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Centros de Estudios Africanos
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ISSN 1695-4750



9 771695 475008



número 11

2020

Choosing the Location of a ‘House for Eternity’. A Survey on the Relationship between the Rank of the Hatshepsut’s Officials and the Location of their Burials in the Theban Necropolis

Juan CANDELAS FISAC

This survey aims to determine if a link exists between features of the Theban landscape and where the Egyptian elite chose to build their houses of eternity within the context of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. It is hoped that through GIS-generated tomb location maps, the analysis of their owners’ status and reflection on the landscape’s topography, this study will be able to approximate a relationship between the ranking of Hatshepsut’s officials and the location of their tombs in the necropolis of Western Thebes. This is driven by the current limits in our understanding of the inner hierarchy among officials as well as the tomb site selection process and, therefore, the necessity of expanding such limits.

Eligiendo la ubicación de una “Casa para la Eternidad”. Un análisis sobre la relación entre el rango de los oficiales de Hatshepsut y la ubicación de sus tumbas en la necrópolis Tebana

Este estudio tiene como objetivo determinar si existe algún nexo entre las características del paisaje Tebano, tanto físicas como simbólicas, y el lugar concreto que la élite de la sociedad egipcia eligió para ubicar y construir su tumba, durante el período de la temprana XVIII dinastía. Este estudio se valdrá del análisis geoespacial SIG a través del cual se van a crear una serie de mapas con la ubicación de dichos enterramientos, así como del análisis del posible estatus de su propietario plasmado de alguna manera sobre la topografía de este paisaje funerario; intentando establecer así la posible relación entre la posición de un propietario de una tumba privada dentro de la Corte Real de Hatshepsut, la administración o el clero y la ubicación de dicha tumba en la necrópolis. Todo ello condicionado por los límites actuales de nuestro conocimiento sobre las jerarquías internas de los oficiales egipcios, junto con el proceso de selección de la ubicación de una tumba y por tanto la necesidad de expandir dichos límites.

Keywords: Landscape, GIS, location, visibility, accessibility, status.

Palabras clave: Paisaje, SIG, tumba, ubicación, visibilidad, accesibilidad, estatus.

1 | Background studies and the state of current research

Previous authors have contributed to the knowledge of the New Kingdom’s private tombs through differing approaches.¹ Notably, some

of them have dedicated themselves to the compilation of data related to these private burials and its cataloguing, the first major compilation of private tombs being the volume of PM *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* in the year 1960.

¹ This paper derives from the unpublished MA Dissertation of Candelas Fisac 2018.

A later version of this great catalogue is that of Kampp of 1996, which added yet further data by revising the dates of the tombs, and by including archaeological considerations. Finally, there is a more recent list, slightly more updated, although less extensive, offered by Wasmuth in 2003. Alternatively, some recent studies can also shed light on the matter of landscape interpretation in relation to sacred places by site analysis through GIS²-GPS system, such as the unpublished PhD Thesis of Jiménez-Higueras (2016), which focuses mainly on the private tombs located in the necropolis of Dra Abu el-Naga during the New Kingdom.

The tomb in ancient Egypt has always been considered a “sacred place”, since one of the words for necropolis is *hrt-ntj* “that which is under the (charge of) the god”, and we know that the New Kingdom private tomb acted as a private temple where the deceased could worship the gods for eternity.³ Nowadays, there are several issues within the study of private tombs surrounding their chronology, due to either damage of the archaeological remains, ruined and plundered contexts or simply scarcity of evidence. Nevertheless, there are other methods that allow us to analyse and interpret all the evidence found—that which is discovered *in situ* being the most secure and trustworthy—such as the reading and analysis of the funerary inscriptions displayed along the inner walls of the tombs or the grave goods found in a clear enough context.

2 | Summary of the geological features of the survey area

This section presents the main geological characteristics and lithologies that make this landscape unique and that have governed the structural and geographical identities of these funerary constructions. The Theban necropolis was constructed by the kings of the Eighteenth⁴–Twentieth Dynasties (c. 1539–1075 BC), and it contains a large number of tombs laid out in correlation to a hierarchy of kings, high-ranking officials and other individuals from the royal court.⁵ This article aims to put forth the idea that the human influences the landscape through manipulation to adapt it to both their needs and beliefs, but also that the landscape exerts an inescapable and inevitable dominance over the humans, their behaviour and their constructions. It is important to point out that, despite practical requirements, the idiosyncrasy of the ancient Egyptians also would have played a key role in the choice of buildings erected in the site.

However Geology, also seems to have been in some way a factor in the matter,⁶ since, for instance, the highest quality limestone, the so called “Thebes Limestone Formation”, was selected for the more hard-wearing constructions; for which conversely shales were avoided due to their malleability, thus being discarded for the construction of tombs in the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁷ Despite this, the temple at Deir el-Bahri was built with shales as a base,

² GIS “Geographical Information System”.

³ Ockinga 2007: 139.

⁴ Although traditionally ascribed to the Eighteenth Dynasty as a major project, the Theban Necropolis, specifically the area of Dra Abu el-Naga, was already a royal necropolis during the Seventeenth Dynasty, as Ockinga (2007: 139) argues and even before held several *saff* tombs from the Middle Kingdom according to Polz *et alii* (2012: 119–120) or Bardají *et alii* (2017: 235), among others.

⁵ Aubry *et alii* 2016: 134.

⁶ Bardají *et alii* 2017: 237.

⁷ Dupuis *et alii* 2011; Aubry *et alii* 2016: 136.

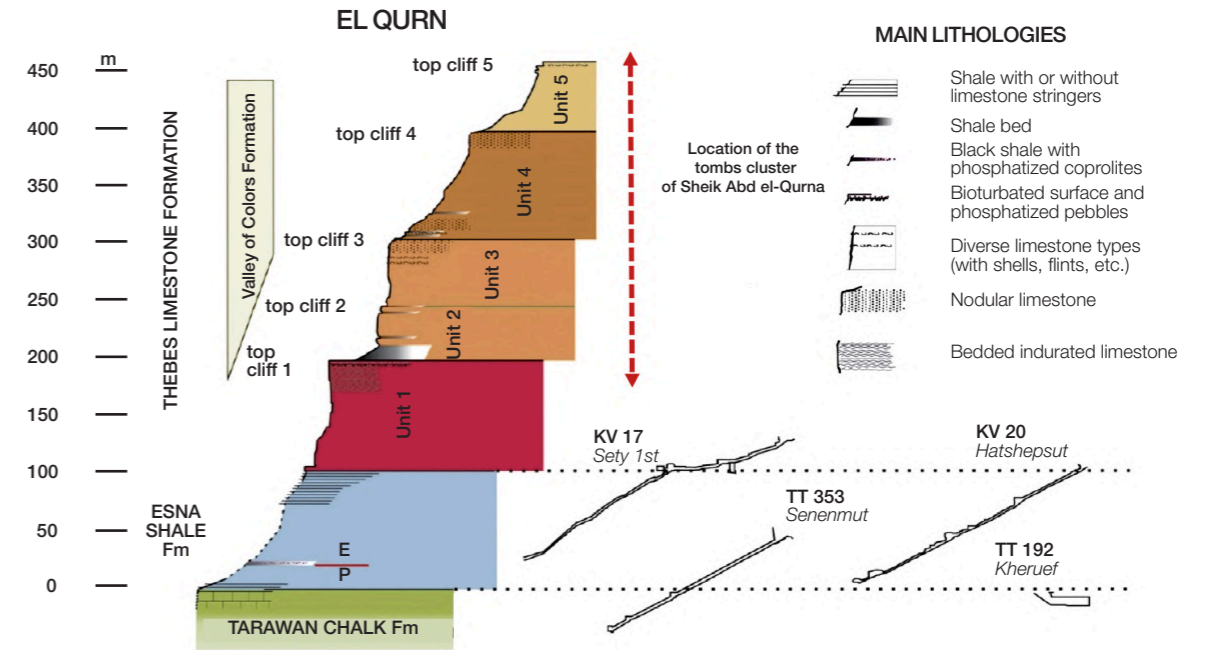


Figure 1. Stratigraphy Theban Landscape table. Aubry *et alii* 2016: 138.

which may indicate that the specific symbolism and visual features of a site and its impact in the landscape were certainly more important when choosing a location for a relevant monument than Geology itself. The bedrock of the Theban landscape is composed of three main formations called: the *Tarawan Chalk Formation* (at the base), the *Esna Shale Formation* and the *Thebes Limestones Formation* at the top.⁸ Nevertheless, the *Tarawan Chalk Formation* does not in fact outcrop on the West Bank, with a few exceptions, such as the entrance of the causeway to Deir el-Bahri temple, or in excavations of el-Assasif as well as in the eastern part of the Sheik Abd el-Qurna hills and el-Khokha and the southern part of the Dra Abu el-Naga hills (figs. 1–2).

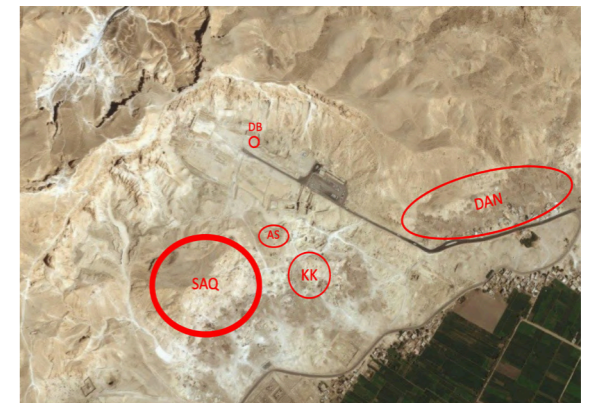


Figure 2. Areas of the case study tombs within the Theban Necropolis. Candelas Fisac 2018. Dra Abu el-Naga (DN), Seikh Abd el-Qurna (SAQ), el-Assasif (AS), el-Khokha (KK) and Deir el-Bahri (DB).

⁸ Aubry *et alii* 2016: 136; Bardají *et alii* 2017: 237–238.

Nevertheless, as Aubry *et alii* in 2016 point out, the *Esna Shale Formation* is visible extensively at the base of the anterior cliff that proceeds the plain of el-Assasif, as can be observed in the floor of the Deir el-Bahri Amphitheatre among other areas, with a general thickness of roughly 60 m as a heterogeneous sequence of shales. Its contact with the *Tarawan Chalk Formation* is displayed in tombs in the el-Assasif area, whereas the block Sheik Abd el-Qurna – el-Khokha (which contains numerous elite tombs) is located on the *Esna Shale* and *Tarawan Chalk* formations.⁹ This latter factor must have played a significant role in ancient Egyptians' beliefs in terms of visibility,¹⁰ likely as a symbolic pyramid.

As we can see in fig. 1, the tombs located in the hill of Sheik Abd el-Qurna benefit from the previously mentioned suitable and convenient *Thebes Limestone Formation* for the building of tombs. Thus, unit 1 outcrops widely and is that same Thebes Limestone Formation that the elite used to settle their tombs, a limestone formation more exposed in the hills of Sheik Abd el-Qurna and el-Khokha.¹¹ However, many elite Egyptian tombs were carved into the *Tarawan Chalk Formation* underneath the *Esna Shale* in the hills of el-Assasif zone.¹² These formations and their location in the necropolis together with the tomb's location in a specific formation, may be two elements to compare or put in relation, since this latter question could explain not only the choice of a tomb's location but also a potential relationship between the quality of the

formation within which a tomb is situated and the rank of its owner.

Regarding the maintenance and protection of the site, it is important to mention that both clay and shales were prone to structural failure, particularly during rainy periods,¹³ thus highlighting the significance of the waterways, which could be detrimental to the structure of existing tombs and will be detrimental in the future. Such an association between the quality of the lithology and the choice of location for a relevant construction can be seen in the case of the Amphitheatre of Deir el-Bahri, since this lays out over a remarkable regular succession of lithological formations being thus an exceptional location.¹⁴ This may suggest a non-random¹⁵ selection of the site to build.

3 | The implementation of GIS, potential aims of its use in this survey

It is worth noting the relevance of the Geographical Information System (*GIS*) in the treatment of spatial data and its potential applications beyond recording or cataloguing them but also displaying them. Archaeology is a discipline—a spatial one—that certainly can use *GIS* in its favour and in a collection of different ways in order to visualise the database of archaeological records collected during excavations. Additionally, *GIS* allows an internal analysis of a specific site,¹⁶ examining the unique features of that landscape both by the data (coordinates, areas size, distance etc.)

. TT 11 – Djehuty – Overseer of the Treasury/Overseer of Works	. TT 73 – Amenhotep – Overseer of Works/High Steward
. TT 125 – Duauneheh – Overseer of the state of Amun	. TT 246 – Senenra – Head of the estate-workers of Amun
. TT 21 – User – Steward of the King/Scribe	. TT 81 – Ineni – Overseer of the granary in the Amun domain
. TT 127 – Senemiah – Overseer of produce/Royal scribe	. TT 251 – Amenmosi – Overseer of the cattle of Amun
. TT 24 – Nebamun – Steward of the King's wife Nebtu	. TT 82 – Amenemhat – Counter of grain of Amun/Steward of the Vizier
. TT 145 – Nebamun – Head of Archery	. TT 252 – Senimen – State Overseer/Nurse of the God's wife
. TT 39 – Puimra – Second Prophet of Amun	. TT 83 – Ahmose-Aametu – Vizier
. TT 155 – Antef – Great herald of the King	. TT 262 – (Unknown name) – Overseer of fields
. TT 54 – Amenemhat – Amun temple Administrator	. TT 87 – Minnakht – Overseer of the granary/Royal scribe
. TT 164 – Antef – Scribe of recruits	. TT 294 – Amenhotep – Overseer of the granary of Amun
. TT 61 – TT 131 – User-Amun – Vizier/Governor of the town	. TT 102 – Imhotep – Child of the Palace/Royal scribe
. TT 179 – Nebamun – Scribe/Counter of grain in the granary of divineoffering of Amun	. TT 317 – Djehutynefer – Counter of grain in the granary of the divine offering of Amun
. TT 65 – Nebamun – Overseer of the granary	. TT 104 – Djehutynefer – Overseer of the King/Herald of the King
. TT 224 – Ahmosi – Overseer of the state of the God's wife	. TT 318 – Amenmosi – Necropolis-workers of Amun
. TT 67 – Hapuseneb – High Priest of Amun	. TT 119 – (Unknown name)
. TT 227 – Saimen?	. TT 345 – Amenhotep – Eldest King's son of Thutmosis I
. TT 71 – TT 353 – Senenmut – Chief Steward/Steward of Amun	. TT 124 – Rai – Overseer of the Storerooms of the King
. TT 241 – Ahmosi – Child of the inner Palace	. TT 349 – Thay – Overseer of fowl-pens

Table 1. List of private tombs belonging to Hatshepsut's period by Candelas Fisac 2018, following Kampp's (1996) and Wasmuth's (2003) analysis.

and by its exposition onto a map. Moreover, this system can facilitate consideration and exploration of a tomb-site's visibility and outlook through the creation of *viewsheds*, a topic which will be discussed later. *GIS* also makes it feasible to collect large amounts of data through an efficient process that is both fast and safe, thus reaping greater rewards within a shorter time period.¹⁷ Nevertheless, this is not an “untrodden path”, since it has been undertaken previously by many other scholars,¹⁸ especially within the last two decades.

One of the primary objectives of this study is to create a map into which all the private tombs belonging to Hatshepsut's officials during her co-reign and reign can be displayed. As well as plotting a mapped view of the Necropolis, this will allow for the discernment of factors that may have played a role in the choice of location, such as visibility to, or view of other important buildings in the area. The areas comprised in the study can be seen in fig. 2. The geo-spatial software *QGIS* will

be employed in order to manage the spatial data, provided mainly by the *Waseda Mapping Project*,¹⁹ to display it and thus visualise the potential results by creating several maps. It is anticipated that through the generation of these maps, the arrangement and classification of information can be facilitated, as presented through different layers according to, among others, either chronology or topography. As such, this should hopefully therefore offer the opportunity and platform from which to investigate and advance the understanding of the role that location may have played in the building of these tombs.

Additionally, this may allow one to suggest an outline of the social structure permeating this society's elite in terms of officials' ranking or position in the administration, priesthood or any Egyptian institution. This study firstly requires knowledge of all private tombs traditionally assigned to the period of Hatshepsut, during both her co-regency and the regency, shown in table 1.

⁹ Aubry *et alii* 2016: 140.

¹⁰ For a further reading about visibility as a key factor, see Pérez-Accino 2009 and a very technical one in Ogburn 2006.

¹¹ Aubry *et alii* 2016: 143.

¹² Aubry *et alii* 2016: 143.

¹³ Aubry *et alii* 2016: 141–142.

¹⁴ Aubry *et alii* 2016: 137, 145.

¹⁵ In relation to what Auenmüller also discusses, in Auenmüller 2014: 172, 176.

¹⁶ Gourad 1999: 4.

¹⁷ Heldal *et alii* 2009: 229–230.

¹⁸ See Elobeid's article 2014 cited in the bibliography together with that of Heldal *et alii* 2009, Graham *et alii* 2013 and Jiménez-Higueras PhD Thesis, among others.

¹⁹ See the Waseda Project website <http://db2.littera.waseda.jp/wever/egypt/goLogin.do> (last accessed 22/08/2018) together with the Theban Mapping Project at <http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/> (last accessed 22/08/2018).

In order to do so, it is necessary to know who the owners of these interments were, by acknowledging the offices they held²⁰ and their location within the landscape.

We can address this matter through official titles. In general terms, titles can be a boon for providing valuable information for reconstructing the organization of hierarchies in priestly and state administration.²¹ The cataloguing process of the officials' ranking relies mainly on titles present in their funerary inscriptions and other epigraphic evidence compiled by Porter and Moss in 1960 and 1972, Kampp in 1996 and Wasmuth in 2003 such as funerary cones, carved statues and other grave goods.

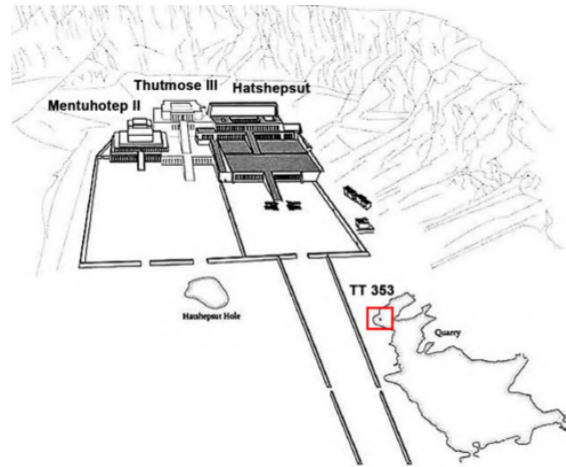


Figure 3. Senenmut's tomb location next to the causeway of the procession of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley at Deir el-Bahri, drawing by Pamlyn Smith. Arnold 2005: 271.

4 | The importance of the location and its potential association with the status of the tomb's owner

This is probably one of the most fundamental factors to consider when analysing in depth any Egyptian building, since the link established between the selected area for the construction of a building and the surrounding landscape is already well-known. The concept of location with regards to private tombs is as presented previously, the key factor to be analysed in this study and the relevance of certain areas and their potential connection to the ruler at that time. A perfect example of this latter point is the case of Senenmut's tomb TT 353, shown in fig. 3 below.

Indeed, it may occur that several tombs' features, as well as being similar or by displaying-

common patterns, represent the effects of a geographical cluster.²² For instance, the West Field at Giza cemetery seems to have been for a very privileged section of Egyptian society during the Old Kingdom, perhaps mostly royal relatives.²³ With this in mind, it seems that Sheik Abd el-Qurna could be a similar case during Hatshepsut's period, since a high concentration of her officials in this hill is very noticeable, as one can see when looking at the catalogues of PM, Kampp and Wasmuth. That is why, as Kanawati has already pointed out,²⁴ it is very important to look at the neighbouring tombs and their architectural features in order to support a date. But likewise, this concentration is



Figure 4. Superimposed map of the site from the Waseda Mapping Project (right) into Google Earth (left). Despite the low resolution, the right image aims to show the superimposing process using both softwares and how the natural and anthropic elements of the landscape match together.

also relevant, as it may allow the emergence of links between those tombs' owners and thus suggest potential trends at the time or even new theories concerning the selection process of a tomb location.

Despite the fact that the tombs of officials of Hatshepsut were well distributed all over the Theban Necropolis in different locations, such as for instance the one mentioned of Dra Abu el-Naga, it is worth calling attention to the group in Sheik Abd el-Qurna (SAQ) hill. This area is located nearby to the south of Deir el-Bahri temple, specifically at $25^{\circ} 43' 56.57''$ N – $32^{\circ} 26' 27.90''$ E (fig. 4). There are two main distinct parts within the site: the hill and the low plain lying to its south until the Ramesseum.²⁵ According to Engelmann-von Carnap,²⁶ it seems that Hatshepsut could have developed this hill at the

foothill of the western mountain at Thebes and chose it as a cemetery for her high-ranking officials, such as the 'First prophet of Amun' Hapuseneb (TT 67), the 'Governor of the town and vizier' Useramun (TTs 61, 131), the likely Hatshepsut's favourite official Senenmut (TT 71) or the Vizier Ahmose-Aametu (TT 83) among many others. The latter in fact, seems likely to have been the one who inaugurated the area as the burial site for this type of official during the New Kingdom,²⁷ since his tomb is the first monumental tomb located there at that time and it is in a privileged high point in the hill. Moreover, although certainly there are tombs in this site belonging to earlier periods, those of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty before Hatshepsut are found scarcely, which shows indeed this apparent inclination to concentrate her officials in such

²⁰ Officials' posts and their hierarchy are examined more in depth in chapter 6 in the MA unpublished Dissertation of Candelas Fisac 2018.

²¹ Pernigotti 1997: 128.

²² Roth 1994: 56.

²³ Malek 1991: 95.

²⁴ Kanawati 1992: 326.

²⁵ Helck and Otto 1984: 551–552.

²⁶ Engelmann-von Carnap 2014: 337.

²⁷ Engelmann-von Carnap 2014: 337.

a site during this period. It would be also interesting to apply what Auenmüller calls “sociological dimension”²⁸ and its “functional differentiation” to the SAQ cluster in further studies, but applying the similarities instead. This phenomenon may also describe the connections among people, together with the range of travel among them and the activities performed by this elite,²⁹ who could have even belonged to the same “guild”.

Also, it is noticeable that, within the hill, the tombs of Hatshepsut’s officials are located farther north compared to the rest of the tombs in Sheik Abd el-Qurna; but more importantly, this whole group of tombs seems to be orientated towards Hatshepsut’s Deir el-Bahri temple.³⁰ This latter concept cannot be proved unless using a compass for each case; something not feasible in this study. However, as an alternative, what can be done is to check what role the visibility of the temple or other relevant sites of western Thebes played for these tombs.

5 | The Beautiful Festival of the Valley: Visibility as a key factor

Because landscapes are continually being reshaped,³¹ in many cases it is challenging to recognise ancient routes and therefore detecting

and interpreting the footprints that they leave. However, some modern techniques such as the Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) in conjunction with Electrical Resistivity Tomography (ERT) are currently shedding new light on this matter with extraordinary discoveries.³² The Theban necropolis is one of the most important sacred areas in Upper Egypt. Especially during the New Kingdom, a ritual landscape was developed there, following a building programme with architectural and ritual considerations.³³ Hence, to study the anthropogenic properties through the archaeological remains of these ancient landscapes is the challenge but at the same time the aim. The sources of knowledge of ancient Egyptian festivals are many and varied.³⁴ However, these sources infrequently offer abundant or substantial data.³⁵ Calendars and lists of festivals in temple walls and their representation, such as those of Karnak, Luxor, Dendera or Medinet Habu, together with stelae, like the annals of the Palermo Stone, are the basis from which we can obtain the information regarding Egyptian festivals and their routes.³⁶ However, some works of classical authors, like the so-called decree of *Kanopus*,³⁷ can contain information concerning festivals recorded from temples and chapels.³⁸

28 Auenmüller 2014: 175–176.

29 Auenmüller 2014: 175.

30 Engelmann-von Carnap 2014: 337.

31 Van der Spek 2007: 177.

32 Graham *et alii* 2013: 36.

33 Ullmann 2007: 3.

34 Bleeker 1967: 27.

35 Bleeker 1967: 27, 29; Mironova 2010: 298; Polz *et alii* 2012: 119.

36 For further reading regarding festivals’ routes in Thebes see also Cabrol 2001 and Bietak 2012.

37 See *Urk.* II 124/1–154/9.

38 Bleeker 1967: 29, 31–32.

So, as Ockinga points out,³⁹ it seems clear that tomb location in the Theban necropolis was undoubtedly defined by its proximity to a site of marked sacredness. Even though Ockinga refers to Dra Abu el-Naga north, as an area lying linearly across the river from the temple of Amun at Karnak whose pylons are visible, the main importance for this area is its visibility from the East Bank during the *Beautiful Festival of the Valley*. However, the Dra Abu el-Naga case can also be applied to more areas of the great necropolis. The procession of Amun at the *Beautiful Festival of the Valley* would also have crossed the Nile to reach Deir el-Bahri to continue the journey to the various royal funerary temples on the West Bank⁴⁰ at that time, such as the temple of Montuhotep II or Medinet Habu as the most relevant among others. Therefore this visibility matter is applied to both the sacred constructions and events that took place alongside the Theban necropolis in this period. This survey, however, has focused mainly on the visibility from the tombs to the causeway of the procession (and vice versa) or to the temple of Deir el-Bahri.

Hence, the temple *Dsr-dsrw* at Deir el-Bahri was located, in Engelmann-von Carnap’s words,⁴¹ “right in the heart of the Theban necropolis as the main destination of the *Beautiful Festival of the Valley*”. During this festival, the statue of the god Amun-Ra was transported from his temple at Karnak to the royal temples on the

West Bank, in order to incorporate the divine rulers into the regular renewal of the god.⁴² The specific location of the temple at Deir el-Bahri displays the specific architectural forms for the new ritual demands that appear at this time, with the sanctuary there functioning as a shrine for the statues of both Amun-Ra and the king, as a room for the offerings and likely as a bark chapel additionally.⁴³ The connection between this great necropolis and the mortuary temples with the temple of Amun at Karnak is certainly undeniable, since both the worship of this deity and the royal cult at Deir el-Bahri were not conceivable without their link to the temple at Karnak in the East Bank.⁴⁴ As a result, it seems that sacred areas emerged deliberately related one to each other through architecture and ritual,⁴⁵ in a funerary and ritual context where the private tombs took special importance.

Likewise, the relation between the owners with titles connected somehow with the god Amun and their tombs’ location seems clear, such as those of Sheik Abd el-Qurna and el-Assasif facing or with a view to the route of Amun’s procession.⁴⁶ Also, it does not appear to be a coincidence that for instance Djehuty’s tomb (Winlock’s “tomb 1”), as high priest of Amun, is also located in el-Assasif, which is to the left of the processional road,⁴⁷ having a privileged position facing it and thus involving his ‘house for eternity’ in the festivity.

39 Ockinga 2007: 139.

40 Ockinga 2007: 139.

41 Engelmann-von Carnap 2014: 337.

42 Ullmann 2007: 7; Engelmann-von Carnap 2014: 343.

43 Arnold 1974: 30–34.

44 Ullmann 2007: 12.

45 Ullman 2007: 12.

46 Engelmann-von Carnap 2014: 337, 339.

47 Engelmann-von Carnap 2014: 339.

6 | The relationship between the tombs' location and the status of the owners: analysis through QGIS and Google Earth

It is widely acknowledged that geography was highly influential in the choice of Thebes as the 'spiritual city' of the Eighteenth–Twentieth Dynasties,⁴⁸ due to the high cliffs that face the West Bank of the river, delineating the limit of the Western Desert and overshadowed by the peak of el-Qurn pyramid's summit. This site is gifted with an easy river crossing from East Thebes to West Thebes, which is complementary to many other symbolic features for religious rituals.⁴⁹ Therefore, one may wonder whether the tombs with a more privileged position in respect of this sacred matter match those officials of higher ranks. In this line, a *GIS* analysis can address if there are more factors that could have influenced the tomb location selection process, such as views towards the sacred sites or the accessibility to the tombs from the ancient paths. Also, the *GIS* and Google Earth analysis aims to offer some more interpretations of the structure of the elite during this period, the network of power and the socio-political context of the reign.⁵⁰

With the tombs already identified and marked (see fig. 4), the visibility analysis is undertaken by looking at which sites are visible from different points by using the 'viewshed tool' in Google Earth. However, TTs 11, 24, 145 and 164 have been placed even more accurately by inserting their exact coordinates from

Jiménez-Higueras' unpublished study.⁵¹ This analysis also enabled trialling of Engelmann-von Carnap's assertion⁵² concerning the connection between Sheik Abd el-Qurna and el-Assasif as a whole with the causeway leading to the Deir el-Bahri temple and the group of tombs in Dra Abu el-Naga, to the right and north of the same processional route such as TT 11 or TT 155. Therefore, as seen in the viewshed analysis of the tombs⁵³ in fig. 5 and in the map of fig. 6 in red, TT 39, TT 71, TT 73, TT 110, TT 179, TT 252, TT 294 and TT 353 and partially TT 65, TT 67 and TT 104 have direct visual connection towards Deir el-Bahri temple and its causeway. This is from the deceased's point of view, since the viewsheds have been made showing what can be seen from the red spots, the central part of the tombs. The position of these spots is thanks to the process of overlapping the Waseda maps—with the spots already placed—onto the Google Earth software. This perspective may bring the idea of the deceased as the viewer of festivals from their tomb, and not only being the "seen object" from the causeway, as a likely more traditional perspective. On the other hand, it is assumed that, if the causeway is visible from the tomb, the main part of the tomb would be seen from the processional path as well.

Finally, after the analysis through Google Earth, all the tombs' locations were collected and displayed into *QGIS* software (fig. 7) in order to create a map of the area visualising those tombs that have visual connection to the temple of Hatshepsut and its causeway and those

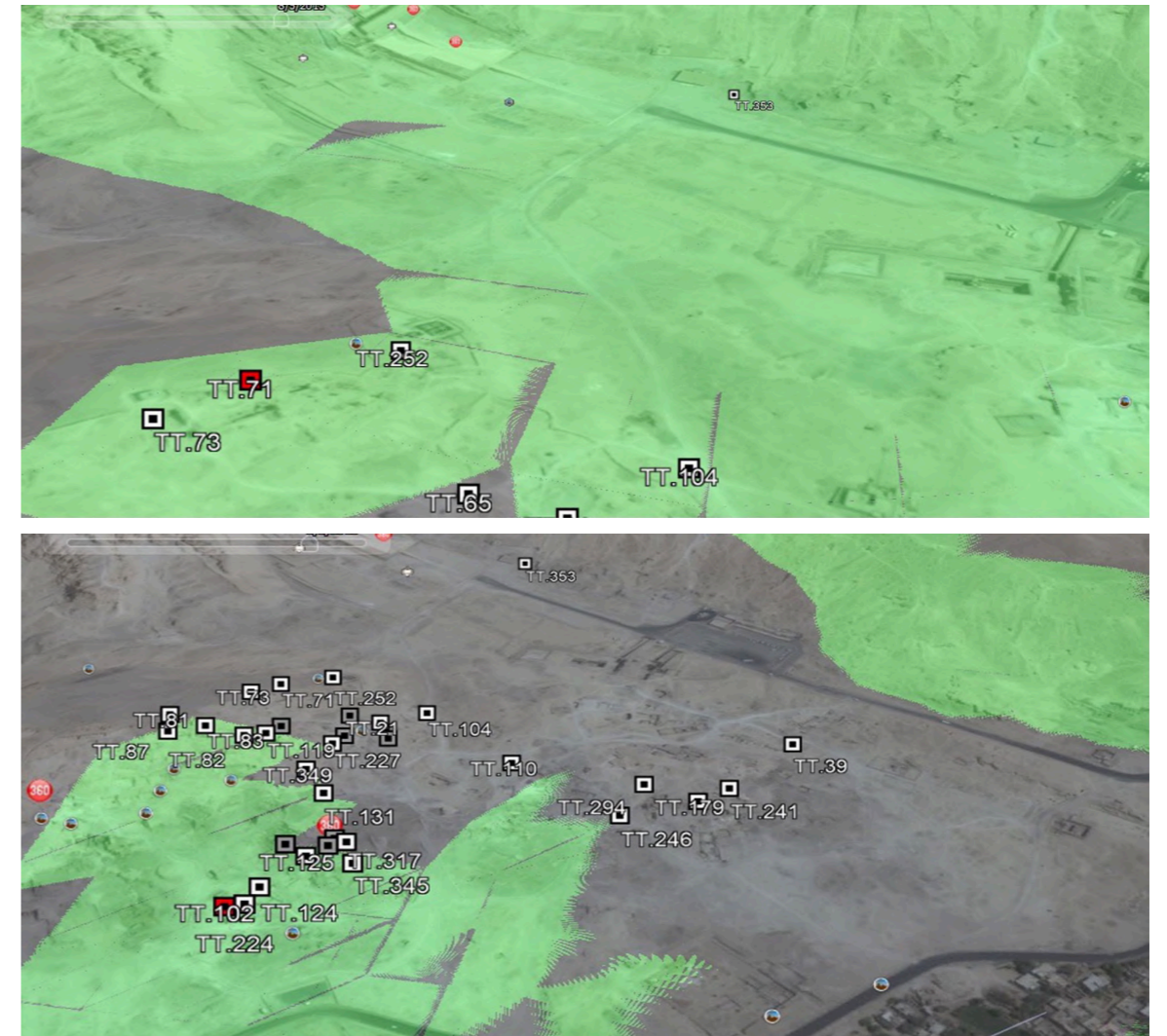


Figure 5. Viewshed of TT 71 – Senenmut (above) and TT 102 – Imhotep (below). Candelas Fisac 2018. Green zone: the visibility frame from the tomb. Grey Zone: what cannot be seen from the tomb.

48 Aubry *et alii* 2016: 143.

49 Aubry *et alii* 2016: 143.

50 See Galán's preface viii in Galán, Bryan and Dorman 2014.

51 Jiménez-Higueras 2016: 192–195.

52 Engelmann-von Carnap 2014: 337–339.

53 There are only two of them in this paper, in fig. 6. The rest of the viewsheds of the study are in the MA unpublished Dissertation of Candelas Fisac 2018, where this paper comes from.

that only have a view towards the latter. As a result, thanks to these tools that *QGIS* offers, it has been possible to draw some conclusions regarding

this connection between the question of location and the status of the tombs' owners⁵⁴ of this period.

54 To understand more in depth this question regarding the power-net between Hatshepsut's officials, the royal court and kingship, see also Shirley 2014 and Laboury 2014.

Conclusions

After consideration of the results throughout the study, it is possible to point out, firstly, that the assertion of Engelmann-von Carnap⁵⁵ seems corroborated, since Hatshepsut's highest officials (vizier and high priest of Amun), have their tombs located in a site, mainly Sheik Abd el-Qurna and el-Assasif, that enables a visual connection with certain relevant areas in terms of royalty and sacredness, namely Deir el-Bahri temple and its causeway, as well as the processional road of the *Beautiful Festival of the*

Valley. It is very important to highlight that among Hatshepsut's officials (37 so far identified with tomb) those that held a post related to the god Amun, such as Puimra (TT 39) 'second prophet of Amun', Hapuseneb (TT 67) 'high priest of Amun', Senenmut (TT 71 and TT 353) 'steward of Amun', Nebamun (TT 179) 'accountant of the grain in the granary of the divine offering of Amun' or Amenhotep (TT 294) 'overseer of the granary of Amun', compose 35%, as shown below in the Pie Chart 1 in fig. 8. Whereas 24% seem to be connected somehow to the figure of the monarch or to the Royal Court, bearing

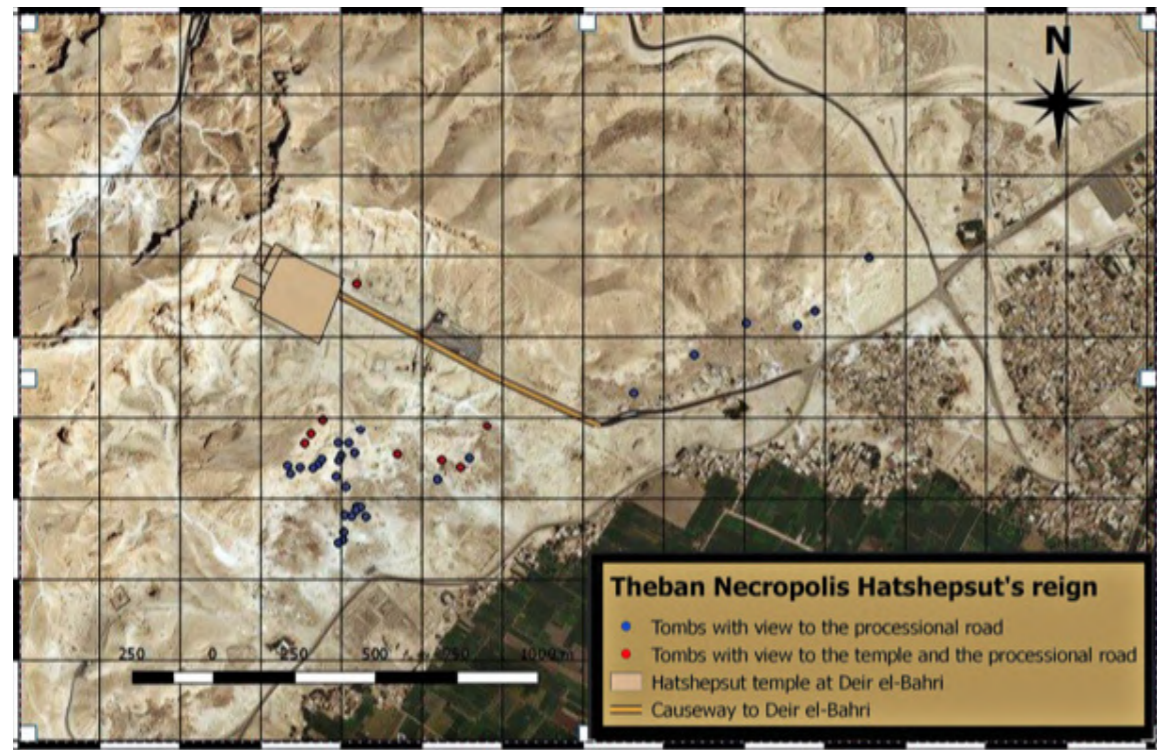


Figure 6. Map of the tombs belonging to Hatshepsut's reign regarding their visibility towards Deir el-Bahri and its processional road. Candelas Fisac 2018.

55 Engelmann-von Carnap 2014: 339.

titles such as 'steward of the king' (User, TT 21), 'child of the palace' and 'Royal scribe' (Imhotep TT 102) or 'great herald of the king' (Antef, TT 155). Only 11% are related to other duties.

Apart from those that are well known to bear a very high status, such as vizier (User-Amun TT 61) or *steward of the king* (Nebamun TT 24), individuals that held a position within the Amun precinct have been considered in this case study to be of

higher-ranking status over others due to the extensive amount of responsibilities and power that they appear to have embodied at this time. This is exemplified in Pie Chart 2 in fig. 9, where half of the high-officials of Hatshepsut held a post related to the god Amun, while those who had a post connected to the Royal Court or to the king are only the 35%. This supports once more the weight that the offices related to Amun

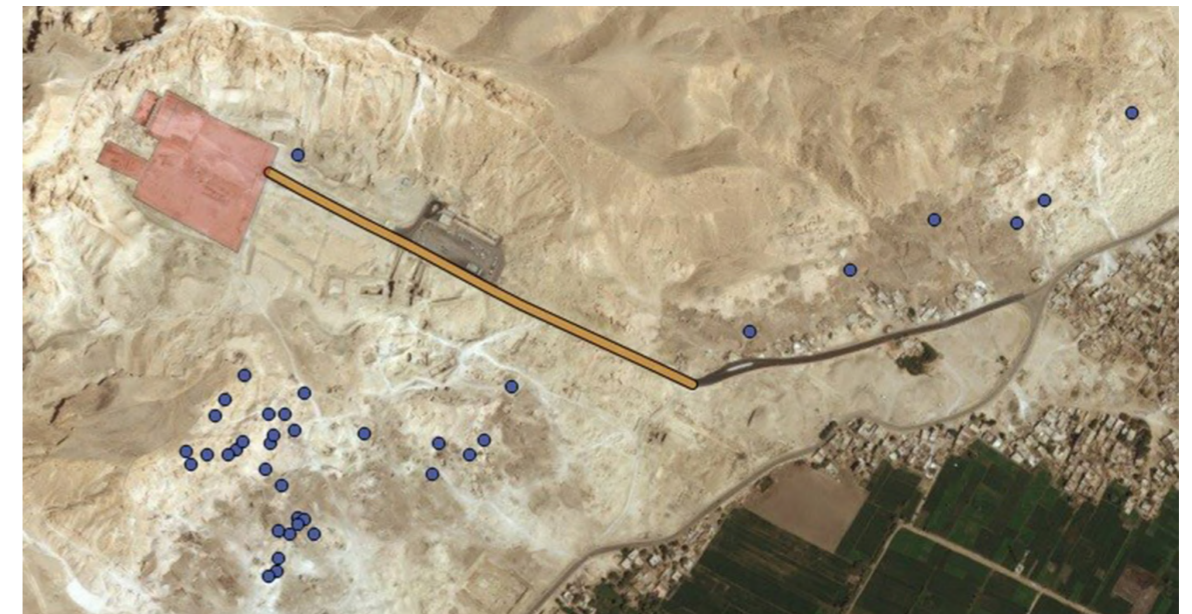


Figure 7. Georeferencing the tombs once identified: G. Earth – QG/S. Candelas Fisac 2018.

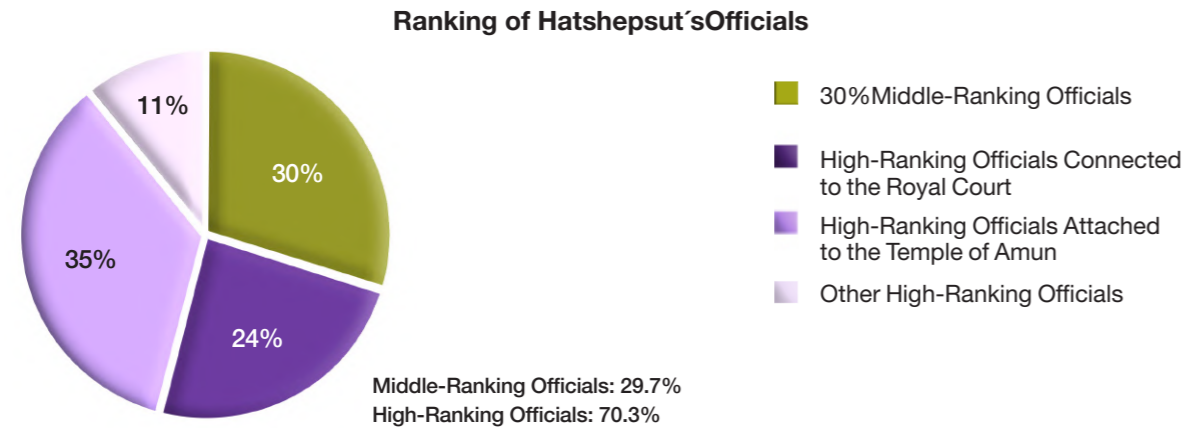


Figure 8. Pie chart 1 in percentage regarding the ranking of Hatshepsut's officials. Candelas Fisac 2018.

had among Hatshepsut's officials, at least concerning those buried in the Theban necropolis. Likewise, it is also interesting that among all the officials ascribed to Hatshepsut's period buried at Thebes, a striking 70.3% are high-rank officials and only 29.7% are middle-rank officials.

As seen in Pie Chart 3 in fig. 9 below, only 22% of the officials of Hatshepsut have their tomb located where the visibility to both Deir el-Bahri and its causeway is clear, among whom 16% are high-rank officials and 6% a middle-rank. In contrast, the majority of the officials (78%) can only look out to the causeway. However, it seems that visibility was not always the only factor to consider in the selection of tomb location and therefore nor may it have been a sign of distinction of the owner's status. Thus for example, high officials such as Djehuty (TT 11), Nebamun (TT 24) or Antef (TT 155), all buried at Dra Abu el-Naga, could have favoured the site's prestige, as well as the sensational view of the location towards the Karnak Temple when approaching the procession from the East

Bank. Thus, what Ockinga has asserted can be proved⁵⁶ regarding the importance of prestige as another factor thought of when selecting the location for a tomb, as Dra Abu el-Naga was the oldest New Kingdom necropolis at Thebes as being the location of the royal tombs of the Seventeenth Dynasty.

Also, as we have seen, even though it seems there is a concentration of the highest officials in the region of Sheik Abd el-Qurna, the rest of the sites that form the necropolis are equally relevant in terms of the spiritual sensibility and beliefs of the tombs' owners. Tombs at el-Assasif, el-Khokha or Dra Abu el-Naga show clear connections with the *Beautiful Festival of the Valley* and their integration of that ritual landscape in terms of proximity or visibility, like TT 11 or TT 145 with a perfect view of the procession coming directly from the Karnak temple or TT 39 (Puimra's tomb) with a privileged position facing the entire causeway. Consequently, the great necropolis should be understood as a whole unit composed of many pieces that form

⁵⁶ Ockinga 2007: 139.

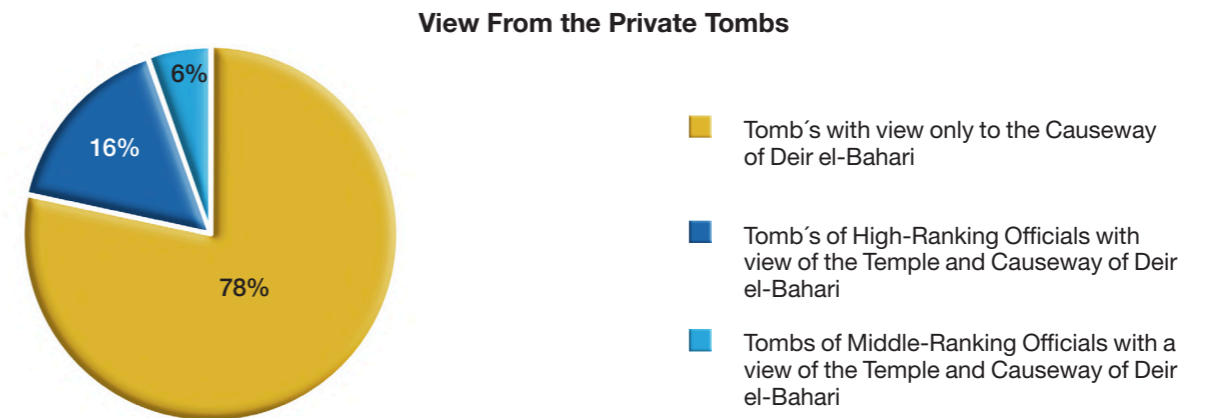
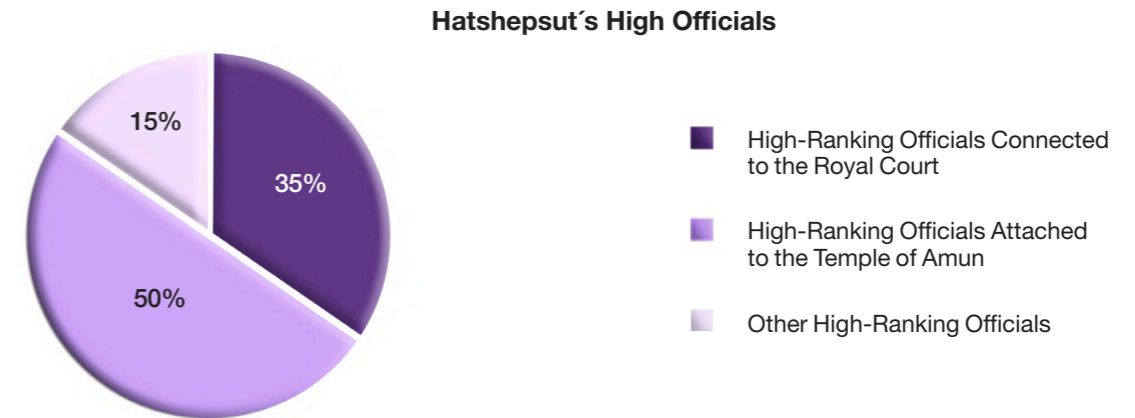


Figure 9. Pie charts 2 and 3 in percentage regarding the ranking of Hatshepsut's officials. Candelas Fisac 2018.

a single, major religious entity, that is brought to life when playing on its symbolism both as a cemetery and also somehow as one more active agent during the context of festivals.

Finally, the fact that those tombs which appear more accessible from the processional road (TT 71, TT 252) belong to the highest officials of Hatshepsut, suggests that indeed accessibility would also have played a role in the process of choosing a tomb location in consideration of visiting relatives making the occasional offering in the future; thus being perhaps a sign of distinction from high-rank officials to the middle-rank

officials. As such, TT 71, belonging to the high official Senenmut and TT 252, to Senimen, are both in a higher position though interestingly show good access to their tombs, whereas TT 124 of the official Rai (in a lower location) demonstrates worse conditions to access to the tomb. Future studies to expand the understanding of this topic may, however, benefit from addressing the likely conflict between *accessibility* and *visibility* in this matter, since a tomb that is more visible may in fact be less accessible, hence making this an important predicament to evaluate when choosing the best place for an afterlife house.

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Trabajos de Egiptología

Papers on Ancient Egypt

Horizonte y perspectiva Estudios sobre la civilización egipcia antigua

Editado por | Edited by

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Número 11
2020

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Trabajos de Egiptología está producida por
Isfet. Egiptología e Historia
con la colaboración del Centro de Estudios Africanos
de la Universidad de La Laguna
y para este número de Egiptología Complutense

C/ Blanco 1, 2º
38400 Puerto de la Cruz
Tenerife - Islas Canarias
España

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Imprime: Gráfica Los Majuelos

Depósito Legal: TF 935-2015
ISSN: 1695-4750

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