

JOYFUL IN THEBES  
EGYPTOLOGICAL STUDIES IN HONOR OF  
BETSY M. BRYAN

MATERIAL AND VISUAL CULTURE  
OF ANCIENT EGYPT

NUMBER ONE



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With the assistance of  
Katherine E. Davis



LOCKWOOD PRESS  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2015944276

ISBN: 978-1-937040-40-6

Cover design by Deborah Shieh, adapted by Susanne Wilhelm.

Cover image: Amenhotep III in the Blue Crown (detail), ca. 1390–1352 BCE. Quartzite, Ht. 35 cm. Face only: ht. 12.8 cm; w. 12.6 cm. Rogers Fund, 1956 (56.138). Image copyright © the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.



This paper meets the requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (Permanence of Paper).

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# HYMNS TO AMUN-RA AND AMUN IN THE TOMB CHAPEL OF DJEHUTY (TT 11)

José M. GALÁN

The overseer of the Treasury and overseer of the craftsmen under the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, Djehuty, built his funerary monument (TT 11) at the central area of Dra Abu el-Naga.<sup>1</sup> What exactly moved him to abandon the area(s) of the necropolis chosen by most of his fellow courtiers, south of Hatshepsut's causeway, and depart from them about 500 m to the north, we will probably never know with certainty. The ongoing excavations of the Spanish–Egyptian mission in that area of Dra Abu el-Naga, around Djehuty's tomb chapel, may shed some light on this question.<sup>2</sup> What is already known is that the selected area was at that time densely occupied by burials of members of the royal family and high officials of the Seventeenth Dynasty, and that at least some of the royal tombs displayed outstanding and distinctive (mud-brick) pyramids.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the site enjoyed considerable prestige from its association with the Theban ancestors, leaders, and founders of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Not only had the place become a landmark from a historical/political perspective, but it also had religious significance. Dra Abu el-Naga stands right across the river from Karnak, which started to control most of the local resources, both material and human in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, just as the scale of Amun's temple was gradually enlarging.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the procession of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, which was also gaining pace then, probably made its first stop when reaching the necropolis at the central area of Dra Abu el-Naga<sup>5</sup> and might have passed in front of Djehuty's monument.

Located in the foothill, the open courtyard of the tomb chapel of Djehuty was enlarged with mud-brick side-walls, reaching 34 m in length, making it the longest attested courtyard of the time. Since the façade is only 7.85 m wide, the court is perceived as being quite elongated. The entrance to the court is 2.70 m wide, and it is flanked by two short mud-brick "pylons," which were probably not much higher than the 0.68 m preserved today, and which permitted a clear view of the façade from outside. The rock-cut façade is 3 m high and was raised up to 5.20 m by

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1. J. M. Galán, "The Tombs of Djehuty and Hery (TT 11–12) at Dra Abu el-Naga," in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, ed. J.-C. Goyon and C. Cardin, OLA 150 (Leuven, 2007), 777–87; "Early Investigations in the Tomb-Chapel of Djehuty (TT 11)," in *Sitting beside Lepsius: Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute*, ed. D. Magee, J. Bourriau, and S. Quirke, OLA 185 (Leuven, 2010), 155–81; "The Inscribed Burial Chamber of Djehuty (TT 11)," in *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, ed. J. M. Galán, B. Bryan, and P. Dorman, SAOC 69 (Chicago, 2014), 247–72.

2. See the web site <http://www.excavacionegipto.com>.

3. D. Polz and A. Seiler, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re Intef in Dra Abu el-Naga*, SDAIK 24 (Mainz, 2003); D. Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches: Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende*, SDAIK 31 (Berlin, 2007).

4. M. Ullmann, "Thebes: Origins of a Ritual Landscape," in *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, ed. P. Dorman and B. Bryan, SAOC 61 (Chicago, 2007), 3–25; D. Warburton, "Karnak and the Kings. Architecture, Religion, Ideology and Political History," in *Palace and Temple: Architecture, Decoration, Ritual*, ed. R. Gundlach and K. Spence, KSG 4/2 (Wiesbaden, 2011), 161–70.

5. A. Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, OLA 97 (Leuven, 2001); M. Bietak, "La Belle Fête de la Valée: l'Asasif revisité," in *'Parcourir l'Éternité' Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, ed. Ch. Zivie-Coche and I. Guerneur, *Histoire et prosopographie* 8; *Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, sciences religieuses* 156 (Turnhout, 2012), 135–64.



Fig. 1. View of the façade of the tomb chapel of Djehuty (TT 11) in December 1909. Copyright: Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

a masonry wall, possibly decorated, ending in a flat top, whose back-side is still quite well preserved.<sup>6</sup> The front-side of the upper part of the façade, however, is mostly gone, and one has to imagine at least a couple of rows of embedded funerary cones displayed from one side to the other. The excavation of the open courtyard has unearthed one hundred and fifteen cones bearing the stamp “the overseer of the Treasury and overseer of works, the venerated Djehuty, justified,” and another one hundred and fifteen with “the overseer of the cattle of Amun and leader, Djehuty.”<sup>7</sup>

The entrance to the inner part of the monument divides the façade in two halves, each decorated with a rock-cut rounded top stela (fig. 1). They are almost identical in shape and size,  $2.49 \times 1.95$  m, and both include a figure of the owner striding out of the tomb chapel and facing the inscription. At first glance, when seen from afar, the façade looks symmetrical, but when an “educated visitor” gets closer and takes the time to go into the details, he may find out that there is an intended play between the two stelae, which were composed as opposites. While the stela on the right has a civil character, a biographical inscription that enumerates the administrative duties that the owner carried out in life for the king, the stela on the left has a religious character, including a hymn to Amun-Ra. While the biography is written from right to left in horizontal lines, the hymn is written from left to right in vertical col-

6. J. M. Galán, “Tomb-Chapels of the Early XVIIIth Dynasty at Thebes,” in *Thebes: City of Gods and Pharaohs/Théby. Mesto bohů a faraonů*, ed. J. Mynářová and P. Onderka (Prague, 2007), 93–95. For the evolution of the Theban tomb chapels, see F. Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, 3 volumes, Theben 13 (Mainz, 1996).

7. For a preliminary study of the funerary cones found in the first five seasons digging in front of TT 11–12, see J. M. Galán and F. Borrego, “Funerary Cones from Dra Abu el-Naga (TT 11–12),” *Memmonia* 17 (2006), 195–208, pls. 33–39.

umns. Moreover, the biography avoids the repetition of a passage by writing it in a column that interrupts fifteen of the twenty-five lines (“mesostic”), and which has to be read within each of the affected lines, between Djehuty’s titles and name and the indication of a specific task he supervised, while in the religious hymn each of the twenty-six columns consists of an independent statement that repeats the same salutation formula following right after Djehuty’s titles and name.

Composing a text by combining lines together with one or more columns whose text was meant to affect the former is a strategy that the scribes have occasionally drawn upon almost since the dawn of writing.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the literary device of repeating a passage (anaphora) to add rhythm and drama to a song or prayer/psalm was also well known by then.<sup>9</sup> However, the successful combination and dialogue between the two on a single surface is an accomplishment of Djehuty.

The distinct character and content of each stela coincides with the two types of stamped funerary cones. It is possible that the cones with the impression “The overseer of the Treasury and overseer of works...” would have been displayed above the biographical inscription, which describes precisely these two duties, while the impression “The overseer of the cattle of Amun...” would have taken the left half of the façade, above the hymn to Amun-Ra.

The tomb chapel of Djehuty is one of the earliest private funerary monuments that has profuse decoration on the façade (a few years later Puiemra, TT 39, Useramun, TT 131, and also TT 164 belonging to the scribe of recruits of Thutmose III, Intef, followed suit),<sup>10</sup> attracting the attention of the passerby. Through a civil and a religious inscription Djehuty remarked to the inquisitive visitor that he had been both a loyal and efficient servant of the king and a fervent worshiper of the main and local god. The combination of these two qualities entitled him to have a monument in the necropolis and to attain a pleasant and eternal life in the hereafter. Moreover, the inscribed façade gave him the chance to present himself as a skillful scribe, an erudite and creative designer of inscriptions, who knew how to play with the visual possibilities of texts and the script in combination with sculptured figures and the architecture that housed them.<sup>11</sup>

### HYMN ON THE FAÇADE

The stela carved on the left side (figs. 2, 3) protrudes from the façade 5 cm and rests upon a step that is 30 cm wider and projects forward 16 cm and is 11 cm high. The text columns, separated by vertical lines, are about 7 cm wide. The hieroglyphs were carefully carved in sunk relief and then colored in yellow so that the inscription would glitter as dawn’s rays struck the façade (fig. 4). Djehuty’s figure was also carved in sunk relief, with a smooth modeling inside the outline, and completely colored in yellow.<sup>12</sup> In contrast, the biographical inscription was not colored at all.

The upper part was intentionally broken, but the total height and its rounded top can be reconstructed by comparison with its mirror stela. The lunette must have been about 39 cm high, with a winged solar disk embracing a

8. H. Grapow, *Sprachliche und schriftliche Formung ägyptischer Texte*, Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien 7 (Glückstadt, 1936), 37–51. For a contemporary parallel, see the two biographical stelae in the tomb chapel of Amenemhat (TT 82); Nina de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhat* (No. 82), TTS 1 (London, 1915), 70–73, pl. 25, 29.

9. Years later, the best example of the visual effect caused by a refrain repeatedly inscribed on a stela is the so-called poetical stela of Thutmose III (CCG 34010; P. Lacau, CG 34087–34189, 17–21, pl. 7).

10. Galán, “Tomb-Chapels of the Early XVIIIth Dynasty,” 95; “Early Investigations,” 167–68. For Intef’s tomb chapel, see PM I<sup>1</sup>, 276–77; Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 1:453–54.

11. Galán, “The Inscribed Burial Chamber.” For the relationship and adaptation of hieroglyphic writing to sculpture and architecture, see, e.g., H. G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*. Part 1: *Reversals*, Egyptian Studies 2 (New York, 1977); *L’écriture et l’art de l’Égypte ancienne. Quatre leçons sur la paléographie de l’épigraphie pharaoniques* (Paris, 1986), 30–34.

12. See E. Hofmann, “Viel Licht im Dunkel. Die Farbe Gelb in der ramessidischen Grabdekoration,” in *Grab und Totenkult im alten Ägypten*, ed. H. Guksch, E. Hofmann, and M. Bommas (Munich, 2003), 147–62.



Fig. 2. Hymn to Amun-Ra inscribed on the façade of TT 11.



Fig. 3. Hymn to Amun-Ra inscribed on the façade of TT 11.



Fig. 4. Detail of the inscription (bottom of cols. 4–16).

double mirror inscription with two cartouches in the middle bearing the name of Men-kheper-ra (Thutmose III) and Maat-ka-ra (Hatshepsut). Actually, one of the relief fragments recovered during the excavation of the courtyard and placed back on the wall is part of Thutmose III's cartouche, which was left untouched by the executors of the *damnatio memoriae* against Hatshepsut's name, whose cartouche must have been chiseled out, as happened in the biographical stela.

The *damnatio memoriae* not only affected Hatshepsut, but was also directed against Djehuty, as in the rest of the tomb chapel. The damage inflicted throughout the monument does not always show the same degree of destruction. Occasionally Djehuty's figure is completely hacked out, but in other instances only the face is missing; sometimes his name is carefully erased, but other times his titles are also gone. In the façade, the two figures of Djehuty are hacked out in a similar way, but while in the biographical inscription the names are carefully excised, in the hymn, the whole upper part, taken by Djehuty's name and titles, was badly destroyed by heavy blows of hammer and chisel. Fortunately, the lower part of the inscription was left untouched.

Moreover, in the Amarna period the name of the god Amun was carefully excised throughout the monument, including the façade's biographical inscription, and only occasionally was it left untouched by an oversight. However, in the façade's hymn, the name of Amun-Ra and all the string of epithets following it were mercilessly chiseled out.

Twenty-five fragments of relief have been recovered in the excavation of the courtyard and identified as coming from the stela.<sup>13</sup> Most of them preserve the hieroglyphic signs in quite good condition (fig. 5), even their yellow

13. Task carried out by Andrés Diego Espinel.



Fig. 5. Five fragments of the stela found in the courtyard (drawing by Ana de Diego), plus one recorded by W. Spiegelberg in his *Fundjournal*, 90 (Griffith Institute, University of Oxford).

color, which seems to indicate that they were expelled out of the wall in the first violent attack, before the “atonist” censorship, even those from the middle section. This circumstance seems to imply that at least part of the big hole in the middle of the stela was created at that time, that is, before the Amarna period.<sup>14</sup> Despite the small size of most of the fragments found, eleven of them have been placed back on the wall and have turned out to be crucial for reconstructing the damaged part of the inscription, as will be seen below.

The figure of Djehuty, at the right edge of the stela, is about 1.15 m high, its head and torso having suffered *damnatio*. The blows were heavier at the top than further down, leaving the legs below the knees untouched. The position of the arms and hands can be reconstructed as a praising pose,<sup>15</sup> as if he was pronouncing the text aloud, and thus differing from the figure carved on the biographical stela, which has the arms stretched down parallel to the body. Djehuty’s figure shortens the last nine columns of text. The stela has a blank lower margin of about 16 cm.

Below the lunette and above the main text there was a horizontal line stretching from one side to the other, as in the biographical stela, both of them ending in *...mi r<sup>c</sup> dt* “... like Ra forever,” but in this case to be read from left to right. This feature is confirmed by a fragment found during Northampton’s excavation and drawn by Wilhelm Spiegelberg in his *Fundjournal*, p. 90 (fig. 5, further right).<sup>16</sup> The fragment also indicates that the last column commenced with the pair of titles *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t h3ty-<sup>c</sup>*, “noble and leader,” as does each one of the lines of the upper half of the biographical inscription.

Thanks to the fragments found in the excavation of the courtyard and placed back on the wall, together with the traces of signs that can still be identified in the area that has suffered the *damnatio*, we are now in a position to argue that the inscription on each of the twenty-six columns that comprise the main text opened following the same pattern. The status markers “noble and leader” are followed by other titles and epithets, introducing Djehuty’s name, which stands as an anticipated subject of the predicate *dd.f* “he says,” switching to direct speech and introducing a quotation. Djehuty’s words start repeating a salutation to the god, *ind-hr:k imn-r<sup>c</sup>*, “Hail to you! Amun-Ra,” an

14. The lower half of the big hole in the middle as well as a smaller hole to the left were filled with mud at some point.

15. For the reconstruction of Djehuty’s arms in the drawing of fig. 3, his image preserved on the thickness of the entrance to the inner part of the monument has been used (see fig. 7).

16. Galán, “Early Investigations,” 178, fig. 7.

anaphora followed by a short, independent praise that varies for each column.<sup>17</sup> In the biographical inscription, the structure of each of the lines of the upper half is identical: Djehuty's titles open with *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t h3ty-<sup>c</sup>* + name + *dd.f* + his words starting by repeating a statement ("I have acted as chief, giving instructions, and I have guided the craftsmen to act regarding the tasks on ..."), but in this case it is written only once to avoid visual monotony.

Spiegelberg worked in the tomb chapel of Djehuty together with Percy Newberry in the winter of 1898/99, during a field season at Dra Abu el-Naga financed by the Fifth Marquis of Northampton. He was in charge of supervising the excavation and registering the findings. Newberry was supposedly more concerned with the inscriptions, but unfortunately only his diary focusing on his social life in Luxor and the accounts of the campaign is today available, while his more scientific notebook has not yet been found. Spiegelberg, nevertheless, made a set of squeezes of Djehuty's biographical inscription<sup>18</sup> and published it a year later as the "Northampton stela."<sup>19</sup> Apparently no squeezes were made of the mirror stela, probably due to its poor state of preservation, and only a quick and loose hand copy of the inscription was traced then.

Kurt Sethe visited Djehuty's tomb chapel at the end of 1905 and studied two cryptographic texts inscribed on the southern sidewall of the courtyard near the façade and a second biographical inscription carved at the northern end of the transverse hall, which were included in the excavation's final report.<sup>20</sup> When Sethe gathered inscriptions for the second volume of the *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, he included the "Northampton stela," having collated it and corrected Spiegelberg's published copy of the text. He also selected the hymn to Amun-Ra on the façade, but in this case, lacking his own notes, he relied on Spiegelberg's hand copy, stating: "*Nach einer mir freundlichst zur Verfügung gestellten Abschrift von Spiegelberg (1898/9).*"<sup>21</sup> Spiegelberg copied the inscription on four slips of paper, 15 × 10 cm, and Sethe misplaced one of them, altering the order of several columns.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the epigraphic drawing of fig. 3 improves and completes the copy of the text, and emends a long-standing error. Assmann, in his study of solar hymns in Theban tombs, only mentions this about it: "*Hymnus an Re erwähnt in PM, Photo (1731 GrInstArch) zeigt keinerlei Textspuren.*"<sup>23</sup> Thus, the preliminary translation and study of the inscription, excluding the lunette, follow next.

<sup>1</sup>[...] like Ra forever.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>2</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty,] he says: ["Hail to you! Amun-Ra, ...who comes forth from his] mother daily, and rests inside her at its proper time. May you cross your two heavens rightfully/triumphant, your divine crew (*iswt*)<sup>25</sup> cheering be[hind you]."<sup>26</sup>

17. For the opening formula of morning hymns, see H. M. Stewart, *Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns of the New Kingdom* (London, 1967), 41.

18. Spiegelberg's *Fundjournal* as well as the squeezes he made in TT 11 and TT 12, together with Newberry's notebook, are all kept today at the Griffith Institute archive, University of Oxford. See Galán, "Early Investigations"; P. Whelan, "The Marquis' Excavations: A Tale of Two Diaries," in *Talking along the Nile: Ippolito Rosellini, Travellers and Scholars of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in Egypt*, ed. M. Betrò and G. Miniaci (Pisa, 2013), 229–54.

19. W. Spiegelberg, "Die Northampton Stele," *Rec Trav* 22 (1900), 115–25.

20. Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, and P. E. Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898–9* (London, 1908), 1\*–12\*, pl. 11, 34. See also A. Diego Espinel, "Play and Display in Egyptian High Culture: The Cryptographic Texts of Djehuty (TT 11) and Their Socio-Cultural Context," in Galán, Bryan, and Dorman, *Creativity and Innovation*, 297–336.

21. *Urk.* IV:444, 10–447, 17.

22. Galán, "Early investigations," 166–67.

23. J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, Theben 1 (Mainz, 1983), 10.

24. The line would probably have started in a similar way as the first line of the biographical inscription, *rdit i3w n imn-r<sup>c</sup> nswt ntrw w3š hm.f m hrt-hrw m wbn.f m i3btt pt...*, "Giving praise (to) Amun-Ra, king of the gods, adoring his majesty daily when he rises in the east of the sky..." which is a common opening in solar hymns; Stewart, *Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns*, 40.

25. The bundle-of-reeds-sign (M40) has been mistakenly written as the papyrus-sign (Y1).

26. The text of Djehuty's col. 2 is also transcribed on the stelaphorus statue of Nebansu (AEIN 655), lines 3–7 of the stela; M. Jorgensen, *Catalogue Egypt II (1550–1080 B.C.) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1998), 74–77, no. 18; see Stewart, *Traditional Egyptian Sun*

<sup>3</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty,] he [says:] “Ha[il to] you! [Amun]-Ra, [... the primeval time of the earth from the beginning, the great god compared to the Ennead, who came forth from the primeval waters (Nun)...],<sup>27</sup> who illuminates the Two Lands when he rises. May you make way for my *ba*, my spirit, my shadow.”

<sup>4</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Ha]il to you! Amun-Ra, lord of heaven, powerful [...] when he is observed (*dgg*), something good happens.<sup>28</sup> May you grant that my tomb-chapel (*ḥḥt*) remain opened<sup>29</sup> forever and endures according to your favors.”

<sup>5</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Hail] to you! Amun-Ra, [...] the inundation [...] the people with sustenance of fowl and fish (*rsf*), and he who is on earth offering to the father of those who are there in the orchard (*ḥntš*).”<sup>30</sup>

<sup>6</sup>[The noble and leader... overseer of] the double house of gold [... Djehuty, he says: “Hail to] you! Amun-Ra, [...] my heart with joy after seeing how you overthrow the *nik*-serpent (Apophis). I shall place myself upon my belly on behalf of the mother of god, and please her heart in the *k3r*-shrine.”

<sup>7</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Ha]il to you! Amun-Ra, lord of [...] I follow your *ka* and extol that which you love.<sup>31</sup> May you set me on the path of the lord of eternity, as I shall not deviate from your guidance.”<sup>32</sup>

<sup>8</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Ha]il to [you!] Amun-Ra, lord of [...] the *wrrt*-crown [...] the festival of the [sixth] day and the *dnit*-festival.<sup>33</sup> May you grant that I descend to the good West and I rejoin with my father and mother. May his majesty send me as a righteous/justified one to my city of eternity (i.e. the necropolis).”<sup>34</sup>

<sup>9</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Ha]il to you! Amun-Ra, [...] fertile fields, as I come following you in the *w3dyt*-columned hall, your Ennead behind you.”

<sup>10</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Hail to] you! [A]mun[-Ra,... ] you have called, as I shall come to see you in their midst without being stopped, as I am one whom you love.”

<sup>11</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says:] “Ha[il to] you! A[mun-Ra,... ] May you grant that my mouth will speak, that my legs will walk, that my eyes will see your perfection/kindness<sup>35</sup> daily.”

<sup>12</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Hail to you! Amun-Ra,... ] what goes forth from his eye/action. I have come to you without my fault, having done no wrong against anyone.”<sup>36</sup>

<sup>13</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Hail to you! Amun-Ra,... May you grant that] I [refresh myself under] my *mnw*-trees,<sup>37</sup> in my enclosure that I have built in my plot of land of my property.”

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*Hymns*, 63 (XV); J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Freiburg, Göttingen, 1999), 144–45, no. 51. The stela of the scribe of recruits under Thutmose III, Intef, now at the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago (no. 14053), reproduces very closely three of Djehuty's columns/praises. Djehuty's col. 2 corresponds to lines 1–4. For a complete translation of the text, see Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, 228–30, and *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 184–85, no. 75. According to the museum's records, the stela was purchased by A. H. Gardiner at Sotheby's, London, in 1933. We are grateful to E. Teeter for this information and access to a photograph. The stela most probably comes from Intef's tomb chapel (TT 164) located at Dra Abu el-Naga south. The façade of this monument was also inscribed with a hymn displayed in columns next to a praising figure of the owner, and another hymn, to Amun-Ra Horakhty, was carved at the transverse hall; PM I<sup>3</sup>, 276. As already noted by Kampff, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 1:453, the decorative plan of this monument has a number of common features with TT 11.

27. Reading not certain. For the construction *p3wtj B n sp tpy*, see Leitz, *LGG* 3:23.

28. J. Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism* (London, 1995), 126 (e).

29. The channel sign (N36) mistakenly written for the door sign (O31).

30. Nuance uncertain.

31. Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, 129, n. 165.

32. See the stela OIM 14053, lines 8–12; Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, 228–30.

33. See M. Luiselli, *Der Amun-Re Hymnus des P. Boulaq 17 (P. Kairo CG 58038)*, *KÄT* 14 (Wiesbaden, 2004), 22, 27 (verse 4).

34. See below col. 15.

35. See below col. 21.

36. See the stela OIM 14053, lines 4–7; Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, 228–30.

37. Not *nht*-trees, as reconstructed by Sethe (*Urk.* IV:447, 4).

<sup>14</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Hail to you! Amun-Ra,...] May you grant that I satisfy myself with the food-offerings that you shall give to me inside your island of the righteous/justified ones.”

<sup>15</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Hail to you! Amun-Ra,...] May you grant that I rest in the city of eternity, in my tomb (*is*) forever.”

<sup>16</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty,] he says: [“Hail to] you! [Amun-Ra,...] *thw*-jars with invigorating waters.”

<sup>17</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Hail to] you! Amun-Ra, [...] consisting of the good (things) that you shall give to me.”

<sup>18</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Hail to you! Amun-Ra,...] May you grant that I open the path [...] that my *ba* is not turned back and he arrives.”

<sup>19</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Hail to you! Amun-Ra,...] the sacred bark of [millions] (*wi3 n [hh]*) rejoicing.”

<sup>20</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty,] he says: [“Hail to you! Amun-Ra,...] I [...] the good West, my *ba* being excellent like that of the ancestors.”

<sup>21</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Hail to you!] Amun[-Ra,...] your majesty [...I place myself upon ] my belly on behalf of your perfect/kind face every dawn.”

<sup>22</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Hail to you! Amun-Ra,] lord of Thebes [...].”

<sup>23</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Hail to you! Amun-Ra,] lord of eternity [...].”

<sup>24</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Hail] to you! Amun-Ra, lord of good [...].”

<sup>25</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Hail to you!] Amun-Ra, [...].”

<sup>26</sup>[The noble and leader... Djehuty, he says: “Hail to you!] Amun[-Ra,...].”

<sup>27</sup>The noble [and leader...] Djehuty, he says: “Hail to you! Amun-Ra, [who sets in the horizon(?)...] praising [... they] say: “May you reach it in peace (i.e. successfully)!”

Djehuty’s hymn addressed to Amun-Ra consists of a set of epithets describing the relevant features of the dual deity, and a set of petitions concerning the deceased’s wellbeing in the hereafter, including the maintenance of his tomb chapel and food offerings, the vital functions of his corpse, and the mobility of his spirit. Under the joint reign of Hatshepsut–Thutmose III, the local god Amun fully adopted a solar nature, becoming Amun-Ra, and fulfilled a major role in the funerary theology and rituals. In this respect, it has to be remembered that Djehuty’s tomb chapel was probably very close to the processional way of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, which linked Amun-Ra of Karnak with the main (royal) funerary temples and chapels on the West Bank, and that the hymn, carved in large scale on the façade and painted in yellow, was easily visible.

#### HYMN AT THE TRANSVERSE HALL

The inner part of Djehuty’s funerary monument has a second hymn, inscribed at the eastern wall of the northern wing of the transverse hall (i.e., “behind” the façade’s biographical stela). The wall is taken by a banquet scene, carved in raised relief, showing in large scale Djehuty and his parents (all three have suffered *damnatio memoriae*) sitting behind an offering table, while a few servants, distributed in three registers, approach them carrying jars and dragging cattle. Below the main characters, two “brothers” and three “sisters” of Djehuty, whose names and faces have also been intentionally erased, are holding and smelling lotus flowers, sitting on mats with small tables piled with food before each of them. Below the offering bringers, there is a group of musicians, singers, and dancers entertaining the banquet (fig. 6). Leading them is a corpulent harpist (labeled *hsw*), called Seni-res. Due to the deteriorated condition of the surface, the harpist’s eye cannot be seen and it is difficult to ascertain whether or not he was depicted blind. Behind him, there is a young man probably grasping the collar of a monkey on two legs, while holding what seems to be a basket with fruits (note that underneath the chair of Djehuty’s father there is a monkey



Fig. 6. Detail of the banquet scene in the transverse hall of TT 11, with musicians singing a hymn to Amun.

sitting down and eating fruits from a basket). He is also identified by name, Pay-itja, and he seems to be the singer (labeled *ḥsw*). The lyric is written above the group in thirteen short columns, with incised hieroglyphs colored in blue, consisting of a hymn to Amun (not written Amun-Ra) as creator god.<sup>38</sup> It is perhaps not unintentional that the opposite wall of the transverse hall is decorated with the so-called “fishing and fowling in the marshes” scene.

“Hail to you, who rises from the primeval waters (Nun), who [illuminates and inundates<sup>39</sup> the Two(?)] Land[s with] gold. Oh! Amun, father<sup>40</sup> of the gods, lord of heaven, lord of earth, lord of water. [Who creates] what is, who [causes to come about] the plants, and produces all that exists.<sup>41</sup> Who grants the breath (of life) to the one who praises him and assigns a (long) lifetime<sup>42</sup> to the one who acts on his water (i.e., who is loyal to him). Grant health to the calmed official, Djehuty,<sup>43</sup> of enduring existence.”

38. T. Säve-Söderbergh, “Eine Gastmahlsszene im Grabe des Schatzhausvorstehers Djehuti,” *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 280–85, figs. 2, 3. Text transliterated and translated also in Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, 11; and see also idem, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 192, no. 83; *Egyptian Solar Religion*, 116–17. For a study of the lyric’s rhythm, see G. Fecht, “Die Wiedergewinnung der altägyptischen Verskunst,” *MDAIK* 19 (1963), 92–94. More recently, M. Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe: Untersuchungen zur persönlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, *ÄAT* 73 (Wiesbaden, 2011), 318–19.

39. Säve-Söderbergh, “Gastmahlsszene im Grabe,” 283, nn. 3–4, fits in two verbs *ḥd* “leuchtet,” and *bḥ* “überflutet,” followed by Assmann. Below what seems to be the cobra-in-repose-sign (I10, *d*), there are traces of an undetermined bird-sign. The Cairo statue CG 921 has only the heron-on-a-perch-sign (G32), and reads: *bḥ tšw m nbw* “who inundates the lands with gold.”

40. Säve-Söderbergh, “Eine Gastmahlsszene,” 283, n. 5, mistakenly reads *nḥt* “stärkster(?)” but he is corrected by Assmann. In CG 921 it is written *it nṯw*.

41. Assmann (*Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, 11) transliterates *nb ntt*, but then translates “der das Seiende erschafft.” Säve-Söderbergh, “Eine Gastmahlsszene im Grabe,” 283, n. 7, translates “der die Pflanzen(?) [hervorbringt];” Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, 11, reads *shpr-sn-t3* following CG 921 (*irw ntt shpr sn t3 km3w wnn(t) nbt*), but suggests the emendation to *šn-t3* and translates “der die Gewächse entstehen läßt.”

42. In CG 921: *smnh* “ḥw.”

43. Säve-Söderbergh, “Gastmahlsszene im Grabe,” 283, takes the damaged sign as *p3*, and translates “Dieser, der bleiben wird!”; Assmann,

The same hymn was also inscribed, probably a few years later, on the legs of a small, limestone, kneeling statue of another overseer of the Treasury, called Djehuty-nefer (CG 921).<sup>44</sup> The wording of the two versions is so close that the latter helps to reconstruct the damaged areas of Djehuty's text.

The nature of Amun as creator and life generating god is manifested, at the end of the hymn, through his capacity to grant mankind health and life. The benevolent intervention for human well-being is presented as a reward for loyalty, and in that sense it recalls the alleged words of Thutmose I in Hatshepsut's "coronation inscription:" "He who shall praise her shall live (...) As for anybody who loves her in his heart and praises her every day, he shall prosper and flourish more than anything."<sup>45</sup>

The setting of the hymn within a banquet scene is peculiar, and the hymn departs from the standard lyrics of harpers' and orchestra songs.<sup>46</sup> In contrast to the façade's hymn, where Djehuty is the standing speaker, requesting the god's favor for himself, here he is part of the seated audience and the addressee of someone else's good wishes. The two different attitudes that Djehuty adopts bring to mind the panel carved on the southern sidewall of the open courtyard.<sup>47</sup> In the upper register, Djehuty is depicted twice, standing with his arms raised and pronouncing aloud a hymn inscribed in front of him,<sup>48</sup> while in the lower register he is shown sitting behind an offering table—this time alone—being entertained by a harpist<sup>49</sup> and two young women holding a *sistrum* and a *menat*-necklace, singing:

"[..., Djehuty.] Singing for you. May you be satisfied with what Amun-Ra<sup>50</sup> and Hathor, patroness of Thebes, grant you. May they grant you the sweet breath of life."

The scene on the sidewall probably immortalizes an ideal moment of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, whose procession would have passed in front of the courtyard. Below the scene, there is a small rock-cut bench carved along the wall (26 cm high and projecting 30 cm out from the wall), maybe designed to be occupied by the banquet's guests during the holy day; and by doing so they would have visually formed a lower register, sitting below Djehuty's figure, paralleling his "brothers" and "sisters" depicted in the banquet scene of the transverse hall.

#### HYMN ON THE ENTRANCE THICKNESS

The southern thickness of the entrance to the inner part of Djehuty's tomb chapel preserves part of a panel, 0.95 m wide, carved in raised relief and showing the owner striding out with his arms raised in a praising pose, accompanied by his father depicted in a smaller scale (fig. 7).<sup>51</sup> Djehuty's head is missing, and the name and face of Djehuty's father have been intentionally erased. Nevertheless, the smooth carving of the figures heightened by the

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*Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, 11, follows him and translates: "der bleibend fort dauern wird." The damage is undoubtedly a *damnatio memoriae* against Djehuty's name, and traces of the ibis on a stand can still be seen.

44. L. Borchardt, CG 654–950, 155. Only lower half preserved, provenance unknown. See also Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe*, 345–46.

45. *Urk.* IV:257, 14; 260, 8–11.

46. M. Lichtheim, "The Songs of the Harpers," *JNES* 4 (1945), 178–212; Galán, "Symbolic Blindness," *CdE* 53 (1978), 13–21; L. Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1991), 97–107. See also R. Tefnin, "À propos d'un vieux harpiste du Musée de Leyde et du réalisme dans l'art égyptien," *Annales d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie* 10 (1988), 7–26.

47. Northampton, *Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, pl. 10; Galán, "The Tombs of Djehuty and Hery," 783, fig. 3.

48. Diego Espinel, "The Cryptographic Texts of Djehuty (TT 11)."

49. The eye of the harpist was carved, but a break in the rock unfortunately runs through it.

50. While Djehuty's name and titles have suffered *damnatio memoriae*, the name Amun-Ra was left untouched.

51. Säve-Söderbergh, "Eine Gastmahlsszene," 287, fig. 4; Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, 11.



Fig. 7. Thickness of the entrance to the tomb chapel, showing Djehuty and his father striding out to adore the morning sun.

sidelight coming in, the transparency of the longer kilt enhanced by the preserved polychromy, and the detail of the hieroglyphs indicate that this transitional area of the monument was conceived to be highly significant.

An inscription was carved in front and above the figures, in columns to be read from left to right and separated by vertical lines. Out of seven(?) columns of text, only the lower half of the first two columns is preserved, which were the only ones that went all the way down, the rest stopping above Djehuty's hands and head, and thus taking slightly less than half of the panel's height.<sup>52</sup> Some of the signs have very faint traces of color. The text reads:

<sup>1</sup>"[... lord of] heaven, lord of earth, king of the gods, foremost of Karnak in <sup>2</sup>[...] I [come] to you [...] Ra, lord of heaven, who crosses the (highest) sky <sup>3</sup>[...]"

The southern thickness depicts the owner coming out from his tomb and praising the solar god at dawn, most probably Amun-Ra, to enjoy the offerings that would have been invoked and/or displayed outside the chapel. Unfortunately, the opposite thickness is completely destroyed.<sup>53</sup> Relying on the information available today, it seems that Djehuty was one of the first officials to decorate the thickness of the entrance to the tomb chapel with a solar hymn.<sup>54</sup>

Due to its early date, under the joint reign of Hatshepsut–Thutmose III, the three hymns carved on Djehuty's funerary monument (TT 11) constitute a relevant ensemble for the study of the development of solar religion in Thebes during the Eighteenth Dynasty. They also reflect the deep interest Djehuty seems to have had in writing, particularly religious texts, and in the visual potential of inscriptions and their integration into the architectural setting.

It is a great pleasure to dedicate this study on the intellectual and artistic achievements of Djehuty, Hatshepsut's overseer of the Treasury, overseer of the craftsmen, and above all scribe, to my former teacher at Johns Hopkins (1987–1993). Betsy was a constant source of knowledge and inspiration, and an example of professional and personal commitment. I was then a young Spaniard just landed in the US, and she taught me much more than Egyptology, though that was probably not her intention, and something I only understood years later. For my graduate years and beyond, I am deeply grateful to her.

52. The sixth column preserves at the very top a *nw*-sign followed by an offering-table sign (R1), *h3t* or *wdhw*. Fragments of the inscription have been recovered in the excavation of the courtyard and are now being studied by Diego Espinel.

53. Fragments found in the excavation of the courtyard, with incised hieroglyphs, seem to come from the northern thickness, and are currently under study. The tomb chapel of Iamnedjeh (TT 84), preserves only the northern thickness, which conveys a hymn to the setting sun Amun-Ra Atum; Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, 140–41.

54. See also TT 53; Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, 98–99. For earlier hymns to the sun god, see D. Franke, "When the sun goes down... Early solar hymns on a pyramidion stela from the reign of Sekehmra-shedtawy Sobekemsaf," in *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth–Seventeenth Dynasties)*, ed. M. Marée, OLA 192 (Leuven, 2010), 283–302, pls. 98–100.