



THE ARTS OF MAKING IN ANCIENT EGYPT

VOICES, IMAGES, AND OBJECTS OF
MATERIAL PRODUCERS 2000–1550 BC

edited by
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The Artistic Copying Network Around the Tomb of Pahery in Elkab (EK3)

A New Kingdom case study

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Abstract

Through a case study of the artistic copying network around the tomb of Pahery in Elkab (EK 3), this paper aims to illustrate the circulation of knowledge via iconographic patterns in Ancient Egypt. As will be highlighted, this phenomenon is closely linked with the process of creativity. After describing the different tombs related to EK 3, I will attempt to identify two artists behind the iconographic program of those funerary chapels. Finally, in order to create “analogy-bridges” which may provide food for thought for Egyptology, the productive copy process and the idea of creativity will be briefly compared with a Western Renaissance context.

Keywords: artist, copy, Elkab, iconography, icons (circulation of), identity, intericonicity, Pahery.

Introduction

Evidence for the transmission of iconographic patterns in artistic copies exists in the Middle Kingdom. This is the case, for instance, with the famous tombs of Ihy and Hetep (Saqqarah), as well as of Djehutyhotep (Deir el-Bersha) (Freed 2000; Piek 2016). However, the state of the documentation does not allow us to follow the details of the mechanism of transmission of the iconographic motifs, nor to reach the level of the artists’ choices behind their compositions.



Figure 1: Pahery represented as a painter in his grandfather's tomb
(© MANT – Ulg).

A case study of the New Kingdom copying network around the tomb of Pahery in Elkab, although slightly outside the chronological focus of this volume, allows us to track the circulation of patterns that could have applied equally as well to the Middle Kingdom. An analysis of four tombs enables us to identify two artists behind those iconographic programs. Indeed, if the preconception that “Egyptian art is an art without artists” has endured since antiquity (Davis 1979), recent studies (Laboury 2016; Laboury in press) tend to reveal the existence of identifiable artistic individuals. Studying the circulation of motifs allows us to understand and identify specific artists’ identities and sensibilities, here those of Pahery of Elkab (fig. 1) and Meryre of Esna.

After describing Pahery’s funerary chapel, each tomb connected to it will be considered. Parallels and distinctions will be drawn and a characterization of the circulation of iconographic patterns will be suggested, including its motivations. Then, I will draw attention to two artists’ identities and link the productive copy process¹ with the notion of “intericonicity”² and the concept of “creativity” in Ancient Egyptian perspective. Finally, from the perspective of a transcultural study, we will

1 That is to say using a partial artistic copy to construct an iconographic thesaurus in which patterns are chosen to create a new composition (Auclair 2010, 8; Laboury in press).

2 On this concept, see Laboury 2017.



Figure 2: General view of Pahery's tomb (© MANT – Ulg).

briefly consider the Western Renaissance, which may be generative of further comparative methodologies in Egyptology.

Pahery's tomb (EK 3)

Brief description of EK 3³

Pahery's tomb (EK 3) (fig. 2) was cut in a terrace of the sandstone hill at the northern-east of the ancient city of Elkab. Other tombs relevant to our study were also built there, including, from south to north: Reneny's tomb (EK 7), that of Ahmose son of Ibana (EK 5) and the tomb of Setau (EK 4).

The exterior door was carved with reliefs representing Pahery in the offering attitude. The tomb owner is also depicted adoring the sun, on the triangular wall on the right-hand side of the door. The left front wall of the tomb is quite damaged and the right one represents Pahery, staff in hand, facing the door. The south wall of the tomb is dedicated to Pahery's official biography and to funerary scenes. A niche is carved in the west wall surrounded by an autobiographical text of thirty lines. On the north wall, a banquet scene is depicted along with a scene where Pahery is worshipping different divinities in company with his wife. A famous corpus of "Reden und Rufe" enliven all these painted reliefs (Guglielmi 1973; Vernus 2009-2010).

3 General data come from Tylor and Griffith 1894 and Tylor 1895.

Pahery of Elkab's identity

Pahery's titles appear in his tomb as well as in his grandfather's, Ahmose son of Ibana. He was a painter ("sš-ḳd n 'Imn"), a scribe accountant of grain ("sš hšb it"), a [confidant of] the treasurer ("[mh-ib n] imy-r hmt"), and later, governor of Elkab and Esna ("ḥꜣty-ꜥ n Nḥb ḥꜣty-ꜥ n ꜥnyt") and chief of Nekhbet's priests ("imy-r ḥmw-ntr n Nḥbt") (Davies 2009, 142; Merzeban 2014, 351). Thus, Pahery had a singular career as an artist who became governor of an important nome in the beginning of the 18th dynasty.

From a chronological point of view, we must use incidental data⁴. Pahery's father, Itireri, was the tutor of prince Wadjmose, a son of Thutmose I (ca. 1493-1483 BC).⁵ Royal tutors were generally older, experienced men (Roehrig 1990, 325-326). We can thus assume that Pahery must have been slightly older than the children of this king. Therefore, Pahery began his career not later than the first years of the reign of Thutmose III (ca. 1479-1425 BC).

An extended artistic copying network: the tombs undoubtedly connected with EK 3

The tomb of Wensu (TT A4)

Description⁶

The tomb of Wensu, a scribe accountant of grain who was a contemporary of Pahery, and his colleague, is currently lost. Nevertheless, some fragments of it are preserved in the Louvre Museum. Combining 19th century travellers' notebooks with the sketches made by R. Hay and H. Burton, L. Manniche (Manniche 1988, 62-87) was able to identify the different iconographic scenes and propose an approximative location of the tomb at Dra Abou el-Naga.

TT A4 is a T-shaped tomb with, on the left side of the broad hall, a funerary banquet, a vineyard and a fishing scene, as well as the depiction of a market supervised by the mayor of Thebes, Siuser. On the right-hand side of this hall, the official life of Wensu was depicted with agricultural scenes connected with boats being loaded with grain⁷ and scenes of fishing and hunting in the desert. In the inner room, the right side depicts the rituals being performed in front of the tomb owner's mummy while the left side represents funerary scenes and adoration of deities.

Circulation of iconographic motifs: differences and similarities with EK 3

There are a number of iconographic and textual similarities in the agricultural and funerary scenes of EK 3 and TT A4 (Manniche 1988; Merzeban 2014; Laboury in press).

For example, in TT A4's agricultural scenes, the general composition is the same as for EK 3 (fig. 3): one register is dedicated to the *peret*-season activities

4 I thank D. Laboury for his help concerning this chronological demonstration.

5 All the chronological data comes from Hornung, Krauss and Warburton 2006, 492.

6 General data come from Manniche 1988.

7 D. Laboury suggested a new display of the fragments preserved at the Louvre Museum and he located the depiction of boats on top of the agricultural scenes (Laboury in press).

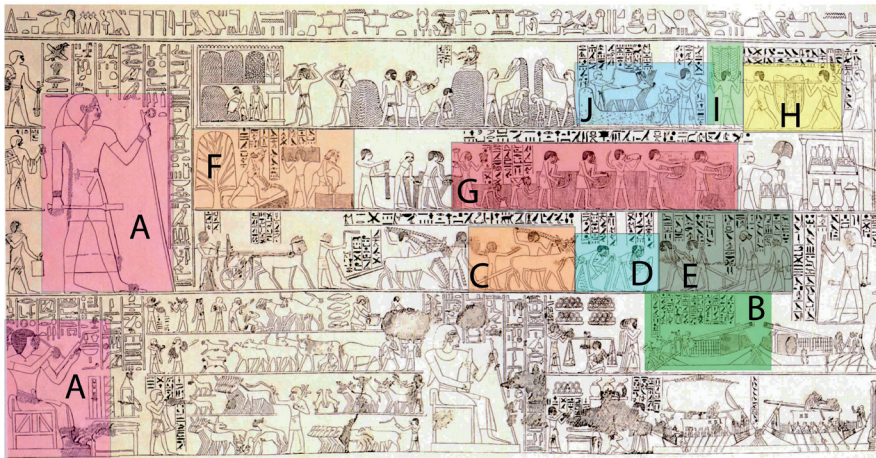


Figure 3: Comparison between EK 3 and TT A4's agricultural scenes (© Musée du Louvre/ Christian Décamps and Tylor and Griffith 1894 pl. III).

and two others for those of *shemu*-season. Moreover, unusual patterns such as the plough tracked by four men are copied (fig. 3, E). Nevertheless, we may observe iconographic variations in the copying of every register. The owner is not standing but seated on a chair very similar to the one used by Pahery in the cattle registration scene (fig. 3, A). There is also a modification of the ploughman's hair and a change in the small sower's position (fig. 3, E). Furthermore, the two small gleaners of the second register were reversed (fig. 3, G) and the grain bag bringer on the first one turns his bag over his head in TT A4 (fig. 3, I).

The scene of the boat loaded with grain is also similar to the one of EK 3 (fig. 4). Nevertheless, once again, iconographic modifications must be noticed. An overseer was added at the bottom of a dock that is more detailed in TT A4 (fig. 4, B1). Instead of the two bag bringers walking in a single line in EK 3, we encounter only two men walking side-by-side in TT A4 (fig. 4, B2). A man with an empty bag was also appended on the deck of the boat (fig. 4, B4) as were the birds on the paddles (fig. 4, B5).

There are also similarities and variations on the same theme in the corpus of "Reden und Rufe" (fig. 5) as well as in the scene's title (fig. 5, A) which uses, in both tombs, the rather unusual word "*jtrw*". The exclamation of the ploughman on the third register, "Now, I shall do more than my work for this noble man" (fig. 5, C), is a variation on

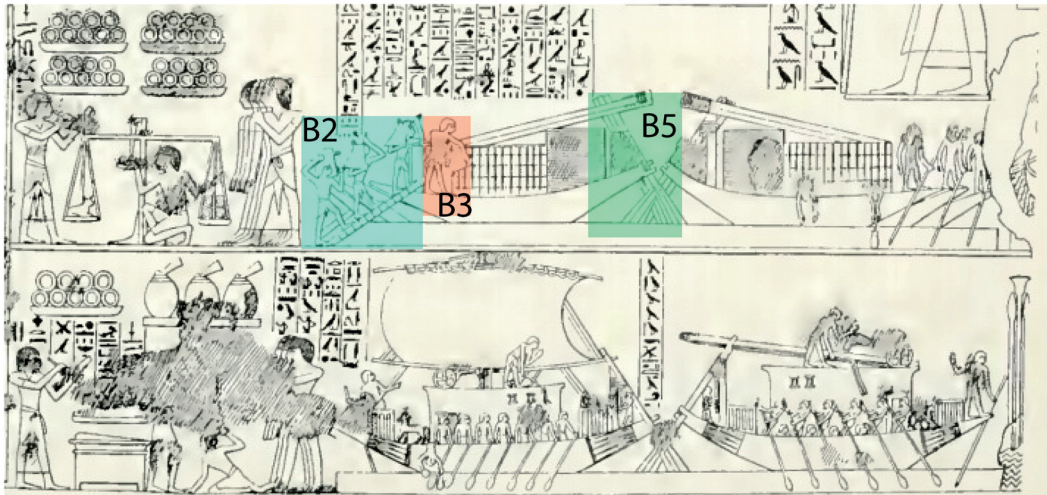


Figure 4: Comparison between EK 3's and TT A4's boat scenes (© Musée du Louvre/Christian Décamps and © MANT-Ulg).



Figure 5: TT A4's discourses (© Musée du Louvre/Christian Décamps and Tylor and Griffith 1894 pl. III).

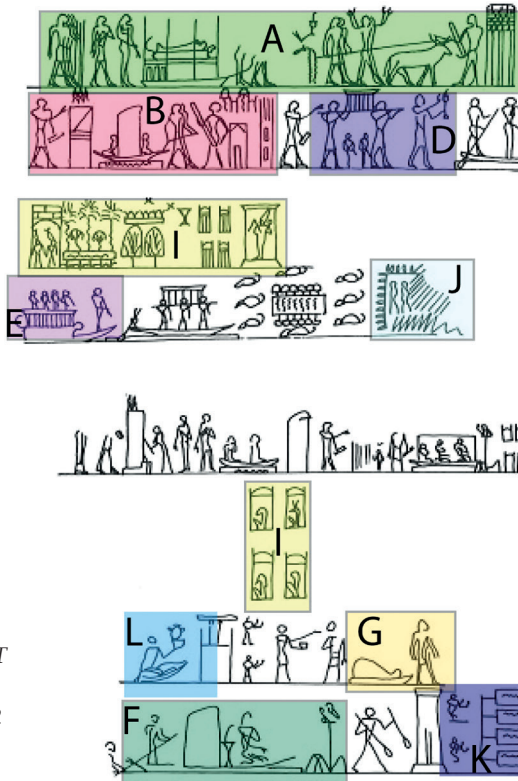
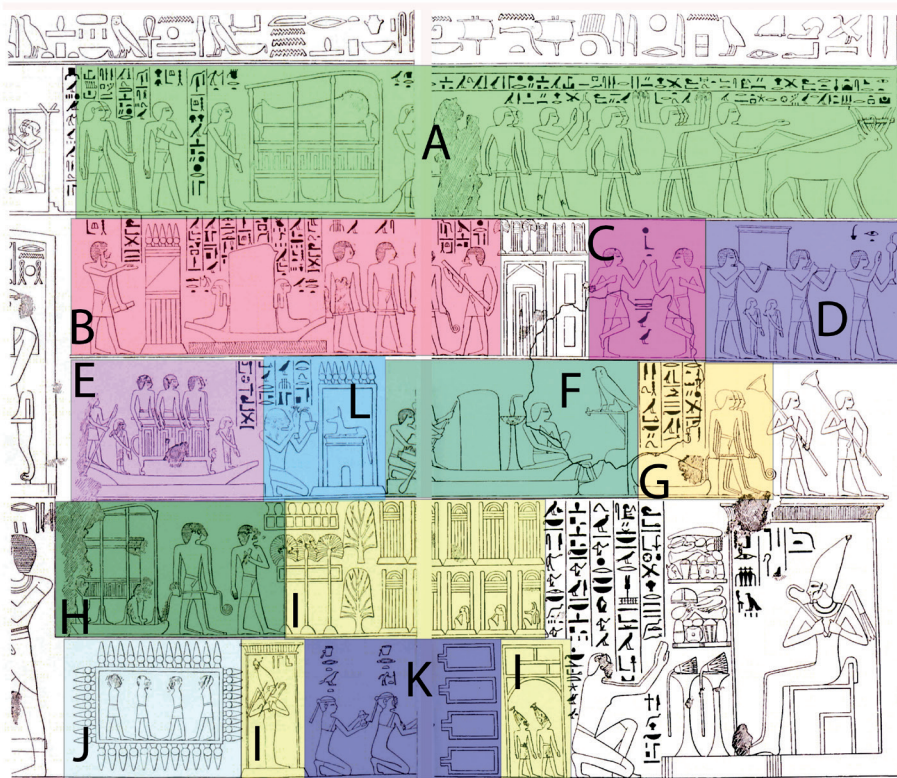


Figure 6: Comparison between EK 3's and TT A4's funerary scenes (Manniche 1988 pl. 12 fig. 23 and Tylor and Griffith 1894 pl. V).

the words of another worker in EK 3. Concerning the dialogue between the young sower and the old ploughman at the right of the third register in TT A4, the only thing we can read for certain is a variation of the old man's answer: "How excellent is your exclamation, my child. The day is beautiful, free of worries..." (fig. 5, B). The two gleaners' dialogue of TT A4 is incomplete, but it seems very similar to its equivalent in EK 3 (fig. 5, D). There are also textual similarities with orthographical variations in the boat scene, even if the title of the scene is quite different (Merzeban 2014, 354).

The funerary scenes (fig. 6) are now completely lost but we can attempt to reconstruct it thanks to the sketches made by R. Hay. Here, the iconographic groups are the same in both tombs, but their locations are different.

We can also observe some similarities in the butchery scene, where the two offering bearers and the tomb owners are depicted as a couple.

Preliminary conclusion

Concerning the chronology of the copying, the more likely explanation is to assume that TT A4 preceded EK 3, both on iconographical and textual grounds (Laboury in press).⁸ To understand TT A4 as a predecessor to EK 3, we have to keep in mind that Pahery, owner of EK 3, was a "painter of Amun" in a previous stage of his career and thus might very well have personally decorated TT A4, the tomb of one of his colleagues in the administration of grain accounting in the Theban region. He then might have re-used in his own tomb a part of this iconographic program which he – probably – created himself.

Nevertheless, whatever the copying direction, a real iconographic connection undoubtedly existed between EK 3 and TT A4: the agricultural and boat schemes as the funerary scenes were displayed with few variations. We can thus infer the use of drafts because of the degree of details in the copied work (Manniche 1988, 86) and the "reorganisation register by register" which supposed that "the copying medium took the form of separated strips, like papyrus rolls – or long pieces of leather, textile or any other recording material" (Laboury in press).

Setau's tomb (EK 4)

Description

Setau's tomb is located south of EK 3. Setau was the High priest of Nekhbet for about fifty years, between *ca.* 1175 and 1122 BC (Kruchten and Delvaux 2010, 184-185). The dating of the tomb is secured by the iconographic evocation of Ramses III's Sed Festival and the "signatures" of Meryre of Esna, who was responsible for the decoration of the tomb.

The front wall shows offering scenes and the so-called "second signature"⁹ of Meryre. The south wall depicts the representation of the round trip to Pi-Ramses for Ramses III's Sed Festival, the agricultural work of *shemou* and *peret* accompanied by the cattle registration and funerary scenes. The north wall displays the funerary banquet,

8 I thank Jean Winand for pointing out some textual evidences on the subject.

9 J.-M. Kruchten and L. Delvaux developed this terminology not based on chronological facts (Kruchten and Delvaux 2010).

the owners worshipping Ra and the “first signature” of Meryre. A prayer to Nekhbet with his so-called “third signature” (a colophon) is written on the west wall.

Circulation of iconographic motifs: differences and similarities with EK 3
 As was also the case for TT A4, the similarities between EK 3 and EK 4 are both textual and iconographic (Manniche 1988; Merzeban 2014; Laboury 2016). We can observe it in the agricultural and funerary scenes, in the banquet tableau as well as in the worship scene.

With regard to the agricultural scenes (fig. 7), the *shemu*-season work is shown here on a single register and the workers’ song is reduced to two lines (fig. 7, A) (compared to eight in Pahery’s tomb). There is a change of tone in this discourse: it sounds like an encouragement for the oxen to eat while it is a reprimand in EK 3 (Kruchten and Delvaux 2010, 122). The cattle registration scene (fig. 7, C) and the *peret*-season work (fig. 7, B) are partially copied and, in both tombs, this agricultural scene is shown on one single register.

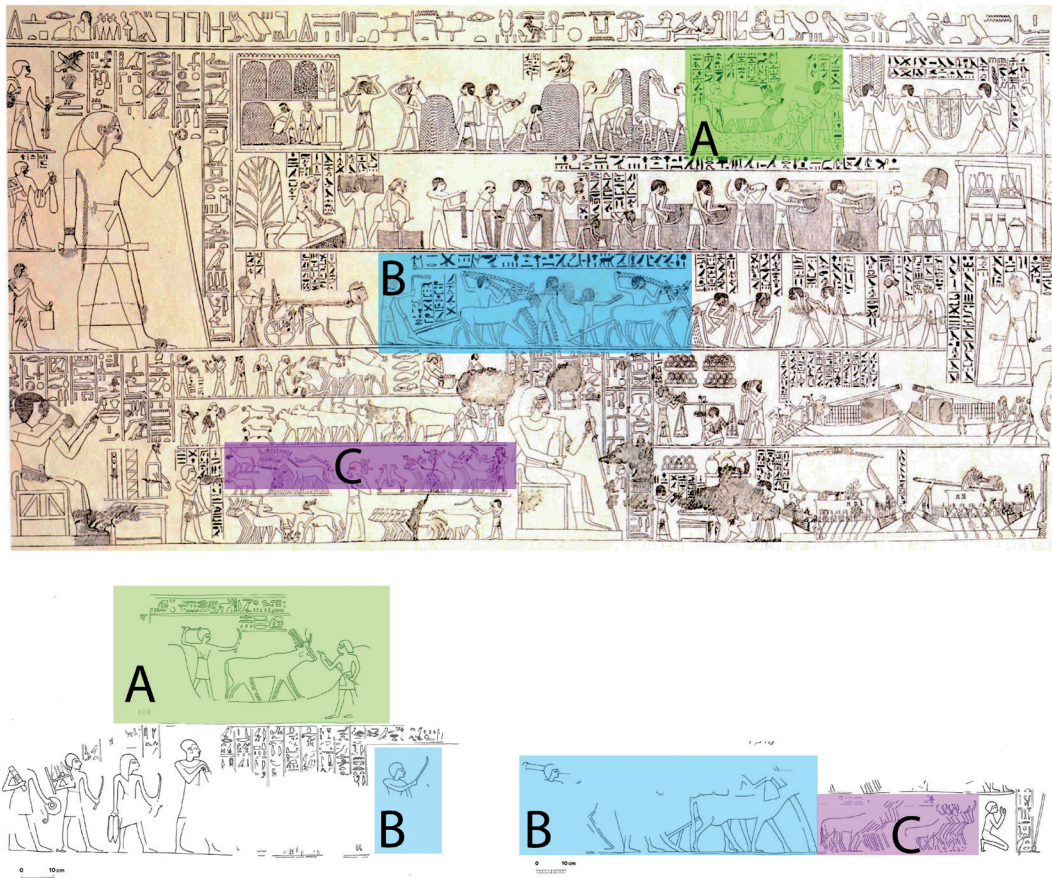


Figure 7: Comparison between EK 3's and EK 4's agricultural scenes (Kruchten and Delvaux 2010 pl. 29 and 31 and Tylor and Griffith 1894 pl. III).

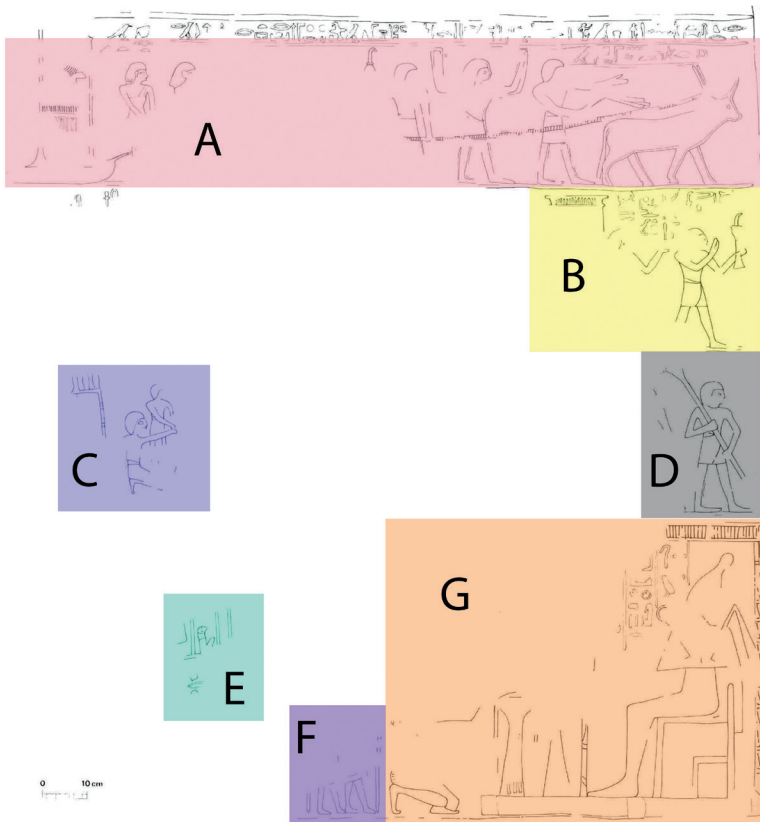
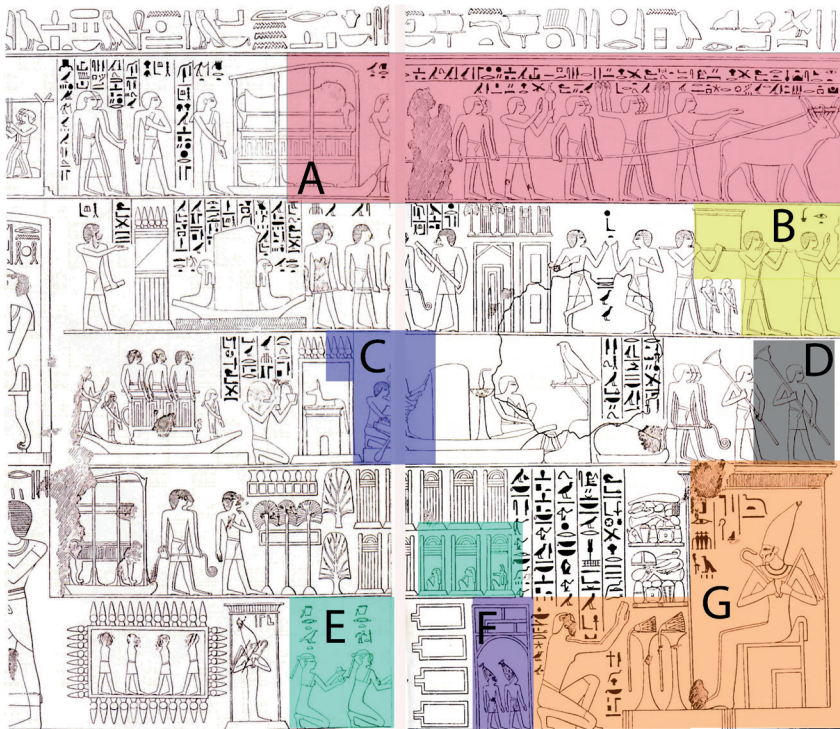


Figure 8:
Comparison between EK 3's and EK 4's funerary scenes (Kruchten and Delvaux 2010 pl. 33 and Tylor and Griffith 1894 pl. V).



Figure 9: Comparison between EK 3's and EK 4's north wall (Kruchten and Deloaux 2010 pl. 13, 15, 17, 19, 21 and 23 and Tylor and Griffith 1894 pl. VI-VIII).

The funerary scenes are exact copies (fig. 8): we can see coffin transportation (fig. 8, A), the shrine carriers (fig. 8, B), a barge rower (fig. 8, C) and the last register composition is the same (fig. 8, E, F, G).

The north wall scenes are structured like those in EK 3 (fig. 9): there is an offering to the tomb owners (fig. 9, A) with the funerary banquet (fig. 9, B, C) and the tomb owner worshipping Ra with his wife (fig. 9, D). Moreover, we should note the degree of details on the copy of the offering table (fig. 9, D): each element is reproduced with precision. Only the butchery scene is missing.

Preliminary conclusion

Setau chose to copy the iconographic scheme and the general layout of the neighbouring tomb of Pahery. Here, the location of EK 4 south of EK 3 certainly facilitated the transmission of motifs. Nevertheless, in this process of circulation of patterns, he decided to change elements of EK 3's program for three main reasons (Kruchten and Delvaux 2010, 23). First, his own career and family obviously required changing the names and the "autobiographical" inscriptions to create a new scene and to add the depiction of the journey to Pi-Ramses for the Sed festival of Ramses III. Second, EK 4 is smaller than Pahery's tomb. Third, he opted for a Ramesside stylistic updating of EK 3's iconographic composition. Through this updating of EK 3's iconographic scheme, Setau decided to link himself with his famous predecessor Pahery and bore witness to the interest aroused by this governor and ex-painter's tomb.

The fourth tomb in Pahery's funerary chapel network: the tomb of Reneny (EK 7)

*Description*¹⁰

At the south end of the same terrace lies Reneny's tomb, the last monument that may be involved in this artistic copying network. Reneny was the governor of Elkab at the beginning of the 18th dynasty, following his father, Sobekhotep (Davies 2010, 237). By writing a *graffito* in EK 10, he connected himself with the family of Sobeknakht, which counted several governors of Elkab during the 17th dynasty (Marciniak 1981a; 1981b; 1986).

The layout of EK 7 is the same as in EK 3 and EK 4.¹¹ The tomb was decorated with carved reliefs and painted elements. The south wall shows agricultural scenes, cattle registration, boats loaded with grain and a funerary banquet. A niche with the tomb owner's statue is surrounded by six offering bearers and Reneny worshipping Amenhotep I's cartouche. The north wall depicts a second funerary banquet in smaller dimensions with ritual and funerary scenes converging on the deity of the West.

10 General data come from Tylor 1900.

11 Tombs with one room, usually a niche and additional pits at the end of the right wall seem to be the traditional layout at Elkab.

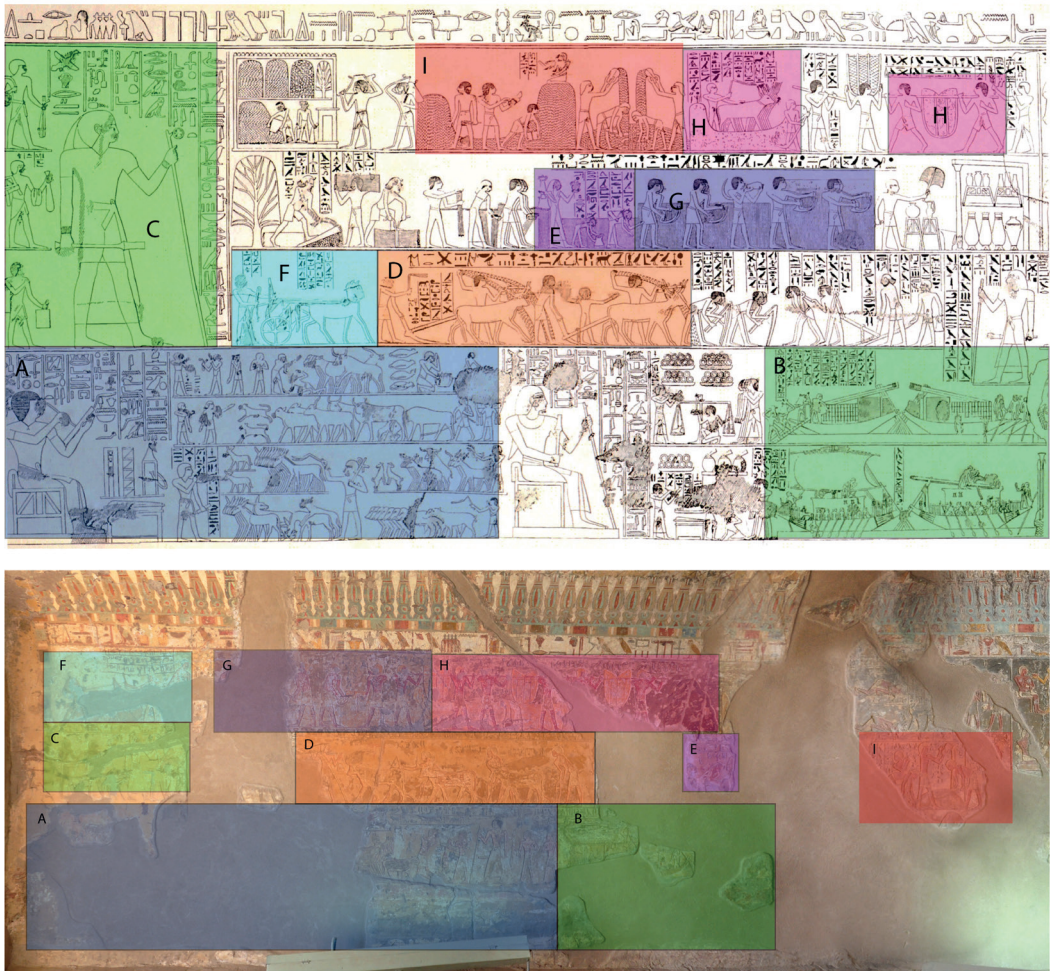


Figure 10: Comparison between EK 3's and EK 4's agricultural scene (© MANT – Ulg and Tylor and Griffith 1894 pl. III).

Circulation of iconographic motifs: differences and similarities with EK 3
 F. Ll. Griffith pointed out, in 1900, the similarities between EK 3 and EK 7 (Tylor 1900, 1), that is to say a partial copy of the general layout of the iconographic scheme (fig. 10).

Pahery probably took inspiration from the side-by-side representation of cattle in the cattle registration (fig. 10, A) and the boats loaded with grain (fig. 10, B). He also rearranged several iconographic groups or elements: in EK 7, the chariot conductor is in the first register (fig. 10, F) as are the men with sickle (fig. 10, G) and the group with the small figures of gleaners is in the second register (fig. 10, E) with the grain measure scene (fig. 10, I).

It seems that EK 3's funerary banquet was influenced by the first one in EK 7, on the south wall: the tomb owners seated above a small baboon are in front of two couples and behind, there are four rows of guests.

Nevertheless, there is no general similarity with regard to the funerary scenes. At the most, there is the reuse of the coffin pullers, the “*mww*” dancers, the shrine bringers, the *tekenu* and the garden patterns.

There are also “Reden und Rufe”, but we cannot point out any real similarity with the ones in EK 3. It may be the first example of agricultural work brightened by “Arbeiterreden” since the Middle Kingdom.¹²

Preliminary conclusion

The iconographic themes of EK 7 are more developed than those of EK 3, particularly in the agricultural and funerary scenes. We can also observe more creativity in the general layout of the EK 3’s scenes, while those of EK 7 are more conventional.

Pahery, as the likely designer of his own tomb, seems to have taken inspiration from EK 7. The main goal of this copy was probably to connect himself with an ancient governor of Elkab (by reusing some iconographic patterns and by his tomb’s location) and to integrate his tomb in the monumental landscape of Elkab’s elite cemetery (notably by the localisation of his tomb and by its general iconographic layout).

Two artists’ individualities: Pahery of Elkab and Meryre of Esna

In the context of this artistic copying network, Pahery’s identity, so nicely illustrated in his tomb, would need a deeper understanding of the image he wanted to convey of himself through his iconographic biography displayed in his memorial. Nevertheless, this undertaking would necessitate the study of another monument undoubtedly realized by Pahery himself: his grandfather’s tomb (EK 5), but this is beyond the scope of this paper and I will come back to it in a forthcoming monograph devoted to a monumental biography of Pahery. At this point, we have to notice, as already underlined, that Pahery had a singular career: he started his professional life as a painter of Amun (“*sš-ḳd n Imn*”), *i. e.* in Thebes, and a scribe accountant of grain and became governor of Elkab and Esna. It is clear that there are traces of his former job depicted in his tomb: one would be tempted to see in the incredibly detailed reliefs of EK 3 the aesthetical choices of a former “*sš ḳd*”. Pahery chose to integrate his tomb in the Elkab monumental landscape (general layout of the tomb, localisation near an ancient governor’s funerary memorial) and undoubtedly reused iconographic patterns of, at least, one monument made by himself, TT A4.

In order to understand this copying phenomenon, we must consider another artistic individuality, that of Meryre of Esna. Thanks to his multiple “signatures”, we can establish that he was a member of the clergy of Khnum and designed – at least – a private tomb as a side business (Kruchten and Delvaux 2010, 208). Even if it is the tomb owner who decided to copy the iconographic scheme of Pahery’s tomb (Laboury 2016, 393), Meryre of Esna had the opportunity to leave his marks with his “signatures”, but also his adaptations and additions (Kruchten and Delvaux 2010, 209-210; Laboury 2016). The claim of Meryre, “it is his own heart that conducts himself, there is no superior’s mouth of a superior that instructs him”, could be thus interpreted as the expression of his will to position himself *vis-à-vis* Pahery, his distant colleague (Laboury 2016, 393-396).

12 I thank Aurore Motte, research fellow E.R.S-FNRS for this information (conversation of 15/09/16).

Conclusion

This brief study points out different copying methods that allowed the circulation of iconographic motifs: the copy can be applied to only one register, an entire wall or a peculiar iconographic detail that was rearranged in a new composition (Merzeban 2014, 341). In the case of Reneny's tomb, it is possible that the copy was made from tomb to tomb, without any copying *inter-medium*, since it is fundamentally only the iconographic concept that was borrowed. Nevertheless, given the degree of detail of some copies (such as the one linking TT A4 and EK 4), we must admit the use of *ostraca* or *papyri* or some other kind of copying media in other cases (Manniche 1988, 86; Pieke in press).

Other cases of circulation of iconographic patterns are attested (Merzeban 2014; Laboury in press; Pieke in press) and supported the hypothesis which assumes that it was the tomb owners who decided to reuse patterns selected for different reasons, for instance the desire to link themselves with a predecessor (Merzeban 2014, 341).

Given the negative connotation and the restrictiveness of the term of “copy”, scholars recently introduced to Egyptological discourse the notion of “intericonicity” or “interpictoriality” (Laboury 2015; Laboury in press; Pieke in press). This notion is closely linked to the concept of creativity (Laboury 2012; Laboury in press; Pieke in press). Indeed, despite a long-lasting preconception argues that there is no creativity in ancient Egyptian art (Laboury in press), the re-appropriation of iconographic patterns by the productive copy process (intertwined with the very concept of “intericonicity”), *i.e.* the practical articulation between tradition and innovations, exactly defines the “creative” process in ancient Egyptian art (Laboury 2015, 336; Laboury in press; Pieke in press). Indeed, the images were always in motion and are reused for their symbolic value in a persistent tradition (Pieke in press). As D. Laboury wrote, “tradition does not impede creativity but constitutes the necessary background for its development” (Laboury in press). Thus, these “phenomena of transmission”, attested in our case study, shape and are at the centre of the ancient Egyptian concept of creativity (Laboury 2012; Laboury 2015; Laboury 2016; Laboury in press; Pieke in press).

As mentioned above, the history of Renaissance art might provide food for thought for Egyptology, as a way of re-thinking the importance of the productive copies and the artist's status. In an anthropological and transcultural perspective, we can integrate a microstructure (the Theban necropolis and the necropolis of Elkab at the beginning of the 18th dynasty) within a macrostructure (the creativity process, the productive copy and the transmission of patterns underlined by this concept) to create “analogy-bridges”. Nevertheless, it is obviously necessary to adapt our point of view for each case study. I chose here to approach briefly the case of the Western Renaissance. As was the case in the New Kingdom, the Renaissance was a period when the productive practice of copying was quite common (for instance, see the case of Peter Paul Rubens' theory and practices of copying quoted by D. Laboury, in Laboury in press). According to V. Auclair, the main motivations behind creativity in Renaissance art were the apparition of perspective and the phenomenon of “productive copy” (Auclair 2010, 17). This phenomenon was so important for this period that one can draw parallels and comparisons with the Ancient Egyptian practice.

As it was during the Renaissance (Auclair 2010, 32-33), productive copying was, in ancient Egypt, a part of the artist's education (Laboury 2013b). This practice was integrated into the creativity process and enabled, during the Renaissance, the production of "carnet de modèles" or pattern books. As we saw, the use of this kind of media in Ancient Egypt can be deduced by the accuracy of the copy of some artistic patterns (Manniche 1988, 86; Laboury in press; Pieke in press). During the Renaissance, "la constitution d'un répertoire soumettait presque toujours les prototypes copiés à une perte de leur identité originelle" (Auclair 2010, 85) but it was not always the same in the Ancient Egyptian context. Indeed, it is clear that the obviousness of the copy was sometimes chosen by the noble and that the deliberate reuse of ancient patterns here underlies the creativity process (see above). In this context, we can assume that the prototype kept its identity.

Besides, we can also note, for both periods, the emergence of real artistic individualities, recognized as such by the society. With regard to the Renaissance, the case of Giorgio Vasari is quite emblematic of this phenomenon. As a celebrated artist of his time, he was the creator of the iconographic program of his own houses that were a real testimony for the posterity, just as ancient Egyptian tombs were. The frescoes in these mansions were influenced by the masterpieces that Vasari saw and realized during his numerous travels (De Girolami Cheney 2006, 54-70). Highly intellectualized, some paintings truly depicted the concept theorized by Giorgio Vasari as "*ritratto*", "*imitazione*", "*guidizio*" and "*disegno*" (Jacobs 1983, 402). G. Vasari created the iconographic program of monuments emblematic of his personality with the same goal as did Pahery in his tomb: to remind the visitors of how prestigious the monument owner was.

In conclusion, the comparison between the pharaonic era and other cultural contexts, for instance the Renaissance period, seems to be a fertile ground for a better understanding of the artist's status, the creativity concept, and the transmission of motifs it underlines, in ancient Egypt.

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THE ARTS OF MAKING IN ANCIENT EGYPT

This book provides an innovative analysis of the conditions of ancient Egyptian craftsmanship in the light of the archaeology of production, linguistic analysis, visual representation and ethnographic research.

During the past decades, the “imaginative” figure of ancient Egyptian material producers has moved from “workers” to “artisans” and, most recently, to “artists”. In a search for a fuller understanding of the pragmatics of material production in past societies, and moving away from a series of modern preconceptions, this volume aims to analyse the mechanisms of material production in Egypt during the Middle Bronze Age (2000–1550 BC), to approach the profile of ancient Egyptian craftsmen through their own words, images and artefacts, and to trace possible modes of circulation of ideas among craftsmen in material production.

The studies in the volume address the mechanisms of ancient production in Middle Bronze Age Egypt, the circulation of ideas among craftsmen, and the profiles of the people involved, based on the material traces, including depictions and writings, the ancient craftsmen themselves left and produced.



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