten in einem Tempelbezirk', *AÖAW* 122 (1985), 276–277
- Blumenthal, E., Müller and Reineke, W.,
Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 5–16 (Berlin 1984)
- Bohleke, B.,
 'Amenemopet Panehsi, direct successor of the Chief Treasurer Maya', *JARCE* 39 (2002), 152–172
- Bohleke, B. and Strudwick, N.,
 'A label for Opening of the Mouth implements from the burial of Senneferi (TT99), and remarks on the ritual', *Etudes et Travaux*, forthcoming
- Bonnet, H.,
Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte (Berlin 1952)
- Boraik, M.,
 'A granite false door of Useramun', *Memnonia Cahier Supplémentaire* 2 (2010), 181–191
- Borchardt, L.,
Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum zu Kairo, Nr. 1–1294 (Berlin 1911–1936)
- Borghouts, J. F.,
Egyptian, An introduction to the writing and language of the Middle Kingdom (2 vols, Leuven 2010)
- Bouriant, U.,
 'Petits monuments et petits textes recueillis en Egypte', *RT* 9, 81–100
 'Notes de voyage', *RT* 11 (1889), 131–159
- Bourriau, J.,
 'The Pottery', in P. Lacovara, *Deir el-Ballas, Preliminary Report on the Deir el-Ballas Expedition, 1980–1986* (Winona Lake 1990), 15–22
Umm el Ga'ab. Pottery from the Nile valley before the Arab conquest (Cambridge 1981)
- Bourriau, J., with a contribution by Kathryn Eriksson,
The Survey of Memphis IV. Kom Rabia: The New Kingdom Pottery (EES EM 93, London 2010)
- Bourriau, J., D. A., Aston, M. J. Raaven, R. Van Walsem with a contribution by C. Hope,
The Memphite tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-chief of Tut'ankhamun III. The New Kingdom pottery (EES EM 71, London 2005)
- Bourriau, J. D. and P. T. Nicholson,
 'Marl clay pottery fabrics of the New Kingdom from Memphis, Saqqara and Amarna', *JEA* 78 (1992), 29–91

- Bourriau J., L. Smith and P. Nicholson,
New Kingdom Pottery fabrics. Nile clay and mixed Nile/marl clay fabrics from Memphis and Amarna (EES OP 14, London 2000)
- Bouvier, G.,
Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres hiératiques inédites de l'Institut d'Égyptologie de Strasbourg (DFIFAO 35–37, 40, Cairo 1999–2001)
'Les étiquettes de jarres du Ramesséum conservées aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire à Bruxelles', *CdE* 75 (2000), 15–25
Les étiquettes de jarres hiératiques de l'institut d'Égyptologie de Strasbourg (DFIFAO 43, Cairo 2003)
- Bouvier, G. and G. Zaki,
'Les gens de Gournah avant le XIX^e siècle, selon les témoignages de quelques voyageurs', *Memnonia* 16 (2005), 151–174
- Bowers Museum of Cultural Art,
Egyptian Treasures from the British Museum (Exhibition Catalogue, Santa Ana 2000)
- Brack A. and A. Brack,
Das Grab des Tjanuni: Theben Nr. 74 (AV 19, Mainz 1977)
Das Grab des Haremheb: Theben Nr. 78 (AV 35, Mainz 1980)
- Brandl, H.,
Untersuchungen zur steinernen Privatplastik der dritten Zwischenzeit: Typologie und ikonographie der Plastik (2 vols, Berlin 2008)
- Brandt, K.,
Die Scheintüren und Entablaturen in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches (Dissertation University of Heidelberg, 2000: <http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/archiv/20243>)
- Bresciani, E., S. Pernigotti and M. P. Giangeri Silvis,
La tomba di Ciennehebu, capo della flotta del Re (Pisa 1977)
- Brewer D. J. and R. F. Friedman,
Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt (Warminster 1989)
- Brothwell, D. R.,
Digging up bones (3rd edition, Oxford 1981)
- Brovovski, E., S. K. Doll and R. E. Freed (eds),
Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom, 1558–1085 B. C. (Boston 1982)
- Bruce, J.,
Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile, in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773 I (2nd ed., Edinburgh 1804)
- Brunner, H.,
Die Geburt des Gottkönigs (ÄA 10, Wiesbaden 1964)
- Bruyère, B.,
Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1933–1934) (FIFAO 14, Cairo 1937)
Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1934–1935), I: La Nécropole de l'Ouest (FIFAO 15, Cairo 1937)
Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934–1935), Pt. 3 (FIFAO 16, Cairo 1939)
Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (Années 1945–1946 et 1946–47) (FIFAO 21, Cairo 1952)
- Bryan, B.,
'The tombowner and his family', in Dziobek and Abd er-Raziq,
Sobekhotep, 81–88
The Reign of Thutmose IV (Baltimore 1991)
'Painting techniques and artisan organization in the tomb of Suemniwet, Theban Tomb 92', in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 63–72
- Bucking, S.,
Practice Makes Perfect. P. Cotsen-Princeton 1 and the Training of Scribes in Byzantine Egypt (Los Angeles 2011)
- Budka, J.,
'The Oriental Institute Ahmose and Tetisheri project at Abydos 2002–2004: the New Kingdom Pottery', *Ä&L* 16 (2006), 88–91
Bestattungsbrauch und Friedhofstruktur im Asasif: eine Untersuchung der spätzeitlichen Befunde anhand der Ergebnisse der österreichischen Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1969–1977 (DÖAWW 59, Wien 2010)
- Buxton, L. H. D.,
'Platymeria and platycnemias', *Journal of Anatomy* 73 (1938), 31–36
- Calcoen, B.,
TT176. The tomb chapel of Userhat (GHP Egyptology 16, London 2012)
- Caminos, R. A.,
Late-Egyptian Miscellanies (BESStud, Oxford 1954)
The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon (AnOr 37, Rome 1958)
- Caminos, R. A. and T. G. H. James,
Gebel es-Silsilah I (ASE 31, London 1963)
- Campbell, B. A., A. Jhamb, J. A. Maguire, B. Toyota and R. Ma,
'Meningiomas in 2009; controversies and future challenges', *American Journal of Clinical Oncology* 32 (2009), 73–85
- Capart, J., A. H. Gardiner and B. van de Walle,
'New Light on the Ramesside Tomb-Robberies', *JEA* 22 (1936), 169–193
- Carnarvon, Lord and H. Carter,
Five years' explorations at Thebes. A record of work done 1907–1911 (Oxford 1912)
- Carter, H.,
'Report upon the tomb of Sen-nefer found at Biban el-Molouk near that of Thothmes III No 34', *ASAE* 2 (1901), 196–200
- Carter, H. and A. C. Mace,
The Tomb of Tutankhamun I (London 1923)
- Cauville, S.,
'Le Panthéon d'Edfou à Dendera', *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 21–22
- Černý, J.,
The inscriptions of Sinai from manuscripts of Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet. Part II: translations and commentary (EES Memoirs 45/2, London 1955)
'Three Regnal Dates of the Eighteenth Dynasty', *JEA* 50 (1964), 37–39
Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamun (Tutankhamun's Tomb Series 2, Oxford 1965)
Coptic Etymological Dictionary (Cambridge 1976)
- Cherpion, N.,
Deux tombes de la XVIII^e dynastie à Deir el-Medina (MIFAO 114, Cairo 1999)
- Ciucci, A.,
'Diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis (DISH) and situs viscerum inversus. Report of a single case', *Diagnostic Radiology* 115 (1975), 523–524
- Cobbold, P., Watkinson, J. and Cosgrove, J.,
'Did the pharaohs of Egypt make their tombs in solid rock on the Theban Plateau?', *The Geoscientist* 18(6) (2008), 19–22. Also <http://geolsoc.org.uk/Geoscientist/Archive/June-2008/Faults-of-the-Pharaohs> (accessed 2 February 2016)
- Colinart, S., M. Darowska, E. Delange, A. Portal,
'Un champ d'observations: la restauration des sarcophages au musée du Louvre', *BSEF* 139 (June 1997), 28–30
- Couyet, J. and P. Montet,
Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât (MIFAO 34, Cairo 1913)
- Dalal, S., M. Bull and D. Stanley,
'Radiographic changes at the elbow in primary osteoarthritis: a comparison with normal aging of the elbow joint', *Journal of Shoulder and Elbow Surgery* 16 (2007), 358–361
- Daniels, V.,
CA1998/21 Analysis of white pigment on a papyrus. Internal British Museum Conservation Research Group Report, 1998
- Darassy, G.,
Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 24001–24990. Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898–1899) (Cairo 1902)
'Le voyage d'inspection de M. Grébaut en 1889', *ASAE* 26 (1926), 1–22
- Dasen, V.,
Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece (Oxford 1993)
- D'Auria, S., P. Lacovara, C. H. Roehrig,
Mummies & Magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt (Boston 1988)

- Davies, B. G.,
Who's Who at Deir el-Medina: A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen's Community (EU 13, Leiden 1999)
- Davies, Nina M.,
Picture Writing in Ancient Egypt (Oxford 1958)
Scenes from some Theban Tombs (PTT 4, Oxford 1962)
- Davies, Nina de Garis and A. H. Gardiner,
The Tomb of Amenembêt (No. 82) (TTS 1, London 1915)
The Tomb of Huy viceroy of Nubia in the reign of Tutankhamûn (No. 40) (TTS 4, London 1926)
Ancient Egyptian Paintings (3 vols, Chicago 1936)
- Davies, Norman de Garis,
The rock tombs of El Amarna (6 vols, ASE 13–18, London 1903–08)
Five Theban Tombs (ASE 21, London 1913)
The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes (RPTMS 1, New York 1917)
The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes (2 vols, RPTMS 2–3, New York 1922–1923)
The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes (RPTMS 4, New York 1925)
Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes (RPTMS 5, New York 1927)
The Tomb of Ken-Amûn at Thebes (PMMA 5, New York 1930)
‘Tehuti, owner of tomb 110 at Thebes’, in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London 1932), 279–290
‘The Work of the Graphic Branch of the Expedition’, *BMMA* 27 (1932), Part II, 51–62
The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes (2 vols, PMMA 9, New York 1933)
Paintings from the tomb of Rekh-mi-rê' at Thebes (PMMA 10, New York 1935)
The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose (MET 1, London 1941)
The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rê' at Thebes (2 vols, PMMA 11, New York 1943)
Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah (MET 2, London 1948)
- Davies, Norman de Garis and Nina de Garis Davies,
The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose, and Another (TTS 5, London 1933)
- Davies, Norman de Garis and M. F. Laming Macadam,
A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones (Oxford 1957)
- Davies, W. V. (ed.),
Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt (London 2001)
- Davis, T. M.,
The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV (London 1904)
The tomb of Hâtshopsîtû (London 1906)
The Tomb of Louiya and Tuiyou (London 1907)
The Tomb of Queen Tiyi (London 1910)
The Tombs of Harmhabî and Touatânkhamanou (London 1912)
- Dawson, J.,
Conservation of textiles and other objects, Cambridge Theban Mission Report 1999 (<http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/report99/textile.html>, accessed 10/1/2014)
- Dawson, J., Rozeik, C. and M. M. Wright (eds),
Decorated surfaces on ancient Egyptian objects: technology, deterioration and conservation. Proceedings of a conference held in Cambridge, UK on 7–8 September 2007 (London and Cambridge 2010)
- de Vartavan, C.,
‘Contaminated Plant Foods from the Tomb of Tutankhamun: A New Interpretative System’, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 17 (1990)(5), 473–494
- de Vries, F.,
‘Chufa (*Cyperus esculentus*, Cyperaceae): A Weedy Cultivar or a Cultivated Weed?’, *Economic Botany* 45/1 (1991), 27–37
- Delvaux, L.,
‘La statue A134 du premier prophète d'Amon Hapouseneb’, *SAK* 15 (1988), 53–67
- Derchain, P.,
‘La perruque et le cristal’, *SAK* 2 (1975), 55–74
- Derry, D. E.,
‘On predynastic Egyptian tibiae’, *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology* 41 (1907), 123–130
- Dias G. and N. Tayles,
‘“Abscess cavity” – a misnomer’, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 7 (1997), 548–554
- Dodson, A.,
‘Crown prince Djhutmose and the royal sons of the eighteenth dynasty’, *JEA* 76 (1990), 87–96
‘On the Burial of Maihirpri and Certain Coffins of the Eighteenth Dynasty’ in C. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists* (OLA 82, Leuven 1998), 331–338
Amarna Sunset: Nefertiti, Tutankhamun, Ay, Horemheb, and the Egyptian Counter-Reformation (Cairo 2009)
- Dodson A. and J. J. Janssen,
‘A Theban Tomb and its tenants’, *JEA* 76 (1989), 125–138
- Donadoni Roveri, A. M.,
‘La tomba di Kha: il ritrovamento’, in Moiso (ed.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, 129–144
- Donadoni A. M., E. Leospo, E. D’Amicone, A. Roccati, S. Donadoni,
Il museo egizio di Torino. Guide alla lettura di una civiltà (Novara 1988, 1993)
- Donohue, V. A.,
‘A gesture of submission’, in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (EES OP 8, London 1992), 82–114
- Dorman, P. F.,
The monuments of Senenmut: problems in historical methodology (London 1988)
The Tombs of Senenmut. The Architecture and Decoration of Tombs 71 and 353 (PMMA 24, New York 1991)
Faces in Clay. Technique, Imagery and Allusion in a Corpus of Ceramic Sculpture from Ancient Egypt (MÄS 52, Mainz 2002)
‘Family burial and commemoration in the Theban necropolis’, in Strudwick and Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis*, 30–41
- Dorn, A.,
‘Men at work: zwei Ostraka aus dem Tal der Könige mit nicht-kanonischen Darstellungen von Arbeitern’, *MDAIK* 61 (2005), 1–11
- Doxey, D. M.,
Egyptian non-royal epithets in the Middle Kingdom (Leiden 1998)
- Drenkhahn, R.,
‘Prinzenerzieher’, in *LÄ* IV, 1106
- Dupuis, C., Aubry, M.-P., King, C., Knox, R. W. O. B., Berggren, W. A., Youssef, M., Galal, W. F. and Roche, M.,
‘Genesis and geometry of tilted blocks in the Theban Hills, near Luxor (Upper Egypt)’, *Journal of African Earth Sciences* 61 (2011), 245–267
- Dziobek, E.,
‘Eine Grabpyramide des frühen NR in Theben’, *MDAIK* 45 (1989), 109–132
Das Grab des Ineni. Theben Nr. 81 (AV 68, Mainz 1992)
Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun Theben Nr. 61 und 131 (AV 84, Mainz 1994)
‘Theban Tombs as a source for historical and biographical evaluation: the case of User-Amun’ in Assmann *et al.*, *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, 129–140
Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun (SAGA 18, Heidelberg 1998)
- Dziobek, E. and Mahmud Abd er-Raziq,
Das Grab des Sobekhotep: Theben Nr. 63 (AV 71, Mainz 1990)
- Eaton-Krauss, M.,
‘Restorations and erasures in the post-Amarna period’ in Hawass (ed.), *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century II*, 194–202
- Edel, E.,
Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan, II/1/2 (Wiesbaden 1970)
- Edwards, I. E. S.,
British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc., Part 8 (London 1939)
- EGgebrecht, A. (ed.),
Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht (Mainz 1987)
Sennefer. Die Grabkammer des Bürgermeisters von Theben (Mainz 1988)
Pelizaeus Museum Hildesheim. The Egyptian Collection (Mainz 1996)

- Eichler, E.,
‘Die Reisen des Senneferi (TT 99)’, *SAK* 26 (1998), 215–228
- Eigner, D.,
Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole (Wien 1984)
- Einaudi, S.,
‘La tomba di Kha: i sarcofagi’, in Moiso (ed.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, 181–198
- el-Khouli, A., R. Holthoer, C. A. Hope, O. E. Kaper,
Stone Vessels, Pottery and Sealings from the Tomb of Tut’ankhamūn (Oxford 1993)
- El Saady, H.,
The tomb of Amenemhab. No. 44 at Qurnah. The Tomb-chapel of a Priest carrying the shrine of Amun (Warminster 1996)
- Egyptian Mineral Resources Authority/Egyptian Geological Survey (EMRA),
Geologic Map of Luxor (Al Uqsar), Arab Republic of Egypt, 1/100,000. (Cairo 2006)
- Engelmann-von Carnap, B.,
Die Struktur des thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs in der ersten Hälfte der 18. Dynastie: Analyse von Position, Grundrissgestaltung und Bildprogramm der Gräber (ADAIK 15, Berlin 1999)
- Epigraphic Survey,
The Battle Reliefs of Sety I (OIP 107, Chicago 1986)
- Eriksson, K.,
‘Red lustrous wheelmade ware: a product of Late Bronze Age Cyprus’, in J. A. Barlow, D. L. Bolger and B. Kling (eds), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the prehistoric record* (University Museum Monograph 74, Philadelphia 1991), 81–96
- Erman, A.,
‘Die “Horuswege”’, *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 73
- Fabrietti, A., F. Rossi, R. V. Lanzzone,
Regio Museo di Torino, ordinato e descritto (Torino 1882)
- Fairman, H. W.,
‘The Inscriptions’, in J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten, III: The Central City and the Official Quarters* (EES EM 44, London 1951)
- Faulkner, R. O. and C. Andrews,
The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead (London 1985)
- Fazekas I. G. and K. Kosa,
Forensic fetal osteology (Budapest 1978)
- Ferembach, D., J. Schwidetzky and M. Stloukal,
‘Recommendations for age and sex diagnosis of skeletons’, *Journal of Human Evolution* 9 (1980), 517–549
- Feucht, E.,
Das Grab des Nefersecheru (TT296) (Theben 2, Mainz 1985)
- Fořtová-Šámalová P. and M. Vilimková,
Egyptian Ornament (London 1963)
- Frankfort, H.,
‘Preliminary report on the excavations at el-‘Amarnah, 1928–9’, *JEA* 15 (1929), 143–149
- Frankfort H. and J. D. S. Pendlebury,
The City of Akhenaten, II: The North Suburb and the Desert Altars (EES EM 40, London 1933)
- Freed, R. E., L. M. Berman, D. M. Doxey, N. S. Picardo,
The Secrets of Tomb 10A: Egypt 2000 BC (Boston 2009)
- Freed, R. E., Y. Markowitz and S. H. D’Auria,
Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen (Boston 1999)
- Fronabarger, A. K.,
Preliminary report on the geology and structural stability of three Theban tombs: TT72, TT121 and MMA 850. Theban Tombs Publication Project: Tombs No. 72 (Râ) and 121 (Ahmose). Conservation Report 2001 (South Carolina 2002)
- Galán, J. M.,
‘Nut on the ceiling of the burial chamber of Djehuty (TT 11)’, in E. Frood and A. McDonald, *Decorum and experience. Essays in ancient culture for John Baines* (Oxford 2013), 119–126
- Galán, J. M. and F. L. Borrego,
‘Funerary Cones from Dra Abu El-Naga (TT. 11–12)’, *Memnonia* 17 (2006), 195–208
- Gander, M.,
‘Imitation of Materials in Ancient Egypt’, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 265–271
- Gardiner, A. H.,
‘The tomb of Amenemhet, high-priest of Amon’, *ZÄS* 47 (1910), 87–99
Late-Egyptian Miscellanies (BAe 7, Brussels 1937)
Ancient Egyptian Onomastica (2 vols, Oxford 1947)
(ed.), *Rameside Administrative Documents* (London 1948)
‘The baptism of Pharaoh’, *JEA* 36 (1950), 3–12
Egyptian Grammar. Being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs. 3rd Edition (Oxford 1957)
- Gardiner, A. H., T. E. Peet and J. Černý,
The Inscriptions of Sinai. Part I: introduction and plates. 2nd revised edition (EES Memoirs 45/1, London 1952)
- Gardiner, A. H. and A. P. Weigall,
A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs at Thebes (London 1913)
- Gauthier, H.,
Dictionnaire des Noms Géographiques contenus dans les Textes Hiéroglyphiques (Cairo 1927),
- Genez, B. M., J. J. Willis, C. E. Lowrey, W. C. Lauerman, W. Woodruff, M. J. Diaz and J. B. Higgs,
‘CT findings of degenerative arthritis of the atlantoodontoid joint’, *American Journal of Roentgenology* 154 (1990), 315–318
- Georganteli, E. and M. Bommas (eds),
Sacred and profane: treasures of ancient Egypt from the Myers Collection, Eton College and University of Birmingham (London 2010)
- Giddy, L.,
Egyptian Oases (Warminster 1987)
- Giveon, R.,
‘Investigations in the Egyptian Mining Centres in Sinai. Preliminary Report’ *Tel Aviv* 1 (1974), 100–108
- Gnirs, A. M.,
‘Die ägyptische Autobiographie’ in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms* (Leiden 1996), 191–241
Militär und Gesellschaft (SAGA 17, Heidelberg 1996)
- Goedicke, H. and E. F. Wente,
Ostraka Michaelides (Wiesbaden 1962)
- Graefe, E.,
Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bj: (Köln 1971)
‘Bemerkungen zu Ramose, dem Besitzer von TT 46’, *GM* 33 (1979), 13–15
Das Grab des Padihorresnet, Obervermögensverwalter der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 196) (Monumenta Aegyptiaca IX, Turnhout 2003)
- Graefe, E. and G. Belova (eds),
The Royal Cache TT 320 – a re-examination (Cairo 2010)
- Gramstad G. D. and L. M. Galatz,
‘Management of elbow osteoarthritis’, *Journal of Bone and Joint Surgery* 88A (2006), 421–430
- Griffith, F. L.,
‘The Jar Inscriptions’, in W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna* (London 1894), 32–34
- Grimm, A. and S. Schoske,
Im Zeichen des Mondes. Ägypten zu Beginn des Neuen Reiches (München 1999)
- Guasch-Jané, M. R., C. Andrés-Lacueva, O. Jauregui and R. M. Lamuela-Raventós,
‘The origin of the ancient Egyptian drink shedeh revealed using LC/MS/MS’, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33 (2006), 98–101
- Guidotti, M. C.,
Museo Egizio di Firenze. Vasi dall’epoca protodinastica al Nuovo Regno (Museo Egizio di Firenze, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Roma 1991)

- Guillaume, A. A. Emery-Barbier, N. Cerville-Zonca,
 'Le remplissage sédimentaire de la tombe de Ramsès II', *Memnonia* 6 (1995), 147–173
- Guksch, H.,
Das Grab des Benja, gen. Paheqamen. Theben Nr. 343 (AV 7, Mainz 1978)
Königsdienst. Zur Selbstdarstellung der Beamten in der 18. Dynastie (SAGA 11, Heidelberg 1994)
Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb Theben Nr. 87 und 79 (AV 34, Mainz 1995)
- Habachi, L.,
 'Two graffiti at Sehel from the reign of queen Hatshepsut', *JNES* 16 (1957), 99–104,
The Second Stela of Kamose and his struggle against the Hyksos ruler and his capital (ADAIK 8, Glückstadt 1972)
- Hari, R.,
 'Cônes funéraires d'angle et cônes d'appoint', *BSFE* 8 (1983), 51–57
- Haring, B.,
 'Halabam on an ostrakon of the early New Kingdom?', *JNES* 74 (2015), 189–196
- Harris, J. R.,
Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals (Berlin 1961)
- Hartwig, M.,
Tomb painting and identity in ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE (Monumenta Aegyptiaca X, Turnhout 2004)
 (ed.), *The tomb chapel of Menna (TT 69), The art, culture and science of painting in a Theban tomb* (ARCE Conservation Series 5, Cairo–New York 2013)
- Harvey, S.,
 'Monuments of Ahmose at Abydos', *Egyptian Archaeology* 4 (1994), 3–5
- Hawass, Z.,
Hidden Treasures of the Egyptian Museum. One hundred masterpieces from the Centennial Exhibition (Cairo–New York 2002)
 (ed.), *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century: proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000* (3 vols, Cairo 2002–2003)
Hidden Treasures of Ancient Egypt (Washington DC 2004)
The lost tombs of Thebes. Life in paradise (London 2009)
- Hawass, Z. and M. Maher-Taha,
Le tombeau de Menna [TT. No 69] (Cairo 2002)
- Hawass, Z. et al.,
 'Ancestry and Pathology in King Tutankhamun's Family', *The Journal of the American Medical Association* 303/7 (2010), 638–647
- Hayes, W. C.,
 'The Tomb of Nefer-khewet and His Family', *BMMA* 30 (1935), Part II, 17–36
Ostraka and Name Stones from the tomb of Sen-Mut (no. 71) at Thebes (PMMA 15, New York 1942)
 'Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III', *JNES* 10 (1951), 169–176
The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2 vols, New York 1953)
- Hegazy, el-Sayed Aly and M. Tosi,
A Theban Private Tomb. Tomb no. 295 (AV 45, Mainz 1983)
- Hegazy, el-Sayed Aly and Y. Koenig,
 'Nouveaux ostraca hiératiques trouvés au Ramesseum', *Memnonia* 4–5 (1994), 55–58
- Helck, (H.) W.,
Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches (Leiden–Köln 1958)
 'Soziale Stellung und Grablage (Bemerkungen zur thebanischen Nekropole)', *JESHO* 5 (1962), 225–243
Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches IV (AAWLM 1963/3, Wiesbaden 1963)
 'Die Datierung des Schatzmeisters Sennefer', *GM* 43 (1981), 39–41
 'Priester, Priesterorganisation, Priestertitel', in *LÄ IV*, 1083–1097
- Hermann, A.,
Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie (ÄF 11, Glückstadt–Hamburg–New York 1940)
- Hikade, T.,
Das Expeditionswesen im ägyptischen Neuen Reich (SAGA 21, Heidelberg 2001)
- Hillson, S.,
Teeth (Cambridge 2005)
- Hofmann, U.,
Fuhrwesen und Pferdehaltung im alten Ägypten (Dissertation, Bonn 1989)
- Hölscher, U.,
Excavations at Ancient Thebes 1930/31 (OIC 15, Chicago 1932)
- Holthoer, R.,
New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: the Pottery (SJE 5(1), Copenhagen–Oslo–Stockholm 1977)
 'The Pottery', in el-Khouli et al., *Stone Vessels, Pottery and Sealings from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamün*, 64–67
- Hope, C. A.,
Excavations at Malqata and the Birket Habu 1971–1974: Jar Sealings and Amphorae of the 18th Dynasty (Egyptology Today 2/IV, Warminster 1977)
 'Innovation in the decoration of ceramics in the mid-18th dynasty', *CCE* 1 (1987), 97–122
Pottery of the Egyptian New Kingdom, three studies (Victoria College, Archaeology Research unit, Occasional Paper No. 2, Victoria 1989)
 'The XVIIIth dynasty pottery from Malkata', in Hope, *Pottery of the Egyptian New Kingdom*, 3–44
 'Amphorae of the New Kingdom', in Hope, *Pottery of the Egyptian New Kingdom*, 87–120
 'Some Memphite Blue Painted Pottery of the mid-18th Dynasty', in J. Phillips (ed.) *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Near East, Studies in honour of Martha Rhooads Bell* (San Antonio 1997), 249–288
 'The Jar Sealings', in el-Khouli et al., *Stone Vessels, Pottery and Sealings from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamün*, 87–138
 'Possible mid-18th dynasty examples of blue-painted pottery from the Egypt Exploration Society's Excavations at Memphis', in D. Aston et al. (eds), *Under the Potter's Tree. Studies on Ancient Egypt Presented to Janine Bourriau on the Occasion of her 70th Birthday* (OLA 204, Leuven 2011), 495–512
- Hope, C.A, M. A. J. Eccleston, P. Rose and J. Bourriau,
 in R. Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia: gifts of the desert* (London 2002), 95–131
- Hornung, E.,
 'The New Kingdom', in E. Hornung, R. Krauss and D. Warburton (eds), *Handbook of Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (Leiden–Boston 2006), 197–217
- Hulin, L.,
 'Pottery cult vessels from the Workmen's Village', in B. J. Kemp (ed.) *Amarna Reports I* (London 1984), 165–177
- Jacquet-Gordon, H.,
Le trésor de Thoutmosis Ier. La céramique (2 vols, Karnak–Nord X, Cairo 2012)
- James, T. G. H.,
 'The Earliest History of Wine and its Importance in Ancient Egypt', in McGovern et al., *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, 197–213
- Janssen, J. J.,
Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period: An Economic Study of the Village Necropolis Workmen at Thebes (Leiden 1975)
- Jéquier, G.,
Frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire (MMAF 47, Cairo 1921)
Décoration égyptienne : plafonds et frises végétales du Nouvel Empire thébain (1400 à 1000 avant J.-C.) (Paris 1911)
- Jiménez-Serrano, A. and C. von Pilgrim (eds),
From the Delta to the Cataract. Studies Dedicated to Mohamed el-Bialy (Leiden 2015),
- Jones, D.,
An index of ancient Egyptian titles (2 vols, BAR International Series 866, Oxford 2000)

- Jones, M.,
‘The work of the American Research Center in Egypt in the Tomb of Sety I in the Valley the Kings, 1998–1999’, in Hawass (ed.), *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century I*, 252–261
- Kákosy, L., T. A. Bács, Z. Bartos, Z. Fábrián, E. Gaál,
The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes (TT32) (Studia Aegyptiaca Series Maior I, Budapest 2004)
- Kampp, F.,
‘Zur Konzeption doppelter Bestattungslagen’, in Assmann *et al.* (eds), *Thebanische Beamtennekropole*, 205–218
Die thebanische Nekropole: zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der 18. bis zur 20. Dynastie (2 vols, Theben 13, Mainz 1996)
- Kampp-Seyfried, F.,
‘Overcoming death – the Private Tombs of Thebes’, in R. Schulz and M. Seidel, *Egypt. The world of the Pharaohs* (Köln 1998), 249–263
- Kamrin, J.,
The cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan (London–New York 1999)
- Katzenberg M. A. and S. R. Saunders,
Biological anthropology of the human skeleton (New York 2000)
- Kawai, N.,
‘Theban Tomb 46 and its owner, Ramose’, in S. H. D’Auria (ed.), *Offerings to the discerning eye: an Egyptological medley in honor of Jack A. Josephson* (Leiden 2010), 209–215
- Kees, H.,
Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit (Probleme der Ägyptologie 1, Leiden: 1953)
- Kelly, K. L. and D. B. Judd,
Color. Universal Language and Dictionary of Names (US National Bureau of Standards 1976)
- Killen, G.,
Ancient Egyptian Furniture (2 vols, Warminster 1980–1994)
- Kirk, R. E.,
‘Practical significance: a concept whose time has come’, *Educational and Psychological Measurement* 56 (1996), 746–759
- Kitchen, K. A.,
‘The Vintage of the Ramesseum’, in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (EES OP 8, London 1988), 115–123
- Koenig, Y.,
Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh (DFIFAO 21, Cairo 1979–1980), fascs I–II (Deir el-Medina)
‘Nouveaux textes hiératiques de la Vallée des Reines [I]’, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 113–129
‘Les étiquettes de jarres du musée du Louvre’, *RdE* 44 (1993), 55–73
- Kondo, J.,
‘Inscribed funerary cones from Dra’ Abu al-Naga’, *Orient* 28 (1992), 111–123
- Kostick, E. L.,
‘Facets and imprints on the upper and lower extremities of femora from a Western Nigerian population’, *Journal of Anatomy* 97 (1963), 393–402
- Kóthay, K. A. (ed.),
Art and Society. Ancient and Modern Contexts of Egyptian Art (Budapest 2012)
- Kruchten, J.-M.,
Le Décret d’Horemheb (Bruxelles 1981)
- Kruck, E.,
Dra’ Abu el-Naga I. Eindrücke. Grabkegel als Elemente thebanischer Grabarchitektur (AV 124, Wiesbaden 2012)
- Laboury, D.,
‘Une relecture de la tombe de Nakht (TT52, Cheikh ‘Abd el-Gourna)’, in R. Tefnin (ed.), *La peinture égyptienne ancienne: un monde de signes à préserver: actes du Colloque international de Bruxelles, avril 1994* (Série IMAGO 1; Monumenta Aegyptiaca 7, Bruxelles 1994), 49–81
- Lacau, P.,
‘La stèle J.E. 59636 du Musée du Caire’, in J. Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette* (BdE 32, 1961), 211–227
- Lakomy, K.,
“‘Embalming caches’ im Tal der Könige: eine Bestandsaufnahme für die XVIII. Dynastie”, *GM* 228 (2011), 21–32
- Lansing, A. and W. C. Hayes,
‘The Museum’s Excavations at Thebes’, *BMAA* 32 (1937), Part II, 4–39
- Lapp, G.,
Die Opferformel des alten Reiches unter Berücksichtigung einiger späterer Formen (SDAIK 21, Mainz 1986)
The Papyrus of Nu (Catalogue of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum I, London 1997)
- Lapp G. and A. Niwiński,
‘Coffins, Sarcophagi and Cartonnages’ in D. B. Redford (ed), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford 2001), I, 284
- Laroche, F. and C. Traunecker,
‘La chapelle adossée au temple de Khonsou’, *Cahiers de Karnak* 6 (1973–1977), 167–196
- Leach, B.,
Conservation of papyrus, Cambridge Theban Mission Report 1999 u. 2000 (<http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/rt99/report99/papyrus.html>, <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/rt99/report00/papyrus.html>, accessed 10/1/2014)
- Leach, B. and J. Tait,
‘Papyrus’, in Nicholson and Shaw, (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 227–253
- Leahy, M. A.,
Excavations at Malkata and the Birket Habu 1971–1974: The Inscriptions (Egyptology Today 2/IV, Warminster 1978)
‘The Hieratic Labels, 1979–82’, in B. Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports II* (London 1985), 65–109
- Lecuyot, G.,
‘La céramique de la Vallée des Reines: bilan préliminaire’, *CCE* 4 (1996), 145–169
- Lee, L. and S. Quirke,
‘Painting materials’, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 104–120
- Lesko, L.,
King Tut’s Wine Cellar (Berkeley 1977)
‘Egyptian Wine Production during the New Kingdom’, in McGovern *et al.*, *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, 215–230
- Lilyquist, C.,
Egyptian Stone Vessels. Khian through Tuthmosis IV (New York 1995)
The tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III (New Haven, Conn.–London 2003)
- López, J.,
Ostraca Ieratici, I–IV (Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, Serie Seconda – Collezioni 3, Milan 1978–1984)
- Loprieno, A.,
Ancient Egyptian. A linguistic introduction (Cambridge 1995)
- Loret, V.,
Le tombeau de l’am-xent Amen-hotep, *MMAF* 1, fasc. 1. 1884 (1889) 23–32
‘Le titre $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆏}}\overline{\text{𓆑}}$ ’, *RT* 38 (1916), 61–68
- Lovejoy, C. O., A. H. Burstein and K. G. Hepple,
‘The biomechanical analysis of bone strength: a method and its application to platycnemia’, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 44 (1976), 489–505
- Loyrette, A.-M.,
‘Les tombes de la vallée des trois puits, a Thèbes-ouest’, *Memnonia* 8 (1997), 177–195
- Lucas, A.,
Ancient Egyptian materials and industries. 4th ed., ed. J. R. Harris (London 1962)
- Lyman, R. L.,
Quantitative paleozoology (Cambridge 2008)
- Mackay, E.,
‘The representation of shawls with a rippled stripe in the Theban tombs’, *JEA* 10 (1924), 41–43

- Malek, J.,
‘We have the tombs, who needs the archives?’, in Strudwick and Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis*, 229–243
- Manniche, L.,
City of the Dead. Thebes in Egypt (London–Chicago 1987)
Lost Tombs. A study of certain eighteenth dynasty monuments in the Theban Necropolis (London 1988)
An Ancient Egyptian Herbal (Austin 1989)
‘The so-called scenes of daily life in the private tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty: an overview’, in Strudwick and Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis*, 42–45
- Manuelian, P. D.,
Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II (HÄB 26, Hildesheim 1987)
‘Semi-literacy in Egypt: some erasures from the Amarna Period’, in E. Teeter and J. A. Larson (eds), *Gold of Praise. Studies on Ancient Egypt in honor of Edward F. Wente* (OIP 58, 1999), 285–298
- Marchand S. and P. Tallet,
‘Ayn Asil et l’oasis de Dakhla au Nouvel empire’, *BIFAO* 99 (1999), 307–352
- Maresh, M. M.,
‘Linear growth of long bones of extremities from infancy through adolescence’, *American Journal of the Diseases of Children* 89 (1955), 725–742
- Marshall, F. and T. Pilgrim,
‘NISP vs MNI in quantification of body-part representation’, *American Antiquity* 58 (1993), 261–269
- Martin, G. T.,
The Hidden Tombs of Memphis: New Discoveries from the Time of Tutankhamun and Ramesses the Great (London 1991)
- Mayes, S.,
The Great Belzoni (London 1959)
- McClymont, A.,
‘Action, Reaction & Interaction: The Mechanics of the Amarna Period Erasure Campaign and its Impact on the Theban Necropolis’, in E. Priglinger and A. Kahlbacher (eds), *Tradition and Transformation in Ancient Egypt. Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress for Young Egyptologists 15–19 September, 2015, Vienna*, forthcoming
- McDowell, A. G.,
Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow: The Colin Campbell Ostraca (Oxford 1993)
- McGovern, P. E., S. J. Fleming and S. H. Katz (eds),
The Origins and Ancient History of Wine (Food and Nutrition in History and Anthropology Series 11, Luxembourg 1995)
- McLane, J. and Wüst, R.,
‘Flood hazards and protection measures in the Valley of the Kings’, *Cultural Resource Management* 23 (2000), 35–38
- Meeks, D.,
‘La production de l’huile et du vin dans l’Égypte pharaonique’, in M.-C. Amouretti and J.-P. Brun (eds), *La production du vin et de l’huile en Méditerranée* (Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Supplément XXVI, Athens 1993), 3–38
- Megally, M.,
Le papyrus hiératique comptable E. 3226 du Louvre (BdE 53, Cairo 1971)
Recherches sur l’économie, l’administration et la comptabilité égyptiennes à la XVIIIe dynastie d’après le papyrus E. 3226 du Louvre (BdE 71, Cairo 1977)
- Menéndez, G.,
‘Figured ostraca from Dra Abu el-Naga (TT 11–12)’, *SAK* 37 (2008), 259–275
- Merrillees, R. S.,
The Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery Found in Egypt (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 18, Lund 1968)
- de Meulenaere, H.,
‘La statue d’un vizir thébain. Philadephia, University Museum E. 16025’, *JEA* 68 (1982), 138–144
- Minault-Gout A. and F. Thill,
Sai II. Le cimetière des tombes hypogées du Nouvel Empire (FIFAO 69, Cairo 2012)
- Miniaci, G.,
Rishi Coffins and the funerary culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt (GHP Egyptology 17, London 2011)
- Möller, G.,
Hieratische Paläographie: die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit (Leipzig 1909–1912)
- Moiso, B. (ed.),
Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha (Torino 2008)
- Mond, R.,
‘Report on work done in the Gebel esh-Sheikh abd-el-Kurneh at Thebes January to March 1903’, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 97–104
‘Report of work in the necropolis of Thebes during the winter of 1903–1904’, *ASAE* 6 (1905), 65–96
- Mond R. and W. B. Emery,
‘The burial shaft of the tomb of Amenemhêt’, *LAAA* 16 (1929), 49–74
- Mora, P., L. Mora, L. D’Alessandro and G. Capriotti,
‘Condition survey’, in M. A. Corzo (ed.), *Wall Paintings of the Tomb of Nefertari. Scientific studies for their conservation. First progress report July, 1987* (Cairo 1987), 112–123
- Munro, I.,
Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie. Kriterien ihrer Datierung (London/New York 1987)
Die Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie im Ägyptischen Museum Cairo (ÄA 54, Wiesbaden 1994)
Ein Ritualbuch für Goldamulette und Totenbuch des Month-em-hat (SAT 7, Wiesbaden 2003)
- Munsell Corporation,
Glossy Finish Collection. See presently <http://www.pantone.com/pages/products/product.aspx?pid=1344&ca=92> (accessed 12 June 2014)
- Murray, M. A.,
‘Wine Production and Consumption in Ancient Egypt’, in M. van der Veen (ed.), *The Exploitation of Plant Resources in Ancient Africa* (New York 1999), 149–169
‘Fruits, Vegetables, Pulses and Condiments’, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 636–637
- Murray, M. A., N. Boulton, and C. Heron,
‘Viticulture and Wine Production’, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 577–608
- Näser, C.,
‘Jenseits von Theben – Objektsammlung, Inszenierung und Fragmentierung in ägyptischen Bestattungen des Neuen Reiches’, in C. Kümmel, B. Schweizer, U. Veit (eds), *Körperinszenierung – Objektsammlung – Monumentalisierung: Totenritual und Grabbau in frühen Gesellschaften Archäologische Quellen in kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive* (Münster–New York–München–Berlin 2008), 445–472
‘Equipping and stripping the dead. A case study on the procurement, compilation, arrangement, and fragmentation of grave inventories in New Kingdom Thebes’, in S. Tarlow and L. Nilsson Stutz (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial* (Oxford 2013), 643–661
- Nagel, G.,
La céramique du Nouvel Empire à Deir el Médineh (DFIFAO 10, Cairo 1938)
- Nasr, M. W.,
‘The Theban Tomb 260 of User’, *SAK* 20 (1993), 173–202
- Naville, E.,
The Temple of Deir el-Bahari. 7 vols (London 1894–1908)
- Negbi, M.,
‘A sweetmeat plant, a perfume plant and their weedy relatives: a chapter in the history of *Cyperus esculentus* L. and *C. rotundus* L.’, *Economic Botany* 46/1 (1992), 64–71

- Negm, M.,
The tomb of Simut called Kyky. Theban Tomb 409 at Qurnah (Warminster 1997)
- Nelson, M.,
‘La Tombe d’une nourrice royale du début de la XVIIIème dynastie découverte au Ramesseum’, *Memnonia* 17 (2006), 115–129
- Newberry, P. E.,
‘Extracts from my notebooks (II)’, *PSBA* 22 (1900), 59–66
- Nicholson, P. T. and Shaw, I., (eds),
Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology (Cambridge 2000)
- Niwiński, A.,
‘Sarg NR–SpZt’, in *LÄ V*, 434–437
21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes. Chronological and Typological Studies (Theben 5, Mainz 1988)
Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B. C. (OBO 86, Freiburg/Schweiz u. Göttingen 1989)
- Nordström, H.-Å. and Bourriau, J.,
‘Ceramic technology: clays and fabrics’, in Do. Arnold and J. Bourriau (eds), *An introduction to ancient Egyptian pottery* (SDAIK 17, Mainz 1993), 143–190
- Ntanos, K. and Ambers, J.,
DCDS AR2004/43 Identification of white writing on papyrus AES 76638. Internal British Museum Scientific Research Group Report, 2004
- Ockinga, B. G.,
‘TT 147 – Observations on its Owners and Erasures’, *BACE* 15 (2004), 121–129
‘Use, reuse, and abuse of “sacred space”: observations from Dra Abu al-Naga’, in P. F. Dorman and B. M. Bryan (eds), *Sacred space and sacred function in ancient Thebes* (SAOC 61, Chicago 2007), 139–162
The tomb of Amenemope (TT148) I (ACE Reports 27, Oxford 2009)
- Otto, E.,
‘Thot als Stellvertreter des Seth’, *Or* 7 (1938), 69–79
Das altägyptische Mundöffnungsritual (ÄA 3, Wiesbaden 1960)
- Padgham, J.,
A new interpretation of the cone on the head in New Kingdom tomb scenes (BAR International Series 2431, Oxford 2012)
- Pardey, E.,
‘Der sog. Sprecher des Königs in der 1. Hälfte der 18. Dynastie’, in J. Aksamit, M. Dolińska, A. Majewska, A. Niwiński, S. Rzepka, Z. Szafranski (eds), *Essays in honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipińska* (Warsaw Egyptological studies 1, Warsaw 1997), 377–397
- Parkes, M. B.,
Pause and Effect. An introduction to the history of punctuation in the West (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1993)
- Pavlov, V. and S. Hodjash,
Egypteskaya plastika malych form (Moscow 1985)
- Peet, T. E.,
The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty (Oxford 1930)
- Peet, T. E. and C. L. Woolley,
The City of Akhenaten, I: Excavations of 1921 and 1922 at el-Amarneh (EES EM 38, London 1923)
- Perier-d’Ieteren, C.,
‘Images, matière et restauration’, in Warmenbol and Angenot (eds), *Thèbes aux 101 portes*, 147–152
- Petrie, W. M. F.,
Illahun, Kabun and Gurob: 1889–90 (London 1891)
Six Temples in Thebes (London 1896)
Researches in Sinai (London 1906)
Gizeh and Rifeh (ERA 13, London 1907)
Tarkhan I and Memphis V (BSAE 19, London 1913)
Amulets. Illustrated by the Egyptian collection in University College, London (London 1914)
- Pharaonen und Fremde. Dynastien im Dunkel* (Wien 1994)
- Phillips, D. W.,
‘Greetings for the New Year’, *BMAA* n.s. 3/5 (1945), 118–119
- Piehl, K.,
Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Egypte (Stockholm–Leipzig 1886–1903)
- Pinch-Brock, L.,
‘An unpublished photo of the KV55 burial chamber’, *GM* 175 (2000), 65–71
- Polz, D. A.,
‘Excavation and recording of a Theban tomb. Some remarks on recording methods’, in Assmann *et al.* (eds), *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology*, 119–140
‘Die *ḥr*-Vorsteher des Neuen Reiches’, *ZÄS* 117 (1990), 43–60
‘Die Särge aus Schacht II der Grabanlage’ in Assmann, *Amenemope*, 244–267
(ed.), *Für die Ewigkeit geschaffen. Die Särge des Imeni und der Gebeset* (Mainz 2007)
- Poo, M.,
Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt (London 1995)
- Posener, G.,
‘Notes de transcription’, *RdE* 28 (1976), 146–148
- Priese, K. H. (ed.),
Ägyptisches Museum (Mainz 1991)
- Radwan, Ali,
Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie (MÄS 21, Berlin 1969)
- Quibell, J. E.,
‘Report on work done in Upper Egypt during the winter 1904–1905’, *ASAE* 7 (1906), 8–10
Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos 51001–51191. Tomb of Yuua and Thuui (Cairo 1908)
- Quirke, S. G. J.,
Owners of Funerary Papyri in the British Museum, (BM Occasional Paper 92, London 1993)
‘Horn, feather and scale, and ships. On titles in the Middle Kingdom’, in P. D. Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* (Boston 1996), 665–677
- Raven, M. J.,
‘On some coffins of the Besenmut family’, *OMRO* 62 (1981), 7–21
- Redford, S. and D. Redford,
The Tomb of Re’a (TT201) (Toronto 1994)
- Reeves, (C.) N.,
Valley of the Kings: The Decline of a Royal Necropolis (London 1990)
The Complete Tutankhamun: The King, The Tomb, The Royal Treasure (London 1990)
- Reeves, C. N. and D. P. Ryan,
‘Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones in Situ: An Early Observation by Henry Salt’, *VA* 3 (1987), 47–49
- Reeves, N. and R. H. Wilkinson,
The Complete Valley of the Kings (London 1996)
- Reisner, G. A.,
Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Amulets (2 vols, Cairo 1907–1958)
- Riefstahl, E.,
‘An Egyptian portrait of an old man’, *JNES* 10 (1951), 65–73
- Rhind, A. H.,
Thebes: Its Tombs and their Tenants (London 1862)
- Rickerby, S.,
‘Heat alterations to pigments painted in the fresco technique’, *The Conservator* 15 (1991), 39–44
‘Original painting techniques and materials used in the tomb of Nefertari’, in M. A. Corzo and M. Afshar (eds), *Art and Eternity: The Nefertari Wall Paintings Conservation Project, 1986–1992* (Los Angeles 1993), 43–52
- Roberts, M.,
Guineafowl Past & Present (Gold Cockerel Books 2002)

- Roehrig, C. H.,
The Eighteenth Dynasty titles Royal Nurse (mnṯ nswt), Royal Tutor (mnṯ nswt), and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (sn/nt mnṯ n nb tswy) (Dissertation, Berkeley 1990)
- Roehrig, C. H., R. Dreyfus, and C. A. Keller (eds),
Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh (New York–New Haven 2005)
- Rogers J. and T. Waldron,
 'DISH and the monastic way of life', *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 11 (2001), 257–365
- Rogge, E.,
Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Ägyptisch-orientalische Sammlung, Lieferung 6: Statuen des Neuen Reiches und der Dritten Zwischenzeit (CAA Wien 6, Mainz 1990)
- Romano, J. F.,
The Bes-image in Pharaonic Egypt (Dissertation, New York 1989)
- Rommelaere, C.,
Les chevaux du nouvel empire Egyptien (Bruxelles 1991)
- Rose, P. J.,
 'The Pottery', in Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 166–181
 'Ceramics from New Kingdom tombs: recording and beyond', in Strudwick and Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis*, 202–209
The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna (EES EM 83, London 2007)
- Rößler-Köhler, U.,
Kapitel 17 des Ägyptischen Totenbuches. Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte und Funktion eines Textes der altägyptischen Totenliteratur (GOF IV, 10, Wiesbaden 1979)
- Russmann, E. R.,
Eternal Egypt. Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum (London–New York 2001)
- Sahajpal, D. T. and D. Pichora,
 'Septal aperture: an anatomic variant predisposing to bilateral low-energy fractures of the distal humerus', *Canadian Journal of Surgery* 49 (2006), 363–364
- Säve-Söderbergh, T.,
Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs (PTT 1, Oxford 1957)
- Sartini, L.,
 'The Black Coffins with Yellow Decoration: a Typological and Chronological Study', *EVO* 38 (2015), 49–66
- Sauneron and J. Jacquet,
Les ermitages chrétiens du désert d'Esna I: archéologie et inscriptions (FIFAO 29.1, Cairo 1972)
- Scheele, K.,
Die Stofflisten des Alten Reiches. Lexikographie, Entwicklung und Gebrauch (MENES 2, Wiesbaden 2005)
- Scheuer, L. and S. Black,
The juvenile skeleton (London 2004)
- Schiapparelli, E.,
La Tomba intatta dell'architetto "Cha" nella necropole di Tebe (Relazione II, Torino 1927)
- Schmitz, B.,
Untersuchungen zum Titel s-njswt "Königssohn" (Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Ägyptologie 2, Bonn 1976)
 'Schatzmeister', in *LÄ V*, 539–543
- Schneider, H. D., S. Spurr, N. Reeves and S. Quirke,
The Small Masterpieces of Egyptian Art. Selections from the Myers Museum at Eton College (Windsor and New York 1999)
- Scholl, R. J., H. M. Kellett, D. P. Neumann and A. G. Lurie,
 'Cysts and cystic lesions of the mandible: clinical and radiologic-histopathologic review', *Radiographics* 19 (1999), 1107–1124
- Schoske, S.,
Schönheit – Abglanz der Göttlichkeit. Kosmetik im alten Ägypten (Schriften aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 5, München 1990)
- Schott, S.,
Das schöne Fest vom Wüstenale, Festbräuche einer Totenstadt (AAWLM 11, Mainz 1952)
- Schreiber, G.,
The mortuary monument of Djehutymes II: finds from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Studia Aegyptiaca Series Maior II, Budapest 2008)
 'The Burial Shaft of the Tomb of Amenhotep, Overseer of the First Phyle Theban Tomb No. -64-', in E. Bechtold, A. Gulyás and A. Hasznos (eds), *From Illahun to Djeme. Papers Presented in Honour of Ulrich Luft* (BAR S2311, Oxford 2011), 253–268
 'From Tuthmosis III to Antoninus Pius. Glimpses into the History of Theban Tomb -400-', in *Current Research of the Hungarian Archaeological Mission in Thebes* (Publications of the office of the Hungarian Cultural Counsellor in Cairo, 2014–2015)
The Tomb of Amenhotep, Chief Physician in the Domain of Amun. Theban Tomb -61-. Archaeology and Architecture (Studia Aegyptiaca Series Maior II, Budapest 2015)
- Schulman, A. R.,
 'The iconographical Theme: "Opening of the Mouth" on stelae', *JARCE* 21 (1984), 169–196
- Schulz, R.,
Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus. Eine Untersuchung zu den sogenannten "Würfelhockern" (2 vols, HAB 33–34, Hildesheim 1992)
- Seiler, A.,
 'Die Keramikbearbeiten', in Polz, D. A., 'Bericht über die erste Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga / Theben-West', *MDAIK* 48 (1995), 124–130
 'Archäologisch faßbare Kultpraktiken in Grabkontexten der frühen 18. Dynastie in Dra' Abu el-Naga/Theben', in Assmann *et al.* (eds), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, 185–203
- Seipel, W.,
Ägypten. Götter, Gräber und die Kunst. 4000 Jahre Jenseitsglaube I (Linz 1989)
- Serpico M. and R. White,
 'Oil, Fat and Wax', in Nicholson and Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 390–429
 'Resins, amber and bitumen' in Nicholson and Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 430–474
 'The botanical identity and transport of incense during the Egyptian New Kingdom', *Antiquity* 74 (2000), 884–897
 'The use and identification of varnish on New Kingdom funerary equipment' in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 33–42
- Sethe, K.,
 'Eine ägyptische Expedition nach dem Libanon im 15. Jahrhundert vor Chr.', *SPAW* 1906, 356–363
- Settgast, J.,
Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen (ADAIK 3, Glückstadt 1960)
- Seyfried, K.-J.,
 'Entwicklung in der Grabarchitektur des neuen Reiches als eine weitere Quelle für theologische Konzeptionen der Ramessidenzeit', in Assmann *et al.*, *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology*, 219–253
Das Grab des Amenmose (TT373) (Theben 4, Mainz 1990)
Bemerkungen und Quellen zum ḥb nfr n jnt, dem "Schönen Fest des Tales" (*Göttinger Miszellen*, Beihefte Nr. 13, Göttingen 2013)
- Shedid, Abdel Ghaffar,
Stil der Grabmalereien in der Zeit Amenophis' II. Untersucht an den Thebanischen Gräbern Nr. 104 und Nr. 80 (AV 66, Mainz 1988)
- Shorter, A. W.,
 'The tomb of Aahmose, supervisor of the mysteries in the house of the morning', *JEA* 16 (1930), 54–62
 'The god Nehebkau', *JEA* 21 (1935), 41–48
- Simpson, C.,
 'Modern Qurna—pieces of an historical jigsaw', in Strudwick and Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis*, 244–249

- Smith, L. M. V., J. D. Bourriau, Y. Goren, M. J. Hughes, and M. Serpico, 'The provenance of Canaanite amphorae found at Memphis and Amarna in the New Kingdom: results 2000–2002', in J. Bourriau and J. Phillips (eds), *Invention and Innovation: The social context of technological change 2: Egypt and the Near East 1650–1150 BC* (Oxford 2004), 55–77
- Smith, H. S., *The Fortress of Buhen, II: The Inscriptions* (EES EM 48, London 1976)
- Smith, S. T., 'Intact Tombs of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties from Thebes and the New Kingdom Burial System', *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 193–231
Wretched Kush: ethnic identities and boundaries in Egypt's Nubian empire (London 2003)
- Smith, W. S., *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (3rd ed., rev. W. K. Simpson, New Haven and London 1998)
- Spalinger, A., 'A Canaanite ritual found in Egyptian reliefs', *JSSA* 8 (1977–1978), 47–60
The Private Feast Lists of Ancient Egypt (ÄA 57, Wiesbaden 1986)
- Speelers, L., *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des musées royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles* (Brussels 1923)
- Spiegel, J., 'Die Entwicklung der Opferszenen in den thebanischen Gräbern', *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 190–207
- Spiegelberg, W., 'Hieratic Ostraca and Papyri found by J. E. Quibell in the Ramesseum', in J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (London 1898)
Hieratic ostraca and papyri found by J. E. Quibell in the Ramesseum, 1895–6 (BSAE /ERA [2*] (extra volume), London 1898)
'Bemerkungen zu den hieratischen Amphoreninschriften des Ramesseums', *ZAS* 58 (1923), 25–36
- Spurr, S., N. Reeves, and S. Quirke, *Egyptian art at Eton College: selections from the Myers Museum* (New York–Windsor 1999)
- Standaert, C. J., S. A. Herring, B. Halpern and O. King, 'Spondylolysis', *Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation Clinics of North America* 11 (2000), 785–803
- Staring, N., 'Fixed rules or personal choice? on the composition and arrangement of daily life scenes in Old Kingdom elite tombs', in N. Strudwick and H. Strudwick (eds), *Old Kingdom, new perspectives: Egyptian art and archaeology 2750–2150 BC* (Oxford 2011), 256–269
- Steindorff, G., *Aniba* (2 vols, Glückstadt–Hamburg 1935–1937)
- Strudwick, H., 'An accumulation of dirt: excavations at the courtyard of the tomb of Senneferi at Thebes', in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 263–271
- Strudwick, H. and J. Dawson, *Death on the Nile: uncovering the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (London 2016)
- Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London 1985)
'A well-known piece on Merseyside: Liverpool SAOS E 91', *JARCE* 27 (1990), 89–96
'An objective colour-measuring system for the recording of Egyptian tomb paintings', *JEA* 77 (1991), 43–56
The tombs of Amenhotep, Khnummose and Amenmose (TT294, 253 and 254) (Oxford 1996)
'Report on the work of the University of Cambridge Theban Mission 1998', *ASAE* 75 (1999–2000), 133–152
'The Theban Tomb of Senneferi [TT.99]. An overview of work undertaken from 1992 to 1999', *Memnonia* 11 (2000), 241–266
'Problems of recording and publication of paintings in the Private Tombs of Thebes', in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 126–140
'Block Statue of Sennefer', in Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 122–124 (46)
The tomb of Amenemopet called Tjanefer at Thebes (ADAIK 19, Berlin 2003)
'Theban Tomb 99 (Senneferi): University of Cambridge Theban Mission 2002', *ASAE* 79 (2005), 157–164
Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt (London 2006)
'True "Ritual Objects" in Egyptian private tombs?', in B. Backes, M. Müller-Roth, S. Stöhr (eds), *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot. Festschrift für Irmtraut Munro zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag* (SAT 14, Wiesbaden 2009), 213–238
'The early display of Egyptian sculpture in the British Museum', *EDAL* 1 (2009), 113–119
'Use and re-use of tombs in the Theban necropolis: patterns and explanations', in J. C. Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Elites et pouvoir en Égypte ancienne*, *CRIPPEL* 28 (2009–2010), 239–261
'Ancient Robbery in Theban Tombs', in P. P. Creasman (ed.), *Archaeological Research in the Valley of the Kings and Ancient Thebes. Papers presented in Honor of Richard H. Wilkinson* (University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition, Wilkinson Egyptology Series I, Tucson 2013), 333–352
'Modern Robbery in Theban Tombs', *Études et Travaux* 26 (2013), 637–651
'The false door of Senneferi, Theban Tomb 99', in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 272–287
'Details in the decoration of the Tomb of Senneferi (TT99)', in Angenot and Tiradritti (eds), *Artists and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, forthcoming
'The statue of Amenhotep, son-in-law of the chancellor Senneferi'. To be published in a forthcoming *Festschrift*
- Strudwick N. and H. Strudwick, *Thebes in Egypt* (London 1999)
- Strudwick, N. and J. H. Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future* (London 2003)
- Stupko-Lubczyńska, A., 'The Chapel of Hatshepsut as an Inspiration for the Theban Tombs Decoration: The Case of TT 39 (Puyemre)', *Études et Travaux* 26 (2013), 653–677
- Szafranski, Z. E., 'Pottery from the time of construction of the Hatshepsut temple', *DE* 22 (1992), 53–59
- Täckholm V. and M. Drar, *Flora of Egypt* (Cairo 1950)
- Tallet, P., 'Le shedeh: étude d'un procédé de vinification en Égypte ancienne', *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 459–492
'Une jarre de l'an 31 et une jarre de l'an 10 dans la cave de Toutânkhamon', *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 370–375
'Les "étiquettes" de jarres à vin du Nouvel Empire', in C. J. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists* (OLA 82, Leuven 1998), 1125–1133
'Quelques aspects de l'économie du vin en Égypte ancienne, au Nouvel Empire', in N. Grimal and B. Menu (eds), *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne* (BE 121, Cairo 1998), 241–267
'Les circuits économiques selon les étiquettes de jarres de Deir el-Medineh', in G. Andreu (ed.), *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois: La Vie en Égypte au Temps des Pharaons du Nouvel Empire* (Actes du Colloque organisé par le Musée du Louvre les 3 et 4 Mai 2002, Paris 2003), 253–278
'New Jar Labels from Deir al-Medina', in Z. Hawass (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century* (Cairo 2003), I, 495–498
'La fin des Devoirs du vizir', in Warmenbol and Angenot (eds), *Thèbes aux 101 portes*, 153–163
- Taylor, J. H., *Death and the Afterlife* (London 2001)
'Patterns of colouring on ancient Egyptian coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: an overview', in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 164–181

- (ed.), *Journey through the afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London 2010)
- Taylor, J. H. and N. C. Strudwick,
Mummies: Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt. Treasures from The British Museum (Santa Ana 2005)
- Teeter, E.,
Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Seal Impressions from Medinet Habu (OIP 118, Chicago 2003)
- Tefnin, R.,
‘Report on the eighth season of excavation and conservation in the Theban tombs of Amenemope TT29 and Sennefer TT96A in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (January 2–February 19, 2006)’, *ASAE* 82 (2008), 343–373
- Thompson, J.,
Wonderful Things. A history of Egyptology I: From Antiquity to 1881 (Cairo–New York 2015)
- Trapani, M.,
‘Behind the Mirror, Art and Prestige in Kha’s Funerary Equipment’, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 159–168
- Traunecker, C.,
‘La stèle fausse-porte du vice-chancelier Aménophis’, *Cahiers de Karnak* 6 (1973–1977), 197–208
- Trotter M. and G. C. Gleser,
‘A re-evaluation of estimation of stature based on measurements of stature taken during life and long bones after death’, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 16 (1958), 79–123
- Tutankhamun Database
<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/tutankhamundiscovery.html>
- Valbelle, D.,
‘La (les) route(s)-d’Horus’, in C. Berger, G. Clerc and N. Grimal, *Hommages à Jean Leclant IV* (BdE 106, Cairo 1994), 379–386
- Valloggia, M.,
Recherche sur les “messagers” (wpwtw) dans les sources égyptiens profanes (Geneva–Paris 1976)
- Vandier, J.,
Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne III: les grandes époques – la statuaire (2 vols, Paris 1958)
- van den Boorn, G. P. F.,
The Duties of the Vizier (London 1988)
- van der Spek, K.,
The modern neighbors of Tutankhamun (Cairo–New York 2011)
- van der Veen, M.,
Consumption, Trade and Innovation: Exploring the Botanical Remains from the Roman and Islamic Ports at Quseir al-Qadim, Egypt (Journal of African Archaeology Monograph Series 6, Frankfurt am Main 2011)
- Van Dijk, J.,
‘Hieratic inscriptions from the tomb of Maya at Saqqāra: a preliminary survey’, *GM* 127 (1992), 23–32
‘New Evidence on the Length of the Reign of Horemheb’, *JARCE* 44 (2008), 193–200
- Van Walsem, R.,
The Coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden (Egyptologische Uitgaven 10, Leiden 1997)
- Vandersleyen, C.,
Ouadj our wd wr. Un autre aspect de la vallée du Nil (Bruxelles 1999)
- Vernus, P.,
‘Mesen’, in *L’A* IV, 108–109
- Virey, P.,
Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIIIe dynastie, *MMAF* 5, fasc. 2. 1891 (1894) 197–380
- Vogelsang-Eastwood, G.,
Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing (Leiden–New York–Köln 1993)
- von Beckerath, J.,
Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten (Mainz 1997)
- von Bissing, F. W.,
Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Steingefässe (Vienna 1904–1907)
- Wahlberg, E.-L.,
‘The Mysterious Beverage Called Shedeh’, *GM* 230 (2011), 73–82
- Waldron, T.,
‘An unusual cluster of meningiomas?’, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 8 (1998), 213–217
‘The human remains’, in Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 138–151
Palaeopathology (Cambridge 2009)
- Warmenbol, E. and V. Angenot (eds),
Thèbes aux 101 portes. Mélanges à la mémoire de Roland Tefnin (Monumenta Aegyptiaca XII, 2010)
- Warren, E.,
‘An Investigation on the Variability of the Human Skeleton with Especial Reference to the Naqada Race, Discovered by Professor Flinders Petrie in His Explorations in Egypt’, *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, 61 (1897), 398–401
- Weigall, A. P.,
‘A report on the tombs of Shekh abd’ el Gürneh and el Assasif’, *ASAE* 9 (1908), 118–136
A guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt: from Abydos to the Sudan Frontier (London 1910)
- Wente, E. F.,
‘A Prince’s Tomb in the Valley of the Kings’, *JNES* 32 (1973), 223–234
- Whale, S.,
The Family in the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt. A study of the representation of the Family in Private Tombs (ACE Studies 1, Sydney 1989)
- Whittemore, T.,
‘The excavations at el-‘Amarnah, season 1924–5’, *JEA* 12 (1926), 3–12
- Wiebach, S.,
‘Die Begegnung von Lebenden und Verstorbenen im Rahmen des thebanischen Talfestes’, *SAK* 13 (1986), 263–291
- Wilkinson, C. K. and M. Hill,
Egyptian Wall Paintings: The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s Collection of Facsimiles (New York 1983)
- Willems, H.,
Chests of Life. A study of the typology and conceptual development of Middle Kingdom standard class coffins (Leiden 1988)
‘Die Grabkammer Djehutinakht (I.?) in Dayr al-Barshā – methodologische Aspekte der Rekonstruktion des Ablaufs des Bestattungsrituals anhand eines neuentdeckten Beispiels’, in A. H. Pries (ed.), *Die Variation der Tradition. Modalitäten der Ritualadaption im Alten Ägypten. Akten des Internationalen Symposiums vom 25.–28. November 2012 in Heidelberg* (OLA 240, Leuven, 2016), 133–170
- Williams, B. B.,
New Kingdom Remains from cemeteries R, V, S and W at Qustul and cemetery K at Adindan (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition 6. Chicago 1992)
- Wingo, E. O.,
Latin punctuation in the Classical Age (The Hague–Paris 1972)
- Winlock, H. E.,
‘The Egyptian Expedition 1927–1928: the Museum’s excavations at Thebes’, *BMMA* 23 (1928), Part II, 3–28
- Winter, E.,
‘Gründung eines Schott-Photo-Archivs in Trier’, *GM* 83 (1984), 95–98
- Wohlfarth, S.,
Grabbeigaben im Flachbild der Privatgräber des neuen Reiches: Versuch einer ikonographischen und kompositionellen Bestimmung (Dissertation München 2005: http://edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/archive/00003188/01/Wohlfarth_Susanne.pdf)
- Wood, B. G.,
‘Egyptian Amphorae of the New Kingdom and Ramesside Periods’, *Biblical Archaeologist* 50 (1987), 75–83
- Wreszinski, W.,
Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte (7 vols, Leipzig, 1923–1936)
- Xie, H., Li, L., Peng, R. and Ju, Y.,
‘Energy analysis and criteria for structural failure of rocks’, *Journal of Rock Mechanics and Geotechnical Engineering* 1 (2009), 11–20

- Yamaguchi, K., K. Ditsios, W.D. Middleton, C.F. Hildebolt, L.M. Galatz and S.A. Teefey,
‘The demographic and morphological features of rotator cuff disease. A comparison of asymptomatic and symptomatic shoulders’, *Journal of Bone and Joint Surgery* 88A (2006), 1699–1704
- Yoshimura, S. (ed.),
エジプト王家の谷・西谷学術調査報告書 [III]: KV Aとアメンヘテプ3世王墓(KV22)に隣接する地域 (Tōkyō 2011)
- Žabkar, L.,
A study of the Ba concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts (SAOC 34, Chicago 1968)
- Zivie, A.-P.,
La tombe de Pached à Deir el-Médineh (MIFAO 99, Cairo 1979)
‘Un chancelier nommé Nehesy’, in J. Bergman, J.F. Borghouts and C. Brunon (eds), *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier 1984), 245–252
Découverte à Saqqara: le vizir oublié (Paris 1990)
- Zohary, D., M. Hopf and E. Weiss,
Domestication of Plants in the Old World: The Origins and Spread of Cultivated Plants in West Asia, Europe and the Nile Valley (4th edn, New York 2012)

Preface

The tomb of Senneferi was identified as a potential subject for research in the late 1980s. TT99 took our attention as it was a large tomb, and a potential change from the smaller chapels on which we had cut our teeth in Thebes, and yet had been the subject of no systematic work. It was hoped the work would not take too many years, but in this we were sadly mistaken, firstly because we underestimated the amount of archaeological work needed, and secondly because the work circumstances of all persons involved, particularly mine, just did not permit the devotion of the amounts of time needed to the writing up of the work. However, I believe the result is better for the delays.

A project that has been in the making for twenty years requires numerous acknowledgements of thanks to colleagues and friends the world over.

Our first and foremost debt is to the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation/Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt (now the Ministry of Antiquities and Heritage). We have had the pleasure of working with many Chairmen of that body who, with the members of the Permanent Committee for Archaeology, granted the original concession to the tomb to the University of Cambridge Theban Mission and renewed it annually. The Chairmen with whom we worked were: Prof. Dr Mohamed Ibrahim Bakr, Prof. Dr Abd el-Halim Nur ed-Din, Dr Aly Hassan, Prof. Dr Gaballa Aly Gaballa and Prof. Dr Zahi Hawass. Their senior colleagues in Abbasiya and Zamalek were infallibly helpful: Dr Mutawa Balboush, Dr Mohamed el-Saghir, and Mr Sabri Abdel Aziz.

All EAO/SCA staff in Luxor have made the Mission the success it has been. I begin with the Directors of Upper Egypt, and of the East and West Banks, and their deputies. In addition to the aforementioned Dr Mohamed el-Saghir and Mr Sabri Abdel Aziz, in this category I wish to thank Dr Mohamed Nasr, Dr el-Sayed Aly Hegazy, Dr Mohamed el-Bialy, Mr Nour Abdel Ghaffar Mohamed, Mr Ibrahim Mahmud Soleiman and Mr Bakhit.

Our inspectors, who bore the day-to-day task of representing the SCA to the Mission, were of course key members thereof. Over the years we were privileged to have the services and help of Mr Abd el-Latif Ibrahim (1992), Mr Ahmed Rabia Ahmed (1993), Mr Said Jibril Mohamed (1994), Mr Ashraf Okasha (1995), Mme Hanaa Moursi el-Dessouqi (1996), Mr Ramadan Ahmed Aly (1997–1998), Mr Abdulrahman Ahmed Hassan (1999–2001) and Mr Ahmed Ezz ed-Din (2002). We could not have managed without them all.

Egyptian colleagues and friends have also provided assistance during visits to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; in addition to all Directors of the Museum in these years, I particularly thank Mr Adel Mahmoud and Miss Sabah el-Razeq for making objects in their care accessible to us.

During the years of excavation, we were able to rely on a very hard-working team of local workmen, many of whom joined us year after year, and on whom we came to rely. Their unflagging enthusiasm and hard work, notably during the digging seasons which often took place during Ramadan, contributed to the timely completion of what at time often looked like a Herculean task. We thank them profoundly; we were fortunate to have the services of only three *reis* during the time of the Mission: Baghdadi Diab Ittahir, Ittahir Diab Ittahir, and Hassan Mohamed Shamseddin. And we thank those taxi drivers who worked with us, in particular Aly el-Gazar and Aly es-Sakkit.

Now to the non-Egyptian members of our team. The names of many of the following will be found on their contributions to this volume; every member of the team played a key role in ensuring the maintenance of a friendly and highly co-operative atmosphere during the field season. I believe that a happy staff produces better work, and that is embodied in the volume: Helen Strudwick (1992–2001), Julie Dawson (1993–2001), Rachel Walker (1993–1995), Alexandra Whittaker (1993–1994, 1997), Pamela Rose (1994–2001), Anthony Middleton (1995, 2000–2001), Lynn Meskell

(1995–1996), Helen Howard (1996), Alison Gascoigne (1996), Günter Heindl (1997–1998), Lisa Shekede (1997), Rebecca Hardy (1997–1998), Rita Lucarelli (1997–1998), Tony Waldron (1998, 2002), Gillian Pyke (1998–2001), Rosalind Janssen (1998), Bridget Leach (1999–2000), John Taylor (1999–2000), Alan Clapham (1999), Amanda Dunsmore (2000), Heike Behlmer (2001), April Farmer (2001) and Evan York (2001). I also wish to acknowledge the important contributions of three further individuals whose names grace chapters of this book: Briant Bohleke took time out from his work at Chicago House to examine the hieratic inscriptions found; Irmtraut Munro was kind enough to put her unparalleled expertise on the Book of the Dead to work on the papyrus and linen fragments; and Trevor Emmett found time to write the geology report in the final stages of publication without having the opportunity to see the site for himself. I also want to acknowledge again Julie Dawson, who has done so much work on this project and whose main contributions will appear in Part II; without her deeply thoughtful comments and perceptive eye, the sections on the wall paintings would be so much poorer. It has been an honour to work with this industrious, productive and delightful group of people.

I am particularly indebted to all those involved in writing chapters in the present publication. Despite their regular work commitments and the unpredictability of modern life, they have produced their essential contributions. Many factors have contributed to the unconscionably long time it has taken to bring the first part this publication to completion, but everyone has persisted admirably and exhibited great patience with the inevitable delays, and at times my constant pestering.

No expedition can go into the field without financial backing. The University of Cambridge Theban Tombs Project has benefited from the support of both institutional bodies and from the financial assistance of many private individuals. Principal among the institutional sponsors were the British Academy and the Gerald Avery Wainwright Fund for Near Eastern Archaeology (1993–1998), but essential contributions came from the Thomas Mulvey Egyptology Fund (1995–1997), the Townley Group of the British Museum Friends (1999–2002) and the Society of Antiquaries of London (2000–2002).

Individual donors are many: Mrs S. Sparrow, the Sussex College of Egyptology, Mr & Mrs A. W. Ladd, Dr Joseph S. Klemek, Robin Young, Catella UK Ltd, Mr R Hardy, Noel Sweitzer, and Wim Hance; we thank Hanwell Instruments for the loan of a data-logger.

We are very grateful to the Egypt Exploration Society for the use of the facilities of their Cairo office, and to their representative at the time, Rawya Ismail, for her help and support. The progress made in the excavation of the large shaft

in 1998 would not have been possible without the loan of an electric winch belonging to the Gnosarch Foundation, and the assistance of Erhart Graefe is deeply appreciated. The help in Luxor of Chicago House and the German Archaeological Institute is gratefully acknowledged.

There are many other Egyptological colleagues and friends whose help and support has been constant over the years, and who have contributed helpful practical advice as well as moral support: Aly Omar Aly Abdalla, Jan Assmann, Peter F. Dorman, Craig Hartley, Heike Heye, W. Raymond Johnson, Friederike Kampp-Seyfried, Anthony Leahy, H. de Meulenaere, Dietrich Raue, Nicholas Reeves, Pamela Rose, Mohamed Saleh, Gábor Schreiber, Karl Seyfried, Donald Spanel, Patricia Spencer, John Taylor. The contributions of many other colleagues who have helped with specific input will be noted in the footnotes, but I must draw attention to Raimond Spekking and Bruce Allardice who were happy for us to use their wonderful aerial photos of Qurna.

The publication of this project has been, for practical reasons, split into two parts, one dealing with the New Kingdom use of the tomb, and the other with everything since. This split will enable the first fruits of research to appear now while the later crop is still growing.

Oxbow Books, through my editor Clare Litt and their Managing Editor Julie Gardiner, kindly responded positively to my proposal to publish this work. I thank them profoundly, especially in understanding of the delays and the need to publish it in two parts. I also wish to express my gratitude to their production manager, Mette Bundgaard, for helping me to smooth the passage of this complex manuscript through the production process.

Lastly, I must record personal debts to those who have been there for me in good and bad times and whose moral support has been inestimable. My late parents and parents-in-law all saw this project in the field stages, and I regret that none of them will see the appearance of this first volume; without them neither Helen nor I would be whatever we are today. Friends have also been there for conversation and drinks at all times, and I must thank for this Galina Bradley, Joanna and Peter Haselden and Martine and Mark Smith, as well as all the members of Devil's Dyke Morris Men, which group I joined in the year this project began. And lastly of course, Helen Strudwick has not only worked on this project since its inception, has read every word multiple times and contributed so much, but has always been there, Egyptologically and personally. Thank you Helen and everyone.

Nigel Strudwick

Cambridge
June 2016

Introduction

Nigel Strudwick

The tomb of Senneferi is located in the Upper Enclosure of Sheikh Abdel Qurna on the West Bank of Luxor, close to the similarly-named but better known monument of Sennefer (TT96), and immediately above that of Rekhmire (TT100). The tomb consists of a classic 18th dynasty T-shaped decorated tomb chapel, with a superstructure and a large Courtyard, and shafts were sunk in the Courtyard and inside the tomb chapel.

The geographical and geological settings are described in more detail in Chapter 3. Two colour images of the tomb before work commenced will be found as **Colour pl. 2A** and **Colour pl. 2B**.

1.1 Publication structure

Far too many Theban tombs continue to be published simply as presentation of the data by theme, such as the description of the decoration followed by an archaeological report and a catalogue of finds. While there is nothing *a priori* wrong with this approach, it makes no real concession to the complex use phases of the typical Theban tomb, which are generally more complex than those typically seen for, say, a mastaba of the Old Kingdom at Giza or Saqqara. The present publication is structured round a history of the tomb from its initial cutting until the Cambridge Theban Tombs Project began work in 1992, and we wish to acknowledge the pioneering work of Heike Guksch in this respect.¹

It was originally intended to publish all the data in a single volume. However, it became evident that there was such a mass of material that more than one volume might be needed.

The present volume (Part I) deals with material related to the tomb down to the end of the 18th dynasty. It begins with an introduction to the tomb, detailing previous research, methods used, and the different contexts which feature in the publication. The next chapter looks at Senneferi himself, his

family, the date of the tomb, and monuments of Senneferi outside the Chapel. The topographical and geological setting of the tomb is considered, which leads into the central chapter of the book describing the archaeology and architecture of the different 18th dynasty contexts, including descriptions of the excavation. The historical conclusions about the original tomb are presented there; these particularly concentrate on the different use and robbery phases of the main burial shaft. The following chapters present the research results from study of the decoration of the Chapel and the various categories of excavated material from the burial shaft of Senneferi (Shaft I).

The second volume (Part II) will take the story of the tomb from the end of the 18th dynasty until the 20th century AD. Nonetheless, for practical reasons, some material of the later New Kingdom, in particular the second part of the chapter on the hieratic jar labels (§ 10.3), has been incorporated here.

1.2 Recent history and earlier work in TT99

The private tombs of Thebes have over the past two centuries been worked on by a wide variety of persons, from early travellers through to modern scholars, and most have also not escaped the depredations of the tomb-robber. A glance at the entries in the *Topographical Bibliography* will show that for the majority of the monuments the only extant documentation is a miscellaneous collection of variable records in many different places. The number of tombs that have received full and systematic treatment is woefully low.

The tomb of Senneferi fits into the former of these groups, which is why it was selected for fieldwork. There are few records of any scholarly activity in it. The following history of the tomb since the later 19th century AD can be pieced together.

Percy Newberry claims to have discovered the tomb in

¹ Guksch, *Nacht-Min*.

1895, and in his brief published note he refers to a few of Senneferi's titles.² He also made the connection between the tomb and statue British Museum EA 48 (below, p. 22) and the Silsila shrine of Senneferi (below, p. 32). The next person to work in the tomb was Robert Mond, who excavated in this area of Sheikh Abdel Qurna during his first season in Thebes which began on 10 January 1903. He wrote in his first report:

§4—The tomb of Sen-nefera. I opened up and examined the large pit of the tomb of Sen-nefera, and in it I found fragments of papyrus, the rifled mummy, a sandstone face of a statue, the wooden face of a sarcophagus, and fragments of a limestone stela bearing his name and titles. Here we also found in the débris a fragment of a stela with the name of Ken-Amen. In the débris surrounding this tomb, I discovered fragments of a painted limestone stela in bas-relief and a small papyrus roll (a charm?) which requires to be unrolled.³

His second report additionally presented plans of the 'mummy pits' from the tombs which were unable to be included in the original report. For TT99, he gives sketches of two shafts.⁴ He also found at least one funerary cone of Senneferi, of the Davies–Macadam Corpus 154 type.⁵ In the copy of *ASAE* 5 in the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan in the British Museum, there is a marginal note 'EA 10742?' against the remark about the rolled-up papyrus. EA 10742 was bequeathed to the museum by Mond in 1939, and is in fact a Third Intermediate Period text; there is no evidence that it is the papyrus referred to in the report.

Enquiries relating to the archives of Mond have so far revealed next to no further material.⁶ Among the Mond manuscripts in Oxford is a notebook of Emery's dating to 1924 in which he says 'No 99. Sennefer, Chancellor. Large shaft excavated recently. Reliefs mainly obliterated'.⁷ It is intriguing that he does not mention that it was his current employer who had carried out the excavation!

The Mond description of the excavation ties in relatively well with the material from the present excavations (to be described further below). The fragments of papyrus in the above quote are surely more of the Book of the Dead papyri

of Senneferi (§7.1). But where are those finds now? In the early years of the 20th century, Howard Carter used the upper tomb of Sennefer as a magazine (TT96; the chapel is often termed TT96A and the burial chamber as TT96B), and Mond placed his inscribed and decorated material therein (see further p. 91 below). It is thus plausible that some of the large quantities of miscellaneous material still in TT96 in 2001–2002 incorporated some of that of Mond's work in TT99 found in 1903.

Roughly at the time that Mond was working in Thebes, Emile Baraize made his maps of the necropolis, and these indicate the presence of a shaft in the Courtyard.⁸ In 1905, Kurt Sethe visited the tomb as part of his contribution to collecting texts for the *Wörterbuch*. He was particularly interested in the Lebanon text, which he published separately in 1906,⁹ and most of the remainder of the texts appeared in Urk. IV, 528–44.¹⁰

Sethe was apparently the first to mention that the tomb was inhabited. There is no clear information as to the identity of the inhabitants, but the local tradition still had it in the 1990s that they were a family of Coptic weavers. Archaeological and architectural evidence certainly suggests that weavers lived here at some time, and this will be considered in Part II.

Along with most of the more prominent chapels, the tomb of Senneferi was included in the first stage of Arthur Weigall and Alan Gardiner's project to catalogue the private tombs.¹¹ Weigall refers to its being allocated the number 99 in 1909, and that it was then accessible to visitors:

A family was expropriated from this tomb, and an iron door was fixed by the Department, at the expense of Prince Djemil Pasha Tousson.¹² Very little of the painting now remains. I think this is the tomb the pit of which was cleared by Mond (*Annales*, V, II, p. 101).¹³

At the end of the article, Weigall added:

I have to record that, of the sum of L.E. 11,963 which remained as the balance of the L.E. 390 given by Prince Djemil Pasha Tousson, L.E. 10,656 was expended in the expropriating of the people from tombs nos 97, 98 and 99 and on putting on iron doors, and the balance of L.E. 1,307 will be spent later.¹⁴

of Said Pasha (see genealogical table in *Reports by his Majesty's High Commissioner on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt and the Sudan for the year 1920* (London 1921), 6; he lived from 1874 to 1933 (http://www.egyptedantan.com/famille_souveraine/famille_souveraine.32.htm, accessed 29 January 2015)). He was the younger brother of the better-known Omar Toussoun Pasha (Bierbrier (ed.), *Who was who in Egyptology*, 543–544).

¹³ *ASAE* 9 (1908), 135.

¹⁴ *ASAE* 9 (1908), 136. The LE 390 referred to was offered to the Antiquities Service in January 1905, and noted by Quibell, *ASAE* 7 (1906), 10 (4) (there as LE 400). Much of it was used for Weigall's excavation of the mortuary temple of Thutmose III. [British and American readers should note that the numbers are set in French notation, with ',' in place of '.'.] Weigall's excavations are briefly referred to in his *A guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, 255.

² Newberry, *PSBA* 22 (1900), 61–62.

³ Mond, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 101–102.

⁴ Mond, *ASAE* 6 (1905), 87 (fig. 21, 22), Fig. 55 on p. 66 below.

⁵ *ASAE* 6 (1905), 94 (282 (A)). See further below p. 49.

⁶ I am grateful to Patricia Winker of the School of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology in Liverpool for checking Mond's notes in Liverpool (fax dated 30/11/1995).

⁷ I am grateful to Jaromir Malek for permitting me access to this material. I regret not noting the specific reference.

⁸ *Plan des nécropoles thébaines*, feuille 32. The map does not indicate the ownership of the tomb.

⁹ *SPAW* 1906, 356–363. The sketch plan on p. 358 is erroneous (the tomb has two, not four, pillars); perhaps he confused it with TT96A?

¹⁰ Sethe's Zetteln for the tomb are numbered 994–1006.

¹¹ Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, 24–25.

¹² Probably the son of Mohamed Toussoun Pasha, and thus grandson

Gardiner remarks that the occupants of TT97 were bought out in 1907,¹⁵ and on the basis of Weigall's statement above it can reasonably be assumed that this date also applies to TT99.

After this busy time in the early years of the century, the tomb lay quiet for many years. Both Norman and Nina de Garis Davies worked at some time in the tomb. TT99 features briefly in Norman's notebooks in Oxford,¹⁶ but there are no tracings in the Davies archive. Neither does it appear that Nina made paintings of any scenes, but she did take detailed notes on the coloured hieroglyphs, and published colour copies of five signs.¹⁷

Other scholarly visitors have passed through the Chapel at various times. Siegfried Schott took a number of photographs,¹⁸ one of which was reproduced by Bruyère.¹⁹ A number of texts were copied by Jan Assmann in the 1960s.²⁰

1.3 The Cambridge Theban Tombs Project

Following work in the tombs in Khokha,²¹ our project to record Theban tombs turned its attention to the tomb of Senneferi. TT99 was chosen as, following some book research and an examination in 1989, it was clear that this was one of those Theban tombs about which very little was known, thus making a prime candidate for attention.

The reason for the lack of attention paid to TT99 is not really hard to seek. The Chapel, although once surely magnificent, had lost most of its painted decoration, and such tombs had never been among the priorities of our predecessors in the study of the necropolis. This relatively limited amount of decoration appealed to us in view of in the relatively limited fieldwork time available to us in the early 1990s, and it appeared a project which could be completed in a relatively short period of time. Initial permission was obtained from the SCA, as well as some funding, and the first season, consisting of a basic survey, took place in September 1992.

While the opportunity for closer and more careful examination of the paintings confirmed our initial assessment, a closer look at the interior floors of the Chapel made us realise that there was going to be a considerable archaeological component to the project, with no fewer than six shafts inserted into the Chapel, plus those excavated by Mond in the Courtyard.

Excavation of the shafts commenced in 1993. Work on

the interior shafts was completed in 1996, when work was transferred to the Courtyard, and completed in 1998 (a total of six seasons); following that, four further study seasons saw the work in the field completed in 2002.²²

This long programme of fieldwork was dictated by the sheer volume of material which came from the tomb. The Chapel may have a relatively small proportion of its original decoration surviving, but this was more than outweighed by the finds deriving from the shafts and Courtyard. The reward for this is that we are left with a detailed picture of the myriad uses and reuses through which TT99 has passed since it was cut for Senneferi in the fifteenth century BC until the tomb was provided with an iron gate by the Service des Antiquités in AD 1907.

This excavation was among the first to take advantage of the Internet for disseminating news about projects. <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/>, ongoing since 1997, has served an even more important role than originally envisaged due to the extended publication time. The outline of much of what will be found in the following pages has appeared on that site, and the rapid technological developments of the past two decades have allowed the inclusion of certain media types which cannot be used in print. It is also planned that this site will also house project data which cannot for practical reasons be placed in this book.

In addition to the web site, members of the mission and other scholars have been able to publish a number of interim reports and studies of individual aspects to ensure that the tomb has become quite well known.²³ These studies are referred to where they are relevant in this volume and in Part II.

The duration of this project has seen an enormous amount of technological change in the world, above all else the adoption and availability of more and more digital technologies, both for fieldwork and publication. The fieldwork in TT99 took place when many of these changes were relatively new and the associated products were beyond our means, and thus it is inevitable that some of the field methodologies used would not be applied in the second decade of the 21st century. This is particularly true for photography, as during the study seasons in 1999–2002, a mix of analogue and early digital photography was used, and it was not possible to take full advantage of the latter.

in Heidelberg. I am grateful to Karl-Joachim Seyfried for permitting me to consult them in 1996–1997.

²¹ Strudwick, *Amenhotep*.

²² The unpublished reports submitted to the SCA for each season are available on the TT99 web site (<http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/reports.html>, accessed 4 August 2014). Two of these were published by the SCA: Strudwick, *ASAE* 75 (1999–2000), 133–152; Strudwick, *ASAE* 79 (2005), 157–164. A general article on the tomb is Strudwick, *Memnonia* 11 (2000), 241–266.

²³ Most items are listed on the web site (<http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/publish.html>, accessed 23 October 2015).

¹⁵ *ZÄS* 47 (1910), 87.

¹⁶ Davies Mss 11.1.120 (Malek, in Strudwick and Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis*, 233).

¹⁷ *Picture Writing*, Pl. I, 1; Pl. VIII, 2, 10; Pl. IX, 4; Pl. X, 14.

¹⁸ The Schott photos are kept in Trier (see Winter, *GM* 83 (1984), 95–98); an online database of images is at <http://www.schott.uni-trier.de/> (accessed 1 July 2015). Schott photographed a limited number of scenes in the Shrine of the tomb (nos 8359–8366).

¹⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934–1935)*, Pt. 3, fig. 39; cf. p. 107 n.1, using Schott photo 8360.

²⁰ This material is located in the Theban Ramesside Project archives

1.4 Theft and damage

There is no obvious evidence of the cutting out in modern times of pieces of the wall paintings for sale. Comparison with the Schott photographs in Trier (see p. 3) do not indicate any deterioration or damage since they were taken in the 1930s.²⁴ Further comments on damage, including Amarna erasures, will be found in § 4.3.7; the report on the geology of the tomb should also be consulted (§ 3.2).

The subject of theft of the burial contents in the main shaft (Shaft I) will be considered in some detail in § 4.5.4.

1.5 Presentation of the material in this volume

Methods of referencing walls, scenes and texts: The decorated scenes are numbered using the same basic principles as were applied in the publication of TT253 and 254,²⁵ whereby each wall and doorway is assigned a number (here 1–18). Major registers are numbered from the top of the wall, the principal depiction usually numbered first and sub-registers given further lower hierarchical designations; thus ‘Scene 1.1.a’ means ‘Wall 1, upper register, upper sub-register’. The two pillars are designated A and B, and their faces are referred to using the normal abbreviations of the cardinal points. The description of each wall begins with a summary of the contents and notes on reconstruction (where possible). References to Porter and Moss scene numbers are given in each scene header.

This numbering system does encounter problems from the damaged nature of the decoration, but is intended as a method whereby the reader can quickly find his or her way to an area in conjunction with the wall plans, and also with the location diagrams which are provided for the walls with more decoration. It has been criticised as somewhat mechanical, but I firmly believe it permits the reader to relate quickly the scenes to their location in the tomb in conjunction with wall plans.²⁶

Each text in a scene is numbered with the wall number and a sequential number for the text within that wall (thus ‘Text 1.1’, or in the case of a pillar ‘Text AS.1’). ‘Left’ and ‘Right’ are used from the perspective of the viewer. To simplify consultation of the texts, relevant sections of the facsimiles are reproduced in the running text. Where a significant reconstruction has been attempted, or a parallel given, this is reproduced in normalised computer hieroglyphs. The ceiling texts are presented as a group in normalised computer hieroglyphs and numbered sequentially, and their positions will be found on the location diagrams of the walls.

²⁴ I would like to thank Sven Vleeming for allowing me to see these images in Trier.

²⁵ As in the diagrams Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, pl. 39–43.

²⁶ cf. Guksch’s review in *JEA* 85 (1999), 250–255.

²⁷ For example, Dziobek, *Ineni*, Taf. 47; Assmann, *Amenemope*, Taf. 1–4.

²⁸ Dziobek and Mahmud Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, Taf. 31–41, with discussion and description on p. 15. Dziobek further used the technique

A flexible system of presentation of the transliterations and translations of the texts has been adopted. Rather than a ‘one size fits all’ approach, with a mixture of more or less complete and very incomplete texts, sometimes the texts are presented with the columns run together, usually with the line numbers in superscript, while in other cases each column is given its own line in the letterpress. The aim is to present each in the most comprehensible manner and the reader’s understanding is requested.

Tomb plans and sections: The Mission was fortunate to obtain the services of Günter Heindl to create the plans and sections of TT99. He has vast experience of making plans of Theban Tombs, having produced documentation for both the German Archaeological Institute and the Heidelberg Ramesside Tomb Project.²⁷ The totality of these plans and sections will be found in the present volume, although some of the architectural features to which they refer are primarily considered in Part II.

Method of documentation of the wall surfaces: Areas of good quality stone are relatively rare in the Theban necropolis (see § 3.2 for the geological setting of TT99), and in consequence most of the private tombs have painted decoration on a prepared surface which smooths out the inevitable roughness which comes from cutting into poor limestone. The techniques vary widely. This surface preparation has been documented in wall plans.

The concept of the ‘Wall Plan’ (*Wandplan*) as a way to document the walls of tombs which bear not only decoration, but where significant areas of this damage were missing, was first applied in a tomb publication by Eberhard Dziobek, for TT63.²⁸ It permits the documentation of the archaeology of a wall (the damage and construction techniques are not easily reproducible by other methods) and is also a very convenient way of indicating accurately the location of scenes on a wall. Such plans can also then be used as a basis for a possible reconstruction of the original wall decoration.

Conservators have long used a form of wall plan as a way of documenting the condition of decorated surfaces; they seem first to have been applied in an Egyptology context in the documentation and conservation of the tomb of Nefertari.²⁹ Such conservation diagrams of TT99 will appear in the second volume of this publication.

For these plans, a 1 m grid was set up over each wall, and the overall dimensions of the wall were measured and plotted on A0 sheets of graph paper at a scale of 1:10. The areas of decoration were then added by making periodic marks relative

in *Gräber des User-Amun*, Taf. 71–78, and primarily just to illustrate the layout in TT81 (*Ineni*, Taf. 48–59). It has subsequently been used by Guksch in TT87 (*Nacht-Min*, Plan 7–9). It is important to distinguish this technique from that of using plans only to show the layout of scenes (such as Assmann, *Amenemope*, Taf. 6–11).

²⁹ Mora et al., in Corzo (ed.), *Wall Paintings of the Tomb of Nefertari*, 112–123.

to the grid and the outlines joined. Then significant areas of damage or indications of the construction of the decorated surface were similarly added. A key is provided to identify whether the marked areas were plaster, mud, stones or actual holes in the wall; faults in the rock were also marked. The sheets for each wall were scanned, and the outlines of each different area traced in Adobe Illustrator. Small-scale versions of the facsimiles of the decoration were imported to complete the plan for each wall.

The wall plans of the pillars are slightly different, in that we have not attempted to ascertain fully the original width of each finished surface. The pillars were clearly very roughly cut and substantially built up with plaster; they have subsequently suffered severely from fracturing (p. 43).

A plan of this type was not produced for the ceilings of the tomb, for purely practical reasons. Instead, the locations of ceiling texts and damaged areas have been superimposed on a simplified but scaled plan of the Chapel.

A small number of photographic details are included below to illustrate some of the main points, and readers can also consult the photographs of the wall paintings to obtain an idea of the appearance of the wall and the construction work.

The extent of damage in TT99 means that it has thus far been possible only to make limited use of these wall plans for reconstructing the decoration. In most cases, only the upper parts of the scenes have survived, and there are no older records on which reconstructions can be based. The reconstructions of the decoration will be considered at appropriate points in Chapter 5.

Documentation of the paintings: Every wall in TT99 has been documented in facsimile drawings and colour photographs, and all the facsimiles are presented here, with as many photographs as possible. The facsimiles were made at the wall at full size, and are presented here at as consistent a scale as the book format allows.³⁰ As usual, we have attempted to follow the original line thickness as much as possible, although there is always a problem with unoutlined areas of pure colour; these are drawn with the thinnest pen. Damage is outlined with a broken line.

Conservation: The decorated surfaces of the tomb have been the subject of condition checking, consolidation and cleaning by the project's conservators, Julie Dawson, Lisa Shekede and Helen Howard. Condition diagrams have been made, and, for practical reasons, these will appear in Part II, along with a report on the process; in the meantime, the reader is referred to the interim reports produced at the end of each field season and available on the TT99 web site.³¹

³⁰ Not every kheker of the friezes is drawn, but rather a sample for each wall. The ceilings are not drawn but are published in colour photos.

³¹ <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/reports.html>, accessed 4 August 2014.

³² Polz, in Assmann et al., (eds), *Problems and Priorities*, especially 128–130.

Limited conservation, mostly emergency consolidation, was performed on certain objects. Notes on these processes will be found in the section on the relevant objects; in the present volume, this primarily concerns the papyri and shroud fragments in Chapter 7.

General principles of excavation: For far too long, excavators have excused Theban tombs from the rigorous principles of excavation adopted within and without Egypt on the grounds that the tombs are all likely to be robbed and nothing is to be gained from taking detailed notes on the excavated contexts. Far too many tombs have just been emptied out on such a basis, and my hero, Norman de Garis Davies, is as guilty of this as anyone. Some of this is without doubt due to the practical impossibility of clearing a shaft while also keeping notes on sections.

Daniel Polz was the first to express in writing a method whereby this could be done in a shaft, using a series of artificial horizons or levels.³² We have used this system for the excavation of shafts, terming it 'artificial vertical stratigraphy'; the reader can think of it as a series of 'sweeps' across a shaft or chamber. The depth of each artificial level or layer varies according to the context, averaging about 50 cm in the vertical shafts, less in the longer horizontal sweeps in corridors and rooms. Frequent absolute measurements were taken to complement the layer information.

The excavation described in this volume took place in the courtyard of TT99, and for this, a conventional 2 m square grid was applied over the area.³³ These simple techniques permitted the isolation of a particular find or archaeological feature to an acceptable degree of accuracy. The position of an item will thus be related to its shaft, room or courtyard square and then to the layer therein.

Object reference systems: Objects excavated in the course of work were numbered according to the following system. '99' is prefixed to the year and the find number within that year; thus 99.95.0345 comes from the 1995 field season. Due to the quantity of material being recovered, numbers were often allocated to groups of similar objects, unless a piece was exceptional and demanded a number on its own. Thus all the miscellaneous faience fragments from a single layer of Shaft E are given the number 99.93.0377; all examples of shabti type 1 from Shaft A, Room 1, layer 9 are 99.93.1051; and pieces of painted cartonnage from Shaft B, layer 4 are 99.94.0172.

As study of these larger groups of finds has progressed, some limited renumbering has taken place, particularly to allow significant examples to be extracted from a larger mass

³³ See H. Strudwick, in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 262–271, and Fig. 54 on p. 65 below. The exception to the 2 m squares was the central baulk giving access to the main door, which was left in place as long as possible for access and was finally gridded as a series of 2 m wide rectangles.

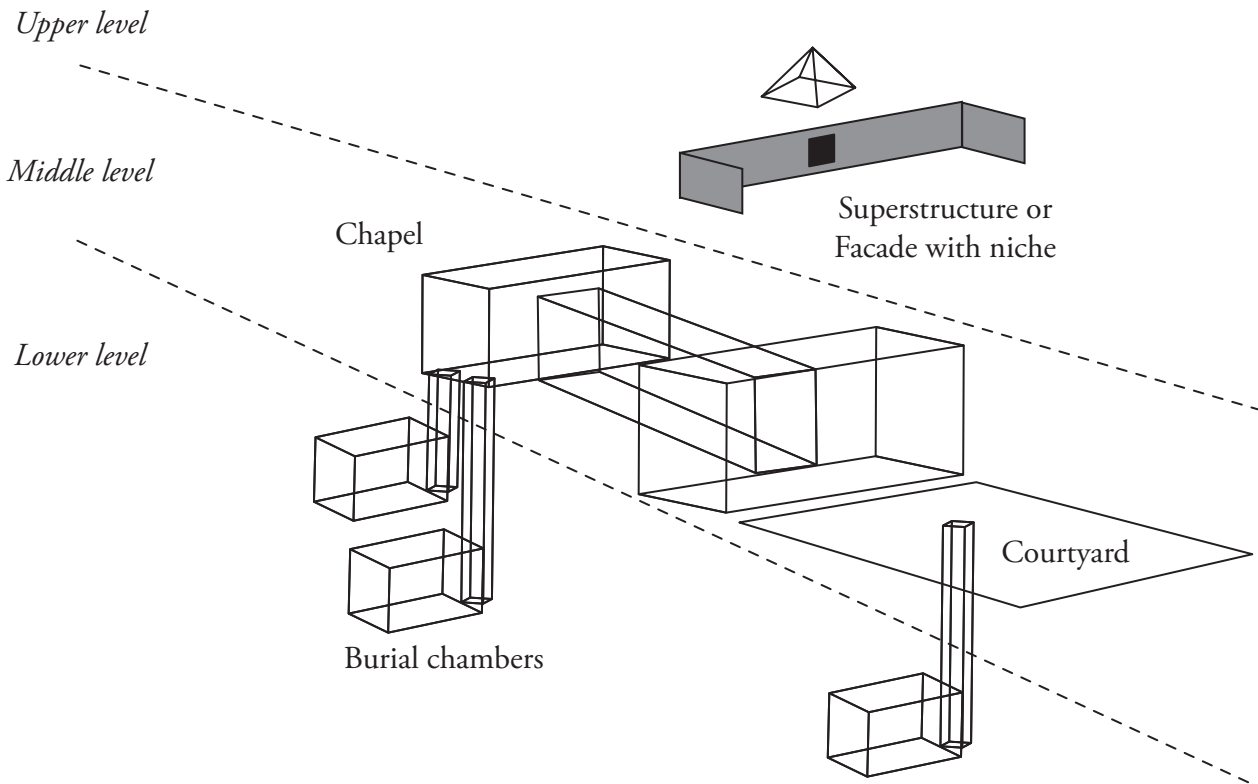


Fig. 1: Schematic diagram of a Theban tomb such as TT99

of material. Lower-case alphabetic suffixes has been added in these cases so that they can be featured with a unique number in the publication. This has typically happened for stone and coffin fragments: thus 99.98.0519, a group of coffin fragments from Shaft I, Room 3, layer 2, now has four sub-entries (a–d).

The TT99 web site and object database: Over the course of the six excavation seasons, some 6,000 object slips were created. Publication has to be selective for obvious reasons, and so only those objects and fragments which have been deemed significant have been mentioned by object number in the text and are included in the Index. However, the TT99 web site contains a simple version of the complete database which can be accessed online, and it is intended that this database will continue to be enhanced once the paper publication is complete.³⁴

Illustrations: Most photographs were taken by Anthony Middleton, with supplementary material by Nigel Strudwick, Pamela Rose and John Taylor. Facsimile drawings are the work of Nigel Strudwick; object drawings and computer models are by Helen Strudwick. All computer-generated artwork and photographic enhancement was carried out by

Nigel Strudwick. Image credits by image will be found on the lists of figures and plates.

1.6 General description of contexts

TT99 can be divided into a number of broad contexts which will be briefly introduced here as they will feature very frequently in the text. All are described in more detail in Chapter 4.

Facade and superstructure: Theban tombs all have some form of facade and some have a superstructure. No actual structure has been located above TT99; the solar level of the tomb is incorporated into the facade, focused on a niche on the central axis of the tomb. The Facade is built up with stones and mortar. See further § 4.2 below.

Courtyard: The Courtyard is roughly square. The north and south sides of the Facade slope down to the east to reach the same level as the Courtyard. The Courtyard seems to have had a plaster floor, into which two small depressions were cut for trees or plants, and also three shafts. See further § 4.2.4 below. The contents of the Courtyard will be fully covered in Part II.³⁵ It contained a mass of material of all periods, with

³⁴ http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/tt99_dbf/index.html, accessed 15 November 2015.

³⁵ Helen Strudwick has provided a summary in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 262–271

the largest single group being ceramic sherds, particularly from the Late Roman/Coptic periods. The mix may suggest that the Courtyard was used as a dump at some point, either by the numerous Coptic monks who lived in the vicinity,³⁶ or even by some legal or illicit excavator, as well as by the Qurnawi who lived in the tomb since the 18th century AD. As a result, with the exception of items from TT99 itself (funerary cones, § 4.2.3; false door, p. 90; stela, p. 107), a provenance for Pharaonic material in the Courtyard should generally be considered as relatively meaningless.

Shafts in the Courtyard: Three shafts were located in the Courtyard. All were originally cleared by Robert Mond in the course of his early work at Thebes. **Shaft G** was a small incomplete shaft located just in front of the southern side of the tomb Facade. See further § 4.5.1 below. **Shaft H** consisted of an 8 m deep shaft with two associated chambers, located east of Shaft G, still in the southern half of the Courtyard. See further § 4.5.2 below. **Shaft I** is the main shaft in the Courtyard, and the burial place of Senneferi and several family members. It is 14.25 m deep; at the bottom of the shaft is a Corridor which leads to three further chambers. See further § 4.5.3 below.

Offering chapel: The Chapel is a conventional ‘T’-shaped Theban tomb of early 18th dynasty design. It has a wide Front room, which leads to a long Passage which gives into a Rear room, often termed the Shrine due to its cult function. There are two pillars cut into the Shrine. See further § 4.3 below and Chapter 5.

Shafts and chambers inside the tomb chapel: Six shafts, A–F, were cut into the floor of the Chapel, all of a broadly similar style of a 2–3 m deep shaft leading to one or two chambers. The archaeological information from these shafts indicate that they were cut in the Third Intermediate Period, and thus full information will be presented in Part II.

The above elements can be fitted into the tripartite schema of a Theban tomb (superstructure–chapel/courtyard–shafts) as originally proposed for the Ramesside Period by Seyfried but which works equally well for the earlier New Kingdom (**Fig. 1**).³⁷

³⁶ Behlmer, *Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft* 36 (2003), 11–27.

³⁷ Seyfried in Assmann et al., *Problems and Priorities*, 219–222.

Senneferi, his family and related monuments

Nigel Strudwick

This chapter principally considers what is known about Senneferi and his family (§ 2.1–§ 2.2). Evidence for his career in particular requires reference to material in addition to that from TT99 (§ 2.3–§ 2.5).

2.1 Senneferi

2.1.1 Writing of name

The phonetic elements of the name of the tomb-owner are written in two ways $\downarrow\downarrow$ and $\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow$; these will be consistently transliterated as *sn-nfr* and *sn-nfri*, and translated ‘Sennefer’ and ‘Senneferi’ respectively. In non-specific references I write ‘Senneferi’, primarily as it is the more common writing, and to make as clear as possible a distinction between the owners of TT99 and TT96.¹

The distribution of these basic writings, with some variability of determinatives, over his monuments is as follows. The non-TT99 sources are presented later in this chapter (§ 2.3–§ 2.5).

2.1.1.1 *sn-nfr* $\downarrow\downarrow$ Sennefer

Other than TT99:

Statue BM EA 48 (no determinative);
 Statue CG 1013 (4x, no determinative);
 Statue Wien ÄS 5978 (1x, $\downarrow\downarrow$);
 Papyrus Louvre E 3226 (2x, both written $\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow$);
 Theban Tomb C3 (2x $\downarrow\downarrow$);
 Sinai relief 194 (no determinative);
 Sinai stela 199 (no determinative);
 Sinai stela 71.93 ($\downarrow\downarrow$);
 Wadi Hammamat inscription 103 (no determinative).

In TT99:

Stela on Wall 5 (no determinative);

Scenes 16.1 ($\downarrow\downarrow$), 16.2 ($\downarrow\downarrow$, 2x);
 Ceiling text 3 ($\downarrow\downarrow$), Ceiling text 9 (\downarrow), Ceiling text 10 ($\downarrow\downarrow$);
 Funerary cones DM (Davies and Macadam) 93 and 154 (both $\downarrow\downarrow$);
 Box A, fragment 99.98.0361 ($\downarrow\downarrow$);
 Papyrus: Roll 1 uses both $\downarrow\downarrow$ and \downarrow as well as no determinative; Roll 2 has no determinative; Roll 3 uses both \downarrow and $\downarrow\downarrow$;
 Shroud: uses both \downarrow and $\downarrow\downarrow$.

2.1.1.2 *sn-nfri* $\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow$ Senneferi

Other than TT99:

Statue CG 1112 (2x, no determinative);
 Silsila shrine (1x $\downarrow\downarrow$; 1x no determinative);
 Statue CG 1013 (1x, no determinative).

In TT99:

1.2 (4x, space for possible determinatives lost);
 2 (not clear if determinative);
 False door (6x, no determinative but large seated figure at bottom of jambs as a form of the determinative $\downarrow\downarrow$);
 6.1 (space for possible determinative lost);
 7.4 (no determinative);
 16.2 (no determinative);
 Ceiling text 2 (2x, no determinative);
 Ceiling text 4 (no determinative);
 Ceiling text 5 ($\downarrow\downarrow$);
 Ceiling text 6 (4x, no determinative);
 Ceiling text 7 (2x, no determinative);
 Ceiling text 8 (no determinative, but with the characters transposed $\downarrow\downarrow$);
 Ceiling text 9 (2x, $\downarrow\downarrow$);
 Alabaster vase A (no determinative).

2.1.1.3 Indeterminate writing

Texts: 16.4 in TT99

¹ Both writings form part of the same entry in Ranke, *PNI*, 309 (5).

‘Sennefer’ seems to be written with a determinative more often than ‘Senneferi’. While both variants are found in the wall paintings in the tomb, there is a preference there for the Senneferi form, although on Wall 16, we find both forms in adjacent columns of the same text. It is possible to see them, on the tomb walls at least, as graphic alternatives, in that it is possible to fit the two basic signs forming the name across one column with either the yodh or the determinative, but not both. This solution is, however, not adopted on, for example, the papyrus and shroud, which, in addition to exclusively using the ‘Sennefer’ form, employ the determinative below the phonetic signs. These texts are of course written in ink in a more cursive manner, which generally might be expected to display more consistent orthography than elaborate painted hieroglyphs.

Antonio Loprieno has commented to me that *sn-nfr* and *sn-nfri* are in fact writings of the same name. The *ri* of *sn-nfri* indicates that the final *r* was changing into a vowel, probably *e* or *i*, as ultimately attested in Coptic.² If they are essentially the same name, then it would explain the variability of the writing, particularly if this phonetic shift was relatively new.

I have compared this considerable variation in writing of the name to that of the better-known Sennefer, owner of TT96. Of the published material from both the chapel and the burial chamber, I have seen only one example of his name written as Senneferi, on one of the pillars at the rear of the tomb chapel.³ I also recall seeing a carved block with the same writing of the name built into the entrance to the burial chamber.⁴ The present excavator of the tomb, Laurent Bavay, has confirmed that the above is broadly correct, and that there may be some other examples on the pillars, and that there is a second such reused block.⁵ Clearly the writers of the texts in TT96 did not exhibit the degree of variability of those working a few years before in TT99; it is unclear whether this is due to the later date, or the preferences of the persons concerned.

2.1.2 Titles and epithets

See Table 1 on p. 10 to Table 3 on p. 12, and lists beginning p. 35.

As with so many high-ranking Egyptian officials, the number of Senneferi’s titles that occur more than once is very limited. There is, however, no doubt from the data

that the title that appears most frequently is that of *imy-r sḏswty*, ‘overseer of seal-bearers’, ‘chancellor’, ‘treasurer’ or the like; it appears on all but one monument. In the discussion that follows, only the most significant titles and epithets are covered. Some titles are discussed both in the present section and also under the career of Senneferi (§ 2.1.3).

2.1.2.1 Honorific titles and epithets

The dividing line between the terms ‘titles’ and ‘epithets’ as used in Egyptology is a fine one, and as this chapter has progressed some epithets have been redesignated as titles.⁶ Indeed, it seems probable to me that the Egyptians would not have understood the distinction we attempt today. No doubt every one of these terms, for want of a better word, brought prestige and quite possibly some wealth, since they all related to royal service, and one of their principal functions, particularly those termed ‘epithets’, is as part of the deceased’s ‘self-presentation’, where he stresses his importance.⁷ In the case of Senneferi this is concentrated on the statues BM EA 48 and CG 1013 and in his biographical text (Texts 12.1 and 12.2). ‘Honorific’ some titles and epithets may have been, but it does not mean that they did not have a role to play, the nature of which we can only guess. Hence we try and put the terms into sub-categories in an attempt to understand them; it could be argued that their individual meaning should not be investigated too closely.

I am not of course referring to terms with an obvious function like Senneferi’s principal title, *imy-r sḏswty*. Rather I refer to such as *ḥry-tp smrw ḥ* which, although it looks like a title, clearly does not belong to an administrative department, but is yet another courtly role. A comparable epithet might be *šrr pṯ rhyt*, given that I consider below the title *r šrr m t3 r drf* as probably having a distinct purpose (p. 14).

After these general remarks, the classic honorific titles of Senneferi fall quite consistently into the most common grouping of *iry pṯ* and *ḥsty-ᶜ* (found everywhere except at Gebel Silsila and in the brief mention in tomb C.3), accompanied in several cases by *sḏswty bity* and *smr wṯty*.⁸ This is a more or less standard set of honorific titles for contemporary officials of the highest rank, although they appear with varying regularity.⁹ I discuss the use of *ḥsty-ᶜ* without *iry pṯ* as ‘mayor’ below on p. 14.

² Personal communication made on a visit to TT99 in the mid-1990s, reiterated in email in July 2013, for which I thank him greatly. See further Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 38 (3.5.1); also, Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian language*, 40.

³ Urk. IV, 1431.15.

⁴ cf. PM I², 201 (31).

⁵ I should like to thank Laurent Bavay for his continual help with matters pertaining to TT96. He has indicated to me that these sandstone blocks may have come from an earlier design of the frame to the doorway of the chapel.

⁶ Doxey, *Egyptian non-royal epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 1 also

recognises the difficulty of separating the two; she describes an epithet as ‘consisting of words or phrases describing in laudatory fashion the qualities or attributes of the person responsible for commissioning the text’ (loc. cit.).

⁷ Guksch, *Königsdienst*, particularly pp 1–7 and 101–105.

⁸ Due to the ubiquity of the pair *iry pṯ ḥsty-ᶜ* and the difficulty of finding a compact translation, in the presentation of texts in this and other chapters, I leave these as *iry pṯ ḥsty-ᶜ*, but have done my best to translate all other titles.

⁹ See for example the comments on Minnakht (TT87) in Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 17.

Table 1: Titles of Senneferi across all of his monuments (see also Table 2)

	TT99	BM EA 48	CG 1013	CG 1112	Wien ÄS 5978	Sinai (any)	Silsila Shrine	Hamm- amat	Louvre E 3226	Tomb C3
<i>imy-r šhwt nt imn</i>	X									
<i>imy-r ḥ wḥm</i>	X									
<i>imy-r ḥwt nt imn</i>	X									
<i>imy-r pswt ḥnmwt [nbt]</i>	X									
<i>imy-r pr m pr imn</i>			X							
<i>imy-r pr n nswt</i>	X									
<i>imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw n mnw gbtjw</i>	X	X								
<i>imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw n nṯrw nbw</i>	X									
<i>imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw n ?ḥr ///</i>	X									
<i>imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw n sbk n inpw</i>	X									
<i>imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw n tm</i>	X									
<i>[imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw] ḥr nb msn</i>	X									
<i>imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw ///</i>	X									
<i>imy-r ḥs m ḥt nbt</i>	X									
<i>imy-r ḥswt nwb nt imn</i>	X							X		
<i>imy-r sḏswty</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
<i>imy-r sḏswtyw</i>	X									
<i>imy-r sḏswty n nswt</i>	X									
<i>imy-r šwt nšmt</i>	X									
<i>imy-r šnwty</i>	X									
<i>imy-r ///</i>	X									
<i>iry wdm rḥ nb m pr imn-rḥ</i>		X								
<i>iry pṯ</i>	X	X	X	X		X		X		
<i>iry nswt m nṯwwt rjyt ḥḥwyf m spst t3-mḥw</i>			X							
<i>iti mnṯt z3 nswt z3-imn</i>				X						
<i>iti nṯr mry</i>				X						
<i>wptjy nswt</i>	X									
<i>wr wrw m t3 r ḏrf</i>	X									
<i>wr wrw m t3 r ḏrf ḥr nf špsw nswt rmn</i>	X									
<i>wḥm nswt</i>	X	X	X				X			
<i>r m t3 r ḏrf</i>	X					X				
<i>r n nswt ḥḥwy n bity</i>	X									
<i>r ḥry m nit ḥwt</i>	X	X								
<i>r šrr m t3 r ḏrf</i>	X									
<i>ḥsty-ḥ (as honorific)</i>	X	X	X	X		X		X		
<i>ḥsty-ḥ (as title 'mayor')</i>	X									
<i>ḥsty-ḥ n ḥm</i>		X								
<i>ḥry-tp ḥ m pr nswt</i>		X	X							
<i>ḥry-tp n ḥt nbt</i>	X									
<i>ḥry-tp nw ḥstyw-ḥ</i>	X									
<i>ḥry-tp smrw ḥ</i>	X				?					
<i>ḥry-tp n t3 r ḏrf</i>				X						
<i>smr ḥ n mrwt</i>	X									
<i>smr wḥty</i>	X	X		X		X				
<i>šrr pṯ rḥyt</i>		X								
<i>šm ḥb n nṯrw nbw ḥnw</i>	X									
<i>šm ḥb n tm</i>	X									
<i>sḏswty bity</i>	X	X	X	X		X				

Table 2: Titles of Senneferi in TT99 alone (see also Table 1)

	Front	Passage	Shrine	Biography	Ceilings	Burial	Cones
<i>imy-r ḥ wḥm</i>	X				X		
<i>imy-r ḥwt nt imn</i>				X	X		
<i>imy-r pswt ḥnnwt [nbt]</i>						X	
<i>imy-r pr m pr imn</i>							
<i>imy-r pr n nswt</i>					X		
<i>imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw n mnw gbtyw</i>						X?	
<i>imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw n nṯrw nbw</i>	X				X		
<i>imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw n ?ḥr ///</i>				X			
<i>imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw n sbk n inpw</i>				X			
<i>imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw n tm</i>					X		
<i>[imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw] ḥr nb msn</i>				X			
<i>imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw ///</i>			X				
<i>imy-r ḥs m ḥt nbt</i>	X						
<i>imy-r ḥswt nub nt imn</i>	X		X		X	X	
<i>imy-r sḏswty</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>imy-r sḏswtyw</i>						X	
<i>imy-r sḏswty n nswt</i>						X	
<i>imy-r swt nšmt</i>					X		
<i>imy-r šwty</i>				X			
<i>imy-r ///</i>	X				X		
<i>iry wḏnn r^c nb m pr imn-r^c</i>							
<i>iry p^t</i>	X	X	X	X	X		X
<i>irty nswt m niwwt rsy^t ḥḥwyf m spst t3-mḥw</i>							
<i>iti mnt z3 nswt z3-imn</i>							
<i>iti nṯr mry</i>							
<i>wpwty nswt</i>			X	X			
<i>wr wrw m t3 r ḏrf</i>			X				
<i>wr wrw m t3 r ḏrf ṯr nfšpsw nswt rmn</i>				X			
<i>wḥm nswt</i>			X			X	
<i>r m t3 r ḏrf</i>							
<i>r n nswt ḥḥwy n bity</i>			X		X		
<i>r ḥry m ntt twt</i>				X			
<i>r sbrr m t3 r ḏrf</i>			X				X
<i>ḥsty-^c (as honorific)</i>	X	X	X	X	X		X
<i>ḥsty-^c (as title 'mayor')</i>	X			X	X		
<i>ḥsty-^c n ḥm</i>							
<i>ḥry-tp 3 m pr nswt</i>							
<i>ḥry-tp n 3t nbt</i>					X		
<i>ḥry-tp nw ḥstyw-^c</i>				X			
<i>ḥry-tp smrw ḥ</i>					X		
<i>ḥry-tp n t3 r ḏrf</i>							
<i>smr 3 n mrwt</i>	X		X				
<i>smr w^cty</i>	X		X		X		X
<i>sbrr p^t rhyt</i>							
<i>šm ḥb n nṯrw nbw iwnw</i>					X		
<i>šm ḥb n tm</i>	X						
<i>sḏswty bity</i>	X		X		X		X

Shrine does not encompass titles just in the Biography

Shaded rows indicate titles held by Senneferi that are not in TT99

Table 3: Epithets of Senneferi as found across his monuments

	TT99 chapel	BM EA 48	CG 1013	CG 1112	Wien ÄS 5978	Sinai (any)	Silsila Shrine
<i>swt-ib n ///</i>	×						
<i>imy ḥ</i>	×						
<i>imy-ib</i>	×						
<i>imy-ib pw n nb tsuy</i>	×						
<i>imy-ib n ntr nfr</i>	×						
<i>imy-ib hr nb tsuy</i>			×				
<i>inq tsuy n nb ḥ</i>	×						
<i>ir nḥspssw nswt rmn</i>	×						
<i>ir mḥwt mkḥb iswt zpf nb</i>	×						
<i>irr ḥzzwt psdt ḥt</i>	×						
<i>irr ḥnt</i>	×						
<i>ḥ m ḥḥf</i>	×						
<i>ḥwy mnḥ zp sn nb tsuy</i>	×						
<i>ḥq r ḥst pr hr ph</i>						×	
<i>ḥq hr nfrwt pr hr ḥzwt</i>	×						
<i>ḥq hr nfrwt pr hr ḥzwt hr irt ḥrw nw ts pn m wḥwt</i>		×	×				
<i>n mḥ n sdm</i>							
<i>ḥq ///</i>	×						
<i>wḥ n hr imy ///</i>	×						
<i>wḥ rs-tp</i>				×			
<i>wḥ ḥwy ir ḥḥw hr drp ḥḥ ḥḥwt</i>		×					
<i>wr m ḥḥf</i>	×						
<i>wr ḥzwt m pr nswt</i>	×						
<i>wr ///</i>	×						
<i>wḥ mdw n ḥnyt</i>		×	×				
<i>wḥs ḥrty</i>				×			
<i>ph isw m ḥst tn mnḥ</i>	×						
<i>mn ḥzwt ḥ mrwt</i>	×						
<i>mn ḥḥty m ḥ-ḥwt</i>		×	×				
<i>mr(y) n nswt ḥz(y) n bity n ḥst n mnḥḥf ḥry-ib</i>	×						
<i>mry n nswt m mit ḥḥf mrtwḥf m nwb hr ḥzbd</i>		×	×				
<i>mry nb tsuy</i>	×						
<i>mḥ-ib n nswt ḥt tsuy</i>	×						
<i>mḥ-ib n nswt ///</i>	×						
<i>mḥ-ib n nb tsuy</i>	×						
<i>mḥ-ib n hr m ḥḥf</i>						×	
<i>mḥ-ib n hr m prf</i>						×	
<i>mḥ-ib ?</i>	×						
<i>mty ḥsty</i>				×			
<i>n ḥḥm nḥf m qdd hr ḥrw nb tsuy</i>				×			
<i>n ḥḥmḥf s///</i>	×						
<i>nn ir nḥf zp sn m rmt</i>				×			
<i>nḥt</i>	×						
<i>hr n ///</i>	×						
<i>hrrw hr ḥḥwtḥf nbt ḥtp-tw hr prw n nḥf</i>		×	×				
<i>ḥḥ ḥḥt</i>	×						
<i>ḥzy n ntr nfr</i>	×						
<i>ḥzy ...</i>	×						
<i>ḥzw n nb tsuy</i>						×	
<i>ḥtp-tw hr prw n nḥf</i>		×	×				

	TT99 chapel	BM EA 48	CG 1013	CG 1112	Wien ÄS 5978	Sinai (any)	Silsila Shrine
<i>sr mdwsn</i>	X						
<i>sr wbsy nf ib</i>		X	X				
<i>sr m hst rhyt</i>	X						
<i>shrr p't rhyt</i>		X	X				
<i>shnt nst m pr bity</i>		X	X				
<i>shntf hnt rhyt n st n mnbf hry-ib</i>	X						
<i>sdm sdmt w^r</i>	X	X	X				
<i>sdr rsu-hr</i>	X						
<i>sdsrf sw III</i>	X						
<i>qn</i>		X					X
<i>qn n nswt</i>					X		
<i>tmw in ddt nf nbt</i>		X	X				
<i>tkn m nswt</i>			X				

Monuments with no epithets are excluded from this table

2.1.2.2 Religious titles














Senneferi held a number of priestly titles. Some are damaged (*imy-r hmw-ntrw n ?hr III*, *imy-r hmw-ntrw III*). Otherwise, the priestly title that appears most often is the non-specific *imy-r hmw-ntrw n ntrw nbw*, which is perhaps to be considered a mark of Senneferi's status as much as a reference to any particular office. There is a small group of offices which appear once each and seem to relate to Delta cults: probably [*imy-r hmw-ntrw*] *hr nb msn*, and a small group of titles associated with cults in Heliopolis (*imy-r hmw-ntrw n tm*, *ssm hb n ntrw nbw iwnw*, *ssm hb n tm*). All of these last may possibly relate to Senneferi's earlier career (see p. 16). The two remaining titles which relate to the south of Egypt are *imy-r hmw-ntrw n mnw gbtyw*¹⁰ (statue BM EA 48 below and possibly papyrus roll 2 from Senneferi's burial (p. 172)) and *imy-r hmw-ntrw n sbk n inpw* (biography). I discuss the use of *hsty-^r* with these titles on p. 14.

He also exercised some functions associated with the administrative aspects of the cult of Amun. One is *iry wdnn r^c nb m pr imn-r^c* and the other *imy-r pr m pr imn*, the one ostensibly looking after the offering cult and the other concerned with the estate administration. *imy-r shwti/hwt n imn* falls also into this category;¹¹ these two titles might be variants of one another.¹²

2.1.2.3 Administrative offices

As indicated, *imy-r sdsuty* is more or less ubiquitous¹³ (only

Wadi Hammamat inscription 103 does not mention it) and was clearly the title of greatest significance to him when his monuments were erected. This title, variously translated 'overseer of the seal/overseer of seal-bearers', 'treasurer' or 'chancellor', German 'Schatzmeister', has its origins in the 11th dynasty, and it usually designates the official who oversaw the personal wealth and resources of the king.¹⁴ This person was particularly concerned, in the earlier 18th dynasty at least, with the organisations of foreign expeditions and with some aspects of foreign tribute, all matters which can be seen as prominent royal concerns.¹⁵ Senneferi carried out at least two such missions, to Lebanon and to the Wadi Hammamat.

The signs  (Gardiner S19) or  (Gardiner S20) in this title and in the honorific  can be read two ways. Traditionally, they were read *sdsut* or *sdsuty*, but as  is also used in *htm*, the latter transliteration now tends to be the more commonly used. Simply from habit, I persist with the less fashionable reading. *imy-r sdsuty* can be written with two separate hieroglyphs representing the seal in the title,  and .  is used overwhelmingly in TT99, but there is an example on Wall 16 where the same text uses both (Colour pl. 28A). In Senneferi's burial,  is found on coffin (Fig. 145), box (Fig. 245), papyri (Colour pl. 38B) and shroud fragments (Colour pl. 40), but  is used on an alabaster jar (Colour pl. 45A). Beyond the tomb, the statues in London and Cairo employ  but that in Vienna uses , while the Silsila shrine shows  and the Louvre papyrus  (§ 2.4.1).

¹⁰ The only similar title I have encountered in the cult of Min is that of *imy-r hmw-ntr mnw nb ipw*, referring to Min of Akhmim (not Koptos as in Helck, *Materialien*, 163). The holder is a Ramesside official also named Sennefer (Berlin 21595, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* II, 398).

¹¹ See comments on this title in Dziobek, *Ineni*, 131–134.

¹² *hwt* as a term for cultivated land is probably a variant of the more common *shwt*, although in TT99 it appears twice as opposed to *shwt^r* once: van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier*, 153–157.

¹³ Papyrus roll 3 gives the title as *imy-r sdsuty n nswt* (below, p. 174); on the shroud it is written once as *imy-r sdsutyw* (p. 176).

¹⁴ Helck, *Verwaltung*, 77–88; Schmitz, *LÄ V*, 539–543; Bryan in Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, 81.

¹⁵ For example, in the New Kingdom: the *imy-r sdsuty* Nehsy was ordered by Hatshepsut to organise her Punt expedition (Urk. IV, 354.15–17), while the tomb of Sebekhotep contains many scenes relating to tribute (TT63, Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, for example Taf. 33).

A similar degree of variation in the title *sdswty bity* is also seen, and together it is clear that the use of these two signs is little more than as graphic variants, presumably dictated largely by the space available.

Only two other titles are found in both the tomb and on other monuments, primarily the three major statues. These titles are *imy-r hswt nwb nt imn* (several times in TT99, including in the burial, and once in the Wadi Hammamat) and *wbhm nswt* (twice in the tomb and burial, and once each in the Silsila shrine and on statues EA 48 and CG 1013). The former title seems probably to have entailed an element of quarrying and foreign travel, seemingly also a role of the *imy-r sdswty*. Another title in his titulary which might have related responsibilities is *hry-tp n st nbt*.

The accounting of state animals was surely also a concern of his office as treasurer, hence the offices *imy-r b wbhm* and *imy-r swt nšmt*.¹⁶ The latter titles may hint at an explanation for the apparently otherwise unknown title *imy-r pswt hnnwt (nbt)* in the papyrus. This phrase appears occasionally, for example in the Great Hymn to the Aten in the tomb of Ay at Amarna;¹⁷ in TT99, it would appear to be used in a title, presumably referring to birds: '(all) that which takes off and alights'. It does seem strange that it should only appear on a papyrus buried with Senneferi (p. 172).

An unclear title is *imy-r hš m ht nbt*. This could be one of these very general titles which are intended to express Senneferi's importance, although I would note that in the Old and Middle Kingdoms at least *imy-r hš* can refer to a cattle overseer,¹⁸ although the presence of *m ht nbt* might render this less likely.

Senneferi possessed two similar titles concerned with the administration of fields, *imy-r šwt nt imn* and *imy-r šwt nt imn*, one concerned with the fields themselves and the other with those who worked on them. These only appear in TT99, but in several places, including the burial. Again, one suspects a link with his role as *imy-r sdswty*. See also the comments immediately below regarding *imy-r šnwt*.

In the early 18th dynasty, the title *hsty-ꜣ*, when it does not just follow *iry pr*, had already acquired a sense beyond that of age-old honorific title and is in some contexts usually translated 'mayor'. Helck suggests that by the time of Senneferi it is as likely to refer to a benefice rather than a true administrative office, particularly when used in conjunction with titles of

'overseer of priests',¹⁹ although this may be contradicted by the example of Sebekhotep who held these titles in respect of the Fayum.²⁰ Senneferi clearly uses the title *hsty-ꜣ* both ways: with the name of a site, *hsty-ꜣ n hm* (BM EA 48), and several times followed by *imy-r hmw-ntr*, referring to the specific priesthoods of Horus (Text 12.1 col. 4), Sobek and Anubis (Text 12.2 col. 29) and Atum (Ceiling text 5), as well as 'all gods' on Wall 1 (Text 1.2) and a damaged reference on Wall 13 (Text 13.1). In addition, in his biography he refers to being charged with being *hry-tp nw hstyw-ꜣ* as one of his last promotions. The latter will be considered further below in my discussion of Senneferi's career.

An intriguing title is *imy-r šnwt*, 'overseer of the double granary'. This is normally regarded as a major state office, but it appears only in his biography. It is unclear to which granaries this title relates. The principal administrator of the state granaries would appear to hold the title *imy-r šnwt šmꜣw (tš-)mḥw*, and the reference to what may be an abbreviated version of this title in TT99 is seemingly never discussed in considerations of this office,²¹ and no other attestations of Senneferi in this post are known, nor does any other official apparently hold both *imy-r sdswty* and *imy-r šnwt*. Even when Senneferi is mentioned in Louvre Papyrus E 3226 in connection with grain deliveries (below, § 2.4.1), his title is *imy-r sdswty*. The *imy-r sdswty* Sebekhotep is shown inspecting granaries of the king's estate,²² but this is probably a part of the function of *imy-r sdswty*; titles incorporating *šnwt* presumably refer to the grain of the Two Lands in some form. For the moment, Senneferi's links with (state) granaries must remain somewhat mysterious, not helped by the rarity of this title in his titulary.

The office of *wbhm nswt* probably functioned as something of a spokesman for the king.²³ The office of *wꜣwty nswt* was held by high-ranking officials who were, for example, in charge of diplomatic and economic missions,²⁴ which types of work our tomb-owner certainly seems to have undertaken. Senneferi held several other titles which, while they may not have had a specific purpose, indicate that he would have been charged with putting forward the decisions of the king, specifically those beginning with $\overline{\text{I}}$ 'mouth' (*r n nswt ḥḥwy n bity*, *r hry m ntt iwtt*, *r shrr m tš r drf*, *r m tš r drf*, although the last title may be a shortened writing of the previous one). These titles, if they can be termed that, form a group along

¹⁶ Quirke, in Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, II, 668–669; Loret, *RT* 38 (1916), 61–68. The four categories of creatures encompassed by these titles can appear in various combinations with *imy-r*. Another New Kingdom holder of one is Senemiah (Urk. IV, 514.10); three are held by Ahmose, the father of Senneferi's son-in-law Amenhotep (Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* I, CXLIII (η)). These titles are also held by Re (TT201: Redford and Redford, *The Tomb of Re'a (TT201)*, 24).

¹⁷ Davies, *El Amarna* VI, pl. XXVII (col 5); see Wb. III, 288.6.

¹⁸ Jones, *An index of ancient Egyptian titles*, 183.

¹⁹ *LÄ* IV, 1089.

²⁰ Bryan, in Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, 82–84.

²¹ It is not mentioned in, for example, Helck, *Verwaltung*, 153–155, 384–389; Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 133; Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 18–19.

²² Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, 40–41, Taf. 5b; Bryan in *ibid.*, 86.

²³ Various other holders of this title are found in this area of Sheikh Abdel Qurna; see the list and discussion in Redford and Redford, *The Tomb of Re'a (TT201)*, 29–35 and Pardey, in Aksamit et al., *Essays Lipińska*, 377–397.

²⁴ Valloggia, *Recherche sur les "messagers"*, 241–251.

with those referencing eyes and ears which indicate clearly a close relationship with the king. Other titles that may be concerned with personal service to the king relate to the royal establishment, thus *imy-r pr n nswt* and *hry-tp 3 n pr nswt*; presumably *hry-tp t3 r drf* fits here too.

Another aspect of Senneferi's relationship with the king is specified by two titles only found on statue CG 1112, *iti ntr* and *iti mnrt z3 nswt z3-imn*. Roehrig considers the title *iti mnrt* a variation on the more normal title *iti mnrt/mnry*, and not a conflation of *iti ntr* and *mnry nswt*.²⁵ Both offices show that for a time Senneferi was charged with the care and education of prince Siamun, who perhaps died prematurely as he is otherwise unknown, and never featured in TT99 in its present condition. Senneferi's main title on this statue is *imy-r sdswty*, but at least three other holders of that title were associated with the bringing-up of royal children.²⁶

2.1.2.4 Distribution of titles across his monuments

Table 1 on p. 10 lists title across all monuments, and Table 2 on p. 11 examines the distribution within TT99 itself. The bulk of titles in Table 1 come from the tomb and two statues in London and Cairo, and the context and function of each monument is all important: on rock inscriptions and on royal and smaller monuments the space and role of Senneferi is restricted, most notable probably in Wadi Hammamat inscription 103. There not even the usual title *imy-r sdswty* appears, but that more relevant to a desert mission, *imy-r hst (nbt) n nbw imn*, along with the basic honorifics.

In the TT99 complex (Table 2), the frequency of titles is more even, dictated to some extent by the better preservation of decoration in the Rear room, although the long biographical texts on Wall 12 account for many occurrences, and include some of the more unusual examples. The ceiling texts that have survived or were finished are largely in the Front room, but there seems no indication that further particular distinction was made in the title component of the texts in different parts of the Chapel. The survival of any texts from the burial is minimal given the smashed condition of the assemblage, and writing only appears to a large extent on the papyri and shroud. *imy-r sdswty* is found several times as is to be expected, but the title *imy-r pswt hnnwt (nbt)* makes its only appearance on papyrus roll 2 (p. 172).

2.1.2.5 Concluding comments

From the above it will be evident that most of the titles are found in one location only, very often with just one example. This is a very common and ancient phenomenon in Egypt, and is evidently a central plank of the manner in which the

Egyptian court and administration operated. Some titles doubtless encompassed specific functions, were regularly held, and were attached to sections of the administration in a way which is more or less recognisable today. However, there is also a body of uncommon or unique ones, and all titles presumably brought with them wealth; in some cases this was 'payment' for services rendered, but in many cases they were granted more as a mark of favour, a sinecure or benefice with income attached and (one suspects) without clearly specified duties, if any. I speculate that many of these latter titles are those which one finds only once in an official's inscriptions.²⁷

It is not unreasonable to begin from the premise that an individual's most significant titles (to him) were those inscribed most commonly on his monuments. In the case of Senneferi, these include firstly the honorific titles *iry prt*, *hsty-r*, *sdswty bity* and *smr wty*; some or all of these appear on nearly every monument, and where they do not, it is perhaps reasonable to assume they originally figured in the damaged areas. Only the Louvre papyrus certainly does not bear an honorific title; administrative papyri tend towards compactness, and the other senior officials in the same text are only mentioned by their primary office.²⁸ The above group of titles clearly shows that Senneferi's position in the official hierarchy was at the very top, and thus were of paramount importance.

His most common non-honorific title is *imy-r sdswty*, found on all monuments with the exception of the Wadi Hammamat inscription. No other title approaches this frequency; the next most common is *wbm nswt* (four monuments), followed by *imy-r hswt nwb nt imn* (two monuments) and *r shrr n t3 r drf* (with variants on three monuments).²⁹ *imy-r hmw-ntrw n mnw gbtyw* may also appear twice.³⁰ I think we are thus right to talk overwhelmingly about Senneferi as 'overseer of seal-bearers' or 'chancellor'.

The remaining titles are found only on one monument each, the majority in TT99. The situation is more extreme for the epithets. Other than the text common to EA 48 and CG 1013, almost no epithet appears in more than one example; the epithets on CG 1112 are not replicated on any other monument, rather like the titles, but that is to be attributed to the special nature of the role Senneferi fulfils in that statue, that of royal nurse, seen nowhere else.

Each monument probably acts as a snapshot of what is important to the official about himself in the context for which it was made and at that particular time. As an official's tomb is his principal place of memorial and self-presentation after death, one would expect it to bear the widest selection

²⁵ *The Eighteenth Dynasty titles*, 322–327, especially p. 322, n. 54.

²⁶ Ahmose Pennekhet, Meryre and Sebekhotep: Helck, *Verwaltung*, 82. See also Drenkhahn, *LÄ* IV, 1106.

²⁷ This general description developed out of the research I undertook for *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*.

²⁸ Megally, *Recherches sur l'économie*, 274–281.

²⁹ This title (or conceivably epithet) is also held only by the highest officials of state: see Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 103.

³⁰ I must make the obligatory caveat that the damaged state of TT99 means that further examples could well have been lost and distort the following comments.

of titles and epithets. It most probably reflects what was of greatest importance to him at the time of its conception, even though it is evident from the biography that he moved on to other additional roles after coming to Thebes.

2.1.3 Career

The only other holder of *imy-r sḏswty* about whom we know a considerable amount is Sebekhotep, owner of TT63.³¹ In the case of Senneferi, we have his own account of his career. Wall 12 bears his biographical text, roughly about two-thirds of which consists of enumerations of his titles and epithets. The last eleven lines consist of the following self-presentation, the translation of which is given here without comments (see Text 12.2 on p. 126 for more detail):

(24) He says: I made **my first office** when I was the mouth which is in charge of [that which is and that which is not] /// (25) sleep did not [come (upon)] my eyes. I fulfilled my orders for my superiors and I opened ? /// (26) the overseers of the storehouses were under my supervision, for I was wise, I was knowing, I was excellent /// [My **second office** was] (27) overseer of seal-bearers. I was brought to Thebes, the Southern Heliopolis, and I was placed as overseer of the two granaries, and (I) received millions of /// (28) their dues as the *šyt* taxes of their cities and as the *htr* taxes of counting [annually] /// (29) doing *mšr*. One thanked the god for me. **My third office** was *hsty-ḥ* and overseer of priests of Sobek and of Anubis [of Gebelein?] /// (30) Thebes as chief of the *hsty-ḥ* and as overseer of the fields of Amun. I built /// (31) for him of Nubt who dwells in (or, foremost of) Upper Egypt, and for all the gods of that nome. I did everything they favoured for the good of the l.p.h. of [the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheper]re [may he live forever/given life forever?] /// (32) (I) made holy the time of the god, being a possessor of gold and one who has many precious stones /// (33) I endowed this mountain with [a tomb] ///

Senneferi describes three stages of his career, each characterised by the use of the word *ḥwt* (the second example is completely restored).³² The first stage is the (restored) title *r hry m [ntt iwt]*,³³ a somewhat vague office but already clearly showing the strength of Senneferi's association with the king. Due to damage to the text, the beginning of the second stage is speculative, and I follow Sethe by reconstructing *ḥwt(i) snw* before *imy-r sḏswty* simply as it has to be fitted in somewhere; if correct, he was not in Thebes at this point, since then he went to Thebes (allowing for the damaged state of the text) as *imy-r šnwty*. Evidently he considered this all to be one stage of his career, at least as far as the biographical account was concerned. The third and final clear stage from this text was as *hsty-ḥ imy-r ḥmw ntrw n sbk n inpw*; were the next two clear titles (*hry-tp nw hstyw-ḥ* and *imy-r ḥwt/ḥwt nt imn*) also associated with this phase of his career, or was there another

phase indicated in the lacuna? Does the mention of Thebes again at the top of column 30 before those titles indicate that he was reappointed to Thebes to carry out these offices?

Thus, following the biography, we have the following reconstruction of his career progression:

- 1 *r hry m [ntt iwt]*
- 2 *imy-r sḏswty*
- (2a) To Thebes as *imy-r šnwty*
- 3 *hsty-ḥ imy-r ḥmw ntrw n sbk inpw*
- (3a) *hry-tp nw hstyw-ḥ* and *imy-r ḥwt nt imn* (unless these are a separate phase)

The precise stages of Senneferi's career are actually far from clear, although we must not lose sight of the purpose of the tomb texts, which is not to give an accurate *curriculum vitae* but to indicate Senneferi's importance. Nor must we forget that we should not over-interpret the administrative significance of some of these titles. It is possible that the geographical focus of his work changed against after his better-known initial move to Thebes, if the second reference to Thebes is indeed significant.

From where did Senneferi originally come? The title *imy-r st m wstt-ḥr* of his father Haydjejuty will be considered below p. 18); it most probably refers to a location in the north-east Delta. Indications in the titulary of Senneferi himself support this: the clearest are titles which associate him with the cult of Atum (in Heliopolis), but there are also probable references in his biography to Horus of Mesen, and the principal place named Mesen is also in the eastern Delta,³⁴ while statue EA 48 calls him 'mayor of Letopolis' and statue Cairo CG 1013 addresses a formula to Horus of Letopolis. It thus is clear that he grew up and undertook his first offices in the north of Egypt.

Dissecting the different stages of an Egyptian official's career is never easy, since the multiplicity of titles held by an individual probably reflects his importance and the financial resources at his disposal over the whole of his career as much as anything else. While many officials of the earlier part of the 18th dynasty describe their careers in their biographical texts, none presents them in quite the enumerated stages of Senneferi,³⁵ and yet it is not easy to relate this text to the titles known from the whole range of his monuments. As has been observed, the main titles enumerated in the biographical section just quoted rarely appear on these other monuments (compare Table 2 with Table 1).

If we follow the biography, Senneferi acquired his most distinctive title *imy-r sḏswty* mid-career; despite the biography indicating that he obtained other offices after that, it is the only title found consistently on all his monuments (except

³¹ Bryan, in Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, 81–88.

³² Discussions of his career will also be found in Kees, *Priestertum*, 35–37 and Helck, *Verwaltung*, 348–351.

³³ See note to the translation on p. 127.

³⁴ LA V, 946–947.

³⁵ Senneferi seems to use the term *ḥwt* to indicate career stages more than his contemporaries; for example it is only occasionally used by Rekhmire (e.g. Urk. IV, 1151.13). The 6th dynasty inscription of Weni uses it much more to describe the owner's earlier career (Urk. I, 98–99).

the Wadi Hammamat inscription). In contrast, the important title *imy-r šnwty* in the biography is found nowhere else in his inscriptions; similarly, the titles concerned with the prince on statue Cairo CG 1112 appear on that object only.

The biographical text makes no reference to Senneferi's missions outside of Egypt proper, even though one or two of these are mentioned elsewhere in the tomb. Thus in the Front room of TT99, he gives the highest prominence to two scenes in which he is being sent by Thutmose III to Lebanon to retrieve wood for the flagpoles of the temple of Amun (Walls 3 and 4, § 5.5.3 and § 5.5.4 below). In addition, there is the enigmatic fortress on Wall 5, manned by persons clearly of Western Asiatic origin (p. 105). Whether these represent one or two discrete voyages is unknown. Other foreign travel is attested in Sinai, where he (presumably) helped erect the Thutmoside temple and also set up two stelae of his own (below § 2.3.6). An inscription indicates his presence in the Wadi Hammamat, although whether he was on a mining expedition or en route to other destinations is unknown (§ 2.4.3).

Precious little information can be gleaned from the titles accompanying the foreign scenes just noted. Damage to Walls 3–5 in TT99 means that the only example of a functional title evident in these scenes is one example of *imy-r sšwty*, on Wall 4 (Text 4.2 on p. 101). The same functional title is found on the Sinai monuments; only in the Wadi Hammamat does a different title, *imy-r hst (nbt) n nbw imn*, appear alone. The latter title is attested several times in TT99, in the Front and Rear rooms and on the ceilings, and also on his mummy shroud (p. 176). It must thus have been important to him but it is not in his biography, and as yet I cannot locate this office, and these foreign trips, within his career.

Does the biography reflect his true career, or is it rather intended to reflect his own importance? My present impression is that it has elements of both. It indicates his non-Theban origin and his principal title, but it also stresses a number of other offices of which further evidence is lacking on the monuments. Perhaps these latter indicate posts which were of great significance to him in terms of income and prestige, but which for some reason did not feature elsewhere in the tomb. Did he perhaps exercise them for a short time only, or was the biography composed and painted in the tomb after the other inscriptions? With Egyptian title strings it is almost never known how long someone held a title, or whether they relinquished it with a promotion, although we can probably be reasonably confident that Senneferi held the office of *imy-r sšwty* for much of his later career. Similarly, the point at which an official created his tomb is poorly understood.

However, this all shows how much more needs to be understood about the system, if it can be called that, of title-holding in ancient Egypt. It should never be forgotten that as much as we study titles, career patterns, and so on, the importance of a person within the elite was principally due to their relationship with the king. He needed his elite as much for their closeness and trustworthiness as for their administrative abilities. Hence the abrupt rise and fall (or sudden disappearance) of so many major families throughout Egyptian history. Rarely in times of political stability did one family maintain high office for more than two or three generations.

2.1.4 Dating

We are blessed with a variety of data for assigning a date to the owner of TT99. His principal period of activity is hardly in doubt, as he appears on monuments of Thutmose III (p. 34) and that king's name, and almost certainly his image, appear, or appeared, in several places in TT99. The Gebel Silsila shrine (p. 32) appears to associate his name with that of Hatshepsut (see further below). In addition, there is the date of year 32, undoubtedly of Thutmose III, in the Louvre papyrus (p. 34).³⁶

However, there is some disagreement as to the detailed interpretation of the above material, and the overall range of time in which he lived. Most of this has been associated with discussions of the precise sequence of holders of *imy-r sšwty* in this part of the 18th dynasty. Thus the first such consideration, by Helck, dated his holding of this post primarily to the reign of Hatshepsut and partly that of Thutmose III, and saw him as the successor of Nehsy, and the predecessor or contemporary of Tay.³⁷ This view was followed by Megally.³⁸ Twenty years later, Helck revised his opinion about the significance of the Silsila shrine, and preferred to see this monument as left unfinished by a third party in the reign of Hatshepsut and then taken over by Senneferi in the sole reign of Thutmose III.³⁹ On this view, Senneferi became the successor of Tay. Helck's revision has now been challenged by Dziobek, considering it as rather speculative and based on a very damaged source.⁴⁰

Evidently the dating of Senneferi is very much linked in with the sequence of holders of the title of *imy-r sšwty*. While I do not wish to enter this question in depth, the evidence for Tay preceding Senneferi seems plausible, as the former is better attested in the reign of Hatshepsut and early in that of Thutmose III than Senneferi,⁴¹ and the one date so far available for the latter is later than the last date of Tay. This does leave as problematic the date of the Silsila shrine; in addition, or as an alternative, to the argument of

³⁶ Dziobek conveniently surveys the major officials of this time in his account of Useramun (*Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 132–142).

³⁷ Helck, *Verwaltung*, 350–351. The tomb of Nehsy has since been found at Saqqara (Zivie, in Bergman, Borghouts and Brunon (eds), *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*, 245–252).

³⁸ *Recherches sur l'économie*, 279–281.

³⁹ Helck, *GM* 43 (1981), 39–41. This has been followed by Roehrig, *The Eighteenth Dynasty titles*, 95–104.

⁴⁰ Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 134–135.

⁴¹ Notably the graffito in Habachi, *JNES* 16 (1957), 99–104, and the Sinai inscription in Urk. IV, 886.

Helck, it could be that Senneferi carried out his decoration of the shrine over a longer period of time than was perhaps thought, although this would mean his holding high office in the reign of Hatshepsut which I feel is unlikely.

Study of the decoration of the tomb of Senneferi has added no new information to our knowledge of his dating, only confirming the presence of the name of Thutmose III. However, a jar label excavated from Senneferi's burial might offer more help. A pilgrim flask bore the inscription 'good wine (to be) for Regnal Year 38' (p. 243). At this period of the 18th dynasty, the date of the label can only refer to the reign of Thutmose III. This can, however, only serve as an earliest possible date for the burial. The lack of any attribution, normal with jar inscriptions, means that it is unsure for which occupant it was intended, although all the other identifiable finds in the burial chamber point to the contents only being associated with Senneferi (p. 76). In addition, the date of 'bottling' does not need to relate to the date of the burial. Thus in the tomb of Tutankhamun, the only parallel whose approximate date of death is known, there were vessels dated to his years 4 and 5, and possibly 10 (although this could refer to Akhenaten), but there was also one bearing a year 31, doubtless of Amenhotep III.⁴² The possibility that the latter was reused has been re-examined and rejected by Tallet, preferring to see this as an example of a special item for the burial.⁴³ Further jar inscriptions from TT99 give dates of regnal years 25 (p. 248) and 28 (p. 249), almost certainly also of Thutmose III, suggesting a long period between vintage and burial.⁴⁴ The issue of the drinkability of tomb wines, and the maximum amount of time which would pass between bottling and consumption, is perhaps misleading, as it is very likely that their symbolic presence and prestige value in the burial was of far more importance than their potability; compare the use of model food and other items. The reader is also referred more generally to Briant Bohleke's discussions of this issue in Chapter 10.⁴⁵

This evidence indicates the decease of Senneferi could not have taken place before year 38 of Thutmose III. The stages of his career as discussed above are not easy to define by date, not least because we cannot be sure of how many

titles he exercised simultaneously, and where; we can only be reasonably certain that he was exercising the role of *imy-r sdsuwy* in Thebes in year 32 of Thutmose III, and this was a very senior office. However, he clearly took on other offices later in his career, but there are no indications that he survived into the reign of Amenhotep II. Four of the bodies found in his burial chamber were of mature adults (p. 77), and it seems most likely that he was born either early in the reign of Thutmose II or late in that of Thutmose I.⁴⁶

2.2 Family


The numbers of persons depicted in Theban tombs of the 18th dynasty is very variable. Due primarily to the damage to the wall scenes, little information about Senneferi's family, particularly his children, is forthcoming.⁴⁷


2.2.1 Parents

Father: Haydjehuty

hry-dhwty, 

Certainly named: Text 14.1, Ceiling text 2 (*ir n zsb*), Ceiling text 6 (*ir n zsb*), BM EA 48 (*ir n imy-r st m wstt-hr*), mummy shroud (see below). Suggested: false door panel, stela, Scene 7, Pillar Text BN.1 (*ir n zsb*), Ceiling text 5.

Titles: *zsb* 'revered one' (tomb), *imy-r st m wstt-hr*, 'overseer of the bureau of *wstt-hr* zš 'scribe' (mummy shroud, see below).

zsb seems to have been the conventional way in which an official referred reverentially to his father in a tomb of this date, and probably has no relevance to his real titles or social status.⁴⁸ The title found on statue BM EA 48 is perhaps more informative. Goods from *wstt-hr* are shown in the tomb of Puyemre (TT39), brought by a *hry ksmw*, and are probably wine,⁴⁹ and also in an unpublished scene from the tomb of Sennefer (TT96A).⁵⁰ The location of *wstt-hr* is not totally certain; the better-known 'Ways of Horus'  across North Sinai are one possible identification,⁵¹ but the writings are different and scholars are divided as to whether it is a separate toponym, even if it is most probably

⁴² Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, 1–4.

⁴³ BIFAO 96 (1996), 370–375. Further relevant work by Tallet on jar inscriptions includes articles in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 1125–1133; in Grimal and Menu (eds), *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne*, 241–267.

⁴⁴ In his discussion of the jar labels from the tomb of Maya at Saqqara, van Dijk suggested that wine could have been a prime candidate for tomb robbery (*GM* 127 (1992), 27–28). This does perhaps assume too much that the wine needed to be drinkable when buried, although one does then wonder why the product was stolen.

⁴⁵ Bohleke has discussed with me the possibility that the different year dates in TT99 might relate to the different burials in the 18th dynasty underground chambers (see p. 77). While this cannot be excluded, the lack of objects attributable to the burial of anyone but Senneferi makes this, in my opinion, less likely.

⁴⁶ This is highly dependent on whether one adopts a shorter or longer chronology for the reign of Thutmose II (Hornung, in Hornung, Krauss and Warburton (eds), *Handbook of Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 200–201 versus von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten*, 122–123).

⁴⁷ The family is mentioned in Whale, *The family in the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt*, 91–92 (34). Some further relationships are suggested by Whale with owners of nearby tombs (TT84 (Imanedjeh) and TT87 (Minnakht)), on the basis of names. I do not believe there is any other evidence to support this.


⁴⁸ Whale, *The family in the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt*, 260–261.

⁴⁹ Davies, *Puyemrê I*, 81–82, pl. XXXI. See Abd er-Razik, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 227–247 for *ksmw*.


⁵⁰ Texts in Urk. IV, 1421 (9–11).

⁵¹ Bietak, *LÄ* III, 62–64.

located in the north-east Delta.⁵² This agrees well with the suggestion made above that Senneferi may have come from this area, and it would seem not illogical that his parents might have accompanied him to Thebes, and that they were commemorated and buried in his tomb.

The appearances of the name of Senneferi's father on the mummy shroud are odd (p. 176). The name *ḥsy[-dḥwty]* was probably present, and is visible at the bottom right of one of the fragments (visible part written ). However, on another fragment of the same, Senneferi is given the parentage *irn zš z3-dḥwty mš-ḥrw*. The title *zš* is not found in association with his father's name elsewhere. I speculate that the name *z3-dḥwty* might possibly have been written in error, perhaps due to the similarity of the names of both parents, and in an absent-minded moment, the scribe might have written *z3* for *ḥsy*.

Mother: Satdjehuty


z3t-dḥwty, 

Certainly named: Text 7.4 (*mwtf*), Ceiling text 2 (*ms n nbt pr*), Ceiling text 5 (*ms n nbt pr*), papyrus and mummy shroud (*ms n nbt pr*), BM EA 48 (*ms n ḥkrt nswt*). Probable: Text 14.1 (*[mwtf]*). Suggested: false door panel, stela.

Satdjehuty's appearances on Senneferi's monuments largely parallel those of her husband. Like him, the only example of a more specific title of hers is found on statue BM EA 48. In Ceiling text 6, Haydjehuty alone is named, but one wonders whether the omission of Satdjehuty is merely due to the lack of space at that point, as the two of them are otherwise named together in the tomb, and indeed on BM EA 48. A lintel near the entrance to the tomb of Senenmut (TT71) may be adduced in support; although it shows the owner receiving and not making offerings, each representation of Senenmut is accompanied by a depiction of one parent.⁵³ Senenmut, like Senneferi, was an official who gave particular prominence in his monuments to his parents (and in fact buried them in the area).⁵⁴ The interesting observation has been made that in some New Kingdom tombs the deceased's mother is sometimes given greater prominence than the deceased's wife.⁵⁵

2.2.2 Wife

Taiamu

t3-ismw, 

Taiamu is only named in two surviving scenes in the tomb: in the offering scene on Wall 16 (twice), and as the main

presenter of the New Year's gifts on Pillar AE. The only physical depiction remaining is the top of her head on Wall 16. In these texts she is called:

sntf mrtf st-ibf nbt pr Text 16.1

sntf mrtf nbt pr Text 16.4

ḥmtf mrtf nbt pr Text AE.2

I speculate, however, that she may also have appeared on the false door on Wall 2 and the stela on Wall 5 of the Front room in addition to other destroyed scenes.

No burial equipment bearing her name was found in Senneferi's burial chambers (Shaft I), but it is speculated that one of the four adults buried there could be Taiamu (p. 77).

2.2.3 A brother?

A text in Scene 9.1 mentions a brother, after which there is a small undecorated area (it begins *snf* and the rest is partially reconstructed, see Text 9.2 on p. 120). A catalogue entry on statue Turin 3089 by Leospo speculates whether the owner of this statue (Maa) is Senneferi's brother.⁵⁶ This seems presently impossible to prove, as the name Sennefer/Senneferi is not uncommon in Thebes, and without further titles it must remain pure speculation, based only on the possibility of a reciprocal name in TT99.

Text AE.2 also mentions the general term *snw-f* 'his brothers/siblings', as part of the family presenting New Year gifts, but no texts naming them are preserved.

2.2.4 Children

Children are mentioned on the east face of Pillar A, but only in general and formulaic terms, and no texts naming them are preserved in the Chapel. The priest making offerings to the couple on Wall 16 could be a son, but no name is given. It is speculated below that a juvenile buried in the Senneferi burial chambers might have been a child of his. Otherwise there are two references from outside the tomb:

Renena (daughter)



šm'yt nt [imn] rmns ir n imy-r sḏswty sn-nfr

Renena is mentioned as a daughter of Senneferi in tomb C.3. This is considered immediately below in the discussion of his son-in-law Amenhotep.

Neb-s/// (son?)

A text in the shrine at Gebel Silsila attributed to Senneferi⁵⁷ might be interpreted as mentioning a son: *zsf mryf nb-s///*.⁵⁸

Necropolis, 32–34.

⁵⁵ Whale, *The family in the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt*, 261–264.

⁵⁶ Eggebrecht (ed.), *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, 352 (302); see also Fabrietti, Rossi and Lanzone, *Regio Museo di Torino, ordinato e descritto*, 424 (3089). I thank Marsha Hill for drawing my attention to this reference.

⁵⁷ Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah I*, 38, pl. 31 (2).

⁵⁸ Whale, *The family in the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt*, 92.

⁵² The fact that wine was produced there strongly suggests that the location is in the north. Davies, *Puyemré I*, 81–82 n. 3 favoured the identification with the roads, while Sethe was against it (note added to end of Erman, *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 73). More recent studies seem to assume that they are the same (Valbelle, in Berger et al., *Hommages à Jean Leclant IV*, 383–384; Altenmüller, in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen*, 159–161).

⁵³ Dorman, *The tombs of Senenmut*, 37–38, pl. 9.

⁵⁴ See comments by Dorman, in Strudwick and Taylor, *The Theban*

The fact that there are usurpations in this shrine (see dating discussion above) might of course mean that this individual is not necessarily Senneferi's son.

2.2.5 *Son-in-law: Amenhotep*

This individual is not mentioned in the decoration of the tomb, but a remarkable statue of him was found in the shafts inside the tomb (see immediately below). His title was that of *idnw n imy-r sdswtj*, 'deputy overseer of seal-bearers', and he is without doubt the official first known from lost tomb C.3.⁵⁹ A prominent woman in the ceiling inscriptions of that tomb, and thus almost certainly his spouse, although no relationship is explicitly indicated, is Renena, Senneferi's daughter (see above).

Porter and Moss suggested that the location of the missing tomb C.3 was somewhere on the north-east slope of Sheikh Abdel Qurna.⁶⁰ However, in 2009, the tomb of Amenhotep was located by the mission from the Université Libre de Bruxelles just south of TT29, a mere 60 m from the entrance to TT99. Initial reports confirm the existence of the texts noted by Piehl, plus the remains of some decoration.⁶¹ The false door from tomb C.3 was discovered in 1974 far from the tomb, adjacent to the temple of Khonsu in Karnak, broken into eleven pieces.⁶² It had been presumably taken there for reuse, in the same way as that of Useramun, discovered in 2009.⁶³ The false door makes no mention of genealogical information, despite there being an (anonymous) depiction of a spouse on the panel.

On the basis of the dating discussed above for Senneferi and while awaiting further news from tomb C.3, Amenhotep would probably have been active in the later years of the reign of Thutmose III and the first part of that of Amenhotep II. His tomb was perhaps the first of the group of monuments cut into the hillside to the south of TT99.⁶⁴

2.2.5.1 *The statue of Amenhotep, Senneferi's son-in-law*

Colour pl. 4, Colour pl. 5, Fig. 2

A remarkable find in the excavation of TT99 was the sandstone statue of Amenhotep, the main part of which came to light on 22 December 1993. The present restored statue is composed of five separate fragments: the body, the bulk of the head, two wig fragments, and a small piece of the body of the statue. The fragments were taken to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in September 2002 for inclusion in the 'Hidden Treasures' exhibit which opened to coincide with the centenary of the museum. The statue was reassembled

by the museum for this exhibit and has now been added to the permanent inventory of the museum as JE 99148.⁶⁵

From the identical title, this Amenhotep appears to be the same person as the owner of formerly lost tomb C.3, who was married to Senneferi's daughter Renena (p. 19).

Description

Height as reconstructed 0.91 m, depth, 0.57 m, width 0.25 m. Sandstone with paint.

The details of the fragments of which the statue is composed are as follows, in the order in which they came to light:

99.93.0308. Body of statue. *Shaft E, layer 10. Sandstone. H 85, W 25, Depth 57.*

99.93.0542. Fragment. *Shaft E, layer 13. Sandstone. L 9.1, W 3.5, Th 2.8.*

A small fragment of the seat of the statue, with white paint still attached.

99.93.0308a. Fragment. *Shaft A, layer 08. Sandstone. L 15.0, W 10.0, Th 16.5.*

Principal part of head.

99.94.0002. Fragment. *Shaft A, Room 1, layer 12. Sandstone. L 13.0, W 7.5, Th 7.5.*

Bottom right of wig and bottom of right ear of statue.

99.94.0003. Fragment. *Shaft A, Room 1, layer 13. Sandstone. L 14.7, W 11.2, Th 6.0.*

Part of right hand side of the face of statue, consisting of part of the eye and eyebrow.

The fragments were thus found in Shaft E, Shaft A, and Shaft A, Room 1. The body and the fragment of the seat were in Shaft E, while the head was broken into three separate parts and located in Shaft A; these fragments were found in the course of two successive excavation seasons.

The following description relates to the statue as reassembled, and as such is almost complete. The different parts were conserved in the field by Julie Dawson; the following is taken from the 1993–1994 season report to the SCA:

The statue was generally in sound condition with the surviving pigment and varnish adhering strongly to the stone. The surface was covered in scattered efflorescences of insoluble salts and a thick layer of superficial dirt. The statue was brushed to remove loose dirt, then cleaned using very small quantities of filtered water (on varnished areas) and alcohol (on unvarnished painted areas) applied from cotton wool swabs. Some of the areas of

⁵⁹ PM I², 457.

⁶⁰ cf. Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 618.

⁶¹ Bavay and Laboury, in *Ceci n'est pas une pyramide...*, 67–71. I thank Laurent Bavay for sharing information and images with me before the discovery was widely publicised.

⁶² Traunecker, *Cahiers de Karnak* 6 (1973–1977), 197–208. See also Strudwick, in Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the*

Cataract, 285–287.

⁶³ Boraik, *Memnonia Cahier Supplémentaire* 2 (2010), 181–191.

⁶⁴ Bavay, *BSFE*, 177–178 (2010), 38–43.

⁶⁵ An image of the statue and a description based on one by the present author may be found in Hawass, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient Egypt*, 160–161. A brief mention and a photograph was published in Strudwick, *Memnonia* 11 (2000), 244, pl. LVIA.