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Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut

edited by

José M. Galán, Betsy M. Bryan, *and* Peter F. Dorman

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The god Amun in bed with Queen Ahmes, conceiving the future Hatshepsut. Traced by Pía Rodríguez Frade
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The Inscribed Burial Chamber of Djehuty (TT 11)

José M. Galán, Spanish National Research Council, Madrid

Djehuty, Owner of Tomb-chapel TT 11

The owner of TT 11, Djehuty, is only known through the inscriptions and scenes depicted on the walls of his funerary monument. So far, no statue of his has been found at Karnak or at any other temple, it seems he did not have a shrine or dedicatory inscription at Gebel es-Silsilah, and there is no object associated with him in any museum or private collection, aside from a few funerary cones. TT 11 is, thus, the only source of information at hand to approach this high official who served under the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.¹

When approaching the possible date of the tomb-chapel, the first clue is offered by a pair of royal cartouches, one of Hatshepsut and the other of Thutmose III, standing side by side, that was carved several times on the walls. On the lunette and on the first line of the biographical inscription known as the Northampton stela (fig. 11.1, no. 5), inscribed on the monument's façade, it is clearly visible how Hatshepsut's prenomen *Maat-ka-Ra* was intentionally hacked out, while that of Thutmose III, *Men-kheper-Ra*, was left untouched (Spiegelberg 1900; Galán 2009a). On line 22, when Djehuty refers to his duty weighting and registering electrum in the court of Karnak temple, there is a single royal cartouche with the name erased, which can be assumed to be Hatshepsut's. It seems to be also the case in the closing inscribed column, at the upper left side of the stela, above the standing figure of Djehuty.

The combination of the two royal cartouches was most probably carved also at the other side of the entrance to the inner part of the monument, on the mirror stela (fig. 11.1, no. 3) displaying a hymn to Amun-Ra and whose upper half was at some point intentionally damaged. Actually, a fragment of Thutmose III cartouche was found during excavation of the courtyard and has been placed back in the lunette.

At the northern² end of the transverse hall, there is a second biographical inscription (fig. 11.1, no. 12). It was partially broken relatively soon after it was finished,³ and about half of its text is now lost.⁴ Nevertheless,

¹ There are a number of known individuals named Djehuty who lived during the coregency of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III. A few of them are known through their tomb-chapels, like the cup-bearer owner of TT 110 (N. de G. Davies 1932), but others are only known through inscribed statues and funerary equipment. Some of these objects have been mistakenly assigned to the owner of TT 11, as for instance the gold and silver plates now in the Louvre Museum (E 4886, N 713), mentioned in PM I², 23–24, as coming from TT 11, but argued otherwise by Lilyquist (1989). See also the block-statue of Djehuty now in the Champollion Museum in Figeac (formerly in Guimet Museum, no. 2706, and in the Louvre, E 20205), suggested to be the same person as the owner of TT 11 by Dewachter (1986, p. 45), and in PM VIII, no. 801–643–280, but refuted by Serrano (2003).

² References to the cardinal points for orientation do not follow here the magnetic north, but the ideal or ideological north, which implies that the tomb's axis is theoretically oriented east-west no matter its geographical orientation.

³ A hole was opened in the wall to connect the tomb-chapel of Djehuty with the neighboring tomb-chapel -399- (Kampp 1996, pp. 190–92, 769; Galán 2007c, 2009a), probably when they were both reused in the Twenty-first Dynasty and later. The blocks that have been recovered in the excavation of the courtyard are in quite good condition, most of them preserving traces of the original red/ochre color filling the hieroglyphic signs. When demotic graffiti were written on the walls of the corridor in the second half of the second century B.C. (under study by Richard Jasnow and Christina Di Cerbo), the surface was already worn out due to water and wind running through the holes opened in various places of the monument, indirectly pointing out that the holes were opened much earlier.

⁴ One hundred and eleven inscribed fragments have been identified by Andrés Diego Espinel as coming from this stela.

the remaining visible section preserves the cartouches of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III on the lunette, and while the damaged surface does not permit us to know more details about the former, the latter was again left untouched. The main text mentions a royal name at least twice, one still in situ and the other partly preserved in a loose fragment copied by Spiegelberg in his *Fundjournal* of 1898–1899 (now in the archives of the Griffith Institute) but now lost (Spiegelberg *Fundjournal* 1899, p. 93, no. 104; Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 34, fragment o). In both cases the name inside the cartouche has been intentionally erased, but it certainly was Hatshepsut's. Actually, the first one is followed by a feminine reference, *sꜣt imn mrrt.f* "daughter of Amun, his beloved one." It seems that Thutmose III was not mentioned in the main text of the inscription.




Two cartouches are also preserved on the right-hand wall of the corridor (fig. 11.1, no. 16), at the beginning of a long inscription running inward on top of the scenes decorating it. The names in both of them have been erased, and the feminine nature of the first one is indicated by the epithet that follows, *sꜣt rꜥ n ht.f* "daughter of Ra, of his body."

It thus seems that when a single king is mentioned, it is Hatshepsut's name that was inscribed. The presence of her cartouche (albeit erased) and its predominance over that of Thutmose III seem to indicate that Djehuty probably did not outlive Hatshepsut, and that his funerary monument was considered finished at some point during the last years of her rule.⁵

The biographical inscription carved on the façade (fig. 11.1, no. 5) mentions in lines 17–18 that Djehuty was in charge of registering in writing the marvels brought from Punt and directed to Amun of Karnak in year 9. In the same stela, through the monuments on which he says he acted as chief, giving instructions and leading the craftsmen, the date of his funerary monument can be narrowed down. He refers to *Djeser-djeseru*, the temple of Millions of Years, enhancing its great doors with copper and electrum.⁶ He directed a similar task in the nearby temple of *Kha-akhet*,⁷ and at the other side of the river in Karnak temple. He inlaid in gold Amun's sacred bark *Userhat* (Gabolde 2003, pp. 423–28) and in electrum the noble portal "Presentation of







⁵ In the tomb-chapel of one of Djehuty's colleagues, the royal herald Duawyneheh (TT 125; *Urk.* IV 452–54), Hatshepsut also gained predominance over Thutmose III; but the cup-bearer Djehuty opted differently in his tomb-chapel (TT 110; N. de G. Davies 1932) and gave Thutmose III a slight preponderance over Hatshepsut, and so did Puimra (TT 39; Davies 1922), and Ahmose Pennekheh in his tomb-chapel at El Kab (*Urk.* IV 34–39). Other high officials, like Montuherkhepeshef in his tomb-chapel at Dra Abu el-Naga (TT 20; N. de G. Davies 1913), preferred to avoid naming the king under whom they served. Anyhow, most of the officials that outlived Hatshepsut and continued in service for several years under the sole reign of Thutmose III were inclined to carve only the latter's name in their monuments, like the vizier Useramun (TT 61, 131; Dziobek 1994) and his assistant Amenemhat (TT 82; Davies and Gardiner 1915), or the steward of the royal wife Nebtu called Nebamun, whose Dra Abu el-Naga tomb-chapel (TT 24; *Urk.* IV 150–51) adjoins that of Montuherkhepeshef, both located only 50 meters north of TT 11. The *damnatio* that Hatshepsut's name suffered afterward in TT 11 was inflicted in an aggressive and ostentatious manner, similarly to how Djehuty's own name was erased, and thus should not be understood as an attempt to alter *in extremis* the identity of the royal person in favor of Thutmose III, as it was done by Senneferi in his Gebel es-Silsilah shrine, no. 13 (Caminos and James 1963, p. 37, pl. 30), or in favor of Thutmose I, as in the Brooklyn Museum statue no. 61.196 (Sauneron 1968b) of Ahmose Ruru. Indeed, one has to be very cautious when using the presence of one cartouche or the other, or the combination of the two, as dating criteria for a monument, or when trying to arrange Hatshepsut-Thutmose III high officials in a chronologi-




cal sequence. For instance, the overseer of the granaries, Nakht-min (also known as Minnakht), includes the two cartouches on a doorway lintel in his shrine at Gebel es-Silsilah (no. 23; Caminos and James 1963, p. 74, pl. 57), but in his tomb-chapel it seems he only mentions Thutmose III (TT 87; Guksch 1995, pp. 47–48).

⁶ An official called Djehuty is the addressee of a letter written on papyrus and found at Deir el-Bahari (Hayes 1957, pp. 89–90, fig. 1 O, pl. 13). The name is written with an extra final *yod*, , which is the same spelling as attested on an ostracon found below the upper tomb-chapel of Senenmut (Hayes 1942, p. 23, pl. 16:81). Hayes (1957, p. 89 n. 7) believes that these two occurrences refer to the same man, who should be identified with the owner of TT 11, whom he describes as "treasurer and architect." However, note that the name of the owner of TT 11 is never spelled out with an extra final *yod*, but consistently as , and above all it has to be kept in mind that he did not act as architect, but he was involved in the monuments' decoration. On the other hand, the name "Djehuty" ending in a reed sign (Gardiner 1957, signlist M17) instead of the characteristic two diagonal strokes (signlist Z4) for the final *yod* can be found once in TT 110,  (N. de G. Davies 1932, pl. 39, line 11), while in the rest of the occasions, it is written there without it.

⁷ See Brovarski 1976, pp. 71–73; el-Ayun Barakat 1981, pls. 4–5. Dorman (1988, pp. 135–37) argues that Hatshepsut's temple *Kha-akhet* was rebuilt and renamed *Djeser-akhet* by Thutmose III. Maruéjol (2007, p. 77) refers to *Kha-akhet* as a second temple of Millions of Years built by Hatshepsut, and located between *Djeser-djeseru* and the funerary temple of Thutmose III, *Heneket-anh*, following a list in the tomb of Puimra (TT 39).

Maat.”⁸ He also inlaid in electrum two great obelisks, “108 cubits high,”⁹ probably those erected between Karnak’s Fourth and Fifth Pylons, in year 16.¹⁰ Taking into account these data, Djehuty might have died at the very end of Hatshepsut’s reign, between years 17 and 20.

Djehuty’s main administrative titles and duties seem to have been noble, leader, seal bearer of the *bit*, overseer of the Treasury, and overseer of works (see table 11.3). The position of “seal bearer of the *bit*,” , is most times mentioned right after the introductory high-rank markers “noble, leader,” , and it is followed indistinctively by the epithet “sole friend” or “great friend,”  / , which pretends to signal someone on close terms with the king. Exceptionally, in the Northampton stela (line 15), “seal bearer of the *bit*” is followed by what may be considered a brief notation about Djehuty’s actual task: “overseer of all the handicrafts of the king,” . In the same inscription, he refers to himself as one “who seals the noble things in the king’s house,”  (line 4).

The title “overseer of the Treasury,” , seems to be the one that better characterizes Djehuty’s administrative duty, and thus it is the most prominent one. It is at least four times preceded by the more general, professional, and social marker “scribe,” .¹¹ In the Northampton stela (line 2), it is once replaced by what may be considered its longer version: “overseer of the double house of silver and overseer of the double house of gold,” .¹²

In the biographical inscription carved in the façade (Northampton stela, line 5), Djehuty insists that he was the one who informed the craftsmen what to do, and underlines, “I acted as a director who gives

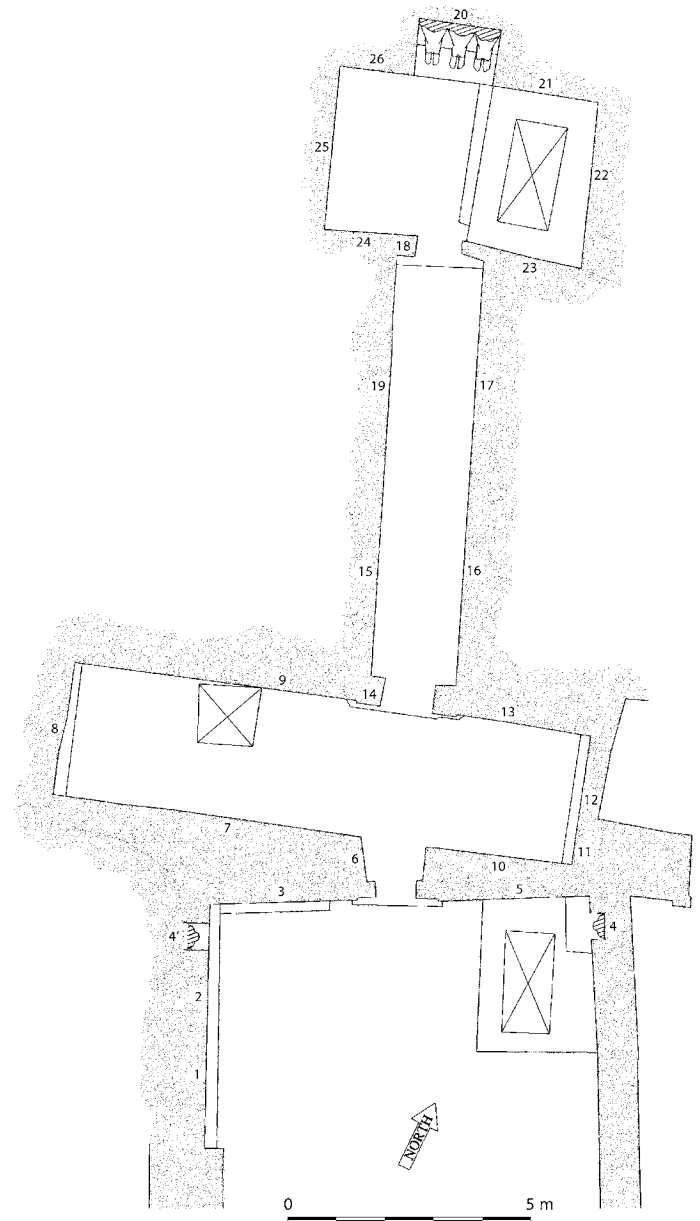


Figure 11.1. Layout of the inner section of the chapel of Djehuty (TT 11)

⁸ The name refers to a ritual act; cf. *Urk.* IV 1540.15. The rooms at both sides of the bark shrine of Amun were called “the great domain of Maat,” and it seems that they were dedicated in year 17 (Maruéjol 2007, p. 70). Niedziółka (2009), however, argues for its location in Deir el-Bahari, at the monumental entrance to Amun’s sanctuary.



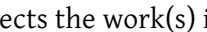
⁹ The measurement indicated has to be taken as the addition of the height of the two obelisks, so that each obelisk would have been 54 cubits high, that is, slightly over 28 meters; see Breasted 1906, p. 156, n. h; Niedziółka 2002, pp. 407–08; Diego Espinel 2007, p. 104.


¹⁰ Hatshepsut apparently ended up erecting six obelisks. Four of them were set up in a short period of time: before the Fourth Pylon a pair belonging to her father Thutmose I, transported from Aswan to Thebes by Ineni, and a second pair belonging to her husband Thutmose II, supervised by Senenmut (as attested in a graffito on Sehel Island), mentioning Hatshepsut as



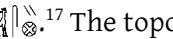

great royal wife and God’s Wife, but with the pyramidion decorated with her coronation by the god Amun. The third pair was erected between the Fourth and the Fifth Pylons, in the *wadjyt* court, in year 16. It is likely that the latter would have been the one inlaid in electrum by Djehuty, while Iamnedjeh and Puemra would have taken part in those erected by Thutmose III years later. See Gabolde 2000, 2003; Niedziółka 2002; Maruéjol 2007, pp. 66–69, 228–29.

¹¹ In the Northampton stela (line 16), the title “scribe” is rendered as an epithet: “excellent scribe who acts with his arms/hands.”

¹² Bryan 2006, pp. 77, 85. Although in the case of Djehuty the title “overseer of the Treasury” is associated with the king, as shown below under the discussion of his burial chamber, it has to be noted that when he describes his task in the lower half of the Northampton stela (lines 20–22), the action takes place in the temple of Karnak. See Eichler 2000, pp. 115ff.

instructions, as I led the craftsmen to work according to the (specific) tasks (to be done) in ...,” and then enumerates every monument in which he intervened. However, the title “overseer of work(s)” is not explicitly recorded in the stela. It is at the innermost room of the tomb-chapel (fig. 11.1, no. 22) where Djehuty is referred to as “overseer of every work of the king,” , in another instance he is said to be the one “who directs every work of the lord of the Two Lands,” , (fig. 11.1, no. 24), and yet in a third scene of the same room he is referred to as one “who directs the work(s) in Karnak,” , (fig. 11.1, no. 25).

The titles “overseer of the Treasury” and “overseer of works,” , are mentioned together in one of the two seals stamped on the funerary cones that supposedly adorned the upper part of the façade of Djehuty’s monument.¹³ A brief description of the specific tasks he carried out as holder of these two offices was carved on the façade, on the Northampton stela, as the core of his administrative curriculum under Hatshepsut-Thutmose III (Helck 1958, pp. 397–400; Ratié 1979, pp. 271–72). Although the visual display of the inscription aims to clearly separate the two responsibilities, the text reveals that they were related in as much as Djehuty was involved in the collection of revenues inside and outside Egypt and in the “withdraw of precious materials from the treasuries to use in making monuments” (Bryan 2006, p. 86). He was in constant contact with metals, such as silver, gold, electrum, copper, and bronze, and with the metal workmen in charge of inlaying significant elements of the most prominent monuments: the sacred bark of Amun, a pair of obelisks, doors, thrones, shrines, altars, chests, and so on.¹⁴ Through his hands also passed fine cedar wood (from Lebanon), ebony (from Nubia), and all kind of semiprecious stones (from Sinai and other quarries).

The inscriptions on the façade focus on Djehuty’s civil duties, mentioning only once a religious title: “overseer of priests in Khemenu,” ,¹⁵ This reference to Hermopolis (el-Asmunein) is geographically related to other religious titles that are mentioned at the inner part of the funerary monument, namely “high priest/great of five in the house of Thot,” ,¹⁶ and “overseer of priests of Hathor, lady of Qis” (= Cusae), ,¹⁷ The toponyms of Djehuty’s religious duties are related to his office at the local administration “governor in the town of Herwer,” ,¹⁸ and all of them associate him with the 16th, the 15th, and the 14th nomes of Upper Egypt, what may be considered an indication that his homeland may have been the area of Hermopolis.¹⁹

Hatshepsut mentions in the Speos Artemidos inscription that “the temple of the lady of Qis had been left abandoned, the earth having swallowed its noble sanctuary and children dancing on its roofs.” James Allen (2002, p. 15) suggested that Djehuty might have been the one responsible for its restoration. The fact that he does not mention any such activity in his biographical inscriptions carved in TT 11 may be explained by considering that the latter were addressed to a Theban audience and thus focus on Djehuty’s activities in Thebes. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the one detail offered by the Speos Artemidos inscription about the precise work undertaken in the temple of the lady of Qis is the fashioning in gold of a statuette of a “leading serpent,” probably to be attached to a processional bark, what fits well with the description of Djehuty’s tasks as overseer of works in Thebes, where he presents himself as “the one who


¹³ The Spanish-Egyptian mission working at TT 11 and the surrounding area has found so far 230 funerary cones of Djehuty, by chance 115 legible samples of each of the two different seals used (for a report on funerary cones found on the first five seasons, see Galán and Borrego 2006, pp. 198–99).

¹⁴ Bryan 2006, p. 86: “Several men who served under Hatshepsut claimed to have overseen the same monuments Djehuty refers to, including Hapuseneb, high priest of Amun, and Puimre, second priest of Amun, Senenmut likewise had responsibility for the materials that entered storehouses (...). Senemiah (...) was also overseer of the silver and gold houses for Hatshepsut <but> his responsibility appears to have been that of accountant.” Ibid., p. 87: “Hapuseneb should be understood to have been principally responsible for the construction, while Djehuty was responsible for the valuable materials used.”

¹⁵ This title is mentioned in the Northampton stela (line 3), and a second time at the inner room (fig. 11.1, no. 22).


¹⁶ Twice on the second biographical inscription (fig. 11.1, no. 12, lines 7, 30), and three times at the inner room (no. 22 and twice in no. 24).


¹⁷ Second biographical inscription (fig. 11.1, no. 12, line 30).

¹⁸ Twice on the second biographical inscription (fig. 11.1, no. 12, lines 7, 30), and three times at the inner room (fig. 11.1, nos. 21, 22, 24). In one of them (24) the title is preceded by “overseer of the priests,” .

¹⁹ A summary of Djehuty’s civil and religious career in Hermopolis and in Thebes can be found in Kees 1953, pp. 54–55; Helck 1958, pp. 397–400; Ratié 1979, pp. 271–72; Bryan 2006, p. 86; Maruéjol 2007, p. 303. In year 33 of Thutmose III, the high priest of Thot was a certain Sennefer, who was also governor of the 15th Upper Egyptian nome (Luft 2010). About the region, see Montet 1961, pp. 146–56; Kessler in *LÄ II*, cols. 1137–47 s.v. “Hermopolis magna”; Kessler 1981; Gomaà 1986, pp. 287–329.

gave instructions and led the craftsmen” working with metals to embellish monuments and their furniture. Moreover, since Djehuty was also “high priest in the house of Thot,” he could have supervised as well the craftsmen who made and delivered an “offering table in silver and gold, and a chest with cloths” for this god, and who inlaid “the door-leaves in bronze of Asia, the reliefs in electrum” in his house/temple, as mentioned also in the Speos Artemidos inscription.²⁰

“Overseer of the cattle of Amun,” , is the main title of the second seal stamped on the funerary cones bearing the name of Djehuty.²¹ However, although one may think that this office would have played a major role in Djehuty’s status in Thebes,²² it is otherwise only mentioned at the second biographical inscription (fig. 11.1, no. 12, lines 25, 30).

Djehuty’s name, repeatedly and consistently inscribed on the walls of his funerary chapel as , was afterward systematically chiseled out, and so was the face from his relief images, from his two life-size standing statues carved at both sides of the façade, and from a seated statue at the rear end wall of the monument. The purpose of this violent action was to obliterate his identity, and by doing so to drastically end his expectations to be remembered and live a meaningful eternal life in the hereafter.²³ Paradoxically, the seal impressions stamped on the funerary cones, made of fired clay and displayed in the most visible and vulnerable spot of the funerary monument, that is, at the upper part of the façade, have preserved his name perfectly.²⁴

Djehuty’s relatives represented in his funerary monument also got their names and faces chiseled out. The banquet scene in the transverse hall (fig. 11.1, no. 10) includes in the lower register a row of two male and three female figures sitting on the floor, smelling a lotus flower. Despite the erasures, it can be gathered that at least two of the women had their names introduced by the qualifier “his beloved sister.”²⁵ In the tomb-chapel decorative program, there is not a single indication that the owner had a wife and/or children, a feature that Djehuty seems to share with a few other high officials that served under Hatshepsut.²⁶ Thus, when receiving offerings he is shown instead accompanied by his parents.

²⁰ The Speos Artemidos inscription mentions (1) the restoration and embellishment of the temple of the lady of Qis, (2) the embellishment of the temple of the great Pakhet and the re-establishment of the offering-calendar, (3) the sanctification of the shrines in Herwer and in Unu (Hermopolis ?; Gardiner 1947, vol. 2, pp. 79*–82*, nos. 377, 377A; Gomaà 1986, pp. 291–96), and finally, (4) the embellishment and multiplication of offerings in the temple of Thot. The inscription remarks that it was “the great/senior Thot (...) who proposed/revealed to me (= Hatshepsut)” these pious actions. One cannot avoid thinking that behind the mythological setting of the god Thot/Djehut counseling Hatshepsut could stand the overseer of the Treasury and overseer of works, Djehuty. The parallelism and interference between the divine and the mundane spheres through a word and/or image play between the god Thot/Djehut and the man Djehuty reminds one of the panel carved in the second terrace of Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el-Bahari that shows the weighting of the *antw* that arrived in Thebes from Punt, which was simultaneously registered by the god Thot/Djehut and by a scribe whose name and figure have been intentionally erased, but Édouard Naville (1898, p. 17, pl. 79) was able to read “the scribe, overseer of the Treasury, Djehuty.”

²¹ See above, n. 13.

²² Eichler 2000, pp. 78ff.

²³ Occasionally, the aggressor(s) went a step further and erased his whole figure. In a few instances, they also erased his title “overseer of the Treasury.” The god’s name “Djehut/Thot,” in his title “great of five in the house of Thot,” was once taken for the owner’s name and erased. Years later, the name of the god

Amun also suffered *damnatio memoriae*, but it was inflicted in a quite inaccurate manner, leaving the god’s name unaltered on several occasions through the monument, while, on the other hand, erasing the first two signs of the word *mnḥ* by mistake (cf. Der Manuelian 1999).

²⁴ A possible reason for this may be that the stamped cones had fallen down already and were dispersed all over the court’s floor when the aggressor(s) came in, and thus it was not considered worth collecting them and damaging them one by one. Coincidentally, the stamped cones were also left untouched at the upper tomb-chapel of Senenmut (TT 71), while his name was consistently damaged inside (Dorman 1991, pp. 26, 68, 69, no. 10, pl. 29).

²⁵ On the opposite wall (fig. 11.1, no. 13) there is a scene showing Djehuty fishing and fowling in the marshes, accompanied by seven smaller figures, four male and three female. Their faces have been intentionally erased, but it seems that they were never identified by name. There is a second banquet scene depicted at the inner room (fig. 11.1, nos. 24–25), whose lower register is taken by twelve figures, male and female, each one smelling a lotus flower and sitting on the floor behind an offering table. Some of the figures are very damaged or still covered with a thick layer of mud (cleaning and consolidation is underway), and others were robbed in the nineteenth or very early twentieth century. It seems the figures did not have names carved next to them, and, maybe because of it, their faces were left untouched and remained in good condition until the robbers came in.

²⁶ Whale 1989, pp. 244–45, 263; A. M. Roth 1999, table 3.

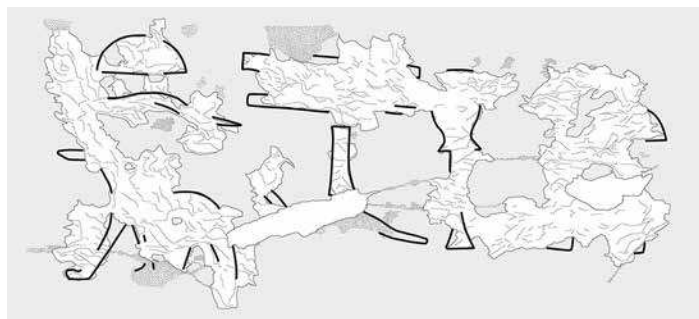


Figure 11.2. Name of Djehuty's father carved on the thickness of the first doorway

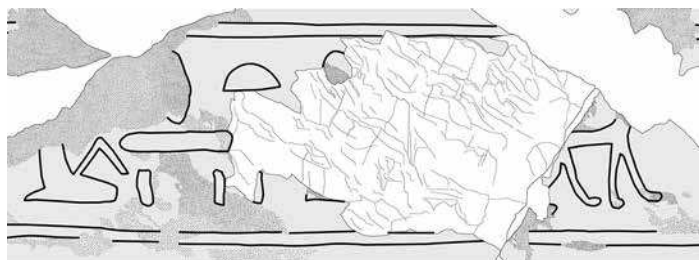




Figure 11.3. Name of Djehuty's father carved on the second biographical inscription

The *damnatio memoriae* that Djehuty's parents suffered throughout their son's monument is intriguingly uneven. The mother's name, "the lady of the house Dediu," ,²⁷ was left untouched in the banquet scene of the transverse hall (fig. 11.1, no. 10), in the statue niche at the rear end wall of the chapel (fig. 11.1, no. 20), and in one of the two banquet scenes represented at the innermost room (fig. 11.1, no. 22).²⁸ While the damage inflicted on her face is kept to a minimum, the father's figure was ferociously attacked, showing even more rage than against Djehuty himself.²⁹ On the left thickness of the entrance to the inner part of the monument (fig. 11.1, no. 6), the name of the father was chipped, leaving only traces of the signs and making its reading uncertain (fig. 11.2). His name was also inscribed and later erased (fig. 11.3) at the bottom line of the second biographical inscription (fig. 11.1, no. 12).³⁰ The spellings of the name certainly differs from one another, but it seems that the sound of both readings would have been similar, close to /Abty/.³¹ The title *s3b*, , "dignitary," the only one that Djehuty's

father shows in his sons' monument, was frequently used to introduce the name of the owner's father in Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and it seems to be more a status label than anything else.

The Shrine and Djehuty's Funerary Shaft


The Spanish-Egyptian mission started working in TT 11 in January 2002. At that time, the inverted T-shape funerary chapel was cleared only as far as halfway of the central corridor. The innermost room, the shrine, was filled with debris almost to the top. The rubble had fallen inside through two big holes in the ceiling connecting with two tomb-chapels hewn into the hillside less than a meter above Djehuty's, that is, at the second level of tomb-chapels. Once the cone of rubble was removed from above, the innermost room could finally be excavated in 2007. The debris was mostly sand and small stones mixed with straw, goat excrement, and corncobs, indicating that the room had been used as stable in modern times. The nineteenth- and twentieth-century waste included small boxes of cigarette papers, fragments of porcelain, a scrap of a Swedish newspaper,³² a sponge, an iron lock, a coin of Sultan Abdelaziz Khan (Cairo, 1870), and another one of Sultan Abdel Hamid II (Cairo, 1895). Through the notebook kept by Charles G. Jelf, assistant of Robert Mond

²⁷ Parallels in Ranke 1935, vol. 1, p. 402, nos. 7, 13; PM VIII, no. 801-643-540.

²⁸ The second banquet scene at the inner room (fig. 11.1, no. 25) has part of her name still legible.

²⁹ Maruéjol (2007, p. 94) argues that the *damnatio memoriae* carried out in some private tombs against the owner reflects nothing other than private quarrels, family frictions that are difficult to trace and reconstruct.

³⁰ This part of the inscription was preserved on two loose fragments that were recovered in the excavation of the courtyard (Galán 2009a, p. 170). The name of Djehuty's father was also written in the middle section of the inscription, but it is totally unreadable.

³¹ For possible similar writings, see Ranke 1935, vol. 1, p. 1, nos. 18, 22, 23; p. 21, no. 22. The group writing  can be read as the phoneme /t/, but in some cases it stands for the god's name Djehut(y), as discussed in Gardiner 1957, p. 531, signlist X1, 2; Parlebas 1975; Fischer 1996, pp. 201-05; Morenz 2002-03. The spelling variants of the name of Djehuty's father seems to indicate that in this case it stands for the sound /ta/ or /ti/.

³² It has no date, but it probably has to be related to Sæve-Söderbergh's visit to Djehuty's tomb-chapel in the winter of 1952/53, although he does not mention any activity inside the innermost room during his epigraphic work there (Sæve-Söderbergh 1958).

in the preservation of Theban tombs, we know that part of the debris inside the inner chamber fell down on December 10 or 11, 1909, while he was supervising the clearing of the interior.³³

The walls of the innermost room, decorated in high-quality raised relief, became visible again (see fig. 11.16). Their state of preservation is uneven, as some areas are very much worn out or have large losses, while others still preserve its original polychromy. The scenes display the most significant moments of Djehuty's idealized funerary rituals, which are very similar in content, composition, and style, to those carved on the left-hand wall of the central corridor of the nearby tomb of the fan-bearer under Hatshepsut-Thutmose III, Montuherkhepeshef (TT 20; N. de G. Davies 1913, pp. 12–19, pls. 2–10, 14).³⁴ On Djehuty's wall (fig. 11.1, no. 21), a ritual involves an embalmer trying to drag a catafalque toward the north and a *hem-ka* priest dragging it to the south. In the lower register, a set of weapons is being injured with a knife, and traces of a ceremony concerning the “opening of the ground four times” can still be identified. On the next wall, no. 22, the upper register is devoted to the dragging the *tekenu*, here embodied in an officiant who is carrying a hide or *meska*-skin (Serrano 2011). Below, bovines are being sacrificed, their heads and thighs cut off, and in the lower register a couple of Nubian captives are being strangled by *sekhem*-officiants. The panel on wall no. 23 shows a procession of offering bearers, supposedly from the “land of Kenmet,” each one holding an unguent bowl, and below there is a group of officiants opening a pit in the ground to throw in the *tekenu*-hide, a thigh and the heart of a sacrificed bovine, together with one or more locks of hair. The scene includes also a group of officiants throwing unguents and incense inside a pit on fire, and others sacrificing a bovine and placing its thigh and heart on an offering table. At the other side of the entrance (fig. 11.1, no. 24), the ritual continues around one or more pits holding inside viscera, a bound bull, unguents, and incense. More bovines and goats are being sacrificed on wall no. 26, following a large panel on no. 25 representing a banquet scene and a menu list above the guests.

The room measures 3.43 × 5.40 × 2.25 meters. At the rear wall, aligned with the central corridor, there is a niche (1.62 m wide × 1.10 m deep × 1.62 m high, risen above the floor 45 cm), with three seated statues facing outward, representing Djehuty flanked by his parents, ready to receive the established offerings (fig. 11.1, no. 20).³⁵ The right side of the room is 0.65 meters wider than the left side, and it is entirely taken by a funerary shaft.³⁶ Its mouth, 2.03 × 1.06 meters, is centered within the area, and its 60/50-centimeter-wide rock-cut curb is elevated 45 centimeters above the floor. Three sides of the curb are touching one of the walls, while the free longer side has a small step (10 cm high × 25 cm wide). The shaft has a very solid appearance, meant to be perceived as an outstanding feature of the shrine.

The excavation of the shaft began in January 2008. The filling resembled very much that of the shrine: gray sand with small- to medium-size stones, pottery sherds, and fragments of funerary equipment of mixed chronology; corncobs; small iron objects; and so on. The last 3 meters, however, did not contain any modern objects, and the material was less abundant, aside from pottery sherds of the Ramesside, Third Intermediate, and Saite periods. The shaft goes down vertically 8.15 meters. Its four sides are well cut, and the surface has been smoothed to a certain extent. At the center of the larger sides there are mirror holes (ca. 14 × 16 × 7 cm) every half meter to facilitate going up and down. At the bottom, in the eastern short side, there is an entrance (1 × 1 m) to a broad chamber, to which one has access by descending a rock-cut step of 45 centimeters.

³³ Charles G. Jelf notebook, p. 18. Griffith Institute archive, Oxford.

³⁴ For convenience, the scenes are described following the order proposed by Davies (1913, p. 13, pl. 14) for Montuherkhepeshef, although he pointed out that “there is little or no sign of any continuity of action, a beginning or an end.” The scenes, arranged following the same sequence, were repeated years later in the tomb-chapel TT 29 of Amenemope, vizier of Amenhotep II (ibid., pp. 16–19, pl. 43), now being studied and restored by a Belgian mission from the Université libre de Bruxelles and the Université de Liège (Tefnin and Perier-d'Ieteren 2002; Bavay 2007).

³⁵ The side walls of the niche include an offering list and a priest performing the invocation.


³⁶ TT 11 comprises three funerary shafts (fig. 11.1). The other shaft that was part of the original layout of the monument is located at the open courtyard, touching the façade where the Northampton stela was carved and at the feet of one of the standing statues of Djehuty (fig. 11.1, nos. 5 and 4, respectively). It has a rock-cut curb 30 centimeters high, its mouth has the standard dimensions (2.02 × 0.98 m), and, after descending 9.16 meters, it reaches a small burial chamber (2.50 × 4.20 × 1.05 m), which opens toward the west. The third shaft, at the left side of the transverse hall, was probably opened in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The mouth (1.20 × 1.10 m) has no curb, descends 5.40 meters, and ends in two slightly vaulted burial chambers, with a hole in the floor to fit in a canopic wooden box.

The chamber is $5.30 \times 3.47 \times 1.55$ meters. It was filled with debris up to 1 meter high. When it was excavated in 2009, a newspaper fragment, dated to “[...] the month of Abeb, year 1614,” which corresponds to the period between July 8 and August 6, 1898,³⁷ was found on the floor, indicating that the shaft and the chamber had been cleared then, or a short time later, probably during Northampton’s excavation between January 21 and February 10, 1899, and it was afterward filled again. The walls are well cut though not smoothed, and most of the surface is blackened by smoke resulting from one or more big fires lit inside,³⁸ some areas having a thin crust of a burnt bituminous substance that seems to have been intentionally spread over the walls.

A collection of painted coffin fragments and pottery sherds mostly of the Twenty-first Dynasty were scattered through the chamber, mixed up with a large quantity of human bones. The material gathered might not have been deposited here originally, but could come from other interments in the area that were plundered and their funerary equipment broken into pieces, ending inside the tomb due to human activity shifting the debris outside and inside the funerary monuments (Galán 2007a, pp. 95–100, 114–15). There are, however, certain objects that, considering their degree of completeness, could have been placed inside the chamber at some point. Such is the case of a group of eight jars of the Twenty-first Dynasty type, which are almost complete after reassembling their pieces, and of an almost complete Nineteenth Dynasty storage jar secondarily used to trace two sketches of a pharaoh: one standing figure offering wine in red and the other showing just the head in black.

Among the objects found inside the chamber, there is a group of six fine marl clay jars with painted decoration in a style characteristic of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III’s reign (four jugs and two squat carinated jars), together with two large ovoid, round-base Nile silt jars, and two smaller ones with a black band decoration over a red background, which could have been part of Djehuty’s funerary equipment, or at least are contemporary. Although few, there are coffin fragments with black background and figures and inscriptions painted in yellow, which can also be dated to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The wood is much more solid than the coffin fragments of a later date. Probably associated with an Eighteenth Dynasty coffin, we found small twisted pieces of gold leaf that originally would have covered the face of an anthropoid lid or a mummy mask, having the eyes and eyebrows painted in black and white.

Contrary to what would have been expected, considering that the chamber had been reused at least in the Twenty-first Dynasty and that it was cleared at the very end of the nineteenth century, six gold earrings of early Eighteenth Dynasty style were found: a pair of thin spiral-shaped wire earrings, a pair of penannular ribbed earrings, a pair of ribbed earrings chained together, and a sedge-blossom ribbed earring that was once inlaid with a semiprecious stone (Lilyquist 2003, pp. 162–63, 224, fig. 154:113; Roehrig 2005, p. 201, cat. no. 118b, d).³⁹ Moreover, six wallet spacers of a girdle, probably to be associated with the earrings, were also found: four carnelian, one turquoise, and another one made of gold (Lilyquist 2003, pp. 174–75, 234, fig. 167:135; Roehrig 2005, pp. 202–03, cat. no. 119; Andrews 1990, pp. 140–43). They all have three holes piercing laterally the piece to be threaded. The whole set has been on display in Luxor Museum since January 2013.


While it is tempting to associate the Eighteenth Dynasty material (decorated pottery, black background coffin fragments, earrings, and girdle) with Djehuty’s burial, one has to be cautious, not only because girdles were commonly worn by women and not by men,⁴⁰ but also because out of the only two Eighteenth Dynasty objects that partly preserve the owner’s name, none is Djehuty. One of them is the foot end of an anthropoid black coffin lid, beautifully carved on both sides, whose inner inscription preserves part of a petition for protection and help addressed to the god Geb by a man called Inena, ⁴¹.⁴¹ Was Djehuty ever buried

³⁷ According to the information facilitated by the restorers Ahmed Bahdady and Iman Wasfi.

³⁸ The tomb-robberies papyri describe how the Twenty-first Dynasty thieves operating mainly in Dra Abu el-Naga and Deir el-Bahari, after removing what they considered of any value, particularly gold and silver, set fire to the coffin and the rest of the funerary equipment by night inside the tombs (P. BM 10054, rev. II, 11; Peet 1977, p. 61, pl. 6).

³⁹ On spiral and penannular ribbed earrings, see also Andrews 1990, pp. 109–16.

⁴⁰ On the other hand, earrings were also worn by men in Thebes at least since the early Eighteenth Dynasty, as attested in the tomb of Tetiky (TT 15; Carnarvon and Carter 1912; N. de G. Davies 1925a; Hofmann 2011).

⁴¹ Concerning the name Inena, note that a statue of a certain  was found in the area, inside a pit (Spiegelberg *Fundjournal* 1899, p. 13; Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, p. 11; Jankhun 1969, p. 69; see also *Urk.* IV 130.1–4). The name and titles of the owner of a canopic set found broken into pieces are blurred in the one jar that has the inscription partly

in his tomb? Unfortunately, it remains uncertain.⁴² There is evidence that seems to indicate that the big fires inside the chamber were lit before the Twenty-first Dynasty material got in, since most of the black background coffin fragments were partially or totally burnt, while none of the later ones has traces of fire. The pottery seems to corroborate this hypothesis, since only one Hatshepsut-Thutmose III marl clay painted jug got blackened by fire. As for the human remains, some of the many bones found scattered through the chamber were burnt while others not. A striking feature is that not even a small piece of linen was found. Papyrus fragments are also lacking.

At the rear end of the chamber there is a second shaft, laid out perpendicularly to the first one. The mouth is 2.10×1.00 meters, has no curb around, and was found surrounded by big limestone blocks piled on its edge up to 1 meter high. It is 3 meters deep, and its walls are well cut and do not show signs of fire. There was about 1 meter of debris at the bottom, and it was here where most of the gold leaf fragments, earrings, and wallet spacers were found, except for one of the wire earrings that was found up in the chamber, indicating that they were all deposited in the chamber and rolled and fell down the shaft. The shaft's bottom end is not horizontal, but it has an inclination toward the southern shorter side, where there is an entrance to a second chamber (figs. 11.4–6).

The Burial Chamber and Djehuty's Book of the Dead

The entrance to the second chamber is very similar to that of the first. The gap is 0.80 meters wide \times 1.00 meter high, the top being approximately at the same level as the chamber's ceiling, and to get inside one has to descend a 45-centimeter rock-cut step. The two chambers have the same height and almost the same width, but the second one is 1.65 meters shorter, measuring $3.65 \times 3.50 \times 1.55$ meters. Originally, the chamber was designed even smaller, 2.70×2.60 meters, and the entrance was centered in the north wall; but at some point the rear/south wall and the left/east wall were pushed back almost 1 meter, leaving the entrance off center (fig. 11.6). The stonemasons never got to finish the extension, leaving the new surface rough and a pile of small limestone chips in the corner. The floor was also left unfinished. Actually, while the surface of the southern wall and that of the extension of the western wall were left rough, the eastern wall was already smoothed and was partially leveled with a thin layer of mortar, as if it was being prepared to be plastered and eventually painted. The other two walls that were part of the original structure, that is, the west and the north, remained untouched. They got their surface lowered, then smoothed, and finally covered with a layer of mortar and a layer of stucco.⁴³ The area of the ceiling corresponding to the original layout was also finished in this way. A pottery bowl and a jar containing mortar leftovers were abandoned by the craftsmen inside the chamber, which never got completely cleared and cleaned.

As it stands today, the original length of the west and the north walls, that is, before the extension, as well as the original area of the ceiling, are fully covered with passages from the Book of the Dead (Galán 2013a). The text is written in columns from left to right, in retrograde direction.⁴⁴ It starts from the left end of the west wall, continues on to the north wall, and finally jumps up to the ceiling (fig. 11.7). The first set

preserved, but it is certainly not Djehuty. The four jars were molded in fine Nile silt clay with the outer surface painted with wavy red lines over a white background, imitating the veins of a hard stone, similar to one found recently by the Hungarian mission in shaft 3 of TT 65 (Bács et al. 2009, pp. 80–81), dated to the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Part of one of the lids has the shape of a baboon head for the god Hapy.

⁴² This is a quite common feature in contemporary tomb-chapels. See for comparison the narrative description of TT 82 burial chamber and the total absence of any trace of its owner, Amenemhat, in Davies and Gardiner 1915, p. 110.

⁴³ The mortar contains no straw, and it is made of 50 percent gypsum, 30 percent calcite, and 15 percent quartz (sand), while the stucco is almost pure gypsum.

⁴⁴ Goelet (2010) describes the difficulties that a New Kingdom scribe, trained in writing horizontal hieratic script from right to left, would have met when writing hieroglyphs in vertical columns from left to right and following a retrograde orientation. Acquiring such a skill by copying, the author relates the Book of the Dead to the Book of *Kemyt*. In this respect, it might be worth pointing out that in the excavation of Djehuty's open courtyard, a wooden board with a writing exercise consisting of the first paragraph of *Kemyt* was found broken into pieces, probably coming from a nearby tomb dating to the reign of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III, among which TT 11 is the best candidate (Galán 2007a).

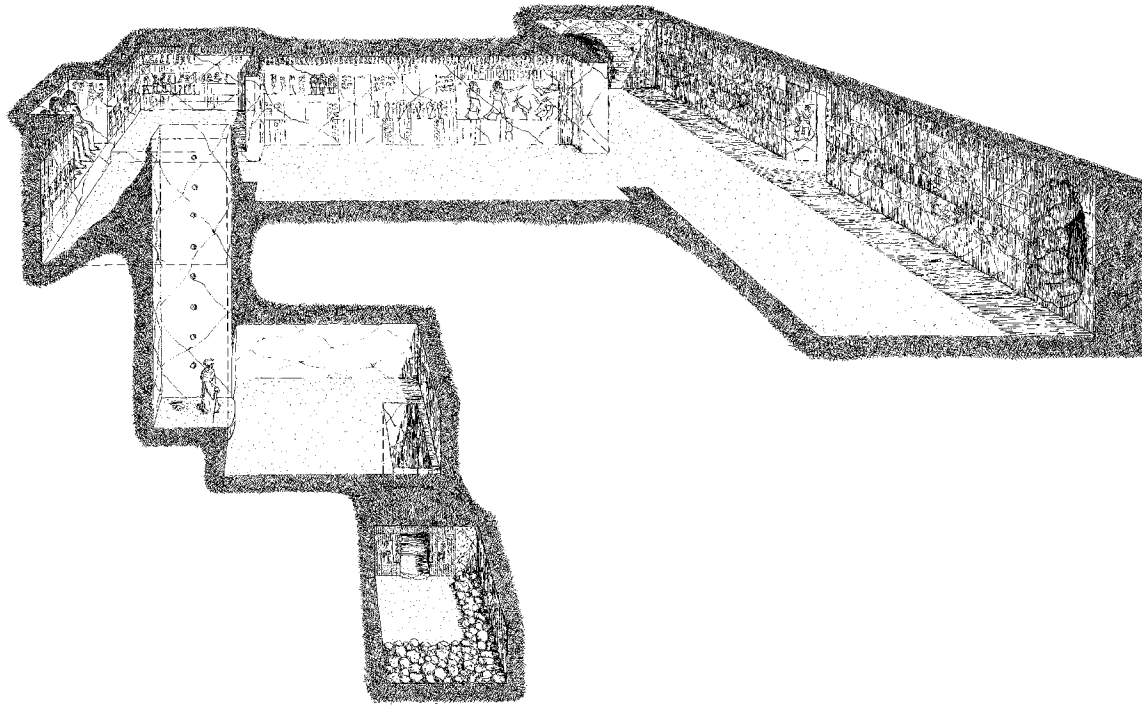


Figure 11.4. Reconstruction of Djehuty's chapel and tomb

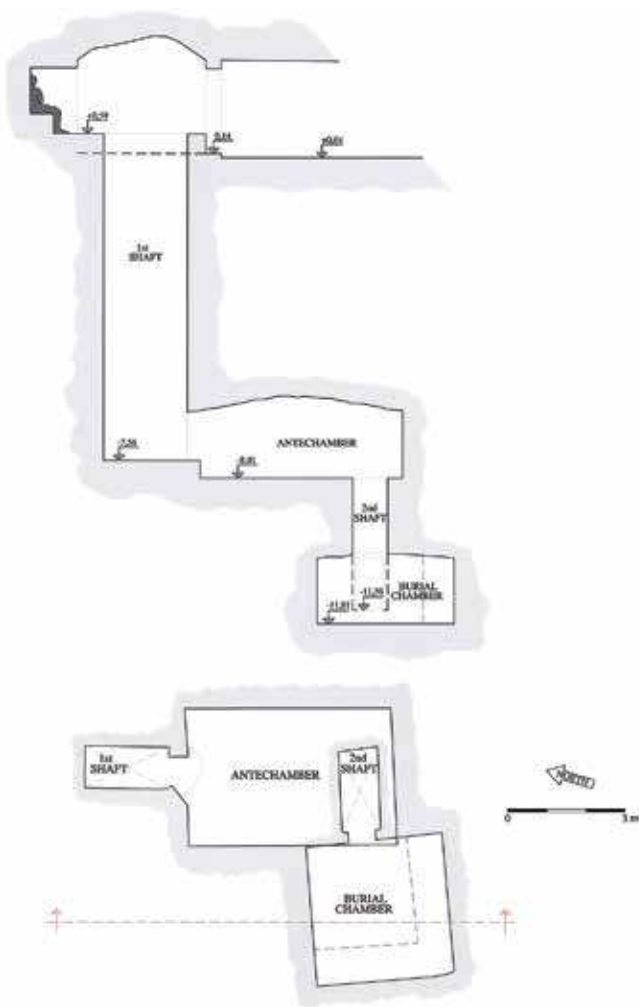


Figure 11.5. Funerary shaft: section and layout

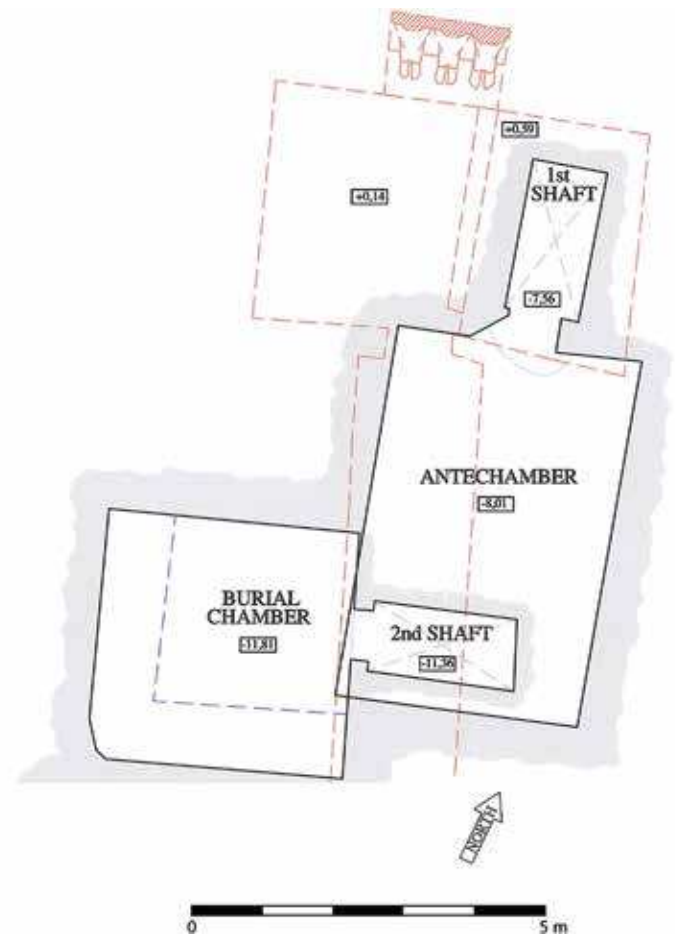


Figure 11.6. Layout of the shaft and chambers in relation to the upper chapel (in red)

of chapters consists of the so-called transformation spells (Lapp 2004, pp. 46–49; Servajean 2004; Lüscher 2006; Quirke 2013, pp. 179–204), which were meant to grant the deceased the capability to transform himself into different beings, and by doing so obtain their qualities to overcome different kinds of dangers, enemies, obstacles, and adverse circumstances that he would encounter in his night travel to the hereafter. The first one, which only preserves the last fifth of the chapter's length, was supposed to transform Djehuty into a divine falcon (BD 78), the next one into a swallow (BD 86), then into a lotus flower (BD 81A), a crocodile (BD 88), and finally a snake (BD 87). Each spell has the title written in red ink and is introduced by a vignette on top of it, showing the appearance of the chosen being into which Djehuty would eventually be transformed (figs. 11.9–10), except for BD 78, which does not preserve it. Significantly, out of this group of five chapters, only BD 86 is commonly found in early Eighteenth Dynasty compilations (see table 11.1; Munro 1994, p. 15).

Following the transformation spells are four chapters referring to Djehuty's aspirations to join the solar god Re in his underground journey. The first one is labeled "Bringing a ferryboat" (BD 99B), transcribing in red ink the question addressed by each constituent part of the boat, "tell me my name," and below Djehuty's correct answer, inserting a vignette showing him holding a papyrus roll in his hand (fig. 11.9; Lüscher 2009; Quirke 2013, pp. 218–20). The next two are very brief; one identifies Djehuty with Osiris and exhorts him to raise and go round about the sky with Ra (BD 119), and the other identifies the deceased with Atum to protect him from the poisonous action of Apophis' coil (BD 7). Finally, the chapter entitled "Going Aboard the Bark of Re" (BD 102) includes a vignette at the top showing Djehuty already on board, standing behind the falcon-headed sun god crowned by a solar disk and uraeus (fig. 11.11). Related to the bark of Re, the Day-bark, and the bark of the just, the next chapter (BD 38A) grants Djehuty the possibility to "live in it on air," to "live after death." This one is usually followed by spell 27, a request to keep the heart and to be free from any reproach, but Djehuty's version skips it and right away pictures him begging for mercy to the lords of justice (BD 14). Spell 27 was actually written within another sequence coming right after.

The next chapter starts a set of nineteen spells that are commonly found in the same order in early Eighteenth Dynasty compilations (table 11.1; Munro 1995, p. 11; Lapp 1997, pp. 36–37). After obtaining a mouth to speak in the presence of the gods of the netherworld (BD 22),⁴⁵ BD 23 aims to have it opened; BD 24 brings magic to him; BD 25 states that he has received a name through which he will be remembered; BD 26 asserts that he has an active heart, mouth, legs, arms, and eyes; BD 28 and BD 27 prevent against whoever may take away his heart, BD 43 against whoever may take his head away; and BD 30A stops Djehuty's heart from creating opposition against him.

The sequence continues without interruption or spell jump from the west to the north wall. This continuity is clearly shown in the lower register, where chapter BD 149, the list of the fourteen mounds of the netherworld and the appropriate words to be pronounced in each of them, runs along both walls, integrating them into a single unit. This chapter is usually followed by spell 150, and it is placed at the end of the manuscript when written on papyrus (Quirke 2003; 2013, pp. 357–66), but here it takes the lower register of the walls to be spatially closer to the underworld, revealing a meaningful location for at least some of the chapters. Each mound was represented in a single vignette placed on top of the text referring to it, but most of them are now lost.

On the north wall, following right after BD 30A comes BD 31, which was supposed to be useful to drive off a crocodile coming to take away Djehuty's magic (granted to him previously, in BD 24), and then a group of very short spells to drive off harmful snakes, BD 33, 34, and 35, which are significantly written close to the entrance. The last two chapters are extremely blurred, but traces of the titles' rubric permit to postulate their presence.

The entrance to the burial chamber opens a gap in the wall (fig. 11.7b), and the sequence continues at the other side with BD 74, which asserts Djehuty's capability for striding despite being inert, and BD 45 against the putrefaction of the body. Chapter BD 93 warns about the negative consequences if Djehuty is

⁴⁵ Early Eighteenth Dynasty versions have spells 17 and 18 preceding chapter 22, but they are missing in Djehuty's Book of the Dead.

ferried back to the east, and BD 91 turns him into an equipped spirit that will not be restrained at any gate of the west. At this side of the entrance, the text columns do not start at the very top of the wall, since the upper half is taken by a large vignette including Djehuty's father and mother enjoying a funerary meal (fig. 11.12). The scene, unfortunately much damaged, goes well with the last chapter written on the wall, BD 41, which is entitled "Spell for preventing the slaughter which is carried out in the necropolis," but whose final words concern the invocation of offerings. It seems, however, that the end of chapter 41 is missing, that the scribe ran out of space at the eastern end of the northern wall, and it does not seem likely that he would have continued on the eastern wall since the text then jumps up to the ceiling.

In the standard early Eighteenth Dynasty sequence, BD 41 is systematically followed by BD 42, "Spell for preventing the slaughter which is carried out in Heracleopolis" (Backes 2010; Quirke 2013, pp. 117–21). No traces have been identified on the wall or on the recovered fragments of the title and first paragraph, and on the ceiling chapter, BD 42 begins by enumerating the eighteen parts in which the human body was vertically divided, from the hair down to the toes, associating each one of them with (the corresponding body part of) a specific deity (fig. 11.14).⁴⁶ Each column of text constitutes an independent statement that repeats the same structure, ending with a divine name and its elaborated, iconic determinative, twice the size of the rest of the signs. The columns alternate a reference to Djehuty's paternal and maternal filiation (except for three columns that omit any such reference, probably for lack of space), in an attempt to break the monotony of the passage. The number of scribal mistakes in such an easy, repetitious passage, getting wrong Djehuty's title in seven columns, indicates that the text was written in haste, and most probably by more than one scribe.

The original area of the ceiling is divided into five registers, written from left to right and from top to bottom, starting from the area adjoining the west wall (figs. 11.7c, 11.13). While the chapters written on the walls follow quite closely two sequences of chapters frequently attested in early Eighteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead compilations on linen shrouds and papyri (table 11.1), the chapters written on the ceiling of Djehuty's burial chamber do not seem to have been very common until then. This is the case of the next group of chapters, BD 114, 112, 113, 108, and 109, concerning the "knowing the souls/powers" of the holy towns of Hermopolis, Pe, and Nekhen, and of the westerners and easterners in the sky.⁴⁷ Following them is BD 125, in which the deceased enters the hall of justice. On papyri, with the passing of time, the latter tends to be written toward the end of the manuscript, probably as a way of stressing a crucial moment in the process of obtaining eternal life. Here it occupies the most important spot in the chamber, the middle register of the ceiling, at both sides of the large size central figure of the goddess Nut. As far as we can tell, the burial chamber of Djehuty is one of the earliest preserved compilations of the Book of the Dead that includes this chapter (Lapp 2008), together with the quartzite sarcophagus of Senenmut, which had BD 125 carved along the interior sides (Dorman 1991, pp. 70–76, pls. 30–34) and was found broken into pieces in his upper tomb (TT 71).⁴⁸ Indeed, shortly after it would become very popular: the steward of the vizier, Amenemhat (TT 82), who lived at least until year 28 of Thutmose III (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 25; Bryan 2006, p. 73), also

⁴⁶ DuQuesne 2002. It is interesting to note that the number of body parts in BD 42 coincides with the number of grid squares in which artists conventionally divide the height of a human body to depict it according to conventional proportions, that is, eighteen (Robins 1994), although their distribution along the body does not match.

⁴⁷ Munro 1987, pp. 220–21, Liste 6; Lapp 1997, p. 45; Quirke 2013, pp. 235–59. Barbara Lüscher is preparing a synoptic new edition of the chapters concerning the "knowing of the souls," to be published in the Basel series Totenbuchtexte. She has been of great help identifying some of the Book of the Dead spells written in Djehuty's burial chamber and revising a draft of this article, for which I remain deeply grateful. Lucía Díaz-Iglesias, while transcribing the text using VisualGlyph (for which we thank Günther Lapp), was able to identify on the walls three very damaged chapters: BD 119, 33, and 45.

⁴⁸ The Brussels papyrus, which includes BD 125, has an uncertain date. It was first assigned to the Middle Kingdom (Capart 1934), but has recently been re-dated to the late Seventeenth or early Eighteenth Dynasty (Munro 1995, pp. 191, 278–79, 329, nn. 625–31). In the tomb-chapel TT 99, belonging to Senneferi, overseer of the seal and overseer of the granaries, one of the three papyri written for him that Nigel Strudwick found in the burial chambers with Book of the Dead spells, include BD 125 (http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/finds/papyri_D18.html). It is well documented that Senneferi lived at least until year 33 of Thutmose III (Bryan 2006, p. 80), and thus the papyrus was probably written after Djehuty's burial chamber. For more references, see the Totenbuch-Datenbank of the University of Bonn, at <http://www.totenbuch-projekt.uni-bonn.de/totenbuch-datenbank>.

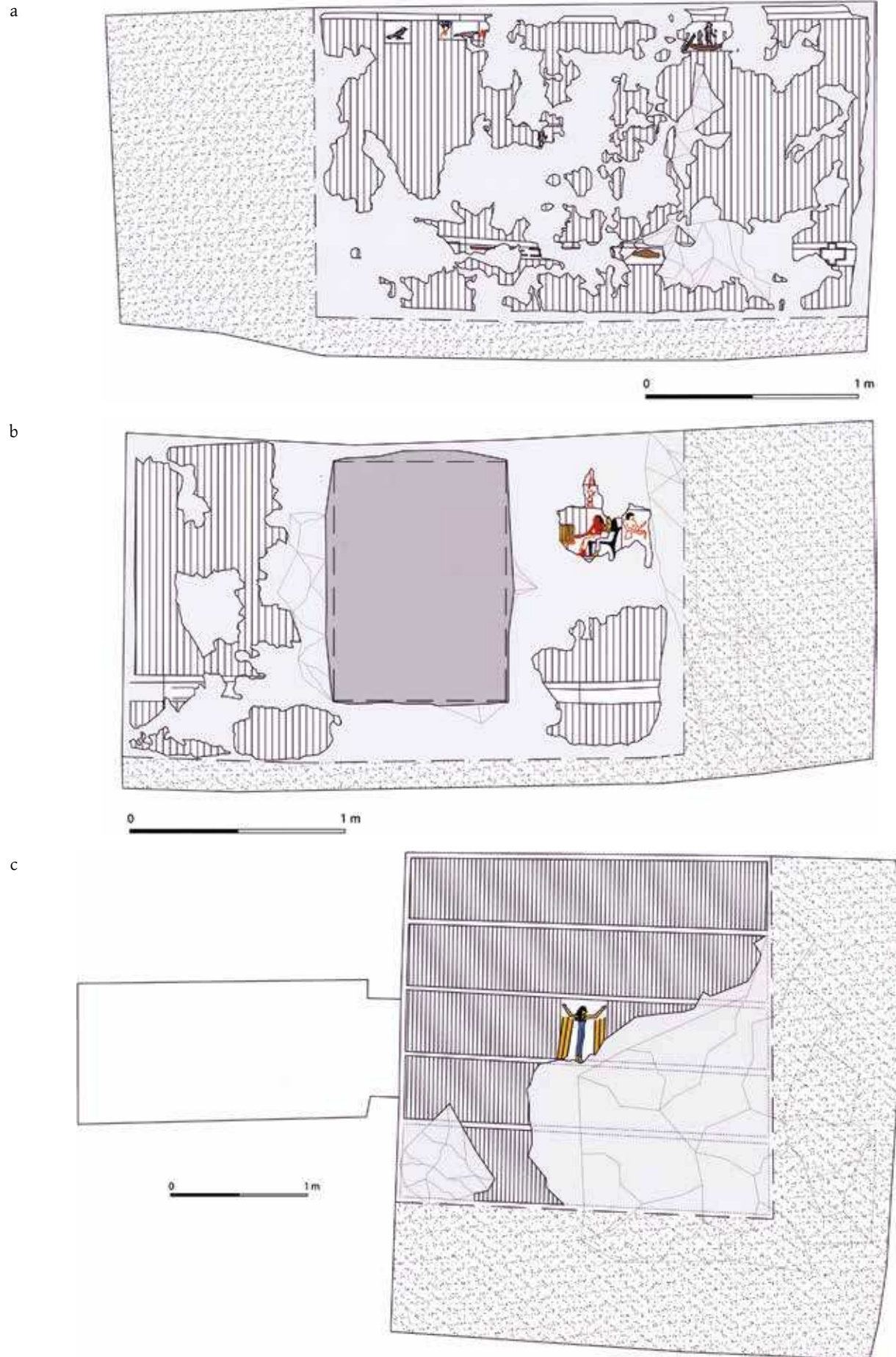


Figure 11.7. TT 11 burial chamber, (a) west wall, (b) north wall, and (c) ceiling



Figure 11.8. West wall of the burial chamber before excavation



Figure 11.9. Detail of the west wall (left/first half)



Figure 11.10. Vignettes of the transformation spells



Figure 11.11. Vignette introducing BD 102, showing Djehuty on the solar bark



Figure 11.12. Djehuty's parents enjoying offerings, depicted on the north wall



Figure 11.13. View of the better-preserved written section of the ceiling



Figure 11.14. Eighteen parts of Djehuty's body listed in BD 42, with which the text written on the ceiling begins



Figure 11.15. The night sky goddess Nut represented in the central spot of the ceiling

had it written down in his burial chamber,⁴⁹ and the linen shroud of King Thutmose III includes it too (J. H. Taylor 2010, p. 66). Indeed, most of the Eighteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead papyri dating to the reign of Amenhotep II onward contain a version of chapter 125. On the ceiling of Djehuty's burial chamber, sections BD 125A, B, and C spread over the end of registers 2, 3, and 4. Unfortunately, the second half of register 4 is missing. Among the fragments that had fallen from the ceiling and were found on the floor (fig. 11.8; and see n. 53, below), traces have been identified as pertaining to the vignette showing four squatting baboons and braziers on each side of the Lake of Fire, which belongs to chapter BD 126 and is sometimes depicted right after BD 125 without the spell.

Most of register 5 is also gone, preserving only a small section, approximately one-fifth of its surface, with the beginning of BD 64, which pretends to be a kind of summary that could stand for the whole compendium of spells and, due to its length, could have well occupied most of the register.

Table 11.1. Book of the Dead chapters attested in the burial chamber of Djehuty (TT 11) compared with frequent sequences of chapters in shrouds and papyri of the early Eighteenth Dynasty
(bold indicates chapters that coincide)

Early Eighteenth Dynasty Sequence 1 (Munro 1994, p. 15; Lapp 2004, pp. 46–49)

124-83-84-85-82-77-**86-**

99B-119-7-102-38A-27-14-39-65-116-91-64-

east-south wall > west wall >

[...-153-...] 78-**86**-81A-88-87- **99B-119-7-102-38A-** 14-(22-)

149- (**lower register** >)

DJEHUTY

TT 11

north wall >

/ door /

ceiling >

(-14)-22-23-24-25-26-28-27-43-30A-31-33-[34-35]-74-45-93-91-41-42-114-112-113-108-109-125A, B, C [-v126-...]-64

-149- (**> lower register**)

[-149...-150-...] (**> lower register east-south wall**)

17-18-22-23-24-25-26-28-27-43-30A-31-33-34-35-74-45-93-91-41-42-14-68

Early Eighteenth Dynasty Sequence 2 (Munro 1995, p. 11; Lapp 1997, pp. 36–37)

Moreover, it can be deduced that the four walls of the original chamber were all written, of which two are now missing.⁵⁰ The southern corner of the west wall (fig. 11.7a, left end) starts with the end of the long transformation spell BD 78, whose beginning, title, and vignette must have been written on the adjoining and perpendicular south wall of the original layout, which is now entirely missing. Actually, a block with traces of eleven columns of text from this spell was found among the stones and rubble on the floor. Chapter BD 149, which runs along the lower register listing the fourteen mounds of the netherworld, seems to have started at the right end of the southern wall (the first mound is missing), continuing along the west and north walls and reaching as far as the tenth mound, which implies that the texts and vignettes of the last four mounds must have been written and depicted on the adjoining and perpendicular eastern wall of the original layout, which is now gone. Contrary to what happened in the lower register, the text on the upper register of the north wall did not continue on the eastern missing wall, but jumps from here up to the ceiling (BD 41–42 sequence). These details of the preserved text suggest that the original composition and spell

⁴⁹ In the burial chamber of Amenemhat (TT 82), BD 125 is written at both sides of the niche that opens at the north wall (most probably, as in TT 11 burial chamber, to be understood as the west wall; Davies and Gardiner 1915, pp. 107, 110 n. 3), being the most important and outstanding spot. It is also the case in Djehuty's burial chamber, where it is written at both sides of Nut's

figure at the center of the ceiling and above the place where the coffin was supposed to rest. In Senenmut's sarcophagus it literally wrapped the deceased's body when lying inside, which confirms that a highly meaningful location was reserved for BD 125.

⁵⁰ It is puzzling, though, that the edge of the layer of stucco does not present a more irregular, flaky cut.

sequence written on the upper register of the four walls must have started at the northern corner of the now missing east wall,⁵¹ and it went all around the chamber and then finished on the ceiling.

It is difficult to figure out which are the missing chapters, since Djehuty's recension is one of the earliest and there was some fluctuation at the beginning (see fig. 11.17).⁵² Working with the fallen fragments that were recovered in the excavation of the burial chamber,⁵³ in 2013, Lucía Díaz-Iglesias identified the opening rubric of chapter BD 150, which must have followed after BD 149 along the lower register, as the description of underworld landscape. She has also been able to put together several fragments of chapter BD 153A, which provides the necessary knowledge to escape from the net of the fishermen who catch the inert ones and the wonderers (Quirke 2013, pp. 378–80). This very long chapter, uncommon in early copies of the Book of the Dead, was written on one of the two missing walls, probably on the southern one (before BD 78), which seems to have been the last one to be broken and pushed back, since it was left rough while the other one was smoothed and leveled with mortar, and the fallen stones and written fragments probably cleared away in an early stage. The study of the fragments confirms that the two missing walls were entirely written before they were broken to enlarge the burial chamber.

A figure of Nut, goddess of the night sky, wearing a tight dark blue dress, takes up the very central spot of the ceiling (figs. 11.7c, 11.13, 11.15). She keeps her arms raised and stretched open in a protective pose, as if she was to embrace Djehuty's coffin and mummy lying beneath her. The texts at either side of her body express Djehuty's wish that this situation will actually happen: (A) "Words spoken by the overseer of the Treasury of the king, Djehuty: '[Oh mother] Nut, spread yourself over me, may you place me among the imperishable stars which are in you, as I shall not die.' (B) 'Raise me up. I am your son. Remove the weariness from me. Protect me from he who shall act against me.'" A figure of Nut in an identical attitude was represented on the lid of coffins and of royal sarcophagi at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and similar texts were written next to her. The two brief petitions that Djehuty implores are not taken from the Book of the Dead, but from formulas written on coffins, as is also the case for the embracing figure of Nut. To stress this point, the texts were not displayed following a retrograde direction, and their background was painted in yellow, highlighted in this way over the creamy white background used for the rest of the ceiling and walls. The choice of color may be a reflection of the different materials on which the texts were originally written, wood versus linen or papyrus. The yellow background probably evoked also the first sun rays penetrating the tomb-chapel and illuminating the night sky at dawn (Galán 2013b).

The Book of the Dead written for Djehuty had at least forty-one chapters, and thus it is one of the earliest long compilations of spells. It bears one of the earliest versions of the "final judgment" as dramatized in chapter BD 125, and this is also the case for the "knowing the souls" spells and for BD 153A. Its relevance increases due to its archaeological context and quite precise dating, that is, at the end of the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.⁵⁴ Since most of the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty Books of the Dead were written on linen shrouds (Ockinga 2006, pp. 185–86; Müller-Roth 2008b, pp. 149–53), they tend not to include vignettes,⁵⁵ and therefore Djehuty offers one of the earliest illustrated compositions, although it has to be pointed out that it was probably copied from an illustrated papyrus acting as model (Parkinson and Quirke

⁵¹ In the burial chamber of Senenmut (TT 353), the texts should be read starting from the east toward the west wall, and this is also the case in Amenemhat's (TT 82), although the east wall is here labeled "south wall" in Davies and Gardiner 1915, p. 104 (but see *ibid.*, p. 110 n. 3, and n. 2, above).

⁵² Possible missing chapters that could have been written on the south wall would be those that precede BD 86 in early Eighteenth Dynasty versions: BD 124–83–84–85–82–77. The opening chapters of the composition were written on the east wall, and the introductory spells BD 17–18 and BD 1 were much preferred in the early Eighteenth Dynasty redactions. On the other hand, the insertion of spells from Pyramid and Coffin Texts should not be ruled out, as it is the case in other burial chambers (TT 353, TT 82, TT 87; see below).

⁵³ About five hundred fragments of various sizes were recovered in 2010; they have been photographed and are now under study.

While most of them come from the gap in the ceiling, and thus pertain to chapters BD 125 and 64, others were part of the original two missing walls.

⁵⁴ A survey and partial study of Book of the Dead chapters in New Kingdom Theban tombs, mostly Ramesside, can be found in Saleh 1984.

⁵⁵ The linen of Princess Ahmose and of *sa-nesu* Ahmose, found in the Valley of the Queens and dating to the end of the Seventeenth or early Eighteenth Dynasty, preserve traces of the vignettes pertaining to BD 149–150 (Turin 63001, 63002; Ronsecco 1996). The vignette accompanying BD 100 is preserved on another linen shroud belonging to a woman named Tany (Ockinga 2006). Of an early date also is an exceptional linen shroud now in the British Museum with Book of the Dead spells illustrated by large vignettes (EA73808; J. H. Taylor 2010, p. 67).

1992; Kahl 1999, pp. 283–323; Goelet 2010). Being written on the walls and ceiling of the burial chamber, Djehuty's Book of the Dead offers a rare three-dimensional display of the spells.

The burial chamber of Djehuty is, moreover, one of the earliest Eighteenth Dynasty decorated burial chambers that has been preserved. Indeed, there was a long tradition going back to the Old Kingdom (Dawood 2005; Kanawati 2005, 2010). However, looking for Djehuty's possible sources of inspiration, it might be of significance to recall how high officials of the time of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III visited earlier monuments in the Theban necropolis, mostly of the Twelfth Dynasty, moved by a religious and intellectual interest in the arcane and a taste for old forms regarded as classical and taken as models (Ragazzoli 2011 and in press). They entered into funerary chapels and left testimony of their visit, as well as of their recognition and appreciation, by writing their names on the walls, as it happened in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, in the tomb-chapel of Senet (TT 60), wife(?) of Intefiker, vizier under Senwosret I, where there are more than thirty-six graffiti, five of them mentioning a certain "scribe Djehuty" (N. de G. Davies 1920, pp. 27–29, pls. 35–37).⁵⁶ It seems it was also the case for the chapel belonging to Neferu (TT 319), wife of King Montuhotep-Nebehepetre, in Deir el-Bahari, whose walls were also scribbled with early Eighteenth Dynasty graffiti (Penden 2001, pp. 68–69, 71–72). If visitors' curiosity had pushed them farther down, they would have learned that the walls of Neferu's burial chamber resembled the interior of a sarcophagus or coffin, depicting a frieze with funerary equipment, offering lists, and most important of all (and unlike earlier Old Kingdom private burial chambers) including Pyramid and Coffin Texts.⁵⁷ Similar burial chambers, decorated with funerary texts, were also built for contemporary high officials, such as Meru (TT 240), overseer of sealers of Montuhotep-Nebhepetra, in Asasif,⁵⁸ and Khety (TT 311), seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, in Deir el-Bahari.⁵⁹ It might be possible that Djehuty got from them the inspiration to write on the walls of his burial chamber a selection of funerary texts and adapted the idea to the new afterlife concepts and priorities by making use of the more current redaction, the Book of the Dead, at that time commonly written on mummy shrouds.

Needless to say, other Twelfth Dynasty monuments, or inscribed funerary equipment such as coffins, might have also influenced early Eighteenth Dynasty scribes and draughtsmen in the decoration of burial chambers (table 11.2). The inner side of certain coffin lids bearing diagonal star clocks (Willems 1996, pp. 327–37, 485, pls. 34–38) might have inspired the more complex astronomical ceiling of Senenmut's lower tomb (TT 353; Dorman 1991, pp. 138–46, pls. 84–86), which seems to be the only burial chamber, together with Djehuty's, that was decorated while Hatshepsut was still ruling. Although Senenmut might have outlived Hatshepsut, his lower tomb might have been designed before year 16 (Dorman 1988, pp. 177–79), carved with funerary liturgies and a selection of spells from Pyramid Texts and the Book of the Dead. Out of its ten Book of the Dead spells (Dorman 1991, pp. 113–38, 168–69), Senenmut shares with what is preserved of Djehuty's composition only two, BD 149 and 150.

Years later, during the sole reign of Thutmose III, three decorated burial chambers are known. Amenemhat, scribe and steward of the vizier Useramun, lived at least until year 28, which probably implies that the decoration of his burial chamber (TT 82) took place a few years after Djehuty's. Its design and style are similar to Djehuty's composition, as its walls are also covered with a layer of stucco and fully written in cursive hieroglyphs, arranged in columns to be read in retrograde direction from left to right. The text includes funerary liturgies, eight spells from Pyramid Texts, and thirty-three Book of the Dead chapters, out of which he shares ten with Djehuty: BD 26, 27, 28, 30A, 38A, 45, 93, 102, 119, and 125A, B, C (table 11.3; Davies and Gardiner 1915, pp. 102–09; Munro 1987, p. 296).⁶⁰ While Djehuty's chapters follow two of the standard

⁵⁶ Gardiner registered thirty-six graffiti, dating to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Those five mentioning the "scribe Djehuty" (N. de G. Davies 1920, nos. 7, 15, 24, 29, and 31) seem to have slightly different handwritings, which increases the chance that one of them would have been the owner of TT 11. In 2010 Ragazzoli copied traces of thirty-one more, which she plans to publish in the near future (see Ragazzoli and Frood 2013, p. 31).

⁵⁷ PM I², 392; Naville 1898, no. 31; M.6.C 358–59, M.7.C 61–79. I am grateful to Dorothea Arnold for letting me consult the Metropolitan Museum of Art photo archive in spring 2008. In Feb-

ruary 2010 I had the chance to visit Neferu's burial chamber by courtesy of Zbigniew Szafranski and Chloé Ragazzoli.

⁵⁸ PM I², 330; MMA excav. no. 517; photos M.6.C. 32–7.

⁵⁹ PM I², 387; MMA excav. no. 508; photos M.4.C. 110–13.

⁶⁰ Lüscher pointed out to me that in TT 82, what Gardiner identified as BD 108 is actually BD 111, a shorter version of the former. She also remarked that in three occasions Amenemhat combined together two chapters into a single spell, that is, under one title: BD 96/97, 117/118, and 141/142 (with the cow vignette similar to that of BD 148).

sequences in early Eighteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead (leaving aside the “new” ceiling chapters), Amenemhat’s displays an unattested sequence for most of the composition. The ceiling was not decorated, but it was carefully coated with the same layer of stucco and left blank.

The vizier Useramun was in office in year 28, but probably lasted until year 33 of Thutmose III (Dziobek 1994, p. 100; Bryan 2006, p. 72), and he decorated the burial chamber of one of his two tomb-chapels (TT 131) with part of the Litany of Re and of the Book of the *Amduat* (Hornung in Dziobek 1994, pp. 42–47).⁶¹ The overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nakhtmin (known also as Minnakht), lived at least until year 34 of Thutmose III (Guksch 1995, pp. 14–15, 88), and, while the walls of his burial chamber (TT 87) look slightly similar to those of Djehuty and Amenemhat, he shows a preference for Coffin and Pyramid Texts rather than for the Book of the Dead, of which he only copied two spells, BD 60 and 174, not present in any of the previously mentioned tombs (Guksch 1995, p. 75).

Finally, there is a sixth decorated burial chamber belonging to Amenemhab called Mahu (TT 85), a military officer of Thutmose III who died under Amenhotep II (Bryan 2006, 105–06). Unfortunately, there is very little preserved of it (Gnirs, Grothe, and Guksch 1997, pp. 80–81, pl. 9c; Heye 2008, pp. 266–67).

Table 11.2. Book of the Dead chapters of Djehuty (TT 11) compared with funerary texts written in burial chambers of the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (bold indicates chapters that coincide)

Djehuty (TT 11): in office until year 17 or 20(?): 41 BD chapters + ?

BD [...153...]-78-86-81A-88-87-99B-**119**-7-**102**-**38A**-14-
-22-23-24-25-**26**-**28**-**27**-43-**30A**-31-33-[34-35]-74-45--**93**-91-41-42-
-114-112-113-**108**-109-**125A,B,C** ///-v126...-64///;///**149**-[...150...]///

Senenmut (TT 353): in office until year 20 or more(?): 10 BD chapters > 2 in common with Djehuty

BD 110, 136A-B, 137B, 144, 145, 146, 148, **149**, **150**
+ funerary liturgies + astronomical ceiling

Amenemhet (TT 82), in office at least until year 28: 33 BD chapters > 10 in common with Djehuty

BD 8, 17, 18, **26**, **27**, **28**, 29, **30A**, **38A**, **45**, 50, 56, 62, 63B, 65, 66, 80, **93**, 94, 95, 96/97,
102, 105, 111, 117/118, **119**, **125A,B,C,D**, 131, 132, 133, 134, 141/142, 188
+ PT 220, 221, 222, 593, 356, 357, 364, 677 + funerary liturgies

Useramun (TT 131), in office at least until year 33: 0 BD chapters

Litany of Re + Book of the *Amduat*

Nakhtmin (TT 87), in office at least until year 36: 2 BD chapters > 0 in common with Djehuty









BD 60, 174 + CT 154, 155, 179, 335, 349, 353, 451 + PT 269A-275F




Another possible source of inspiration for Djehuty’s decision to decorate his burial chamber could have come from the scribal and religious milieu of his most probable place of origin, the area of Hermopolis. There is circumstantial evidence that seems to indicate that the funerary culture of this region during First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom exercised a strong influence on the Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty Theban necropolis (Gestermann 1998; Kahl 1999, pp. 283–323), which may





⁶¹ Useramun’s Book of the Dead papyrus follows very closely the standard early Eighteenth Dynasty sequence of chapters (Munro 1990), thus standing in sharp contrast with the initiative of displaying part of the Litany of Re in his burial chamber and sharing the composition with that of Thutmose III, and also

contrasting with the uncommon sequence of Book of the Dead chapters written in the burial chamber of his assistant Amenemhat (TT 82), who claims to have been involved in the decoration of the vizier’s tomb (Urk. IV 1048.1–6).

apply also to Senenmut's lower tomb⁶² and Puimra's tomb-chapel (TT 39).⁶³ As mentioned above, Djehuty was at some point related to the clergy of Hermopolis and to the local government of Herwer, but he was also overseer of priests of Hathor, lady of Qis/Cusae, a location situated at mid-distance between Hermopolis and Asyut, 45 kilometers north of the latter. In this vein, it might be worth pointing out that his contemporary Montuherkhepeshef, buried only 50 meters northeast from him, and whose chapel was decorated with the same peculiar funerary rituals as those carved on the walls of Djehuty's shrine (see above), came also from that broad area, as he was governor of the 10th Upper Egyptian nome, whose main center was Tjebu (Qaw el-Kebir), 45 kilometers south of Asyut (N. de G. Davies 1913, p. 12).

Going back to Djehuty's origins, and tracking down the possible circumstances that might have played a role in his creative and innovative reinterpretation of funerary written traditions, we turn once more to his parents. It was already mentioned how Djehuty's name and that of his relatives represented on the walls of the chapel, particularly his father's, suffered *damnatio memoriae*. Fortunately, the aggressors did not reach the burial chamber, and thus the names of Djehuty and his father and mother were found here intact. Even those who set fire(s) in the antechamber, some time between the Eighteenth and the Twenty-first Dynasty, did not seem to have descended the second shaft and entered into the burial chamber, since there is no trace of smoke here. In the chapel above, Djehuty's name was consistently written as  (later erased), while down the shaft it alternates with  and .⁶⁴ Now, by looking at how the personal names and titles are written in the burial chamber, it can be deduced, as it was already pointed out when describing the Book of the Dead, that more than one scribe was involved in the task, and that it was carried out in haste, in the final stage of the monument's decoration. Djehuty's main title "overseer of the Treasury," , is also commonly written in the burial chamber as  and expanded into "senior overseer of the Treasury of the king," , with variants (table 11.3). It was once mistakenly written "senior overseer of the Treasury of Amun," . This is the only title that precedes Djehuty's name in the burial chamber, except for one instance in which he is also referred to as "senior overseer of the double house of silver of the king, overseer of the cattle of Amun and leader," .

The name of the mother, qualified only as "lady of the house," is preserved in the upper chapel four times, consistently written . In the burial chamber, however, her name, now traced in cursive hieroglyphs, changes the final -w for an *alif*, , in all its twelve attestations, except for one occasion where the ending is omitted, that is, .



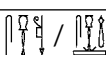

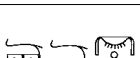



Djehuty's father, whose only title is "dignitary," , is a more complex case. It was shown above (see figs. 11.2–3) how his name, only partially preserved, was written in the chapel at least in two different ways, although their sound could have been similar: /Abty/. In the burial chamber, it was spelled out with alphabetic signs, confirming the reconstruction of the hypothetical sound. The fact that in the burial chamber the name is written with three new spellings,  //  // , may reflect not only the presence of more than one scribe working down the shaft (and these being different from the scribes responsible for the inscriptions up in the chapel), but also that they were writing his name by ear, trying to transcribe a sound close to /Abuty/, /Abty/, /Abu/ (Ranke 1935, vol. 1, p. 20 no. 22, p. 415 no. 2). The phonetic writing of the name as *Abuty* is attested fifteen times, while the rest of the variants occur only once. The circumstance of having five different spellings in a single monument, together with the phonetic writing of the name, suggest the possibility that the name might not be Egyptian, but foreign. If this is so, it is tempting to identify a Semitic root behind the anthroponim *Abuty* (cf. Schneider 1992, p. 16, N4, p. 20, N14; Schneider 2003, pp. 125–26). Now, if *Abuty* is a Semitic name, the implications of a possible Semitic origin for Djehuty's father and, by extension, for Djehuty himself, are difficult to grasp, and it is far beyond the scope of this preliminary study of the inscribed burial chamber of TT 11. Nevertheless, it is an intriguing piece of evidence for consideration, when analyzing the highly educated figure that Djehuty certainly was and the elaborated inscriptional program of his funerary monument, as well as the peculiar features of his family and the use and

⁶² The vignette of chapter BD 110, a representation of the Field of Reeds, which Senenmut includes on the south wall of his lower tomb, has its precedent on ten el-Bersha coffins (Álvarez Sosa 2009).

⁶³ See Engelmann-von Carnap and Diego Espinel in this volume.

⁶⁴ It is an unusual form for writing a personal name, but not unique; see Ranke 1935, vol. 1, p. 407, no. 2, p. 408 nos. 5, 6, 15.

Table 11.3. Titles and offices assigned to Djehuty in TT 11, with variants, their location and number of attestations

		<i>Façade</i>	<i>Hall</i>	<i>Corridor</i>	<i>Shrine</i>	<i>Burial Chamber</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>Cones</i>
	noble	17	1	2	4	—	24	—
	leader	17	1	2	6	1	27	x
	seal bearer of the <i>bit</i>	3	1	1	5	—	10	—
	overseer of all the handicrafts of the king	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
	who seals the noble things in the king's house	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
	sole/great friend	3	1	—	4	—	8	—
	scribe	1	2	1	2	—	6	—
	overseer of the Treasury	1	2	8	3	15	29	x
	overseer of the double house of silver	—	—	—	—	14	14	—
	overseer of the double house of silver and overseer of the double house of gold	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
	senior overseer of the Treasury	—	—	—	—	2	2	—
	senior overseer of the double house of silver	—	—	—	—	6	6	—
	overseer of the Treasury of the king	—	—	—	—	1	1	—
	senior overseer of the Treasury of the king	—	—	—	—	9	9	—
	senior overseer of the double house of silver of the king	—	—	—	—	4	4	—
	senior overseer of the Treasury of Amun	—	—	—	—	1	1	—
	overseer of work(s)	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	overseer of every work of the king	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
	who directs every work of the lord of the Two Lands	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
	who directs the work(s) in Karnak	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
	overseer of the cattle of Amun	—	2	—	—	1	3	x
	governor in the town of Herwer	—	2	—	3	—	5	—
	overseer of the priests in Khemenu (= Hermopolis)	1	—	—	1	—	2	—
	high priest/great of five in the house of Thot	—	2	—	3	—	5	—
	overseer of priests of Hathor, lady of Qis (= Cusae)	—	1	—	—	—	1	—

abuse of his funerary monument after his death. It somehow reflects the complex puzzle that conformed the Theban society at the beginning of the fifteenth century B.C., when *a priori* opposites entered in contact and mixed together, southerners and northerners, Egyptians and Semites (*aamu*), traditions and innovations, thus shaping a particularly stimulating atmosphere in which creativity flourished and manifested in many ways.

The tomb-chapels of the elite members of the Theban society who carried out their administrative duties under Hatshepsut all seem to have their singularities, what seems to reflect not only the lack of a standard layout and design (Heye 2008), but also the desire of the individual to have a unique funerary monument, different in some way from those of his contemporaries. One gets the impression that high-rank officials must have visited one another's monuments under construction and tried to incorporate innovations in theirs by re-creating classical ideas and forms, by imitating certain features of royal monuments, or by taking advantage of the monument's strategic location and physical milieu (see Engelmann-von Carnap in this volume). This is by no means restricted to the reign of Hatshepsut, but since so few decorated tomb-chapels have survived from the Seventeenth and earlier Eighteenth Dynasty, one gets the impression that it is in this time period when the creativity present in every monument becomes more evident.

Djehuty, the Hermopolitan, the royal scribe who became overseer of the Treasury under Hatshepsut, and who was also in charge of directing the craftsmen, tried hard to make of his funerary monument a very special place to rest for eternity, where the written message played a mayor role. In Ragazzoli's words (in press), "the walls of his tomb gather what we could call a compendium of the written culture of the time." Djehuty was a highly skilled scribe, or at least he presented himself as such, drawing the attention of those who visit the necropolis by building a long courtyard, and by carving on the façade a detailed biographical inscription, a long hymn to Amun-Ra, and a pair of religious texts written in cryptography. The inner walls were decorated with a tableau of the Opening of the Mouth divided into thirty-four inscribed vignettes, and



Figure 11.16. Back shrine and funerary shaft of Djehuty (TT 11), after excavation

a set of uncommon scenes describing the rituals that ought to be performed in his funeral. Down the funerary shaft, the burial chamber was turned into the maximum expression of a literate and cultivated Theban official. Only someone devoted to writing, well acquainted with traditional funerary texts, but at the same time seeking innovative ways to display them in harmony with the architecture of the monument, would have been able to create such an intellectual and artistic masterpiece of his time.

Appendix

The Marquis of Northampton's excavations in Dra Abu el-Naga, in the area of TT 11, conducted by Spiegelberg and Newberry, lasted until February 9, 1899. The excavators remained at the site for slightly over a month writing the final report, which would be the basis for the final publication nine years later (Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908). Concerning the tomb-chapel of Djehuty, the report offers only a translation of the biographical stela on the façade (thus called the Northampton stela), Kurt Sethe's reconstruction of the second biographical inscription of the transverse hall, and his study of the two cryptographic texts inscribed on a side wall of the courtyard. And that is all. Spiegelberg's *Fundjournal* of 1898–1899, kept at the Griffith Institute archive (Galán 2009a), refers to the objects found in the course of the excavation and keeps silent about the inscriptions. Sporadically, he mentions that Newberry was keeping a parallel record. The Griffith Institute keeps a notebook written by Percy E. Newberry in 1899, but it is more concerned with the visits paid and received during the excavation, correspondence sent out and received, accounts of the money spent, and workmen's wages. However, reading thoroughly through his notes,⁶⁵ the entry for "January 1899, Gurneh, Saturday 21," mentions "the tomb of Tahuti one of Hatshepsuts officials." Three days later, he states, "explored the tomb of Tahuti finding in it important scene of human sacrifice." Surprisingly, among various irrelevant comments, the entry for February 9 includes the following reference: "... Arranged things to the photographers: then to Tahuti well filled with Book of Dead." On Friday 10, he indicates, "... then back to Gurneh to down pit of Tahuti to copy." The next day he mentions that he went "back to tomb," which may be assumed to be Djehuty's. The last reference to the tomb-chapel of Djehuty occurs on March 15: "Measured up Nebamun and demotic tomb and made notes of Tahuti. Finish packing and move everything to Ahmed Sulimans house." Unfortunately, the other more scientific notebook(s) of Newberry remain unlocated.

It is, indeed, quite disturbing that Newberry and Spiegelberg never published a word about the existence of Djehuty's inscribed burial chamber and his Book of the Dead. Now, the above-mentioned newspaper fragment dated in the summer of 1898 and found in the antechamber can be related to Newberry's presence down the shaft six months later. Moreover, Newberry's activity inside the burial chamber, copying Djehuty's Book of the Dead, has to be related to the odd circumstance of finding a number of stone blocks that had fallen from the ceiling carefully aligned on the floor with the plastered written surface facing up. It cannot be said whether part of the ceiling collapsed before Newberry went in, or if it happened as a consequence of their activity down there, but it seems very likely that it was Newberry and his people who piled the large unwritten stone blocks toward the undecorated walls, leaving the text on the west wall completely visible for him to copy, and carefully placing the written fragments in the empty space left in front of it (see figs. 11.8 and 17).

The debris filling the antechamber, the shaft, and the shrine came down through the two big holes in the latter's ceiling shortly after Northampton's Egyptologists closed the campaign in March 1899, and yet again in December 1909 (Jelf notebook, p. 18). When we cleared the shaft and unblocked the entrance to the antechamber about a century later, the temperature inside was over 27 degrees Celsius, and the humidity reached up to 80 percent. The high humidity level down the shaft is due to the proximity of the current

⁶⁵ Andrés Diego Espinel and I, with the assistance of Alison Hobby.

⁶⁶ Checking the nilometer of the nearby temple of Sety I, the geologist and the topographers of the mission, S. Sánchez Moral, S. Cuezva, J. Ivars, and C. Cabrera, calculated that the water table would be most of the time about 1–2 meters below the floor

of the burial chamber and could have even reached the floor level in high Nile flooding. The monitoring of the environmental conditions of the monuments, and particularly of Djehuty's burial chamber, was conducted by the geologists, who have also been responsible for reconstructing the geological column of the stratigraphic sequence of TT 11–12.

water table, since the burial chamber is 12 meters below ground level and the monument is quite close to the fertile lowlands that are now irrigated.⁶⁶ The successive processes of wetting/drying along episodes of rise and fall of the Nile River, and particularly the opening of the burial chamber in the past, caused the re-activation of the limestone salts and their migration to the surface of the walls, pushing out the layer of stucco. This is particularly so in the lower level of the walls, where the variation of rock moisture content is more intense and the layer of stucco thinner. While, on the one hand, short-term changes in humidity have favored the detachment of large areas of stucco from the walls, on the other hand, the relatively stable thermo-hygrometric conditions have helped to prevent dehydration of gypsum plasters and subsequent cracking. The critical air relative humidity for gypsum stability in temperature range of 25–30 degrees Celsius is above 75 percent.

To maintain stable environmental conditions, the burial chamber is kept closed, and it is only opened when a specific task needs to be carried out inside. When opened the humidity quickly falls down to 25 percent, and when it is closed again, it slowly rises up to 65 percent. Therefore, the chamber needs to remain closed as much as possible. Temperature and humidity fluctuation does not directly affect the big gap and cracks that the ceiling has, but it is vibration, mostly produced by human activity outside, in the area around the monument, that endangers the stability of the chamber's structure. To prevent more blocks from collapsing, an iron structure was set up inside the chamber. In January 2011 a full high-quality orto-photo documentation was conducted, and consolidation is in progress.



Figure 11.17. Burial chamber of Djehuty (TT 11) as found, before excavation

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