

THE HYMN TO PTAH AS A DEMIURGIC AND FERTILITY GOD ON O. TURIN CGT 57002: CONTEXTUALISING AN AUTOGRAPH BY AMENNAKHTE SON OF IPUY

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ABSTRACT

During a research stay at the Museo Egizio in September 2014* – which was targeting documents potentially written by the scribe of the necropolis Amennakhte¹ (v) son of IpuY (ii), such as P. Turin Cat. 1879+ [TPOP Doc ID 9](#) (Turin Papyrus Map) and O. Turin CGT 57001 (Hymn to Ramesses IV) – we observed that the state of preservation of O. Turin CGT 57002 is much better² than could be inferred from the facsimile, hieroglyphic transcription and picture published by López.³ This prompted us to build upon Bickel and Mathieu’s analysis⁴ and to study this piece anew. In this paper, we first provide a revised hieroglyphic transcription, an annotated translation and comments on the content and motivations for composing this hymn to Ptah. In a second step, we situate the text within the growing corpus of Amennakhte’s literary compositions. We then contextualize the hymn among the scribe’s expressions of religious piety and discuss the *Sitz im Leben* of this particular hymn. Finally, we argue that this text is likely to be an autograph. As such, the date of copy can be used as a chronologically fixed point for the analysis of Amennakhte’s handwriting.

1 We are deeply grateful to Federico Poole (Museo Egizio), who provided us with the best possible working environment at a time when the museum was undergoing a complete renovation for its reopening in April 2015, and to Susanne Töpfer (Museo Egizio), who enabled us to carry out a final inspection of the ostrakon in September 2021. We further thank Bernard Mathieu (Montpellier) for insightful comments on an earlier draft of this paper and Philipp Seyr (Liège) for suggestions regarding the hieroglyphic transcription of several hieratic signs. All mentions of Amennakhte in this paper refer to Amennakhte (v), cf. Davies, *Who’s Who*, 1999, pp. 105–18. For an overview of the life and written production of this scribe, see Dorn and Polis, in Gasse and Albert (eds.), *Études de documents hiératiques inédits*, 2019, pp. 15–35.

2 This might be the result of conservation work conducted after López’ publication (cf. n. 3). Maspero, *RecTrav* 2 (1880), 117 states that “[l]es textes de cet Ostracon sont des fragments d’hymne que le salpêtre, dont les efflorescences couvrent la pierre, rend difficile à lire.” Such a description does not apply to O. Turin CGT 57002 anymore and traces of interventions to clean the surface are visible on both sides (see especially the whitish interlines).

3 López, *Ostraca ieratici*, III/1, 1978, pls. 3a–4a with López, *Ostraca ieratici*, III/4, 1984, p. 191 (picture of v^o).

4 Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), pp. 45–47.

1. THE HYMN TO PTAH OF O. TURIN CGT 57002

1.1. Description⁵

This ostrakon of the Drovetti collection consists of two joining pieces of limestone (Cat. 2162 and Cat. 2164), measuring 21.5 cm (width) by 15 cm (height). On both sides chips are missing in the area of the break, with a more substantial loss at the top-center of the recto (= right-center of the verso). The hymn is punctuated with red dots and the text of the verso is perpendicular to the recto (top recto = right verso). The recto is inscribed with seven lines that follow the shape of the ostrakon, hence shorter at the top and longer towards the bottom; the beginning and end of all the lines are preserved, except for the second half of the first line. The verso bears eleven well preserved lines: the end of line 6 has been intentionally left blank because of an original irregularity on the surface of the ostrakon, while the beginning of line 7 and 8 are lost because of the aforesaid missing fragment.

1.2. Hieroglyphic transcription

Digital images studied with raster graphic editors⁶ allowed us to validate (e.g., r^o 5) and emend (e.g., r^o 7) readings by López, but also to propose hieroglyphic interpretations for sections of hieratic that had not been transcribed so far (e.g., r^o 3 and 4). Illustrative results for the recto are visualized in [Fig. 3].

⁵ For additional inventory numbers, a short description and previous literature, see López, *Ostraca ieratici*, III/1, 1978, p. 17.

⁶ See Grandet, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 220.

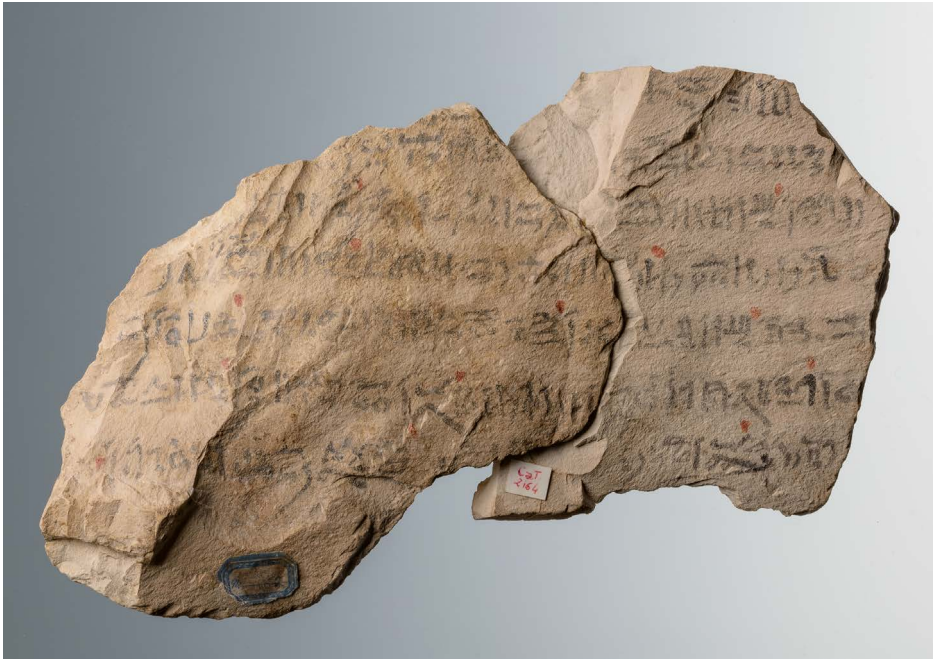


Fig. 1 O. Turin CGT 57002, r° (Photo by Nicola Dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

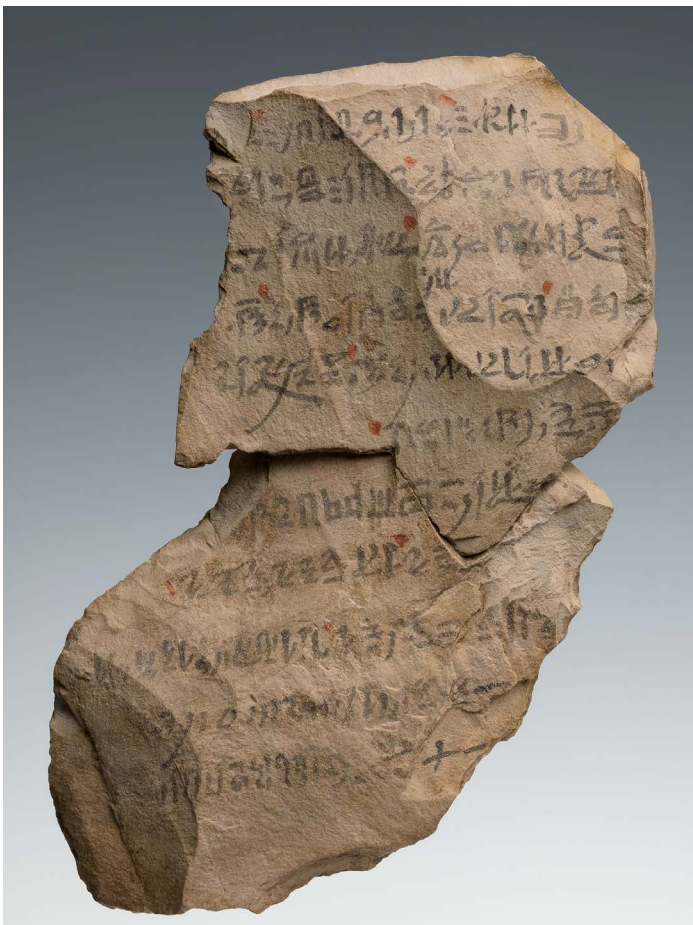


Fig. 2 O. Turin CGT 57002, v° (Photo by Nicola Dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).


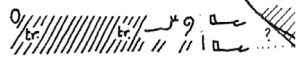


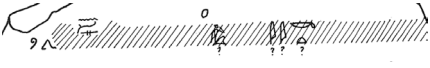


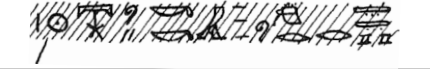




r° 3		López	
		Here	
r° 4		López	
		Here	
r° 5		López	
		Here	
r° 7		López	
		Here	

Fig. 3 Enhanced digital images of O. Turin CGT 57002, r° (Photo by St. Polis).

While digital technologies lead to substantial progress in understanding ancient monuments or artefacts like the ostracon under discussion,⁷ it often proves difficult to communicate the results efficiently, since one regularly has to play successively with different types of filters. The pictures of [Fig. 3] have been adjusted in the hope that readers can falsify our suggestions.

⁷ See recently Piquette, in Hoogendijk and van Gompel (eds.), *The Materiality of Texts*, 2018.

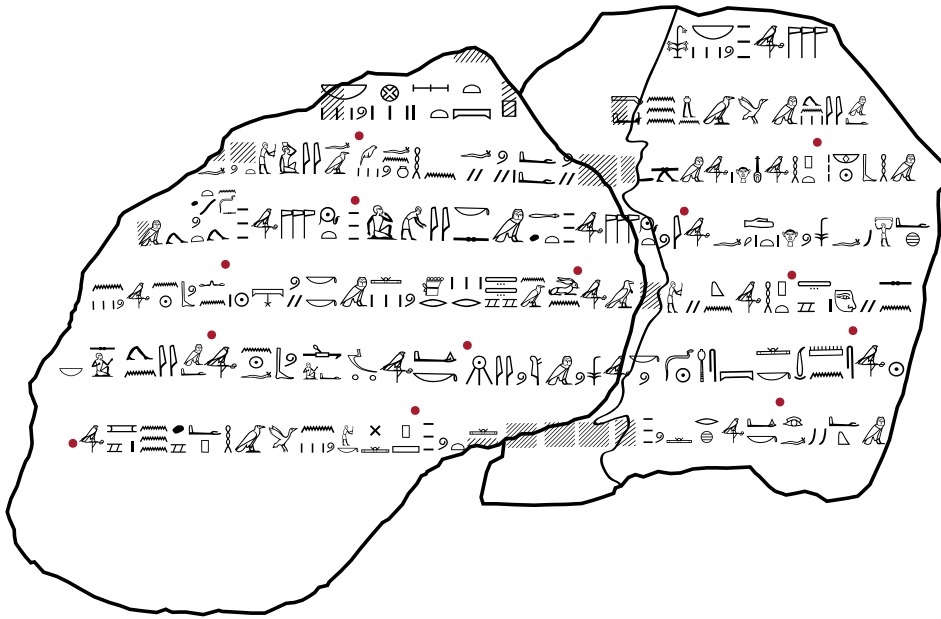


Fig. 4 Hieroglyphic transcription of O. Turin CGT 57002, r° (drawing St. Polis).

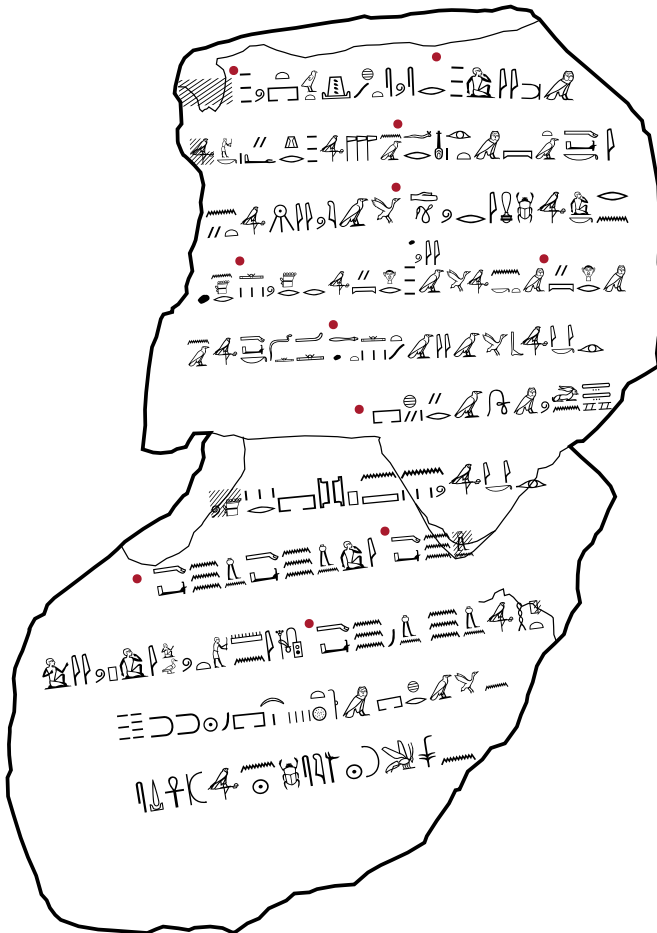






Fig. 5 Hieroglyphic transcription of O. Turin CGT 57002, v° (drawing St. Polis).












1.3. Transliteration, translation and notes


<i>nṯr.w nb.w šm[^c.w mḥy.w...]</i>	^(ro 1) All gods from Upper [and Lower] Egypt [...],
<i>myn, m p3 in-mw [...] p.t,</i>	^(ro 2) come ^{pl} , it is the water carrier [who ...] the sky,
<i>sp3.wt nb.w m ḥb °</i>	all the districts ^(ro 3) are celebrating.
<i>Pth nfr-ḥr mz</i>	Ptah, beautiful-of-face, presents
<i>[...].wy ^c.wy=fy n ḥfn.w °</i>	his two [...] and two arms to the hundreds of thousands.
<i>f3y.tw=f, ḥ=f sw ḥr ḏr.t=f °</i>	May it be carried, ^(ro 4) may he lift it up with his hand!
<i>iw [p]sq̄.t ^c3.t m ksy.w °</i>	[The] Great [Enne]ad is bent down (in adoration),
<i>psq̄.t nqs̄.t iw.t m sn-t3 °</i>	(and) the Lesser Ennead has come ^(ro 5) prostrated.
<i>Pth kny [...]ty °</i>	Ptah, the brave [and ...],
<i>wn n3 t3.w r-ḏr.w m kk.wy °</i>	all the lands were in obscurity,
<i>mn wbn n=w R^c °</i>	^(ro 6) Ra could not rise for them,
<i>smn=k p.t, šḥd=k sw m šwi °</i>	but you established the sky, illuminated it with light,
<i>dī=k m3 w^c wbn=f °</i>	and let one see his rising.
<i>myn, z nb, m ^ck3=f °</i>	Come ^{pl} , all men, ^(ro 7) in his presence,
<i>dī=k rḥ=w [...] °</i>	May you let them know [...].
<i>pš-k n.w p3 ḥ^cpy ° m dnj.w(t) °</i>	May you share the flood with them, ^(vo 1) shouting,
<i>r swšḥ šn.wt=w °</i>	so as to enlarge their granaries.
<i>[²t3y²]=k t3 p.t m ir.t nfr °</i>	May you ² fill ² ^(vo 2) the sky with good deeds:
<i>n3 nṯr.w ḥry ^c=k °</i>	the gods are under your authority,
<i>rn=k ḥpr mi rwd °</i>	^(vo 3) your name is now the-firm-one,
<i>p3 šwy nty m ḥry °</i>	you, sunlight who is ^(vo 4) in heaven,
<i>ntk p3y=w ḥry r-ḏr=w °</i>	you are their superior of them all
<i>n-ḏr iry=k b(i)3j.wt ^c3.t °</i>	^(vo 5) when you do great marvels.
<i>ḥ-d=k n3 t3.w wnw m w-l-ḥ °</i>	May you overlay the ^(vo 6) lands that were like a forecourt:
<i>iry=k n=w nšp.w r-ḏr[.w] °</i>	^(vo 7) may you make gates for them all
<i>[... i]n mw °</i>	^(vo 8) [...] water-carrier.
<i>i in-mw in-mw °</i>	Oh water-carrier, water-carrier,
<i>[...] Pth, in mw, in-mw °</i>	^(vo 9) [...] Ptah, bring water, water-carrier!
<i>sš Imn-nḥt s3 Ipwy n p3 ḥr m ḥsb.t</i>	(made by the) scribe of the Tomb Amennakhte, son of
<i>4 3b.t 1 pr.t sw 27 n nswt bitj Wsr-</i>	Ipyu, ^(vo 10) in year 4, 1 st month of Peret, day 27 ^(vo 11) of
<i>M3^c.t-R^c ḥpr-n-R^c ^c.w.s</i>	the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Ramesses V L.P.H.

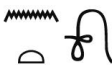
Notes⁸



- r^o 1 For the phrase *ntr.w nb.w šm^c.w mhy.w*, see the parallel in the royal hymn of O. DeM 1223, r^o 4 (with Fischer-Elfert, *Lesefunde*, 1997, pp. 73–77).
- r^o 2 The translation “Allons vers le Porteur d’eau” (Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 [1993], p. 47), which is interpreted as a possible reference to a pilgrimage to Memphis, is not likely for *myn m p3 in-mw* (the motion verb *iwi* refers to a motion towards the deictic center, hence “to come”, and *m* cannot be used as an allative marker). Therefore, we suggest to understand *myn* as a general invocation to the gods (“come^{PL}”) and the prepositional phrase that follows as the first part of a cleft sentence introduced by *m*. To the best of our knowledge, the spelling of *in-mw* ‘water-carrier’ with the classifiers  is only attested in this text (see Eichler, *SÄK* 17 [1990], p. 141, n. 47). Regarding the spelling  for *sp3.wt* (not *sp3w.t niw.t*), see the hymn to Thot of O. DeM 1101, r^o 5 and O. DeM 1180, v^o 3 (with Fischer-Elfert, *Literarische Ostraka*, 1986, pp. 23, 25).
- r^o 3–4 The reading  *tw=f, h=f sw hr dr.t=f* does not suffer much doubt, but the precise meaning of this sentence is not easily forthcoming because of the unclear reference of the anaphoric pronouns. The most likely interpretation is that the masculine dependent pronoun *sw* stands for *st* and refers to the feminine *p.t* ‘sky’ (note that *sw* is used instead of *st* as an anaphora of *p.t* in r^o 5). For *h p.t* ‘to lift up the sky’ (originally associated with Shu) as an expression of the demiurgic powers of gods, see the *Great Hymn to Amon* in P. Boulaq 17, 2,7 & 7,6 (= Luiselli, *Der Amun-Re Hymnus*, 2004, p. 54 with comments on p. 9). On this aspect of Ptah, see in particular Berlandini, *RdE* (1995), pp. 10–12 (with previous references). Note that the use of the hand for lifting up the sky in relation to Ptah is already attested on a late Eighteenth Dynasty stela, probably from Deir el-Medina (BM EA 286 = Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, 1925, pl. 41). For further details about the *h p.t* festival, see under §1.4.
- r^o 4 For gods that are *m ks(y).w*, see e.g., P. Boulaq 17, 7,4 (Luiselli, *Der Amun-Re Hymnus*, 2004, pp. 81–82) and O. OIM 25346, r^o 4 (Foster, in Silverman [eds.], *For His Ka*, 1994, pp. 91–92); this image goes back to the *PT* (e.g., §538b). The classifier  with *ksi* is certain but no parallel is forthcoming.

⁸ References to parallel texts already cited in Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), n. 89–96 are not repeated below.

- r° 5 The epithet of Ptah that comes after *kny* ‘brave’ and ends with  eludes us. The phrase *n3 t3.w r-dr.w* occurs in another text signed by Amennakhte: O. Turin CGT 57001, r° 8. For (*n3*) *t3(.w) m kkw* as a metaphor for death, see the *Great Hymn to Aton* (Tomb of Eje), l. 3 (= Sandman, *Texts Akhenaten*, 1938, p. 93,17); other parallels include *Heavenly Cow* (Tomb of Sethi), 34; O. DeM 1066, r° 3, P. Berlin P 3049, col. 8,3, P. BM EA 10059, 14,12.
- r° 6 López’ reading  (*Ostraca ieratici*, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to , and consequently the translation “et illuminer ce qui est dans l’ombre (?)” (Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 [1993], p. 47) to “and may you illuminate it (i.e., the sky) with light”. Ptah is called *p3 šwy nty m hry* “oh sunlight who is in heaven” in v° 3–4.
- v° 2–3 The etymological word play between *hr ʿ=k* ‘under your authority’ and *hry-ʿ=k* ‘your assistant’ is certainly intended and points to the apprenticeship (Lazaridis, in Froot and Wendrich (eds.), 2010) that takes place in the educational context of Deir el-Medina. On *rwḏ*, see the hymn to Ptah of P. Berlin 3048, 5,5 (= Wolf, *ZÄS* 64 [1929], 24,37): *stš=k tw m rwḏ ʿ.wy=k* “you stand yourself erect thanks to the firmness of your arms”.
- v° 4 The *supra lineam* emendation is not *p3y=f* (pace López *Ostraca ieratici*, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a), but most probably *p3y=w* with  over an erased .
- v° 5 On the different meanings of *b(i)3j.t ʿ3.t*, see Posener, *RdE* 16 (1964). For similar spellings of the initial syllable , see Posener, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), pp. 99–102. Note that, when the expression has the meaning ‘bad temper’ – as in another text by Amennakhte (O. Gardiner 25, v° 6) – the noun is normally written with the classifier(s)  (see already the observations made by Weill, *RdE* 3 [1938], pp. 69–79 regarding the classifiers attested with this root).
- v° 5–6 The end of the hymn consists of a metaphor comparing Egypt (the Two Lands) to an unfinished forecourt. This metaphor is not recognized by Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), p. 47 who seemingly interpret  as a spelling of  and translate “Puisses-tu illuminer les pays qui étaient dans l’obscurité et faire pour eux le portail de [...]”. We suggest that  is a spelling of **hada*, usually written  or the like (Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 1994, pp. 237–38, n° 328; on the problematic Semitic etymology, see Vittmann, *WZKM* 87 [1997], p. 284), with the meaning ‘to overlay, inlay, mount’. The

word  *wlh*, as already recognized by Meeks (AL 78.0863), is most certainly a modernized spelling of *wꜣhy* ‘pillared hall, columned fore-court’ (Wb. I, 259, 12–13, AL 77.0824, 79.0596; cf. Mathieu, *Poésie amoureuse*, 1996, p. 49, n. 128). Similar syllabic spellings are not exceptional during the Ramesside period, see P. Chester Beatty I, r^o 16, 12 and O. Cairo CG 25204, r^o 14.

v^o 7 So far, the word *nšp* ‘gate’ is only attested in sources of the Twentieth Dynasty from Deir el-Medina, all of which are directly related to the scribe Amennakhte: P. Turin Cat. 1879⁺, v^o (twice on an unpublished fragment of the *Turin Papyrus Map*) and P. Turin Cat. 1880, r^o 2, 11–12 (*hr pꜣ nšp n pꜣ dmi* ‘at the gate of the village’). The hieroglyphic transcription of the end of the line suggested by López (*Ostraca ieratici*, III/1, 1978, pl. 4a), , is impossible from a palaeographic point of view.

v^o 10 The reading of the date is hard to establish with certainty: Černý suggested  (in year 4, first month), while López read  (year 2, fourth month) without *m* before the date. A close inspection of the original (López’ facsimile is not accurate for the signs transcribed *m ḥsb.t* and the following strokes) shows that Černý’s reading is most probably to be preferred, especially based on a contextualization of this date (see below, end of §1.4). We acknowledge that there is an actual potential for circular reasoning and cannot exclude a reading *m ḥsb.t* 2 ꜣbd 3.

1.4. Comments

The hymn to Ptah opens with a general invocation to the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, which echoes another composition “signed” by Amennakhte, namely the hymn to Osiris of O. IFAO OL 117,⁹ which begins similarly with an invocation to the gods of the districts and other goddesses.

Directly after this opening address to the gods, the central theme of the composition pops up: Ptah is referred to as the *in-mw* ‘water-carrier’, an epithet that frames the entire hymn. It appears at the very beginning (r^o 2) and closes the text, in v^o 8–9, where the name of the god is shrouded by the invocation *i in-mw in-mw*, [...] *Pth*, *in mw in-mw* [...] “Oh water-carrier, water-carrier, [...] Ptah, bring

⁹ Dorn and Polis, *BIFAO* 116 (2016), pp. 59–67 (esp. 63).


water, water-carrier!”.¹⁰ The theme of the flood is further mediating between the first and second part of the hymn, with the explicit mention of the inundation in r° 7 (*pš=k n. w p3 ḥꜥpy* “May you share the flood with them”). In New Kingdom hymnology,¹¹ Ptah is not uncommonly associated with Nun and Hâpy¹² – as evidenced for instance by P. Harris I (e.g. 44,6–7, *ir ḥtp. w n n3 ntr. w nb. w m ḥpri=f Nwn-wr* “who makes offerings for all the gods in his appearance of Nun-the-Great” [= Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 1933, 49,15–16])¹³ or P. Berlin 3048 (e.g., 8,3, *in ḥꜥpy m tph.t=f (...)* *m rn=f n Nwn-wr* “who brings the flood out of its cavern (...) in his name of Nun-the-Great” [= Wolf, *ZÄS* 64 (1929), 30]) – and the name *Pth-p3-ḥꜥpy* (ꜥ3) also attests to this connection¹⁴. However, the compound *in-mw* ‘water-carrier’ is not attested in relation to Ptah outside the present hymn. This can be interpreted as a strong hint that it refers here not only to the fertile dimension of the god Ptah, but also to the specific social setting of Deir el-Medina, where the water carriers played a crucial role among the *smd.t*-personnel¹⁵, supplying the crew with water at the village and working sites nearby (both in the Valley of the Kings and in the Valley of the Queens). Just as Egypt was dependent on the flood, the community of workmen was dependent on regular water supplies and the parallelism is stressed lexically in this hymn to Ptah.¹⁶

¹⁰ This repetitive pattern might be intended to mimic structurally the end of the *Hymn to the Nile* (XIV,5–6 and 9–10 = van der Plas, *Hymne à la crue du Nil*, II, 1986, pp. 138–39 and 146–47), *w3d k3-îw=k, w3d k3-îw=k, ḥꜥpy, w3d k3-îw=k* “Be green and come, be green and come, Hâpy, be green and come” (cf. van der Plas, *Hymne à la crue du Nil*, I, 1986, p. 157; Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), p. 47 n. 96) and to allude indirectly to the relationship between Ptah and the Nile.

¹¹ Cf. Sandman Holmberg, *The god Ptah*, 1946, p. 178 (§13); Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, 1980, pp. 385–415.

¹² See Berlandini, *RdE* 46 (1995), pp. 28–29 (with previous literature).

¹³ With Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, II, 1994, n. 667. See also P. Harris I, 48,9–10 & 54a,2–3.

¹⁴ El-Banna, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), p. 114, n. 1 and pp. 117–19; Gaballa and Kitchen, *Orientalia* 38 (1969), p. 9 n. 2. See also the Ptolemaic spelling of *ḥꜥpy* (with the god Ptah acting both as phonogram *p* and classifier):  *ḥ(ꜥ)* *p(y)* (cf. Drioton, *ASAE* 44 [1944], p. 149 n. f).

¹⁵ Eichler, *SÄK* 17 (1990), pp. 135–75 and *SÄK* 18 (1991), pp. 173–205; Gabler, *Who's Who*, 2018, pp. 109–73.

¹⁶ Another example of the use of the motif ‘water carrier’ in a literary context is O. Qurna 691, r° 1 with Burkard, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millenium AD*, 2000, pp. 61–64, who discusses the genre of the text, ultimately considered to be a letter and not a satirical description (which would probably fit better given the development of this genre during the New Kingdom).

In addition to his fertility aspect, Ptah is praised as creator¹⁷ (cf. the mention of his capacity of *âkh-pet* in r° 4),¹⁸ as lord¹⁹ of the gods (r° 4–5 and v° 2 & 3–4), and as *artifex* (v° 5–7). His solar facet is also stressed²⁰ (r° 6 and v° 3). All these themes are common in other hymns of the Ramesside period originating from Thebes,²¹ such as those of P. Harris I (44,2–8), P. Berlin P 3048 (col. II–XII), and P. Berlin 3049 (col. I–II,2)²², but are not prominent in the religious corpus from Deir el-Medina.²³ Therefore, Amennakhte might be the author of an original composition,²⁴ which is thematically in line with the main hymns of the time (rather than with the local text production) while not being dependent upon a specific textual tradition (older or contemporary): he adapted the content to the specific environment of Deir el-Medina.²⁵

If precise textual parallels are missing, the text of the ostrakon finds a correspondence in an iconographic representation of the god appearing as Tatenen. In the tomb of Ramesses III (see **Fig. 6**),²⁶ one indeed finds a figure of Ptah displaying the solar (sun disc above his cap) and the fertility (the green color of his skin) aspects ascribed to him in the hymn.

17 Sandman Holmberg, *The god Ptah*, 1946, pp. 31–63, with Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen*, 1980, pp. 54–63 for the syncretism with Tatenen from the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards.

18 Berlandini, *RdE* 46 (1995), pp. 10–12.

19 Cf. P. Berlin P. 3048 II,1-2 (= Wolf, *ZÄS* 64 [1929], p. 17).

20 On the assimilation of Ptah to solar gods, see the hymn to Ra-Horakhty (Sauneron, *BIFAO* 53 [1953]) on papyri (P. Berlin P. 3048, 3050, and 3056) that have been found together (bought by Lepsius in Luxor) with the hymn to Ptah of P. Berlin 3048.

21 Note that, from a positivistic perspective, Amennakhte's hymn to Ptah (Ramesses V) is younger than the hymn of P. Harris I (Ramesses III), but older than that of P. Berlin P. 3048 (with mention of Ramesses IX).

22 With a parallel to P. Berlin P. 3049 (col. I). See Gülden, *Die hieratischen Texte des P. Berlin 3049*, 2001, pp. 1–5 (with p. XVI for a discussion of the date).

23 See Sadek, *Popular Religion*, 1987, pp. 100–07; Luiselli, *Gottesnähe*, 2011, pp. 361–66 (Stelae BM EA 589, BM 1466, BM 8497) and 403–04 (the stela of the scribe Bay, Amennakhte's predecessor, from the Ptah-Meretseger-sanctuary). The most significant hieroglyphic text from Deir el-Medina addressed to Ptah is the stela of Neferabu (BM 589), but it differs both in content and structure from the text under discussion. The mid-20th dynasty hymn to Ptah of O. BTdK 744 (Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 2011, pp. 456–57) that was found in the workmen's settlement in the Valley of the Kings (in which Amennakhte had a hut) displays no direct intertextual relationship with O. Turin CGT P. 57002 either.

24 Although Ptah is very obviously linked to kingship, there is no direct clue in the text that would point to a hymn addressed to the king rather than to Ptah himself (see Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 [1993], p. 47 n. 97).

25 This seems to be one of his auctorial characteristics; cf. Dorn, *ZÄS* 131 (2004), p. 54.

26 Maurice-Barberio, Florence, *EAO* 34 (2004), p. 23, fig. 9.



Fig. 6 Depiction of Ptah in corridor D1 of the tomb of Ramesses III, with a particular headdress (Photo by J. Livet).



Fig. 7 Depiction of an identical figure of Ptah on O. BTdK 165 classified as "Erinnerungsbild" (Photo by A. Dorn).

This representation, most probably the oldest of a small series of similar images,²⁷ was painted at the junction of the tomb of Ramesses III with the tomb of Amenmesse on an (additional) wall surface that was not part of the canonical decoration program. The said figure of Ptah might have been created based on an existing religious text or conception of the god Ptah,²⁸ which would have inspired Amennakhte when composing his hymn, but it could also result from a local choice²⁹ (i.e., from the workmen of Deir el-Medina themselves). Such a local influence on the decorative program of a royal tomb is indeed attested for a pillar in the sarcophagus chamber of the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9)³⁰ that was painted with the local goddess Meretseger,³¹ a non-canonical figure otherwise unattested in the decoration of royal tombs. In this respect, note the similar drawing of Ptah on O. BTdK 165 [Fig. 7],³² which displays the god Ptah with the same headdress (but with a couple of differences: no shrine, a different caption – Ptah is designated as the local god *t3 st [nfr. w]* “[from] the Valley [of the Queens]” – and reversed depiction). This advocates for a productive (and locally bound) tradition regarding the figure of Ptah during the later Twentieth Dynasty in which the hymn under investigation would actively participate.

Moreover, the date of the copy could provide information about the actual motivation for composing a hymn to Ptah as a demiurgic and fertility figure. The end of the first month of Peret (v^o 10: Peret 1, day 27) indeed announces the great *âkh-pet* festival in honor of Ptah (cf. r^o 4: *ḥ-f sw ḥr dr.t=f*) which took place annually on Peret 2, day 1 in Ramesside times according to the main calendars.³³ This feast is recorded by P. Cairo 86637 (r^o 23, 5–6)³⁴ and P. Sallier IV (r^o 16,1–2)³⁵ as follows: *ꜣbd 2 pr.t sw 1, nfr-nfr-nfr, ntr.w ntr.yt m ḥb m hrw pn m ḥb (ḥ) p.t R^c*

²⁷ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 2011, p. 90 with further references especially to a similar representation of the god Ptah in the tomb of Penniut at Aniba in Nubia and p. 102.

²⁸ See for instance the mention of the two feathers in P. Berlin 3048, II,9 (= Wolf, ZÄS 64 [1929], p. 18): *nb šw.ty* “Lord of the two feathers”.

²⁹ Note that Amennakhte was already active as draughtsman and then scribe (from year 16 onwards) when the tomb of Ramesses III was being built.

³⁰ Yoyotte, in Andreu (eds.), *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois*, 2003.

³¹ See Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, 1954, pl. 138b.

³² Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 2011, pp. 263–64, pls. 156–59.

³³ It was later fixed on the first of Phamenot, i.e., Peret 3, day 1 (precisely at the middle of the ideal Egyptian calendar). See Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen*, 1975, pp. 144–45; Berlandini, *RdE* 46 (1995), pp. 29–31.

³⁴ Cf. Bakir, *The Cairo calendar no. 86637*, 1966, pl. XXIII.

³⁵ Cf. Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, II, 1994, pl. 70.

(in) *Pth m ʿ.wy=fy, iwty snw=f, hrw nfr m (p3) t3 r-dr=f* “**Second month of Peret, day 1**: good-good-good, the gods and goddesses are celebrating on this day, feast of lifting up the sky of Ra by Ptah, who has no equivalent, with his hands – holy day in the entire land”. This festival took place during winter (around December-January) and was linked to the winter solstice:³⁶ it celebrates the creation of the world, with Ptah lifting up the sky, and the birth of the sun. This time of the year was indeed linked to the end of the inundation season, when the earth had emerged from the flood – which recalls the mythological episode of the primordial island emerging from the Nun – and could be walked on and ploughed.³⁷ Some sources from Deir el-Medina make reference to this feast in Peret 3, day 1, namely the first of Phamenot:³⁸ the proximity between the date of composition of this hymn (that is difficult to read with certainty, see p. 432) and these dates might be more than a mere coincidence.t

2. AMENNAKHTE’S NON-DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

The number of non-documentary texts linked to Amennakhte – which include teachings, eulogies and hymns, as well as a satirical poem and a magical text – has grown considerably over recent years. **Table 1** provides an overview of Amennakhte’s literary works in order to situate the hymn of O. Turin CGT 57002 within the broader corpus of his compositions.³⁹

³⁶ See the discussion in Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, I, 1994, pp. 228–29. This might explain variation in the date of the feast, trying to accommodate the ideal Egyptian calendar with actual astronomic events.

³⁷ On the dates of the Nile flood in the second and third months of the Akhet season (based on graffiti and ostraca), see Janssen, *JNES* 46 (1987), pp. 135–36.

³⁸ See n. 33. Cf. van Walsem, in Demarée and Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna*, 1982, p. 224, n° 65 and 66; Sadek, *Popular Religion*, 1987, p. 172, tab. A, n° 15.

³⁹ For lists of Amennakhte’s literary corpus (with bibliographical references that are not duplicated here), see Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), pp. 32–35, 37–48; Burkard, in Enmarch and Lepper (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 2013, pp. 65–66; Hassan, *SAK* 46 (2017), pp. 104–05; Polis, in Cromwell and Grossman (eds.), *Scribal Repertoires*, 2018, pp. 94–96.

Table 1 List of non-documentary texts by Amennakhte⁴⁰

1993	Bickel and Mathieu Praise of the city/Longing for Thebes (O. Gardiner 25, r ^o); satirical poem (O. Gardiner 25, v ^o); ⁴¹ eulogies to the king R. IV (O. Turin CGT 57001, r ^o) and R. IV or R. V (O. Ermitage 1125 r ^o); hymn to Ptah (O. Turin CGT 57002); teaching of Amennakhte (several ostraca)	6
2004, 2013	Dorn Content of the teaching of Amennakhte enlarged	-
2006	Klotz Hymn to Amun-Re	+1
2013	Burkard Hymn to an unnamed king or god? (O. Berlin P 14262, v ^o)	+1
2016	Dorn and Polis Invocations to the gods followed by a hymn to Osiris (O. IFAO OL 117); eulogy to the king R. II (?) or another Ramesses (O. IFAO OL 4039, r ^o); 2 unidentified literary texts (O. IFAO OL 4039, v ^o ; O. IFAO OL 5510)	+4
2016	Grandet New witness of the teaching of Amennakhte	-
2017	Hassan Eulogy to a leader (king?) and a 'miscellany' text (2 nd teaching?) (O. Cairo HO 425)	+2
2018	Hassan and Polis Hymn to a king (?) (leader) and a 'miscellany' text (2 nd teaching?) enlarged (O. Cairo HO 425 & O. BM EA 21282)	-
2022	Dorn and Polis O. Turin CGT 57002 (new readings)	-
In prep.	Dorn and Polis Eulogy to the king R. IV (O. Turin CGT 57001, r ^o) and magical text (O. Turin CGT 57001, v ^o) ⁴²	+1
In prep.	Dorn and Polis P. Turin Cat. 1879 ⁺ (Turin Papyrus Map, v ^o). Frgt. F1.1: hymn (3 lines); frgt. F1.2: hymn (8 lines); frgt. F1.3: hymn (6 lines); frgt. F2.1: hymn to a king Ramesses (see above 2016); hymn to a king Ramesses; frgt. F2.2: hymn to a king Ramesses; frgt. F2.3: hymn to a king Ramesses; frgt. F2.4: hymn (2 lines); frgt. H1: hymn to Ra during his night journey (?) + another short hymn (?); frgt. H2-I-J: invocations to different forms of the sun god	+9 ⁺
Total		24 ⁺

⁴⁰ For the *ir.n* formula, cf. Dorn, in Gillen (ed.), *Traditions*, 2017; regarding Amennakhte specifically, see Polis, in Cromwell and Grossman (eds.), *Scribal Repertoires*, 2018, pp. 97–98.

⁴¹ See recently Mathieu, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the box*, 2018, pp. 306–07.

⁴² The text of O. Turin CGT 57001, v^o has not yet been attributed or linked to Amennakhte (cf. Dorn and Polis, in Gasse and Albert [eds.], *Études de documents hiératiques inédits*, 2019, pp. 18–21). From a palaeographical point of view, nothing speaks against an attribution of the verso to the same hand as that of the recto. A detailed study of this text is in preparation.

More often than not, when one is looking at religious expressions of an individual, the analysis focuses on a single text or monument and interprets the relationship with a particular god or goddess as a case of ‘personal piety’. Such construal is however highly dependent upon the quantity of sources available for a given person.

In the case of Amennakhte, the texts that he produced (**Table 1**) illustrate the wide range of divine beings to which he must have devoted some attention: invocations to gods and goddesses (incl. Isis, Horus, Nephthys) in a hymn to Osiris, a hymn to Ptah, another to Ra and hymns to various gods (P. Turin Cat. 1879^r, v^o). Furthermore, the list above makes it obvious that Amennakhte wanted to express a close relationship to the past and reigning kings, as evidenced by the eulogies on O. Berlin P 14262, v^o, O. Cairo HO 425 + O. BM EA 21282, O. Ermitage 1125, r^o, O. IFAO OL 4039, r^o + P. Turin Cat. 1879^r, v^o and O. Turin CGT 57001, r^o addressing R. II or R. III, R. IV and R. V.⁴³

The number of religious testimonies produced by Amennakhte increases even further when considering other types of monuments that he left in Western Thebes, mainly in the form of stelae. They will be presented in the next section in order to produce a more detailed picture of his different types of religious expression.

3. SITZ IM LEBEN OF THE HYMN TO PTAH

As regards Amennakhte’s religious knowledge, the hymn to Ptah discussed in this paper can indeed be envisioned as a piece of a larger puzzle made up of a variety of (inscribed and/or figured) artefacts, such as graffiti, ostraca-stelae, hymns and prayers written or carved on different media (ostraca, stelae and papyri) or inscriptions on monuments and objects (like ushebti).

3.1. Religious knowledge based on his professional duties

In his capacity as *sš-ḳd* and later as Scribe of the Necropolis, Amennakhte was in charge of the construction of royal tombs⁴⁴ and (probably) responsible for

⁴³ Another kind of relationship is documented for Ramesses VI: Amennakhte installed a wooden statue in a chapel located to the north of the Hathor temple at Deir el-Medina, see Hovestreydt, *LingAeg* 5 (1997).

⁴⁴ See his links to the plans of the tomb of R. IV: P. Turin Cat. 1885 (Carter and Gardiner, *JEA* 4 [1917]) and P. Turin CGT 55002 (= Cat. 2038; Demichelis, *ZÄS* 131 [2004], with her comments on p. 114).

planning and applying the netherworld texts therein.⁴⁵ This comprises the texts in the tombs of Ramesses III, IV and VI (KV11, 2, 9) as well as in the Valley of the Queens – the tombs of the queens Isis (QV51) and Titi (QV52), as well as those of the princes Paraherwenemef (QV42), Sethherkhepeshef (QV43), Khaemwaset (QV44), Ramses (QV53) and Amunherkhepeshef (QV55).⁴⁶ It can therefore be inferred that Amennakhte must have been familiar with all the royal netherworlds texts of the time:⁴⁷ the *Amduat*, the *Book of the Gates*, the *Book of the Caverns*, the *Book of the Day and the Night*, the *Book of the Heavenly Cow*, the *Book of Aker* as well as the *Book of the Dead*.⁴⁸

3.2. Religious knowledge based on access to temple archives/libraries

Based on his title *sš n pr ʕnh*,⁴⁹ one can infer that Amennakhte had privileged access to the House of Life,⁵⁰ a room located in the nearby temples of millions of years (i.e., the mortuary temples of Ramesses II and of Ramesses III) that is believed to be the temple library where religious texts were stored. Just like the hymn of O. Turin CGT 57002, several other hymnic compositions make it clear that Amennakhte's knowledge encompassed not only the local – i.e., Theban – religious landscape, but extended to other districts and regions of Egypt (as evidenced, for instance, by the hymn to Osiris of O. IFAO OL 117, where reference is made to gods from *t3-mhyt* (the Delta) as well as to Isis from Kom el-Ahmar Sawiris).⁵¹

⁴⁵ Note that, in the documentation coming from Deir el-Medina and its surroundings, netherworld texts are virtually absent, which remains a puzzle in terms of textual transmission.

⁴⁶ A list of decorated tombs that were built during the reign of Ramesses III in the Valley of the Queens is provided by Nelson and Hassanein, *Memnonia* 6 (1995), p. 235 [12].

⁴⁷ See for instance the tomb of Ramesses VI where all these texts are attested (cf. Abitz, *Grabes Ramses' VI.*, 1989).

⁴⁸ The *Book of the Dead* was part of the private burial equipment on papyrus as well as of the wall decoration (in private tombs and in tombs of kings, queens, and princes).

⁴⁹ For the titles of Amennakhte and the *pr-ʕnh* at Medinet Habu, see Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), p. 36, n. 26–33.

⁵⁰ In general, see Zinn, in Cannata and Adams (eds.), *Current Research*, 2007 (with previous literature). For the *pr-ʕnh* of the Ramesseum, see Leblanc, *Mnemonia* 15 (2004) and Leblanc, in Goyon and Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings*, 2007.

⁵¹ Dorn and Polis, *BIFAO* 116 (2016), p. 63. See also the locations in Middle and Lower Egypt mentioned in O. Cairo HO 425, v° 2–3 with Hassan and Polis, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 250 and 253.

3.3. Shared religious knowledge in Deir el-Medina and Amennakhte's relation to Ptah and other gods

As a member of the community of workmen Amennakhte was obviously familiar with all kinds of religious practices and expressions within the village,⁵² and he appears personally on a series of more or less formal religious objects. To the more formal ones belongs Stela MMA 21.2.6 that depicts Amennakhte with his brother and his son Pentaweret venerating the bark of Amen-Ra in procession.⁵³ More informal are graffiti left by Amennakhte in the Theban necropolis, some of which can be identified as religious expressions (such as the one showing Amennakhte together with his father in an adoration scene),⁵⁴ or the ostrakon-stela found in his hut in the Valley of the Kings.⁵⁵

Table 2 Amennakhte's presence on stelae

OWNER(S)	GOD	OBJECT
Ipuy (father) Amennakhte (<i>sš-ḳd</i>)	Ptah (Vizier Hori as intermediary)	Stela Krakow; Bierbrier, <i>Prace archeologiczne</i> 51 (1992)
Bay (senior scribe) Amennakhte (<i>sš-ḳd</i>)	Ptah (Vizier Hori as intermediary)	Rock stela in the sanctuary of Ptah-Meretseger; Bruyère, <i>Mert Seger</i> , 1930, pp. 8–10 with fig. 5; 39–42 with pl. II and VI
Amennakhte (<i>sš n pr-ḳ.t</i>)	Ptah	Stela from the Valley of the Queens; Nelson and Hassanein, <i>Memnonia</i> VI (1995), pp. 230–31
Amennakhte Several family members (and other persons)	Amen-Ra	Stela MMA 21.2.6; Klotz, <i>SAK</i> 34 (2006)
Amennakhte Horisher (son)	Meretseger	Ostrakon-stela from the Valley of the Kings; Dorn, <i>Arbeiterhütten</i> , 2011, p. 293 with pl. 216–17

As shown by **Table 2**, the 'personal' relation of Amennakhte with Ptah stands out as one of the oldest and most prevalent of his religious expressions. First,

⁵² Weiss, *Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina*, 2015.

⁵³ Klotz, *SAK* 34 (2006). It is interesting to note that more formal artefacts linked to Amennakhte, such as stelae, are regularly of small format and of 'lesser' quality. His own stela to Amun-Re (MMA 21.2.6) seems to be ready for carving or final painting, but still displays red (preparatory) and black (final) lines. Similarly, the stela of his father Ipuy (Stela Cracow) is quite carelessly carved.

⁵⁴ Dorn, in Haring et al. (eds.), *The Workman's Progress*, 2014, pp. 65–67.

⁵⁵ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 2011, pp. 40–41 (with the inventory of the hut).

he appears on a stela of his father (now in Krakow), who adores Ptah (with the vizier Hori as intermediary).⁵⁶ At around the same time, Amennakhte is represented on the rock stela of his predecessor as senior scribe, Bay (ii), in chapel E of the Ptah-Meretseger sanctuary (located on the way to the Valley of the Queens). Later on, he adores Ptah as *sš n pr-dt* on a limestone ostrakon found in the Valley of the Queens. His personal relationship with Ptah is further evidenced by Graf-fito 1111, in which he commemorated his appointment as senior scribe of the Tomb in year 16 of Ramesses III. He inscribed it next to the same sanctuary, i.e., in the realm of Ptah:⁵⁷ the choice of this location can be tentatively understood as a wish to put his office under the protection of Ptah. All these testimonies appear to belong to the early career of Amennakhte, and it is noticeable that no object related to Ptah has been found among the numerous religious artefacts of Amennakhte's hut in the Valley of the Kings. As such, the hymn to Ptah on O. Turin CGT 57002 appears to be a late witness of his relationship to that particular divinity: its content (combined with the date at the end of the text) links the composition to the *âkh-pet* festival, and by stressing the *in-mw* 'water-carrier' dimension of this divinity, it can be surmised that Amennakhte adapted a nation-wide theme and feast to the very local setting of Deir el-Medina.

4. AUTOGRAPHS BY AMENNAKHTE?

In this final section, we examine the links between O. Turin CGT 57002 and other texts that could have been written by Amennakhte in order to assess the plausibility of it being an autograph. We begin by comparing its layout and ductus to other texts signed by the scribe and then look at scribal habits that might be indicative of its autographic status.⁵⁸

4.1. Layout and ductus

The hymn to Ptah of O. Turin CGT 57002 is one of two texts that are both dated and signed by Amennakhte, the second being the hymn to R. IV of O. Turin CGT

⁵⁶ The stela is most likely to be dated before year 16 of Ramesses III.

⁵⁷ Černý, *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1956, p. 4 with pl. 9.

⁵⁸ Regarding the methodology, see Polis, in Verhoeven *et al.* (eds.), *'Binsen'-Weisheiten IV*, 2022.

57001, r^o. Taken together, these two features make it likely that we are dealing with autographs: the *ir.n* formula is generally accepted as being a marker of authorship⁵⁹ (albeit not of ‘scriptorship’), while dated literary texts are clearly linked to copying.⁶⁰ As such, Amennakhte could be the *author* and *scriptor* of the two Turin ostraca.

The comparison with other texts allows us to show that a single scribe wrote down different compositions attributed to Amennakhte, most certainly himself based on the observations above. In the publication of O. IFAO OL 117, we argued⁶¹ (and hopefully demonstrated) (1) that O. IFAO OL 117 and O. Ashmolean HO 25 have been written by the same hand, and (2) that the characteristic features of this hand are best recognized at the global rather than at the individual sign level⁶² (which displays too much variation, even within a single text). These features can be summarized as follows:

- The page layout is spacious, with consistent line heights and very regular interline spaces (equivalent to roughly 80% of the written line).
- The base-lines are characterized by an oscillation that causes a wave effect (see **Fig. 8**).
- Within the line, kerning between individual characters is ample, with almost no overlaps.
- The ductus is smooth, with few ligatures, limited downstrokes and upstrokes, and a marked tendency to reduce progressively the number of strokes per sign.
- The slant of individual signs is very limited.

These features apply perfectly to the hand of O. Turin CGT 57002 (see **Figs. 1, 2**). In order to visualize the similarities between this ostrakon and other texts signed by Amennakhte, we propose a new method here, which consists in imposing

⁵⁹ See already Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), p. 38 and the references in n. 40.

⁶⁰ Cf. the students’ exercises discussed by McDowell, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, 1996.

⁶¹ Dorn and Polis, *BIFAO* 116 (2016), pp. 67–73.

⁶² See the methodological remarks in Janssen, *JEA* 73 (1987); Gasse, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), *Village Voices*, 1992; van den Berg and Donker van Heel, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, 2000. In the case of Amennakhte’s name, it has been shown that significant variations obtain at the level of individual signs (and groups) depending on medium and time (Dorn, in Verhoeven [ed.], *‘Binsen’-Weisheiten I-II*, 2015).



Fig. 8 Oscillation of the base-line (wave effect) in O. Turin CGT 57002, r° 4.

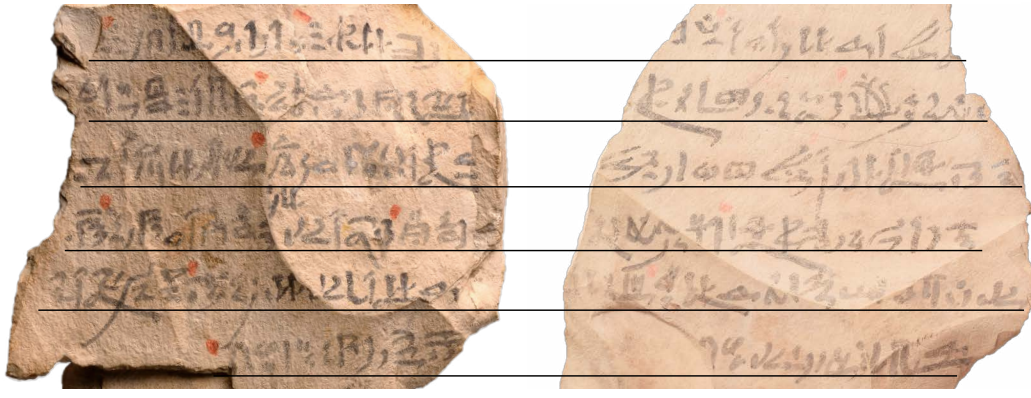


Fig. 9 O. Turin CGT 57002, v° 1-6 vs. O. IFAO OL 117, v° 3-8.



Fig. 10 O. Turin CGT 57002, v° 1-6 vs. O. Ashmolean HO 25, r° 6-11.

the same (horizontal) grid to different texts, so as to make the above-mentioned characteristics apparent. In order to control for variability, we do not compare the beginning of texts, where the hand is usually more careful and controlled, but sections that exhibit a natural flow.

Figs. 9 and 10 show that the general layout (spacious organization, regular interlines, oscillating base-lines) and ductus (few up- and downstrokes, no slant) look much alike. O. Turin CGT 57002 differs only insofar as kerning is concerned, with a slightly denser organization of the signs within the lines (but this observation is reinforced by the ink that is better preserved on the Turin piece).

Extending the investigation to O. BM EA 21282 + O. Cairo HO 425 [**Fig. 11**], we notice that the same observations apply: the grid manifests the perfect congruence in terms of layout and sign size, and the resemblance in terms of ductus

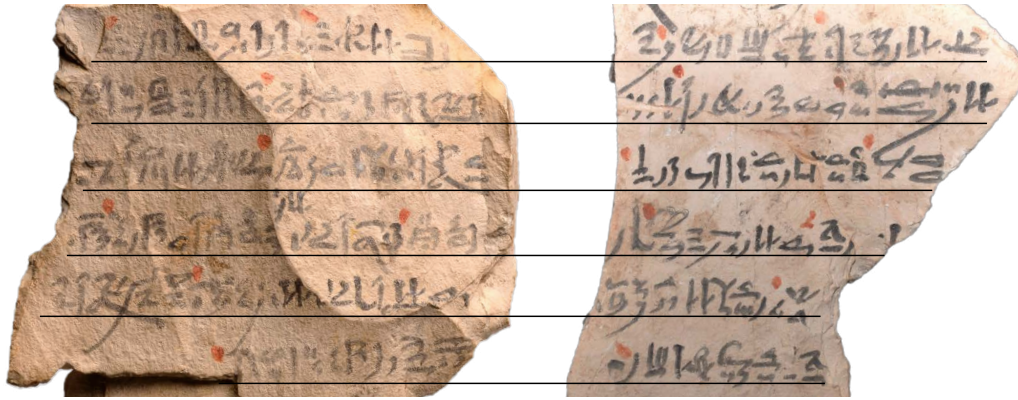


Fig. 11 O. Turin CGT 57002, v° 1-6 vs. O. Cairo HO 425, r° 2-7.

is striking (even if perhaps a bit more nervous and speedy on O. BM EA 21282 + O. Cairo HO 425). Accordingly, we suggest attributing O. Turin CGT 57002, O. IFAO OL 117, O. Ashmolean HO 25, and O. BM EA 21282 + O. Cairo HO 425 to a single hand, namely Amennakhte's literary hand.⁶³

4.2. Scribal habits: extending the network

Additional features of O. Turin CGT 57002 might point to scribal habits of Amennakhte and be used to detect autographs. We limit the investigation to three of those habits here. First, the scribe of O. Turin CGT 57002 flipped the ostrakon at 90 degrees when moving from the recto to the verso, so that the text on the verso is perpendicular to the one on the recto. This characteristic is interestingly shared by O. Turin CGT 57001. Second, the hymn to Ptah is free of any obvious mistakes, but the scribe made *supra lineam* additions on two occasions [Fig. 12].

O. Ashmolean HO 25 and O. Cairo HO 425 are also flawless compositions with *supra lineam* additions. Rather than resulting from copying mistakes, we are prone to interpreting these emendations as being induced by the composition process, the scribe following his thoughts and omitting entire (parts of) words.

Finally, as noted above (Section 1.3, *apud* r° 1-2 and v° 7), some words and phrases are attested exclusively in texts plausibly written by Amennakhte. The word *nšp* 'gate' belongs to this category. Besides its occurrence in the present hymn, it appears in the *Turin Strike Papyrus* (Cat. 1880, r° 2,12) and in the *Turin*

⁶³ Among the texts signed by Amennakhte, these are the ones that share the most features. Other texts undoubtedly belong to the same hand, but their detailed palaeographical analysis falls outside the scope of the present paper.

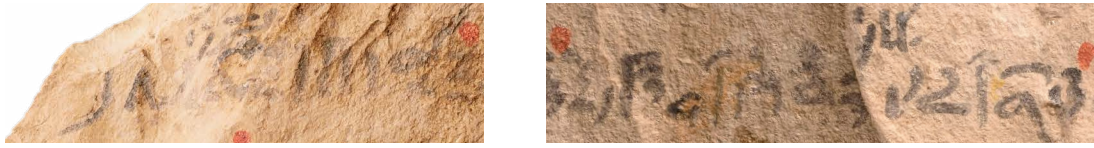


Fig. 12 Supra lineam additions in O. Turin CGT 57002, r° 4 and v° 4.



Fig. 13 Supra lineam additions in O. Ashmolean HO 25, v° 3 and O. Cairo HO 425, r° 5.

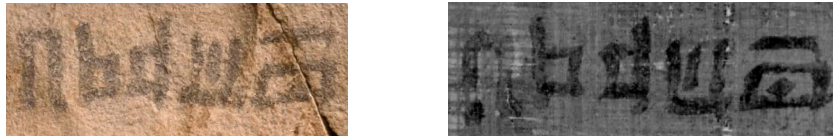


Fig. 14 The word *nšp* in O. Turin CGT 57002, v° 7 and P. Turin Cat. 1879+, v° H1.6.

Papyrus Map (Cat. 1879, v° H1,1 and 6). As illustrated by **Fig. 14**, the spelling and ductus can be so close that it would be difficult not to hypothesize that a single scribe was the scriptor of the two texts.

It should be stressed that none of the above-mentioned criteria is sufficient, taken in isolation, for securing the attribution of a manuscript to Amennakhte, but together they form an array of clues that might lead to reconstructing the network of writings produced by this scribe, a network at the center of which stands the hymn to Ptah of O. Turin CGT 57002.

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