

CHAPTER X

THE AEGEAN RELATIONS OF THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE¹

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

I REPRESENTATIONS OF AEGEAN OBJECTS IN EGYPTIAN TOMBS²

1. **Type:** Band-handled ewer. (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX A)

Publication and Source: BMMA XXI (1926), Mar., Pt. II, 43, Fig. 2 (Senmut, Qurneh 71) = Nina de Garis Davies, *Egyptian Paintings*, I, Pl. XIV (color plate). Silver and gold.

Parallels: PM II, 646, Fig. 411, a (Knossos, Palatial Treasury; bronze ewer; MM III B - LM I A). *Ibid.*, 646, Fig. 411, b (= Schgr., Pl. CXXXIV, 855; silver, gold plated; Grave III).³ **Dates:** **Egyptian:** Hatshepsut; **Aegean:** MM III B - LM I A, LH I.

¹ Most of this chapter has been rearranged, reworked and illustrated in Chapters II and III of Kantor's *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium*, AIA Monograph 1, 1947, referred to subsequently as Kantor A&O. However, the section on vegetal design at the end of the chapter was not included in the monograph.

² Rewritten in prose form and amplified in Kantor A&O, pp. 41-49. A controversy of long standing is that concerned with the identity of the Keftiu people represented in Egyptian tombs. Those who believe that these ambassadors are equivalent to Minoans, coming from "the Isles in the midst of the Sea," (PM I, 16, 667; PM II, 656-8; 734. Ha;., BSA X [1903-4], 154-7 and BSA XVI [1909-10]. 254-7. JEA, XVI [1930], 75-92 and ArchC, p. 223 and n. 1) have been vigorously opposed by Wainwright, who claims that Keftiu was an Anatolian region roughly equivalent to Cilicia and very different from Crete although strongly influenced by Cretan culture (AAA VI [1914], 24-83; JEA XVII [1931], 28-43 [linguistic evidence]; JHS LI [1931], 1-38 [archaeological evidence]). The linguistic data consists of the legends appended to the various representations, a list purporting to give Keftian names, and an incantation entitled Keftian by an Egyptian scribe. It does not seem capable of giving as definitive an answer to the problem as an analysis of the tomb scenes themselves. This, however, Wainwright has done in a detailed study of the objects carried by the foreigners, of their dress, and physical characteristics. These questions cannot be discussed in detail here, but some of the factors which appear to us to invalidate Wainwright's conclusions may be mentioned (Cf. BMMA XXXI [1930]). He does not discriminate between the varying quality of the earlier and later representations of foreigners (ArchC, Pl. XXVII. PM II, 736-41), nor does his statistical method take cognizance of the fact that a large majority of gift vessels are actually Egyptian in form and design. Such types recur in scenes showing Egyptian workshops with their products (Cf. PM II, 741). In fact, although some careful artists were capable of delineating characteristic details of foreigners and foreign objects with consummate skill, many parts of such depictions were filled in with stock Egyptian motives. This is excellently exemplified by textile patterns. Wainwright deals with the designs of Keftian kilts as if they were actual examples of the robes of these people. In actuality, they are the designs with which the Egyptian artist filled up what would have otherwise been gaping voids in his picture. For this purpose he often used extremely simple geometrical patterns, equivalent to normal Egyptian designs (Chapter XII, p. 481), or too undifferentiated to be suitable for comparative work. When more complex motives do appear they are clearly Egyptian in nature as in the cases of the figure-eight volute and *potamogeton* (Chapter XIII, p. 548f.). The appearance of s-spiral bands on Keftian costumes may be a sign that the Egyptians did associate this motive with the Aegean; nevertheless such examples are comparable to the normal New Kingdom usage of spiral bands. Such factors eliminate a number of

2. **Type:** Band-handled ewer.⁴ (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX B)
Publication and Source: BMMA, XXI (1926), Mar. Pt. II, 49, Fig. 6, C
Tomb of Amenuser, Qurneh 131).
Parallels: See no. 1.
Dates: **Egyptian:** Tuthmosis III; **Aegean:** See no. 1.
 3. **Type:** Pithoid Amphora (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX C)
Publication and Source: BMMA XXI (1926), Mar. Pt. II, 43, Fig. 2. Painted red, representing pottery? (T. 71).
Parallels: PM II, 422-8; PM IV, 261-3; Senmut jar translated into metal of pithoid jars according to Evans; PM II, 422, Fig. 246, a, b (Kakovatos, LH II). Cf. Seager, *Pseira*, pp. 28, 33, Figs. 9, 14; Pl. VII (LM I A).
Dates: **Egyptian:** Hatshepsut; **Aegean:** LM I A.
 4. **Type:** Vaphio Cup⁵ (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX D).
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Wainwright's arguments based on the analysis of Keftian costume. Wainwright objects to the manner in which Aegean objects, when carried by Keftians, are assumed to prove their Minoan identity, while the same object, if it appears in the hands of a Syrian, is cast aside as an Aegean import into Syria. He claims that since the Keftians can be distinguished from the Minoans, the Aegean objects in their hands simply prove that they, too, imported Cretan goods. However, his case for the distinction between the islanders, the real Minoans, and the Keftians does not seem to be better founded than his Asiatic comparisons for Keftian kilt patterns. He makes much of the fact that the beadwork pendants of Cretan kilts (cf. Cupbearer and Processional paintings) are not shown by Menkheperas'sonb's or Rekhmire's Keftians. However, this feature is also lacking in the costume of figures from the tombs of Senmut and Useramen who are admittedly Minoans. The painting out of the codpieces of a group of people cryptically labelled by Rekhmire's artist as Islanders-Keftians, shows, according to Wainwright, that the draftsman realized he had made the mistake of adding a Minoan characteristic to the Anatolian Keftians. If the two names are not in apposition and do refer to different groups, we would expect the codpieces to have been retained on the figures of the Minoans and deleted only from the Keftians. This is not the case; all the kilted figures are treated alike and Evans considers this shift to be a reflection of changing LM I A - B styles. These brief notes are sufficient to indicate why we have not followed Wainwright's views, and continue to cite Keftian gifts among the representations of Aegean objects.

³ Aside from the elaborate ewers which compare so well with the Egyptian representations, the Aegean also provides a number of examples of utilitarian bronze pitchers of the same form; cf. PM II, 630, Fig. 394, 1 (Knossos, House S. E. of South House; MM III B - LM I A); BSA Sup. I, Pl. XXVI (Palaikastro, Room 14; LM I B); Schgr., Pls. CLIV, 602 (Gr. IV), CLV (right, 601; Gr. IV), CLVI, 581 (Gr. IV, small ewer); p. 118, 603-4 (Gr. IV); all LH I. Variants of the same shape occur in LM II graves (PM II, 634, Fig. 398, g [Zafer Papoura, Tomb of the Tripod Hearth], 636, Fig. 400 [Zafer Papoura, Chieftain's grave], 633, Fig. 397 [Knossos, clay tablet with incised picture of ewers]) and in LH III A (*Dendra*, p. 92, Pl. XXXI, 1-3, T. 2).

⁴ The Egyptian representations are identical in a number of details with Aegean examples, as Evans has pointed out: cf. the prominent collar, angular handle, and the distinction between the shoulder and the lower part of the body (PM II, 647-8). Senmut's artist, at least, must have studied his model closely. In addition, there occur in Senmut's and Useramon's tombs one-handled ewers of more generalized form, (BMMA, XXI [1926], Mar. Pt. II, 42, Fig. 1, 49, Fig. 6, A), which were on occasion also presented by Syrians (*Men et al.*, Pl. V). The absence of specific details precludes a definite equation of these with Aegean forms.

⁵ Metallic examples are extremely rare, but there is a large clay series (for history of form cf. Pro. I, 395). Ancestral forms occur as early as MM II; some of these carry suggestions of metallic prototypes (PM I, opp. 242, Fig. 41 [Knossos; II A], 244--5, Figs. 184-5); 246, Fig. 186, e [Phylakopi; II A]. For MM III

Publication and Source: Same as no. 3.

Parallels: Cf. Schgr., Pls. CXXIII, 630 (gold), 755, 866 (silver, all three from Grave V and undecorated; LH I).⁶ Eph. 1889, Pl. VII (Vaphio tholos, gold, pastoral scenes; LH II context, cups may be somewhat earlier). *Dendra*, pp. 50-2, Pls. II, XVI (Tholos, gold and silver, two galloping bulls; end of LH II) Furumark's LH III A 1).⁷ **Dates: Egyptian:** Hatshepsut.

5. **Type:** Vaphio Cup (Kantor A&E, Pl. IX E).

Publication and Source: Same as no. 3.

Parallels and Dates: Same as no. 2.

6. **Type:** Vaphio Cup (Kantor A&O Pl. IX F)

Publication and Source: BMMA XXI (1926), Mar. Pt. II, 49, Fig. 6 (Amenuser, Qurneh 131). **Dates: Egyptian:** Tuthmosis III.

7. **Type:** Vaphio Cup (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX G).

Publication and Source: *Men et al.*, Pl. V (Qurneh 86)

Parallels: Cf. Schgr., Pls. CIII, 73 (Gr. III; gold, marine design); CIV, 392-3 (Gr. IV; gold; plain with ridge, and vertical fluting); CX, 313 (Gr. IV; gold; foliate design), CXXIII-CXXIV, 627-8 (Gr. V, gold, arcade designs); CXXV, 629 (Gr. V, gold; quadruple spirals)); all LH I.⁸

Dates: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III; **Aegean:** LH I

examples cf. PM I, 590, Fig. 434 (Knossos, House N. W. of Palace; III A), 593, Fig. 435; Pl. VII, bottom middle (Palaikastro, 30; III B); PM II, 371, Fig. 206, d (Knossos, Early Basements). For LM I cf. BSA Sup I, 24, Fig. 13 (Palaikastro; aside from the illustrated example a number of others were found, 31, Fig. 19, a.

⁶ In view of the absence of unplundered, rich graves on Crete, the contents of the Mycenae shaft graves acquire undue importance. Many metallic forms now occurring only on the Mainland, must also have been known in Crete.

⁷ Cylindrical handles of this type were not confined to the Vaphio form alone. They appear on other metal vessels from the shaft graves at Mycenae (Schgr., Pls. CIX, 412 [gr. IV; gold beaker of Nestor], CXII-CXIII, 390 [Gr. IV; footed bowl of electron]). A MM II-III "goblet" sherd has preserved the imitation in clay of such a handle (PM I, opp. 242, Fig. 183, b, 1). It is extremely interesting in view of a silver cup with Vaphio handle from a deposit of Amenemhet II in the Monthu temple at Tud, and the latter's form shows some affinity to that of the Knossos sherd. The history of this handle type and of its importation into Egypt goes back to MM - Middle Kingdom times (Cf. Syria XVIII [1937], Pl. XXIX, lower right.

⁸ The representations of Aegean forms from Senmut's tomb appear to follow actual models closely. The objects shown by the viziers succeeding Senmut and Useramun appear to be copied from the walls of their predecessors rather than from the objects themselves. There is a progressive generalization away from specific Aegean characters. The features by which Menkheperrea'sonb's Vaphio cup differs from Senmut's - band-handle instead of a cylindrical one, high, elongated form - may be due to this tendency. On the other hand, much the same features are already visible in Useramen's example. It is noteworthy that all the clay examples from the Aegean, and some of the metal cups of the Shaft Graves, have band-handles. Moreover, the Mainland LH I-II series of clay shapes is sharply distinguished from contemporary Cretan Vaphio cups by the appearance of the same kind of high form as is shown by Menkheperrea'sonb's cup (Cf. Pro I, 398-9; Pro II, 29, Fig. 145, no. 254 [T.30], 42, Fig. 188, nos. 377-8 [T.25], 98, Fig. 415, no. 58 [T.14], 167, Fig. 663, no. 372 [T.17], all LH I. 166, Fig. 658, no. 2, 216 [T. 18] is considered by Blegen as somewhat earlier than the preceding examples). Despite the fact that such tall forms have not occurred in metal, the possibility that Menkheperrea'sonb's tomb and Useramen's cups reflect the Mainland, rather than the Cretan type, cannot be ruled out.

8. **Type:** Bull Rhyton⁹ (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX J)
Publication and Source: BMMA XXI (1926), Mar., Pt. II, 42, Fig. 1 (Amenuser, Qurneh 131).
Parallels: PM II, 527-36, Figs. 330-32 (Knossos, Little Palace; black steatite, inlaid; early LM I A), 532, Fig. 335 (Knossos, drain beneath S. border of "Royal Road;" MM III B, sherds, one LM I A; fragment, steatite). 544, Fig. 346 (Gournia, clay, LM I A). Schgr., Pls. CXIX-CXXI (Gr. V; silver; LH I)
Dates: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III.
9. **Type:** Bull Rhyton (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX K)
Publication and Source: *Men et al.*, Pl. IV (Qurneh 86). Silver with quatrefoil inlays.¹⁰
Parallels: for quatrefoil inlays in bull rhyta cf. :Arch. LXV (1914), 52, Fig. 70 (Isopata, Tomb of the Double Axes; LM II). PM IV, 235, Fig. 180 (Dromos, Treasury of Atreus, LH III A if it was part of "Atreus" *beigaben*; fragment claimed by Evans as rhyton). **Date: Egyptian:** Tuthmosis III.
10. **Type:** Bull Rhyton (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX L)
Publication and Source: Davies, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes*, Pl. II (Qurna 100).
Date: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III - Amenhotep II.
11. **Type:** Lion Rhyton¹¹ (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX M)
Publication and Source: *Men et al.*, Pl. IV.
Parallels: PM II, 827-31, Fig 542, sup. Pl. XXXI, a; Figs. 544-5 (Knossos, Central Treasury, "lioness," limestone; lion, restored, alabaster). Schgr., Pl. CXVIII, 273 (Gr. IV, gold, LH I).
Date: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III.
12. **Type:** Lion Rhyton (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX O)
Publication and Source: Same as no. 10. Cf. also a badly damaged horizontal lion rhyton with thick mane on this plate.
Date: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III - Amenhotep II.
13. **Type:** Jackal Rhyton (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX P).
Publication and Source: BMMA XXI (1926) Mar., Pt II, 42, Fig. 1 (Amenuser, Qurneh 131). Cf. also *Ibid.*, 49, Fig. 6, H for another example.

⁹ A bull rhyton much like that of Useramon save that the horns are bent forward, appears among the Asiatic tribute in Qurneh 91 (*Atlas* I, Pl. CCXC [name list, Tuthmosis IV - Amenhotep III]). Cf. *Atlas* II, Pl. CLVII, 28 (Medinet Habu, Ramses III).

¹⁰ Exactly the same kind of inlaid bull's head occurs as the cover of a two-handled jar, not of specifically Aegean form, carried by a Keftian in the same tomb (*Men et al.*, Pl. V). The Aegean origin of this bull-head cover cannot be assumed without question since workers in the Amon temple are shown producing almost identical covers (*Puyemre* I, Pl. XXIII). In addition, bull heads worked in the round were used in Egypt as part of the decoration of ornate baldachins (*Menkheprera'sonb et al.*, Pl. III).

¹¹ This type of lion rhyton appears among the Asiatic tribute in the tomb of Amenmose (*Menkheprera'sonb et al.*, Pl. XXXIV [Qurneh 112; Tuthmosis III]). It is difficult to decode whether the Egyptian artist included this type by mistake, or whether such rhyta also occurred in Syria at this time. No rhyta earlier than LH III have yet been reported from Ras Shamra. An example is also among the gifts presented to Amun by Tuthmosis III, but most of these are indigenous Egyptian products (*Atlas* II, Pl. CLVII, 3.10.21 [Ramses III, Medinet Habu]).

- Date: Egyptian:** Tuthmosis III.
14. **Type:** Jackal Rhyton (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX R)
Publication and Source: Same as no. 10.
Date: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III - Amenhotep II.
15. **Type:** Griffin Rhyton (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX S)
Publication and Source: BMMA XXI (1926), Mar., Pt II, 48, Fig. 6 B
(Amenuser, Qurneh 131) Cf. *Deir el Bahri I*, Pls XXIV, XLV; III, Pl. LXIV.
Date: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III.
16. **Type:** Griffin Rhyton¹² (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX T)
Publication and Source: Same as no. 10
Date: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III - Amenhotep II.
17. **Type:** Silver Bull running (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX H)
Publication and Source: Same as no. 13. silver.
Date: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III.
18. **Type:** Silver Bull standing, inlaid with quatrefoils (Kantor A&O, Pl. XI, I)
Publication and Source: *Men et al.*, Pl. V
Parallels: For inlays in figure of bull, some triple, cf. cut out relief plaque from Tholos A, Kakovatos (AM xxxiv [1909], Pl. XII, 5).
Date: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III.
19. **Type:** One-handled Conical Filler (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX, V)
Publication and Source: Same as no. 18. Cf. *Ibid.*, lower register, a Syrian carries a one-handled filler covered with scale design).
Parallels: PM II, Sup. Pl. XXIV, chart giving number of examples, including some Egyptian depictions and Aegean forms later than LM I.
Dates: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III; **Aegean:** LM I A - LH I
20. **Type:** One-handled Fillers (Kantor A&O, Pls. IX Y, X)
Publication and Source: Davies, *Paintings from the tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes*, Pl. III and Pl. IV. Cf. Pl. II for another example (Kantor A&O, Pl IX W)
Date: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep II.
21. **Type:** Two-handled Fillers (Kantor A&O, Pls. IX AA, BB)
Publication and Source: *Menkheperra'sonb et al*, Pls.V and IV (T.86)
Date: Tuthmosis III

¹² A somewhat similar rhyton is carried by a Syrian in the tomb of Sebekhotep (Nina de G. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* I. Pl. XLII {Qurneh 63; Tuthmosis IV}).

22. **Type:** Rhyton with Bull's Head¹³ (Kantor A&O, Pl. 19 U)
Publication and Source: BMMA XXI (1926), Mar., Pt. II, 44, Fig. 6, C. (Amenuser, Qurneh 131).
Parallels: Eph (1912), 219, Fig. 27, Tylessos. For body form, cf. PM II, 821, Fig. 537, B-D, G (Knossos, Treasury of Sanctuary Hall; stone rhyta, MM III B). PM III, 346, 347 and Fig. 230 (MM III type found in LM I A "Hall of Double Axe." Seager, *Excavations at Pseira* (Philadelphia, 1910), pp. 25, 29, Figs. 8, 10. BSA Sup. I, 53, Fig. 41, Pl. xxi (clay forms). The combination of rhyton and bull head is actually exemplified by a clay rhyton from Minet el Beida (Syria XIII [1932], Pl. IV, 1 = PM IV, 777, Fig. 756, b = ArtC, p. 269, Fig. 497) which is however of later date. **Date: Egyptian:** Tuthmosis III.
23. **Type:** S-handled Pithoid Amphora
Publication and Source: ZAS XXXI (1893), 4, top left (Drah-abul. Negga - no name; drawing of Erman).
Parallels: Although the Egyptian shapes lack graceful attenuated bases and necks, they are very similar to MM III A ewers from the lustral deposit of the N. W. Entrance (PM I, 411-12, Fig. 296 [brown limestone]).¹⁴ Cf. also very broad "Hydria" from Kurion in Cyprus, dated by Evans to LM I A (PM II, 652, Fig. 417; bronze); it exemplifies the same essential pattern.
Dates: Egyptian: "Beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty"
24. **Type:** S-handled Pithoid Amphora
Publication and Source: Same as no. 10.
Date: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III - Amenhotep II.
25. **Type:** S-handled Amphora
Publication and Source: Same as no. 10, Pl IV
Parallels: The connection of this vessel with the preceding types and with the Aegean is very doubtful. Here the exotic handles appear to have been added to the *Hes* vase form.
Date: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III.

¹³ The Aegean derivation of this vase is certain in view of the similarity of the shape to Minoan rhytons and the almost complete identity with the LH III rhyton from Ras Shamra, which we must assume to have been preceded by similar examples in the earlier Aegean Late Bronze Age. The appearance of the bull's head on this rhyton is not homologous with the gazelle heads that were used by the Egyptians to decorate some of the vases of their own making (*Men et al*, Pl. XII).

¹⁴ The Aegean source of the handle with a pronounced s-curve can hardly be doubted. The most pronounced examples are the three handles of an alabaster vessel from Shaft Grave IV, where the final, outward curve of the handles is emphasized (Schgr., Pl. CXXXVIII, 389). The same type recurs in less exaggerated form on a number of clay vessels. The popularity of such curves on the Mainland is attested by the fact that they formed the basis from which the "curled leaf" ornament was derived (BSA XXV [1921-3] < 397-402; Pl. LXI. *Dendra*, p. 63, Fig. 41 [Tholos; LH II-LHIII A 1]). In Egypt, s-curved handles, besides their appearance on fillers or other vases of Aegean origin, are also found on large, footed bowls that are often equipped with ornate floral decoration (*Rekhmire*, Pl. II). The vegetation of these vessels is purely Egyptian, even though they may be offered by Aegeans or Syrians. It is possible that the exotic handle type was added by the Egyptians, either in the representations or on actual vases, to give still greater elaboration and distinction of their ornate products.

II AEGEAN OBJECTS FOUND IN EGYPT¹⁵

1. **Type:** Tall Alabastron (Kantor A&O, Pl. VII A).
Publication: *Sedment* II, Pl. LIX.19.
Source and Context: Grave 137
Parallels: PM IV, 271, Fig. 201 (Mochlos, LM I)
Dates: Egyptian: ca. Tuthmosis III; **Aegean:** LM I B.
2. **Type:** Ewer (Kantor A&O, Pl. VII C)
Publication: PM IV, 277, Fig. 210 (= ArtC, 297, Fig.559)
Source and Context: Marseilles, Clot Bey Coll. Augier, Keeper of the Coll., states that this ewer was bought at Alexandria by Clot Bey and was said to have been picked up at Tyre! It was in this collection in 1846 (ArtPG II, 490. **Dates: Aegean:** LM I B.
3. **Type:** Ewer handle as above.
Publication: PM IV, 274
Source and Context: Lahun (Ashmolean)
4. **Type:** Amphora (Kantor A&O, Pl. VIII D)
Publication: *Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. XLI, top, p. 7 (Klio XXXII [1939], 146, B1).
Source and Context: Mentuherkhepeshef, Dira Abu'n-Naga 20. Entire area was disturbed. Some sherds of this jar were just outside tomb; others in burial shaft which belonged to Amenmes.
Parallels: PM IV, 275, Fig. 209 (= Myk. Vas., Pl. XXV, 188). Klio XXXII (1939), 147.2 n. 6 = Pro II, 89, Fig. 374, no. 901 (T. 42). Cf. also EPH. 1910, 221, Pl. X.1 (Hagia Anna). Swedish Messene Exp. Pl. XX.32, 33 (squat form, LH III ?)¹⁶
Dates: Egyptian: ca. Hatshepsut - Tuthmosis III; **Aegean:** LH II.
5. **Type:** One-handled saucer (Kantor A&O, Pl. VIII C)
Publication: Firth and Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid cemeteries* (FIFAO, Cairo, 1935), Pl. XLII, D. Klio XXXI (1939), 146, F. 1
Source and Context: Firth and Gunn, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70, Grave NE 1. One coffin with white and black females. *Beigaben* in pile at head of coffin: 1) Syrian flask; 2) Two "bilbils;" 3) White slipped, squat pot with red and black stripes; 4) Alabaster kohl pot and bronze kohl stick; 5) Wooden toilet box, rectangular ivory inlays engraved with circles; like Pl. XLIV, B, 4; 6) Wooden comb like Pl. XLIV, C, 2; 7) Basket with dom nuts and pomegranates; 8) Green glazed steatite scarab, Pl. XLVI, A, 1.
Parallels: Klio XXXII (1939), 147 and n. 4; Arch LXXXII (1932), Pls. II, XXXIII, 12; XLIV, 41. Pro. II, Figs. 70, 105, 281, 333, 658, 678, 679. Pro. I, 394, 412ff.
Dates: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III; **Aegean:** LH I - II.

¹⁵ This section is expanded in prose form in Kantor A&O, pp.33-41.

¹⁶ This is definitely a Mainland pattern. On Crete it is extremely rare (BSA Sup. I, 43, Fig. 31; [Palaikastro; lower part of a tall beaked ewer]).

6. **Type:** Squat Alabastron¹⁷ (Kantor A&O, Pl. VII K)
Publication: Klio XXXII (1939), A, 3. Firth and Gunn, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLII, D, Left.
Source and Context: Same as no. 5.
Parallels: Klio XXXII (1939), 146 and n. 4. Delt III (1917), 152, Fig. 113, 1 (Kolonaki, T. 14.13) = EPH. 1910, 227, Fig. 18, b. Cf. also Arch. LXXXII (1932), Pl. VI, 3 (T. 530, squatter body; different rosette type; LH II.
Dates: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III; **Aegean:** LH I - II7. **Type:** Squat Alabastron (Kantor A&O, Pl. VII, I)
Publication: Brunton and Engelbach, *Gurob* (London, 1927), Pl. XIII, 4. Klio XXXII (1939), 145, A.2.
Source and Context: Grave 245, Gurob, Pl. XXIV: 1) Two squat alabaster kohl jars; 2) One light red oval jar with pointed base; 3) Two scarabs; 4) Beads.
Parallels: Pro. II, 168, Fig. 667 (T.44, LH I, no. 1005, though squatter)
Dates: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III; **Aegean:** LH I.
8. **Type:** Squat Alabastron
Publication: Murray and Loat, *Saqqara Mastabas I and Gurob* London, 1905, 1937), Pl. XVII, 5
Source and Context: Gurob. No information whatsoever given in the publication.
9. **Type:** Squat Alabastron (Kantor A&O, Pl. VII J)
Publication: Edgar, *Greek Vases in the Cairo Museum* (Cat. Caire, 26125, A, 4). AM XXIII (1898), Pl. VIII, 3.
Source and Context: Cairo Museum 26125.
Date: Aegean: LB I-II
10. **Type:** Squat Alabastron¹⁸

¹⁷ The tall alabastron is a Minoan shape, presumably from Egyptian prototypes, and does not appear on the Mainland (Mpot, pp. 39-40). Although the origin of the squat alabastron is more debatable, it appears to be of Mainland origin and is definitely a Late Helladic form. From Crete Pendlebury can list only five clay alabastra and some alabaster examples (ArchC, pp. 223-4; cf. also Klio XXXII [1939], 146). Blegen has described a two-handled alabastron as the ancestor of three-handled forms, and points out that all the LH I examples from the Argive Heraeum tombs are earlier than the first Minoan specimens (Pro. I, 391, 403-4). He refers to the "Egyptian affinities" of the later alabastron form, but does not explain its ultimate origin. Wace, although not considering the flat alabastron to be at home either on Crete or the Mainland, has pointed out that there are no good Egyptian stone prototypes. In Klio XXXIII (1939), 146, Wace and Blegen have emphasized that Aegean alabastra are commoner in Egypt than in Crete, and that one Mainland tomb may contain six or more examples. There can be no doubt that the squat alabastron is a characteristic Helladic, non-Minoan form. Furumark is now prepared to admit the validity of this view provisionally (Mpot, 663 [Appendix] as opposed to p. 40 where he considered these pots as being of Cretan manufacture originally), but still notes that "there are ... (also) ...certain peculiarities in the majority of Cretan examples which - in spite of all - suggest that this vase form had a continuous tradition in the island," (*Ibid.*, 663). The definition of the Helladic nature of this shape not only affects the question of Egypt's Aegean relations, but also forces the deletion from the Cretan repertoire of certain motives hitherto considered typical of LM I B (cf. Chapter VIII, n. 151).

¹⁸ The base of Cairo 26126 is comparable to Arch. LXXII (1932), Pl. XXXIX, 19 (T. 518); Delt, III (1917), 200, Fig. 144, 2 (Kolonaki, T. 26, 26; angular alabastron); Delt IX (1923), 19, Fig. 2 (Palaiokhori) according to Klio XXXII (1939), 147 and n. 2.

- Publication:** Edgar, *op. cit.*, 26126 A, 5. AM XXIII (1898), 19, Pl. VIII, 1
Source and Context: Cairo Museum 26126: sacral ivy leaf between each handle, background filled by dots in rows, leaves bound together (pp. 258-9)
11. **Type:** Squat Alabastron (Kantor A&O, Pl. VIII E)
Publication: Klio XXXII (1939), 145, A, 6, Pl. IV. Wheel pattern on base, cf. Arch LXXXII (1932), Pl. XLVIII, 8-10.
Source and Context: Tell el Amarna? Brooklyn Museum, Wilbour collection.
Date: Aegean: LH II-III A.
12. **Type:** Squat Alabastron (Kantor A&O, Pl. VIII A)
Publication: Klio XXXII (1939), 145, A, 7; Pl I, 1. Wheel pattern on base.
Source and Context: University College, London, Petrie Collection.
13. **Type:** Squat Alabastron¹⁹ (Kantor A&O, Pl. VII F)
Publication: Klio XXXII (1939), Pl II, 3, 4; p. 145, A, 8.
Source and Context: Manchester Museum, Sharp Ogden Coll. Egyptian provenience uncertain, but made probable by the excellent preservation (Klio, XXXII, p. 147. **Date:** Aegean: LH I.
14. **Type:** Squat Alabastron (Kantor A&O, Pl. VII G)
Publication: Myk. Vas., Pl. XXII, 159, 159a. A 10.
Source and Context: Saqqara, Berlin
Date: Aegean: LH I-II
15. **Type:** Squat Alabastron
Publication: Klio, XXXII (1939), 145, A, 11, cross pattern on base
Source and Context: Boston, 72, 1484, Hay Coll.
16. **Type:** Squat Alabastron (Kantor A&O, Pl. VII L)
Publication: BMC I, 106, Pl. VIII, A 651 (= ArtC, p. 296, Fig. 558)
Source and Context: British Museum A 651; bought at Armant in 1890.
Parallels: Klio XXXII, 147 and n. 1; BSA XVII, Pl. XI, 137 (Phylakopi)
Date: Aegean: LH II.
17. **Type:** Squat Alabastron
Publication: PM IV, 268, Fig. 198, a, b (= MJ., I (1910), 47, Fig. 31). White on dark ground.
Source and Context: Anibe, Nubia, from an unfinished tomb.
Parallels: Local imitation of an alabastron (ArchC, p. 224).
Date: Egyptian: Early Eighteenth Dynasty
18. **Type:** Spouted jug (Kantor A&O, Pl. VII D)
Publication: AJA VI (1890), Pl. XXII, top (= NY Historical Society Quarterly Bull. XII [1929], 127-33, 128, Fig. 1. D, 1.

¹⁹ The “wavy cross” pattern on the base of this alabastron also occurs on A 1, 3, 4, 10, 11 of the Wace-Blegen list. Since it is found on vases from Thebes (Delt. III [1917], 152, Fig. 136 [Kolonaki, T. 14, 13]; EPH 1910, Pl. VII, 1, a) Wace and Blegen suggest that the possibility that Boetia may have been the source of these alabastra found in Egypt (Klio XXXII, 146).

Source and Context: Museum of the New York Historical Society, purchased by Abbott in 1860. Contained sticky, oily substance, chiefly wax (probably beeswax) according to qualitative analysis.

Parallels: Klio XXXII, 147. This has been attributed by style to painter of Armant slabs. See BSA XVII (1937), Pl. XI. Phylakopi, published as Minoan. Cf. also PM IV, 279, Fig. 214 (Knossos, Chamber of Squatter, LM I B). Seager, *op. cit.*, p. 32, Fig. 13 (I.3, R. 1, LM I B). On the mainland occur jugs of this form with the same broad and thin lines at the base (Arch LXXXII [1932], Pl. IV, 31; Pro. I, Pl V, 375, LH I).²⁰

Date: Aegean: LM I B - LH II

19. **Type:** Squat One-handed Jug (Kantor A&O, Pl. VIII B)
Publication: Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1891), Pl. XXVI, 44
Source and Context: Gurob, Tomb of Maket, communal tomb, three chambers, twelve coffins, ca. 40-50 bodies. *Ibid.*, Pl. XIV, p. 23. Coffin 9 with 6 bodies: 1) Wooden headrest; 2) Small basket with beads; 3) Larger basket with 2 kohl pots, kohl stick; 4) 5 Scarabs.
Parallels: Cf. Blegen, *Korakou* (Concord NH, 1921), p. 53, Fig. 76 right (LH II).
Dates: Egyptian: Tuthmosis III; **Aegean:** LH II
20. **Type:** Squat One-handed Jug (Kantor A&O, Pl. VII H)
Publication: Klio XXXII (1939), 146, E, 2, Pl. I, 2
Source and Context: University College, London, Petrie Collection
Parallels: Cf. Arch LXXXII (1932), Pl. XXXIII, 2 (T. 516; LH I). Pro. II, 172, Fig. 683, nos. 42, 611 (LH II); 29, Fig. 145, no 25; LH I). BSA XVII (1910-11), 15, Fig. 2. no. 82 (Phylakopi, imported from Mainland).
Date: Aegean: LH I - II
- 21 **Type:** Squat One-handed Jug (Kantor A&O, Pl. VII E)
Publication: Klio XXXII (1939), E.3, Pl.III.6
Source and Context: Same as no. 20
Parallels: Blegen, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV, 1 (pattern on Vaphio cup), pp. 36, 37, Figs. 50, 51 (LH I) Sherds: 39, Figs. 73, 79, 41, Fig. 56 right.
Date: Aegean: LH I
22. **Type:** Tea Cup (Kantor A&O, Pl. VII B)
Publication: Edgar, *Greek Vases in the Cairo Museum* (Cat Caire), Pl. 1, 26124. Arch. Anz. 1899. 57, Fig. 1. C.1. Mpot, pp. 621, 663; no. 218, 7). Cf. PM IV 266-267.
Source and Context: Abusir, "Pit of the Dogs."
Parallels: Klio XXXII, 147, n. 3: Arch LXXXII (1932), Pls. I, 1., XXXIV, 11 (T. 529). Cf. also *Ibid.*, {l. XLI, 37 (T 518). Pro. II, 166, Fig. 660.

²⁰ The coincidence between this jug and the Armant and Phylakopi alabastra has apparently convinced Wace and Blegen that this vessel, too, is of Mainland origin. However, the fact that Knossos and Pseira offer excellent parallels suggests that a Minoan source is not yet ruled out. Although to our knowledge, there are no Helladic examples of this form with marine design, this may be owing to chance, and the accidents of preservation.

23. List of some Late Helladic III A and B **Sherds** found in Egypt.²¹

Type	Publication	Context
Filler	Petrie, <i>Illahun</i> , Pl. XIX, 37 = BMC I, 1, 181, no. 981	Gurob, no context
Alabastra	BMC I, 1, 184, Fig. 260, A 991	Akhetaten
Alebastra	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. A 99	Akhetaten
Tea Cup	CVA: Danemark, Fas. II, Pl. LXIV, 13 = ArtC, p. 298, Fig. 561	Gurob
Tea Cup	BMC I, 1, 186, Fig. 263, no. A994.1	Akhetaten
Tea Cup	<i>Ibid.</i> No. A 994. 3	Akhetaten
Open Bowl	<i>Ibid.</i> , 187, Fig. 263, no. A996.1	Akhetaten
Stemmed Goblet	<i>Ibid.</i> 186, Fig. 261, no. A995	
Small Pithoid Amphora	<i>Ibid.</i> , 185, Fig. 261, No A992.1	
Small Pithoid Amphora	<i>Ibid.</i> no. A992.2	
Small Pithoid Amphora	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. A992.4	
Deep Crater	<i>Ibid.</i> , 185, Fig. 262, no. A993.3	
Deep Crater	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. A993.1 and 2	
Deep Crater	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. A993.4	
Bottle	<i>Ibid.</i> , 188, Fig. 268; no. A998.11	
Bottle	<i>City of Akhenaten</i> II, Pl. XLV, 1	Akhetaten
Bottle	BMC I, 1, 188, Fig. 268, no. A 998.9	
Bottle	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. A998.8	
Bottle	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. A998.1	
Bottle	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. A998.4	
Bottle	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. A998.6	
Bottle	<i>Ibid.</i> , 188, Fig. 268, no. A998.3	Akhetaten
Bottle	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. A998.2	Akhetaten
Bottle	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. A998.6	Akhetaten
Bottle	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. A998.7	
Stirrup Jar	<i>City of Akhenaten</i> II, Pl. XLV, 4	Akhenaten
Stirrup Jar	<i>Ibid.</i> ,	Akhenaten
Stirrup Jar	BMC I, 1, 188, Fig. 269, no. A999.1	Akhenaten
Stirrup Jar	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. A999.3	Akhenaten

²¹ LH III sherds and commerce are more generally discussed in Kantor A&O, pp. 79-84

Stirrup Jar	<i>Ibid.</i> 181, Fig. 252, no. A983	Gurob. No context
Stirrup Jar	Petrie, <i>Kahun</i> , pp. 42, 44-5, Pl. XXVIII.7 = Mpot, 171,36.	Gurob. House. Complete vessel .
Stirrup Jar	<i>Ibid.</i> , Pl. XXVIII.17	Late Dynasty Eighteen; LH III A, 2
Stirrup Jar	<i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 39, 42, 45, Pl. XXVIII.1 = BMC no. A987 = Mpot, no. 171, 35	Gurob. Grave 23, in coffin of Res. III A 2; Seti I. Complete vessel
Stirrup Jar	Petrie, <i>Illahun</i> , p. 19, Pl. XX.7 = Mpot, no. 178.12	Gurob, House Deposit, Group 7. Complete vessel
Stirrup Jar	<i>Ibid.</i> , Pl. XX.9 = Mpot, no. 195.14	Gurob, House Deposit, Group 7 Complete vessel
Stirrup Jar	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 17, Pl. XVII, 3; Cf. Chron. p. 114, no. 1	Gurob. House deposit Complete vessel
Stirrup Jar	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 17, Pl. XVII, 28. Cf. Chron. p. 114, no. 3	Gurob. House deposit
Stirrup Jar	Petrie, <i>Gizeh and Rifeh</i> . Pl. XXIII.42	Rifeh. Tomb of Pasar almost complete
Stirrup Jar	<i>Ibid.</i> , Pl. XXIII. 55	Rifeh. Almost complete vessel
Stirrup Jar	Engelbach et. al., <i>Riqqeh and Memphis</i> VI, Pl. XXII.2	Rifeh. Almost complete vessel
Stirrup Jar	<i>Ibid.</i> , Pl. XXII.3	Rifeh T. 420. Complete vessel
Stirrup Jar	<i>Ibid.</i> , Pl. XXII, 4.	Rifeh. T. 202
Stirrup Jar	Brunton and Engelbach, <i>Gurob</i> , p. 16-7. Pl. XXIX.39	Gurob. T. 605 complete vessel
Stirrup Jar ²²	Nubia 1910-1911, p. 187. Drawing in middle of page.	Cemetery 131 (behind village of Arabi Hilla) "Shaft and chamber tomb of New Kingdom." C. 50 burials - <i>beigaben</i> inadequately published
Stirrup Jar	Brunton and Engelbach, <i>Gurob</i> , Pl. XXIX.15	Gurob. T. 6. Cf. Eph. 1914, 110, Fig.17 (Messenian Pylos)
Stirrup Jar	Wainwright, <i>Balabish</i> , Pl. XXV.84	No grave number. Cf. Pro. II. 28, Fig. 141, no. 145
Stirrup Jar	<i>Ibid.</i> , Pl. XXV, 85	B. 22. Complete vessel
Stirrup Jar	<i>Ibid.</i> , Pl. XXV, 86	No number. Handles missing.
Stirrup Jar	<i>Ibid.</i> , Pl. XXV, 87	B 160. Complete vessel
Stirrup Jar	Petrie and Brunton, <i>Sedment</i> II, Pl. LXV. 97c	T. 1955. Complete vessel
Stirrup Jar	<i>Ibid.</i> , Pl. LIX, 5 = Mpot	T. 59 LH III B complete jar.

²² Despite sketchy drawing of this pot, it is certain that the papyrus of this stirrup jar has hooked stamens of LH III type; cf. Mpot, p. 293, Fig. 45. Mot. IX C, 126, 127, 129.

no. 172,6; p. 3733, Fig.
65, Mot 53.14: "curtailed
cuttle fish."
Stirrup Jar *Ibid.*, Pl. LIX, 3 T. 59 LH III B

The absolute chronology of Aegean archaeology is in great part based on connections with Egypt. The importance of this subject is mirrored in the amount of effort that has been spent on the task of collecting and elucidating the available materials. The purely archaeological data now appear to be amply sufficient to establish a general picture of the relations between the Aegean and Egypt. This framework must be used as a solid foundation to which should be added the evidence showing the impact of Aegean and Egyptian art. The decorative and stylistic details exemplifying this type of connection have been to a certain extent neglected, although they are of the highest importance since they indicate the extent to which it was possible for Aegean characteristics to penetrate into Egyptian workshops and supplement the native tradition. As Frankfort has pointed out (BSA XXXVII), this is a more fundamental type of influence than that shown by actually imported objects or tomb records of imports which, aside from their importance in establishing chronological synchronisms, merely prove that Egyptians could acquire a taste for exotic products.

Almost all of the Aegean imports surviving in Egypt consist of pots which may have been imported into the country as much for the commodities they contained as for themselves. In contrast to such pots which may occur in humble burials, are the gorgeous vessels of precious materials that were worthy of presentation²³ to pharaoh himself, and which by nature of their very costliness have been preserved only as representations in Egyptian tombs. In order to present in a succinct form the information gathered together, the archaeological data are here cited in tabular form. Cretan objects are tabulated before

²³ In view of the well known propensity of ancient oriental monarchs and their propagandists to misuse the term, we hesitate to apply the word tribute to these objects. Its use would probably suggest an inapplicable view of the nature of the Aegean relations; it is likely that the Egyptians returned the value of Aegean gifts in full, even though only scanty traces of imports have survived in the Northern lands.

Mainland forms. Objects cited in the column of "Parallels" are often preceded by references to the works in which the comparisons in question were first made. Wace and Blegen have pointed out a number of LH I-II parallels for the pots found in Egypt. Evans has connected almost all the vessels from the tomb walls with their Aegean equivalents.

The realization in recent years that only two or at most three out of the entire Late Bronze I-II series of Aegean vessels found in Egypt are of Cretan origin necessitates a reconstruction of the standard picture of Egypt's Aegean relations.²⁴ It has been assumed that the Nileland had close relations with Crete until the close of LM I B/LM II, a time which coincided with the destruction of the island's thalassocracy and the rise of Mycenaean trade and power. A logical and attractive statement of this view and its historical background has been given by Pendlebury,²⁵ but he himself, by his exposition of the Helladic character of most of the Aegean LB I-II pots from Egypt, provided the evidence with which to destroy it. He had suggested that during the earlier part of the Eighteenth Dynasty Cretan sea power completely dominated the commerce with Egypt, probably forcing the youthful Helladic centers which had been established by Minoan colonists, to seek other outlets by attempts to open up the Black Sea hinterland such as are mirrored in the tale of the Argonauts. For him the catastrophe that preceded the decline of Crete into the decadent LM III period was probably the result of a concerted effort on the part of Mainland groups to break the stranglehold of that island on their commerce, presumably with some such ostensible motivation as the Minotaur tribute of the Theseus story. Once this was accomplished the way to Egypt lay free. Egyptian objects soon arrived in Greece while the influx of stirrup jars began on the Nile.

When Pendlebury wrote his handbook of Cretan archaeology he did not change his views on this subject, although he was fully aware of the Mainland derivation of Aegean

²⁴ ArchC, pp. 223-4. *Klio* XXXII (1939), 137, 141, 143.

²⁵ *JEA* XVI (1930), 75-92.

LB vessels in Egypt²⁶. In order to reconcile this fact with the old picture he pointed out that the small LH forms were easily transported in contrast to LM II amphoras,²⁷ and suggested that the Minoans must have used tribute from the Mainland for their Egyptian trade. Since the shapes involved are extremely rare in Crete itself, he had to assume that these objects were shipped to Egypt directly from the Mainland without reembarking in Crete.²⁸ By this means he was able to fit the new knowledge into the old picture. Unfortunately it is hardly possible to accept his conclusions. Even if we assume that Greece paid tribute to Crete, it would be strange to find some parts of these dues in Egypt while practically no traces of them remain in Crete itself. All of the Mainland tribute could not have been sent on to Egypt. A more fundamental difficulty lies in the fact that students of Aegean culture have not agreed upon the nature of the political relationship existent between Crete and the Mainland. Sir Arthur Evans has been at the head of those who maintain that Knossos was the center of a Cretan empire which ruled Greece,²⁹ but this has been vigorously denied.³⁰ The only data available for settling the question are of course the

²⁶ Late Bronze I-II Aegean pottery from Egypt is illustrated in Kantor A&O, Pl. VII.

²⁷ ArchC, p. 230 and n. 1. However, the large amphora from Dira Abu'n Naga 20 or the Marseilles oinochoe would not be easy to ship.

²⁸ ArchC, p. 230.

²⁹ ArchC, pp. 225-6, 230, 286-7. PM IV, 283, 887. In addition to Minoan hegemony, Evans and Hall postulated an actual colonization of the Mainland by Cretans, who established the great Mycenaean citadels (PM II, 571, 626, 757. H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East* (London, 1852), pp. 57-61, 65).

³⁰ Wace and Blegen claim that the Cretan influence in the Peloponnesus is no greater than that of Greece in Etruria, which was never conquered or occupied by the Greeks (Klio XXXII [1939], 138-9). In 1921 Blegen had concluded that there was a steady evolution from Middle to Late Helladic without any signs of Minoan invasion or hegemony. At most he would admit the possibility of colonies of Minoan workmen (Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 125). Cf. also Georges E. Mylonas, "Athens and Minoan Crete", *Athenian Studies presented to William Scott Ferguson* (London, 1940), p. 7. Karo, following U. von Williamowitz-Moellendorff, explains the strong insular influence on LH I-II, in contrast to the independence of the Early and Middle Helladis, and the LH III culture, as a result of the great power of native Mainland princes who were now strong enough to raid Crete, carrying away booty and Minoan slaves. (Schgr., pp. 318, 346; a similar view is adopted by Snijder in *Kretische Kunst* (Berlin, 1936), p. 116). Karo continues his discussion of the problem, by stating that the reaction caused by Mainland raids produced a Cretan revival, so that in the last age of the island's glory (LM I B/ LM II) Minoan culture was able to stimulate the Mainland during a long period of peaceful relations, ensuing after the cessation of the Mycenaean raids. He would agree with Wace's suggestion that the shift from the Shaft Graves to tholoi probably represents the accession of a new dynasty. But more important than the change of burial custom, Karo points out, is the cultural change which resulted in complete Minoization. He guesses that the *Beigaben* of the tholoi of Mycenae would

archaeological evidence for cultural development. Both Karo and Snijder have been insistently pointing out the many differences between the Mainland and Minoan cultures and the persistence of such features despite the strong Minoizing tendencies of LH I-II.³¹ Under these circumstances Pendlebury's assumption that the LH I-II vases from Egypt still represent Cretan connections since they were part of Mainland tribute paid to that island, cannot be accepted. This leaves the rarity of Egyptian imports and influences on the Mainland as the only support for the hypothesis that it "was barred from direct traffic with Egypt."³² However, a critical survey of the Egyptian objects in LM I-II Crete³³ reveals that the main evidence consists of three finds of stone vases, the large group from Isopata being accompanied by some amulets. Aside from these three deposits, only one object, a scarab bearing the name of Ti possesses definite provenience. Two other scarabs and faience South-flower ornaments either have indefinite proveniences or unsatisfactory contexts. Ivory statuettes of Middle Kingdom style and beads of Hyksos character do not afford good indices of Cretan contacts with the New Kingdom, but may have been heirlooms from earlier times. Viewed in this light the Cretan list no longer forms such an impressive contrast to the shorter inventory found in the Mainland which does include a well-

have been completely Cretan in character. The importance of the Shaft Graves lies in the fact that they illustrate the beginnings of Minoan influences and show the independence of the Mycenaean princes and their culture, followed by their gradual adoption of the insular civilization (Schgr., p. 345).

³¹ G. A. S. Snijder, *Kretische Kunst* (Berlin, 1936), pp. 115-30. Schgr., pp. 342-3. Karo presents a summary of the current views: imported Minoan pottery is rare and much of the LH ornament is independent. On the Mainland there are fewer religious documents nor do women assume the same striking prominence as in Crete. The contrast between the warlike orientation of LH representations and the peacefulness of those of Crete is striking. Grave stelae and funerary masks are found only in Greece. When Karo argues that if the Cretans had settled on the Mainland, their exposed situation would have caused them to build fortification even though they had never done that at home, but this would not explain the immense megalithic constructions which occur at Mycenae and Tiryns. Moreover, even if Evans' early date for the tholoi at Mycenae were justified, it would be inexplicable to find Minoan princes creating such completely new forms while their island contemporaries were building graves like the Temple Tomb, the Tomb of the Double Axes, or the Isopata graves. The debated question of the origin of the tholos is now further complicated by Hutchinson's recent discovery of a tholos at Isopata, which he considers to have been built around the beginning of LM I on the basis of an inscription and pottery (MM III, LM I-II) (ILN, Mar 2, 1940, 284-5)..

³² ArchC, p.230. Cf. also Schgr., p. 319.

³³ J. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca* (Cambridge, 1920), and list in JEA XVI (1930).

documented scarab of Hatshepsut at Prosymna, and a faience ape with the cartouche of Amenhotep II, unfortunately from an unrecorded context in the Mycenae acropolis, as well as stone vases of Egyptian type which have hitherto been considered as imports from Crete.³⁴ It now seems impossible to deny that direct relations between the Mainland of Greece and Egypt and Asia also were well established by the early Eighteenth Dynasty.³⁵

There exist other factors supporting this assertion. According to Karo, the poverty and lack of exportable commodities in the Argolid, the center of Mycenaean culture, would naturally explain the absence of far-flung connections.³⁶ This would hold true for LH I-II, when he denies the existence of direct trade between Greece and Egypt, but is suddenly changed with the beginning of LH III,³⁷ when the heretofore poverty-stricken Mainland began to ship its cargoes to Egypt and many other parts of the Near East.³⁸ The anomaly between this situation and that assumed for LH I-II is very peculiar, and it seems necessary to consider the great expansion and power of LH III as the results of developments that were already well begun in LH I-II. Even though much of the pottery spread by this great wave of Mycenaean trade and so strongly in evidence along the Syrian coast lines and at Tell el Amarna, is Levanto-Helladic in style and may be signs of the enterprises of thriving LH colonies, it nevertheless remains impossible to give a satisfactory explanation for the

³⁴ The main bulk of Egyptian exports to Greece at this time may have consisted, not of manufactured objects, but of raw materials, of which naturally no evidence has remained.

³⁵ *Klio* XXXII (1939), 137. Such a conclusion unfortunately negates Pendlebury's explanation for the widespread devastation of Cretan sites at the end of LM I B/LM II, which he considered the result of a well organized expedition of Mainland colonists on the Mainland, determined to end the Minoan stranglehold on their commerce. Once this had been accomplished they retired, without desiring to retain permanent control over the island (*JEA* XVI (1930), 89-92; *ArchC*, pp. 287-9).

³⁶ *Schgr.*, pp. 317-8. *RE* VIII, 381.

³⁷ That is, at the beginning of Furumark's LH III A, 2 stage. He has distinguished, in more detail than others, a transitional LH III A, 1 phase, filling a gap between LH II materials and the developed LH III A, 2 "Tell el Amarna" style (*MChron.*, pp. 19, 99, 112-3; *Mpot*, p. 504).

³⁸ Much of the Levanto-Helladic pottery in the Near East was locally manufactured, presumably by Helladic trading colonies, but this does not preclude direct connections with the Mainland, in addition (Cf. for instance *AJA* XLI (1937), 283). Apparently the exact origin of much of the LH III pottery, especially of the Levanto-Helladic pictorial style, has not yet been definitely established, and pertinent evidence seems to be still unpublished (*Klio* XXXII [1939], 135-7; *AJA* XLVII [1943], 254; Sally Anderson, unpublished thesis).

establishment of such colonies and of the direct contacts between the Mainland and Egypt attested by the numerous Egyptian bibelots from LH III contexts in Greece, on the basis of a hypothesis which assumes that the homeland of Helladic culture remained fairly poor, devoid of exchangeable goods, and isolated during the early part of the LB age. This cannot have been true. LH II remains attest to considerable wealth and the LH I-II pots from Egypt and others from Cyprus,³⁹ Troy,⁴⁰ Ras Shamra,⁴¹ Lachish,⁴² and possibly Gezer⁴³ show that the Mycenaean trading activities were already in progress before LH III, although they reached their climax then. The beginnings of this expansion were not prevented by the Cretans, whose civilization was still active and powerful in LM I-II.⁴⁴ The devastation of Minoan cities at the beginning of LH III coincided with the appearance in force of the developed Levanto-Helladic *Koine*; whether there is a causal relationship between the two phenomena is a question that we cannot decide here.⁴⁵

The picture of Aegean-Egyptian relations built up on the basis of the archaeological evidence must be completed by a survey of certain artistic characters which may reveal either the operation of Egyptian influence in the Aegean, or Aegean features which were

³⁹ Although it was not until Late Cypriote II that great masses of LH III pottery appeared, a few LH I, as well as LC and LM I-II, vessels are found in Late Cypriote I (Gjersted, *Studies. Prehistoric Cyprus* (Uppsala, 1906), 218-9, 278-280).

⁴⁰ AJA XLI (1937), 35, Fig. 15 (Troy VI; identical with Mpot, Mot. 12, aa; LH II B; cf. Chapter VIII, p. 339 and n. 206).

⁴¹ Klio XXXII (1939), 137 and n. 7; Pl. III, 5. Squat alabastron with spiral palms on long wavy stems. Found with cup, bottle, and bilbil similar to those illustrated in Syria XIV (1933), 98, Fig. 3, 8, 2, 7. For close parallels to the palms cf. EPH (1906), Pl. XII, top left.

⁴² Klio XXII (1939), 137 and n. 5 = ILN, Oct. 3, 1936, 572, Fig. 7 = *Lachish* II, p. 83; Pls XLIX, 257, LVIII, B, 5 (locus-D. I., near altar; goblet with solid ivy leaves connected by wavy lines; LH II; assigned to Structure I).

⁴³ Klio XXXII (1939), 137; Fimmen, *Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1924), p. 98, Fig. 83; possibly LH II.

⁴⁴ Pendlebury has noted that, if the view of the independent status of the Mainland is accepted, then it and Crete must be considered as competitors for oriental trade (ArchC, p. 229 and n. 3). The available evidence, which may be misleading owing to its incompleteness, suggests that Crete had already lost almost all its MM markets to Helladic merchants. Two pots from Egypt and rare vessels in Greece itself are the only LM exports preserved. There are, in addition, certain sherds found at Samarra on the Upper Euphrates, referred to by Karo as LM; they are unpublished and their exact nature remains mysterious.

⁴⁵ All these problems will undoubtedly be discussed in detail in Furumark's forthcoming *History of Mycenaean Pottery*. Cf. also Klio XXXII (1939), 141.

taken over by some Egyptian artists. On the whole, despite the sturdy independence of her artistic traditions, Egypt appears to have received more than she gave. The sudden appearance of wall painting in MM III has been attributed to Egyptian influence,⁴⁶ and Evans has pointed out that some of the murals represent Egyptianizing scenes. It is in such generalized fashion that Egypt affected Crete, while the Aegean was able to produce in Egypt at least the evanescent appearance of specific foreign traits. Although the important effects of the Aegean on Egyptian art have become almost proverbial in the mouths of art historians, and some examples are well known, there remains a number of features which have not received the attention they deserve.

DECORATIVE PATTERNS⁴⁷

In the New Kingdom the decorators used the limited number of spiral patterns in their repertoire repeatedly. Most of these are direct continuations of the Middle Kingdom scarab designs. Simple, running s-spirals appear as architectural designs (Kantor A&O, Pl. I K),⁴⁸ as friezes on cabinet work,⁴⁹ and on a variety of small objects.⁵⁰ The

⁴⁶ ArchC, pp. 222, 287. BSA XXXVII (1936-7), 116-17). Frankfort, *Mural Painting of El-'Amarna* (London, 1929), p. 21.

⁴⁷ This section has been expanded and illustrated in Kantor A&O, pp.56-61.

⁴⁸ AAA XIV (1927), Pls. XXI, XXIII, XXV (Paheqmen, Qurneh 343; early Dyn. XVIII). Jequier, *Decoration Egyptienne* (Paris, 1911), Pl. XX, 33 (Anena, Qurneh 81; Amenhotep I-Tuthmosis III). *Amenemhet*, Pl. XXXII, c (son of Dhutmosi, Qurneh 82; Tuthmosis III). Jequier, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIII, 31 (Suemnut, Qurneh 92; Amenhotep II; papyrus, lily pendants). BMMA XVII (1922), Dec., Pt II, 51, Fig. 2 = Schiaparelli, *Tomba di "Cha"*, p. 186, Fig. 166. *Men et al*, Pl. XXX, c (Qurneh 226; Amenhotep III). *Amarna* VI, Pl. XXIII (Ay, T. 25; soffit of E. architrave; border). *Neferhotep*, Pl. LVII, E (Khokhah 49, Ai). Bruyere, Kuentz, *Tombes thebaines* (IFAO) Vol. LIV, Pl. III (Nekhtmin, Deir el-Medineh 291; late Dyn XVIII). Bruyere, *Deir el-Medineh* 1923-24, (IFAO), Vol. II, Pl. XI, 23 (Neferhotep, 216 B, vault. Haremhab-Ramses II). Foucart, *Tombes thebaines* (Inst. fr. arch or) Vol. LVII, "Le tombeau de Panhesy, 9, Fig. 1 (Dira Abu'n-Naga 16; Ramses II). Jequier, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXIV, XXV, 49-50 (Nespenefrhor, Qurneh 68, Hrihor, Dyn. XXI). Bossert, *op. cit.*, p. 301, Fig. 566 (Thebes, fragment of a temple ceiling; Berlin).

⁴⁹ Quibell, *Tomb of Yuua and Thuiu* (Cat. Caire), Pl. XXXVI, 51112 (vertical borders on back of chair).

⁵⁰ Necklace: Vernier, *Bijoux et Orfevres*, III (Cat. Caire), Pls. LII, 52, 672; LXV, 52, 37 (Aahotep, broad collars with rows of running spirals. Quivers: Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallee des Rois* (Cat. Caire), Pl. X, 24071 (Amenhotep II). Qenamun, Pl. XXIV, upper right (Qurneh 93; Amenhotep II). Leather trapping: Carter, *The Tomb of Tuthmosis IV* (Cat. Caire), p. 37, Fig. 30, no. 46111. Bands on chariot: Quibell, *op. cit.*, Pl. LII, 51188.

popularity of the quadruple spiral pattern in the Middle Kingdom has already been reviewed.⁵¹ Since both these spiral motives are well known on Middle Kingdom scarabs, their widespread New Kingdom use may be an indigenous Egyptian development, not immediately dependent on Aegean stimulation. Nevertheless, we have already noted that the LM I use of rapport quadruple spirals may have had some causative relation to the use of that design in the New Kingdom. The frequent use of running spiral borders, likewise, may have been in part suggested by their appearance on Aegean imports.⁵² The all-over nature of the spiral pattern from the ceiling of the tomb of Amenemhet, son of Dhutmosi (Kantor A&O, Pl. I K) is different from anything found on scarabs or elsewhere in Egypt, suggests a derivation from some Aegean textile pattern, imported in the New Kingdom.

In addition to the designs whose antecedents go back to the Minoan influence prevalent in the Twelfth Dynasty, few new importations appear in the earlier part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. They never became common, possibly because they lacked the long acclimatization period which the running and quadruple spirals had enjoyed on the scarabs.

SPIRAL RAPPORT WITH FILLING MOTIVES⁵³

The reign of Hatshepsut provides examples of an unending rapport of spirals, with each free curl ending in a knop. Such a pattern is unusual in Egypt and the details of the version preserved on the ceiling of the passageway in the tomb of Hepusonb show that the Egyptian artist did not value highly the continuous spiral nature of the design which he was using.⁵⁴ The main spiral network is white, but is suddenly interrupted at the point that would be the beginning of a spiral coil by a solid blue filling. The lozenge-shaped areas remaining between the spirals are red and some of this red background appears as a narrow

⁵¹ Chapter IX, pp. 375f.

⁵² See Kantor A&O, Pl. IX D.

⁵³ Expanded and illustrated in Kantor A&O, pp. 59-61.

curved line which ends in the bud-like form. The other version, on the cabin of a large state ship from Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el Bahri (Kantor A&O, Pl. XI A),⁵⁵ despite its sketchy character, makes clear that the artist of Hepusob allowed the negative, red background to usurp the end of his positive spiral curls.⁵⁶ Fragments said to have come originally from another tomb, but found on the floor of Dira Abu'n Naga 162, belonging to a Qenamun, have been reconstructed by Davies, who dates them to the reign of Tuthmosis III (Kantor A&O, Pl. XI C).⁵⁷ This design forms a good parallel to that of Hepusob, since here too the spiral network is white, but the curls end in detailed fan palmettes instead of buds. The background color appears in the lozenges and in a narrow fringe around the palmettes. A ceiling pattern from the tomb of Amenmose, contemporary with the earlier part of Tuthmosis III's reign, is very similar (Kantor A&O, Pl. XI D).⁵⁸ The spirals are painted in a dark color and the white background on which the palmettes are placed is lighter than the tinge of the lozenges. Leather pieces, presumably parts of harness, from the tomb of Amenhotep II have this design carefully tooled on them (Kantor A&O, Pl. XI E).⁵⁹ They mark the end of the real life of the design; it does occur once again as an archaistic revival in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty tomb of Besenmut.⁶⁰

The alien character of this rapport design is apparent even though most of the movement of the running spirals has been lost in the Egyptian versions. They exemplify a

⁵⁴ Jequier, *op. cit.*, Pl XXVIII, 43 (Qurneh 67; Hatshepsut). The remarks to follow are unavoidably based on the sole reproduction of the design extant. They are made with the reservation that the details of Jaquier's plate may be inaccurate.

⁵⁵ *Deir el Bahri* IV, Pl. LXXXIX. The spiral network here is broken down into squares.

⁵⁶ There remains the likelihood that this confusion may have been caused by the modern copyist. It might be argued, *a priori*, that such a mistake would be likely on the part of an Egyptian accustomed to working only with a fairly limited number of spiral patterns. However, this confusion does not recur in any other extant examples of the design.

⁵⁷ BMMA XVII (1922), Dec., Pt. II, 50, Fig. 1, 51 and n. 1.

⁵⁸ MDIAA IV (1933), Pl. III, b (Qurneh 251).

⁵⁹ Daressy, *Fouilles dans le Vallee des Rois* (Cat. Caire), Pl. XXII, 24146, 24147. In the time of the succeeding king, Tuthmosis IV, patterns showing series of rosette-filled circles separated by lozenges possibly represent degenerate simplifications of the filled spiral rapport, but it is more likely that these simple designs were independently developed (Jequier, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXI, 22 [Heqereneh, Qurneh 64]. *Two Officials*, Pl. XXXVII, Nebamun, Qurneh 90])

very definite modification or development whose appearance cannot be explained by citing examples of running spirals found on scarabs.⁶¹ It is to the Mainland of Greece that we must look for the source of the motive. A dagger from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae is ornamented by three rows of running spirals filled with rosettes; the same pattern was produced on the hilt.⁶² Related with this is the design on a dagger from Grave V consisting of an interlocked network of triquetral spiral groups filled by two kinds of rosettes.⁶³ A plaque from Grave III appears to be the earliest known design related to the filled spiral rapport motive.⁶⁴ It bears a series of contiguous s-spiral lines. Each has one free end that changes into a trilobate termination. The enclosed areas are filled by irregularly lobed

⁶⁰ BMMA XVII (1922), Dec, Pt. II, 51, n. 1 (Dira Abu'n Naga 160).

⁶¹ Newberry, *Scarab-shaped Seals* (Cat. Caire), Pl. XIII, 36569 (Dyn. XII), 36548 (Hyksos). *Ancient Egypt*, III (1916), 27, no. 5 (Grenfell coll.; New Kingdom according to Petrie). Petrie, *Button and Design Scarabs* (London, 1925), Pl. VII, 101 (no date).

⁶² Schgr., Pl. LXXXIX, 396 (drawing), XC (photo).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Pls. XCI, XCII, 744. The ornament was incised on gold leaf and the impressions filled with niello. Graves IV and V each contained several bodies, which were apparently not all interred together. Among the other *Beigaben* of IV were daggers showing a lion hunt, running lions, or griffins, and the famous silver rhyton with representations of an attack on a fortified town. Among the metal objects of V are daggers showing griffins, lilies, or a "Nile landscape," a sword with horses, and a gold beaker engraved with lions. The Shaft Graves rich in metal work often contained but little pottery; however in Shaft Grave V were found some vases imitating LM I A pottery. These burials must belong well into the LH I period.

⁶⁴ Like IV and V, Grave III, in which three male bodies were found, did not contain a homogeneous group of objects. Karo has distinguished earlier and later groups of metal objects (Schgr., p. 256). To the first belong rounded metal loops, the ends curling into spirals (*Ibid.*, Pl. XX, 53-5), spiral coils fastened to fold wire in varying arrangements (*Ibid.*, Pl. XXI, 56-9, 63, 69), and gold plaques engraved with butterflies or an octopus (*Ibid.*, Pl. XXVIII, 2, 4, 18). The second includes plaques with *waz*-lilies or flying birds (*Ibid.*, Pl. XXI, 23-4), a large hair-pin (*Ibid.*, Pl. XXX, 75), and gold leaf inlays representing felines attacking bulls (*Ibid.*, Pl. XXXIII, 119-20). With this later group Karo associates the only pot, a one-handed squat jug (*Ibid.*, Pl. CLXVI, 156). He gives no reason for this but was presumably motivated by the fact that many of the younger metal pieces are typically LH in character and show the impact of Minoan influence while the jug, too, is of Mycenaean character. It is now known to belong with a group of early LH I vessels from Prosymna (Pro. I, 389; II, 162, Fig. 652, no. 343), and if it was actually deposited with the second group of metal objects they would have to be placed in the very early phase of LH I. However, the signs of intensive Cretan influence which they display contrasts strongly with markedly unMinoan character of the jug, which can therefore be assigned with more likelihood to the first, rather than the second group of metal objects. The plaque bearing the spiral ornament in question is one of a pair of narrow gold foil decorations. Karo does not assign them to either of his two groups, but since one bears designs executed in an animal style strikingly different from that of the bull hunt of the second group, this pair must belong among the earliest pieces, presumably dated to the early part of LH I by the jug. (If Karo's connection of the jug with the second group is accepted, that would force the earlier object to be pushed still further back in the time sequence).

rosettes.⁶⁵ Although the absence of definite spirals differentiates this pattern from the decoration of the weapons, it must be considered as, if not an early stage of the design, a related collateral development.

By LH II, filled spiral rapports had become a characteristic motive of the Mainland Palace Style. Stately series of spirals run over the entire body surface of large amphoras from Kakovatos, Berbati, and Dendra. The irregular spaces between the spiral rows are filled by lozenges which can elongate themselves in ameboid manner when necessary; they may be enlivened by quatrefoils. Triangular-tipped papyrus or brittle stars fill the spiral coils (Kantor A&O, Pl. XII A, G).⁶⁶ Closely related with the three large jars is a smaller one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which must have had a Mainland origin (Kantor A&O, Pl. XII E).⁶⁷ This type of spiral band was not always used as an all-over pattern. The four bands on a pithoid amphora from Ismenion are filled alternately by tortoise shell ripple and spirals filled with triangular-tipped leaves (Kantor A&O, Pl. XII D).⁶⁸

A brief survey of Cretan materials is sufficient to prove the Mainland character of the spiral rapport motive. At Knossos a single running spiral band filled with rosettes decorates walls (Kantor A&O, Pl. XII C) or pots (Kantor A&O, Pl. XII F) in LM I B - LM II;⁶⁹ but there is only one case known to us in which such a band is filled by any motive

⁶⁵ It is interesting to note that the "spiral" band on the jug from Grave III encloses foliate motives, analogous to the circumscribed rosettes on the gold foil.

⁶⁶ AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XVII (Kakovatos, Tholos A, no. 4); ILN, Feb 15, 1936, 279, Fig. 13 (Berbati, tholos, illustrated in Kantor A&O, Pl. XII, H); ILN, Aug. 19, 1939, 314, top right (Dendra, tholos). Kurt Müller, discussing the affinities of the Kakovatos vase in 1909, cited as parallels a few sherds from Knossos and an amphora in the possession of Mrs. Mela Schliemann, said to be from Crete. This is Motive 46, 1 of MPot, p. 353, Fig. 59. Furumark describes it as an early type of band spiral, the Mainland equivalent of the LM I B spiral derived from mural decorations.

⁶⁷ BMMA XIX (1924), 97, Fig. 1; said to have come from Knossos. If this provenience is correct, the amphora can be considered an import from the Mainland. It bears only two rows of spirals, which curl around small solid centers.

⁶⁸ Delt. III (1917), 486, Fig. 211 (T. 3, no. 2). Triangular blocks serve as fillings in the corners of spiral bands.

⁶⁹ PM III, 303, Fig. 196; Pl. XXIII (Loggia of Grand staircase; restored; end of LM I A); 344-5, Figs. 228-9 (Hall of the Double Axes; restored); 382-4, Figs. 253-5 (bath-room; end of LM I A). PM IV, 340, Fig. 282 (N. W. Palace border, LH II amphora); cf. *Ibid*, Fig. 283 (Deiras, T. 6; LH II).

other than spirals.⁷⁰ It is true that a LM II amphora from Knossos is covered by vertical rows of rosette-filled spirals, but they are juxtaposed so as to produce triangular, not rhombic, interstices; moreover, the whole nature of the design is changed by the superposition of large painted shields, an imitation of certain wall decorations (Kantor A&O, PL XII I).⁷¹ These examples can hardly be said to represent even the same type of spiral band as on the Mainland. There is, however, a long-necked ewer which does show a single running spiral series with lozenge filling between it and the basal arcading (Kantor A&O, Pl. XII B).⁷² Its appearance does little more than accentuate the absence of this motive in Crete.

A Minoan source for this motive is impossible. It could have come only from the Mainland where its first trace is the plaque from Grave III, belonging to an early stage of LH I.⁷³ In a more advanced phase of LH I, the designs on the two weapons from the Shaft Graves IV and V mark the first appearance of a developed form of the pattern. By this time Mainland connections with Egypt have begun. Nevertheless, it was not until the design was adopted on the early LH II amphoras, approximately contemporary with the reign of Tuthmosis III,⁷⁴ that it reached the stage in which it was transmitted to Egypt. A remarkable coincidence, the preservation of the fragmentary amphora with tortoise shell rippling from Dira Abu'n Naga 20⁷⁵ suggests that the design may have actually been carried to Egypt by large jars similar to those on which it occurs in Greece. If those scholars who have interpreted the designs on the cabins of boats as cloths or rugs thrown over these structures are correct,⁷⁶ there also exists the possibility that the motive was

⁷⁰ H. B. Hawes et al, *Gournia, Vasiliki, etc* (Philadelphia, 1908), Pls. VII, 27; F (C 58; LM I).

⁷¹ PM IV, p. 341, Fig. 284 (Knossos, borders of North-West Sanctuary Hall, LM II).

⁷² BSA Sup. I, 43, Fig. 32 (Palaikastro; apparently found in a lane S. E. of House 36-43; LM I B).

⁷³ This would be approximately contemporaneous in Crete with the MM III B - LM I A transitional phase, and in Egypt with the latter part of the Second Intermediate period.

⁷⁴ Cf. ArchC, p. 301, chart.

⁷⁵ It possesses a range from Hatshepsut to Tuthmosis III, and is reminiscent of the Ismenion amphora with both tortoise shell and spiral bands.

⁷⁶ *Dec. Art*, p. 29. W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches II* (Washington, DC, 1906-20), p. 11.

carried by the medium of textiles. It appears on the cabin of a ship of Hatshepsut. However it was imported, the filled spiral rapport motive is the first item proving that Mainland exports to Egypt were not limited to pottery.

INTERLOCKED CROSS PATTERN⁷⁷

The ceiling pattern of interlocked blue, yellow, and green crosses from the tomb of Amenemhet, son of Dhutmose has long been recognized as a pattern derived from the Aegean (Kantor A&O, Pl. X J).⁷⁸ It is the only example known in Egypt and its appearance here, in the same tomb that also contains the unusual and vigorous running-spiral rapport pattern⁷⁹ forms a valuable index of the strength of Aegean influence in the reign of Tuthmosis III.

The fundamental interlocked character of this Amenemhet pattern is already exemplified in Crete on EM III seals.⁸⁰ The gold pommel of a sword from Mallia is embossed with the figure of an acrobat turning a somersault; his kilt is covered by rows of interlocked T-units. This weapon was found in the northwest section of the first palace, in deposits that contained rare MM I sherds, a beaked-spout of stone, and a small cylindrical cup (Kantor A&O, Pl. X E).⁸¹ The excavator concludes that it must be earlier than MM III B when the second palace was constructed.⁸² In a MM III context at Knossos were found

⁷⁷ This section has been expanded and illustrated in Kantor A&O, pp.58-9.

⁷⁸ *Amenemhet*, p. 12, 70; Pl. XXXII, D (Qurneh 82). A biographical stela from this tomb is dated to the twenty-eighth year of Tuthmosis III; soffit of doorway into passage). Rodenwaldt in *JdI* XXXIV (1919), 103 ff. Aegean designs of this type are discussed by Matz, *op. cit.*, pp. 149 ff.

⁷⁹ *Amenemhet*, Pl XXXII. In Egypt this design recurs much later on the first chariot of Tutankhamun. There the two outside panels are covered by rows of spirals curving in accordance with the outline of the chariot body (Carter, *Tomb Tut.*, Pls. XVII, A; XXXVII).

⁸⁰ Cf. Chapter IX, p. 378 and n. 88.

⁸¹ Fernand Chapouthier, *Deux Épées d'apparat découvertes en 1936 au palais de Mallia* (Paris, 1938), pp. 12-17, 23, 27, 32, 47 and passim; Figs. 1-3, 7, 9, 14 a, 18; frontispiece and Pls. I, VIII-XX. Chapouthier refers to much the same pattern appearing on a gold plaque from Krysolakko (*Ibid.*, p. 38, n. 5). BCH (1930) 408, Fig. 2.

⁸² In this case it would presumably be a part of the developing representative tendency, traces of which remain on MM II seals and in the MM II B faience plaques from Knossos representing houses, plants, goats, and human figures (Cf. PM I, 272ff. and opposite 306, figs. 226, p. 309, Fig. 228). However, the acrobat on the Mallia sword shows strong affinities with acrobatic figures on seals, characteristic of MM III.

a number of trilobate faience inlays that once decorated a wooden box. They must have once been interlocked in some pattern.⁸³

These premonitory examples are succeeded in the MM III B - LM I A transitional phase by the first definite example of the interlocked cross pattern. It occurs on the skirt of a gaily dressed woman from one of the Hagia Triada mural fragments (Kantor A&O, Pl. X F).⁸⁴ The rounded ends of the crosses here and their band-like character make them closely comparable to the Egyptian form of the motive. In LM I B the Cupbearer and figure twenty-two of the Processional painting wear kilts with square-ended crosses (Kantor A&O, Pl. X G).⁸⁵ A minute fragment of plaster painted with a variant of this same design appears to have been part of a ceiling at Knossos (Kantor A&O, Pl. X D).⁸⁶ The popularity of the motive in the Aegean is attested by its recurrence on the skirt of a woman of a LH III mural from Mycenae (Kantor A&O, Pl. X I).⁸⁷ Although it did spread eventually to the Mainland, we possess no proof that the interlocked cross design existed there in LH I-II. This is not impossible in view of our scanty knowledge of textile designs; nevertheless, all the available evidence, especially the close similarity between the Hagia Triada and Amenemhet patterns indicates Crete as the source of this motive.

Most of the Aegean examples occur as representations of textiles. This is direct evidence for the hypothesis already made, that many designs were introduced into Egypt by imported textiles.⁸⁸ Evidence for this is also to be gleaned from Egyptian tombs. Four of the Keftians and one Syrian of Menkheperra's tomb bear folded cloths. Although we

⁸³ PM I, 451, Fig. 324 (sixth cist below the long Gallery; some had been covered with gold foil). Matz, *op. cit.*, p. 151, n. 4, refers to similar pieces in the Museo preistorico in Rome, that must come either from Phaestos or Hagia Triada.

⁸⁴ *MonAnt.*, Vol XIII, (1903), Pl. X (= Bossert, *op. cit.*, 137, Fig. 247 = PM II, 733, Fig. 459, a).

⁸⁵ PM II, 707, Fig. 443; 729, Fig. 456, d; Pl. XII, Sup. Pl. XXVII.

⁸⁶ *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (1902), 117, Figs. 40 a; 128, Fig. 68. (Cf. also Gotsmich, *Entwicklungsgang der kretischen Ornamentik* (Wien, 1923), p. 38, Fig. 21).

⁸⁷ *JdI* XXXIV (1919), Pl. IX, 104 ff.

⁸⁸ For suggestions as to the importance of commerce in patterned cloths cf. Frankfort in *BSA* XXXVII (1936-7), 117 (Asiatic textiles imported into Crete, bringing with them sphinx and griffin motives).

possess practically no information concerning the uses to which the Egyptians put foreign textiles, it appears certain that they provided a ready market for such importations.⁸⁹

AEGEAN INFLUENCES IN THE EGYPTIAN ANIMAL STYLE⁹⁰

Egyptian traditions for the representation of scenes of animal life, and of hunts, began their development on predynastic carved ivories.⁹¹ By the middle of the First Dynasty many elements of the classical Egyptian animal style are already apparent in two groups of gazelles attacked by hounds on a disc from the tomb of Hemaka at Saqqara.⁹² The first example in the long series of Egyptian hunting scenes are contemporary with the reign of Snefru and, from that time on, there is no lack of material exemplifying the conventions adopted by the Egyptians for showing moving animals.⁹³ The most striking characteristic of the Egyptian animal style is probably the rule decreeing that, no matter how violently they flee their attackers, animals must be shown with all four feet firmly planted on ground lines (Kantor A&O, Pl. XVI A, D, I). Recognized deviations from the normal rule were formed by certain stock motives, such as wounded, rearing ruminants or a hyena endeavoring to extract the arrow transfixing it.⁹⁴ By the Middle Kingdom galloping ruminants spread their feet far apart (Kantor A&O, Pl. XV A-C). Additional variation was introduced by showing some of the beasts going up and down hills. Since their feet remained supported by the large, irregular desert hillocks, the requirements of the ground-

⁸⁹ Patterned robes were rarely shown in New Kingdom tombs, but a tunic from Tutankhamun's tomb was elaborately embroidered (Cf. Chapter XII). The possibility that textiles were used to cover boat cabins has already been referred to. We can only guess that carpets, hangings, cushions and the like must have been important adjuncts to the furnishings of Egyptian houses.

⁹⁰ Expanded and illustrated in Kantor A&O, pp.62-69

⁹¹ JNES III (1944), p. 133f.

⁹² W. B. Emery, *Excavations at Saqqara. The Tomb of Hemaka* (Cairo, 1938) Frontispiece.

⁹³ The general scheme of composition applied to these scenes does not concern us here. It usually consisted of a series of registers balanced by a large figure of the tomb owner, who either watched the attempts of his servants, or himself shot at the game. In the Old and Middle Kingdom he is on foot, but often rides in a chariot in the New Kingdom (cf. Wegener, MDIAA IV (1933), 79).

⁹⁴ L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'aabu-Re'*, ii: *Die Wandbilder* (WVDOG, XXVI), Pl. XVII (Abusir; Vth Dynasty).

line rule are fulfilled.⁹⁵ This fitting together of irregular ground lines with diagonally placed animals continued in the New Kingdom.⁹⁶ At times the greater latitude enjoyed by Eighteenth Dynasty artists resulted in the omission of the ground lines from some figures, producing a fairly free effect.⁹⁷ This release of animals from their support was a development contrasting strongly with previous Egyptian traditions.⁹⁸ The spread of the tendency was limited to the extent that no hunting scene dispensed altogether with registration, and some artists remained more conservative than the creators of the scenes cited above. It is not misleading to consider the subservience to ground lines as one of the most important normal characteristics of the Egyptian animal style. With this is correlated the fitting of the animal bodies into an approximate rectangle, their legs not normally spread far enough apart in their gallop so as to lift their feet above the ground, and the straight line of their backs paralleling their support.⁹⁹ In addition, the Egyptian artists maintained the strict unity of direction of all parts of the body except the head. Some animals look back at

⁹⁵ *Meir*, I, pls. VI-VIII. BMMA XVIII (1923) Dec., pt. ii, p. 17, fig. 10 (Khety; Deir el Bahri 211; Xith Dynasty)

⁹⁶ *Atlas* I, Pl. LIII (Amenemhet, Qurneh 53; Tuthmosis III). BMMA, XVII (1932), Mar., Pt. II, 59, Fig. 10 (Rekhmire, Qurneh 100; Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep II); this is essentially the same as Senbi's scene, though here the ground line has become doubled).

⁹⁷ *Atlas* I, Pls. LIII (hyenas, hare, hedgehog), CCCLIII (Mentiwi, Qurneh 172; Amenhotep II), I and XXIX (Userhet, Qurneh 56; Amenhotep III). Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. XXII (User, Qurneh 21; Amenhotep I-Tuthmosis III).

⁹⁸ Before the New Kingdom exceptions to the ground line rule are extremely rare, aside from the recognized motives mentioned above. A wounded Sabel antelope of Sahure (Borchardt, *op. cit.* pl. XVII) and a frightened bull from the tomb of Baqt I (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, Pl. XXXI; Dynasty XI) strike out with their hind legs. Another Sabel (?) antelope of Sahure raises its wounded foot from the ground. A Mendes antelope in Senbi's hunt (Blackman, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. VI) leaps downward with its forelegs raised off the ground. The originality of this relief was probably equalled by a destroyed scene in the Eleventh Dynasty tomb of Kheti (BMMA XVIII [1923], Dec., Pt. II, 17, Fig. 10). The most striking exception is the little hare in the bottom register of Senbi's desert enclosure (Kantor A&O, Pl. XV C: cf. JAOS LVI, 1936, p. 185), but even though its hind legs are high in the air, the animal's body still forms a roughly rectangular pattern, with a flat back.

⁹⁹ Some of the specialized motives, collapsing or dead animals, sleeping or parturient ruminants are exceptions.

their pursuers, but any other shift of the body axis was impossible (Kantor A&O, Pl. XVI E; XIX A-C, E).¹⁰⁰

These Egyptian conventions were not abandoned in the New Kingdom but continued to play a fundamental part in the production of the hunting scenes. Nevertheless, there is a marked change to be observed. The desert has now become the setting for scenes of wild confusion. The hunted beasts rush wildly to and fro. The impression of a dense throng is caused, in part by the crowding together of more animals within a limited space than had been the custom in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The motive of animals falling headlong is apparently a New Kingdom invention and adds greatly to the confusion (Kantor A&O, Pl. XVII E), as does the omission of ground lines. Although none of these factors need necessarily be considered as features foreign to Egypt, there also exist animals which violate all the heretofore ruling canons of Egyptian tradition. Animals in the flying gallop are the best known examples. After the study of this motive by Saloman Reinach in 1900, its derivation from Crete was accepted axiomatically, until the prevalent view was challenged by Edgerton.¹⁰¹ He drew attention to photographs of a running dog proving that there is after all a moment when the flying gallop, hitherto considered an impossible pose, is assumed. He argues that, since it is not an unnatural attitude, it could have been independently observed and introduced. Moreover, he cites the pre-New Kingdom examples of animals with widely spread legs and Senbi's hare, as primitive stages of the flying gallop from which the New Kingdom poses could have been developed by the omission of ground lines. In view of these points he is disposed to deny foreign influence

¹⁰⁰ *Ptahhotep I*, Pl. XXII (lassoed bull, head of an unfortunate hyena, twisted back by a biting dog). Petrie, *Medum* (Londo, 1892), Pls. IX, XVII, XXVIII. Schafer-Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1942), p. 249, 2 (Meten). *Mereruka I*, Pls. XXIV-XXV. *Meir I*, Pl. VIII; *Meir II*, Pl. VIII.

¹⁰¹ PM I, 713 ff. Schafer, *Von Egyptischer Kunst* (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 18-9. Wegener, MDIAA IV (1933), 79-80. Cf. also Spiegelberg, *Münchener Jahrbücher der bildenden Kunst*, NF, III (Munich, 1926), 126-8.

on Egyptian animal movement.¹⁰² Edgerton's emphasis on the reality of the pose would carry great weight if Egypt were far removed from the Aegean and if connections between the two areas were lacking. However, at the very time that this motive first appears on the Nile, many contacts between the two countries were taking place. In addition, Aegean art is noteworthy for the manner in which it reproduced swift movement in a manner never achieved by the Egyptians. For these reasons, it seems impossible to deny the probability of Aegean influence on New Kingdom animal design. An examination of the available material will make a certainty out of this probability.

THE FLYING GALLOP AND THE FLYING LEAP¹⁰³

The first unequivocal Egyptian example of a flying gallop, engraved in niello technique on a midrib of a dagger bearing the name of Ahmose, founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and buried with his mother, Aahotep, shows a lion in hot pursuit of a madly fleeing bull (Kantor A&O, Pl. XIII A).¹⁰⁴ Among the ornaments of the queen was a collar made by stringing together numbers of gold foil figures; among them are ibex, Dorcas gazelles looking backwards, and lions, all indulging in an animated gallop.¹⁰⁵

There exists some evidence that the introduction of such violent movement began during the Second Intermediate Period, the nebulous transitional phase which shrouds the emergence of many new features. Evans has drawn attention to the flying leap of a gazelle on a dagger bearing the name of a Hyksos king.¹⁰⁶ There is, in addition, a scarab, dated

¹⁰² Edgerton in JAOS LVI (1936), 182-8. He suggests that until modern photographs prove that such postures do not occur, the question cannot be definitely settled.

¹⁰³ This section in Kantor A&O is expanded into three sections headed THE DAGGER OF AHMOSE (pp. 63-66), THE HUNTING SCENE OF PUIMRE (pp.66-69) and SCENES OF ANIMAL LIFE ON SMALL OBJECTS (pp.69-71).

¹⁰⁴ Bissing, *Ein Thebanischer Grabfund* (Berlin, 1900), Pl. II. The Egyptian origin of this dagger is here assumed, but will be substantiated below (Chapter XI, pp. 442ff).

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. VIII, 3, 7, 11. Their hind legs are not extended as far as those of the animals on the dagger blade.

¹⁰⁶ PM I, 718-9; II, 649 and n. 4. Daressy "Un poignard du Temps de Rois Pasteurs," *Annales VII* (1906), 113-20 and accompanying plate. Found in the most remote northwest room of the funerary temple at

by Petrie to the Fifteenth Dynasty on the basis of the style of the back. On it runs an ibex with legs far apart, though not as yet in an unmistakable flying gallop.¹⁰⁷

In his discussion of the flying gallop, and the allied flying leap in which the animals are shown leaping down with hind legs extended, Evans cites evidence proving that such poses begin in Crete as early as MM II.¹⁰⁸ In MM III they appear on seals (Kantor A&O, Pl. XIV A-E, G), and on a rhyton fragment, once covered with gold foil, showing a charging boar. A bronze bull figurine assumes this posture,¹⁰⁹ and it continued to be used in LM I.¹¹⁰ Very important is the widespread acclimatization of the motive on the LH I Mainland, where it occurs on one of the stelae at Mycenae, on a ring, on gold inlays, on a gold beaker,¹¹¹ and most important of all, on the swords and daggers (Kantor A&O, Pl. XIV, J, K) whose relationship to the Ahmose dagger was first indicated by Furtwangler.¹¹² Since the close dependence of the Ahmose dagger on those from the Shaft Graves is well known, it need not be stressed here. It is necessary, however, to consider briefly whether the flying gallop reached Egypt from Crete or from the Mainland. Evans has assumed that the weapons of the Shaft Graves, decorated with almost unparalleled metallurgical skill, were imported from Crete,¹¹³ but others consider them made on the

Saqqara of Queen Iput, mother of Pepi I. The painted, wooden coffin, belonging to 'Abed (Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire I* (Cat. Caire), 86-7, Pl. XIX 1, 2) was accompanied by some pottery, by a wooden headrest, a piece of wood cut into a point, and the dagger, the hilt of which was covered with embossed gold (?) foil. In addition to the gazelle, one side shows a man stabbing a lion and bears the name of the owner, Nehemen. On the other side is the king's name, Apepi, accompanied by an uncertain prenom, possibly that of Neb-Khopesh-Re, the second Apepi (Dynasty XVI).

¹⁰⁷ Petrie, *Button and Design Scarabs* (London, 1925), p/ 24, Pl. XIV, 868. Cf. also *ibid.*, 869, dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty by Petrie.

¹⁰⁸ PM I, 716-20, Figs. 539 C (MM II, hieroglyphic bead seal), 541 (Dictaia cave; engraved dagger blade, not later than the end of MM II, according to Evans).

¹⁰⁹ PM I, 716, Fig. 539, a, b (Knossos; lions), d (Hagia Triada, "room of seals;" two goats). PM III, 219, Figs. 151, b; 152 (Zakro; bull games); 153 (= PM I, 686, Fig. 504, d; Corridor of the Bays; MM III B; sealing; bull and acrobat); PM III, 220, Fig. 154 (Arkhanes; gold ring).

¹¹⁰ PM III, 213, Fig. 144 (bull ring painting).

¹¹¹ Schgr, Pls. VII, 1427; XXIV, 240 (Gr. IV); XXXIII, 119-120 (GrIII; CXXVI, 656 (Gr. V).

¹¹² Furtwangler, *Die Antike Gemmen III* (Berlin, 1900), 20f. Cf. Fimmen, *op. cit.*, pp.293-4. Schgr., Pls. LXXXVI, 748 (Gr. V; sword with horses); XCI-XCII, 747 (Gr. V; dagger with griffins); XCIII-XCIV, 394-5 (Gr. IV; daggers with lion hunt and lions alone); 765 (Gr. V; dagger with "Nile landscape").

¹¹³ PM III, 112; I, 714.

Mainland under strong Minoan influence.¹¹⁴ The importance attached to weapons and their decoration, and the appearance of the violent hunting scene are considered characteristic Mainland features. Karo has discussed in detail the problem of the ultimate home of the elaborate technique of “*Metalmalerei*,” which reached its climax in the weapons from Mycenae. He points out that Crete has yielded no examples of this technique, which contrasts strongly with the Mainland finds at Mycenae, Vaphio, and the Argive Heraeum.¹¹⁵ Such evidence indicates the Mainland rather than Crete as the source of the niello technique.¹¹⁶ Against such a hypothesis Karo cites two reasons. The dagger adorned with lilies is equipped with a badly worked handle.¹¹⁷ He would interpret it as an indigenous repair for a fine imported weapon. The other reason, on which he lays more weight, is the very fact that concerns us most, the Aegean influence present in the dagger of Ahmose. Karo argues that, since there is no evidence for direct connections between the Peloponnesus and Egypt while all indications point to Cretan mediation,¹¹⁸ the Ahmose dagger is proof that such objects existed in Crete. In view of the mass of evidence for Mainland trade with Egypt which has already been presented it is impossible to follow Karo’s view that Crete was the source of the niello technique. It now seems probable that the Aegean features of Aahotep’s grave group were derived directly from the Mainland where numerous close parallels exist, and not from Crete, where comparable objects have yet to be found and where it is necessary to quote the Egyptian dagger itself as the only

¹¹⁴ ArchC, p. 227. Schgr., pp. 313-4.

¹¹⁵ EPH. (1889), Pl. VII, 1, 2, 5. Pro. I, 330-332, Pl. II (LH II). Blegen has shown that the single dolphin decorating each side of one of the Prosymna daggers is closely related in conception to the Ephyraean pot painting. Another dagger in Copenhagen is said to be from Thera (ArtPG, 450, Fig. 541).

¹¹⁶ This argument *ex silentio* must be used, of course, with the qualification that extremely rich or un plundered graves are rare in Crete. Nevertheless, if that island was the source, it is remarkable that no sign whatsoever has been preserved; until new discoveries prove otherwise, the importance of this distribution can hardly be overlooked. It should also be noted that Karo does not take into consideration the use of the niello technique in Syria as early as the Twelfth Dynasty. It is there that the ultimate invention of the process is to be sought (cf. BSA XXXVII [1936-7], 113 f.).

¹¹⁷ Schgr, pp. 137, 314; Pls. XCI, XCII, 764 (Gr. V).

¹¹⁸ However, the only substantiation given for these statements is the absence of Egyptian imports from LH I contexts and their presence at Knossos in the sixteenth century (Schgr., p. 319).

fragment of evidence for the possible existence of the technique. Although Crete was the ultimate source of the vivacious movement which reached Egypt in the early New Kingdom, it is very likely, in direct contradiction to previous views, that Mainland traders were the intermediaries who introduced the new style into Egypt.

Although the flying gallop made its appearance on a small object in the first reign of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the large scale animal scenes preserved from the earliest part of the dynasty remain stilted.¹¹⁹

The first animals in a major work of art showing signs of Aegean influence occur in reliefs of the tomb of Puimre, one of the few courtiers to serve successfully both Hapshepsut and her revengeful successor, Tuthmosis III (Kantor A&O, Pl. XIII, B; XV F).¹²⁰ In the hunting scene of this tomb some of the dogs indulge in an animated flying gallop. A hare dashes madly away from imminent danger (Kantor A&O, Pl. XIII B). Even more striking is the oryx whose hind legs are twisted high in the air, on a level with its head. Two ibex are descending from a flying leap. In the scene showing the inspection of Puimre's cattle, a calf gambols behind it resting dam.¹²¹ Its pose, even to the stance of the tail, is identical with the silver figurine of a bull born by a Keftian in Amenuser's

¹¹⁹ *Atlas I*, Pl. CCLXII (Anena; Tuthmosis I). MDIAA IV (1933), Pl. IV, b (Hray; Dira' Abu'n Naga 12; Ahmose I-Amenhotep I [?]). User appears to have been active from the reign of Tuthmosis I to that of Tuthmosis III, and the hunting scene from his tomb is related to others contemporary with the reign of Tuthmosis III. *Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. XXII (Qurneh 21). Although badly damaged, it still shows a number of animals unsupported by ground lines, but none of those preserved stretch their legs into a flying gallop or twist them up above the level of their heads. We may suggest tentatively, that User's scene represents the extreme of violent motion that could be attained by the simple omission of ground lines. The contrast between this scene and Puimre's appears to contradict Edgerton's hypothesis that the flying gallop poses could have had an indigenous Egyptian origin, at least in part developed by such a means.

¹²⁰ *Puyemre I*, Pls. VII-VIII (Khokhah 39). Wegner appears to have been the only student to recognize the marked signs of Aegean influence in this scene (MDIAA IV (1933), pp. 79-80). The flying gallop was well adapted to fill the narrow space on the midrib of a dagger, and it was probably easier for the Egyptians to adopt the foreign motive in such a place, than to render it in a large format in the conspicuity of a tomb hunting scene (Cf. PM I, 714).

¹²¹ *Puyemre I*, Pl. XII.

tomb.¹²² The Aegean trademark could hardly be more plainly stamped on Puimre's little calf. Similarly cavorting calves and a donkey foal occur in the tomb of Nebamun, 145.¹²³

In the reign of Tuthmosis III the hunting scenes reached their peak of popularity,¹²⁴ but unfortunately most of the examples have been badly damaged. The only other scene known, which preserves animals hurtling through the air as vigorously as those of Puimre, is that of Rekhmire (Kantor A&O, Pls. XVI E, XVIII I, XIX C).¹²⁵ Despite the conservatism indicated by the insertion of a slanting ground line below a hare, two dogs, an ibex and a Dorcas gazelle, the scene provides excellent examples of flying leaps. In view of the poses of Puimre and Rekhmire, it is possible to see that the movement of animals of Amenemhet, son of Dhutmosis and of Amenemhet 53 is derived from Aegean prototypes (Kantor A&O, Pls. XVII D, E, XIX D, E, XVIII G, J), but the reaction of the old Egyptian tradition has already begun to rob the action of the extreme suppleness and violence of the Aegean, which had been so strongly reflected in Tombs 39 and 100.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, leaping animals with curved backs and high flung legs occurring in the latest private scenes, witness to the continued effects of the stimulation received from the Aegean animal style (Kantor A&O, Pl. XVIII H).¹²⁷ Even in those cases where the artists relapsed into the old pattern in which the animals' backs are roughly horizontal with the borders of

¹²² BMMA XXI (1926), Mar. Pt II, 42, Fig. 1 (Amenuser, Qurneh 131), (Kantor A&O, Pl. IX P). Evans has pointed out that this silver statuette must be considered as a rendering of the flying gallop and has cited as a parallel the MM III figure of a bronze bull (PM II, 649, 651, Fig. 416).

¹²³ BMMA, XXVII (1932), Mar., Pt II, 58, Fig. 9 (Qurneh 145; Tuthmosis III). A provincial artist's attempt to show the same movement may be contrasted with this. The calves are much more stilted (Tylor, *The Tomb of Paheri* (London, 1895), Pl III).

¹²⁴ Davies in BMMA XVII (1932), Mar., Pt. II, 56.

¹²⁵ BMMA XXVII (1932), Mar. Pt II, 59, Fig. 10 (Qurneh 100; painting).

¹²⁶ *Amenemhet, Pl. IX* (Qurneh 82; painting; ibex). *Atlas I*, Pl LIII (Qurneh 53; relief; dogs, hares; gazelle of top register; ibex in the second register from the top; bull; contrast the movement of the last named animal with the conservative bulls in Rekhmire's hunt).

¹²⁷ J. G. Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, II (London, 1868), 92, Fig. 357 (Amenemopet, Qurnet Murai 276; Tuthmosis IV; a number of gazelles, hares, dog); *Atlas I*, Pl. XXVI (Userhet, Qurneh 56; Amenhotep III; gazelles).

the registers, the widely spread legs and the continued freedom from ground lines remain possible tokens of the Aegean.¹²⁸

The tomb of Userhet, contemporary with Amenhotep III, contains the last of the series of private hunting scenes. Fortunately the loss of this source material is compensated for by the appearance of a number of small objects adorned by scenes of animal life, usually without the intervention of a human predator. The earliest example occurs on a dog collar found in the tomb of Mahirper (Kantor A&O, Pl. XXI A, B). His burial has been dated to the reign of Hatshepsut on the basis of a scrap of linen bearing her name.¹²⁹ However, William Stevenson Smith states that Mahirper was a contemporary of Amenhotep II and that his *Beigaben* show characteristics later than the time of Hatshepsut; the linen must, therefore, have been reused later.¹³⁰

On the dog collar a Dorcas gazelle descends from a flying leap, amid a setting of rocks and *waz*-lilies that is strikingly Aegean in character. The only other leaping animal whose movement possesses a vigor comparable to that of Mahirper's Dorcas, is found on a semi-circular ointment dish in Leiden (Kantor A&O, Pl. XXI C, D), which may have been made at approximately the same time.¹³¹ To the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty belong several objects from the tomb of Tutankhamun decorated with animal scenes.¹³² On the basis of their stylistic characters, three ointment boxes without provenience can be assigned

¹²⁸ Cf. many animals of Userhet's scene. *Atlas* I, Pl. CCCLIII (Mentiywey, Qurneh 172; Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep II; this is a very conservative scene). The desert hunt on Tutankhamun's painted casket indicates clearly how the old Egyptian conventions have almost completely eliminated the signs of Aegean movement by the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Carter, *Tomb Tut*, I, Pl. L).

¹²⁹ Daressy, *Fopuilles dans les vallée des rois* (Cat Caire), Pl XI, 24075. Cf. Porter-Moss, "Theban Necropolis", *Typographical Bibliography* (Oxford, 192751), p. 30, Biban el Moluk 36.

¹³⁰ *Ancient Egypt as Represented in the Museum of Fine Arts*, p. 113.

¹³¹ Leemans, *Monuments égyptiens a Leide*, Pt. II, 1846-7, Pl. LXXVII, 563, no provenience. A date in the middle range of Eighteenth Dynasty must depend mainly upon the high flung legs of the ibex. The group of bull and dog also seems more lively than, for instance, a similar group engraved on a gold dagger sheath from the tomb of Tutankhamun (JEA XXVII [1941], Pl I). Nevertheless, it would be unwise to give a precise date to this Leiden box.

¹³² *Tomb Tut.*, I Pls. L (painted casket), LXXII (stick with gold, granulated designs; two friezes of animals); *Ibid.*, II, Pls L, LI (cosmetic jar of alabaster). *Ibid.*, III, Pls. XXVIII, XXIX (bowcase). JEA XXVII (1941), Pl. I (gold dagger sheath).

to this same group (Kantor A&O, Pl. XXI E).¹³³ The animal style of these scenes is a direct continuation of that used on a larger scale by the artists of Mentiwey and Userhet. Even the Amarna period had brought no innovation in this regard, for the rare animal renderings dated to the reign of Akhenaten fall completely in line with the general trend of the late Eighteenth Dynasty animals style.¹³⁴ By the Nineteenth Dynasty even the traces of violent movement that had lingered on at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty have disappeared. Save for two calves gambolling on an ointment box contemporary with Ramses II,¹³⁵ animals are drawn with straight, horizontal backs, and with all four feet at the same level.¹³⁶ The continued omission of ground lines does not obscure the triumph of conservative, Egyptian traditions. The Aegean characteristics were not able to maintain themselves permanently in the Egyptian repertoire.

CAPTURE BY A FLYING LEAP¹³⁷

Aside from the themes of running and leaping animals, a number of specific motives were used in Egyptian animal pictures. Many of these, such as the wounded hyena

¹³³ *Cat. MacGregor Coll.*, Pls. XV, XX, 548. *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), Pl. XXVI, g (Cairo no. 407010); rosette frieze comparable to that of Tutankhamun's painted casket; bull attacked by both lion and dog comparable to another unfortunate animal on Tutankhamun's cosmetic jar), a (Cairo, *Journal d'Entrée*, 32744; *Potamegeton* clump as on Tutankhamun's bowcase; the animals of this box are unusually lively and reminiscent of those on the Leiden box).

¹³⁴ Bouriant, *Doc. Cultes Antinou*, (Mem. Miss. Arch. Fr. 8, Cairo), Pl. I (= BMMA XXVIII [1923], Dec., Pt. II, 53, tailpiece; animals running up desert hills outside of Akhetaten). The naturalism of the leaping bulls or calves of Amenhotep III's palace (Frankfort, *Mural Painting of El-Amarnah*, London, 1929) and from Akhetaten itself (Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London, 1894), Pls. II-IV; Bossert, *op. cit.*, p. 300, Fig. 565) is not a sign of recent influence from the Aegean (Breasted in CAH II, 120-1) but a last trace of the Aegean connections that reached their greatest intensity during the reign of Tuthmosis III. It should be noted that in contemporary, LM III Crete, the naturalistic art of MM II B - LM I-II was completely dead, and that even on the Mainland, the LM III A, 1 (*Dendra*, Pls. XVI, XVII, XIX [Tholos]; ILN, July 22, 1939, Figs/ 13, 15, 18) and LM III (*Tiryas* II, Pls. XIII, XV, XVII) animal style had lost the tremendous sweep and power of earlier Aegean productions.

¹³⁵ Brunton and Engelbach, *Gurob* (London, 1927), p. 17, Pl. XXV (T. 606).

¹³⁶ Petrie, *Kahun* (London, 1890), Pl. XVIII, 31 (ointment box with calves). BMMA XVIII (1923), Dec. Pt. II, 52, Fig. 90 (Negerhotep, Qurneh 216; Haremhab-Ramses II; animals on hillside; painting). Cf. also animal scenes on metal vessels from Tell Basta (Chapter XV, p. 623) An ointment box in Cairo may belong to the Tutankhamun group, but could also be later in date (*Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* London, 1932), Pl. XXVI, f = AM XXIII (1898), Pl. VII, 1, 4.

or the deliberate hedgehog, began in the Old Kingdom. It was not until the New Kingdom that important additions to the repertory were made. The theme of dogs leaping upon the backs of ruminants does not appear before the Eighteenth Dynasty and contrasts strongly with the traditional holds of Egyptian hounds (Kantor A&O, Pls XVI A-E, F-J, XVIII, A-E, XVII A-E). It is probable that the prototype of the groups are derived from the Aegean, where the motive possesses a long history.¹³⁸ However, we cannot claim that the Egyptian versions show striking coincidences with the details of their assumed Aegean prototypes. In one of the two examples from the hunt of Puimre, a dog clings to a collapsing Dorcas (Kantor A&O, Pl. XIII B, upper register); unusual for Egypt is the manner in which most of the hound's body is hidden behind the gazelle, while one hind leg appears hanging freely high above the ground. In the register below a bitch has just landed upon the back of a collapsing animal. The curve of her back, the stance of her legs and tail betray the violence of the leap which she has just completed. A hound of Amenemhet 53 (Kantor A&O, Pl. XIX D) is stretched upon the back of a sinking Dorcas,¹³⁹ and on Mahirper's dog collar a lion (?) flies through the air to catch an oryx (Kantor A&O, Pl. XXI A, B).¹⁴⁰ It must be admitted that these examples do not carry the unequivocal signs of Aegean derivation shown by the flying gallop and flying leap motive. Nevertheless, in view of the marked influence which the Aegean is already known to have exerted on the Egyptian animal style, it seems very likely that this motive of pulling down the prey by a flying leap is also symptomatic of stimulation from the northern Mediterranean.

After the time of Amenhotep II this design was altered to fit the conventions more closely. The violent motion expressed by Puimre's artists and still present to a lesser degree on the dog collar has disappeared. On Tutankhamun's gold dagger-sheath two carnivores

¹³⁷ Kantor A&O, p. 67.

¹³⁸ Cf. PM IV, 523-5, 527-35. Evans emphasizes strongly the contrast between the methods of Minoan carnivores and their oriental compeers. For Minoan examples cf. *Ibid.*, 524, Figs. 470 (MM II), 471 (LM I B); for Mainland examples cf. Schgr., Pl. XXXIII, 119-20.

¹³⁹ *Atlas* I, Pl. LIII.

simply stand on the backs of their prey as though on a ground line.¹⁴¹ Each foot of a lion on the cosmetic jar of the same king is carefully supported by some part of the anatomy of an unfortunate bull (Kantor A&O, Pl. XX 2 D).¹⁴² Nearby a dog, seizing a bull (?), trails one hind leg behind him, but the others are firmly planted on his victim's back, excluding any suggestion of motion. The dangling feet of the dogs in Tombs 39 and 53 were no longer acceptable.

The motive in question was used on an ointment box formerly in the MacGregor collection which must be dated to the reign of Tutankhamun (Kantor A&O, Pl. XXI E).¹⁴³ Here the Egyptian artist has been forced to adopt an amusing expedient in order to provide the attaching panther with a firm footing. Under the one foot which does not rest on the falling ibex the workman placed a t-shaped support.¹⁴⁴ This metamorphosis of the original dynamic design is eloquent of the permanence of the old Egyptian traditions.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ The other animal groups of the collar picture conventional Egyptian holds.

¹⁴¹ JEA XVII (1940), Pl. I.

¹⁴² *Tomb Tut.*, II, Pl. L. Cf. also *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, Pl. XXVI, f (Cairo, *Journal d'Entrée*, 29140)

¹⁴³ *Catalogue of the MacGregor Collection*, Pl. XV, XX, 548. It possesses many characteristics in common with objects of Tutankhamun. Cf. the calf seized by a dog (JEA XXVII [1941], Pl. I), the lion carrying his booty on his back (*Ibid.*, Pl. XX A, 10, 12; tunic embroidered panels; this motive is apparently otherwise unknown in Egypt), and the *Potamegeton* filling motive (*Tomb Tut.* II, Pls. L, LI; cf. also BMMA XVIII [1923], Dec. Pt. II, 52, Fig. 20, Qurneh 216; Haremhab-Ramses II for a later version of the same filling). The ribs of the animals, the hatched lines along their bellies, and the mane of the lion coincide with the details of the dagger sheath. The forequarters of the MacGregor lion are marked only with a slight fringe instead of the circular star of hair usual on Tutankhamun's lions. Such a feature is paralleled in Books of the Dead belonging to the early Nineteenth Dynasty (Naville, *Aegyptische Totenbuch* I (Barlin, 1886), Pl. XXVII, L, a. JEA XXIII [1937], Pl. VII; owned by {m-mwt}).

¹⁴⁴ Egyptian artists commonly used the hillocks of the desert terrain to provide firm, but adaptable ground lines. Although more subtle, this is in principle the same kind of makeshift as that used on the MacGregor ointment box. Single hillocks support the forelegs of the goats on Akhor's gaming board and of a dog in Anena's hunt (Kantor A&O, Pl. XVIII F). Such caution is typical of the more conservative Egyptian workmen. The dogs of Puimre provide an amazing and startling contrast.

¹⁴⁵ A calf and another ruminant of the MacGregor box shown in the galloping pose typical for the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, do not have ground lines. Apparently the carver thought, and with justice, that their action was understandable. On the other hand, the elimination of all suggestion of a moving leap left the panther, with his one hanging foot, in an unexplained, uncertain position.

FIGURES SHOWING A SHIFT IN AXIS¹⁴⁶

In the Old and Middle Kingdoms animals, when pursued or actually pulled down by the hounds, may turn their heads back (cf. Kantor A&O, Pl. XVI F, H, XIX A, B). This enlivelment, arising naturally from the subject matter, is the only exception to the Egyptian convention forbidding a major change of axis in the bodies of animals. The theme was continued by fleeing New Kingdom animals (Kantor A&O, Pls. XVI E, XIX C, E).¹⁴⁷ Although in the Aegean, too, pursued or wounded animals often turn backwards, their movement amounts to a much greater shift of axis than in Egypt (cf. Kantor A&O, Pls. XX 1, A, B, C, D). In view of the Old and Middle Kingdom antecedents, there is no reason to assume that the New Kingdom examples were related to their Minoan equivalents.

However, the representation of a shift in the axis of coursing hounds was completely unknown until it appears in Puimre's hunt. There one of the dogs has leapt so wildly that he has overshot his mark, and so, in mid air he turns his head and shoulders abruptly, attempting to seize a Dorcas gazelle. The action of another dog, running alongside, and turning his head back to bite into the throat of an ibex, though less spectacular, is also very unusual. The amazing action of the first mentioned dog remains unique, but carnivores turning backwards to bite their prey recur in the tomb of Amenemhet 53, in Qenamun's hunting scene (Kantor A&O, Pl. XIX F),¹⁴⁸ on Mahirper's dog collar and on the Leiden ointment box. The antecedents of Puimre's leaping twisting dog, and most probably of the other poses as well, must obviously be sought in the Aegean. As yet the only example showing a twisting dog that we can cite is a MM II seal (Kantor A&O, Pl.

¹⁴⁶ Kantor A&O, pp. 67-8.

¹⁴⁷ *Atlas* I, Pl. LIII (T. 53). BMMA XXVII (1932), Mar., Pt II, 59, Fig. 10 (Rekhmire). *Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. XXII (User). Mahirper's dog collar; Leiden Ointment box; MacGregor box; Tutankhamun dagger sheath.

¹⁴⁸ *Ken-Amun*, I, Pl. XLVIII (Qurneh 93, Amenhotep II).

XX A).¹⁴⁹ Even if no other examples can be found, it would be easier to assume that their absence is owing to an incomplete preservation of Aegean themes, rather than to consider Puimre's figures the results of purely indigenous Egyptian development.

SUCKLING FAWN¹⁵⁰

In its three incompletely preserved registers the hunting scene of Puimre (Kantor A&O, Pl. XIII B) has already provided an amazing number of figures reshaped by Aegean influence. It is probable that the deer, hiding behind a tree at one end of the desert enclosure, may be added to the list. Although the theme of ruminants standing quietly and suckling their young amidst the rout of fleeing animals was a commonplace in Egyptian hunts, there is no Egyptian parallel for the manner in which Puimre's fawn was drawn. It is almost kneeling on its bent forelegs and cranes its neck eagerly, reaching up to the udder; its back is curved sharply upwards. Fragmentary faience reliefs from the MM III Temple Repository at Knossos showing goats and cows with their young provide excellent Minoan analogies, and it must have been in some such source that Puimre's artist found his inspiration.¹⁵¹ The scene of the chase which he carved forms a unique epitome of the influence which the Aegean animal style exerted on Egypt. Despite the gradual fading out of the vigorous poses which arose under Aegean stimulation, the reshaping of animal movement remains the strongest and most long-lived evidence of the operation of Aegean art on the workshops of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

¹⁴⁹ PM I, 716, Fig. 539, e (Hieroglyphic bead seal).

¹⁵⁰ Kantor A&O, p. 68.

¹⁵¹ PM I, 510, 512, Figs. 336, 339. It is curious to find the antlered, male deer giving suck in Puimre's scene (*Puyemre* I, 46, n. 1). Although it may well be but coincidence, it is interesting to note that the same reversal of natural function is portrayed on an amethyst lentoid found in Shaft Grave III at Mycenae (Schgr., p. 59, Fig. 15; Pl. XXIV, 15). Evans has shown that a similar unnaturalistic process occurs occasionally on seals where lions with manes suckle cubs (PM IV, 559, Fig. 522, a, b).

LANDSCAPE DETAILS¹⁵²

One of the most characteristic features of Minoan art is the circumvallate representation of the landscape setting; details such as rocks and vegetation are shown on all sides of pictures. There are only two cases known where this distinctive convention was adopted by an Egyptian craftsman. The first is on the dagger of Ahmose I (Kantor A&O, Pl. XIII A), where the figures of the lion and bull leave vacant spaces at the top which are filled by rocks.¹⁵³ The appearance of this motive has been one of the most cogent arguments in favor of the assumption of an Aegean origin of this object. However, the same kind of application of rock-work on the dog collar of Mahirper's burial is indisputable proof that Egyptian artists could at times copy this alien motive. Some of the rocks here assume the tricurved arch shape, which was a typical motive on LH II and LM I B - LM II pottery.¹⁵⁴ It occurs on several of the alabastra found in Egypt, which suggests that designs on imported pottery may have been used as models by the maker of the dog collar.¹⁵⁵

Aside from these two examples, the motive may possibly occur in the reign of Tutankhamun. Several of the embroidered panels on a tunic from his tomb show wavy hillocks (Fig. XII.16, 17).¹⁵⁶ Their form coincides with the normal hillocks of Egyptian desert scenes, rather than with the Aegean tricurved arch pattern, and accordingly, their connection with the Aegean landscape motive cannot be proved.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² Kantor A&O, pp. 71-73

¹⁵³ Various types of rock-work motives were of frequent occurrence in Minoan art and its Mainland equivalent. The closest parallel for the Ahmose dagger is one from Shaft Grave IV (Schgr., Pls XCIII-XCIV, 395). A comparison of the rock-work on the two weapons reveals the extreme reduction which the Mainland pattern has suffered at the hands of the Egyptian goldsmith.

¹⁵⁴ Mpot., p. 391, Fig. 68, Mot. 62, 1-4.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Kantor A&O, Pl. VII J.

¹⁵⁶ JEA XXVII (1941), Pl. XXII. The question is complicated by the uncertain origin of this garment (cf. Chapter XII, pp. 459ff).

¹⁵⁷ The tricurved arch pattern continued to be used in LH III A 1 and 2 as a single unit or in a net pattern (Mpot., p. 391, Fig. 68, Mot. 62, 5-7, 10-13) and a LH III A 2 cup decorated with this motive was found in the Fayum (CVA: Danemark, II, Pl. LXIV, 13 = Bossert, *op. cit.*, p. 298, Fig. 562). Rock-work "hanging down" from an upper margin occurs on a painted LH III stela from Mycenae (*Ibid.*, p. 33, Fig.

Sir Arthur Evans believed that the unusual treatment of landscape details in the hunting scene of Qenamun was connected with somewhat similar characteristics observable in the paintings of the MM III B - LM I A transitional phase, with the priority on the Minoan side.¹⁵⁸ However, the Minoan scenes which he cites, are earlier, presumably by several hundred years, than Qenamun's painting, and show only a very generalized correspondence with that work.¹⁵⁹ An even more important objection to the assumption of connection is the fact that Qenamun's scene appears to be the end product of a typical Egyptian series. Irregular desert hillocks formed the characteristic terrain of Egyptian hunts in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. In painted scenes it was normal for the space between the level ground line and the wavy line above outlining the hillocks, to be dotted with various colors as an indication of the pebbly surface.¹⁶⁰ In Rekmire's hunting scene (Kantor A&O, Pl. XVI E), the usual color scheme was reversed. The background, instead of being left plain, was colored red and dotted with blue and white pebbles, while the space between the twinned borders of the horizontal and diagonal ground lines was left plain.¹⁶¹ Qenamun's scene, slightly later in date than Rekmire's, is a related collateral development.¹⁶² Its creator reverted to the normal method of coloring the ground lines and leaving the background free, but he retained much of the massed pebbly effect of

45). In addition, an ointment box in Cairo (*Journal d'Entrée*, 29140), the uncertain date of which has already been referred to (n. 136), has hillocks, formed of concentric arcs, in one upper corner and at the side of the middle panel on the bottom of the box, and in one corner of the lowest panel of the lid (*Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), Pl. XXVI, f; Tutankhamun or later). These hillocks do not show any Aegean affinities and suggest that those of the Tutankhamun tunic, too, may be unaffected by influence from that quarter.

¹⁵⁸ *Ken-Amun*, Pls. XLVIII (Kantor A&O, Pl. XIX F), XLVIII A, XLIX, L (Qurneh 93; Amenhotep II; painting). PM II, 448-450. *Ibid.*, 451, Fig. 264 (House of Frescoes; monkey among papyrus) is the closest parallel for Qenamun's scene.

¹⁵⁹ Evans has taken note of the chronological discrepancy, but did not consider it a decisive argument against the connection.

¹⁶⁰ Cf., for instance, Davies and Gardner, *The Tomb of Antefoker* (London, 1920), Pl. I (Qurneh 60; Sesostris I).

¹⁶¹ BMMA, XXVII (1932), Mar., Pt. II, 60, 59, Fig. 10 (Qurneh 100; Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep II).

¹⁶² Some minor details of the two scenes are very similar; cf. the pinnately leaved shrubs and the fringed tails of the dogs. A hare crouching beneath a bush was apparently a favorite motive around the time of

Rekhmire's scene by a multiplication and thickening of the ground lines, especially where they meet and at the edge of the desert scene. There the hillocks project from the vertical frame of the picture. The end result of a colored network, the meshes of which enclose each animal or group in a separate compartment is at first sight very unEgyptian, and yet is definitely the product of indigenous development.¹⁶³

The elimination of Qenamun's scene as a possible result of Aegean influence, leaves Ahmose's dagger and Mahirper's dog collar as the only objects showing traces of Aegean landscape conventions. It is not surprising that they made such a slight impression on Egypt. They appear to have been too alien to Egyptian traditions to gain as much currency as did some elements of the Aegean animal style.

THE TAUREADOR OINTMENT BOX FROM KAHUN¹⁶⁴

The major effects of Aegean intercourse, the appearance of new decorative designs, of changes in the Egyptian animal style, and even of Aegean rock-work occurred in the earlier part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Contacts with the Aegean appear to have reached their greatest intensity in the reign of Tuthmosis III, to whose time are assigned all the LH I-II pots possessing dateable contexts. By the time of Akhenaten, we know that the LH III A 2 Mainland was engaged in active trade, but the commercial contacts do not appear to be

Tuthmosis III. It appears, not only in Qenamun's and Rekhmire's hunts, but also in those of User (*Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. XXII; Qurneh 21) and Amenhotep 53 (*Atlas I*, Pl. LIII; Qurneh 53).

¹⁶³ In Qenamun's scene plants project horizontally downward from the desert terrain. This is equivalent, not to Aegean vegetation growing inwards from all sides of the picture, but to other Egyptian works where plants sprouting from the ground lines were not required to grow vertically upwards/ (*Anc. Egp. Paint.* I, Pl. I and JEA XXIII [1937], Pls. IV, VII [Medum, Atet, Dynasty IV; plants around a pool]); Capart, *Une Rue de Tombeaux a Saqqara* (Brussels, 1907), Pl. XXXVI (Ankhmahor [Sesi], Vith Dynasty, men closing a bird net in the marshes with plants growing "up" and "down" from the ground lines); Davies, *Nakht*, p. 61, n. 1; Pls. XVIII, XIX, XXI (Qurneh 52; end of Amenhotep II or early Tuthmosis IV, plants growing from both sides of an irregular ground line in an agricultural scene). The numerous New Kingdom garden scenes where trees grow out from all sides of pools may also be cited to illustrate that the canons of Egyptian art did not prescribe the necessity for the vertical growth of vegetation.

¹⁶⁴ Kantor A&O, p. 84.

accompanied by any wave of artistic influence, resulting in the production of a series of detailed similarities, such as had occurred in the earlier part of the dynasty.¹⁶⁵ Although the small carved lid from the tomb of Sabina at Saqqara (Kantor A&O, Pl. XXIV A)¹⁶⁶ demonstrates that Mainland *objets d'art* were, at least occasionally, imported to the Nile, there is apparently but one object of Egyptian manufacture which reflects Aegean traditions. This is a cylindrical ointment box, dating without doubt around the reign of Tutankhamun, which has been so long known, that the interest and importance have been forgotten (Kantor A&O, Pl. XX 2 D).¹⁶⁷ The interest of this object lies, not in the conventional animals on one side, but in the scene on the other, showing a bull charging over one prostrate figure towards another; a third man hovers horizontally over the bull's back. The explanation by Bissing for this scene must be correct; it is an imitation of an Aegean bull baiting scene. The painting from Tiryns which he cited is probably somewhat later than the Kahun box.¹⁶⁸ Further proof of the Mainland use of the motive on a large scale is given by a fragmentary relief, said to have been found outside the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae; since its context is uncertain it cannot be definitely dated.¹⁶⁹ In view of the fact that at this time all of Egypt's Aegean contacts seem to be with the Mainland, and in the absence of LM III Taureador motives, it can hardly be doubted that the subject of this ointment box

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Frankfort, *The Mural Paintings of El-Amarnah* (London, 1929), pp. 18-27 for a discussion of a number of possible contacts between Aegean and Egyptian art of this period. The most important coincidences consist of general stylistic characters (for instance, interest in action, in the expressiveness of individual figures, in pure landscape; "cavalier perspective"). If the features in question were derived from the Aegean, it would remain impossible to demonstrate their origin in detail. By their very nature, they precede the tracing of connection by the discovery of detailed similarities. If, however, Aegean art did stimulate some of the characteristics of Amarna work, these would rank as some of the most important results of Aegean contacts.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Table II, p. 391.

¹⁶⁷ AM XXIII (1898), 242-266; Pl. VII (= *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, Pl. XXVI, b; *Journal d'Entrée*, 28754). When publishing this object von Bissing also discussed the general subject of features connecting Mycenaean culture with Egypt. Although found by Petrie in a grave of the later Eighteenth Dynasty at Kahun, its exact context has not been described. The animal style connects with that of the Tutankhamun objects, and one of the filling elements consists of a triple spray of wavy vegetation (probably *potamegeton*) identical with sprays on a small, "child's" chair found in Tutankhamun's tomb (*Tomb Tut.*, I, Pl. LIX).

¹⁶⁸ *Tiryns II*, Pl. XVIII.

was copied from some Mainland prototype. The gold cups from the LM II tholos at Vaphio illustrate the presence of similar themes on the Mainland in the phase preceding the period in which the Kahun box was made. Similar subjects were common on Mainland seals (Kantor A&O, Pl XX 2 A, C).¹⁷⁰ A LH II seal from T. 518 at Mycenae is the closest analogy for the Kahun box.¹⁷¹ A comparison of the two objects reveals how little of Aegean stylistic qualities was taken over by the Egyptian copyist. The subject and general pose of the animal may be the same, but the whole is cast into a stilted mold which has robbed the motive of its Aegean vigor.

POSSIBLE RELATIONS BETWEEN AEGEAN AND EGYPTIAN VEGETAL DESIGN

Egypt and the Aegean lands are the two areas of the Near East whose entire decorative, and to a certain extent representative, repertoires are characterized by the prominence of vegetal motives. From the archaeological data we know that active trade linked Egypt with Crete in MM times and with the Mainland, especially in the New Kingdom. The evidence derived from our survey of decorative patterns and the animal style show that it was possible for the Egyptians to adopt certain features of Aegean art. In fact, it is rather surprising to find that Egypt seems to have received much more than she gave. There remains one further topic; it is necessary to determine whether there was any exchange of plant design between the two areas.

CRETAN AND EGYPTIAN LILIES

¹⁶⁹ PM III, 194, 197, Figs. 133, 135.

¹⁷⁰ *Asine*, pp. 371-2, Fig. 241, top, left and right (T. 1; the objects found here range from LH II B - LH III; the better preserved seal shows an athlete swinging over a charging bull). PM III, 218, Fig. 150 (Evans Coll.; bought in Athens, said to be from the Peloponnesus). AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. IV (National Museum, Athens).

¹⁷¹ Arch. LXXXII (1932), Pl. XXXVIII, 61. It shows a bull charging with bent head. At the broken end appears part of a leaping figure with arms thrown forward in a manner somewhat reminiscent of the prostrate figures on the Kahun box.

The lily which played such an important role in the art of Crete was copied from the white Madonna lily; besides the naturalistic flower, the characteristic basal leaves and the subsidiary foliage of the stem were often shown.¹⁷² In Egypt the heraldic flower of the South, the so-called Egyptian lily, became the predominant plant form in decorative design. The different origins of the two types are self-evident, nor did they ever assume really similar shapes. Nevertheless, they have at times been connected. Pendlebury has suggested that the lily groups of LM II must find a source in Egypt, but does not cite any specific Egyptian forms as prototypes. The development of the Cretan lily and its hybridization with other motives resulting in the composite inflorescences of LM II has already been described.¹⁷³ The entire sequence appears to be indigenous and without trace of Egyptian influence.¹⁷⁴

On the other hand, Fimmen accepted Thiersch's view that the Cretan lily reacted upon the Egyptian motive. They have both indicated that the petals of Egyptian South-flowers do not acquire a spiraliform twist before the New Kingdom and consider this a feature derived from LM lily forms.¹⁷⁵ Several objections can be raised against this viewpoint. In the first place, even if the spiralization of the Egyptian South-flower was produced by Aegean influence, it is not necessary to assume that the character was carried by Cretan lily designs themselves. We know that a number of spiral designs penetrated into Egypt in the New Kingdom, and that the Twelfth Dynasty saw the establishment of an Egyptian tradition of spiral design. To a certain extent the spiralization of indigenous designs began at this time, as is shown by the figure-eight volutes of architectural decoration. It was not until the New Kingdom, however, that examples of spiraliform

¹⁷² JdI XLVIII (1933), 2-6. *Lilium candidum* L.

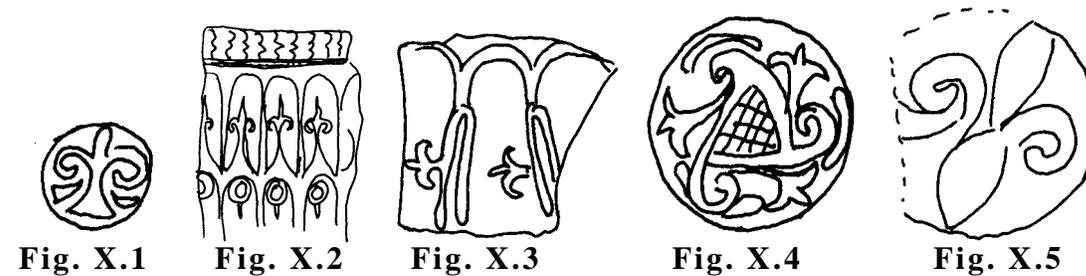
¹⁷³ ArchC, p. 222. Chapter VIII, pp. 330ff.

¹⁷⁴ For assumption of connections without a decision as to which area was the originative one, cf. Julie Braun Vogelstein in JdI XXXVI (1920), 19, n. 1.

¹⁷⁵ Fimmen, *Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur*, 2nd edition, (Leipzig, 1924), p. 202. *Zeitschrift f. Geschichte d. Architektur* I (1907-9), 256 ff (Review of Lichtenberg, *Ionische Saule*). The standpoint of Thiersch and Fimmen is accepted in OIP XXVI, p. 41, n. 35.

South-flower petals occur. By this time, despite the continued importation of new Aegean designs, the general principle of spiral pattern was incorporated into Egyptian conventions and was freely used by New Kingdom decorators. South-flower perianths were not the only designs to be transmuted in this fashion. The “calices” of bunches of grapes,¹⁷⁶ grape-vine¹⁷⁷ and convolvulus tendrils,¹⁷⁸ and even coils of rope¹⁷⁹ curl into spirals in representative contexts. The ends of the upturned volutes used so commonly in decorative designs were often spiralized. Viewed in connection with such examples the spiralized South-flower perianths of the New Kingdom seem to be part of a general tendency to produce graceful and elaborate designs, which was concomitant with the widespread use of spiral decorations on small objects and in architectural decoration. Accordingly, it seems impossible to follow Thiersch and Fimmen in admitting that the Cretan lily exerted influence upon the emblem of Upper Egypt.

The subject of Cretan and Minoan lilies cannot be concluded without a brief mention of certain MM trilobate motives, chiefly found on seals. They are unconnected with the Madonna lily nor do they form a homogeneous series among themselves. They



¹⁷⁶ J. J. Tylor, *The Tomb of Paheri* (London, 1895), Pl. VIII (El Kab 3; Dynasty XVIII). *Five Theban Tombs*, Pls. XXV, XXVI-XXVIII (Qurneh 21; Amenhotep I - Tuthmosis III). *Amenemhet*, Pls. IV, XIV, XV, XXII (qurneh 82; Tuthmosis III). *Men et. al.*, Pls. XXIV, XXVI (Qurneh 86; Tuthmosis III). Naville, *Deir el Bahri*, V, Pls. CXXXV (Tuthmosis III), CXXXVI (Hatshepsut); CXXLI (Tuthmosis III). *Qenamun*, Pl. XL (Qurneh 93; Amenhotep II).

¹⁷⁷ J. J. Taylor, *op. cit.*, Pls. VI, XI. *Amenemhet*, Pl. II. *Men et al*, Pl. VIII. *Neferhotep*, Pl. XIV (Khokhah 49; Ai). Spiraliform grape tendrils had already occurred in the Middle Kingdom in the tomb of Tehutihetep (Newberry, *Bersheh* I, Pl. XXVI; T.2; Amenemhet II-Sesostris III).

¹⁷⁸ *Deir el Bahri* II, Pls. XXXVI, XXXVII (Hatshepsut). This had already occurred in the Old and Middle Kingdoms (*Ptahhotep* I, Pl. XXV below). *Encyclopedie photographique der l'art* I, Pl. XXIII. *Beni Hasan* I, Pls. XII (Amenemhet no. 2; Sesostris I); XXII (Knemhotep no. 3).

¹⁷⁹ J. J. Tylor, *op. cit.*, Pls. VI, VIII. *Neferhotep*, Pl. XX. This had already occurred at least once in the Old Kingdom; cf. Borchhardt, *Grab des Ti*, Pl. CXVII.

appear to be results of that playful and fantastic creation of patterns which was typical of much of MM sphragistic and which reached a climax in the sealings of the Zakro hoard. A MM I seal shows a downcurving pair of volutes with a broad base, and could well have been developed out of spiral elements (Fig. X.1).¹⁸⁰ The two triangular filling motives find parallels on other seals and cannot be considered as symmetrical drops.¹⁸¹ Both the pottery and the seals bear examples of trilobate designs that may be specializations of simple tripartite filling motives (Figs. X.1-7).¹⁸² A variety with three upright prongs between lateral projections is also to be found (Fig. X.8).¹⁸³



Fig. X.6



Fig. X.7

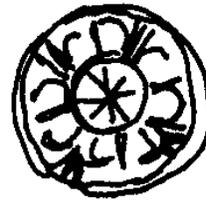


Fig. X.8

Long scrutiny is not necessary to show that there is no justification for considering these forms even superficially similar to the Egyptian South-flower, nor can there be any question of connection between these various patterns.¹⁸⁴

It is clear that the two great series of Aegean lily and Egyptian South-flower motives each went their own way without affecting one another. There is but one exception to this statement, an exception which serves to highlight the usual independence of the two groups. On the dog collar of Mahirper (Kantor A&O, Pl. XXI A), in addition to the rock work and animal motives of Aegean derivation, *waz*-lilies were used as prominent

¹⁸⁰ PM I, 201, Fig. 150, g (= Matz, Pl. XII, 6; no. 186). Cf. sealing in Festos, p. 280, Fig. 162.

¹⁸¹ Xanthoudides, *Vaulted Tombs of the Mesara* (Liverpool, 1928), Pl. XIII, 1029 (Platanos).

¹⁸² PM I, 242, Fig. 183, a, 1, 3 (MM II A; cups); 277, Fig. 207, f (MM II); 197, Fig. 106, e. Matz, *Die frühkretischen Siegel* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1928), Pl. XII, 5 (= Mon. Lincei XIV [1904], 487, Fig. 91). *Festos*, Pl. XXV (Shrine; MM II B). For filling motive cf. PM I, 277, Fig. 207, c, 1 (MM II) and Xanthoudides, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV, 525 (Koumasa; EM III).

¹⁸³ Matz, *op. cit.*, Pl. IX, 25 (= Scripta Minoa, p. 116, Fig. 48, a).

filling motives. Their form is that normally found in ordinary LH II motives, save that on the dog collar the lily petals do not curl downwards as pronouncedly as in the Aegean.¹⁸⁵ Both the *waz*-lily and the tricurved arch pattern occur on alabastra and there is a strong probability that the designer of the collar copied the decorations of some imported pot. His action remains as an isolated case and does not form part of any recognizable tendency to adopt features of Aegean plant ornament, as had taken place in the case of Aegean animal movement.

AEGEAN AND EGYPTIAN POPYRI

Egyptian papyrus provided the natural prototype which stimulated MM III B - LM I A Cretan artists to create a number of fanciful forms. Their productions appear almost like imaginative illustrations for the fabulous stories told by returned travellers. We have already seen that the Egyptian representations of papyrus had no influence on the development of the Cretan motives.¹⁸⁶ The history of the papyrus in Aegean ceramics has already been followed; it was much more frequent on the Mainland where it was a popular Palace Style motive, and an important LH III decoration both in itself and as a component of the "Mycenaean III flower," than in Crete. There it occurred rarely, chiefly on LM II jars. It may well have played a much more important part in architectural decoration, but the only remaining traces are fragments of LM I A (Fig. X.9)¹⁸⁷ and LM I B (Fig.

¹⁸⁴ The formation of trilobate motives was simple and easily led to convergent developments. In Egypt itself, the top of the *kekher* pattern sometimes bears a superficial resemblance to a South-flower.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Chapter VIII, n. 120, p. 336 and nn. 185, 186pp. Mpot, p. 261, Fig. 33, Mot. 11, 1, 3-5.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Chapter VIII, pp. 308ff.

¹⁸⁷ PM III, 372, Fig. 247 (Queen's Megaron).

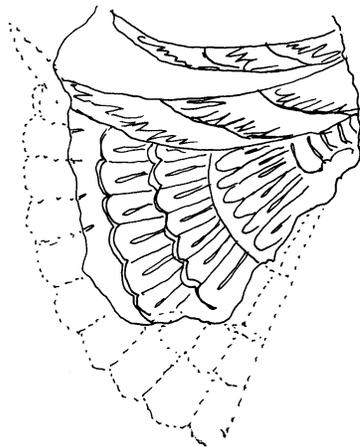


Fig. X.9

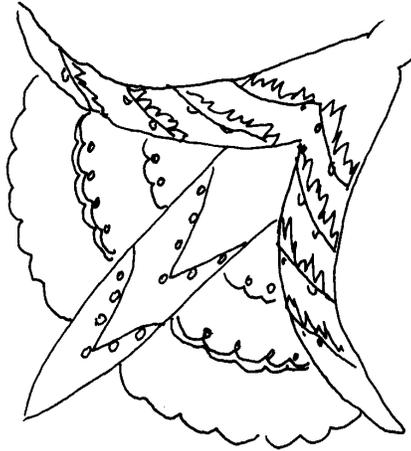


Fig. X.10

X.10)¹⁸⁸ papyrus tufts. On the Mainland papyrus tufts of much the same type, characterized by a prominent trilobate “calyx” filled with ornate tufts, which often appear to be sections of rosettes, were important elements in LH II (Fig. X 11)¹⁸⁹ and LH III (Fig. X.12)¹⁹⁰ architectural designs built up on a spiral framework. In Egypt floral designs began to be used in spiral patterns as prominent filling motives at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, contemporary with LH III A, 2.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ PM IV, 875, Fig. 875 (N. W. Heap of mural fragments). The nature of the designs to which this and the LM I A tuft belonged is uncertain. It is probable that they are Minoan parallels for the friezes of triquetral spirals popular on the Mainland. PM IV, 876, Fig. 866 (N. W. Heap) is a fragment from a horizontal frieze of sacral ivy leaves, which are completely filled by papyrus flowers. It has good Mainland parallels. Papyrus was also used on the LM II paintings from the Throne Room at Knossos. The griffins resting among leafy papyrus stalks are adorned with papyrus flowers (PM IV, Pl. XXXII).

¹⁸⁹ Continuous horizontal frieze of ivy leaves filled with papyrus: *Tiryns*, II, pp. 40-7, nos. 46-51, Figs. 11-3; Pl VI, 1, 6-8 (the fragments probably represent six different examples of this pattern). Triquetral spiral friezes filled with papyrus: BSA XXV (1921-3), Pl. XXIX; *Tiryns* II, pp. 47-51, nos. 52, 54; Pl. VII.

¹⁹⁰ Triquetral spiral friezes: Schliemann, *Tiryns* (Leipzig, 1886), Pls. V, IX, C. *Tiryns* II, pp. 175-9, nos. 241-53, Figs. 74-5 (at least fifteen variants of this pattern occurred at Tiryns and Rodenwaldt thinks that the motive was represented at every important Mycenaean site; *ibid.*, p. 48 and n. 1; these may be LH III); BSA XXV (1921-3), 353-4, d; Fig. 74, d (= PM IV, 243, Fig. 184, reconstructions; fragmentary gold leaf from the dromos of the Treasury of Atreus). Quadruple spiral: Schliemann, *Orchomenos* (Leipzig, 1881), Pl. ???. Papyrus tufts similar to those used to fill spiral motives occur on stems in ivory carvings (ArtC, p. 37, Fig. 53, Mycenae; griffin; ArtPG II, 264, Fig. 381, Mycenae, Clytemnestra tholos ?; mirror handle) and gold beads were made in this form.

¹⁹¹ *Anc. Egy. Paint.* II, Pls. LXXXIII, LXXXIV (Neferhotep, Qurneh 50; Haremhab; lotus, rosette; bucrania grasshoppers as filling motives). *Art égy.* I, Pl. XXXIII, top (Qurna 65; original owner Nebamun, Hatshepsut (?); but usurped by Imsibe; Neferkere Ramses [IX?], Dy. XX; the ceiling patterns must have been painted at this time. Of unknown provenience and date are *Ibid.*, Pls. XXX, below (rosette, lotus and beetle fillings); XXXVII, 1-3, 8 (lotus as the main fillings; the designs on this plate are assigned

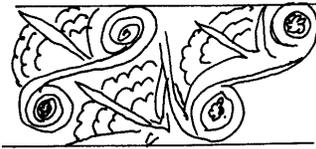


Fig. X.11

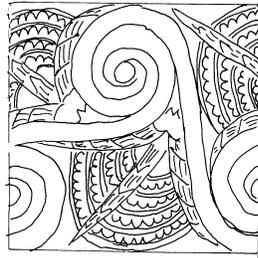


Fig. X.12

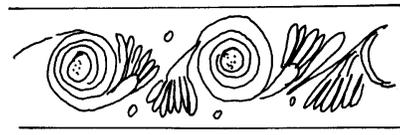


Fig. X.13

The question arises whether any connection existed between them and their Aegean compeers.¹⁹² However, the Egyptians used typical lotuses as fillings, quite different from the Mainland papyri, whose derivation from MM III B - LM I A mural designs is clear. The patterns adorned by Nymphaeas were usually rapports of axially symmetrical spirals outlining a cordate field, and very different from the triquetral spiral friezes of the Aegean.¹⁹³ There are only two examples of spiral friezes with lotus or foliate fillings. Aside from the difference between the filling motives in Egypt and the Mainland, there is a great contrast between the simple running spirals of the Egyptian borders (Fig. X.13) and the triquetral friezes of Greece.¹⁹⁴ The lack of any direct connection between the Orchomenos ceiling and Egyptian patterns has already been indicated,¹⁹⁵ and we must end

by Prisse to Dyns. XVIII-XIX). Jequier, *Décoration Égyptienne* (Paris, 1911), Pl. XXXVII, 52 (Qurneh 68; Nespenefrhor; Hrihor, Dyn. XXI).

¹⁹² Automatically assumed by Evans in PM IV, 243.

¹⁹³ S-spirals symmetrically juxtaposed in this manner did occur occasionally in the Aegean, but are apparently unrelated with the Egyptian motive which developed independently. The developed ceiling patterns succeeded, after a long gap, to the earlier examples on Middle Kingdom scarabs (Petrie, *Button and Design Scarabs* (London, 1923), Pls. VII, 24, middle unit, with other scrolls, 71, middle unit with s-spirals; VIII, 205, with c-spiral links. Petrie, *Illahun*, (London, 1891), Pl. X, 144, Kahun impression), and made in twisted wire in Middle Kingdom jewelry (Ayrton et al, *Abydos III* (London, 1902-4), Pl. XII.1 and 2 [V 21]).

¹⁹⁴ *Art égy.* I, Pl. XIII, 12, 13 (no provenience; the designs must be roughly dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty or after by analogy with the earliest known occurrence of similar fillings in Qurneh 50 belonging to the time of Haremhab. It would be unjustified to suggest any resemblance or connection between the rosette sections filling interstices of a sacral ivy frieze from Knossos (PM III, 195, Fig. 193 [East light well; presumably derived from the Upper Hall of Double Axes; end of LM I A]) and the foliate fillings of *Art égy.* I, Pl. XIII, 1 in view of the chronological and typological discrepancies between the two designs.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Chapter IX, pp. 376f. and n. 76.

with the conclusion that the LH II - III floral-filled designs have no connection with those in New Kingdom Egypt.¹⁹⁶

THE EGYPTIAN VOLUTE AND MINOAN ANALOGIES

The long series of transmutations through which *Cyperus alopecuroides* Rottb. progressed, ended with the appearance of the Egyptian volute, a relatively simple pattern. It is not surprising that analogous forms occasionally arose in other areas. Although Cretan art produced some examples of designs superficially similar to the Egyptian volute, they cannot be considered related to the reed-flower derivative. The earliest specimen is an EM III sherd from Gournia bearing two simple volutes with spiral ends.¹⁹⁷ The affinities of this design lie with certain Cretan MM I B - MM II motives, derived according to Evans from shell prototypes.¹⁹⁸ The classification of these sherds suggests a greater chronological discrepancy between them than actually existed. EM III persisted in eastern Crete during the MM I A phase at Knossos.¹⁹⁹

Among the signs of the hieroglyphic script of MM II seals is one consisting of a volute-like outline filled by a central lobe.²⁰⁰ Students of the Minoan syllabary consider an arrow to be the prototype of this sign,²⁰¹ and there would be no necessity to mention it in this context save that a hasty glance at some of the seal designs might suggest a misleading and false analogy with the Middle Kingdom figure-eight volutes filled with a central lobe.

¹⁹⁶ In addition to the floral friezes from Tiryns already mentioned, the same site yielded fragments bearing parts of a design showing a large rosette changed into flowers by being set upon narrow stems (*Tiryns* II, 31-4, no. 43, Figs. 6, 7; Pl. IV). In his discussion Rodenwaldt denies that this decoration had Egyptian connections. Despite the examples of stemmed composites now known from Egypt, his conclusion appears to be completely justified.

¹⁹⁷ PM I, 113, Fig. 80, a, g = Hawes et al, *Gournia*, (Philadelphia, 1908), North trench, Pl. ??

¹⁹⁸ PM I, Pl. I, b, d (Barbotine ware); for discussion of the natural prototype cf. *ibid.*, p. 239; PM IV, 113-5, Fig. 80; and MPot, p. 134 and n. 9.

¹⁹⁹ ArchC, pp. 94, 103-4, 301.

²⁰⁰ PM I, 274, Fig. 203; 277, Fig. 207, Fig. 207, g, h (Siteia); 281, Fig. 213.

²⁰¹ PM I, 282, Fig. 214, 13. Fernand Chapouthier, *Les écritures minoennes au palais de Mallia* (Paris, 1930), p. 32, Fig. 13.

The kilt of figure twenty-one in the LM I B Processional painting is patterned with a series of triangular-tipped ivy leaves.²⁰² The volute represents the essential form of the sacral ivy leaf; it was used alone to form friezes on the skirt of figure seven of the same painting and had appeared earlier on a textile represented in a MM III miniature painting.²⁰³ The dots and arcs of the top form a sketchy rendering of the triangular crown of this motive. The tops of the *waz*-lily pendants hanging from the kilt of figure twenty are indicated in the same manner.²⁰⁴ We have already reviewed the use of this motive as a decoration of pottery and seen that it was not as common in Crete as on the Mainland,²⁰⁵ where it was also used as a design for jewelry and on other objects.²⁰⁶ One of these pendants has a single filling lobe comparable to that of the Processional textile pattern.²⁰⁷ The connection of this kilt pattern and the related designs with typical Aegean motives is plain, and there is no relationship with the Egyptian volute.

There remains a fourth type of volute design, on a LM III A bath tub, which Evans derives from the figure-eight volutes on Egyptian scarabs.²⁰⁸ Although this design does possess some similarity with scarab patterns, its Egyptian derivation is extremely unlikely. The central lobe bordered by a narrow line is typical for the LM III A designs derived from the Knossian Palace Style. In view of the presence of the skeletonized ivy-leaf motives, exemplified on the textile representations, it is more probable that the painter of the Palaikastro larnax filled the vacant space with a sketchy ivy leaf, than that he transcribed an

²⁰² PM II, 723, Fig. 450, C; 728, Fig. 456, C; Sup. Pl. XXVII.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 722, Fig. 450, A; Sup. Pl. XXV. PM III, 41, Fig. 25, f.

²⁰⁴ PM II, 726, Fig. 453, a, c; Sup. Pl. XXVII.

²⁰⁵ Chapter VIII, pp. 334f.

²⁰⁶ A LM III stone jewelry mold of this shape was found at Palaikastro (BSA Sup. I, 150, Fig. 134, Block S, Room 5).

²⁰⁷ ILN, Aug. 19, 1939, 313, right middle, third row (Dendra, "Queen's tholos;" exact date uncertain, but probably LH II B or LH III A1). Plain ivy leaves on a gold strip from Mycenae contain lobes (Archaeologica LXXXII (1932), Pl. XXXII, 80 a (T. 515)). The upper part of an incomplete and unique flower from the LM I A Priest-king relief consists of a volute enclosing a foliate spray, possibly related to the ivy volute (PM II, 787, Fig. 513; Pl. XIV).

²⁰⁸ PM IV, 329-30, Fig. 272. Cf. Chapter VIII, p. 349.

Egyptian motive. It thus remains impossible to find any connections between the Egyptian volute and the volute-like Aegean designs.

POSSIBLE AEGEAN CONNECTIONS OF THE AMARNA FLORA

Although the marsh paintings from the Green room at Akhetaten are remarkable for the elimination of human actors and for the freedom of representation, they were deeply rooted in Egyptian tradition.²⁰⁹ The same holds for the other plants used as decorations at Amarna, the papyrus and reed clumps of the painted pavements, and the vegetation used on small objects are all thoroughly Egyptian in character. There exist but a few details for which Aegean comparisons have been suggested. One is a sprig of fruiting olive, showing both the under and upper sides of the leaves, which has been compared to MM III B - LM I A flowering olive twigs.²¹⁰ However, aside from the use of the lighter colored sides of the leaves as an enlivenment of the pictures, the representations are rather different. The Cretan twigs sway in the breeze; the Egyptian branch is erect and motionless. A connection between the two seems unlikely. Moreover, the naturalistic olive twig of Amarna is not without some parallels in Egypt. The palace garden painted in the tomb of Ai contains an irregularly branched fruiting pomegranate tree.²¹¹ This kind of realistic representation must be related to an ivory ointment spoon with a handle where, in place of the usual composite formal bouquet, there has been carved a naturalistic pomegranate twig.²¹² Although some concessions to the normal decorative traditions have been made,²¹³ this twig, like the Amarna olive, gives a remarkably naturalistic impression.

²⁰⁹ Frankfort, *Mural Painting of El-Amarnah* (London, 1929), pp. 61-5, Pls. II-VI, a, c.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 25; Pl. IX, c. PM II, 474, Fig. 281 (Knossos, North Entrance); PM I, 536, Fig. 389 (Knossos, basement by Stepped Portico).

²¹¹ *Neferhotep*, Pl. XIV (Khokian 49; Ai). Cf. also blooming pomegranate tree in *Two Ramesside Tombs*, Pl. XXIX (Ipi, 217; Ramses II). Cf. also the naturalistic flowering pomegranate on a relief slab from Maru-Aten (*City of Akhenaten I*, Pl. LXII, 289).

²¹² E. Reifstahl, *Toilet Articles from Ancient Egypt* (Brooklyn, 1943), Frontispiece (Brooklyn Museum).

²¹³ Two lotus flowers are bound together with the twig. Both flowers and fruits are represented. The top pomegranate forming the bowl is on a much larger scale than the lateral fruits.

Evans has suggested that certain striated leafy sprays on incense burners from the Temple Tomb, and similar ones combined with papyrus tufts from the LM II griffin painting are related with striated foliage topped by triangular papyrus (?) heads on a pot from Amarna. The leafy sprays he would apparently derive from Egypt and the striations from Crete.²¹⁴ Here, again, we may cite the absence of detailed, specific correspondence as sufficient reason for rejecting the connection.

The same objection holds for the comparison of certain climbing (?), curly-leaved plants from a painted pavement in the Watercourt building at Maru-Aten with MM III B - LM I A lupines.²¹⁵ Although the natural prototype of the Egyptian plants is uncertain, they do not represent lupines. The freedom displayed by them is a result, not of Cretan stimulation, but of the slap-dash technique of the workmen who covered the pavement with bold, quickly-drawn clumps of plants.

POSSIBLE TRACES OF EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE IN THE SHAFT GRAVES

The extent to which Egypt provided subjects for Cretan murals has been described by Evans,²¹⁶ and the decoration of one of the daggers from Shaft Grave V at Mycenae has earned it the sobriquet of "Nile landscape."²¹⁷ Despite the subject, the dagger shows but little trace of Egyptian style. The animated papyrus clumps are very different from those of Egypt. Most of them spring from a single pair of basal leaves. In one case these are doubled and have become reminiscent of the pairs of subsidiary leaves that were common constituents of Egyptian lily hybrids. Such a derivation is highly improbable, however, and it is more likely that these basal leaves are related to palm leaves, as on a gold leaf

²¹⁴ PM IV, 1013; Pl. XXXV.

²¹⁵ ArtC, pp. 54, 301; Fig. 567. PM II, 471, Fig. 277. *City of Akhenaten* I, p. 118; Pls. XXXVII-XXXIX.

²¹⁶ PM II, 448, 450 (Egyptian marsh landscape; monkeys).

²¹⁷ Schgr., p. 138; Pls XCIII-XCIV, 765. BSA, XXXVII (1936-70), 114 and N. 2.

ornament from Grave III.²¹⁸ Nevertheless, the general subject of the decoration remains as a link with Egypt, and should be added to the other evidence here enumerated as indicating direct connections between Greece and the Nileland.

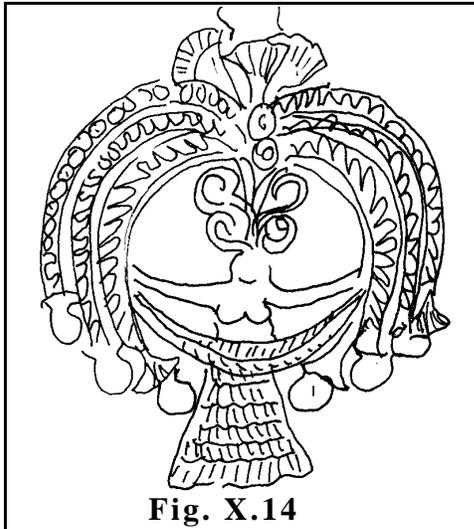


Fig. X.14

There is another object, from Shaft Grave III, which may possibly show traces of Egyptian influence. We mention it here for the sake of completeness, in order not to overlook any possible sign of the Egyptian reaction on the Mainland, and not because we are convinced that it was actually derived from Egypt. A large silver pin was equipped with an elaborate gold pendant (Fig. X.14).²¹⁹ The central part of the design is formed

by a woman in Minoan costume supporting on her head two volutes from which drop three pairs of foliate bands. They end in papyrus tufts to which are attached circular pieces of metal. Three papyrus tufts fill the corner left by the separating foliate bands. The human figure and the bands confirm to normal Minoan models. More unusual are the volutes and the triple grouping of the papyrus heads, but these features do not show definite traces of Egyptian affinity. The most peculiar character is the circular tipped papyrus. Such a pattern has meaning only in Egypt, where it corresponded to the well known florist's product, a *Mimusops* fruit fastened inside a papyrus, or occasionally a lotus, flower.²²⁰ However, it hardly seems possible that such a minor, though typical Egyptian, feature could have been of sufficient interest to a foreigner to be adopted as a decorative motive. The process by which the knowledge of this Egyptian custom could have penetrated to the Mainland can hardly be guessed. A visitor to Egypt would surely have been strongly

²¹⁸ Schgr., Pl. XXXIII, 119.

²¹⁹ Schgr., Pl. XXX, 75.

impressed by hundreds of strange sights and could hardly be expected to notice such a slight feature. Accordingly, we cannot attach weight to this coincidence. It does not seem possible to consider it as a link between the two countries.

MINOAN AMPHORA DECORATED WITH AN EGYPTIAN SOUTH-FLOWER HYBRID

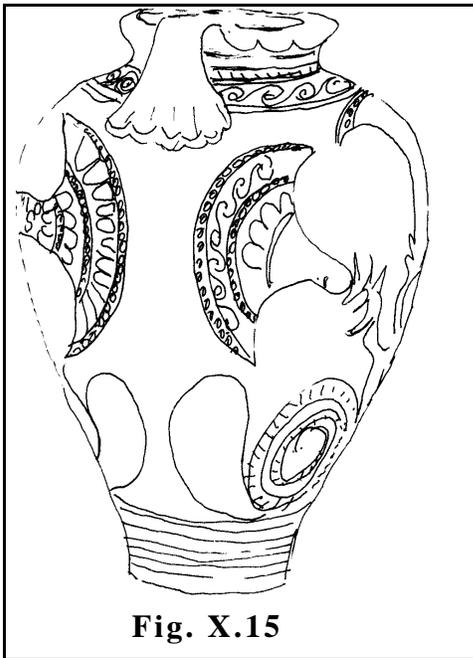


Fig. X.15

It is possible to end this dismal list of negative conclusions by indicating one instance which, in our view, illustrates a Minoan copy of an Egyptian South-flower hybrid motive. The design in question is borne by a MM III B - LM I A jar from Pachyammos, roughly contemporary with the end of the Second Intermediate period and the beginning of the Eighteenth dynasty (Fig. X.15).²²¹ It consists of a South-flower (“lily”) with drops topped by a triple papyrus group. We will see that a

certain amount of loop ornamentation lived on into this phase,²²² but these examples or the MM II designs in which drops were symmetrically applied²²³ do not provide analogies for the manner in which the drops were here used. Although the lily petals have been changed into spiral coils from which the enlarged fistula-like drops project, the Egyptian South-flower remains as the only possible prototype for this Pachyammos design. This is also true for the triple papyrus group. The closeness with which the arrangement of the three heads follows Egyptian traditions is not obscured by their asymmetrical, twisted stems, by

²²⁰ *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1924), Pls. XXXV (Tehuti, Qurneh 110. Hapshepsut; lotus).

²²¹ Seager, *The Cemetery of Pachyammos*, (Philadelphia, 1916), Pls. XVII, no. XVIII; XVIII.

²²² Chapter XI, n. 49.

the subsidiary leafage adopted from normal Madonna lily representations, or by the ornamental *beiwerk*, typical of the earlier LM I A phase, painted in white paint on the papyrus heads. Aside from coincidences in details of shape, the entire character of this pattern corresponds to Egyptian, rather than Cretan, habits of composition. Minoan vegetal designs, however artificial a patchwork of disparate plant or decorative elements they may be, are always endowed with a certain amount of organic unity. They can be recognized as a flower, even though composite, as a leafy stem tipped with bloom, as creeping, climbing tendrils, or as clumps of swaying stems.²²⁴ In strong contrast are the hybrid plant designs of Egypt, where elements are added together, to produce decorative patterns from which all suggestion of organic unity, of a naturalistic bush or clump, is completely lacking. It is the strong reflection of this character in the Pachyammos design which entitles it to be termed a copy of an Egyptian design, despite the numerous modifications and superficial Minoanizing veneer introduced by the Cretan artist.²²⁵

Certain difficulties standing in the way of an Egyptian derivation of this design are not insuperable. No exact Egyptian prototype can be cited. The closest form appears on a

²²³ *Ibid.*, n. 46.

²²⁴ The only real exception to this occurs on a Knossian Palace Style jar where a series of bud-like forms were piled on one another in tiers (PM IV, 326, Fig. 268).

²²⁵ Furumark classes this design with the MM II B dentate palms from Phaistos, the triple palm group from Knossos, the MM III A palm on an egg-shaped rhyton from Knossos, and the artificial flowering plant of the same date and from the same site. He considers them all derivatives of the MM II A pseudo-palmette pattern (Cf. Chapter XI, pp. 462ff.). The Pachyammos design, he says, is an instance where “the place of the radiating petals is taken by papyrus-like elements. This design may be influenced by the Egyptian papyrus groups, but the structure is essentially that of the Kamares palmette, and the ‘papyri’ are also evidently derived from the same repertory.” (MPot, p. 136). It should be noted that by “Egyptian papyrus group” Furumark is apparently not referring to the triple papyrus motive, but merely to Egyptian papyrus representations in general. To us, it seems completely impossible to correlate this design with the Kamares pseudo-palmette, or to derive these papyri, whose semicircular and recurved outline corresponds closely to that of some Egyptian examples (on mirror handles for instance; cf. also top row of papyrus heads in *Atlas* I, Pl. CXVII) from MM II papyriform elements. Furumark’s treatment of the MM II A pseudo-palmette pattern as the essential primordial model for a number of different later patterns does not seem convincing, and his explanation of this Pachyammos design on that basis suggests that the scheme of development which he has proposed for the other designs may be equally forced. Evans has also discussed this design (PM I, 609-10; Fig. 448). He suggests that the drops may represent buds, explains the papyrus heads as axe blades, and cites the pattern as an early parallel for certain designs on elaborately painted pottery best represented at Tall Atchana (JHS LVI [1936]. 134).

sealing of Amenhotep II, where, in addition to the elements found at Pachyammos, a volute also appears.²²⁶ The Cretan amphora is earlier in date than the widespread introduction of South-flower hybrids in the reign of Amenhotep II. However, the incomplete nature of the earlier evidence must be stressed. The plant hybrid of Akhor's gaming board and the lily palmettes on Ahmose's dagger are the only traces remaining of the earlier phase of Egyptian composite decorations. Their existence proves that it was possible for a MM III B - LM I A pot painter to have copied his pattern from an Egyptian prototype, even though the fragmentary materials preserved to us have left no clue as to the manner by which the Egyptian design was carried to him.

The appearance of this design in Crete and the unique use of Aegean *waz*-lilies on Mahirper's dog collar are the only certain examples of the exchange of plant motives between the Aegean and Egypt. Both appear, according to the material available at present, to be isolated cases. This lack of contact between the plant design of the two areas, which persisted despite active intercommunications, is understandable when we recall, in both cultures, highly developed vegetal designs form some of the most used and most characteristic elements of the decorative repertoires. In view of the extremely different character of the two traditions, each of which was deeply rooted in its homeland,²²⁷ it is not remarkable that Aegean and Egyptian artists failed to adopt one another's plant designs.

RECAPITULATION²²⁸

The evidence spared to us by the passage of time is but a small fraction of that which once existed. Each imported vessel from Egypt represents scores of others which have perished. Although objects betraying traces of Aegean influence are rare, we must remember that they are but tokens of groups that in their entirety would have been far more

²²⁶ Triple Papyrus bush 2.

²²⁷ Of course, the plant design of the LH Mainland was not indigenous to Greece, but had been quickly acclimatized there.

impressive. Even in Egypt where so much has been preserved and where supplementary data are yielded by tomb reliefs, serious gaps in our knowledge exist. Only relatively few small objects of daily life have been preserved, and the amount of evidence that can be extracted from rare un plundered tombs does not allow us to construct a good typological series covering even short ranges within the New Kingdom. Mahirper would never have dreamed that the collar of one of his hunting dogs bore a design, which perhaps he himself never noticed, that would one day form one of the rare known examples of Aegean influence on Egyptian art, nor could a groom of Amenhotep II's who used the harness (?), part of whose leatherwork was decorated with filled spiral rappings, have recognized the significance of that pattern. Besides these few objects, there must have existed many others; together they would have revealed the full story of the adoption of Aegean artistic traits by Egyptian craftsmen, a story of which we now possess only disjointed segments.

It now seems clear that the greatest expansion of Cretan trade occurred in the MM II period. It was at that time that her wares were carried around the shores of the Mediterranean, to the Cyclades, to Egypt, to Syria, and in MM III to Greece. The connections with Egypt must have continued into MM III, though there is less evidence available than for the preceding period. Nevertheless, the stone lid from Knossos inscribed with the name of the Hyksos king Khian, and the appearance of Egyptian motives in murals, as well probably as the murals themselves, witness to contacts with Egypt. By the LM I period Cretan connections with Egypt had greatly diminished. Proof that they had not completely stopped is given by the occurrence of Egyptian imports in Crete and the copying of the Pachyammos lily hybrid. In Egypt, only a tall Sedment alabastron, and the Marseilles ewer, the Egyptian provenience of which is open to doubt, are Minoan. A spouted jug in New York, although it has several Cretan analogies, may have been made on the Mainland. The gifts of the Aegeans shown in the tombs all have Mainland, as well

²²⁸ This section has been reworked and expanded in Kantor A&O, pp.73-78.

as Minoan, parallels; they were not necessarily brought by Cretans. Among the other features discussed, only the interlocked cross design appears to have a definite Cretan derivation. All the evidence indicates that Crete's share in the Egyptian trade of this time must have been very small. It is possible that the island may have been the source of certain special, perishable exports, possibly of certain kinds of textiles. From our limited material it is impossible to reconstruct or even to guess at the complex economic factors that must have characterized the life of all the Near East at this time.

The place of the MM II traders was now taken by the LH I/II Mainlanders. Scattered traces of their operations appear along the shores of the Near East, while Egypt has preserved a number of examples of LH I/II pots. In addition, the foreign characteristics of Ahmose's dagger and axe and the filled spiral rapport pattern are directly dependent upon Mainland models. The *Waz*-lily and tricurved arch pattern on Mahirper's dog collar were apparently copied from some Mainland alabastron, and it is likely that the characteristics of the Minoan animal style which appeared in Egypt were carried there by Mainland intermediaries. Among the objects shown in the tombs, the tall Vaphio cups of Useramon and Menkheperasonb, and possibly the rhyton with bull's head attached, are more likely to have a Mainland than a Cretan origin. As a counterbalance to this influx of Mainland characters in Egypt, there can be found but little in Greece, aside from the "Nile landscape" and occasional small objects.

The signs of contact with the LH I/II in Egypt are limited to the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. After the objects of Ahmose there is a gap until the reign of Hatshepsut when Senmut recorded in his tomb the visit of Aegeans. Two examples of the filled spiral rapport are found and the LH II amphora from Dira Abu'n Naga 20 may have been imported at this time. The reign of Tuthmosis III shows a great number of features.

Aside from representations in the tombs of Useramon, Rekhmire,²²⁹ and Menkheperresonb, all the graves containing Late Helladic I/II pottery have been assigned to this reign. Puimre's hunt was probably carved around this time,²³⁰ and marks the infiltration of Aegean animal movement into Egypt.²³¹ We can cite only the filled spiral rappings on leatherwork, the *Waz*-lilies and tricurved arches on Mahirper's dog collar, and the continued effects of the impact with the Aegean animal style. The concentration of contacts with the Mainland in the time of Tuthmosis III may well be accidental. More materials have been preserved from that reign. The lack of recorded Aegean contacts from the period of Amenhotep I, and the shorter reigns of Tuthmosis II and III must be accidental. Moreover, it is probable that contacts with the Aegean existed during the later part of the Second Intermediate period.

The gap between the end of Amenhotep II's reign and the renewed signs of intercourse with LH III A (2) Greece, may be the result of a similar lack of material, or may reflect historical or economic factors now unknown. In any case quantities of LH III A 2 pottery from Tell el Amarna testify to the resumption of Aegean contacts with fresh vigour. Much of the Levanto-Helladic *koine* pottery may be of Near Eastern production,²³² but the presence of direct contacts with the Mainland is assured, not only by Egyptian imports found in Greece, but also by the appearance at Saqqara of a wooden-box lid carved on the Mainland. No trace of Cretan contacts are found in Egypt at this time. The importation of Levanto-Helladic ware continued until the end of the reign of Ramses II, and was accompanied by the appearance of local imitations. This final phase of Aegean contacts brought in its train no such series of artistic influence as did the LH I/II contacts. Except for the unique use of the Taureador theme, most probably copied from mainland models,

²²⁹ Rekhmire was vizier for only a short time at the beginning of the reign of Amenhotep II and served Tuthmosis III for twenty years, most of the work in his tomb was probably executed during that reign.

²³⁰ He also served under Hatshepsut, but the inscriptions in this tomb were cut during Tuthmosis III's rule.

²³¹ For the discussion of Aegean influences in the Egyptian animal style, see Kantor A&O, pp. 62-71.

Egyptian art of this period proved unreceptive to Aegean features, in strong contrast to the situation at the end of the Second Intermediate Period.

SOURCES FOR THE FIGURES

- X.1 PM I, 201, Fig. 150, g
- X.2 *Ibid.*, 242, Fig. 183, a, 1, opp. p. 242
- X.3 *Ibid.*, Fig. 183, a, 3
- X.4 PM II, 197, Fig. 106, c
- X.5 Festos, p. 280, Fig. 162
- X.6 PM I, 277, Fig. 207 c, 1 and 3
- X.7 *Ibid.*, Fig. 207, f
- X.8 Matz, *Die frühkretischen Siegel*, Pl IX, 25
- X.9 PM III, 372, Fig. 247
- X.10 PM IV, 875, Fig. 865
- X.11 Rodenwaldt, *Tiryas*, II, Pl. VII
- X.12 *Ibid.*, 176, Fig. 75
- X.13 Prisse, *Art Egypt.* I, Pl. 13, 12.
- X.14 Schgr., Pl. XXX, 75
- X.15 Seager, *The Cemetery of Pachyammos*, Pls. XVII, no. XVIII; XVIII

²³² Cf. Klio, XXXII (1939) where it is suggested that Cyprus was an intermediary between the Mainland and Egypt.