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Outside the Box

Selected papers from the conference

“Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact”

Liège, 27-29 October 2014

Andreas DORN & Stéphane POLIS (eds.)



Presses Universitaires de Liège

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2018

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Observations on the *Reden und Rufe* in the workmen's tombs of Deir el-Medina*

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Abstract. In this paper, I study the workers' speeches ("*Reden und Rufe*") in the 19th Dynasty tombs of Deir el-Medina. For this period, such texts are preserved in three tombs in Deir el-Medina (TT 212, TT 217, and TT 266), four in the Theban necropolis (TT 16, TT 19, TT 31, and TT 106), and possibly one in the oasis of Bahariya (the tomb of Amenhotep, called Huy). The goal of this paper is twofold. First, it aims at showing that, although a few workmen in Deir el-Medina added the so-called scenes of daily life to the decorative program of their tombs, the speeches that are found within these have no parallels in the other known speech captions in private tombs. The second goal is to determine what kind of language is used in 19th Dynasty workers' speeches, since this literary genre is sometimes thought to be written in the vernacular of the day. Following Vernus (2010: 319, n. 31), I argue that it is a mimetic language, "*à-la-manière-de*," more than an actual colloquial language. For this enquiry, the tombs of Ipy (TT 217) and Amennakht (TT 266) can be excluded because of the absence of text in prepared columns. The tomb of Ramose (TT 212) and the tomb of Panehsy and his wife Tarenu (TT 16), on the other hand, reveal Late Egyptian linguistic features. Some of these features might suggest a reinterpretation of the rules proper to the literary genre of these speeches (possible diaphasic variation).

1. INTRODUCTION

In the tombs of the Theban necropolis, there is a sharp decrease in workers' speeches after the 18th Dynasty. On the other hand, these speeches emerge at the same time in a few workmen tombs at Deir el-Medina. I wanted therefore to understand why fewer and fewer people were including such speeches in their tombs and if there were similarities or parallels between the speech captions found at Deir el-Medina and in other places. This paper goes some way to addressing these questions. After this short introduction, I present the general data from the New Kingdom. Then I focus on the workers' speeches in the 19th Dynasty Deir el-Medina tombs, since no *Reden und Rufe* were recorded in 20th Dynasty tombs in the Theban Necropolis, apart from certain usurped tombs.¹ Three tombs are

* This contribution is an enhanced version of the poster that I presented at the Deir el-Medina conference (Liège, 27th–29th October 2014). It is part of my PhD research, which deals with the workers' speeches in private tombs from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period. I would like to thank my supervisor J. Winand for his comments on a draft of this paper and J. Allen for having reviewed my English. All remaining errors are my own. I would also like to thank the editors for inviting me to contribute and Nadine Cherpion (responsible for the Archives at the IFAO) for allowing me to use IFAO material.

¹ See for instance TT 65 (Nebamun, usurped by Imiseba), which has been studied by the Hungarian mission: Bács (1998; 2002; 2011; 2015).

concerned: TT 212 (Ramose), TT 217 (Ipuy), and TT 266 (Amennakht). Before concluding, I place them in the New Kingdom socio-cultural context and show how the presence of such speech captions in 19 Dynasty tombs can be explained.

“*Reden und Rufe*” are well-known terms in Egyptology ever since the studies of Erman (1919) and Guglielmi (1973). They refer to speeches that are found within some of the so-called scenes of daily life² in elite tombs, from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period. These speeches belong³ to a literary genre with its own code. Despite several studies,⁴ the whole corpus has not yet been put together and studied systematically.

In order to study a literary genre, both *situational characteristics*, such as the production circumstances or the participants involved,⁵ and the distinctive *linguistic features*⁶ have to be considered. In a second step, one can study how they are related to one another (*functional analyses*). For instance, if the general communicative purpose is directive (*situational characteristic*), one will typically use imperatives or deontic modals, in other words, a “*linguistic feature associated functionally with the situational characteristic*”.⁷ Only some *linguistic features* are discussed here, the *situational feature* being out of the frame of this paper.

The “*Reden und Rufe*,” which are called here “workers’ speeches,” are often considered reflections of the spoken language. Therefore, we would expect those found in the tombs of the New Kingdom to be written in Late Egyptian, since in “*Égyptien de la seconde phase*” a distinction is made depending on the literary genre between formal (written in “*Égyptien de Tradition*”) and colloquial (written in Late Egyptian, during the New Kingdom).⁸

However, as pointed out by Vernus,⁹ it is more a way of writing “*à-la-manière-de*” than genuine spoken language. As such, this paper focuses on the linguistic features within 19 Dynasty workers’ speeches in order to test the hypothesis of a literary genre that imitates the spoken language.

2. WORKERS’ SPEECHES DURING THE NEW KINGDOM

After a hiatus extending from the second half of the 12th Dynasty through the Second Intermediate Period, workers’ speeches reappear during the New Kingdom in four necropoleis: el-Kab, Thebes, Saqqara, and the Bahariya oasis, with a clear preference for the Theban necropolis, as shown by Figure 1 below.¹⁰ After a sharp ascent in popularity during the 18th Dynasty, they survive in a few

² For a discussion of the phrase “scenes of daily life”, see van Walsem (1998: 1205, note 1) and Kessler (1987: 60).

³ For a reflection about the belongingness of a text to a genre or rather its participation in it, see Derrida (1986: 262–265).

⁴ The main studies are: Erman (1919), Montet (1925), Guglielmi (1973), and Dominicus (1994). For recent literature, consult Vernus (2009–2010) and Motte (2018).

⁵ For a detailed discussion of situational characteristics of genres, see Biber & Conrad (2009: 39–47). For Ramesside case studies of these characteristics, see e.g. Gillen (2014) and Gillen (in prep.).

⁶ For a non-exhaustive list of linguistic characteristics that might be investigated in a literary genre study, see Biber and Conrad (2009: 78–82).

⁷ Biber and Conrad (2009: 68).

⁸ For a definition of the diglossia phenomenon during the New Kingdom, see Vernus (1996: 560, 563–564).

⁹ Vernus (2010: 319, n. 31).

¹⁰ New Kingdom daily life scenes without workers’ speeches have been excluded, because they are not part of the core of this study.

tombs up to the 20th Dynasty. A second hiatus is then noticeable in the Third Intermediate Period tombs.¹¹

While 18th Dynasty workers' speeches are present in el-Kab, Saqqara, and Thebes, during the 19th Dynasty they are only found in the Theban Necropolis (with the possible exception of the Bahariya oasis to which I will shortly return): in two private tombs at Dra' Abu el Naga (TT 16 — Panehsy and Tarenu, and TT 19 — Amenmose), in two tombs at Gurnah (TT 31 — Kons/To and TT 106 — Paser), and in three craftsmen's tombs at Deir el-Medina (TT 212 — Ramose, TT 217 — Ipuw, and TT 266 — Amennakht). *Pace* Guglielmi (1973: 143), the speech from TT 31, which is actually a re-used tomb,¹² is not a workers' speech *stricto sensu*, but a discourse delivered by the first owner of the tomb.¹³ Moreover, the "speech" under discussion is written on a scene presumably belonging to the original decorative program, *i.e.*, from the 18th Dynasty. For those reasons, TT 31 has been excluded from the present study. Similarly, the tomb of Amenhotep, called Huy, in Bahariya, has been left aside. Its dating is not yet secured: it was built either during the 19th dynasty¹⁴ or between the late 18th dynasty and the early 19th dynasty.¹⁵

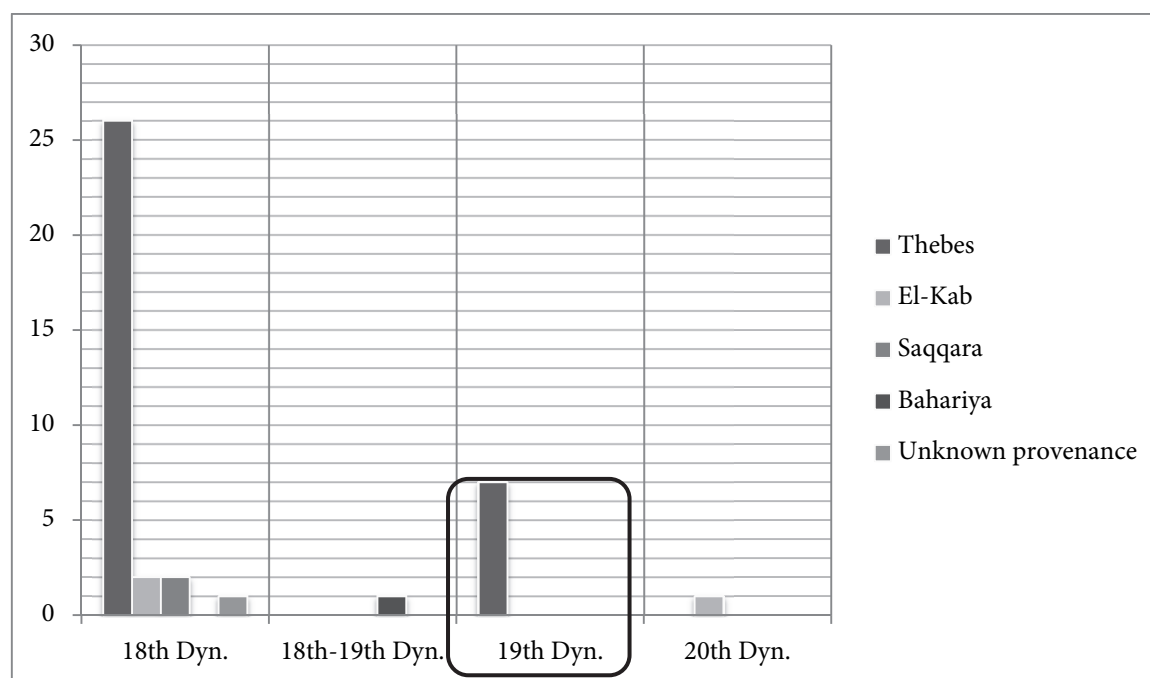


Figure 1. Distribution of tombs with workers' speeches by necropolis and dynasty during the New Kingdom

¹¹ Workers' speeches reappear in a few tombs from the Late Period. It must be noted here that, contrary to the Old Kingdom, where one can find tombs with more than a hundred speeches, such as the tomb of Ti (Épron, Daumas & Goyon 1939; Wild 1953; 1966), most New Kingdom tombs contain fewer than five speeches.

¹² For the question of the re-use of TT 31, see Kondo (1997: 54–61).

¹³ Kondo (1997: Fig. 2).

¹⁴ *PM* VII, 301.

¹⁵ Fakhry (1942: 39), van Siclen III (1981: 33–34), and Giddy (1987: 41 n. 29) who notes that "consideration must be taken, however, of the possibility that local traditions (conservative tendencies, provincial art styles) could create discrepancies in its absolute dating, as based on parallels with the Nile Valley."


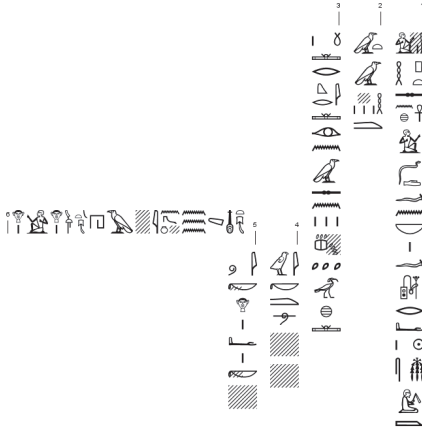
3. THE DEIR EL-MEDINA TOMBS

“Daily life” scenes are quite rare in the necropolis of Deir el-Medina. So far, fifty-three tombs have been inventoried there, only five of which preserve such scenes.¹⁶ Among them, the tombs of Ramose (TT 212), of Ipyu (TT 217), and of Amennakht (TT 266) contain workers’ speeches (or at least evidence of them). The three tombs are dated to the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁷

3.1. TT 212 Ramose¹⁸

The “scribe in the place of truth” Ramose owns three tombs across the Deir el-Medina necropolis: TT 7, TT 212, and TT 250.¹⁹ The decorative program, however, is different in each one. Only TT 212 contains a daily life scene. The chapel is highly damaged but enough fragments remained in early twenties to restore part of a farming scene.

Two pairs of grazing oxen face each other. Behind the right pair, a ploughman waves a wooden stick to drive them. Above the group runs a speech of five columns and one line. The orientation of the signs, from right to left, changes above the oxen and goes from left to right. Bruyère published a black-and-white picture of the scene and a hieroglyphic transcription in the excavation report of 1923–1924,²⁰ but the sketch from his excavation diaries²¹ is more readable (see Figures 2–3 below). The hieroglyphic transcription must be reconsidered and would require a higher resolution picture for the damaged parts. Yet J.-P. Corteggiani, who is in charge of the tomb publication,²² kindly informed me that the scene is now fully destroyed.²³ Here is an emended transcription based on the available documents:

Bruyère’s transcription	Emended transcription
	

¹⁶ Corteggiani (1984: 69, n. 1).

¹⁷ For the dating of TT 266, see Corteggiani (1984: 79–80); for the others, see <http://www.tmpbibliography.com> (accessed on 04/03/2015).

¹⁸ *PM* I,1, 309.

¹⁹ TT 7: *PM* I,1, 15–16; TT 212: *PM* I,1, 309; TT 250: *PM* I,1, 336.

²⁰ Bruyère (1925: 65, pl. XIX).

²¹ Now available on the IFAO website: http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0145_027 (accessed on 24/04/15).

²² The tomb is to be published in *MIFAO* 98.

See <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/?id=104> (accessed on 11/06/2015).

²³ Personal communication (24/04/2016).

The speech can then be transliterated and translated as follows:

- (1) *hm s^cnh-ptḥ dd=f n nb=f sš r^c-ms m³^c-hrw*
- (2) *t3 3ḥ.t m*
- (3) *sšr r-iqr iri n3(y)=sn it 3ḥ*
- (4) *iw=k m [...]*
- (5) *iw=k (?) hr ^c=k [...]*
- (6) *hr=i hr imn.t h3y-nwi(.t)-nfr.t*

The servant Sankhptah²⁴ says to his master, the scribe Ramose, justified: ‘The field is in an excellent state. Their barley will be useful, while you are [...] and you [...]. My face is towards *imn.t* and *h3y-nwi(.t)-nfr.t*.’

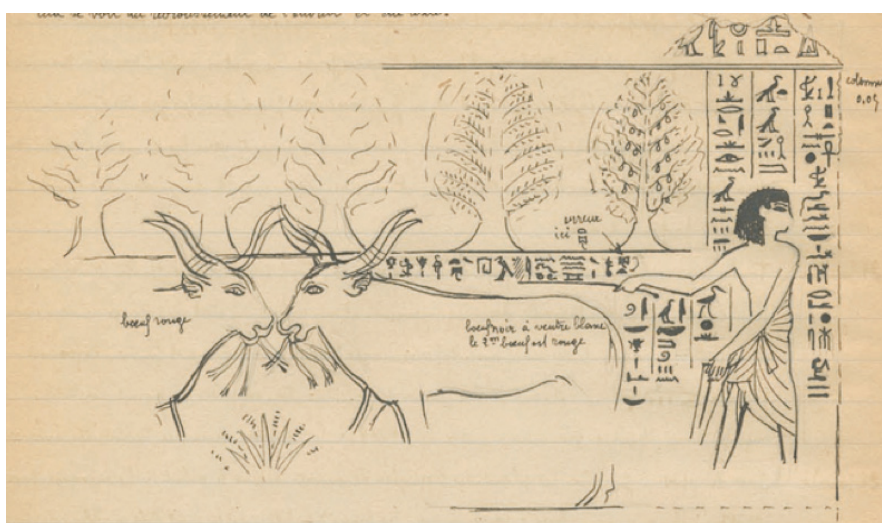


Figure 2. Journal of B. Bruyère, DeM 1, 1924, p. 13 — © B. Bruyère, IFAO

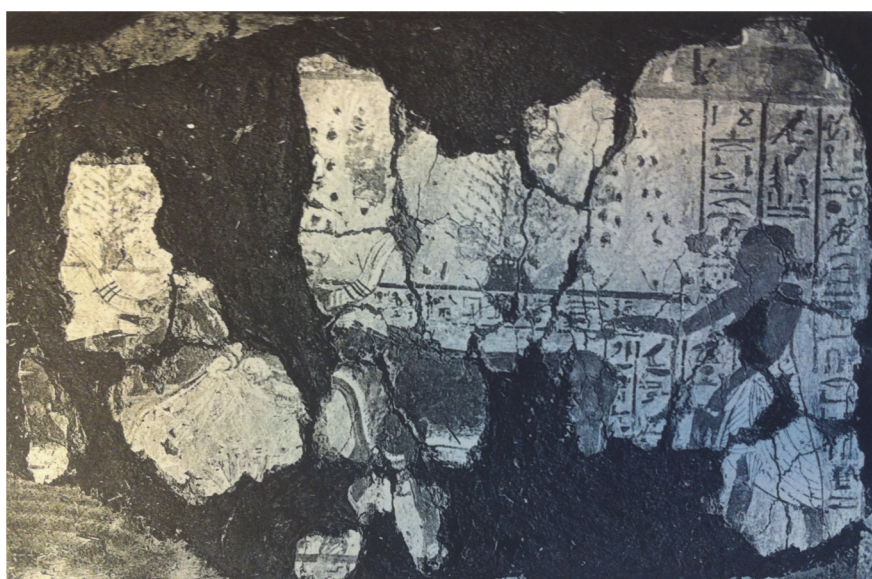


Figure 3. Ploughing Scene (Bruyère, IFAO [1923–24], pl. XIX) — © IFAO

²⁴ Černý (1973: 325, n. 1), Guglielmi (1973: 23), and Kitchen (2000: 420) transliterated the name “*ptḥ-s^cnh*”, but according to Ranke (1935: 301.1), it should probably be read *s^cnh-ptḥ*.

The speech contains two interesting linguistic features for the literary genre study of the workers' speeches. First, it opens with a *sdm=f* used as an introductory formula,²⁵ as in letters or autobiographies.²⁶ This introductory *dd=f* is not a frequent feature in the “*Reden und Rufe*.” It appears for the very first time in Old Kingdom *Reden und Rufe* from the Saqqara necropolis, more specifically in the tomb of Hesy.²⁷

During the 18th Dynasty, an introductory *dd=f* becomes more frequent in agricultural speeches,²⁸ appearing in the tombs of Wensu (A4 — Thebes), Sennefer (TT 96), Rekhmira (TT 100), Paheri (EK 3 — el-Kab), and Renni (EK 7 — el-Kab), but also in offering-bearer speeches,²⁹ especially in the tombs of Amenemhet (TT 82), Antef (TT 155), and Djeserkareseneb (TT 38), in speeches from grape-harvest scenes,³⁰ like in the tombs of Antef (TT 155) and Rekhmira (TT 100), and in a few other cases, such as a sailing scene³¹ in the tomb of Antef (TT 155) or banquet scenes³² in the tombs of Pahery (EK 3– el-Kab) and Suemniut (TT 92). Next to the dialogues without introductory formula, this new trend, of pointing out the beginning of the speech, likely indicates the emergence of a new characteristic inside the code of the literary genre of the workers' speeches.

The second significant linguistic feature is the construction *iri n3(y)=sn it³³ 3h* that has to be understood as an (analogical) Future III.³⁴ The *iri* NP \emptyset *sdm* construction is likely to have initially been a Late Egyptian dialectal feature from Lower Egypt.³⁵ The presence of a Future III with nominal subject could be a piece of evidence supporting the hypothesis that the workers' speeches are written in true colloquial language, especially since this speech is not otherwise known (which differs from Old Kingdom workers' speeches, where several discursive traditions can be found).³⁶ But it could also be a linguistic shift from more formal inscriptions, as in Old and Middle Kingdom tombs,³⁷ due to a reinterpretation of the rules specific to the genre of the worker's speeches. Answering this question would require studying all the inscriptions within the 19th Dynasty workmen's tombs from Deir el-

²⁵ The presence of this feature guarantees that the beginning of the speech is not missing.

²⁶ Malaise & Winand (1999: 347, §553).

²⁷ See Kanawati & Abder-Raziq (1999 : pl. 62) and Motte (submitted for publication). For an in-depth discussion on the emergence of this introductory formula in workers' speeches, see Motte (2018 : 1347–1370).

²⁸ For Wensu (A4), see Manniche (1988: 71); for Sennefer (TT 96), *Urk.* IV, 1419–1420; for Rekhmira (TT 100), de Garis Davies (1943: pl. 39); for Paheri, Tylor & Griffith (1894: pl. 3); and for Renni, Tylor (1900: pl. 3). In the tomb of Setau (20th Dynasty), one can read a workers' speech beginning with a *dd.t.n=f* form. See Delvaux & Kruchten (2010: p. 123, pl. 29, 60).

²⁹ For Amenemhet (TT 82), see de Garis Davies & Gardiner (1915: pl. vi); for Antef (TT 155), Säve-Soderbergh (1957: pl. 16); and for Djeserkareseneb (TT 38), de Garis Davies (1963: pl. vi).

³⁰ For Antef (TT 155), see Säve-Soderbergh (1957: pl. 14) and for Rekhmira (TT 100), de Garis Davies (1943: pl. 45).

³¹ See Säve-Soderbergh (1957: pl. 10).

³² For Pahery, see Tylor & Griffith (1894: pl. 7) and for Suemniut (TT 92), *Urk.* IV, 1450.

³³ As previously stressed by Černý (1973: 325, n. 1), the word *it* “barley” was wrongly understood by Bruyère who read it as *ḥ* “country”.

³⁴ According to Winand (1996: 129), the verb *3h* may be understood either as an infinitive having an inchoative meaning or as an Old Perfective. Depending on the chosen interpretation, it is thus a Future III with a nominal subject or an analogical Future III.

³⁵ Winand (1992: §783–784, §799–800).

³⁶ One of those discursive traditions was discussed in a poster that I presented at the 11th International Congress of Egyptologists (Florence, 23rd–30th August 2015).

³⁷ I would like to thank J. Winand for this suggestion.

Medina, which falls outside the scope of this paper. Nonetheless, this speech remains significant for establishing the kind of language used in New Kingdom workers' speeches.

In addition to the two linguistic features discussed above, the line situated above the oxen deserves discussion. Some scholars, such as Černý³⁸ and Guglielmi,³⁹ understood it as the end of the speech, whereas others, such as Kitchen⁴⁰ and Sweeney (this volume), preferred to interpret the text as being the oxen's names "I'm facing west"⁴¹ and "Good-Flood." I would rather follow Černý's idea and understand the name of the first ox as "West" instead of "I'm facing West", because of the fact that, in the "*Reden und Rufe*," signs' orientation may change within a single speech to indicate the speaker and the recipient of this speech.⁴² In this case, the signs in the line above the oxen may have been written from left to right in order to follow the orientation of the animals. However, the missing end of the fifth column hinders me from fully excluding the other interpretation, which is also syntactically correct.⁴³ Had the text been preserved, it would have been possible to determine whether the meaning of the line fits with the previous columns (and so is part of the speech) or not.

3.2. TT 217 Ipu⁴⁴ and TT 266 Amennakht⁴⁵

Unlike Ramose, the sculptor Ipu and the "chief craftsman of the Lord of the Two Lands" Amennakht each possess a single tomb. Both tombs are badly preserved. Yet, daily life scenes are still visible inside. Among those scenes of crafts and fishing (only in Ipu's tomb) and scenes of farming (both for Ipu's and for Amennakht's tomb), columns were drawn but have remained empty (see Figures 4–8, below). Judging from their position, three kinds of inscriptions could have been written within these columns: the title(s) of the character(s), his/her/their name(s),⁴⁶ or workers' speeches but the absence of inscriptions within those columns⁴⁷ lead the current research to a dead end.

One exception could possibly be made with the wine-press scene in TT 217 (see Figure 6 below). In the publication made by Davies (1927), no columns were drawn but traces of ink are visible above the heads of the farmers. Better drawings or high-resolution pictures would be needed for reading the hieroglyphic inscriptions. However, judging from the pictures of TT 217 available on the IFAO website,⁴⁸ the scene is no longer *in situ*. Accordingly, in the current state of affairs, one cannot verify whether workers' speeches or another kind of inscription were written inside the wine-press scene.

³⁸ Černý (1973: 325).

³⁹ Guglielmi (1973: 23).

⁴⁰ Kitchen (2000: 420).

⁴¹ For studies on animal names (mainly dogs, horses and donkeys), see Janssen (1958), Fischer (1961, 1977, 1986), and Grandet (2003).

⁴² Another example is found in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Thothotep at Deir el-Bersheh. See Newberry (1894: pl. XVII–XVIII).

⁴³ Animal names may be composed of a verbal sentence. See for instance Janssen (1958: 180, n. 26) and Fischer (1961: 154, n. 56).

⁴⁴ *PM I*, 1, 315–317.

⁴⁵ *PM I*, 1, 346–347.

⁴⁶ A few names and titles can be read in some craft, farming and fishing scenes of Ipu in de Garis Davies (1927: pl. xxx, xxxvi–xxxvii).

⁴⁷ This phenomenon is not proper to these both tombs. See e.g. the banquet scenes in the tombs of Horemheb (TT 78) in Brack (1980: pl. 31) and of Nebamon & Ipuki (TT 181) in de Garis Davies (1925: pl. 6).

⁴⁸ See <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/?tt=217> (accessed on 09/03/2015).

Despite the seeming dead end, the tombs of Ipuy and Amennakht suggest nonetheless that Ramose's tomb (TT 212) is not an isolated case in the Deir el-Medina necropolis.

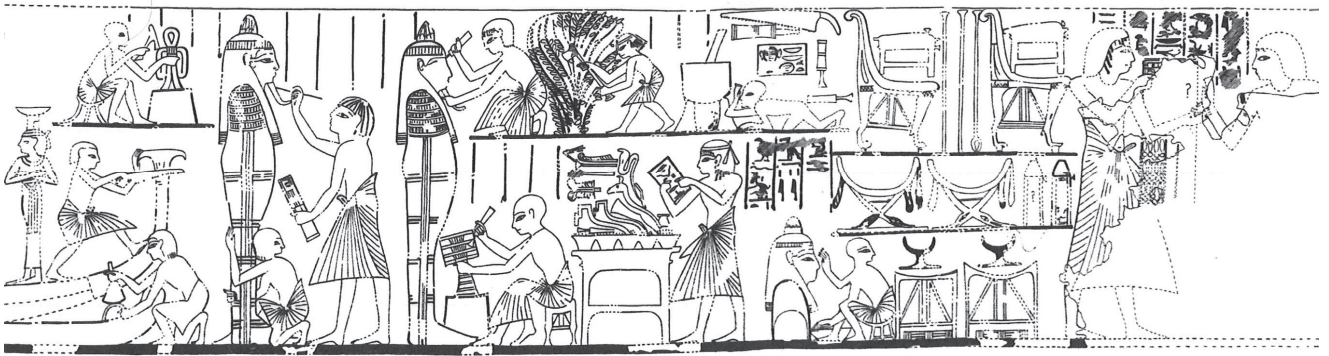


Figure 4. TT 217, north wall, upper register, craftsmen (de Garis Davies 1927: pl. XXXVI)

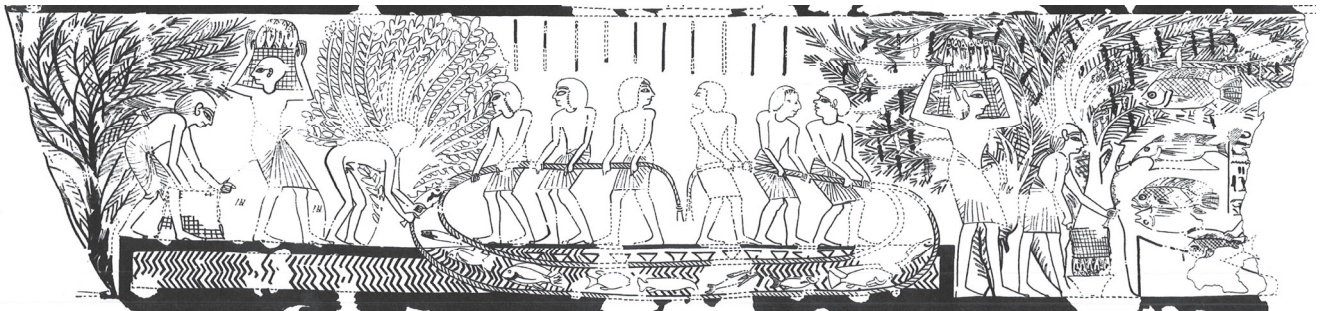


Figure 5. TT 217, north wall, lower register, seine fishing (de Garis Davies 1927: pl. XXXVII)

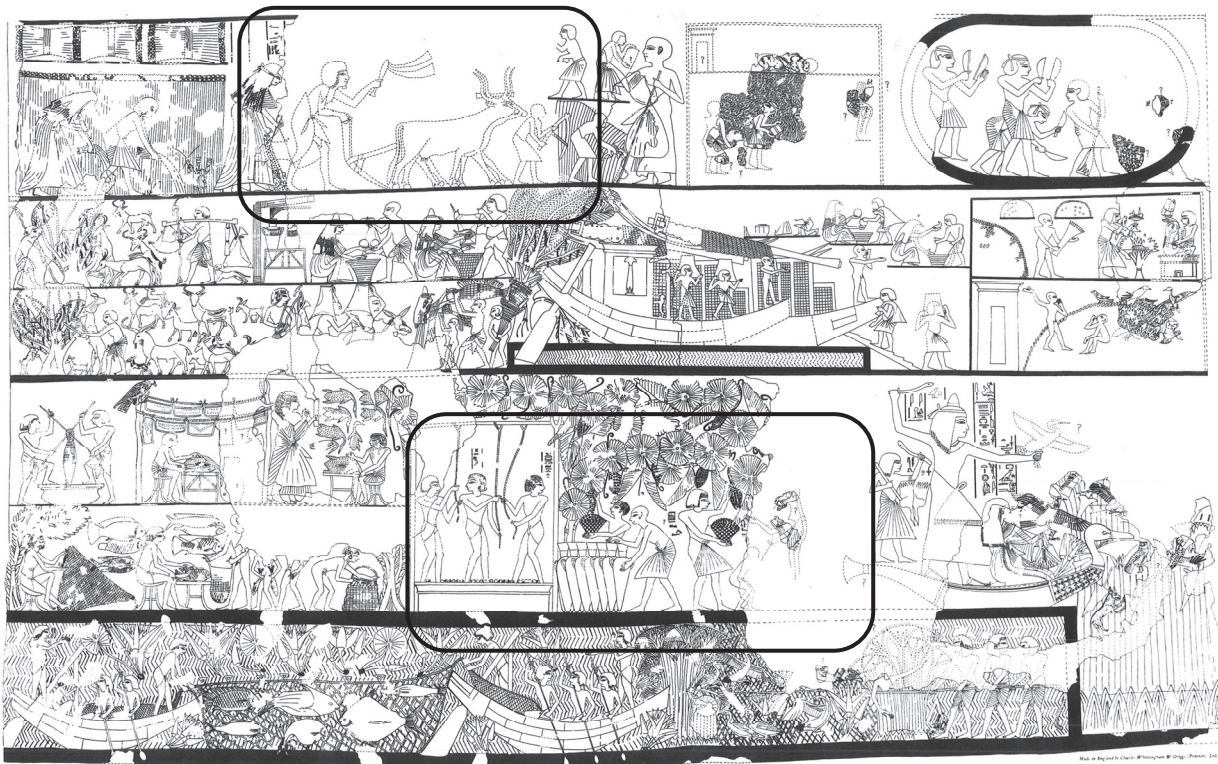


Figure 6. TT 217, east wall, north side (de Garis Davies 1927: pl. xxx)

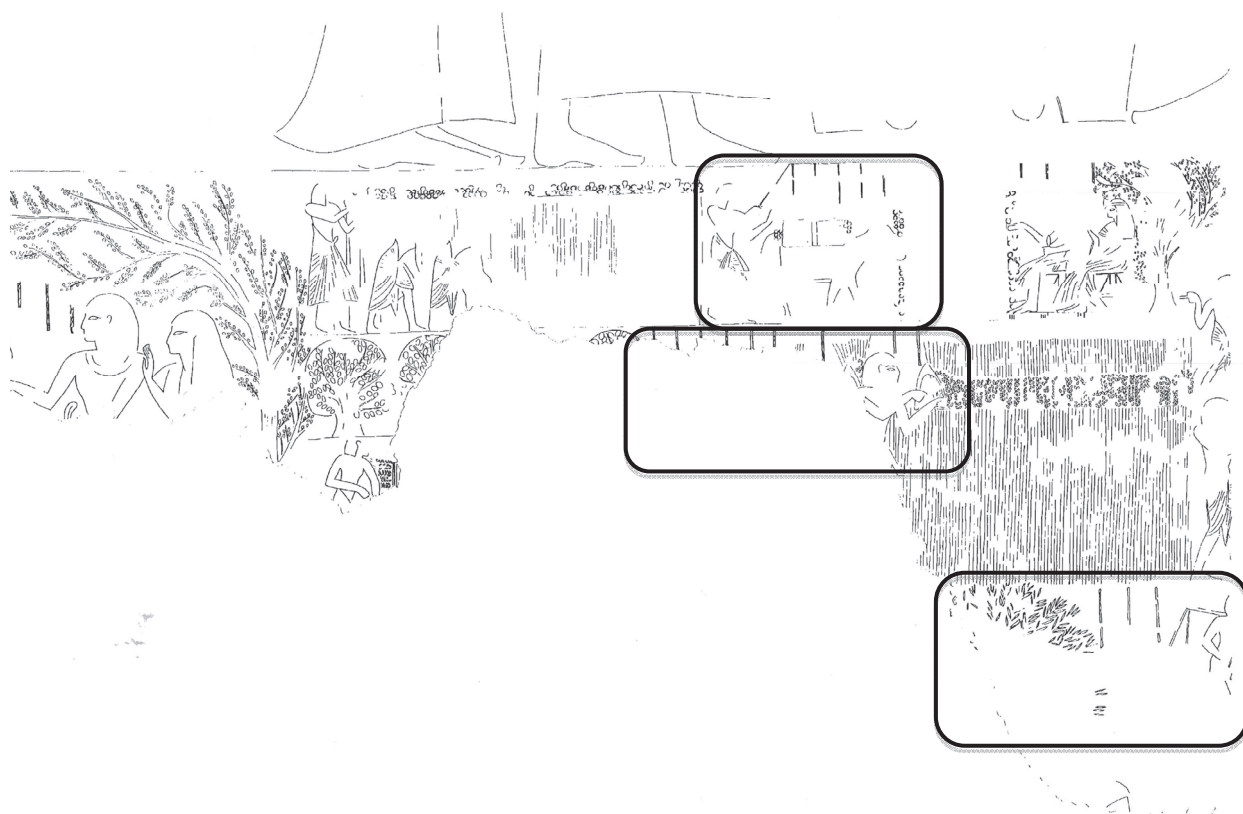


Figure 7. TT 266 Chapel (A): lowest register of south wall, east side (Corteggiani 1984: pl. xv), © IFAO

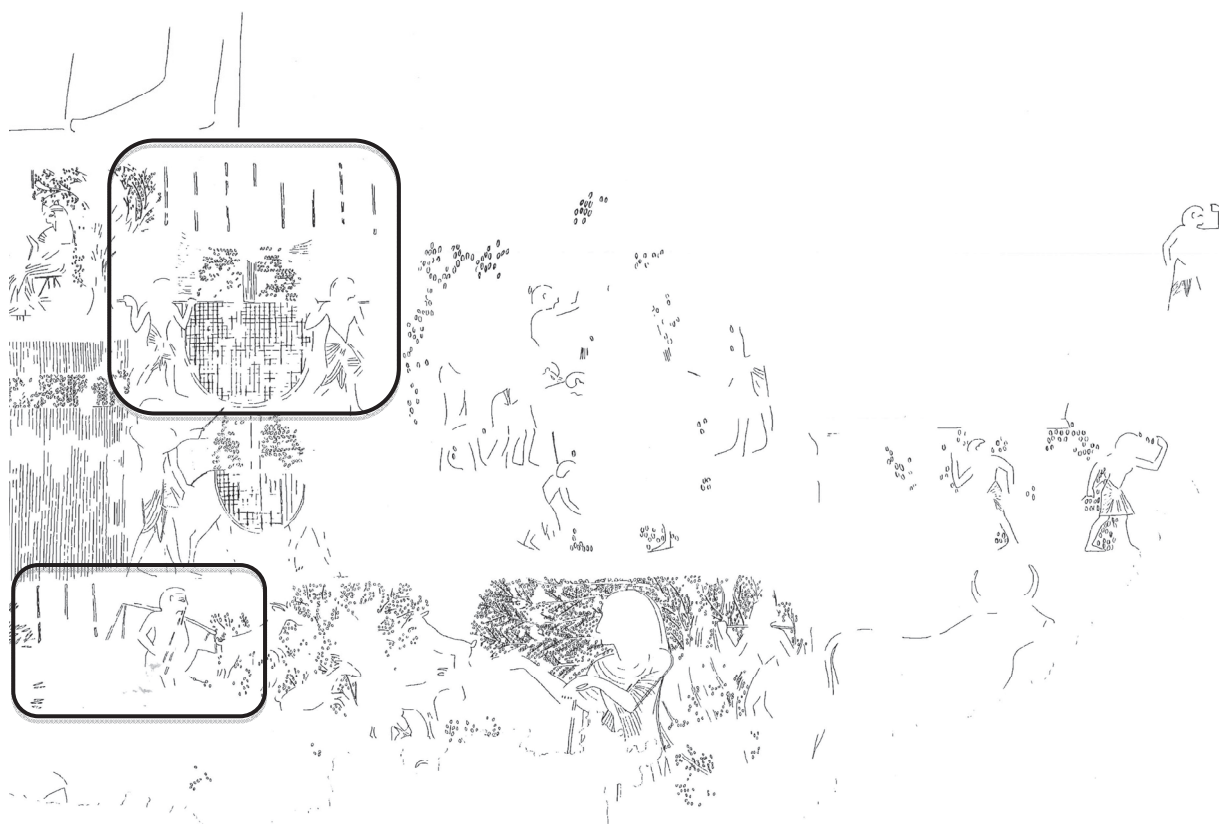
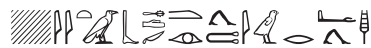


Figure 8. TT 266 Chapel (A): lowest register of south wall, west side (Corteggiani 1984: pl. xvi), © IFAO

4. ARE THERE PARALLELS FOR THE SPEECH CAPTION IN TT 212?

During the 19th Dynasty, another tomb⁴⁹ has included a worker's speech in a ploughing scene, namely the tomb of Panehsy and his wife Tarenu, at Dra' Abu el Naga (TT 16).⁵⁰

While the majority of the tomb of Panehsy and Tarenu is dedicated to religious patterns, the lower registers of the south wall (= wall B⁵¹) depict agricultural work (ploughing, loading a donkey with sacks of sheaves and trampling grain on a threshing floor) and woodcutters at work. In the ploughing scene, a speech has been written above the right cows. The *wab*-priest *p3-r^c-htp* "true of voice" tries to plough his field, but one of the cows decides otherwise. She lies on the ground and does not move. A peasant approaches her and tries to get her up:



ḥ^c rwi=f⁵² m-ir ḥdb t3y [1 c.]

"Stand up! Go away! Don't kill this [...]"

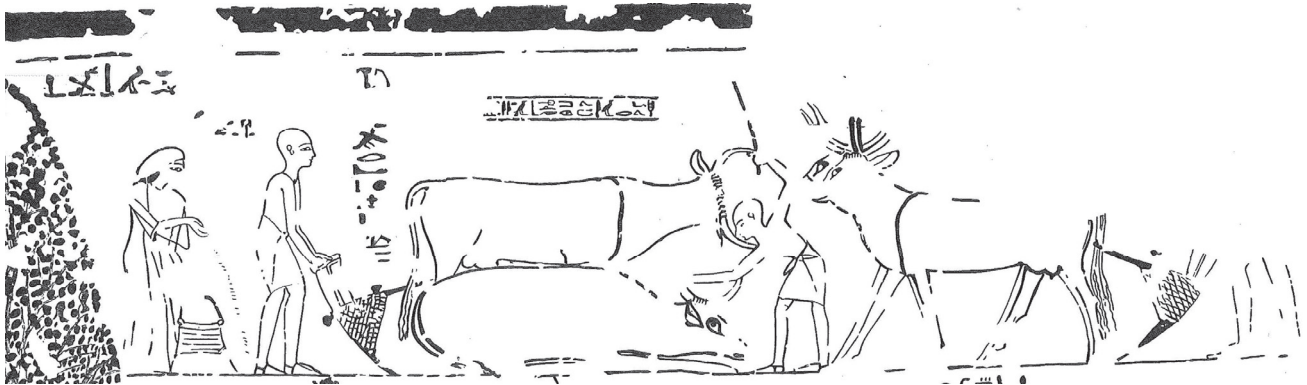


Figure 9. TT 16, south wall, lower register, ploughing scene

(Foucart with the collaboration of M. Baud and E. Drioton 1932: Fig. 22–23), © Marcelle Baud, IFAO

The speech is written between two dark lines, which differentiates it from the names and titles of the ploughman and his wife, which are written without framing lines (see Figure 9 above). Besides, the text reads from right to left and as such is oriented in the same direction as the lying cow (i.e., the recipient of this speech), in the same manner as the line written above the oxen in the tomb of Ramose (see Section 3.1. above).

The verb phrase *m iri ḥdb*, initially understood as a negative imperative followed by its negational complement and a passive infinitive,⁵³ actually has to be read *m-ir ḥdb*, *m-ir* being the vetitive auxiliary

⁴⁹ As mentioned above, TT 31 has been excluded from this study.

⁵⁰ *PM* I,1, 28–29. The tomb is under study by the University of Memphis under the direction of S. Onstine. See *inter alia* Onstine (2011) and (2013). As a matter of fact, speech captions are found in the tomb of Paser (TT 106) and of Amenmose (TT 19), in craftsmen scenes depicting the workshop of the Amun temple at Karnak and in a wrestling scene occurring during a religious festival respectively. They are *ipso facto* not relevant for this purpose. See Assmann (1992) for a translation of some of the speeches in TT 106. The tomb still awaits a full publication, cf. Assmann, Hofmann, Kampp-Seyfried, and Seyfried (in preparation). For the wrestling scene in TT 19, see Foucart (1935: pl. XIII–XV).

⁵¹ Baud & Drioton (1932: Fig. 22–23).

⁵² Another reading could be *rwi t(w)*, namely an imperative followed by a dependant pronoun. See Motte (2018 : 288–289).

⁵³ For this interpretation see Baud & Drioton (1932: 44) and Guglielmi (1973: 24).

“don't”⁵⁴. Such a construction is well attested in 18th Dynasty workers' speeches, particularly in the tomb of Pahery,⁵⁵ Nebamon (TT 90),⁵⁶ Rekhmira (TT 100),⁵⁷ Nebamon (TT 146),⁵⁸ Kheruef (TT 192),⁵⁹ and Wensu (TT A4)⁶⁰ and can be understood as an evolutionary, Late Egyptian-like, feature. Yet, in the tombs of Puyemre (TT 39),⁶¹ Nebamon (TT 146),⁶² and Merymery (Saqqara),⁶³ the older negative imperative (*Égyptien de tradition*) — *m* and its negatival complement⁶⁴ — is also found within such speeches, which reveals the complexity of their *état de langue* and their mimetic nature.

Though highly interesting for the analysis of the *état de langue* used in 19th Dynasty *Reden und Rufe*, this speech shares no similarities with the speech in the tomb of Ramose as far as the phraseology is concerned. It can be explained by the content of the scenes themselves. Both are ploughing scenes, yet, in the first, the laziness of the cow is depicted, while in the other, the stress is laid on work well done.

5. HOW COULD WE EXPLAIN THE PRESENCE OF WORKERS' SPEECHES IN 19TH DYNASTY THEBAN TOMBS?

In the introduction (§1), we have seen that, besides the three tombs of Deir el-Medina, such speeches occur in four Theban tombs: TT 16 (Panehsy and Tarenu), TT 19 (Amenmose), TT 31 (Khons, re-used by To), and TT 106 (Paser).

According to the titles found in TT 16, both the husband and wife were chanters, respectively “overseer of the chanter(s) of the offering table of Amun” and “chantress of Amun.”⁶⁵ Moreover, Panehsy also had a priestly function as “priest of Amenhotep I of the forecourt.” For Onstine,⁶⁶ the chanters were not part of the high elite, whereas Davies suggests the function of priest of Amenhotep I could in fact be a high position in the social hierarchy:

“As far as I am aware, no attestations occur of a second, third or fourth prophet being attached to the temple priesthood of any of the various manifestations of Amenophis I. Given the smaller scale of their operations, these cults probably had a simpler hierarchy, at the head of which was a single prophet, who as a result was *de facto* High Priest. Consequently, it is possible, though not certain, that Panehsy also served as the pontiff of this particular temple. Furthermore, the fact that

⁵⁴ As already shown by Černý & Groll (1984: 356–365); see now Vernus (2010).

⁵⁵ See Tylor & Griffith (1894: pl. III, VII).

⁵⁶ See de Garis Davies (1923a: pl. XXXIII).

⁵⁷ See de Garis Davies (1935: pl. XV); de Garis Davies (1943: pl. L).

⁵⁸ Fragment BM 37976, see Budge (1914: pl. I) and Manniche (1988: pl. 47).

⁵⁹ See the Epigraphic Survey (1980: pl. 47, 61, 63, and 67).

⁶⁰ See Manniche (1988: 71). Workers' speeches in TT A4 have to be compared with those in the tomb of Pahery at el-Kab, which are quite similar. See Laboury (2017: 241–247) and Devillers (2018: 34–38) for iconographic correspondences between both tombs. See Motte (2018b: 181–182, 278–283, 319–321, 354–356, 390–392, 420, 451–456, 873–874, and 1112–1114) for the corresponding *Reden und Rufe*.

⁶¹ See de Garis Davies (1923b: pl. XXIII).

⁶² Fragment BM 37978, see Budge (1914: pl. I) and Manniche (1988: pl. 47).

⁶³ Fragment Leyde RMO AP 6-b, see Boeser (1911: pl. XVIII).

⁶⁴ Malaise & Winand (1999: 513, §840).

⁶⁵ Onstine (2011: 231).

⁶⁶ Onstine (2011: 234): “Since Panehsy and his wife have no other elevated titles, nor do they mention any illustrious family, we might conclude they were fortunately-sponsored individuals from a less elite background than one might expect from the owners of a beautiful Ramesside tomb.”

he possessed the wherewithal to fund the construction of a reasonably impressive tomb in western Thebes is also suggestive of such seniority.⁶⁷

Amenmose, the owner of TT 19, was also involved in the cult of the deified king,⁶⁸ just like the vizier Paser, who is seen making an offering to the pharaoh on pillar B of the broad hall of his tomb.⁶⁹ This is all the more significant since the cult of Amenhotep I was at that time well established in Deir el-Medina.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Paser is also known for having built a sanctuary for Ramesses II together with the scribe of the Royal Tomb Ramose.⁷¹ Thanks to a well-documented life and career, we know that both men had many connections. Indeed, Ramose, initially an ‘outsider’ to the community, was appointed scribe of the tomb by Paser himself.⁷² He is even considered as one of the richest men of the village, if not *the* richest.⁷³

To sum up, if one follows the idea of Onstine that Panehsy belonged to a lower elite, one might get the impression that we are dealing here with a *popularization of the mortuary customs of the upper classes*,⁷⁴ or a “democratization,” a term first coined by Gardiner for *the way in which private individuals modelled both their tombs and their funerary cult upon royal originals*.⁷⁵ However, the presence of workers’ speeches in the tombs of Paser, who was vizier in Upper Egypt, of Amenmose, who was a high priest of the deified pharaoh Amenhotep I, and of Ramose, who was a powerful and rich man in Deir el-Medina, rather shows the opposite. Such speeches were still the *apanage* of a high elite background and influential individuals.

6. CONCLUSION

In the 19th Dynasty, tomb owners with *Reden und Rufe* within their decorative program were somehow connected through the cult of the patron of the Theban necropolis, Amenhotep I. Adding “daily life” scenes and workers’ speeches was possibly a way of following in the footsteps of their ancestors, either from the Old Kingdom, when those motifs were at their acme, or from the 18th Dynasty, when such dialogues were still rather frequent in Theban tombs. However, the tombs of Panehsy and of Ramose revealed new speeches, previously unattested.

In this perspective, the tombs of Ipu (TT 217) and of Amennakht (TT 266), despite their incompleteness, are just as important. They tend to show that Ramose’s tomb is not a unique case in the Deir el-Medina necropolis. It raises the question of how artists gained access to those scenes of

⁶⁷ Davies, *RITANC* III, 301.

⁶⁸ Davies, *RITANC* III, 298 and Foucart (1935: XXXVI–XXXVII, 242–246, and walls C-D).

⁶⁹ *PM* I, 1, 223; *LD* III, 132 o and q, and Champollion (1970–1971: CLXX, 1).

⁷⁰ See Černý (1927 and especially appendix n° 75 [Ramose] and 79 [Ipu]).

⁷¹ Davies (1999: 79–80).

⁷² Černý (1973: 319) and Davies (1999: 79) based on the O. Cairo GC 25671.

⁷³ Černý (1973: 317–327) and Davies (1999: 79–83).

⁷⁴ This expression was first used in another context by Breasted (1959: 272).

⁷⁵ Gardiner (1915: 55, n. 1), as noted by Hays (2011: 117). For this process of top-down cultural spread, sometimes also called “demotisation,” see *inter alia* Pavlova (1999: 95), Mathieu (2004: 247–262), Willems (2008: 131–142), Smith (2009), and Hays (2011: 115–130).

daily life. Did the craftsmen retrieve this motif because elite tombs were accessible or because the craftsmen were in charge of the execution of elite tomb(s) in addition to their work for Pharaoh?⁷⁶

Regarding the linguistic features noted for this literary genre, they tend to belong to less formal registers: an introductory *dd=f* and an analogical Future III in Ramose's tomb, and a vetitive auxiliary imperative in Panehsy's and Tarenu's tomb. Yet, in a few 18th Dynasty tombs Middle Egyptian-like features have been observed. In the future, these linguistic features should be contrasted with those identified in other New Kingdom workers' speeches so as to define the language level(s) employed across the New Kingdom within this literary genre (vernacular or artificial and mimetic?). Subsequently, they will have to be related to the situational characteristics, such as the participants involved, the communicative purpose(s), etc. (functional analysis, cf. *supra*). In the meantime, it may be stressed that the 19th Dynasty *Reden und Rufe* possibly show diaphasic variation. In other words, the rules specific to the genre of these speeches may have been adapted to suggest a vernacular language, such as the use of an introductory verb to highlight the beginning of a speech caption or a few Late Egyptian-like linguistic features. A full study on New Kingdom workers' speeches would allow the investigation of the validity of such a theory.

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⁷⁶ Regarding the question of access, see Dimitri Laboury's lecture "On the alleged involvement of Deir el-Medineh crew in the making of elite tombs in the Theban Necropolis during the 18th dynasty. A Reassessment" ("Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact," October 28 (2014), Liège.

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La collection *Ægyptiaca Leodiensia* — dirigée par Dimitri Laboury, Stéphane Polis et Jean Winand — a pour vocation de publier des travaux d'égyptologie dans les domaines les plus divers. Elle accueille en son sein des monographies ainsi que des volumes collectifs thématiques.

This volume represents the outcome of the conference “Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact: Describing the interactions within and outside the community of workmen” held in Liège in 2014 (27-29 October). The goal of this conference was to encourage a wider perspective on Deir el-Medina, bringing together scholars from all egyptological fields and disciplines who are interested in studying the many types of interactions that the ancient community of Deir el-Medina developed both internally and at the broader (supra-)regional level.

The title of the volume, “Outside the box,” refers to two important dimensions touched on by the papers in this volume. First, it points to the fact that a vast quantity of documents from Deir el-Medina and, more broadly, from the Theban Necropolis has been available for a long time to some restricted academic circles, but are now to be taken *outside the box*: this holds true not only for the publication of papyri and ostraca preserved in many collections across the world, but also for archival material describing the excavations at the site itself, and more broadly for the monuments that remain there still, but are not available to scholars or the general public. Second, most of the papers collected in this volume share a common feature, namely their attempt to think *outside the box*, using new theoretical frameworks, cross-disciplinary approaches, or inno-

vative technological solutions. Accordingly, “Outside the box,” can be read both as a plea for making the fascinating material from Deir el-Medina more broadly available, and as a shout of admiration regarding the creativity and tireless inventiveness of scholars working on the sources stemming from this exceptional socio-cultural setting.

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