MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉDUCATION NATIONALE, DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR ET DE LA RECHERCHE

BULLETIN
DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS
D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne

BIFAO 123 (2023), p. 53-81

Alisée Devillers, Toon Sykora

Enhancing Visibility: Djehutihotep's Painter Horamenyankhu

Conditions d'utilisation

L'utilisation du contenu de ce site est limitée à un usage personnel et non commercial. Toute autre utilisation du site et de son contenu est soumise à une autorisation préalable de l'éditeur (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). Le copyright est conservé par l'éditeur (Ifao).

Conditions of Use

You may use content in this website only for your personal, noncommercial use. Any further use of this website and its content is forbidden, unless you have obtained prior permission from the publisher (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). The copyright is retained by the publisher (Ifao).

Dernières publications

9782724711264	*La chapelle d'Osiris Ounnefer Neb-djefaou*	Laurent Coulon
9782724711752	*Guide du Caire Islamique*	Hadrien Collet
9782724711660	*Mélanges de l'Institut dominicain d'études orientales 41*	Adrien Candiard (éd.)
9782724711745	*Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger (BAEFE)*	
9782724711271	*Du côté de chez Zeus*	Emmanuel Botte (éd.), Hélène Cuvigny (éd.), Michel Reddé (éd.)
9782724711677	*La Description de l'Égypte*	Paul-Marie Grinevald
9782724711714	*La pensée et la pratique pharmacologiques d'Avicenne*	Sylvie Ayari
9782724711899	*BCAI 40*	

© Institut français d'archéologie orientale - Le Caire

Enhancing Visibility: Djehutihotep's Painter Horamenyankhu

ALISÉE DEVILLERS, TOON SYKORA

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to evaluate the attestations of the people responsible for the creation and decoration of Djehutihotep's tomb at Dayr al-Barshā. In particular, it focuses on the self-depictions of its senior artist, Horamenyankhu. The self-presentation of this artist is not limited to his choice of titles nor the apparel and attributes with which he depicts himself. It also includes less formal, but by no means less visually potent, artistic and compositional techniques that emphasize his contribution. After examining these aspects, Horamenyankhu's attestations are framed within the traditions of artistic self-representation. Through these, it becomes possible to evaluate the exceptionality of his case.

Keywords: artists, self-representation, visual strategies, Djehutihotep, Dayr al-Barshā, Horamenyankhu, Middle Kingdom.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article se propose de réévaluer les références aux personnes impliquées dans la construction et la décoration de la tombe de Djéhoutyhotep, à Deir el-Bersha. Il se concentre en particulier sur les autoreprésentations de son artiste principal, Horamenyankhou. Ici, l'artiste n'est pas uniquement désigné comme tel par ses titres, il se distingue également visuellement grâce à l'emploi de techniques compositionnelles spécifiques et par son insertion au sein d'un environnement iconographique soigneusement élaboré où il porte vêtements et attributs spécifiques. Après avoir examiné les autoportraits du principal créateur de la tombe de Djéhoutyhotep, ces

BIFAO 123 (2023), p. 53-81 Alisée Devillers, Toon Sykora
Enhancing Visibility: Djehutihotep's Painter Horamenyankhu
© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

images sont ensuite comparées aux traditions antérieure et postérieure des portraits d'artistes, ce qui permet d'évaluer l'exceptionnalité du cas d'el-Bersha.

Mots-clés : artistes, autoreprésentation, stratégies visuelles, Djéhoutyhotep, Deir el-Bersha, Horamenyankhou, Moyen Empire.

In his still-prominent epigraphic publication of the tomb of Djehutihotep in Dayr al-Barshā, Percy E. Newberry (1894, p. 3) was the first to identify two of the artists involved in the creation of the monument whose *"handiwork was well worthy to carry down their fame to posterity."* Despite this praise, his account of the individuals involved remained limited to a brief discussion of their attested titles. Accordingly, it has led to little scholarly attention in the following century. During the renewed epigraphic study of the tomb, several hitherto-unobserved peculiarities in the representation of its main artistic creator stood out. These prompted us to evaluate anew the references to the artists involved in the decoration of the tomb in order to consider the manner in which they were able to represent themselves in their own work. This self-identification is not limited to the choice of titles, but involves the selection of apparel and attributes with which the artist represents himself and iconographic context in which his image features. It also includes less formal, but by no means less visually potent, artistic and compositional techniques the artists employed to emphasize their contribution. After examining these features in the funerary chapel of Djehutihotep, the attestations are framed within the preceding and following traditions of artistic self-representation. By comparing Djehutihotep's artists with other outstanding examples, it becomes possible to evaluate the exceptionality of the case.

1. THE TOMB

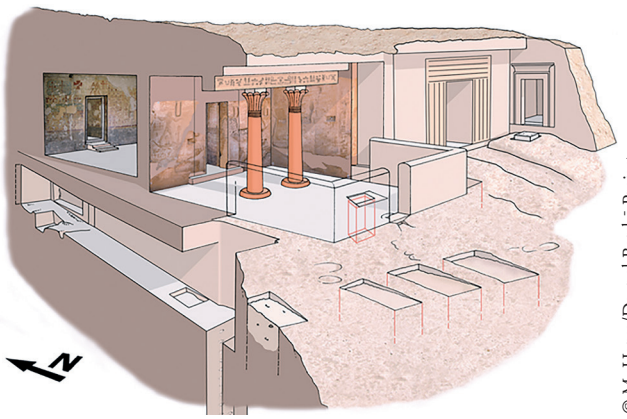
The tomb of Djehutihotep[1] was the last decorated monument to be added to the Middle Kingdom elite cemetery of Dayr al-Barshā. It was commissioned by the provincial magnate Djehutihotep, whose impressive array of titles[2] places him at the very top of the

1 The often used designation 'Djehutihotep II' was based on an erroneous reading of *nḫt* as *ḥtp* in the name of the governor mentioned in Hatnub Gr. 32 by Rudolf Anthes (1928, p. 67, note 2). In reality, the hieratic fits the reading *Ḏḥwty=nḫt* better, suggesting that the document is a record of Djehutinakht V instead. Consequently, there is no reason we should include an otherwise unattested governor 'Djehutihotep I' into the genealogy. For this discussion, see also: Brovarski 1981, p. 27, note 107; Willems 1983-1984, p. 82, note 20. We are grateful to Roland Enmarch for providing us with an image of the original graffito. The KU Leuven is currently preparing a renewed epigraphic documentation of the tomb within the project 'Puzzling Tombs' (nr. 3H170337), which is funded by the KU Leuven Bijzonder Onderzoeksfonds. For this project, see also Sykora et al. in press.

2 Most notably the titles *ỉm.y-r ḫm.w-nṯr*, 'overseer of priests' and *ḥr.y-tp ʾɜ n Wn.t*, 'great overlord of the Hare Nome.' For an (incomplete) overview, see Newberry 1894, pp. 6–7.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

priesthood and administration of the Hare Nome. Djehutihotep is datable to the second half of the 12th dynasty through a sequence of royal names on the façade of his tomb.[3] Although Djehutihotep was probably still alive at the ascension of Amenemhat III,[4] the last king mentioned in his tomb is Senwosret III. This implies that the monument was decorated during the reign of this pharaoh, since compositionally, it would otherwise have made more sense to include a fourth pharaoh on the four decorated jamb-faces of the façade.[5]



© M. Hense/Dayr al-Barshā Project

FIG. 1. Reconstruction drawing of the tombs of Djehutihotep (left) and Amenemhat (right).

Several choices that shaped the architecture and iconography of the tomb seem to have been made to set it apart visually from the rest of the cemetery. The most notable architectural difference between the funerary chapel of Djehutihotep and the layout of the other gubernatorial tombs on the site[6] is its spacious portico (fig. 1). This portico was fully decorated with scenes in paint and relief, with its entrance framed by a band of monumental hieroglyphs, which were supported by two palm columns. This readily visible portion of the tomb would have contrasted with the exterior decoration of the neighbouring tombs (fig. 1), which was, as far as we can ascertain, limited to a hieroglyphic inscription surrounding the entrance.[7] Once inside the funerary chapel of Djehutihotep, the visitor's attention would have been captured by the intricately sculpted and painted decoration. This decoration not only overshadowed the monuments of Djehutihotep's predecessors in sheer size,[8] with its more than 300m² surface originally covered by paint or relief,[9] but also in quality. The figures and hieroglyphs were painted with great attention to detail and marked liveliness, without losing sight of the overall composition of the scene (fig. 2a). The artist fully used the colour palette available, by overlaying, contrasting and sometimes even combining different

3 NEWBERRY 1894, p. 6, pl. V.

4 A cylinder seal mentioning both Senwosret (presumably III) and Nimaatra (Amenemhat III) was found among his funerary equipment: GRIFFITH, NEWBERRY 1895, pp. 59, 66; NEWBERRY 1908, pl. VI, no. 15. For the discussion concerning the coregency between Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, see WEGNER 1996, pp. 249–279 with more recent critical notes by VOGEL 2018, pp. 225–232 and HANEY 2018, pp. 85–91.

5 These refer once to Amenemhat II and Senwosret III and twice to Senwosret II: NEWBERRY 1894, p. 6, pl. V.

6 For a basic overview of the architecture of the decorated tombs in zone 2, see GRIFFITH, NEWBERRY 1895.

7 Even the façade of Ahanakht I, which is the most impressive (partially) preserved example, does not include any figurative scenes: GRIFFITH, NEWBERRY 1895, pl. XIII. The only tomb that seems to have had a similar plan to the funerary chapel of Djehutihotep is the northernmost tomb on the plateau (17L41/1). This tomb remained unfinished and undecorated, however. The architectural "innovation" may well have been inspired by slightly earlier traditions in other Middle Kingdom cemeteries (e.g. the tombs of Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II at Banī Hasan: GRIFFITH, NEWBERRY 1893; KANAWATI, EVANS 2014a; 2016). This instance of "creative borrowing" (for this concept in iconography and sculpture, see LABOURY 2017, pp. 229–258) blended with other motifs such as the fully decorated outer walls and the lotus columns—perhaps inspired by Old Kingdom examples (which would fit well with the thesis proposed by PIEKE 2016).

8 While most of the other governors' tombs are heavily damaged, their floor plans and approximate heights can be reconstructed. Furthermore, at least several fragments of their decoration are preserved, making such a comparison possible.

9 This approximate figure includes the fully decorated ceilings, and the geometric and monochrome painted sections on the walls.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

colours as a gradient (fig. 2b). Such technical resourcefulness was applied in juxtaposition with traditional and often even archaic features to create a unique synthesis of styles, both in iconography[10] and in text.[11] This creates a remarkable and attractive result, often placed among the most impressive examples of Middle Kingdom art.[12]


© M. De Meyer/Dayr al-Barshā Project
© M. De Meyer/Dayr al-Barshā Project

a. b.

Fig. 2. Details from the decoration in the tomb of Djehutihotep: Two offering bearers carrying fowl on the lowermost register of the east wall of the shrine (a, left) and a Tilapia caught in a net, from the fishing scene on the north wall of the inner chamber (b, right).

2. THE ARTISTS

Accordingly, Djehutihotep's ambition to transcend the monuments of his ancestors was translated into an architecturally and artistically exceptional tomb.[13] This peak achievement was possible due to the engagement of talented artists, but also by giving them the liberty to display their artistic skills. The attestations of these artists stand out as rare cases of Middle Kingdom

10 Pieke 2016.

11 While a full investigation is beyond the scope of this paper, the composer of the texts in the tomb of Djehutihotep manifestly invokes Old Egyptian orthography. For example, this is, though not exclusively, apparent in the investiture inscription on the north wall of the shrine (Newberry 1894, pl. XXXIII), where the scribe used the typical Old Egyptian form of several personal pronouns (*ỉr.ỉ*, , *w(ỉ)* : Edel 1955, pp. 70, 75. It should be noted that  is only used in religious texts and otherwise left unwritten: Schenkel 1962, pp. 42–43) or in demonstrative pronouns (*ỉptn*  : Allen 2000 (ed. 2014), p. 67). He also employs the abbreviated *.w(y)*  ending of the dual adjectival sentence (Gardiner 1927 (ed. 1957), p. 47) and an ideographic writing  of the verb *sḏm* (*Wb* IV, 384). Other examples from texts in the tomb of Djehutihotep with references to older stages of Egyptian grammar have already been recognized by Andreas Stauder (2014a, p. 108; 2014b, pp. 116–118).

12 Among others by Smith 1951, p. 322; Favry 2005, p. 56; Kamrin 2015, p. 29. It should be emphasized that the corpus of elite provincial tombs of the Middle Kingdom is often insufficiently published to properly consider artistic style and quality. Consequently, statements like these must always be regarded with utmost caution.

13 That Djehutihotep aimed to let his monument stand out between those of his illustrious forebears is revealed by a proud statement in his tomb chapel where he claims: "*The lords (ḫȝ.tyw-ʿ) who acted previously, and the senior officials (ʿḏ.w-mr) who acted [before?] in this city, (…) their mind could not have envisioned this which I have done.*" Lines 10-11 of the colossus inscription: Newberry 1895, pl. XIV. This description is probably not a boast concerning the construction of his tomb, but rather about the famous transport of the colossus or the construction of the edifice for which it was meant.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

"Selbstthematisierung"[14] whereby the artist receives an exceptional degree of visibility. They give valuable insights into Middle Kingdom artisanship and the symbiotic connection between artist and tomb owner.

Throughout the chapel of the tomb, several of Djehutihotep's officials are depicted accompanying their governor, usually in a group.[15] While some of the pertinent scenes are only fragmentarily preserved, enough remains to identify three people who may have been major participants in the creation of the tomb. By looking in detail at the attestations of these three characters, we can gain a better understanding of their interrelationship with the monument they helped to create. The first is labelled as the 'scribe of the chest[16] and director of all works, Nekhti-ankh's son, Sepi, whom Sep conceived.' He appears at the very end of a long row of officials on the east wall (fig. 3) and in front of two attendants on the south wall.[17] These are both prominent positions right below or behind the tomb owner, and in both cases, Sepi is depicted in a capacity befitting his office, holding a papyrus



© M. De Meyer/Dayr al-Barshā Project

Fig. 3. Representation of Nekhti-ankh's son Sepi, from the east wall of the inner chamber.

14 "Self-thematisation." For this concept, see Assmann 1987; Assmann 1996. Central to this concept is the acknowledgement that it is not primarily the "self" of the artist that is elucidated by his self-image, but rather the intention of his patron in whose monument the representation appears.

15 They occur throughout the main chamber of the tomb: Newberry 1894, pls. X, XI, XIII, XV (behind the colossus), XX (eastern panel), XXVII.5 & 11 and XXIX.

16 Because of its rarity, the title *sš-ḥn* is difficult to interpret. Besides an isolated and barely informative attestation on the Abydene stela CG 20216 (Lange, Schäfer 1902, pp. 238–239), the title only occurs on sources from Dayr al-Barshā during the Middle Kingdom. Kamal's proposition (1902, p. 280) to translate *ḥn* as '*coffin*' in this context was rightly questioned by Henry G. Fischer (Fischer 1985 (ed. 1997), p. 75, no. 1397), who follows William A. Ward's (1982, p. 181, no. 1397) translation of 'document chest.' The most informative source to assess the meaning of the title is the tomb under study, where we see *sš.w-ḥn* not only being represented among the titles of Sepi but also as the label of two anonymous figures on the walls of the inner chamber. A large cattle count scene on the west wall (Newberry 1894, pl. XVIII, lower righthand bottom) includes a *sš-ḥn* holding two papyrus scrolls, with a third (not visible on Newberry's facsimile) under his arm and additional bundles of scrolls in front. Another *sš-ḥn* is represented on the north wall among a group of high officials of the provincial administration (Newberry 1894, pl. XX, eastern section). The officials seem to be arranged loosely in order of precedence, with Djehutihotep's sons in the primary location, followed by the treasurer Nefer. The unnamed *sš-ḥn* is placed in the next column, between three other senior officials: an overseer of the army (not visible in Newberry's copy), an overseer of the fields and a steward. Taken together, these sources suggest that the *sš-ḥn* was one of the most senior scribes in the provincial administration at this point, overseeing important administrative activities such as the cattle count and, at least in Sepi's case, activities of labour. The *sš-ḥn* seems to have performed a regional function similar to the *sš ʿ(n) nsw.t* in the central administration (for this title, see Grajetzki 2003, pp. 174–175), and may have been its provincial equivalent in the Hare Nome at this time. This is tentatively suggested by the (exclusive) appearance of both *sš-ḥn* and *sš ʿn nsw.t* among the titles on the coffin ensemble of another Djehutihotep from Dayr al-Barshā (Kamal 1902, pp. 277–280. For a reinvestigation of the funerary assemblage to which these belonged, see Rigault, Delange 2009; Willems 2021, pp. 465–468).

17 Newberry 1894, pl. XI and XXVII.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

scroll and scribal palette. (N)ekhti-ankh's son Sepi appears once more in the colossus scene, where he is one of only two named officials among a group of men immediately following the statue.[18] Here, he is designated a 'director of works with regards to this statue,' implying that he was one of the people in charge of the illustrious operation. Unlike the two captions mentioned previously, this label may not have been part of the decoration as originally planned. This can be derived from the observation that it partially overlaps with the neighbouring register line. Nonetheless, paleographically and stylistically, the hieroglyphs are indistinguishable from those elsewhere in the tomb, which suggests that Sepi's third label would have been added by the same artist while the decoration of the tomb was still ongoing. Sepi's title of 'controller of all works' strongly suggests that he was involved in the construction of the rock-cut tomb as well. Although this is not explicitly stated, it would explain his prominent place in the decorative program.[19]

The inclusion of a namesake of Nekhtiankh's son Sepi in the tomb may cast some doubt on his direct involvement in the creation of the tomb. This official, 'Abihu's[20] son, Sep, whom Sep has conceived' carries the titles 'trusted sealer' and 'controller/inspector of *this* tomb.'[21] Because of this second designation, Sep has previously been interpreted as the person in charge of the tomb's construction.[22] If this is indeed the case, his relation towards the overseer of works, Nekhtiankh's son Sepi, remains to be explained. Perhaps, Sep was specifically in charge of the construction of the tomb, while Sepi, as the senior official of the two,[23] bore a wider range of responsibilities, including but not limited to, the construction of the tomb. Another observation may clarify the matter: in both cases where he



© Dayr al-Barshā Project/M. De Meyer

Fig. 4. Representation of Ab-ihu's son Sep, from the north wall of the inner chamber.

18 Newberry 1894, pl. XV.

19 This may also be explained by his comparatively high office (see footnote 16 above), however. Even if this is the case, it remains remarkable that no other official receives the same preferential treatment.

20 P.E. Newberry (1894, p. 17) and later Hermann Ranke *(PN* I, p. 59, no. 22.) read the name with some hesitation as 'Ab-kau.' Nevertheless, an existing variant where the *ḫ* is spelled out makes the reading *ʿb-ỉḫw* more plausible: Fischer 1968, pl. XXIV.

21 To our knowledge *ḫrp ỉs* only occurs once more, at the very end of the autobiography of Khnumhotep II in Banī Hasan, where it is a secondary title of Khnumhotep's treasurer, Baqet (Newberry, Griffith 1893, pl. XXVI, 222; Kanawati, Evans 2014b, pl. 114, 222). The relatively high office of Baqet and the unconventional placement of his label in the tomb may suggest that he was the main official responsible for its construction, but this remains speculative.

22 P.E. Newberry (1894, p. 17), followed by Kurt Sethe (Urk. VII, p. 50c). although a direct connection of Sepi with the construction of the tomb may be implicitly suggested (*Wb* III, 326.13), it cannot be unequivocally accepted based on the title alone.

23 See footnote 16.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

appears,[24] Abihu's son Sep's label seems to have been a later addition. In the first case, the label is included in sunk relief in an otherwise fully raised relief composition (fig. 4). In the second, it seems to have been haphazardly fitted into an empty space next to a group of attendants who are following Djehutihotep. Unlike those of Nekhtiankh's son Sepi, the figures of the second Sep do not show him in a capacity befitting his recorded title. Instead, his labels were attached to previously anonymous images of guardsmen in Djehutihotep's retinue. Nonetheless, his labels also follow the palaeographical conventions established throughout the rest of the tomb, but are executed with considerably less care. These later additions can be explained in several ways. Perhaps Sep only oversaw a later stage in the tomb's construction, or he was charged with its maintenance after its completion. Alternatively, he may have led the initial excavation of the tomb, and being not directly involved in the decorative process but only a comparatively minor official, his name may have been ignored when the lists of officials commemorated inside were first compiled. It is not hard to imagine the official or one of his descendants being granted permission at a later stage to add his name to the by then already completed tomb. While this seems to have been done by a different artist, care was taken to closely follow the established patterns, by copying the colours and interior details of hieroglyphs elsewhere in the tomb.

For a third figure, the case is clearer. His best-preserved representation occurs again in the colossus scene, where he is depicted facing the statue (fig. 5). The figure is wearing the apparel of a lector-priest and performs as a censer in this capacity, which is confirmed by the label *ỉrỉ.t snṯr* 'burning incense.'[25] Above the figure, three columns present his name and titles, and although these have now been partially damaged, they can be completed using copies made by early travellers (pl. 1):

col. 1 *[ḫr.y-ḥb.t sš-ḳd].wt n pr-nsw.t* col. 2 *[sš ỉ]s pn ꜥpr* col. 3 *Ḥr-ỉmnỉ-ꜥnḫ.w*

col. 1 [The lector-priest, the draughts]man[26] of the palace col. 2 [the scribe of/who inscribed] this decorated tomb col. 3 Hor-ameny-ankhu.

The second title of the sequence, now partially preserved, is essential to understanding the exact nature of this person's profession. P.E. Newberry based his reading '*sš wt n pr-nsw.t,*' 'mummy-painter of the house of the king,'[27] on John Gardner Wilkinson's copy,[28] where the roughly sketched sign following the scribal palette resembles a papyrus scroll. Despite this, such a reading has been questioned by several authors, who suggest that the sign should be read *ḳd* instead.[29] Nestor l'Hôte's copy of the scene[30] supports this interpretation, since the striated rectangle he draws clearly deviates from the inner detailing of the scroll depicted above but is very similar to *ḳd*-signs elsewhere in the tomb. This results in the title *sš ḳd.wt n*

24 Among Djehutihotep's attendants on the west wall and above a row of sealers on the north wall: Newberry 1894, pl. XIII and XX.

25 For the incense-burner held by the man, see Blackman 1912.

26 Or 'painter.' For the meaning of *ḳd.wt* in this title, see Laboury 2016, p. 379, footnote 22.

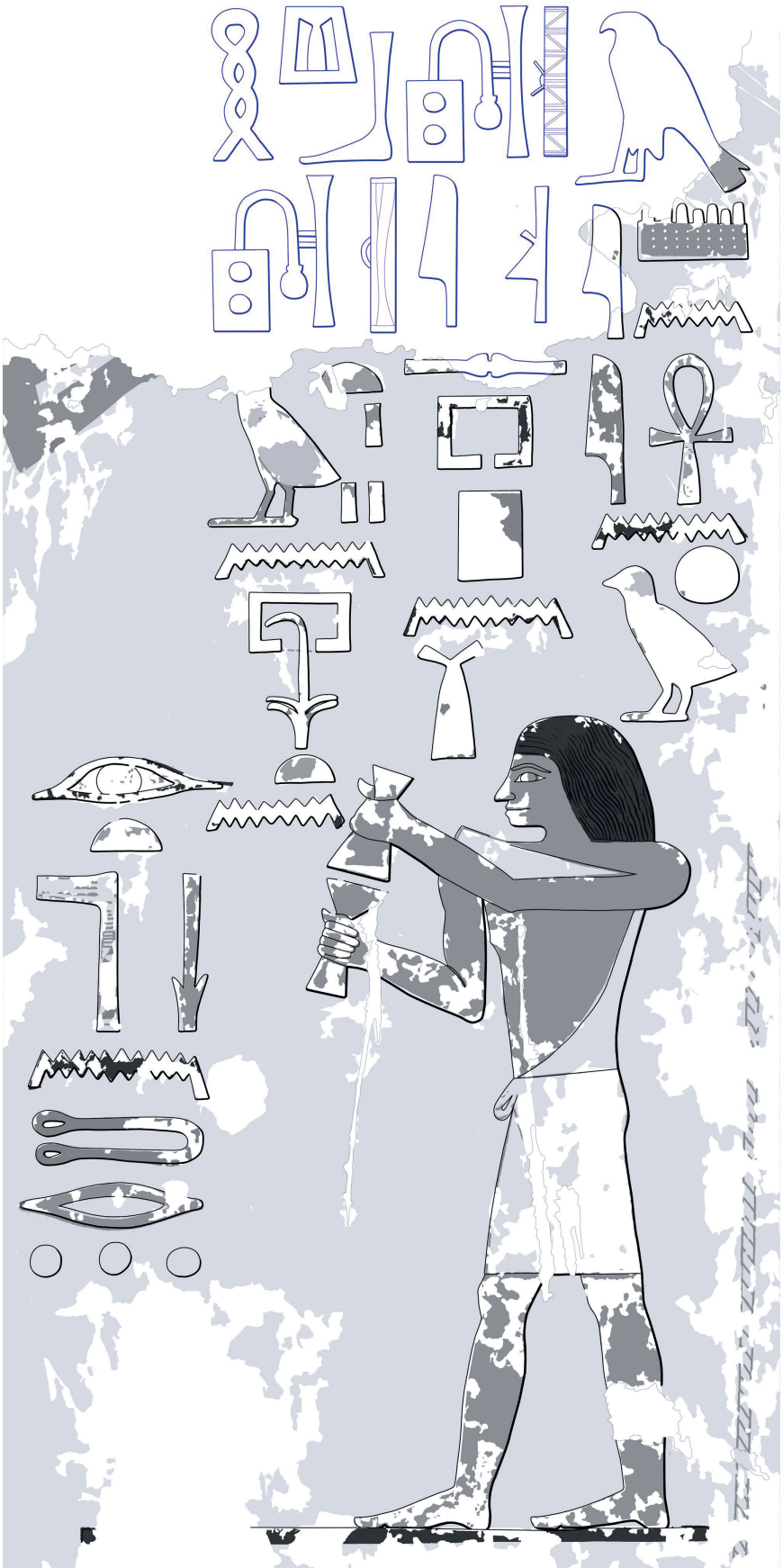
27 Newberry 1894, p. 20, pl. XII.

28 MS Wilkinson dep. a. 17, fol. 16. We are indebted to the Bodleian Library in Oxford for allowing us to study the facsimile.

29 Ware 1927, p. 191; Urk. VII, p. 50b; Fischer 1985 (ed. 1997), p. 76, no. 1446; Davies 1999, p. 34.

30 Now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *NAF 20404*, p. 25.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net



© Dayr al-Barshā Project, T. Sykora

Pl. 1. Epigraphic drawing of Hor-ameny-ankhu with colours indicated in grayscales, the part of the title sequence which was reconstructed from early copies is indicated in blue.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net



© Dayr al-Barshā Project/M. De Meyer

Fig. 5. Representation of Hor-ameny-ankhu, from the west wall of the inner chamber.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

pr-nsw.t, a painter or draughtsman connected to the palace, although the rarity of the title[31] makes it difficult to reconstruct in which exact capacity. Combined with the title in the next column, it seems safe to assume that Horamenyankhu was the main artist responsible for the painted decoration in the tomb. As a lector-priest, the artist would have had the required background to compose the magically significant scenes and texts in the tomb. His connection to the residence is also of note here and may well relate to Djehutihotep's own connection to the royal palace.[32] Considering this, it is also tempting to assume that he took much of his inspiration in the royal necropoleis of the Memphite area or was at least educated with this artistic tradition in mind.[33]

Another point of confusion is the name of the artist, which is not only unique, but also unusual in composition.[34] Hitherto, the name has been read as *Ỉmn.y-ꜥnḫ.w,*[35] coupling the *Ḥr*-sign with the last sign in the previous column.[36] Two additional representations of the artist in the shrine of the same tomb (fig. 6a-b), make this reading unlikely, however. Although both depictions are heavily affected by salt efflorescence in the limestone,[37] most of the name of the figure is still clearly legible, and include the element *Ḥr*. On the east wall, this is immediately preceded by the title *sš ḳd.wt*, which excludes the possibility that the same sequence as in the colossus scene appeared here. It is also unlikely that *Ḥr* should be considered as a filiation, since in every other case in the funerary chapel of Djehutihotep, a preceding father's name is followed by the hieroglyph *s3*. Since the three elements of the name cannot easily be combined, we therefore propose that it is a double name:[38] either Hor, Ameny-ankhu or Hor-ameny, Ankhu.[39] Since neither of these options is conclusive, we will continue to write the group as one. The name fits well with our chronology, since Horamenyankhu, having reached an advanced stage in his career in the reign of Senwosret III, may well have been born during the time of Amenemhat II. This ruler then becomes the likely origin for the 'Ameny' in Horamenyankhu's name.[40]

31 Ward (1982, p. 166, no. 1446) only cites one other example, the *sš ḳd.wt n pr-nsw.t m pr-nsw.t Mry-ỉb-rꜥ ỉrỉ.n S3.t-ḫwfw*, a friend of the stela owner. Tellingly, this time it is also combined with the title of (chief) lector-priest: Lange, Schäfer 1908, p. 55, CG 20457-i.

32 Willems 2021, pp. 476–477.

33 A similar argument has already been put forward by Gabi Pieke (2016, p. 103).

34 We are grateful to Julian Bosch for his helpful discussion on this peculiar case.

35 Newberry 1894, p. 20; *PN* I, pp. 31, no. 11; Ware 1927, p. 191.

36 *ꜥpr Ḥr*, 'adorner of Horus:' Fischer 1985 (ed. 1997), p. 29, nr. 1609b. Davies' (1999, p. 34) observation, based on a nineteenth century photograph, that the sign had two protrusions at the bottom, is unfounded. Verification on the preserved original (fig. 5) has shown that the shape is not unlike the *ꜥpr* -sign in the seventh line of the colossus inscription, documented by Lepsius' squeeze (*BBAW, A.123/4-5*) albeit slightly less elongated.

37 Which explains why Newberry (1894, pl. XXXII and XXXIV) only copied some of the still visible signs.

38 For the use of double names in the (Late) Middle Kingdom, see Vernus 1986.

39 Geneva stela D 50 includes two family members named *Ḥr-Ỉmn.y*: Spiegelberg, Pörtner 1902; Willems 1983, pp. 154–157. Ranke *(PN* I, p. 240, note 1.) suggests that one should read the *Ḥr* as a filiation, but there is no obvious reason to do so. On the contrary, such a reading is excluded for several other people on the same stela.

40 For the concordance of Amenemhat II and Ameny, see for example: Grajetzki 2006, p. 45. The name may also refer to the founder of the dynasty, whose abbreviated name to Ameny is well attested.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net


© Dayr al-Barshā Project/M. De Meyer
© Dayr al-Barshā Project/M. De Meyer

a. **b.**

Fig. 6. The representations of Hor-ameny-ankhu on the west (**a**, left) and east (**b**, right) walls of the shrine.

Horamenyankhu was only one of dozens of people depicted inside the funerary chapel of Djehutihotep. Nonetheless, by subtly manipulating several iconographical codes at his disposal, he seems to have pursued an end-result in which his own representation would stand out among those of his fellow officials. Apart from the tomb owner and his core family, Horamenyankhu and Nekhtiankh's son Sepi are, with three preserved mentions each, the most frequently attested individuals in the tomb. It is probably no coincidence that two of the men responsible for the construction and decoration of the tomb were also the ones most abundantly depicted on its walls. Where Horamenyankhu's representations are all original, one of of Sepi's was added at a later stage. Horamenyankhu also reserved some of the most prominent positions on the walls for himself and his colleague. Sepi originally appeared in two locations, once closest to Djehutihotep, at the end of a long line of attendants on the east wall, and once right behind his master on the south wall.[41] Horamenyankhu's placement is even more conspicuous: once at the very centre of the colossus scene and twice in the upper register of the shrine itself.[42] It must be stressed however, that in its current state, the tomb of Djehutihotep presents a far

41 Newberry 1894, pl. XI and XXIV.
42 For the position of these depictions, see Newberry 1894 pl. XV, XXXII and XXXIV.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

from complete record. Two walls—the west wall of the outer chamber and the east wall of the inner chamber—were largely destroyed and even the preserved walls have suffered considerable damage. Because of this, it is possible and perhaps even likely, that additional artist signatures were lost when the wall they adorned was damaged. Accordingly, any comparison of occurrences should be regarded as a possibly incomplete approximation.

To these rather straightforward efforts to display himself more prominently, Horamenyankhu added subtle, but visibly potent, optical techniques. Specifically, the artist often plays with contrast: he always situates himself in a larger scene which is, with the exception of the tomb owner and his father, otherwise completely devoid of named characters.[43] This makes him immediately more noticeable than even the prominently placed figures in long rows of named officials. Another contrast was exploited in the selective use of relief. In the inner chamber and shrine of the tomb of Djehutihotep, the use of relief is usually limited to representations of the tomb owner, his family members and larger textual sections.[44] Consequently, details in relief immediately catch the eye. The colossus scene was largely executed in paint only, with the exception of the statue of the governor and, significantly, the representation of Horamenyankhu in front.[45] The case is even more evident in the shrine, where the artist's image in relief stands in stark contrast with the surrounding registers, which were painted on a smooth surface. Another and less obvious manner to differentiate himself from the other figures in the scenes in which he features, may be his very own image. Horamenyankhu always represents himself in the tomb in his capacity of a lector-priest, a function which allows him to be included seamlessly in the scenes in which he appears. Although he is wearing the traditional clothing appropriate to this office,[46] one detail of his portrayal is interesting. The artist depicts himself with distinctly sculpted, wavy hair, which is a unique feature among the hundreds of men depicted in the tomb.[47] When all these elements are taken into consideration, they clearly disclose an intentional attempt by the artist to increase his visibility in the monument in which he played a pivotally creative role. On a second level, the visual prominence of the artist, which could not have gone unnoticed during the creation process, suggests at least a full endorsement on the tomb owner's part.

Although the funerary chapel of Djehutihotep preserves the only certain attestations of Horamenyankhu, another source may shed more light on this individual. This document[48] stems from the nearby quarries of Hatnub. While the original inscription is now likely lost,[49] Georg Möller produced a squeeze,[50] which is still preserved today, and has allowed us to collate Anthes' facsimile.[51] The scene (fig. 7) shows a man seated in front of an offering table,

43 With the exception of Sepi and Nehri in the colossus scene. It is of note that both were likely later additions.

44 The lower register was also fully cut in relief, the significance of which remains unclear.

45 Even the two figures standing on the statue are only partially sculpted in relief, with their upper bodies being only painted.

46 A diagonal strap and covered back: Forshaw 2014, pp. 7–8.

47 This hairstyle occurs only once more, on a decorated wall fragment (Dayr al-Barshā Project, no. 1061/10). Since its original placement is unknown, it may well have belonged to a depiction of the same person (see above).

48 Anthes 1928, p. 17, Inschr. XIII.

49 We are grateful to Roland Enmarch for sharing this information.

50 Now in the archives of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Inv. 3670/1-2*. I am indebted to Silke Grallert who kindly supplied me with the required visual record to study the squeeze in detail.

51 Anthes 1928, Tf. 8, Inschr. XIII.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

accompanied by several dogs. A cartouche behind the man allows us to date the graffito to the reign of Senwosret III, but the precise year that may have originally stood above is now wholly illegible. In front of the man, a single column of hieroglyphs identifies him:

ỉm.y-r ḥmw.w[52] *ḫɜs.wt (?)[…] Ḥr?-ỉmn.y*

The overseer of artists of the desert (?) […] Hor?-imeny.

While the first part is straightforward, a damaged section between the title and name makes it impossible to read the surrounding signs with any certainty. Here, Anthes' suggestion[53] is followed, though other possibilities may be proposed.[54] The name of the man introduces another difficulty. Whereas *Ỉmn.y* is certain, the reading of the bird-sign preceding it is unclear, since its head seems to be damaged. Anthes suggests to read a *sɔ*-sign, but his own facsimile does not readily support such an interpretation. Another possibility would be to reconstruct the name as *Ḥr-Ỉmn.y,* which accords with one of the proposed readings of the first name of the main artist of Djehutihotep's tomb.[55] This would conveniently explain why we have two contemporary records of senior artists in the Hare Nome with very similar names.[56] Remarkably, as the only recorded Middle Kingdom inscription in relief in its quarry, Inschr. XIII seems to have been produced with some of the same visual techniques in mind that shaped Horamenyankhu's images in the funerary chapel of Djehutihotep. However, with so little of the original graffito being preserved in this area, it is impossible to investigate this claim in detail.

It should be stressed that the attribution of Hatnub Graffito XIII to the same artist who was involved in Djehutihotep's tomb construction cannot be regarded as more than a tentative suggestion. While the memorial is one of the best-executed artworks in the quarry, the style of the artwork is significantly weaker than the skill shown in the tomb of Djehutihotep. Although this may be simply due to the different context of the memorial, another artist may have been at play.[57] If both records relate to the same individual, however, it would be of interest that one of the few named individuals in the colossus scene where Hatnub is mentioned, is also attested in this precise locality. Of course, the record does not allow us to pinpoint the context and exact capacity in which the artist accompanied the unknown expedition commemorated by the graffito.

52 Anthes (1928, p. 17) expresses doubt on this last sign, but from the squeeze, it appears clear that it depicts a quail, not a vulture.

53 Anthes 1928, p. 17.

54 Hans Goedicke (1959, p. 58) reads it as a father's name *Ḥtp*, but this does not accord with the form of the preserved signs. The *t*-sign copied by Anthes may simply outline a damaged area and the proposed *ḫɜs.t* -sign, though clear in its hieratic equivalent, may instead be interpreted differently. Possible alternatives are: *ỉmy-r ḥmw.w ḫr.t(yw)- [nṯr],* 'the overseer of the artists and stonemasons,' though no *nṯr*-sign is preserved; or *ỉmy-r ḥmw.w 60,* 'the overseer of 60 artists.' For paleographic equivalents of these signs, see Möller 1909, nos. 322, 397 and 628.

55 If the same individual is indeed depicted here, this would suggest that we should read the name as *Ḥr-ỉmn.y, ʿnḫ.w* instead of *Ḥr, ỉmn.y-ʿnḫ.w.*

56 The god Amun was rarely included in Middle Kingdom names from the Hare nome. The only exceptions are the two records under study, and the name of governor Amenemhat. This may strengthen the hypothesis that both attestations stem from the same individual.

57 This does not necessarily speak against the identification, since the memorial may not have been produced by the very artist it commemorates.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

To properly frame Horamenyankhu's self-thematization in the tomb of Djehutihotep, we should compare his record with the wider corpus of ancient Egyptian artist representations. It is only by considering the context that it becomes clear whether and how his attestations stand out within the contemporary, preceding and succeeding tradition.



© Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften/S. Grallert

FIG. 7. Squeezes from Hatnub Graffito XIII, BBAW A.3670/1-2.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

3. HORAMENYANKHU'S DEPICTIONS IN CONTEXT: A BRIDGE BETWEEN OLD AND NEW KINGDOM ARTISTS' REPRESENTATIONS?

Horamenyankhu was clearly a remarkable artist, as he was allowed to thematize himself[58] in one of the "*Blickpunktsbildern*"[59] of the iconographic program of Djehutihotep's tomb. All the features he used here to stand out granted him a special status within Djehutihotep's social microcosm. The exceptionality of Horamenyankhu's case is also apparent on a more macrocosmic level, when we compare his representations with (self-)depictions of other Middle Kingdom artists. To ascertain whether Horamenyankhu was aware of the self-representations of his predecessors and to better understand how he positioned himself towards this tradition, we will also use comparative material from the preceding era. The following examples were selected from Alisée Devillers' PhD database. With its ca. 730 attestations of artists from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period, it provides a good statistical basis to illustrate general trends among their self-depictions.[60] Finally, New Kingdom instances of artist's self-representations illustrate how Horamenyankhu's depictions can be seen as a cornerstone to understand what comes next, from the point of view of the art historian.

Djehutihotep's tomb was built during the transition from the early to the late Middle Kingdom. It is therefore important to compare its main artist, Horamenyankhu, with both traditions, even though the majority of relevant preserved sources stem from the late Middle Kingdom. It should be emphasized that the social and spatial context of these attestations is markedly different from the one under study: at this period, few artists were able to reach an individual self-representation as they appeared mostly on communal[61] monuments.[62] Specifically, they often shared small votive stelae with their close or extended family and/or members of their socio-professional network. Roughly 85% of the documentation (i.e. 140 artists out of the 165 known for this period) were recorded on these objects, including 38 bearers of the title *sš-ḳd.wt*.[63]

58 We will use the term « thematization » and « portrait » in the sense defined by Jan Assmann (1987 and 1996). On the concept of portraiture and how to define it, see Laboury 2009, 2010 and 2016-2017.

59 On this concept, see Arnold 1962, p. 128, quoted by Hartwig 2004, p. 17, footnote 99.

60 Examples used in this perspective were discussed more extensively in Alisée Devillers' PhD thesis (funded by a non-FRIA and a F.R.S.-FNRS doctoral grants), which aimed to study the modalities of pictorial representation of artists in Ancient Egyptian art. These depictions were used to investigate the social status of artists in Pharaonic culture and the collective mind. In this research, the author tried to adopt an emic point of view by studying all the socio-professional categories linked with the production qualified by the term *ḥmw.t*, the Egyptian equivalent of what we can call "art" "(…) from a broader and more anthropological vantage point, (i.e) an aesthetic statement recognized as such in a given society" (Laboury, Devillers in press). For a more in-depth discussion about the first results of A. Devillers' PhD thesis, see Devillers forthcoming.

61 By "communal monuments", we refer to artefacts that depict several people without the possibility, for Egyptologists, to designate the main owner. We recognize the emergence or increase of this kind of commemorative media during political and economic instability.

62 In this regard, Irtysen's stela—which is often cited when Middle Kingdom artists are considered—is very much an exception (for a recent study, see Stauder 2018). Therefore, the following comparison with other self-presentations of Middle Kingdom artists does not take this abnormal case into consideration.

63 The insightful paper of Danijela Stefanović on the attestations of painters on Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period sources presents some of these occurrences (Stefanovic 2012). Most of these artefacts came from Abydos and, specifically, from the Terrace of the Great God (studied by Simpson 1974). One should keep in mind that Simpson's study is a rare exception in the relatively scarce documentation for this era, and consequently Abydos is most probably over-represented in the corpus.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net



Fig. 8. Stela Cairo CG 20715 (after Lange, Schäfer 1902, pl. LIV).

A telling example is the Abydene stela Cairo CG 20715 that contains five artists' depictions.[64] The stela commemorates the family and colleagues of the draughtsman Sennefer, who is depicted on the first register.[65], Four *sš.w-ḳd.wt*[66] are represented among his acquaintances (fig. 8). [67] In the same vein, we can also consider the several collective monuments of the draughtsman Iuefniersen[68] and the four stelae of the family of the *sš-ḳd.wt* Nakht, which includes several artists (Cairo CG 20263, CG 20515, CG 20526 and CG 20751).[69] Artists with another field of specialization occasionally appear on the same monument with a *sš-ḳd.wt*, as is the case for the ten sculptors on stela Cairo CG 20722.[70] None of these examples of artists individualized

64 Lange, Schäfer 1902, pl. LIV; Lange, Schäfer 1908, pp. 341–342.

65 Detlev Franke (1984, nos. 680 and 449) and D. Stefanović (2012, p. 186) have argued that Sennefer was also the owner of stela Cairo CG 20128. While this may be the case, the lack of titles on the second stela makes it of limited use for our study.

66 One of these is linked with three names: the *sš-ḳd.wt* Nen, the *ḳs.ty* Senebef and the *sš-ḳd.wt* Sennefer (Lange, Schäfer 1908, p. 342).

67 Inepunakht (2nd register), Khakaura (3rd register), and Ipy's son Sennefer (4th register) could be the owner's sons but we cannot be sure of the genealogical information included here (Stefanovic 2012, pp. 186–188).

68 Stefanovic 2012, pp. 186; Quirke 2003, pp. 90–91; Franke 1984, nos. 45a and 129. Furthermore, he left two graffiti on Sehel island (Gasse, Rondot 2007, nos. 168–169).

69 Simpson 1974, ANOC 30.

70 Lange, Schäfer 1902, pl. LIV; Lange, Schäfer 1908, pp. 349–352.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

on communal objects uses visual strategies to stand out or allude to their craftsmanship[71]: their profession is only advertised by a label while they are otherwise wholly conventional in appearance, kneeling or sitting in traditional offering scenes.

Slightly more analogous cases can be found in earlier Middle Kingdom artist's representations.[72] Specifically, the few extant Middle Kingdom artists' portraits from tomb walls may employ equivalent, but less remarkable visual tools to signify their profession.[73] For instance, the depictions of the *ỉm.y-r mḏḥ(.w)* Netjernakht in the workshop scene of Khnumhotep II's tomb at Beni Hasan (BH3, from the time of Amenemhat II-Senusret II)[74] are far less outstanding than those of Horamenyankhu.[75] Netjernakht is represented in this tomb, woodworking alongside his anonymous colleagues and kneeling in front of the deceased. However, two additional attestations of an *ỉmy-r smy.t* Nakht's son Netjernakht from the same tomb[76] provide closer comparisons to the case of Horamenyankhu. Despite the otherwise unremarkable appearance of the figure among rows of largely identical officials, his labels stand out as they are the only ones in the scenes which were applied in (sunk) relief.[77] If both occurrences indeed refer to the same individual—which is uncertain, since the first attestation does not include a title—the man may have been emphasized with a similar purpose in mind. Another example closer to our case may be found in Ukhhotep III's tomb at Meir (B4) (time of Amenemhat II).[78] Here, the *ḫr.y-ḥb.t ḫr.y-tp* and *sš-ḳd.wt* Henu is depicted among a group of officiants performing the offering ritual while holding a staff and a papyrus scroll. The draughtsman is depicted in his capacity as (chief) lector priest, a title he shares with Horamenyankhu. However, the visual techniques utilized for his self-thematization are far less outspoken in comparison to those employed by the designer of Djehutihotep's tomb. Consequently, his image blends in smoothly within the iconographic scheme, rather than standing out by contrast. Yet another precedent is the depiction of the *ḫry-ḥb sš ỉs pn r dỉ m pr-nsw.t* Ptah-em-saef, son of Khety, in Djefai-hapi I's chapel in Asyut (from the time of Senusret I).[79] Ptah-em-saef is represented on the north wall of the shrine in the modest role of an offering bearer.[80] Djefai-hapi I is well-known for his ambition to be a "*Mann von Welt*"[81] and

71 This is actually a common trend throughout the Pharaonic era. Although one may think that artists were best positioned to play with visual codes to enhance their socio-professional categories, few of them were actually depicted with visual markers of their profession. They usually preferred to comply with the traditional repertoire but occasionally played with motifs that alluded to their craftsmanship by the quality of their commemorative monuments.

72 We can mention for instance the statue of the overseer of the department of draughtsmen, Sebekur (Cairo CG 476) (Stefanovic 2012, p. 185 and Borchardt 1925, pl. 79).

73 We know of three more artists depicted in Middle Kingdom tombs. In addition to the following examples, one *nby* and *ms-ʿ3.t* is represented on the still remaining door-jambs (Cairo CG 20630) of his now lost Abydene chapel (Lange, Schäfer 1902, pp. 268–269; Mariette 1880, p. 340, no. 950).

74 Newberry, Griffith 1893, p. 2; Kamrin 1999, 31; Kanawati, Evans 2014a, pl. 120.

75 Furthermore, his name is hardly noticeable for the visitor, given the location of the workshop scene (Kanawati, Evans 2014a, pl. 25; Newberry, Griffith 1893, pl. XXIX). In this chapel, the title *ḫrp ỉs* borne by Abihu's son, Sep, is also recorded. Its holder, Baqet, *ḫrp ỉs* and treasurer, appears twice in Khnumhotep II's tomb. Although, considering his high administrative title—with no direct connections to artistic production—, we can assume that he was the main overseer of the tomb construction, perhaps in the same vein as Nekhtiankh's son Sepi.

76 Newberry, Griffith 1893, pl. XXX and XXXV.

77 Kanawati, Evans 2014a, pl. 55(a) and pl. 95(b).

78 Blackman 1915, pl. XXIII.

79 Kahl 2016, pl. 41.

80 Kahl 2016, p. 18, pl. 41.

81 Kahl 2016, pp. 20–21.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

there can be little doubt that Ptah-em-saef, an artist sent by the Residence, was meant to help him achieve this aim.[82] Considering the monumental scale of Djefai-hapi I's chapel,[83] it is likely that Djehutyhotep and Horamenyankhu were aware of this memorial and its creator's signature.

While Horamenyankhu's representations stand apart from most of the preserved Middle Kingdom artists' (self)portraits, some scholars have already pointed out the marked Old Kingdom influence on textual and iconographic motifs within the decoration of Djehutihotep's tomb chapel[84]. However, a similar adherence to Old Kingdom precedents for the representation of its artists has so far remained unnoticed. Accordingly, a brief survey of Old Kingdom precedents of artistic self-representation may be instructive to ascertain whether Horamenyankhu's portraits were shaped by this tradition.

From the 5th Dynasty onwards, a new elite begins to emerge outside the narrow circle of the royal family.[85] With this shift, individuals of increasingly heterogeneous professional backgrounds are able to attain funerary commemoration. One corollary of this process is a marked increase of artist attestations in our documentation. Although only few reached the funerary commemoration *par excellence*, a tomb of their own,[86] several were allowed inclusion on the walls of another person's monument. Unlike the rarity of such occurrences in the Middle Kingdom, named artists appear quite often in Old Kingdom elite tombs, both in royal and provincial necropoleis. They are represented in workshop scenes, accompanying the deceased while fishing and fowling, serving as witnesses to an oath or performing as offering bearers or ritualists.[87] Consequently, these people are portrayed among the funerary servants of the deceased who were granted the opportunity to be individualized in the iconographic program of the tomb. In this respect, Pepyankh the Black's tomb at Meir (6th Dynasty, time of Pepy II), which enshrines no fewer than nine portraits of artists, is a vital source to observe the various ways such men could be depicted at that time.[88] Among these artist depictions, two stand out in terms of quantity, even though they do not bear explicit artistic titles. The lector-priest and scribe Sesheshen is represented 12 times while the lector-priest and scribe of the divine scriptures of the Palace, Ihyemsapepy, whose beautiful name is Iri, appears 6 times—one of which was a later addition. Although neither of them bears the title of draughtsman, the numerical preponderance of Sesheshen and the scale of the depictions of Ihyemsapepy/Iri has led scholars to assume that they were involved in the creation of this tomb.[89] Indeed, Sesheshen and Ihyemsapepy/Iri are both depicted in a workshop scene in the act of painting. In this very scene, Ihyemsapepy/Iri is shown twice at a larger scale than his colleagues at both

82 Jochem Kahl proposes that Ptah-em-saef may have been inspired by monuments in the residence when creating several of the ceiling patterns in the transversal hall of this tomb (Kahl 2016, p. 18). More explicit motifs from royal iconography may have also been borrowed (Kahl 2012, p. 177). Furthermore, it seems that the funerary equipment of the tomb was produced in the workshops of the royal Residence (Kahl 2012, pp. 176–177).

83 It is the largest extant elite tomb from the time: Kahl 2012, p. 177.

84 Pieke 2016; Stauder 2014a and 2014b. See also footnote 11.

85 On this matter, see Barta 2020, pp. 320, 346ff.

86 At least 14 artists owned a tomb during the 5th and 6th Dynasty (see Devillers 2021).

87 Hermann Junker's seminal book did record the major artists' portraits for this period (Junker 1959) and Naguib Kanawati and Alexandra Woods' study supplemented this list with more up-to-date data (Kanawati, Woods 2009). Furthermore, Chauvet 2005 offers an overview of the multiple roles Old Kingdom artist could fulfil and discusses how they could have taken part in the effective functioning of the necropoleis.

88 The chapel was studied by Kanawati, Evans 2014b.

89 See on this matter Junker 1956.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

ends of the first register, framing the upper part of the entrance to the second room of this chapel[90]. His labels are also the most extensive among those in the workshop scene. He has short hair and is wearing a long loincloth tightened by a knot, a garment worn only by two of his colleagues in the same register, one of them being Sesheshen. Ihyemsapepy/Iri is depicted squatting and holding a painting brush and bowl each time he appears. On the left side of the panel, he is applying colour on the torso of the deceased's statue, with a peculiar texture likely representing wood veins.[91] On the righthand side, he is painting the *Farbleitern* frieze on a chest.[92] Unlike Horamenyankhu, Pepyankh's chief artists do not present themselves explicitly as the tomb's creators. Nonetheless, their representations remain notable examples of an implicit visual signature[93] in a provincial tomb, that apart from being depicted as performers of their profession, is emphasized by their predominance in number and scale.[94]

Apart from implicit artist's signatures, we also observe, especially in the late Old Kingdom records, artists explicitly signing their works while performing roles not directly linked with workshop scenes. These explicit artists' signatures are particularly apparent in provincial elite cemeteries. One famous instance can be found in the tombs of the governors of Akhmim, where two brother-artists, were allowed to leave an explicit signature.[95] In a marsh scene in the chapel of Shepsipumin/Kheni (6th Dynasty), the *sš pr mḏ3.t nṯr pr-ʿ3* Izezy states that he is the *sš ỉz p(n)* while his brother Seni is depicted next to him. Both occupy a prominent place in this scene, as they are represented next to the deceased. Seni's role is made clearer in Shepsipumin/Kheni's father's chapel, as he is this time labelled as a *sš-ḳd.wt* in a similar scene. Moreover, he claims here that he "painted" this tomb without any help. In this context, the more plausible scenario is that Izezy conceptualized the iconographic program of Shepsipumin/Kheni's chapel and that his brother Seni was in charge of its execution. Later, in the second chapel, Seni conceptualized the decoration without his brother's help.[96] In this case, the visual preponderance of the artists

90 The following description is based on pictures and drawings from Kanawati, Evans 2015, pl. 10b, 11b, 73.

91 To our knowledge, this is the only statue depicted as such in the entire chapel. Therefore, it would be tempting to see in this detail the artist's desire to specify how he skilfully realized a skeuomorphic statue. Even if the original material of this statue was wood, painting wood veins on a plastered wood item is known from elsewhere (it is well attested in several examples, for instance Iyerniutef's shawabti boxes, see Angenot 2017, pp. 413–415; on skeuomorphism, see Seigneau 2018, Angenot 2017 and 2011).

92 The representation of unfinished decoration and the addition of a little figure on the chest are uncommon. This artefact also appears, this time fully completed, on the northern side of the architrave, on the west wall of room 4 (Kanawati, Evans 2014b, pl. 87).

93 Here, we use the term "signature" when the creator of a composition is allowed to put his name and sometimes his face on a monument in the case of "self-portrait in *assistenza*" (for this concept developed for Renaissance art by André Chastel (Chastel 1971) applied to Egyptology, see Laboury 2015, pp. 327–330) in a cultural context where the art was often eponymous (on this concept of an eponymous ancient Egyptian art, see Assmann 1987 and 1996).

94 For years, scholars used to consider that each time we encounter an individualized artist, he was the creator of the artwork where his name appears. However, this proposal is poorly rooted in actual evidence. Rather, it seems to be the consequence of the long-standing but erroneous assumption that artists appear only rarely on our documentation and that, when they appear, it is only in order to sign their work, a practice that has been interpreted in relation to their wages. Recent studies have challenged these assumptions and suggested various reasons to explain the presence of an artist's name or depiction. When reconsidering the so-called "artist's signatures" in ancient Egyptological literature, and given the aforementioned observations, Ihyemsapepy/Iri and Sesheshen's case can be interpreted as visual signatures.

95 For this famous case, see Laboury 2016, pp. 379–381; Kanawati, Woods 2009, pp. 10 and 65; Kanawati 1980, pp. 19–21, fig. 9, pl. 6. The next sentences summarized Dimitri Laboury's interpretation of the case.

96 It seems that Kaihep's tomb was completed after his son's chapel. Shepsipumin/Kheni did indeed claim that he took part in his father's tomb building in an inscription at the entrance of Kaihep's chapel (Kanawati 1980, pp. 19–20).

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

depicted next to the deceased is accompanied by the explicit claim that they designed and/or created the tomb. Furthermore, in both tombs, Izezy presents himself as a palace official. Therefore, this instance illustrates that when the owner of a tomb could employ *ḫmw.w* from the royal sphere who took part in the creation of the tomb, these renowned artists were allowed to sign more explicitly, presumably because they would contribute to the prestige of their patron. This example is similar to our case: Djehutihotep allowed a remarkable artist with the rare title of *sš-ḳd.wt n pr-ꜥ*,[97] to occupy a prominent place in his iconographic program. In both cases, given the artist's affiliation with the Palace, it is hardly surprising they were allowed, and perhaps even requested, to stand out in the tomb as their patron may have wanted to emphasize the royal draughtsmen they were able/allowed to employ.[98]

Like Horamenyankhu for the Middle Kingdom, or Seni for the late Old Kingdom, artists throughout Pharaonic history were often depicted as priests. Their involvement in the performance of the funerary liturgy has already been pointed out in various Old Kingdom chapels and was also reiterated during the Middle Kingdom in at least Ukhhotep III's tomb.[99] Indeed, V. Chauvet's paper demonstrates the important part artists may have played in ritually activating tombs and guaranteeing the deceased's rebirth.[100] In this respect, *ḫmw.w* who were endowed with the role of *ḫm.w-kꜣ, ḫr.y-ḥb.t* or who performed the *ḏwꜣ nṯr* ritual, were fundamental in activating the funerary chapel. Some of them, labelled with priestly titles, could be depicted with specific features, like the lector-priest's distinctive "strap across the chest."[101] This is, for example, the case for the lector-priest and draughtsman Kaemtjenenet in Pepyankh the Middle's tomb who appears three times, twice wearing this particular garment.[102] It is also in this capacity that Horamenyankhu represents himself twice in the shrine of his employer. By contrast, we do not have a direct Old Kingdom parallel for the part played by Horamenyankhu in the colossus scene, namely an artist represented censing a statue. Although artists are known to be depicted as thurifers, for instance on the false-door of Djefau (Saqqara, mastaba L55) (fig. 9),[103] they are never represented censing the deceased's statue, a task that could be carried out by actual priest-artists.[104] Therefore, Horamenyankhu's self-depictions in the colossus scene at Dayr al-Barshā skilfully merged two ancient iconographic motifs, the artist-thurifer and the ritualist represented censing the deceased's statue.[105] As a consequence, the scene illustrates that the performative aspect of the artists' function in the sacred environment of the funerary chapel, working as a member of

97 The other *sš-ḳd.wt n pr-ꜥ* (Cairo CG 20457) mentioned above is also an interesting case since his label is the most lengthy one on this stela, even though this monument was not his own.

98 Although the brothers are linked with the Residence, Christiane Ziegler (1990, pp. 164–166) and N. Kanawati and A. Woods (2009, pp. 19–20) have already pointed out that they may have been born in the province, made their careers (or at least the first part of their careers) in the capital before returning to their home town. This hypothesis is based on the appearance of a certain *sḥḏ sš-ḳd.wt* Seni on a rectangular stela found in the necropolis of El-Hawawish (Louvre Museum C 234). However, this remains currently unprovable as Seni and Izezi do not mention any of their kinship links in the above-mentioned tombs.

99 On this matter, see Chauvet 2015.

100 Chauvet 2015, pp. 70ff.

101 Chauvet 2015, p. 70.

102 Chauvet 2015, p. 70; Kanawati 2012, pl. 79 and 88.

103 Petrie, Murray 1952, pl. XIV.

104 Chauvet 2015, p. 64.

105 This pattern was notably studied by Simon Delvaux in his PhD thesis entitled *Étude sur les modes de transport terrestre en Égypte de l'Ancien au Nouvel Empire* (unpublished) and defended in 2016 at the University Paul Valéry – Montpellier III.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

the necropolis administration, continues during the Middle Kingdom. His self-depiction particularly emphasizes the specificity of artists' knowledge—at least for the higher ranked and initiated ones—i.e., their ability to animate images.[106] Accordingly, we encounter this specific functional aspect of the ancient Egyptian artists, implied in the Old Kingdom textual corpus,[107] for the very first time in iconography.

Based on this brief review of some preceding artist occurrences with which Horamenyankhu shares common aspects, it appears that implicit or explicit visual signatures and the appearance of artists as ritualists in funerary chapels were both already present in the Old Kingdom record. Given the various other strong connections of Djehutihotep's tomb decoration with Old Kingdom iconographic and textual traditions,[108] we can assume that these links are not coincidental. Horamenyankhu probably had portraits of his predecessors in mind and knew the established limitations and possibilities for an artist's self-depiction in the preceding era. Nevertheless, the features mobilized by Horamenyankhu to emphasize his position and the degree to which he was able to develop them are unprecedented, both in the preserved Old Kingdom and in the contemporary Middle Kingdom corpus.[109] From the point of view of the art historian looking at the big picture, Horamenyankhu's self-depictions anticipate the representational development of artists during the New Kingdom.

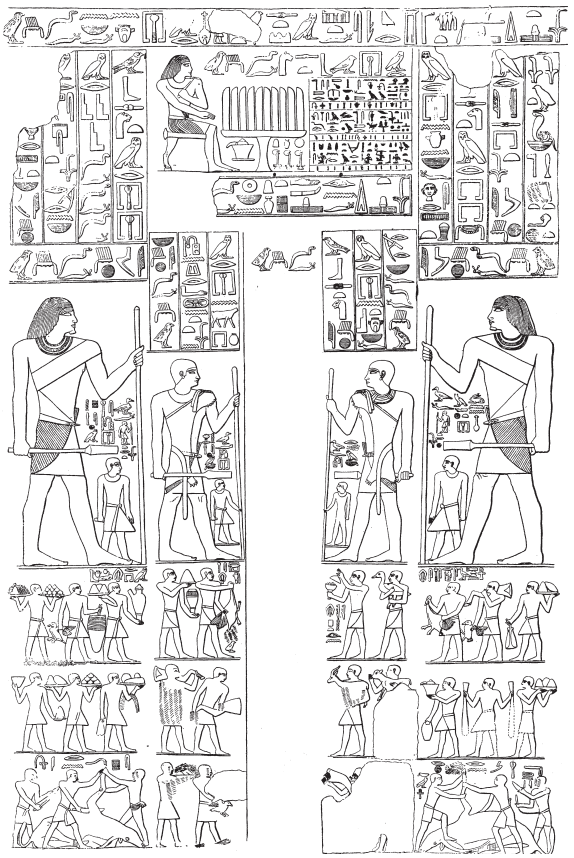


Fig. 9. False-door of Djefau (Saqqara, mastaba L55) (after Petrie, Murray 1952, pl. XIV).

During the New Kingdom, a larger socio-professional range of people that had hardly been represented in previous periods, reached a more prominent form of commemoration. Correspondingly, we are able to record more than 340 artist's portraits for this period.[110] Artists—and more precisely draughtsmen—were increasingly represented on tomb walls in the roles mentioned above, and these depictions more often explicitly emphasized their profession. This is the case, for instance, of the draughtsman Userhat who managed to be depicted twice, sitting among the guests of Amenhotep Sise's funerary banquet and walking at the end of an offering procession on the south wall of TT75 (time of Thutmosis IV).[111] Unfortunately, the

106 On this matter, see, e.g., Chauvet 2015; Rizzo 2015; von Lieven 2007; Kruchten 1992; and Derchain 1990.

107 For examples of this corpus, see Chauvet 2015.

108 Pieke 2016; Stauder 2014a, p. 180; Stauder 2014b, pp. 116–118. See also footnote 11.

109 With the exception of Irtysen's stela, which was not taken into account in this paper, see footnote 68.

110 Nevertheless, contrary to what one might think, we encounter slightly more recorded superiors of artists (44% of the corpus) in the New Kingdom than for previous periods (40% for the Old Kingdom and 36% for the Middle Kingdom) (Devillers 2021).

111 Laboury 2015.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

latter depiction is badly damaged, but the painting palette[112] that he holds in both scenes can still be clearly seen.[113] Furthermore, the chief draughtsman Hori, depicted himself in an unusual double scene with his painting palette represented upright behind his seat in his tomb (TT259, 20th Dynasty). [114] Earlier, the chief draughtsman Thutmose was depicted in what Alain Zivie has named his "*autoportrait à la palette*" (I19, Bubasteion, time of Amenhotep III-Akhenaton).[115] Painting palettes are also found in Pasanesu depiction (TT181, Thebes, time of Amenhotep III-Akhenaton),[116] Iuty's portrait in Huya's chapel (TA1, Amarna, time of Akhenaton),[117] or Pahemnejter's representation in Neferrenpet/Kenro's tomb (TT178, Thebes, time of Ramses II).[118]

These New Kingdom artists' representations differ greatly from the previous ones, in terms of how the depiction personalizes the individuals concerned with their distinctive professional tools. Although Horamenyankhu's attempt to enhance his social position as a literate artist in the colossus scene—by merging two iconographic patterns—remains to our knowledge an *unicum*,[119] from an etic point of view, his depictions seem an important milestone, anticipating what will come next.[120]

112 Even during the New Kingdom, artists are rarely depicted with one of their tools outside the workshop scenes (even there, the named artists do not consistently have a tool in hand). When they are holding something, it is often the scribal palette, to emphasize their affiliation with the scribe's profession (on this topic, see, e.g., Ragazzoli 2016 and Den Doncker 2019). These two socio-professional categories seemed to be closely linked, as the case of Meryra of Esna exemplifies (Laboury 2016). Therefore, this case and the one to be discussed next are exceptional in that they depict the painting palette, not the scribal one.

113 In his paper, D. Laboury proposed that Userhat was in charge of this tomb decoration and was perhaps also the creator of the composition depicted in Thutmosis IV's festival courtyard (Laboury 2015). Following this hypothesis, Amenhotep Sise, the tomb owner, would be the superior of Userhat, as they both worked in the same administration at Karnak Temple. For the New Kingdom, it is common to observe artists appearing in their colleagues' or chiefs' tombs, as it is the case with the treasurer Maya (for a study of this tomb and its iconographic program, see Martin 2012). One might see in this gathering of colleagues on tomb walls a wider transposition of the Middle Kingdom communal stela.

114 Feucht 2006, pl. IV and XX.

115 Zivie 2013, pp. 33–40, see also pp. 119–121, pl. 15. Other draughtsmen represented in this tomb also hold such a palette (Zivie 2013, pl. 12, 29 and 35).

116 Davies 1925, pl. XI.

117 Davies 1905, pl. XVIII.

118 Hofmann 1995, pl. X (a).

119 While we observe few New Kingdom artists depicted with a censer (e.g., the graffito of a sculptor at Serabit el-Khadim, see Gardiner, Peet 1917, pl. LXVII, no. 234) or represented in front of a statue (for instance, a draughtsman in chief before the deceased's statue in a now-ruined chapel, see PM III, pp. 571–572), the new iconographic pattern created by Horamenyankhu does not seem to have been followed in the New Kingdom. Despite this, New Kingdom artists continue to function as ritualists and are sometimes represented as such. In this regard, the new title of *sʿnḫ*, for sculptor, particularly emphasizes the specificity of their profession. On this title, see Rizzo 2015. The question of the initiation was also mentioned in the "*curriculum vitae*" of some high ranked artists as Userhat-Hatiay, to whom the stela alludes his initiation into the House of Gold (see, e.g., von Lieven 2007, pp. 148 and 150, or Kruchten 1992). Some priests-artists are, for instance, depicted in scenes of the Opening of the Mouth ritual. Thanks to Robert Hay's and J.G. Wilkinson's drawings of the now-ruined tomb of the priest Kynebu (TT113) (20th Dynasty, time of Ramses VIII), we know for example that the famous Deir el-Medina draughtsman Amenhotep, son of Amennakhte, was depicted in this tomb as a lector priest performing this ritual in front of the deceased's mummy (Bacs 2011, p. 35). The chapel is unfortunately badly damaged, but the stylistic study of what remains shows that the decoration was most probably made by Amenhotep himself, whose style is well known thanks to the study of Cathleen A. Keller (e.g., Keller 2003). This representation thus seems to be a visually implicit signature, although we cannot determine to what extent Amenhotep was able to stand out within the now lost iconographic program.

120 Even though we do not have explicit textual proof of New Kingdom visitors to Djehutihotep's chapel, the nearby presence of a quarry used by the time of Thutmosis III (Klemm, Klemm 2009, p. 217; Luft 2011) would suggest that the Middle Kingdom provincial necropolis was known and likely visited at this time. Furthermore, figurative graffiti left in this tomb before the addition of Coptic crosses, included copies of signs or symbols from Djehutihotep's iconographic program. Unfortunately, there is currently no possibility to further narrow down the date of these graffiti.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

CONCLUSION

Djehutihotep's funerary chapel preserves the images of some of the main actors who were vital to its conception and production. While the representations of two of them—Nekhtiankh's son Sepi and Abihu's son Sep, presumably the officials in charge of the construction of the tomb—are traditional in appearance and setting, a third one clearly stands out. By his titles, the artist Horamenyankhu can be identified as the senior artist of the tomb, with the ritual and literary knowledge required for this function. Horamenyankhu represents himself in an unusually prominent manner, by using several visual techniques to his advantage.

When comparing Horamenyankhu with early and late Middle Kingdom examples of self-depictions of artists, it appears that he did not follow the general trend of communal, funerary commemorative depiction, as did most of his colleagues. By contrast, Horamenyankhu's self-depictions seem to directly derive from the Old Kingdom tradition of artist representation. Moreover, he skilfully merged two already-known motifs—that of the priest-artist and that of the ritualist in front of the deceased's statue—to enhance the specificity of his function. While these and other visual tools were occasionally applied in Middle Kingdom tomb iconography, they were never used and combined on the same scale. Furthermore, from the etic point of view of an art historian, Horamenyankhu's representations are bridges between what we know of Old Kingdom artists' self-depictions and the further development of artists' portraiture during the New Kingdom.

Horamenyankhu's prominence in the iconographic program of Djehutihotep's tomb cannot have gone unnoticed by the person for whom the tomb was intended. This suggests that the tomb owner intentionally showcased the artist who was assigned or requested to create his funerary monument. As such, the royal artist Horamenyankhu seems to have supported the wish of the governor to distinguish himself from his predecessors by creating an architecturally, iconographically and artistically exceptional monument. The display of his name and function, which are not only acknowledged but even emphasized in the tomb, may have served as additional markers of quality. This would not only have been beneficial for the artist, but more significantly for the tomb owner, whose prestige would have been enhanced by his ability to hire such a person,[121] whose service may have been granted to him as a royal gift.[122] It then becomes less surprising that Djehutihotep allowed his chief artist to depict himself in an unprecedented and visually prominent manner in some of the main focal points of his funerary chapel, including the famous colossus scene.

121 Although we do not have explicit statements from the tomb that could support this hypothesis, several cases of artists' appearances on tomb walls, like the case of Userhat in TT75 (studied by Laboury 2015), tend to confirm this idea.

122 It would be tempting to understand Horamenyankhu's involvement in the creation of Djehutihotep's tomb as part of the royal gift granted to the nomarch by the Residence. It would recall the case of Sarenput I whose autobiographies may imply that the construction of his tomb and the production of his funerary equipment greatly benefited from the king's largesse (Favry 2005, pp. 278–284, and, in particular pp. 280–282). Furthermore, the scenario elaborated by some scholars for Seni, could also be applicable here (see footnote 96). If Horamenyankhu and Djehutihotep became similarly acquainted at an earlier stage of their career, such a personal connection may also explain the prominence of the artist in the monument of the official. We thank here Prof. Dr. D. Laboury for the stimulating discussions we had on this question.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We thank our PhD supervisors, Prof. Dr. Dimitri Laboury (F.R.S. Research Director, ULiege) and Prof. Dr. Harco Willems (Director Dayr al-Barshā Project, KU Leuven), for their helpful remarks. We are indebted to Prof. Dr. Kathlyn M. Cooney and Carolyn Patrick who proofread the paper. All remaining mistakes are the authors' responsibility.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen 2000 (ed. 2014)
J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (2000), Cambridge, 2014 (3rd ed.).

Angenot 2011
V. Angenot, "Persistance formelle du prototype sur 3500 ans d'architecture et d'art égyptiens : simulacre, trompe-l'oeil et skeuomorphisme", in T. Lenain, J.-M. Sansterre, R. Dekoninck (eds.), *Image et prototype*, Brussels, 2011, pp. 1–19.

Angenot 2017
V. Angenot, "Remnants of the Past: Skeuomorphis Traditions in Ancient Egypt", in T. Gillen (ed.), *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013*, Liège, 2017, pp. 411–424.

Anthes 1928
R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, nach den Aufnahmen Georg Möller*, Leipzig, 1928.

Arnold 1962
D. Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches*, Berlin, 1962.

Assmann 1987
J. Assmann, "Sepulkrale Selbstthematisieruing im Alten Ägypten", in *Selbstthematisierung und Selbstzeugnis: Bekenntnis und Geständnis*, Frankfurt, 1987, pp. 208–232.

Assmann 1996
J. Assmann, "Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egyptian Portraiture", in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. 1, Boston, 1996, pp. 55–81.

Bacs 2011
T. Bacs, "« ... Like Heaven in Its Interior »: Late Ramesside Painters in Theban Tombs 65", in Z. Hawass, T. Bacs, G. Schreiber (eds.), *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Theban Archaeology at the Supreme Council of Antiquities, November 5, 2009*, Cairo, 2011, pp. 33–41.

Barta 2020
M. Barta, "Egypt's Old Kingdom: a view from within", in K. Radner, N. Moeller, D.T. Potts (eds.), *The Oxford History of the Ancient Near East, Volume I: From the Beginnings, to Old Kingdom Egypt and the Dynasty of Akkad*, New York, 2020, pp. 316–396.

Blackman 1912
A.M. Blackman, "Remarks on an Incense-Brazier Depicted in Thuthotep's Tomb at El-Bersheh", *ZÄS* 50/1, 1912, pp. 66–68.

Blackman 1915
A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir III: The Tomb-Chapel of Ukh-hotp son of Ukh-hotp and Mersi (B, No. 4),* London, 1915.

Borchardt 1925
L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo, Nr. 1-1294, Teil 2: Text und Tafeln zu Nr. 381-653*, Berlin, 1925.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

BROVARSKI 1981
E. Brovarski, "Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom", in W.K. Simpson, W.M. Davis (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday, June 1, 1980*, Boston, 1981, pp. 14–30.

CHASTEL 1971
A. Chastel, "Art et civilisation de la Renaissance en Italie", *ACF* 71, 1971, pp. 537–543.

CHAUVET 2015
V. Chauvet, "Who Did What and Why: the Dynamics of Tomb Preparation", in R. Jasnow, K.M. Cooney (eds.), *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan*, Atlanta, 2015, pp. 63–78.

DAVIES 1905
N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna, Part 3: The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes*, London, 1905.

DAVIES 1925
N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes*, New York, 1925.

DAVIES 1999
W.V. Davies, "Djehutyhotep's Colossus Inscription and Major Brown's Photograph", in W.V. Davies (ed.), *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities: A Tribute to T.G.H. James*, London, 1999, pp. 29–35.

DEN DONCKER 2019
A. Den Doncker, *Réactions aux images. Pour une réception des images en Égypte ancienne*, PhD Thesis, University of Liège, 2019.

DERCHAIN 1990
P. Derchain, "L'Atelier des Orfèvres à Dendara et les origines de l'Alchimie", *ChronEg* 65/130, 1990, pp. 219–242.

DEVILLERS 2021
A. Devillers, *Les (auto)représentations des praticiens de la Hmw.t. Pour une approche iconographique des artistes de l'Égypte antique*, PhD Thesis, University of Liège, 2021.

DEVILLERS forthcoming
A. Devillers, "Un art sans artiste… vraiment ? Pour une approche iconographique : les (auto) représentations des praticiens de la *Hmw.t*", forthcoming.

EDEL 1955
A. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik I*, Rome, 1955.

FAVRY 2005
N. Favry, *Le Nomarque sous le règne de Sésostris I^er^*, Paris, 2005.

FEUCHT 2006
E. Feucht, *Die Gräber des Nedjemger (TT 138) und des Hori (TT 259)*, Mainz, 2006.

FISCHER 1968
H.G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millenium B.C. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt*, New York, 1968.

FISCHER 1985 (ed. 1997)
H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom: A Supplement to Wm. Ward's Index* (1985), New York, 1997 (2nd ed.).

FORSHAW 2014
R. Forshaw, *The Role of the Lector in Ancient Egyptian Society*, ArchaeoEg 5, Oxford, 2014.

FRANKE 1984
D. Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.-16. Jahrhundert v. Ch.): Dossiers 1-796*, Wiesbaden, 1984.

GARDINER 1927 (ed. 1957)
A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (1927), Cambridge, 1957 (3rd ed.).

GARDINER, PEET 1917
A.H. Gardiner, T.E. Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai, Part I: Introduction and Plates*, London, 1917.

GASSE, RONDOT 2007
A. Gasse, V. Rondot, *Les inscriptions de Séhel*, MIFAO 126, Cairo, 2007.

GOEDICKE 1959
H. Goedicke, "A New Inscription from Hatnub", *ASAE* 56, 1959, pp. 55–58.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

GRAJETZKI 2003
W. Grajetzki, *Die Höchsten Beamten der Ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches: Prosopographie, Titel und Titelreihen*, SchrÄg 2, Berlin, 2003.
GRAJETZKI 2006
W. Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt: History, Archaeology and Society*, Duckworth Egyptology, London, 2006.
GRIFFITH, NEWBERRY 1895
F.L. Griffith, P.E. Newberry, *El Bersheh, Part II*, ASEg 4, London, 1895.
HANEY 2018
L.S. Haney, "A New Look at the Stela of Ameny (Cairo CG 20691) and the Possible Coregency of Senwosret III and Amenemhet III", *JARCE* 54, 2018, pp. 85–91.
HARTWIG 2004
M.K. Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE*, MonAeg 10, Brussels, 2004.
HOFMANN 1995
E. Hofmann, *Das Grab des Neferrenpet gen. Kenro (TT178)*, Mainz, 1995.
JUNKER 1956
H. Junker, *Der Maler Irj*, Wien, 1956.
JUNKER 1959
H. Junker, *Die Gesellschaftliche Stellung der ägyptischen Künstler im Alten Reich mit 24 Abbildungen im Tex*t, Wien, 1959.
KAHL 2012
J. Kahl, "Regionale Milieus und die Macht des Staates im Alten Ägypten: die vergöttlichung der Gaufürsten von Assiut", *SAK* 41, 2012, pp. 163–188.
KAHL 2016
J. Kahl, *Ornamente in Bewegung: Die Deckendecoration der Grossen Querhalle im Grab von Djefai-Hapi I. in Assiut*, Wiesbaden, 2016.
KAMAL 1902
A.B. Kamal, « Fouilles à Deir-el-Barché exécutées dans les six premiers mois de l'année par M. Antonini de Mallawi », *ASAE* 3, 1902, pp. 276–282.
KAMRIN 1999
J. Kamrin, *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan*, London, New York, 1999.
KAMRIN 2015
J. Kamrin, "The Decoration of Elite Tombs. Connecting the Living and the Dead", in A. Oppenheim, Do. Arnold, Di. Arnold, K. Yamamoto (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, New York, 2015, pp. 28–32.
KANAWATI 1980
N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim* I, Sydney, 1980.
KANAWATI 2012
N. Kanawati, *The Cemetery of Meir: The Tomb of Pepyankh the Middle* I, Oxford, 2012.
KANAWATI, EVANS 2014a
N. Kanawati, L. Evans, *Beni Hassan, Volume I: The Tomb of Khnumhotep II*, Oxford, 2014.
KANAWATI, EVANS 2014b
N. Kanawati, L. Evans, *The Cemetery of Meir, Volume II: The Tomb Pepyankh the Black*, Oxford, 2014.
KANAWATI, EVANS 2016
N. Kanawati, L. Evans, *Beni Hassan, Volume III: The Tomb of Amenemhat*, Oxford, 2016.
KANAWATI, WOODS 2009
N. Kanawati, A. Woods, *Artists in the Old Kingdom: Techniques and Achievements*, Cairo, 2009.
KELLER 2003
C.A. Keller, "Un artiste égyptien à l'œuvre : le dessinateur en chef Amenhotep", in G. Andreu (ed.), *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois : la vie en Égypte au temps des pharaons du Nouvel Empire. Actes du colloque organise par le Musée du Louvre les 3 et 4 mai 2002*, Paris, 2003, pp. 83–114.
KLEMM, KLEMM 2009
D. Klemm, R. Klemm, "Pharaonic Limestone Quarries in Wadi Nakhla and Deir Abu Hennis, Egypt", in Y. Maniatis (ed.), *Asmosia VII: Proceedings of the 7th International Conference of Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity, Thassos, 15-20 september, 2003*, Athens, 2009, pp. 211–225.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

KRUCHTEN 1992
J.-M. Kruchten, "Un sculpteur des images divines ramessides", in M. Broze, P. Talon (eds.), *L'atelier de l'orfèvre. Mélanges offerts à Ph. Derchain,* Leuven, 1992, pp. 107–118.

LABOURY 2009
D. Laboury, "Réflexions sur le portrait royal et son fonctionnement dans l'Égypte pharaonique", *Ktèma* 34, 2009, pp. 175–196.

LABOURY 2010
D. Laboury, "Portrait versus image", in W. Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 2010, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9370vorz.

LABOURY 2015
D. Laboury, "On the Master Painter of the Tomb of Amenhotep Sise, Second High Priest of Amun under the Reign of Thutmose IV (TT75)", in R. Jasnow, K.M. Cooney (eds.), *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan*, Atlanta, 2015, pp. 327–337.

LABOURY 2016
D. Laboury, "Le scribe et le peintre. À propos d'un scribe qui ne voulait pas être pris pour un peintre", in P. Collombert, D. Lefèvre, S. Polis, J. Winand (eds.), *Aere perennius. Mélanges égyptologiques en l'honneur de Pascal Vernus*, Leuven, Paris, Bristol, 2016, pp. 371–396.

LABOURY 2016-2017
D. Laboury, "Senwosret III and the Issue of Portraiture in Ancient Egyptian art", *CRIPEL* 31, 2016-2017, pp. 71–84.

LABOURY, DEVILLERS in press
D. Laboury, A. Devillers, "The Ancient Egyptian Artist, A Non-Existing Social Category?", in N. Ben-Marzouk, D. Candelora, K. Cooney (eds.), *(Re)Building Ancient Egyptian Society: Challenging Assumptions, Exploring Approaches*, Routledge, in press.

LANGE, SCHÄFER 1902
H.O. Lange, H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo, part I: Text zu No. 20001-20399*, CGC, Berlin, 1902.

LANGE, SCHÄFER 1908
H.O. Lange, H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reich sim Museum von Kairo, part II: Text zu No. 20400-20780,* CGC, Berlin, 1908.

VON LIEVEN 2007
A. von Lieven, "Im Schatten des Goldhauses. Berufsgeheimnis und Handwerkerinitiation im Alten Ägypten", *SAK* 36, 2007, pp. 147–155.

LUFT 2011
U. Luft, "Die Stele des *Sn-nfr* in Deir el-Bersha und ihr Verhältnis zur Chronologie des Neuen Reiches", in Z. Hawass, J. Houser Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, vol. I, Cairo, 2011, pp. 333–374.

MARIETTE 1880
A. Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville*, Paris, 1880.

MARTIN 2012
G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary*, London, 2012.

MÖLLER 1909
G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie: Die Aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur Römischen Kaiserzeit*, part I, Leipzig, 1909.

NEWBERRY 1895
P.E. Newberry, *El Bersheh, Part I: The Tomb of Tehutihetep*, London, 1895.

NEWBERRY 1908
P.E. Newberry, *Scarabs: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian Seals and Signet Rings*, London, 1908.

NEWBERRY, GRIFFITH 1893
P.E. Newberry, F.L. Griffith, *Beni Hasan, Part I*, ASEg 1, London, 1893.

PETRIE, MURRAY 1952
W.F. Petrie, A.A. Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, London, 1952.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

Pieke 2016
G. Pieke, "Playing with Traditions: The Decoration of Djehutyhotep II's Tomb at Deir el-Bersha Reconsidered", in L. Hudákov, P. Jánosi, A. Kahlbacher (eds.), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art: Proceedings of the Meketre Study Day Held at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 3rd May 2013*, MKS 4, London, 2016, pp. 95–107.

Quirke 2003
S. Quirke, "« Art » and « the Artist » in Late Middle Kingdom Administrations", in S. Quirke (ed.), *Discovering Egypt from the Neva: The Egyptological Legacy of Oleg D. Berlev*, Berlin, 2003, pp. 85–103.

Ragazoli 2016
C. Ragazzoli, "« The Pen Promoted my Station ». Scholarship and Distinction in New Kingdom Biographies", in K. Ryholt, G. Barjamovic (eds.), *Problems of Canonicity and Identity Formation in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia*, Copenhagen, 2016, pp. 153–178.

Rigault, Delange 2009
P. Rigault, É. Delange, "Le lit funéraire de Djéhoutyhotep (Louvre AF 9170)", *RdE* 60, 2009, pp. 63–110.

Rizzo 2015
J. Rizzo, "À propos de *sanx*, « faire vivre », et de ses dérivés", *ENiM* 8, 2015, pp. 73–101.

Schenkel 1962
W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien,* Bonn, 1962.

Seigneau 2018
K. Seigneau, "The Representation of Materials, an Example of Circulations of Formal Models among Workmen: An Insight into the New Kingdom Practices", in G. Miniaci, J.C. Moreno Garcia, S. Quirke, A. Stauder (eds.), *The Arts of Making in Ancient Egypt: Voices, Images, and Objects of Material Producers 2000-1550 BC*, Leiden, 2018, pp. 225–237.

Simpson 1974
W.K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*, New Haven, Philadelphia, 1974.

Smith 1951
W.S. Smith, "Paintings of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom at Bersheh", *AJA* 55/4, 1951, pp. 321–332.

Spiegelberg, Pörtner 1902
W. Spiegelberg, B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen*, Strassburg, 1902.

Stauder 2014a
A. Stauder, "Linguistic Dissonance in Sinuhe", dans H.M. Hays, F. Feder, L.D. Morenz (eds.), *Interpretations of Sinuhe: Inspired by two Passages – Proceedings of a Workshop held at Leiden University, 27-29 November 2009*, EgUit 27, Leuven, 2014, pp. 173–188.

Stauder 2014b
A. Stauder, *The Earlier Egyptian Passive: Voice and Perspective*, LingAeg-StudMon 14, Hamburg, 2014.

Stauder 2018
A. Stauder, "Staging Restricted Knowledge: The Sculptor Irtysen's Self-Presentation (ca. 2000 BC)", in G. Miniaci, J.C. Moreno Garcia, S. Quirke, A. Stauder (eds.), *The Arts of Making in Ancient Egypt: Voices, Images, and Objects of Material Producers 2000-1550 B.C.*, Leiden, 2018, pp. 239–271.

Stefanovic 2012
D. Stefanovic, "*sš qdw.t* – The Attestations from the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period", in K.A. Kothay (ed.), *Art and Society: Ancient and Modern Contexts of Egyptian Art*, Budapest, 2012, pp. 185–198.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

SYKORA et al. in press
T. Sykora, R. De Lima Hernadez, M. De Meyer, M. Vergauwen, H. Willems, "Puzzling Tombs: Virtual Reconstruction of the Middle Kingdom Elite Necropolis at Dayr al-Barsha (Middle Egypt)", in R. Lucarelli, J. Roberson, S. Vinson (eds.), *Ancient Egypt and New Technology: The Present and Future of Computer Visualization, Virtual Reality and other Digital Humanities in Egyptology – Proceedings of a Conference Held in Bloomington, Indiana, 29-30 March 2019*, HES, Leiden, in press.

VERNUS 1986
P. Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire. Répertoire, procédés d'expression et structures de la double identité du début de la XII^e dynastie à la fin de la XVII^e dynastie*, Rome, 1986.

VOGEL 2018
C. Vogel, "20 years of Silence? The Assumed Long-lasting Coregency of Senusret III with Amenemhat III – Additional Thoughts", in T. Bács, Á. Bollók, T. Vida (eds.), *Across the Mediterranean – Along the Nile: Studies in Egyptology, Nubiology and Late Antiquity Dedicated to László Török on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday*, vol. 1, Budapest, 2018, pp. 225–232.

WARD 1982
W.A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, with a Glossary of Words and Phrases used*, Beirut, 1982.

WARE 1927
E.W. Ware, "Egyptian Artists' Signatures", *AJSL* 43/3, 1927, pp. 185–207.

WEGNER 1996
J.W. Wegner, "The Nature and Chronology of the Senwosret III-Amenemhat III Regnal Succession: Some Considerations Based on New Evidence From the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos", *JNES* 55/4, 1996, pp. 249–279.

WILLEMS 1983
H. Willems, "A Description of Egyptian Kinship Terminology of the Middle Kingdom c. 2000-1650 B.C.", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 's-Gravenhage* 139/1, 1983, pp. 152–168.

WILLEMS 1983-1984
H. Willems, "The Nomarchs of the Hare Nome and Early Middle Kingdom History", *JVEG* 28, 1983-1984, pp. 80–102.

WILLEMS 2021
H. Willems, "Djoser's Complex as a Source of Inspiration for the Decoration of Private Coffins in the Middle Kingdom", in A. Jimenez-Serrano, A.J. Morales (eds.), *Middle Kingdom Palace Culture and its Echoes in the Provinces: Regional Perspectives and Realities*, Leiden, Boston, 2021, pp. 462–481.

ZIEGLER 1990
C. Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire vers 2686-2040 avant J.-C.*, Paris, 1990.

ZIVIE 2013
A. Zivie, *La tombe de Thoutmes, directeur des peintres dans la Place de Maât (BUB.I.19)*, Toulouse, 2013.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net