

The Overseer of the Treasury Djehuty in TT 11, Speos Artemidos, and Deir el-Bahari

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Abstract

Djehuty, the “overseer of the treasury” and “overseer of works” during the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, took an active role on contemporary royal projects, as would be expected. The inscriptions and scenes in his tomb-chapel, TT 11, refer to the specific projects that he supervised and the responsibilities he assumed. Some of the roles that he exerted can be discerned in the royal monuments themselves, notably his involvement in the refurbishment and embellishment of a number of local temples in Middle Egypt, as well as the reckoning of the marvels from Punt that arrived in Thebes in year 9. Djehuty’s engagement in these endeavours connects TT 11 with Hatshepsut’s temples at Speos Artemidos and Deir el-Bahari, where private and royal spheres were brought together in the composition of monumental inscriptions and scenes.

Messages conveyed in stone, be they inscribed texts and/or figurative relief compositions, were meant to transcend the moment of their creation and reach future audiences. Even dated royal inscriptions or scenes eventually lose their immediacy and become timeless. The authors behind these compositions normally remain unidentified, as very few exceptions are signed, but there must have been an individual responsible for the conception of any given royal statement. In some cases, there are traces or hints that allow a hypothetical match to be made between a piece of work and an individual. Some have attempted the task of identifying the draftsmen of painted tombs,² but little has been done to connect royal inscriptions with their scribes, who are typically only known through their own monuments. The paper aims to call attention to some human aspects of inscription production. It also subtly connects the monuments of the private and royal spheres, which are

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2 Keller (2003); Laboury (2012); Laboury (2015).

commonly treated as two separate genres despite the fact that they were, for the most part, produced in the same high-elite social circle.³

To this end, the figure of Djehuty (TT 11) and his role in contemporary royal projects is examined, with the aim of establishing relationships between his self-presentation inscriptions on the façade of his tomb and in scenes of that monument's inner decoration, the inscription carved into the entablature of the rock-cut temple dedicated to Pakhet in Beni Hassan (i.e., Speos Artemidos), and the reliefs in the temple of Deir el-Bahari commemorating the expedition that Hatshepsut sent to Punt. The scrutiny of these relationships, connecting the private and the royal spheres, is the subject matter of the present article, which is dedicated to Susanne Bickel, whose analyses of funerary and royal texts and images constitute a model worth following, and have brought fresh insights to old sources and new archaeological discoveries alike.

Djehuty, owner of the rock-cut tomb-chapel TT 11, located in Dra Abu el-Naga North, reached the peak of his administrative career, and seems to have died, under the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Royal cartouches of both were carved side-by-side, or one after the other, throughout his funerary monument; hers always first. When the raid against Hatshepsut's memory was launched sometime after she disappeared from the political scene in year 22, the so-called "proscription", her name was erased also from Djehuty's monument. Djehuty must already have been dead by then, because her cartouche was not re-carved but was instead left hacked out,⁴ and there is not a single reference or hint to the sole reign of Thutmose III in TT 11. It is clear that Djehuty was an important person during their joint reign, given that his most conspicuous title in his tomb-chapel was that of "overseer of the treasury" and its variants,⁵ with his other main title being "overseer of works".⁶

TT 11 biographical façade inscription and Speos Artemidos façade inscription

Djehuty's biographical inscription, known as the "Northampton stela",⁷ was commissioned for the façade of his tomb-chapel – a publicly accessible and readily visible part of the monument – and describes the tasks and duties for which he was responsible (Fig. 1). Below the lunette and the first line, where the royal cartouches are located and serve as

3 For Middle Kingdom high officials taking part in the creation of royal inscriptions, see Galán (1998). See Derchain (1996) for general remarks on authors of texts in ancient Egypt.

4 Galán (2014: 248, n. 5).

5 Galán (2014: 249 and 269). Among the title variants are: "overseer of the treasury of the king", "overseer of the double house of silver", and "overseer of the double house of silver and overseer of the double house of gold", in some cases accompanied by the qualifier "senior".

6 Variants of this title were inscribed in the monument's shrine: "overseer of every work of the king", "director of every work of the lord of the Two Lands", and "director of every work in Karnak", each only mentioned once; Galán (2014: 269).

7 Spiegelberg (1900); *Urk.* IV, 419, 13–431, 5; Popko (2006: 245–259 and 268–271); Galán (2014: 248–249).



Fig. 1: Façade of the tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11). Photograph taken in January 2017, after the removal of the concrete and wooden protection built by the Antiquities Service in 1909 (© Proyecto Djehuty/J. Latova). The Northampton Stela is situated to the right.

headers for the inscription, the text is divided horizontally into two sections, visually distinguished by the insertion of a vertical column of text that descends to the bottom of the upper section and serves as an introductory phrase to each line. The fifteen lines of the upper section (lines 2–16) enumerate fifteen monuments and objects about which Djehuty states “I performed as chief, one who gives instruction(s) (*tp-rd*), I guided the craftsmen to work according to the tasks to be carried out...”. In the lower section, he describes along six uninterrupted lines (17–22) how he was in charge of registering in writing all the “marvels of Punt” that were brought to Thebes when the expedition sent by Hatshepsut returned successfully to Thebes in year 9 (of Thutmose III’s enthronement, and two years after she crowned herself king of Upper and Lower Egypt).⁸ The two sections of his biographical inscription are related to two contemporary royal monumental records: the façade inscription of Speos Artemidos at Beni Hasan, and the Punt expedition reliefs at Hatshepsut’s funerary temple in Deir el-Bahari, which will be discussed below.

The upper section of Djehuty’s biographical inscription describes his duties as “overseer of the treasury” in close relationship with that of “overseer of works” (Fig. 2). It is not by chance that these two titles appear together in the impressions of one of the two sets of Djehuty’s funerary cones, which were probably arranged in rows above the biographical inscription.⁹ The craftsmen working under Djehuty’s guidance were not so much

8 Desroches Noblecourt (2002: 122–123); Dorman (2006: 52–57); Maruéjol (2007: 38–40); Taterka (2016: 170).

9 Galán & Borrego (2006). The second set of funerary cones refers to Djehuty as “overseer of the cattle of Amun”, and these were probably displayed above the hymn to Amun-Ra carved on the

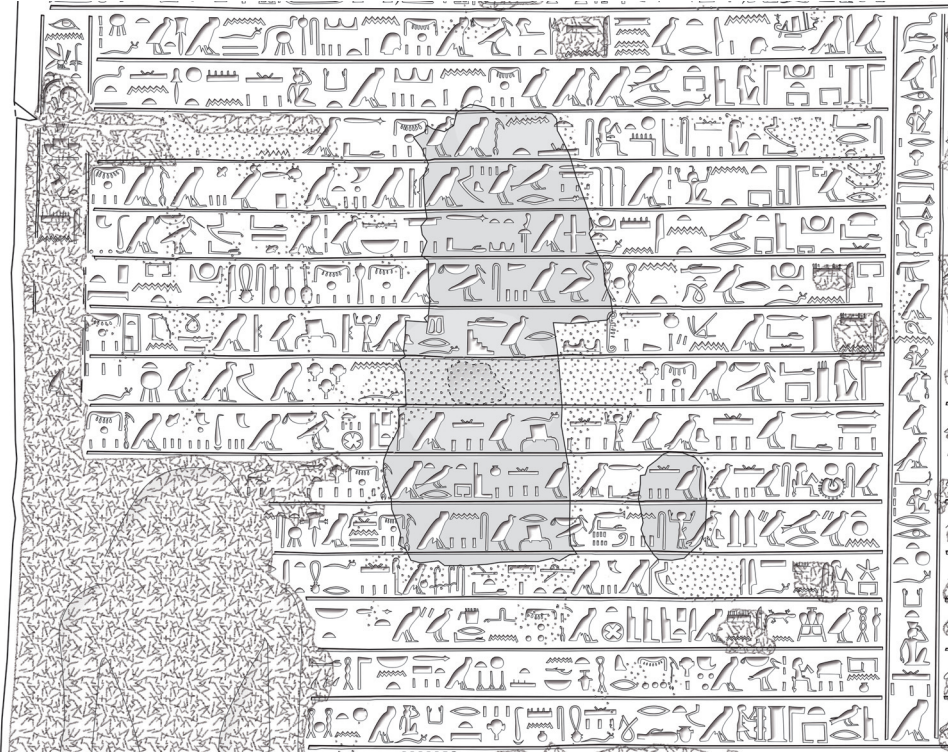


Fig. 2: Drawing of part of Djehuty's biographical inscription carved on the northern side of the façade (lines 2 to 16); the so-called "Northampton stela" (© Proyecto Djehuty/A. de Diego). The area shown with a grey background is now missing and has been reconstructed using Spiegelberg's squeezes, now kept at the Griffith Institute in Oxford.

concerned with building sacred edifices,¹⁰ but rather with the embellishment of their most significant elements and furniture, using the metals and semi-precious stones that he had collected as "overseer of the treasury". In lines 2 to 16 he lists where he operated and what exactly he supervised:¹¹

other side of the façade. Two hundred and sixty funerary cones have hitherto been found at the site, each of the two sets of impressions taking up approximately half of the total amount.

10 The only reference to Djehuty's involvement in a building activity may be found in line 20 of the second biographical inscription, carved on the northern end of the transverse hall, which lacks around half of its text, and where Djehuty states: *iw m33.n.i s'hc' wdnwt thnw* "I witnessed/inspected(?) how the heavy granite stone blocks of the obelisks were erected [...]." The passage has been reconstructed from Sethe's original hypothesis (Northampton, Spiegelberg & Newberry (1908: pl. XXXIV); *Urk.* IV, 437, 15–16) by making use of blocks found in the excavation of the courtyard. On the restoration of the stela, carried out by conservators and epigraphists, see Diego Espinel (in press).

11 The beginning of each line, containing Djehuty's titles, epithets, and name, have been omitted from the translation and left out from the drawing of Fig. 2 above, in order to emphasise his

- (2) “The sacred bark on the river *Weserhat-Amun*, worked from gold of the finest of the foreign lands;”
- (3) “The sanctuary¹² *Akhet-netjer*, its great place in electrum of the finest of the foreign lands;”
- (4) “Presentation of *Maat*, the noble portico of electrum ///;”¹³
- (5) “*Djeser-djeseru*, the temple of millions of years, its great door leaves plated (*km3*) in black copper and the reliefs in electrum;”
- (6) “*Kha-akhet*, Amun’s great place, his horizon that is in the west, every door leaf (made) in true cedar wood, worked from bronze;”
- (7) “The house of Amun, whose horizon endures forever, its floors worked from silver and gold;”
- (8) “Amun’s great shrine in ebony of Nubia, and the staircase underneath it, height and width, in pure alabaster from Hatnub;”
- (9) “The god’s palace, worked from gold and ///;”
- (10) “The large door leaves, great of magnificence in Karnak, worked from copper and bronze, and the reliefs in electrum;”
- (11) “The noble *wsh*-collars and large amulets of the great place in electrum and numerous precious stones;”
- (12) “The great obelisks, their height being 108 cubits, worked completely from electrum;”¹⁴
- (13) “The noble door Amun the Mighty, plated in a single sheet of copper, and its figures too;”
- (14) “The numerous altars of Amun in Karnak in electrum without limit and every precious stone;”
- (15) “The noble chests (*hnw*) worked from copper and electrum, every vessel¹⁵ and cloth with every precious stone for the god’s body;”
- (16) “The great place of the god’s chapel built in granite.”

Together with the titles “overseer of the treasury” and “overseer of works”, Djehuty mentions in his funerary monument that he acted as “governor in Herwer”, at some unde-

tasks. Only the physical or material descriptions of the religious buildings (or parts thereof) and their furnishing elements are included in the translations, while their metaphorical and symbolic associations are left aside. The aim of this article is not to publish the whole inscription, but rather to delve into Djehuty’s role and his presence in Hatshepsut’s enterprises.

12 The terminology related to sacred buildings and building elements mentioned in this section is discussed in the work of Spencer (1984), and the materials mentioned (*ʕt*, *ḥmty*, *ḥmty km*, *ḥsmn*) in Harris (1961: 21–22 and 50–64).

13 Niedziółka (2009).

14 Niedziółka (2003).

15 The translation of the passage *krḥt n ḥt nbt mnḥt* is not secure. The word *ḥt*, written with the sign Gardiner M3, is lacking the final *-t* and probably its vertical stroke, and the final *-t* of *nbt* is anomalously arranged within its ideal square. For a different translation, see Popko (2006: 254–255 and n. 358): “Gefäßen aus allerlei vortrefflichem Holz.”

terminated point of his administrative career and for an unknown period. In the religious sphere, not only did he function as “overseer of the cattle of Amun” in Thebes (see no. 9 above), but he also acted as “overseer of priests in Khemenu”, “great of five in the house of Thoth” and “overseer of priests of Hathor, lady of Qis”. These titles are related to places located in the 15th Upper Egyptian nome, the southern area of the 16th nome, and the 14th nome.¹⁶ The local connection of several titles to the region around Hermopolis indicates that Djehuty was particularly involved in the administration of this area, and probably had roots there. This regional origin might explain why he opted for complex and elusive funerary rituals with connections to Middle Egypt, and for Book of the Dead spells with Hermopolitan links for the decoration of his tomb-chapel.¹⁷

On the other side of the Nile, in front of Herwer and Khemenu, on the cliffs that rise above the East Bank (at the southern end of the 16th nome, 2 km south of Beni Hasan), is a rock-cut shrine known as Speos Artemidos, which was built and decorated during the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.¹⁸ On the lintel above the entrance is a large inscription that was carved to commemorate and memorialise how Hatshepsut restored temples, divine statues, furniture, rituals, and festival offerings. According to the inscription, these interventions took place in five locations, four of which coincide with Djehuty’s local titles mentioned in the previous paragraph:

- In the temple of the mistress of Qis (= Qusae; cols. 15–19), where Djehuty was “overseer of priests of Hathor, lady of Qis”.
- In the chapel of the town of Herwer, where Djehuty was “governor”.
- In the chapel of the town of Wenw (= Hermopolis), where Djehuty is listed as “overseer of priests” of the neighbouring town of Khemenu (cols. 22–24);¹⁹
- In the great temple of the great Thoth, which probably included the “house of Thoth” where Djehuty was high priest (i.e., “great of five”; cols. 24–31).
- A fifth location mentioned in the inscription is the temple of the great Pakhet (cols. 19–22), which is to be identified with Speos Artemidos itself.

16 For Herwer, a cult place of Khnum and Heqet in the 16th Upper Egyptian nome that was located on the West Bank and is probably to be identified with Manṭūt, see Kessler (1981: 120–185); Gomaà (1986: 312–315). For Qis, now known as al-Qūṣiya, which had strong links to Hathor, see Gomaà (1986: 281–283). Middle Kingdom nomarchs also acted as overseers of priests of the tutelary deity of their provinces, so Djehuty’s local titles appear to hark back to these administrative traditions (Kessler 1981: 141–142; Willems 2013: 360–392). During the New Kingdom the nomarch of Herwer, or the *Bürgermeister des Großraumes von Nrfwsj*, was also responsible for the cults of the main divinities of Hermopolis, and sometimes of Qusae, cf. Kessler (1981: 142–145); Auenmüller (2017–2018: 9–10). The authors would like to thank Johannes Auenmüller for sharing his work (including some as-yet unpublished material) on New Kingdom Hermopolitan prosopography.

17 Díaz-Iglesias Llanos (2017); Díaz-Iglesias Llanos (in press); De Meyer & Serrano (in press).

18 Gardiner (1946); Bickel & Chappaz (1988); Bickel & Chappaz (1993); Allen (2002); Goedicke (2004); Stadler (2009: 174); Chapaz (2014).

19 For Wenw and Khemenu, in present-day al-Ashmunein, which were originally two neighbouring sites that probably ended up being merged into one, see Kessler (1981: 83); Gomaà (1986: 290–296).

Among the temples and gods mentioned, it is “the great Thoth, who went forth from Ra” who receives most attention. References to this deity occupy nine and a half columns, more than any other god (four columns are devoted to the temple of the mistress of Qis, three to Pakhet and her temple, and only two to the chapels of Herwer and Wenw). The members of Thoth’s Ogdoad are even mentioned by name.

The close link between Djehuty’s local titles and the temples in the Hermopolitan area that were restored and improved following Hatshepsut’s command goes a step further. This becomes clear when one realises that most of the tasks described in the Speos Artemidos inscription coincide with the duties of the “overseer of the treasury” and “overseer of works”, as described in Djehuty’s biographical inscription above.

- In the case of the temple of the mistress of Qis, Hatshepsut ordered that it be built anew, and “fashioned (the statue of) its Leading Serpent in gold ///” (col. 18).
- In the temple of Pakhet, “the door leaves were made in acacia wood, inlaid (*ndbw*) in copper²⁰” (col. 21).
- In the great temple of the great Thoth, Hatshepsut “commanded for him an offering table in silver and gold, chests (*hnw*) of cloth and every vessel was set in its place [...] built his great temple in limestone of Tura, its gateways in alabaster of Hatnub, the door leaves in copper of Asia and the reliefs thereof in electrum” (cols. 24–25 and 27–28). Compare this statement with how Djehuty refers to his instructions to elaborate “the noble chests (*hnw*) worked in copper and electrum, every vessel and cloth with every precious stone for the god’s body” (see above no. 15).

It therefore seems probable that the works described at Speos Artemidos were actually carried out by the same Djehuty who was buried in tomb-chapel TT 11 in Thebes.²¹ He might also have been involved in the conception of the project. The inscription at Speos Artemidos contains a subtle trace of Djehuty’s identity in a connection between his name and that of the god Thoth, who inspires some of Hatshepsut’s actions according to col. 24: “since the great Thoth, who went forth from Ra, has been reveal[ing (this) to] me.” In a cunning interplay between the human and divine spheres, Djehuty might have used his homonymy with the deity to disguise his role in royal restoration projects at various localities in Middle Egypt.²²

20 Allen (2002: 4) translates the term as “bronze” in columns 21 and 28.

21 Allen (2002: 15) suggests that the project of rebuilding the temple of Hathor at Qis was entrusted to Djehuty, on the basis that the priestly title that he bore had connections with this locality. He does not elaborate on the wider implications of this issue, however.

22 Ragazzoli (2016: 157) brings forward the parallel case of Djehuty, a “royal herald” of Hatshepsut and owner of TT 110, who seems to have exploited his homonymy with the god Thoth to appropriate some of the epithets of the deity, and used them in the inscriptions of his tomb.

The Speos Artemidos inscription was probably carved sometime after Hatshepsut was crowned king in year 7 (of Thutmose III),²³ since the text opens with her full royal titulary alone, and takes over the whole first column. By leaving the name(s) of Thutmose III unmentioned, the inscription seems to pay homage to the newly-crowned Hatshepsut and serves as a justification for the announcement of her five royal names.²⁴ Moreover, following the royal names, the second column opens with a reference to Hatshepsut as “she whose great name (i.e., titulary) has been set and remains like the sky”, and in the epilogue it is pointed out that “when the sun disk shines, it will spread the rays over the titulary of my majesty” (cols. 41–42), as if this was the aim of the inscription, which is referred to as *wđj*, “decree” (col. 41), and as such was written in columns. Moreover, what can be discerned of the original decoration of the Speos interior agrees with the inscription on the façade, as it depicts the coronation of Hatshepsut by the god Amun, assisted by the host-goddess Pakhet.²⁵

The connection of the Speos Artemidos façade inscription with Hatshepsut’s coronation is consistent with the *topos* of the restoration and refurbishment of abandoned temples and cult practices, which was an essential aspect of the reinstatement of order/*m3ʿt* that every newly-crowned king undertook. It is also congruent with reference to the ruinous state of the country since “the time when the Asiatics were in the midst of the Delta, in Avaris” (cols. 36–37).²⁶ Indeed, the text places an explicit statement into the mouth of Hatshepsut: “I have increased the order/*m3ʿt* which he (Amun) has desired” (col. 9). In the epilogue, the inscription adds “this is the instruction (*tp-rd*) of the father of my fathers” (cols. 40–41), which is reminiscent of how Djehuty in his façade biography described his task as “overseer of the treasury” and “overseer of works” with the following words: “I performed as chief, one who gives instruction(s) (*tp-rd*)” (see above).

Yet, although the inscription refers to the “electrum of Upper Nubia” (col. 6) and the “copper of Asia” (col. 28), there is not a single reference to Punt or the spices and luxurious products that were brought from there soon after Hatshepsut assumed the kingship. It thus seems probable that the inscription was carved in year 7 or 8, or in year 9 before the Punt expedition returned. When it did, in year 9, Djehuty was in Thebes acting as “overseer of the treasury”, and registering in writing the “marvels of Punt,” which seems to indicate that he was carrying out his provincial duties before that date.

23 This is *contra* to the opinion of Bickel & Chappaz (1988: 13) and of Allen (2002: 15), who set the construction of Speos Artemidos towards the end of Hatshepsut’s reign. Goedicke (2004: 3–5 and 96–97) also favours an early dating.

24 For an earlier example that announces the full royal titulary adopted by a newly-crowned king (Thutmose I), see *Urk.* IV, 79, 5–81, 9; Lacau (1909: 11–13 and pl. V); Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 34006. Royal inscriptions dated to the beginning of a reign, opening with the five royal names and exalting the king’s early achievements over (Nubian) enemies, were carved in year 2 of Thutmose I (*Urk.* IV, 82, 3–85, 15), and in year 1 of Thutmose II (*Urk.* IV, 137, 1–141, 9).

25 Bickel & Chappaz (1993: 98–99).

26 See Allen (2002: 1) for bibliographical references.

The tomb-chapel (TT 11) of Djehuty may be thought of as a monument devoted to written culture.²⁷ Not only were the walls of the entire tomb-chapel exceptionally covered with inscriptions from the façade down to the burial chamber, but the texts – their contents, visual appearance, and relationship with the architecture – were also carefully composed.²⁸ Djehuty presented himself, and wished his contemporaries and future visitors to the monument to acknowledge him, as a skilled man of letters and a master designer of monumental inscriptions. Given his ability, there is a possibility that Djehuty was also the author behind the exceptional Speos Artemidos façade inscription. He may have even been inspired by that inscription to decorate the façade of his own rock-cut monument with two large symmetrical inscriptions (see above Fig. 1), his administrative curriculum vitae on the northern half, and a hymn to Amun-Ra, written in columns, on the southern half.²⁹ Either way, the two sets of inscriptions at Speos Artemidos and the tomb-chapel TT 11, and the underlying projects in sacred buildings, appear to be brought together by the figure of the “overseer of the treasury”, Djehuty. This interpretation constitutes an attempt to discover the identity of the scribe behind an anonymous and official text, and thus to connect the royal and private spheres, at least in terms of textual composition.³⁰

The reckoning of *ꜣntyw*-myrrh in TT 11 and in Deir el-Bahari’s Punt reliefs

The successful return of the Punt expedition seems to have marked a high point in Djehuty’s administrative career. His involvement is mentioned in the middle of the opening line in the lower section of his biographical inscription on the TT 11 façade: “Now, all the marvels and all the products of the finest of every foreign land, and the marvels of Punt were controlled for Amun of Karnak /// who has granted the Two Lands to him (i.e., Hatshepsut), as he (the god Amun) knew he (again, Hatshepsut) would control them for him. Indeed, it was I who registered them because I was excellent in his (Hatshepsut’s) heart” (lines 17–18; Fig. 3).

The marvels of Punt are also found at one of the focal points of the decoration of his tomb-chapel, on the western wall of the southern wing of the transverse hall.³¹ Here, a large-scale seated figure of Djehuty, holding a *shꜣm/hrꜣp*-scepter (with a honking goose

27 Ragazzoli (2016: 159) highlights the importance of the tomb-chapel of Djehuty in this sense, by stating “the walls of his tomb gather what we could call a compendium of the written culture of the time...”.

28 Diego Espinel (2014); Serrano Delgado (2014); Galán (2015); Díaz-Iglesias (2017).

29 Galán (2009); Galán (2014); Galán (2015). Prior to Hatshepsut’s reign it was not common in Thebes to decorate the façade of rock-cut private tomb-chapels with inscriptions or reliefs; Galán (2015: 185).

30 A parallel case is studied by Bickel (2013: 207–211), who argues that Amenhotep son of Hapu and Nebmerutef were among the driving forces behind the conception and layout of the *sed*-festival cycle in the Theban mortuary temple of Amenhotep III.

31 For the concept of *Blickpunktsbild*, see Engelmann-von Carnap (1999: 411–417); Hartwig (2004: 16–17 and 51).



Fig. 3: Beginning of the lower section of Djehuty's biographical inscription, which includes the reference to Punt (© Proyecto Djehuty/A. de Diego).

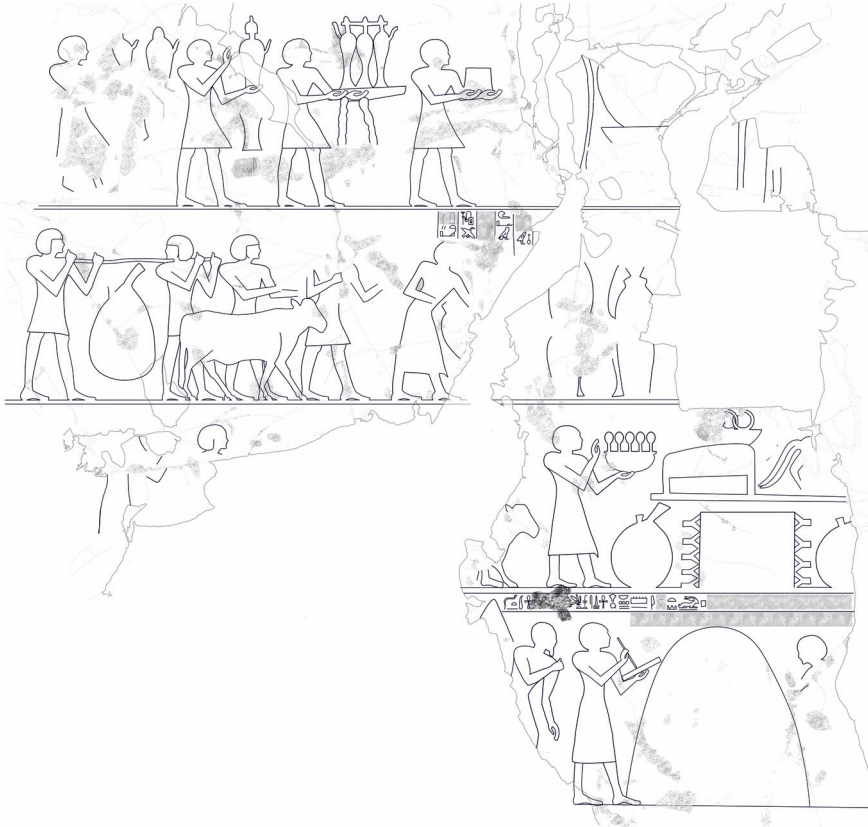


Fig. 4: Drawing of part of the western wall of the southern wing of the transverse hall in Djehuty's tomb-chapel (© Proyecto Djehuty/C. Ruiz).

under his chair), attends the arrival of tribute and the delivery of goods, which are arranged in four registers before him (Fig. 4 and 5). The details cannot be fully appreciated because the surface of the wall has suffered from running water and wind blowing through the tomb-chapel, with the result that large areas are badly eroded, mud and salt crystals are attached to the surface, and large gaps and wide cracks are present. Nevertheless, once the crust of mud was removed, it was possible to reconstruct the scene and identify in the



Fig. 5: Detail of the scene on the western wall of the southern wing in the transverse hall
(© Proyecto Djehuty/C. Ruiz).

lower register what seems to be a heap of *3ntyw*-myrrh³² in front of a standing figure, reckoning the amount and facing Djehuty. Behind him there is a second male figure adopting a respectful pose, with his torso slightly leaning forward, and his right arm across his chest with the hand grasping the opposite shoulder. This figure is wearing a fitted cap and has a pointed beard, closely resembling the outline of the chief of Punt depicted in the Punt tableau at Deir el-Bahari (Fig. 6). Behind him is someone holding a small conical heap, which could be *3ntyw*-myrrh or another spice.³³ There was a two-line caption above the scene, but this is now almost completely worn away and the only legible section reads: “///Punt, Amun lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, on behalf of the life, prosperity, and health of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt /// given life forever///.” Cattle are shown being brought in on the two registers above, together with large bags and metal vessels of the *dd.t*-type that are usually associated with Minoan people,³⁴ while metal rings can be identified on top of a chest. Elaborate vessels and other containers, probably related with temple rituals, are carried by a row of men in the upper register.

32 Other high officials under the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, and later, include large heaps of myrrh in the decorative programmes of their tomb-chapels, and this attests to the importance of Punt’s expedition within the events of the time or to their involvement in it. This can be seen in the monuments of: Puyemre (TT 39), Rekhmire (TT 100), Min (TT 143, temp. Thutmose III–Amenhotep II), and Amenmose (TT 89, temp. Thutmose IV–Amenhotep III). Hapuseneb (TT 67) included aromatic trees in the decoration of his tomb. For descriptions and bibliographical references of the mentioned sources, see most recently Breyer (2016: 37–40 and 645–648, pls. 30–31 and 35–38).

33 See a similar figure in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100); Davies (1943: pl. XVII).

34 Wachsmann (1987: 64–66 and pl. 58, no. 23); Laboury (1990: 105–107).

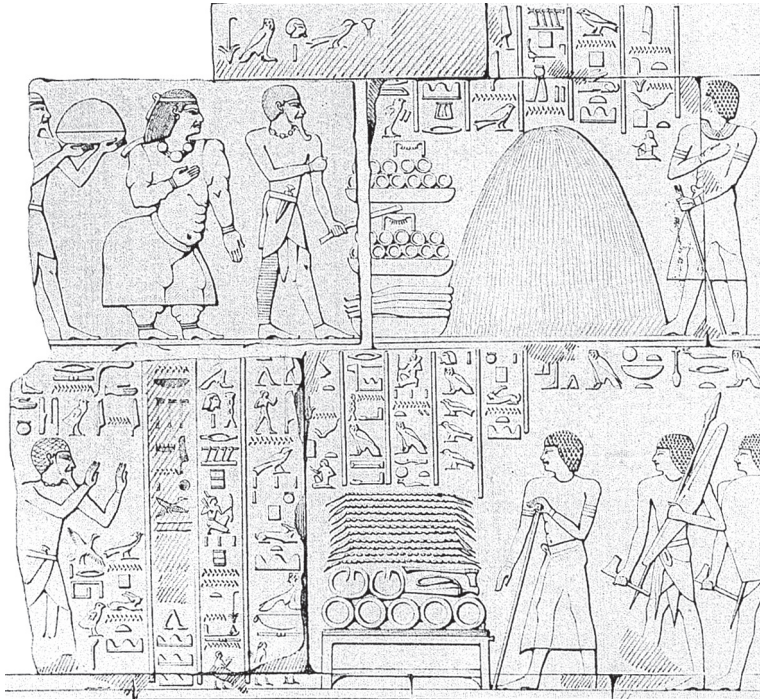


Fig. 6: Detail of the Punt reliefs at Deir el-Bahari with a double depiction of the chief of Punt (Naville 1888: pl. 69).

Hatshepsut also appears to have regarded the Punt expedition as one of the highlights that impelled her rulership, and it was consequently described in detail throughout the whole southern wing of the second terrace of her funerary temple at Deir el-Bahari.³⁵ Once the exotic and luxury items had been unloaded at the fluvial quay in Thebes, they would have been registered and stored. This would probably have taken place in Karnak temple and, for this reason, two deities assumed this responsibility in Hatshepsut's idealised account of the event (Fig. 7).³⁶ The goddess Seshat is depicted supervising the weighing and reckoning of the silver, gold, and turquoise that had been gathered as the contribution of the southern foreign lands. The god Thoth/Djehut(y) is shown overseeing the assembly and reckoning the great quantity of fresh *ꜥntjw*-myrrh from Punt.

The contrast between how Seshat and Thoth were depicted in the registration and storage might be of significance. While Seshat, overseeing the weighing of precious metals, is assisted by two other gods (Horus, who manipulates the balance, and Dedwn, foremost of Nubia amid the western desert), Thoth/Djehut(y) is alone, without any other deities near him, and only relying on human assistance.

35 Diego Espinel (2005); Diego Espinel (2011: 326–376); Breyer (2016: 622–642 and pls. 19–28).

36 Naville (1898: pls. 79–81).

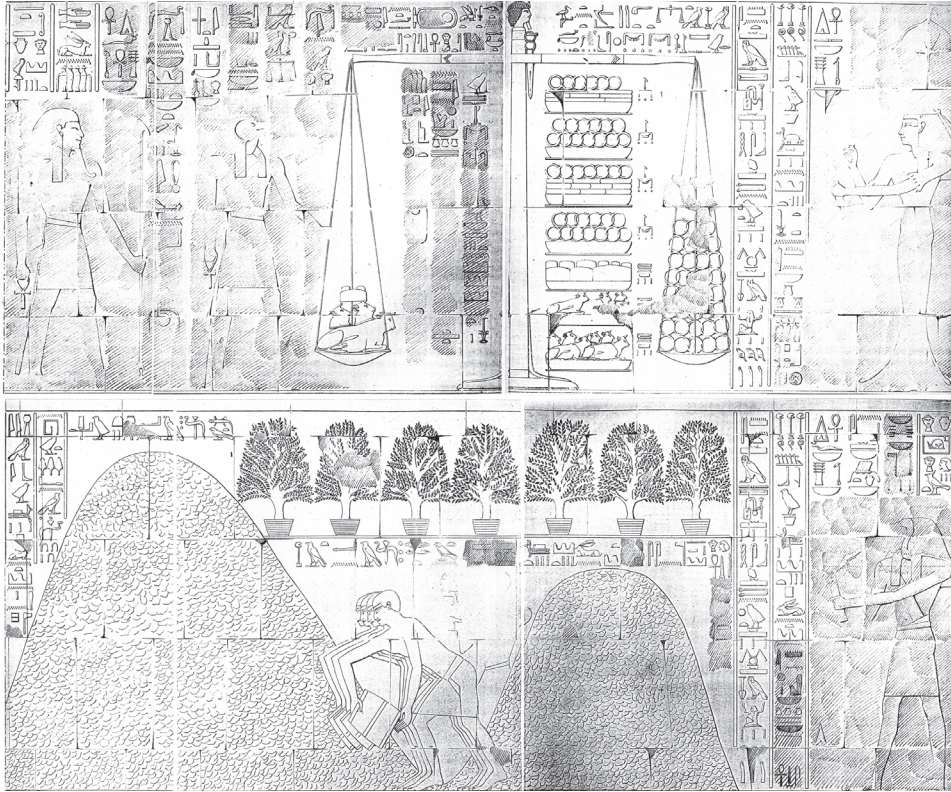


Fig. 7: Reckoning the *3ntyw*-myrrh from Punt by Thoth, and the silver, gold, and turquoise from the southern foreign lands by Seshat (Neville 1988: pl. 79).

The *3ntyw*-myrrh is shown being piled in heaps by four labourers in identical poses, each one operating a bucket, and leaned forward with bent knees. A standing male figure was squeezed in behind them, between this group and a second, smaller heap of myrrh. When the standing man was traced and carved there was no room for his legs, which remain hidden from the beholder's perspective, and this seems to indicate that this figure was added only after the scene had been designed and executed.

The intrusive figure, once finished, was afterwards washed away and the relief smoothed over, seemingly in order to remove him from the scene. This emendation appears to have been done before the whole panel was finished, because the erasure was carried out with great care so as not to damage or alter the rest of the scene, instead of being violently hacked out some time after its completion. Despite these efforts to obliterate the figure, Édouard Neville was able to outline his silhouette and its accompanying caption before 1898. In February 2014, we compared his epigraphic drawing with the scene itself, using a sharp raking light before dawn (Fig. 8), and were able to confirm all the details that



Fig. 8: The *ꜣntyw*-myrrh being piled in heaps by workmen supervised by “The scribe and overseer of the treasury, Djehuty” (©Proyecto Djehuty/J. Latova).

Naville traced.³⁷ The text before the figure is partially legible, and the caption can safely be reconstructed as: “The scribe and overseer of the treasury, Djehuty”.³⁸ The man is wearing a kilt, has a bare torso and a bald head. The position of his arms, slightly bent in front of him, suggests that he was writing and was therefore depicted in the same posture as the god Thoth/Djehut(y) standing behind the second heap of myrrh.

The duplication, whereby the figure of a man called Djehuty replicates the pose of the god Thoth/Djehut(y) behind him, in which both are standing before a heap of myrrh and writing, seems to be an intentional play on images and words. The relationship between the two sets up a parallel between the earthly and the divine domains, underlined by the fact that both are serving in an official capacity as scribes and bear the same name. The pun is more noticeable here than in the case of the Speos Artemidos inscription mentioned above, and was probably quite obvious to the Egyptian audience. It was probably also

37 A similar photograph is published by Desroches Noblecourt (2002: in a plate without number, and described on page 234).

38 Bickel (2013: 207 and fig. 2).

considered quite outrageous, at least by someone powerful enough to have had the figure of the “overseer of the treasury” erased shortly after it was carved.

Since the beginning of the Egyptian monarchy, and the development of an iconographic programme to define and disseminate the ideological background for its authority, the king was presented as an earthly intermediary for the invisible and transcendent god on earth,³⁹ who carried out his commands with divine guidance and assistance, even performing synchronized actions.⁴⁰ Over time, high officials took over the king’s role as protector and executor of the divine order/*m3ʕt*, and occasionally showed themselves in their monuments replicating some of the king’s duties and actions. However, it is uncommon to find a high official playing the same role and actually emulating a deity behind him. In this regard, when the “overseer of the treasury” Djehuty added a figure of himself emulating the god Thoth going about his scribal duties, he was probably regarded as having gone too far.

Other high officials were also included in the original design of the Punt expedition tableau, but more discreetly and without being mentioned by name, such as the “royal commissioner” who led the expedition and exchanged goods in foreign lands with the chief of Punt.⁴¹ In a different context, but still within Hatshepsut’s funerary temple, two high officials are named in a scene depicting three men who take part in an official reception, listening to a royal command while standing respectfully in front of Hatshepsut, who is sitting inside a royal kiosk.⁴² The first is identified as “the overseer of the seal, Nehesy,” probably the individual who acted as “royal commissioner” of the Punt expedition, and whose name was left unrecorded in the scene just described. The second is “the overseer of the house of Amun, Senenmut.” The third is not named, but his figure is accompanied by the caption “the noblemen of the king, the officials of the palace.”⁴³ Indeed, the context and pose of the erased “overseer of the treasury” Djehuty, who was depicted mimicking the god Thoth/Djehuty as a scribe, is quite different from those of the group showing respect to the king.

The fact that the figure of Djehuty was erased from the scene connects his fate at Deir el-Bahari with the *damnatio memoriae* that his name and figure suffered in his tomb-chapel. However, while the former was done carefully, with the surface being rubbed to

39 See the composition carved on the ivory comb of King Wadje/Djet of the First Dynasty; Cairo Egyptian Museum, JE 47176.

40 See, for example, the “poetical stela” of Thutmose III (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 34010), which describes the coordination between the plans and commands of Amun-Ra and the policies and actions carried out by the king against the foreign lands: Lacau (1909: 17–21 and pl. VII); *Urk.* IV, 1656, 5–7. A self-explanatory figurative composition showing the king in action being guided and assisted from behind by a god, Montu-Ra, may be seen in Thutmose IV’s chariot; Carter & Newberry (1904: pls. X and XII).

41 Naville (1898: pl. 69). The chief of Punt and his wife, unlike the Egyptian high official, are mentioned by name (whether they be true or not).

42 Naville (1898: pls. 85–86).

43 *Urk.* IV, 354, 15–17; Diego Espinel (2011: 371–372).

erase the figure and make it invisible, the latter was executed with violence, to make the animosity against him undeniable.

Conclusion

The line separating royal and private spheres was, in general terms, sharp, clear, and acknowledged by both parties. Certain circumstances, however, granted high officials the chance to cross this line, overcoming the precepts of decorum. Monumental inscriptions and figurative relief scenes, conceived and/or carried out under their supervision, gave such high-ranking individuals the opportunity to include themselves in a more-or-less explicit way, even in royal contexts. This was particularly true in Nubia and outside the Nile valley, where control over decorum was less stringent and only occasionally did some officials dare to infiltrate the royal monuments built in core traditional Egyptian lands.

Yet the anomalous situation of the coregency between Thutmose III and Hatshepsut, particularly following the latter's (self)-coronation in year 7, seems to have encouraged the creativity and self-awareness of some of the higher officials in the royal administration.

The large commemorative inscription carved into the façade of the rock-cut Speos Artemidos shrine at Beni Hasan was intended to exalt the re-imposition of order by the newly crowned king Hatshepsut, and emphasise her divine connections. It also seems to have given the scribe Djehuty, owner of TT 11, the chance to immortalise himself on a royal monument through indirect references to his involvement in the enhancement and embellishment of local temples in that area of Middle Egypt. A possible pun on the connection between his name and that of the god Thoth, as the inspirer of royal policies, indicates that Djehuty might have been the promoter and/or author behind the inscription.

Written compositions were the ideal media to attempt this kind of unorthodox venture, because the fifteenth century BCE population at Beni Hasan would have had limited literacy. A much higher risk would have been taken by pursuing this goal in a figurative scene, which was accessible to a broader audience, and, in a royal mortuary temple under construction at Thebes, would have been the focus of attention for the whole court and the king him/herself. Yet this is what Djehuty seems to have dared. He inserted himself into the Punt reliefs at Deir el-Bahari, and established a visual parallel between his figure and that of the god Thoth, who was standing behind him in the same scribal attitude.

His audacity did not go unnoticed. Djehuty's figure and name were soon smoothly erased from the royal funerary temple, and bitterly hacked out in TT 11. It is difficult to posit a connection between the two obliterations, which could have taken place several years apart. Yet the ups and downs of Djehuty's career, and his aspirations to embed his name into Egyptian social memory add humanity and personality to his figure. Moreover, the relationship between Djehuty and his monument with king Hatshepsut and her monuments adds a human dimension to these everlasting royal inscriptions and figurative scenes.

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