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How to Give Something as a Present to the Tomb Owner in Old Kingdom Daily-Life Scenes*

Aurore Motte

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to describe the variety of ways by which the common workers speak to or offer something to the owner of a private tomb in Old Kingdom daily-life scenes. Moreover, it retraces the development of dedicatory formulas in «*Reden und Rufe*» from the 5th Dynasty to the end of the 6th Dynasty with a short overview of the subsequent speech captions.

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INTRODUCTION

Daily-life scenes are well known in Old Kingdom élite tombs but the speech captions uttered by the characters of these scenes are less famous.¹ Yet, they form a unique literary genre attested until the end of the pharaonic era.² These speeches, labelled «*Reden und Rufe*» by Erman in 1919, shyly emerge in two 4th Dynasty mastabas.³ From the reign of Nyuserre, they are quickly included in decorative programs of dozens of tombs and stay in vogue until the end of the reign of Pepy II, period in which I observed a first decline in their distribution.⁴

During the Old Kingdom, *Reden und Rufe* are present in many kinds of daily-life scenes, such as animal husbandry, butchery, dancing, fishing, hunting or market scenes. In this paper, I examine the captions uttered by the offering bearers (or bringers)⁵ with the aim of showing that the variety of means for workers to offer something to the tomb owner in élite tombs is proper to the Old Kingdom. In this view, I enlarge my scope by making comparisons with subsequent periods after having explored the expressions met in these funerary monuments. This article is structured in four parts: the presentation of the corpus, the recurrent dedicatory formulas in Old Kingdom tombs, the phrases that appear to be one-off cases in some of these monuments and the future of these expressions from the First Intermediate Period onwards.

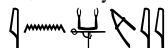
CORPUS

During the Old Kingdom, offering bearers scenes are numerous and widespread in élite tombs.⁶ I have collected nearly thirty private tombs with *Reden und Rufe* added in these scenes,⁷ among which twenty-two include dedicatory formula(s) (cf. tab. 1).

Characters standing and presenting an offering to the deceased are also found in other circumstances, such as dancers willing to dedicate their dance to the tomb owner or fowler offering birds trapped in a clapnet. These scenes are not strictly speaking offering bearers scenes though. Each one contains a man offering a present to the tomb owner with similar expressions as those met in the aforementioned twenty-two tombs. As such, they have been included in the corpus (cf. tab. 2).

All these scenes allow us to observe two main rhetorical strategies within the dedicatory formula of *Reden und Rufe*. The first resorts to the phrase *n k3*, for which Detlef⁸ noted that it «was used in tomb relief, accompanying the presentation of offerings to the tomb's owner as a kind of label» from the 6th Dynasty onwards. Yet, as we will see below, the emergence of this phrase is earlier in daily-life scenes.⁹ The second strategy, much less frequent, consists in avoiding this phrase for other (innovative) constructions.

THE PHRASE *N K3=K*

The first strategy emerges in the Giza mastaba of Kaysut II dated from the reign of Nyuserre.¹⁰ On the south wall, the Royal Acquaintance, Kaysut's son, offers a censer to his father, saying  (cf. fig. 1).¹¹

1. Cf. the main studies of ERMAN 1919, MONTET 1925 and JUNKER 1943b.

2. The last known occurrences are found in the tomb of Petosiris. Cf. LEFEBVRE 1923, pl. 7-8 and 12-13.

3. Cf. the mastabas of Khuenra and of Meresankh III in REISNER 1934, fig. 10 and DUNHAM - SIMPSON 1974b, fig. 11.

4. Cf. MOTTE 2018a, pp. 1-25: 6-8 for an extensive description.

5. It should be noted that offering bearers scenes present two kind of speeches – imitation of *sermo quotidianus* and dedicatory formulas respectively – but only the second category is considered in this paper. For an example of the first category, cf. for instance the mastaba of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep where one of the offering bringers turns to his superior and gives him a taste of milk. The superior approves the quality of the product with the caption *jw nm ndm wr.t* «it is very sweet». Cf. MOUSSA - ALTENMÜLLER 1977, pl. 34-35b.

6. To date, there is no accurate survey. Cf. for instance the main theme «OF» on the MastaBase for an overview in Memphite tombs. Cf. VAN WALSEM 2008. The website «Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database», on the other hand, lists only fish bearer scenes.

7. MOTTE 2018b, pp. 684-714.

8. Cf. DETLEF 2003, pp. 39-57: 54.

9. JUNKER 1938, p. 235 mentions a few examples without providing chronological or geographical information.

10. The mentioned dates in this work follow those given on the OEE-Database website.

11. JUNKER 1938, fig. 21.

According to Junker,¹² this could be read *jn k3 mry* «for the ka, Beloved» or «for the ka of the beloved» depending on whether one interprets *mry* as a vocative or as the second term of an indirect genitive. Though the first reading is syntactically correct, an indirect genitive appears to convey a better meaning in my view.¹³ Moreover, the strong connection between text and image¹⁴ argues in favour of the omission of first-person suffix pronoun, which is hardly written in speech captions.¹⁵ For these reasons, I suggest reading the first dedicatory formula *jn k3 mry(=j)* «for the ka of my beloved».

At the same time, the preposition *n* appears in a short form in the mastaba of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep at Saqqara. At the bottom of the south wall of the 6th room, Khuy, the Inspector of Funerary Priests, presents the deceased with all the offerings carried by the priests behind him with the caption *n k3=k* «for your ka».¹⁶ The short spelling of the preposition *n* could be seen in alternation with the fuller one seen in Kanysut's tomb, when the preposition stands at the beginning of a sentence but a better explanation would be to consider an omission of the subject, i.e. the gifts presented to the deceased, which are present in the scene itself. This second reading *ø n k3=k* has been made possible thanks to the text-image connection.

The alternation *jn k3* – *n k3* does not seem, however, to be the result of a geographical variation as the contemporary Giza mastaba of Khuta shows. On

the south wall of his funerary monument, the priests Khnumhotep and Niankhdjehuty bring a bird and a censer to the deceased and his wife respectively, seated at the banquet table. Beside Khnumhotep's leg, the inscription *ø n k3=k* «for your ka» is written.¹⁷ Incidentally, the presence of the second-person masculine suffix pronoun suggests that the offerings are dedicated only to Khuta.

A second step is reached at the end of the 5th Dynasty, when a new structure shows up in Ty's chapel.¹⁸ Presents are offered to the tomb owner by means of an adverbial sentence rooted in the *hic et nunc* with the auxiliary *jw*, e.g. *jw nn n k3 Ty* «this is for the ka of Ty».¹⁹ Reference is explicitly made to the offerings in the text through the neutral demonstrative pronoun *nn*. The beneficiary is still the «double vital» in this case but on the same wall we also find, at the penultimate register, a variation without the *K3*: *jw nn n Ty* «this is for Ty».²⁰ However, it is not a rhetoric strategy proper to this mastaba. The tomb of Ihy, later usurped by Idut (called Sesheshet), reveals a similar structure at the bottom of the west wall. In the middle of a cattle fording scene, a man stands up in his canoe with a bird in his hand and says *jw nn n hr(y)-tp nsw(t) jhy* «this is for the royal chamberlain, Ihy» intended for the first tomb owner.²¹ During the reusing of this monument for Idout, the speech has been completely erased, probably for reasons connected with the name and title of the previous owner.²²

The structures *(j)n k3=k* and *jw nn n k3=k* coexist until the reign of Unas,²³ when a second turning point is reached. For the first time, the offering is labelled with the corresponding Egyptian noun within the text itself by using the first structure. In the mastaba

12. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 156. FISCHER 1989, pp. 69-76: 73 offers another translation («this is for the ka of the beloved»), considering that the group $\overline{\text{I}}$ would be a defective spelling for the auxiliary *jw* immediately followed by a zero subject and the preposition *n* (**j(w) ø n k3 mry*). Such a defective spelling is well attested when a suffix pronoun accompanies the auxiliary (cf. e.g. EDEL 1964, §757). In *Reden und Rufe* presenting an omitted subject, this spelling is however very uncommon, unlike the full writing $\overline{\text{I}}$. Cf. MOTTE 2018b, pp. 1291-96 for the neuter omission in *Reden und Rufe*. The phenomenon is also briefly discussed in VERNUS 1996, pp. 131-40: 137-38. I therefore prefer to follow Junker's interpretation.

13. BARTA 1988, pp. 7-11: 8 and STAUDER 2014, p. 95 also follow this interpretation. About the fuller form of the preposition when it is fronted, cf. EDEL 1964, §757 and *ibidem*, pp. 95-96.

14. Cf. e.g. FISCHER 1977, pp. 3-4; VERNUS 1985, pp. 45-69; FISCHER 1986, pp. 27-28; BRYAN 1996, pp. 161-68; WINAND 2006, pp. 141-58; and WINAND - ANGENOT 2016, pp. 153-77: 161. WINAND 2006, pp. 141-58: 155-56 states that «*en fait, il y a de la redondance dans des scènes de ce type, sans qu'on sache toutefois très bien si c'est l'image qui glose le texte ou le texte qui souligne l'image*».

15. Cf. *inter alia* EDEL 1955, §§160 and 167aa; FISCHER 1977, pp. 3-4; *Id.* 1986, pp. 27-28 and MOTTE 2018b, p. 42.

16. Cf. MOUSSA - ALTENMÜLLER 1977, pl. 86.

17. Cf. HASSAN 1941, fig. 39 and pl. 18-19.

18. The tomb is dated from the reign of Menkauhor to that of Djedkara-Isesi. The mastaba of Sekhemankhptah could have been the first known witness for this structure but the text is corrupted. Cf. BADAWY 1976, fig. 21. The hieroglyphs could be read either *j[my] nn n k3 <-k>* «[take] this for <your> ka» or *j[w] nn n k3 <-k>* «this is for your ka». Due to the lacuna, which prevents a secure interpretation, the text has been put aside for the presentation of the *n k3* phrase evolution in *Reden und Rufe*.

19. Cf. WILD 1966, pl. 180.

20. Cf. *ibidem*, pl. 179.

21. Cf. KANAWATI - ABDER-RAZIQ 2003, pl. 54.

22. *Ibidem*.

23. Cf. for instance JUNKER 1938, fig. 48 and BROVARSKI 2000, fig. 128-29.

of Sekhemka, the offering is fronted: *k(z)p n k3* [...] «a censer for the ka [...]».²⁴ The tomb of Nebet shows a reverse structure in the third register of the east wall (*[n] k3=t {s} <j> rp* «[for] your ka, wine»)²⁵ whereas the opposite wall follows the fronted offering construction (*jrp n k3=t hnw.t(z)* «wine for your ka, my mistress»)²⁶

Each structure survives during the 6th Dynasty, even if the sentences *jw nn n k3 (n) x*²⁷ and OFFERING *n k3=k*²⁸ become less frequent than the first construction.²⁹ A fourth variation occurs in the Giza tomb of Hetepheres (6th Dynasty) and in the Saqqara mastaba of Mehu (Teti-Merenre). The adverbial sentence is preserved but the neutral subject is omitted, giving *jw ø n k3=t* «this is for your ka» and *jw ø n k3 n (j)m(y)-r(z) gs pr mh* «this is for the ka of the overseer of the troop-house, Mehu» respectively.³⁰ A wave of phraseological innovations also characterizes the 6th Dynasty tombs.

INNOVATIVE DEDICATORY FORMULAS

The new dedicatory formulas documented in 6th Dynasty tombs are divided into two main categories, whether they are inspired by previous formula or are unprecedented in offering bearers' mouths.

Modifications of previous expressions are found in two Saqqara mastabas and in two provincials tombs (Deshasha and Meir). These changes affect the adverbial sentence as well as the *ø/OFFERING n k3=k* phrases. In this way, beside sentences such as *ø n k3=k hnn.t nb(=j)* «for your ka, Henenit, my lord» in the tomb of Pepyankh (said Heny the Black), we find the caption *jw nn dd3 n wšnw šht n k3 n hnnj nb(=j)* «these plump

(birds) of the catch of the marshlands are for the Ka of Heneni, my lord»³¹ (cf. fig. 2). The demonstrative *nn* is still present as in the expression *jw nn n k3=k* but, in this case, it introduces a partitive construction, by means of an indirect genitive *nn n + noun*. The phrase is unusual, though. The birds held in hand by the fowler are said to belong to the category of *wšnw šht* but they are described as «plump» birds (*dd3*) with an adjective inserted between the demonstrative and the indirect annexation marker *nn*.³² That being said, this innovation in the tomb of Pepyankh (A 2) is not as surprising as it could be for another funerary monument. Indeed, his decorative program exploits a share of Memphite *Reden und Rufe*³³ but it also contains numerous unprecedented speeches.³⁴

In Hesy's mastaba, the innovation lies not in the formula itself. It rather pertains to the rules proper to the *Reden und Rufe* as a literary genre per se. The east wall of the offering room depicts five registers of various gifts brought by men and women to the deceased. Horizontal inscriptions run above the three median registers (cf. fig. 3).³⁵ At first sight, the illusion of a single text is complete. Yet, a closer look reveals two texts continuously written in each banner. Each inscription is initiated by a caption starting with the expression *šhp.t stp.t k3.w spd.w rmp.t nb.t(...)* «bringing the choice things of oxen and fowl and all year-offerings (...)». Then the agent marker *jn* specifies the people involved in this action and the short formula *dd-sn*, which marks the beginning of the second text, namely the *Rede*, introduces the saying of these people. This case is highly telling for it links together a caption and an utterance and it plays on the generic rules of these two categories of texts.³⁶ In this way, the discursive mark *dd-sn* was felt necessary to point out the switch

24. Cf. SIMPSON 1980, fig. 3. The lacuna could be filled with the suffix pronoun *-k* or the phrase *mry(=j)* «my beloved» to form an indirect genitive with the term *k3*. In the same scene, one also observe the structure *jw n[n n] k3*. Cf. MOTTE 2018b, p. 694.

25. The *||* sign has been mistaken for the *yod* of the word *jrp*. Cf. MUNRO 1993, pl. 1 and pl. 4 for a black-and-white picture. Mistakes and hieroglyph confusions are rather common in the speech captions of this monument. Cf. MOTTE 2018b, p. 230, pp. 301-02, and pp. 695-96.

26. Cf. MUNRO 1993, pl. 13-14.

27. Cf. VON BISSING 1905-1911, pl. 7 and pl. 24 and KANAWATI *et al.* 2011, pl. 66 and pl. 72.

28. Cf. HASSAN 1975b, fig. 6-7 and pl. 12-13.

29. For examples of *ø n k3=k*, cf. *inter alia* DAVIES *et al.* 1984, pl. 31, SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH 1994, pl. 8, ALTENMÜLLER 1998, pl. 15, KANAWATI *et al.* 2010, pl. 96 and KANAWATI - EVANS 2014a, pl. 90.

30. Cf. JUNKER 1953, fig. 105 and ALTENMÜLLER 1998, pl. 32.

31. Cf. KANAWATI - EVANS 2014a, pl. 90.

32. Cf. MOTTE 2018b, pp. 1289-90.

33. Cf. e.g. KANAWATI - EVANS 2014a, pl. 72 (metal smelting scene), pl. 91 (palanquin scene), pl. 96 (butchery scenes) and MOTTE 2018b, pp. 132-34, pp. 488-89 and pp. 1172-74.

34. Cf. for instance KANAWATI - EVANS 2014a, pl. 87 (offering bearers scene) and pl. 90 (fishing and bird-trapping scenes) and MOTTE 2018b, pp. 711-12, 804-05, 957-59 and 984.

35. Cf. KANAWATI - ABDER-RAZIQA 1999, pl. 62

36. For other case of generic transgression in *Reden und Rufe*, cf. VERNUS 2015, pp. 309-21, and MOTTE 2018b, pp. 62-63, pp. 245-46, pp. 675-76, p. 697, pp. 700-03, pp. 708-09 and p. 725 as well as MOTTE 2018a, pp. 1-25: 4, fn 16 for further references on generic transgression in Ancient Egypt.

from descriptive to discursive mode.³⁷ Captions and utterance are indeed usually separated from each other in the layout of the scene taken as a whole.³⁸ This introductory formula used as a paratextual mark indicating the generic nature of the following text is not an *ex nihilo* creation. It traces its origin back to the primary function of *dd=f*, commonly used to introduce a direct speech.³⁹ The verbs operate as attention-getter to make the reader aware of the switch to another genre within the inscriptions. It remains to be said that the content presented in the three direct speeches seems to be determined by the status of the offering bearers. Both utterances of the *ka*-servants of the funerary estate are *jw nn n k3 n hsy šps(.w)* «this is for the *ka* of Hesy, the noble» while the family members of Hesy say to him *jw [nn n] (j)m(y)-r(3) wpw.t htp.t-ntr m pr.wy jm3hw{w} h[sy šps(.w)]* «[This is for] the overseer of apportionments of the god's offering in the two houses, the honoured one, Hesy, the noble».⁴⁰

The tomb of Wernu at Saqqara contains another generic play with fuzzy boundaries between image and speech captions. On the west wall, six men bring desert animals to the deceased. A two-line caption is written in the middle of the register, slightly above an ibex and a white antelope: *shp.t nd(.t)-hr n k3=k* (cf. fig. 4).⁴¹ The absence of clear formal features enables two readings. One could think of a single text composed of descriptive and discursive characteristics, namely the infinitive

form *shp.t* and the addressee pronoun *-k*. This hybrid text would be another generic transgression evidencing the relatedness of both types of caption. Nevertheless the text's layout prevents us from excluding a two-step reading, i.e. the first line *shp.t nd(.t)-hr* as the scene description applying for the whole register («bringing gifts») and the second line as the speech of one of the bearers (*ø n k3=k* «for your *ka*») addressed to Wernu. The context is not explicit enough to identify the very nature of this sequence. For this reason, I would rather maintain this fuzziness by offering both translations, «bringing gifts for your *ka*» and «bringing gifts. For your *ka*».

A last case of innovative *n k3=k* formula is found in the provincial tomb of Sheddu at Deshasha. On the east wall, three men provide the tomb owner with fowls.⁴² The leader stands and says to the deceased: *mk 3pd 3 wr.t n k3=k r^c nb* «Here are great many birds every day for your *ka*». The sentence appears to be an expansion of the expression OFFERING *n k3=k* seen above. The particle *mk* initiates the text to strengthen its discursive dimension while the prepositional phrase *r^c nb* specifies the offering frequency, viz. daily. Such cases of rewriting are rather few in Old Kingdom offering bearers *Reden und Rufe* and seem to be proper to provincial tombs.⁴³

On the other hand, the funerary monuments of Mereruka and of Pepyankh (Heny the Black) also show complete innovative *Reden* in their decorative programs. In the first, three boys bring fowls to Mereruka on the second top register of the north wall (room A13).⁴⁴ The first child offers him a bird with colourful plumage by saying *nfr s3b n=k r=k* «Beautiful is the *s3b-bird*⁴⁵ for you(rself)». A prepositional phrase *r=k* accompanies the ethical dative *n=k* to mark and stress the address focus in the sentence.⁴⁶ This double expression of the offering beneficiary, which is also the

37. Cf. MOTTE 2018b, p. 1356. Cf. also *id.* 2018c, pp. 1-17: 6 for the development of this formula in New Kingdom *Reden und Rufe*.

38. Cf. e.g. the separating lines used in the offering scene on the south wall of Ankhmahor mastaba in KANAWATI - HASSAN 1997, pl. 43c or the text layout in the offering scene on the south wall of the tomb of Senedjemib Inti in BROVARSKI 2000, fig. 110. Cf. also MOTTE 2018b, pp. 1347-70 for a thorough discussion on the *mise en texte* and the layout of speech captions in private tombs as well as the emergence of paratextual marks such as *dd=f*.

39. The beginning of a quotation marked by the declarative verb *dd* is also found in Old Kingdom *Reden und Rufe*, more especially in the mastaba of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep and the tomb of Mereruka, which are in my view two milestones having fostered the apparition of paratextual marks in this corpus. Cf. MOTTE 2018b, pp. 1356-58. The introductory formula is then rarely used until the 18th Dynasty. cf. *ibidem*, pp. 1360-65 and *id.* 2018c, pp. 1-17: 6.

40. An in-depth discussion of politeness theory applied to the *Reden und Rufe* fell outside the scope of this paper even if this corpus sounds especially promising for such a study. About politeness in Ancient Egyptian texts, cf. for instance the recent works of K. RIDEALGH on the Late Ramesside Letters, who quotes the previous literature. Cf. RIDEALGH 2011, pp. 124-30, *id.* 2013a, pp. 22-40, *id.* 2013b, pp. 181-206, and *id.* 2016, pp. 245-66.

41. Cf. DAVIES *et al.* 1984, pl. 31.

42. Cf. KANAWATI 1993, pl. 46.

43. Cf. for instance the speech *jw nn dd3 n wšnw šyt n k3 n hnmj nb(=j)* mentioned above in the tomb of Pepyankh (Heny the Black) or the dedication of a song in the tomb of Sheddu by the help of the speech caption *my n3 bw-nfr(.w) n k3=k* «take these beautiful things for your *ka*». Cf. *ibidem*, pl. 50 and MOTTE 2018b, p. 860.

44. Cf. KANAWATI *et al.* 2011, pl. 76.

45. Cf. ANDREU - CAUVILLE 1977, p. 11 and MEEKS 1980, p. 303 (*AnnLex.* 77.3344).

46. Cf. for instance SHISHA-HALEVY 1986, pp. 641-58: 649-50 for other examples in the *Coffin Texts*. For studies on *(j)r* + suffix and *(j)rf* particles, cf. e.g. SILVERMAN 1980, pp. 93-97, SHISHA-HALEVY 1986, and ORÉAL 2011, pp. 61-101.

addressee, somehow echoes the *n k3=k* phrase for the ethical dative is — to the best of my knowledge — never used alone to speak to the deceased in Old Kingdom daily-life scenes⁴⁷ contrary to the common workers for which it is usual.⁴⁸ This could suggest a reluctance to use some expression or syntactic constructions when a worker speaks to an elite member.

The second significant example comes from Meir, in the tomb of Pepyankh. In the lower-right corner of the east wall, four women follow the «Director of the Dining-Hall» Ikhu, who ask them to hurry up.⁴⁹ The first answers «yes, of course» (*jry(=j) r hz.t=k*) whereas the woman closing the procession does not pay attention to him. On the contrary, she presents her basket of goods and the bird in her hand with the sentence *wdn pw* «it is an offering» to the statue recess of the deceased right of the register.⁵⁰ I know of no other nominal sentence for dedicating a present to the tomb owner in *Reden und Rufe*. It may be contrasted with the expression *jw nn n k3=k* seen in previous scenes. Contrary to the latter, that is immediately related to the image by means of the particle *jw*, the former is rather linked to the three-dimensional representation of Pepyankh, which may justify the nominal sentence *a pw*. By so doing, her statement is timeless — as is the statue somehow — and constantly efficient,⁵¹ in the same vein as the adverbial complement *r nb* added in the speech caption from Deshasha (cf. above).

EVOLUTION IN LATER TOMBS

After the reign of Pepi II, almost all these means vanish from private decorative programs. Only the structure OFFERING *n k3=k* is used until the beginning of the 12th Dynasty,⁵² when the reverse construction (*n k3=k* OFFERING) is reintroduced in offering bearer

scenes.⁵³ Both coexist up to the 18th Dynasty, even if the latter occurs more often in *Reden und Rufe*.⁵⁴ After a long silence, such dedicatory formulas come back in the Saite tombs of Ibi and of Montuemhat. In the first, resort is made to the offering structure *n (k3 n) wsjr jb3*,⁵⁵ while in the second the 5th Dynasty formula *jw nn n k3=k* is preferred.⁵⁶

CONCLUSION

Contrary to the statement of Detlef,⁵⁷ the *n k3*-phrase do not appear in daily-life scenes from 6th Dynasty onwards. Its first occurrences are found as early as mid-5th Dynasty, both in Giza and Saqqara, with an alternation between fuller and shorter forms of the preposition *n (jn k3 mry(=j))* and *ø n k3=k* — or name of the deceased). The second formula comes in the form of an adverbial sentence (*jw nn n k3=k* — or *n k3 n* + name of the deceased). Both are quite common in Old Kingdom tombs, unlike the third expression OFFERING *n k3=k* (or *n k3 n* + deceased name) and its reverse *n k3=k* OFFERING, which are found only in two mastabas from Giza and Saqqara. The fourth construction is equally infrequent and restricted to both Memphite cemeteries. It is the adverbial sentence in which the neutral subject has been omitted (*jw ø n k3=k* — or *n k3 n* + deceased name). The 6th Dynasty is synonymous of literary prosperity and creativity as regards *Reden und Rufe*. These fourth structures are not only present in 6th Dynasty elite tombs but they may also be subject to modifications. In the mastabas of Hesy and of Wernu, it touches on the generic rules of *Reden und Rufe* and captions, while

47. Cf. MOTTE 2018b, pp. 684-740 for an overview of *Reden und Rufe* in offering bearer scenes.

48. Cf. for instance the speech associated to the clapnet scene in the tomb of Ptahhotep II Tefi in PAGET - PIRIE 1898, pl. 32.

49. Cf. KANAWATI - EVANS 2014a, pl. 91.

50. Cf. *ibidem*, pl. 54.

51. Cf. e.g. ALLEN 1986, pp. 9-44: 10 and 16.

52. Cf. the tomb of Baqet III at Beni Hasan in NEWBERRY 1894, pl. 4 and pl. 7, the tomb of Khety at Hierakonpolis Magna in LOPEZ 1975, pl. 25b, as well as the tombs of Satbahotep and of Sehu from Hierakonpolis Magna in PADRO 1999, fig. 100 and fig. 115.

53. Cf. for instance the tomb of Senbi (B 1) at Meir in BLACKMAN 1914, pl. 2-4. I have noticed a single case of *ø n k3=k* construction in the tomb of Senet (TT 60) at Thebes. Cf. DAVIES N.D.G. 1920, pl. 32 and MOTTE 2018b, p. 727. It is worth noticing the masculine pronoun even though the deceased couple face the offering bearers. This would suggest that the presented fabrics are addressed to Antefoqer only.

54. Cf. e.g. the tomb of Djehutihotep at Deir el-Bersha in NEWBERRY 1895, pl. 20, the tomb of Ukhhotep (B 2) at Meir in BLACKMAN 1915a, pl. 2, pl. 11 and pl. 15, the tomb of Puiemra (TT 39) in DAVIES N.D.G. 1922-1923, pl. 56 and the tomb of Ramose (TT 55) in DAVIES N.D.G. 1941, pl. 13 and pl. 15. Cf. also MOTTE 2018b, pp. 714-37.

55. Cf. KUHLMANN - SCHENKEL 1983, pl. 10-11 and pl. 103 and MOTTE 2018b, pp. 737-39.

56. Cf. DER MANUELIAN 1985, pp. 98-121: fig. 7-8. The end of the speech is missing but the phraseology of Old Kingdom *Reden und Rufe* strongly points to a suffix pronoun *=k* or the name of the owner. Cf. MOTTE 2018b, p. 815.

57. DETLEF 2003, pp. 39-57: 54.

in the provincial tombs of Pepyankh (A 2) and Shedu it pertains to the phraseology itself. In the same way, the mastaba of Mereruka presents a set of classical dedicatory formulas next to a unique construction combining the syntagm $n=k$ with the prepositional phrase $r=k$. To sum up, Old Kingdom decorative programs of private tombs evidence a variety of means to dedicate a present

to the tomb owner unlike subsequent periods, in which only one or two dedicatory formulas are used at the same time. Moreover, the alternation between the zero subject (\emptyset) and the neutral demonstrative in speech captions illustrates once again the strong connection between text and image in Ancient Egyptian funerary monuments.

NECROPOLIS	TOMB NUMBER	TOMB OWNER	REFERENCE
Giza	G 2156	Kanysut II	JUNKER 1938, fig. 21.
Saqqara	T 13	Niankhkhnum & Khnumhotep	MOUSSA – ALTENMÜLLER 1977, pl. 86.
Giza	T 29	Khuta	HASSAN 1941, fig. 39, pl. 18-19.
Giza	T 32	Kadua	<i>Id.</i> 1950, fig. 82, pl. 46.
Giza	G 7152	Sekhemankhptah	BADAWY 1976, fig. 21.
Saqqara	D 22	Ty	WILD 1966, pl. 179-81.
Giza	G 2370	Senedjemib Inti	BROVARSKI 2000, fig. 52b-53, pl. 32.
Giza	LG 32	Raur II	JUNKER 1938, fig. 48.
Saqqara	D 59	Duahep	MARIETTE 1889, p. 338.
Giza	G 2378	Senedjemib Mehy	BROVARSKI 2000, fig. 128-29.
Giza	G 1029	Sekhemka	SIMPSON 1980, fig. 3.
Saqqara	T 17A	Nebet	MUNRO 1993, pl. 13-14.
Giza	LG 54	Hetepheres	JUNKER 1953, fig. 105.
Saqqara	T 58	Kagemni	VON BISSING 1905, pl. 7 and 24.
Saqqara	T 57A	Mereruka	KANAWATI <i>et al.</i> 2010, pl. 96 and KANAWATI <i>et al.</i> 2011, pl. 76.
Saqqara	T 59A	Hesy	KANAWATI - ABDER-RAZIQ 1999, pl. 62.
Saqqara	T 63	Mehu	ALTENMÜLLER 1998, pl. 15.
Deshasha	/	Shedu	KANAWATI 1993, pl. 46.
Saqqara	T 72	Wernu	DAVIES <i>et al.</i> 1984, pl. 31.
Deir el-Gebrawi	8	Ibi	KANAWATI 2007, pl. 67.
Meir	A 2	Pepyankh (Heny the Black)	KANAWATI - EVANS 2014a, pl. 91.
Qasr el-Sayad	T 66	Idu Seneni	SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH 1994, pl. 8.

Table 1 - Chronological distribution of offering bearer scenes with dedicatory formulas in Old Kingdom tombs.

NECROPOLIS	TOMB NUMBER	TOMB OWNER	DAILY LIFE SCENES	REFERENCE
Saqqara	D 22	Ty	Hunting	WILD 1953, pl. 121-22.
Saqqara	T 86	Ihy (reused tomb)	Animal husbandry	KANAWATI – ABDER-RAZIQ 2003, pl. 54.
Saqqara	T 57A	Mereruka	Sailing	KANAWATI <i>et al.</i> 2011, pl. 66 and 72.
Saqqara	T 63	Mehu	Boating	ALTENMÜLLER 1998, pl. 32.
Deshasha	/	Shedu	Music	KANAWATI 1993, pl. 50.
Meir	A 2	Pepyankh (Heny the Black)	Animal husbandry and hunting	KANAWATI – EVANS 2014a, pl. 90.
Saqqara	T 88	Nebkauhor	Dance and music	HASSAN 1975b, fig. 6-7.

Table 2 - Chronological distribution of daily-life scenes with dedicatory formulas in Old Kingdom tombs.

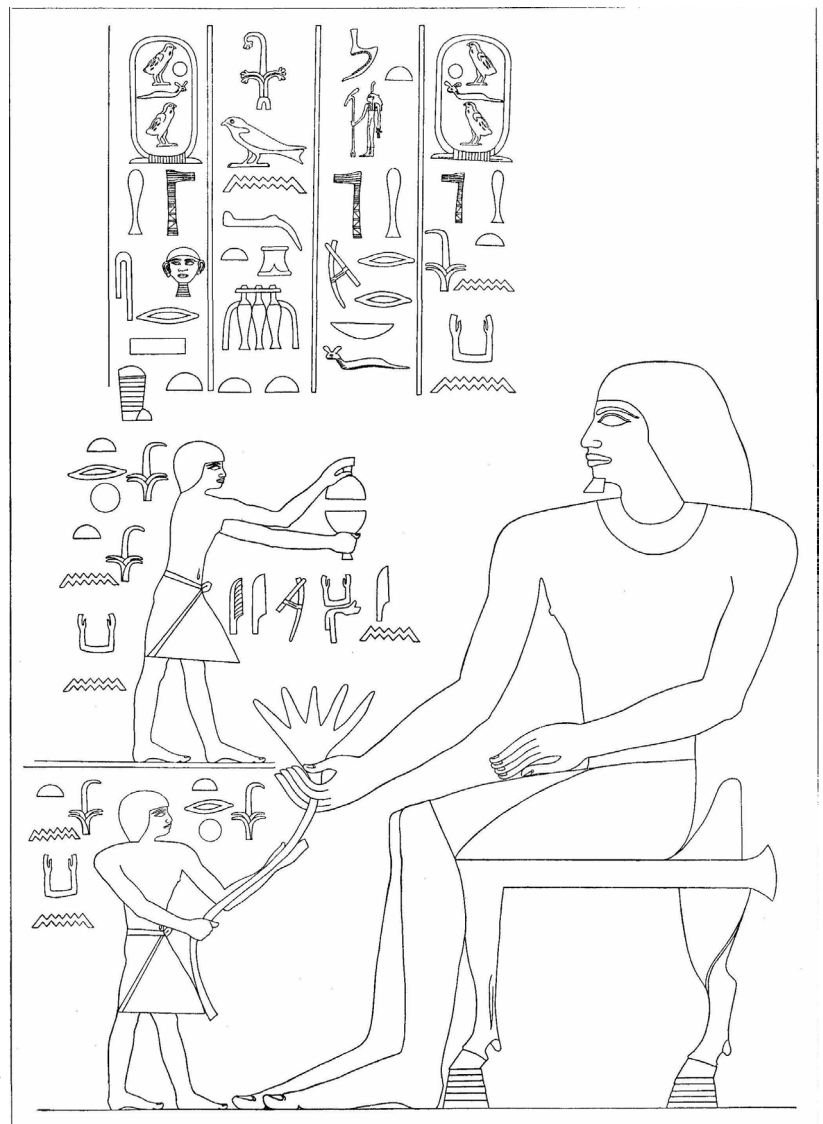


fig. 1 - Tomb of Kaysut II, south wall after JUNKER 1938, fig. 21.

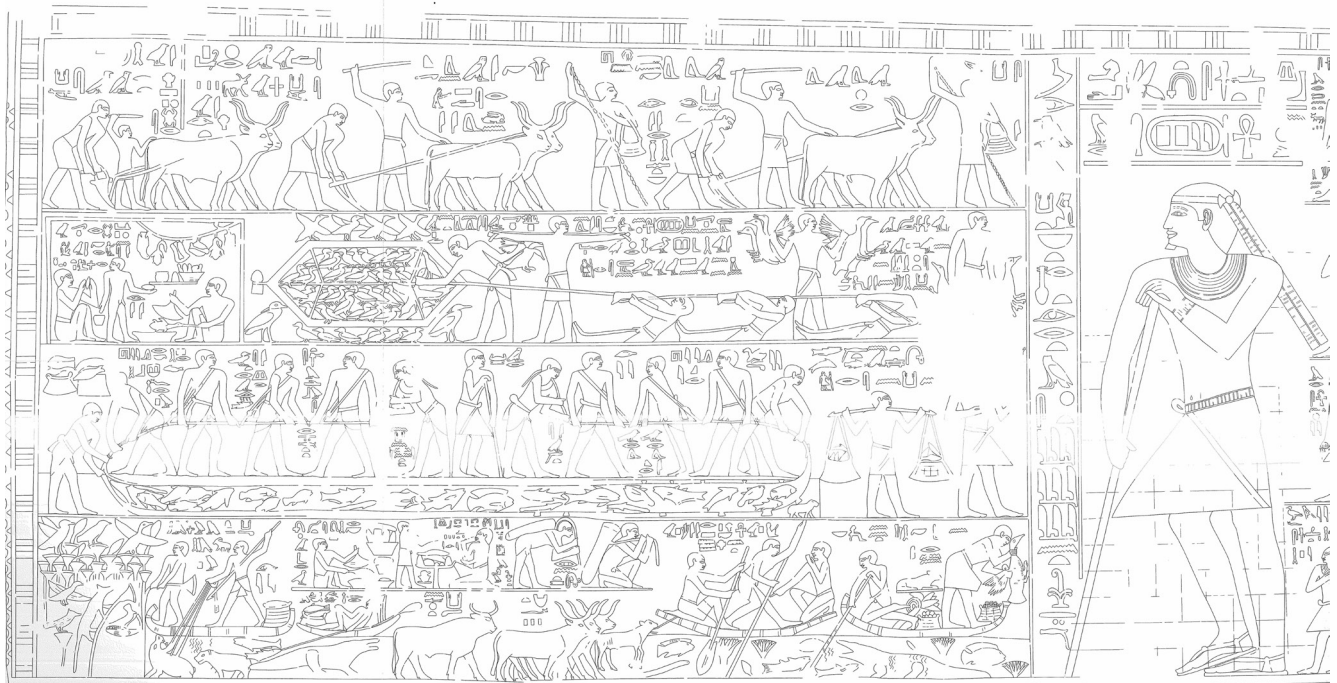


fig. 2 - Tomb of Pepiankh called Heny the Black, east wall after KANAWATI - EVANS 2014, pl. 90.

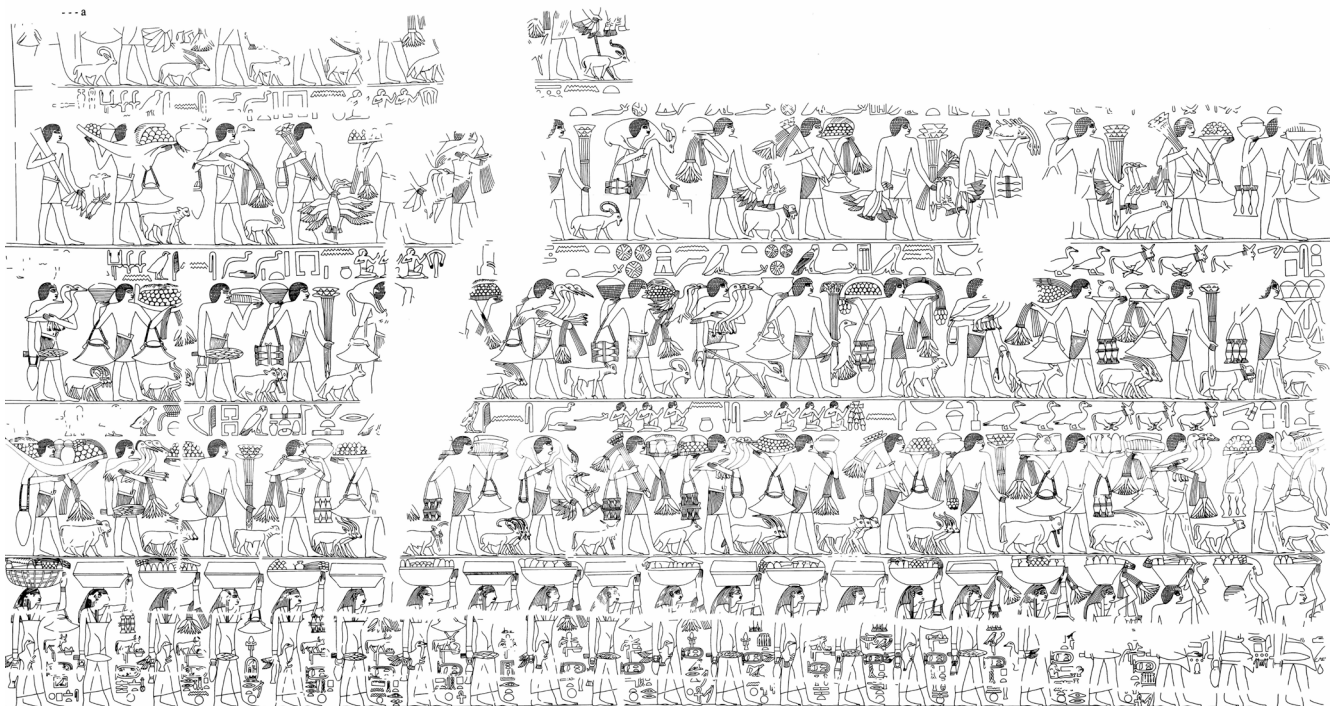


fig. 3 - Mastaba of Hesy, offering room, east wall after KANAWATI - ABDER-RAZIQ 1999, pl. 62.

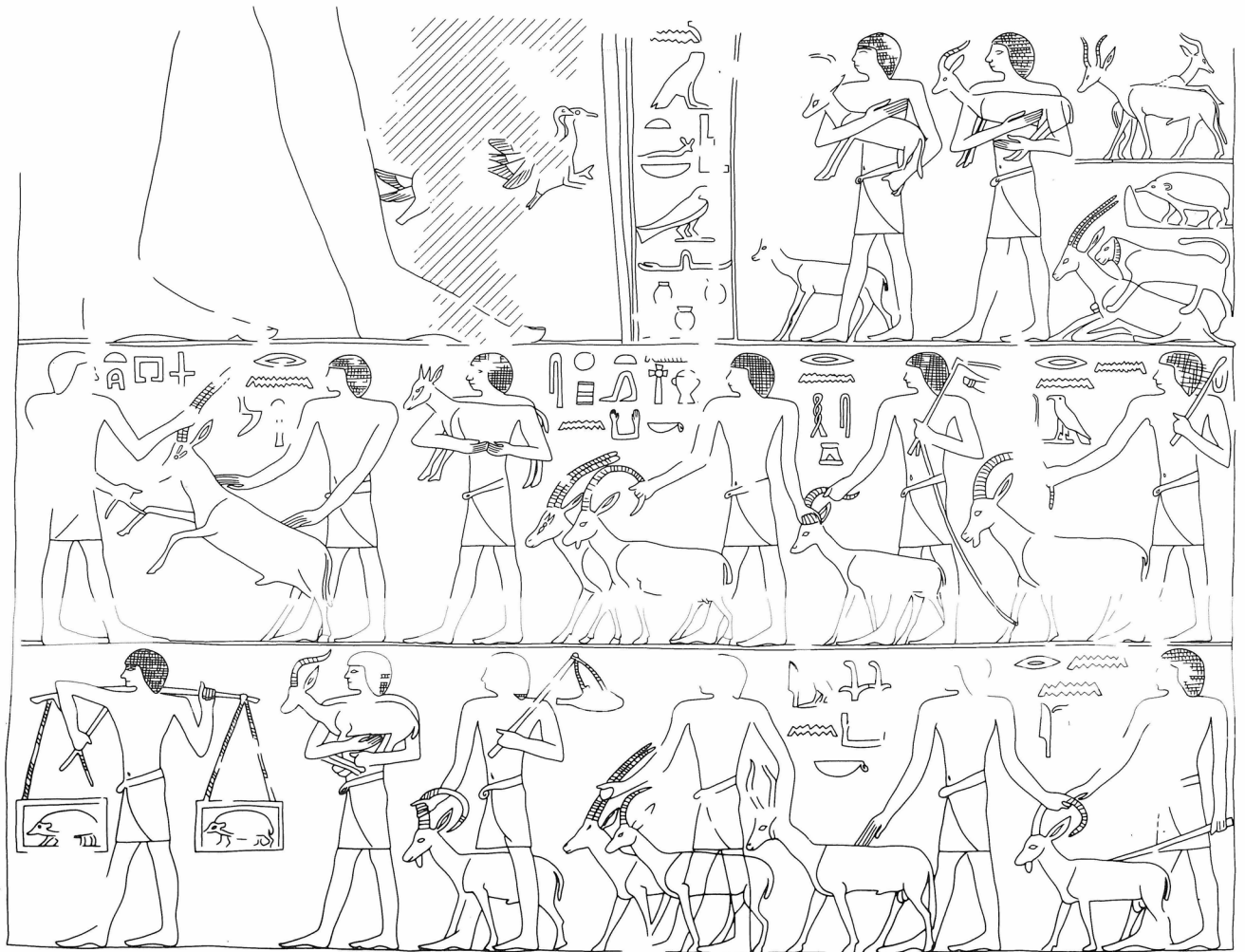


fig. 4 - Mastaba of Wenu, west wall after DAVIES *et al.* 1984, pl. 31, courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

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