ARCHITECTURAL LANDSCAPE.
A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE SLOPING CEILING OF REKHMIRE'S TOMB CHAPEL (TT 100)

PAISAJE ARQUITECTÓNICO. UNA NUEVA INTERPRETACIÓN DEL TECHO ASCENDENTE DE LA TUMBA DE REKHMIRE (TT 100)

Antonio Muñoz Herrera[1]

Abstract

The tomb TT 100, belonging to the vizier Rekhmire, in the Theban necropolis (Luxor, Egypt), one of the best examples of funerary architecture of the Egyptian New Kingdom, has been widely studied since the beginning of the 20th century from the iconographic, historical and archaeological points of view. However, it has an anomalous structural feature for the classic Theban tomb typology of this period: a longitudinal corridor with a sloping ceiling ending in a combination of false stela and niche for a funerary statue. The anomaly, widely noted in classical literature, has been vaguely explained and often forgotten due to the celebrated decorative program that occupies the tomb.

This study aims to offer a reinterpretation of this architectural feature of the tomb based on a landscape archaeology approach. According to this methodology, the ancestral landscape of the necropolis, and the architectural and artistic features of the tomb of his relative and predecessor in the vizierate Useramun are significant elements for the interpretation of this element. The main result is Rekhmire's clear intention to emulate and replicate Useramun's double funerary structure, not only from the artistic point of view (already demonstrated in previous studies) but also from the spatial point of view, copying the phenomenological experience of space and landscape in the architectural development of his tomb. An example of how landscape archaeology can be useful in the study of the art of this ancient culture.

Keywords

Landscape archaeology; necropolis; Egypt; Thebes; tomb TT 100

---

1. Universidad Complutense de Madrid. C. e.: *antomu01@ucm.es*
   ORCID: <*https://orcid.org/0009-0007-9965-0116*>

Resumen[2]

La tumba TT 100, perteneciente al visir Rekhmire, en la necrópolis tebana (Luxor, Egipto), uno de los mejores ejemplos de arquitectura funeraria del Reino Nuevo egipcio, ha sido ampliamente estudiada desde los inicios del siglo XX desde el punto de vista iconográfico, histórico y arqueológico. Sin embargo, posee un rasgo estructural anómalo para la tipología clásica de tumba tebana de este periodo: un corredor longitudinal con un techo ascendente que termina en una combinación de falsa estela y nicho para una estatua funeraria. La anomalía, ampliamente señalada en la bibliografía clásica, ha sido explicada vagamente y a menudo ha sido olvidada por el celebrado programa decorativo que posee la tumba.

El presente estudio pretende ofrecer una reinterpretación de este rasgo arquitectónico a partir de una perspectiva teórica anclada a la arqueología del paisaje. Según esta metodología, el paisaje ancestral de la necrópolis y los rasgos arquitectónicos y artísticos de la tumba de su familiar y antecesor en el cargo Useramun son elementos significativos para la interpretación de este elemento. La principal conclusión es la clara intención de Rekhmire de emular y replicar la doble estructura funeraria de Useramun, no sólo desde el punto de vista artístico (ya demostrado en estudios previos), sino también desde el punto de vista espacial, copiando la experiencia fenomenológica del espacio y el paisaje en el desarrollo arquitectónico de su propia tumba. Un ejemplo de cómo la arqueología del paisaje puede ser una aproximación teórica muy útil en el estudio del arte de esta cultura antigua.

Palabras clave

Arqueología del paisaje; necrópolis; Egipto; Tebas; tumba TT 100

....

INTRODUCTION

In lexicography, a hapax is a term recorded only once in a language, an author, or a text. These terms are often impossible to study due to the complexity of establishing parallels beyond etymological features. In this sense, the ascending ceiling of the vizier Rekhmire's tomb chapel (XVIII Dynasty) in the ancient necropolis of Thebes (Luxor)[3] represents an architectural hapax for these reasons. The structure of this longitudinal corridor, which extends over 30 meters into the mountain and whose ceiling rises 8 meters from the entrance to the endpoint[4], is a unique element in Egyptian private funerary architecture. Its interpretation has often been based on hypothesis about its possible symbolic value and meaning.

In fact, beyond mere architectural descriptions where everyone acknowledges the uniqueness of the ceiling structure of the longitudinal corridor[5], virtually no contemporary author dares to interpret the possible significance of this unusual architectural structure in the tomb of such an important member of the Egyptian royal court. They all repeat the sole argument presented by Norman de Garis Davies[6], who suggests that the ascending ceiling structure may have been intended by Rekhmire himself to imitate the architectural design of the recently constructed temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari[7]. However, Davies provides no substantive argument to support this suggestion, relying solely on his personal opinion.

From another point of view, in recent years a number of theoretical discussions have aimed to explain the copies or emulations between the various Theban tombs, where TT 100 seems to have emulated, or at least to have studied carefully, the tomb of his uncle and predecessor in the vizierate Useramun for the development of his decorative program[8]. In this sense, there seems to be a clear intention on

---

3. The Theban tombs of this period are hypogea excavated on the rock of the mountain, formed by a chapel open to the outside with an inverted T-shape plan (a place for the visit of relatives and friends to make offerings) and a burial shaft with a chamber that would be sealed after the deposition of the deceased.

4. Güell, Josep; Quevedo, Alberto J.: «La Tumba del visir Rekhmire (TT 100): Un estudio textual e iconográfico. Aportaciones para una nueva perspectiva del visirato durante el Reino Nuevo», en Agudo Aparicio, Ana; *et al.* (eds.): *Séptimo centenario de los estudios orientales en Salamanca*. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2014, p. 20.

5. Newberry, Percy E.: *The life of Rekhmara, vezir of Upper Egypt under Thothmes III and Amenhetep II: (circa b.C. 1471 - 1448)*. Westminster, London, 1900; Abdul-Qader, Muhammed: *The development of the funerary beliefs and practices displayed in the private tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes*. Cairo, University of Cambridge, 1957, p. 11; Badawy, Alexander: *A History of Egyptian Architecture: The Empire (the New Kingdom)*. California, University of California Press, 1968, p. 411; Engelmann-von Carnap, Barbara: *Die Struktur des thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs in der ersten Hälfte der 18. Dynastie: Analyse von Position, Grundrißgestaltung und Bildprogramm der Gräber*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo 15. Berlin, Achet-Verlag, 1999, pp. 64-81; Dorman, Peter: «Family burial and commemoration in the Theban necropolis», en Strudwick, Nigel; Taylor John H.: *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*. London, British Museum Press, 2003, p. 39; Güell, Josep: «La Tumba del visir Rekhmire (TT 100): Un estudio textual e iconográfico. Aportaciones para el conocimiento de las causas de la desaparición y damnatio del mismo», en Pérez-Largacha, Antonio; Vivas Sainz, Inmaculada (eds.): *Actas V Congreso Ibérico de Egiptología. 2015*. Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2017, pp. 507-16; Doncker, Alexis Den: «Identifying-Copies in the Private Theban Necropolis. Tradition as Reception under the Influence of Self-Fashioning Processes», en Guillen, Todd (ed.): *(Re)Productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt. Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013. Ægyptiaca Leodiensia 10,* Liège, Universidad de Liége, 2017, p. 348.

6. In this sense, it is also worth noting the importance of the work carried out by his wife, Nina de Garis Davies in the copy of the tomb decorations, which in many cases have allowed us to study scenes that are now lost.

7. Davies, Norman de Garis: *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' at Thebes.* New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943, p. 5.

8. Doncker, Alexis den: *op. cit.*, pp. 229-58; Dorman, Peter: *op. cit.*

Rekhmire's part to build a tomb that would dialogue with that of his ancestors in terms of artistic and decorative formality. However, the architectural part which is an essential component of the symbolic and sacred value of an Egyptian tomb, has been left out of this type of analysis.

In order to carry out this study, in which the sloping ceiling of the TT 100 may also correspond in this case to a kind of emulation by Rekhmire of his predecessors, it is intended to use the approach of landscape archaeology. This theoretical approach will make it possible to establish parallels and spatial interpretations, in which perspective, the relationship of architectural elements to their surroundings and to each other is fundamental and could shed new light on the symbolic and emulative value of the sloping ceiling of the Rekhmire's tomb.

Given the lack of landscape archaeological studies in the traditional Egyptological field[9], it is necessary to make a brief introduction to landscape archaeology in order to understand this epistemological approach and to verify the benefits that this application can offer.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORY FRAMEWORK: A SUMMARY

Archaeology has had to confront the problem of materiality since its conception as a science, which has led to the development of different techniques and approaches to gaining archaeological knowledge[10]. For instance, during the 1940s, few or no attention was paid to charcoal debris in excavations, but after the 1950s, the ability to analyse these debris and establish its date using Carbon-14 changed archaeologists' view towards the material. In the first half of the XX century, archaeology worked with the concept of objects as the material reality of ancient people, which resulted in cultures being directly associated with lists of objects with common characteristics, and archaeological knowledge being reduced to the differences between objects. As consequence, differences between typologies invaded archaeological studies[11]. In this perspective, the more elaborated the objects were, the more complex the society was.

The «New Archaeology» emerged in the 1960s as an alternative to cultural history and reinforced the notion of material culture. This approach attempted to draw socio-economic conclusions about a particular society from the archaeological data,

---

9.   In recent years, these perspectives have begun to be applied in Egyptology in a very suggestive way and offering interesting results, see: Jiménez-Higueras, Maria Angeles: «The Sacred Landscape of Dra Abu El-Naga», en Bárta, Miroslav; Janák, Jiří: *Profane Landscapes, Sacred Spaces, New Directions in Anthropological Archaeology*. Sheffield, Equinox Publishing Ltd, 2020, pp. 97-124; Muñoz Herrera, Antonio: «Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, a Landscape for the Afterlife: Reciprocity in Shaping Life Histories», en Kilroe, Loretta: *Invisible Archaeologies. Hidden aspects of daily life in ancient Egypt and Nubia*. London, Archaeopress, 2019, pp. 114-28; Geisen, Christina (ed.): *Ritual Landscape and Performance: Proceedings of the International Conference on Ritual Landscape and Performance, Yale University, September 23-24, 2016*, Yale Egyptological Studies 13. New Haven, Yale Egyptology, 2020.

10.   Soler Segura, Javier: «Redefiniendo el registro material. Implicaciones recientes desde la arqueología del paisaje anglosajona», *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 64, 1 (2007), p. 44.

11.   *Idem*, pp. 45-66.

using positivism and the purely scientific study of material artefacts[12]. It sought to understand the relationship between objects and social structures. Consequently, the relevance of material objects decreased in favor of the information that they could extract from the artefact's attributes[13]. However, this approach forgot that they were studying a social science and therefore these precise answers did not correspond to human reality.

In response to these shortcomings, a new movement related to the material interpretation– called Post-processualism– emerged in the 1980s and was interested in the symbolic aspects of the material record, at the same time as feminist, Marxist or structuralist schools were highlighting the bias of processual approaches[14]. This new perspective interpreted the object as a cultural constituted entity, with specific cultural meanings and reclassified within cultural categories[15]. Post-processual perspectives have demonstrated the interpretative bias of material records and their results have been based on androcentric values[16].

In this regard, post-processual approaches have introduced symbolic interpretation into the archaeological record. For them, archaeological evidence is not just physical evidence but a set of codified signs that convey ideas or events[17].

LANDSCAPE ARCHAEOLOGY

In this context, landscape archaeology acquires importance within archaeological interpretation. Landscape archaeology was born with the New Archaeology, but its methodology was based solely on ecological aspects, the application of systematic approaches, or logical and functional interpretations of the archaeological record. This approach resulted, in most studies, in explaining the location of settlements as a result of rational decisions, such as topography, weather, demography or «commercial' networks»[18]. However, with the rise of the new theoretical frameworks, landscape archaeology has broadened its scope. New interpretations of the role of landscape in ancient societies have, at least, five points in common:

✳ Landscape as critical identifier of a society.
✳ Landscape as a fundamental agent within the comprehension of historical process.

---

12. *Idem*, p. 46.
13. Clarke, David L: *Analytical Archaeology*. London, Methuen, 1968, pp. 11-16.
14. Soler Segura, Javier: *op.cit*., p. 47
15. Kopytoff, Igor: «La biografía cultural de las cosas: la mercantilización como proceso», en Appadurai, Arjun: *La Vida social de las cosas: perspectiva cultural de las mercancías*. Mexico, Grijalbo, 1991, p. 92.
16. Soler Segura, Javier: *op.cit*., p. 47
17. Hodder, Ian: *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982, pp. 186-217; Shanks, Michael; Tilley, Christopher: *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice.* Cambridge, CUP Archive, 1987, pp. 130-34; Patrik, Linda E.: «Is There an Archaeological Record?», en Thomas, Julian: *Interpretive Archaeology: A Reader.* London-New York, A&C Black, 2000, pp. 130-31.
18. Soler Segura, Javier: *op.cit*., p. 49

* Concepts like experience or perception have been introduced within landscape interpretation.
* Interest for the interpretation trough visibility, landscape rationality or elements of cohesion.
* Overcoming of the materiality problem regarding archaeological record.

Thanks to these common points, the approach to the landscape has been made from a holistic perception. For these scholars, in every space where human civilization has lived, there is a relationship between the real life and the metaphysical and idealized conception[19]. For them, landscape is a symbolic construction, a reference system that has different activities that have meaning within a community[20]. As Thomas argues[21]: «Landscape is a network of related places, which have gradually been revealed through people's habitual activities and interactions, through the closeness and affinity that they have developed for some locations and through the important events, festivities, calamities [...] causing them to be remembered or incorporated into stories». Place is a relational concept because it contains events and specific locations that people expect to find. It is not a place by itself, but also the place of something[22].

The concept of landscape has a semantic ambiguity for us[23]. The western world considers «landscape» as a visual or geographical term, something that is not part of ourselves. However, ethnographic studies have demonstrated that there are different cultures that have different conceptions and different relationships with their environment[24].

For instance, for many ancient communities' landscape was a place for memories because, as Bender says[25]: «The continued use of places through time, draws attention to the historically constituted connections which exist between members of a community». This construction is created through links with the ancestors and their antiquity together with the history, monuments and landscapes of that community[26]. Memory and oversight are two elements that assemble the society, and it is here that landscape appears, because practices of remembering or forgetting can only be carried out through sets of actions and performances within a space[27].

---

19.   Hirsch, Eric: «Introduction. Landscape: Between Place and Space», en Hirsch, Eric; O'Hanlon, Michael (eds.): *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 3.

20.   Daniels, Stephen; Cosgrove, Denis: «Introduction: Iconography and Landscape», en Daniels, Stephen y Cosgrove, Denis (eds.): *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 1.

21.   Thomas, Julian: «Archaeologies of Place and Landscape», en Hodder, Ian: *Archaeological Theory Today*. Cambridge, Polity, 2001, p. 173.

22.   Heidegger, Martin: *Being and time.* Oxford, Blackwell, 1962, p. 136.

23.   Ingold, Tim: «The picture is not the terrain», *Archaeological Dialogues* 4.1 (1997), p. 29.

24.   Thomas, Julian: *op. cit.,* p. 174.

25.   Bender, Barbara: «Subverting the Western gaze: mapping alternative worlds», en Ucko, Peter J.; Layton, Robert (eds.): *The archaeology and anthropology of landscape: shaping your landscape.* London, Routledge, 1999, p. 36.

26.   Yoffee, Norman.: «Peering into the Palimpsest», en Yoffee, Norman (ed.): *Negotiating the Past in the Past. Identity, Memory, and Landscape in Archaeological Research.* Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2007, p. 4.

27.   Meskell, Lynn.: «Back to the Future. From the past in the present to the past in the past», en Yoffee, Norman (ed.): *Negotiating the Past in the Past. Identity, Memory, and Landscape in Archaeological Research.* Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2007, p. 224.

This necessity of memory is related to the need to understand one's own present and as an element of legitimation: «the use of the past in the past»[28]. Understanding landscape as a cultural construction, as the product of the reciprocal interaction between the environment and the society that inhabits it, landscape archaeology is therefore an archaeology of places, defined not only by their geophysical conditions but also by their social, perceptual, ontological, epistemological and emotional dimensions; it is an archaeology of how people perceive the world, and how they interact with it, how they choose to manipulate it, and how they are in turn affected by the landscape conditions in which they live[29].

Related to all this, the places with more meaning –symbolic and physical– are probably cemeteries. The construction of cemeteries aims to defeat the death as individuals, contributes to the denial of the end of physical existence, and is also a point of connection with the living people[30]. Moreover, this symbolic meaning of being buried in a specific place has other interpretations. For instance, groups of descendants or family members use it to maintain the same disposal areas for the dead. In this sense, the interpretation of Rekhmire's tomb as an element of veneration not only for himself, but also as an element of family veneration towards his ancestors makes possible a reinterpretation of his tomb.

THE TOMB OWNER: REKHMIRE AND HIS FAMILIY

FAMILY AND POWER IN THEBES: HEREDITARY POWER

Rekhmire's family was the most powerful during the XVIII Dynasty. They controlled the Vizierate for three generations and they placed a large number of their descendants throughout the administrative and priestly areas, acting as we would call today as nepotism.

If we look in detail at the titles, we will understand the extent of this nepotism. The merging of Ineni's family, who held the religious power, with Ametu's family, who held the political/administrative positions, made possible the hoarding of the most important positions within Egyptian society during three complete generations. Seven of the eight sons of Ametu were priest or temple administrators. In all, during three generations, nearly half of the 39 descendants of Ametu and Ineni's families related to the Amon domain[31].

28. Van Dyke, Ruth; Alcock, Susan E., (eds.): *Archaeologies of Memory.* Malden, Blackwell, 2003, p. 1.
29. David, Bruno; Thomas, Julian: «Landscape Archaeology: Introduction», en David, Bruno; Thomas, Julian (eds.): *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology.* New York, Routledge, 2008, p. 38.
30. Richards, Janet: *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 61-62.
31. Muñoz Herrera, Antonio: *op. cit*.

All the important members of this family were buried at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, creating what Shirley calls a «family precinct» within the Theban necropolis[32] (FIGURE 1). This family precinct may be recognized in the tombs' distribution. Although it is not regular, the distribution points out that the upper enclosure could have been? used as a family complex by the members of Ametu's family, according to the position of the tombs and the spatial relationship between them.

FIGURA 1. AERIAL VIEW OF SHEIKH ABD EL-QURNA AND THE FAMILY AMETU-INENI TOMBS'. Edited by the author from commons license photograph

Moreover, there are also similarities in the architecture of these tombs. Ametu's tomb (TT 83) copied the façade of Ineni's (TT 81), whose architecture is associated with the Middle Kingdom. Subsequently, Rekhmire (TT 100) copied several aspects of Useramun's tomb (TT 131 and 61) as we shall see. Thus, there seems to be an influence in the tombs' architecture, where it can be detected an intention of emulation between family members.

In this regard, two members of this family were strongly connected during their lives and their tombs may have been conceived as the continuation of that connection: Useramun and Rekhmire.

---

32. Shirley, Judith J.: «Viceroys, Viziers and the Amun Precinct: The Power of Heredity and Strategic Marriage in the Early 18th Dynasty», *Journal of Egyptian History* 3 (2010), p. 293.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT.
THE VIZIRATE, USERAMUN AND REKHMIRE

Both Useramun and Rekhmire held the vizirate during the first half of the XVIII Dynasty and in fact, Rekhmire succeeded his uncle in the position. Regarding the Viziers, the position seems to have been reintroduced by Tutmosis I[33], who gave it to Imhotep. But after him, Ametu's family took control and held it until the first years of Amenhotep II[34].

Nevertheless, the power of the family did not end there. The Amon precinct grew in importance thanks to Ahmose, who created two new powerful positions: High Priest of Amon and God's Wife of Amon, and the civil administration and cult of Amon was quickly linked to the family relationship[35]. As Cline and O'Connor argued[36]: 'The priesthood was often a family affair, with several members of the same family in service simultaneously or successively'. In this regard, the Ametu's family also controlled the most important position in this area for the same three generations.

Furthermore, it is important to have a good background about the political events happening during the time of Useramun and Rekhmire (reigns of Hatshepsut-Amenhotep II). Hatshepsut was crowned no later than year 7 of Tutmosis III,[37] and she ruled the country for at least 15 years[38]. However, there is a lack of information concerning the political situation, but what seems clear is that during the coregency several officials were promoted and the Amon precinct increased its power[39]; this leads us to think that she needed the support of high officials and therefore this support was given in exchange for high positions. Afterwards, Tutmosis III took control of the country, but he did not make major changes in the administrations. He replaced several officials just when their careers went over. However, he did reduce the importance of officials related to the Amon domain, increased the power of the Vizierate and rewarded some officials after successful campaigns[40]. The religious influence, which had reached its peak of influence during the reign of Hatshepsut was replaced by the military sphere during the reign of Tutmosis III[41]. This trend

---

33. There are references to the position during the XIII and XVI Dynasties but none between them or in early XVIII Dynasty. Imhotep was the first Vizier attested in the XVIII Dynasty.
34. Shirley, Judith J.: «One Tomb, Two Owners: Theban Tomb 122 - Re-Use or Planned Family Tomb?», en Hawass, Zahi; Wegner Jennifer H.: *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman.* Cairo, Publications du Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Egypte, 2010, p. 83.
35. *Idem*, p. 91.
36. Cline, Eric H.; O'Connor, David: *Ramesses III: The Life and Times of Egypt's Last Hero.* Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2012, p. 85.
37. Shirley, Judith J.: «The Power of the Elite: The Officials of Hatshepsut's Regency and Coregency», en Galán, José M.; Bryan, Betsy; Dorman, Peter (eds.): *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*. Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2014, p. 173.
38. Dorman, Peter: *The monuments of Senenmut: problems in historical methodology.* London, Kegan Paul International, 1988, pp. 18-45.
39. Shirley, Judith J.: *The power of the elite…*, p. 174.
40. *Idem*, pp. 239-240.
41. *Idem*, pp. 242-244.

continued during the reign of Amenhotep II, with movements between military positions and high administrative offices[42].

Ametu was the first member of the family who had the title of Vizier (*Ṯȝty*). He was the grandson of the Viceroy Ahmose-Satayt and nephew of Satayt's successor, Ahmose-Tjuro, so it is clear that he came from an elite family of the early XVIII Dynasty[43]. The name of his father is unknown and there is no clear information about his family. It is also difficult to know how he accessed the Vizierate, since we do not have information about the previous titles, which might have pushed him into the vizierate[44].

However, what is clear is that the great ascension in his career came with his marriage to Ta-ametu, sister of Ineni (TT81), who controlled the important positions of the Amon domain. Thanks to this marriage, he could use his influence to promote his descendants to high positions in the administration of the Amon domain[45].

Useramun was the second son of Ametu. He started his career as wab-priest during the reign of Tutmosis I and he rose within the Amon priesthood administration during the following reigns[46]. Apparently, he was co-vizier with his father Ametu at the very beginning of the coregency[47]. This may have been designed in order to ensure the continuity of the family into the vizierate and also in agreement with Hatshepsut. Once alone, he was Vizier (*jmy-r njwt Ṯȝty*) for 15 years under Hatshepsut, taking less power than expected[48], and afterwards, between years 6 and 11 of Tutmosis III exerting a real influence within the court[49]. The transition to the next Vizier could have happened between year 28 and 32 of Tutmosis III, although there are other hypotheses that point out year 33[50] [51].

Rekhmire was the last member of Ametu's family who hold the vizierate (*jmy-r njwt Ṯȝty*). He was nephew of Useramun, and son of Neferweben (*wˤb n ʾImn*) and Betau (*ḥkrt nswt*). It is not clear why none of Useramun's children were promoted to the vizierate instead of his nephew. However, there is a theory that points out that Neferweben may have held the position of Vizier between Useramun and

---

42. Shirley, Judith J.: «What's In A Title? Military and Civil Officals in the Egyptian 18th Dyansty Military Sphere», en Bar, Shay: Kahn, Dan'El; Shirley, Judith J.: *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology, and Literature*. Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2011, p. 299; Eichler, Selke Susan: *Die Verwaltung des «Hauses des Amun» in der 18. Dynastie.* Hamburg, Helmut Buske, 2000, p. 537.

43. Shirley, Judith J.: *The power of the elite…*, p. 176.

44. Shirley, Judith J.: *The culture of officialdom: An examination of the acquisition of offices during the mid-18th Dynasty*, (Tesis doctoral inédita), Johns Hopkins University, 2005, pp. 77-79.

45. Bács, Tamás A.: «A New Viceroy of Nubia», en Bács, Tamas (ed.): *A Tribute to Excellence Studies offered in honor of Erno Gaal, Ulrich Luft, Laszlo Torok*, Studia Aegyptiaca 17. Budapest, Chaire d'Egyptologie de l'Université Eotvos Lorand, 2002, pp. 53-67.

46. Shirley, Judith J: *The culture of officialdom…*, p. 80.

47. Dziobek, Eberhard: *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, Studien zur archäologie und Geschichte altägyptens 18. Heidelberg, Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1998, pp. 100-101.

48. Shirley, Judith J.: *The power of the elite…*, p. 244.

49. *Idem*, p. 185.

50. Laboury, Dimitri: *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III. Essai d'interprétation d'un portrait royal dans son contexte historique*, Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 5. Liege, ULg - CIPL, 1998, pp. 39-40.

51. For a detailed discussion about the transition year see Shirley, Judith J.: *The culture of officialdom…*, pp. 84-87).

Rekhmire, but it seems to be a weak hypothesis since there is no strong evidence for the name of Neferweben linked to the title of Vizier[52]. In this respect, Dziobek argues that Rekhmire was promoted to the vizierate because he was more capable of doing the job than his cousins and it was the best solution for the dynastic succession, as it actually was[53]. Another possibility suggested by Shirley is that the high position within the Amon domain administration could be a path to the Vizierate and in this respect, Rekhmire had an advantage over his cousins[54]. In any case, none of these hypotheses is really clear and the mystery of why Rekhmire took the vizierate remains unknown.

Rekhmire held the position during the reign of Tutmosis III. He was married to Meryt and they had four children. Rekhmire's plan was probably to promote his eldest son Menkheperresoneb to the vizierate, but although all his children held important administrative positions within the Amon domain, none of them was promoted. This may be because, as Dziobek suggests, when Amenhotep II became pharaoh, he probably saw the power of Rekhmire and his family as a threat to his kingship and he decided to keep? the position out of this family, in order to avoid potential problems[55].

AN ARCHITECTURAL LANDSCAPE

USERAMUN'S TOMB

Useramun is the one of the few officials who had two tombs in the Theban necropolis, TT 61 and 131[56], both at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna: one in the upper enclosure (TT 61)[57] and the other in the plain (TT 131)[58] (Figure 2).

From an architectonical point of view, TT 61 is a type IIIa (according to the typology established by Kampp 1996) consisting of a long corridor with a square chamber at the end with a small shrine. The tomb usurped a Middle Kingdom corridor and added a vertical shaft just outside the entrances, leading to a burial chamber decorated with Amduat[59] [60].

---

52. *Idem*, pp. 88-90.
53. Dziobek, Eberhard. *op. cit.*, pp. 126-128.
54. Shirley, Judith J.: *The culture of officialdom…*, p. 92.
55. Dziobek, Eberhard. *op. cit.*, p. 128.
56. Up to seven owners of dual tombs have been identified in the Theban necropolis during the New Kingdom. A detailed study of them can be found in Soliman, Rasha: «Courtiers with dual tombs», *Egyptian Journal of Archaeological and Restoration Studies* 5, 2 (2015), pp. 123-38.
57. Kampp, Friederike: *Die Thebanische Nekropole. Zum wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, vol. I. Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1996, p. 277.
58. *Idem*., p. 419.
59. In this sense, the tomb is contemporary with KV 34 (Tutmosis III), which would attribute to both tombs the oldest copies of this religious corpus and that of Useramun as the oldest copy in a private tomb.
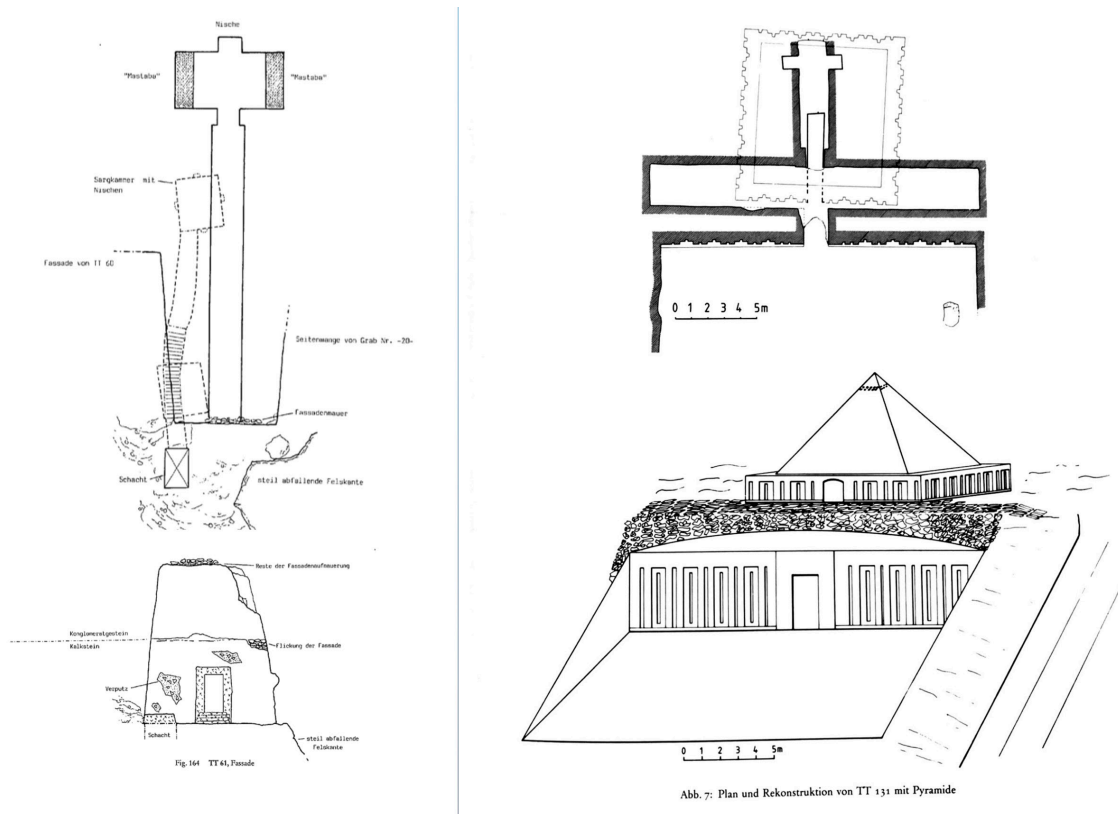60. Dorman, Peter: *Family burial…*, p. 38.

FIGURE 2. THE TWO TOMBS OWNED BY USERAMUN: LEFT, TT 61; RIGHT, TT 131. According to Kampp, Friederike: *Die Thebanische Nekropole…*Mainz, 1996, pp. 277-78, and Dziobek, Eberhard: *Eine Grabpyramidedes frühen NR in Theben*. Kairo, 1989, p.129

On the other hand, TT 131 is a Va-type with an inverted 'T'-shape tomb with a non-pillared transverse hall, and a corridor leading to two side chambers at the end. TT 131 had a pyramid superstructure and a façade that imitated Ametu's tomb[61]. The pyramid and the palace-like façade of TT 131 functioned mainly as visual markers in the necropolis landscape. In fact, TT 131 and 61 were built on the same line, creating a visual effect, so that the top of the pyramid of TT 131 pointed out the entrance of TT61 viewed from the bottom of the hill[62]. In this regard, it is also important to highlight that the façade of TT 61was intentionally cut out in a pyramidal shape as well[63]. These elements reveal the symbolic concept of natural elements of the landscape that they modified, shaping a form that it was already there (FIGURE 3).

Regarding the decoration, both tombs show their functionality through the decorative programs chosen for them. While in TT 61, in addition to the aforementioned Amduat in the burial chamber, scenes of offerings, worship of

---

61. Dziobek, Eberhard.: *op. cit*.
62. Shirley, Judith J.: *Viceroy, viziers…*, p. 103.
63. Shirley, Judith J.: *Politics of placement…*, p. 5.

Rahorakhty and Aton and scenes of funerary processions appear, in tomb TT 131 there are mainly scenes of Useramun working as Vizier and daily life scenes[64]. This seems to indicate a funerary character for TT 61 and an everyday character and offering

FIGURE 3. VIEW IN PERSPECTIVE OF THE DUAL TOMB OF USERAMUN. Photo of the author

chapel for TT 131. In addition, through the decorative program, Useramun had a clear intention to establish a connection with mythical and familiar ancestors: Den Docker studies demonstrate a clear reference to TT 60 for the choice of scenes and decorative programs; furthermore, there is a clear intention to emulate the family ancestor Ametu through the copy of the façade of his tomb and the continuous reference to his name in both TT 61 and TT 131[65]. In this sense, it seems that family emulation began with the construction of these tombs, and what Rekhmire does in a later period is to continue with this «tradition»[66]. It is also significant that only

---

64. Soliman, Rasha: *op.cit*: p. 124.
65. Dorman, Peter: *Family burial*…, p. 37. Doncker, Alexis Den: *op. cit*.
66. The emulation of Useramun's tombs responds not only to a family motive but also to office position. Den Doncker has identified a clear copy of these two tombs in TT 82, belonging to Amenemhat, Useramun's steward, who wanted to imitate the decoration of his chief's tomb. *Vid.* Doncker, Alexis Den: *op. cit*: p. 340.

Tutmosis III is depicted, and not Hatshepsut, which is a clear indication that his real influence and power was during the reign of Tutmosis III[67].

Considering all this information and from a holistic point of view, the double tomb of Useramun must be regarded as single monument, with TT 131 acting as an offering and public chapel and TT 61 as a tomb and funerary symbolic place[68].

REKHMIRE'S TOMB

TT 100[69] is located in the lower part of the upper enclosure. It is an interesting position because it is close to his contemporary officials but also near his family[70]. The tomb is of type Vb, the most common typology for a tomb of the XVIII Dynasty at Sheik Abd el-Qurna. Construction probably began in year 46 of Tutmosis III[71] and continued for the next 5 or 7 years. The structure it is a typical T-shaped Theban tomb with a transverse hall and a long corridor which ended in a false door with a statue niche 8 m upwards. The tomb is one of the largest at that time, measuring more than ca. 90 cubits, barely exceeding Useramun's tomb which measures ca.70 cubits[72] (Figure 4).

Rekhmire's tomb has two interesting features. The first one is the size of the courtyard, which has been fortunately preserved. The width of a normal courtyard at this time is between 7 and 14 meters but Rekhmire's is 19 meters wide and more than 13 meters long. This points out the social status of Rekhmire, reflected in the importance of the courtyards in the funerary and festive events. Moreover, it is interesting to highlight that one of the biggest courtyards preserved in the necropolis is the Useramun's courtyard (TT 131) with 20 meters wide[73]. This could lead to think that this large courtyard was an imitation of his uncle's[74] and the fact that Rekhmire's courtyard did not have a funerary shaft[75] may be another parallel to TT 131.

Nevertheless, the parallel between Useramun and Rekhmire's tombs can be better identified in the decoration program. Rekhmire borrowed several elements of Useramun's programme: he re-sequenced the the scenes of Useramun's transverse hall in TT 131, placing them in the opposite location and expanded them in style and content[76]. In the long corridor he used the programme of the funerary procession and motifs in the right wall, as Useramun had done in TT 61, while

---

67. Shirley, Judith J.: *The power of the elite…*, p. 244.
68. Dziobek, Eberhard: *op. cit*: pp. 118-120.
69. Kampp, Friederike: *op. cit*: p. 370.
70. Shirley, Judith J. *Politics of placement…*, p. 5.
71. Shirley, Judith J. *The culture of officialdom…*, p. 81.
72. Engelmann-von Carnap, Barbara: *op.cit*., pp. 64-81.
73. Galán Allué, José M.: «Los patios de entrada a las tumbas tebanas en época de Hatshepsut-Tutmosis III», *Trabajos de Egiptología - Papers on Ancient Egypt*, 5, 1 (2009), p. 255.
74. Shirley, Judith J. *Politics of placement…*, p. 5.
75. In the sloping corridor, inside the tomb, there are two vertical shafts that reach two funeral chambers. They were opened and excavated by the Giza Museum officials in 1894 and they have (ca. 5m) deep, but no remains of any kind were found. See Newberry, Percy: *op. cit*., p 21.
76. Doncker, Alexis Den: *op. cit*: pp. 346-348.

PLATE VI
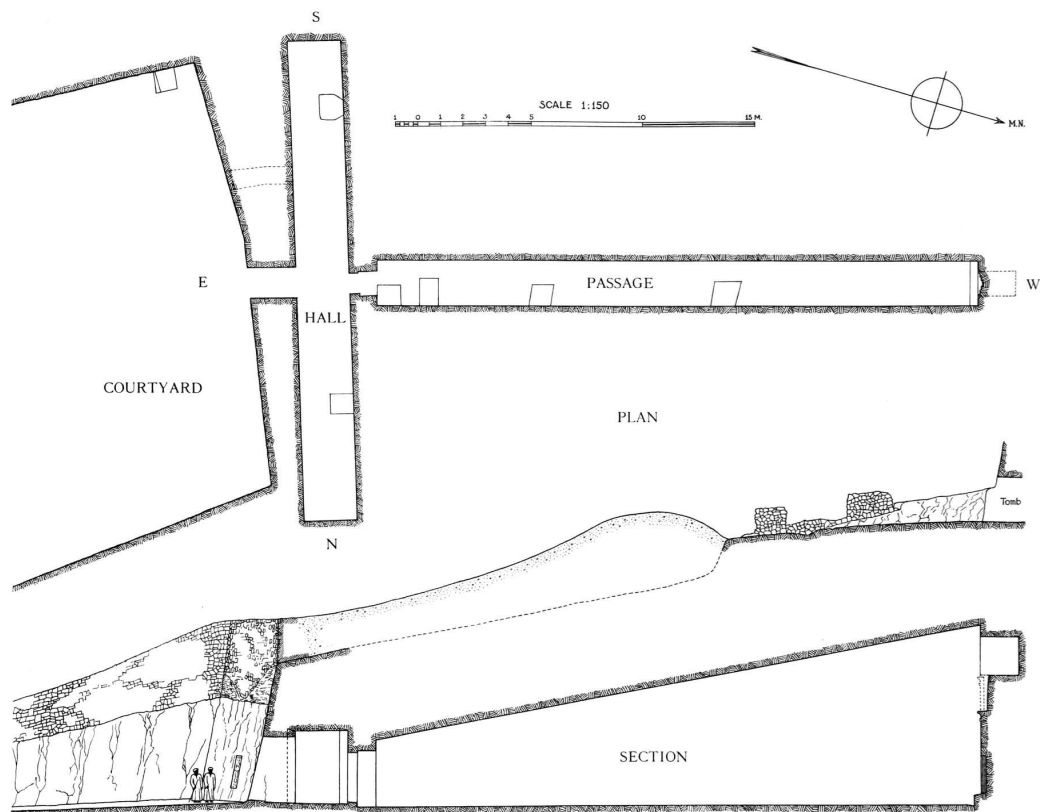
PLAN AND LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF THE TOMB

ALTHOUGH THE TOMB FACES DUE SOUTH, IT IS ASSUMED THROUGHOUT THAT IT FACES EAST, SINCE THE HILLS ON THE LEFT BANK OF THE NILE, INTO WHICH IT PENETRATES, ARE IN GENERAL THE HILLS OF THE WEST. SEE PAGES 5 f.

FIGURE 4. TT 100 PLAN. According to Davies, Norman de Garis: *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' at Thebes* II, New York, 1948, pl.VI

used the left wall for his own representation controlling the duties of the vizier. In a way, Rekhmire compressed both decoration programmes of TT 61 and TT 131 into one tomb and he arranged the scenes in the same special way[77]. Taking into consideration that TT 131 was conceived as an offering chapel and TT 61 as a funerary tomb, Rekhmire may have borrowed this configuration and designed his own tomb with the transverse hall as the offering chapel (copying TT 131) and the long corridor as a funerary hall (as TT 61), reaching a niche statue preserved now at the Petrie Museum collection (Petrie UC 14655), 8 meters high from the floor, and a false door (Louvre C74). Moreover, there are unusual scenes such as the «gallery of ancestors», where several generations of family members were

---

77. There is another parallel in the decorative programs of both owners. Rekhmire's tomb shows the reception of foreign tributes that Rekhmire himself receives when in reality they were destined for the King's House. This also happens with Useramun: Güell, Josep: *op. cit.*, p. 513.

portrayed, dating back to Ametu[78], pointing out Rekhmire's clear intention to create a tomb that was also an artefact of ancestor memory.

Once the aim of Rekhmire (the imitation of his ancestor's tomb) is clear, the sloping ceiling of the corridor can be taken into consideration and studied from the perspective of the landscape archaeology to reach an explanation.

LANDSCAPE REPLICATION IN STONE

The attempts to explain this sloping ceiling have been limited and implausible. One of the most popular theories has been Rekhmire's attempt to replicate the sloping terraces of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari[79]. However, there is no textual or archaeological evidence to support this and if we consider that the construction began in year 46 of Thutmose III, there is no reason to conclude that he wanted to replicate Hatshepsut's temple. Moreover, a quantitative analysis can be done to reject this explanation: if we measure the inclination of the ramps of the temple, we get an inclination of 11°. However, if we measure the sloping ceiling of Rekhmire's tomb, we will get 17°: 6° more inclined than the temple, so it is not likely that Rekhmire took the temple as an exact model for his own tomb.

My suggestion is that we have to consider another perspective to explain this particular architectural feature of Rekhmire's tomb. As we already said, Rekhmire borrowed many features of the decoration of the tomb of Useramun and we have concluded that Rekhmire had the two tombs of Useramun in mind when he built his own. In this regard, the approach of the landscape archaeology can help us. Useramun had two tombs, a thing that Rekhmire did not[80]. Nevertheless, Rekhmire was able to replicate the landscape features of the two tombs (as he did with the decoration), replicating the same perception inside his own tomb.

If we measure the visual inclination of the two tombs of Useramun in the landscape taken from the entrance of both tombs we will get 19°, only two less than Rekhmire's ceiling (17°) (FIGURE 5). Moreover, from a phenomenological point of view, the perception when entering Rekhmire's passage and looking upwards to see the niche statue and the false door, symbol of the entrance to the death's world, was the same perception that one has when standing in front of the entrance of TT 131 (the offering chapel tomb) and looking upwards to TT 61, the actual funerary tomb of Useramun (see FIGURE 3).

Therefore, the landscape scheme of Useramun, where he built a cult chapel on the lower level and a funerary chapel upwards on the hill, is replicated by Rekhmire in his own tomb, using the transverse hall as a cult chapel (even copying the decorative scenes of Useramun at TT 131) and the sloping ceiling as a landscape perspective in

---

78. Davies, Norman de Garis: *op. cit*: pls. 9-10; Dorman, Peter: *Family burial...*, p. 37.
79. *Idem*, p. 5.
80. On the possibility of a second tomb, it has been written that probably Rekhmire was not buried in TT 100. As he was possibly the overseer of the works in KV 34, some have argued that perhaps he could have usurped KV 33 for its final burial (an anapigraphic tomb close to KV 34) (Güell, Josep: *op. cit*., pp. 514-515).

stone leading towards its mortuary chamber. This could explain the height of the niche statue and the combination of this niche with a false door below. This landscape perspective could explain this unusual feature of the Rekhmire's tomb architecture, concluding that the shape of the ceiling is a landscape and a phenomenological reproduction of Useramun's double tomb through architecture (FIGURE 6).
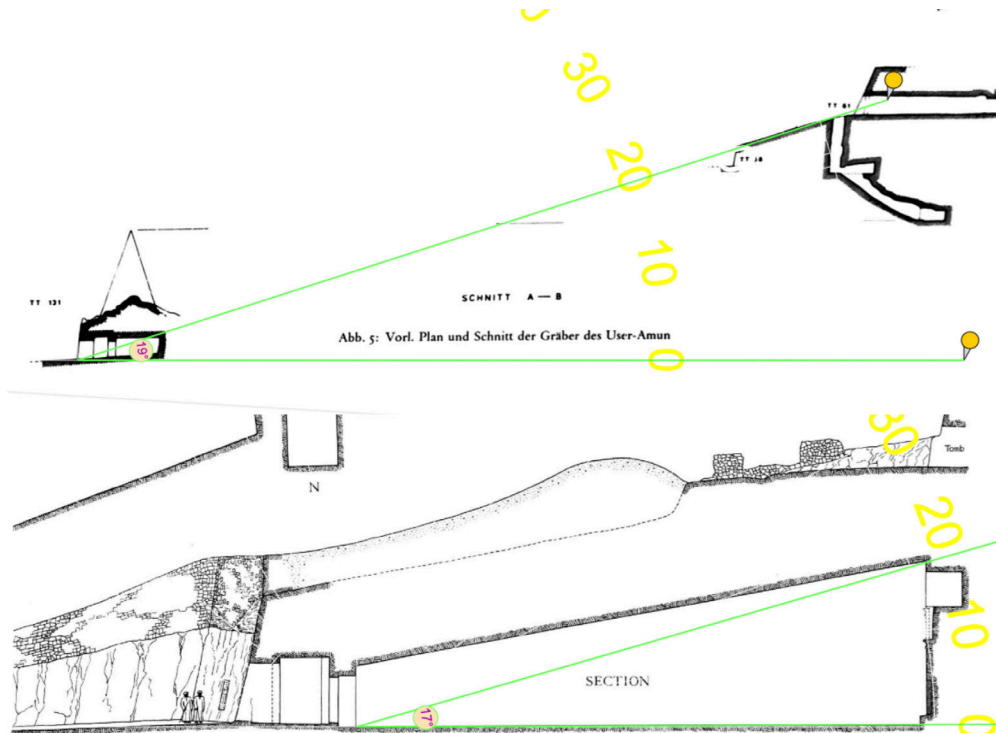

FIGURE 5. ANGLE COMPARISON OF USERAMUN AND REKHMIRE TOMBS. Diagram of the author based on Davies, Norman de Garis, *op. cit.* pl.VI

This, as Den Docker says[81], «leads us to consider tradition not as an inert knowledge of how to do things, but rather as a non-linear, persistently changing system in dialogue with living culture, where productivity and re-productivity don't coexist but merge, consciously or not». In this sense, the landscape played also a crucial role in the development of funerary architecture, acting as carrier of ancestral memory and being reproduced in architectural elements due to its symbolic value. Rekhmire's sloping ceiling is another way of venerating the memory of the ancestors as it has already been studied in the borrowed decoration programs. Here he has not only a replication of a landscape feature (2 tombs in the sloping mountain) but also a replication of the phenomenological perception and experience of the visitor in the space (FIGURE 7). The natural or artificial nature of this feature does not matter because what is important is the symbolic values they can transmit.

In this sense, the intention to replicate the phenomenological experience could have been determined by the joint participation of both tombs during the Beautiful

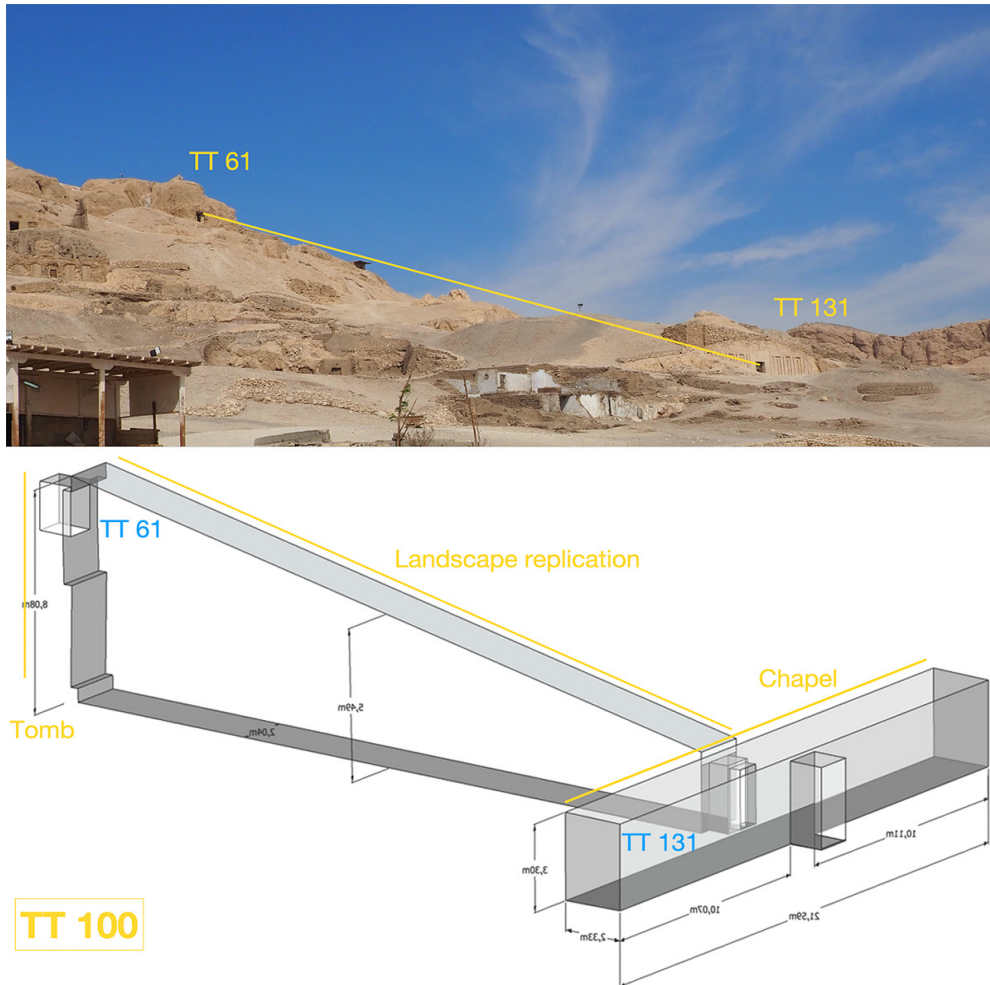81. Doncker, Alexis Den: *op. cit.*, p. 334.

FIGURE 6. TT 100 RE-INTERPRETATION ACCORDING TO USERAMUN TOMBS' PARALLEL. Photo of the author and plan after Güell y Quevedo, *op.cit*. p. 27.

Festival of the Valley, where the family toured the different tombs of their relatives and where both Useramun and Rekhmire could have produced a similar experience given by these architectural features.

CONCLUSION

The application of landscape archaeology to the architectural study of the TT 100 demonstrates how new theoretical and epistemological frameworks can help to resolve interpretative problems in the archaeological record. These new perspectives can be very useful in broadening our epistemological horizons and enabling us to understand Egyptian materiality in different ways than we have done until now.

Rekhmire's tomb presented an interpretative hiatus in one of its most characteristic architectural features, which was a unique example in the Egyptological record. The sloping ceiling could only be interpreted according to hypotheses that had no textual

FIGURE 7. PARALLELS BETWEEN THE VIEW EXPERIENCE OF USERAMUN'S DUAL TOMB AND REKHMIRE'S CORRIDOR.
Photos of the author

or archaeological basis. In the light of the results presented in this study, it can be shown that this unique architectural feature in the Egyptian funerary record responds to Rekhmire's need and intention to venerate the figure of his ancestors, personified in his uncle and predecessor in the vizierate: Useramun. Thus, Rekhmire combined his uncle's dual tomb into a single burial site nearby, borrowing his decorative programs and mirroring them in his tomb. The dual conception of Useramun's tomb as an offering chapel (TT 131) and as a burial chamber (TT 61) was reproduced in TT 100 under a unique architecture that also replicates the phenomenological and spatial experience of the mountain's slope, achieving an almost identical angle of inclination. In this way, Rekhmire transformed two tombs into one, assimilating himself to the figure of his uncle, venerating him and reproducing a similar experience, which was full of symbolic meanings.

This paper demonstrates the epistemological potential of landscape archaeology and opens up a new interpretive path in which the landscape is not a passive agent of the religious and funerary experience, but an active agent in the conformation, development and transmission of these symbolic values. By understanding the Egyptian natural landscape in this way, new understandings can be reached about the ritual and funerary practices of this civilization, as well as about the unique features of its architecture.

REFERENCES

Abdul-Qader Muhammed, Mohamed: *The development of the funerary beliefs and practices displayed in the private tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes*. Cambridge, University of Cambridge, 1957.

Bács, Tamás A: «A New Viceroy of Nubia», en Bács, Tamás (ed.): *A Tribute to Excellence Studies offered in honor of Erno Gaal, Ulrich Luft, Laszlo Torok*, Studia Aegyptiaca 17. Budapest, Chaire d'Egyptologie de l'Université Eotvos Lorand, 2002, pp. 53-67.

Badawy, Alexander: *A History of Egyptian Architecture: The Empire (the New Kingdom)*. California, University of California Press, 1968.

Bender, Barbara: «Subverting the Western gaze: mapping alternative worlds», in Ucko, Peter. J; Layton, Robert (eds.): *The archaeology and anthropology of landscape: shaping your landscape*. London, Routledge, 1999, pp. 31-45

Clarke, David L: *Analytical Archaeology*. London, Methuen, 1968.

Cline, Eric H.; O'Connor, David: *Ramesses III: The Life and Times of Egypt's Last Hero*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2012.

Daniels, Stephen; Cosgrove, Denis: «Introduction: Iconography and Landscape», in Daniels, Stephen; Cosgrove, Denis (eds.): *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 1-11

David, Bruno; Thomas, Julian: «Landscape Archaeology: Introduction», en David, Bruno; Thomas, Julian (eds.): *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*. New York, Routledge, 2008, pp. 27-43

Davies, Norman de Garis: *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' at Thebes.* 2 vols. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943.

Doncker, Alexis Den: «Identifying-Copies in the Private Theban Necropolis. Tradition as Reception under the Influence of Self-Fashioning Processes», in Guillen, Todd (ed.): *(Re)Productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt. Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013,* Ægyptiaca Leodiensia 10. Liège, 2017, pp. 333-70.

Dorman, Peter: «Family burial and commemoration in the Theban necropolis», en Strudwick, Nigel; Taylor, James (eds.): *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*. London, British Museum Press, 2003, pp. 30-41.

Dorman, Peter: *The monuments of Senenmut: problems in historical methodology*. London-New York, Kegan Paul International, 1988.

Dziobek, Eberhard: *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*. Studien zur archäologie und Geschichte altägyptens 18. Heidelberg, Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1998.

Dziobek, Eberhard: Eine Grabpyramides frühen NR in Theben. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, 45. Kairo, MDAIK, 1989, pp.109-132.

Eichler, Selke Susan: *Die Verwaltung des «Hauses des Amun» in der 18. Dynastie*. Hamburg, Helmut Buske, 2000.

Engelmann-von Carnap, Barbara: *Die Struktur des thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs in der ersten Hälfte der 18. Dynastie: Analyse von Position, Grundrißgestaltung und Bildprogramm der Gräber*. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo 15. Berlin, Achet-Verlag, 1999.

Galán Allué, José M.: «Los patios de entrada a las tumbas tebanas en época de Hatshepsut-Tutmosis III», *Trabajos de Egiptología - Papers on Ancient Egypt*, 5, 1 (2009), pp. 251-65.

Geisen, Christina (ed.): *Ritual Landscape and Performance: Proceedings of the International Conference on Ritual Landscape and Performance, Yale University, September 23-24, 2016.* Yale Egyptological Studies 13. New Haven, CT, Yale Egyptology, 2020.

Güell, Josep: «La Tumba del visir Rekhmire (TT 100): Un estudio textual e iconográfico. Aportaciones para el conocimiento de las causas de la desaparicion y damnatio del mismo», en Pérez-Largacha, Antonio; Vivas Sainz, Inmaculada (eds.): *Actas V Congreso Ibérico de Egiptología. 2015.* Cuenca, Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2017, pp. 507-16

Güell, Josep; Quevedo, Alberto J.: «La Tumba del visir Rekhmire (TT 100): Un estudio textual e iconográfico. Aportaciones para una nueva perspectiva del visirato durante el Reino Nuevo», en Agud Aparicio, Ana, *et. al.* (eds.): *Séptimo centenario de los estudios orientales en Salamanca.* Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2014, pp. 19-28

Heidegger, Martin: *Being and time.* Traducido por John Macquarrie y Edward S Robinson. Oxford, Blackwell, 1962.

Hirsch, Eric: «Introduction. Landscape: Between Place and Space», in Hirsch, Eric; O'Hanlon, Michael (eds.): *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space.* New York, Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 1-15.

Hodder, Ian.: *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Ingold, Tim: «The picture is not the terrain». *Archaeological Dialogues* 4.1 (1997), pp. 29-31.

Jiménez-Higueras, María Ángeles: «The Sacred Landscape of Dra Abu El-Naga», en Bárta, Miroslav; Janak, Jiri (eds.): *Profane Landscapes, Sacred Spaces. New Directions in Anthropological Archaeology.* Sheffield, Equinox Publishing Ltd, 2020, pp. 97-124.

Kampp, Friederike: *Die Thebanische Nekropole. Zum wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie.* Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1996.

Kopytoff, Igor: «La biografía cultural de las cosas: la mercantilización como proceso», en Appadurai, Arjun (ed.): *La Vida social de las cosas: perspectiva cultural de las mercancías.* Mexico, Grijalbo, 1991, pp. 89-122

Laboury, Dimitri: *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III. Essai d'interprétation d'un portrait royal dans son contexte historique.* Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 5. Liege, ULg - CIPL, 1998.

Laboury, Dimitri: «Tradition and Creativity. Toward a Study of Intericonicity in Ancient Egyptian Art», en Gillen, Todd (ed.): *(Re)Productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt. Ægyptiaca Leodiensia* 10, 2017, pp. 229-58.

Meskell, Lynn: «Back to the Future. From the past in the present to the past in the past», en Yoffe, Norman (ed.): *Negotiating the Past in the Past. Identity, Memory, and Landscape in Archaeological Research.* Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2007, pp. 215-26

Muñoz Herrera, Antonio. «Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, a Landscape for the Afterlife: Reciprocity in Shaping Life Histories», in Kilroe, Loretta (ed.): *Invisible Archaeologies. Hidden aspects of daily life in ancient Egypt and Nubia.* London, Archaeopress, 2019, pp. 114-28.

Newberry, Percy E: *The life of Rekhmara, vezir of Upper Egypt under Thothmes III and Amenhetep II: (circa b.C. 1471 - 1448).* Westminster, 1900.

Patrik, Linda E.: «Is There an Archaeological Record?», in Thomas, Julian (ed.): *Interpretive Archaeology: A Reader.* London-New York, A&C Black, 2000, pp. 118-144.

Richards, Janet: *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom.* Cambridge-New York, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Shanks, Michael, y Christopher Tilley: *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice.* Cambridge, CUP Archive, 1987.

Shirley, Judith J.: «One Tomb, Two Owners: Theban Tomb 122 - Re-Use or Planned Family Tomb?», in Hawass Zahi and Wegner, Josef (eds.): *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*. Cairo, SCA, 2010, pp. 271-301.

Shirley, Judith J.: *The culture of officialdom: An examination of the acquisition of offices during the mid-18th Dynasty*, (Tesis doctoral inédita), Johns Hopkins University, 2005.

Shirley, Judith J.: «The Power of the Elite: The Officials of Hatshepsut's Regency and Coregency», in Galán, José; Bryan, Betsy and Dorman, Peter (eds.): *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 69. Chicago, 2014, pp. 173-245

Shirley, Judith J.: «Viceroys, Viziers and the Amun Precinct: The Power of Heredity and Strategic Marriage in the Early 18th Dynasty», *Journal of Egyptian History*, 3 (2010), pp. 73-113.

Shirley, Judith J.: «What's in A Title? Military and Civil Officals in the Egyptian 18th Dyansty Military Sphere», en. Bar, Shay: Kahn, Dan' El; Shirley, Judith J. (eds.): *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology, and Literature*. Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2011, pp. 291-319.

Soler Segura, Javier: «Redefiniendo el registro material. Implicaciones recientes desde la arqueología del paisaje anglosajona», *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 64, 1 (2007), pp. 41-64.

Soliman, Rasha: «Courtiers with dual tombs». *Egyptian Journal of Archaeological and Restoration Studies* 5, 2 (2015), pp. 123-38.

Thomas, Julian: «Archaeologies of Place and Landscape», in Hodder, Ian (ed.): *Archaeological Theory Today*. Cambridge, Polity, 2001, pp. 165-186.

Van Dyke, Ruth; Alcock, Susan E. (eds.): *Archaeologies of Memory*. Malden, Blackwell, 2003.

Yoffee, Norman: «Peering into the Palimpsest». In Yoffee, Norman (ed.): *Negotiating the Past in the Past. Identity, Memory, and Landscape in Archaeological Research*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press., 2007, pp. 1-9.