

Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop

Mural Decoration in the Theban Necropolis

Edited by Betsy M. Bryan and Peter F. Dorman



INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT CULTURES
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
STUDIES IN ANCIENT CULTURES • NUMBER 2

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THEBAN NECROPOLIS

PAPERS FROM THE THEBAN WORKSHOP 2016

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7

ON THE ALLEGED INVOLVEMENT OF THE
DEIR EL-MEDINA CREW IN THE MAKING
OF ELITE TOMBS IN THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS
DURING THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY:
A REASSESSMENT¹

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“WHO MADE THE PRIVATE TOMBS OF THEBES?”² A PLAIN “STANDARD THEORY”?

Because of the contiguity of Deir el-Medina and the necropolis of the Theban elite, it has often seemed natural to assume that the two sites were closely connected on a functional level, with the inhabitants of the former—usually presented as “the only identifiable group of tomb makers in western Thebes during the New Kingdom”³—being easily considered plausible candidates as the creators and decorators of the latter’s tombs and funerary monuments.⁴ A quarter of a century ago, John Romer aimed to address the issue from a statistical point of view (fig. 7.1), and his attempt to evaluate and correlate the production rate in the Valley of the Kings, that is, the work carried out by the Deir el-Medina crew, and in the nearby elite cemetery, on the eastern slope of the same Theban rock formation, led him to the following, more nuanced suggestion:

Statistical comparison of activity in the two necropoleis, private and royal, shows that . . . the activities of the celebrated tomb makers of Deir el-Medina were linked to the activities of the craftsmen who made the private tombs.⁵

That this overall equivalence of effort was maintained within the royal and private necropoleis of Thebes for more than four hundred years strongly suggests that Theban tomb making was conducted by a permanent workforce and directed by a single authority: the same authority, therefore, that Deir el-Medina archives describe as overseeing the work at the royal tomb. Thus, the offices of the administration that controlled the unknown craftsmen who made and decorated the private tombs are probably to be discovered in the same departments that controlled work in the royal necropolis.⁶

1 This chapter is a revised version of a paper first presented at the conference “Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact: Describing the Interactions within and outside the Community of Workmen,” organized by Andreas Dorn and Stéphane Polis at the University of Liège, October 27–29, 2014 (see now Dorn and Polis 2018). It results from a research program funded by a Research Incentive Grant of the F.R.S.-FNRS at the University of Liège titled “Painters and Painting Practices in the Theban Necropolis during the 18th Dynasty” (dir. D. Laboury). I wish to express here my gratitude to those two institutions that made this research possible, as well as the invitation to participate in the Theban Workshop of 2016.

2 This is the title of the article of Romer 1994.

3 Romer 1994, 211.

4 It is noteworthy that the same reasoning is also frequently adopted regarding the workmen’s village at the site of Amarna and the elite necropolis to the north and south of this settlement. Furthermore, quite interestingly, it also applies, but the other way around, to the search for a hypothetical equivalent of Deir el-Medina in the Memphite necropolis (see Navratilova 2018).

5 Romer 1994, 218–19.

6 Romer 1994, 220.

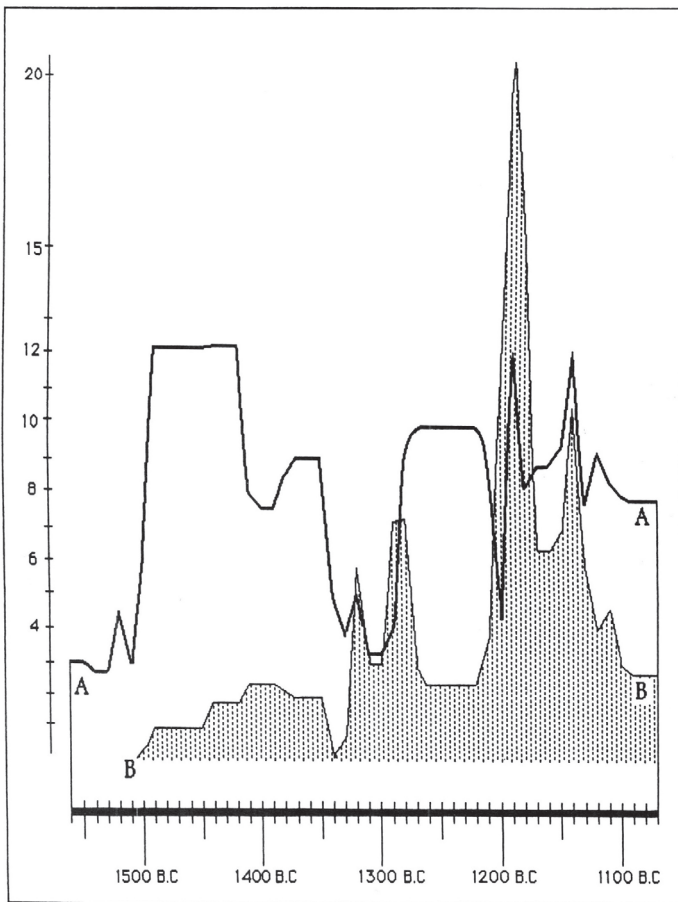


Figure 7.1. Correlation of production rates in the private (A) and royal (B) necropoleis during the New Kingdom, as computed and presented in Romer 1994, 229, fig. 9.

Without discussing the rather problematic questions of the estimation (or quantification) of tomb production rates (see the comments of Romer himself⁷) and, consequently, of the conclusiveness of the supposed correlation (fig. 7.1),⁸ one can only follow Melinda Hartwig, who rightly stressed that “this ‘equivalence of effort’ does not offer proof that the private workforce was a permanent entity situated on the West Bank, directed by the same authority that oversaw the Deir el-Medina workmen.”⁹ Furthermore, many other historical factors¹⁰ could of course have influenced and thus account for this apparently similar production rate in both cemeteries. But more importantly, there is a methodological and documentary problem we are now much more aware of than in the time of Romer’s contributions on the topic: the evolution of Deir el-Medina and its community through the half millennium of its existence. It is indeed increasingly better acknowledged and considered that Egyptology long used to extrapolate the life of this crew over five centuries thanks mainly to the exceptional richness of textual sources from the past hundred years or so of its history. And, in this perspective, recent research on literacy practices—especially the study of literature

production and consumption in the village,¹¹ on the one hand, and the use of pseudoscripts (the so-called “funny signs”),¹² on the other hand—has clearly demonstrated a dramatic evolution of the socioeducational level of the population housed in this settlement during the New Kingdom. Besides, Andreas Dorn has rather convincingly suggested that the site may not have been in use on a permanent basis in its early

7 Romer 1994. Note that Rune Rasmus Olsen aimed to develop a volumetric and more precise method in this respect in his doctoral thesis, “Socioeconomic Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Private Tomb Construction: A Study on New Kingdom Tomb Volumetrics as Economic Markers,” presented in 2018 at the University of Copenhagen.

8 See, for instance, the clear divorce of the two lines for the middle of the thirteenth century BC.

9 Hartwig 2004, 25.

10 Examples of such factors include the global wealth of the country at a certain time; the fashion or pressure to be buried in a particular necropolis or area (e.g., Thebes vs. Memphis or Pi-Ramesses); the evolution of tomb concepts both in royal and private spheres; the need of the king (or queen) to rely on his (or her) elite for political reasons (as in the case of Hatshepsut; see Laboury 2014, 88–89) and, consequently, the increased influence and power of this royal entourage; and so forth.

11 As, for instance, the synthesis of Mathieu 2006, 136–37, plainly reveals, this is a phenomenon exclusively attested in the village during the Ramesside period. See also Haring 2006a.

12 This has been the subject of a long-term project led by Ben J. J. Haring at the University of Leiden; see his seminal article, Haring 2006a, and now Haring 2018a (with earlier bibliography); and Haring, van der Moezel, and Soliman 2018. See the excellent synthesis on the system used in the Eighteenth Dynasty and its educational and organizational consequences in Haring 2018b, as well as in Soliman 2018. On the fluctuations of the size of the crew throughout its history, see B. Davies 2017, and, for the Eighteenth Dynasty, Soliman 2018, 501.

history.¹³ All this renders even more challenging the question of who made the private tombs of Thebes, especially during the Eighteenth Dynasty, and what involvement the Deir el-Medina crew could have had in this process.

To address this double issue, let us start by reassessing the foundations of the commonly assumed hypothesis of Deir el-Medina as the most plausible origin for the artists and craftsmen¹⁴ responsible for the making and decoration of Theban private tombs, with a special focus on the Eighteenth Dynasty.

THE EVIDENCE FOR THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE DEIR EL-MEDINA CREW IN THE MAKING OF PRIVATE TOMBS

As is well known, the members of the Deir el-Medina community often used their own talents, skills, and resources to create their funerary equipment, including tombs, for themselves as well as for their colleagues in the village. A good example of these “informal workshop” practices¹⁵ is provided by TT 359, in the name of the Twentieth Dynasty “superior of the crew” Inherkhawy, who commissioned two of the best painters of his team, the two brothers Nebnefer and Hor(i)min, to decorate his funerary monument.¹⁶ Of course, such a case of internal employment—that is, when an artist worked for a colleague, a superior, or himself—cannot be considered evidence for the participation of the Deir el-Medina workforce in the production of private tombs in the sense of elite private tombs such as the ones of the Theban cemetery from Qurnet Murai to Draʿ Abu el-Naga. And the same holds true for artists’ funerary chapels, such as the Eighteenth Dynasty mutualized tombs of Djehutymose and Qenamun in Saqqara (T Bubasteion I.19),¹⁷ whose connection with the Deir el-Medina community is still unclear;¹⁸ of Nebamun and Ipuky at el-Khokha (TT 181);¹⁹ or of Nu and Nakhtmin in Deir el-Medina (TT 291).²⁰ As a matter of fact, the only elite private tombs that might be related to the activity of Deir el-Medina artists or craftsmen are all of Ramesside date, with two dubious cases in the Nineteenth Dynasty and two much clearer ones from the late Twentieth Dynasty.

¹³ Dorn 2011b, esp. 35–38; and more recently Soliman 2018, esp. 471.

¹⁴ On the distinction between artists and craftsmen from an emic vantage point, see Laboury 2016, esp. 374–75.

¹⁵ Cooney 2006. Thorough study of the phenomenon, with previous bibliography, appears in Cooney 2007. On tomb production more specifically, see Cooney 2008b.

¹⁶ Keller 2001. Publication of the tomb was done by Cherpion and Corteggiani 2010. As the late Cathleen Keller underlined (Keller 2001, 90n43), this practice may have been quite common.

¹⁷ Zivie 2013.

¹⁸ See the recent discussion in Haring 2017 and Navratilova 2018, 397–99. It must be noted here that, despite the title of the book by Alain-Pierre Zivie (2013) on T Bubasteion I.19, none of the members of Thutmose’s family is connected to the *s.t-m3ʿ.ṯ* (Zivie 2013, pls. 13–22, 35–36, 50–63); this toponym is indeed only attested in the epigraphy of the tomb for Qenamun/Qenaton and his sons (Zivie 2013, pls. 12, 29–31, 34). As the modification of his name makes perfectly clear, this “chief painter in the Place of Maat” Qenamun/Qenaton lived during the Atenist reform. This implies that all the earliest mentions of *s.t-m3ʿ.ṯ* in the titles of artists or craftsmen are definitely to be dated to this period, including those from Deir el-Medina (Černý 1973a, 50–52; Haring 2017, 152–53). Furthermore, regarding the latter, the now-lost stone seat in the name of “the servant in the Place of Maat to the west of *3ḫ.t-n-ʾItm*” Nakhy does not come initially from Amarna, since *3ḫ.t-n-ʾItm* is actually a designation of the first Atenist complex built by Amenhotep IV in his regnal year 4 to the east of Karnak, in contrast to the royal residence of Akhet-Aten at Amarna, initiated the following year (on this, see Gabolde 1998, 28n218; Laboury 2010, 151; for these reasons, the stela Turin Museo Egizio 96 and the lintel BM EA 281 belong to the same Nakhy). All this means that by year 4 of Amenhotep IV (and maybe earlier in the reign, since the lintel BM EA 281 mentions an early form of Amenhotep IV’s god—that is, *Rʿ-hr-3ḫ.ty-hʿy-m-3ḫ.t* without any cartouche—that disappeared in year 4 [see Laboury 2010, 125–34, esp. 128–29]), the transformation of the royal necropolis at Thebes as *s.t ʿ3.t* into *s.t m3ʿ.ṯ* had already occurred. On the importance of the concept of Maat in the Atenist ideology and in the traditional solar theology, see Laboury 2010, 184; on the evolution of the community of Deir el-Medina just before, that is, in the time of Amenhotep III, see Dorn 2011b, 35–36, and Soliman 2018, 501, 504, 506. In this context, it is absolutely possible, but yet undemonstrable, that the chief painter in the Place of Maat Qenamun/Qenaton worked within the Deir el-Medina community in the Valley of the Kings. It also becomes even more tantalizing to restore the expression *s.t m3ʿ.ṯ* in the inscription “servant in the Place [. . .] Nehemmaatiu[?]” on a wooden pedestal found in one of the tomb chapels near the workmen’s village at Amarna (Peet and Woolley 1923, 101, fig. 15).

¹⁹ N. de G. Davies 1925b.

²⁰ Bruyère and Kuentz 1926, 1–65.

In the sloping passage leading to the burial chamber of TT 32, made for the overseer of the granaries of Amun Djehutymose during the reign of Ramesses II, three control marks signed by the “painter [zš-ḳd] Pay” prompted Zoltán Fábrián to suggest that this painter most probably supervised the tunneling operation—and maybe also the entire architecture in the tomb—and, moreover, could be identified with a contemporary namesake attested as a member of the Deir el-Medina community.²¹ But “Pay” was a rather common name at that time, and other painters named Pay are attested in the early Ramesside period, including outside Deir el-Medina,²² thus weakening what must remain a mere hypothesis.

The contemporaneous royal steward and ambassador—*wpw.ty n(y)sw(.t) r ḥ3s.t nb.t*—of Ramesses II Netjeruymose, whose nickname was *p3-rḥ-nw(3)* (“the one who knows how to [fore]see”)—spelled *Pa/(Pi)-ri-ih-na(a)-wa* in Hittite sources—had his tomb made in the cliff of the so-called “Bubasteion” in Saqqara (ancient *dhn.t-nḥ-t3.wy*; T Bubasteion I.16), with a protruding, high-relief depiction of Hathor as a cow coming out of the rock of the rear wall and protecting a royal figure in adoration. Alain-Pierre Zivie, who discovered the tomb, compared this rock-cut statue with an almost equivalent two-dimensional representation of the goddess preceded by the effigy of a prince labeled with the epithet *p3-rḥ-nw(3)* on a stela in the name of the “call-listener in the Place-of-Maat” (*sḏm-ḥ m s.t-m3(.t)*) Khabekhnnet (BM EA 555); and since the tomb of this Deir el-Medina crew member (TT 2) features a similar depiction of Hathor as a cow emerging from the cliff, as does the one of his colleague, the sculptor Qen (TT 4), Zivie inferred that those two artists of Deir el-Medina were responsible for the decoration of the tomb of Netjeruymose²³—an appealing but yet insufficiently conclusive speculation.²⁴

Definitely more indisputable are the two cases of the late Twentieth Dynasty. Both relate to the same individual—the chief painter of Deir el-Medina, Amenhotep son of Amunnakhte, a highly educated artist, who was plainly a star of his time and happened to decorate (at least) two tombs of Theban elites, TT 65 and TT 113, as can be demonstrated on signature and stylistic evidence.²⁵ The latter tomb, in the name of the *w3b*-priest and *ḥry-s3t3* of the estate of Amun Kynebu, now badly damaged, was visited in the early nineteenth century by John Gardner Wilkinson, who recorded a funeral scene with a self-portrait *in assistenza* of our painter,²⁶ reading the Opening of the Mouth ritual and designated as “the scribe and deputy of the venerable [institution of the] Tomb [*p3 ḥr špsy*], Amenhotep.”²⁷ The few preserved remains of the decoration compare favorably with the quite well characterized style of Amenhotep.²⁸ As for TT 65—a Thutmoside tomb of the time of Hatshepsut usurped by the chief of the altar-chamber and chief of the temple archives of Amun, Imiseba—it is referred to in a graffito left in year 9 of Ramesses IX in the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9) stating that “the scribe Amenhotep and his son, the scribe and deputy of painters Amennakhte of the Tomb [*p3 ḥr*] came” there “[after] they executed the decoration in the tomb [. . . of the overseer of the scribes of the] temple Imiseba, of the estate of Amun.”²⁹ As Cathleen Keller and then Tamás Bács have perfectly shown, the stylistic analysis of the decoration of TT 65 not only allows the specific painterly handwriting (or perhaps one should say “handpainting”) of the father and son artists to be recognized but also leads to the conclusion that they were helped in their task by a friend and contemporary of Amenhotep, Hor(i)min, “whose individual style has also been treated by Keller in detail.”³⁰

21 Fábrián 1992, 1997, 2004.

22 See, for instance, the *zš-ḳd n s.t-m3(.t)* Pay, son of the (*ḥry*) *zš-ḳd n s.t-m3(.t)* Qenna (or Qenamun/Qenaton; see n18 above and Zivie 2013, pls. 12, 29, 31), who, for genealogical reasons, cannot be equated with any of the other Pays mentioned in Deir el-Medina sources; see B. Davies 1999, 301, with references.

23 Zivie 2003, 75–76; 2006, 69–70.

24 On the rather well-attested motif of Hathor as an emerging cow protecting a royal figure (especially in the Theban area), see Blumenthal 2001.

25 Keller 1984, 2003; Bács 2011b, 2017 (with previous bibliography).

26 On the concept of self-portrait *in assistenza*, see Laboury 2015, 327–30; 2016, 388–89.

27 Wilkinson 1841, pl. 86.

28 Keller 2003, 95–96; Bács and Parkinson 2011.

29 See, notably, Bács 2011b, 2017 (with previous bibliography).

30 Bács 2011b, 36, quoting Keller 2001. See Bács 2017 on the fascinating combination this hiring yielded between the visual culture of temple imagery desired by the order-giving patron, Imiseba, and the iconography and style of Ramesside Deir

These two isolated cases of the late Twentieth Dynasty are nevertheless very specific in that they belong to a rather special period of ancient Egyptian history, a period “of extreme civic violence, inter-elite skirmishing, various bloody wars, and patronage from the Ramessesnakht family (and their ilk), and locally all-powerful Amun clergy,”³¹ and a period during which the Theban artistic talents were clearly to be found on the west bank, in Deir el-Medina, and apparently no longer in the estate of Karnak. They are also highly specific because they involve a close and limited social network, since both Kynebu and Imiseba are documented as having business contacts with the Deir el-Medina community.³² So in any case, these two private works of the distinguished Amenhotep son of Amennakhte in the necropolis of the Theban elites cannot substantiate a general theory of regular implication of the Deir el-Medina crew in the making of such tombs, a theory for which the evidence is actually very scarce, to say the least.³³

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY CREW OF DEIR EL-MEDINA AND THEIR ARTISTIC ABILITIES AND AUTONOMY

If the chief painter Amenhotep son of Amunnakhte was plainly the kind of artist the Renaissance would have designated a *pictor doctus*—that is, a scholar-painter accumulating prestigious responsibilities and religious titles and capable of creating new compositions, both in images and texts, for his royal and private clientele³⁴—such was certainly not the case for most of, perhaps all, his pre-Ramesside colleagues in the village of Deir el-Medina. As mentioned above, the dearth of textual production in and around the settlement during the Eighteenth Dynasty and the use of a parascriptural system of notation, the pseudoscript of the so-called “funny signs,” strongly hint in this direction. But there are other, not exclusively philological arguments to support such a deduction, namely, the tombs of the artists at issue—in other words, their own work for themselves.

First of all, among the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs that can be related to the coeval community of Deir el-Medina, a strikingly small number of them were decorated, in clear contrast with the Ramesside situation of the village and its necropolis: of a total of about three hundred burials datable to the Eighteenth Dynasty in both the western and eastern cemeteries,³⁵ only six or seven (TT 340, TT 354, TT 325, TT 8, and, for the post-Amarna era, TT 291, TT 338, and probably also the first chapel of TT 268)—that is, less than 3 percent—were discovered with a decorated chapel. In addition to this raw archaeological fact, which might be due at least partly to socioeconomic factors,³⁶ and more revealingly, almost all these funerary monuments were decorated in a quite rudimentary way—a feature that needs further analysis here.

The earliest preserved example, the unfinished TT 340, was made for the “call-listener” Amenemhat, apparently by his son, Sennefer, who depicted himself in the tomb as someone “who writes correctly and <causes his [i.e., his father’s]> name to live” (fig. 7.2).³⁷ This funerary chapel is of tiny dimensions, its only

el-Medina tradition (itself derived from the decoration of royal tombs) brought in by the artists of the institution of the Tomb, namely, Amenhotep and his two colleagues.

31 Bács 2017, 308.

32 Bács 2011b, 35n14.

33 The well-known fact that Deir el-Medina crew members could, on some occasions, be sent out of the Valley of the Kings to work on other royal projects, apparently as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty (Valbelle 1985, 21–22; see also the arguments of Haring 2018b, 241–42), is of course also irrelevant to this theory, since those commissions were actually royal and not private.

34 For a summary, see Bács 2017.

35 Soliman 2015.

36 One has to recall here that TT 8 and TT 338 belonged, respectively, to the *hry* and/or *imy-r k3.wt m s.t-ḫ.t* Kha (Russo 2012, 67) and to the *zš-ḫd n Imn* and maybe also *hry ḥmww m s.t-mḫ.t* Maya (Tosi 1994, 57–58), that is, two superiors within the crew. Additionally, some chapels may have been destroyed during the occupation or reoccupation of the site. But, beyond any doubt, the number of decorated chapels was far smaller in the Eighteenth Dynasty than in the Ramesside period.

37 Because of the situation of the tomb and of what follows, it is assumed, though no title explicitly supports this deduction, that Sennefer was, like his father, a member of the Deir el-Medina crew; see also Kruchten 1999, 47.



Figure 7.2. Scene from the western wall of TT 340 depicting the tomb owner, Amenemhat, and his wife, Satamun, receiving offerings from their son, Sennefer. After Cherpion 1999, pl. 8. © IFAO.

wedjat eyes flanking an incense pot on top of the three water signs for *mw* (fig. 7.3). And the inscriptions on the walls confirm this impression of a decoration directly inspired by, if not derived from, the visual culture of basic or low-cost funerary monuments such as stelae: through a careful analysis of these short texts, the late Jean-Marie Kruchten was able to demonstrate that Sennefer—the alleged and self-proclaimed “son who writes correctly”—clumsily reproduced formulae learned by rote, such as *ḥtp-dī-(ny)-sw.t*, which he tried to adapt or emend almost exclusively with uniliteral signs,⁴¹ thereby making many errors that betray his actual and rather low level of literacy.⁴² Even in his boastful signature as a self-portrait *in assistenzia*, our obviously self-taught novice scribe Sennefer made many orthographic mistakes: *šsp{t} ḥt nb(t) nfr(.t) w^cb(.t) (n) k3 (n) Imn-|m-ḥ3.t (m-dr.t) s3(.f) Sn-nfr | (i)r (i)nk jnk s3 zš-|i mty (s)^cnh rn(.f)*⁴³ (fig. 7.2, right panel).⁴⁴ In addition, he regularly broke the compositional or editorial rules for hieroglyphic panels in monumental decoration by inverting the orientation of a text and the figure to which it relates (fig. 7.4), disregarding the norms of grouping hieroglyphs in balanced quadrats (fig. 7.4, *ḥtp-dī-(ny)-sw.t* formulae), rejecting final signs out of a panel that was not properly composed in advance, and even reversing the order of words or signs (fig. 7.4, in the epithet *ḥk3 d.t* of Osiris).

38 Cherpion 1999, 6.

39 Cherpion 1999, pls. 1–5, 14–15.

40 Cherpion 1999, pls. 1–2, 6–13, 20–21. Compare, for instance, the almost contemporary stela Turin Museo Egizio C. 1618 of Kha (Vandier d’Abbadie 1939, 13–14, pl. 11; Ferraris 2018, 18), or even the post-Amarna stela Turin Museo Egizio C. 1579 of Maya (Tosi 1994, 41). Under the stela’s lunette-like scene of the deceased kneeling in front of Anubis and Osiris on the north wall of TT 340 was also depicted an unfinished mortuary procession (Cherpion 1999, pls. 14–15, 17–19) of a kind that might well be encountered on funerary stelae. On this iconographic theme and its variations, see the classic Settgast 1963.

41 Kruchten (1999, 48, 55) also noted the acrophonic use of a few biliteral or trilateral signs; see, for instance, the gecko hieroglyph (*š3*, Gardiner sign I1) in the expression *sdm-š* in the panel illustrated in figures 7.3–7.4.

42 Kruchten 1999.

43 The transliteration is from Kruchten 1999, 44.

44 As noted by Kruchten (1999, 55), the initial sign of this panel is the contemporary hieratic form for *šsp* (Gardiner sign O42), a fact that might suggest Sennefer had at least some sort of acquaintance with cursive hieroglyphs.

room measuring 1.59 m long, 2.20 m wide, and only 1.64 m high, so that it is not possible to stand in it, as emphasized by Nadine Cherpion, who published the monument.³⁸ Even more significantly, the iconographic scheme and repertoire are particularly basic, strongly reminiscent of the usual decoration of funerary stelae of the time, showing the adoration of and presentation of offerings to Osiris and Anubis in a symmetric composition (fig. 7.3)³⁹ or the deceased couple sitting in front of an offering table (figs. 7.2, 7.3), with family members aligned in rows (fig. 7.3).⁴⁰ The side walls, with their upper part rounded by the vaulted ceiling of the chamber, also display the typical stela motif of a pair of

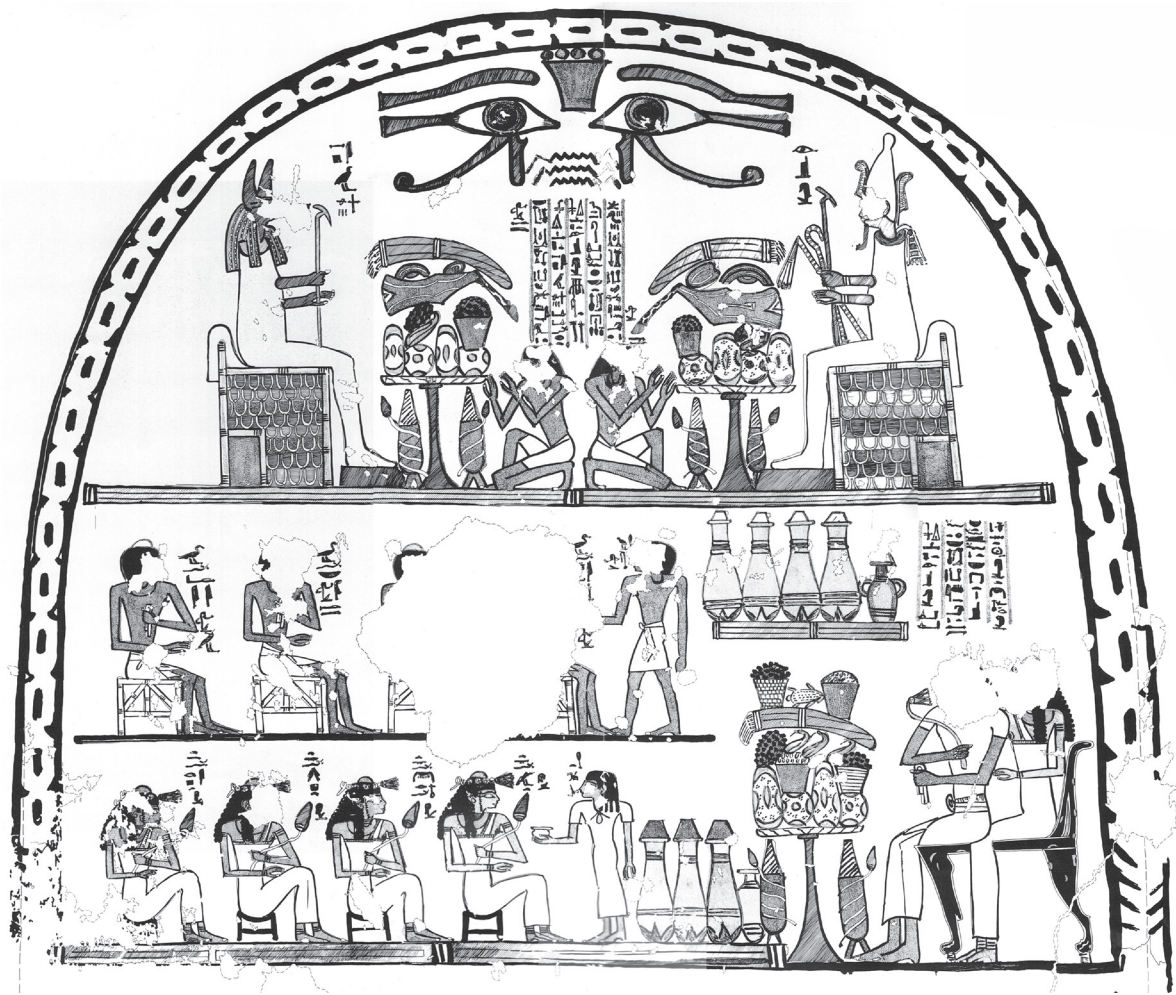


Figure 7.3. Decoration of the southern wall of TT 340. After Cherpion 1999, pl. 1. © IFAO.

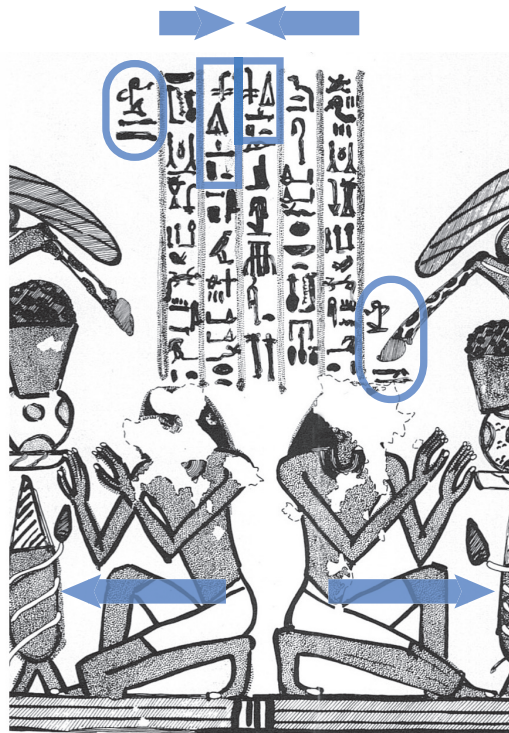


Figure 7.4. Detail of figure 7.3 highlighting the orientation of texts and figures in the central part of the double scene of the upper register, as well as abnormalities in the hieroglyphic text composition. After Cherpion 1999, pl. 1. © IFAO.

Interestingly enough, Daniel Soliman, in his study of the use of workmen's marks in pre-Amarna tombs at Deir el-Medina, observed exactly the same kinds of hieroglyphic mistakes on the few inscribed objects from those burials:

We see several instances of words or signs that are omitted, while in other instances signs or sign groups are written where they should not be present. Furthermore there are some mistakes in the orientation and placement of signs. Elsewhere on the coffin from DM 1380, in column 4 the name of the god Thot is written $\overline{\text{𓄏𓄏𓄏}}$, using only uniliteral signs, while in column 5 the name of the god Imseti is written $\overline{\text{𓄏𓄏𓄏}}$, with an incorrectly oriented sign $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$.⁴⁵

In much of the textual evidence that does survive from both the Western and the Eastern cemeteries miswriting, non-orthographic spelling and mistakes in the orientation of signs are abundant. These inscriptions seem to be the efforts of individuals who were not formally educated as scribes but were in contact with hieroglyphic script and had enough creativity and knowledge of hieroglyphic script to write certain formulas and texts.⁴⁶

Comparable evidence of a lack of hieroglyphic mastery may also sometimes be detected in the official, though certainly supervised, work of the Deir el-Medina crew during the Eighteenth Dynasty—that is, on the murals of the contemporaneous tombs in the Valley of the Kings.⁴⁷ One example comes from the burial chamber of Amenhotep II (KV 35), the first one in the history of New Kingdom royal tombs whose decoration in the schematic style of an illustrated ritual papyrus (for the so-called Book of the Amduat) is complemented with large-scale figurative scenes depicting the king in interaction with deities. In one of those scenes (pillar B, face c of PM 1², 552, 554) the epithet *tp<w> dw:f* of Anubis was written in two columns so that the determinatives (or classifiers) and suffix pronoun $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ at the end of the word *dw* were pushed into the second column (fig. 7.5)⁴⁸—a word break certainly not expected



Figure 7.5. Scene depicting Amenhotep II receiving life from Anubis on face c of pillar B in the burial chamber of the king's tomb (KV 35). Photo by M. Kacicnik—Theban Mapping Project, courtesy of the Theban Mapping Project.

⁴⁵ Soliman 2015, 121.

⁴⁶ Soliman 2015, 122.

⁴⁷ The supervision of their teamwork in royal tombs probably limited such mistakes in a significant way, in comparison with their rather individual productions for their own funerary equipment, such as TT 340 or the coffins analyzed by Soliman (2015, 120–22). For some hints at the administrative and scribal supervision of their work during the Thutmoside period, see most recently Gabler and Soliman 2018 and Soliman 2018. Other cases from other periods of poor-literate use of hieroglyphs, notably based on uniliteral signs (such as the one described by Verner 1997), suggest that the educational level of the members of the Deir el-Medina community during the Eighteenth Dynasty was rather common and normal among the trades involved in ancient Egyptian monumental production. So, in context—and in contrast—such basic errors highlight the exceptionally high socioeducational level of Deir el-Medina crew members (or at least some of them) during the Ramesside period, and even more specifically during the end of this epoch.

⁴⁸ Bucher 1932, 216.

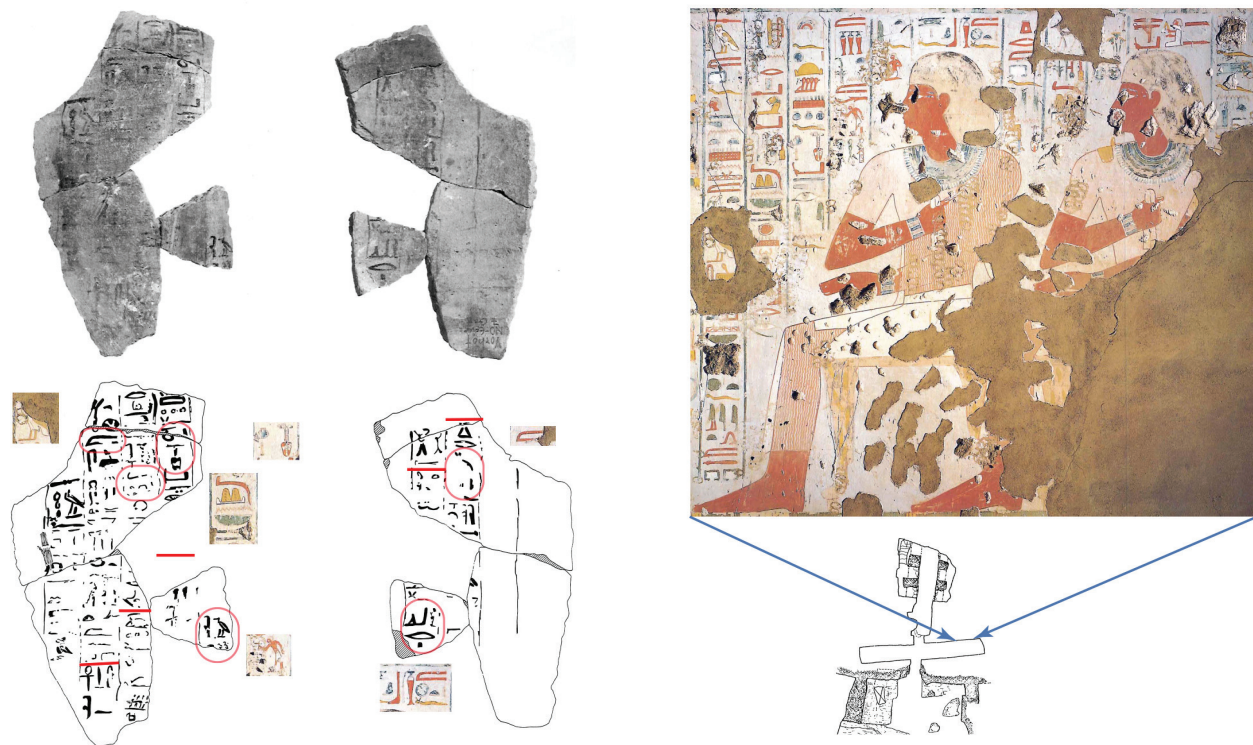


Figure 7.6. Comparison of an inscription of the tomb of Menkheperreseneb (TT 79) in its drafted version on an ostracum (79/24) and its painted actualization on the tomb's wall. After Guksch et al. 1995, 126, fig. 60, pls. 41, 47a–b.

from a properly trained scribe who fully comprehends what he writes.⁴⁹ This kind of mistake seems to reveal again a rather limited capacity to improvise on the basis of a given textual pattern, probably not entirely understood.

To the contrary, such errors are extremely rare in coeval tombs of the Theban elites,⁵⁰ in which an improvisational ability to lay out and adapt the composition according to the surface to be decorated can usually be observed. A very good and clear example was provided by the archaeological investigation of TT 79: the clearance of the courtyard of this tomb of the overseer of the double granary of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperreseneb, brought to light an ostracum with a sketched inscription in cursive hieroglyphs prepared for a scene that was luckily preserved in the funerary chapel itself (fig. 7.6).⁵¹ Heike Guksch, who published the monument, compared the two versions of this short text—in other words, the initial draft⁵² and its final actualization on the wall of the tomb—and noted only “minor deviations.”⁵³ But these deviations provide clear evidence of an excellent mastery of monumental hieroglyphic writing: the inscription has indeed been reedited with respect to the space left for it in the depicted scene, that is, to the size and

49 Note also the incorrect presence of the plural mark after the sign *tp* in the epithet of the god. In general, both the hieroglyphic signs and the figures themselves on the pillars of KV 35 present a rather unusual schematic shape (Bucher 1932, pls. 41–42), as though the painters were experimenting with something new in their routine repertoire and habits. Comparable oddities also occur in the next royal tomb, that of Thutmose IV (KV 43), notably, unusually shaped or placed hieroglyphs and plainly visible corrections.

50 Nevertheless, they did occur; for a case of an infrequent sign misunderstood, see Laboury 2020, 95–96.

51 For parallels for the use of the outside borders or the filling of the courtyard as a dump area by painters after they have completed their work, see, among many other cases, Polz 1997a; Hayes 1973; or the ostraca published by Tallet (2005, 2010) found with painting materials, pots, and brushes.

52 The preparation of the ostracum to receive a drafted inscription seems to conform to a standard procedure of drawing a series of column lines before—and independently of—writing the text itself, as though to create some sort of a field notebook; see, for instance, the similar examples studied by Lüscher (2013) or Tallet (2005, 2010). This is in clear contrast with administrative ostraca, written in lines and in hieratic; compare, for example, Hayes 1973, pls. 9–11 with pls. 13–23.

53 Guksch et al. 1995, 125–26.

distribution of the columns, without any break inside a single word (fig. 7.6; with the end of each column of the text on the wall marked by a red horizontal line on the drawing of the ostrakon). To adjust the text accordingly, the painter had to reconfigure the inscription, modifying the hieroglyphic orthography or spelling of some words, through the conversion of a — into a ⤵ (fig. 7.6; recto of the ostrakon, second column) or vice versa (fig. 7.6; verso, second column); the reorganization of signs in a single quadrat (fig. 7.6; the group *nw + sm* in the fourth column of the ostrakon); the rewriting of the word *ḥw.t* with only an ideogram (fig. 7.6; recto, fourth column); or the modification of some expressions, such as *ḳbh r3 [m niw.t.f]* into *ḳbh m niw.t.f* (fig. 7.6; verso, first column)⁵⁴ or the title *imy-r šnw.ty* into *imy-r šnw.ty n nb t3.wy* (fig. 7.6; recto, third column). These emendations, obviously made on the spot during the transcription of the sketched model onto the wall, demonstrate that the author of this mural was a scholar-painter expert in the arts and rules of designing ancient Egyptian monumental decoration.

Conversely, in TT 340, if Sennefer appears to be a professional painter who knows how to prepare pigments and handle a brush, he clearly tried to go beyond the limitations of his artistic and hieroglyphic training and skills. The quite unorthodox style of his figures, with their wasted limbs and rather stiff shape (figs. 7.2–7.4),⁵⁵ is also evidence that he ventured out of his usual comfort zone in an effort to produce this exceptionally decorated funerary chapel for his plainly beloved father, Amenemhat.

Analysis of the second Eighteenth Dynasty decorated tomb in Deir el-Medina, TT 354,⁵⁶ leads to a very similar conclusion. The chapel is barely larger (1.57/1.60 m long, 2.78 m wide, and 1.76 m high), and its decoration, left even more unfinished than in TT 340, presents the same characteristics: a stela-like composition and repertoire, with antithetic depictions of funerary deities and the (deceased) seated couple receiving offerings (fig. 7.7). The tomb could not be attributed to a specific individual because its inscriptions are completely absent; though the places to receive the texts were in some cases manifestly prepared, they were left blank (fig. 7.7, the little panels in front of the gods), as though the literate painter meant to inscribe them had never been able to come. As Nadine Cherpion has noted,⁵⁷ the style is clumsy, “careless,” and obviously maladroit “at every level”: the elongated figures with “heavy limbs,” the lack of any detail—from necklaces to baskets or offerings⁵⁸—everything points to an insufficiently mastered



Figure 7.7. Decoration of the southern wall of TT 354. After Cherpion 1999, pl. 27. © IFAO.

54 It is my pleasure here to express my thanks to Stéphane Polis for drawing my attention to the extreme rarity of this expression, which might explain a correction by the painter or, more simply, an omission of the word *r3*.

55 This poorer quality of style, combined with the intericonic process of finding inspiration in the visual culture of surrounding but also—or consequently—earlier monuments, renders the precise dating of TT 340 within the Thutmoside period quite problematic; see Cherpion 1999, 31–39. On intericonicity in ancient Egyptian artistic creation, see Laboury 2017. With their squarish shoulders and rather geometric style, as well as their neatly delineated facial features, the figures of TT 340 (fig. 7.2–4) compare interestingly with those from KV 35 (fig. 7.5).

56 Cherpion 1999, 57–90, pls. 26–44.

57 Cherpion 1999, 67.

58 Cherpion 1999, pls. 28, 30 or 32–33.

craftsmanship.⁵⁹ The best example of this carelessness is perhaps to be observed in the decoration of the ceiling. Whereas in TT 340 the son of Amenemhat opted for the quite simple depiction of a vine rack—with grape clusters and vine leaves alternating in a grid-like framework⁶⁰—the anonymous painter of TT 354 tried to imitate the more sophisticated fabric patterns usually encountered on the ceilings of elite tombs but produced an awkwardly irregular and unbalanced composition that reveals his ignorance of the technique for painting such a motif (fig. 7.8). The presence of (probably pedagogic) sketches that clarify the structure of such patterns on the walls of unfinished elite tombs (fig. 7.9) or even on ostraca⁶¹ shows that these elaborate designs were neither common nor easy to make; rather, they required training, or at least an explanation, to which the painter of TT 354 obviously did not have access. So, just like Sennefer in TT 340, in wishing to create an exceptionally decorated



Figure 7.8. Detail of the northeastern part of the painted ceiling of TT 354. After Cherpion 1999, pl. 43a. © IFAO.



Figure 7.9. Sketches of the structure of ceiling patterns on the unfinished walls of TT 38 and TT 101. Photos by Dimitri Laboury.

⁵⁹ Again, this makes dating the murals very difficult, though Cherpion was able to show that some typological details suggest a date in the late pre-Amarna phase of the Eighteenth Dynasty, that is, the reigns of Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III (Cherpion 1999, 85–90).

⁶⁰ Cherpion 1999, pls. 22–23.

⁶¹ See, for instance, Hayes 1973, pl. 6 (nos. 25–28, to be compared with Dorman 1991, pls. 27c, 28c–d); or Delvaux and Pierlot 2013, 20, 56–57 (Brussels, MRAH E.2904 and E.6780a). One may also cite here Ramesside ostraca, such as Cairo JE 36407 (Minault-Gout 2002, 24) or British Museum EA 40969 (Andreu-Lanoë 2013, 183, no. 48), that display a study of an Eighteenth Dynasty-style ceiling pattern, reflecting how challenging such motifs were to artists involved in other kinds of iconographic productions. For an experimental analysis of the technical skills involved in the production of these ceiling patterns, see Tavner 2019.

funerary chapel within the Eighteenth Dynasty cemetery of Deir el-Medina, the anonymous artist ventured beyond the limits of his actual artistic abilities, and his doing so is still plainly detectable in his work.

Another funerary monument, TT 325⁶²—ascribed to a certain Smen on the basis of locally found funerary cones⁶³—is preserved only in the lower parts of its walls. Again, the repertoire of this small tomb chapel was restricted to simple scenes of offerings to the deceased or to funerary gods (now sitting in a kiosk), with figures whose style of clothing suggests a similar dating, that is, in the second half of the pre-Amarna period.⁶⁴

The next Eighteenth Dynasty decorated tomb chapel of Deir el-Medina, TT 8,⁶⁵ is certainly of the same date, but it was made for a superior in the hierarchy of the crew: the chief (*hry*) and “director of all works in the Great-Place (*imy-r k3.wt m s.t-ʿ3.t*),” Kha,⁶⁶ today famous thanks to the discovery of his undisturbed burial by Ernesto Schiaparelli’s expedition in 1906.⁶⁷ The painted chapel has dimensions very similar to the previous ones but inverted—in other words, with a single room longer than wide—and a slightly higher ceiling (3.00 m long, 1.60 m wide, and 2.15 m high). Its entrance door and general architecture were more monumental(ized),⁶⁸ and the decoration was definitely closer to contemporary elite standards. First of all, the classic themes of the deceased couple adoring funerary deities and receiving offerings were enhanced by subsidiary scenes of quite nicely diversified offering bearers or female musicians,⁶⁹ clearly derived from the repertoire of nobles’ tombs. The rear and focal wall⁷⁰ still presents in its stela-like rounded upper part a symmetric composition—with two images of Anubis as a jackal recumbent on a base representing the *sh*-motif on both sides of a central papyrus and lotus flower bouquet—but was designed to be integrated, physically as well as iconographically, with a real stela (almost certainly Turin C. 1618),⁷¹ a formula to be adopted in subsequent chapels of the cemetery and again inspired from elite tombs. The style is also much more reminiscent of the latter, with better-shaped and balanced figures (though often still quite elongated and not entirely devoid of traces of clumsiness),⁷² transparency and texture effects in the depiction of garments or wigs (fig. 7.10), finely detailed offerings and pieces of jewelry, and much better-mastered painted-fabric patterns on the ceiling (fig. 7.11). But the inscriptions are nevertheless still flawed by many oddities. In addition to a few hieroglyphs presenting an unusual form (such as the surprisingly fat viper or the *hryw* oar after the name of Kha on fig. 7.12), Jeanne Vandier d’Abbadie noted:



Figure 7.10. Detail of the western wall of TT 8 depicting a female figure behind Meryt, the wife of the tomb owner, Kha. Photo by IFAO. © IFAO.

62 Bruyère 1925, 100–102; 1927, 51–56, pl. 4.

63 Macadam and Davies 1957, no. 404, in the name of the *im3h hr Wsir Smn m3ʿ hryw*.

64 Cherpion 1999, 1n5.

65 Vandier d’Abbadie 1939; Ferraris 2018, 120–23.

66 Russo 2012, 67.

67 Schiaparelli 1927; Ferraris 2018.

68 See the 3D graphic restitutions made by the Institut français d’archéologie orientale in Ferraris 2018, 14–15.

69 Vandier d’Abbadie 1939, pls. 4, 7–8, 13, 16; Ferraris 2018, 120–22.

70 Vandier d’Abbadie 1939, pls. 2–3.

71 Vandier d’Abbadie 1939, 13–14, pl. 11; Ferraris 2018, 18.

72 See, for instance, the indeed challenging figures of the lute player looking backward and her dancing mate (Vandier d’Abbadie 1939, pls. 7, 16, or Ferraris 2018, 120, to be compared with N. de G. Davies 1917, frontispiece, pls. 15–16 [TT 52], or N. de G. Davies 1963, pl. 6 [TT 38], among many other examples).

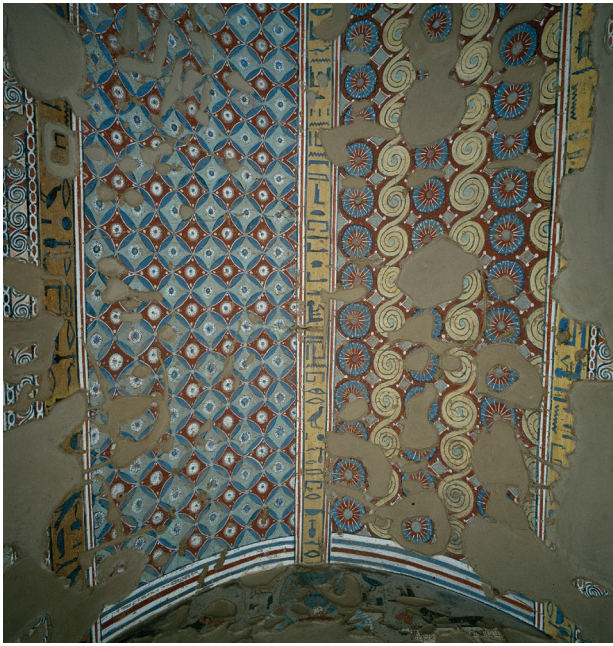


Figure 7.11. Detail of the southern half of the painted ceiling of TT 8. Photo by IFAO. © IFAO.



Figure 7.12. Detail of the western wall of TT 8 showing the hieroglyphic panel accompanying the figure of Meryt, the wife of the tomb owner, Kha. Photo by IFAO. © IFAO.

Les quelques textes que l'on peut encore lire sur les murs de cette chapelle sont constitués par des formules funéraires courantes et très connues. Plusieurs de ces formules sont écrites d'une façon bizarre et erronée, qui permet de supposer que ce travail avait été confié à un scribe [*sic*], bon dessinateur sans doute, mais très ignorant et qui ne comprenait pas grand'chose aux textes qu'il était chargé d'écrire. C'est ainsi que l'on trouve de fréquentes interventions de signes comme: $\square \overline{s}$ pour $\overline{s} \square$, $\overline{w} \overline{l}$ pour $\overline{l} \overline{w}$, $\square \overline{c}$ pour $\overline{c} \square$ (. . .). Le mot \overline{s} est écrit une fois \overline{s} , et une autre fois \overline{s} (. . .). Certains signes sont écrits à l'envers, comme \overline{c} pour \overline{c} , \square pour \square , \overline{c} pour \overline{c} , \overline{s} pour \overline{s} . Enfin, il faut signaler la façon dont est écrit dans le cintre de la paroi A le nom d'Anubis. On lit deux fois le mot $\overline{w} \overline{l}$ qui semble être une déformation inexplicable de $\overline{w} \overline{l}$.⁷³

Furthermore, some signs were sometimes simply omitted, such as the *n* and the *f* in the expression *s<n>.t<f>* for the designation of Kha's wife, Meryt, in the inscription illustrated in figure 7.12,⁷⁴ thus adding to the inaccuracy of these short texts.

Since Kha was at the highest level in the hierarchy of the Deir el-Medina crew, it is extremely likely that, just as Inherkhawy did for his own tomb (TT 359) a bit more than two centuries later (see above and n. 16), Kha employed the best talents of his team to decorate his funerary monument. But those (supposedly) top artists within the community, who were rather well trained in the art of painting, showed clear signs of a limited hieroglyphic literacy probably comparable to that of Kha himself; apparently he asked for no corrections, though he seems to have claimed to be a "royal scribe" (a title actually only attested on two decorated sticks from his tomb: Turin Museo Egizio S. 8417 and 8418/01).⁷⁵ So again the gap with makers of elite tombs is patent.

⁷³ Vandier d'Abbadie 1939, 8–9.

⁷⁴ Other examples appear in Vandier d'Abbadie 1939, 9–13.

⁷⁵ Russo 2012, 67. One cannot completely rule out the hypothesis that these two very similar sticks (Ferraris 2018, 106, fig. 123, third and fourth from the left) could have been given to him, like many other objects of his funerary set (Russo 2012), by a colleague and namesake who was a royal scribe. It is also important to note here that the same kind of hieroglyphic mistakes are quite frequent in the inscriptions on the objects from Kha and Meryt's tomb; among many examples, see Ferraris 2018, 101–2 (cosmetic and wig boxes Turin S. 8479 and S. 8493, with the name of Meryt written $\overline{w} \overline{l}$), 124–25,



Figure 7.13. Comparison of the figure of an officiant on the right of the stela niche in the rear wall of TT 338 (left) and in the first chapel of TT 268 (right). Photo by Dimitri Laboury, courtesy of the Museo Egizio of Turin; G. Menendez, © University of Liège.

Not until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, after the Atenist episode of the reign of Akhenaten, do inscriptions begin to appear flawless in the tombs of Deir el-Medina.⁷⁶ This is the case in the nearby TT 338,⁷⁷ the funerary chapel of another prominent member of the community: the “painter of Amun in the Place-of-Maat” Maya, who according to Mario Tosi may also have been “chief of the artists of the Place-of-Maat.”⁷⁸ This small monument, now preserved in the Museo Egizio of Turin, is again of quite tiny dimensions, measuring 2.25 m long by 1.45 m wide and 1.85 m high. It was beautifully painted in a very well-mastered (directly) post-Amarna style (figs. 7.13 left and 7.14 left), with a more diversified iconographic repertoire (including two detailed boat processions [the so-called Abydos pilgrimage], a funeral scene with a lively group of female mourners, and a double depiction of the tomb) and much more space devoted to longer inscriptions; the latter were written by a practiced and regular hand, with two quotes of the so-called Pyramid Texts (PT 25 [fig. 7.13 left] and 32),⁷⁹ or what should now be designated as glorification-ritual texts (*s3h.w*),

128 (boxes S. 8212–3, with many inversions of signs or of the orientation of the entire panel of text regarding the figure to which it is related), 140.

76 Interestingly enough, the same holds true for the inscriptions in the royal tombs of the Valley of the Kings, that is, in the official work of the Deir el-Medina crew; see, for instance, similar cases of inversions of signs or erroneous spellings in WV 22 of Amenhotep III, in Yoshimura and Kondo 2004, cover and 199 (*sh ntr* written without the normal metathesis of the two signs, or misspelling of the expression *msi.n.s* as *msi.s.n*), 146. Considering the remarkable artistic and, particularly, technical involvement in the making of these paintings (Yoshimura and Kondo 2004), these mistakes again imply a group of poorly literate but definitely professional painters. Of course, long textual compositions, such as the Book of the Amduat, were certainly transcribed on the walls by literati specialists, likely brought in for this specific purpose or task.

77 Tosi 1970, 1994.

78 Tosi 1994, 57–58.

79 Tosi 1994, 44–45.



Figure 7.14. Comparison of the detail of a couple sitting in front of an offering table on the left of the stela niche in the rear wall of TT 338 (left) and in the first chapel of TT 268 (right). Photo by Dimitri Laboury, courtesy of the Museo Egizio di Turin; G. Menendez, © University of Liège.

after Jan Assmann.⁸⁰ As for the now anonymously decorated first chapel of TT 268, only the lower part of its walls is still preserved, but the style of its decoration, as well as its iconography and even the paleography of its remaining texts, are strongly reminiscent of the ones probably painted by Maya himself in TT 338 (figs. 7.13–7.14). Finally, the unfinished mutualized tomb TT 291, shared by the two “call-listeners” Nu and Nakhtmin, is also seemingly to be dated to the very end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, just after the Amarna period.⁸¹ Although its style and iconography are definitely more sober, not to say basic,⁸² its inscriptions are free from the kinds of mistakes encountered in every pre-Amarna tomb of the village.⁸³

So art-historical characterization of Eighteenth Dynasty decorated tombs in the cemetery of the Deir el-Medina community—taking into account their materiality, size, iconographic repertoire and scheme,

80 Assmann 2005. In addition to the then-standard family stela in the niche in the center of the rear wall of TT 338 (Turin C. 1579), Maya also owned another small stela with a long and rather detailed solar hymn, likely set into the pyramidion on top of the funerary chapel (Tosi 1994, 40; Bankes stela 1). Interestingly, the inscriptions on these stelae are usually more precise (see also the one of Kha, Turin C. 1618; Ferraris 2018, 18), as though they were made by more specialized or educated colleagues.

81 Bruyère and Kuentz 1926, 1–65. The puzzling element in the dating of TT 291 is the fact that Nu and Nakhtmin are systematically presented as “call-listener(s) in the Great-Place,” though in the upper register of the rear wall, members of their family—namely, Nakhtmin’s progenitor, Minhotep, and Nu’s wife and mother, Kha(it)nezut and Mutnofret—are described as being “in the Place-of-Maat.” The reference to the “Place-of-Maat” seems to imply a date after the beginning of Amenhotep IV’s reign (see n. 18 above), as does the figures’ style of fashion. In this case, Nu and Nakhtmin may have wished to keep their original title from the pre-Amarna period, or there was a time when both designations of the royal necropolis coexisted.

82 This observation remains true even for the sketched funeral scene with offering booths before the entrance of the tomb, in front of which a mummy or mummiform coffin was upraised (Bruyère and Kuentz 1926, pl. 3). Here one also must note that every single painted face in the decoration of this small tomb was damaged and restored later in antiquity, perhaps in the late Ramesside period or Twenty-First Dynasty, when Ankhefenamun, son of Butehamun, left a graffito on the inside northern wall of the chapel (Bruyère and Kuentz 1926, pls. 6, 9).

83 The only oddity to be noted is an inverted sign (*d**s**r*, Gardiner sign D45) in the longer inscription on the northern wall. The paleography of the inscriptions in TT 291 is strikingly reminiscent of that in the tomb of Tutankhamun, KV 62.

style and quality of workmanship, and textual epigraphy—leads to some rather important conclusions for the question raised in the present study.

First, compared to non-elite funerary monuments, such as the Middle Kingdom chapels in Abydos or the early New Kingdom structures built in the plain just below the slope of Dra^c Abu el-Naga,⁸⁴ they appear absolutely normal, quite average, and even with some tokens of ambition, certainly due to the specific skills of the members of the crew and their involvement in monumental production. These artists used and capitalized on an iconographic repertoire directly inspired by the visual culture of basic—and low-cost or affordable—funerary monuments (such as stelae and their tradition), a visual culture they may have partly derived from their own professional activities,⁸⁵ though it was probably shared by almost every ancient Egyptian.⁸⁶ But their production for themselves in this respect, at least during the pre-Amarna period, is still quite far from the specific and more scholarly Deir el-Medina iconographic tradition or culture their successors were to develop in Ramesside times (that is, after the reestablishment of the community and its organizational reform under the reign of Horemheb⁸⁷) by gradually appropriating and reinterpreting the visual (and to some extent also textual) culture of the sophisticated royal tombs they built and decorated.⁸⁸

Returning to the essential topic of this contribution, the comparison between these funerary monuments made by Deir el-Medina crew members of the pre-Amarna era and contemporary tombs of the Theban elite reveals a striking discrepancy in terms of artistic abilities and autonomy. The decoration of Eighteenth Dynasty chapels of Deir el-Medina is extremely repetitive, and almost any attempt to step beyond the limits of the classic and basic repertoire was marked by quite patent or easily detectable mistakes.⁸⁹ To the contrary, in coeval elite tombs in the Theban necropolis the schemes are usually customized to the spaces to be decorated and, more importantly, to the idiosyncrasies of the professional, historical, and individual profile of the commissioning patrons.⁹⁰ Moreover, when sketches for wall decoration are preserved, they always convey very minimal information (often focused on the general layout and composition, or thematic encoding; fig. 7.15),⁹¹ implying a rather broad range of freedom for the artist's creativity and also great artistic autonomy in the sense of ability to improvise and elaborate on a raw, basic given

84 Polz 1995. A comparison may also be proposed with slightly later chapels from the Memphite necropolis (see Martin 2001).

85 This is clearly the case for their use of hieroglyphs.

86 It is quite interesting to note that the same basic funerary imagery also occurs on objects, such as some of the boxes found in the burial equipment of Kha and Meryt, owners of TT 8 (Turin S. 8212–3; see Ferraris 2018, 124–25, 128). Of course, the roots of this iconography go back as far as the very origins of the depiction of the deceased and its funerary cult or commemoration, in the so-called Archaic period; on this, see der Manuelian 2003. So, in a certain way and from an ancient Egyptian (or emic) point of view, one may plausibly state that it has always been there, and everywhere.

87 Valbelle 1985, 160–63.

88 The acme of this educated Deir el-Medina tradition was probably achieved by the work of the scholar-painter Amenhotep son of Amunnakhte in the tomb of Imiseba (see n30 above).

89 Every innovation also seems to be followed in subsequent tombs (for instance, the passage to a chapel longer than wide, the depiction of funerary deities in a kiosk, the design of the rear wall to integrate a stela physically and iconographically, the patterns for the ceiling, and more), highlighting the strong intericonic relationship between all these exceptionally decorated tombs within a small community and a small area.

90 Among countless examples and addressing the topic, see Guksch 2003. It is so common that “the stereotyped nature of . . . scenes” and “the absence of personal and domestic notices” in the iconographic scheme of an elite Theban tomb appear to Egyptologists extremely puzzling and need to be commented on; see, for instance, N. de G. Davies 1917, 44–46.


91 For other examples, see N. de G. Davies 1923b, 15, pl. 79d (TT 39; cf. with pl. 72, fragments 44–45); Hayes 1973, pls. 1.6–1.7, 2.8–2.10 (TT 71); or Guksch et al. 1995, 120, pl. 22c–d (TT 87; cf. with pls. 27, 37–38), 177, pl. 47 (TT 79). It is noteworthy that the same sketchiness or contraction of information with linear abbreviated figures was also used to guide restoration work after Atenist desecrations; see, for instance, Epigraphic Survey 2009, 31, 56, 65, 67, pl. 96 (graffito 413) and 98 (graffito 423) (Thutmoside temple of Medinet Habu; cf. with pls. 35, 79); similar cases are known from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, currently under study by the Polish Mission. Furthermore, in the study of painterly practices in TT 96A, the Belgian Archaeological Mission in the Theban Necropolis discovered two cursive, hieroglyph-like artist's marks or pictograms encoding the themes to be depicted on the walls, with a single sign—Gardiner sign A115, —indicating a future banquet scene (see Pieke and Laboury, forthcoming).



Figure 7.15. Ostrakon JE 36083 of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo depicting the sketch for a wall scene in a Theban tomb. From Sir Robert Mond excavations in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (20 × 18 cm). After Minault-Gout 2002, 149.



Figure 7.16. Self-portrait *in assistenza* of the painter of Amun Userhat in the banquet scene on the western section of the northern wall of the broad hall of TT 75. Photo by Dimitri Laboury.

model or theme—precisely an ability that seems to be so lacking in the artistic profile of the pre-Amarna members of the Deir el-Medina community.

These observations thus compel us to conclude that the Eighteenth Dynasty artists of Deir el-Medina were actually incapable of making the nearby elite Theban tombs. So, once again, “who made the private tombs of Thebes?”

MANY MORE ARTISTS

Despite what has often been thought and repeated, the Deir el-Medina community was certainly not “the only identifiable group of tomb makers in western Thebes during the New Kingdom.” A crucial hint in this respect is provided by the (double) self-portrait *in assistenza* of “the painter of Amun Userhat” in TT 75—the tomb of his superior in the domain of Amun, the second high-priest of Amun Amenhotep Sise, in the reign of Thutmose IV (fig. 7.16). Its contextualized analysis⁹² indeed reveals that it functioned as a pictorial signature left by the master painter who decorated this funerary chapel, proving that an artist officially affiliated with the domain of Amun in Karnak—and apparently one of the most prominent ones of his time⁹³—could engage in the making of elite monuments and even be allowed by his private patron to sign his work.⁹⁴

This conclusion is corroborated by another famous case of equal importance, that of Pahery of Elkab.⁹⁵ This future governor of his hometown in upper Egypt was, in an earlier stage of his career, “painter of

92 Laboury 2015.

93 Laboury 2015, 332–37.

94 On the circumstances needed for the emergence of an artist’s signature, see Laboury 2016, esp. 389–90, and Laboury and Devillers 2022. For parallel signatures as a self-portrait *in assistenza* in other Eighteenth Dynasty tombs of the Theban elite, see Davies and Gardiner 1915, 37, pl. 8. Of course, such activities constituted another manifestation of what may now be called “informal workshop” practices (see n15 above) or freelance work, to which any temple or royal artist (or craftsman) in ancient Egypt—including an official portrait-sculptor of the king, such as Thutmose in Akhetaten–Amarna, who obviously had private clients in addition to his royal patron (Laboury 2005)—could apparently devote himself in his free time.

95 Laboury 2017, 241–47.

Amun” as well. In this capacity, he appears to have decorated not only the very individualized and now almost completely lost Theban tomb of his colleague and, in all likelihood, friend, the scribe-accountant of grain Wensu (TT A4), but also the rock-cut tomb of his renowned grandfather, the veteran Ahmose son of Ibana, in Elkab (T Elkab 5), labeling the most prominent of his many self-depictions in this funerary monument: “by the son of his daughter, who directed the works in this tomb as the one who causes to live the name of the father of his mother, the painter of Amun Pahery, justified” (fig. 7.17).⁹⁶ This other case of a private tomb signed by a painter of Amun is of great significance in the perspective developed here because it provides further evidence of the versatility and wide range of expertise of those artists, who revealed themselves plainly capable of mastering an iconographic repertoire well beyond the limits of temple imagery, including in a medium other than painting (since the tomb of Ahmose son of Ibana is decorated in relief).⁹⁷ As well, this tomb demonstrates the artists’ mobility, Elkab being distant from the Theban area by about 80 km.⁹⁸

The geographic mobility of Eighteenth Dynasty artists of the domain of Amun is actually well substantiated. For instance, the small Manchester Museum stela 4528 (23.3 cm high, 15.7 cm wide) (fig. 7.18) in the name of the sculptor (*tȝy-[mḏȝ].t*) of Amun Anhotep and “made by” his colleague “the *w^cb*-priest of Amun, the chief sculptor Nedjem,” was found in 1895 by W. M. Flinders Petrie and James Edward Quibell on the site of the Thutmoside temple of Seth of Ombos in Nagada,⁹⁹ some 35 km north of Thebes, where the two



Figure 7.17. Self-portrait *in assistenz*a of the painter of Amun Pahery on the eastern wall of T Elkab 5, the tomb of his grandfather, Ahmose son of Ibana. Photo by Dimitri Laboury.

⁹⁶ See the analysis in Laboury 2016; 2017, 241–47.

⁹⁷ Other examples of various periods (e.g., Habachi 1957, 100, fig. 6; Ward 1977; Stefanovic 2012, 187, 189–90) indeed confirm that the *zš-ḫd(.wt)*, literally, “the scribe of forms (or ‘shapes’)” (Laboury 2016, 379n22), was more a specialist in what today would be designated as graphic arts, including painting, than a painter or a draftsman in the technical sense of the terms (Laboury 2016, esp. 388; 2020, 87). For a reversed case of the Eighteenth Dynasty from the Theban necropolis that equally implies the extensive expertise of these master artists of the domain of Amun, see TT 54, the painted tomb of the director of the sculptors of Amun (*imy-r ḳs.tywn n Imn*), Amenhotep Huy, published by Polz 1997b; the same applies to the famous tomb of the two chief sculptors (*ḥry B(y) mḏȝ.t m s.t ḏsr:t*) Nebamun and Ipuky (TT 181; N. de G. Davies 1925b). It is indeed difficult to imagine that these chief artists did not take a significant part in the decoration of their own tombs, unless they asked a close colleague to do the job (for instance, the “painter of Amun Pasesut, called Parennefer,” the only identified artist in the workshop scene of TT 181; N. de G. Davies 1925b, pl. 11). Finally, it must be noted that Pahery claims to have “directed the works in this tomb,” that is, supervised the entire process of making the tomb of his grandfather; for a parallel, see the case of the painter Pay in TT 32, referred to above and discussed in Fábíán 1992, 1997, and 2004.

⁹⁸ One must also note the social mobility of this painter of Amun, who eventually became governor of Elkab and Esna. On this topic, out of the scope of the present chapter, see Laboury 2016; Laboury and Devillers 2022.

⁹⁹ Petrie and Quibell 1896, 68, pl. 78.

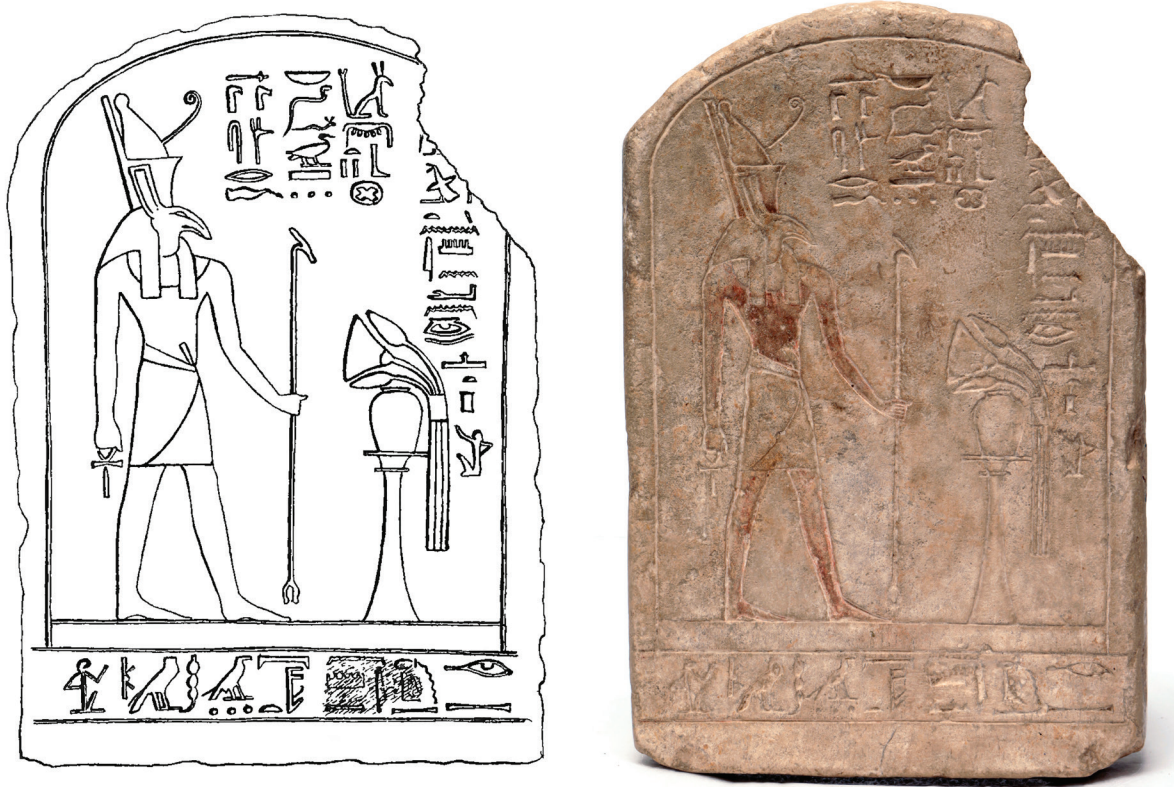


Figure 7.18. Manchester Museum stela 4528, found in Nagada in 1895 by W. M. Fl. Petrie and J. E. Quibell. After Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. 78. Photo by Manchester Museum, courtesy of Manchester Museum.

artists were probably sent on a mission. Another stela, housed in the Louvre (C 65 – N 210), belonged to the chief sculptor (*ḥry By-md3.t*) of Amun Amenemope, who was also appointed “chief sculptor in the mansion of Ay [*ḥw.t Ḥpr-ḥpr.w-r^c-ir-m3^c.t*] in Abydos,”¹⁰⁰ thus more than 100 km farther north.¹⁰¹

These artistic commissions were in fact part of a much broader and general system developed from the very beginning of pharaonic society, which involved raising teams of well-trained experts or workforces who could then be dispatched and used throughout the country according to the ruler’s projects.¹⁰² This highly centralized system, which characterizes pharaonic society as a whole, accounts for the fact that whenever an ancient Egyptian artist mentioned his professional affiliation, it was always to the king or his residence (especially in the Old Kingdom) or to a temple (particularly in the New Kingdom), since it was in those royal institutions that artistic forces were raised, trained, and employed (and above all needed).¹⁰³

100 *Urk.* 4:2112.18–19.

101 For an almost contemporaneous parallel to such an artistic assignment, see the case of the chief painter of Amun (both *imy-r* and *ḥry zš(.w)-ḳd n Imn*), Dedia, heir of six generations of artists in the same function, who was commissioned by Seti I to repair Atenist damages in Karnak and the rest of the Theban area as “director of the works and artistic functions of Amun in the *Akh-menu*, the *Men-sut*, the *Akh-sut*, the *Djeser-akhet*, the *Djeser-djeseru* and the *Heneqet-ankh*” (Lowle 1976). For Dedia’s equivalent in sculpture, the *ḥry By-md3.t n nb ʔ.wy* Hatiay, who “gave birth” to divine statues throughout the country, see Kruchten 1992; for their master-shipbuilder colleague, the *ḥmw(w) wr (n mdḥ wi3.w n ntr:w nb.w)* Iunna, see *Urk.* 4:1630–31.

102 Laboury 2020, 91.

103 For rare examples of New Kingdom artists claiming a direct affiliation to the king, see the case of Hatiay, just mentioned (Kruchten 1992), or that of the “chief painter of the Lord of the Two Lands in every monument of Amun in Karnak (*Ipet-Sut*), who inscribed the great name of the perfect god in the temple of Usermaatse Setepenere in the estate of Amun to the West of Thebes,” Simut, depicted in TT 111, the tomb of his son, the “scholar-scribe Amenwahsu” (Amer 2000, 2). This scribe of the *Per-ankh* and scribe of the divine books in the domain of Amun, son of a prominent artist, who claimed to have written the inscriptions in his tomb “with his own fingers” (Amer 2000, 2), may also be the namesake painter (*zš-ḳd*) portrayed less

For the elite and their deliberate use of art as a display of prestige, one of the most important consequences of this institutional monopolization of artistic resources by the pharaoh—the main producer, consumer, and patron of arts—was that skilled, expert, and autonomous artists were to be found in such royal institutions.¹⁰⁴ In this context, and returning to the necropolis of the Theban elites under the Eighteenth Dynasty, it seems quite clear that the principal source for artistic talents in Upper Egypt during this first part of the New Kingdom was the domain of Amun, based in Karnak.¹⁰⁵

If the estate of Amun was indeed the main origin of the artists who made the private tombs of Thebes in the Eighteenth Dynasty,¹⁰⁶ it might allow us to explain some characteristics of the necropolis. One such aspect is the significant presence of the personnel of the domain of Amun: its top dignitaries, high priests, and great stewards as expected, but also some lower-ranking officials, with a surprising representation of categories such as the scribe-accountants of the grain of Amun, as Wolfgang Helck underlined almost three decades ago.¹⁰⁷ A good and well-known example, already mentioned above, is the very singular tomb of Wensu (TT A4), almost certainly designed and decorated by the painter of Amun Pahery, with whom Wensu seems to have worked and may have been friends.¹⁰⁸ A similar professional as well as personal connection could justify the very existence of the world-famous and exquisite, though very small (and unfinished), tomb of the horologer priest of Amun (*wnw.t(y) n 'Imn*) Nakht (TT 52):¹⁰⁹ despite the fact that he belonged to a socioprofessional category that left almost no other archaeological trace¹¹⁰ and was apparently not naturally meant to gain access to monumental death, this Nakht managed to own one of the most beautiful and valued tombs of the Theban necropolis.¹¹¹ The same holds true for the other well-known “tomb of Nakht” (TT 161), a gardener of Amun (*k3ry [n ḥtp-ntr] n 'Imn*) in the time of Amenhotep III.¹¹² It seems that in the entire history of ancient Egyptian art, floral bouquets have never been depicted as luxuriantly and exuberantly as in the single room of this tomb of a floral-offering bearer of Amun (fig. 7.19); the artist responsible for the magnificent murals of this tomb chapel, plainly a scholar-painter, got so involved in his creation that he invented three new hieroglyphic compositions to transcribe pictorially the main title of our gardener (*βi ḥtp.w n 'Imn*) (fig. 7.20), to whom he thus seems to have been rather closely connected.¹¹³

than a generation earlier in a workshop scene in the House of Gold under the supervision of the vizier Paser in the latter's funerary chapel, TT 106 (Assmann 1992, 53).

104 Whereas the monarch had a real army of artists, craftsmen, and workers at hand to undertake his monumental policy on a national scale, such was clearly not the case for the elite, who had to rely on small teams, as administrative evidence suggests (Laboury 2012, 202), and thus on qualified and polyvalent specialists; on this topic, see also Laboury 2020, 91–95.

105 As some sort of a counterpoint, in the early Middle Kingdom it seems that artistic taskforces were rather based in the royal residence of the time, that is, in *Itjet-tawy*, from where they could be dispatched on artistic missions throughout the country (Franke 1994, 106–7; Quirke 2009, 117–18).

106 It should probably also be noted here that the domain of Amun even employed plasterers and *ḥr.tyw ntr*, two trades needed for tomb excavation and architecture (see Eichler 2000, 159–60). Furthermore, as Soliman (2018, 472–73) has perfectly underlined, members of Deir el-Medina community in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties occasionally displayed a connection with the estate of Amun through their use of titles such as *sḏm-ḥ n 'Imn* or *zš-ḳd n 'Imn*.

107 Helck 1993.

108 Laboury 2017, 241–47. As one would expect from a general art-historical point of view, personal connections through the work environment—including, of course, relations of subordination—or thanks to family ties appear to have been among the most efficient means of gaining access to artistic or monumental production in ancient Egypt. In addition to the examples of TT 359, TT 113, TT 65, TT 340, TT 75, and T Elkab 5, discussed above, see, e.g., Davies and Gardiner 1915, 5, pl. 8 (TT 82: “the chief of the works [in this tomb], the scribe Amenemhat,” son of the tomb owner); Hill and Schorsch 2007, 18–21 (Thutmose copper statuette of Hepu, Athens National Museum 3365: “by his brother, the goldsmith Tjenena”); or the many cases of artists described as *mḥnk* of the tomb owner in Old Kingdom tombs studied by Junker (1959).

109 N. de G. Davies 1917.

110 Eichler 2000, 170.

111 On the modern as well as ancient fame of this tomb—witness to its unanimous artistic evaluation—see the comments in Laboury 2017, 236n14.

112 For a brief analysis of this professional function and its very rarely attested holders, see Eichler 2000, 71–72.

113 Laboury 2013, 39–40. Again, despite the rather humble status of its owner, this tomb chapel was quite famous in ancient times, as can be established on the basis of visitors' inscriptions left by family members and colleagues over a few



Figure 7.19. Detail of the depiction of two floral bouquets brought by offering bearers in the rear part of the western and eastern walls of the tomb of Nakht the gardener (TT 161). Photos by Dimitri Laboury.



Figure 7.20. Three hieroglyphic compositions created by the painter of TT 161 to transcribe the title *ḥtp.w n 'Imn* of the tomb owner, Nakht the gardener, on the eastern wall (see fig. 7.19b), the western wall, and a fragment of the sandstone door frame of the tomb. Photos by Dimitri Laboury.

CONCLUSION: BACK TO THE VILLAGE

If the members of the Deir el-Medina community could without any possible doubt, and increasingly through time, be occasionally commissioned to work outside their usual institutional posting—in their case, the royal necropolis of Thebes¹¹⁴—the same was true for their colleagues with other administrative affiliations throughout the pharaoh’s kingdom. Because of this mobility of artists, craftsmen, and workers in general in ancient Egypt, one cannot deduce from the proximity of the Deir el-Medina settlement and the nearby necropolis of the Theban elites that the latter was the product of the former—no matter how tantalizing such an inference might seem. Quite the contrary, as we have seen, until at least the very end of the Eighteenth Dynasty the inhabitants of the village demonstrated through their own production for themselves their manifest inability to master the various skills required for the making of an elite tomb of the time. The reason for this inability is simply that they were trained in another specialty for another goal.

This leads us to the very function of such a settlement and crew. Various camps for workmen on a royal mission are known from ancient Egypt, such as the one found by Herbert Winlock and his team on the site of Deir el-Bahari¹¹⁵ and the huts built by the Deir el-Medina crew itself in the Valley of the Kings while excavating and decorating specific royal tombs.¹¹⁶ But the settlement of Deir el-Medina is of another kind, more durable and organized, and made for a long-lasting undertaking.¹¹⁷ Only one equivalent exists in New Kingdom archaeology: the Amarna workmen’s village. They have in common their situation near a royal cemetery, which was obviously their *raison d’être*.¹¹⁸ This is precisely why the community settled in Deir el-Medina did not, at least originally, have the abilities and training to create private tombs: its members were initially skilled—and probably put together—to produce royal tombs of the type(s) typical of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, when the village was founded;¹¹⁹ and it was only because of their own socioeducational improvement, along with the evolution of the artistic resources available in the Theban area during the Ramesside period, that some of them happened to decorate elite funerary monuments. Otherwise, as seemingly in any cemetery in ancient Egypt, such private monuments were produced thanks to local artistic resources to be found in temples or royal estates, if any.¹²⁰

But the specialization of the crew hosted on the site of Deir el-Medina—even if they were more or less secluded for security reasons because of their knowledge about royal burials—does not necessarily mean that this team of workmen was completely isolated from the administration of the rest of the artistic production in the Theban area, especially in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Recent study of the few pieces of evidence relating to the administration of the Deir el-Medina community and its activities during the Thutmoside period has indeed confirmed that they were supervised by the mayor of Thebes, Ineni, and maybe also the

generations (see Quirke 1986).

114 For the Eighteenth Dynasty, see the evidence for some occasional royal reassignments gathered by Haring 2018b, 241–42. Otherwise, for the Ramesside era, see the synthesis of McDowell 1994.

115 Winlock 1923, 31.

116 Dorn 2011a.

117 See the distinction suggested by Moeller (2010, esp. 202–7) about settlements of Old and Middle Kingdom workers.

118 This is why the question whether the inhabitants of both villages were the same and moved from one settlement to the other is probably purely theoretical: both dwelling facilities have exactly the same function, that is, to accommodate a special workforce dedicated to the activities in the royal necropolis. So, in other words, one was obviously replaced by the other when the pharaoh’s cemetery was moved from the Theban area (at the occasion of the foundation of a new main royal residence) and then moved back—a fact that implies it is extremely likely that most trained inhabitants of the two villages at the moment of these moves were indeed the same. For a thorough comparison between the two settlements, see Müller 2014.

119 Soliman 2018, 506.

120 See, for instance, the administrative affiliation of the artists Navratilova (2018, 394) was able to trace in the Memphite necropolis. Because of the absence of a royal cemetery in that region during the New Kingdom, one can only agree with Navratilova when she writes that a “workmen’s community of a similar character to the Theban Place of Truth—as a discrete organizational unit—is unlikely in Memphis” (Navratilova 2018, 383).

high-priest of Amun, Hapuseneb,¹²¹ both “director of all offices of the domain of Amun.”¹²² One also has to recall here that the painter Maya, owner of TT 338 in the cemetery of Deir el-Medina, presented himself as a “painter of Amun in the Place-of-Maat,” just like many of his successors in the early Ramesside institution of “the Tomb.”¹²³ So, in the end, the suggestion made by John Romer that tomb making for the Theban elites and the work of the Deir el-Medina crew in the royal necropolis were both supervised by the same authority could nevertheless be correct—at least for most of the history of this community—even if this single authority was almost certainly situated on the eastern rather than the western bank of the Nile.

121 Gabler and Soliman 2018.

122 Haring 2013, 619.

123 See, for instance, the family of Pay, son of Ipuuy, who was, with all his sons and grandsons, designated as *zš-ḳd n 'Imn* (B. Davies 1999, 149–55); see also the data gathered by Soliman (2018, 472–73), which led him to conclude, “It is likely that the village of Deir el-Medina was founded under Thutmosis I to accommodate the workmen, *perhaps sent from temples of Amun at Thebes*, who constructed tombs in the Valley of the Queens and later in the Valley of the Kings” (Soliman 2018, 506; italics mine). Given the geographic mobility of royal and/or temple artists underlined in the previous pages, it seems rather plausible that this local Theban team could have been reinforced with colleagues sent from other places in Egypt, especially when the crew was expanded in the late Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside times. Such reassignments and relocations might explain, for instance, why the cult of deities connected with the First Cataract of the Nile, more than 200 km south of Deir el-Medina, was unusually attested within the community (see Valbelle 1985, 317, with references).

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