

**A case study on intertextuality and textual  
transmission from the mid-Eighteenth-  
Dynasty Theban necropolis**

*A prt-m-t3* text in TT 95 and its later echo in TT 76

**Julianna Paksi**

*Textual Production and Textual Transmission* Workshop  
University of Liège, 9–10 November 2023

INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP

**TEXTUAL PRODUCTION  
AND TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION  
IN THE EIGHTEENTH-DYNASTY  
THEBAN NECROPOLIS**

9–10 NOVEMBER 2023

UNIVERSITY OF LIÈGE, SALLE BOVY (COMPLEXE OPÉRA)



## DAY 1 | THURSDAY 9 NOVEMBER 2023

8:30–9:00 Registration and coffee

9:00–9:15 Introduction

9:15–10:00 Dimitri LABOURY, University of Liège

***Creative borrowings in textual and iconographic programs of elite Theban tombs during the Eighteenth Dynasty***

10:00–10:45 Andréas STAUDER, École Pratique des Hautes Études – PSL, Paris

***Localized intertextuality: Two case studies***

10:45–11:15 Coffee break

11:15–12:00 José Miguel SERRANO DELGADO, University of Sevilla

***Ostraca figurés comme esquisses préparatoires ou copies préliminaires. Une étude de cas sur la base des tombes des Djéhouty (TT 11) et Hery (TT 12) à Dra Abou el-Naga***

12:00–14:00 Lunch break

14:00–14:45 Andrea LOPRIENO-GNIRS, University of Basel

***Record keeping on an Eighteenth-Dynasty tomb construction site***

14:45–15:30 Rune OLSEN, University of Copenhagen

***Social and artistic networks of Eighteenth-Dynasty Theban tomb owners***

15:30–16:00 Coffee break

16:00–16:45 Alexis DEN DONCKER, University of Basel

***Deir el-Bahari and the Theban necropolis in the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III: On the trail of common workshops***

16:45–17:30 Nico STARING, University of Liège

***Intericonic connections between the Theban and Memphite necropolises***

19:30 Workshop dinner

## DAY 2 | FRIDAY 10 NOVEMBER 2023

9:00–9:45 Anastasiia STUPKO-LUBCZYNSKA, Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw

***Middle Kingdom tombs of North Asasif as monumental pattern books in the Eighteenth-Dynasty Theban landscape***

9:45–10:30 Gabriele PIEKE, Reiss Engelhorn Museum, Mannheim

***A MONUMENTAL PICTURE BOOK: Investigating painted texts and images in the tomb of Sennefer (TT 96)***

10:30–11:00 Coffee break

11:00–11:45 Lucía DÍAZ-IGLESIAS LLANOS, Spanish National Research Council, Madrid

***Textual transmission in the burial chamber of Nakhtmin (TT 87): Patron, topics, traditions***

11:45–12:30 Julianna PAKSI, University of Liège

***A case study on intertextuality and textual transmission from the mid-Eighteenth-Dynasty Theban necropolis: A prt-m-t3 text in TT 95 and its later echo in TT 76***

12:30–14:30 Lunch break

14:30–15:15 Roman GUNDACKER, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

***Religious texts on the pillars in the tomb chapel of Amenemope (TT 29)***

15:15–16:00 Kata JASPER, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

***“Text sharing”: On certain texts in the neighbouring tomb chapels of Sobekhotep (TT 63), Nebamun/Imiseba (TT 65), Hapu (TT 66), and Hapuseneb (TT 67)***

16:00–16:30 Coffee break

16:30–17:15 Guilherme BORGES PIRES, NOVA University, Lisbon

***Between common phraseology and intertextuality: Preliminary notes on phraseological correspondences in New Kingdom Theban tombs’ creation hymns***

17:15–18:00 Aurore MOTTE, Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz

***Creativity, innovation, and tradition in the speech captions of the mid-Eighteenth-Dynasty Theban tombs***

18:00–18:30 Final discussion

## ABSTRACTS

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**Dimitri LABOURY**, *University of Liège*

***Creative borrowings in textual and iconographic programs of elite Theban tombs during the Eighteenth Dynasty***

Through the analysis of a selection of micro-art-historical cases, this contribution intends to investigate the phenomenon of creative borrowings in the decorative programs of elite Eighteenth-Dynasty tombs in the Theban necropolis. The question will be addressed with a special focus on how artists imitated or made use of the work of their predecessors, both in terms of practicalities as well as in the perspective of a better understanding of their creativity, how they conceived it, and how they selected their sources of inspiration.

**Andréas STAUDER**, *École Pratique des Hautes Études – PSL, Paris*

***Localized intertextuality: Two case studies***

Inscriptions can refer to other inscriptions present in the same place through aspects of both wording and epigraphic layout. While some of these local intertextual relations require that the inscriptions be read out, others can be directly seen. Particularly developed or otherwise remarkable inscriptions can have a founding effect in the local landscape. Other inscriptions, in gesturing toward these, insert themselves into a locally meaningful landscape. I will illustrate these dynamics with two cases studies: stelae in the Serabit el-Khadim in the first two decades of the reign of Amenemhat III and Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in the time from Hatshepsut to Amennhotep II.

**José Miguel SERRANO DELGADO**, *University of Sevilla*

***Ostraca figurés comme esquisses préparatoires ou copies préliminaires. Une étude de cas sur la base des tombes des Djéhouy (TT 11) et Hery (TT 12) à Dra Abou el-Naga***

Les ostraca figurés sont l'un des objets les plus récurrents dans les fouilles de la nécropole thébaine. Leur fonction et leur utilisations spécifiques font encore l'objet d'études et de discussions. Les fouilles espagnoles à Dra Abou el-Naga, dans le contexte des tombes de Djéhouy (TT 11) et Hery (TT 12), ont permis de retrouver un groupe singulier de ces ostraca avec des scènes reproduisant des motifs iconographiques des murs des tombes. Nous avons pu relier certains de ces ostraca directement à la décoration des TT 11 et TT 12. Et c'est pour cela qu'ils peuvent contribuer à une meilleure compréhension de la dynamique de travail des scribes, artistes, artisans, peintres et sculpteurs qui ont réalisé ces tombes, en révélant détails de leur travail, depuis les idées initiales, les avant-projets ou les esquisses, jusqu'aux dernières finitions sur les murs des tombes. Dans un cas, l'ostracon semble combiner image et texte, et présente une esquisse liée à l'ensemble exceptionnel de rituels funéraires qui décore la chapelle interne de la tombe de Djéhouy. Dans l'ensemble de la nécropole thébaine, ce répertoire iconographique se répète uniquement dans la TT 29 (Amenemope, et ici partiellement) et surtout dans la tombe de Montouherkhepeshef (TT 20), très proche de la TT 11, constituant un cas intéressant de transfert, copie et remaniement de motifs iconographiques d'une tombe à une autre voisine, qui mérite une étude monographique détaillée.

## **Andrea LOPRIENO-GNIRS, University of Basel**

### **Record keeping on an Eighteenth-Dynasty tomb construction site**

In the *longue durée* of the Theban necropolis as a funerary and religious landscape, Western Thebes periodically functioned as a hub of architectural, textual, and representational productivity and innovation, of which stone-built temples and rock-cut tombs provide ample evidence. These sites also operated as economic entities sharing the need for natural and manufactured resources as well as professional skills. Thus, they relied on food, artisan, and construction industries and a well-functioning bureaucratic coordination. During certain periods, remnants of the textual production reflecting those institutional interactions remained at the building sites after having fallen out of use. Hieratic ostraca bearing witness to the organization of construction work in the Theban necropolis are known, in particular, from the New Kingdom. Given the fact that they were left behind or discarded after they had fulfilled their purpose, they can be considered ephemeral or transitory in nature, but they are nonetheless part of the material textual variety emerging from the monumental landscape of Western Thebes. To this type of objects also belongs a small group of hieratic ostraca documenting the progress of construction work at the tomb of the high priest of Amun Mery (TT 95) during the later years of Amenhotep II. The seven inscribed limestone flakes were recovered by the archaeological mission of the Université libre de Bruxelles from the fills of a burial complex in TT 29, the tomb of Amenemope, another high titleholder of the same period; a publication of the ostraca co-authored by Laurent Bavay, Pierre Tallet and myself has been submitted to the CdÉ in September. The focus of my contribution to this workshop is on various material aspects of the production of Mery's ostraca, including differences observed in scribal practices that may suggest more than one executing hand, and on their respective purposes, which, as I will also argue, had an influence on the organization of the text contents, formats, and layouts. As a third and concluding point, I will discuss the possible chain of textual transmission between various types of construction records at the site and beyond, with an outlook on the dynamics of administrative record keeping at Eighteenth-Dynasty elite tomb construction sites.

## **Rune OLSEN, University of Copenhagen**

### **Social and artistic networks of Eighteenth-Dynasty Theban tomb owners**

This paper focuses on the social networks that existed between tomb owners in the Theban area and how these can potentially help us identify connections that facilitated exchanges of artisans and artistic ideas for the decoration of tombs. The construction and decoration of Theban rock-cut tombs was an economic expense for the tomb owner, but it is not clear how a building project was financed. There are, however, strong indications that a tomb owner utilised access to labour forces and diverted resources from the royal construction sites. These included the royal mortuary temples and the temple of Amun in Karnak. From these, the proprietors of the largest tombs during the Eighteenth Dynasty held high ranking titles while also being connected to other important institutions and administrative centres, for example the treasury or the vizier's office. By mapping the interconnectedness of tomb owners and institutions, it is possible to identify areas of overlap and routes of resource redistribution. This may very well have included the craftsmen and artisans responsible for building and decorating the tombs. For example, the stonecutters (*hrtj-ntr*) Yuy and Beshau may not only have worked on the two tombs of Senenmut but may also have been assigned to do work in TT 252, the tomb of Senimen, who is strongly connected to Senenmut and to the royal palace. Similarly, the draughtsmen (*sš-ḳd*) Userhat and Pary, who worked in the tomb of the high priest of Amun, Mery (TT 95), may also have worked in TT 45 as the proprietor, Djehuty, was the steward of Mery and as such would arguably have had access to the same artisans.

**Alexis DEN DONCKER**, *University of Basel*

***Deir el-Bahari and the Theban necropolis in the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III: On the trail of common workshops***

Several textual sources show that a number of high officials from the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III were active in the construction programme of these two rulers, particularly in the Theban west bank. Among them was the overseer of the treasury Djehuty, owner of TT 11, who was responsible for supervising the decoration of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Equally, the steward of the vizier Useramun, Amenemhat (TT 82), was most probably involved in the search for iconographic (and statuary?) models for the temple of Hatshepsut through the vizier's intermediary. It is likely that the workers involved in the construction of the temples depended directly on these officials rather than on the institution with which the latter are generally associated according to their titles. Moreover, officials could also borrow workers from each other's, as in the case of the "seven men of the vizier" (i.e., Useramun?) mentioned on an ostrakon from the tomb of Senenmut (TT 71). Consequently, it is perhaps not surprising that, in accordance with this *modus operandi*, intertextual, intericonic, and even stylistic relationships can be detected, not only among the tomb chapels of these officials, but also between these tombs and the temple of Hatshepsut. This was the case of the vizier Rekhmire (TT 100), also involved in works carried out in the temple of Thutmose III (*Djeser akhet*). Therefore, it is tempting to suggest that originally the designers of the decorative programmes of the private tombs came essentially from Deir el-Bahari, where they initially operated (in the form of workshops?). In this sense, the temples of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III would have drawn on a relatively accessible workforce (and materials?) that the high dignitaries would have both recruited as supervisors of the work and recruited for their own tombs.

**Nico STARING**, *University of Liège*

***Intericonic connections between the Theban and Memphite necropolises***

Memphis was one of the major Egyptian royal residence cities during the New Kingdom. The desert west of the city (now named Saqqara) served as its necropolis. It is where some of the most prominent Memphite citizens built their richly decorated tomb superstructures. Yet despite its prominence during the New Kingdom, we are still relatively poorly informed about Memphis and its necropolis at Saqqara – certainly in comparison to Thebes. One of the reasons for the disbalance is the state of preservation of New Kingdom Memphite tombs. In the early 1800s, explorers and antiquities dealers disassembled the structures, which led to the worldwide distribution of its relief-decorated and inscribed stone elements. More recent systematic archaeological research at Saqqara has made it possible to study the dispersed tomb elements in context. This has led to a better understanding of the iconographic programmes of individual tombs and makes it possible to study possible intertextual and intericonic connections between them. This talk explores the connections between tombs within the same necropolis at Saqqara and beyond, aiming to establish links to cemetery sites outside Memphis, in particular Thebes. The survey leads to questions about the processes underlying tomb making, for example: Who were the artists responsible for construction and decoration, and what was the nature of their relationship to the tomb owners?

**Anastasiia STUPKO-LUBCZYNSKA**, *Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw*

***Middle Kingdom tombs of North Asasif as monumental pattern books in the Eighteenth-Dynasty Theban landscape***

In the discourse on the Middle Kingdom artistic tradition in designing and decorating funerary spaces in the New Kingdom Theban necropolis, the prime example has been TT 60 (Antefoker/Senet). Visitors' graffiti found on its walls prove that the tomb was eagerly visited, inspiring its visitors with the scenes and texts found therein, and the intericonic links could have been detected between TT 60 and some Eighteenth-Dynasty tombs.

The present paper aims to demonstrate that this picture may be enriched with further tombs: TT 240 (Meru), TT 314 (Khety), and TT 319 (Neferu), all dating to the reign of Metuhotep II Nebhepetra of the Eleventh Dynasty. The tombs in question, located in the North Asasif slope, the extension to the east of the rock amphitheater of Deir el-Bahari, and in the Deir el-Bahari proper were discovered by the Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at the beginning of the twentieth century but have never been studied in detail or published on their own. This state of affairs ultimately caused their long-term “invisibility” among the Theban material.

Since 2015, these tombs have been reinvestigated by the Polish Archaeological Expedition to the North Asasif and by the Polish-Egyptian Expedition to the temple of Hatshepsut, with one of the goals being the reconstruction of the appearance of their destroyed decorations (in the cult spaces) and documenting the well-preserved ones (in the burial chambers). During this process, which is still ongoing, some features have been observed in these tombs which may be acknowledged as the possible sources of inspiration for the designers at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, both working in the elite tombs of the Theban necropolis and in the temple of Hatshepsut. Important to note, at least in two of these tombs, TT 314 and TT 319, numerous visitors’ inscriptions have been found, similar to those in TT 60, which make evident the popularity of these spaces in the Eighteenth Dynasty and afterward.

In my talk, I will present several examples of such interlinks or parallels, pertaining to the texts used, iconography, and the space itself, arguing that to the notions of intertextuality (the term long known) and intericonicity (introduced quite recently by Dimitri Laboury) one should add the term interspatiality. Just as the three components – text, image, and space – supplement each other in the design process of every ancient Egyptian monument, the study of the interrelationship between the monuments may become full and complete only when we take into account all these three “inter”-factors.

**Gabriele PIEKE, Reiss Engelhorn Museum, Mannheim**

### ***A MONUMENTAL PICTURE BOOK: Investigating painted texts and images in the tomb of Sennefer (TT 96)***

The tomb of the mayor of Thebes Sennefer in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 96) is well known for its decorated burial chamber, whereas its cult chapel itself is still unpublished. In the context of the Mission Archéologique belge dans la Nécropole Thébaine (MANT), the project “Painters and Painting in the Theban Necropolis during the 18th Dynasty” (FNRS – University of Liège) aims among others at documenting and analysing the painting practices and work organisation in the tomb of Sennefer.

The monumental character of the chapel challenged the artists, and the traditional layout of Eighteenth-Dynasty noble tombs could not be applied unchanged. The unique concepts and compositions of TT 96 must be seen as an immediate response to the specific architectural setting and as special wishes of the patron.

Despite the poor state of preservation of its murals, the paintings in the decorated cult chapel render much information about the techniques and procedures of the ancient painters, the sequence of their work and even the number of artists involved and their level of experience. The differentiation of several artists is not only based on stylistic variations but also on some technical issues as part of the decoration process itself. The investigation of painting practices among others led to the discovery of iconographic theme markers, applied at a very early stage of the decoration onto otherwise plain walls. This exceptional find renders information about the work process starting namely from a general iconographic layout until the final composition and painting on the wall.

Furthermore, the in-depth study of the techniques of decoration revealed an ongoing process of changes and supplementations in the tomb’s decoration and architecture. It is striking that there is so much evidence of modification and concept alterations. Several amendments of texts and minor figures even culminating in



compositional changes are attested as well as alteration in iconographic details. Remarkably, even a major revision located on the rear main cult wall in the pillared hall took place. Moreover, there is unusual shift towards monumentality in the general layout of the tomb. The significant enlargement of the tomb's architecture led to the addition of a painted lower sub registers.

The long process of making the tomb decoration and the significant number of modifications required a constant out-of-the-box thinking and adjustments from the creators to perpetually find new and fitting solutions.

***Lucía DÍAZ-IGLESIAS LLANOS, Spanish National Research Council, Madrid***

***Textual transmission in the burial chamber of Nakhtmin (TT 87): Patron, topics, traditions***

The study of the monument prepared as resting place for Nakhtmin is part of a research and fieldwork project that aims to re-evaluate decorated burial chambers of members of the Theban elite (TT 61, 82, and 87) during the early Eighteenth Dynasty from the perspective of Material Philology.

One of the research focuses is the decorative programme of such spaces, for which a methodology of study seeks to be established, based on several case studies. The main features of the decoration in Nakhtmin's burial chamber will be presented, before proceeding to an analysis of its content (topics addressed), order of spells (textual sequence), layout, roots and closest parallels. This analysis will be undertaken in the framework of the broader cultural context in which Nakhtmin lived and his own career.

***Julianna PAKSI, University of Liège***

***A case study on intertextuality and textual transmission from the mid-Eighteenth-Dynasty Theban necropolis: A prt-m-t3 text in TT 95 and its later echo in TT 76***

The early- and mid-Eighteenth-Dynasty Theban tombs were built for high-ranking officials from the king's inner circle. Intertextual analyses of the inscriptions of these tombs demonstrate that the contemporary elite sought inspiration in the monuments of their peers when devising the textual program of their own tomb chapel. The decoration of the early- and mid-Eighteenth-Dynasty Theban tombs bears witness to a strong social and intellectual rivalry between the members of this group, which also manifests in the strong socio-cultural embeddedness of the inscriptional program of their tombs.

With the help of a case study from the textual program of two mid-Eighteenth-Dynasty Theban tombs – TT 95 and TT 76 – this paper seeks to provide insights into the nature and strength of the intertextual relations within the Theban necropolis. Exploring the intertextual dimension of the inscriptions of these tombs is expected to contribute to a better understanding of the practices of textual transmission within the necropolis, to reveal some of the intentions of the ancient artists, and to bring us closer to the ancient Egyptian understanding of creativity with regard to text production.

**Roman GUNDACKER, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna**

***Religious texts on the pillars in the tomb chapel of Amenemope (TT 29)***

The pillars in Amenemope's tomb chapel preserve a remarkable range of religious texts from diverse traditions. Besides Pyramid Text and Coffin Text spells, textual compositions of New Kingdom date can be found. This presentation will look at the texts preserved and will examine the textual peculiarities against the background of general principles of textual criticism as well as local textual traditions which include creative processes of generating new textual variants and (re)contextualising.

**Kata JASPER, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest**

***“Text sharing”: On certain texts in the neighbouring tomb chapels of Sobekhotep (TT 63), Nebamun/Imiseba (TT 65), Hapu (TT 66), and Hapuseneb (TT 67)***

There are several bandeau texts in the south-eastern aisle of the transverse hall of the tomb of Nebamun and then Imiseba (TT 65), the parallels of which are also known from the cult chapels of certain members of the Thutmoside top elite buried in the close vicinity of TT 65. They are Hapuseneb, the high priest of Amun from the time of Hatshepsut (TT 67), Sobekhotep, the treasurer in the reign of Thutmose IV (TT 63), and Hapu, the vizier of the same pharaoh (TT 66); their tombs mostly exhibit shorter, but practically sign-for-sign variants of texts in TT 65.

Although Nebamun, the first owner of TT 65 was another prominent member of the Thutmoside elite, these texts on the ceiling and on the main lateral wall of the mentioned aisle can rather be attributed to the second owner of the tomb, the late Ramesside third-generation chief of the temple archives at Karnak, Imiseba, and to his antiquarian activity and intellectual greatness. This is not only based on stylistic grounds regarding the execution of the hieroglyphic signs, but on philological analysis as well, revealing conscious editorial considerations. This also raises the question, whether the longer TT 65 variants already existed in the Thutmoside era, or they might rather include later additions.

**Guilherme BORGES PIRES, NOVA University, Lisbon**

***Between common phraseology and intertextuality: Preliminary notes on phraseological correspondences in New Kingdom Theban tombs' creation hymns***

Several New Kingdom Theban tombs include laudatory texts in their textual decorative programmes, some of which are highly informative in what the concepts of Creator and Creation are concerned – the main research topic of my ongoing PhD thesis. These are attested throughout the entire period in tumular structures in various Theban necropoleis, such as Dra Abu el-Naga, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, el-Khokha, and Asasif.

A few common creation-related phraseological features can be observed among the tombs, be they contemporary or not (e.g., TT 57 (7) [temp. Amenhotep III] and TT 41 (6) [temp. Ramesside]). Furthermore, such an (inter)textual repertoire is likewise observable in contemporary non-Theban sources (see, for instance, the late-Eighteenth-Dynasty TT 50 (7/8) and the *Hymn of Tura*), hinting at possible wider textual production and circulation patterns. On the other hand, even if said inscriptions may appear identical at first glance, a closer look at them invites to nuance such an assumption. Factors such as textual layout, spatial constraints, the location of the text within the tomb, or even scribal agency and expertise may impact specific spellings and other (ortho)graphical features.

This contribution will offer some preliminary thoughts on phraseological correspondences attested in creation-related texts engraved in New Kingdom Theban tombs. By adopting a synchronic and a diachronic approach, an attempt will be made to answer the following and related questions: Where and when does this textual

transmission occur? Are the tombs geographically close? Are the texts engraved in the same “location” within the tombs in which they are attested? Can one detect clusters of textual motifs? Which variations can be observed in different scribal “copies”? Furthermore, is the attestation of identical phraseology in several texts, particularly in incipits, clear-cut evidence of intertextuality? In sum, understanding that similarity does not necessarily equate to sameness, New Kingdom Theban creation hymns will be taken as a fruitful textual corpus to address intertextuality and interconnectedness in Theban scribal practices of the period.

**Aurore MOTTE**, *Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz*

### ***Creativity, innovation, and tradition in the speech captions of the mid-Eighteenth-Dynasty Theban tombs***

The Eighteenth-Dynasty tombs display scenes “that memorialized the life and career of the deceased” (Bryan, 2009: 22). Among these are depictions of “daily-life” scenes, in which speech captions are encapsulated. The focus of this talk will lie on these inscriptions in the Theban tomb chapels built under Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, and Amenhotep II, but leaving aside the captions in the “lost tomb” of Wensu (TT A4), previously discussed in Laboury (2017) along with the figurative decoration.

These speech captions are part of a larger textual tradition, emerging during the Fifth Dynasty and persisting until the end of the Pharaonic era. During the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, they were included in the decorative programs of several influential individuals. It is argued in this paper that the text content and the associated “daily-life” scenes enable one to better understand the social and intellectual rivalry between elite members.

This paper will first put these texts into context. It will then draw on speech captions from different socio-historical contexts (e.g., Old Kingdom; Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties) to bring out the preeminent creativity and innovation of the mid-Eighteenth-Dynasty tombs, building on tradition. It will also allow us to expand the discussion on the production and transmission of inscriptional decoration in the Theban necropolis.

B. Bryan (2009). Memory and knowledge in Egyptian tomb painting, in: E. Cropper (ed.), *Dialogues in art history, from Mesopotamian to modern: Readings for a new century*, Washington, DC – New Haven (*Studies in the History of Art* 74), 19–39.

D. Laboury (2017). Tradition and creativity: Toward a study of intericonicity in ancient Egyptian art, 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 (*AegLeod* 10), 229–258.



**Do you have questions or need more information?**

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