مقبرتي با حم نتر رقم 284 وإيني رقم 285: طراز معماري فريد في جبانة طيبة

Abubakr Saad*, Mohamed Beabesh

Department of Egyptology- faculty of Archeology- South Valley University

abubakr@arch.svu.edu.eg

Abstract

The two tombs TT284 and TT285 in the area of Dra' Abu al-Naga have unique architectural type comparing to the rest of the cemetery tombs. Yet, some previous studies classified these two tombs as the T-shape, assuming that the rest of the tomb's elements were added elements due to reusing the tomb. Based on that misclassification, the dating of the two tombs and their architectural type assumed to be different to their construction date. Therefore, this study is an attempt to disclose both tombs uniqueness architectural type and explain the reasons for its construction. Another contribution for the current study is to discuss the reasons why previous studies had assumed that the two tombs had been reused. Our study shows that this conclusion is as inaccurate.

Keywords:TT284, TT285, architectural type, Theban necropolis, Dra' Abu al-Naga

الملخص

تتميز المقبرتان 284 و285 بمنطقة ذراع أبو النجا بجبانة طيبة بطراز معماري متفرد عن بقية مقابر الجبانة. وعلى الرغم من ذلك، فإن بعض الدراسات السابقة صنفت هاتين المقبرتين ضمن الطراز الشائع والمعروف بالشكل T، وبالتالي تم افتراض أن بقية عناصر المقبرتين هي عناصر مضافة نتيجة لإعادة الاستخدام. طبقا لهذا التصنيف، فقد تم افتراض تأريخ للمقبرتين في فترات غير تلك التي شيدت فيها. لذا، فإن هذه المقالة تحاول ايضاح أن كلا المقبرتين ذات طراز معماري فريد، مع ايضاح الأسباب التي دعت لوجود مثل هذا الطراز. كما تناقش المقالة الأسباب التي دعت الدراسات السابقة لافتراض إعادة استخدام المقبرتين، وأثبتت عدم دقة هذا الاعتقاد.

الكلمات الدالة: مقبرة رقم 284- 285 ترقيم مقابر طيبة، طراز معماري، جبانة طيبة، منطقة ذراع أبو النجا.

1- Introduction:

The main focus of this article is investigating the Theban Tombs TT284 and TT285, as they present an interesting feature. It appears that both have a distinctive architectural plan comparing to contemporary tombs in the Theban Necropolis.

Furthermore, it was believed that the tombs' decoration and architectural plan indicates that they were used by two or more different individuals.¹ The current study

¹ The reuse in the Theban private elite tombs is an important topic that call for more investigation. Most of the tombs were subjected to the reuse in different ways: in some cases, changing the decorations and inscriptions e.g. TT58, TT139, in other tombs, the original wall

discusses the reasons why previous studies had assumed that the two tombs had been reused. Our study shows that this conclusion is as inaccurate.

The owner of tomb TT284 is called *P*3-hm-ntr² (Pahemneter), his main title is "scribe of the divine offerings of all gods in Thebes".³ The owner of the tomb TT285 is named *Jny*⁴ (Iny), his main title is "head of the magazine of Mut".⁵ In which both are dated to the Ramesside era.

The tombs are located in the middle hill of the Dra' Abu El-Naga area on Theban necropolis, just below TT35 of the high priest of Amun (Pakenkhonsu).

2- The architectural construction of TT284:

The tomb of (Pahemneter) located in an area which is a large courtyard, whose borders have been lost at the present time and has become a wide area, with a group of tombs advancing. They are from south to north: TT284, TT285, TT288, TT289, TT304, TT286, TT159, and TT287 (fig. 1). All these tombs are adjacent in one row and their entrances face east.

The general layout of tomb TT284 is consist of a narrow courtyard of mud bricks, and the entrance is also built with mud bricks and leads to a longitudinal corridor with a vaulted ceiling built with mud bricks. This corridor leads to a transverse hall. In its western wall, there is an entrance that leads to a semi-square room that ends with a niche,

paintings were covered by the second tomb's owner with a new plaster and paint layer e.g. TT112, TT45. Other tombs, the architectural layout of the tomb is changed by adding new halls or extra rooms e.g. TT122, TT93. Kampp, F., *Die Thebanische Nekropole zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII bis XX Dynastie*, Theben 13, Mainz, 1996, 124-5. The importance of studying tomb reuse is not only to determine the history of their reuse but also to analyze the social and religious aspects of this phenomenon. cf. Černý, J., *Usurpation d'une tombe à Thèbes, ASAE* 40, 1940, 235-240; Guksch, H., *'Über den Umgang mit Gräbern'. in Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung internationales Symposion Heidelberg* 9 . 13.06.1993, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 12, Jan Assmann, Eberhard Dziobek, and et al. eds., Heidelberg, 1995, 13-24.

² Ranke, H., *Die Agyptische Personennnamen*, I, Glückstadt, 1935, 115 (no. 16).

³ Davies, N., Harvest Rites in A Theban Tomb, JEA 25, 1939, 154., cf. Al-Ayedi, A., Index of administrative, religious and military titles of the New Kingdom, Ismailia, 2006, 569 (no. 1905).

⁴ Ranke, *PN* I, 33 (no. 16).

⁵ Porter, B., & Moss, R., *Topographical Bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs and painting*, vol.1, Oxford, 1960, 367.

and in the southern wall of this room there is an entrance that take the lead to a room digging in its end with a long descending vestibule ends with the burial chamber.

The German researcher⁶ "Friederike Kampp" assumed that the basic planning of the tomb is similar to the layout of most of the tombs of the new Kingdom which known as the (T) shape. Kampp also classified this tomb as type Vb, which consists of transverse hall, long hall, small chapel ended with niche (fig. 2). She also dates it back to the Eighteenth dynasty and the beginning of the Nineteenth dynasty.

The general layout of tomb TT284 is consist of a narrow courtyard of mud bricks, and the entrance is also built with mud bricks and leads to a longitudinal corridor with a vaulted ceiling built with mud bricks. This corridor leads to a transverse hall. In its western wall, there is an entrance that leads to a semi-square room that ends with a niche, and in the southern wall of this room there is an entrance that take the lead to a room digging in its end with a long descending vestibule ends with the burial chamber.

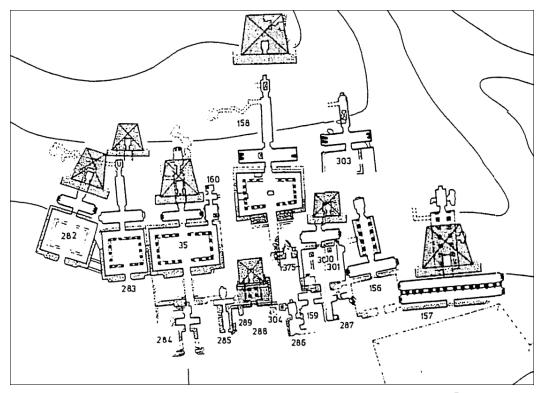


fig. 1. The location of the tombs, $(Modified after Kampp)^7$

⁶ Kampp, F., *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 555.

⁷ Kampp, F., *Die thebanische Nekropole*, plan VI.

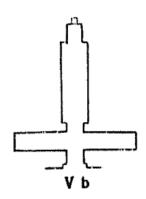


fig. 2. type Vb according to Kampp⁸

The German researcher⁹ "Friederike Kampp" assumed that the basic planning of the tomb is similar to the layout of most of the tombs of the new Kingdom which known as the (T) shape. Kampp also classified this tomb as type Vb, which consists of transverse hall, long hall, small chapel ended with niche (fig. 2). She also dates it back to the Eighteenth dynasty and the beginning of the Nineteenth dynasty.

Same researcher concluded that after the reuse of the tomb by (Pahemneter), a rectangular vaulted corridor of mud bricks was added, and the longitudinal hall was expanded to become an almost square room. In its southern wall, there is an entrance that leads to a side chamber and from there to a long descending corridor that ends with the burial chamber.

Based on previous assumptions, Kampp dated the tomb back to the 18th dynasty and the beginning of the 19th dynasty, and it was reused during the 20th dynasty. In this study, we argue that this dating assumption is inaccurate. In contrast, we believe that the tomb was completely has been dug and built during the Ramesside period by (Pahemneter) for the following reasons:

1) The row of tombs found in that area are dated back to the Ramesside period, and there is no evidence for the eighteenth dynasty period.¹⁰

2) The layout of tomb TT284 is almost identical to that of tomb TT285, which was dated by Kampp itself in the Ramesside period. She did not separate the mud-brick corridor from the rest of the tomb, and classified it in the same type as Vb.¹¹

⁸ Kampp, F., *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 555.

⁹ Kampp, F., *Die Thebanische Nekropole*, 555.

¹⁰ These tombs are: TT284, 285, 288, 289, 304, 286, 159, 287, 156 and 157.

¹¹ Kampp thinks that the period when the tomb's owner Iny lived was the nineteenth dynasty, and an unknown person reused the tomb in the twentieth dynasty, Kampp, *Die Thebanische Nekropole*, 556.

3) Kampp relied, subjectively, on the presence of small parts of a plaster layer with colors below the current layer, which includes scenes and inscriptions of (Pahemneter). However, after the completion of the restoration and consolidations process of the walls, it turned out that it also dates back to the Ramesside period rather than Eighteenth dynasty period. (fig. 3)

These layers appear in only two places inside the tomb, and they seem to represent a mere modification of the scene. So, they were covered with a new layer, and the scene in one of them depicts an idol or deity inside a shrine carrying a knife, which is a common scene in the Ramesside tombs.¹² (fig. 4)





fig. 3. two plaster layers lay down the current layers

fig. 4. drawing for the original scene.

Theban tomb TT178 has a similar scene¹³ depicting the tomb's owner and his wife adoring to idols or deities carrying knife, which is a part from spell 145 of the book of the dead.¹⁴

4) After the transverse hall, there is no longitudinal hall that was expanded by (Pahemneter), but rather a semi-square room, and it is not on the same axis of the tomb due to the poor quality of the bedrock in this place. That is, it could be concluded that it has been (basically) excavated in this irregular shape. This supported by an evident in the ceiling and the room's walls.

5) The method of the tomb's formation and architectural elements are not accurate, which was common theme during the Ramesside period, while this formation inaccuracy was rare in the Eighteenth Dynasty's tombs.¹⁵

¹² This scene is a part from book of the dead spell 145; Saleh, M., *Das Totenbuch in den Thebanischen Beamtengrabern des Neuen Reiches*, Mainz, 1984, 78.

¹³ Porter, B., & Moss, R., *Topographical* I, 284 (3).

¹⁴ Saleh, M., Das Totenbuch in den Thebanischen Beamtengrabern des Neuen Reiches, Mainz, 1984, 76-8.

¹⁵ Mackay, E., *The Cutting and Preparation of Tomb-Chapels in the Theban Necropolis*, JEA 7, 1921, 154-68.

6) The lower elements of the tomb are accessed by a long descending corridor located at the end of the inner part of the tomb and on the southern side. This theme is distinction of Ramesside tombs especially in the Theban necropolis.¹⁶

7) Likewise, "Mohammed Abdul Qader" disagree with "Kampp", as he considers that all the elements of the tomb are related to one period and he classified them as type F1.¹⁷ (fig. 5)

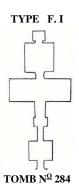


fig. 5. Type F1 according to Abdul Qader¹⁸

3- Architectural elements of the tomb TT284:(figs. 6a, b, c)

3-1- Courtyard:

The tomb is located within a group of tombs, preceded by a large area, often representing a large courtyard that housed these tombs. However, the entrance to the tomb is preceded by a narrow open corridor exposed of mud bricks¹⁹, often representing an independent courtyard for the tomb, its dimensions are 13 meter long and 1.50 meter wide. It is clear that the purpose of erecting the corridor walls is to prevent the falling of the debris on the two sides at the tomb's axis and its façade front area.. Furthermore, another purpose of that construction could be defining the tomb and separating it from the rest of the tombs.

¹⁶ Kampp, F., *The Theban necropolis: an overview of topography and tomb development from the MK to ramesside period*, in the Theban necropolis past, present and future 2003, 7-8.

¹⁷ Abdul Qader, M., *Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes*, Cairo, 1966, 7.

¹⁸ Abdul Qader, Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices, pl. 82.

¹⁹ This corridor forming the courtyard of the tomb. It seems that this corridor is not a part of the vaulted passage due to the different way of its construction. The first part was built with limestone blocks and the rest was built from mud bricks, and this part is unvaulted.

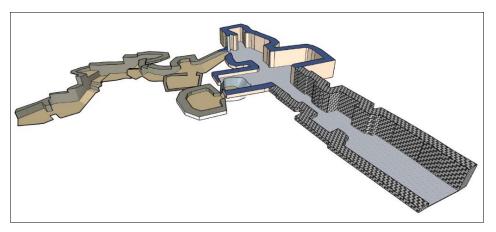


fig. 6a. 3D plan for TT284. (by Ahmed El-Tayeb)

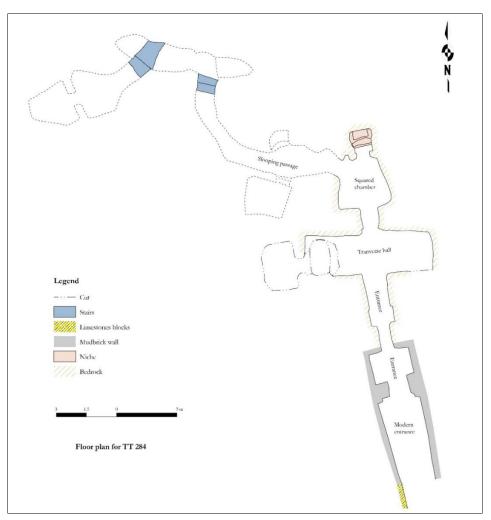


fig. 6b. floor plan of TT284. (by Ahmed Hassan)

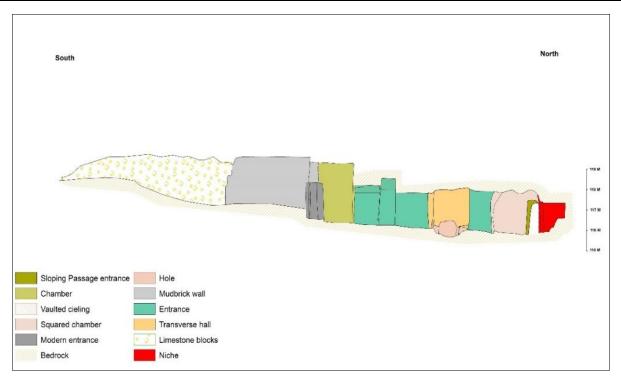


fig. 6c. section elevation plan of TT284. (by Ahmed Hassan)

3-2- Tomb façade and entrance:

The façade of the tomb is built of mud bricks, with a modern iron door in the middle, forming the entrance to the tomb. It has 1 meter width and 1.15 meter length. The façade and the entrance is lacking any scenes or inscriptions.

3-3- The mud-brick's passage: (fig. 6d)

All elements of this corridor are built of mud bricks, and this corridor extends from the main entrance to the entrance of the transverse hall, Due to the narrowness of the place, this corridor appeared irregularly, as it begins with a small room semi-square with a modern ceiling built of wood. Its dimensions are 2 meter width and 1.60 meter length. There are some remains of plaster layer, which was painted in the past that could be an evident of previous colors. This is an indication that the ceiling of this room was vaulted in the past. In addition, the western wall of this room has a narrow entrance, about 70 centimeters wide that leads to another corridor with a length of 3.70 meter and 1.20 meter width. The ceiling of the entrance and the corridor are vaulted, and they have a plaster layer that was previously painted as well.



fig. 6d. the vaulted passage (photo by Author).

3-4- Transverse hall:

The Transverse Hall represents the beginning of the part in which was excavated in the bedrock. Its dimensions are: 6.50 meter length, 2.15 meter width, and 2.10 m height. The Hall's ceiling is flat, and there is a small hole 90 centimeter wide at the bottom of its southern wall that leads to a small room at a level lower than the floor of the hall. The dimensions are: 2.20 meter length, 2.70 meter width, and 1.15 meter height. The chamber of the Transverse Hall symbolizes a reuse of the tomb at a later period.

3-5- Chapel or square room: (fig. 6e)

We reach this room through an entrance with a vaulted ceiling that is 1.20 meter wide and extends inward for additional 1 meter.

This room is irregular in shape and no attention has been paid to walls' leveling and ceiling. This irregularity confirmed by the presence of protrusions in some areas of the walls and ceiling. Yet, it seemed that the tomb's owner added plaster and painted the walls without refining despite of the walls' condition. The reason for that action could be the bad nature of the rocks in this area. Another evidence supports this assumption is the existing of similar problem, irregularity shape, in the adjacent tombs.

The Chapel room has dimensions of 2.60 meter length, 2.80 meter width, and 2.55 meter height. The room ends with a niche whose entrance is 70 centimeters wide, 1.50 meter inner width and 1.20 meter depth. At the farthest southern wall of the room there is an entrance with a width of 70 centimeter. This entrance leads to the lower elements of the burial.

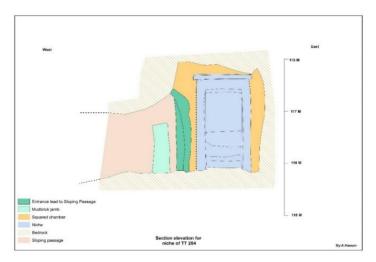


fig. 6e. section elevation for niche of TT284. (by Ahmed Hassan)

3-6- The burial elements: (fig. 6f)

The lower elements of this tomb begin with a small entrance on the south side of the square chamber that leads to a long descending corridor consisting of three levels:

The first level starts from the entrance of the square chamber, from north to south, by a distance of 5.10 meter length and 1.20 meter width. Then, it descends down towards the west for a distance of 4.10 meter length and 90 centimeters width, ending with steps of stair. At the beginning of this level there is a small room on the eastern side that has 2.30 meter length and 1.50 meter width.

The second level is directed from north to south, and the northern side begins with a small niche at a higher level than the floor of the corridor. It descends down in the direction of the south for a distance of 4.60 meter length and 2.30 meter width, ending with another niche.

The third level begins with stairs before reaching the southern niche and descends down towards the east direction for a distance of 6.60 meter length 2.60 meter width. It is also ends with the burial chamber, which consider irregular shaped chamber that has maximum dimensions of 2.40 meter length and 1.90 meter width.

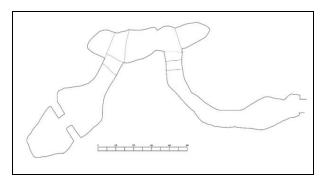


fig. 6f. floor plan for the long descending vestibule of TT284. (by Author)

4- The architectural construction of TT285:

The general layout of tomb TT285 starts with modern entrance, where the courtyard is currently missing. The entrance and façade are built with mud bricks and leads to a longitudinal corridor with a vaulted ceiling built also with mud bricks. The corridor leads to a transverse hall. In its southern wall, there is an entrance leads to side chamber (room A), while in the western wall there is an entrance that leads to a longitudinal hall, which ends with a niche. At the southern wall of this room there is an entrance that leads to unfinished side chamber (room B). This chamber represents the beginning of the substructure's buildings.²⁰

5- Architectural elements of the tomb TT285: (figs. 7a, b, c, d)

5-1- Courtyard:

There is no independent courtyard associated with the tomb, yet, it is open to large shared area with tomb TT284.

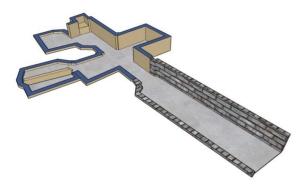


fig. 7a. 3D plan for TT285. (by Ahmed El-Tayeb

²⁰ It seems that the work conducted in this room has postponed and the lower buildings are uncompleted. Perhaps there was another purpose for its formation such as reusing or it formed as a side room for storing funeral furniture. Yet, it is a possibility that it was the beginning of a descending corridor, whereas its irregular shape explains this pattern.

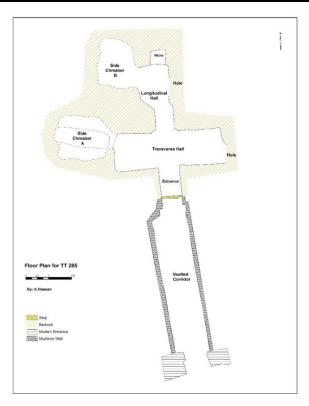


fig. 7b. floor plan of TT285. (by Ahmed Hassan)

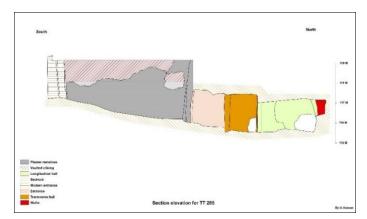


fig. 7c. section elevation plan of TT285. (by Ahmed Hassan)

5-2- Tomb façade and entrance:

The façade and the entrance of the tomb are reconstructed, where it built of mud bricks, with a modern iron door in the middle, forming the entrance to the tomb. The dimensions are 1.10 meter wide and 1 meter long. The façade and the entrance lack any scenes or inscriptions.

5-3- The mud-brick's passage:

The passage is built of mud bricks similar to the previous tomb. The passage's ceiling is demolished, and it is currently supported by wood, and it is clear that it was vaulted. however, it looks different comparing to the passage of tomb TT284 as it straights without details. Its dimensions are 6.80 meter length and 1.60 meter width with some remains of scenes are noticed on the walls. (fig. 7d)

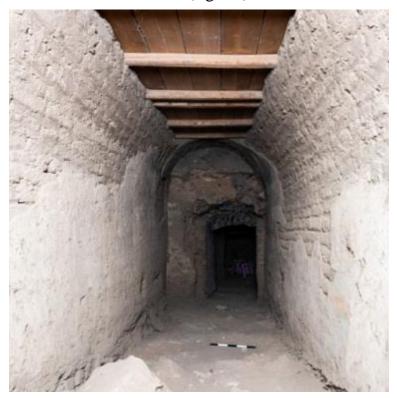


fig. 7d. the vaulted passage (photo by Author).

5-4- Transverse hall:

As tomb TT284, the Transverse Hall represents the beginning of the excavated part in the bedrock. Its dimensions are 5 meter length, 1.60 meter width, and 2 meter height. The ceiling is flat, where at the southern wall there is a small room (side chamber A) with dimensions of 2.50 meter length and 2.10 meter width. This chamber has a formed hole at its floor that seems purposely constructed to retain the sarcophagus or the coffin, and the mummy of the tomb owner. This chamber also could indicate a reuse of the tomb at a later period.²¹

²¹ It is more likely that this chamber is constructed by Iny, the owner of the tomb, to have his coffin and his mummy. There is no other place in the tomb that could contain architectural

5-5- Long hall:

The entrance to that Long Hall is 80 centimeters wide and extends inward for a distance of 80 centimeters. This hall is irregular in shape, similar to the previous tomb, no attention has been paid to leveling the walls and ceiling. The dimensions of this hall are 2.30 meter length, 1.40 meter width, and 1.70 meter height. The hall ends with a niche whose entrance is 75 centimeters wide, 40 centimeters internal width and 80 centimeters height. At the farthest south wall of the hall, there is an entrance with a width of 1 meter. This entrance leads to side chamber B, its dimensions are 2.70 meter length and 2.40 meter width.

5-6- The burial elements:

The locations of the lower elements intended for burial is unclear in this tomb, but most likely the side chamber B was the beginning of a construction for a descending corridor of the tomb that includes the burial chamber, and it seems that the work was not completed in this part.²²

However, the most confidential possibility that the burial element is located at the southern part of the transverse hall, which contains Room A, since it was dug at a level lower than the floor of that hall and its floor contains a hole in the middle. That is, we believe it constructed to contain the sarcophagus or the coffin, and the mummy of the tomb's owner. We argue that could be the most reliable location as there no other place in the tomb that could contain architectural elements for burial, such as a shaft, descending corridor, or burial chamber. Yet, if this assumption is valid, it is not only contradicts the idea of reusing the tomb in this part of the transverse hall but also invalidates the idea of reusing the entire tomb in Previous or later periods of era of the tomb owner Iny.

It is also noted that there is a small hole blocked by mud bricks in the northern part of the transverse hall and another one located in the northern part of the longitudinal hall. These holes often lead to small side rooms. The existence of these rooms could be explained by the following two assumptions:

elements of his burials, such as a shaft, descending corridor, or another place for his burial chamber.

²² This possibility leads us to believe that the use of the first room (A) is to bury the tomb owner. The validity of this assumption confirmed by the fact that the floor takes the shape of a coffin box.

The first assumption: if the tomb unused in later eras, so its purpose will be to preserve the funeral furniture for the owner of the tomb, Iny.

As for the second assumption: If these rooms represented a reuse of the tomb in later eras, so these side rooms should be burial chambers in the later period, most likely it was in the late period when it was common to reuse the tombs by this way.

6- The kinship between Pahemneter and Iny:

There are no enough evidence to disclose the kinship links between Pahemneter and Iny. Yet, available evidences suggest that Iny (owner of TT285) is the father-in-law of Raya (TT159). Raya's wife called Mutemwia, ²³ the later name found at the tomb TT285 at the western wall of the transvers hall towards south lower register, ²⁴ there is a scene depicted Iny receiving offerings from his family. The text above the first lady is:

See De St.f mwt-m-wi3 "his daughter Mutemwia".

In the fact, the father of Pahemneter (TT284) is called Raya in his tomb, the text found at the western wall of the transvers hall towards north lower register, ²⁵ the scene contains the following text: $M = 2 \times 10^{10} \times 1$

7- Conclusion:

I- The tombs TT 284 and TT 285 are presenting a unique architectural type comparing to other Theban's tombs. Both tombs start with vaulted mud bricks passage prior to the transverse hall that not found in other tombs at the Theban necropolis (fig.8). Several reasons could explain that modification in the architectural shape of the tombs:

1) The interior part of the tomb located in unsuitable place, that makes it hard to expand the size of the tomb. The same condition is found in neighboring tombs, where the owners satisfied with their small size of tombs and all construction terminated, approximately, at the same place.

²³ Porter, B., & Moss, R., *Topographical* I, 271.

²⁴ Porter, B., & Moss, R., *Topographical* I, 367 (7).

²⁵ Porter, B., & Moss, R., *Topographical* I, 366 (8).

²⁶ Jiménez-Higueras, A., *The Sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga during the New Kingdom*, *People Making Landscape Making People*, in Culture and history of the ancient Near East, vol. 113, Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2020, 68-9.

2) The vaulted passage in the tomb TT 285 includes painted scenes, which explains that the addition of this passage didn't come out of nowhere, but rather intended with the aim of expanding the size of the tomb and increasing the scenes area.

3) This passage was built and its sides filled with debris rather than being dug into the rocks.

4) Also, the presence of a passage with a vaulted ceiling at the beginning of the tomb is uncommon in all the necropolis tombs, especially those shaped as type T-shape.

5) It is also noted the diversity of the use of mud-brick buildings in those tombs, where there are pylons, courtyard walls, a vaulted passage, and mud-brick pyramids.

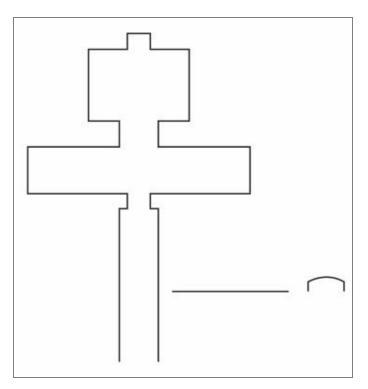


fig. 8. the new type of the two tombs

II- Side Chamber A is the burial chamber in tomb TT 285, as it contains a hole in its floor that was intended for placing the coffin. On the other hand, the tomb does not contain any other burial items. This negates the idea of reusing the tomb in this part of the transverse hall, just as it negates the idea of reusing the entire tomb in Previous or later periods of era of the tomb owner Iny.

III- The kinship between Pahemneter and Iny clarifies many important things as following:

1) The period to which the tomb TT285 belongs certainly precedes the period of the tomb TT159, and the two tombs precede the period of the tomb TT284.

2) All tombs in this area are related by kinship, which makes them family burial. Thus, the idea of reusing these tombs seems to be invalid. It could be reused however by later generations from the same family.

3) The unique architectural plan of the tomb TT285 was followed by his grandson, the owner of the tomb TT284, which explains the irregular shape of the vaulted mud brick corridor. This suggest that the later person planned to imitate the shape only, but he limited by improper nature of the place.

Acknowledgment

We are grateful to Mr. Ahmed Hassan and Mr. Ahmed El-Tayeb, the archaeological inspectors at Luxor, for the drawings of the floor and section elevation plans and for drawing the 3D plans.

8- Bibliography:

Al-Ayedi, A., Index of administrative, religious and military titles of the New Kingdom, Ismailia, 2006.

Abdul Qader , M., Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes, Cairo, 1966.

Černý, J., Usurpation d'une tombe à Thèbes, ASAE 40, 1940, 235-240.

Davies, N., Harvest Rites in A Theban Tomb, JEA 25, 1939. 154-156.

Guksch, H., Über den Umgang mit Gräbern, in *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung internationales Symposion Heidelberg 9*. 13.06.1993, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 12, Jan Assmann, Eberhard Dziobek, and et al. eds., Heidelberg, 1995, 13-24.

Jiménez-Higueras, A., The Sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga during the New Kingdom, People Making Landscape Making People, in: *Culture and history of the ancient Near East*, vol.113, Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2020.

Kampp, F., Die Thebanische Nekropole zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII bis XX Dynastie, Theben 13, 2 Vols, Mainz, 1996

Kampp, F., The Theban necropolis: an overview of topography and tomb development from the MK to ramesside period, (in the Theban necropolis past, present and future 2003).

Mackay, E., The Cutting and Preparation of Tomb-Chapels in the Theban Necropolis, JEA 7, 1921.

Porter, B., & Moss, R., Topographical Bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs and painting vol.1, Oxford, 1960.

Ranke, H., Die Agyptische Personennnamen, vol. I, Glückstadt, 1935.

Saleh, M., Das Totenbuch in den Thebanischen Beamtengrabern des Neuen Reiches, Mainz, 1984.