

## Enigmatic Texts from Deir el-Medina

### *On the Transmission and Decipherment of ‘Cryptographic’ Compositions in the Community of Workmen\**

Stéphane Polis & Philipp Seyr (F.R.S.–FNRS; ULiège)

**Abstract.** This paper aims to shed new light on the transmission and interpretation of enigmatic texts during the New Kingdom. It offers a fresh analysis of two previously-published ostraca, O. Cairo CG 25359 and O. Turin CGT 57440, which have so far been neglected by the Egyptological community. We show that O. Cairo CG 25359 contains a copy of captions from an *Enigmatic Netherworld Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity* (the only other attestation of which is found on the second shrine of Tutankhamun), and we demonstrate that the hieratic funerary composition on the verso of the Turin ostrakon is in fact a ‘clear-text’ version of the enigmatic text written in cursive hieroglyphs on the recto. Based on material and philological clues, we argue that the hieratic text is a ‘decipherment’ of the enigmatic text. Finally, we suggest that this composition may have been a harper’s song originally inscribed in the tomb-chapel of the scribe Amennakhte (v), son of Ipuw.

**Keywords.** Cryptography, enigmatic writing, transmission, transcoding, hieratic, Deir el-Medina, Amennakhte (v).

Recent years have witnessed a growing scholarly interest<sup>1</sup> in so-called ‘cryptographic’ compositions, a more appropriate label for which would be ‘enigmatic’.<sup>2</sup> Following in the footsteps of E. Hornung and his exemplary publications and studies of the *Netherworld Books* from the New Kingdom royal tombs, scholars such as J.C. Darnell, A. von Lieven, L. Morenz, J.A. Roberson, and D.A. Werning<sup>3</sup> have continued to advance our understanding of the

---

\* We are very grateful to Rob Demarée, Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, Antonio Loprieno, Jean Winand, and the two anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions on earlier drafts of this paper. This paper was originally presented at the conference *Rethinking the Visual Aesthetics of Ancient Egyptian Writing* (18–20 November 2021, organised online by Rita Lucarelli, Stephen Quirke, and Hany Rashwan), though it quickly grew too large for publication in any conference proceedings, while different aspects of it were subsequently discussed at the conference *Hieroglyphs in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Alexandria, 10–13 October 2012, organised by Laurent Coulon, Azza Ezzat, Ahmed Mansour, and Chloé Ragazzoli). We are very thankful for the valuable feedback that we received at these events.

<sup>1</sup> See the historical overview in D. Meeks, “L’écriture énigmatique égyptienne est-elle énigmatique?”, *BiOr* 78 (2021), col. 552–554.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the term ‘enigmatic’ stretches back to the nineteenth-century ‘pre-Driotonian’ tradition inspired by Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* V, 4, §20.3): Fr. Lauth, “Aenigmatische Schrift”, *ZÄS* 4 (1866), p. 24–26; Ch. Goodwin, “On the Enigmatic Writing on the Coffin of Seti I”, *ZÄS* 11 (1873), p. 138–144; P. le Page Renouf, “The Royal Tombs at Bībān-el-Molūk and ‘Enigmatical’ Writing”, *ZÄS* 12 (1874), p. 101–105; Th. Devéria, “L’écriture secrète dans les textes hiéroglyphiques des anciens Égyptiens”, in G. Maspero (ed.), *Mémoires et fragments II* (*BiEg* 5), 1897, p. 49–80; K. Sethe, “Die aenigmatischen Inschriften”, in W.G. Northampton – W. Spiegelberg – P.E. Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898–1899*, 1908, p. 3\*–12\* & pl. XI–XII; H. Grapow, “Studien zu den thebanischen Königsgräbern”, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), p. 23–29.

<sup>3</sup> See in particular J.C. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX* (*OBO* 198), 2004; A. von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne: das sogenannte Nutbuch* (*The Carlsberg Papyri* 8, CNIP 31), 2007, vol. 1; L. Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel der Zeichen: Visuelle Poesie im Alten Ägypten* (*Pictura et Poesis* 21), 2008; J.A. Roberson, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth* (*WSEA* 1), 2012; *Id.*, *The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar*

underlying mechanisms, orthographic principles, and contextual functions of these non-standard uses of the hieroglyphic system during the New Kingdom. In this respect, *Enigmatic Writing in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, edited by D. Klotz and A. Stauder,<sup>4</sup> and its companion volume, the *Lexicon of Ancient Egyptian Cryptography of the New Kingdom*, by J.A. Roberson,<sup>5</sup> represent two substantial milestones capping twenty years of research in this area of research.

One dimension of these enigmatic texts, however, is almost systematically absent from these previous studies: that of the agents who composed, copied, monumentalized, deciphered, and interpreted these enigmatic texts in ancient times.<sup>6</sup> The New Kingdom community of Deir el-Medina, which was in charge of building and decorating the royal tombs in which many of these texts appear, provides an ideal opportunity to investigate such questions,<sup>7</sup> but even those studies<sup>8</sup> and handbooks<sup>9</sup> that deal specifically with the inhabitants of the village and their written production do not directly address these questions.<sup>10</sup>

The present paper aims to fill this gap. In Section 1, we present a brief overview of the different types of enigmatic practices attested in the written products of the Deir el-Medina community. This allows us to better situate our subsequent discussion of two ostraca, O. Cairo CG 25359 and O. Turin CGT 57440, which are given a new interpretation in Sections 2 and 3 respectively.

---

*Barques: Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky* (OBO 262), 2013; D.A. Werning, “Aenigmatische Schreibungen in Unterweltbüchern des Neuen Reiches: gesicherte Entsprechungen und Ersetzungsprinzipien”; in C. Peust (ed.), *Miscellanea in honorem Wolfhart Westendorf* (GM Bh. 3), 2008, p. 124–152; Id., *Das Höhlenbuch: textkritische Edition und Textgrammatik* (GOF IV.48), 2 vols., 2011.

<sup>4</sup> D. Klotz – A. Stauder (eds.), *Enigmatic Writing in the Egyptian New Kingdom I: Revealing, Transforming, and Display in Egyptian Hieroglyphs* (ZÄS Bh. 12/1), 2020.

<sup>5</sup> J.A. Roberson, *Enigmatic Writing in the Egyptian New Kingdom II: A Lexicon of Ancient Egyptian Cryptography of the New Kingdom* (with contributions by David Klotz) (ZÄS Bh. 12/2), 2020.

<sup>6</sup> Exceptions are L. Morenz, “Visuelle Poesie als eine sakrale Zeichen-Kunst der altägyptischen hohen Kultur”, *SAK* 32 (2004), p. 313–315; L. Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel der Zeichen*, p. 108–132; and A.D. Espinel, “Play and Display in Egyptian High Culture: The Cryptographic Texts of Djehuty (TT 11) and their Sociocultural Context”, in J. Galán – B. Bryan – P. Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut* (SAOC 69), 2014, p. 327–328. Note that academic study of the scribes as social agents is, in any case, a recent development in Egyptology, which largely explains this state of affairs.

<sup>7</sup> See the remarks in St. Polis, “Linguistic Variation in Ancient Egyptian: An Introduction to the State of the Art (With Special Attention to the Community of Deir el-Medina)”, in J. Cromwell – E. Grossman (eds.), *Scribal Repertoires in Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Early Islamic Period*, 2018, p. 78–88.


<sup>8</sup> Illustrative of this point is the absence of any discussion of the enigmatic texts from the four volumes that resulted from the most recent Deir el-Medina conferences: A. Dorn – T. Hofmann (eds.), *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine: Socio-historical Embodiment of Deir el-Medine Texts* (AH 19), 2006; J. Toivari-Viitala, Turo Vartiainen – Saara Uvanto (eds.), *Deir el-Medina Studies: Helsinki, June 24-26, 2009, Proceedings* (The Finnish Egyptological Society – Occasional Publications 2), 2014; A. Dorn – St. Polis (eds), *Outside the Box: Selected Papers from the Conference “Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact” Liège, 27–29 October 2014* (AegLeod 11), 2018; S. Töpfer – P. Del Vesco – F. Poole (eds.), *Deir el-Medina: Through the Kaleidoscope: Proceedings of the International Workshop, Turin 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> October 2018*, 2022.

<sup>9</sup> There is, for instance, no entry on the topic in the excellent handbook by B.G. Davies, *Life within the Five Walls: A Handbook to Deir el-Medina*, 2018.

<sup>10</sup> One exception, which focuses on the ‘perturbation’ of the order of signs in the *Netherworld Books*, though not specifically on their enigmatic aspect, is Fl. Mauric-Barbério, “Copie de textes à l’envers dans les tombes royales”, in G. Andreu (ed.), *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois: la vie en Égypte au temps des pharaons du Nouvel Empire: actes du colloque organisé par le Musée du Louvre, les 3 et 4 mai 2002*, 2003, p. 173–194.

# 1. Enigmatic Practices in Deir el-Medina

Given the quantity of written material at our disposal from Deir el-Medina, we have surprisingly little evidence regarding the production of enigmatic texts by the community outside of the royal tombs themselves. But scarcity is not absence. As we shall see, all the types of enigmatic writing<sup>11</sup> are actually attested in the archaeological sources that come from the village *sensu lato*.<sup>12</sup> In structuring (our presentation of) this material, we propose a continuum of enigmatic practices ranging from “images that beg to be read” [+ICONIC] to “texts that ask to be looked at” [+TEXTUAL].<sup>13</sup>

Two famous examples of enigmatic writing are decisive representatives of the iconic pole. In a scene from the double tomb of Khabekhenet (i)<sup>14</sup> and his brother Khonsu (ii)<sup>15</sup> (TT 2–2b; 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty), the mummy of the deceased (Fig. 1a) is replaced by a fish<sup>16</sup> (Fig. 1b). This surprising substitution<sup>17</sup> can be straightforwardly explained: based on the enigmatic principle of categorial sign exchange,<sup>18</sup> this fish may be read as ,<sup>19</sup> which stands for the lexeme *ḥꜣ(.t)*

---

<sup>11</sup> On these different types of enigmatic writing, see Ét. Drioton, “La cryptographie égyptienne”, *CdÉ* 9/18 (1934), p. 192–206; Ét. Drioton, “La cryptographie égyptienne”, *Revue Lorraine d’Anthropologie* 6 (1934), p. 5–28; H. Brunner, “Änigmatische Schrift (Kryptographie)”, in H. Kees (ed.), *Ägyptologie: ägyptische Schrift und Sprache (HdO I.1.1.)*, 1959, p. 52–58; J.C. Darnell, “Ancient Egyptian Cryptography: Graphic Hermeneutics”, in D. Klotz – A. Stauder (eds.), *Enigmatic Writing*, p. 10–11.

<sup>12</sup> The overview presented here is based exclusively on published documents and is not exhaustive. A systematic investigation of all our surviving materials (including graffiti, tomb inscriptions, etc.) would reveal many more cases of enigmatic writing, while the summary below also excludes the enigmatic writing practices instantiated in the royal tombs themselves.

<sup>13</sup> The interplay of visual and linguistic dimensions is key to each of the different types of enigmatic writing; see in particular L. Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel*, p. 105 & *passim*, and A. Stauder, “The Visual Otherness of the Enigmatic Text in Some Netherworld Books of the New Kingdom”, in D. Klotz – A. Stauder (eds.), *Enigmatic Writing*, p. 249–265. On the dynamic relationship between image and writing in ancient Egypt in general, see P. Vernus, “De l’image au signe d’écriture, du signe d’écriture à l’image, de l’image au signe d’écriture: la ronde sémiotique de la civilisation pharaonique”, *Actes sémiotiques* 119 (2016), p. 1–19.

<sup>14</sup> The identities of the ancient individuals referred to in this contribution are based on B.G. Davies, *Who’s Who at Deir el-Medina: A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen’s Community (EgUit 13)*, 1999.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. B. Bruyère, *Tombes thébaines de Deir el-Médineh à décoration monochrome (MIFAO 86)*, 1952, p. 22–56 & pl. I–XII. A complete publication of this funerary complex is being prepared by Anne-Claire Salmas. See K. Gabler & A.-Cl. Salmas, “‘Make yourself at home’: Some ‘House Biographies’ from Deir el-Medina, with a Special Focus on the Domestic (and Funerary) Spaces of Sennedjem’s Family”, S. Töpfer – P. Del Vesco – F. Poole (eds), *Deir el-Medina: Through the Kaleidoscope: Proceedings of the International Workshop, Turin 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> October 2018*, 2022, p. 120–125.

<sup>16</sup> With respect to the pastiche of this scene in the IFAO house at Deir el-Medina, see A.-C. Salmas, “Morceaux de bravoure et traits d’humour: à propos de deux peintures de Bernard Bruyère dans la maison de fouilles de Deir el-Medina”, *BIFAO* 118 (2018), p. 410–435; N. Cherpion, “Un ‘poisson d’avril’ à Deir el-Medina”, *ÉAO* 100 (2020–2021), p. 77–82.

<sup>17</sup> Several other iconic and mythological links are instantiated in the tomb, though these cannot be discussed here; see B. Bruyère, *Tombes thébaines*, p. 39–40: “S’il était besoin d’identifier le latès représenté ici, on trouverait cette identification dans la scène suivante qui complète et éclaire la scène XII. (...) Le dieu Kheper-Rê hiéracocéphale et Osiris Khentamenti (...) se tiennent accroupis et mumiformes l’un devant l’autre (...). Vis-à-vis des deux dieux est écrit en gros caractères le nom du nome latopolite composé de deux poissons superposés au-dessus du signe des nomes et des signes de la ville. C’est dire clairement que la forme syncrétisée Osiris-Rê est la divinité éponyme d’Esneh”.

<sup>18</sup> Principle no. 7a in D.A. Werning, “Semiotic Aspects of Alienated and Cryptographic Encodings in the Netherworld Books of the New Kingdom”, in D. Klotz – A. Stauder (eds), *Enigmatic Writing*, p. 207–208.

<sup>19</sup> A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 111.

“corpse” (*Wb.* III, p. 359,9–20).<sup>20</sup> The substitution thus adds a linguistic dimension to the visual one.



Fig. 1a. TT 2B, north (after B. Bruyère 1952, pl. vii)

Fig. 1b. TT 2B, south (after A.-C. Salmas 2018, p. 412)

Another image-that-can-be-read is to be found in the 20<sup>th</sup>-Dynasty tomb of Anhurkhawy (ii) (TT 359). In this illustration of BD spell 17 (Fig. 2), signed by the artist Hormin (i)<sup>21</sup>, the Great Cat of Heliopolis is depicted slaughtering Apophis with his knife.<sup>22</sup> This composition features a number of interesting visual features,<sup>23</sup> but it is the abnormally long ears on the cat that have attracted the greatest attention from Egyptologists.<sup>24</sup> These have generally been interpreted as the ears of a hare,<sup>25</sup> though the painting make much better sense if they are identified as the ears of a donkey.<sup>26</sup> This turns the cat into a ‘cat-donkey’, *mjw-ꜥ* in Egyptian, which is a homograph for the “Great Cat” (ꜥ “donkey” ~ ꜥ “great”)<sup>27</sup> depicted in this masterful composition.

<sup>20</sup> See the discussion in L. Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel*, p. 86. For the non-enigmatic (i.e., metaphoric) interpretation of this sign, based on BD spell 88, see S. Martinak, *Bedeutung und Rolle des Motivs: Anubis als Balsamierer in den thebanischen Privatgräbern des Neuen Reiches*, 2018 (unpublished MA thesis), p. 72–73.

<sup>21</sup> About the *sš-ꜥd* Hormin (i) and his written production, see recently H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, “Das Gebet des Zeichners Hormin (i) samt Fürbitte zugunsten verstorbener Könige auf Ostr. BM EA 41543 recto”, in S. Gerhards et al. (eds.), *Schöne Denkmäler sind entstanden. Studien zu Ehren von Ursula Verhoeven*, Heidelberg, Propylaeum, 2023, p. 61–101.

<sup>22</sup> N. Cherpion – J.-P. Corteggiani, *La tombe d’Inherkhâouy (TT 359) à Deir el-Medina (MIFAO 128)*, 2010, vol. 1, p. 111–114; vol. 2, p. 51 (fig. 78), p. 65, fig. 98–99.

<sup>23</sup> Note that the Ished-tree in this composition grows out of the slaughtered Apophis, just as the sun rises from the horizon in the general shape of the Akhet-sign (☉). This is a clear reference to the solar dimension of the Ished-tree of Heliopolis that grew on top of the *J:t-wd*: ‘Mond of Beheading’ (on this place, see J.-P. Corteggiani, “La ‘butte de la Décollation’ à Héliopolis”, *BIFAO* 95 [1995], p. 141–151; on the general interpretation of this scene, see V. Angenot, “Hormin - Vignette du Chapitre 17 du Livre des Morts”, in M. Weemans – D. Gamboni – J.-H. Martin (eds), *Voir double, pièges et révélations du visible*, 2016, p. 134–136).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the early copy made by Sir J.G. Wilkinson in 1849 (N. Cherpion – J.-P. Corteggiani, *La tombe d’Inherkhâouy*, vol. 1, p. 112).

<sup>25</sup> E.g., J.-P. Corteggiani, *BIFAO* 95 (1995), p. 147.

<sup>26</sup> On the association between the donkey and the sun in the context of Deir el-Medina, see D. Meeks, “Un aspect méconnu des tombes de Deir el-Médina: la paléographie”, *EAO* 25 (2002), p. 46 ; L. Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel*, p. 171–172.

<sup>27</sup> Following V. Angenot, “Rébus, calembours et images subliminales dans l’iconographie égyptienne”, in Cl.-A. Brisset – Fl. Dumora-Mabille – M. Simon-Oikawa (eds.), *Rébus d’ici et d’ailleurs: écriture, image, signe; colloque international, 2-4 mai 2012, Université Paris Diderot*, Paris 2018, p. 93–95. The drawing on the same wall of a scarab with forelegs shaped like ibex-horns is different in nature; it does not call for linguistic decoding. On this case of a ‘surcharge symbolique’, see the discussion in Ch. Cannuyer, “Entre Cancer et Capricorne: le scarabée de la tombe de Sennedjem à Deir el-Médineh”, in Ch. Cannuyer et al. (eds), *L’animal dans les civilisations orientales / Animals in the Oriental Civilizations*, 2001, p. 45–52. *Id.*, “Un curieux scarabée aux pattes en forme de cornes de bouquetin: note rectificative à AOB 14”, *GM* 184 (2001), p. 81–84; N. Cherpion – J.-P. Corteggiani, *La tombe d’Inherkhâouy*, vol. 1, p. 95–96; vol. 2, p. 57, fig. 84.



Fig. 2. TT 359, Vault G, West wall (after Cherpion & Corteggiani 2010, vol. 2, p. 65 [Fig. 98])

Images that can be read are not found exclusively in tombs. Some stelae display similar features. An example is Stela Cairo CG 35028 (= JdE 72022; Fig. 3), a vivid testimony to royal piety found by B. Bruyère in the North-East corner of the Ptolemaic precinct.<sup>28</sup> It reflects several layers of meaning, which is typical of enigmatic compositions:

- (1) The figure of Amun functions both as a visual representation of the god in the solar boat<sup>29</sup> — accompanied by the caption *Jmn-Rꜥ, nswt nṯr. w n [Jp.t-]s.(w)t, nṯr ȓ* “Amun-Ra, king of the gods of Karnak, the great god” — and as a ‘decalibrated’<sup>30</sup> sign facing the rest of the name of Ramses II (*Wsr-Mꜥ.t-Rꜥ stp-n-Rꜥ Mry-Jmn*). The king is thus assimilated to the god Amun in his journey.
- (2) The sun encircling this scene is also a *šn*-sign (☉).<sup>31</sup> It functions as a cartouche around the name of the king and plays simultaneously on the expression *šnn.t-Jtn* “What the sun disk encircles” (*Wb.* IV, p. 490.7).
- (3) Finally, on an even more granular level, if one combines the *šms.w*-symbol with an enigmatic reading (*Jmn-Rꜥ*) of the solar boat (< *jm(w)-n-Rꜥ* “boat of Ra”),<sup>32</sup> one arrives at the phrase *šms(w) Jmn-Rꜥ* “follower/servant of Amun-Ra”, which turns the king into the first devout of the Theban god.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The enigmatic dimension of this stela was first recognized by B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935–1940), fascicule 2: Trouvailles d’objets (FIFA 20.2)*, 1952, p. 50, 99, pl. XLII. See the recent publication in J.M. Galán – G. Menéndez, *Catalogue General of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo: Nos. 35001-35066: Deir el-Medina stelae and other inscribed objects*, 2018, p. 80–81, pl. xxv. For a discussion, see L. Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel*, p. 87–88. A similar representation from Deir el-Medina is found on Lintel Cairo 43690 (= B. Bruyère, *Rapport (1935–1940), fasc. 2*, p. 12, fig. 83). Another enigmatic representation which is not yet properly understood is found in the tomb of Néferrenpet (TT336), see B. Bruyère, *Tombes thébaines*, frontispice.

<sup>29</sup> Compare with B. Bruyère, *Rapport (1935–1940), fasc. 2*, p. 88, fig. 163.

<sup>30</sup> On this notion, see P. Vernus, *Actes sémiotiques* 119 (2016), p. 3 and *passim*.

<sup>31</sup> See B. Bruyère, *Rapport (1935–1940), fasc. 2*, p. 99.

<sup>32</sup> This interpretation was proposed by L. Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel*, p. 88. On this reading of the solar boat, see already Ét. Drioton, “Scarabée de la collection Gurewitch”, *BSFE* 19 (1955), p. 5 [63]; E. Hornung – E. Staehelin *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, Mainz 1976, p. 174. Ét. Drioton (“La valeur cryptographique du signe représentant la barque solaire avec le disque”, *RdÉ* 12 [1960], p. 89–90) has noted other examples where the solar boat undoubtedly possesses the value *Jmn* and not *Jmn-Rꜥ*, which would obviously be suitable here as well.

<sup>33</sup> A good parallel to this boat (though without the royal name within the sun disk) is the stelophorous statue of Ramose (i) (Cairo JdE 72000, now in the Suez Museum; see B. Bruyère, *Rapport (1935–1940), fasc. 2*, p. 56–57, pl. XXXV; D. Valbelle, “Le khénou de Ramsès II”, in B.J.J. Haring – O.E. Kaper – R. van Walsem (eds.), *The*




Fig. 3. Stela Cairo CG 35028 (= JdE 72022; after B. Bruyère 1952, pl. XLII)

Stela CG 35028 exemplifies the suitability of the names of kings for displays of enigmatic virtuosity on the part of the scribes of the Necropolis. Similarly, O. Cairo CGC 25671 (Fig. 4) might even testify to the fact that they honed their skills and developed greater inventiveness within the framework of these special writing practices.<sup>34</sup> This large limestone ostrakon (40 × 28 cm) from the Valley of the Kings was probably created by Ramose (i) himself, perhaps in celebration of his appointment as Scribe of the Tomb in year 5 of Ramses III.<sup>35</sup> This is suggested by the hieratic text below the two hieroglyphic lines: *whm dj.t(w)=f<sup>36</sup> r shꜥ m S.t-Mꜥ.t m ḥsb.t 5 ꜥbd 3 ꜥḥ.t sw 10 nswt bjty Wsr-Mꜥ.t-Rꜥ stp-n-Rꜥ ꜥ.w.s sꜥ-Rꜥ Rꜥ-ms-sw mr[y-Jmn]* “Repeating<sup>37</sup> his



---

*Workman’s Progress: Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and Other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée (EgUit 28)*, 2014, p. 246–247).

<sup>34</sup> The ostrakon was published in J. Černý, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: n<sup>os</sup> 25593–25674: ostraca hiératiques, troisième fascicule*, 1933, p. 55–56, pl. 75\* & LXX. For discussions of the ostrakon, see S. Sauneron & J. Yoyotte, “Le cynocéphale  comme graphie du nom de Thot”, *RdÉ* 7 (1950), p. 10–11; L. Morenz, “Visuelle Poesie”, p. 314–315; L. Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel*, p. 113–115, and H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Grundzüge einer Geschichte des Hieratischen (Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 14/2)*, vol. 2, 2021, p. 374–376. Two other ‘ostraca’ with ‘royal titularies’ in enigmatic writing have been published by Ét. Drioton (“Recueil de cryptographie monumentale”, *ASAE* 40 [1940], p. 377–387). These differ substantially from the ostrakon discussed here: their texts are incised. Their interpretation by Drioton is problematic in many ways. They probably date to much later times, too. As such, they are best interpreted as trial pieces or ‘aides-mémoires’ (see L. Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel*, p. 107; D. Klotz, “The Enigmatic Frieze of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple”, in D. Klotz – A. Stauder (eds.), *Enigmatic Writing*, p. 53–54).

<sup>35</sup> On the early career of Ramose (i), see J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period (BdÉ 50)*, 2004, p. 317–320; B.G. Davies, *Who’s Who*, p. 79–83; B.G. Davies, *Life within the Five Walls*, p. 260–263.

<sup>36</sup> The construction is most likely *whm* + INF. ‘to do something again,’ which is well attested in the administrative sources from the village (for *whm (r)dj.t* specifically, see, for instance, O. DeM 931, 1–3; O. Glasgow D.1925.66, r<sup>o</sup> 13–16; O. Glasgow D.1925.71, v<sup>o</sup> 4–6; O. UC 39645, r<sup>o</sup> 1–6). An interpretation of the form as an (emphatic) perfective passive (*whm dj.tw=f*) is possible, but unlikely in this context.

<sup>37</sup> The introductory lexeme *whm* is generally left untranslated by commentators (e.g., J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen*, p. 317; B.G. Davies, *Who’s Who*, p. 79, n. 33). H.-W. Fischer-Elfert (*Grundzüge*, vol. 2, p. 375) made the ingenious suggestion to read the first two quadrats as *ꜥt.tw=f* with the meaning “er wird aufgezogen (zum Schreiber)”. However, this reading suffers for a lack of palaeographical and orthographical parallels:  does not normally feature the cross on top of the leg in Ramesside hieratic, unlike , for which it is a characteristic feature; the construction *ꜥti.t* “to mind (a child)” (*Wb.* I, p. 23.9) with DIRECT OBJECT + *r* STATUS is not-attested (as far as we

appointment as scribe of the Necropolis in year 5, 3<sup>rd</sup> month of Akhet, day 10 of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt *Wsr-Mꜛ.t-Rꜥ stp-n-Rꜥ*, son of Ra, Ramesses Meryamun.”

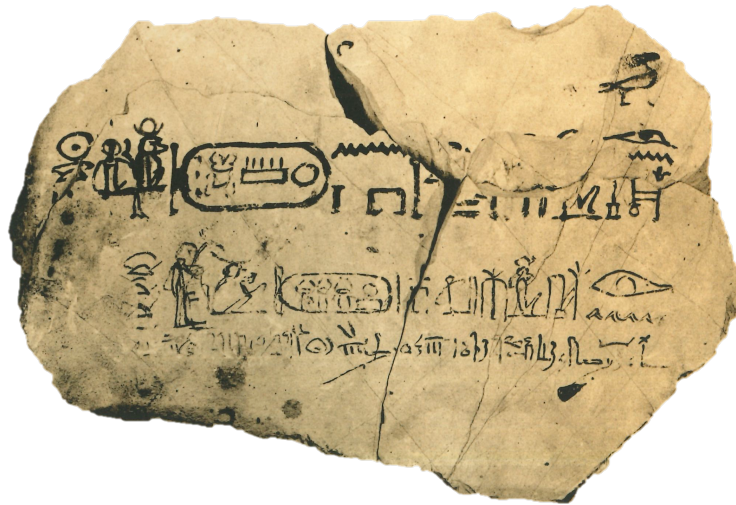


Fig. 4. O. Cairo CG 25671 (after Černý 1935, pl. LXX)

The two hieroglyphic lines<sup>38</sup> in black ink on this ostracon read *jr.n shꜥ Rꜥ-ms (mꜥ-ḥrw) n pr Mn-ḥpr.w-Rꜥ Dḥwty-ms ḥꜥ-ḥꜥ.w* “What the scribe Ramose (j.v.) of the temple of Thutmosis IV has done (i.e. this inscription)”. As noted by several scholars,<sup>39</sup> the two versions of the name of Thutmosis IV vary between them. This is most notable with respect to *Dḥwty-ms*,<sup>40</sup> where the baboon on its standard (*Dḥwty*) is accompanied by a child (*ms*) in the first line, and where the baboon (*Dḥwty*) is brought (*mz* [*Wb.* 2, p. 135.7-21] ~ *ms*) by a standing figure (the king?) who holds its tail in l. 2.<sup>41</sup> This has generally been understood as an ‘exercice de lettrés’ on the part of the scribe Ramose (i) (“mit der er seine Fähigkeit zu sinnträchtigen Schreibungen unter Beweis stellte”<sup>42</sup>) or even as a kind of test whereby he could prove his facility with enigmatic writing,<sup>43</sup> as an essential part of his new job. However, this interpretation is built on the assumption that both lines were written by the same scribe; this is far from certain, especially given the obvious palaeographic discrepancies between the two hieroglyphic hands.<sup>44</sup> It seems more likely that, as often happens in graffiti, the second line was a response to the first line written by Ramose (i), as a later scribe sought to emulate the literate achievements of a predecessor.

This example carries us quite naturally into the realm of so-called ‘ornamental’ or ‘monumental cryptography’,<sup>45</sup> which usually refers to the names and titles of individuals, most often

---

know). We suggest that Ramose’s appointment as scribe was confirmed on several occasions in year 5 of Ramses II, which would justify the use of *wḥm*, including during a visit to the Valley of the Kings (here) and to the Valley of the Queens (Theb. Gr. 1140, probably written 10 days after O. Cairo CG 25671; see J. Černý, *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la nécropole thebaine: nos 1060 à 1405* (= *DFIFAO IX*), 1956, p. 6 & pl. 13).

<sup>38</sup> The signs that are visible above the first line have been interpreted by J. Černý (*Catalogue général*, p. 55) as ‘un essai de plume’. This claim is somewhat problematic, though it cannot be properly assessed without access to the original document.

<sup>39</sup> See already S. Sauneron & J. Yoyotte, “Le cynocéphale”, p. 10–11.

<sup>40</sup> For the value *ḥꜥ* of the sundisk in *ḥꜥ-ḥꜥ.w* (l. 1), see S. Sauneron & Yoyotte, “Le cynocéphale”, p. 11, n. 3.

<sup>41</sup> As suggested by L. Morenz, “Visuelle Poesie”, p. 314; L. Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel*, p. 113.

<sup>42</sup> L. Morenz, “Visuelle Poesie”, p. 315.

<sup>43</sup> L. Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel*, p. 114 & 116.

<sup>44</sup> H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Grundzüge*, vol. 2, p. 376.

<sup>45</sup> See the foundational study by Ét. Drioton, “Recueil de cryptographie monumentale”.





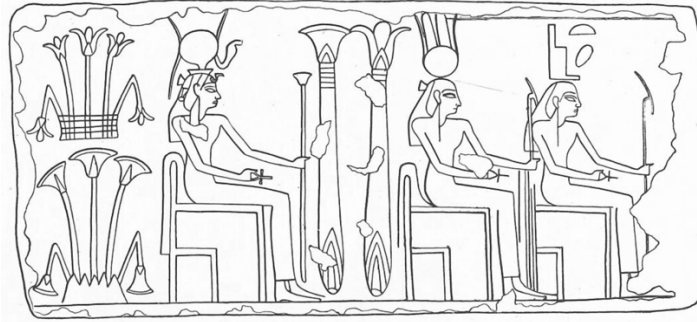


Fig. 5. Slab Cairo CG 35061 & 35062

(based on Ét. Drioton, “Cryptogrammes de la reine Nefertari”, *ASAE* 39 (1939), pl. XIII–XIV)

Over the years, several problems in Drioton’s original interpretation have been overcome,<sup>52</sup> resulting in the following reading:<sup>53</sup> *hm.t nswt wr.t, nb.t t3.wy, Nfr.t-jry, mr.t n.t Mw.t, ḥḥ.tj* “Great royal wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Nefertari, beloved of Mut, may she live” (Fig. 5) and [<sup>?</sup>*hm.t nswt wr.t?*], *nb.t t3.wy, ḥnw.t šm.w Mḥ.w* “[<sup>?</sup>Great royal wife<sup>?</sup>], Lady of the Two Lands, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt” (Cairo CG 35062). This enigmatic frieze, while providing the name and titles of Nefertari, visually situates the queen within the realm of the goddesses and, more specifically, amongst those goddesses who were worshipped locally.

Although small ‘tableaux’ typical of ‘thematic cryptography’<sup>54</sup> are common in such examples (e.g., in the epithet *mr.t n.t Mw.t*), the linearization, orientation, and spatial organization that are characteristic of this writing bring us closer to the textual pole of enigmatic writing, and to the so-called ‘regular’ or ‘annotational’ type of enigmatic writing.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup> See M. Étienne-Fart, “‘De rebus quae geruntur...’ dans deux inscriptions ramessides”, *BIFAO* 94 (1994), p. 139–142; L. Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel*, p. 222–224; F. Taterka, “Les mystères des hiéroglyphes – la cryptographie égyptienne sous le Nouvel Empire”, *Annales de l’Académie polonaise des sciences* 14 (2012), p. 443–444; *Id.*, “Ancient Egyptian Royal Cryptography in the Ramesside Period”, in M. Zadka – K. Buczek – P.P. Chruszczewski – A.R. Knapik – J. Mianowski (eds.), *Antropologia Komunikacji: Od starożytności do współczesności*, 2015, 78–80; D. Klotz, “The Enigmatic Frieze”, p. 54–55.

<sup>53</sup> We follow D. Klotz’ analysis here (see previous fn.). Note that the *t* in front of the depiction of Mut should most likely be understood as the feminine ending *apo koinou* for the three elements of the epithet *mr.t n.t Mw.t*.

<sup>54</sup> On the near-absence of scarabs (on which the type of enigmatic writing known as ‘thematic cryptography’ commonly appears) in the material excavated at Deir el-Medina, see E. Hornung – E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen*, p. 16–17 & 377. Enigmatic inscriptions on scarabs (and similar small artefacts) are generally an issue (see O. Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit: Einleitung* [OBO Ser Arch. 10], 1995, p. 177–180; Cl. Jurman, “Ein Siegelring mit kryptographischer Inschrift in Bonn”, *ÄgLev* 20 [2010], p. 227–242; J.Fr. Quack, *Altägyptische Amulette und ihre Handhabung* [ORA 31], 2022, p. 174).

<sup>55</sup> We focus exclusively on sequences of more than one sign here. Texts from the village are regularly interspersed with isolated signs that are typical of the enigmatic repertoire, which goes to demonstrate the continuum of practices between ‘normal’ and ‘enigmatic’ orthography. See, for example,  $\text{⊗}$  with the value *n* in the spelling of the proper name *Jn-ḥr.t-ḥ.w* (N. Cherpion – J.-P. Corteggiani, *La tombe d’Inherkhâouy*, vol. 2, pl. 6 & 8);  $\text{☉}$  for *m33* ‘to see’, e.g., in Stela Turin N. 50046, l. 2; N. 50050, l. 3 (= M. Tosi – A. Roccati, *Stele*, p. 80, 280; p. 85, 282), T. Turin N. 22025 (L. Habachi, *Tavole d’offerta, are e bacili da libagione: n. 22001 – 22067* [CMT Serie Seconda – Collezioni II], 1977, p. 30, 133), cf. Fr. Servajean, *Le tombeau de Nakhtamon (TT 335) à Deir al Medina: paléographie* (PalHiéro 5), 2011, p. 46–47, §85;  $\text{☉}$  for *Dḥwty* on Stela Turin 50046, top (M. Tosi – A. Roccati, *Stele*, p. 80, 280).



In the examples of ‘annotational’ enigmatic writing discussed so far, however, it is words or phrases, as higher syntactic units, to which the enigmatic principles are applied;<sup>63</sup> longer phrases and even full sentences are missing. The two ostraca discussed in §2 and §3 below change this picture dramatically.

## 2. O. Cairo CG 25359:<sup>64</sup>

### *An Enigmatic Netherworld Book on an Ostrakon*

#### 2.1. Description

O. Cairo CG 25359 is a red pottery sherd of unknown provenance that measures c. 15 × 16 cm. It is inscribed on both sides with black ink (Fig. 8).<sup>65</sup> The shape of the ostrakon is more or less rhomboidal, but none of its original edges is preserved, and its original shape and dimensions are uncertain.<sup>66</sup> The ostrakon is likely to have been broken already during antiquity: the irregular surface of its sides is distinctly worn out. The surviving texts suggest that only small triangular pieces are missing from the bottom and on the left of the recto, but it is impossible to assess the dimension of the fragments missing from the top and at the right of the ostrakon.



Fig. 8. Pictures of O. Cairo CG 25359 r<sup>o</sup> and v<sup>o</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Another example from the tomb of Inherkhau is discussed in R. Pietri – St. Polis, “Altering Writing: Neutralizing and Re-activating the Agency of Animate Signs in Less or Non-figurative Graphic Registers” (in prep.).

<sup>64</sup> We are very grateful to Dr. Marwa Abdel Raziq and to Prof. Khaled Hassan for their help in accessing high quality pictures of this ostrakon.

<sup>65</sup> The exterior of the vessel is referred to conventionally here as the ‘recto’ and its interior as the ‘verso’. The red colour of the clay is more vivid on the upper part of the recto, perhaps as a consequence of contact with water or another liquid.

<sup>66</sup> Note, however, that the bulky edge at the left bottom of the recto may be original, as there is a margin of c. 2 cm between the end of text A (cf. §2.2) and the edge of the potsherd.

As observed by Daressy in his *editio princeps*,<sup>67</sup> the recto bears three texts (A-B-C) written using a type of enigmatic norm that is characteristic of compositions found in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom, the so-called ‘abgad cryptography’<sup>68</sup> or ‘cryptographic alphabet’<sup>69</sup>. These texts are written in columns of linear hieroglyphs facing right, and read from right to left (Fig. 9).<sup>70</sup>

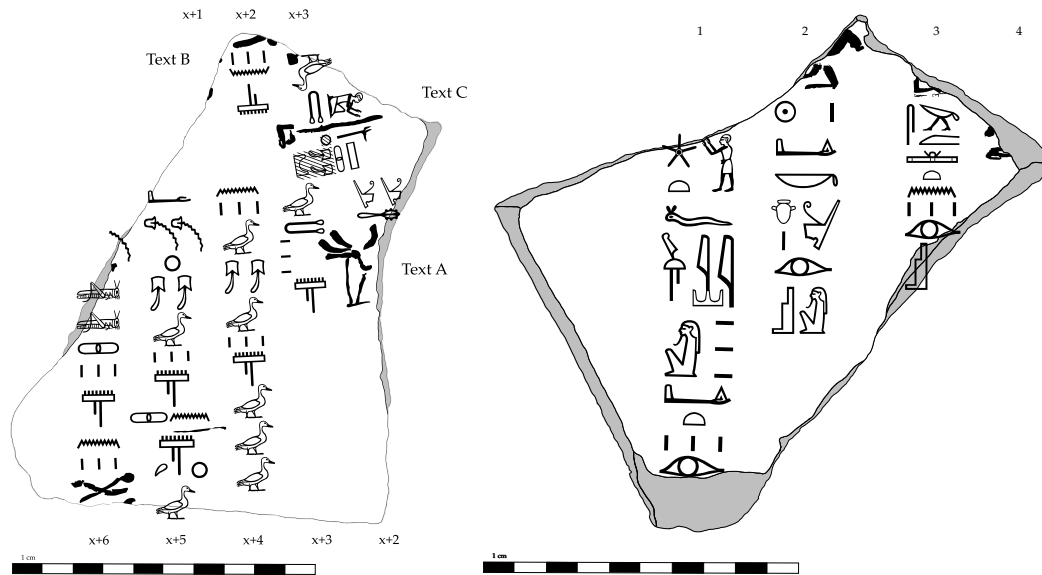


Fig. 9. Hieroglyphic transcription of O. Cairo CG 25359

The best-preserved text, Text A, consists of five columns of varying length that follow the smoothing grooves of the vessel. We identify Text A as a copy of the caption to ‘scene 5’ from the *Enigmatic Netherworld Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity*, whose only other attestation thus far is from the second shrine of Tutankhamun.<sup>71</sup> The parallel suggests that the first third of this text is missing from the ostrakon. In between the short col. x+2 and x+3 is a sketch of a seated divinity (c. two-quadrats tall) on top of a large blank space. Text C is located on top of these first two columns at 90°. It consists of two columns divided by a vertical line. These correspond to two captions from the scene that precedes Text A in the second shrine of Tutankhamun (labelled ‘scene 2’ in Darnell’s publication).<sup>72</sup> Finally, Text B (at the top of the ostrakon) mirrors Text A in terms of its layout (i.e., it is rotated by 180°). Unfortunately, Text B is very fragmentary, and it is not possible to estimate the number of columns missing. Since the two other texts on the verso belong to a single enigmatic composition, it is possible that

<sup>67</sup> G. Daressy, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire nos 25001 – 25385: ostraca*, 1901, p. 92–93.

<sup>68</sup> J.C. Darnell, “Ancient Egyptian Cryptography: Graphic Hermeneutics”, in D. Klotz – A. Stauder (eds.), *Enigmatic Writing*, p. 10.

<sup>69</sup> D.A. Werning, “Semiotic Aspects of Alienated and Cryptographic Encodings in the Netherworld Books of the New Kingdom”, in D. Klotz – A. Stauder (eds.), *Enigmatic Writing*, p. 219–221. Drioton (“La cryptographie de la chapelle de Toutânkhamon”, *JEA* 35 [1949], p. 117–122) used the label “cryptographie religieuse” for this specific enigmatic norm.

<sup>70</sup> Even though Daressy thought that the texts were ‘probablement rétrogrades’ (G. Daressy, *Ostraca*, p. 92).

<sup>71</sup> JE 60666 = Carter 237; A. Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-ankh-amôn* (MIFAO 72), 1952, p. 31, pl. IV; A. Piankoff – N. Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (BollSer XL.2), 1977, pl. 47; J.C. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 74 & pl. 5C. It is irrelevant to our discussion whether the *Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity* reflect one large composition, as argued by Darnell, or three different ones (J.Fr. Quack, *WdO* 35 [2005], p. 38–39)

<sup>72</sup> A. Piankoff, *Chapelles de Tout-ankh-amôn*, p. 30, pl. IV; A. Piankoff – N. Rambova, *Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, pl. 47; J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pl. 4.C.

Text B also belongs to the same composition, though the few surviving signs do not allow for a secure identification (see §2.2.1 below).

The verso of the ostracon preserves parts of four columns. These are written perpendicular to the horizontal turning-marks on the interior of the pot; the hieroglyphic signs face left. A margin of c. 4 cm lies between the left edge of the ostracon and the first column of the text, meaning that this is almost certainly the beginning of the text. The number of columns lost to the right is unclear, as is the number of quadrates missing from the top. The same observation holds true for the bottom. This is due both to the irregular length of the columns and to the fact that we could find no parallels to this text. Compared to the palaeography of the recto, the signs of the verso are more figurative, though still hastily written.<sup>73</sup>

## 2.2. Texts

### 2.2.1. Recto

Text A<sup>74</sup>

Transliteration


[<sup>x+1</sup>... w]<sup>x+2</sup>nn ḥꜣ. <sup>x+3</sup>(w)t=s <sup>x+4</sup>n m kkw.w-smꜣ.w<sup>x+5</sup> ꜣpp Rꜣ jꜣ bꜣ.w=sn m-s(ꜣ) jtn=f s[t.wt<sup>x+6</sup>=f]  
ꜣꜣ(.w) ꜣ[r ꜣ]rr.wt=sn ꜣꜣsꜣ






Translation

[... ] It is in the complete darkness that their corpses [ex]ist. When Ra passes, their bas come after his disk, [his] r[ays] having entered [into] their [ca]verns. – ꜣSpellꜣ

Comments<sup>75</sup>

col. x+2–3

[<sup>x+1</sup>... w]<sup>x+2</sup>nn . At least one column is missing before the first one. As such, we number this column <sup>x+2</sup>.

ḥꜣ.wt . The partially preserved horizontal sign at the end of col. x+2 does not correspond palaeographically with either  (Tutankhamun version) or , as suggested by Daressy (*Ostraca*, p. 92). According to current understandings of this passage,<sup>76</sup> the most likely restoration here would be the clear-text uniliteral sign ,<sup>77</sup> an ‘alienated’ form of the common spelling of ḥꜣ.t using initial  (*Wb.* III, p. 359.9–


<sup>73</sup> For the ductus, compare O. DAN 8 (G. Burkard, *Dra’ Abu el-Naga II: hieratische Ostraka und Namenssteine aus Dra’ Abu el-Naga [AV 129]*, 2018, p. 108–110 & pl. 6).



<sup>74</sup> Our translation largely follows J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 74; earlier discussions of this text can be found in A. Piankoff, “Une représentation rare sur l’une des chapelles de Toutânkhamon”, *JEA* 35 (1949), p. 114 and E. Hornung, “Ein aenigmatisches Unterweltsbuch”, *JSSEA* 13 (1983), p. 30.

<sup>75</sup> In addition to traditional tools, digital corpora such as the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (<http://aew.bbaw.de/tla/> and <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de>) and *Ramses Online* (<http://ramses.ulg.ac.be>) have been used to prepare the comments in Sections 2.2 and 3.2.




<sup>76</sup> A. Piankoff, *JEA* 35, p. 114; J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 74.

<sup>77</sup> For attestations of this sign in linear hieroglyphs, see e.g. O. Turin CGT 57440 r<sup>o</sup>, col. 4 (below); H. Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet (EgUit 7)*, 1991, pl. 31, col. 15; I. Munro, *Das Totenbuch des Bak-su (pKM 1970.37/pBrocklehurst) aus der Zeit Amenophis’ II. (HAT 2)*, 1995, photo pl. 1, col. 19; *Id.*, *Das Totenbuch des Nacht-Amun aus der Ramessidenzeit (pBerlin P. 3002) (HAT 4)*, 1997, pl. 3, col. 54.


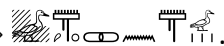
20).<sup>78</sup> An alternative would be another fish-sign (e.g., )<sup>79</sup> but this does not fit especially well with the surviving ink traces.

[SEATED DIVINITY]. Daressy erroneously identified the sketch of a seated divinity between col. x+2–3 as text. He thus concluded his transliteration of col. x+2 with  and col. x+3 with  (*Ostraca*, p. 92). The divine figure between these columns is depicted with a long false beard whose tip curls forward; two curved lines stretching backwards on top of his head resemble horns or feathers, while a horizontal line departing from the back of his head perhaps reflects a simplified wig. If the curved line in front of the figure’s forehead belongs to this seated figure — as its ductus seems to indicate — and not to a preceding drawing or hieroglyphic sign, it might represent an uraeus. These attributes do not suggest a generic god, or any of the common ‘big divinities’,<sup>80</sup> and thus seem to suggest a specific entity. At first glance, the figure does not seem to correspond with any of the divinities that accompany the KV 62 text, where only the first and fifth gods (*hprj* and *jk3*)<sup>81</sup> wear a similar false beard (and lack further attributes on their heads). However, if the two curved lines on the figure’s head are identified as the forelegs of an insect, our figure might represent the scarab-chested *hprj*, though this divinity has no uraeus in the Tutankhamun version.<sup>82</sup> It is attractive to suggest that the first of the eight deities (*ntr.w*) may have stood *pars pro toto* for the full row of divine beings, but one would then have to argue that his headdress changed over time.

col. x+4

*kkw.w-sm3.w* . On the use of  for *k*, based on the similarity of its shape to linear hieroglyphic  *kkw*<sup>83</sup> and on the consonantal principle, see D. Meeks, *BiOr* 78 (2021), col. 564–565.<sup>84</sup> For other attestations of the three birds with the sense *m3w*, see J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 75, n. b.

col. x+5

*b3.w=sn m-s(3) jtn=f s[...]*.  (Daressy) → . Compared with the KV 62 version, the spelling of this phrase on the ostrakon is highly condensed. For



<sup>78</sup> On the concept of ‘alienating’ spellings, see D.A. Werning, “Semiotic Aspects of Alienated and Cryptographic Encodings”, p. 197–200 and *Id.*, “Écriture énigmatique: distanciée, cryptée, sportive”, in St. Polis (ed.), *Guide des écritures*, 2022, p. 200–203.


<sup>79</sup> Cf. J.A. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 111 & 204.













<sup>80</sup> Compare the examples in A. Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige: ein Beitrag zur altägyptischen Sozialgeschichte aufgrund von neuem Quellenmaterial aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie (ca. 1150 v. Chr.)* (AH 23), 2011, 3 vols., pl. 150–203.

<sup>81</sup> For these names, see J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 70–74 and the interpretations offered by E. Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983), p. 30.





<sup>82</sup> One might also think of the figure of ‘w3.y in the Amduat of KV 35 (P. Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d’Aménophis II* (MIFAO 60), 1932, pl. XXIX).















<sup>83</sup> The cursive shapes of  already resemble  in the *CT* (R.O. Faulkner, *JEA* 67 [1981], p. 173). For cursive hieroglyphic examples that are palaeographically similar to those on the Cairo ostrakon, see Stela KV 18/5.276 (A. Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, pl. 224–225 no. 240 v<sup>o</sup>).




<sup>84</sup> See already A. Grimm, “Zu einer kryptographischen (änigmatischen) Schreibung des Substantivs *kkw* ‘Finsternis’ im Höhlenbuch (Livre des Quererts)”, *GM* 32 (1979), p. 23–26. Other explanations include (1) a synecdoche of  (A.J. Roberson *Lexicon*, p. 77, following J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 68, n. d and C.W. Goodwin, *ZÄS* 11, p. 142) or (2) the application of the consonantal principle to the lexeme *k3(3)* “panther” (W. Westendorf, “Die Tierfell-Hieroglyphe mit dem Lautwert *k*”, *GM* 40 [1980], p. 57–62), even though this word is a reconstructed lexeme.




example, the signs  and  (value: *m*)<sup>85</sup> are arranged horizontally next to one other and not grouped vertically as would be expected. In the following group, the logogram  (*jtn*)<sup>86</sup> and (most probably) the suffix  = *f* (which is more likely here than the palaeographically similar ; cf. its shape above in the same line)<sup>87</sup> were inserted in the free bottom corners of . Although these peculiarities might have been due to space limitations, the unusual layout suggests rather that the scribe originally wrote     *b3.w=sn <m->s(3)*, as in the Tutankhamun version, and then modified this sequence while revising the text (and inserting the missing signs for *m* and *jtn=f*). This hypothesis is further confirmed by the thin line underneath the , which most probably led the reader's eye to the sign on its left before the subsequent . If this interpretation is correct, the primary spelling would have been *jy b3.w=sn s(3) st.wt=f k(.w) r krr.wt=sn* "their bas come after his rays have entered into their caverns" instead of *jy b3.w=sn m-s(3) jtn=f st.wt=f k(.w) r krr.wt=sn* "their bas follow after his disk, his rays having entered into their caverns".

col. x+6

 (Daressy) → . No trace of the object from which the liquid emerges is preserved. In the Tutankhamun version, the sign takes the shape , which corresponds to the combination of a pot pouring water on top of the sign .<sup>88</sup>


[*r k*] *r.r.wt*    .  (Daressy) → : The sign is not drawn as a single line but as a rectangle.<sup>89</sup> Additionally, Daressy's edition does not include the traces of ink that are visible above the first locust. If the spelling of this passage parallels that of KV 62, these signs should most probably be read as  or . Because the left part of the following signs is lost, however, it remains unclear whether they form the end of the preceding verb  or the beginning of *krr.wt*. If the former, the first locust should be read as the preposition *r*, while another  before the second locust would have been lost:  (C) ~  (T) *krr(r).wt*. If the latter, *krr.wt* should be read as  or  with the loss of the preceding *r*.



?*ts*? [...].  (Daressy) → . The sign consists of two lines which cross in the fashion of a saltire; it therefore corresponds to Z10 or to a cursive variant of .<sup>90</sup> As the text ends

<sup>85</sup> At first glance, it seems possible to suggest  as a substitute for  (A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 135). However, the rectangle contains a dot and we suggest reading ; this sign would have the value *m* as result of a shape-based substitution (not yet attested in *Ibid.*, p. 178). For the same sign with the value *t*, see col. x+6.

<sup>86</sup> For the value of the sign, see *Ibid.*, *Lexicon*, p. 52.

<sup>87</sup> If this alternative reading is correct, it would represent an interesting variant to KV 62, as the text would thus address the sun god directly and evoke the phraseology of contemporary solar hymns. Cf. J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik, I (MÄS 19)* 1969, p. 359–360.

<sup>88</sup> J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 76–78 refers to the uncombined variant in another section of the same composition (*Ibid.*, p. 89, pl. 7C) and provides a compelling explanation for its reading as .

<sup>89</sup> The reading *t* accords with the principle of class exchange, with  standing for  (cf. A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 178).

<sup>90</sup> For rare examples of the sign with open ends, see Stela BM EA 1628, l. 4 & 6 (First Intermediate Period; see D. Franke, *JEA* 93 [2007], p. 153, fig. 2 & p. 154, fig. 3); TT 158 (period of Ramses III; K.C. Seele, *The Tomb of Tjanefer at Thebes [OIP LXXVI]*, 1959, pl. 13 col. 2 & 7) and the shabti boxes of Maatkara at Cairo Museum, JE 26264A–B (Third Intermediate Period).

just before this sign in the KV 62 version, and because no additional column follows, ☒ might simply represent a paratextual sign indicating the end of this text.<sup>91</sup> Alternatively, because ☐ is attested once in New Kingdom enigmatic writing<sup>92</sup> (while ☒ seems to be absent from it, which would be expected if it is a paratextual sign here), the reading ☐ ts may mark the end of the spell (ts) or point to its inscription in reverse (ts phr), i.e. retrograde(?), writing.<sup>93</sup>

### Text B

#### Transcription

x+1 [...] .. [...]

x+2 =sn .[...]

x+3  .[...]


#### Translation

x+1 [...] .. [...]

x+2 their .[...]

x+3  .[...]

#### Comments

Daressy's hieroglyphic transcription of Text B appears to be correct, though he omits the faint traces of ink that belong to the first two signs of col. x+1.<sup>94</sup> Based on the spelling of =sn (x+2), and given the presence of the bird at the beginning of x+3, it is evident that we are looking at another abgad text, probably another caption belonging to the same composition as Texts A and C. The paucity of preserved signs, however, does not allow for a secure identification. One might tentatively suggest reading the end of col. x+2 as , a sign which is attested only twice in the parallel Tutankhamun version.<sup>95</sup> If this suggestion is correct, Text B would correspond to the caption of 'scene 4' in the second shrine of Tutankhamun, which is positioned there on top of 'scene 5' (= Text A).<sup>96</sup> Text B would then read as follows: [nn n ntr.w m shr pn m krr.wt]=sn jmy[.wt hry(.t)] w[nn h3.wt=sn m kkw] "[These gods are in this fashion in] their caverns, which are in [the

<sup>91</sup> Note that the sign is not attested as a checkmark in hieratic archival documents from the New Kingdom; see the recent discussion by J. Jüngling, *Hieratische Aktenvermerke (HSO 2)*, 2021.

<sup>92</sup> A. von Lieven, *Nutbuch*, vol. 1, p. 433; A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 155.

<sup>93</sup> For this mark in general, see W. Westendorf, "Der Rezitationsvermerk ts-phr", in O. Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien (VIO 29)*, 1955, p. 383–402; A. Motte – N. Sojic, "Paratextual Signs in the New Kingdom Medico-magical Texts", in N. Carlig – G. Lescuyer – A. Motte – N. Sojic (eds.), *Signes dans les textes: continuités et ruptures des pratiques sribales en Égypte pharaonique, gréco-romaine et byzantine: actes du colloque international de Liège (2–4 juin 2016) (PapLeod 9)*, 2020, p. 69–70. Note also its use as the paratextual mark ts-phr "inverted spell" in PT manuscripts: in the pyramid of Unis, it was copied at one occasion from the Vorlage and later corrected (A. Grimm, *SAK 13* [1986], p. 101; C. Alvarez, "Monumentalizing Ritual Texts in Ancient Egyptian Pyramids", in C. Alvarez – Y. Grebnev (eds.), *Approaching Monumentality in Pre-modern Epigraphic and Manuscript Traditions [Manuscript and Text Cultures 1]*, 2022, p. 132–133).

<sup>94</sup> G. Daressy, *Ostraca*, p. 92.

<sup>95</sup> J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 595.

<sup>96</sup> A. Piankoff, *Chapelles de Tout-ankh-amôn*, p. 30, pl. IV; A. Piankoff – N. Rambova, *Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 121 & pl. 47; J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 64–69, pl. 5B



Upper Region:] I[t is in the darkness that their corpses exist]”.<sup>97</sup> The neck of the goat-skin is usually closed in other linear hieroglyphic texts, however, which makes this suggestion questionable.<sup>98</sup>

## Text C

### Transcription

RIGHT *Wsr*-[<sup>?</sup>*R*<sup>?</sup>] *Št*[*y.t*]<sup>99</sup>

LEFT *Dw*<sub>3</sub>.*t*

### Translation

RIGHT Neck [<sup>?</sup>of Ra<sup>?</sup>]. Shet[*yt*]

LEFT Duat.

### Comments

Daressy’s hieroglyphic transcription reads on the right side.<sup>100</sup> Our reading *Št*[*y.t*]<sup>101</sup> fits better with the traces of ink to the right of the vertical line; it allows us to identify Text C as a copy of the captions from ‘scene 2’ in the KV 62 version.<sup>102</sup> There, *Št*(*y.t*) is written , while the spelling of *Dw*<sub>3</sub>.*t* (to the left of the vertical line) corresponds precisely with the spelling on O. Cairo CG 25359. Note that the *Wsr*-post is oriented to the left on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, with *Št*(*y.t*) to its left and *Dw*<sub>3</sub>.*t* to its right, while the scene is mirrored horizontally on the ostracon. On the Cairo ostracon, a simple vertical line corresponds to the neck of the *Wsr*-post in the monumental version from KV 62; its nature is explained by the group “neck of Ra”, an indication that must have served both as a caption and as an explanatory annotation. Following this line of thought, the sign below the middle line might represent a hieratic spelling of , referencing the ram-headed bird which hovers in the sun disk above the *Wsr*-post in the Tutankhamun version.

<sup>97</sup> Translation after J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 64.

<sup>98</sup> See, e.g., O. Turin CGT 57403 r<sup>o</sup> (J. López, *Ostraca ieratici N. 57320 – 57449* [CMT Serie Seconda – Collezioni III.3], 1982, pl. 130) and P. BM EA 9964, BD spell 124, 16 (G. Lapp, *British Museum Totenbuch-Papyrus Nebamun* [BM EA 9964] [BAÄ 5], 2014, pl. 6).

<sup>99</sup> Based on the corresponding motif in the *Book of the Gates* (E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Pforten des Jenseits: nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* [AH 7], 1979, vol. 1, p. 4; [AH 8], 1979, vol. 2, p. 29 & 31–32), J.C. Darnell (*Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 52) suggests reading the word as *Smy.t* “necropolis”. However, there are significant differences between the two compositions: the divinities in the relevant scene in the *Book of the Gates* are characterized as male by their false beards, while the captions to the second, female couple (*y.s.t* and *Nb.t-hw.t*) do not correspond with the pair on the shrine of Tutankhamun. As such, we prefer to stick with the former (and much simpler) reading *Št*(*y.t*) (E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 31).

<sup>100</sup> G. Daressy, *Ostraca*, p. 92.

<sup>101</sup> The value *t* for is attested throughout the *Book of Caverns* and the *Books of the Gates* (A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 132).

<sup>102</sup> J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 52–55 & pl. 4C.

## 2.2.2. Comparing O. Cairo 25359 r°, Text A (C) with KV 62 (T)

T	C	T	C	T	C	T	C
1.15	1.x+6	1.x+5	1.9	1.6	1.x+2	1.7	1.x+3
1.12	1.12	1.10	1.8	1.11	1.x+4		
1.13	1.13						
1.14	1.14						

Fig. 10. Synopsis of Text A on O. Cairo CG 25359, r° (C) and on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, ‘scene 5’ (T).

As highlighted throughout the comments above, scenes from the *Enigmatic Netherworld Book* of the second shrine of Tutankhamun provide the key to understanding the texts and drawings on the recto of O. Cairo CG 25359. Both sets of enigmatic texts reflect the same kind of enigmatic practice (abgad). Generally speaking, both documents also follow a two-step encoding process. First, the spellings were ‘alienated’ by reducing most pluriliteral signs to monoliteral signs<sup>103</sup> and omitting the classifiers<sup>104</sup> (except for the plural strokes). In a second step, the signs underwent different processes of substitution, based on graphic or categorial similarity.<sup>105</sup> Interestingly, the resulting ‘crypto-alphabets’ differ slightly between T and C. T resorts to  $\text{—}$  for  $t$ <sup>106</sup>,  $\text{𓆎}$  for  $k$ <sup>107</sup> and  $\text{𓆏}$  for  $n$ , while C uses  $\text{—}$ <sup>108</sup>,  $\text{𓆎}$ , and  $\text{𓆏} / \text{𓆑}$  for the same

<sup>103</sup> E.g. the words  $wnn$ ,  $h3.wt$ , and  $sm3.w$ . For this principle, see D.A. Werning, *Das Höhlenbuch: Textkritische Edition und Textgrammatik, Teil 1: Überlieferungsgeschichte und Textgrammatik (GOF IV/48.1)*, 2011, p. 99; *Id.*, “Aenigmatische Schreibungen in Unterweltbüchern des Neuen Reiches”, p. 128: 12. “Analyse”; *Id.*, “Semiotic Aspects of Alienated and Cryptographic Encodings”, p. 198–200.









<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211: “principle #11: reduction of redundancies”.

<sup>105</sup> For an overview, see J.C. Darnell – C. Manassa Darnell, *The Ancient Egyptian Netherworld Books (Writing from the Ancient World 39)*, 2018, p. 50–55 and D.A. Werning, “Semiotic Aspects of Alienated and Cryptographic Encodings”.

<sup>106</sup> This value is also widely attested in other royal netherworld books (J.A. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 184).

<sup>107</sup>  $\text{𓆎}$  has the value  $k$  only in the *Enigmatic Netherworld Book* of Tutankhamun. It has been explained by its shape similarity in hieratic to  $\text{𓆎}$ . In this respect, J.A. Roberson (*Lexicon*, p. 116) cites hieratic shapes from the Ramesside period (G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie: die aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*, vol. II, 1909, n<sup>os</sup> 166 and 268). However, the substitution is much more likely to go back to the shapes of  $\text{𓆎}$  from the Second Intermediate Period or the very beginning of the New Kingdom, as these correspond more closely to  $\text{𓆎}$  (*Id.*, *Hieratische Paläographie: die aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*, vol. I, 1909, n<sup>os</sup> 166 and 268).

<sup>108</sup> For this value, see J.A. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 178.

values. Additionally, in T, the spelling of ‘*pp*’ appears to be corrupted (<‘>*pp*),<sup>109</sup> while one also finds the obscure spelling  for *h3w.t* (~  in C, col. x+2), employing  (or perhaps  for , as per the orthographic habits of the New Kingdom) for *s*<sup>110</sup> and the prototypical bird  instead of plural strokes. On the other hand, C uses a very short spelling for the phrase *m-s(?) jtn=k* at the end of col. x+5 (which results from the limited space available for inserting the correction; see the comments in §2.2.1); compare the longer (and more expected) abgad spellings  *jtn* and  *s*; in T.<sup>111</sup> These differences show that the two versions are not directly related to one another, as well as indicating that different textual (or at least graphemic) traditions coexisted for this text during the New Kingdom period.<sup>112</sup>

### 2.2.3. Verso

#### Transliteration

COL. 1 [...] *dw3{.t}=f {n} Jmn.tyw, dj=w ?Ws[jr? ...]*

COL. 2 [...] .. *R<sup>c</sup> dj=k jb n Wsjr*

COL. 3 [...] . *sšm=tn Ws[jr ...]*

COL. 4 [...] .. [...]

#### Translation

COL. 1 [...] he praises the Westerners, so that they put Osiris(?) ...]










COL. 2 [...] .. Ra, may you give <his> heart <back> to Osiris

COL. 3 [...] . may you<sup>pl</sup> guide Osiris ...]

COL. 4 [...] .. [...]

#### Commentary

COL. 1

*dw3{.t}=f {n} Jmn.tyw*. For more carefully executed examples of the standing man giving praise, see the table in M.S. Ali, *GM* 180 (2001), p. 15; compare the ductus and spelling of the group *dw3.t* with O. DAN 8, r<sup>o</sup> 2 (G. Burkard, *Dra’ Abu el-Naga II*, pl. 6). The group *{n} Jmn.tyw* is the result of an emendation by the scribe: in revising the text, the classifier  was added underneath the second  of , while the middle-hill of the classifier touches the lower part of the . In a second step, two short horizontal strokes were added to this . This addition might be explained by a confusion of the oddly shaped <sup>113</sup> with  during the revision process; this would have made the correction of the first  to  necessary and resulted in the phrase *dw3.t=f n Jmn.tyw* “his adoration of the

<sup>109</sup> O. Cairo CG 25359 confirms the suggestion that J.C. Darnell (*Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 74 – contra A. Piankoff, *JEA* 35, p. 114: ‘*p*’ made for T. On ‘*p*’ vs. ‘*pp*’ in such contexts, see J. Roberson, *JARCE* 43 (2007), p. 106.

<sup>110</sup> For this sign-value, see J.A. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 120.

<sup>111</sup> Note that J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 76, n. d reads the lexeme as *m-s3*, which would imply swapping the signs. We suggest reading (*hr*)-*s3* (*Wb.* IV, p. 11.31; Coptic *ca*), which fits better with the actual spelling.

<sup>112</sup> Based on the contents of the text and its use of ‘abgad cryptography’, J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 468–471 dates a preliminary version of the text to the Second Intermediate Period, and its final redaction to the time of Amenhotep III. However, as J.Fr. Quack, *WdO* 35, p. 44–45 remarks, the dating of the text has not yet been assessed according to the “sprachhistorische Methode”, as outlined by A. von Lieven, *Nutbuch*, vol. 1, p. 223–250.

<sup>113</sup> The sign consists of two strokes: the first marks the characteristic feather, and the second the left part of its base and the standard pole. This might be due to a hasty writing process, as the usual form of the sign consists of four parts (Fr. Servajean, *Le tombeau de Nakhtamon (TT 335) à Deir al Medina: paléographie [PalHiéro 5]*, 2011, p. 92, §180).

Westerners”<sup>114</sup> instead of the original [...] *dwꜣ=f Jmn.tyw* “he praises the Westerners”. This locution is similar to a locution found in the *Litany of Ra* (103–104)<sup>115</sup>: *iw Wsjr NN dwꜣ=f Jmn.tyw* “Osiris NN praises the Westerners” (note the spelling of *dwꜣ* in the version of Ramses IX, which is probably identical with the spelling on the Cairo ostrakon).

*dj=w*. The inversion of the  $\text{𓄏}$ -sign in cols. 1 and 2 is not indicated in the *editio princeps* (G. Daressy, *Ostraca*, p. 93). For the common spelling of the subjunctive of *rdj* as  $\text{𓄏}$ , see J. Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien, 1: la morphologie verbale* (AegLeod 2), 1992, p. 213, §348.

*Wsjr*<sup>?</sup>. There are no traces below the  $\text{𓄏}$ -sign that confirm the reading *Wsjr*. This reading is based primarily on the mention of *Wsjr* – as the name of the deceased king (?) – in cols. 2 and 3. Alternatively, the beginning of the verb *jri* might be read here.

COL. 2

$\text{𓄏}$  *r*. Daressy proposed transcribing the traces of ink here as  $\text{𓄏}$ . This seems unlikely, as the lower and upper traces do not join.<sup>116</sup> From a palaeographic point of view, these traces of ink seem to belong to two different signs, the latter of which is most probably  $\text{𓄏}$ . The remains of the first sign bear a certain resemblance to the tail of a bird. Although the lack of direct parallels to this text does not allow a clear identification, one might suggest  $\text{𓄏}$ , as in *‘q R* “the entering of Ra”, which is a common motif in the royal *Netherworld Books*<sup>117</sup> and the *Book of the Dead*.<sup>118</sup>

*dj=k jb n Wsjr*. With respect to the mirrored  $\text{𓄏}$ -sign, see the comment on *di=w* (col. 1) above. The sign following *dj=k* may be read  $\text{𓄏}$ , resulting in the locution *dj=k hr<=> n Wsjr* ‘may you pay attention to Osiris’, or alternatively as  $\text{𓄏}$ , to be interpreted as *dj=k jb n Wsjr <n=f>* ‘may you give (his) heart (back) to Osiris’. We have opted for the second reading for three reasons. First, the co-referential suffix pronoun =*k* in the locution *dj=k hr=k n* should appear after *hr*.<sup>119</sup> Second, in the *Litany of Ra*, one finds the following passage, which is thematically close to cols. 2 and 3 of the verso: *hy R*, *dj=k jr.ty n Wsjr PN n=f, dj=k n=f ntr.t jr.ty=f(y), sšm=sn Wsjr, hy R dj=k jb n Wsjr PN n=f iwꜣ=f tꜣ ḥns=f jdb.wy mj-n.t R* ‘Hail, Ra, may you give his eyes (back) to the Osiris PN, may you give him (back) his two divine-eyes, that they may guide the Osiris PN; hail, Ra, may you give his heart (back) to the Osiris PN, that he may inherit the earth and that he may pass by the two banks like Ra’<sup>120</sup> (134–135). Third, from a palaeographical point of view, the sign is

<sup>114</sup> The construction of *dwꜣ* with a dative introduced by *n* is well attested in sources from the New Kingdom (see *Wb*. V, p. 426.9), probably by analogy with the *verba dicendi* (p.c. Jean Winand, 10.1.2023).

<sup>115</sup> References to the *Litany of Re* in this paper follow the standard edition by E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei): nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches, Teil 1: Text* (AH 2), 1975.


<sup>116</sup> Compare with the bee on O. BM EA 50716, v<sup>o</sup> 1 (R. Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca*, 2002, pl. 109).

<sup>117</sup> E.g., in the *Enigmatic Netherworld Books* (J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 122).



<sup>118</sup> E.g., in BD spell 77 (B. Lüscher, *Die Verwandlungssprüche* (Tb 76–88) [Tbt 2], 2006, p. 21–22).

<sup>119</sup> Exceptions are rare, but see, e.g., O. CoA II.6, l. 3 (H.W. Fairman, “The Inscriptions”, in H. Frankfort – J.D.S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten, Part II: The North Suburb and the Desert Altars: The Excavations at Tell el Amarna during the Seasons 1926–1932* [EEF Memoir 40], 1933, pl. 57): *jmy hr n=s, ḥnr [nt]k* [...] “pay attention to her and y[ou ...]”.


<sup>120</sup> See A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* (ERTR 4, *BollSer* 40/4), 1964, p. 32; E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei): nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches, Teil 2: Übersetzung und Kommentar* (AH 3), 1976, p. 78–79.

closer to shapes attested for .<sup>121</sup> Note, however, that the dative phrase <n=f> is lacking in col. 2 and that this interpretation remains subject to caution.

COL. 3

*sšm=tn Wsjr*.  (Daressy) → .<sup>122</sup> The locution *sšm R/Wsjr* “guiding Ra/Osiris” is common in the *Netherworld Books*.<sup>123</sup> For the locution with a 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural subject and Ra as the object, see, for instance, *Book of the Gates*, 121–122<sup>124</sup> (*sšm=tn wj, jnk ms tn* “may you<sup>goddesses of the hours</sup> guide me<sup>Ra</sup>, (for) I am the one who gave you birth”); *Amduat*, 573–574<sup>125</sup> (*sšm=tn R pn jmy šh.t r Jmnt.t nfr.t m htp* “may you<sup>HOURS</sup> guide this Ra who is in the horizon to the beautiful West, in peace”). The construction of *sšm=tn* with Osiris as the object,<sup>126</sup> on the other hand, is found in the *Litany of Ra*, 117: *sšm=tn*<sup>CAVERNS INHABITANTS</sup> *Wsjr r wš.wt=tn* “may you guide Osiris on your roads”.

COL. 4

. The traces probably belong to two different signs, but the lack of parallels impedes a secure identification. The organisation of the texts on the recto suggests that the ostrakon might originally have been broader, with space for additional text after col. 4.

#### 2.2.4. Nature of the Text on the Verso

While we cannot provide any direct parallels to the verso, the comments above make it clear that cols. 1–3 relate to the journey of the deceased in the Netherworld, which provides a thematic link to the texts on the recto of the ostrakon. The *Litany of Ra*, in particular, contains several passages that are possibly connected to the Cairo ostrakon. Interestingly, this text exhibits clear intertextual connections with two BD spells, which also employed excerpts from this composition:<sup>127</sup> Spell 127 (≈ *Litany of Ra*, 115–sq. & 188–sq.) and Spell 180 (≈ *Litany of Ra*, 222–255).<sup>128</sup> Interestingly, (parts of) these spells have been monumentalized on walls and

<sup>121</sup> B.J.J. Haring, *The Tomb of Sennedjem (PalHiero 2)*, 2006, p. 40, §28 & p. 58, §76; Fr. Servajean, *Le tombeau de Nakhtamon*, p. 17 §27 & p. 33 §60.

<sup>122</sup> Note that the classifier Y1 is regularly attested for the verb *sšm* since the time of the Middle Kingdom (see already *Wb.* IV, p. 285.38). Given the presence of the suffix pronoun =*tn*, one can safely exclude here any mention of the *sšm.w* (*št.w n*) *Wsjr* “secret images of Osiris”, for which see *Litany of Ra*, 144.

<sup>123</sup> For the meaning of *sšm* in these texts, see D.A. Werning, *Das Höhlenbuch: Textkritische Edition und Textgrammatik, Teil 2: Textkritische Edition und Übersetzung (GOF IV/48.2)*, 2011, p. 515.

<sup>124</sup> See E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits: nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches, Teil 1: Text (AH 7)*, 1979.




<sup>125</sup> See E. Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat, Teil 2: Langfassung, 4. bis 8. Stunde (AH 14)*, 1992. For a later version of the 7<sup>th</sup> hour (Saite), with Osiris as the object of *sšm=tn*, see the tomb of Panehesi, T20 (= A. el-Sawi – F. Gomaa, *Das Grab des Panehsi, Gottesvaters von Heliopolis in Matariya [ÄAT 23]*, 1993, p. 76 & pl. 10).

<sup>126</sup> For 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular and 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural subjects of *sšm* in the same text, see, e.g., *Litany of Ra*, 97 (Ra), 159–161 (Ra), 191–193 (Pelican-goddess), 230 (those who know the spells), 245 (Djeba-Demedj).

<sup>127</sup> See E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt und hrsg., Einleitung*, 1886, p. 165; E. Hornung, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*, 1979, p. 493 & 519–520; *Id.*, “Ein königliches Fragment von Tottenbuch 180”, in Université Paul Valéry, Institut d'égyptologie (ed.), *Hommages à François Daumas*, vol. 2, 1986, p. 427–428; *Id.*, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife: Translated by David Lorton*, 1999, p. 137 & 181; N. Billing, “Re-assessing the Past: Context and Tradition of the Book of the Dead, Chapter 181”, in B. Backes – I. Munro – S. Stöhr (eds), *Tottenbuch-Forschungen: gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Tottenbuch-Symposiums, Bonn, 25. bis 29. September 2005 (SAT 11)*, 2006, p. 9–10; A. Gaber, *The Scientific Journal of the Faculty of Tourism and Hotels* 17.2 (2020), p. 264–265.

<sup>128</sup> Moreover, the *sšm Wsjr* motif appears in some versions of Spell 118, which is attested from the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, e.g., in the Book of the Dead of Nebseni (G. Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nebseni [BM EA 9900]* [Catalogue of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum III], 2004, pl. 33) and its conceptual model CT 1150 (L. Lesko, *The Ancient Book*

sarcophagi from New Kingdom royal tombs.<sup>129</sup> Spell 127 is especially relevant here, since it is addressed to “the ones who are in the caverns, the ones who are in the West, the doorkeepers of the doors of the netherworld, and the guardians”<sup>130</sup> (compare with col. 1 of the ostrakon). One also finds the locution *sšm=tn Wsjr PN* in Spell 127,<sup>131</sup> e.g., *sšm=tn (Wsjr) PN, wn=tn n=f sbꜣ.w Dwꜣ.t, wp tꜣ n=f krr.wt=f* “may you<sup>DOORKEEPERS</sup> guide (Osiris) PN, may you open for him the doors of the Netherworld, that the earth and its caverns be opened for him”<sup>132</sup> (compare with col. 3).

To conclude, the use of the signs  (col. 2) and  (col. 3) on the verso of the Cairo ostrakon,<sup>133</sup> as well as the logographic spelling of the theonym *Rꜥ ʕꜣ* (col. 2), point to a monumental context, while the mirrored- suggests that they might have accompanied a scene consisting of at least two actors.<sup>134</sup> In this respect, the reduced size of col. 2 and the larger distance between col. 2 and col. 3 might indicate that the text consisted of at least two captions. The intertextual links with the *Litany of Ra* and BD Spell 127 point to an adaptation of their contents to three main actors: Osiris, Ra, and the gods of the West, who were expected to support the deceased during his journey through the Netherworld.<sup>135</sup>

### 2.3. Discussion

The layout of the texts on both the recto and the verso, as well as the use of a highly figurative written norm, indicate that these texts relate to monumental compositions that consisted of both images and inscriptions. Because funerary monuments (tomb walls, shrines, sarcophagi, and the like) could be decorated with both *Netherworld Books* (cf. recto) and (excerpts from) spells from the *Book of the Dead*<sup>136</sup> (or sim., cf. verso), the two sides of the Cairo ostrakon might relate to a single ensemble (though they obviously do not have to).

This monument should certainly be sought in a tomb in the Valley of the Kings, as the *Enigmatic Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity* and similar royal funerary compositions were essentially limited to the royal sphere in the New Kingdom.<sup>137</sup> It is tempting to postulate that

---

of *Two Ways* [UCPNES 17], 1972, p. 45 & 142) — and of Spell 130 (S. Wiebach Koepke, *SAK* 25 [1998], p. 360–362) and 148 (e.g., P. Turin 1971, 11).

<sup>129</sup> See F. Abitz, *Pharao als Gott: in den Unterweltsbüchern des Neuen Reiches* (OBO 146), 1995, p. 183–184 and E. Hornung, “Ein königliches Fragment von Totenbuch 180”.

<sup>130</sup> See E. Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter*, Zürich 1979, p. 247–249.

<sup>131</sup> See already the final spell of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty *Book of the Dead* of Maiherperi, P. Cairo 24095 (= I. Munro, *Die Totenbuchhandschriften der 18. Dynastie im Ägyptischen Museum Cairo* [ÄA 54], 1994, pl. 135).

<sup>132</sup> For the construction *sšm=tn Wsjr* in the Tomb of Ramses IV (KV 2), see E. Hornung, *Zwei Ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII (Theben 11)*, 1990, p. 81 & pl. 55, col. 16 (= 12) & 21 (= 17). In the Tomb of Ramses VI (KV 9), see A. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (ERTR 1, *BollSer* 40/1), 1954, vol. 2, pl. 106, col. 1.

<sup>133</sup> B.J.J. Haring, “Hieratic Drafts for Hieroglyphic Texts?”, p. 76–77.

<sup>134</sup> According to the categories proposed by H.G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, Part I: Reversals*, (*Egyptian Studies* II), 1977, p. 86, the mirrored sign might be defined as a ‘reversal relating divinities’. However, caution is required here, since sign-reversals are common in the hieroglyphic versions of the Netherworld Books of the New Kingdom (royal) tombs and are often not to be explained by association with neighboring representations.

<sup>135</sup> Note that Spell 127 is not among the BD spells that appear in the shrines of Tutankhamun.

<sup>136</sup> In this respect, see the insightful remarks by H. Beinlich, “Das Totenbuch bei Tutanchamun”, *GM* 102 (1988), p. 7–18.

<sup>137</sup> As is well-known, very high-ranking personalities of the early New Kingdom had non-enigmatic royal Netherworld Books placed in their tombs, e.g., the version of the *Amduat* and of the *Litany of Ra* in the tomb of

the texts once belonged to a context similar to that of the parallel from KV 62, namely a shrine.<sup>138</sup> Except for this *in situ* find, however, no other similar shrine from the Valley of the Kings has withstood the ravages of both time and looters,<sup>139</sup> though such shrines were surely a normative part of royal funerary equipment during the New Kingdom.<sup>140</sup> As such, even if we suggest that the texts from both sides of the ostrakon relate to the decoration of a single monument, e.g., a royal funerary shrine, this remains purely hypothetical.<sup>141</sup>

As to the primary function of the ostrakon, one might wonder whether it was a ‘Zwischen-Vorlage’,<sup>142</sup> or whether the texts reflect secondary copies of inscriptions for study or some other purpose.<sup>143</sup> The disposition of the signs in short columns with empty spaces for the figures is not much help in elucidating this question, as their arrangement may have resulted from either practice. Of seemingly greater significance is the vertical dividing line in text C, which is identified as a *Wsr*-post by its caption. Because this symbol appears in the scene in the parallel from KV 62, one wonders why the copyist did not reproduce the whole image and instead simplified it into a mere line.<sup>144</sup> The same holds true for the sketch of a single divine figure between col. x+2 and x+3 of Text A in place of a row of eight gods.<sup>145</sup>

These features recall a small group of pottery and limestone ostraca that relate to the decoration of non-royal Theban tombs. These preserve sketches of scenes and/or texts

---

Useramun TT 61 (E. Hornung, *NAWG* 1961 no. 5, p. 99–120; E. Dziobek, *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun Theben Nr. 61 und 131* [AV 84], p. 44–46).

<sup>138</sup> See A. Piankoff, *Chapelles de Tout-ankh-amôn*, pl. IV. It might be possible to explain the layout of the texts on the recto, namely ←Text B← ↓Text C↓ →Text A→, in connection with the different faces of a three-dimensional object, but such an artefact would have to be rather small. A more convincing explanation for this symmetrical layout might be that the text was (to be) inscribed on top of an artefact (with Text C at the centre, and Text A and B unfolding on each side of this vertical axis). Similar arrangements of Netherworld Books on the ceilings of royal tombs make this option likely.

<sup>139</sup> H. Hohnack, *Naai: Königliche Steindenkmäler in den Tempeln Ägyptens: vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der pharaonischen Ära*, 2020, vol. 1, p. 214–217.

<sup>140</sup> Indirect evidence is to be found in the plan for the Tomb of Ramses IV of P. Turin Cat. 1885 (H. Carter – A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 4 [1917], pl. XXIX; G. Andreu-Lanoë, *L’art du contour: le dessin dans l’Égypte ancienne*, 2013, p. 206–207 no. 64) and P. Turin CGT 55002 (S. Demichelis, *ZÄS* 131 [2004], pl. XVI).

<sup>141</sup> The lack of comparative evidence, combined with the absence of trustworthy internal criteria of a palaeographic nature, makes it very difficult to suggest a date for this ostrakon. We prefer to be cautious and assign it a very broad 18<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (i.e., New Kingdom) dating.

<sup>142</sup> Label from P. Der Manuelian, *SAK* 10 (1983), p. 231; see also B. Lüscher, “Kursivhieroglyphische Ostraka als Textvorlagen: Der (Glücks-)Fall TT 87”, in U. Verhoeven (ed.), *Ägyptologische „Binse“-Weisheiten I–II*, p. 97–98.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. the so-called *Erinnerungsbild* (W. Spiegelberg, *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst NF VI* (1927–28), p. 100–102; A. Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, p. 119–122, cat. 291 & p. 360–364, pl. 319–323). Famous examples are: (1) O. BM EA 5620, with a scene copied from the Libyan War of Ramses III at Medinet Habu (*KRI V*, p. 50–52), though the name of the king is turned into Ramses IX (W.H. Peck, *Drawings from Ancient Egypt*, p. 114 no. 44; R.J. Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca*, p. 15, pl. 1; N. Allon, “Finding a Voice in a Hymn to Ramesses IX (MMA 59.51a, b)”, *SAK* 50 [2021], p. 13–16); (2) O. Berlin ÄM 21447, whose author copied a squatting scribe with the name *Hwy* and his captions from TT 359 with slight modifications (G. Andreu-Lanoë, *L’art du contour*, p. 172 no. 39); (3) O. KV 18/4 from the surroundings of KV 18, referring to its entrance scene (H. Jenni, *Das Grab Ramses’ X. (KV 18)* [AH 19], 2015, p. 64–65; B. Lüscher, “Kursivhieroglyphische Ostraka als Textvorlagen”, p. 93: ‘Lehrer-Schüler-Übungsstück’); other more recently published examples might include O. Carter-Carnavon 288 (= HO. Cairo 40; Kh. Hassan, *NeHet* 6 [2018–2020], p. 80–81) and O. KV exc. no. 1008 (Z. Hawass, *Ostraca from the Valley of the Kings, 2018 – 2019 Field Season*, vol. 1, 2022, p. 158).

<sup>144</sup> Cf. the *aide-mémoire* signs which were meant to record the general layout of the (planned) decoration of TT 96A (G. Pieke – D. Laboury, “‘Die vorausleuchtende Idee’: zu Künstlermarkierungen im Grab des Sennefer (TT 96A)”, in R. Schulz – Ch. Bayer – H. Franzmeier (eds.), *Gedenkschrift für Rainer Hannig*, in print).

<sup>145</sup> Similar figures might have preceded it, however, as the right end of the ostrakon is not preserved.

written in (very) figurative linear hieroglyphs.<sup>146</sup> However, except for two ostraca that are most probably ‘Zwischen-Vorlagen’ for the copy of col. 13–14 and the end of the *Duties of the Vizier* in the tomb of Amenemope (TT 29),<sup>147</sup> and for a group of ostraca with BD spells from the tomb of Nakhtmin (TT 87),<sup>148</sup> the drawings and texts on these documents generally do not correspond exactly — or at least to a reasonably high degree — with their alleged monumental version. As such, they cannot be seen with any certainty as drafts.<sup>149</sup> As to the Valley of the Kings, A. Dorn has convincingly argued that such drafts were only rarely used in royal tombs.<sup>150</sup>

In the case of portable objects belonging to the tombs’ equipment, the situation may have been slightly different. Although the fragility of these objects makes their preservation less likely, thus hampering the comparison of the ostraca with corresponding patterns and inscriptions on the artefacts, it is difficult to imagine that copies of inscriptions were taken from these kinds of object before burial ceremonies. As such, documents like O. Cambridge E.GA.6140.1943 + O. Michaelides 83 r<sup>o</sup><sup>151</sup> and O. Berlin 3300<sup>152</sup> are probably better explained as drafts used during the process of composing the decoration of shrines, chests or coffins.<sup>153</sup> Simpler drafts noted only divine speeches, without providing sketches of the associated

---

<sup>146</sup> A. Dorn, “Men at Work: zwei Ostraka aus dem Tal der Könige mit nicht-kanonischen Darstellungen von Arbeitern“, *MDAIK* 61 (2005), p. 7–10. Prominent examples of ostraca with corresponding monumental scenes come from TT 39 (with a sketch of the “Ruderlauf”-scene; N.d.G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes II: The Chapel of Hope [RPTMS III]*, 1922–1923, vol. 2, pl. 72, no. 44–45 & 79.D) and TT 79 (H. Guksch, *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb Theben Nr. 87 und 79 [AV 34]*, p. 125–126, pl. 47a/b & p. 177–178, pl. 47). In the case of similar ostraca from TT 71 (W.C. Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-mût (No. 71) at Thebes [PMMA 15]*, 1942, p. 5 & p. 17–20, pl. IX–XII), TT 99 (N. Strudwick, *The Tomb of the Pharaoh’s Chancellor Senneferi at Thebes (TT99), Volume 1: The New Kingdom*, 2016, p. 286–287) and TT 296 (E. Feucht, *Das Grab des Nefersecheru (TT 296) [Theben 2]*, 1985, p. 146, pl. LXIX: obj. nos. 11601–11602), the corresponding scenes could not be identified with the decorations of the respective tombs.

<sup>147</sup> O. MANT 292600 and O. MANT 296224<sup>et al.</sup> (P. Tallet, “Un nouveau témoin des «Devoirs du vizir» dans la tombe d’Aménémopé (Thèbes, TT 29)”, *CdÉ* 80/159–160 [2005], p. 66–75; *Id.*, “La fin des Devoirs du vizir”, in E. Warmenbol – V. Angenot (eds.), *Thèbes aux 101 portes: mélanges à la mémoire de Roland Tefnin (MonAeg 12)*, 2010, p. 153–163); cf. also B.J.J. Haring, “Hieratic Drafts for Hieroglyphic Texts?”, p. 70–71.

<sup>148</sup> B. Lüscher, “Kursivhieroglyphische Ostraka als Textvorlagen”; *Id.*, *Die Vorlagen-Ostraka aus dem Grab des Nachtmin (TT 87) (BAÄ 4)*, 2013.

<sup>149</sup> B.J.J. Haring, “Hieratic Drafts for Hieroglyphic Texts?”, p. 71–72.

<sup>150</sup> A. Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, p. 118–122. There are however some likely candidates, such as O. MMA 14.6.212 for the decoration of a pillar, most probably in the tomb of Ramses II (U. Rummel, “Ein Bildostrakon aus dem Tal der Könige: der Gott Iunmutef als Dekorationselement der Pfeilerfronten in den Gräbern der Familie Ramses’ II”, *MDAIK* 59 [2003], p. 389–409).

<sup>151</sup> The dimensions, ductus, content, and the shape of the two fragments suggest that they most probably join. See F. Hagen, *New Kingdom Ostraca from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (CHANE 46)*, 2011, p. 40 & 111, pl. 53 and H. Goedicke – E.F. Wente, *Ostraka Michaelides*, 1962, pl. XXXVI.

<sup>152</sup> E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder*, 1956, p. 58, pl. XIX no. 50; L. Weiss, *Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina (EgUit XXIX)*, 2015, p. 405, cat. 11.29. Cf. the drawings of a shabti and a heart amulet on O. Stockholm MM 14120 and MM 14121, which have been interpreted as trial pieces (B.E.J. Peterson, *Bulletin Medelhavsmuseet* 7–8 [1973], p. 105–106, pl. 76).

<sup>153</sup> The recently excavated O. KV exc. no. 3275 with sketched divinities (Z. Hawass, *Ostraca from the Valley of the Kings*, p. 135) and O. KV exc. no. 3494 (*Ibid.*, p. 138) should be added here. Outside of funerary equipment, P. Turin Cat. 2034 represents a beautiful example of detailed drawings of the footboard of a bed (r<sup>o</sup>) and of a *mšr*-chair (v<sup>o</sup>) that were used as templates for their manufacture by a team of craftsmen, as indicated by the hieratic captions (see K. Gabler – M. Müller, “A Vizier’s (Maybe Not So) New Pieces of Furniture in the Renaissance Era: The Drawings and the Texts of P. Turin Cat. 2034 in Context”, in K. Gabler – R. Gautschy – L. Bohnenkämper – H. Jenni – Cl. Reymond – R. Zillhardt – A. Loprieno-Gnirs – H.-H. Münch (eds.), *Text-Bild-Objekte im archäologischen Kontext: Festschrift für Susanne Bickel [LingAeg StudMon 22]*, 2020, p. 117–150).



figures.<sup>154</sup> Interestingly, all these drafts are characterized both by highly figurative hieroglyphs that were penned in a hasty ductus<sup>155</sup> and by the significant simplification of the accompanying figures: the text had to be precisely rendered, while the artists in charge of monumentalizing the scenes were apparently able to provide the images with the appropriate attributes.<sup>156</sup> In sum, O. Cairo CG 25359 would fit quite perfectly within the category of ‘tomb equipment drafts’, adding a rare document concerning a royal funerary shrine to the extant corpus.<sup>157</sup>

The Cairo ostrakon is also important for understanding the transmission of royal *Netherworld Books*. It is well known that the workmen of Deir el-Medina had direct access to manuscripts that contained this kind of royal funerary literature, as evidenced by the copies of the *Book of the Celestial Cow* on the verso of P. Turin Cat. 1982 (= CGT 54077) and P. Turin Cat. 1826, for instance.<sup>158</sup> That said, ostraca that shed light on the adaption of these texts to monumental contexts are particularly rare.<sup>159</sup> A special case is the (still unpublished) ostrakon O. Cairo JE 96561 from the Valley of the Kings. According to R. Demarée, it bears parts of sections V and VII of the *Books of Caverns* on one side and a cartouche with an enigmatic spelling of the throne name of Ramses VI on the other (with hieratic annotations).<sup>160</sup> Unlike the ostrakon discussed here, it is written mainly in hieratic (with some hieroglyphic signs interspersed) and does not correspond to the version found in the tomb of Ramses VI, which is why Haring considers it not to be a draft.<sup>161</sup> Ostraca that are more similar to our case are O. BM EA 29509 (‘found in the rubbish of the tomb of Ramses VII’ [KV 1], according to the auction catalogue)<sup>162</sup> + O. BM EA 29510 (from the neighbourhood of the tomb of Sety I [KV 17]).<sup>163</sup> The scenes and texts on this ostrakon do not correspond to any of the royal *Netherworld Books* known to us.<sup>164</sup> As such, it could — on analogy with O. Cairo CG 25359 — have been part of a composition that was materialized solely on the portable equipment of royal tombs.

---

<sup>154</sup> See, e.g., A. Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, p. 133–134, nos. 468–471, pl. 406–409; O. KV exc. no. 3258 (Z. Hawass, *Ostraca from the Valley of the Kings*, p. 134).

<sup>155</sup> The same characteristic “sloppiness” was also remarked upon in the case of the aforementioned O. MMA 14.6.212 (U. Rummel, *MDAIK* 59, p. 405–406 n. 73).

<sup>156</sup> Cf. D. Laboury, “Artistes et écriture hiéroglyphique dans l’Égypte des pharaons”, *BSFE* 207 (2022), p. 37–68.

<sup>157</sup> The provenance of O. Cairo CG 25359 is unknown, but unlike many other ostraca published by Daressy in his *Catalogue*, it might not originate from the Valley of the Kings: one would not really expect the manufacture of complex artefacts of this kind to take place in such a remote area.

<sup>158</sup> W. Pleyte – F. Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–1876, 2 vols., p. 122, pl. LXXXIV; Cf. A. Roccati, *BSFE* 99 (1984), p. 23 & n. 35; E. Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh: eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen (OBO 46)*, 1982, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., p. 130; N. Guilhou, “Myth of Heavenly Cow”, *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* 1(1) (2010), p. 1–2.

<sup>159</sup> In this context, it should be noted that the first well-preserved copies of these compositions in the tombs of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II are written in linear hieroglyphs (M.P. Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d’Aménophis II [MIFAO 60]*, 1932) while later texts employ regular hieroglyphs, with some interspersed cursive signs. See also the *Litany of Ra* on the shroud dedicated by Amenhotep II to his father Thutmose III (Cairo CG 40001 + Boston MFA 60.1472; cf. E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen, Teil 2*, p. 10–11).

<sup>160</sup> B.J.J. Haring, “Hieratic Drafts for Hieroglyphic Texts?”, p. 72–73.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>162</sup> R. Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca*, p. 25 & pl. 72.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25 & pl. 73. According to the online database of the Museum, the fragments are being studied by J.F. Quack and might belong to a single ostrakon ([www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA29509](http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA29509); the third picture shows where the two pieces might join; accessed 18.11.2022).

<sup>164</sup> R. Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca*, p. 25; A. Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, p. 27, 119 & 134; cf. the recently found O. KV exc. no. 2062 (Z. Hawass, *Ostraca from the Valley of the Kings*, p. 130). Note that some ostraca from the Valley

### 3. O. Turin CGT 57440:<sup>165</sup>

#### Transcoding a Non-royal Enigmatic Composition into Plaintext Hieratic

##### 3.1. Description

O. Turin CGT 57440 (= suppl. 9610) is a limestone ostrakon that was found during E. Schiaparelli's excavations at Deir el-Medina in 1909.<sup>166</sup> It measures 12.5 × 11.3 × (max.) 1.3 cm (Fig. 11) and its shape is roughly that of an elongated trapezoid with undulating edges. The recto of the ostrakon is flat, except for four little ridges in the upper right corner; it preserves seven columns of text.<sup>167</sup> Three vertical 'lignes de fracture' are visible at the level of cols. 4, 5, and 6. The top of the recto corresponds to the top of the verso, which is convex and exhibits similar vertical 'lignes de fracture' (middle and right part).

On both sides of the ostrakon, the upper, right, and left original edges are nearly entirely preserved, even if small flakes have broken off at sporadic intervals.<sup>168</sup> A brownish patina covers the original surface of limestone on both sides; the brighter white color at the bottom of the recto suggests that two large flakes were broken off in more recent times; the same observation holds true for a flake at the bottom right corner of the verso.<sup>169</sup>

Seven columns of linear hieroglyphs<sup>170</sup> are written in black ink on the recto. They cover the entire surface of the recto, without right or left margins, and the bottom section of the text is lost. Horizontal lines in red ink divide the text into smaller sections.<sup>171</sup>

---

of the Kings bear only divine figures and scenes without texts which might relate to (or be inspired by) Royal Netherworld Books as discussed in n. 141 *supra*).

<sup>165</sup> We thank Dr. Susanne Töpfer for granting us access to the ostrakon during two research stays at the Museo Egizio (21–22.09.2021; 8–9.11.2022) and for providing us with high-definition photographs.

<sup>166</sup> J. López, *Ostraca ieratici N. 57320 – 57449*, p. 44, pl. 146–146a; pictures: J. López, *Ostraca ieratici N. 57450 – 57568, tabelle lignee N. 58001 – 58007 (CMT Serie Seconda – Collezioni III.4)*, 1984, pl. 206.

<sup>167</sup> We refer to the flat side of the ostrakon ('face d'éclatement') as the recto and to the other side of the ostrakon, which was flattened with a hammering tool, as the verso. All the edges of O. Turin CGT 57440 are tapered, except for the right edge of the recto (= the left edge of the verso), which is c. 7–8 mm thick and can be identified as the 'talon'. The percussion (using a stone or wooden hammer) that produced a split fracture was probably applied at the lower middle zone of the 'talon' where its surface is especially irregular. On the purposeful production of ostraca, see J. Pelegrin – G. Andreu-Lanoë – C. Pariselle, "La production des ostraca en calcaire dans la nécropole thebaine: étude préliminaire", *BIFAO* 115 (2016), p. 325–352 and G. Andreu-Lanoë – J. Pelegrin, "La fabrique des ostraca en calcaire: comment scribes et dessinateurs se procuraient-ils ces supports?", in A. Dorn – St. Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, p. 17–25.

<sup>168</sup> This is especially true of the beginning of cols. 2, 3, and 7 on the recto and the beginning of ll. 3–4, as well as the ends of ll. 2 and 7–9, of the verso.

<sup>169</sup> Judging from the missing text, the ostrakon may originally have had the shape of an irregular half-circle.

<sup>170</sup> For an overview of other New Kingdom ostraca written in columns see F. Hagen, "Ostraca, Literature and Teaching at Deir el-Medina", in R. Mairs – A. Stevenson, *Current Research in Egyptology 2005: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Symposium, University of Cambridge 2005*, 2007, p. 43.

<sup>171</sup> The layout of the text in columns and its segmentation using red lines are reminiscent of scribal practices associated with the *Kemyt*. On the layout of the *Kemyt* ostraca, see A. Gasse, *Catalogue des ostraca littéraires de Deir al-Medîna: nos 1775-1873 et 1156*, vol. V (*DFIFAO* 44), 2005, p. 88–89; O. Goelet, "Reflections on the Format and Paleography of the *Kemyt*: Implications for the *Sitz im Leben* of Middle Egyptian Literature in the Ramesside Period", in G. Moers – K. Widmaier – A. Giewekemeyer – A. Lümers – R. Ernst (eds.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts (LingAeg StudMon 11)*, 2013, p. 114–118; A. Motte, "Learning through Practice: On How *Kemyt* Contributed to Crafting and Transmitting Scribal Knowledge" in press. Horizontal dividing lines, but in black ink, are found in

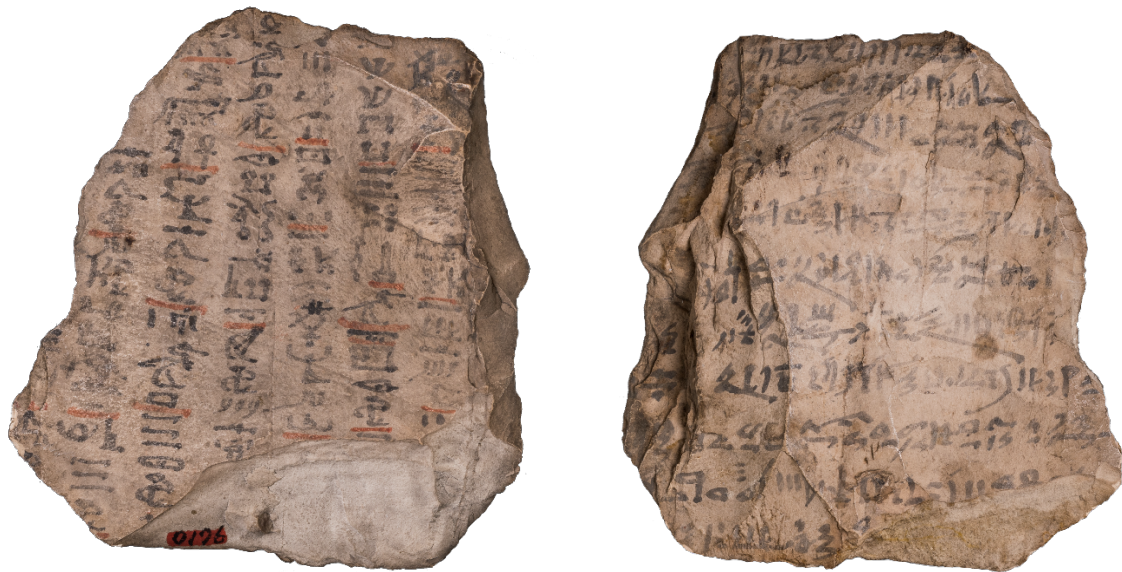


Fig. 11. Pictures of O. Turin CGT 57440 r<sup>o</sup> (left) and v<sup>o</sup> (right)

The verso is covered by eleven lines of hieratic text, except for the end of ll. 5–6, where the irregular surface appears to have been deemed unsuitable for writing.<sup>172</sup> The scribe competently navigated the (very) irregular surface and was undoubtedly highly skilled, even if the lines undulate slightly and the interlinear spacing varies a bit as a result of the poor quality of the surface. The ductus is characterized by highly cursive shapes<sup>173</sup> (which were occasionally retraced)<sup>174</sup> as well as ligatures,<sup>175</sup> while the dipping of the pen respects the linguistic units<sup>176</sup> —additional clues to the hieratic proficiency of the scribe.<sup>177</sup>

### 3.2. Two Versions of the Same Text

a copy of the *Teaching of Amenemhat* written in columns on O. LACMA M.80.203.203 (= O. Michaelides 50 r<sup>o</sup>; see H. Goedicke – E. Wente, *Ostraka Michaelides*, pl. I).

<sup>172</sup> This has been checked on the original (08.11.2022).

<sup>173</sup> Note, for instance, the ductus of 𓂏 (ll. 1 and 2), 𓂏𓂏 (l. 2), and 𓂏𓂏 (l. 7).

















<sup>174</sup> This is the case for the beginning of l. 2 up to s.t, for l. 3 up to jsy, for ȝs.t in l. 4, and for the classifier as well as the suffix of p(ȝ)d in l. 7.

<sup>175</sup> The following ligatures are found in the text: 𓂏𓂏 (ll. 1, 3, & 5; cf. St.J. Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie der nicht-literarischen Ostraka der 19. und 20. Dynastie* (ÄAT 28), 1995, vol. 2, p. 234, type b; A. Dorn – St. Polis, *BIFAO* 116 [2016], p. 70, tab. 2), 𓂏𓂏 (l. 3), 𓂏𓂏 (ll. 3 & 8), 𓂏𓂏 (ll. 3 & 11; cf. St.J. Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. 2, p. 27), 𓂏𓂏 (l. 10; cf. *Ibid.*, p. 238), 𓂏𓂏 (ll. 4 and 7; cf. *Ibid.*, p. 354, type e), 𓂏𓂏 (l. 4), 𓂏𓂏 (l. 5), 𓂏𓂏 (l. 8; cf. *Ibid.*, p. 352, type b), 𓂏𓂏 (l. 8; cf. *Ibid.*, p. 365, type b), 𓂏𓂏 (ll. 2 & 6; for the latter, cf. *Ibid.*, p. 383, type b), 𓂏𓂏 (l. 7). Additionally, 𓂏𓂏 at the end of l. 1 is ligatured.

<sup>176</sup> See C. Ragazzoli, *Scribes: les artisans du texte en Égypte ancienne*, 2019, p. 68–77 (with references to previous literature on the topic).

<sup>177</sup> With respect to its date, see §3.3.2.

The repertoire of carefully drawn linear hieroglyphic signs<sup>178</sup> on the recto were written using the ‘private’ or ‘non-royal’ enigmatic style known as ‘ordinary’,<sup>179</sup> ‘normal’<sup>180</sup> or ‘annotational cryptography’.<sup>181</sup> This type of enigmatic writing<sup>182</sup> is most commonly found in Theban tombs of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty,<sup>183</sup> as well as on contemporary statues, stelae, and smaller objects.<sup>184</sup> Occurrences of such texts in private contexts are rare in the Ramesside period, however.<sup>185</sup>

Our study of the original ostrakon has allowed us to improve at a number of points upon the *editio princeps*,<sup>186</sup> which contains several misidentifications of linear hieroglyphic signs as hieratic signs, e.g.,  as  (col. 3); in addition, many signs originally presented in facsimile can now be read, such as  (col. 1),<sup>187</sup>  (col. 2) and  (col. 3) as  (= variant of );<sup>188</sup>  (col. 1) as ;  (col. 3) as ;<sup>189</sup>  (col. 5) as ;<sup>190</sup>  (col. 6) as ; and the group 

<sup>178</sup> Compare with O. BM EA 66303 from Abydos (R. Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca*, p. 45 & pl. 205–207: ‘fragments of religious texts, which may have been copied from those in the Osireion’) and O. KV 18/7.1081A (A. Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, p. 353 & pl. 410–411). Many of the signs on O. Turin CGT 57440 r<sup>o</sup> are rare in other ostraca with cursive hieroglyphic texts, which impedes a proper palaeographical comparison.

<sup>179</sup> Ét. Drioton, *CdÉ* 9/18 (1934), p. 192–195.

<sup>180</sup> J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 14.






<sup>181</sup> *Id.*, “Ancient Egyptian Cryptography: Graphic Hermeneutics”, p. 10.


<sup>182</sup> The foundational study is Ét. Drioton, “Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie”, *RdÉ* 1 (1933), p. 1–50.

<sup>183</sup> Known examples include two hymns, addressed to the sun and chthonic deities respectively, in TT 11 (K. Sethe, “Die aenigmatischen Inschriften”, p. 1\*–12\*; A.D. Espinel, “Play and Display in Egyptian High Culture”, p. 297–335); BD Spell 85 in TT 57, which is nowadays largely destroyed (Ét. Drioton, *RdÉ* 1, p. 2–14; A.D. Espinel, “In Tombs, Temples and on Scribal Palettes: Contexts and Functions of Private Cryptography during the Mid-Late Eighteenth Dynasty”, in D. Klotz – A. Stauder (eds.), *Enigmatic Writing*, p. 104–106), small fragments from TT 368 (*Ibid.*, p. 106), and two short adorations in tomb Kampp No. 162 (Fr. Kampp, *MDAIK* 50 [1994], p. 185–186, pl. 26b; J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 21–26, pl. 1B–C).

<sup>184</sup> For an overview of 18<sup>th</sup>-Dynasty objects with enigmatic inscriptions, see A.D. Espinel, “In Tombs, Temples and on Scribal Palettes”, p. 109–121.

<sup>185</sup> In addition to the enigmatic texts discussed in §1, Ramesside period examples of non-royal cryptography are limited to a series of short texts containing the name and titles of the Abydenian Priests Minmose (U. Effland – A. Effland, *GM* 198 [2004], p. 11–16) and Parahotep (H. Brunner, *JEA* 54 [1968], p. 132); Statue Boston MFA 03.1891 from the reign of Ramses II (W.M.F. Petrie, *Abydos Part II, 1903 (EEF Memoir 24)*, 1903, pl. XXXV & XXXVII); the name of Atum on Statue Paris, BN 23 (J. Yoyotte, “Jeux d’écriture sur une statuette de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie”, *RdÉ* 10 [1955], p. 81–89); and occasional spellings from TT 32 (L. Kákósy, “A Strange Form of the Name Djehutimes”, *BSÉG* 13 [1989], p. 69–71; Z.I. Fábíán, “Some Unusual or So-Called Late or ‘Cryptic’ Hieroglyphs in Djehutimes’ Tomb (TT32)”, *RRE* 2–3 [1998–1999], p. 29–34; L. Kákósy – T.A. Bács – Z. Bartos – Z.I. Fábíán – E. Gaál, *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes (TT 32)*, (*StudAeg SerMai* 1), 2004, p. 115, 118). Note that Ph. Collombert is currently preparing a study of the prince Khaemwaset, son of Ramses II, and will devote a chapter to the enigmatic practices of his cenacle (p.c., 27.08.2022).

<sup>186</sup> Recurring mistakes in López’ transcription are: the transliteration of  as  (cols. 2, 4, 5, and 6; in the last three instances, twice per line), and  as  in cols. 1 and 3 (twice), with the facsimile  in col. 2.

<sup>187</sup> The second occurrence of the sign in this column is read .

<sup>188</sup> This sign depicts a circular loaf of bread above a wide cup. This form goes back to the late Middle Kingdom at least (R. Cotteveuille-Giraudet, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1931): les monuments du Moyen Empire [FIFAO 9]*, 1933, pl. XLIII). In most painted hieroglyphs from Deir el-Medina, the bread is given a more elongated shape (B.J.J. Haring, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, p. 134, §270 & p. 217), but examples from TT 359 recall the present form (N. Cherpion – J.-P. Corteggiani, *La tombe d’Inherkhâouy (TT 359) à Deir el-Medina [MIFAO 128]*, 2010, vol. 1, p. 225 col. 9, p. 236, col. 7). See also the comment on l. 3 in §3.2.2.

<sup>189</sup> Note that the middle vertical stroke is rather more angled than the straight line found in most examples of this sign (B.J.J. Haring, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, p. 87, §150 & p. 185; Fr. Servajean, *Le tombeau de Nakhtamon*, p. 70, §135 & p. 172).

<sup>190</sup> Cf. the more complex form in TT 1 (B.J.J. Haring, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, p. 147, §307 & p. 214).



v<sup>3</sup> pr=k 'k=k r<sup>2</sup> r js(y)=k nty mn(.w) hr-tp t<sub>3</sub>

in the Place-of-Truth, Amennakhte, son of Ipu(y).

v<sup>3</sup> May you exit and enter r<sup>2</sup> your tomb which remains upon earth,

v<sup>4</sup> t<sub>3</sub> hw.t jr=k n Wsjr t<sub>3</sub> št<sub>3</sub>(y).t n(.t) ;s.t wr.t

v<sup>4</sup> the chapel which you made for Osiris, and the secret chamber of Isis the great.

v<sup>5/r3</sup> t<sub>3</sub> 3 tj.w(t) št<sub>3</sub>.w(t) nty jmy(.wt) Jgr.t

r<sup>3/v5</sup> The three secret images that are in the midst of the Silent Place,

st v<sup>6</sup> [...](.w) r-jmy jb=k mn(.w) r-tp r<sup>4</sup> šnb.t=k

they v<sup>6</sup> are [²placed²] close to your heart; they stay on top of r<sup>4</sup> your chest.

jr=k 'h(.w) v<sup>7</sup> [m] W;s.t hr k<sub>3</sub>(.w)=st

May you spend a (long after)life v<sup>7</sup> [in] Thebes, supplied with its food.

dd=k n p(š)d=k f<sub>3</sub>=f s(w) / dd=k 'f<sub>3</sub>=f' n p(š)d=k

May you tell to your knee to raise up,

šsp tw t<sub>3</sub> v<sup>8</sup> [²psd].t n(.t)² ntr.wt r<sup>5</sup>

that the v<sup>8</sup> ennead of goddesses may receive you. v<sup>5</sup>

p<sub>3</sub> k<sub>3</sub> 'nh m M<sub>3</sub>:t dgs=k sb<sub>3</sub>/s<sub>3</sub> v<sup>9</sup> n mfk(š.t) nmt.t tkt(.j)

Oh bull who lives from Maat, may you walk through the door v<sup>9</sup> of turquoise, quartzite and tkt.j-stone.

r<sup>6</sup> spr=k r hnd(.w) ?hr jmn.t?

r<sup>6</sup> May you reach the stairway ?in the West?

sjn=k v<sup>10</sup> [n] krr.tyw

May you hurry v<sup>10</sup> [to] the inhabitants of the Caverns.

d<sub>3</sub>y tw 4 hm.w r r<sup>7</sup> Jw-n-m<sub>3</sub>: [tjw]

May the four oars drive you to the r<sup>7</sup> Isle-of-the-Justified-Ones.

hms=k v<sup>11</sup> [...] hry-jb Šh.t-htp(.w)

May you rest v<sup>11</sup> [...] in the middle of the Field-of-Offerings.

### 3.2.2. Palaeographical and Philological Comments<sup>193</sup>










r <sup>o</sup>	col. 1 						
v <sup>o</sup>	l. 1 						
	d <sub>3</sub> .t n	p <sub>3</sub>	h <sub>3</sub> sy	nty	m	s.t	d <sub>3</sub> sr.t

d<sub>3</sub>i.t n r<sup>o</sup> ~ v<sup>o</sup>. The beginning of the text is written logographically in both versions. On the recto, the that follows indicates that the word ends with a dental (or palatal) stop, while it is classified with <sup>194</sup> on the verso. As such, according to the verso, we are dealing with a verb that refers to [MOTION BY BOAT]; based on the recto, this verb

<sup>193</sup> With respect to the enigmatic signs, we only comment on those values that are not already found in A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*.

<sup>194</sup> The ductus of the hieratic sign, which has an open bottom, does not allow for the transcription .

has a final dental/palatal stop. The number of possible interpretations is rather high:<sup>195</sup> *skd* “to sail” (D. Jones, *Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles*, p. 225 n° 94), as well as infinitives of 3<sup>ae</sup> *inf.*<sup>196</sup> such as *nʿi* “to travel by boat” (*Ibid.*, p. 216 n° 40), *hni* “to rudder” (*Ibid.*, p. 219–220 n° 63) and *dʿi* “to cross over” (*Ibid.*, p. 230 n° 124). Of these, *skd* and *dʿi* are most commonly attested in non-royal (solar) hymns of the New Kingdom and in offering formulas,<sup>197</sup> while *hni* dominates in royal funerary compositions.

*hsy*  ro ~  vo. The faint sign(s) on the uneven and partially abraded surface of the recto are difficult to read, but two options can be explored based on the presence of the lexeme *hsy* (“praised one” = *Wb.* III, p. 156.5–22 or “singer” = *Wb.* III, p. 165.3–11) on the verso.<sup>198</sup> (1) The traces might be read as , encoding *h* ()<sup>199</sup> and *s* ()<sup>200</sup>. This is not entirely satisfactory from a paleographical point of view, however. Indeed, the  does not exhibit the characteristic long *Abstrich* and its top is more angular than the tops of the four other examples found in col. 4.<sup>201</sup> Further to this, if the circular top of the second sign and the ‘ears’ below evoke , its bottom would not display a horizontal line (at least not on the basis of the parallels that we know).<sup>202</sup> (2) Another, palaeographically more adequate, reading would be the standing harper  (*hsy*), which is paralleled on the scribal palette Frankfurt, Liebighaus IN 1899.<sup>203</sup> The lower left part of the sign indeed resembles the legs of the standing man  in cols. 3 and 5, while the round shape at the

<sup>195</sup> The verbs *hnti* “to sail southwards” (D. Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms*, 1988, p. 219 n° 58) and *hdi* “to sail northwards” (*Ibid.*, p. 219 n° 61) are not listed here because they are not used for describing journeys in the Netherworld.

<sup>196</sup> Provided that the final *t* of the infinitive of the 3<sup>ae</sup> *inf.*, probably lost at the time, was indeed written down. On O. Turin CGT 57440, r°, this etymological *t* does not appear in *št̄.w(t)*, *Jgr(.t)* (both col. 3), *šnb(.t)* (col. 4), though it is written in *=st* (col. 4).


<sup>197</sup> For the use of these verbs in the sun hymns, see J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern (Theben 1)*, 1983, p. 385, 392, 394, & 398. As for the offering formula, the different wishes for crossing the Netherworld are expressed by *dʿi* in the so-called ‘Bitte 30’ (W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* [ÄgFo 24], 1968, p. 91, 113, & 144) and *skd* in ‘Bitte 62’ and ‘Bitte 112’ (*Ibid.*, 115, 120, & 148). According to the evidence cited *Ibid.*, 179, 182, & 245, the verb *nʿi* is not employed in these contexts before the Third Intermediate Period.


<sup>198</sup> Cf. J. Assmann, *Maât, l’Égypte pharaonique et l’idée de justice sociale: conférences, essais et leçons du Collège de France*, 1989, p. 82–84 and the following statements from tombs in Deir el-Medina: *jnk w(.w) m hsy.w p; dʿi(.w) n t̄-dsr jw=k dʿi.tw=j* “I am one of the blessed ones. Oh ferryman of the holy land, you should make me cross over” (TT 321; *KRI* III, p. 817.16); *jw=j m tpj n hsy.w m-bʿh Wsjr* “I am the first one of the blessed ones before Osiris” (TT 218; *KRI* VII, p. 210.11).


<sup>199</sup> See A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 81.







<sup>200</sup> This value derives from *s* (on the basis of the consonantal principle); see Statue Boston MFA 24.743 (D. Klotz – M. Brown, *JARCE* 52 [2016], p. 274) and several spellings of the name Minmose from Abydos (U. Effland – A. Effland, *GM* 198, p. 11–14).

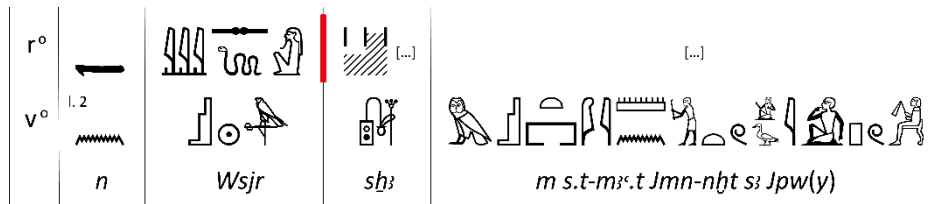
<sup>201</sup> Cf. the shapes on O. BM EA 5630, cols. 10 & 12 (The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, part 2: *Ramses III’s Temple within the Great Enclosure of Amon*, part II [OIP 35], 1936, pl. 122). The sign is, however, less elongated in the hieroglyphs in TT 1 (B.J.J. Haring, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, p. 59, §79–80 & p. 172).








<sup>202</sup> E.g., O. KV 18/1.14 (A. Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, pl. 406–407, no. 468), O. BM EA 50710, r° (R. Demarée, *Ostraca*, pl. 103) and O. Michaelides 83, r° (H. Goedicke – E. Wente, *Ostraka Michaelides*, pl. XXXVI). See also the hieratic forms in G. Möller, *Aegyptische Buchschrift*, vol. 2, no. 389. As such, this peculiar feature should presumably be explained by some sort of graphic assimilation to the hieratic form of  (*Ibid.*, no. 398) or similar.

<sup>203</sup> S.J. Seidmayer, “Eine Schreiberpalette mit ängmatischer Aufschrift (Städtische Galerie Liebighaus / Frankfurt a.M. Inv.-Nr. IN 1899)”, *MDAIK* 47 (1991), p. 321 & 324. The type  (A241) in A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 31 misses the form of the large triangular harp which lies on the ground. The same value *hsy* is already attested for a seated harpist in the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tomb BH 17 (A.G. Shedid, *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan in Mittelägypten*, *AW Sondernummer* 25 [1994], p. 38, fig. 56; L. Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel*, p. 132–134).

top is similar to the head of the human figures in cols. 4, 5, and 6. The standing man would bend his right arm, as in the shapes of  (col. 2, 4, and 5), and extend his left arm to hold the triangular harp at its top-left end.<sup>204</sup>

*dsr.t*   <sup>ro</sup> ~  <sup>vo</sup>. On the verso, faint traces of the last quadrat of l. 1 are preserved and read by López hesitantly as . Despite the distortion caused by the edge of the stone, minute observation of the original document suggests reading *dsr.t*.<sup>205</sup> The phrase *s.t-dsr.t* “holy place” might refer generically here to the Theban necropolis.<sup>206</sup> The reading of the enigmatic signs   would derive from *dšr.t* “red crown”<sup>207</sup> ~ *dsr.t* “sacred”. As such, it necessitates the phonemic equivalence š~s, which is not attested in the later development of the word.<sup>208</sup> Among the phonographic equivalences attested in New Kingdom enigmatic writing, however, this interpretation seems possible,<sup>209</sup> even if it is admittedly a bit of a stretch.



*Wsjr*   (López) →  <sup>ro</sup> ~  <sup>vo</sup>.<sup>210</sup> A similar Greco-Roman period encoding of the name of Osiris with a fish sign instead of the middle — is found, for example, in *Dendera X*, 26.12:    (on such spellings of Osiris, see M.-Th Derchain-Urtel, “Die Namen der Götter”, in W. Clarysse – A. Schoors – Harco Willems (eds.), *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years: Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*,

<sup>204</sup> For the classification of harps in Ancient Egypt, see H. Hickmann, “Les harpes de l’Égypte pharaonique: essai d’une nouvelle classification”, *BIÉg* 35 (1952–1953), p. 309–358. The harp represented here might be similar to the one on O. Cairo, JdE 69409 (*Ibid*, p. 328, fig. 21) and on KV 11 (H. Hickmann, “Miscellanea musicologica [VII–IX]”, *ASAE* 50 [1959], p. 523–545).

<sup>205</sup> See the shapes in St.J. Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. 2, p. 72.

<sup>206</sup> J.K. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt: The Term dsr, with Special Reference to Dynasties I–XX* (OBO 59), 1985, p. 171–177. See, for instance, the statements *wn.tw n=k s.t-dsr.t, mwt=k m sbj n k3=f* “May one open for you the holy place, may you die as one who goes to his Ka” and *tkn=k m-b3:h m s.t-dsr.t s:r.tw r rd špsj* “May you arrive in front of (God) in the holy place having been lifted up to the noble stair” in TT 57 (J. Assmann – M. Bommas – A. Kucharek, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol 2: *Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches* [SSHAW 17], 2005, p. 358 & 362–363; M. A.L. El-Tanbouli, *The Tomb of Khâemhat (Meh) [TT 57]: The Royal Scribe and Overseer of the Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt* [CEDAE], 2017, p. 218 H. 2a & 221 H.12). For Deir el-Medina more specifically, see the epithet of Osiris *hry s.t-dsr.t* on the Stela Turin N. 50011, 1<sup>st</sup> reg. (M. Tosi – A. Roccati, *Stele e alter epigrafi di Deir el-Medina, n. 50001 – n. 50262* [CMT serie seconda – collezioni I], 1972, p. 45).




<sup>207</sup> The logographic reading as *dšr.t* “red crown” is attested in the *Amduat* (E. Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, part III: *Langfassung*, 9. bis 12. Stunde [AH 15], 1994, p. 708) and in the *Book of Nut* (A. von Lieven, *Nutbuch*, p. 278, §20). In the *Book of the Gates*, it encodes *dšr.t* “redness” (E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 195; C. Manassa, *RdÉ* 57 [2006], p. 112 & 130–131).







<sup>208</sup> Compare *dšr* > Demotic *tšr/trš* (CDD [T], p. 263 & p. 301–302) > Coptic τρωϣ; *dsr* > Demotic *tsr* (*Ibid.*, p. 293) > Coptic, not attested. Additionally, the phenomenon š~s may be explained by palatal assimilation to the preceding *š* > *d*, but this has been observed only in words where *š* follows *š* (C. Peust, *Egyptian Phonology: An Introduction to the Phonology of a Dead Language*, 1999, p. 168).














<sup>209</sup> J.A. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 9.

<sup>210</sup> For the form of the divine classifier A40 see B. Lüscher, *Totenbuch-Papyrus Neuchâtel Eg. 429 und Princeton Pharaonic Roll 2: zur Totenbuch-Tradition von Deir el-Medina* (BAÄ 1), 2007, *passim*.



part I (OLA 84), p. 575 & 579). For the value *w* of  in Ptolemaic inscriptions, see D. Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische*, vol. 1, p. 314, n. 217. The origin of this value  is usually left unexplained (e.g., D. Meeks, *Les architraves du temple d'Esna* [PalHiero 1], 2004, p. 119). However, H.W. Fairman ("An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and Their Values", *BIFAO* 43 [1945], p. 67) suggests that it is obtained "by rebus" and adds ("Notes on the Alphabetic Signs Employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu", *ASAE* 43 [1943], p. 277, LX) that its value is "due to a pun" interpreting the sign as *w* "district" (see further M.-Th. Derchain-Urtel, "Die Namen der Götter", p. 578, who explicitly refers to "das Zeichen  für *w(w)* 'Feld' ").

*sh*₃ [...] ro ~ vo. Two short strokes are preserved on the bottom-left side of col. 1. Their position implies that a third stroke was lost to the right, while the large distance between the two strokes on the left and the beginning of the break indicates that they were not part of a larger sign (e.g., the top of ). According to the hieratic text, one would expect the spelling *sh*₃, but the sign  does not allow for this reading.<sup>211</sup> However, the group  might be assigned the value *s* (Copt. *cooy*<sub>m</sub> / *cof*), in an enigmatic spelling analogous to that of *sh*₃  (*sjs.w h*₃.w) in Stela Louvre C 65, l. 6.<sup>212</sup> This seems to be the most likely restoration.



*Jmn-nht s; Jpw(y)*     (y)     vo. Name and filiation of the famous scribe of the Tomb of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Amennakhte (v), son of Ipu(y).<sup>213</sup> While the name of Amennakhte can be abbreviated as in O. Turin CGT 57440,<sup>214</sup> his father's name is generally spelled   and not  .<sup>215</sup> The use of the classifier  is remarkable, as this sign is most commonly used after proper names in monumental contexts, as well as in religious, magical, and literary texts in hieratic.

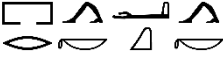

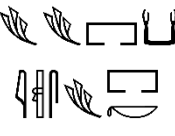

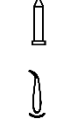

<sup>211</sup> Cf. A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 181.





<sup>212</sup> E. Drioton, *RdÉ* 1, p. 24, 26, 32, 45 & pl. IV–V; first decoded by H. Brugsch, *ZÄS* 12 (1874), p. 147; cf. L. Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel der Zeichen*, p. 50; Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 119. The phonological development of the word *sjs.w* "six" led to the loss of the middle *j* and consequently to an assimilation of both *s* (K. Sethe, "Untersuchungen über die ägyptischen Zahlwörter", *ZÄS* 47 [1910], p. 17).








<sup>213</sup> For an overview of his life and career, see A. Dorn – St. Polis, "Le scribe de la tombe Amennakhte: deux nouveaux documents remarquables dans le fonds de l'Ifao", in Fl. Albert – A. Gasse (eds.), *Études de documents hiératiques inédits: les ostraca de Deir el-Medina en regard des productions de la Vallée des Rois et du Ramesseum: travaux de la première Académie hiératique - Ifao (27 septembre – 1<sup>er</sup> octobre 2015)* (CENiM 22), 2019, p. 15–35. For a recent list of literary texts attributed to this scribe, see A. Dorn – St. Polis, "The Hymn to Ptah as a Demiurgic and Fertility God on O. Turin CGT 57002: Contextualising an autograph by Amennakhte son of Ipu(y)", in S. Töpfer – P. Del Vesco – F. Poole (eds.), *Deir el-Medina through the Kaleidoscope: Proceedings of the International Workshop, Turin 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> October 2018, 2022*, p. 437–439.




<sup>214</sup> E.g., O. Cairo HO 425, r<sup>o</sup> x+8 and v<sup>o</sup> x+7 (Kh. Hassan – St. Polis, "Extending the Corpus of Amennakhte's Literary Compositions: Palaeographical and Textual Connections between Two Ostraca (O. BM EA 21282 + O. Cairo H 425)", in A. Dorn – St. Polis, *Outside the Box*, p. 259 pl. 2 & p. 261 pl. 4). For a discussion of the different spellings of the name, see A. Dorn, "Diachrone Veränderungen der Handschrift des Nekropolenschreibers Amunnacht, Sohn des Ipu(y)", in U. Verhoeven (ed.), *Ägyptologische „Binse“-Weisheiten I–II*, p. 175–218; G. Burkard, "Amunnakht Scribe and Poet of Deir el-Medina: A Study of Ostrakon O Berlin P. 14262, in R. Enmarch – V.M. Lepper (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Theory and Practice* (PBA 188), 2013, p. 79, fig. 5.2–5.10.



<sup>215</sup> The double *yod* is not infrequently missing from this name. See, e.g., the similar spelling   in O. DeM 10038, r<sup>o</sup> 2 (= P. Grandet, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médînéh*, vol. X: *Nos 10001-10123* (DFIFAO 46), 2006, p. 43 & 228), O. Gardiner 276, l. 3 (= KRI VII, p. 198.8); P. Turin Cat. 2018, r<sup>o</sup> A4,4 (= KRI VI, p. 853.16).






r <sup>o</sup>	[...]	col. 2				
v <sup>o</sup>	<sup>l.3</sup>  <i>pr=k k=k</i>	 <i>r</i>	 <i>js(y)=k</i>	 <i>nty</i>	 <i>mn(.w)</i>	 <i>hr-tp t3</i>

*pr=k k=k*     <sup>v<sup>o</sup></sup>. This phrasing is reminiscent of the offering formula ‘Bitte 115’ (W. Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 149 & 166). During the Ramesside Period, this formula was used to express the desire *k pri.t* (“to have access”) to two spheres, namely the necropolis and specific temples.<sup>216</sup>

*r*  <sup>ro~</sup>  <sup>vo</sup>. The first sign in col. 2 on the recto may be restored as the snake  with one coil. Its tail is not as long as the tails of the snakes in col. 1 () and col. 3 (), but it is similar to the tail of the snake in col. 6 (). The clear text  in v<sup>o</sup> 3 leaves few doubts with respect to this reading.

*js(y)=k*  <sup>ro~</sup>  <sup>vo</sup>. For the lexeme *jsy* referring to the “tomb”, or more specifically to its “vault”, see I. Régen, “Aux origines de la tombe *js* : recherches paléographiques et lexicographiques”, *BIFAO* 106 (2006), p. 245–314. For a discussion of the relationship between the *js* and the *hw.t(-k3)*, see *ibid.*, p. 265–267.<sup>217</sup>

*mn(.w)*  <sup>ro~</sup>  <sup>vo</sup>. During the Ramesside Period, the obelisk also had the value *mn* in non-enigmatic writing.<sup>218</sup> See, for instance, the name *Mn-m3c.t-r3-m-hb* (Offering slab, Boston MFA 00.690 = *KRI* III, p. 466.3; cf. *Wb.* II, p. 106.28; K. Jansen-Winkel, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit* [*ÄAT* 34], 1996, p. 12, §8).

*(hr-)tp t3*  <sup>ro~</sup>  <sup>vo</sup> (López) →  <sup>vo</sup>. On the recto, the first sign of this group depicts a dagger within its etui, which is characterized by a bulk on its lower end.<sup>219</sup> Typologically, the dagger corresponds to contemporaneous type VII “Dolche mit fächer- bis kelch- sowie T-förmigen bis zylindrischen Knauf” (S. Petschel, *Typologie der Stichwaffen*, p. 191–221, p. 460–482), with a long handle and a fan-shaped upper end. The body of the bird that follows is formed by a simple oblique line; as such, it differs from the  (value: *b*) in cols. 4 and 5. The wattle on the birds’ neck plays an important role in excluding  here,<sup>220</sup> while the long beak and the curved neck also work to




<sup>216</sup> For the latter, see also J.S.G. Auenmüller, *Die Territorialität der Ägyptischen Elite(n) des Neuen Reiches: eine Studie zu Raum und räumlichen Relationen im textlichen Diskurs, anhand prosopographischer Daten und im archäologischen Record*, 2015, p. 209–222. See further the statue of the vizir Panehesy from Deir el-Medina (*KRI* IV, p. 84.8).





<sup>217</sup> It has been demonstrated that, in her example from the tomb of Sen-mes (QH 351), one should read *hw.t* instead of *hw.t-k3* (E. Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan I. Abteilung*, vol. 2: *Architektur, Darstellungen, Texte archäologischer Befund und Funde der Gräber QH 35 – QH 101*, 2008, p. 915, pl. LIX).










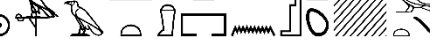
<sup>218</sup> For this widely attested value see also E. Hornung – E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen* (*ÄDS* 1), 1976, p. 175 & 179 n. 17; A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 139.



<sup>219</sup> See, for example, the hieroglyphic dagger in MET 23.3.26 (Chl. Ragazzoli, “Secondary epigraphy in the North Asasif tombs: The ‘restoration label’ of Paser in Khety’s tomb TT 311, year 17 of Ramesses II”, *PAM* 30.1 [2021], p. 218) and the dagger depicted on the lid of the sarcophagus of Merenptah and Psusennes I, Cairo JE 87297 (S. Petschel, *Den Dolch betreffend: Typologie der Stichwaffen in Ägypten von der prädynastischen Zeit bis zur 3. Zwischenzeit* [*Philippika* 36], 2011, p. 71, fig. 9).




<sup>220</sup> B.J.J. Haring, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, p. 67, §98.

exclude <sup>221</sup> and <sup>222</sup> which occasionally exhibit a similar wattle in the repertoire of the Ramesside Period. Another possibility is the bird  (G31), which exhibits this wattle in the *Book of the Dead* of Neferrenpet from Deir el-Medina<sup>223</sup> and in Ramesside paintings.<sup>224</sup> This identification is corroborated by the stroke on the back of the bird's head, which corresponds to the feather that characterizes this bird.<sup>225</sup> Moreover, its value *t* in other enigmatic compositions of the New Kingdom<sup>226</sup> corresponds to the hieratic text at the end of v<sup>o</sup> 3.

For the ductus of  in hieratic, see the similar shape in l. 6. This sign is followed by two horizontal lines of differing length — under the  — for which we propose reading . This seemingly rather unusual hieratic spelling of *t* is actually frequent in the phrase  *hr-tp t* 'on earth'<sup>227</sup> (e.g., O. Gardiner 308, 1 = HO 93,3; P. Anastasi 3, IV.8 = LEM 25,3; P. Berlin 3048, col. l.2 = S. Gülden, *Die hieratischen Texte des P. Berlin 3049 [KÄT 13]*, 2011), notably in sources from the reign of Ramesses IV (e.g., P. Turin 1882, r<sup>o</sup> l. 6 and IV.5 = A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 41 [1955], pl. VII & X; P. BM EA 9999, XL.8 and XLV.1 = P. Grandet, *Le papyrus Harris I (BM 9999) [BdÉ 109]*, 1994, pl. 44 & 45).

r <sup>o</sup>					
v <sup>o</sup>					
	<i>t</i>	<i>hw.t</i>	<i>jr=k</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Wsjr t št(y).t n is.t wr.t</i>

*hw.t*  r<sup>o</sup>  v<sup>o</sup>. Unlike most hieroglyphic examples of the sign, the square of the *hw.t*-sign here is located in its upper left corner; see the variant used among the identity marks on O. Berlin P.12625 + O. IFAO ONL 300, l.4 (B.J.J. Haring, *From Single Sign to Pseudo-script: An Ancient Egyptian System of Workmen's Identity Marks (CHANE 93)*, 2018, p. 6, fig. 1), O. KV 18/1.28 (A. Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, pl. 454–455, no. 538 r<sup>o</sup>) and O. KV 18/6.841 (*Ibid.*, pl. 456–457, no. 541 r<sup>o</sup>). The text does not specify whether the *hw.t*-monument that Amennakhte (v) purportedly built for Osiris is located within the chapel of Amennakhte's tomb<sup>228</sup> or whether it refers to a cultic place located elsewhere in Deir el-Medina.<sup>229</sup>

*jr=k*  r<sup>o</sup>  v<sup>o</sup>. One could be tempted to read  on the verso because the shape of the *k* does not correspond to the other occurrences of this sign in v<sup>o</sup> 3, 5, 6, and 7 (that

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64, §91, p. 174.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60, §81, p. 173; in monumental hieroglyphs: Kh. El-Enany, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel: paléographie (PalHiéro 3)*, 2007, §67.

<sup>223</sup> H. Milde, *Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet*, pl. 6 col. 35, pl. 24 col. 23 & pl. 35 col. 36.

<sup>224</sup> E.g. the vignettes to BD spell 83 in TT 290 (F. Lecoq, *ENiM 12*, p. 271 fig. 16) and TT 359 (N. Cherpion – J.-P. Corteggiani, *La tombe d'Inherkhâouy*, vol. 2, p. 62 pl. 92) or on papyrus (H. Milde, *Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet*, pl. 36).

<sup>225</sup> See, however, the same bird, without wattle and feathers on the back of its head, in TT 359 (N. Cherpion – J.-P. Corteggiani, *La tombe d'Inherkhâouy*, vol. 1, p. 224 col. 2).










<sup>226</sup> A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 90.



<sup>227</sup> Cf. *rn=j mn(.w) hr-tp t* (DeM statue of Nehy; *KRI VI*, p. 349.3). This phrasing is also used to characterize people passing by in the future in the appeal to the living; cf. the statue, Munich, SMÄK, Gly. 38 *wnty w nty tp-t* "who will be and are on earth" (*KRI III*, p. 298.1), referring to people living in the future.


<sup>228</sup> See the discussion in §3.2.2.






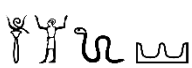





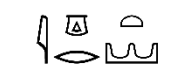
<sup>229</sup> Cf. S. Emerit, *BIFAO* 115 (2016), p. 159–160.




end with a long oblique stroke). The angle that closes its right end is, however, found in *jb=k* (l. 6), *mfk3.t*, and *spr=k* (l. 9).

$t_3 \text{ š}t_3(y).t$  [...]  $r^o \sim$    $v^o$  (López) →   $v^o$ . The reading *Nb.t-ḥw.t*, suggested by López, is tempting at first glance, but three details confirm that  is to be preferred: (1) we are not aware of any other New Kingdom attestation of the divine name Nephthys preceded by the definite article; (2) the ductus of the putative  does not correspond to the ductus of the sign in the word *ḥw.t* at the beginning of  $v^o$  4: the lack of an internal diagonal stroke, as well as the small curl at the top of the left vertical stroke, show that this sign should read ;<sup>230</sup> (3) finally, a comparison between the upper sign of the first group that comes before and the ductus of *št3.w* in  $v^o$  3 shows that it should be read , resulting in the final reading  *št3.(y)t* “the secret (place)” (cf. D. Werning, *Höhlenbuch*, vol. 1, 105–106; vol. 2, p. 519–520). Spellings of this lexeme without  after  can be found, e.g., in O. BTdK 695,  $v^o$  1 & 3 (= A. Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, p. 576–578). This is a common designation for the Netherworld in royal funerary compositions; it also refers to the lower part of the burial chamber of royal tombs.<sup>231</sup> In Deir el-Medina, the term refers to an architectural element (a cellar or the like<sup>232</sup>) that can be located, in a funerary context, next (*r-gs*) to a pyramid (*mḥr*) or next to a tomb superstructure (*mḥt*).<sup>233</sup>

$3s.t$  [...]  $r^o \sim$    $v^o$ . The hieratic signs were retraced using fresh ink of a slightly darker color. The classifier ( or sim.) was written at a particularly irregular point on the surface of the ostrakon and can no longer be read.

*wr.t* [...]  $r^o \sim$    $v^o$ . For the shape of this barely visible group, see St.J. Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. 2, 140, form c.

	col. 3					
$r^o$						
$v^o$						
	<i>t3</i>	3	<i>tj.w(t)</i>	<i>št3.w(t)</i>	<i>nty</i>	<i>jmy(.wt)</i>

$t_3$    $r^o \sim$    $v^o$ . Palaeographically, the traces correspond with the ductus of the sign  (compare with col. 1, 2, and 3).<sup>234</sup> As this sign is positioned slightly to the right of the

<sup>230</sup> <https://aku-pal.uni-mainz.de/graphemes#id=660&mdc=U30>, accessed 18.11.2022.

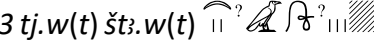
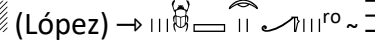


<sup>231</sup> E.g. P.Turin CGT 55002  $r^o$ , frg. T & vs. text B, x+2.2 (S. Demichelis, *ZÄS* 131 [2004], p. 121–122 & 129, pl. XIII–XV).




<sup>232</sup> See, for instance, O. DeM 112,  $r^o$  2 (J. Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh: n<sup>os</sup> 1 à 113* (DFIFAO III), 1935, pl. 62), O. DeM 964,  $r^o$  5 (P. Grandet, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh: tome IX – n<sup>os</sup> 831-1000* (DFIFAO 41), 2003, p. 135–136 & 415).


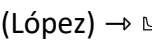
<sup>233</sup> P. Turin Cat. 2070,  $v^o$  II.6–7 (S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyrus aus der Ramessidenzeit* [URÄA 1], 1973, p. 328 & pl. 121). Cf. also A. Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, p. 431. Note that O. BTdK 695 ( $v^o$  3) locates a *mḥr* inside a *št3.(y)t* and thus confirms its identification as a pyramidion (A. Dorn, “Die vier Pyramidia des Chons: zu Besitz, Aufstellungsorten und Funktionen von Pyramidia”, in J. Toivari-Viitala – T. Vatiainen – S. Uvato (eds.), *Deir el-Medina Studies*, p. 54).

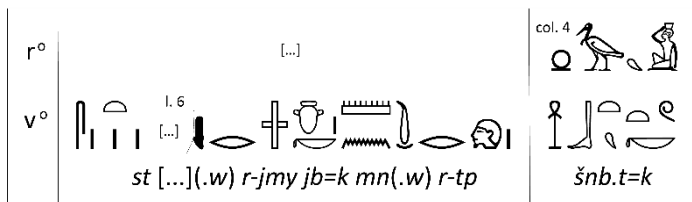
<sup>234</sup> Note also the shape of the sign in the *Book of the Dead* of Neferrenpet (H. Milde, *Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet*, pl. 8, col. 9). In other cases, the bread mould rests on a faint horizontal baseline (e.g., B.J.J. Haring, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, p. 134, §270, p. 207); cf. n 186 above.

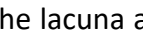
column, another sign may have been placed to its left, but the surviving traces of ink form the end of the beak of the *b*<sub>3</sub>-bird in the next column.<sup>235</sup>



3 *tj.w(t) št<sub>3</sub>.w(t)*  (López) →  vo.<sup>236</sup> The spelling of *tj.wt* shows that the middle weak consonant, expressed by  (~ ?), was preserved (see Demotic *ty<sub>3</sub>* = CDD [T], p. 86–87 and Coptic ταιε<sup>A</sup> [CD, p. 396; KHwb., p. 220]).<sup>237</sup> What these “three sacred images” actually are is an open question. Indeed, the lexeme *tj.t* refers to ‘depictions’ in general, such as statues, hieroglyphic signs, or even the king as a depiction of the gods.<sup>238</sup> The only parallels to the expression *tj.t št<sub>3</sub>.t* are of a much later date.<sup>239</sup> One might easily think of three amulets in the present context, but parallels that would support this hypothesis are lacking.<sup>240</sup>


*jmy* — (López) → {}ro ~  vo. The cramped form of the sign,<sup>241</sup> its darker color, and the fact that it overlaps with the signs above and below indicate that  is a secondary addition. It may have been inserted during the transcoding process, as it is possible to observe a short stroke to the left of this sign in red ink (just like the segmenting lines).

*Jgr.t*  (López) →  vo. Note that the phonemic equivalence *k* ~ *g* is reflected in spellings of *jgr.t* as *jkr.t*.<sup>242</sup> This term is a generic designation for the Netherworld (E. Hornung, *Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 162 n. 8).



[...](.w) *r-jmy jb=k* [...]ro ~  vo. The lacuna at the beginning of v° 6 consists of one to one-and-a-half missing quadrats at most, i.e., a rather small space most probably containing a verb (old perfective, 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural; cf. the following *mn(.w) r-tp šnb.t=k*). The traces at the end of the lacuna (angle open to the right) do not allow us to identify the verb in question.<sup>243</sup> Based on the parallel with *r-tp šnb.t=k*, the segmentation of the text to read *r-jmy jb=k*, with the compound preposition *r-jmy(.t)* ‘in the midst of’ (*Wb.* I,

<sup>235</sup> See the long beaks of the birds in cols. 2 () and 5 ().

<sup>236</sup> For cursive hieroglyphic parallels to the sign , see O. Senenmut 44, l. 1 (W.C. Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-müt*, pl. IX) and O. CG 25202, col. 1 (G. Daressy, *Ostraca*, pl. XXXIII).

<sup>237</sup> Cf. W. Spiegelberg, *Koptische Etymologien: Beiträge zu einem koptischen Wörterbuch* (SAWH 27), 1920, p. 29–30 who proposes *tj.t* as an etymological form of the noun.


<sup>238</sup> Cf. L. Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel*, p. 66; K. Eaton, “Types of Cult-image Carried in Divine Barques and the Logistics of Performing Temple Ritual in the Nene Kingdom”, *ZÄS* 134 (2007), p. 22–23; F. Hoffmann, “Zu Bild- und Statuenbegriffen im Ägyptischen”, in C.-B. Arnst – R. Schulz (eds.), *Typen, Motive, Stilmittel* (BAK 1), 2021, p. 23 & 26.

<sup>239</sup> P. Salt 825, XIV.7 uses the term to refer to a pectoral (Ph. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte*, 1965, p. 142 & 15\*). See also the Graeco-Roman period epithet of divine standards *tj.t št<sub>3</sub>.t* (P. Bargaet, *RdÉ* 8 [1951], p. 6; LGG VII, p. 365).

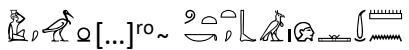
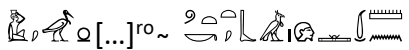
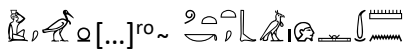
<sup>240</sup> See the comment on *mn(.w) r-tp šnb.t=k* below.





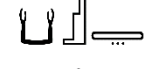





<sup>241</sup> Hieroglyphic texts seem to prefer the variant with one vertical bar (B.J.J. Haring, *The Tomb of Sennedjem*, p. 142, p. 212 §295; Fr. Servajean, *Le tombeau de Nakhtamon*, p. 127, §253, p. 202).





<sup>242</sup> See, for instance, K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, p. 37, §58; G. Vittmann, “Zum Gebrauch des *k*<sub>3</sub>-Zeichen im Demotischen”, *SEAP* 15 (1996), p. 1–12.





<sup>243</sup> We exclude  because of the shape this sign takes later in the same line.

p. 76.4), is certainly to be preferred to *r jmy-jb*, with *jmy(.t)-jb* “mind” (*Wb.* I, p. 72.19; TLA Lemma ID 25260).

*mn(.w) r-tp šnb.t=k*  <sup>ro</sup> ~  (López) →  <sup>vo</sup>. The phrase *r-tp šnb.t* is without parallel, but necklaces, amulets,<sup>244</sup> and garlands<sup>245</sup> are generally fixed on (*r*) someone’s breast.<sup>246</sup>

<sup>ro</sup>					
<sup>vo</sup>					
	<i>jr=k</i>	<i>ḥ(.w)</i>	<i>m Ws.t</i>	<i>hr</i>	<i>k3=st</i>

*ḥ(.w)*  (López) →  <sup>ro</sup> ~  <sup>vo</sup>. This spelling of the word *ḥ(.w)* on the <sup>ro</sup>,<sup>247</sup> attested from the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards, is found, for example, in offering formulas in TT 51<sup>248</sup> and on Stela Avignon, Musée Calvet, inv. n° A4<sup>249</sup> from the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty. The stela Louvre E. 17341, l. 1 from Amara West (time of Amenhotep II) provides an even earlier example with the transitional spelling ;<sup>250</sup> this spelling also appears on the fragment of a statue base from Deir el-Medina.<sup>251</sup> *Jr(y)=k ḥ(.w)* introduces the offering formula ‘Bitte 151’ (*W. Barta, Opferformel*).<sup>252</sup>

*w3s.t*  <sup>ro</sup> ~  <sup>vo</sup>. The beginning of <sup>vo</sup> 7 is lost but can be restored based on the corresponding *w3s(.t)* from <sup>ro</sup>, col. 4: the traces before  are clearly the ligature of  (see, e.g., O. Gardiner 25, <sup>ro</sup> 9<sup>253</sup>). The wish to live a long or a good life in a given town is attested, for example, on the Lintel JE 45707 from Edfu (*ḥ(.w) k3 m Bhd.t* and *ḥ(.w) nfr m*

<sup>244</sup> TT 106: *wnn=s<sup>MAAT</sup> r-gs šnb.t=f* “May she<sup>MAAT</sup> be on the side of his chest” (*KRI* III, p. 8.4); *ḥsbd.t sšd r šnb.t=k* “a bandage of lapis-lazuli is at your chest” (*Wb.* DZA 30.177.290).

<sup>245</sup> TT 50: *m3ḥ.w sšn.w rrm.wt r šnb.t[k]* “Garlands, bandages and mandrake(?)—fruits are at your [chest]” (R. Hari, *La tombe thébaine du père divin Néferhotep (TT50) [Collection Epigraphica]*, 1985, p. 38, pl. XXVI, l. 7).

<sup>246</sup> In *BD* spell 100/129, it is said that a vignette should be inscribed on an amulet and placed on the breast of the deceased, though the preposition *hr* is used (J.Fr. Quack, *Altägyptische Amulette und ihre Handhabung*, p. 185).

<sup>247</sup> The value of the sign might derive from the position of the ‘standing’ snake and/or from the name of the snake *ḥr* which is attested in the *Amduat* (E. Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat, Teil III*, p. 724), P. Leiden I 347, IX.2–3 (after J. Zandee, *An Ancient Egyptian Crossword Puzzle: An Inscription of Neb-wenenef from Thebes [MVEOL 15]*, 1966, p. 55) and the crossword stela of TT 157, l. 10 (*Ibid.*, p. 3 & 55–56; *KRI* III, p. 288.15), where the standing snake is used as a classifier. Cf. also a fragment from the time of Amenhotep II from Athribis which mentions the divinity *nfr-ḥr* (B. Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh [MIFAO 58]*, 1929, vol. 1, p. 108; vol. 2, p. 220). It is well-attested in Graeco-Roman times (H. Kees, “Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehung zu den Reichsheiligtümern”, *ZÄS* 57 [1922], p. 122–123; *LGG* II, p. 196).

<sup>248</sup> *ḥ(.w) nfr{.t} m hr.t-nṯr r nhḥ hnṯ d.t* “a beautiful lifetime in the necropolis for eternity” (N.d.G.Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes [PMMA V]*, 1927, p. 30 n. 1, pl. XVIII = *KRI* I, p. 341.5).

<sup>249</sup> *ḥ(.w) nfr m hr.t-nṯr* “a beautiful lifetime in the necropolis” (J. Ruffle – K.A. Kitchen, “The Family of Urhiya and Yupa, High Stewards of the Ramesseum”, in J. Ruffle – G.A. Gaballa – K.A. Kitchen (eds.), *Orbis Aegyptiorum Speculum, Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman*, 1979, p. 57–58 & 66–67 pl. V = *KRI* III, p. 193.4).

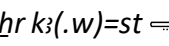
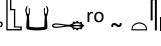
<sup>250</sup> *ḥ(.w) 3w m ḥsw.t nswt* “a long lifetime in the favour of the king” (H.W. Fairman, *JEA* 25 [1939], p. 142, pl. XVI.1).







<sup>251</sup> B. Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh (1935–1940), fasc. 2*, p. 31, fig. 97.




<sup>252</sup> See the centrality of this word in the harpist’s song of Nefersekeru in Zawyet Sultan (J. Osing, “Les chants du harpiste au Nouvel Empire”, in *Aspects de la culture pharaonique : quatre leçons au Collège de France (Février-mars 1989) [MAIBL SN XII]*, 1992, p. 21).

<sup>253</sup> See A. Dorn – St. Polis, *BIFAO* 116, p. 71, tab. 5.

*W3s.t nḥt.t*; K.A. Kitchen – G.A. Gaballa, “Ramesside Varia: A Behedite, A Theban and a Thinite”, *Serapis* 6 [1980], p. 75–76 = KRI V, p. 431.6–7 & 8–9;) and on the left door-jamb of Rame-Roy at Karnak (*ḥꜥ.w k3 m w3s.t nḥt.t ḥr rmn Jmn m Jp.t-s.wt*; G. Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d’Amon Romê-Roÿ et Amenhotep*, 1929, p. 28, inc. IV,b, l. 1).

*ḥr k3(.w)=st*   $\sim$   <sup>vo</sup>. ‘Bitte 151’ of the offering formula wishes for a long or a good lifet *ḥr ḥsw.t* “in the favour” of the king or of divinities,<sup>254</sup> *ḥr j3w* “with a high age”<sup>255</sup> or *ḥr ndm-jb* “in joy”.<sup>256</sup> We are aware of only one parallel that potentially bears a certain similarity to the one on O. Turin CGT 57440, namely *ḥꜥ.w nfr ḥr šsp k3=f<sup>ATEN</sup>* “a good lifetime while receiving his<sup>ATEN</sup> food” on the Lintel Cairo JE 55503 from Amarna (H. Frankfort – J.D.S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten, Part II: The North Suburb and the Desert Altars, the Excavations at Tell el Amarna During the Season 1926–1932* [EEF Memoir 40], 1933, pl. 23 n° 4).<sup>257</sup> As such, we read *k3(.w)* “food” (*Wb.* V, p. 91).<sup>258</sup>

r°	 <i>ḏd=k n p(3)d=k</i>	 <i>f3=f</i>	 <i>s(w)</i>
v°	 <i>ḏd=k</i>	 <i>f3=f</i>	 <i>n p(3)d=k</i>

*ḏd=k n p(3)d=k f3=f s(w)*  <sup>ro</sup>. The first sign depicts a man bowing down and stretching his arms towards his legs much like  (A16).<sup>259</sup> Following the transcoding on the verso, it seems that this sign was interpreted as a direct representation of a [MAN SPEAKING TO HIS LEGS] with the logographic reading *ḏd=k n p(3)d=k*.<sup>260</sup> Accordingly, the following group  must have the value *f3=f* with two pieces of meat reading *f* and the middle sign possibly encoding a weak consonant between the two *fs*.<sup>261</sup> Finally, it

<sup>254</sup> E.g., *ḥꜥ.w k3j ḥr ḥsw.t nswt* “a long lifetime in the favour of the king” (Statue Cairo CG 1134; L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten, Catalogue general des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: n°s 1–1294*, vol. 4, 1934, p. 73 = KRI III, p. 108.10).


<sup>255</sup> E.g., *ḥꜥ.w nfr ḥr j3w* “a good lifetime with a high age” (B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1929), 1930, p. 22).

<sup>256</sup> E.g., *ḥꜥ.w nfr ḥr ndm-jb* “a good lifetime in joy” (Coffin Berlin, ÄM 20135; G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Zweiter Band: Inschriften des Neuen Reiches, Indizes zu Band 1 und 2*, 1924, p. 555).


<sup>257</sup> For this lintel, see also J. Budka, *Der König an der Haustür: die Rolle des ägyptischen Herrschers an dekorierten Türgewänden von Beamten im Neuen Reich* (BZÄ 19, VIAÄUW 94), 2001, p. 120–121, fig. 31.







<sup>258</sup> J. Assmann, *JEA* 65 (1979), p. 63–64 notes that the provision of the deceased with food is an especially relevant topic of the harpists’ songs.

<sup>259</sup> See the examples in the Book of the Dead of Any (R. Faulkner – O. Goelet – C. Andrews – J. Wassermann, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: The Book of Going Forth by Day*, 1994, pl. 25, left col. 2), TT 335 (Fr. Servajean, *Le tombeau de Nakhtamon*, p. 6, §10, p. 134), and TT 359 (N. Cherpion – J.-P. Corteggiani, *La tombe d’Inherkhâouy*, vol. 1, p. 253 col. 7). For further variants, see D. Meeks, *Document numérique* 16/3 (2013), p. 40, fig. 2–3.


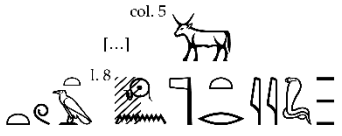





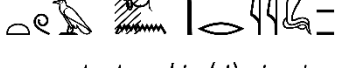




<sup>260</sup> Note that this kind of direct representation is not an isolated phenomenon, e.g.  for *di nḥ* on the scribal Palette Frankfurt, Liebighaus IN 1944 (S.J. Seidlmayer, *MDAIK* 47 [1991], p. 320–321) and different representations of the king holding an offering table for *ḥtp-di-nsw* on the Statue Boston MFA 24.743 (D. Klotz – M. Brown, *JARCE* 52 [2016], p. 276 fig. 7, p. 278), the aforementioned scribal palette in Frankfurt, as well as its pendant in Paris, Louvre AF 12725 (S.J. Seidlmayer, *MDAIK* 47 [1991], p. 320–321); cf. J.J. Clère, *Un nouvel exemple du monogramme ḥtp-di-nswt*, in *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini*, vol. 2, 1955, p. 35–42.






<sup>261</sup> A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 80–81.

appears to be necessary to read the sign — as the enclitic pronoun *s(w)* (or even  as the pseudo-historical spelling *st*<sup>262</sup>).

*dd=k f3=f n p(3)d=k*  (López) →  <sup>v0</sup>. The hasty ductus of the scribe produced some unusual sign forms here. First, the oblique stroke below *dd* is due to a ligature with the beginning of the , which was traced in a single movement after the upper group.<sup>263</sup> Both  of *f3=f* are very short, and it is noticeable that, in the first case, the scribe did not even lift his pen between the left horn of the viper and the . Finally, the fact that the scribe had to re-ink the end of *p(3)d=k*, as well as the remarkably cursive ductus of  (see below), show that this line was penned very quickly.

Content wise, the two versions are synonymous – the deceased should say to his feet (*p3d ~ rd* in other texts) to rise up<sup>264</sup> (so that he may stand up<sup>265</sup>) – but differ in terms of their grammatical structure. On the recto, the phrase ends in an indirect speech whose subject (=f) corresponds to the addressee (*p3d*);<sup>266</sup> it resorts to the reflexive pronoun *s(w)*. The text on the verso, on the other hand, inserts the indirect speech before the addressee.<sup>267</sup>

r <sup>o</sup>		col. 5 [...] l. 8 				
v <sup>o</sup>						
	<i>šsp</i>	<i>tw t3 p3d.t n(.t) n3r.wt</i>	<i>p3</i>	<i>k3</i>	<i>n3</i>	<i>m M3.t</i>

*šsp tw [...]*  <sup>r0</sup> ~   <sup>v0</sup>. On the v<sup>o</sup>, the ductus of  is particularly cursive;<sup>268</sup> it should be read as a logogram because it is followed by the enclitic pronoun *tw*, the shape of which has a close parallel in *tw* in l. 10<sup>269</sup>. We suggest, albeit with some hesitation, that 

<sup>262</sup> This reasoning follows the segmentation of the text with red lines.

<sup>263</sup> It is not possible to read *n=k* here, as this would necessitate an additional angle to the left.


<sup>264</sup> A phraseological parallel is found in P. Leiden I 343 + 345, v<sup>o</sup> V.4: [*f3*]=*k rd.wy=k r šhs=k p3 ʿhw r htm r3 n p3* [...] “May you raise up your feet so that you hurry – oh akhu – until the mouth of [...] is sealed” (S. Beck, *Sāmānu: ein vorderasiatischer Dämon in Ägypten* [ÄAT 83], 2015, p. 156). H.-W. Fischer-Elfert (p.c.; 3.1.2023) draws our attention to another possible parallel on O. DeM 1650, r<sup>o</sup> 6 (G. Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh : n<sup>os</sup> 1607–1675 Tome III/3 [DFIFAO 20]*, 1980, p. 93 & pl. 72–72a), where one reads [...] *mdw=s hn<sup>c</sup> rd w<sup>c</sup>*. He is currently preparing a study of this text (incl. an unpublished parallel from Berlin).

<sup>265</sup> Cf. P. Koemoth, “Le rite de redresser Osiris”, in J. Quaegebeur (ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East, Proceedings of the International Conference organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of April 1991* (OLA 55), 1993, p. 157–174.



<sup>266</sup> C. Peust, *Indirekte Rede im Neuägyptischen* (GOF IV/33), 1996, p. 52–53, §3.3.1.2.






























<sup>267</sup> A similar case of direct speech introduced before the addressee is found in O. CoA II.1, l. 3–4: *hw=k hr dd jmy n=f n p3 s3w.ty nty hr s3w n3 šwy.w* “And you said ‘Give (it) to him’ to the watchman who takes care of the hay” (J.D.S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten, Part II: The Central City and the Official Quarters: The Excavations at Tell el-Amarna during the Seasons 1926–1927 and 1931–1936 [EES Memoir 44.2]*, vol. 2, 1951, pl. LXXXIV).

<sup>268</sup> Similar shapes appear in administrative ostraca from the period of Ramses III onwards, e.g. O. DeM 94, l. 1 (J. Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh: n<sup>os</sup> 1 à 113 [DFIFAO 3]*, 1935, pl. 55) & O. DeM 604, l. 1 & 3 (S. Sauneron, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh: n<sup>os</sup> 550–623 [DFIFAO 13]*, Cairo 1959, pl. 25). Cf. also St.J. Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. 2, p. 259, form Ramses IX.

<sup>269</sup> For a 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty spelling of *šsp* as *J* , see O. Turin CGT 57001, r<sup>o</sup> 8 (J. López, *Ostraca ieratici N. 57001 – 57092 [CMT Serie Seconda – Collezioni III.1]*, tav. 1).



corresponds to  on r° 4. Unlike in r° 3 (where it has the value *tj*),  here would have the value *šp*, which in turn means that *hpr* already possessed the palatalized pronunciation of Coptic  $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ .<sup>270</sup> If this hypothesis is correct, note that the scribe did not segment this subjunctive form with a red line; this might indicate that the verbal form was analyzed by the scribe as a dependent rather than an independent subjunctive.

?[*psd.t n(.t)*? *ntr.wt* [...]

logographically for any goddess,<sup>279</sup> though the same may be true for goddesses taking the appearance of smaller animals, e.g., a walking cat (𐩔𐩀).

$p_3 k_3$  𐩔𐩀 𐩔𐩀  $ro\sim$  𐩔𐩀 𐩔𐩀  $vo$ . This vocative construction calls on the deceased as a bull. It might be linked to the preceding sentence, but it fits better at the beginning of the following sentence, which inaugurates the journey through the Netherworld.<sup>280</sup> Conceptually, the invocation of the deceased as a bull refers to the ‘ancient’ identification of the deceased as  $k_3 w^c k_3 m hsb_d nb sh.t k_3 ntr$  “unique high bull of lapislazuli, lord of the field, the bull of the god,” which appears in BD spell 110<sup>281</sup> and its predecessor CT 468.<sup>282</sup>

$\text{nh} m m_3^c.t$  𐩔𐩀  $ro\sim$  𐩔𐩀 𐩔𐩀 (López) → 𐩔𐩀 𐩔𐩀  $vo$ . Someone who “lives from Maat” typically refers to royal<sup>283</sup> or divine agents,<sup>284</sup> and only rarely to non-royal individuals.<sup>285</sup> One of the rare examples is BD spell 125 where the deceased states in front of the divine judges  $\text{nh}=j m m_3^c.t s^c m=j m m_3^c.t$  “I live from Maat, I feed from Maat”<sup>286</sup> as a metaphoric expression of the fact that he is free of any wrongdoing. It is interesting to note that the Horus name of Ramses IV, one of the kings under whom Amennakhte (v), son of Ipuy, lived, begins with the phrase  $k_3 nht \text{nh} m m_3^c.t$  (J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (MÄS 49), 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1999, p. 166–167).

$r^o$					
$v^o$					
	$dgs=k$	$sb_3/3$	$n mfk(3.t)$	$nmt.t$	$tkt(.j)$

$dgs=k$  𐩔𐩀 𐩔𐩀  $ro\sim$  ? 𐩔𐩀 𐩔𐩀 (López) → 𐩔𐩀 𐩔𐩀  $vo$ . The verb  $dgs$  is construed transitively here, with the meaning ‘to enter, to go through’ (*Wb.* V, p. 501.1–8).

$sb_3$   $ro/3$   $vo$  𐩔𐩀 𐩔𐩀  $ro\sim$  ? 𐩔𐩀 ? (López) → 𐩔𐩀  $vo$ . The spelling of the lexeme 𐩔𐩀 “door” on the  $v^o$  is common during the Ramesside period,<sup>287</sup> though it does not correspond to the substantive  $sb_3$  of the  $r^o$ . As such, one might read the  $v^o$  alternatively as 𐩔𐩀  $sb_3$ , which is palaeographically possible but highly problematic from an ‘orthographic’ point of

<sup>279</sup> This sign-value is not attested so far but is in line with the metonymic values  $nb.t$  and  $hnw.t$  (A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 68); cf. also B. Lurson, “Cryptography, the Full Moon Festival of Min, and the King: Reading the Cryptographic Inscription of the Chapel of Min in the Temple of Ramses II at Abydos”, *JARCE* 52 (2017), p. 228–229 n. g).

<sup>280</sup> Consider also the violent connotation of the construction  $dgs$  ( $hr$ ) (*Wb.* V, p. 501,9–10).

<sup>281</sup> For this concept in general, see also R. Weill, *Les champ des roseaux et le champ des offrandes dans religion funéraire et le religion générale* (*Études d’Égyptologie* 3), 1936, p. 42–54.

<sup>282</sup> NN  $k_3 pw w^c.ty k_3 sdm nb hsb_d nb sh.t k_3 ntr.w$  “NN is this unique bull, the large and painted one, lord of lapislazuli, lord of the field, the bull of the gods” (CT V, 384o–385a). For the history of the text, see L. Lesko, “The field of Hetep in Egyptian Coffin Texts”, *JARCE* 9 (1971–1972), p. 89–101.

<sup>283</sup> R. Moftah, *Studien zum ägyptischen Königsdogma im Neuen Reich* (SDAIK 20), 1985, p. 221–228.

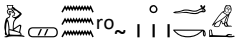
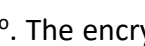




<sup>284</sup> LGG II, p. 144–145.

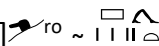


<sup>285</sup> J. Assmann, *Maât, l’Égypte pharaonique et l’idée de justice sociale*, p. 121.


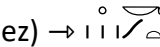
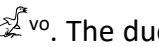
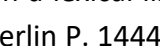
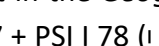
<sup>286</sup> G. Lapp, *Totenbuch Spruch 125* (Tbt 3), 2008, p. 170–171.

<sup>287</sup> E.g., P. Chester Beatty IV,  $v^o$  II.11 (A.H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series: Chester Beatty Gift*, 1935, pl. 18).

view.<sup>288</sup> It seems more likely that the two versions simply resorted to synonymous expressions (see further §3.3.1).<sup>289</sup> Here, the text probably refers to the entrance of the Netherworld (*sbꜣ.w Dwꜣ.t*), which the deceased should not ‘back’ (*šnꜣ*, perhaps the antonym of the above *dgs?*)<sup>290</sup> according to a wish made in the offering formula.<sup>291</sup>

*mfk(ꜣ.t)*  <sup>ro</sup> ~  <sup>vo</sup>. The encrypted version begins with . This group of signs has the value *n* in the rest of the text (e.g., *nty* in cols. 1 and 2), but it could read *m* here (consonantal principle: *mw*). Alternatively, this spelling might suggest that the Graeco-Roman pronunciation of the word as *nfk* goes back to the Ramesside Period.<sup>292</sup> The second sign, a rectangle with round corners and two oblique lines in its center () is not attested in other enigmatic texts of the New Kingdom with the value *f*. It might go back to *fꜣw* “delivery of food” (*Wb.* I, p. 575.2) which is classified using a similar sign ( / ) but this lexeme is very rare.

*nmt.t* [...]  <sup>ro</sup> ~  <sup>vo</sup>. The traces at the bottom of *r*<sup>o</sup> 5 most probably correspond to the upper end of the sign ; see its ductus in cols. 3 and 6. As such, it might represent the beginning of the encrypted spelling of *nmt.t* “quartzite”.<sup>293</sup>

*tkt(j)* [...]  <sup>ro</sup> ~  (López) →  <sup>vo</sup>. The ductus of the classifier corresponds to that of *mfk(ꜣ.t)* in the same line. The word appears in a lexical list in the *Geographical Papyrus* from Tanis ()<sup>294</sup> It also appears in P. Berlin P. 14447 + PSI I 78 () with the Coptic gloss  $\Theta\epsilon\kappa\tau\iota$ ;<sup>295</sup> it is listed next to *mfkꜣ.t*, *bjꜣ-n-p.t*, and *hmtj*. As for its identification, K. Piehl (*PSBA* 13 [1890–1891], p. 38) proposed “magnet stone”.<sup>296</sup>

<sup>288</sup> We are not aware of any similar spellings of the word. See the list in P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographic Study*, 1984, p. 206.

<sup>289</sup> For the use of these terms in the village of Deir el-Medina, see J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period: An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes*, 1975, p. 389.

<sup>290</sup> The term does not seem to be current in New Kingdom funerary texts and only later enters BD spell 1; cf. B. Backes, *Wortindex zum späten Totenbuch (pTurin 1791) (SAT 9)*, 2005, p. 190.

<sup>291</sup> *nj šnꜣ.tw hr sbꜣ.w Dwꜣ.t* (e.g. KRI III, p. 278.11, 317.11, 319.11–12).

<sup>292</sup> See S. Sauneron, “Remarques de philologie et d’étymologie (en marge des textes d’Esna)”, in Ét. Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.) *Mélanges Mariette (BdÉ 32)*, 1961, p. 241–242; S. Aufrère, *L’univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, vol. 2: *Les minerais, les métaux et les produits chimiques, les trésors et les défilés de contrées minières: leur intégration dans la marche de l’univers et l’entretien de la vie divine (BdÉ 105/2)*, 1991, p. 491–492.

<sup>293</sup> *Contra Wb.* II, p. 272.2: “roter Granit”. Our translation is based on the self-designation of the Naos Cairo JE 47580 (H. Hohnack, *Naos*, vol. 2 p. 175; cf. J.R Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals [VIO 54]*, 1961, p. 88).

<sup>294</sup> F.L. Griffith – W.M.F. Petrie, *Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis: I. The Sign Papyrus (A Syllabary); II. The Geographical Papyrus (An Almanack) (EEF Memoir 5)*, 1889, pl. X frg. 16; Ch. Leitz, *Die Gaumonographien in Edfu und ihre Papyrusvarianten: ein überregionaler Kanon kultischen Wissens im spätzeitlichen Ägypten, Soubassementstudien III (SRAT 9)*, 2014, vol. 1, p. 450 & 452; vol. 2, pl. 96.

<sup>295</sup> J. Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I, The Carlsberg Papyri 2 (CNIP 17)*, 1998, vol. 1, p. 255–256; vol. 2, pl. 28: frg. D 10 + D11, l. 3.

<sup>296</sup> This is based on its attribution to Horus in the *Geographical Papyrus*, while iron is attributed to Seth, which recalls Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 62:  $\epsilon\tau\iota\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \sigma\iota\delta\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\iota\nu\ \lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\ \text{Ἵ}\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\upsilon\ \phi\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \sigma\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\rho\omicron\nu\ [\dots]\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$  “They also call magnet stone the bone of Horus and iron the bone of Seth.” Moreover, Piehl compares the stem to Coptic  $\tau\omega\omega\delta\epsilon$  “to be fixed” (*CD*, p. 464–465) which, however, goes back to *dgꜣ* (*KHWb.*, p. 262); cf. S. Aufrère, *L’univers minéral*, vol. 2, p. 434.

r <sup>o</sup>	col. 6 			
v <sup>o</sup>				
	spr=k	r	hnd(.w)	?hr jmnt.t?

(López). We found no traces of this sign at the beginning of r<sup>o</sup> 6 during our examination of the ostracon.

hnd.w r<sup>o</sup>~? (López) → v<sup>o</sup>. While the erased classifier for the word on the v<sup>o</sup> can be read as or even ,<sup>297</sup> the sign on the recto suggests that the lexeme means “stairway” (*Wb.* III, p. 314.18–20) and not “throne” (F.L. Borrego Gallardo, “Le sens et l’étymologie du mot hndw”, *TdE* 6 [2016], p. 7–33) in this context. It seems to refer to the “large stairway” that forms part of the topography of the Netherworld in the vignette in BD spell 110<sup>298</sup> and in scene 33 of the *Book of the Gates*,<sup>299</sup> although it is usually referred to as rd-wr in other funerary text corpora.<sup>300</sup>

?hr jmnt.t? r<sup>o</sup>~? (López) → ? v<sup>o</sup>. The traces of ink on the v<sup>o</sup> suggest hr jmnt.t “in the West” (for hr, compare with v<sup>o</sup> 3 & 11), the latter group of signs being written or the like. This would localize the “staircase” (hnd.w) in the Netherworld. Unfortunately, we are unable to identify the corresponding group of signs on the r<sup>o</sup>, which were probably erased and corrected in ancient times. One might tentatively suggest a squatting animal with long ears, a pointed muzzle, a down-curved tail, and a flagellum on its back – perhaps a jackal. This would reflect the common epithet of the jackal deities hnty-jmnt.t “foremost of the Westerners” or simply jmnt.t.

r <sup>o</sup>		[...]	col. 7 [...]
v <sup>o</sup>	l. 10 [...]		
	sjn=k	[n] krr.tyw d3y tw 4 hm.w r	Jw-n-m3[.tyw]





sjn=k r<sup>o</sup>~ v<sup>o</sup>. The traces of ink at the beginning of v<sup>o</sup> 10 are too scanty to be interpreted with any certainty, but they likely correspond to the end of the verb sjn “to hurry to” (*Wb.* IV, p. 38.9–39.9; W. Westendorf, “Eilen und Warten”, *GM* 46 [1981], p. 27–28), if our interpretation of the enigmatic sequence as sjn=k on the recto is correct. Note that the sign of the moon faces upwards here. Because it faces downwards in the other instances here (cols. 1, 2, 3), one might hypothesize that the scribe made a distinction between the final


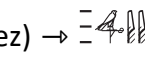


<sup>297</sup> For the third option, see the spelling of hnd.w on O. Asmolean Museum HO 1935.39, v<sup>o</sup> 2 (J. Černý – A.H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, 1957, pl. LXXII–LXXIIA).


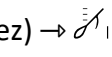
<sup>298</sup> J.S. Gesellensetter, *Das Sechet-laru: Untersuchungen zur Vignette des Kapitels 110 im Ägyptischen Totenbuch*, 1997, p. 182–192.

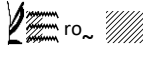
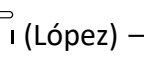
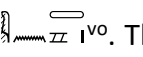



<sup>299</sup> E. Hornung – A. Brodbeck – E. Staehelin, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, part II: *Übersetzung und Kommentar* (AH 8), 1980, p. 143–152.

<sup>300</sup> J. Assmann – M. Bommas – A. Kucharek, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. 2, p. 256–257; *lid.*, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. 3: *Osirisliturgien in Papyri der Spätzeit* [SSHAW 20], 2008, p. 286–288. The closest phraseological parallel is CT spell 517 spr=k r rd-wr “May you reach the large stairway” (CT VI, 106b).

y (written with  and ) and the simple j (written with ).<sup>301</sup> The verb is probably intransitive here, with the prepositional phrase n + SOMEONE.<sup>302</sup> Alternatively,  might have the value h here,<sup>303</sup> but known verbs with a sequence of strong consonants s-h-n (or similar) do not possess meanings that would suit this context.

[n] krr.tyw [...]ro~  (López) → v<sup>o</sup>. Our reconstructed spelling refers to the krr.tyw “the ones of the Cavern” (*Wb.* V, p. 62.11–12) and not to the place; this is because of the lack of the [LOCATION] classifier () combined with the presence of the [DIVINE] classifier (). For a similar spelling, see O. DeM 1441, col. III.4 (= G. Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Médineh: nos 1410–1606*, vol. III/2 [DFIFAO 20], 1978, pl. 27).

4 hm.w [...]ro~  (López) → v<sup>o</sup>. The four oars seem to be a clear reference to BD spell 148 whose vignette generally depicts these oars between the seven cows and the four sons of Horus.<sup>304</sup> Neither their captions nor the BD spell itself provide parallels for the ostrakon’s phraseology.<sup>305</sup>

Jw-n-mꜣ.tyw ro~  (López) → [...] v<sup>o</sup>. The ductus of the sign at the end of v<sup>o</sup> 10 corresponds to that of  in v<sup>o</sup> 8. Accordingly, the name of the place to which the deceased should be ferried is Jw-n-mꜣ.tyw, the “Island-of-the-Justified-Ones.” This location is known from BD spell 17,<sup>306</sup> and it also appears sporadically in funerary compositions.<sup>307</sup> The second part of this place name is found at the beginning of col. 7 on the recto: after  (read n), the traces would accord with the legs and feet of a seated divinity, e.g. ,<sup>308</sup> which was possibly accompanied by another sign on the left.

<sup>301</sup> On this form of the hieroglyphic sign of the moon (which appears somewhere in the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty), see Cl. Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d’Amosis fondateur de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie (MRE 1)*, 1971, p. 207–213. For the value j of this sign, see D. Klotz, “Thoth as Textual Critic”, p. 40, n. 27.

<sup>302</sup> Note that the construction sjn r [LOCATION] ‘to hurry to a place’ does not seem to be attested before the Ptolemaic Period.

<sup>303</sup> Based on the consonantal principle as applied to either j-h or, more probably, to h-ry (see A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 128, with S.J. Seidlmayer, *MDAIK 47* [1991], p. 325, n. 9).



<sup>304</sup> Material evidence for oars as paraphernalia comes from the burial chamber of Tutankhamun, but their number amounts to eleven there (D. Jones, *Model Boats from the Tomb of Tutankhamun [TTS 9]*, 1990, p. 48–50; pl. 37–38; cf. H. Beinlich, *GM 102* [1988], p. 12; S. Deicher, “Tutanchamuns Ruder: über die Bewegungskraft der Materie im alten Ägypten”, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 83/3 [2020], p. 324–326).



<sup>305</sup> See the synthesis by R. el Sayed, “Les sept vaches célestes, leur taureau et les quatre gouvernails”, *MDAIK 36* (1980), p. 378–381.

























<sup>306</sup> The “Island-of-the-Justified-Ones” appears in CT spell 335 (CT IV, 335a) and spell 341 (CT IV, 344d) as the destination for the deceased in the Netherworld. During the New Kingdom, it acquired a prominent place in the commentary of BD spell 17 on CT 335, where it is identified as *bd.w* “Abydos” (G. Lapp, *Totenbuch Spruch 17 (TbT 1)*, 2006, p. 88–89 & 92–93; U. Rößler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17 des ägyptischen Totenbuches: Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte und Funktion eines Textes der altägyptischen Totenliteratur (GOF IV/10)*, 1979, p. 217). It is also mentioned in the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty Stela Chicago, OIM 8798, l. 11 (E. Brovarski, *JEA 62* [1976], 63 n. o, pl. XI).














<sup>307</sup> E.g. a harpist’s song [...] *m jw-n-mꜣ.tj hnm.n=f tꜣ-ntꜣr* “[...] in the *jw-n-mꜣ.tj*, after he has joined god’s land” (W.K. Simpson, “A New Kingdom Relief of a Harper and His Song”, in G.E. Kadish – G.E. Freeman (eds.), *Studies in Philology in Honour of Ronald James Williams: A Festschrift*, 1982, p. 135 col. 7 & pl. V–VI) or the TT 106 *spr=j m htp r jmy-wr.t ꜣ jw-mꜣ.tyw* “I shall reach the Netherworld in peace, the Island-of-the-Justified-ones (KRI III, p. 6.16–7.1).

<sup>308</sup> For the logographic value *mꜣ.t*, which is also attested outside enigmatic writing, see A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 38.


r <sup>o</sup>		[...]
v <sup>o</sup>	l. 11 [...] hms=k	 [...] hry-jb n Sh.t-htp(.w)

=k  r<sup>o</sup>~ [...]v<sup>o</sup>. The vessel on the head of the seated man and his upraised arm are preserved. As such, the identification of  is not much in doubt. We do not know how much text is lost after this word, however, though the large lacuna on the v<sup>o</sup> argues in favor of two sentences, rather than one (long) sentence.<sup>309</sup>

? [...]r<sup>o</sup>~  [...]v<sup>o</sup>. The lower part of the group of signs at the beginning of v<sup>o</sup> 11 is lost and the lacuna on the r<sup>o</sup> provides no parallel. The positioning implies that it must form the end of a word, which rules out the similar sign  in *šnb.t=k* (v<sup>o</sup> 6);  does not fit from a palaeographical point of view.<sup>310</sup> After the lacuna, *hry-jb* is either a preposition (*Wb.* III, p. 137.1–15) or a nisba adjective (*Wb.* III, p. 138.21–139.35), which does not provide any useful indicators with respect to the identification of the preceding word. However, a possible parallel is to be found in *PT* 519 (= *Pyr.* 1216a), which mentions the “island in the middle of the Field-of-Offerings” (*jw* 3 *hry-jb Sh.t-htp*).<sup>311</sup> As it is, the traces might indeed correspond to the group                       



- On the recto, horizontal red lines were added between sequences of cursive hieroglyphs.<sup>312</sup> We understand these lines to be a way of segmenting the enigmatic text into smaller units that were recognized by the scribe as meaningful from a linguistic point of view. The regular vertical spacing between the linear hieroglyphs, which do not anticipate such horizontal lines, seems to support this line of thought. The addition of a longer red line in col. 2 after  (*t3*), as the scribe realized he had mistakenly segmented the text after  (which also reads *t3*), is yet another indication that the red lines were used to decode the enigmatic text after (and not during) the copying process.<sup>313</sup> In this respect, the addition of  in col. 3 (ticked with a red stroke) might have happened during the segmentation process with red lines, when the scribe realized that a word was missing.
- On the verso, the hieratic text exhibits orthographic features that are unexpected within this written norm, but which can be explained rather straightforwardly by a decoding process.<sup>314</sup> Several lexemes are indeed written with a single hieratic sign, which may result from the influence of the short spellings in the enigmatic text, such as  for *mn* (l. 3 =  in col. 2);  for *psd* (l. 8 = lost in col. 4);  for *šsp* (l. 7 =  in col. 4);  for *nh* (l. 8 =  in col. 5);  for *hmw* (l. 10 = lost in col. 6).
- Finally, in addition to the problems that the scribe may have encountered with respect to the interpretation of this enigmatic composition (see below §3.3.2), at the end of v<sup>o</sup> 8 he appears to have chosen to write  “door (leaf)” (*Wb.* I, p. 164.12–165.1) instead of *sb*: “door” (written  in r<sup>o</sup> 5). This translation process is rather rare, but not without parallels; it has been labeled ‘(Principle #10) Exchange of synonyms’ by D. Werning (“Cryptographic Encoding”, p. 210). Note that the scribe further enriched the text with connectors that are not present in the enigmatic version (*hr-tp t3* [l. 3] vs. *tp t3* [col. 2]; *m* [l. 8] vs.  $\emptyset$  [col. 5]). Such changes and additions are not compelling arguments in favor of a decoding exercise but instead reflect converging clues that strengthen one another.

### 3.3.2. Nature of the text

Up to this point, the beginning of the text has been read *d3.t n p3 hsy nty m s.t-dsr.t n Wsjr* “travel by boat of the blessed one who is in the holy place of the Osiris” – an unparalleled heading.<sup>315</sup> This interpretation is supported by the hieratic version on the verso, which begins with a boat that functions as logogram followed by the ‘moving legs’ classifier () , a

<sup>312</sup> Note that a material analysis of the ostrakon did not allow us to ascertain whether the red horizontal lines were added before or after the text written in black ink; this is because the black ink always looks as if it was written on top of the red ink, even in cases where that would be very difficult (or impossible) to explain from a practical point of view. See, for instance, sections where parts of some black hieroglyphs seem to have been written on top of the following red line (e.g., col. 2, 4<sup>th</sup> red line; col. 3, 1<sup>st</sup> red line; col. 5, 2<sup>nd</sup> red line).

<sup>313</sup> We were not able to correlate these red lines with systematic traces of dipping in the hieratic text on the verso.

<sup>314</sup> The spelling  for *k=k* “may you enter” (l. 3) instead of the more common  (or sim. in hieratic), may also be explained by the influence of an enigmatic spelling with mono-consonantal signs (lost at the bottom of col. 1). In addition, note that this spelling of *k* ‘to enter’ is common in the *Netherworld Books* of the New Kingdom.

<sup>315</sup> Cf. S. Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im Alten Ägypten: Verzeichnis der Buch- und Spruchtitel und der Termini technici*, 1990, p. 414–415.

spelling that can only be understood as referring to a verb of motion by boat. From a phonological point of view, however, the presence of a *t* in the enigmatic text on the recto (𓂏𓂛𓂏) is somewhat problematic, since the *t* had already been dropped from the pronunciation of the infinitive (*status absolutus*) of the 3<sup>ae</sup> *inf.* during the Ramesside period;<sup>316</sup> as such, *ḏi.t* would have to be explained as a historical spelling<sup>317</sup> (but *sḏ* would obviously still be an option).

Another reading can be offered, however. The phrasing of this first sentence evokes the *incipit* of the so-called harpist's songs<sup>318</sup> *ḏd(.t).n pꜣ ḥsw nty m tꜣ ḥw.t/mḥ.t n Wsjr* [TITLES + NAME OF THE TOMB OWNER] "What the singer who is in the tomb said to the Osiris [TITLES + NAME OF THE TOMB OWNER]". The 15 known examples of this heading<sup>319</sup> display little variation. The main variants are found (a) in the title of the harpist in the 'early' 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty attestations (*ḥsw n bn.t* "singer of the harp";<sup>320</sup> *ḥsw Mꜣ.t* "singer of Maat";<sup>321</sup> *jmy-rꜣ ḥsw.w* "overseer of the singers"<sup>322</sup>) and (b) in the place where the song is located, namely the "tomb chapel" (*ḥw.t*; once *ḥw.t-kꜣ*), the "tomb superstructure" (*mḥ.t*), and the "necropolis" (*ḥr.t*).<sup>323</sup> As such, the harpist's songs appear to correspond to a well-defined genre, with contents that were deemed to fit with the decoration of funerary chapels between the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

Several arguments make a strong case for reading O. Turin CGT 57440, r<sup>o</sup> 1 as *ḏd(.t).n pꜣ ḥsw nty m s.t n.t Wsjr* [TITLE + NAME] "What the singer who is in the place of the Osiris [TITLE + NAME] said":

- First, it is possible to decode the group 𓂏𓂛𓂏 as the perfective relative form *ḏd(.t).n* typical of the headings of the harpist's songs.<sup>324</sup> The relative form *ḏd(.t).n* would indeed have preserved two dental stops according to its syllable structure,<sup>325</sup> which favors this interpretation over the infinitive *status absolutus* of 3<sup>ae</sup> *inf* *ḏi.t* (see §3.2.2).

<sup>316</sup> J. Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien, 1 : la morphologie verbale* (AegLeod 2), 1992, p. 56–60, §§ 100–104.

<sup>317</sup> See §3.2.2 above. The verb *ḏi* "to travel" > demotic *ḏy* (CDD [D], p. 11–12) does not appear to be attested in Coptic any longer. It is preserved only in the (etymologically) composite verb *ꜣioop* "to ferry over" (CD, p. 82; KHwb, p. 51) and in the noun *ḏy.w* > *ꜣoi* "ship" (CD, p. 754; KHwb, p. 415).

<sup>318</sup> For their historical context, see J. Assmann, "Fest des Augenblicks – Verheissung der Dauer: die Kontroverse der ägyptischen Harfnerlieder", in J. Assmann – E. Feucht – R. Grieshammer (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur: Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto*, 1977, p. 83–84. For the harpists' songs at Saqqara, see H. Twiston Davies, "The Harpists' Songs at Saqqara: Transmission, Performance, and Contexts", in N. Staring – H. Twiston Davies – L. Weiss (eds.), *Perspectives on Lived Religion. Practices – Transmission – Landscape*, Leiden (= Palma 21), 2019, p. 97–129.

<sup>319</sup> For a recent overview of all the *incipits*, see S. Emerit, "Le chant du harpiste: une porte ouverte sur l'au-delà?", BIFAO 115 (2016), p. 162–177.

<sup>320</sup> TT 50 (R. Hari, *La tombe thébaine du père divin Néferhotep* (TT50), pl. IV & XXVI; S. Emerit, BIFAO 115, p. 162–163, doc. 1–2). Cf. the phrase *ḥsw m bn.t* in P. BM EA 10060, r<sup>o</sup> VI.3 (M.V. Fox, "A Study of Antef", *Or* 46/4 [1977], p. 405).

<sup>321</sup> TT 106: *ḏd.t.n pꜣ ḥs(w) Mꜣ.t nty m tꜣ ḥr.t jmnt.t Wꜣs.t* (M. Lichtheim, "The Songs of the Harper", *JNES* 4/3 [1945], pl. V; KRI III, p. 7.16; S. Emerit, BIFAO 115, p. 164, doc 3).


<sup>322</sup> TT 263: [*ḏd.t.n*] *jmy-rꜣ ḥsw.w nty m tꜣ ḥr.t* (M. Lichtheim, *JNES* 4/3, pl. VIa; S. Emerit, BIFAO 115, p. 165, doc. 4).



<sup>323</sup> See S. Emerit, BIFAO 115, p. 159–160.

<sup>324</sup> In this case, the sign 𓂏 would take the value *ḏ*, applying the consonantal principle to its logographic value *ḏi* "to travel by boat". Note that this enigmatic value is not attested so far (A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 143).



<sup>325</sup> Although the infinitive of the verb *ḏd* > copt. *ꜣw* lost its final dental stop at some point (C. Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, p. 156–157), an analogous development is unlikely to have happened in the phonological environment of the (feminine) relative form before the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; this is because the word stress



- Second, as discussed above (§3.2.2), the fourth quadrat of O. Turin CGT 57440, r<sup>o</sup> 1 may actually read . Even if this reading is subject to caution, this logographic spelling would visually indicate that the text belonged to the genre of the harpist's songs.
- Third, within the genre of the harpist's songs, the text on O. Turin CGT 57440 accords well with the category of "traditional" or "orthodox" compositions that glorify (s;h) the deceased, describe the fulfilment of the duties of his funerary cult, and highlight his successful journey in the afterlife.<sup>326</sup> The fact that our text constantly refers to concepts that are characteristic of the so-called glorifications (s;h.w) has already been stressed throughout the comments above (§3.2.2). One might also add that its general form (*Sprechweise*) also conforms with them.<sup>327</sup> It consists mostly of 2<sup>nd</sup> person wishes expressed by a sequence of subjunctive *sdm=f* forms.
- Finally, the highest degree of mastery of this specific enigmatic norm<sup>328</sup> is achieved when a sign (or group of signs) can be interpreted both in light of its regular orthographical value and an enigmatic value. We suggest that the boat-sign that opens the enigmatic composition visually (and logographically) refers to the central topic of the text, namely the deceased's journey by boat (*d;it*) in the Netherworld,<sup>329</sup> while its phonographic value *d* is based on the consonantal principle.

If we are correct, this would mean that the scribe who translated the enigmatic composition into plain-text hieratic did not comprehend the doubled reading of this opening sentence, favoring the more obvious interpretation of the boat as a motion verb (with the classifier ) and not as the first consonant of the enigmatic spelling  for

---


was most likely on the penultimate syllable, after *d*. Note the graphemic clues pointing in this direction in typical Late Egyptian orthographies of the relative form, such as  or  (for the latter, see J. Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien, 1: la morphologie verbale (AegLeod 2)*, 1992, p. 385 [§607]).

<sup>326</sup> For the distinction between the two categories of texts, (1) "Lieder, die „das Diesseits erhöhen und das Jenseits herabsetzen" – i.e., "heretical" songs – and (2) "Lieder zur 'Verklärung' des Grabherrn" – i.e. "orthodox" songs – see J. Assmann, "Fest des Augenblicks – Verheissung der Dauer", p. 55–84; *Id.*, *LdÄ II*, col. 972–982; J. Assmann – M. Bommas – A. Kucharek, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. 2, p. 24–25, p. 583–597. The former group are identified as songs which *s; tp-t; "exalt the earthly (existence)"* and *snd; hr.t-ntr "belittle the necropolis"* in TT 50 (R. Hari, *La tombe thebaine du père divin Neferhotep (TT50)*, p. 12–13 & pl. IV middle col. 3–4) while the latter are identified as *s;h.w* "glorifications" on the block BM EA 55337 from TT 163 (J. Assmann, "Harfnerlied und Horussöhne: zwei Blöcke aus dem verschollenen Grab des Bürgermeisters Amenemhêt (Theben Nr. 163) im Britischen Museum", *JEA* 65 [1979], p. 56–58, pl. IX).











<sup>327</sup> For the formal characteristics of *s;h.w*-texts, see J. Assmann, "Verkünden und Verklären – Grundformen hymnischer Rede im Alten Ägypten", in W. Burkert – F. Stolz (eds.), *Hymnen der Welt im Kulturvergleich (OBO 131)*, 1994, p. 49–50; *Id.*, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete (OBO [special edition])*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1999, p. 17–30 & 56–60.

<sup>328</sup> As pointed out by Ét. Drioton on several occasions (e.g., Ét. Drioton, *RdÉ* 1, p. 14; *Id.*, *CdÉ* 9/18, p. 194–195).

<sup>329</sup> The close connection between the verb *d;it* "to travel by boat" and the harpist's songs is strengthened by their location within the funerary chapels: (1) they are mostly located below solar hymns (Y. Chobanov, "The Presence of Harper's Songs in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom", in T. Lekov – E. Buzov [eds.], *Cult and Belief in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress for Young Egyptologists, 25–27 September 2012, Sofia*, 2014, p. 132–133), which often use the verb *d;it* (as noted above, see J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, p. 398); (2) the verb is even found below a boat-scene in the tomb of Nefersekheru (Zawyet Sultan), in which the caption says *d;it m bnw r j;bt.t m;:j Hr-;h.ty* "Travel with the *bnw*-bird to the east in order that I might see Harakhte" and *d;it m Wsjr nb d;w ntr ; nb jmnt.t* "Travel with Osiris, the lord of Busiris, the great god and lord of the West" (J. Osing, *Das Grab des Nefersecheru in Zawyet Sultan (AV 88)*, 1992, p. 65, pl. 17 & 42).

*dd(.t).n*. Additionally, the fact that he stuck with a logographic spelling like  might point to his hesitation with respect to the precise motion verb that was intended in the enigmatic composition.

This opens up the possibility that some of the readings proposed by the scribe on the verso reflect his own personal understanding of the text; as such, these might not reflect the only possible understanding of the text, nor even the understanding intended by the *lettré* who composed the text. Two main points can be elaborated in this respect:




- In col. 3, we observed a redundant *n* () above *nty* (): *t3 3 tj.wt št3.w(t) {n} nty jmy(.wt) Jgr.t* “the three secret images that are in the midst of the Silent Place”. This putative *n* is preceded by a horizontal red line. This sequence [*red line + n*] is attested a second time in col. 1, where it follows the sequence , which the scribe (most probably) interpreted as *m s.t dsr.t* “in the sacred place” on the verso (l. 1). As already observed (§3.2.2), however, the value *dsr.t* for the red crown (*dšr.t*), which is not attested so far, is not easy to justify from a phonological point of view. As such, one might question whether the sequence [*red line + n*] should be interpreted as [*red line + black line*]; in this view, the black lines would reflect the original segmentation of the text (or similar) rather than an *n*. In this scenario,<sup>330</sup> the sequence  would read *m s.t n.t* ‘in the place of’, with the value *n* for  (as is the case in all the other instances in this text; see cols. 1, 3, 6). This kind of genitive construction in the heading (“What the singer who is in the place of the Osiris [TITLE + NAME] said”) is supported by the direct genitive construction in the song of Intef in P. BM EA 55337 (*hsy.w nty m hw.t Jn-jt=f m3ˁ-hrw nty m-b;h hsw m bn.t*).<sup>331</sup> Further to this, we have seen that the harpist’s songs display some variation as regards their location in the funerary complex (*hw.t*, *hw.t-k3*, *mˁhˁ.t* or *hr.t*<sup>332</sup>): here, *s.t* “place” would simply be a generic reference to such a location.
- A second sequence is not easy to justify based on the enigmatic principles that one observes elsewhere in this composition: , which the scribe interpreted as *jr=k ˁhˁ.w m W3s.t hr k3=st, dd=k ˁf3=f n p(3)d=k* “May you spend a (long after)life in Thebes, supplied with its food. May you tell to your knee to raise up” (Cf. §3.2.2). Indeed, the reading of  as *dd=k n p(3)d=k* “may you tell to your knee” would be the only instance of such a playful spelling in the text; the group , which is known to read *hr*,<sup>333</sup> would have to be read as *f3=f*; and finally,  would stand for the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. fem. suffix pronoun =s, which can hardly be justified from a phonological point of view and would have to be explained as a reflex of Late Egyptian orthographic habits in the enigmatic composition. A simple way out of this knot of issues would be to interpret the sequence  as *ks.t=k* “your bowing down.”




<sup>330</sup> Which would lead inevitably to the conclusion that the text on the recto was not copied by the same scribe.

<sup>331</sup> Even if the consistent use of *n* – and not of *n.t* or of a direct genitive – in the other harpist’s songs of the New Kingdom argues in favor of a dative (cf. E. Wente, “Egyptian ‘Make Merry’ Songs Reconsidered”, *JNES* 21 [1962], p. 122, n. a).

<sup>332</sup> TT 106 = *dd.t n p3 h3s(w) M3ˁ.t nty m t3 hr.t jmn.t W3s.t* (M. Lichtheim, *JNES* 4/3, pl. V; *KRI* III, p. 7.16; S. Emerit, *BIFAO* 115, p. 164 doc. 3); TT 263 = [*ddˁ.tˁ n*] *jmj-r3 h3sw.w nty m t3 hr.t* (M. Lichtheim, *JNES* 4/3, pl. VIa; S. Emerit, *BIFAO* 115, p. 165 doc. 4).

<sup>333</sup> See A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 81.

(1) The 3<sup>ae</sup> *inf. ksi* ‘to bow down’ (*Wb.* V, p. 139.7–18) would have the expected final *t* in the pronominal state of the infinitive, and the classifier would fit perfectly. (2) The verb *ksi* can be constructed with *hr*,<sup>334</sup> taking the meaning “to bow over” (see already *PT* 748c) and “to bow to” (*Wb.* V, p. 139.11; see R.B. Parkinson, “*The Discourse of the Fowler: Papyrus Butler verso* (P. BM EA 10274)”, *JEA* 90 [2004], p. 94 [l. 29–30], 98 & 107), even if the construction with *n* + dative is more frequent. (3) The entire sentence would conform with the pattern *jri ḥꜥ.w hr* STATE ‘To spend life in a given state’ (see §3.2.2), and could be read as a whole: *jr=k ḥꜥ(.w) [m] Ws.t hr ks.t=k hr=s* “May you spend a (long after)life [in] Thebes, you bowing to her,” ignoring the red segmentation between  and . Accordingly, the sign  that follows should be interpreted as *šp* (see above §3.2.2).

- Finally, the second part of the expression *ḥnd(.w) hr jmnt.t* (*v*<sup>o</sup> 9) is difficult to reconcile with the group on the recto, because the jackal-head is the only part of the sign that can be identified with a fair degree of certainty. Reading the traces on the *r*<sup>o</sup> as *ḥnd(.w) bjꜥ* () “stairway of iron” would solve this problem. Indeed, this concept is not just attested in the *Pyramid Texts* with the meaning “throne of iron”,<sup>335</sup> but also in Late Period *sḥ.w* II (spell 3, verse 19) as *rd bjꜥ* “stairway of iron”.<sup>336</sup> Palaeographically, the head of the jackal in  would lie in the middle of the sledge<sup>337</sup> and the ‘cross’ hovering above the rear of the sledge would be identified as its load. Note that this sign is also attested with the value *bjꜥ* in the enigmatic frieze of Aksha.<sup>338</sup> As a consequence of this interpretation, the traces of ink below this sign would represent another segmenting line, as discussed above (). We can only speculate about the reasons for transcribing this sign *hr Jmnt.t* on the verso: might the scribe have recognized a jackal-head and consequently made an association with Anubis *ḥnty-Jmnt.t*?

In addition to the heading, these three alternate readings are discussed here primarily to show that enigmatic texts — when they are not merely transcoding standard compositions (*PT*, *BD*, *offering formulas*, *solar hymns*) — may be somewhat difficult to crack, as well as being open to several interpretations. As a result, they would certainly have been read in different ways by ancient scribes themselves, based on their own degree of literacy and contextual expectations. As noted by Ét. Drioton himself, “[u]ne erreur (...), commise par un scribe ancien dans le déchiffrement d’un cryptogramme, n’est pas sans intérêt. Elle prouve que, comme nous l’avons toujours soutenu, ce déchiffrement n’était pas une affaire de listes de signes ni de codes et qu’il n’avait rien d’un procédé mécanique. Il était une

<sup>334</sup> The example from P. Turin Cat 1994 quoted in *Beleg.* V, 21 (*re Wb.* V, p. 139.10) is a misinterpretation of *ks hr* “to bow down the face.”

<sup>335</sup> Cf. the attestations collected in F.L. Borrego Gallardo, *TdE* 6 (2015), p. 23–30.

<sup>336</sup> J. Assmann – M. Bommas – A. Kucharek, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. 3, p. 259 & 264.

<sup>337</sup> Compare some of the examples collected by E. Graefe (*Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bjꜥ-*, 1971, pl. 10, tab 4 [after p. 90])

<sup>338</sup> A. Danieri Rodrigo, “An Enigmatic Inscription at Aksha”, *JSSEA* XV/2 (1985), p. 69–70 & n. s; *Id.*, “Aksha (Serra (West): el templo de Ramsés II, II: la inscripción enigmática del atrio”, *REE* 1 (1990), p. 49 & p. 51 n. s, fig. II, pl. VI b.

réponse d'ingéniosité à l'ingéniosité d'un cryptographe qui s'était évertué à donner aux signes des valeurs inédites (...)”.<sup>339</sup>

The transcription into hieratic on the verso should therefore be seen as only one possible interpretation of this enigmatic text made by one ancient scribe, and we have been so bold as to suggest our own etic interpretation, adding a further layer – assuredly not the last – to the hermeneutic tradition of this text:

<p><sup>r1</sup> <i>dd.(t).n pꜣ ḥsw nty m s.t n.t Wsjr s[ḥꜣ m s.t- mꜣꜣ.t Jmn-nḥt sꜣ Jpw(y)]</i></p>	<p><sup>r1</sup> What the singer who is in the place of the Osiris, the scri[be in the Place-of-Truth, Amennakhte, Son of Ipu(y),] said:</p>
<p><i>[pr=k ꜣk=k] <sup>r2</sup> r js(y)=k nty mn(.w) tp-tꜣ</i></p>	<p>“[may you exit and enter] <sup>r2</sup> your tomb which is stable upon earth,</p>
<p><i>tꜣ ḥw.t jr=k n [Wsjr tꜣ šꜣtꜣ(y).t n(.t) ꜣs.t wr.t]</i></p>	<p>the chapel which you made for [Osiris, and the secret chamber of Isis the great.]</p>
<p><sup>r3</sup> <i>tꜣ 3 tj.w(t) šꜣtꜣ.w(t) nty jmy(.wt) Jgr.t</i></p>	<p><sup>r3</sup> The three secret images that are in the midst of the Silent Place,</p>
<p><i>[st ...(.w) r-jmy jb=k mn(.w) r-tp] <sup>r4</sup> šnb.t=k</i></p>	<p>[they are <sup>?</sup>put<sup>?</sup> close to your heart; they stay on top of] <sup>r4</sup> your chest.</p>
<p><i>jr=k ꜣḥ(.w) [m] Wꜣs.t ḥr ks.t=k ḥr=s</i></p>	<p>May you spend a (long after)life [in] Thebes, you bowing to her.</p>
<p><i>šsp [tw tꜣ <sup>?</sup>psd.t n(.t) <sup>?</sup>ntr.wt] <sup>r5</sup></i></p>	<p>[May the <sup>?</sup>ennead of<sup>?</sup> goddesses] receive [you]. <sup>r5</sup></p>
<p><i>pꜣ kꜣ ꜣnh m Mꜣꜣ.t dgs=k sbꜣ n mfk[(ꜣ.t) nmt.t tkt(.j)]</i></p>	<p>Oh bull who lives from Maat, may you walk through the door of turquoise, qu[artzite and tkt.j-stone.]</p>
<p><sup>r6</sup> <i>spr=k r ḥnd(.w) bjꜣ</i></p>	<p><sup>r6</sup> May you reach the stairway of iron.</p>
<p><i>sjn=k [n krr.tyw]</i></p>	<p>May you hurry [to the inhabitants of the Caverns.]</p>
<p><i>[dꜣy tw 4 ḥm.w r] <sup>r7</sup> Jw-n-mꜣꜣ(.tjw)</i></p>	<p>[May the four oars drive you to the] <sup>r7</sup> Isle-of-the-Justified-Ones.</p>
<p><i>ḥms=k [... ḥry-jb Šḥ.t-ḥtp(.w)]</i></p>	<p>May you rest [...in the middle of the Field-of-Offerings].”</p>

### 3.3.3. *Sitz im Leben*

Our alternate interpretation is obviously of paramount importance for the contextualization of this text within the broader environment of Deir el-Medina. Indeed, all the harpist’s songs (1) share a common iconographic context — they accompany a male harpist who kneels in front of the seated deceased couple — and (2) are commonly found in

<sup>339</sup> Ét. Driotion, “Une erreur antique de déchiffrement”, *RdÉ* 12 (1960), p. 31 ; compare also Ph. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, p. 134. Another possible transcription mistake made by an ancient scribe has been noted by *Id.*, “La cryptographie du Papyrus Salt 825”, *ASAE* 41 (1941), p. 109–111.




passageways (entrance portals, gateways, or passages leading to inner cult chambers) or in the first chamber of the tomb chapel.<sup>340</sup>

Accordingly, if the text on the Turin ostrakon is a copy of a harpist's song from the tomb of the scribe Amennakhte (v) son of Ipuy, as the title might indicate, the original text would have been painted in one of the rooms of his tomb chapel (e.g., the *hw.t* of Osiris or the *šty.t* of Isis that are mentioned in the text itself). Unfortunately, even if the superstructures associated with P. 1340<sup>341</sup> or those linked with P. 1343 are attributed to Amennakhte (v),<sup>342</sup> their decorations are now completely lost. As such, the precise location of this song in the Western cemetery of Deir el-Medina will probably remain an open question.

Note, however, that the harpist's song of Amennakhte (v) would be one of the last of its kind, along with the song found in the tomb<sup>343</sup> of his contemporary Anhurkhawy (ii), the chief workman in the Place of Truth.<sup>344</sup> One could argue (even if this is admittedly speculative) that this is no mere coincidence: these two influential members of the Deir el-Medina community may have been directly inspired by the famous harpists in the tomb of Ramses III (KV 11), a tomb which was decorated during their lifetime and which they probably worked on themselves.<sup>345</sup>

#### 3.3.4. Encoding Strategies

In §3.2, we referred to the style of enigmatic writing under discussion as 'annotational cryptography,' noting that this practice went into decline during the Ramesside period. As such, it is important to conclude our discussion by summing up the peculiar encoding strategies employed on this ostrakon.<sup>346</sup>

All of the enigmatic values on the ostrakon that are secure from both an emic and etic point of view correspond (with a single exception<sup>347</sup>) to mono-consonantal phonograms.<sup>348</sup> As is common in enigmatic writing, the same value may be encoded by different signs (such as  and  for *k*).<sup>349</sup> The seemingly alienated logograms for longer sequences (e.g., *ξ 'h'*) are typically also attested in non-enigmatic texts, even if this occurs rarely. As to the use of classifiers, they were either (1) omitted (systematically for words that would take ) or

---

<sup>340</sup> For a detailed comparison of the architectural contexts, see Y. Chobanov, "The Presence of Harper's Songs in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom", p. 131–134; S. Emerit, *BIFAO* 115, p. 157–159 & 161–177.

<sup>341</sup> See A. Dorn – R. Pietri – St. Polis – C. Widow, In C. Larché, *BAEFE* 2022, p. 23–37. In the final publication of the tomb structures, we will show that B. Bruyère's architectural reconstruction is disputable.


<sup>342</sup> See already B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1933-1934). Première partie : la nécropole de l'ouest (FIFAO 14)*, 1937, p. 75–77 & 84–88.

<sup>343</sup> In the subterranean chamber 2, cf. N. Cherpion – J.-P. Corteggiani, *La Tombe d'Inherkhôouy*, vol 1, p. 119–122, 231–234, col. 12; vol. 2, fig. 107.



<sup>344</sup> See B.G. Davies, *Who's Who*, p. 21–29 & chart 3.

<sup>345</sup> In the case of TT 359, this has already been suggested because of the unusual location of the harpist's song in the subterranean chamber of the tomb (S. Emerit, *BIFAO* 115, p. 159).

<sup>346</sup> The enigmatic values are mostly derived following the consonantal principle, class exchange, and synecdoche (A.J. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 4–11).

<sup>347</sup> The exception is  *šn* (col. 4), which does not appear in regular spellings of the word before the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium (*Wb. Zettel* DZA 30.176.010).

<sup>348</sup> This includes signs standing for words which were reduced to one consonant by the Ramesside period, e.g.



















 *t* "land" (col. 2) and  *hr* "with" (col. 4).

<sup>349</sup> Except for the moon-signs, we cannot explain their distribution based on their function or phonological environment.

(2) used to help the reader understand the lexemes written with alienated consonants, as they retain the same meaning that they possess in texts written in standard orthography.

The main differences between the Turin ostrakon and the abgad texts on the Cairo ostrakon from the Valley of the Kings (of the type discussed in §2) are (1) its use of a larger number of logographic signs and (2) a broader and more innovative repertoire.<sup>350</sup> The latter characteristic is particularly important: the text contains a (rather large) number of values that are not documented in J.A. Roberson's *Lexicon*. As such, it demonstrates the limits of our scholarly cataloguing endeavors when applied to scribal compositions as original as those that employ enigmatic writing:<sup>351</sup>

**Emic reading (§3.2.2, \* = emic only)**

Sign	Code MdC	Value	Derivation principle	O. Turin CGT 57440 r <sup>o</sup> , col.
	A9	phon. <i>k</i> in = <i>k</i> , <i>mfk.t</i>	consonantal <i>k.t</i> <sup>352</sup> "work" > <i>k</i>	2, 4 <sup>2x</sup> , 5 <sup>2x</sup> , 6 <sup>2x</sup> , 7 <sup>2x</sup>
	A16var	*log. <i>gd n p(;)d</i>	direct representation	4
	A17A	log. <i>ḥmsi</i>	logogram	7
	A28	phon. <i>g</i> in <i>jgr.t</i> and <i>dgs</i>	consonantal <i>ḳi</i> "to be high" > phonetic <i>ḳ</i> <sup>353</sup> ~ <i>g</i>	3, 5
	D28	phon. <i>k</i> <sup>354</sup> in = <i>k</i>	consonantal <i>k</i> ; "Ka" > <i>k</i>	2, 4
	F32	log. <i>ḥr</i> <sup>355</sup>	logogram	4
	I114var	log. <i>ḥr.w</i>	logogram	4
	L1	phon./log. <i>šp</i> in <i>sšp</i>	phonetic <i>sšp</i> ~ <i>šp</i>	4
	M20	phon. <i>w</i> <sup>356</sup> in <i>wsjr</i>	direct representation ( <i>w.w</i> "domain") / synecdoche + phonetic <i>y</i> ~ <i>w</i>	1
	N12:N12	phon. <i>y</i> in <i>nty</i>	class (N19 > N18:N18:  ; cursive form) or phonetic <i>jḥ</i> "moon" > <i>j</i> <sup>357</sup>	1, 2, 3
	N12:Z4A	phon. <i>j.wt</i> ~ <i>j</i> in <i>tj.wt</i>	as N12:N12 ↑	3
	N62A	phon. <i>j</i> in <i>sjn</i>	as N12:N12 ↑	6
	O44	phon. <i>j</i> in <i>jgr.t</i> <sup>358</sup>	consonantal <i>j;w.t</i> „office“ ~ <i>j</i>	3
	Q1	phon. <i>s</i> <sup>359</sup> in <i>sjn</i>	consonantal <i>s.t</i> "seat; place" > <i>s</i>	6
	S3	*rad. <i>ḳsr</i> in <i>ḳsr.t</i>	direct representation	1
	T8	log. <i>tp</i> <sup>360</sup>	consonantal <i>tpy</i> "first" > <i>tp</i>	2
	W19	phon. <i>m</i> in <i>m</i>	consonantal <i>mj</i> "like" > <i>m</i>	1

<sup>350</sup> One might even suggest that the conceptual similarity between the Turin ostrakon and the abgad-texts may indicate that the composer of the text on the ostrakon was influenced by these texts. In this respect, note that the workmen of Deir el-Medina constantly had to deal with enigmatic writing while decorating the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings (cf. §2.3).

<sup>351</sup> Those signs that exhibit their regular or documented enigmatic values are omitted.

<sup>352</sup> For the value *k.t*, see its use in the Graeco-Roman Period (D. Kurt, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische*, p. 131, n<sup>o</sup> 25).

<sup>353</sup> The sign is used with the value *ḳ* in the Graeco-Roman Period (*Ibid.*, p. 127, n<sup>o</sup> 4).

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171, n<sup>o</sup> 45.

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 226, n<sup>o</sup> 61.




<sup>356</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 305, n<sup>o</sup> 55.

<sup>357</sup> D. Klotz, "Thoth as Textual Critic", p. 40, n. 27.

<sup>358</sup> Cf. the glosses of the Tebtynis onomasticon where the sign transcribes the stressed vowel /é/ (J. Osing, *Hieratische Papyrus aus Tebtynis*, p. 47).

<sup>359</sup> D. Kurt, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische*, p. 363, n<sup>o</sup> 1.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392, n<sup>o</sup> 16.

	O47	phon. <i>f</i> in <i>mfk3.t</i>	consonantal <i>f3.w</i> “delivery” > <i>f</i>	5
	-	phon. <i>s</i> <sup>361</sup> in <i>s[h3]</i>	consonantal <i>sjs.w</i> “six” > <i>s</i>	1
<b>+ etic reading (§3.3.2)</b>				
	P1	phon. <i>ḡ</i> in <i>ḡd.t.n</i>	consonantal <i>ḡ3i</i> “to travel (by boat)” > <i>ḡ</i>	1

## 4. Conclusions

In our quest for an emic perspective on New Kingdom enigmatic writing, we have focussed on the written production of the community of Deir el-Medina. The workmen of this settlement had direct access to different types of alienated and enigmatic forms of writing during their work in the royal tombs; it therefore seems very likely that some of them were capable of understanding and even composing texts of this kind. A survey of the scholarly literature on the topic shows that enigmatic representations and spellings are well-attested in the documents from the village: these witnesses cover virtually all types of enigmatic practices attested in ancient Egypt, from the most iconic to the most textual (§1).

However, until now, complete enigmatic texts have been missing from our picture. Two documents fill this gap: O. Cairo CG 25359 and O. Turin CGT 57440 provide direct testimony to the transmission, monumentalization, and emic interpretation of enigmatic texts.

In §2, we showed that O. Cairo CG 25359 bears a copy of the captions to scenes 2 and 5 of the *Enigmatic Netherworld Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity* (r<sup>o</sup>) as well as other captions from an unidentified (but certainly related) composition written using the standard orthography (v<sup>o</sup>). The fact that the only parallel to the *Enigmatic Netherworld Book* on the recto is found in the second shrine of Tutankhamun suggests that the ostrakon was related to a royal funerary shrine that is now lost. We propose that the captions in linear hieroglyphs, as well as the drawing, could be drafts used in the decoration of such a shrine. This is supported by a comparison of its material and palaeographical features with other such intermediary *brouillons* (§2.3). The Cairo ostrakon would thus provide rare direct testimony to the transmission of abgad enigmatic writing from a manuscript in linear hieroglyphs to a hieroglyphic monumental setting.<sup>362</sup>

O. Turin CGT 57440, on the other hand, bears a funerary composition in so-called ‘annotational cryptography’ on the recto and a *Klartext* hieratic version of the same work on the verso (§3). Using various material and philological clues, we have shown that the hieratic text most certainly represents a ‘decipherment’ of the enigmatic text written in linear hieroglyphs (§3.3.1). The hieratic text thus provides an emic interpretation of the enigmatic text. Further to this, we adopted an etic perspective in order to produce an interpretation of the enigmatic text that differs slightly from the ancient interpretation on the verso (§3.3.2). The text might have been a harpist’s song, originally inscribed in the tomb-chapel of Amennakhte (v), son of Ipuy (§3.3.3), and perhaps even been composed by Amennakhte (v) himself: the references

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 442, n° 7.

<sup>362</sup> In this respect, the emendation in r<sup>o</sup> x+5 is especially important: it shows that the texts were double-checked before their execution in hieroglyphs. Interestingly, this ostrakon is certainly not a *unicum*: recently, A. Gasse (p.c., 12.11.2022, Alexandria) kindly informed us that similar pieces are to be found in the unpublished material of the Institut français d’archéologie orientale.

to concepts from different funerary texts as well as the inventiveness of the encoding process are indeed familiar from other compositions by this famous Scribe of the Tomb.<sup>363</sup>

---

<sup>363</sup> If our etic interpretation (§3.3.2) is closer than the emic to the intentions of the original author of the enigmatic composition, the scribe who transcribed the text into hieratic cannot be the original author of this text, and would therefore not be Amennakhte (v) himself.