

Tomb Families

Private Tomb Distribution in the New Kingdom Theban Necropolis

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	xviii
Abbreviations	xix
Abbreviations for Publications used in References and Appendices	xix
Abbreviations for Specific Periods.....	xix
Abbreviations for King’s Reigns	xix
Abbreviations for Common Titles	xix
Miscellaneous Abbreviations	xix
Conventions	xx
Translation of Texts	xx
QGIS	xx
Abstract	xx
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Area	1
Data Set	1
QGIS	2
Sources	4
Occupational Groupings	4
Spatial Analysis	5
Research Questions	5
Shared Courtyards	6
Tomb Reuse	6
Problems and Limitations	7
Preservation and Publication of the Theban Tombs	7
Tomb Construction.....	7
Tomb Allocation.....	7
Literature Review	7
Core Data.....	8
Necropolis Development	8
Social Status of Tomb Owners connected to Tomb Distribution	9
Use of Different Regions of the Necropolis	10
Tomb Distribution during Specific Periods	11
Chapter 2: Topography of the Theban Necropolis	12
Physical Topography of Western Thebes.....	12
Geological Landscape	12
Natural Features.....	12
Built Features	16
Division of the Necropolis	16
Cultic Topography of Western Thebes	17
Royal Temples	17
Processional Routes.....	17
The Estate of Amun	25
Chapter 3: The Earliest Tombs	29
Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period Tombs	29
Later Neighbours of the Old Kingdom/First Intermediate Period TTs.....	31
El-Tarif.....	32
Middle Kingdom Tombs	33
Middle Kingdom TT Reuse	34
Later Neighbours of the Middle Kingdom TTs.....	34
Conclusions	40

Chapter 4: The New Kingdom Evolution of the Theban Necropolis	41
The Eighteenth Dynasty	41
The Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties	49
Patterns of Tomb Reuse	58
Chapter 5: Dra Abu el-Naga	60
Location	60
The Division between Dra Abu el-Naga West and East	61
The Evolution of Dra Abu el-Naga	61
Dra Abu el-Naga East	68
Location	68
Date of Use	68
Occupation of Tomb Owners	71
Priests	71
Temple Administration	73
Royal Administration	74
General Administration	75
Local Administration	76
Military	76
Unknown	76
Relationship between Tomb Owners / Tombs	77
Shared Courtyards	77
Tomb Reuse	79
Conclusions	81
Dra Abu el-Naga West	84
Location	84
Date of Use	84
Occupation of Tomb Owners	87
Priests	87
Temple Administration	89
Royal Administration	90
General Administration	91
Local Administration	92
Military	93
Unknown	93
The Ramesside Cluster	93
Relationship between Tomb Owners / Tombs	95
Shared Courtyards	97
Tomb Reuse	100
Outlying Tombs	100
Conclusions	101
Chapter 6: Deir el-Bahri	104
Location	104
Date of Use	104
Tomb Reuse	107
Occupation of Tomb Owners	107
Outlying Tombs	108
Chapter 7: El-Asasif	110
Location	110
Date of use	110
Occupation of Tomb Owners	116
Priests	116
Temple Administration	118
Royal Administration	119
General Administration	119
Local Administration	120

Military.....	120
Unknown.....	120
Relationships between Tomb Owners / Tombs	122
Shared Courtyards.....	122
Tomb Reuse	127
Conclusions.....	127
Chapter 8: El-Khokha	129
Location.....	129
Date of Use.....	129
Occupation of Tomb Owners	141
Priesthood.....	141
Temple Administration.....	144
Royal Administration.....	145
General Administration.....	148
Local Administration.....	148
Military.....	149
Unknown	149
Relationships between Tomb Owners / Tombs	149
Shared Courtyards.....	150
Tomb Reuse	159
Outlying Tombs	161
Conclusions.....	161
Chapter 9: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.....	164
Location.....	164
The Division between Upper and Lower Qurna.....	164
The Evolution of Qurna.....	164
Upper Qurna.....	179
Location.....	179
Date of Use.....	179
Occupation of Tomb Owners.....	182
Priesthood.....	182
Temple Administration	185
Royal Administration.....	188
General Administration.....	190
Local Administration.....	192
Military.....	193
Unknown.....	194
Relationship between Tomb Owners / Tombs.....	194
Shared Courtyards.....	194
Tomb Reuse	194
Outlying Tomb	196
Conclusions	196
Lower Qurna	201
Location.....	201
Date of Use.....	201
Occupation of Tomb Owners.....	203
Priesthood.....	203
Temple Administration	206
Royal Administration.....	208
General Administration.....	209
Local Administration.....	210
Military	210
Unknown.....	212
Relationships between Tomb Owners / Tombs	212
Shared Courtyards.....	212

Tomb Reuse	221
Conclusions.....	222
Chapter 10: Qurnet Murai	224
Location	224
Date of Use	224
Occupation of Tomb Owners	228
Priests	228
Temple Administration.....	229
Royal Administration.....	229
General Administration.....	230
Local Administration.....	230
Military	231
Relationships between Tomb Owners / Tombs	233
Shared Courtyards.....	233
Tomb Reuse	236
Conclusions	236
Chapter 11: Deir el-Medina.....	241
Location	241
Date of Use	241
Occupation of Tomb Owners	251
Servants of the Place of Truth	251
Foremen	251
Scribes	256
Sculptors	257
Guardians	257
Draughtsmen.....	257
Relationships between Tomb Owners / Tombs	259
Shared Courtyards.....	259
Tomb Reuse	262
Conclusions	263
Chapter 12: Tombs of Viziers and their Colleagues	264
The Duties of the Vizier	264
Berlin Trauer Relief.....	266
Connection with Viziers of the Middle Kingdom.....	267
New Kingdom Viziers	269
TT83 - Amethu called Ahmose.....	269
TT61 and TT131 – User / Useramun.....	272
TT100 – Rekhmire	277
TT29 - Amenemopet called Paury	281
Hepu – TT66.....	285
Ramosé – TT55	286
Paser – TT106.....	289
Problematic Viziers	291
Hapuseneb – TT67	291
Nebmarenakht (also called Sakhtnefer) - TT293	292
Conclusions	293
Chapter 13: High Priests of Amun.....	295
The High Priest of Amun	295
New Kingdom High Priests of Amun	295
Conclusions.....	299
Chapter 14: Final Observations	300
Conclusions based on Research Questions	300
General Conclusions.....	307
Future Work.....	307

Appendices	308
Appendix 1 – Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period Tomb Owners	308
Appendix 2: Middle Kingdom Tomb Owners	309
Appendix 3: Tomb Owners in Dra Abu el-Naga East	312
Appendix 4: Tomb Owners in Dra Abu el-Naga West.....	317
Appendix 5: Outlying Tombs in Dra Abu el-Naga West	322
Appendix 6: New Kingdom Tomb Owners in Deir el-Bahri.....	323
Appendix 7: Outlying Tomb Owners in Deir el-Bahri	324
Appendix 8: Tomb Owners in el-Asasif	325
Appendix 9: Tomb Owners in el-Khokha	329
Appendix 10: Outlying Tomb Owners in el-Khokha.....	340
Appendix 11: Tomb Owners in Upper Qurna	341
Appendix 12: Tomb Owners in Lower Qurna.....	361
Appendix 13: Tomb Owners in Qurnet Murai	368
Appendix 14: Tomb Owners in Deir el-Medina	371
Bibliography	378

List of Figures

Figure 1: Location of the Theban Necropolis (Author’s own using Google Earth)	1
Figure 2: Areas of the Theban Necropolis (Author’s own using Google My Maps)	2
Figure 3: Theban Tombs in relation to the rest of the Theban Necropolis (Author’s own using QGIS)	3
Figure 4: Digital Elevation Model of the Theban Necropolis (Author’s own using QGIS).....	12
Figure 5: The Geology of the Theban Necropolis (Wüst and McLane 2000: 165 – Courtesy of Dr Raphael Wüst)	13
Figure 6: Stratigraphic and lithological composition of the Thebes West area showing the three flat-lying rock formations: Tarawan, Esna and Thebes Formation (Wüst and McLane 2000: 169 - Courtesy of Dr Raphael Wüst).....	14
Figure 7: Examples of Natural Features of the Theban Necropolis (Author’s own)	14
Figure 8: The bay of cliffs at Deir el-Bahri (Author’s own).....	15
Figure 9: The Hathor Chapel within Hatshepsut’s Mortuary Temple (Author’s own)	15
Figure 10: The goddess Hathor depicted within Hatshepsut’s Mortuary Temple (Author’s own)	16
Figure 11: Natural and Built Features influencing the Theban Necropolis (Author’s own using Google Earth).....	17
Figure 12: The Division of the Theban Necropolis (Author’s own using QGIS).....	18
Figure 13: The Temples of Western Thebes (Wilkinson 2000: 172; Copyright owned by Robert Partridge, Ancient Egyptian Picture Library)	19
Figure 14: Map showing location of Middle Kingdom temples, shown in blue (PM I: Pl. V - Courtesy of the Griffith Institute)	20
Figure 15: Location of the Temple of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari: Menisut (PM II: Pl. XXXIII - Courtesy of the Griffith Institute).....	21
Figure 16: Plan of Deir el-Bahri showing the mortuary temple and valley of Hatshepsut, shown in blue (PM I: Pl. V - Courtesy of the Griffith Institute).....	22
Figure 17: The temple of Ramesses IV at Medinet Habu (No. V) (Bács 2011: Figure 1 – Courtesy of Dr Tamás A. Bács).....	23
Figure 18: Thebes West at the end of the New Kingdom (Courtesy of Professor Aidan Dodson)	24
Figure 19: Plan of Western Thebes (PM II: Pl. XXXIII – Courtesy of the Griffith Institute).....	25
Figure 20: Map of Western Thebes – original edited to highlight processional routes (Dodson and Ikram 2008: 330 – Courtesy of Professor Aidan Dodson)	26
Figure 21: Reconstruction of the New Kingdom fluvial landscape with suggested upstream and downstream locations of the New Kingdom Nile branch (Blue colours suggest the maximum open channel width) (Toonen et al. 2012: Figure 6 - Courtesy of the Theban Harbours and Waterscapes Project, EES)	27
Figure 22: Satellite image of the necropolis showing processional routes in relation to the wider landscape (Author’s own using Google Earth)	27
Figure 23: Map of the ‘Estate of Amun’ in the New Kingdom, showing main temples and processional routes (Kemp 1989: 203, Figure 71 – Courtesy of Professor Barry Kemp).....	28
Figure 24: The location el-Tarif in relation to the rest of the necropolis (Author’s own using Google Earth)	29
Figure 25: Old Kingdom/ First Intermediate Period TTs (Author’s own using QGIS)	30
Figure 26: The el-Khokha hillock from the south (marked) where these earliest tombs are located (Fábián 2011: 43 – Courtesy of Dr Zoltan Fábián. György Csáki's photos from 1989)	30
Figure 27: The south slope of el-Khokha from the north. From right to left TT413, TT185, and TT186 and TT405 (Fábián 2011: 44 - Courtesy of Dr Zoltan Fábián. György Csáki's photos from 1989).....	30
Figure 28: OK/FIP TTs and their New Kingdom neighbours within a 50m radius (Author’s own using QGIS).....	31
Figure 29: TTs at the end of the Middle Kingdom (Author’s own using QGIS).....	32
Figure 30: Middle Kingdom TTs (Author’s own using QGIS)	33
Figure 31: Sketch Map of the Middle Kingdom Theban Necropolis (Winlock 1915: Figure 1 – Out of Copyright)	34

Figure 32: Middle Kingdom tombs along the northern edge of the causeway at Deir el-Bahri (Allen 1996a: 4 – Courtesy of Professor James Allen).....	35
Figure 33: Middle Kingdom tombs at Deir el-Bahri (Author’s own)	35
Figure 34: TTs prior to the New Kingdom (Author’s own using QGIS)	36
Figure 35: Middle Kingdom TTs (excluding TT270) and their New Kingdom neighbours (Author’s own using QGIS).....	37
Figure 36: Aerial view of TT320 (Author’s own).....	37
Figure 37: Qurna Middle Kingdom TTs and New Kingdom TTs within a 50m radius (Author’s own using QGIS).....	38
Figure 38: TT270 and its New Kingdom TT neighbours within a 50m radius (Author’s own using QGIS).....	39
Figure 39: TTs dated to the late Seventeenth or early Eighteenth Dynasty (Author’s own using QGIS)	41
Figure 40: TTs in the early Eighteenth Dynasty (prior to the reign of Hatshepsut) (Author’s own using QGIS)	42
Figure 41: TTs dated to the reign of Hatshepsut (Author’s own using QGIS)	43
Figure 42: TTs dated to the reign of Tuthmosis III (Author’s own using QGIS).....	43
Figure 43: TTs datable only to the reign of Hatshepsut or Tuthmosis III (Author’s own using QGIS)	44
Figure 44: TTs at the end of the reign of Tuthmosis III (Author’s own using QGIS).....	44
Figure 45: TTs dated to the reign of Amenhotep II (Author’s own using QGIS).....	45
Figure 46: TTs dated to the reign of Tuthmosis IV (Author’s own using QGIS)	45
Figure 47: TTs datable only to the reign of Amenhotep II or Tuthmosis IV (Author’s own using QGIS).....	46
Figure 48: TTs at the end of the reign of Tuthmosis IV (Author’s own using QGIS)	47
Figure 49: TTs dated to the reign of Amenhotep III (Author’s own using QGIS)	47
Figure 50: TTs datable only to the reign of Amenhotep III or Akhenaten (Author’s own using QGIS)	48
Figure 51: TTs dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty- after Amarna (Author’s own using QGIS).....	48
Figure 52: TTs in the Theban Necropolis at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Author’s own using QGIS)	49
Figure 53: TTs dated to the early Nineteenth Dynasty prior to the reign of Ramesses II (Author’s own using QGIS).....	50
Figure 54: TTs dated to the reign of Ramesses II (Author’s own using QGIS).....	51
Figure 55: TTs in the Theban Necropolis at the end of the reign of Ramesses II (Author’s own using QGIS).....	51
Figure 56: Nineteenth Dynasty TTs dated after the reign of Ramesses II (Author’s own using QGIS)	52
Figure 57: Nineteenth Dynasty TTs (Author’s own using QGIS)	52
Figure 58: TTs in the Theban Necropolis at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Author’s own using QGIS).....	53
Figure 59: Non-reign-specific Ramesside TTs (Author’s own using QGIS).....	53
Figure 60: Twentieth Dynasty TTs (Author’s own using QGIS).....	54
Figure 61: Aerial view of Medinet Habu showing flat plain to the west (Author’s own).....	55
Figure 62: Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty TTs (Author’s own using QGIS).....	56
Figure 63: TTs in the Theban Necropolis at the end of the New Kingdom (Author’s own using QGIS)	56
Figure 64: Part of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara (Author’s own)	57
Figure 65: Reused TTs in Theban Necropolis at the end of the New Kingdom (shown by date of first reuse) (Author’s own using QGIS)	58
Figure 66: Distributional patterning of Twentieth Dynasty tombs, with numbers indicating the number of tombs attributed to the Twentieth Dynasty in each area (Bács 2011: Figure 5 - Courtesy of Dr Tamás A. Bács).....	59
Figure 67: Location of Dra Abu el-Naga within the Theban Necropolis (Author’s own using QGIS)	60
Figure 68: Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga (Author’s own using QGIS)	61
Figure 69: Dra Abu el-Naga TTs (indicating location of K93.11 and K93.12) (Author’s own using QGIS)	62
Figure 70: TTs in Dra Abu el-Naga prior to the reign of Hatshepsut (indicating location of K93.11 and K93.12) (Author’s own using QGIS)	62
Figure 71: TTs in Dra Abu el-Naga at the end of the reign of Tuthmosis III (indicating location of K93.11 and K93.12) (Author’s own using QGIS)	63

Figure 72: TTs in Dra Abu el-Naga at the end of the Amarna Period (indicating location of K93.11 and K93.12) (Author's own using QGIS)	64
Figure 73: TTs in Dra Abu el-Naga at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (indicating location of K93.11 and K93.12) (Author's own using QGIS)	65
Figure 74: TTs in Dra Abu el-Naga at the end of reign of Ramesses II (indicating location of K93.11 and K93.12) (Author's own using QGIS)	65
Figure 75: TTs in Dra Abu el-Naga at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty (indicating location of K93.11 and K93.12) (Author's own using QGIS)	66
Figure 76: Western cluster of TTs at Dra Abu el-Naga at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Author's own using QGIS)	66
Figure 77: TTs in Dra Abu el-Naga at the end of the New Kingdom (indicating location of K93.11 and K93.12) (Author's own using QGIS)	67
Figure 78: Western cluster of TTs in Dra Abu el-Naga at the end of the New Kingdom (Author's own using QGIS)	67
Figure 79: Location of Dra Abu el-Naga East (Author's own using QGIS)	68
Figure 80: Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga East (indicating location of K93.11 and K93.12) (Author's own using QGIS)	69
Figure 81: TTs of Dra Abu el-Naga East (indicating location of K93.11 and K93.12) (Author's own using QGIS)	69
Figure 82: TTs of Priests in Dra Abu el-Naga East (Author's own using QGIS)	72
Figure 83: Courtyard of TT148 (Author's own).....	72
Figure 84: View of Dra Abu el-Naga East showing TT13, TT14, TT148 and TT255 (Author's own)	73
Figure 85: TTs of the Temple Administration in Dra Abu el-Naga East (Author's own using QGIS)	74
Figure 86: TTs of the Royal Administration in Dra Abu el-Naga East (Author's own using QGIS)	75
Figure 87: TTs of the General Administration in Dra Abu el-Naga East (Author's own using QGIS)	76
Figure 88: TTs of the Local Administration in Dra Abu el-Naga East (Author's own using QGIS)	77
Figure 89: Plan of shared courtyard of TT20 and TT165 (Kampp 1996: Figure 104 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	78
Figure 90: Plan of shared courtyard of TT19 and TT344 (Kampp 1996: Figure 102 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	79
Figure 91: Reused TTs in Dra Abu el-Naga East at the end of the New Kingdom (shown by date of first reuse) (Author's own using QGIS)	80
Figure 92: View from outside TT148 indicating Karnak temple on the East Bank (Author's own)	81
Figure 93: Zoomed in view of Karnak from Dra Abu el-Naga West (Author's own)	82
Figure 94: View south indicating the location of Menisut from TT148 (Author's own)	82
Figure 95: View north-east from outside TT148 over the processional route of the BFV (Author's own)	83
Figure 96: Seti I Mortuary Temple (Author's own)	83
Figure 97: Location of Dra Abu el-Naga West (Author's own using QGIS)	84
Figure 98: Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga West (Author's own using QGIS)	85
Figure 99: TTs in Dra Abu el-Naga West (Author's own using QGIS)	85
Figure 100: TTs of Priests in Dra Abu el-Naga West (Author's own using QGIS).....	88
Figure 101: TTs of the Temple Administration in Dra Abu el-Naga West (Author's own using QGIS).....	89
Figure 102: TTs of the Royal Administration in Dra Abu el-Naga West (Author's own using QGIS).....	90
Figure 103: TTs of the General Administration in Dra Abu el-Naga West (Author's own using QGIS).....	91
Figure 104: TTs of the Local Administration in Dra Abu el-Naga West (Author's own using QGIS)	92
Figure 105: TTs of the Military in Dra Abu el-Naga West (Author's own using QGIS).....	93
Figure 106: The 'Ramesside Cluster' in Dra Abu el-Naga West (Author's own using QGIS).....	94
Figure 107: The group of TT282, TT283 and TT35, with the mudbrick ramp of TT35 in the centre (Courtesy of the Penn Museum: image no. 34801)	95
Figure 108: Plan of the tomb group of TT282, TT283 and TT35 (Courtesy of the Penn Museum: image no. 195599).....	96
Figure 109: Plan of TT288, TT289 and TT304 (Kampp 1996: Figure 454 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	97

Figure 110: Plan of shared courtyard of TT159 and TT286 (Kampp 1996: Figure 344 –Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	97
Figure 111: Plan of TT300 showing entrance to TT301 (Kampp 1996: Figure 462 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried) 98	
Figure 112: Plan of passage linking TT17 and TT145 (Kampp 1996: Figure 323 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	98
Figure 113: Plan of TT260 and TT261 (Kampp 1996: Figure 433 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	99
Figure 114: Plan of TT141 and passage to TT140 (Kampp 1996: Figure 319 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried).....	99
Figure 115: Reused TTs in Dra Abu el-Naga West at the end of the New Kingdom (shown by date of first reuse) (Author’s own using QGIS)	100
Figure 116: Outlying tombs to the south of Dra Abu el-Naga West (Author’s own using QGIS).....	101
Figure 117: Plan of TT305, TT306 and TT307 (Kampp 1996: Plan VI – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried).....	101
Figure 118: Karnak’s east-west axis aligned with the southern end of Dra Abu el-Naga West (Author’s own).....	102
Figure 119: Zoomed in image of Dra Abu el-Naga West aligned with Karnak’s east-west axis (Author’s own)	102
Figure 120: Location of Deir el-Bahri (Author’s own using QGIS)	104
Figure 121: Landscape of Deir el-Bahri (Author’s own using QGIS)	105
Figure 122: TTs in Deir el-Bahri (Author’s own using QGIS)	105
Figure 123: Middle Kingdom TTs at Deir el-Bahri (Author’s own).....	106
Figure 124: Hatshepsut’s Deir el-Bahri temple, with Middle Kingdom temple remains to the left (Author’s own)	106
Figure 125: Landscape of outlying TTs (Author’s own using QGIS)	108
Figure 126: Location of outlying TTs in the valley south of Deir el-Bahri (Author’s own using QGIS)	109
Figure 127: The Theban Necropolis in the early Middle Kingdom (Allen 1996a: 2 – Courtesy of Professor James Allen).....	109
Figure 128: Location of el-Asasif within the Theban Necropolis (Author’s own using QGIS).....	110
Figure 129: Landscape of el-Asasif (Author’s own using QGIS).....	111
Figure 130: TTs in el-Asasif (Author’s own using QGIS)	111
Figure 131: Path east from el-Asasif to el-Khokha, with el-Asasif on the left and el-Khokha on the right (Author’s own)	112
Figure 132: View from el-Khokha looking west towards el-Asasif (Author’s own)	112
Figure 133: TTs in el-Asasif at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Author’s own using QGIS)	113
Figure 134: TTs in el-Asasif at the end of the reign of Ramesses II (Author’s own using QGIS)	114
Figure 135: TTs in el-Asasif at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Author’s own using QGIS).....	114
Figure 136: The courtyard of TT26 (Author’s own)	115
Figure 137: TTs in el-Asasif at the end of the Ramesside Period (Author’s own using QGIS)	115
Figure 138: TTs in el-Asasif at the end of the New Kingdom (Author’s own using QGIS)	116
Figure 139: TTs of Priests in el-Asasif (Author’s own using QGIS)	117
Figure 140: TTs of the Temple Administration in el-Asasif (Author’s own using QGIS)	118
Figure 141: TTs of the Royal Administration in el-Asasif (Author’s own using QGIS)	119
Figure 142: TTs of the General Administration in el-Asasif (Author’s own using QGIS)	120
Figure 143: TT of the Local Administration in el-Asasif (Author’s own using QGIS).....	121
Figure 144: TTs of the Military in el-Asasif (Author’s own using QGIS)	121
Figure 145: Plan of shared courtyard of TT26, TT189, TT190, TT192, TT193, TT194, TT195, TT364 and TT406 (Kampp 1996: Plan V – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	122
Figure 146: Entrance to TT192 with the Qurn mountain in the background (Author’s own).....	123
Figure 147: Shared courtyard originally built for TT192 (Author’s own)	124
Figure 148: Plan of shared courtyard of TT408 and TT409 (Kampp 1996: Figure 508 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	124
Figure 149: View over entrance to TT408 and TT409 (Author’s own)	125
Figure 150: Plan of TT28 and TT25 (Kampp 1996: Figure 112 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	125

Figure 151: Plan of shared courtyard of TT188 and TT374 (Kampp 1996: Figure 374 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	126
Figure 152: View of the Deir el-Bahri temples from el-Asasif (Author’s own)	128
Figure 153: View of Middle Kingdom Deir el-Bahri tombs from el-Asasif (Author’s own)	128
Figure 154: Location of el-Khokha within the Theban Necropolis (Author’s own using QGIS).....	129
Figure 155: Landscape of el-Khokha (Author’s own using QGIS).....	130
Figure 156: TTs in el-Khokha (Author’s own using QGIS).....	130
Figure 157: TTs in el-Khokha dated prior to the reign of Hatshepsut (Author’s own using QGIS).....	132
Figure 158: View from northern el-Khokha towards Deir el-Bahri, with Middle Kingdom tombs along the northern causeway visible in the background (Author’s own)	133
Figure 159: TTs in el-Khokha dated to Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III (Author’s own using QGIS)	133
Figure 160: TTs in el-Khokha at the end of the reign of Tuthmosis III (Author’s own using QGIS).....	134
Figure 161: TTs in el-Khokha dated to Tuthmosis III/Amenhotep II (Author’s own using QGIS).....	134
Figure 162: TTs in el-Khokha at the end of the reign of Amenhotep II (Author’s own using QGIS)	135
Figure 163: TTs in el-Khokha dated to Amenhotep II, Tuthmosis IV or Amenhotep III (Author’s own using QGIS).....	135
Figure 164: TTs in el-Khokha at the end of the reign of Amenhotep III (Author’s own using QGIS).....	136
Figure 165: TTs in el-Khokha dated between Amenhotep III and IV (Author’s own using QGIS)	136
Figure 166: TTs in el-Khokha at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Author’s own using QGIS)	137
Figure 167: TTs in el-Khokha dated to Ramesses II (Author’s own using QGIS).....	138
Figure 168: TTs in el-Khokha at the end of the reign of Ramesses II (Author’s own using QGIS).....	138
Figure 169: TTs in el-Khokha at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Author’s own using QGIS).....	139
Figure 170: TTs in el-Khokha datable only to the Ramesside Period (Author’s own using QGIS).....	139
Figure 171: TTs in el-Khokha datable to the Twentieth Dynasty (Author’s own using QGIS)	140
Figure 172: TTs in el-Khokha at the end of the New Kingdom (Author’s own using QGIS)	140
Figure 173: Tombs in close proximity in south el-Khokha by the end of the New Kingdom (Author’s own)	142
Figure 174: View from el-Khokha towards Qurna (Author’s own).....	142
Figure 175: TTs of Priests in el-Khokha (Author’s own using QGIS)	143
Figure 176: TTs of the Temple Administration in el-Khokha (Author’s own using QGIS).....	144
Figure 177: TTs of the Royal Administration in el-Khokha (Author’s own using QGIS)	146
Figure 178: TT110 adjacent to TT112 (Author’s own).....	147
Figure 179: TTs of the General Administration in el-Khokha (Author’s own using QGIS)	148
Figure 180: TTs of the Local Administration in el-Khokha (Author’s own using QGIS).....	149
Figure 181: TTs of the Military in el-Khokha (Author’s own using QGIS).....	150
Figure 182: Plan of shared courtyard of TT105, TT106 and TT107 (Kampp 1996: Figure 266 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	151
Figure 183: Plan of TT176 and TT177(Kampp 1996: Figure 360 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	152
Figure 184: Plan of TT256 and TT257 (Kampp 1996: Figure 430 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	152
Figure 185: Plan of shared courtyard of TT245, TT246, TT247, TT248 and TT258 (Kampp 1996: Figure 419 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried).....	153
Figure 186: TT253, TT254 and TT294 (Kampp 1996: Figure 427 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried).....	154
Figure 187: Plan of shared courtyard of TT178, TT295, TT296 and TT365 (Kampp 1996: Figure 460 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried).....	155
Figure 188: View from above of shared courtyard of TT178, TT295, TT296 and TT365 (Author’s own)	155
Figure 189: Scene from TT178 (Hofmann 1995: Farbtaf. VI a, Sz. 25 – Courtesy of Dr Eva Hofmann: Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg).....	156
Figure 190: Plan of TT295 and TT296 (Kampp 1996: Figure 459 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	157
Figure 191: Plan of TT179 and TT180 (Kampp 1996: Figure 363 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	157

Figure 192: Plan of TT412 showing breakthrough from TT184 (Kampp 1996: Figure 509 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	158
Figure 193: Plan of TT184 showing breakthrough into TT412 (Kampp 1996: Figure 370 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	158
Figure 194: Shared courtyard of TT49, TT187, TT362 and TT363 (Kampp 1996: Figure 149 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	159
Figure 195: Reused TTs in el-Khokha at the end of the New Kingdom, shown by date of reuse (Author's own using QGIS)	160
Figure 196: el-Khokha showing the location of TT170 and TT171 (Author's own using QGIS)	161
Figure 197: View of eastern Upper Qurna from el-Khokha (Author's own)	162
Figure 198: Path leading north-west from el-Khokha to Upper Qurna (Author's own)	162
Figure 199: Location of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna within the Theban Necropolis (Author's own using QGIS)	164
Figure 200: Landscape of Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	165
Figure 201: Boundaries of Upper and Lower Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	165
Figure 202: TTs in Qurna prior to the reign of Hatshepsut (Author's own using QGIS)	166
Figure 203: TTs in Qurna conclusively dated prior to the reign of Tuthmosis III (Author's own using QGIS)	167
Figure 204: TTs in Qurna datable to Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III (Author's own using QGIS)	168
Figure 205: TTs in Qurna at the end of the reign of Tuthmosis III (Author's own using QGIS)	169
Figure 206: TTs in Qurna dating to Tuthmosis III/Amenhotep II, or Amenhotep II (Author's own using QGIS)	169
Figure 207: TTs in Qurna at the end of the reign of Amenhotep II (Author's own using QGIS)	170
Figure 208: The façade of TT72 (Author's own)	171
Figure 209: TTs in Qurna dating to Amenhotep II/Tuthmosis IV, and Tuthmosis IV (Author's own using QGIS)	171
Figure 210: TTs in Qurna dating between Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III (Author's own using QGIS)	172
Figure 211: TTs in Qurna dating to Amenhotep III (Author's own using QGIS)	172
Figure 212: TTs in Qurna at the end of the reign of Amenhotep III (Author's own using QGIS)	173
Figure 213: TTs in Qurna dating between Amenhotep III and the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Author's own using QGIS)	173
Figure 214: TTs in Qurna at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Author's own using QGIS)	174
Figure 215: TTs in Qurna dating to the Nineteenth Dynasty prior to Ramesses II (Author's own using QGIS)	175
Figure 216: TTs in Qurna dating to the reign of Ramesses II (Author's own using QGIS)	175
Figure 217: TTs in Qurna at the end of the reign of Ramesses II (Author's own using QGIS)	176
Figure 218: TTs in Qurna at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Author's own using QGIS)	176
Figure 219: Qurna TTs datable only to the Ramesside Period (Author's own using QGIS)	177
Figure 220: TTs in Qurna datable to the Twentieth Dynasty (Author's own using QGIS)	178
Figure 221: TTs in Qurna at the end of the New Kingdom in relation to royal mortuary temples (Author's own using QGIS)	178
Figure 222: Location of Upper Qurna within the Theban Necropolis (Author's own using QGIS)	179
Figure 223: Landscape of Upper Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	180
Figure 224: TTs of Upper Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	180
Figure 225: Upper Qurna tombs cut into the cliffs, with Deir el-Bahri in the distance (Author's own)	182
Figure 226: TTs of Priests in Upper Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	183
Figure 227: The courtyard of TT97 (Author's own)	184
Figure 228: TTs of the Temple Administration in Upper Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	186
Figure 229: TTs of the Royal Administration in Upper Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	188
Figure 230: TTs of the General Administration in Upper Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	191
Figure 231: TTs of the Local Administration in Upper Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	192
Figure 232: TTs of the Military in Upper Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	193

Figure 233: Reused TTs in Upper Qurna at the end of the New Kingdom (shown by date of first reuse) (Author's own using QGIS)	195
Figure 234: The façade of TT65 (Author's own).....	196
Figure 235: Upper Qurna showing location of outlying TT103 (Author's own using QGIS).....	197
Figure 236: The Qurna mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III (Author's own).....	198
Figure 237: The 'Amenhotep II Quarter' in the south-western corner of Upper Qurna (Author's own).....	198
Figure 238: View from south-western corner of Upper Qurna outside TT96 looking north-east - indicating approximate location of Henketankh (Author's own).....	199
Figure 239: View from the 'Amenhotep II Quarter' overlooking the Amenhotep II temple (Author's own)	199
Figure 240: View from the Amenhotep II temple of the 'Amenhotep II Quarter' in Upper Qurna (Author's own) ..	200
Figure 241: View from south-western corner of Upper Qurna indicating the Amenhotep III temple (Author's own)	200
Figure 242: The northern cliff-face of Upper Qurna (Author's own).....	201
Figure 243: Location of Lower Qurna within the Theban Necropolis (Author's own using QGIS)	202
Figure 244: Landscape of Lower Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	202
Figure 245: TTs in Lower Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	203
Figure 246: TTs of Priests in Lower Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	205
Figure 247: TTs of the Temple Administration in Lower Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	206
Figure 248: TTs of the Royal Administration of Lower Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	208
Figure 249: TTs of the General Administration of Lower Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	209
Figure 250: TT123 and TT55 in close proximity (Author's own).....	210
Figure 251: TTs of the Local Administration in Lower Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	211
Figure 252: TT of the Military in Lower Qurna (Author's own using QGIS)	211
Figure 253: Plan of shared courtyard of TT57 and TT102 (Kampp 1996: Figure 156 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried).....	212
Figure 254: Shared courtyard of TT57 and TT102 (Author's own)	213
Figure 255: Plan of shared courtyard of TT55 and TT331 (Kampp 1996: Figure 153 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried).....	214
Figure 256: Shared courtyard of TT331 and TT55 (Author's own)	215
Figure 257: Plan of shared courtyard of TT53, TT134 and TT135 (Kampp 1996: Figure 151 - Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	216
Figure 258: Plan of shared courtyard of TT346 and TT403 (Kampp 1996: Figure 476 –Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	217
Figure 259: Shared courtyard of TT125 and TT263 (Kampp 1996: Figure 307 - Courtesy of Professor Seyfried).....	218
Figure 260: Plan of shared courtyard of TT30, TT50, TT51 and TT111 (Kampp 1996: Figure 121 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried).....	219
Figure 261: View from above of shared courtyard of TT30, TT50, TT51 and TT111 (Author's own)	220
Figure 262: Plan of shared courtyard of TT138 and TT259 (Kampp 1996: Figure 316 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	220
Figure 263: Reused TTs in Lower Qurna at the end of the New Kingdom, shown by date of reuse (Author's own using QGIS)	221
Figure 264: View north across Lower Qurna (Author's own).....	222
Figure 265: View north-west from the Ramesseum, towards Qurna (Author's own)	223
Figure 266: View south-west from the Ramesseum showing space behind (Author's own)	223
Figure 267: Location of Qurnet Murai within the Theban Necropolis (Author's own using QGIS)	224
Figure 268: Landscape of Qurnet Murai (Author's own using QGIS)	225
Figure 269: TTs in Qurnet Murai (Author's own using QGIS)	226
Figure 270: TTs at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Author's own using QGIS)	227

Figure 271: TTs at the end of the New Kingdom (Author's own using QGIS)	227
Figure 272: TTs of Priests in Qurnet Murai (Author's own using QGIS)	229
Figure 273: TTs of the Temple Administration in Qurnet Murai (Author's own using QGIS)	230
Figure 274: TTs of the Royal Administration in Qurnet Murai (Author's own using QGIS)	231
Figure 275: TTs of the General Administration in Qurnet Murai (Author's own using QGIS)	232
Figure 276: TTs of the Local Administration in Qurnet Murai (Author's own using QGIS)	232
Figure 277: TT of the Military in Qurnet Murai (Author's own using QGIS)	233
Figure 278: Plan of TT278 and TT277 (Kampp 1996: Figure 444 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried)	234
Figure 279: Shared courtyard of TT277 and TT278 (Author's own)	235
Figure 280: TT272 and TT273 (Kampp 1996: Figure 441 – Courtesy of Professor Seyfried).....	235
Figure 281: Reused TTs in Qurnet Murai at the end of the New Kingdom, shown by date of reuse (Author's own using QGIS)	236
Figure 282: The entrance of TT40 (Author's own)	237
Figure 283: View looking west towards Qurnet Murai (Author's own)	238
Figure 284: View east from Qurnet Murai to the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III (Author's own).....	238
Figure 285: View south from TT40 towards Medinet Habu (Author's own)	239
Figure 286: View north to the Ramesseum from TT221 (Author's own).....	239
Figure 287: Zoomed in view north to the Ramesseum from TT221 (Author's own)	240
Figure 288: Location of Deir el-Medina within the Theban Necropolis (Author's own).....	241
Figure 289: Landscape of Deir el-Medina (Author's own using QGIS)	242
Figure 290: TTs of Deir el-Medina (Author's own using QGIS).....	242
Figure 291: Plan of Deir el-Medina, showing the cemetery to the west of the village (Dodson and Ikram, 2008: 334 – Courtesy of Professor Aidan Dodson).....	243
Figure 292: TTs in Deir el-Medina at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Author's own using QGIS)	244
Figure 293: TTs in Deir el-Medina dated to the reign of Seti I/Ramesses II (Author's own using QGIS)	245
Figure 294: TTs in Deir el-Medina at the end of the reign of Ramesses II (Author's own using QGIS).....	246
Figure 295: TTs in Deir el-Medina dated between Merenptah and the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Author's own using QGIS)	246
Figure 296: TTs in Deir el-Medina at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Author's own using QGIS)	247
Figure 297: TTs datable only to the Ramesside Period (Author's own using QGIS).....	248
Figure 298: TTs in Deir el-Medina dating to the Twentieth Dynasty (Author's own using QGIS).....	248
Figure 299: TTs in Deir el-Medina at the end of the New Kingdom (Author's own using QGIS)	249
Figure 300: View from the entrance to the village, looking west towards the cemetery (Author's own).....	249
Figure 301: View across the upper slopes, looking north-west (Author's own)	250
Figure 302: View across the lower slopes, looking north towards the temple (Author's own).....	250
Figure 303: TTs in Deir el-Medina (Author's own using QGIS).....	251
Figure 304: TTs of the 'Servants of the Place of Truth' in Deir el-Medina (Author's own using QGIS)	252
Figure 305: TTs of the 'Senior Workmen' in Deir el-Medina (Author's own using QGIS)	253
Figure 306: Baki's family group (Author's own using QGIS).....	254
Figure 307: Kaha's family group (Author's own using QGIS).....	255
Figure 308: TTs of the 'Scribes' in Deir el-Medina (Author's own using QGIS)	256
Figure 309: TTs of the 'Sculptors' in Deir el-Medina (Author's own using QGIS)	257
Figure 310: Tombs of the 'Guardians' in Deir el-Medina (Author's own using QGIS).....	258
Figure 311: TTs of the 'Outline-draughtsmen' in Deir el-Medina (Author's own using QGIS).....	258
Figure 312: Plan of Deir el-Medina showing the location of TT218-TT220 (Dodson and Ikram 2008: 334 - Courtesy of Professor Aidan Dodson).....	260
Figure 313: Shared entrance of TT218, TT219 and TT220 (Author's own)	261

Figure 314: View from the shared entrance of TT218, TT219 and TT220 (Author's own).....	261
Figure 315: View of the upper slopes of the Deir el-Medina cemetery looking south-west from behind the Ramesseum (Author's own)	262
Figure 316: Zoomed-in view of the upper slopes of the Deir el-Medina cemetery looking south-west from behind the Ramesseum (Author's own)	262
Figure 317: View of the hill to the east of Deir el-Medina (Author's own)	263
Figure 318: Berlin Trauer Relief (Courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)	266
Figure 319: Relevant section of the Berlin Trauer Relief (Courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)	267
Figure 320: Satellite view of Viziers' tombs (Author's own using Google Earth).....	267
Figure 321: Viziers' TTs in Qurna with a 100m (Author's own using Google Earth)	268
Figure 322: View of TT83 in relation to TT60 (Author's own).....	269
Figure 323: Entrance of TT83 (Author's own).....	270
Figure 324: TT83 in relation to TT60, with TTs within a 100m radius (showing TTs dating up to the end of the reign of TIII (Author's own using QGIS).....	270
Figure 325: Façade of TT81 (Author's own).....	271
Figure 326: Vizier's tombs: TT60, TT61, TT83 and TT131 (Author's own).....	273
Figure 327: TT61 and TT131 in relation to tombs of earlier Viziers (showing TTs dating up to the end of the reign of TIII).....	273
Figure 328: Façade of TT131 (Author's own).....	274
Figure 329: Remains of the pyramid at TT131 (Author's own)	275
Figure 330: TT61 and TT131 with contemporary TTs within a 100m radius (showing TTs dating to / reused during the reign of TIII) (Author's own using QGIS).....	275
Figure 331: TT100 in relation to tombs of earlier Viziers (showing TTs dating up to the end of the reign of AII) (Author's own using QGIS)	277
Figure 332: View towards TT100 (Author's own).....	278
Figure 333: Courtyard of TT100 (Author's own).....	278
Figure 334: TT100 with contemporary tombs in a 100m radius (showing TTs dating to the reign of TIII/AII)	279
Figure 335: Drawing by R. Morales of the area surrounding TT100 and TT29 (Courtesy of R. Morales)	281
Figure 336: Courtyard of TT96 (Author's own)	282
Figure 337: The courtyard of TT29 (Author's own)	282
Figure 338: Entrance to TT29 (Author's own).....	283
Figure 339: TT29 in relation to earlier Vizier's tombs (showing TTs dating up to the end of the reign of TIV (Author's own using QGIS).....	283
Figure 340: TT29 with contemporary TTs in a 100m radius (showing TTs dating to the reign of AII/TIV) (Author's own using QGIS)	284
Figure 341: TT66 in relation to earlier Viziers' tombs (showing TTs dating up to the end of the reign of TIV) (Author's own using QGIS)	285
Figure 342: TT66 with contemporary tombs in a 100m radius (showing TTs dating to the reign of TIV) (Author's own using QGIS)	286
Figure 343: View of the causeway leading to TT55 (Author's own).....	287
Figure 344: Entrance to TT55 (Author's own).....	287
Figure 345: TT55 in relation to earlier Viziers' tombs (showing TTs dating up to the end of the reign of Amenhotep IV) (Author's own using QGIS).....	288
Figure 346: The hypostyle hall of TT55 (Author's own).....	288
Figure 347: TT55 and contemporary tombs (showing TTs dating to the reign of AIII/IV) (Author's own using QGIS).....	289
Figure 348: Façade of TT106 (Hofmann 2018: Abb. 1- Courtesy of Dr Eva Hofmann: Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg).....	290

Figure 349: TT106 in relation to earlier Viziers' tombs (showing TTs dating up to the end of the reign of RII) (Author's own using QGIS).....	290
Figure 350: TT106 and contemporary TTs in a 100m radius (showing TTs dating to the reign of SI/RII) (Author's own using QGIS)	291
Figure 351: TT67 shown in relation to earlier Viziers' tombs (showing TTs dating up to the end of the reign of Hat) (Author's own using QGIS).....	292
Figure 352: TT293 in relation to early Viziers' TTs (showing all TTs dating prior to the end of the New Kingdom) (Author's own using QGIS).....	293
Figure 353: Google Earth image showing the tombs adapted by the HPA, K93.11 and K93.12 (Author's own using Google Earth)	295
Figure 354: Google Earth image of the HPA tombs in relation to Karnak and Seti I temples (Author's own using Google Earth)	297
Figure 355: K93.11/K93.12 causeway in relation to Menisut in the background (Rummel 2018: Figure 16 – Courtesy of Dr Ute Rummel).....	298
Figure 356: TTs belonging to Priests (Author's own using QGIS)	301
Figure 357: TTs belonging to the Temple Administration (Author's own using QGIS).....	302
Figure 358: TTs belonging to the Royal Administration (Author's own using QGIS)	302
Figure 359: TTs belonging to the General Administration (Author's own using QGIS)	303
Figure 360: TTs belonging to the Local Administration (Author's own using QGIS).....	303
Figure 361: TTs belonging to the Military (Author's own using QGIS).....	304

List of Tables

Table 1: Dates of New Kingdom TTs within a 50m radius of OK-FIP group.....	31
Table 2: Date of New Kingdom TTs within a 50m radius of Qurna Middle Kingdom TTs.....	38
Table 3: Dates of New Kingdom TTs within a 50m radius of TT270	39
Table 4: New Kingdom TT Reuse.....	59
Table 5: Dra Abu el-Naga East TTs distributed by most likely date.....	70
Table 6: Dra Abu el-Naga East tombs distributed by occupational group (n) denotes subsequent tomb occupation	71
Table 7: Owners of TT20 and TT165	78
Table 8: Owners of TT19 and TT344	79
Table 9: Reused tombs in Dra Abu el Naga East.....	81
Table 10: Dra Abu el-Naga West TTs distributed by most likely date	86
Table 11: Dra Abu el-Naga West TTs distributed by occupational group (n) denotes subsequent tomb occupation	87
Table 12: Owners of TT288, TT289 and TT304	96
Table 13: Owners of TT159 and TT286	97
Table 14: Owners of TT300 and TT301	98
Table 15: Owners of TT17 and TT145	98
Table 16: Owners of TT260 and TT261	99
Table 17: Owners of TT140 and TT141	99
Table 18: Reused tombs in Dra Abu el-Naga West.....	100
Table 19: el-Asasif TTs distributed by most likely date.....	116
Table 20: el-Asasif TTs distributed by occupational group	117
Table 21: Owners of TT26, TT189, TT190, TT192, TT193, TT194, TT195, TT364 and TT406.....	123
Table 22: Owners of TT28, TT408 and TT409	126
Table 23: Owners of TT188 and TT374	127
Table 24: el-Khokha tombs distributed by most likely date	131
Table 25: el-Khokha tombs distributed by occupational group (n) denotes subsequent tomb occupation [] denotes reconstructed titles (Saleh 1977: 12 and 19).....	141
Table 26: Owners of TT105, TT106 and TT107	151
Table 27: Owners of TT176 and TT177	152
Table 28: Owners of TT256 and TT257	152
Table 29: Owners of TT245, TT246, TT247, TT248 and TT258.....	153
Table 30: Owners of TT253, TT254 and TT294	154
Table 31: Owners of TT178, TT295, TT296 and TT365	156
Table 32: Owners of TT179 and TT180	157
Table 33: Owners of TT184 and TT412	158
Table 34: Owners of TT49, TT187, TT362 and TT363.....	159
Table 35: Reused tombs in el-Khokha	160
Table 36: Upper Qurna tombs distributed by most likely date	181
Table 37: Upper Qurna tombs distributed by occupational group.....	183
Table 38: Reused tombs in Upper Qurna	195
Table 39: Lower Qurna tombs distributed by most likely date	204
Table 40: Lower Qurna TTs distributed by occupational group.....	204
Table 41: Owners of TT57 and TT102	213
Table 42: Owners of TT55 and TT331	214
Table 43: Owners of TT53, TT134 and TT135	216

Table 44: Owners of TT346 and TT403	217
Table 45: Owners of TT125 and TT263	218
Table 46: Owners of TT30, TT50, TT51 and TT111.....	219
Table 47: Owners of TT138 and TT259	221
Table 48: Reused tombs in Lower Qurna.....	222
Table 49: Qurnet Murai TTs distributed by most likely date.....	226
Table 50: Qurnet Murai Tombs distributed by occupational group	228
Table 51: Owners of TT277 and TT278	234
Table 52: Owners of TT272 and TT273	235
Table 53: Reused tombs in Qurnet Murai	237
Table 54: Deir el-Medina TTs distributed by most likely date	244
Table 55: Deir el-Medina tombs distributed by common titles	252
Table 56: Owners of TT218, TT219 and TT220	260
Table 57: TTs within a 100m radius of TT83 (Potentially contemporary TTs to the end of the reign of TIII)	272
Table 58: Contemporary TTs within a 100m radius of TT61	276
Table 59: Contemporary TTs within a 100m radius of TT131	276
Table 60: Contemporary TTs within a 100m radius of TT100	280
Table 61: Contemporary TTs within a 100m radius of TT29.....	284
Table 62: Contemporary TTs within a 100m radius of TT66.....	286
Table 63: Contemporary TTs within a 100m radius of TT55.....	289
Table 64: Contemporary TTs within a 100m radius of TT106.....	291
Table 65: HPA with known TTs.....	296
Table 66: Table of New Kingdom HPA in Chronological Order (denotes those with TTs)	298

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations for Publications used in References and Appendices

KRI: Kitchen, K.A., 1969-1990, *Rameside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Volumes I-VIII. Oxford.

LAe: Helck, W. & Otto, E. (eds.), 1972-1995, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Volumes I-VII. Wiesbaden.

LD: Lepsius, K.R. (ed.), 1849-1859, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. Volumes I-VI. Berlin.

PM I: Porter, B. & Moss, R., 1960, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings I: The Theban Necropolis: Part 1: Private Tombs: 2nd Edition*. Oxford.

Urk. IV: Sethe, K., 1906-1909, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie IV. Abteilung Band II*. Heft 1-16. Leipzig, continued by Helck, W., 1955-1958, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie IV. Abteilung Band II*. Heft 17-22. Berlin.

Abbreviations for Specific Periods

Dyn - Dynasty

FIP - First Intermediate Period

MK - Middle Kingdom

OK - Old Kingdom

Ram - Ramesside Period (Nineteenth/Twentieth Dynasty)

SIP - Second Intermediate Period

Abbreviations for King's Reigns

A - Amenhotep

Ah - Ahmose

Ame - Amenmessu

Amen - Amenemhat

Ay - Ay

Hat - Hatshepsut

Hor - Horemheb

Mer - Merenptah

Mon - Montuhotep

R - Ramesses

S - Seti

Sen - Senwosret

Set - Setnakhte

Sip - Siptah

STII - Seqenenre Tao

T - Tuthmosis

Tau - Tausert

Tut - Tutankhamun

Abbreviations for Common Titles

HPA - High Priest of Amun

2PA - 2nd Priest of Amun

3PA - 3rd Priest of Amun

4PA - 4th Priest of Amun

OP - Overseer of Priests

Miscellaneous Abbreviations

BFV - Beautiful Festival of the Valley

BM - British Museum

DEM - Digital Elevation Modelling

GIS - Geographical Information Software

GPS - Geographic Positioning System

K-n- -- Kampp numbered tomb

KML - Keyhole Markup Language

O - Ostraca

QGIS - Quantum Geographical Information Software

TCX - Training Center XML

TT - Theban Tomb (original number)

Conventions

Translation of Texts

[] words lost in the original text and restored.

... Part of translation not included in the extract.

QGIS

Screenshots of the QGIS projects used for this research have been used as maps throughout this publication, in addition to those from Google Earth Pro importing the same GPS co-ordinates, and Google My Maps. Unless otherwise stated in the List of Figures, all maps are from the QGIS.

The key to be used in conjunction with all QGIS maps showing TTs organised by date is opposite on page xxi and online at <https://doi.org/10.32028/9781803270364-online>. QGIS maps showing the TTs distributed by occupational groupings have individual legends included within the maps.



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Abstract

The Theban Necropolis contains hundreds of tombs belonging to elite individuals, dating from the end of the Old Kingdom through to the Ptolemaic Period, with the vast majority dating to the New Kingdom (c. 1550-1077 BC). These tombs are scattered across the landscape at the edge of the desert between the Valley of the Kings to the west, and the row of royal mortuary temples along the edge of the cultivation to the east. This research project focuses on New Kingdom private tomb distribution and investigates this apparently random arrangement of tombs by focusing on factors which may have influenced tomb location. GPS surveying and further analysis of tomb distribution using QGIS software is used to enable these tombs to be categorised in several different ways, demonstrating that specific areas of the necropolis were popular at different times and among particular groups of people. By investigating the evolution of the necropolis and spatial analysis of the tombs considering the date they were built, it has been possible to identify clusters and patterns between tombs built during the same reign(s).

A complete database of the tomb owners has been compiled using original source material to transliterate and translate their titles, enabling a detailed investigation into different occupational groups, in order to identify if these groupings are reflected by tomb distribution. Familial connections between tomb owners have been compared to tomb distribution to identify potential family groupings, and the proximity and orientation of the tombs in relation to royal mortuary temples and festival processional routes is also considered. The earliest tombs in the necropolis dating to the Old and Middle Kingdoms have also been included, to compare their distribution to that of their New Kingdom neighbours and to ascertain if their presence influenced later tomb location. Tomb reuse and the use of shared courtyards have also been analysed, in order to establish periods and areas of the necropolis where these practices were most common. This research provides a deeper understanding of the necropolis as a whole, and how the tomb linked to the wider sacred landscape of Thebes.

Pre-New Kingdom Tombs:

- △ OK - FIP
- ☆ MK

Late SIP/ Early NK Tombs:

- late 17 - 18
- ◇ STII - AI

New Kingdom Tombs:

- early 18
- 18
- ◇ Ah
- Ah - AI
- Ah - TIII
- ◇ TI - Hat
- TI - TIII
- - Hat
- ◇ Hat
- Hat - TIII
- - TIII
- ◇ TII - TIII
- TIII
- TIII - AII
- ◇ TIII - TIV
- AII
- AII - TIV
- ◇ AII - AIII
- TIV
- TIV - AIII
- ◇ 18 - AIII
- AIII
- AIII -

- ◇ AIII - AIV
- AIII - after amarna
- late 18 - Tut
- ◇ Tut
- Tut - Ay
- Tut - Hor
- ◇ Ay
- Ay - SI
- Hor
- ◇ Hor - SI
- Hor - RII
- 18 - 19
- ◇ 19
- RI - SI
- SI
- ◇ SI - RII
- - RII
- RII
- ◇ RII - Mer
- RII - SII
- RII -
- ◇ Mer
- Mer -
- SII - Sip
- ◇ SII - Tau
- mid - late 19
- end 19

- ◇ Ram
- late 19 - 20
- 19 - 21
- ◇ early 20
- 20
- RIII
- ◇ RIII - RIV
- RIII - RV
- RVIII
- ◆ 20 - 21

Other Features:

- Royal Mortuary Temple

Chapter 1: Introduction

This publication considers the organisation of the New Kingdom Theban necropolis, focusing on factors influencing the distribution of these tombs. The necropolis is surveyed systematically, from north to south, focusing on one area at a time, considering why tombs were built in particular locations or in distinct clusters.

The geographical location of each tomb within the necropolis is defined using GPS information gathered in the field, imported into QGIS software within the much larger area known generally as the ‘Theban Necropolis’. The tombs are then analysed for patterns in their distribution by reign, and geographical and spatial alignment. The tomb owners themselves are explored by examining their titles and familial relationships where inscriptional evidence survives. Tombs organised by broader occupational groupings are also identified. The proximity of the tombs to other features, both natural (such as the pyramid shaped Qurn mountain) and built (royal mortuary temples and tombs) is also taken into consideration to understand the wider sacred landscape of Western Thebes. No such comprehensive study exists so this research is a necessary and crucial investigation to allow a fuller understanding of this vast and very important archaeological site.

This innovative combination and approach to the primary evidence combined with insights of previous research provides a deeper understanding of the necropolis itself, how it was organised, and the importance placed on specific areas at particular times or to certain groups of people. It will ultimately clarify to what degree tomb location was allocated or chosen, and what additional factors drove this location. This study is therefore pioneering as these questions have not been directly addressed before when considering the entire necropolis. This type of research permits Egyptologists to consider the mortuary landscape of Thebes in a new way, allowing us a greater understanding of how the necropolis was organised. The tomb distribution patterns which have emerged during this study will provide a focus for future excavations in the area, attempting to locate as yet undiscovered or ‘lost’ tombs, with potentially exciting implications.

Area

The Theban Necropolis is located on the west bank of the modern-day city of Luxor (see Figure 1). It consists of the Valley of the Kings, the Valley of the Queens, the



Figure 1: Location of the Theban Necropolis (Author's own using Google Earth)

royal mortuary temples, the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina and the so-called ‘Tombs of the Nobles’ which this study considers. This private necropolis contains hundreds of non-royal tombs, and spreads along the edge of the cultivation, parallel with the River Nile. It is bordered to the west by the Theban Mountains, beyond which lies the Valley of the Kings, and to the east by the row of royal mortuary temples. The New Kingdom cemetery stretches from the area of el-Tarif in the north to the modern road to Deir el-Medina in the south and is divided into in several geographical areas. From north to south they are Dra Abu el-Naga, Deir el-Bahri, el-Asasif, el-Khokha, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, and Qurnet Murai (see Figure 2). An enclosed cemetery also exists at Deir el-Medina. The tombs are located between 160m and 80m above sea level, at which height the flatter floodplain begins.

Data Set

A Microsoft Access database has been created of the 414 original Theban Tombs (TTs), officially numbered by the Antiquities Service (see Figure 3). The tombs numbered later by Kampp (1996) have been excluded from this initial data set as the names and titles of the majority of



Figure 2: Areas of the Theban Necropolis (Author's own using Google My Maps)

the owners of these tombs are not available due to the poor preservation of these tombs. As a result of this lack of inscriptional information these Kampp tombs could not be analysed in the same way as the original tombs, as they cannot be grouped by occupation or affiliation. The 'Theban Necropolis' database contains: the TT number; the date or specific reign(s) to which the tomb was dated; the name of the tomb owner(s); the complete transliterated and translated title(s) of the tomb owner; the category or categories of occupation of the tomb owner; any affiliation of the individuals, for example to a specific deity; any spatial connection between the tombs, such as shared courtyards or entrances; any known familial connection to other tombs in the necropolis. In cases where the tomb has been reused, the details of each occupant have been included, with the order of occupation denoted numerically. Tombs built or reused after the end of the New Kingdom have not been included as they are not relevant to this study.

QGIS

This database has been joined to Quantum Geographical Information Software (QGIS), in order to create a layered map of the necropolis. These interchangeable layers include tombs of different dates, dates of reuse, occupational groups, and specific titles, thus allowing the analysis of tomb distribution to identify potential patterns and trends. In order to join the database to the QGIS software, the database needed a spatial data

component. Despite the apparent commencement of a number of projects to provide Geographic Positioning System (GPS) co-ordinates for the Theban tombs, no such complete resource exists in the public domain, and requests to the relevant bodies for access to GPS or GIS data for the area have not been successful. Due to the lack of a professionally available topographic map of the area of a scale and quality appropriate for this project, or a comprehensive map of the area's tombs and surrounding structures, the existing plans and plates by Porter Moss (1960) and Kampp (1996) were consulted as the most complete and recent maps available for this purpose. As a result of the lack of publicly available spatial data, these plans have been attached to the GIS software using a method of geo-referencing fixed geographical landmarks identifiable on both the maps and satellite imagery. This time-consuming process allowed the plates to be attached to a map of Egypt using a Google Earth plug-in to provide satellite imagery. However, in order to test the accuracy of both the maps and the geo-referencing process, a survey was undertaken by the author, of key tombs and features in the necropolis using a handheld Garmin GPS device, in order to obtain GPS data to compare to the QGIS image. GPS readings were taken at the entrance of all accessible tombs in the necropolis, and at a number of additional locations identifiable from satellite imagery, such as mortuary temples, processional paths and modern landmarks, in order to enhance the accuracy of the geo-referencing.



Figure 3: Theban Tombs in relation to the rest of the Theban Necropolis (Author's own using QGIS)

This GPS data was imported into QGIS software, allowing geo-referencing of the relevant plans and plates, using the waypoints taken in the field to ensure an accuracy of within five metres. Once the plates were geo-referenced they were used to digitise and number each Theban Tomb, providing latitude and longitude co-ordinates using the plans to locate them. Once this data had been obtained, the simplified Theban Tombs database could be joined to the 'Tombs shapefile' using the tomb number. This joining allows the creation of layers within the GIS to illustrate patterns using different criteria. An additional layer was created in 'Google My Maps' and imported into the QGIS software, digitising major mortuary temples visible on the satellite imagery on the eastern edge of the necropolis to ascertain proximity and orientation in relation to the tombs. Digital Elevation Modelling (DEM) has also been performed using 'Google Earth Pro' to create a KML (Keyhole Markup Language) file, which was imported into a TCX (Training Center XML) converter to obtain altitude data and convert it into a TCX file. This was then imported into the QGIS and saved as a 'shapefile'. This allows a layer to ascertain the elevation of the tomb and the contours of the entire necropolis to identify potential reasons for distributional patterns.

Subsequent trips were then made to the Theban Necropolis to take further GPS readings in order to ascertain the accuracy of this method. These calculations have shown that the locations of tombs visible on the QGIS are accurate to within five metres in open sky conditions, which is accurate enough for the purposes of this study.

Sources

The information in the database is based on Porter and Moss (1960), Kampp (1996a and b) and individual tomb publications where available. Theban Tomb dates are primarily based on Kampp's (1996) dating criteria as the most recent and comprehensive available, but also considering dating by Porter and Moss (1960), and individual tomb publications where necessary. Other evidence for the dating of individual tombs, where relevant, has also been considered.

The titles are primarily derived from translating the hieroglyphic inscriptions from each individual tomb, the majority of which have been reproduced in the *Urkunden IV* (Sethe 1906-09, and Helck 1955-58) for the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, and Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions* (1969-1990) for the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty tombs. Individual tomb publications have also been consulted wherever possible. The hieroglyphic transcription of titles by Gardiner and Weigall (1913) have been used as a source for otherwise unpublished tombs. As many of the tomb owners possessed multiple titles, priority has been given to

functional rather than honorary titles, with the most important titles listed first. This field of the database is limited by the number of tombs which have not been fully published, as well as inaccessible or poorly preserved tombs. A comprehensive publication of New Kingdom titles is lacking, so the index of Al-Ayedi (2006) has been used for reference purposes. Quirke (2004), Ward (1982) and Fischer (1997) have also been useful, as although they pertain to the Middle Kingdom still contain some relevant information

Only titles listed within tombs have been included in this study, while further titularies from additional inscriptional evidence have been excluded, as the translation of all available sources is beyond the scope of this research project. This is limiting in some cases where a more definite affiliation or additional titles are known for some individuals from other sources, but it seems sensible that any titles affecting tomb placement would be included within the tomb itself, and not solely be known from other sources.

Occupational Groupings

All tomb owners listed their titularies within their tombs, which can be used to identify and differentiate between them. Their occupations have been categorised into several groups, based on those used by Gardiner and Weigall (1913: 41-44), with some tomb owners with multiple titles falling into multiple categories.

The first of these groups is the priesthood, which includes different classes of priest, along with those with esoteric knowledge, such as 'Chief of the Brazier Burners', 'Scribe of Divine Records', and 'Head of the Master of Ceremonies'. The second group consists of those individuals who were affiliated to the temple estate in an administrative capacity rather than a religious one. This included those with roles in the temple such as 'Stewards', 'Overseers' of various departments of the temple, such as the treasury, granary or storehouse, the 'Overseer of Works', 'Temple Scribes', and those responsible for otherwise provisioning the temple.

The third group includes those individuals with a royal administrative title, affiliated to the palace or court. These individuals directly served the king and royal family, including 'Royal Stewards', 'Heralds', 'Butlers', 'Royal Physicians' and 'Nurses', along with those possessing administrative titles such as 'Royal Scribes', 'Overseers of the Treasury' or 'Overseer of the Granary' of the King, and 'Overseers of the Royal Harem'. Members of the royal family form a small separate group, consisting of royal sons, wives and daughters.

Another group is the general centralised administration of the country. These national roles include the 'Viziers', 'Chancellors', 'Overseers' of the state treasury

and granary, and important agricultural titles. The local administration forms another distinct group, consisting of individuals with regional rather than national power. These include 'Mayors', local governors, harbour-masters, and those with provincial titles such as 'King's Son of Kush', and 'Eyes of the King' in foreign lands. Military titles are also differentiated, with this group including 'Overseers of the Army', 'Lieutenant Commanders', 'Captain of Troops', 'Chief of Horses' and 'Military Scribes'. The final group is made up of those tomb owners for whom we only have honorary court titles, such as 'Sole Companion' or 'Child of the Nursery'. When an honorary title occurs in conjunction with a functional title, the functional title has been used to categorise the occupation of the tomb owner.

Spatial Analysis

Using firstly date and then titles, the distribution of tombs has been analysed in order to identify potential clusters. The QGIS has been filtered to show the stages of development of each area of the necropolis, allowing groupings of contemporary tombs to be identified. The titles of each tomb owner have then been analysed within their occupational groupings, in order to identify any trends or spatial connections between tombs belonging to individuals who had similar titles. Familial connections have been identified, where evidence permits, to look for relationships of tombs belonging to family members. Shared tombs have also been considered, to explore the connection between the individuals who were buried there.

Research Questions

- **How did the Theban Necropolis evolve over time?**

The New Kingdom tombs are analysed to ascertain if there is evidence of a gradual spread of tombs from a single original occupied area as the necropolis expanded. Another theory is that the most desirable locations were filled first and later tombs filled in the gaps. This seems to be a generalised rather simplistic way to look at the evolution of the necropolis, so trends during specific reigns are also considered to look for spatial connections between tombs and the rest of the funerary landscape.

- **Were individuals buried near their family or contemporaries – or perhaps even in friendship groups?**

Any known familial relationships are considered in relation to the placement of their tombs to see if relations are buried in the vicinity of each other. The occupation and affiliation of tomb owners is also considered to see if there is evidence of colleagues who

lived and worked together being buried close to each other.

- **Is there evidence of occupational clusters?**

When the titles of tomb owners are organised into groups according to their occupation, their tombs are considered in relation to other individuals who held the same or similar title(s) or had the same affiliation, to see if trends between certain occupations can be observed that might be indicative of areas of the necropolis allocated to specific professions or groups.

- **Were lower ranking individuals buried in the vicinity of their superior(s)?**

Middle Kingdom cemeteries such as Beni Hassan were organised by the high officials being buried on the upper slopes, and the lower officials on the lower slopes. In the Old and Middle Kingdom the royal tomb acted as a focal point for clusters of tombs belonging to officials who served them. In the New Kingdom when the king's burial had been removed to the Valley of the Kings, did the tombs of the most important officials act as a similar focus? By studying the tombs of the Viziers and the High Priests of Amun, the two most important New Kingdom officials, and those buried in close proximity, it is possible to see if their colleagues or subordinates were spatially connected to them after death.

- **Was tomb distribution influenced by proximity to the royal mortuary temple of the reigning king?**

In the Old and Middle Kingdom, officials were buried in close proximity to the tomb of their king. The isolated nature of the royal tomb in the New Kingdom meant that this was now impossible, but it was still possible to be buried relatively close to the more accessible royal mortuary temple of the reigning king, or at least orientated towards it. The location of contemporary mortuary temples will be considered alongside the evolution of the necropolis.

- **Was tomb location influenced by the processional routes of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley and other festivals?**

The evolving processional route of the BFV is considered alongside the evolution of the necropolis, to see there is evidence of tombs being located along or orientated towards the processional route, in order to participate in the festival after death. Additional processions and cultic activity in the necropolis may also have influenced tomb distribution.

- **Who was buried in the most desirable locations? Were they reserved for the**

wealthiest or most important individuals or those closest to the king?

It seems likely that positions on the upper slopes with superior views, or in close proximity to important elements of the funerary landscape such as mortuary temples and processional routes, would have been reserved for high-ranking individuals. The analysis of the titles of those buried for example in Upper Qurna reveal if there is evidence for this, or if it was a case of first come first served.

- **Were certain locations popular during certain periods for a reason?**

When the evolution of the necropolis is studied, can the popularity of specific areas during certain periods be identified and linked to other factors, such as the titles of those buried there, or proximity to other elements of the funerary landscape at that time? Or does it appear to have been more of a natural expansion due to areas becoming too full to be a viable option for rock-cut tombs, so a different area was chosen to allow new tomb building?

- **Does this tell us anything about mortuary beliefs at different times?**

Does tomb distribution inform our knowledge of important factors when choosing a plot for tomb building during specific periods? For example is it possible to identify periods when spatial connections to tombs belonging to individuals with the same title, potential colleagues or family members seemed to have driven tomb distribution, or when connections with specific mortuary temples or processional routes were a more important factor, perhaps showing a change in tomb distribution as in tomb architecture and decoration between the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Ramesside Period.

- **Why were some tombs located around a shared courtyard, or with shared access?**

The use of shared architectural features may have allowed contemporary individuals to conveniently share resources to create an impressive façade or entrance for their tombs, while familial or titular links between tomb owners may be indicative of a desire to spend eternity in close proximity by spatially linking their tombs in this way. Later tombs may have been added onto existing features to establish a link with an esteemed ancestor, or simply taking advantage of an existing courtyard by cutting a subsidiary tomb. An analysis of shared courtyards reveals more about this practice.

- **Which tombs were reused and who reused them? To what extent was this practice a result of lack of space and resources, or is there evidence of links between occupants of the same tomb?**

By mapping reused tombs, chronological patterns can be identified, potentially indicating whether this was a case of necessity, simply reusing any suitable tomb, or if it was more prevalent in specific areas, suggesting that location was the driving factor behind the decision. Links between the various occupants of a tomb and those of nearby tombs may also reveal a connection, such as the reuse of tombs by members of the same profession or a tomb close to that of a family member.

- **What does all this information tell us about how tomb plots were allocated?**

The issue of New Kingdom private tomb allocation is not well understood, so any evidence of a centralised organisation of the necropolis may be indicative of state involvement in tomb allocation. If the necropolis evolved more naturally then this would suggest more of an element of personal choice when choosing a location to build a tomb.

Shared Courtyards

A number of tombs opened onto a courtyard which was shared with other tombs, while others shared access. These connections are analysed to try and explain why these tombs were linked, and whether this was intentional or accidental. These tombs have been identified from the plans by Kampp (1996), Google Earth satellite imagery, and confirmed by visits to as many shared courtyards as accessible. Those tombs containing a breakthrough into another tomb which is clearly identifiable as an accidental occurrence during the construction of the later tomb, or a deliberate attempt by tomb robbers to gain access, have been excluded as they are irrelevant to this study. This information has been incorporated at the end of each chapter.

Tomb Reuse

A number of tombs were reused (some multiple times) during the New Kingdom. A separate QGIS map has been created by filtering the attached attribute table to show only reused tombs, with the key equating to the date of (first in the case of multiple reuses) reuse. The dates of occupation, in conjunction with the titles of original and secondary owners are then analysed, to attempt to draw conclusions about the reasons for reuse, investigating potential connections between the tomb owners, or whether it was reusing a prime location to site a tomb, or simply a matter of

convenience. These factors help to explain why certain areas of the necropolis were reused more than others, and why reuse was more popular during certain periods than others.

Problems and Limitations

Preservation and Publication of the Theban Tombs

The amount of data available for each tomb varies greatly, thus affecting the accuracy of dating and full titles of the tomb owner. This is partly as a result of the nature of Egyptian tombs, with poor preservation and a lack of accurate recording of the inscriptions, in addition to a number of tombs being inaccessible. Many TTs are not fully published and not included in the source material, thus limiting the titles included in the database. The number of titles available for each tomb owner depends on their availability for the aforementioned reasons, but also on the space available within the tomb to record them.

Tomb Construction

When identifying tomb patterns according to date, tombs dated to a specific reign may not provide an accurate reflection of the date when construction began. In those cases where a definitive reign is given, it was usually towards the end of an official's career when he attained his highest office, and not necessarily at the time when construction on the tomb began, and therefore its location was chosen. This depended on the lifespan of the tomb owner and how early in his career he began work on his tomb. If tomb construction was begun early in a career, which seems likely, its location might have been chosen one or two reigns prior to the reign of the last king served (Roth 1988: 202), or it may have been begun later in his career when he had sufficient resources to complete it. Manniche (1987: 11) estimates 70 days as potentially the length of time taken to carve and decorate a private New Kingdom Theban tomb, but without specific textual evidence this is speculation. This needs to be considered when identifying chronological patterns.

Several publications deal with the construction and decoration of New Kingdom private Theban tombs, and who was responsible for it. Although many elements of these arguments are not relevant to this study, they provide information about the rate of tomb building, and may also inform the issue of tomb allocation. Romer (1988: 211-232) claims that the workmen at Deir el-Medina were only responsible for the construction of tombs within the village and not the wider necropolis. He also conducts a statistical analysis of the private Theban Tombs throughout the New Kingdom, concluding that approximately eight tombs were built

every ten years in the Theban Necropolis, so almost one a year (Romer 1988: 212). He states that private tomb production was reasonably consistent, suggesting a permanent workforce, directed by a single authority, to which he links the workmen at Deir el-Medina, although he finds no evidence that texts from Deir el-Medina referred to private tomb production outside the village.

Cooney (2008: 79-115) examines this theory by considering the textual evidence from Western Thebes. She convincingly argues that Romer's conclusions are based on outdated reign dates, and the tomb building patterns mirror periods of prosperity and recession, which would have influenced the entire Western Theban population, and thus the rate of tomb production, whether organised privately or by the state (Cooney 2008: 81-82). She provides textual evidence from the Ramesside Period, proving that Deir el-Medina craftsmen were involved in the decoration of the tombs of certain high officials in the wider necropolis, but not the actual tomb construction (Cooney 2008: 96-101). She concludes that these were not rare examples, but rather there was a private sector market for funerary goods, driven by the demands of highly placed Theban officials and the craftsmen themselves (Cooney 2008: 112). This then begs the question were these highly placed Theban officials responsible for choosing their own tomb and allocating others to lower officials, or was this element organised by the state.

Tomb Allocation

Very little is known about private New Kingdom tomb allocation. We do not know if individuals chose the location of the tomb themselves or whether it was allocated. Ikram (2003: 150-151) concludes that from the Middle Kingdom onwards, non-royal tomb owners financed their own tombs and were responsible for the construction and decoration rather than the king, but that the local government may have sold simple shaft tombs to potential tomb owners. Taylor (2003: 170-171) agrees that non-royal individuals in the New Kingdom were responsible for constructing their own tombs, but there is no mention of how tomb plots were allocated.

Literature Review

Many scholars refer to the organisation of the Theban necropolis with different agendas, but a detailed comprehensive study of the entire New Kingdom necropolis has never been completed previously. This literature review provides an overview of only those works which are most relevant to this research in terms of the basic core data they contain, and those that have been particularly useful when considering specific research questions relating to tomb distribution.

Core Data

The most complete and useful publications discussing the tombs of the Theban Necropolis are the reference works of Porter and Moss (1960), and Kampp (1996). Both systematically discuss each Theban Tomb, providing dating, names, and in the case of Porter and Moss, the main titles of tomb owners. The dating of Porter and Moss is based on inscriptional evidence such as regnal dates and royal cartouches for precise dating, in addition to artistic conventions when exact dating is not possible. The more recent dating by Kampp uses Porter and Moss's dating as a starting point but attempts to clarify and in some cases refine these dates by categorising the tombs on the basis of the architectural development of the tombs themselves, from 'Houses of the Dead' in the Middle Kingdom and early New Kingdom, into 'private mortuary temples' in the Ramesside Period (Kampp-Seyfried 2003: 10). The chronological and topographical distribution of tombs is considered in terms of their architectural type, rather than by an analysis of the relationship between the individuals who built the tombs, but this research has been invaluable to inform my work through this improved dating criteria. Both publications provide plans of tombs and maps of major areas of the necropolis (although Kampp excludes tombs in Deir el-Medina, Deir el-Bahri and several outlying tombs). These volumes remain the best source of general information about the dates and locations of the Theban tombs.

Gardiner and Weigall (1913) and Engelbach (1924) list the names and major titles of each tomb owner, from TT1 to TT252 in the original publication, and TT253 to TT334 in the supplement. Hieroglyphic inscriptions of the main titles are also included. The titles are grouped by affiliation, such as royal family, royal officials, general administration, local administration, military charges, priesthoods, temple administration, and members of the Place of Truth. This is a useful starting point when considering occupational groups, but some titles are omitted, so these groupings are somewhat simplified, while some are confusingly in multiple categories. These publications are incomplete as they do not include all Theban Tombs and only list the major titles of each tomb owner.

The best source for the complete set of titles in each tomb varies depending on the date of the tomb. 'Urkunden der 18. Dynastie' (Sethe, 1905-09: Heft 1-16 and Helck 1955-61: Heft 17-22) is the best and most complete source for the original hieroglyphic inscriptions for most Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, while Kitchen's 'Ramesside Inscriptions' (1969-90: Volumes I-VIII) is invaluable for the majority of Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty tombs. A combination of these sources has been used to compile the database for this

research, supplemented by additional publications for individual tombs wherever available.

Necropolis Development

The earliest useful reference to the organisation of the necropolis as a whole is that of Rhind (1862: 50-51), who concludes that there is no progressive order of tombs according to date, and no strict groups according to the importance of the rank of their owners. He finds that those decorated tombs on the upper slopes, particularly in Qurna and Dra Abu el-Naga, were almost all owned by priests, the government or the army, with some lower-class individuals in undecorated tombs among them.

One of the most relevant papers considering the development of the private Theban Necropolis is that of Helck (1962: 225-243), who demonstrates the connection between social position and tomb location. He describes the general evolution of the Theban necropolis from its earliest tombs, and throughout the New Kingdom, but also crucially identifies a connection between the orientation and location of officials' tombs and the contemporary mortuary temples in the Eighteenth Dynasty. He suggests that the necropolis evolved from north to south, linked to the movement south of the royal mortuary temples, but that this trend only applied to 'sozial hochgestellter', such as the Viziers, high priests, treasurers and mayors, while less important members of society filled in the gaps after the most important burials had moved southwards. He also identifies that the placement of Amenhotep III's mortuary temple further south than previous Eighteenth Dynasty temples relieved the overcrowding of some areas of the necropolis (i.e., Upper Qurna), as it led to the expansion of the cemetery onto the lower slopes. Helck credits the increased tomb building in Qurnet Murai after the Amarna Period as a result of the connection with the late Eighteenth Dynasty mortuary temples built in this southern area.

Kampp (1996: 120-22) further expands upon and challenges some of Helck's deductions by arguing against the connection between tomb orientation in Dra Abu el-Naga (specifically that of the Ramesside group including TT35, TT157 and TT158) and Karnak temple, citing the relatively small size of the necropolis in relation to the relatively long distance to the east bank, as Karnak can be observed from almost all regions of the necropolis. She acknowledges this as a factor but also relates this dense group of tombs to the identification of Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasty royal tombs in this area. She identifies a preference for el-Khokha and el-Asasif, relative to their size, during the Ramesside Period, which should be considered in addition to the popularity of Dra Abu el-Naga at this time. She enhances Helck's conclusions by

referring to the ‘*Nekropolenstraßen*’ or ‘Necropolis Roads’ in relation to the development of the individual areas of the necropolis. As it would not have been possible in all areas to orientate every tomb towards the mortuary temples used during the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, she suggests that tombs are orientated instead towards the processional routes and festival grounds, which explains the semi-circular orientation of the tombs in Lower Qurna, and the use of two sides of the valley in el-Khokha, and similarly in Dra Abu el-Naga East. She states that the natural paths leading through necropolis hardly differ today from the ancient paths, so can be used to help divide the necropolis into areas. This premise has been used in this thesis when reassessing the boundaries between some areas. She notes that the ideal east-west tomb orientation is dependent on geographical conditions where the tomb is built, but the most successful cases in achieving this are observed in those tombs built during the reign of Amenhotep III and post-Amarna (presumably as they had expanded into other areas of the necropolis, where there was more space and less rock to dictate orientation). The natural terrain and desired orientation towards the tombs of high-ranking officials were responsible for the development of the necropolis during the Eighteenth Dynasty, but it is not clear to what extent the paths through the necropolis were used to access individual tombs or whether they were included in the festival processions (Kampp 1996: 120-122). These theories are all relevant to my research and as such will be returned to later in this thesis (see Chapter 14).

Abdul-Qader Muhammad (1966: 3-4) describes the initial use of el-Khokha, Deir el-Bahri and the northern slope of Qurna facing Deir el-Bahri for the earliest tombs, before TT60 became the first tomb on the eastern slope of Qurna. He discusses the organisation of the New Kingdom necropolis in more detail, stating that Dra Abu el-Naga was used at the beginning of the reign of Ahmose, before Qurna became the sole location for all tombs from Amenhotep I to Hatshepsut. From Tuthmosis III the tombs were scattered throughout the necropolis. Another pattern he observes was that high officials were buried on the upper slopes, less important officials on the lower slopes, and minor officials at Dra Abu el-Naga and other sites. He notes that the upper slopes were full by the end of the reign of Tuthmosis IV, so the high officials of Amenhotep III had to use the lower slopes (for example TT55 and TT57) or find new sites such as el-Khokha (TT48) or el-Asasif (TT192) with better quality limestone. He states that the only important tomb of Amenhotep III in Upper Qurna is Ramose (TT46), with any Ramesside tombs in the area reusing early Eighteenth Dynasty structures. He considers the ‘most important’ Ramesside tombs to be those concentrated in Lower Qurna (TT106, TT23, TT41) and southern Dra Abu el-Naga (TT157, TT35,

TT156, TT148), with the ‘less important’ also at Dra Abu el-Naga, and Deir el-Medina. While some interesting general patterns have been observed, they are too broad to be of much use, as there are exceptions to these generalisations which need to be considered.

Dodson (1991: 33-42) notes that the earliest Eighteenth Dynasty tombs were at Dra Abu el-Naga, with later ones at Qurna, and those dating to Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III cut on the lower slopes of Qurna and Khokha as a result of the superior rock quality for fine carving on the lower slopes. He suggests that the presence of fewer Theban tombs dated to the late Eighteenth Dynasty onwards was as a result of the elite then being buried at Saqqara, with a few notable exceptions. Space constraints at Thebes are explained, with the upper slopes of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna filling up by the end of the reign of Tuthmosis IV, leading high officials of Amenhotep III to build their tombs on the lower slopes, or in alternative areas such as Qurnet Murai (Dodson and Ikram 2008: 217).

Social Status of Tomb Owners connected to Tomb Distribution

The significance of the location of a tomb within a cemetery is recognised as a means of indicating the economic and social status of the deceased, rather than making a religious statement (Ikram 2003: 141-143; Dodson and Ikram 2008: 23-30). Ikram concludes that in non-royal cemeteries the most important people were buried higher up the cliff, and less important, less wealthy individuals were buried lower down the slopes, with the poorest located at the desert edge. The later tombs would then squeeze in wherever they could find space. She refers to how rock quality could reverse this hierarchy, citing Thebes as an exception to this rule, as the best rock lies on the lower slopes and valley floor, so a choice had to be made between a prominent location on the upper slopes and carved decoration (Ikram 2003: 150-151). The clustering of family tombs is observed, as are some groups of tombs belonging to people sharing the same major position (Dodson and Ikram 2008: 27). The sacred power of Deir el-Bahri, as both the centre of the Hathor cult and a place of royal affiliation, is described as an attraction to tomb builders, to itself and the adjacent Khokha and Asasif. Areas along the processional route of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley would also have been favoured for burials as they would have received divine blessings as the procession passed (Dodson and Ikram 2008: 27-29).

Taylor (2003: 139-141) makes some broad comments on the location of tombs and spatial layout of cemeteries. He discusses how social hierarchy was maintained beyond death by the positioning of tombs, that within a cemetery the graves of important people occupied the

most prominent locations, which acted as focal points around which the graves of people of lower rank were grouped. He mentions the grouping of officials' tombs specifically within the Theban Necropolis, and how some tombs were positioned in a relationship to royal monuments such as the royal mortuary temples on the west bank. He suggests that areas of a cemetery were allotted to different social groups (without providing any examples) but explains that these patterns changed over time as the use of the site progressed, with the majority of graves only dug when required. These statements are generalised and require further analysis to prove or disprove them in relation to this study (see Chapter 14).

Auenmüller's research into the significance of provincial tomb location and factors affecting this (2014: 171-193), are also relevant to this study. He considers the ideological significance of the location chosen for New Kingdom elite tombs, and what spatial and social relations were indicated by a tomb's location. This research does not however focus on the significance of a tomb's location within a given necropolis, but rather the choice to be buried in a particular necropolis and what this reveals about the status and provenance of the tomb owner. There are relevant observations, for example the potential reasons why some provincial mayors, from places such as Thebu, Thinis, the Fayum and the oases, chose to be buried at Thebes rather than their place of office (the owners of TT20, TT63, TT109 and TT155), with potential factors including their origin, and functional connections to Theban institutions (Auenmüller 2014: 179-180). He concludes that the highest members of the administrative elite, for example those with titles connected them to the king or cult of Amun, were buried in major city necropoli such as Thebes, while the lower members, for example those with purely provincial titles, such as mayor of a specific town, were buried in the cemetery of their hometown or place of office. There are however exceptions to this rule as the study of the titles of tomb owners in this study reveals a range of officials, not only high-ranking. This would suggest that the lower-ranking inhabitants of the necropolis must have either originated from Thebes or had an occupational connection to the area.

Use of Different Regions of the Necropolis

There is some relevant research into specific areas of the necropolis, rather than considering it as a whole entity. The research conducted by Winlock (1924: 217-277), Miniaci (2009: 19-25) and Polz (2007: 172-197) into identifying Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasty royal burials in Dra Abu el-Naga has been very informative when considering this area. Polz's work in particular (2007: 172-197), identifying the double tomb complex of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari to be Kampp numbered tombs -130- and -131-, now

designated K93.11 and K93.12, and the archaeological evidence of cultic activity in this area from the early Eighteenth Dynasty into the Ramesside Period, has had a direct influence on my arguments concerning tomb placement in this area.

The dissertation of Jimenez-Higueras (2016) addresses some similar research questions to this project but focuses solely on two groups of private tombs in Dra Abu el-Naga. This scientific analysis attempts to reconstruct the ancient landscape by considering aspects such as rock quality, 'viewshed' and 'line of sight' from the tomb, and reconstruction of paths between them. The emphasis here is on connections between tombs and the wider funerary landscape by conducting visibility surveys and links to processional activity in the area, and there is also some analysis of distribution by date, kinship and occupation. The conclusions made are sound and those relevant assertions are pertinent to my research (Chapter 5). It differs from my research in terms of methodology, and it only focuses on two case studies within this one area, rather than the entire necropolis - indeed the author suggests the need to conduct research across the entire Theban Necropolis in order to understand it better.

The research of Shirley (2010: 73-113) into the connections between the offices of 'Viceroys, Viziers, and the Amun Precinct' considers tomb placement in specific areas. She identifies that the late Seventeenth Dynasty tombs are at Dra Abu el-Naga, with new areas such as Asasif and Qurna explored in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Factors influencing tomb location included rock quality, visibility from the plain and relation to royal mortuary temples, but in the early New Kingdom presumably they were placed at particular spots for specific reasons, although these are not elaborated on here. She focuses on a 'family precinct' of tombs in Upper Qurna (TT81, TT83, TT61, TT131, TT122, TT228 and TT100), using natural pathways, contour levels and direct distances between the tombs to supporting the concept of planned topographical positioning of this group. During the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, additional tombs were built in this area belonging to priests or administrators connected to the Estate of Amun, who would have served alongside members of this group. She identifies Qurna as the chosen spot for burial of the high elite during this period, while the other areas of the necropolis, with a few exceptions, are used by the mid and lower-level officials connected to the Estate of Amun and funerary temples (Shirley 2010: 98-109). While thorough and comprehensive concerning the tombs it considers, this study is of limited use here due to the relatively short time-span and single area of the necropolis that is dealt with.

The organisation and reasons behind the use of Qurnet Murai are discussed by Gabolde (1995: 155-165), who

concludes that this area was chosen for two reasons, to maintain proximity to the mortuary temple of the king they served in life, or to construct vast tombs at a time when the necropolis was becoming crowded. These conclusions are referred to when discussing this area (see Chapter 10).

Tomb Distribution during Specific Periods

The most relevant publications covering the earliest uses of the Theban Necropolis are those of Winlock (1947) and Soliman (2009). Winlock (1947) provides a commentary of the rulers of Thebes and their monuments from the First Intermediate Period, throughout the Middle Kingdom and into the Second Intermediate Period. There is little information regarding the location of these tombs, or those of their officials, so while interesting background information about the region, this publication does not influence this thesis. The Theban Tombs from the Old Kingdom up to the end of the Second Intermediate Period, both royal and private, are considered by Soliman (2009), who provides a history of the pre-New Kingdom Necropolis, together with detailed description of individual tombs and titles of their owners (although neither hieroglyphic text nor transliteration are included). This information is useful when considering the relationship between these and later burials, but there is no discussion relating to why these early tombs were located in these specific areas of the necropolis.

Rummel's research (2013: 207-232) considers the Theban ritual landscape, focusing on Western Thebes in the Twentieth Dynasty, and the topographical connection between private tombs and the Beautiful Festival of the Valley. The relationship between private tombs, local temples and processional ways is studied, as well as the manner of their inclusion into the Valley Festival. This research addresses similar concepts to this project, but earlier tombs are not investigated, nor the necropolis as a whole.

Bács (2011: 1-46) addresses the modern misconception that very few new tombs were made in the late Ramesside Period, with reuse envisaged as the norm, arguing instead that this is a result of the poor preservation and lack of secure dating of these tombs. He attributes approximately sixty tombs to the Twentieth Dynasty, on the basis of royal names present in their decoration, or on stylistic grounds, with more to be added which are currently designated 'Ramesside' in date. He notes that the distributional pattern of these tombs extends across the entire necropolis, with a preference for Dra Abu el-Naga. He makes the distinction that the Theban Necropolis at this time was no longer a court cemetery, but rather that of a single community centred around Karnak temple and the vast Estate of Amun. This meant that these tomb owners were associated with the various Theban cults, as priests or officials. The choice of tomb site was dependant on a number of factors. Dra Abu el-Naga was desirable as it was near the contemporary royal mortuary temple and the processional route of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley. It was also an ancient royal cemetery, and the burial ground of the High Priests of Amun from the early Nineteenth Dynasty onwards.

The Theban Necropolis has inspired a range of individual tomb publications, too many to list here, but those used can be found in the individual references for each tomb (see Appendix 1-14). The majority of these include a paragraph discussing the tomb's location, orientation, its proximity to neighbouring tombs where relevant, and some useful illustrations. While informative these observations are of limited use to this study as they focus on individual tombs rather than the necropolis as a whole. The lack of these publications for the majority of tombs also limits their usefulness in the context of this project.

This review of existing research has revealed a lack of analysis of the organisation and tomb distribution in the New Kingdom Theban Necropolis as a whole.