

OCCASIONAL PROCEEDINGS OF
THE THEBAN WORKSHOP

Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut

edited by

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

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The god Amun in bed with Queen Ahmes, conceiving the future Hatshepsut. Traced by Pía Rodríguez Frade
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
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Play and Display in Egyptian High Culture: The Cryptographic Texts of Djehuty (TT 11) and Their Sociocultural Contexts

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Cryptography as a Sign of Innovation and Tradition

Cryptography has been included among the many features of the reputed creative joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut (Callender 2002, p. 36). Different artistic manifestations, written records, and material data suggest that this moment was a sort of cultural milestone where many artistic, literary, and religious innovations were set up and developed.¹ However, as any other historical and cultural event, this assumption can be diverted by many nuances. Actually, behind the idea of an innovative era, such as the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut, there is often a fuzzy reality whose borders, origins, and later influences cannot be traced clearly. For example, the alleged novelty of cryptography was preceded by different forerunners (see below) which dilute the temporal limits of this innovative trend in contiguous reigns.

Identification of real “innovations” (i.e., “the action or process of innovating” or “a new method, idea, product, etc.”)² in ancient Egyptian history is a difficult task. Data are extremely partial and fragmentary and, therefore, any possible reconstruction of creative processes and their diffusion along time and space is always friable and weak. Supposed innovations can be a mirage, being part of older traditions currently out of sight to scholars because of capricious archaeological evidence. Furthermore, real innovations can go unnoticed since in ancient Egypt changes were embedded easily in previous cultural traits that researchers have frequently labeled as expressions of “archaism” (i.e., “the use or conscious imitation of archaic — very old or old-fashioned — styles or features in language or art”),³ or much more rarely as part of “tradition.” In fact, “innovation” cannot be considered as a separate reality from “archaism” and, above all, from “tradition.” As shown below, the first two notions, despite their apparent antagonism, would form part of the latter one. In order to clarify this assertion it is necessary to define the nuance of “tradition” in the following pages, since the word has been blithely employed by historians and archaeologists. Ancient Egyptians

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¹ These alleged innovations are attested in different cultural fields. Recent studies, not necessarily uncontested, have detected them, for instance, in religious practices (Régen 2002, Mauric-Barberio 2001), in *belles lettres* (Gnirs 2006, Ragazzoli in press), or in different artistic facts such as the recuperation of ancient artistic subjects (Bács 2006) or the creation of new ones (Roehrig 2002; Hallmann 2006, pp. 316–17; Bernhauer 2010, pp. 109–11).

² See <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/innovation> [accessed 13/09/2010].

³ See <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/archaism>; <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/archaic> [accessed 14/09/2010].

did not explicitly embody this notion in precise terms.⁴ “Tradition” has usually been identified as a group of long-established practices, customs, beliefs, or techniques that are transmitted from one generation to another, and that are expected to be repeated and respected in the future. Despite this general description, which can be easily related to the idiosyncrasy of Egyptian culture, “tradition” has been rarely defined and studied by Egyptologists, who have usually been more interested in other concepts such as the aforementioned “archaism” or the Egyptian conceptions of the past.⁵

According to Osborne (2008), “tradition” is different to (or, I dare to say, wider than) Bordieu’s *habitus* (Bordieu 1972),⁶ or to concepts of implicit cultural trends or enduring traits. It is an explicit form of knowledge and, therefore, is a conscious act which draws attention to their links with the past in order to emphasize distinctiveness in the present. Traditions are selective and are vehicles for some kind of hegemony. Subsequently, they follow clear aims by their authors or promoters. According to Robb (2008), tradition is both invented and inherited. Quoting Gell’s ideas, “transmission of a tradition involves the recapitulation of a collectively held ideal model. Moreover, this works over time; the prototype of which each new creation is an index summarizes the collective memory and acts as a guiding plan for future examples” (ibid., p. 341). It is “a historical process of continuity of rule-governed practice of knowledge” and “arises from specific fields of action” (ibid., p. 348).

Tradition, therefore, should not be equalled to a mere repetition of past achievements and customs. It may be defined as a conscious cultural action where past and innovative traits mix, in order to achieve precise aims such as emphasizing the superiority or legitimacy of their promoters (kings, courtiers, provincial elites, etc.);⁷ or, in a less sociopolitical context, finding new ways of artistic expression. In this sense, as stated below, traditional features of Egyptian culture were related more to the *Hochkultur* than to wider, that is, “popular,” ideas of culture, as tradition implies dynamism, creativity, and innovation, and also the revival of past achievements and customs that initially were just at the disposal of the elites. On the other hand, it usually generates authoritative or prized works; in other words, canonical examples which serve as referential models and guidelines of present and future developments (Ragazzoli in press).

This notion of tradition comprises other phenomena, some of them clearly opposites, such as “permanence,” “archaism,” “conservatism,” “antiquarianism,” “innovation,” “invention,” or “creativity.” The conception, creation, and development of a tradition would initially follow conscious guidelines or aims dictated by its promoters but, because of emulation and competition among the elite members, its final result should be considered as an homeostatic phenomenon where directed and spontaneous elements join. The same can be applied to its temporal limits. As a conscious action, any “tradition” could originally be considered as an isolated and well-defined cultural episode. However, since traditions serve as hegemonic tools, they are quickly repeated, improved, or enriched, either by epigones or capable emulators that broaden the aims and diversify their features and ways of display. Furthermore, since “tradition” collects past achievements and its evidences are partial, it is difficult to assert its precise moment of creation. Moreover, the idea of “tradition” is rather flexible, comprising both great cultural phenomena (e.g., the Amarna style or the Middle Kingdom literature), very precise facts, either in a wider area and/or period (e.g., the New Kingdom *ḥ ikr*-stelae), or in a very limited place and/or span of time (e.g., the use of written vessels in late Old Kingdom funerary equipment from the Elephantine area).⁸

Back to the subject of cryptography, this paper focuses on the study of this phenomenon through the analysis of two cryptographic hymns carved in the Theban funerary chapel of Djehuty (TT 11; PM I², 21–24),

⁴ The closest word would be *hp*, a polysemic term that comprises meanings such as “law,” “order,” “justice,” “rule,” “convention,” “expectation,” “norm,” or “custom”; see Bontty 1997, pp. 34–61, 260–71.

⁵ The term is dealt with briefly by E. Henfling in *LÄ VI*, cols. 737–41 s.v. “Traditionswebußtsein.” Recent studies by Wasmuth (2003); Seiler (2005); Silverman, Simpson, and Wegner (2009); Bernhauer (2010); Wegner (2010); and Wilde (2011) refer in their titles to these phenomena, particularly to “innovation,” “archaism,” and “tradition,” but they do not go deeper into their definition. Alternatively, J. Kahl has approached the shift between

“tradition” and “archaism”; see Kahl 1999, pp. 349–55; 2010, with further bibliography. See also Assmann 1992 for a different idea of tradition in connection with other concepts such as *Kulturelles Gedächtnis* or *Kanon*.

⁶ For some studies on dynamic traditions, see Hobsbawn and Ranger 1983.

⁷ For a possible use of tradition as means of legitimacy in a political context, see Welvaert 1996.

⁸ On *ḥ ikr*-stelae, see Griffin 2007; on Elephantine written vessels, see el-Din 1994 and Höveler-Müller 2006, with further bibliography.

a prominent courtier during Thutmose III/Hatshepsut's joint reign. These inscriptions will be considered as part of an older tradition and not, as mentioned above, as an innovative feature of this period. No doubt, creative aims were implicit to these texts but, at the same time, they were already rooted in a young but well-developed tradition possibly created during the Second Intermediate Period or earlier, which in this case combined both innovative and archaistic traits. Because of these intermingled features, Djehuty's texts can be an eloquent study case for making a diagnosis on how "innovative" and/or "traditional" they were and, considering other coetaneous cultural phenomena, for assessing "innovation" and "tradition" during the reign of Hatshepsut. These cryptographic hymns and their contents will be studied having in mind their innovative features and past inspirations, their aims and their possible authors, and the sociocultural context where they were created. Along the same line of discussion, it is necessary to keep in mind that cryptography was an extremely marginal practice, a restricted erudite *divertimento*, developed by an extremely reduced number of scribes mainly belonging to the exclusive elite circles which adopted it as part of their cultural tools for a distinction of class (Bourdieu 1979).

Finally, a brief explanation on the meaning and use of the term "cryptography" is necessary. "Cryptographic texts" in ancient Egypt (also termed "enigmatic") usually did not intend to be strictly cryptographic or, in other words, to be efficient tools for hiding information. As some authors have already pointed out, Egyptian cryptography, particularly on private documents, followed in many instances the opposite direction, since it intended "mostly to add meaning to short texts or interest to stereotyped formulae" (Baines 1983, pp. 581–82). In any case, as is underlined below, this was a rather complex phenomenon that, inspired by a wide range of aims and interests, included in some cases real "cryptographic" intentions (Darnell 2004, pp. 471–82). The use of this adjective in the following pages is just conventional and will be alternated with the term "enigmatic" in order to refer to a wide range of sportive and visual-poetic ways of writing derived from the normal hieroglyphic system and the usual conventions of Egyptian art.⁹

Location and Iconographic Context of Djehuty's Cryptographic Texts

The cryptographic texts under study were carved on a side-wall of the courtyard of the funerary chapel of Djehuty, an official who was, among other administrative titles, "overseer of the Treasury," "overseer of works," and "overseer of the cattle of Amun" (Galán in this volume). He also held some religious titles such as "overseer of priests in Khmenu (Hermopolis)," "overseer of priests of Hathor, lady of Qis (Cusae)," "overseer of the priests and governor in the town of Herwer (Hur)," and "great of five in the house of Thot," which permit us to suppose a Middle Egyptian origin and, more precisely, a close attachment to the Hermopolitan province (cf. Galán in this volume). On the other hand, the names of his father and some of his sisters carved in his chapel suggest a possible Asiatic background (Galán in this volume). The peak of his career was probably during the beginning of the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut since he was in charge of reckoning the products coming from Punt in year 9 of Thutmose III (*Urk.* IV 428–30, no. 3), and the cartouches of both kings were carved in different parts of the tomb.

Djehuty's mortuary monument was built in Dra Abu el-Naga, contrary to the chapels of other contemporary elite members, placed mainly in Asasif and Sheikh Abd el-Gurna. The reasons for this choice are not clear and could comprise different possibilities, such as a royal decision, family preferences, professional corporatism (Hartwig 2004), visual connection either with the temple of Amun at Karnak or with the procession of the "Beautiful Feast of the Valley," or the wish to rest in an "atavistic" landscape shaped by previous private funerary monuments of the First Intermediate Period to the early New Kingdom, and by a royal cemetery of the Second Intermediate Period and, possibly, beginning of the New Kingdom.¹⁰ Actually, some deviations in the plan of the monument, along with other features of the neighboring tombs — not yet excavated completely — permit to suspect that Djehuty was particularly interested in building his mortuary chapel in this already highly crowded area of the Theban necropolis.

⁹ Recent introductions to cryptography are, for example, Darnell 2004 and Morenz 2008.

¹⁰ Excavations in the courtyard have revealed some burials dated to the Eleventh Dynasty; see Galán 2009b and forthcoming. For an overview of the history of Dra Abu el-Naga, see Miniaci 2009.

As it happens with other chapels, the great part of the features of the layout, decoration, and building techniques of TT 11 are already attested separately before conforming a deep-rooted tradition. The combination of these elements with some new ones, however, renders it as an “innovative” building (Wasmuth 2003, Heye 2008). This fact is evident, for example, in the external features of Djehuty’s monument. Excavations by the Spanish-Egyptian mission at Dra Abu el-Naga, directed by José Galán (CSIC, Madrid), have uncovered an unexpectedly long and narrow courtyard which, at present, is the longest one known of a New Kingdom funerary chapel in Thebes. It is 34 meters long, almost doubling in distance the length of the courtyards of other important private funerary monuments in Thebes which, in many cases, are still awaiting complete excavation and study (Galán 2009c). On the contrary, it is only 6.3 meters wide at its entrance, and 7.6 meters wide at the façade. The narrowness probably was emphasized by the building of 3-meter-high walls flanking the courtyard.¹¹

Despite the limited surface at disposal, the façade of the tomb was planned in a monumental fashion. Following other innovative coeval tombs in the necropolis, it was decorated mixing both common and original features.¹² The entrance had inscribed doorjambs and lintel carved in limestone. At either side of the entrance, two large stela-shaped inscriptions were carved following a symmetrical arrangement. This setup, possibly emulated by Puimra at TT 39, could have followed similar parallels in temples or royal monuments but no actual examples have been found in situ. The dimensions and decoration in their lunettos are very similar, but their contents and text line-ups are — as it usually happens in ancient Egypt — rather different.¹³ The stela at the left of the entrance, severely damaged, displayed a hymn to Amun-Ra arranged in twenty-five vertical columns, while the one at the right, the so-called Northampton stela, included a biographical text written in twenty-five horizontal lines, part of them interrupted by two vertical columns (see below).

The monumentality of the façade was emphasized by building a masonry wall at the top, on the djebel rock, which increased its height at least 2 meters, making a total of about 5 meters. Only the rear side of this wall has remained, but following some remains it is possible to suggest that its front was decorated with friezes of large carved hieroglyphs painted in yellow ochre, what would have rendered the façade more visible and impressive.¹⁴ This wall, unattested in other coetaneous chapels,¹⁵ was possibly conceived to stop debris from falling down into the courtyard as a result of excavation of tombs in the upper levels of the mountain.

¹¹ Mudbrick walls followed an innovative technique that is not recorded in J. A. Spencer 1979 or Kemp 2000. The bricks have a standard size (35/39 cm long × 16/18 cm wide × 10/12 cm high), but include on one of their long sides a quadrangular bulge that sticks out 0.5/1.0 cm. Possibly, they were molded in order to regularize the gaps among the bricks to be filled with mud or mortar.

¹² Concerning innovative elements in the exterior of the funerary chapels, the most remarkable examples are the chapels of Senenmut (TT 71), with an apparent *saff*-tomb façade, an alternation of palace-niche motifs and square windows, and possibly crowned by a niche sheltering a cube-statue (Kampp 1996, pp. 298–300; windows are also attested in -177-; see *ibid.*, pp. 721–22); one of the chapels of Useramun (TT 131), with a more elaborated palace-niche façade crowned by a pyramid on a palace-niched pedestal (*ibid.*, pp. 419–21); the chapel of Puimra (TT 39), located at the feet of el-Khokha natural “pyramid” (Pérez-Accino 2009, p. 125), which combines a palace-niche façade with two symmetrical stelae and an external columned portico (Kampp 1996, p. 230; some of these features were emulated at the end of the reign of Thutmose III by Min (TT 109); *ibid.*, pp. 389–90). Other tombs of this period included external decoration, such as the chapel of Intef (TT 155), a *saff*-tomb with palace-niche motifs on the pillars (*ibid.*, pp. 441–43); the chapel of Hapuseneb (TT 67), which could have held a niche statue in the courtyard (*ibid.*, p. 289), but whose external decoration cannot be currently ascertained. Other examples dated during the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut, or at least during the

sole reign of Thutmose III, are the tomb of Intef (TT 164), with some similarities with the chapel of Djehuty such as external decoration and two niches confronting one another (*ibid.* pp. 453–54); the tomb of Ahmes-Humay (TT 224), with a rock-cut courtyard with niches and stelae and with a decorated façade with figures of the owner in praising attitude and large inscriptions (*ibid.* pp. 498–500); or the chapel of Senimenu (TT 252), with an undecorated façade, but crowned with a triple mudbrick chapel holding statues (*ibid.* pp. 527–30). Another possible example could be the tomb of Nebamun (TT 146), possibly dated in the reign of Thutmose III, with a rare example of a *saff*-tomb façade built in mudbricks with an arcade possibly decorated with painted stucco (*ibid.*, pp. 430–32). Decorated façades in contemporary tombs are also attested at other necropolises. That is the case of the tomb of Paheri at Elkab, with a large number of columns of text carved on the façade and a side-wall with a kneeling figure of Paheri addressing a religious hymn to Nekhbet (PM V, 177 (1–3)).

¹³ Cf. Hornung 1985.

¹⁴ It is not possible to ascertain if it contained a niche for holding a stela or a statue.

¹⁵ Presence of elevated walls or *umgreifende Fassadenmauern* on rock-cut façades are usual in private tombs (see Kampp 1996, pp. 65–66). However, they were generally made either of mud-plastered rubble masonry or mudbricks. Examples of these walls during the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut are self-evident in TT 71, TT 73, TT 131, and TT 164.

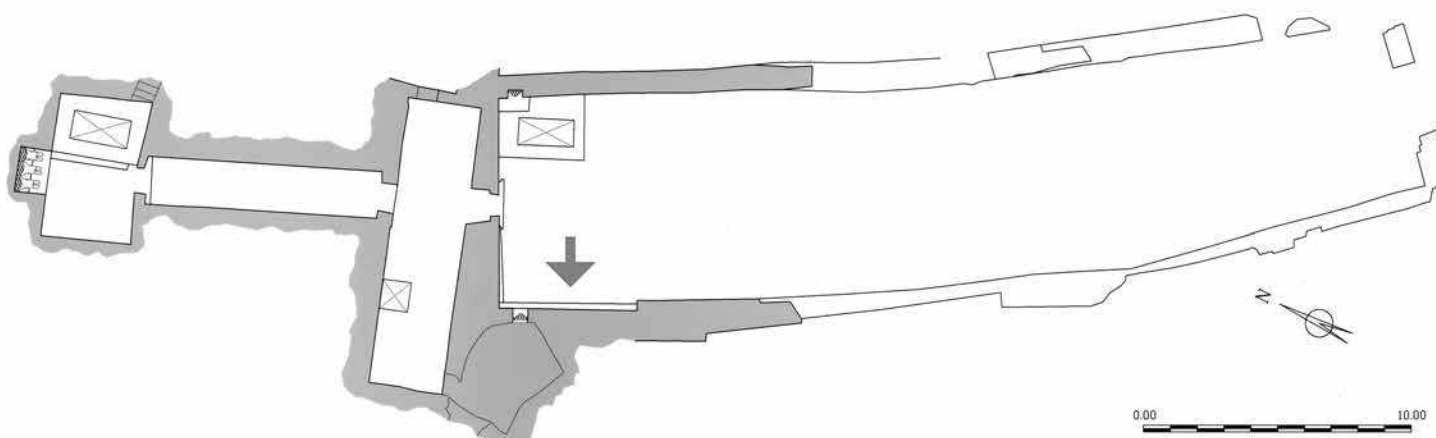


Figure 13.1. Location (marked by the arrow) of the panel with cryptographic writing in TT 11 (plan by Carlos Cabrera and Joan Ivars)

It could have been inspired by the great wall at the rear part of Hatshepsut's temple of Deir el-Bahari. According to later depictions of funerary chapels, Djehuty's wall was possibly crowned by a frieze of funerary cones formed by two different kinds of impressions (Nina Davies 1938; Zenihiro 2009, pp. 12–15) and also “three-pronged” cones and “corner brick-formed” cones. The Spanish-Egyptian mission has recovered more than two hundred cones so far (Galán and Borrego 2006, pp. 198–99).

Another particularity of Djehuty's courtyard is the presence of two niches on the side-walls. Each one included a standing life-size statue of Djehuty carved into the bedrock and painted in bright colors. They were disposed symmetrically, confronting one another, very close to the façade. Again, symmetry was not complete since the statues had different postures. The northern figure shows Djehuty in a praising gesture. The southern one, severely damaged by later interventions at the tomb, possibly depicted him holding a staff. Life-size statuary outside the tombs is rarely attested during this period¹⁶ and could respond not only to a desire for monumentality and originality, but also serve as substitutes for false doors, placed in the courtyards of some chapels of this period (TT 24, TT 224, TT 262), and which are absent in Djehuty's monument.¹⁷

The cryptographic texts under study are located on the south side-wall, on a wide panel carved into the hillside, close to the currently destroyed statue, forming a shallow recess (fig. 13.1).¹⁸ This tableau contains four scenes distributed in two registers. Its subject and arrangement outside of a funerary chapel constitutes presently an *unicum* in the courtyards of the Theban necropolis (fig. 13.2). The lower register is divided in two scenes (fig. 13.2c–d), the first showing Djehuty seated, receiving linen and unguents brought by servants, accompanied by a harpist and two women holding sistra and menats. The second records another offering scene carried out by a *sem*-priest in front of another seated image of Djehuty.¹⁹ The upper register is formed by two symmetrical scenes that follow a common scheme: two standing figures of Djehuty with raised arms — destroyed by *damnatio memoriae* — in front of a set of offerings placed in two registers (fig. 13.2a–b).²⁰ The

¹⁶ On possible examples, see Kampp 1996, p. 75.

¹⁷ Some Ramesside private tombs replaced false doors by statues at the right and left ends of the transverse hall; cf. Fukaya 2007, p. 107. A similar substitution or equivalence between statues and false doors happened earlier with the placement of statues at the inner chamber of the chapels. For examples during the reign of Thutmose III, see TT 81, TT 125, and TT 343 (where a false door is attested in the transverse hall), TT 145, or even TT 11. For false doors at the inner chamber, see, e.g., TT 71, TT 39, TT 100, and TT 121.

¹⁸ Another strange feature located at the left of this recess is an irregular niche carved crudely into the rock, which could be interpreted as the remains of a tomb of the First Intermediate

Period that was destroyed when limestone strata were hewn to create the courtyard of Djehuty.

¹⁹ Some red inked grid lines painted in the space separating both figures suggest that additional decoration, possibly a carved text, was projected.

²⁰ It is possible to hypothesize that this panel could comprise a decoration initially conceived to decorate two different walls, the one which contains currently the scenes and the opposite one. However, as the rock of the northern side-wall is badly abraded and does not permit any kind of carved decoration, the artists could have decided to concentrate the reliefs on the southern side-wall.

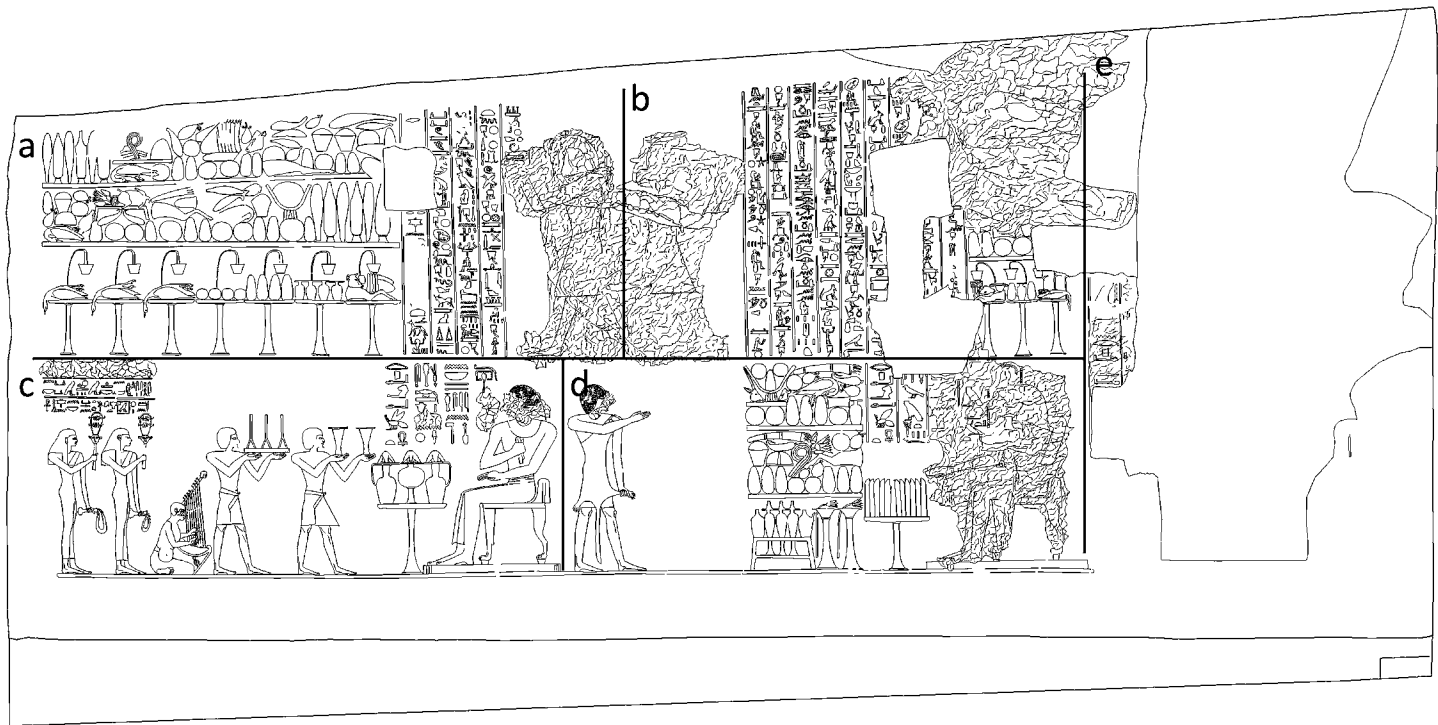


Figure 13.2. Reliefs in the south side-wall of the TT 11 courtyard and their different sections, possibly depicting the Beautiful Feast of the Valley: (a) Praising scene with cryptographic sun hymn; (b) Praising scene with cryptographic chthonic hymn; (c) singers, harpist, and offering bringers approaching Djehuty; (d) *sem*-priest making invocation offerings to Djehuty; (e) niche with statue (now destroyed) (photo by José Latova, drawing by Ana de Diego)

lower one includes different tables on high stands or altars, while the upper one includes a great variety of food placed on mats. Djehuty and the offerings are separated by columns of texts containing the cryptographic hymns. The left scene, the largest one, is oriented right to left. Here Djehuty is looking leftward and outward (to the ideal east, following the ideal orientation of a funerary chapel), behind seven offering tables. The right scene shows Djehuty looking rightward and inward (to the ideal west), behind three tables.

The arrangement of the scenes recalls vaguely the ones depicted in the central chamber of the funerary chapel of Puiemra (TT 39) related to the Beautiful Feast of the Valley (Schott 1953).²¹ Djehuty's panel would be a synthetic representation of that festivity too.²² For example, offerings brought to the tomb owner or the presence of musicians singing "[...] may music be played for you and may you enjoy the things/rites given to you by Amun-Ra and Hathor, who preside in Thebes. May they give you the sweet breath of life," are good hints for such an interpretation. Actually, the cryptographic texts and the praising figures of Djehuty could form part of this festival as hymns and petitions addressed to Amun, Hathor, and other gods such as Osiris and other chthonic deities,²³ among others. Furthermore, the offering scenes and the altars with braziers before the praising images of Djehuty in the upper register could recall that festivity (Hays and Schenck 2007, p. 97 n. 1), which, apparently, was not depicted in any other part of the tomb (the walls of the left side of the transverse hall still await cleaning and study).

Previous Studies of the Cryptographic Texts

The panel including the hymns was discovered during the excavations of the Marquis of Northampton in the winter of 1898/99 (Galán 2009a). Other parts of the tomb façade were already known by Egyptologists, particularly its northern half. In the autumn of 1844 Lepsius made a very general description and copied some parts of the Northampton stela, which were partially published in the plate volumes of his *Denkmäler*.²⁴ Even though he mentioned the statue and the stela, he never referred to the entrance or to the rest of the decoration in the southern half of the façade. Subsequently, the unearthed parts of the tomb were possibly buried again under debris falling from the upper part of the hill, until the façade was exhumed completely by W. Spiegelberg and P. E. Newberry on January 21, 1899 (Galán 2009a, p. 159).

A photograph possibly taken shortly after the discovery shows that the hymns were practically intact except for the upper part of the first columns of the chthonic hymn, which were hacked out in ancient times (fig. 13.3). Notes recorded in Newberry's diary, currently at the archive of the Griffith Institute, indicate that both Spiegelberg and himself copied several inscriptions of the tomb during the season, and several pictures were taken. According to these notes and the report published in 1908, at least a drawing of the cryptograms and a picture of the cryptographic inscriptions were taken (Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pls. 1, 10–11; see below, figs. 13.3, 13.4b, and 13.7b). Possibly there were further pictures, notes, and preparatory drawings but, if so, they are currently unlocated.

The study of the cryptographic texts to be included in the publication was entrusted to Kurt Sethe at an imprecise moment. He could initially work with the documentation provided by the excavators, but it is clear that he visited the tomb personally in 1905,²⁵ and he mentions that he studied "die beiden Texte nach meinen eigenen Abschriften" (Sethe 1908, p. 4*). However, his time in TT 11 was possibly devoted mainly to the recording of the biographical inscriptions at the façade and at the interior of the chapel in order to be included in the *Urkunden* (*Urk.* IV 417–51, nos. 136–42).²⁶

²¹ See Davies 1922, pls. 53–54; Louant 2000, pp. 98–107, 169–70; Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, pp. 389–90, and also in this volume.

²² Actually, the decorated wall has a long, carved step which could serve as a bench for the visitors while celebrating that feast. The curb of the funerary shaft at the north of the courtyard, just opposite that wall, could be used in the same way.

²³ See Davies 1922, pl. 54, lower register.

²⁴ L.D. III, pls. 27, 10–11, wrongly identified as "Inscriben aus dem Asasif-Tempel" (i.e., Deir el-Bahari).

²⁵ According to *Urk.* IV 419.17.

²⁶ He also published a reconstruction of a second biographical stela of Djehuty; see Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 34, and unnumbered page between pp. 40 and 3*.

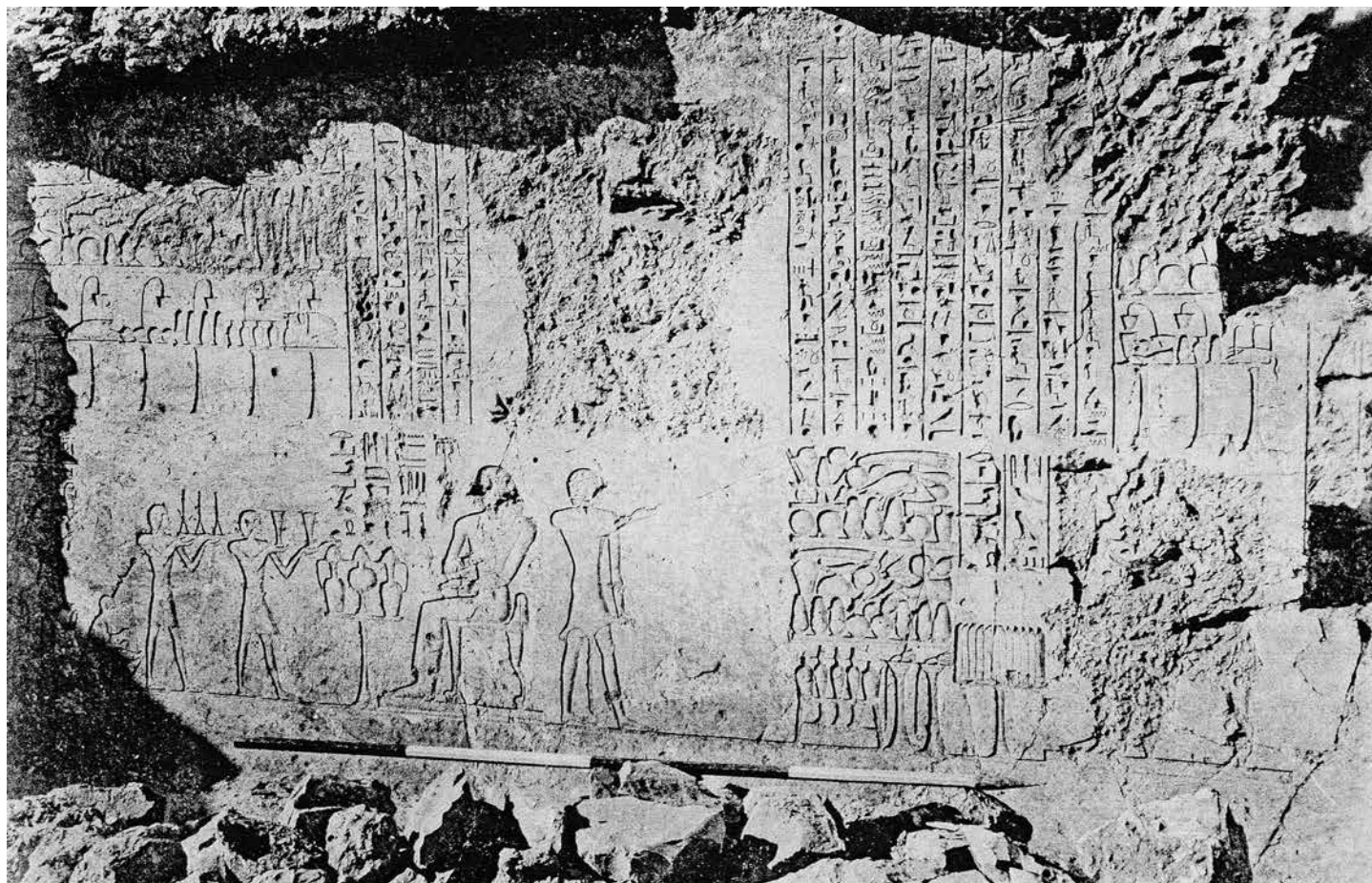


Figure 13.3. The panel on the south wall of the TT 11 courtyard showing its original state a few days after its discovery (Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 10)

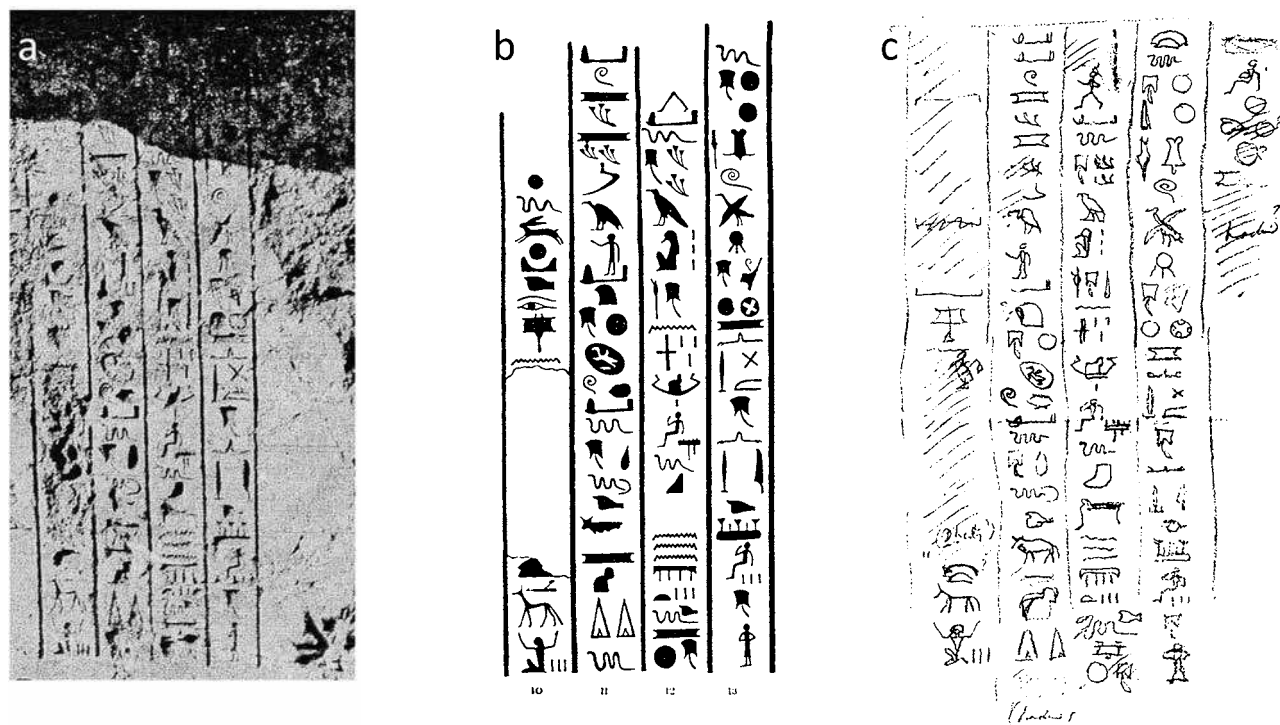


Figure 13.4. Sun hymn. (a) Detail from figure 13.3 showing the original state of the inscription after its discovery in winter of 1898/99. (b) The inscription according to an unknown epigraphist (Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11). (c) Copy of the inscription by John Barns in the winter of 1952/53 (Barns MSS 2.3.32; courtesy of the Griffith Institute, Oxford)

The edition of the hymns as an appendix in the report of Northampton's excavations (Sethe 1908) shows some faults and incongruities that can be explained by a neglected recording, or partial loss of the notes Sethe could take on the field.²⁷ On the one hand, as stated above, the photograph published in the report, probably made immediately after the discovery of the wall, shows the complete panel (figs. 13.3, 13.4a–b, and 13.7). The shadow projected by the protruding cornice at the top of the wall does not permit the viewer to appreciate the signs of the uppermost portion of the columns, particularly in the sun hymn, where the fifth column is completely illegible. The line drawing included in the same publication omitted also some signs of the upper part of the texts (figs. 13.4b and 13.7b), but the number of signs unrecorded here is fewer than the illegible ones in the picture. Thus one may suspect that the drawing was copied from a different and unpublished picture. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know if the drawing was traced by Spiegelberg and Newberry or, less possibly, by Sethe himself. On the other hand, the text edited and translated by Sethe (1908) included signs obviated or not visible neither in the picture nor in the drawing. This fact suggests, as Sethe stated, that he copied or collated the inscriptions directly. Nevertheless, some mistakes can be detected again in his edition; the omission of the fifth column of the sun hymn is the most evident. Despite these problems, Sethe's study, made when knowledge about cryptography was scarce and not well developed, turned out to be a significant progress in the understanding of the so-called "normal" or "ordinaire" cryptography (Darnell 2004, p. 14; Drioton 1934, p. 10) and would attain an unexpected importance since considerable parts of the text were subsequently lost.

Possibly soon after Sethe's visit, the tombs of Djehuty and Hery (TT 12) were entered by thieves who removed several fragments from the walls.²⁸ In the case of TT 11, some blocks were taken from the façade, particularly from the Northampton stela and the cryptographic texts. They were not extracted by sawing the rock as was the common practice, but by taking out ancient inserted limestone blocks that were attached to the wall with mortar. The damage affected the beginning of the sun hymn, where a block was extracted, and the beginning of the chthonic hymn, where three joining blocks were removed (figs. 13.2 and 13.3). Part of one block was subsequently discarded by the thieves and abandoned 20 meters to the north of its original place, by the tomb of Baki, where it was rediscovered in 2003.²⁹

Because of these and similar episodes, by the end of 1906 the Antiquities Service, under the auspices of his Upper Egypt inspector in chief, Arthur Weigall, A. H. Gardiner, and R. Mond began to secure the tombs by locking them and protecting their most sensible external parts (Gardiner and Weigall 1913, pp. 7–8). According to the notebook kept for 1909–1910 by Weigall's assistant, Charles Gordon Jelf, work in TT 11 took place during December of 1909 and January of 1910, building a roofed structure to protect its external decoration and close the tomb.³⁰ Between the extraction of the blocks and the protection of the façade, some pictures were taken (Galán 2009a, pp. 179–80), and one of them (Griffith Institute AHG/28 651), shows that the state of the southern wall hasn't changed during the last century.

Despite their length, antiquity, and interest, Djehuty's cryptographic texts have not attracted the attention of researchers after Sethe's study. Deterioration of the reliefs, restricted access to the tomb, and the aforementioned problems detected in the *editio princeps* could explain that apparent disinterest. In fact, Étienne Drioton, who improved considerably the understanding of Egyptian cryptography, barely mentioned these hymns. In his 1933 article on private cryptography of the Eighteenth Dynasty, he considered Sethe's interpretation as "magistrale" but, at the same time, regretted "l'absence dans sa publication [i.e., Northampton's report], d'une bonne photographie de l'inscription" (Drioton 1933a, pp. 1, 2 n. 3). If it had existed, or if he had the chance to visit the tomb, he would have included it in his study. Actually, in the same article, Drioton suggested a different reading for a sign attested in both hymns (*ibid.*, p. 37 n. 1).

²⁷ Mistakes are also evident in the edition of the stela with a hymn to Amun-Ra in *Urk.* IV 444–47.139. In this case, Sethe didn't take personal notes, and used those taken by Spiegelberg; see Galán 2009a, p. 166.

²⁸ On the robbers' activity in TT 12, see Galán and Menéndez 2011, pp. 162–66.

²⁹ Currently labelled DAN-TT11/12-03/13/2-15H00-1.

³⁰ "Notebook containing notes on work in Theban Tombs, financed by Sir Robert Mond, 1909–10," p. 37. This document is currently kept at the Griffith Institute, Oxford (see also Betrò 2009, pp. 59–60, fig. 34). I am very grateful to the Griffith Institute for permitting me to consult it.

Visits to the tomb-chapel by different scholars such as N. de G. Davies in 1926, S. Schott in 1937, or T. Säve-Söderbergh in 1956 did not add new insights to these texts (Galán 2009a, pp. 169–71). There is only one exception: in the winter of 1952/53, Josef Janssen and John Barns worked briefly at the tomb, and the latter made some sketches of several inscriptions, including the complete text of the sun hymn, which is currently kept at the archive of the Griffith Institute (fig. 13.4c). Subsequently, Djehuty's hymns have not received further attention. They have not been included in any anthology of religious hymns, nor have they been seriously revisited in the recent studies on Egyptian cryptography by John C. Darnell (2004) and Ludwig Morenz (2008).³¹

Recent work in the tomb-chapel by the Spanish-Egyptian Mission at Dra Abu el-Naga has allowed us to appreciate that both texts deserve a new edition, even more so as the study of the cryptographic writing has developed considerably since Sethe's days, and it has been possible to read some signs omitted or badly recorded. Furthermore, it seems reasonable to analyze them as part of a wider iconographic context (fig. 13.2). For example, the left hymn, addressed to a solar deity, is connected to the offering altars and the praising figure of Djehuty oriented eastward (and outward) of the tomb. On the contrary, the right hymn, devoted to Osiris and Ptah-Ta-Tjenen, relates to similar iconographic elements oriented westward (and inward).

The Cryptographic Hymns

A. The Sun Hymn (Sethe's "Zweiter Text")

Sethe's interpretation of the sun hymn (figs. 13.4, 13.5, 13.6) has been considerably improved since he misread, omitted, or simply did not translate some of the signs (Sethe 1908, p. 7*). The following translation needs, in any case, an explanation. As stated below, cryptography is considered here mainly as a writing tool devoted to show the wit and capabilities of authors. Consequently, it was a convenient arena for displaying phrases and puns with double meaning. The possibility of different readings has been considered but, for the sake of clarity, only two possibilities have been included, relegating others to subsequent notes.

¹ | ind-hr=(k) imn/r^ca irr ^cwt h₃s.(w)t^b m m₃^{3c} n[h.w (?)]^d [...] ^e h^cw (m) i₃bt^f h₃.w/nh₃ ² | dd(w) wn=i šw m nr(w) im^g ^hhm s₃b h₃d(?)^h imy (i)wnwⁱ mfk(i)t(y)^j pri m knst^k rdi n=f ³ | dw₃ in^l mfk(i)ty.w^m wd=k mdwⁿ n imy.w wi₃ hsf=sn sdr^o n i₃dt/nšnt=f^p m w₃t=k ⁴ | h^c=k ns(w)t/h₃t=k^q nsrt šhm^r tnw h₃d/psd=k^s n^t nnw^u n d₃i im=k n d₃i m šms(w).w=k^v ink^w ⁵ | šms(w) r^c n nnw^x


xxx Text currently lost but recorded by Sethe and visible in Northampton's picture.

xxx Text not recorded by Sethe but currently visible.

¹ | Hail to (you) Amun/Ra, who creates the wild of the deserts, watching the living [beings] [...]; who appears in the East millions (of times)/for ever; ² | who permits that I exist being free from fear therein; the colorful and bright divine image who is in Heliopolis; he of the turquoise, who came out from Kensest. May be said to him ³ | praises by those of the turquoise. You command the words of those who are in the ship. They prevent to be exposed to his (evil) influence/rage in your way. ⁴ | Your crown/fire (is) the flame of the powerful one. Every time you illuminate/brighten the primaeval waters no one opposes against you. No one opposes against your followers. I am (indeed) ⁵ | a follower of Ra in the primaeval waters.

a) The beginning of the hymn sets out some problems. According to Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pls. 10–11, there was no trace of signs on the wall at the moment of its discovery. Sethe (1908, p. 7*) did not register any sign either but a lacuna, as Barns also did later. A direct observation of the inscription

³¹ Darnell (2004, pp. 5, 17–18, 21–27) groups some private cryptographic or enigmatic texts from tombs as "Dra Abu el-Naga texts," but barely mentions the hymns from TT 11.

confirms an unexpected blank in the upper part of the column. Some accidental traces create a shape similar to , but its irregular outline and faint incision discards a deliberate carving. Therefore, the space was left blank on purpose. Since the inscription was carved on limestone (*inr ḥd*), the author may employ the phonetic value of this type of rock with cryptographic intention. For other examples of materiality as a means of cryptography, see Seidlmayer 1991, pp. 323–24; Eldamaty 2005, 2010. It could be thus read as:

- a.1) “So I say to the brilliant one” (*in(=i) r ḥd*). On *i/in* “to say,” see Faulkner 1935, p. 180 n. 4, where the relation between the verb and the preposition *r* in the Pyramid Texts is underlined. However, this reading seems rather unusual and less plausible than the following alternative.

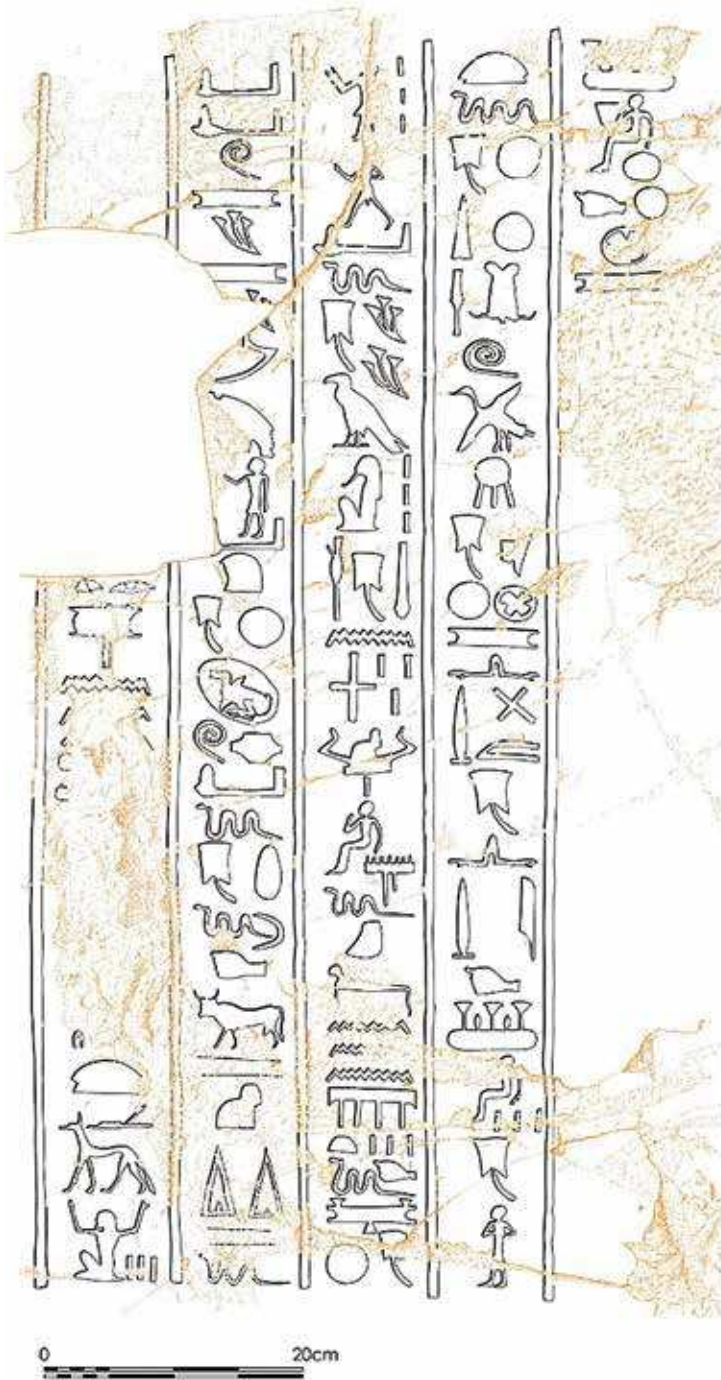


Figure 13.5. The chthonic hymn in 2009, with block DAN-TT11/12-03/13/2-15HOO-1 placed in its original position (drawing by Ana García Martín)

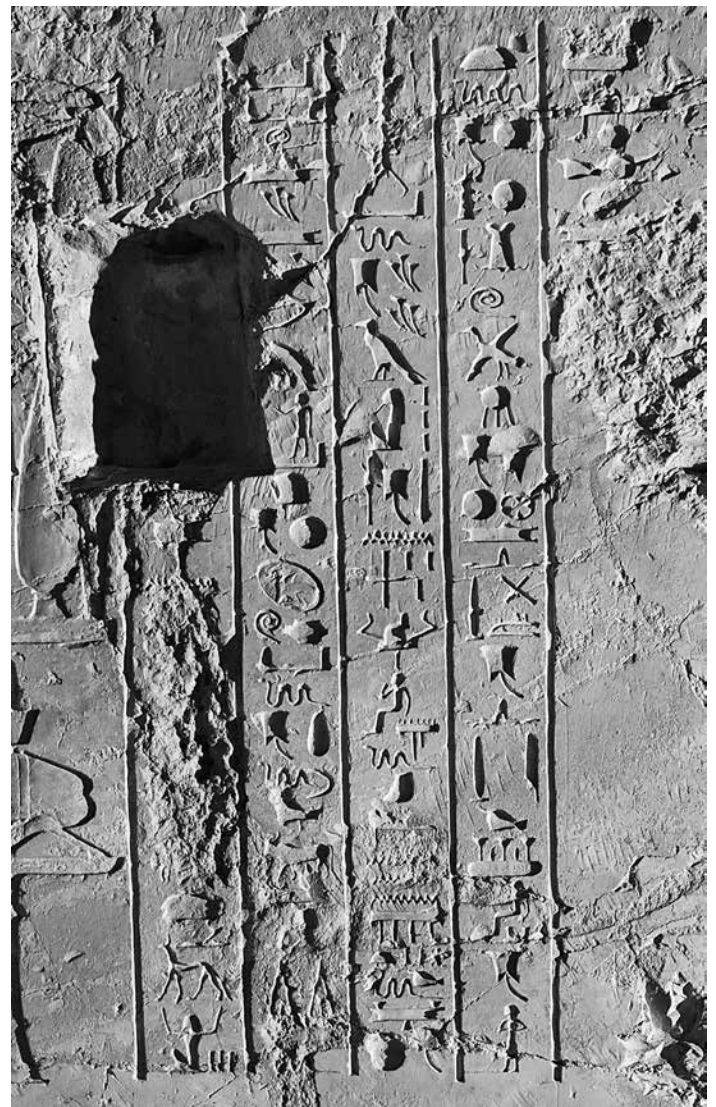


































Figure 13.6. The sun hymn in 2011 (photo by José Latova)

- a.2) “Hail to you, Amun/Ra” (*ind hr=(k) imn/r*). *inr hđ* could be read as a metathesis of *ind hr=(k)*, the usual opening formula of many religious hymns, as the one in the façade of Djehuty’s chapel. Concerning the addressee of the dedication, the blank could suggest two possible deities. The first one is, obviously, Amun, “the hidden one,” as his name has not been written out. However, since it is a blank surface, the rock itself could be also read as *inr hđ šw* “empty limestone” (cf. Eldamaty 2010), *šw* being a writing for “sun, sunlight” (*Wb.* IV 430.6–431.12), and, therefore, an indirect reference to Ra.
- b) These signs, carved on a block embedded on the wall which is currently lost, were recorded in Sethe’s study. They permit several alternative readings:
- b.1) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 147–50) proposed the reading “[...]t=f wn hr h³st/dw, seine..., der eilt über die Fremdländer.” Despite being the simpler solution, this interpretation creates some difficulties. First, the total absence of previous signs that could complete the alleged gap [...]t=f; and second, the value of *○* as *hr*, unattested elsewhere.
- b.2) “Who jumps the mountain(s)” (*tft đw.(w)/h³s.(w)t*), that is, “who rises behind the mountains.” The jumping hare would be here a semagram for *tfi*, which has been occasionally translated as “aufschnellen” (*Wb.* IV 298.10). However, this meaning is rare and its occurrences point to its intransitivity. Moreover, the use of *tfi* in sun hymns or in divine epithets is unprecedented. If this reading is correct, the final *○* is possibly a *t*-phonogram indicating an active participle of a 3ae-inf. verb.
- b.3) “Who creates the animals of the desert/mountain” (*irr w^ct h³st*). This reading seems to be the most plausible one despite being an unexpected beginning (on the role of the sun god as creator of the living beings, see, for example, P. Boulaq 17 = CG 58038, 1.6; 8.2; Luiselli 2004). The active participle of the verb *ir* is written as *ir + r* (*○ + 𓂏𓂐*) (Drioton 1933a, p. 38, no. 39 and p. 43, no. 103; Darnell 2004, p. 509, D12 and pp. 602–03, I14). The hare, currently lost, could actually be a jumping oryx, goat, or gazelle whose horns, carved on the gypsum, took the appearance of hare ears.
- c) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 152) recorded , and Barns overlooked them; but signs   are still legible on the wall despite being carved on a very badly eroded gypsum surface. This usual and old writing of *m³³/ptr* (Morenz 2008, pp. 170–71) appears in the form of two *wđt*-eyes in the neighboring, and probably coetaneous, tomb of Mentuherkhepeshef (TT 20; N. de G. Davies 1913, pl. 7).
- d) The interpretation of these signs, left untranslated by Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 153–54), is preliminary, since the following hieroglyphs are currently illegible. There are two alternatives:
- d.1) “Living/the living ones” (*n[h]/n[h.w]*).  could be read as *‘* (Drioton 1940, pp. 323–24, 427, no. 185). That reading fits well with the following signs. After the sail, Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 154) reads , but on the wall there are clear traces of the group-sign , *mw*, which has the value *n* in the third column of this hymn.
- d.2) “The totality” (*tmw*). The mast could also be read as *t/t* after *t(šw)*, according to the cryptographic text of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus dated to the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty (Morenz 1996, p. 196). Furthermore, a similar expression, “seeing the totality” (*m³³/ptr tmw* (?)), is attested in CT VI 399h = spell 768 (T1L).
- e) This part of the wall had several cracks, which were plastered with gypsum and subsequently carved with some cryptograms. Currently this plastered surface is severely eroded. It is difficult to determine if it was intentionally hacked or not. Just few traces of signs are discernible, especially at its bottom, but they do not permit any clear restoration (maybe a *wšs*-scepter and a kneeling figure?). In his sketch of the hymn (fig. 13.4c), Barns wrote “(*đhwtj*)” in this part of the lacuna, but he didn’t offer any explanation for the restoration.
- f) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 156–57) translated this passage as “... *h^cw w^c sb h^hw*, [herrlich] an Erscheinung, der eine, der sendet Millionen.” The sign  is read in other inscriptions as *w* from *w(‘)* (Drioton 1933a, p.




48, no. 160). Here, however, it could have an unprecedented value, as the preposition *m* from *m(sny)* “he of the harpoon” (Wb. II 144.4–7). Concerning  as *ibbt*, see Darnell 2004, p. 32 n. 86, p. 594, E17. Barns wrote a question mark after ; the sign is, however, clearly legible.

g) The first sign, , was omitted in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11, and it is not visible in the published picture. However, Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 158–64) recorded rightly . He read: “*djj wn injj km3 nr f3i*”, der veranlaßt das Sein (?), der Heliopolitaner, der schafft Schrecken, mit erhobenem Arm.” However, a reading *dd(w) wn=i šw m nr(w) im* seems more plausible. The second  could be read by substitution of shape as *š*, since, conversely,  can be read as *m* after , *m(r)* (Drioton 1933a, p. 46, no. 129).  could have the value *m* (for this value in later periods, see Schneider 1992, pp. 376–77; Daumas 1988, p. 691, no. 2492). The published picture and drawing in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pls. 10–11, permits to guess that there was no additional hieroglyph at the left of , even though Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 163) filled the blank with , suggesting a lost or illegible sign.  could be read in different ways. Here, a value *i* is probable (Drioton 1933a, p. 36, no. 8). The following sign () according to Sethe 1908, p. 7*, no. 164) turns out to be , since remains of the bread on the hand are visible on the wall. Its phonetic value would be *m* (Drioton 1933a, p. 39, no. 47). An alternative reading of the two last signs is *dw3 m* “who rises early as.”


h) The interpretation of this passage is particularly evasive. Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 165–66) read “*bik hr*, der Falke?” The identification of the first sign as  seems clear. It could be read indistinctly, following a *pars pro toto* identification, as *bik* “hawk,” or as *hm/hm* “divine image.” The following signs,  , do not offer a clear meaning. The group recalls the cryptographic epithet   related to the god Ihy on a statue of the prince Khaemwaset (Nineteenth Dynasty) (Gomaà 1973, pp. 86, 123, fig. 23, no. 58; KRI II 889.2, Kitchen 1999, p. 594, §1080.D). LGG II 208 reads it cautiously as “*hm s3b wbn n itf=f*, das bunte Götterbild, das für seinen Vater aufgeht.” The signs in Djehuty’s hymn could be read similarly,  being a derivation of shape from , *s3b* “many colored,” and  a sun disk, as an allusion to any word expressing “bright/shiny” (*wbni*, *hd*, *stt*) or, maybe, “sun disk” (*itn*) (see Goldwasser 1997, pp. 80–81). The epithet of the sun god as “variegated in color” (*s3b*) appears, for example, in the fourth hour of the *Amduat*, first attested to the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut. There, Khepri “lingers in his forms of a god of variegated feathers” (*htp=f m ir.w=f n ntr z3b šw*) (Hornung 1992b, p. 382, no. 326; Minas-Nerpel 2006, pp. 161–62, n. 501).


i) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 167–68) translated   as “*imyw 3bw*, die Bewohner von Elephantine (?)”. Having in mind the solar context of the composition, *imy (i)wnw* is more convincing, considering  as a substitution of kind for , because it recalls the Heliopolitan roots of the sun god. Furthermore, a sentence in singular fits better than one in plural.


j) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 169) read *mfki* (?), leaving the word untranslated. The symbolism of this mineral is related to the sun regeneration and to the lunar raising phase (Aufrère 1991, pp. 489–517). Turquoise recalls the rays of sun at dawn, as it is stated in a variant of chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead (var. A2b; see T. G. Allen 1974, pp. 17–18), where this mineral is related to Punt, a region considered one of the places where the sun regenerated daily. A hymn from the tomb of Amenemhat (TT 53; PM I², 102–04, reign of Thutmose III) begins: “hail to you [Ra, who appears] as turquoise” (*ind-hr=k [r wbn] m mfk3t*) (Assmann 1983, pp. 98–99, no. 66:1, n. a). On this epithet and its plural, see LGG III 278.


k) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 170–74) left this passage partially untranslated: “*prj m k3*, der hervorkam aus/als e. Stier.” Having in mind the solar content of the text, the most feasible reading is “who goes out from Kenset” (*pr.w m knst*) (LGG III 96).  would have the value *k* from *k(3)* “bull.” The throne () would be a variation of shape for , *st* (Darnell 2004, p. 612, Q12; Drioton 1940, p. 426, no. 177). The epithet is very convenient within the religious context of the hymn, since it evokes the rising sun coming up from a distant eastern region. It appears both in the Pyramid Texts and in the Coffin Texts, where it is placed in the geographic sphere connected to the ascending of the sun (PT §§920a–c; §§1244a–45d), and it is related to a sacrificed bull and to several shared offerings given to the bull, the sun, and Osiris (PT §§121a–d; and particularly CT III 53a–d, where the bull is in charge of the distribution of offerings to the sun and Osiris). Later

texts place it in the East, as a transitional area between night and day (Žabkar 1975, pp. 24–35; idem 1980; Inconnu-Bocquillon 2001, pp. 199–200). It is also mentioned in the *Sonnenlitanei* already in the early stages of the reign of Thutmose III. In that composition “Ra appears from the interior of the Duat and the Bull of Kenset rejoices” ($\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}} \text{r}^{\text{c}} \text{m} \text{ḥnt} \text{dw}^{\text{t}} \text{nm} \text{rfk}^{\text{t}} \text{m} \text{knst}$) (Hornung 1975, p. 81, no. 157; idem 1976, p. 134, nn. 368–69).



l) These signs were not recorded by Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 178). Barns coined . They were carved on gypsum and currently are badly eroded, but a close examination permits a sure reading.

m) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 179) read mf(?)ki iw , but he didn’t offer any translation. A reading as “those of turquoise” ($\text{mfk}^{\text{t}}\text{ty.w}$) seems clear. The signs  probably indicate a *nisba*-form, which is underlined by the following *-tyw*-sign. While $\text{mfk}^{\text{t}}\text{ty}$ in the second column refers to the sun god when rising (possibly Khepri), its plural refers to his retinue and the inhabitants of the easternmost liminal zone between the underworld and the human world. It appears seldom in religious compositions. It is already attested in the Coffin Texts, where the $\text{mfk}^{\text{t}}\text{ty.w}$ are related to the *msktt*-ship (the night ship) of Ra (CT VI 269a–d). In some religious texts possibly created in Djehuty’s lifetime there are references to the “turquoise gods” or the “gods of those of the turquoise.” The Book of the Day, a composition which might date back to the Second Intermediate Period (but whose first attestations date to the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty; Müller-Roth 2008a, pp. 543–44), mentions the term at the initial stages of the text in connection with the raising of Ra in the horizon: “making *hnw*-gestures and praising Ra by the turquoise gods, coming out from the thighs of Nut, raising from the eastern door of the horizon and appearing in the eyes of the *henmemet*” ($\text{irt} \text{hnw} \text{dw}^{\text{t}} \text{r}^{\text{c}} \text{in} \text{ntr.w} \text{mfk}^{\text{t}}\text{ty.w} \text{pr(t)} \text{m} \text{r}^{\text{t}}\text{wy} \text{nwt} \text{wbn} \text{m} \text{r}^{\text{t}} \text{ibty} \text{ḥt} \text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{t} \text{m} \text{ir.ty} \text{ḥnmmt}$). This text is followed by another passage that also recalls the hymn of Djehuty, since it mentions “the lords over the fields of turquoise under the persea tree which is in the middle of Heliopolis” ($\text{nb.w} \text{ḥr} \text{ḥt} \text{mfk}^{\text{t}} \text{ḥr} \text{išd} \text{m} \text{ḥr-ib} \text{iwnw}$) (ibid., pp. 164–73, Beischriften E and F respectively). The Book of Amduat also mentions both the turquoise gods and “those of turquoise” during the last hour of the night in relation with the impending rising of the sun. Here “those of the turquoise acclaim Ra after he is settled in the sky. He appears to the sight of the *henmemet*” ($\text{ddi} \text{mfk}^{\text{t}}\text{tyw} \text{hnw} \text{r}^{\text{c}} \text{m-ḥt} \text{ḥtpw} \text{m} \text{pt} \text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{f} \text{m} \text{ir.ty} \text{ḥnmmt}$) (Hornung 1963, vol. 1, p. 196; vol. 2, pp. 187–88; 1994, pp. 813–14, no. 833). A more indirect relation between the turquoise and the rising of the ship of Ra also appears in chapter 109 of the Book of the Dead, which was actually written in the burial chamber of Djehuty (Galán in this volume): “I am a sailor without rest in the ship of Ra and I know these two sycamores of turquoise between which (Ra) has come out/gone up” ($\text{ink} \text{ḥny} \text{n} \text{wrd} \text{wn=f(?) m} \text{wi}^{\text{t}} \text{n} \text{r}^{\text{c}} \text{iw} \text{rh.ki} \text{nh.ty} \text{ṯwy} \text{nty} \text{m} \text{mfk}^{\text{t}} \text{prrt} \text{(r}^{\text{c}} \text{) imy.wt=sny}$).

n) The sign , clearly visible on the wall, was omitted in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11, but is noticeable in the picture on ibid. pl. 10, and it was recorded in Sethe 1908, p. 7*, no. 181.

o) The sign , visible despite being carved on gypsum, was also omitted in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11. Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 186) included it.

p) The expression $\text{sdr n} \text{i}^{\text{t}}\text{dt=f}$ seems clear. According to *Wb.* IV 391.2–3, it means “to be exposed to his medicine dewes all night long.” In the present case the “dew” ($\text{i}^{\text{t}}\text{dt}$) would be the evil influence of Apep. Actually, the phonogram for $\text{i}^{\text{t}}\text{dt}$ can also be read as nšn.wt , possibly “storms” or “rage” (*Wb.* II 341.17). Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 185–88) read “ $\text{ḥsf-śn} \text{sdr} \text{mw} \text{i}^{\text{t}}\text{dt-f}$, daß sie verhindern, daß nachts sich lege das Wasser seines (deines Gegners) Thaus.” There is a similar expression in Djehuty’s funerary chamber. This evil deity appears in the “Spell for passing the dangerous sandback ($\text{ts w} \text{k}^{\text{t}}\text{sn}$) of Apep,” or chapter 7 of the Book of the Dead, significantly placed between chapters 99B and 102, which are connected to the sun boat.

q)  is omitted in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11, even though it is clearly visible on the wall. Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 191–95) read this passage either as “ $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{r-k?}/\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{j} \text{r-k?}$, du wütest?/erscheine du?” A translation “your crown/your fire” ($\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{=k}/\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{t=k}$) as the initial part of a nominal sentence seems, however, preferable.  would be a semagram of ḥ^{c} “crown” (*Wb.* III 242.6); or a *t*-phonogram for ḥt “fire” (Darnell 2004, p. 602, I9; p. 603, I14).

r) Signs $\bigcirc \Delta \bigcirc \dagger$ were read by Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 192–95) as “*hr špd hr šhm*, indem du bereit, indem du mächtig bist.” A better solution is *nsrt šhm/nsrt r' šhm*. The initial \bigcirc would be an *n*-phonogram, as it happens in the sentences following (Drioton 1933a, p. 38, no. 39). Δ would have the phonetic value *srt* or *sr*, from $\dagger \Delta \dagger$, *srt* “spin” (Wb. IV 190.24–191.2). The sign was omitted in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11, and it was misread by Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 193) as \dagger , *špd*, probably because of the crack that breaks horizontally the sign. \dagger has to be related either to the *nsrt*-flame, being “the powerful one” (*šhm*), or to the previous \bigcirc , which could be read as $\bigcirc \dagger$ “the image of Ra” (*šhm r'*) (Wb. IV 244.21–23). Therefore, the passage would refer to the effectiveness of Ra’s uraeus against his enemies.

s) The following sentence can be read, again, in two different ways:

- s.1) “Every time you illuminate/brighten” ($[r] \text{ } \underline{tnw} \text{ } sp \text{ } \underline{psd}/\underline{wbn}/\underline{s.hd}=k$). $\dagger \dagger$ would be read as *tn*, being a *pars pro toto* representation of god Ta-Tjenen (Drioton 1933a, p. 47, no. 156). \dagger could be read as *sp* “time, occasion,” from $\dagger \dagger$, *sp(3)* “to let fly” (Wb. IV 100.21). Since *r tnw sp* is not used at the beginning of a sentence, it would be subordinated to the previous nominal sentence.
- s.2) A more feasible reading is, as Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 196–97) suggested, $\underline{tnw} \text{ } \underline{psd}/\underline{wbn}/\underline{s.hd}=k$. These signs offer different alternative readings. Firstly, \dagger would be the phonogram *p* from *p(3)*, being an auxiliary phonogram of \dagger , which would be used here both as a logogram and semagram for *psd*. Secondly, the bird and the sun disk could also be read as *s.hd*, \dagger being an alternative writing of \dagger , which was used with the phonetic value *sh* (e.g., $\dagger \dagger$, *shwy* “summary”; Wb. IV 212.6–15). The cryptographic value of \dagger as *wbn* “to appear” (where \dagger would have the value *w*; see Darnell 2004, p. 600, G40), is attested in roughly coeval royal funerary texts, where it is also used for *hd* “to bright” (Grapow 1936b, p. 26). All these verbs employ, although rarely, the preposition *n*, commented on in the following note.

t) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 198) read \dagger , *šw*. In Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11, it is recorded as \dagger . The sign, however, is clearly \dagger , being an *n*-phonogram (Drioton 1933a, p. 47, no. 154; Hornung 1983, p. 34).

u) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 198) read $\bigcirc \otimes$ as “*hr nwnw*, auf dem Nun.” As it has already been stated, reading *hr* for \bigcirc should be discarded (see n. b.1, above). The whole group could be read *nnw*. \otimes probably has the value *nw* (which is not attested in any other cryptographic text, where it usually has the value *p*; Drioton 1933a, p. 46, no. 138; Satzinger 1985, p. 32; Darnell 2004, p. 611, O49). — is perhaps used as a semagram in substitution of — .

v) The reading *šmsw-k* by Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 207) seems right. \dagger has different values (Drioton 1933a, p. 36, no. 7; Darnell 2004, p. 588, A17; p. 29, n. 72). In Djehuty’s cryptographic texts the sign had the phonetic values *ms* and *h*. The former is not attested in any other New Kingdom text but it became common in later times (Daumas 1988, p. 15, no. 237; p. 16, no. 239). The “followers” are clearly the followers of Ra, well attested in religious texts from the Old Kingdom onward (LGG VII 87, 90–91).

w) \dagger was read by Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 208) as *dt* “eternally,” since “zweimal am Schluß eines Spruches, also vielleicht *dt*, ‘ewig’ (ibid. p. 8*).” However, its value, having in mind that the hymn continues in the following column, has to be *ink*, from *ink* “to wrap” (Drioton 1933a, p. 37, no. 11, n. 1, where he rightly felt that this sign at the end of Djehuty’s text was written “pour amorcer une phrase qui devait se continuer dans la partie martelée de la paroi”).

x) Inexplicably, the last column of the text was omitted in Sethe’s study. The signs, along with the previous *ink*, form a nominal sentence whose content is emphasized by *ink* at the bottom of the fourth column. I read them as *šmsw r' m nnw*. Barns recorded all the signs and described the following space as a “hacked ?” lacuna. The erasing corresponds, however, to the praising figure of Djehuty related to the hymn.

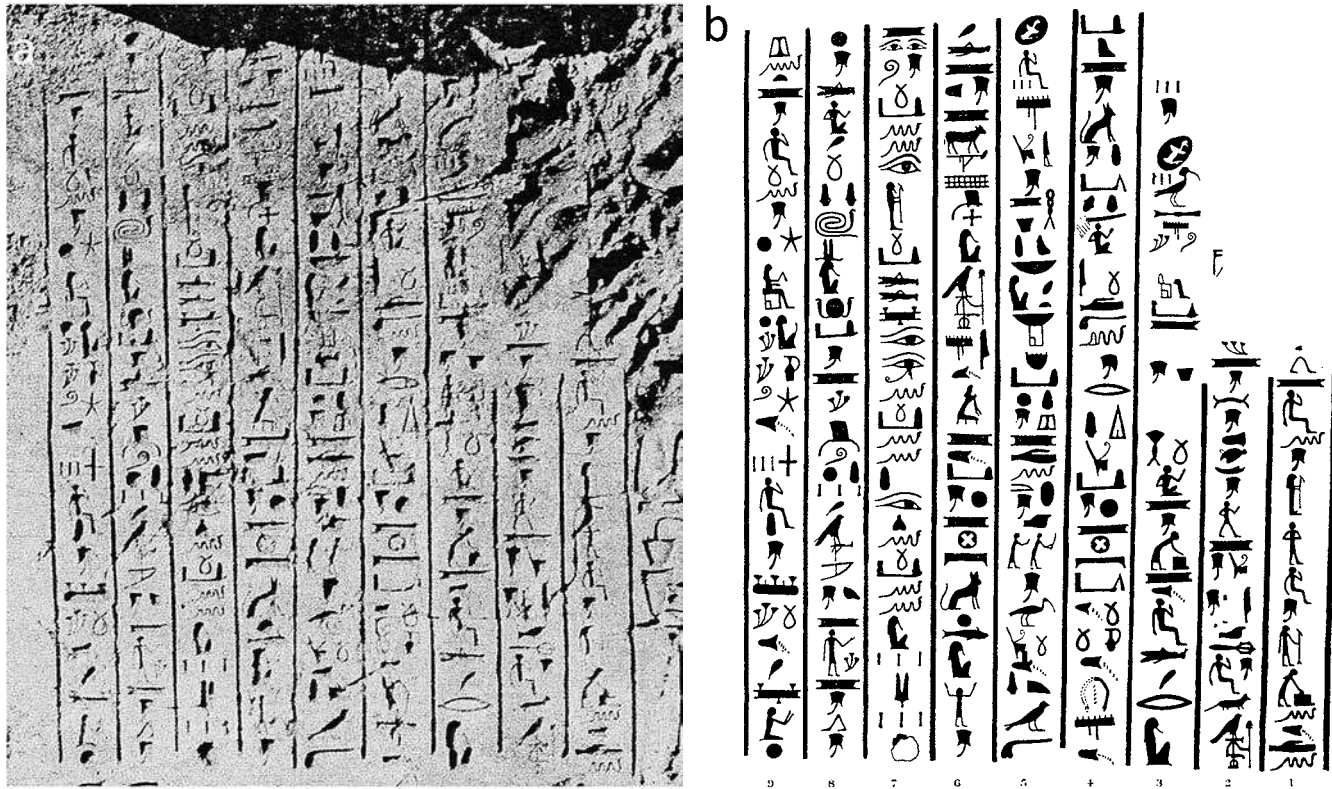


Figure 13.7. The chthonic hymn. (a) Detail of figure 13.3 showing the original state of the inscription after its discovery in the winter of 1898/99. (b) The inscription according to a drawing by an unknown illustrator (Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11)

B. The Chthonic Hymn (Sethe's "Erster Text")

Despite its length, this text (Sethe 1908, pp. 4*–6*; figs. 13.7–9) is easily readable, as its first half is formed by different passages taken from the Pyramid Texts. Sethe, who was studying that corpus during the same period, analyzed the cryptographic texts and identified almost all the passages (*ibid.*, pp. 4*–5*). Subsequently, Jochem Kahl (1996, p. 21) and Harold Hays and William Schenk (2007, p. 97 n. 1) have confirmed and increased the number of identifications. Furthermore, some new passages have been detected below. The up-to-date sequence beginning at the end of the first column and stopping at the middle of the sixth column follows the pattern PT [x(?)] + §835b–c (utterance 450) + [§§1626/776a–b (utterance 592/426)] + §1627a–b + §1628a–c + §1629a–c + §1630a–d (utterance 593) + §776b (utterance 426) + §1703a (utterance 609).³²

Apparently, this “copy and paste” composition, which describes the reassembling of Osiris’ corpse and his regenerative power, mixed different sections from the so-called *Spruchfolge C* (passages from utterances 450 and 426), attested in the pyramids of Pepy I, Merenre, and Pepy II, as well as in several Middle Kingdom coffins; and *Spruchfolge D* (passages from utterance 593) also documented in Middle Kingdom coffins (Altenmüller 1972, pp. 47–50). The subsequent columns form a different and unprecedented composition addressed to Ptah and Ta-Tjenen, two other chthonic deities.

The beginning of the hymn is lost. The first signs were severely hacked out in the past, and it is impossible to ascertain if they were cancelled by the systematic *damnatio memoriae* against Djehuty (Galán in this volume), by the Amarna iconoclasm (Der Manuelian 1999), or/and by later interventions. Furthermore, some legible parts disappeared when several blocks were stolen from the wall. The whole text is arranged in nine vertical columns. A remarkable feature is the absence of vertical dividing lines between the upper

³² Underlined passages indicate new passages detected by the author; brackets [] indicate a passage with the same content but different words from the original Pyramid Text.

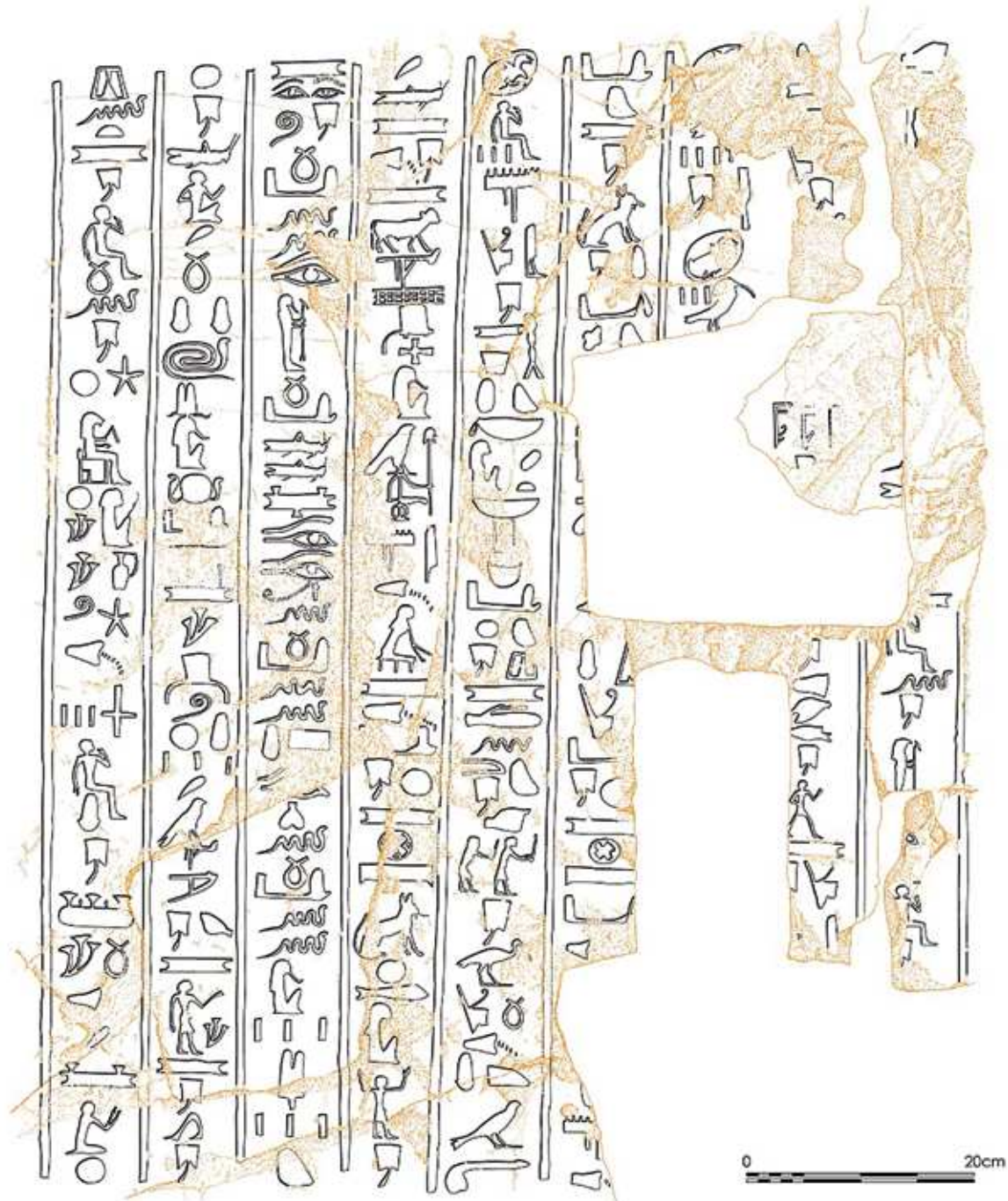


Figure 13.8. The sun hymn in 2009 (drawing by Ana García Martín)

half of the first (?), second, and third columns. This omission was consciously done, since there is no trace of preparatory lines or unfinished carvings. The function or interpretation of this “unruled” part of the hymn is unknown but, in any case, it apparently does not permit an independent reading, that is, a smaller hymn inside the bigger one.

The current translation of the hymn is close to the one made by Sethe, but there are some additions and minor new readings:

¹ | [...] ^a [...] ^b *iw.n=(i) hr=k hrw^c ink^d ms/s³=k^e hrw nd=f tw dd=f^f ² | PT 835a? [...] *n=k^g [...] PT 835b[i^cb(?)]=i^h n=[k]*
*ks.w=kⁱ dmd=i^j n=k n=k^k wt=k^l PT 835cⁱn=(i) n=k i[b]=k m ht=k Similar in content to PT 1626 & PT 776a-b *h^c (?) k³/tw^l=k^l* ³ |
imy(tw) [imn?]ty.w^m shm/hrp=k imy.(w) 3h.w tz h³/ts^w r (?) wsir/ntr (?)ⁿ PT 1627a^rrdi=(i) n=k c=k ch^c=i^o PT 1627b^ssk=i^p
n=k PT 1628and=n tw hr m r(3) ntr.(w)^q ⁴ | PT 1628b^{di}=sn n=k hfty=k PT 1628c^{hw}=sn wt=f sid=(f) r=k PT 1629a^{rdi}.t(y)**

n mwt=k nwt hw=s tw ^{PT 1629b} *hnm=s tw ink=s tw* ⁵ | ^{PT 1629c} *imy ms.w=s* ^{PT 1630a} *ii.n=k hn^c sn.t(y)=k* *3st nbt-hwt*
^{PT 1630b} *hm=s n (i)m^r hr=k* ^{PT 1630c} *ndr=s n m=k m hw=k gm=s n tw* ^{PT 1630d} *km.ti wrt* ⁶ | *m rn=k pw n km-wr* ^{PT 776b} *sh^m*
m ntr.w k3.w(=sn) ist^s ^{PT 1703a} *ms=n tw mwt=k nwt m rs-wd³ (?) h^c.k* ⁷ | *n m3=k w(i)^u mi mrr=(i) m3³ pth (?)^v mi*
mrr hrw m3³ irt=f mi mrr st(h)^w m3³ hr.wy=f mi mrr ntr.w h^c.w/šwyt=s n^x ⁸ | *ir=k rf/iry=i^y m mitt dt (pth t3)-tnn^z*
ny-swt bity^{aa} di=k^{ab} n=i 3wt m mr ntr/mry ntr (?)^{ac} sdm=k n nis/mdw/i3w/dw3=i n=k 'nn=k ⁹ | *hr/hr^{ad} d(d)t=i*
n=k/d(d).t(w) n=k hsr/hsf=k dw3t/sk^{ae} shmt^{af} iry=i hnm=i dw3.w tw imy.w-h^t=k š3st/nmit m w3t imnt/ m hrwt. ^{ag}

xxx Text currently lost but recorded in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11, and Sethe 1908

xxx Text currently lost, copied in Sethe 1908, but not recorded in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11

xxx Text not recorded by Sethe.



xxx Pyramid Text reference

xxx Passage similar in content, but not in form, to Pyramid Text spells












¹ | [...] I have come before you. Horus, I am your son Horus, he avenges you. He (?) places (?) ² | [...] to you [...] I [join] to you your bones. I unite to you, to you, your limbs. I put (lit. bring) to you your he[ar]t in your body. Your royal form appears ³ | among the [...] ones and your power/you command among the *akhu*. I join/tie Osiris/the god. (I) give your arm to you, I stand up and I wipe you. “We protect you” so it is said from the mouth of the god(s). ⁴ | They give to you your enemy. They prevent that he spits saliva against you. You are given to your mother Nut. She protects you and she takes care over you. She embraces you, ⁵ | who is among her children. You have come with your sister(s) Isis and Neftis. They seat in the place you are. They take you in their search for you. They find you. You are very black ⁶ | in this name of yours of “Great Black” who is powerful among the gods and their *kas* as well (because) your mother Nut has begotten you as “the awaken one/the undamaged awaken one.” I rejoice ⁷ | because you see me as I wish to see Ptah, as Horus wishes to see his eye, as Seth wishes to see his testicle(s), as the gods want (to see?) their crowns/sacred figures/equipment. ⁸ | May you act (concerning me?) in a similar way eternally. (Ptah Ta)-Tjenen, Dual King, may you give me gifts as a beloved of god/as far as a god wants. May you hear my praise to you, (and) may you bring (it) back ⁹ | with (all) I have asked you/with all what has been said to you. May you put aside the dawn/pain of Sekhmet in whatever have to do with myself, (because) I join those who are praising you, your followers who travel by the roads of the West/who traverse heaven.




Figure 13.9. The chthonic hymn in 2011, with block DAN-TT11/12-03/13/2-15H00-1 placed in its original position (photo by José Latova; minor block photo by the author)


a) Unfortunately, neither the picture and drawing in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pls. 10–11, nor Sethe 1908, p. 4*, offer hints for restoring the initial words of the hymn. Direct observation of the wall has permitted identification of the first sign of the hymn at the very top of the first column as a fist, , which is followed by tiny remains of other signs, maybe depicting a seated individual followed by an apparently square-shaped sign. Since the text is clearly a parallel composition of the sun hymn, a similar beginning is to be expected, but the remaining traces do not allow an identification of the *ind-hr=k* formula. The fist could be read, following a substitution of shape, as a *d*-phonogram, , being an initial writing for *dw3* “praising/praise to” (this phonetic value is, however, unattested in other


New Kingdom cryptographic compositions). A more plausible reading would be *d* from *drt* “hand” (Drioton 1933a, p. 39, no. 49), being the beginning of the formula *dd mdw* “words to be said (by).” This beginning fits well with the following columns, built up with several passages from the Pyramid Texts, generally introduced by this rubric.








b) The first discernible signs after the lacuna are the leftmost remains of some hieroglyphs on the block DAN-TT11/12-03/13/2-15HOO-1. Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 1) read the remains of the first legible sign, when still in situ, as . However, a recent inspection of its traces points to  (actually, the group  is clear). The remains of the following signs, visible in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pls. 10–11, are more dubious since they are currently lost. Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 1) restored it cautiously as  (?), and left the whole group      without translation. The last two signs,  , read as *iw.n=(i)*, are connected to the following ones in the sentence, “I have come to you, Horus” (*iw.n=(i) hr=k hrw*). These words appear in some passages of the Pyramid Texts (PT §§963b–c, 964a, 966a, 967a, 968a, 1328a). Unfortunately, they do not offer any convincing interpretation for the preliminary readable signs.



c) The sign , holding with his hands a *w3s*-scepter, is clearly a mummiform deity with falcon head. It recalls Sokar but the context suggests that it is either Horus or, less possibly, Osiris.


d) See sun hymn, note w).


e) Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 5) read  as *s3* “son.” This value, as well as the value *ms* (cf. sun hymn, note x), is apparently not attested in any New Kingdom cryptographic text. The sign can be read here indistinctly with both values.



f) The lower signs of the first column are currently lost. Fortunately, all these signs were recorded in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pls. 10–11. Sethe (1908, p. 4*, nos. 6–9) misidentified this part of the text with PT §835a. Since the beginning of the second column is barely legible, the interpretation of the last two signs remains hypothetical. Sethe’s reading “(w)*d(i)=f*, er leg^t” is possible, but *dd* or, by haplography, *dd=f*, seem also feasible ( would have the value of *d/f*; see Drioton 1933a, p. 43, no. 102). The hand would be *d* from *d(rt)* “hand”; see *ibid.*, p. 39, no. 49.






g) The upper part of the column is damaged, but some traces of signs not recorded previously are discernible. Unfortunately, they do not permit any clear interpretation. The only sure reading is [...] *n=k* at the very end of that group of traces. The upper signs are too fragmentary (maybe  and  /  / ) for proposing any coherent interpretation. Having in mind that the text following was copied from PT §835b, one can expect an expression close to the final part of PT §835a: “she puts/gives your head to you” (  , *wdi=s n=k tp=k*). The traces, however, do not permit a restoration in this direction.

h)  , *i3b* or any similar verb for “uniting” is expected, as Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 10) already suggested, because of the close similarity of the following lines with PT §835b.


i) DAN-TT11/12-03/13/2-15HOO-1 confirms Sethe’s reading as “*n-k k3w-k*.” Despite the small space between *n* and *k3.w* it is possible to fill the gap with .



j) The sign , as *dmd*, by means of a *pars pro toto* derivation, was recorded by Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 13) but is not legible in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pls. 10–11.




k) According to Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 14, n. a): “Zwischen den beiden *n-k* is vielleicht ein Glied ausgefallen. Oder ist etwa  als Wiedergabe von  inq, aufzufassen, das P. 693 [= PT §1514b] und P. 204 + 16 (unpubl.) [= PT §1035c] von den Gliedern gebraucht, belegt ist?”


l) This sequence of signs, currently lost, was not translated by Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 22). According to the equivalencies of , *h/ms*, and , *h*, they should be read as *hh*, *msh*, or *hh*. That reading, however, has no sense. A reading *h3* “appear,” seems possible. The sign  could be actually a shrew ( / , ‘*m3m* / ‘*l3l*) and, by the consonantal principle, could be an ‘*p*-phonogram. These signs and the ones at the top of


the third column can be read as “your royal image appears among the [...] ones. You command the *akhu*.” Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 25, n. c) underlined the similarity of the passage with PT §758b (= P 13) and §839b (= P 113), but, curiously, he did not notice its closer resemblance (concerning the content, not the form) to other sentences such as PT §§776a–b: “words to be said: Osiris-N, you have appeared as Dual King because you command the gods and their *kas* as well” (*dd-mdw wsir N ḥꜥ.n=k m ny-swt bity n shm=k m ntr.w k3.w=sn ist*); and PT §1626: “you appear as Dual King. You command all the gods and their *kas* as well” (*ḥꜥ.ti m ny-swt bity m ntr.w nb k3.w=sn ist*). On other similar expressions, cf. PT §§1792i, 1899b–d.

Regarding , Sethe 1908, p. 4*, no. 23, interpreted it as *ka*, in view of the translation of the same sign in *ibid.*, p. 6*, no. 84 (cf. note s, below). However, in this occurrence, which is probably copying PT §1626, it would have the meaning of “King of Upper and Lower Egypt,” or at least as “royal *ka*/image.” The figure, which copies the representations of the royal *kas* in the temples (Spieser 2000), recalls vaguely the so-called cryptograms or monograms of Senenmut (see below) and, more closely, earlier parallel compositions (cf. Sethe 1928, pp. 250–51, pls. 5 and 16, “Bild 11”).


m) The initial part of the column is very damaged. Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 24) interpreted it as a lacuna, but he read it as “*imy...w, der ist unter den....*” After an initial , a kind of bird is legible over three plural strokes. Whether it is a *nisba*-form (-tyw) or not is difficult to determine since it could also be , as *w* (Darnell 2004, pp. 596–98, G1). A possible reading, having in mind the presence of the word *akhu* below, would be “the living ones” (*ḥꜥ.w*) (cf. PT §§1899c–d). Other possibilities such as “the Western ones” (*imnty.w*), or “the kings” (*ny-swt.y.w*), cannot be excluded.


n) This passage is rather obscure. As Sethe (1908, p. 5*, no. 28) did, the first signs have to be read *tz*,  being a determinative. The sign  permits a double reading. Here its value as the suffix pronoun (=i) matches with Horus’ previous direct speech. Another possibility is *h3* for  (Darnell 2004, pp. 604–05, M2). In this case the signs could be read as “I weave protection around Osiris/the god” (*ts=(i) h3 wsir/ntr*). The seated figure, now lost and apparently very damaged when the wall was discovered, should represent a god, probably Osiris. Kahl (1996, p. 12 n. 4) has seen in this passage the preceding title for the sequence PT §§1627a–1630d, which is recorded on a Late Period coffin (Kahl 1996, p. 9 document Sq 13 Sq) as *s.3h wsir NN pn*. Here, according to Kahl, “der kryptographische geschriebene Text ist vermutlich *čs s:3h Wsir [tz s.3h wsir]* zu lesen.” This reading, however, seems improbable, since *s.3h* cannot be read in the recorded signs.









o) The lines following are a quotation from PT §§1627a–1630d. While the first sentences of the Pyramid Texts version begin with imperatives: “stand up, give your arm to Horus” (*ḥꜥ rdi.n=k ʿ=k n hrw*), in the chthonic hymn the imperative is possibly transformed into a *sdm=f* form, either with a first- or third-person singular as subject: “I/he give(s) you your arm” (*rdi=(i/f) n=k ʿ=k*). Sethe (1908, p. 5*, nos. 33–34) read the text as an indirect speech. I rather take it (cf. note n, above) as a direct speech. In the lines following the ambiguity continues, since , visible in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 10, can be read either *=f* (Sethe 1908, p. 5*, no. 33), or *=i* (Drioton 1933a, p. 36, no. 8). Another possible reading of this passage would be “your arm is given to you,” with *rdi*, a passive verb.


p) As in the previous note,  could be read either as a personal pronoun *=i* (Drioton 1933a, p. 36, no. 1), or *=f*, (Sethe 1908, p. 8*, no. 34).








q) Sethe 1908, p. 5*, nos. 38–41. Curiously, *m r(3) ntr.w* is written in the same way as the name of Osiris in the contemporary Book of Amduat (Grapow 1936b, p. 29; for identical or similar writings in earlier examples, see Lorand 2008, p. 23, p. 26 n. b; LGG II 528–34). Actually, the words were possibly written in this way intentionally, to render a double sense to the phrase. However, I have not been able to find any coherent and uncontrived interpretation for an alternative reading *nd=n tw hr/hr wsir*.


r) Sethe (1908, p. 5*, no. 66) did not read . According to PT §1630b, the sign should indicate a place: “they have seated there, in the place where he is” (*hm.n=sn m bw hr=k im*). The sign should probably be read as (*i*)*m* (Drioton 1933a, p. 45, no. 122, and n. 7). It could be a rebus of *m bw*, being a direct representation of a spot


or place (*bw*). Actually, it serves as a semagram for the word , *bw* “portion/part” (Wb. I 452.11), during the Late Period.


s) This passage is obscure. Sethe (1908, p. 5*–6*, nos. 81–85) tentatively read it as “*imḥ?/shm? nd?/m? ntrw k3.w=sn*, Geehrter, Schützig der (?)/Mächtiger über die (?) Götter nebst ihren *Ka*’s.” Phonetic or ideographic values for  and  are problematic. As the following words coincide in great degree with PT §776b, a reading *shm* for these signs is expected, as Sethe also intuited. Any identification of the signs with this phonetic sequence is, however, difficult.  could be read here as a phonetic combination of two different signs similar to  by means of substitution of shape: , *sh*t and , *sm* (Grdseloff 1952, pp. 484–86). Concerning , it could be a substitution of shape from , and, therefore, an *m*-phonogram by means of the consonantal principle.

t)  was read by Sethe (1908, p. 6*, no. 90) as *hfty* “enemy,” following the same phonetic value as in the fourth column. Gramatically, however, neither that word nor the homophonic preposition has any sense here. Thus I am more inclined to read the sign as *m* (or even as *mr/mi*), by consonantal principle from *m(iw)* “cat.” This value, although not attested in similar texts, where the cat is read either as *f* (Darnell 2004, p. 594, E13;), or *tf* (Drioton 1933a, p. 40, no. 63), is known in cryptographic compositions on scarabs (cf. Drioton 1957, p. 16, no. 3; p. 19, no. 31).


Concerning the signs following, a reading *rs* for  is plausible. Therefore, the following  could have the value *wd3*, as a representation of an “intact” or “complete” person (later writings of *rs wd3* as , or  reinforce the idea). The notion of the “awaken and intact one” is clearly related both to Osiris from the Old Kingdom, and to Ptah-Ta-Tjenen from the reign of Thutmose III (altar Moscow, Pushkin Museum, I.1.a.6888 [4083]; Hodge and Berlev 1982, p. 102, pp. 104–05, col. III, line x + 3). On the epithet, see van de Walle 1972; LGG IV 711–12, 713–15. This reading, which fits well with the general content of the hymn, has to be taken with caution, since  is not well preserved on the wall as it was carved on friable gypsum. Actually, the beard is not visible and it could also have been a feminine representation referring to Nut, or acting as a feminine indicative. If the text follows *à la lettre* PT §1703b, the whole passage should be read as “your mother Nut has begotten you in the west (*m imnt*).” However, I am not able to discern any convincing way of reading *imnt* from  or .


u) Sethe (1908, p. 6*, nos. 92–99) read the phrase as “*h^c.k(wi) n ptr=k ... mi mrr=(i) m^c pth*, Ich freue mich dich zu sehen ... wie ich liebe zu sehen den Ptah.” A simpler solution at the beginning of the sentence is to consider , *w*, as an abbreviated dependent pronoun *w(i)*: “I rejoice because you watch me that I want to see Ptah” *h^c=k* “you rejoice” is also possible.

v) The reading of  holding a *w3s*-scepter as Ptah is hypothetical, and it is based exclusively on its appearance in the last columns of the hymn as Ta-Tjenen. The sign shows clearly a long curved beard, not worn by this god. It could indicate another god such as Osiris, even though the iconography of this god with a *w3s*-scepter would be unusual too.

w) Currently, the name for Seth and the eye below it are badly preserved because they were carved in gypsum. However, in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 10, the signs are rather clear. In *ibid.*, pl. 11,  was omitted.


x) Sethe (1908, p. 6*, no. 113) did not transliterate the sign of the crown. It offers different possibilities. The two tall feathers (*šw.ty*) could be a reference both to this kind of crown as symbol of power and to the images of the gods, since *ntr šwyt* (Wb. IV 433.1–3) means “sacred figure/image.” This could be also the same if the sign would be read *h^c.w/h^cw*, since that word means “diadem,” “appearance,” and also “weapons,” “equipment” indistinctively.



y) Sethe (1908, p. 6*, no. 114–15) read this passage as “*irj-k r-f*, mögest du thun.” There are at least two possible readings for these signs. The first one is considering  as the enclitic particle *rf*, following *sdm=f* in expressions of wish. Another option, less probable, is considering the same signs as “concerning me” (*iry=i*)


with a different writing from in the last line, where it is written , *iryt=i*, since “against me” (*r=i*) does not fit well with the general nuance of the hymn.





z) Sethe (1908, p. 6*, no. 119) read the divine figure as Ptah. Its crown, however, seems to indicate a more precise deity, Ptah Ta-Tjenen, since the same headdress was used in some later cryptographic texts with the value *tn* (Drioton 1933a, p. 47, no. 156).

aa) The sun disk with two uraei was read in later periods as *ny-swt bity* “Dual King” (Daumas 1988, pp. 379–80, nos. 491, 493, 495, 499, 507, and 511).













ab) , inscribed on gypsum, is currently illegible, but it is visible on Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 10.

ac) The reading of the signs seems to be clear:  = *ntr* (Drioton 1940, p. 412, no. 39);  = *mr*. Since there is a possible honorific transposition, these signs can be read either as “beloved of god” (*mry ntr*), or as “the god wants” (*mr ntr*). I am more inclined for the first option.

ad) On the equivalence of  as *hr*, see Darnell 2004, p. 613, T28.

ae) Different readings, all of them with similar meanings, are possible here:   can be read as “dawn” (*dw3w*),  being a determinative; it can be also read as “odor/smell” (*st*),  having the value *s* (Drioton 1933a, p. 45, no. 124). Another possibility is reading the star as *sk* (see *ibid.*) and the complete word as *skt*, meaning either “passing” (Wb. IV 313.15), “pain” (Wb. IV 313.14), or “destruction (?)” (from Wb. IV 312.18–313.10, *ski* “to destroy”). The star could be also read as *h'* according to a later cryptographic equivalence (Drioton 1940, p. 409, no. 3), meaning “appearance” (*h'yt*) (Meeks 1980, p. 272, no. 77.3011; Meeks 1981, p. 212, no. 79.2160). In any case, the nuance seems clear: Djehuty is asking the god to be away from the destructive wrath of the *déesse lointaine* (see note af, below).

af) The figure shows clearly a goddess with a lion head. She should be identified with Sekhmet as Ptah's wife, or any other goddess related to the *déesse lointaine* myth, such as Tefnut or Hathor.

ag) The last signs express a similar idea by means of two possible and synonymous readings.   can be read either as *šst*,  having the phonetic value *s(w)*, or *nmit* (for  as *n*; cf. Darnell 2004, p. 606, M8); , *i*, would be a phonetic complement of , *mi*.   can be read either as *w3t imnt* ( as *imn*, and  as *t*) or, possibly, as *hrwt*, if  = *hr*, as it occurs in the seventh column; and  = *w* (Drioton 1940, p. 421, no. 122). This passage is, no doubt, the best example of the ambiguity and multiplicity of readings displayed in these cryptographic texts.

Sociocultural Contexts of the Cryptographic Texts

The location, nature, functions, and contents of these hymns follow different but closely connected objectives. They are analyzed below in two different sections according to their religious and sociopolitical agential motivations and aims.³³ Of course, this division is artificial and biased by current ideas, not by ancient Egyptian perceptions and experiences.

A. The Hymns in the Religious Sphere

Both hymns share some common religious features and aims. First, the iconographical context where they were inscribed suggests, as already stated, their possible relation with the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, when religious hymns were addressed to different deities (Schott 1953).

³³ On agency in ancient Egypt, particularly in the creation of private funerary monuments, see, for example, Vischak 2006.

Second, the hymns hold hints that indicate that Djehuty had access to ancient and new restricted religious knowledge (Baines 1990). While some passages in both hymns bring to mind ancient traditions and ideas, other features reflect ideas that were developing and shaping in exclusive cultural circles during the joint reign of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut. The solar hymn is a good example of this. As it becomes common from this moment on in this kind of composition, it is mainly built up by the juxtaposition of different eulogies (Assmann 1995, pp. 111–20).³⁴ On the other hand, allusions to the dawn in expressions such as “he/those of the turquoise,” or “who came out from Kenset,” recall aforementioned passages from the Pyramid and Coffin Texts but, above all, from the royal-addressed *Amduat* and *Sonnenlitanei*. These compositions were displayed for the first time during this period along with other ones such as the second hour of the Book of the Night, the Theological Treatise, and the Hymn of the Baboons Who Announce Ra, which were inscribed in the sun altar of Deir el-Bahari (Karkowski 2003, pp. 157–224), or the *Stundenritual*, which was carved in the chapel of the funerary cult of Hatshepsut in the same temple (Naville 1901, pls. 114–16), in the memorial temple of Thutmose III (Ricke 1939, pls. 8–10), and possibly also at Karnak (Graefe n.d.).³⁵

Ideas and literal passages from these new compositions inspired and formed part of the so-called *Sonnenreligion* trend (Hegenbarth-Reichardt 2006, pp. 45–47). For example, a kneeling statue of the “scribe of the overseer of the treasure” (*sš imy-r pr ḥd*) Sety, who could have been an assistant of Djehuty himself, contains a sun hymn composed partially by the beginning of the first hour of the day of the *Stundenritual* (Brooklyn 37.263E; James 1974, p. 75, no. 176).³⁶ A particularly eloquent example is the presence of the exclusive royal funerary texts of the *Amduat* and *Sonnenlitanei* in the burial chamber of one of the funerary chapels of the vizier Useramun (TT 61) (Hornung 1961; Hornung in Dziobek 1994, pp. 42–47), possibly emulating texts in the royal tombs of Thutmose I (KV 38) and Hatshepsut (KV 20).³⁷ Furthermore, the creation of similar burial chambers with religious texts by other officials such as Djehuty (Galán in this volume), could be following — with due respect — the path marked by the kings whom they served, or by the vizier.

While official compositions no doubt served as model for coetaneous private hymns,³⁸ some influences could follow the opposite direction, from the private, or at least court sphere, to the royal one, since these different fields of action were tightly connected by means of private individuals acting as instigators, creators, copyists, or archivists both of official and private religious texts.³⁹ For example, the hours of the night of the *Stundenritual*, attested in Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el-Bahari, were formed by a sort of collage from different chapters of the Book of the Dead (at least chapters 17, 22, 24–26, 28, 42, 59, 67–68, and 71–74), which were already reproduced independently in different private and court funerary texts (Barwick 1998, p. 114; Graefe n.d., contra Quirke 2001, pp. 57–58).⁴⁰ On the other hand, some traditions could emerge simultaneously both in royal and official spheres during this period, as it apparently happened with the protective magical bricks (Régen 2002, p. 992 n. 8; Davoli 2004, pp. 62–63, doc. no. 1; Franzmeier 2010),⁴¹ or, *mutatis mutandis*,

³⁴ The hymn to Amun-Ra carved on the façade of Djehuty’s tomb-chapel can be included in the same kind of composition.

³⁵ The Deir el-Bahari *Stundenritual* is currently under study by Miroslav Barwick.

³⁶ Some palaeographic features of Sety’s inscription suggest that he copied the hymn from a hieratic original (James 1974, p. 75). Was it the same one that served as model for the temple inscription?

³⁷ On the decoration of KV 38 and KV 20 with the *Amduat*, see Mauric-Barberio 2001; Roehrig 2006, p. 245, p. 256 n. 47, contra Hornung 1999, p. 27. Another tomb which possibly was planned to be written with this composition was KV 42 (Hatshepsut-Merytra’s tomb?); see el-Bialy 1999, p. 163. The burial equipment of TT 61 also included the first examples of magical bricks found so far, maybe along with the tomb of Puimra (TT 39; see Kampp 1996, pp. 232–33). They could antedate the first examples in royal tombs dated to the sole reign of Thutmose III (KV 34).

³⁸ On the royal influence on private art during this period, see, for example, Bernhauer 2002.

³⁹ A similar situation can be observed in art, with some artistic workshops active both in royal and private monuments; see Delvaux 2009.

⁴⁰ For example, chapters 22, 24–26, and 28 were written on the walls of the burial chamber of Djehuty (TT 11; cf. Galán, in this volume); chapter 22 was written in JdE 96810 (Ahmes-henut-Tjemehu, early Eighteenth Dynasty; Munro 1994, pp. 1–11); and Louvre E.1105 (Ahmes, early Eighteenth Dynasty) (Munro 1995), which also contained chapter 42. Torino cat. no. 65003 (Ahmes, Seventeenth Dynasty) included chapter 71 (Ronsecco 1996, pp. 136–40). Chapter 42 is also mentioned in some papyri of the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut (Mesemnetjer, Louvre E.21324; Hatnofret, Cairo TR 25/1/55/6; Hepres, London UC 71000); see Tarasenko 2009, p. 242.

⁴¹ See n. 37, above. Since the first private bricks come, again, from the tomb of Useramun (TT 61), the statement in the main text could, however, be shaded.

with the so-called name stones, only attested during the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut (see, e.g., Hayes 1942; Iwasczuk 2009).

The chthonic hymn is, on the contrary, a clear example of knowledge and reuse of ancient texts, particularly the Pyramid Texts, which were also displayed in contemporary and later tombs (Hays and Schenck 2007). Generally speaking, this sort of antiquarianism, particularly on religious material, is well attested through the Egyptian history, and Hatshepsut's reign was no exception. A visible paradigm of it (and more extensively of the tradition phenomenon) during this period is the architecture of the queen's temple at Deir el-Bahari that emulated the neighboring temple of Montuhotep II which, at the same time, was inspired by the previous royal *saff*-tombs of the early Eleventh Dynasty. Furthermore, the iconographic program of Hatshepsut's temple also re-created subjects and models from older royal funerary complexes and temples, such as the Punt reliefs or the *Krönungsrituale* (A. M. Roth in Roehrig 2005, pp. 147–57).⁴²

The chthonic hymn is just one example among others on the recovery and appreciation of the past during this period. Kings and officials shared and showed that interest by its reproduction or recreation in their monuments. For example, late Twelfth Dynasty models, particularly related to Amenemhat III (Roehrig 2005, p. 166, cat. no. 89 n. 3), Princess Neferuptah (Grajetzki 2005) and, above all, Queen Neferusobek (Callender 2002), served as inspiration for royal titles, iconography, mortuary elements, and ideas in order to ground Hatshepsut's legitimization as king. She was also related in some objects to some venerated “founders” of Egyptian history such as Montuhotep II or even Menes himself.⁴³ On the other hand, Middle Kingdom texts and ideas created or kept at Asyut apparently inspired or were copied by courtiers such as Senenmut (TT 353) and Puimra (TT 39) in the decoration and maybe, in the case of the latter, in the layout of the funerary chapel (Kahl 1999, p. 321).⁴⁴ Furthermore, several Pyramid and Coffin Texts spells, along with other religious compositions, were also reproduced in some royal buildings and, possibly because of emulation, in private funerary chapels. That is the case, again, of Puimra's tomb, where different Pyramid and Coffin Text utterances were copied *à la lettre* from the cult chapel of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (PT spells 204–05, 207, 209–12; and CT spell 607; Gestermann 2002, pp. 236–38).⁴⁵

Antiquarianism as part of the tradition phenomenon surely implied, as the former examples suggest, the consultation of papyri kept at archives, as Senenmut's assertion could recall: “now, I have penetrated into every writing of the priests and I am not ignorant of (everything) that happened from the first occasion in order to make flourish my offerings” (*Urk.* IV 415.14–16; Morenz 2002, p. 134).⁴⁶ Parallel “archaeological” activities are also documented in this period by *Besucherinschriften* on several venerable monuments throughout Egypt (Navratilova 2007, Verhoeven 2009, Ragazzoli 2011). They are not evidences of precocious tourism, but examples of erudite and pious scribal practices possibly connected to the celebration of individuals and achievements from the past, and the searching of ancient motifs and ideas such as the aforementioned Pyramid and Coffin Texts. A well-known example in the Theban area is the group of early Eighteenth Dynasty graffiti left on the funerary chapel of Senet (TT 60; Gardiner in N. de G. Davies 1920, pp. 27–29),⁴⁷ or other contemporary inscriptions written in the tomb of Princess Neferu at Deir el-Bahari (Helck 1952, pp. 44–45).

As a whole, Djehuty's hymns are therefore clear examples of Egyptian archaism but, above all, of “traditionalism” since, as stated above, they reflect ancient ideas from old texts displayed in an innovative way

⁴² On their ancient counterparts, see el-Awady 2009, pp. 155–83, pls. 5–6; and Roeder 1913, p. 268, respectively. See also, for example, Pawlicki 1990 (feast of the white hippopotamus); Egberts 1995 (rituals of driving the calves and consecrating the *meret*-chests); Ćwiek 2003, pp. 246–48 (ritual of hitting the ball). On other possible similarities, particularly between the temples and tombs of Hatshepsut and Montuhotep II, see Polz 2008.

⁴³ On Hatshepsut's evidences on devotion to Montuhotep II, see el-Enany 2003, p. 181, docs. 34–35. A scarab at the Metropolitan Museum (not numbered) links the prenomen of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut with a cartouche mentioning King Menes (Jaeger 1982, p. 127, §1023, fig. 324; p. 298 n. 291).

⁴⁴ On the recovery of a Middle Kingdom expression (*pr m ḥsw*) by Senenmut, see <http://www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/seals/2inter4.html> [accessed 23/11/2010].

⁴⁵ Puimra's chapel was decorated with chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead, also attested in Hatshepsut's cult chapel (Louant 2000, p. 89). Furthermore, Puimra's false door integrated some parts of CT Spell 467 on the false door of the northern chapel (*ibid.*, p. 91 n. 393).

⁴⁶ Similar expressions from this period are mentioned in BM EA 1513 and tomb TT 110; see Ragazzoli in press.

⁴⁷ Some texts wrongly identified the monument with the tomb of queen Neferusobek (Parkinson 2009, p. 176). The graffiti of the tomb are currently under study by Chloé Ragazzoli.

by mixing different canonical texts, by putting them in connection with other new ideas, and by displaying them in new forms (cryptography) and places (in the southern wall of the courtyard).

Third, the closing sections of both hymns indicate that their final aim was the securing of divine favor by establishing a *do ut des* relationship. In both cases Djehuty defines himself as a member of the followers of both groups of deities, Amun/Ra and Osiris/Ptah, and consequently he asks them for protection and power against the enemies in a religious dimension. Similar statements come from other coetaneous funerary chapels. The funerary monument of Senenmut at Deir el-Bahari (TT 353) includes a sun hymn with a final sentence that recalls Djehuty's wishes: "(Ra), who knows the roads in the Duat, plentiful in crossing the sky, shall cause Apopi to go astray every time. Words spoken by the great steward Senenmut: 'I have (indeed) overthrown your enemi(es), oh Ra'" (Dorman 1991, p. 134, C7–12). Another example from the provinces is attested at the tomb-chapel of Paheri at Elkab, where the owner ended a rather conventional hymn to Osiris with the following words: "I have come before you, my lord, in peace. May you satisfy me! The offerings are for you. Listen to my petitions! May you act according to what I have said (since) I am one of those who adore you!" (Baines 1991, p. 174 n. 144).

These early manifestations of "personal piety" (Luiselli 2008) express an underlying trend that possibly dates back to the beginning of the Egyptian religion (Baines 1987, 1991), and it is evident in the pre-Amarna Eighteenth Dynasty through some phenomena of imprecise date such as religious hymns in tombs, on ostraca and papyri (Assmann 1995, pp. 102–32; Franke 2010), praises and petitions to Amun written on limestone chips (Posener 1975) and rock inscriptions (Darnell 2010), or different votive objects addressed to deities (Pinch and Waraksa 2009).

Fourth, the reference in the same context to solar and chthonic divinities recalls vaguely the Solar-Osirian conjunction ideas developed particularly in later reigns, but whose forerunners date back to the Old and Middle Kingdoms (DuQuesne 2006; Darnell 2004; Spalinger 2009, pp. 100–02). During the lifetime of Djehuty this concept was clearly expressed in the aforementioned *Sonnenlitanei* and chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead (Lapp 2006), attested in early Eighteenth Dynasty private and royal examples (e.g., the shroud of Thutmose III), and being a later development of a previous spell from the Coffin Texts (spell 335; DuQuesne 2006, pp. 27–30). Attestations for the connection Osiris-Ra are also present at the entrance to the inner chamber of the funerary monument of Djehuty, where Osiris is mentioned with the epithets "who is alive (?) in Heliopolis" (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏), "the great god in Heliopolis" (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏), and "representative of Ra" (𓂏𓂏) (Urk. IV 450.10–11, with additions and corrections from collating the original).⁴⁸

Fifth, the use of cryptography in both hymns can be explained in religious terms. Despite its primary sportive aim, cryptography was considered, as stated previously, a religious tool too. On the one hand, it could be a way for hiding restricted knowledge. This inaccessible kind of information is attested in several compositions under the reign of Thutmose III. An incomplete passage of the *Texte de la jeunesse* at Karnak mentions, in connection to the king's access to some divine knowledge, some data or objects "which are hidden to the faces of the people and are hidden in the hearts of the gods [...] they are unknown and they haven't been revealed" (Urk. IV 159.5–17). Similar expressions referring to writings in hidden chambers — maybe the royal tomb — or secret writings that provide restricted knowledge unknown to any human are mentioned at the beginning of the *Langfassung* (Hornung 1987, pp. 100–09) and at the end of the *Kurzfassung* (ibid. pp. 94–96) of the contemporary Amduat, which included, possibly in connection with this alleged secrecy, some cryptographic passages (Hegenbarth-Reichardt 2006, pp. 59–99).

On the other hand, both writing and decoding cryptographic hymns could strengthen their religious contents and potential magical performativity. Actually, cryptography was apparently related to solar regeneration and, therefore, to life and effectiveness (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, pp. 173–80; Darnell 2004, pp. 479–81), which is referred to continuously in Djehuty's hymns. This could also explain the coeval popularization of some cryptographic formulas such as the trigrams of Amun (Drioton 1957) carved on the back

⁴⁸ On the epithets, see LGG II 136, LGG IV 400, and LGG VI 68, respectively. DuQuesne (2006, pp. 31–32) mentions 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 / 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 as writings for Osiris' name in several Twenty-first Dynasty pa-

papyri. I wonder if this cryptographic use could be inspired by the epithet *sti rꜥ*, written similarly in TT 11.

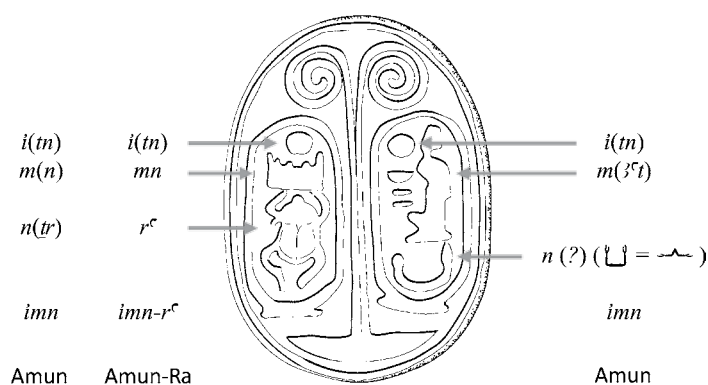


Figure 13.10. Two probable trigrams of Amun (and maybe another one of Amun-Ra) in the prenomen of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut (the reading of the epithet “lord of the Two Lands (*nb t3.wy*)” inside Hatshepsut’s cartouche has been obviated). Scarab discovered in one of the foundation deposits of Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el-Bahari (MMA 27.3.320; drawing by Ana García Martín after a picture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art online collection database, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection> [accessed 28/01/2011])

of scarabs, where the name of this god, literally “the hidden one,” acquired a special magical power, since in this way the very meaning of his name was emphasized. A thorough study on the precise date of their creation is missing, but in any case Thutmose III’s prenomen — and possibly Hatshepsut’s too (fig. 13.10) — were among the first examples (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, pp. 173, 175–76; Jaeger 1982, p. 94, §§415–16; pp. 168–69, §§1214–15).⁴⁹

Finally, the location of Djehuty’s hymns close to the entrance of the tomb-chapel could also be explained through the connection of “regenerative” cryptography to liminal spaces such as doors or architectural frames, as Darnell (2004, pp. 479–81) has underlined. This feature dates back at least to the Middle Kingdom, but the main examples date to the Nineteenth Dynasty in door frames and courtyards of royal temples.⁵⁰ The decoding of cryptographic texts in these spaces (i.e., the area close to the entrance) could be linked incidentally to some sort of “intellectual rite of passage” for entering properly in a religious place.

B. Intended Aims of the Texts in the Sociopolitical Sphere

Djehuty’s hymns can also be approached from a sociopolitical point of view, as their unusual writing and valuable content also followed more worldly, but not less important aims. Before explaining them, it is necessary to refer the backgrounds of TT 11 cryptographic texts. This kind of writing, the so-called “normal/ordinary cryptography,” was not created *ex novo* by Djehuty or by his contemporaries. Some of its signs were already used sporadically during the Middle Kingdom, both in religious and mundane compositions, written in conventional hieroglyphs (Faulkner 1981; Darnell 2004, p. 23 n. 41; Lorand 2008, p. 26 nn. b and d).⁵¹ Texts written entirely in “normal” cryptography date back at least to the Seventeenth Dynasty. Curiously, they are mainly connected to statements concerning wits and capabilities and, furthermore, they do not originate in the Theban court. The oldest example has been recently discovered by the British Museum team directed by Vivian Davies in the tomb of Sobeknakht at Elkab. It is a short cryptographic text, possibly an invitation: “enter in my monument and offer praises to Sobeknakht!”; or, according to another reading, a sort of challenge for the visitors: “tremble (in front of) my images/writings and offer praises to Sobeknakht!”⁵² Whatever the translation would be, it can be related to another text in the same tomb where Sobeknakht states: “May you be friendly and sit in this tomb without impatience (?) and may you praise to Thot, the scribe of his [...], without rush while you hear these useful words and good traditions/advice (*hpr.w*) that I have created over the earth.”⁵³

⁴⁹ For a clear example of a trigram of Amun from the reign of Hatshepsut, see also MMA 27.3.393, discovered in one foundation deposit from the queen’s temple at Deir el-Bahari. The back of this scarab contains the inscription $\overline{\text{Amun}}$, which can be read as “Amun”: $\overline{\text{Amun}}$ = $i(tn)$; $\overline{\text{Amun}}$ = $m(i)$; $\overline{\text{Amun}}$ = $n(b)$. Information from the Metropolitan Museum of Art online collection database, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection> (accessed 16/11/2010). Earlier trigrams of Amun suggested by Drioton (1957 and 1958), dated back to the Old Kingdom, should be considered with extreme caution.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Drioton 1936; 1940, pp. 315–28 (nos. 2–3); a previous example is the cryptographic inscription carved on two vertical columns framing a scene in the tomb of Khety at Beni Hasan; see Newberry 1894, pl. 14.

⁵¹ See also Fischer 1987, pp. 35–39. Some signs were also employed during the Old Kingdom, as it is the case of A27 in Gardiner’s signlist with the phonographic value *in* (Gardiner 1957).

⁵² I am grateful to Vivian Davies for letting me study Sobeknakht’s cryptographic text. On the tomb, currently under study, see W. V. Davies 2010b.

⁵³ Tylor 1896, pl. 7, lines 4–5; Kubisch 2008, p. 290 (El Kab 4c).

Another early occurrence of “normal” cryptography is a short colophon written at the end of the well-known Rhind Mathematical Papyrus.⁵⁴ This document, dated to the very end of the Second Intermediate Period and apparently coming from Thebes, was a copy of a text dated to the reign of Amenemhat III, originally written somewhere within the Hyksos political realm. The colophon, possibly later than the original Middle Kingdom text, is arranged in two columns. As Sobeknakht’s example, it was written as a playful statement on scribal proficiency in connection to both the cryptographic text itself and the mathematical exercises described on the papyrus: “May you translate the strange things that the scribe placed [...], whoever say it accordingly, then, he knows it!” (Morenz 2006a; 2008, pp. 127–31).

Summing up, these examples show that the code and the semiotic mechanics involved in the development of “normal” cryptography were consciously created and used in the Second Intermediate Period — and even earlier — and were spread all over Egypt, trespassing the Theban-based royal court circle — actually, they could have been created by scribes in the provinces. Djehuty’s texts, therefore, follow a previous tradition, possibly not older than a few centuries, which was developed by, and for, scribal schools. The hymns of TT 11 are particularly interesting because they are the oldest documents in normal cryptography attested in the Theban area, they are one of the longest examples in a private context, and they are exposed in a public place.

Furthermore, their composition during the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut is significant, since, as shown below, they form part of a cultural trend of that period where cryptography was displayed in private and royal spheres in an unprecedented — but still extremely restricted — way. Of course, it does not mean that cryptography was not used in previous reigns. As stated above, there is a heterogeneous group of earlier examples indicating that this tradition came from individual wits and, therefore, it wasn’t tightly linked either to any single context and moment or to any precise religious and/or worldly state-based objective. Previous cryptography comprises both private and royal documents. Along with Sobeknakht’s text and the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, there are examples, mainly from provincial southern Upper Egypt, of the use of brief ornamental and normal/ordinary cryptography for writing some words and personal names,⁵⁵ or as a revival of Middle Kingdom cryptographic formulas.⁵⁶ On the contrary, royal examples come from Thebes, or to be precise, from Karnak. One of them is an example of “ornamental cryptography” on an ostrakon depicting the royal titles and names of Thutmose I (Drioton 1940, pp. 377–83, no. 6); another one is a cryptographic composition (ornamental? normal?) on an architectural element possibly recording some royal epithets or names of that king and Senwosert I (Krauss 1992, pp. 86–87).⁵⁷

Leaving aside Djehuty’s hymns, during the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut, normal/ordinary cryptography is rarely attested. Some examples are documented in the funerary compositions of the Amduat preserved in the royal tombs and in the burial chamber of Hatshepsut’s vizier, Useramun (TT 61). Both the Amduat and Djehuty’s cryptographic hymns share several monoconsonantal phonograms and sign-making procedures that suggest a common background. Despite these coincidences, comparisons between their respective sign-catalogs clearly indicate that they were designed by different scribes rendering two diverse enigmatic writing codes. Amduat cryptography is restricted to brief statements, it is mixed with normal hieroglyphs, it is essentially monoconsonantal, and their phonetic values are consistent along the text (Grapow 1936b, pp. 23–29; Werning 2008).⁵⁸ On the contrary, Djehuty’s texts are long, entirely cryptographic, and display a more varied and richer catalog of signs (see *Appendix*).

Along with these examples, attestations of cryptography in the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut are diverse and rich enough to consider that during this period it was promoted both by the kings and by officials from the court scribal circles. In fact, according to contemporary and later evidence, cryptography

⁵⁴ P. BM 10057–58. For further bibliography, see Morenz 2006a; Barbotin 2008.

⁵⁵ The tomb of Bebi at Elkab (Seventeenth Dynasty) included two cryptographic writings of the god Nepri and of the *shemu*-season; see Morenz 2006b; Kubisch 2008, pp. 278–79, lines 3–3/4a. At the tomb of Sataimau at Hagr Edfu (reign of Ahmose, early Eighteenth Dynasty), the owner employed a monogram for writing one of his names: *ḥwt-ḥr m wīz/ḥbīt*; see W. V. Davies 2009b, p. 29.

⁵⁶ A stela from Esna (Louvre C41, Seventeenth/early Eighteenth dynasty) records a cryptographic writing of *m³ᶜ-ḥrw* already attested in the Middle Kingdom; see Geßler-Löhr 1990, pp. 25–26, Beleg 2; Kubisch 2008, pp. 298–301, Esna 2.

⁵⁷ Cairo TR 27.3.25.4. On this text, not yet satisfactorily translated, see also Carlotti 2004, pp. 84–85.

⁵⁸ According to Hornung (1983, pp. 33–34), Amduat cryptography inspired later royal funerary texts such as the Book of Gates and other books of the afterlife.

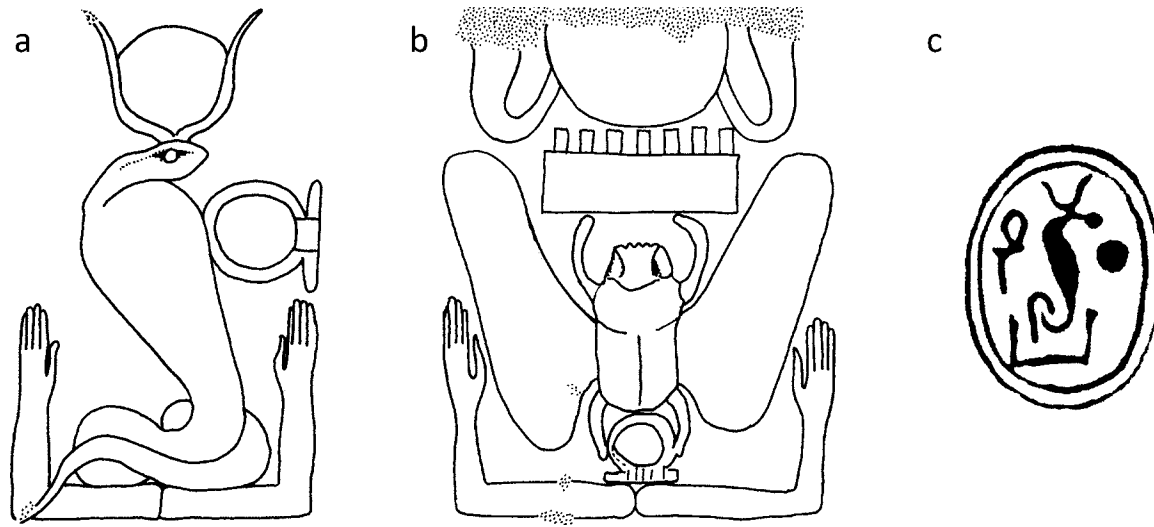


Figure 13.11. Royal monograms containing the prenomen of (a) Hatshepsut and (b) Thutmose III in their memorial temples. (c) depicts a similar composition of Hatshepsut's prenomen on a scarab (JdE 37074) (a: author's drawing after his own photo; b: author's drawing after Ricke 1939, pl. 1; c: after Drioton 1938a, p. 243, fig. 22)

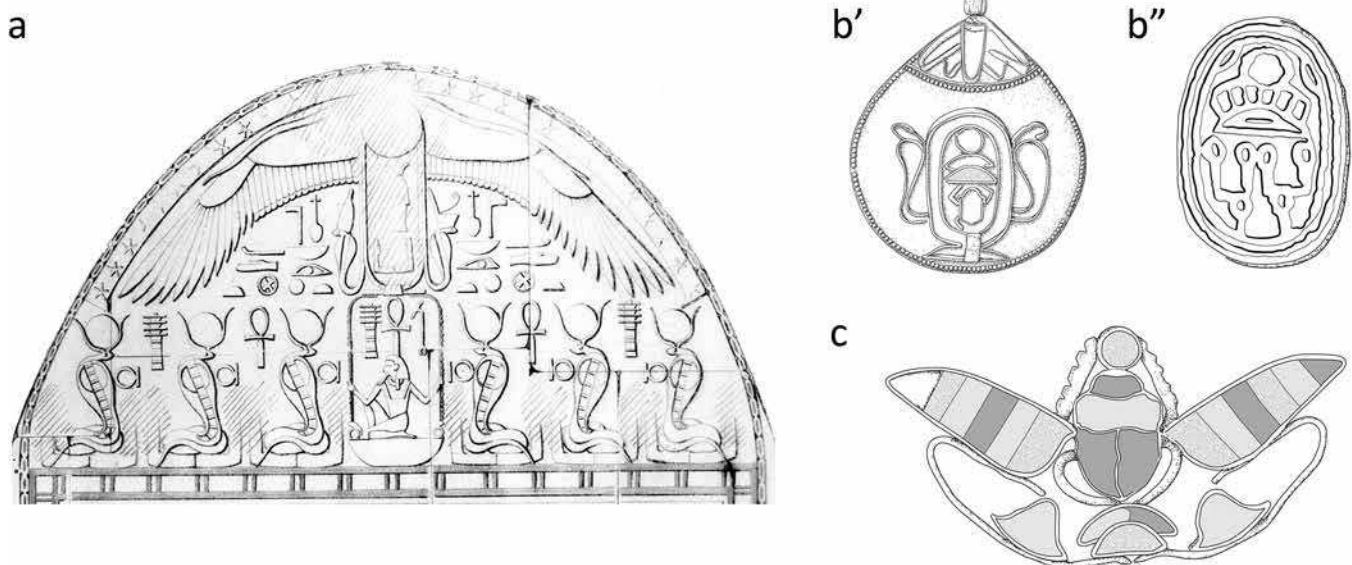


Figure 13.12. Possible inspirations for Hatshepsut "heraldry." (a) Wall of Hatshepsut's memorial temple at Deir el-Bahari showing different "heraldic" compositions, such as the queen's prenomen inserted in the winged disk (above), and a frieze with royal monograms (below) (Naville 1901, pl. 106). (b'-b'') Middle Kingdom examples of royal prenomena inserted in winged disks; (b') is a gold shell pendant with Senwosret II's prenomen (Dashur? MMA 26.7.1353), (b'') is a steatite scarab containing the prenomen of Amenemhat II (unprovenanced, UC 11293).

(c) Gold inlaid ornament of unknown provenance depicting the prenomen of Senwosret II (BM EA 54460). Illustrations b', b'', and c by Ana García Martín after pictures from (b' and c) the Metropolitan Museum of Art online collection database (<http://www.metmuseum.org/collection>), and (b'') the Petrie Museum online database (<http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/search.aspx>), all accessed 28/03/2011



formed part of a wider phenomenon of highly competitive display of intellectual capabilities among the elite members, which gave rise to many “innovative” cultural achievements.

Still in a royal sphere, there are several attestations of the so-called “ornamental” cryptography related to the kings and, particularly, to Hatshepsut’s names. The first example is, of course, the well-known queen’s “monogram” depicting her prenomen (fig. 13.11a).⁵⁹ It served as a decorative pattern in some temple buildings in Thebes, but it was also incorporated into some statues of Senenmut and another individual called Djehutynefer (see note 66, below), and in the tomb of Puimera (TT 39) (Sankiewicz 2008). It was probably created along with another monogram embodying the prenomen of Thutmose III attested in the mortuary temple of the king in western Thebes (fig. 13.11b).⁶⁰ They were emulated by later kings such as Amenhotep III, Sety I, and Ramesses II among others. Despite their apparent innovative conception, these monograms and other “heraldic” creations developed during this period were probably inspired by Middle Kingdom compositions from jewels and, particularly, scarabs, which demanded innovative and synthetic solutions due to the limited space available for writing (fig. 13.12). Actually, the royal monograms were attested, although rare, on scarabs (fig. 13.11c). Their creation seems to be related to other coetaneous ornamental cryptographic compositions on the back of some scarabs discovered in the foundation deposits at Deir el-Bahari (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, p. 173 n. 4).⁶¹ Another alternative origin could be the motifs of branding irons or special monograms for signalling geographical provenances of cattle or materials, as is suggested by some Middle and New Kingdom evidence.⁶²

These and other examples, such as the aforementioned royal prenomena as a way of writing Amun tri-grams, possibly inspired or, conversely, emulated other initiatives from the private sphere. That would be, of course, the case of the TT 11 hymns, and Hatshepsut’s monograms created by Senenmut (Drioton 1938a and 1938b; Roehrig 2005, p. 117). The latter were carved on the shoulders of some cube-statues of that important official that were possibly placed in prestigious public spaces like temple courtyards or entrances.⁶³ They were proudly displayed by Senenmut as, according to his own words, “images (*tw.wt*) that (I) created from my own idea(s) and (my) own work (*sm<t>*), which haven’t been found in the writing of the ancestors” (Grdseloff 1952, pp. 485–86). These monograms are of small dimensions and, therefore, could pass unnoticed. Senenmut’s boastful statement suggests, however, that, notwithstanding their dimensions, inscriptions from small private monuments could be carefully examined and studied by contemporaneous and later visitors at the temples and other locations.⁶⁴ On the other hand, despite his claim for innovation, Senenmut’s figures

⁵⁹ The monogram has been read in several ways, but it is unanimously considered as Hatshepsut’s prenomen; for a state of the art on the question, see Sankiewicz 2008. Note the unnoticed close connection of the monogram with the *šn*-sign, which could stand for the prenomen cartouche. It also appears in several Thutmose III and Amenhotep III monograms. The similarity of the queen’s emblem with some later depictions of the goddess Renenutet, and some texts from Senenmut’s statues holding it, suggest that the name strengthens the identification of Hatshepsut with the goddess; see Robins 1999b, pp. 108–10. This connection is also suggested by several epithets of the queen related to her role as provider of food and *aromata*; see Drioton 1933b, p. 42.

⁶⁰ For dating the temple during the coregency, see Ricke 1939, p. 36 (15). The king’s monogram depicts a prenomen variation, *mn-hpr-kꜣ-rꜣ*, common during the first years of his reign. This name, however, was not restricted to those years; see Laboury 1998, pp. 64–65. The name of his temple, *hnkt-nh*, was also written occasionally as a sort of emblematic or composite hieroglyph; see Fischer 1977a, p. 16.

⁶¹ Scarab MMA 27.3.291 depicts at the back the text  which can be read as “Dual King, lord of the Two Lands” (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, p. 173). A similar composition is scarab MMA 27.3.296, which contains the epigraph , also interpreted as “Dual King (and lord) of the Two Lands.” Information from the Metropolitan Museum online database (accessed 16/11/2010).

⁶² See, for example, signs in the Ramesseum Onomasticon (Gardiner 1947, pp. 11–12) and P. Reisner II (Simpson 1965, pp. 44–47; Andrassy 2009). A similar sign, probably employed as branding iron, is mentioned and depicted in the Ramesside P. Varzy (Lofet and Matoian 1996).

⁶³ The text was carved in several cube-statues of Senenmut holding princess Neferura: CG 42114, Berlin 2296, JdE 47278; see Dorman 1988, p. 188 (A.1); pp. 190–91 (A.6); pp. 192–93 (A.11).

⁶⁴ On New Kingdom private statues set up in temples, see Kjølby 2007, esp. pp. 171–76 and 211–15. A parallel to Senenmut’s statues is the cube-statue of Tety (BM EA 888) from Karnak and dated to the final years of Thutmose III. It shows on and between the hands some small signs which exhibit a cryptographic composition; see Fischer 1976, pp. 126–27, figs. 2–3; Russmann 2001, pp. 124–25, cat. no. 47. Other examples are the cube-statue of Hotep (CG 563), from Ehnasya el-Medina, possibly dated to the early/mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, which displays a brief normal/ordinary cryptographic inscription in front of the hands of the donor (Borchardt 1925, pp. 111–13), and a fragment of a cube-statue of Neferka from Tell Basta dated to the reign of Amenhetep III, which contains on a remaining shoulder two columns of normal/ordinary cryptographic signs (Bernhauer in Bakr, Brandl, and Kalloniatis 2010, pp. 176–79, cat. no. 53). A recently discovered object from Abydos, however, shows that cryptography was occasionally beyond worldly exhibition. A small slab placed at the votive area of Umm el-Qaab (Dreyer et

could form part of an older tradition, since they were possibly inspired by previous parallels, such as a personification depicted in the Dramatic Papyrus from the Ramesseum.⁶⁵ Senenmut's allegedly innovative skills on cryptography could go even further, as he included in several of his statues the queen's monogram.⁶⁶ Moreover, some tri-dimensional representations showing him taking care of Neferura, Hatshepsut's daughter, could be an ingenious and subtle rebus for depicting his own name as *snw-n-mwt* "the equal/counterpart of the mother."⁶⁷

Senenmut's claim for personal wit, unprecedented originality, and own effort, offers an explanation for the presence of cryptography in the tomb of Djehuty and, in a more general way, for understanding the diffusion of cultural and artistic innovations during this period. Similar and roughly coetaneous claims, but from different deeds, are recorded in other biographies. The best example comes from Ineni's biography at his funerary chapel (TT 81; Dziobek 1992). Concerning his achievements as architect, he mentions: "I have thought [these deeds] for my successors. It was a creation of my heart, my success from knowledge. It wasn't given as an instruction by an elder" (*Urk.* IV 57.13–58.1; Goedicke 1986). In a less explicit way, a fragmentary biographic inscription by Amenemhat (PM 1², 457, tomb C.2), who lived during the reigns of Ahmose to, possibly, Thutmose I, can be another good example of a "tradition" maker, since he mentions the creation of a *mrhyt*-clepsydra underlining that "never had the like been made from the primeval times," but stating, at the same time, according to the incomplete text, that he had in mind previous astronomical studies.⁶⁸

Summing up, Djehuty's hymns, along with other features of his mortuary monument, possibly pretended to express similar values to the ones stated by Senenmut, Ineni, or Amenemhat. By means of the architectural and iconographic features of his tomb-chapel, along with his biographical compositions, Djehuty probably wanted to portray a prestigious image of himself by stressing his sociopolitical status, his economic wealth, as well as his original creativeness. His cryptographic compositions underlined this last fact. By putting them on the exterior of his funerary monument, Djehuty displayed his writing capabilities in two hymns whose form and content recall both recent and old traditions coming from the most restricted spheres of knowledge. Cryptography here, as in many other cases during the pharaonic period, served both as Djehuty's "business card" for the most educated visitors, and as a lure for trained scribes ready to face up to, or play in, an intellectual challenge. The enigmatic writing would here be a way, among many others, of strengthening the collective identity and internal communication of the scribal group by means of a sort of ludic expression.⁶⁹ At the same time, it would be a tool for distinctiveness, not just setting apart literate and illiterate people but, above all, discerning well-educated scribes (such as Djehuty) from mediocre or awkward ones.

Cryptography as a manifestation of personal capabilities is attested in different ways during the New Kingdom. It is found in texts on actual and model scribal palettes mainly of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁷⁰ This

al. 1998, p. 129, fig. 20 and pl. 8; Effland and Effland 2004, pp. 13–16) shows at both sides two different cryptographic writings of the name and titles of Minmose, a Ramesside official who left one of these writings of his name on two statues (Bryan 1986, p. 20). There is a clear connection between the two different cryptographic compositions of the name of Minmose at both sides of the Abydene slab and a statement at its edge: "may his name endure inside Ro-Setau." Obviously, this votive object had the intention of showing both the wit and piety of this official to Osiris exclusively, and reinforcing magically the name of the donor.

⁶⁵ See chthonic hymn, note 1, above. The same mechanism in similar but simpler emblems is well attested from the first dynasties; see Fischer 1972 and 1976.

⁶⁶ See, for example, Roehrig 2005, pp. 122–28, with cat. nos. 65–69. The monogram in Senenmut's statuary has been interpreted by some scholars (Drioton 1938a, pp. 238–39; Sankiewicz 2008, pp. 203–04) as evidence for considering it as a possible invention of this individual. The monogram, however, is also attested in other private objects like a scarab (see fig. 13.11c) and a statue of the official Djehutynefer (Louvre E.5416).

⁶⁷ See examples in Roehrig 2005, pp. 112–16, cat. nos. 60–61.

⁶⁸ Brunner 1956; Lull 2004, pp. 134–37. For similar coetaneous examples, see Ragazzoli in press.

⁶⁹ On another example of officials' collective identity by means of a funerary "monumental discourse," see Hartwig 2004, pp. 121–25; on scribal identity, see Ragazzoli 2010.

⁷⁰ See Drioton 1933a, pp. 14–20 (MMA 30.7.1, end of Eighteenth Dynasty); Cleveland Museum of Art 14.680 (Eighteenth Dynasty); Drioton 1944, pp. 18–26 (Louvre, formerly at Musée Guimet, no number, it is connected to a scribal set numbered E.1048–1049); Seidlmayer 1991 (Städtische Galerie Liebieghaus/Frankfurt am Main inv. no. IN 1899). The last two palettes and the scribal set are dated to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty and were owned by the same scribe. In a similar way, palettes were suitable objects for holding expressions celebrating the proficiency of their owners or their kings (Goedicke 1988; Berlin inv. no. 7798, Fifteenth Dynasty), or praises and offerings to the god of writing, Thot (Bull 1932, p. 130, fig. 1; MMA 30.7.1; or Louvre N 3023, end Eighteenth Dynasty, information from Louvre "Atlas" database at http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=crt_frm_rs&langue=fr&initCritere=true [accessed 17/11/2010]).

kind of writing compositions on scribal tools clearly indicates that the tomb owners wanted to mirror, and maybe exhibit in front of their colleagues their abilities.⁷¹ On the other hand, the carving of cryptographic texts on statues, tomb walls, or stelae was possibly a way, among many other artistic and literary options, of underlining the sophisticated and “high-cultured” tastes of their donors and owners or, at least, of showing some glittering examples of originality and erudition that were a defining feature of a scribal culture of distinction.

Long enigmatic compositions, such as the hymns studied here or other well-known compositions (Drioton 1933a and 1933b; Kampp 1994, pp. 185–86, pl. 26b; Darnell 2004, pp. 21–26, pl. 1);⁷² and even other shorter examples such as ancient or new cryptographic renderings of administrative titles (Silverman in Boston Museum of Fine Arts 1982, pp. 287–88, cat. no. 398) and personal names (Parlebas 1975; Morenz 2002–03; and note 55, above), possibly acted in this propagandistic way too.⁷³ In other cases cryptography could also be the result of mere amusement by their creators (note 70, above; Drioton 1944, pp. 23–25). However, there are other circumstances more difficult to explain. Brief cryptographic texts, usually expressing common formulae (Sethe 1924, Clère 1955, Selim 2003), inserted in conventional hieroglyphic texts, could also be due to some of these aforementioned reasons or, maybe in the case of some unusual compositions, to other idiosyncratic features or marks of artistic workshops — or “workcrews” (Quirke 2009, pp. 119–22) — or their related scribes.

Djehuty as Cryptographer

Egyptian cryptography combined “visual poetry” and originality in order to strengthen and possibly make more effective the performativity of the meanings and intended functions of its texts. Simultaneously, it emphasized the scribal skills and the religious and writing erudition of its authors. Therefore, it was, above all, a changing tradition, where every single scribe tried to sophisticate the mechanics and rules of conventional hieroglyphic writing according to his genius and his knowledge of similar older examples. Djehuty’s hymns, as the emblems used by Senenmut, for example, were created by himself taking older and coetaneous examples into account. Actually, notwithstanding the lack of evidences on the way an owner participated in the layout and decorative program of his tomb-chapel, there are some glimpses for involving Djehuty in the conception of his cryptographic hymns. Firstly, his name and some of his titles are closely connected to the god of writing, Thot, and to his main residence, Hermopolis. Secondly, as a whole, his funerary monument is far from being conventional. Actually, besides the peculiarities of its courtyard and its façade decoration, the mortuary chapel displays an exquisite decorative repertoire, which included several rather unusual religious texts. There was, for example, a fairly complete version of the *Mundöffnungsritual* (Serrano 2009 and in this volume); a set of ceremonies depicted in the internal chapel which are only attested in another contemporary and nearby tomb (TT 20; N. de G. Davies 1913, pls. 6–10, 14), and in the later chapel of vizier Amenemope (TT 29; reign of Amenhotep II); an offering list with 122 cells carved in the same room, which is possibly the longest of its kind attested during this period;⁷⁴ an unusual sequence of titles of epithets at the entrance of the corridor, including some brief expressions written cryptographically;⁷⁵ and the decoration of the burial chamber with a wide selection of Book of the Dead chapters (Galán in this volume). Thirdly, the

⁷¹ In this line, note a later advice to court scribes by the Egyptian writer Ahmad al-Qalqashandi (A.D. 1355/56–1418) in the second volume of his *Ṣubḥ al-aaṣā*: “it is necessary for the scribe to do his utmost to adorn the pen-box to make it excellent and to look after it.”




⁷² Another example is a fragmentary cryptographic inscription at the tomb façade of Amenhotep/Huy (TT 368, late Eighteenth Dynasty); see Kampp 1996, p. 593.

⁷³ Reuse and creation of composite hieroglyphs could be included in this innovating writing trend; see Fischer 1977a, pp. 14–16, §8.

⁷⁴ It is a variant of Barta’s list A/B (Barta 1963), and is very similar and a bit larger than the one reproduced in the tomb of Ineni (TT 81); Dziobek 1992, pp. 74–77.

⁷⁵ The same sequence, or a very similar one (both are incomplete), is also attested in the tomb of Montuherkhepeshef (TT 20). See N. de G. Davies 1913, pl. 13, A–B; *Urk.* IV 450.5–8. Re-examination of the inscriptions in TT 11 and the excavation of its courtyard is permitting a clearer, but yet incomplete, idea on the content of the inscription.

mortuary complex also includes some scriptural and compositive frills closely related to the scribal practice, such as the cryptograms themselves, or the use in the Northampton stela of two vertical columns of text, which, as mesostic and teleostic columns, intersect the horizontal lines of the upper section and serve as refrains (Grapow 1936a, pp. 37–51).⁷⁶

The exhibition of cryptography and/or restricted knowledge on the walls of the funerary monument is related to Djehuty's claim to his expertise as "scribe" or "able scribe"  (Urk. IV 427.12, 448.5). Furthermore, tomb inscriptions also yield two unusual epithets in this line. The first one is written in a horizontal frieze on the right wall of the corridor: "the one who knows every secret of the palace and who keeps silence on what <his> eyes see,"  (Urk. IV 449.6–7). The second one, carved on a second biographical stela, at the northern wall of the transversal corridor, records: "the one who can untie the writings of the secret house (?) [...],"  (Urk. IV 435.8, with corrections from collating of the original).⁷⁷ While the first passage could refer to more mundane and political facts, for example to secret affairs and matters from the royal palace,⁷⁸ the second epithet is related to the acquisition of some kind of restricted knowledge. *wh*^c means in this context "to untie," "translate," "decipher," and here it could be referring to either the cryptographic texts or the religious material which was hidden or out of reach. Among the scribes, epithets such as "who unties the knots" (*wh*^c *tss.wt*), or "who unties/deciphers the difficult parts (of a text)" (*wh*^c *itn.w*), were connected since the Middle Kingdom to proficiency in deciphering ancient, foreign, or, possibly, enigmatic texts (Russo and El Samie 2002, pp. 37–38; Morenz 2006b).⁷⁹ On the other hand, the word *drf* "writings" was sometimes employed for underlining scribal skills at understanding difficult texts (Schott 1990, pp. 412–13, no. 1780). This epithet probably relates Djehuty to his cryptographic texts, since it appears again in a similar context in the tomb-chapel of Khaemhat (TT 57; reign of Amenhotep III), where cryptographic texts were displayed too (Drioton 1933a, pp. 1–14, A).⁸⁰ Khaemhat's epithet is mentioned in an inscription, not far from the enigmatic composition, which is addressed, among others, to "every scribe who can untie the writings and is proficient in hieroglyphs, who enjoys entering into the knowledge" (Varille 1941, pl. 65, lines 1–2). The same epithet, preceded by the expression "able scribe," is also attested among the attributes of Intef, a contemporary of Djehuty, on a stela (Louvre C26) from his tomb at Dra Abu el-Naga (TT 155; Urk. IV 969.14).

Djehuty's text includes another element in his epithet which is unattested so far. *drf*-writings are linked genitively to "the secret/hidden house" (*pr h̥p*).⁸¹ This office is unknown elsewhere but, according to its name, surely refers to a department where restricted knowledge was kept.⁸² Therefore, "the writings of the hidden house" are possibly the sources and/or the inspiration for the contents and shape of the cryptographic texts and, maybe, of other religious materials displayed on the tomb-chapel.

⁷⁶ A close parallel is to be found in the tomb of Amenemhat (TT 82; reign of Thutmose III); see Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 25.

⁷⁷ The inscription is badly eroded and *wh*^c is illegible but for the last two signs, which permit, as Sethe already did, a plausible restoration of the verb.

⁷⁸ The epithet probably is related to a statement of Djehuty in the Northampton stela: "He (Hatshepsut) knew my actions and words. I remained silent on the matters of the palace and he put me in charge of the direction of the palace" (*si3.n=f wi m irw ddtw h̥p-r=i hr hrt h̥=f*) (Urk. IV 429.2–3).

⁷⁹ Kares, who was an overseer of the Treasury under Amenhotep I, was "a noble who unties the knots (i.e., the difficult passages of a text or speech)" (CG 34003; Urk. IV 45.12). Curiously, he included in this inscription a cryptographic monogram. On the

knowledge by this individual of Middle Kingdom literary texts, see Ragazzoli in press. For other Eighteenth Dynasty examples, see Morenz 2002, p. 134 (statue Berlin 20001; Roeder 1924, p. 55; and Osing 1992, p. 46, pl. 35, col. 3 (tomb of Nefersekheru at Zawyet Sultan, quoted by Ragazzoli in press).

⁸⁰ See also http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/gif-files/gisqueeze_4_48.jpg [accessed 18/11/2010]. This text, currently lost, was placed inside the mortuary chapel. It was a cryptographic rendering of the initial part of chapter 85 of the Book of the Dead.

⁸¹ On *h̥p*, see van Dijk 2005, pp. 420–21.

















⁸² The term also appears in the stela of Kares (cf. n. 79, above), who states that he is "one to whom secret words are said" (*ddw n=f mdwt h̥pt*) (Urk. IV 46.15).

Conclusion

The cryptographic hymns synthesized the religious knowledge and scribal expertise of Djehuty. Their location in the most public place of the tomb-chapel underline that these compositions were created not only because of their religious value and their connected performativities, but also as a witty exhibition of the intellectual skills and restricted knowledge of Djehuty to a select audience. In this sense, these compositions can be regarded as a good example of a general trend not restricted to Hatshepsut's reign but as a permanent leitmotif in ancient Egypt history: the enrichment of deep-rooted and of relatively new Egyptian cultural traditions, by means of new transformations and/or ancient revivals modelled by personal initiatives, in order to claim and to express originality, intelligence, and superiority over past, present, and future peers.⁸³






































Appendix: List of Cryptographic Values

The following list presents the different signs used in TT 11 hymns with their phonetic, semagramic, or logogramic values. The signs are presented following the order of Gardiner's (1957) signlist and the subsequent addenda by D. van der Plas for Winglyph computer program. The majority of the signs are rather common in hieroglyphic writing. Regarding the occurrences, they have been indicated by means of acronyms: H1 = sun hymn; H2 = chthonic hymn, followed by the column where they appear. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of occurrences in every column. Question marks (?) indicate dubious values or readings.

Sign		Value	Derivation and Comments	Occurrences
	A1	<i>f</i>	Substitution of value (suffix pronoun =i becomes =f)	H2: 4, 8 (?)
		<i>i</i> (?)	Usual value as suffix pronoun (=i)	H2: 3, 8 (?)
	A4C	<i>imn</i>	Direct representation and/or partial representation of the logogram  , <i>imn</i> "to hide"	H2: 9
	A17	<i>h</i>	Consonantal principle from  , <i>hy</i> "child" > <i>h</i>	H1: 3; H2: 1, 2, 3, 9 (2)
		<i>ms</i>	Direct representation of  , <i>msw</i> "child"	H1: 4, 5; H2: 1, 5
	A24	<i>h</i>	Consonantal principle from  , <i>hwi</i> "to strike" > <i>h</i>	H2: 5 (2)
	A26	<i>i</i>	Direct representation of interjection  , <i>i</i>	H1: 2 (?)
		<i>dw3 / mdw / ʕ / nis / ɗwi / i3w / k3i / h3i / hknw</i>	Direct representation/substitution of kind with 	H1: 2 (?), 3 (?); H2: 8 (?)
	A27	<i>in</i>	Direct representation of <i>in.w</i> "messengers"	H1: 2; H2: 2
	A28	<i>h3</i>	Direct representation of <i>h3</i> "to uplift"	H2: 6
 (?)	A30	<i>dw3</i>	Direct representation of <i>dw3</i> "to praise," or similar values (see A26)	H1: 3 (?)
	A36	<i>nd</i>	Direct representation of  , <i>ndi</i> "to mill"	H2: 1, 3

























⁸³ A century and a half later, not far from Djehuty's tomb-chapel, the official Parennefer carved two cryptographic hymns at the thicknesses of the entrance to his mortuary monument at Dra Abu el-Naga (Kampp 1996, pp. 713–716, tomb -162-; Darnell 2004,
















pp. 21–26), suggesting the possible existence in the area of a "cryptographic" tradition whose first attestation are the hymns from TT 11.

Sign		Value	Derivation and Comments	Occurrences
	A40	[DEITY]	Direct representation	H1: 3; H2: 6
		<i>ntr</i>	Direct representation	H2: 3, 6, 7
	A47	<i>iry</i>	Direct representation of <i>iry</i> “keeper”	H2: 9
	A359	<i>ink</i>	Derivation from direct representation and phonetic interchange of <i>k</i> > <i>k</i> from    , <i>ink</i> “to embrace”	H1: 4; H2: 1
	B1	[DEITY]	Direct representation	H2: 4
	B4	<i>ms</i>	Direct representation	H2: 6
	C18	<i>tnn</i>	Direct representation	H2: 8
	C11 without <i>rnpt</i> on the head	<i>hh</i>	Direct representation	H1: 1
	C19	<i>pth</i> (?)	Direct representation	H2: 7
	C70 var.	<i>hrw</i>	Direct representation	H2: 1
	C65A	<i>hrw</i>	Direct representation	H2: 1
	A51D / C98E	<i>ntr</i> / <i>wsir</i> (?)	Direct representation	H2: 3
	A51A with lion head	<i>shmt</i> (?)	Direct representation	H2: 9
	D7A	<i>m33</i>	Direct representation of    , <i>m33</i> “to see”	H2: 7 (3)
	D140	<i>m33</i> / <i>ptr</i>	Direct representation	H1: 1; H2: 7
	D10	<i>irt</i> / <i>wd3t</i>	Direct representation	H2: 7
	D12 / N33 / N5	<i>t</i>	Substitution of kind of phonogram  , <i>t</i>	H1: 1 (?), 3; H2: 3, 6, 9 (3)
		<i>m</i>	<i>Pars pro toto</i> and consonantal principle from    , <i>m(33)</i> “to see”	H2: 5
		<i>r</i> (?)	<i>Pars pro toto</i> and consonantal principle from  , (<i>i</i>) <i>r</i> “to do/make”	H2: 6
		<i>ir</i>	<i>Pars pro toto</i> from  , <i>ir</i>	H1: 1 (?); H2: 8
		[FOOD]	Substitution of kind of  , a kind of bread	H2: 8
		<i>r^c</i> / <i>itn</i> (?)	Direct representation of sun disk	H1: 1 (?), 5
		<i>n</i>	Substitution of kind of  , <i>n</i> , from consonantal principle <i>n(iwt)</i> “city”	H1: 4 (2), 5
		<i>dmd</i>	<i>Pars pro toto</i> of logogram  , <i>dmd</i>	H2: 2
	D19 / F63	<i>sn</i>	As ideogram and semagram in   , <i>sni</i> “to smell”	H1: 3; H2: 4 (2), 5 (3), 7
	D21	<i>r</i>	Usual value as phonogram <i>r</i>	H2: 3, 4
	D26A	<i>t(w)</i> / <i>t(w)</i>	Consonantal principle from  , <i>tf</i> “saliva”	H2: 3, 4 (2), 5, 6 (2), 9 (2)

Sign		Value	Derivation and Comments	Occurrences
	D35A	<i>n</i>	Usual value as ideogram and phonogram <i>n</i>	H1: 4 (2)
	D37	<i>rdi</i> / <i>di</i>	Usual value as ideogram and phonogram <i>rdi</i> / <i>di</i>	H2: 3
	D38	<i>rdi</i> / <i>di</i>	Substitution of kind for	H2: 4, 8
		<i>m</i>	Consonantal principle from the imperative , <i>im</i> “take!”	H1: 2, 3; H2: 4, 5, 6, 7 (4)
		<i>d</i>	Substitution of kind and consonantal principle from , <i>di</i> “to give”	H1: 2 (2)
		<i>n</i> (?)	Substitution of kind from as substitution of kind of , <i>n</i>	H1: 2
		<i>r</i> (?)	Substitution of kind from , <i>ʕ</i> , as derivation use of for <i>r</i> ; or substitution of kind and consonantal principle from , <i>r(di)</i>	H1: 2
	D43	<i>hw</i>	From its use as ideogram and semagram of , <i>hw</i> “to protect”	H2: 4 (2)
	D46	<i>wd(i)</i> (?)	From its use as consonantal phonogram of , <i>wd(i)</i> “to put”	H2: 1
		<i>di</i> (?)	Substitution of kind from , and <i>pars pro toto</i> from .	H2: 1
		<i>d</i>	Usual value as phonogram <i>d</i>	H2: 4
		<i>d</i>	Consonantal principle from , <i>d(rt)</i> “hand”	H2: 5
	D49	<i>m</i>	Consonantal principle from , <i>ʕmmt</i> “to grasp”	H1: 1, 5; H2: 2, 5
	D52	[LIQUID EJECTION]	Usual value as semagram	H2: 4 (2)
		<i>t</i>	Consonantal principle from , <i>tʕy</i> “male,” and phonetic interchange of <i>t</i> > <i>t</i>	H2: 5
	D54	<i>iw</i>	Usual value as ideogram and semagram for , <i>iw</i> “to come”	H2: 1
	D55	<i>ʕnn</i>	Usual value as semagram for , <i>ʕnn</i> “to turn back,” “to return”	H2: 8
	D58	<i>b</i>	Usual value as phonogram <i>b</i>	H2: 2
	D200	<i>inḳ</i>	Substitution of kind of semagram D32 in , <i>inḳ</i> “to embrace”	H2: 4
	E2	<i>k</i>	Consonantal principle from <i>k(ʕ)</i> , “bull”	H1: 2
	E13	<i>hft</i>	Indirect representation of the Apep snake, the enemy (<i>hfty</i>) of Re, by means of the cat which kills it	H2: 4
		<i>m</i>	Consonantal principle from , <i>miw</i> “cat”	H2: 6
	E17	<i>ʕb(t)</i>	Direct representation of the jackal as a bearer of the sun disk from the east to the west	H1: 1
	E34 (jumping hare)	[HARE]	Direct representation of a jumping hare, which serves as semagram for <i>tf(i)</i> , , “to jump”	H1: 1 (?)
		<i>ʕwt</i>	Substitution of kind for	H1: 1 (?)
	E83 / E263	<i>ʕ</i>	Dubious. Acrophony from <i>ʕ(mʕm)/ʕ(lʕ)</i> , “shrew” (?)	H2: 2

Sign		Value	Derivation and Comments	Occurrences
	—	<i>km wr</i>	Substitution of kind for as symbol of the 10th province of Lower Egypt	H2: 6
	F21	<i>sḏm</i>	Usual value as phonogram/ideogram <i>sḏm</i> , “to hear”	H2: 8
	F27	<i>k</i>	<i>Pars pro toto</i> from <i>kȝ</i> , “bull”	H1: 2 (+1?), 3 (3), 4 (4); H2: 1 (2), 2 (6), 3 (3), 4 (4), 5 (4), 6 (3), 7 (1), 8 (5), 9 (4)
		<i>sȝb (?)</i>	Substitution of shape for <i>sȝb</i> “many colored”	H1: 2
		<i>nm (?)</i>	Consonantal principle from (<i>i</i>) <i>nm</i> , “skin”	H1: 2
	F32	<i>ḥ(t)</i>	Usual value as phonogram <i>ḥ</i> and ideogram <i>ḥt</i> “body”	H2: 2
	F39A	<i>šḥm (?)</i>	Unknown	H2: 6
	F40	<i>ȝw</i>	Usual value as phonogram <i>ȝw</i>	H2: 8
	F43 + F44 + F42	<i>ȝwt</i>	Direct representation	H2: 2
	F51	<i>m</i>	Unknown	H2: 3, 6, 8, 9
	F181	<i>ḥr.wy</i>	Direct representation	H2: 7
	G1/ G4	<i>tyw</i>	Usual representation of phonogram and logogram	H1: 2
	(G7)	<i>nṯr (?)</i>	Direct representation	H2: 8
	G14	<i>nr</i>	Direct representation	H1: 2
	G25	<i>ȝḥ (?)</i>	Usual representation of phonogram and logogram	H2: 3
	G28	<i>gm</i>	Usual representation of phonogram and logogram	H2: 5
	G36	<i>wr</i>	Usual representation of phonogram and logogram	H2: 5
	G40	<i>sp (?)</i>	Consonantal principle and phonetic change from <i>spȝ</i> “to let fly”	H1: 4
		<i>p (?)</i>	Consonantal principle from phonogram <i>pȝ</i>	H1: 4
		<i>šḥ (?)</i>	Substitution of shape of rare phonogram <i>šḥ</i>	H1: 4
	—	<i>ḥꜥ(w) (?)</i>	Unknown. Probably direct representation of <i>ḥꜥ.w</i> “image,” “statue”	H2: 2
		<i>kȝ.w</i>	Direct representation of royal <i>ka</i>	H2: 6
	H8	<i>ȝs</i>	Substitution of shape of phonogram <i>ws/ȝs</i>	H2: 5
	H10	<i>bik (?)</i>	<i>Pars pro toto</i> from logogram <i>bik</i> “falcon”	H1: 2
		<i>ḥm (?)</i>	<i>Pars pro toto</i> from logogram <i>ḥm</i> “divine image”	H1: 2
	H34	<i>imy / im</i>	Direct representation of a bird inside (<i>im</i>) an egg: “the one who is inside (<i>imy</i>)”	H1: 2; H2: 3 (2), 5
	I6	<i>km</i>	Usual value as phonogram <i>km</i>	H2: 5

Sign		Value	Derivation and Comments	Occurrences
	I14	<i>r</i>	Consonantal principle from <i>r</i> (<i>ṣ</i>), “snake”	H1: 1 (?); H2: 1, 4, 5, 7 (6)
		<i>f</i>	Substitution of shape of phonogram  , <i>f</i>	H1: 1 (?), 2 (2), 3 (3); H2: 1 (2), 7 (2), 9
		<i>d</i>	Substitution of shape of phonogram  , <i>d</i>	H2: 9
		[CROWN]	Possible semagram for the word <i>h</i> ḥ “crown”	H1: 4 (?)
		<i>t</i>	Consonantal principle and association of meaning with <i>t</i> (<i>ṣ</i>) “earth”; phonetic interchange of phonogram <i>d</i> > <i>t</i> ; or hieratic confusion between the logogram <i>t</i> ṣ and the phonogram <i>f</i>	H1: 4 (?)
	I75	<i>dt</i>	Uroboros (?)	H2: 8
	I126	<i>pr</i>	Direct representation of verb <i>pr</i> (<i>i</i>) “to go out”	H1: 2
	K2	<i>s</i> (?)	Dubious. Direct representation of Late Egyptian <i>s</i> “fish” (?)	H2: 6
	L4	<i>r</i>	Unknown	H2: 1, 3, 6, 7 (2), 8
	M2	<i>i</i>	Substitution of kind for phonogram  , <i>i</i>	H1: 2; H2: 1 (?), 2 (2), 8 (2), 9 (2+1?)
		<i>r</i>	Substitution of kind for phonogram  , <i>i</i> , and phonetic interchange <i>i</i> > <i>r</i>	H2: 3 (?)
		<i>sw</i> (?)	Substitution of kind for phonogram 	H2: 9 (?)
	M2 + M2	<i>w</i>	Phonetic interchange between <i>i</i> / <i>y</i> and <i>w</i>	H1: 2 (?)
		<i>ṣ</i> / <i>y</i> (?)	Phonetic interchange between <i>i</i> / <i>y</i> and <i>ṣ</i> (?)	H1: 3
	M8	<i>š</i>	Consonantal principle of usual phonetic value <i>š</i> (<i>ṣ</i>)	H1: 4, 5; H2: 9
		<i>n</i>	Substitution of kind with phonogram  , <i>n</i>	H2: 9
	M17	<i>i</i>	Usual value as phonogram <i>i</i>	H1: 4; H2: 2, 4, 6
	M18	<i>ii</i>	Usual value as logogram <i>ii</i> “to come”	H2: 5
	M44	<i>sr</i> / <i>srt</i>	Usual value as logogram <i>srt</i> “thorn”	H1: 4
	N1	[CELESTIAL]	Usual semagram for <i>nwt</i> , “the goddess Nut”	H2: 4, 6
	N4	<i>iḥdt</i> / <i>nšn.wt</i>	Usual semagram for the respective words	H1: 3
	N6B	[ROYALTY]	Direct representation of the sun crowned with two <i>uraei</i>	H2: 8
	N8	<i>psd</i> / <i>s.hd</i> / <i>wbn</i>	Usual semagram for the respective words	H1: 4
	N14	<i>dwṣ</i>	Direct representation and usual value as phonogram and logogram of <i>dwṣ</i> , “star”	H2: 9 (1+1?)
		<i>s</i>	Consonantal principle from <i>s</i> (<i>b</i> ṣ) “star”	H2: 9 (?)
		<i>sk</i>	Direct representation of the <i>sk</i> -star, constellation, or asterism mentioned in the Pyramid Texts	H2: 9 (?)
	N26	<i>dw</i>	Direct representation and usual value as phonogram and logogram <i>dw</i>	H1: 1 (?)
		<i>hṣst</i>	Substitution of shape with  , <i>hṣst</i>	H1: 1 (?)

Sign		Value	Derivation and Comments	Occurrences
	N28	ḥ ^c	Usual value of phonogram ḥ ^c “to appear”	H1: 1, 4 (?)
		ḥ	Consonantal principle from ḥ ^c	H1: 4 (?)
	N31	wṣt	Direct representation and usual value as phonogram and logogram wṣt.	H1: 3; H2: 9
		ḥr(w)	Direct representation of ḥr(wt) “way, road”	H2: 7
	N35	n	Usual value of phonogram n	H1: 3
	N35A	n	Substitution of shape from  , n	H1: 1 (?), 3
	N36	n	Substitution of kind from  , n	H1: 2 (2); H2: 1, 2 (2), 3 (3), 4 (2), 5 (2), 6 (4), 8 (3), 9
		š	Reversal of cryptic use of  by  , since the last one is used to write the first sign	H1: 2
		wṣt	Substitution of shape from  , wṣt	H1: 3
		[WATERY AREA]	Substitution of shape and kind from  and/or 	H1: 4, 5
	N41	ḥm	Usual value as phonogram	H2: 5
	O9	nbt-ḥwt	Usual value as logogram and phonogram	H2: 5
	O39	š	Substitution of shape from  , š	H2: 7
	O49	nw	Substitution of kind from  , nw	H1: 4, 5
		t	Substitution of shape from  , with cryptographic value t	H2: 4, 6
	P5	‘ (?)	Acrophony from ‘(ṣ) “mast”	H1: 1
		t (?)	Consonantal principle from tṣw “wind,” and phonetic change t̄ > t	H1: 1
	P6	ḥ ^c	Usual value as phonogram ḥ ^c	H2: 3
	P30	wṣ/ dpt/ m’ndt	Direct representation	H1: 3
	Q7E	m	Substitution of shape from  , imy and consonantal principle (i)m(y)	H2: 6
	Q12A	st	Substitution of kind and shape from  , st	H1: 2
	Q18	sḏr	Substitution of kind and shape from logogram  , sḏr	H1: 3
	R24	n	Consonantal principle from n(t) “the goddess Neit”	H2: 2
	S3	n	Consonantal principle from n(t) “red crown”	H2: 4, 5 (2)
	S9	ḥ ^c w	Substitution of kind from  , ḥ ^c “crown”	H2: 7
		šwyt	Slight phonetic alteration from šw.ty “(the crown of) two feathers,” to šwyt “the sacred figure”	H2: 7
	S24	t̄s	Usual value of phonogram and logogram t̄s	H2: 3
	S28	s	Substitution of kind from  , s	H2: 3, 5, 6
	S42	šḥm	Usual value of logogram šḥm	H1: 4; H2: 3 (?)
	S43	mdw	Usual value of logogram mdw	H1: 3

Sign		Value	Derivation and Comments	Occurrences
	S55	<i>n</i>	Substitution of kind and shape of cryptogram , <i>n</i>	H1: 4
	S77	<i>tnw</i>	<i>Pars pro toto</i> from , <i>tnn</i> “the god Tjenen”	H1: 4
	T19	<i>ks.w</i>	Usual value of the logogram , <i>ks</i>	H2: 2
	T21	<i>m</i>	Consonantal principle from , <i>m(sn)</i> “the harpooner,” and substitution of kind by the <i>w</i> -harpoon.	H1: 1
	T28	<i>hr</i>	Usual value as phonogram	H2: 5
		<i>hr</i>	Phonetic alteration from <i>hr</i> to <i>hr</i>	H2: 9
	U1	<i>m</i>	Consonantal principle from <i>m(š)</i>	H1: 2
	U7	<i>mr</i>	Usual value as phonogram	H2: 8
	U28	<i>dš</i>	Usual value as phonogram	H1: 4 (2)
	V1 / Z7	<i>w</i>	Intended confusion of shape between V1 and Z7, having the value of V1 as the hieratic writing of phonogram , <i>w</i>	H1: 2 (2), 4; H2: 3, 7, 8, 9
	V6	<i>mi</i>	Substitution of shape of phonogram , <i>mi</i>	H2: 7 (4), 8, 9 (?)
		<i>s</i>	Consonantal principle from <i>s(š)</i>	H2: 3, 4 (3), 5, 9 (1+1(?))
	V25	<i>wḏ</i>	Usual value as phonogram	H1: 3
	V28	<i>ḥ</i>	Usual value as phonogram	H2: 5
	V29	<i>sk</i>	Usual value as phonogram and logogram	H2: 3
	V31	<i>k</i>	Usual value as phonogram	H2: 5
	W7	<i>nw (?)</i>	Substitution of kind from , <i>nw</i>	H1: 2
	W9	<i>hnm</i>	Usual value as phonogram	H2: 4, 9
	W10	<i>ʿ</i>	Acrophony/phonetic value from , <i>ʿ</i> “vase”	H2: 3, 5
	X1	<i>t</i>	Usual value as phonogram	H1: 4; H2: 5, 9
		<i>d (?)</i>	Phonetic alteration or change of dentals <i>t > d</i>	H2: 9 (?)
	X2 / X3	<i>t</i>	Substitution of kind from , <i>t</i>	H2: 4 (2), 5, 7, 8 (3), 9
		<i>ti</i>	<i>Pars pro toto</i> from the group writing , <i>ti</i>	H2: 5
	X8	<i>ḏi/ rḏi</i>	Usual value as phonogram	H1: 2 (2); H2: 4
	Z1	[LOGOGRAM]	Usual value as semagram denoting a “logogramic” value for the sign that it determines	H1: 3
	Z2 / Z2B / Z3	[PLURAL]	Usual values as semagrams	H1: 1, 3 (3), 4; H2: 3 (2), 7 (2), 8, 9
	Z9	[TRESPASSING]	Usual value as semagram	H1: 4
	Z11	<i>imy</i>	Usual value as phonogram	H1: 3
	Aa2	<i>wt</i>	Usual value as phonogram and logogram	H2: 4
	Aa16	<i>m</i>	Usual value as phonogram	H1: 4; H2: 5

