

The Ages of Homer
A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule

J. B. Carter & S. Morris (eds)

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MYCENAEAN POTTERY AT SAQQARA:
FINDS FROM EXCAVATIONS BY THE EGYPT
EXPLORATION SOCIETY OF LONDON AND
THE RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, LEIDEN,
1975 - 1990*

♦

VRONWY HANKEY AND DAVID ASTON

This paper is offered to Emily Vermeule in recognition both of her perceptive interpretation of the Aegeans and their neighbors and of her ability to communicate her scholarship and enthusiasm to others. In her many works Emily has helped to achieve a wider understanding of international contacts within an intelligible chronological framework, without which "the few stable Late Bronze Age scenes which we can recognize now in the procession of archaeological events would dissolve in artistic anarchy."¹

ABSTRACT

Mycenaean pottery found in prestigious contexts during recent excavations at Saqqara provides new information about Mycenaean relations with Pharaonic Egypt. The introduction describes the discovery of the connections which provided Aegean prehistory with an approximate place in Egyptian history. It also discusses Homer's references to Egypt and their relevance to reality. The initial aim of the excavations was to relocate the tomb of Maya, the treasurer of Tutankhamun, found by Lepsius in the 1840s, and subsequently buried by

sand. This was eventually found in 1987, after the discovery, in close proximity, of the tombs of Horemheb (prepared before he became pharaoh), of close relatives of Ramesses II, and of high officials of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties. Among pottery of Late Helladic IIIA 2 and early IIIB found between 1975 and 1990, six pieces from Shaft i in the tomb of Horemheb had an unusually long life, or were reused as symbols of luxuries no longer readily available when trade with the Aegean began to be inhibited by Hittite pressure.

INTRODUCTION

I. THE EGYPTIAN CONNECTION

William Matthew Flinders Petrie, 1853-1942, proved that Pharaonic Egypt and the Aegean had been in contact long before the foundation of Naukratis in the Nile Delta in the seventh century B.C.² In his childhood it was accepted that Greek history began with the first Olympiad in 776 B.C. Earlier events were wrapped in clouds of idealized Homeric traditions. In 1870 these il-

lusions were shaken at Hissarlik, near the Hellespont and the Aegean sea. Heinrich Schliemann repopulated the plains of windy Troy with Homer's heroes, certain as he was that his second city, in which he found the great treasure, was the city of Priam destroyed by the Achaeans in the twelfth century B.C. At Mycenae in November 1876 he announced that he had found the tomb of Agamemnon in the location described by Pausanias. We now know that Schliemann's Troy II was not the city of Priam, and that the Grave Circle inside the walls at Mycenae belonged, not to Agamemnon, but to an earlier Mycenaean dynasty, living between about 1600 and the mid-fifteenth century B.C. In 1877 Charles Newton suggested a connection between Mycenae and Egypt in the Eighteenth Dynasty,³ but, when Petrie went to Egypt in 1880 to test the pyramidal theories of Piazzi Smyth, few thought that this was possible.

In January 1882, Petrie visited El-Amarna, on the east bank of the Nile above Minya, collected sherds, and saw the ruined tombs. This journey was the prelude to years of excavation in Egypt. At Hawara in 1889 he was visited by Schliemann, and we may imagine their enthusiasm over the papyrus fragment of *Iliad* Book 2, which Petrie had found placed as a safe conduct to the next world under the head of a woman buried in the second century A.C. They agreed on the importance of pottery for dating, but Schliemann's death later that year ended their friendship.

At Kahun, Petrie uncovered the administrative town attached to the pyramid of Sesostri II (Twelfth Dynasty, 1884–1878 B.C.). Among the domestic rubbish he found twenty-eight sherds which were not Egyptian. With "prescient instinct," as Arthur Evans put it, he called them "Aegean" (the first use of this word to describe pre-Hellenic objects). At Gurob, nearby, he found pottery like Schliemann's "Mykenaeen" and published this with the Aegean sherds and a Mycenaean juglet from the Tomb of Maket at Kahun, claiming that "Mykenaeen" pottery was pre-Dorian, dating to between 1400 and 1100 B.C., and that Mycenaean had traveled to Egypt about 1500 B.C.⁴

The Egyptian connection proved

Meanwhile in 1893, in the museum at Candia in Crete, John Myres and the Italian scholar L. Mariani independently recognized Cretan parallels for Petrie's

"Aegean" sherds among pottery found in 1886 by shepherds in a cave on the southern flank of Mt. Ida. The Kamares cave, we now know, was a mountain sanctuary visible from the Minoan palace at Phaistos.⁵ This meant that, before systematic excavation in Crete began, a phase of Minoan prehistory had its place in Egyptian history.⁶ Further evidence for connections between the first Minoan palaces and Egypt comes from Middle Minoan pottery found: at Tell el-Dab'a in the eastern Delta; at Lisht, Haraga near Kahun, Abydos; at Tod, Aswan; at points on the return route via the Levant coast; and in Egyptian objects and influences traceable in Crete itself.⁷

In April 1890 Petrie stayed with the Gardners at the British School at Athens, saw Schliemann's finds, and visited Mycenae and Tiryns. He persuaded his hosts that he had done more in a week than the Germans in ten years to clear up Mycenaean chronology. Now he needed proof that Aegean pottery in Egypt was datable by its context.

El-Amarna, the perfect site

Between 1883 and 1890 a French expedition had cleared and recorded rock-cut tombs, including the recently looted royal tomb. In 1887 clay tablets (the Amarna letters) were found, and the hunt was on for more tablets and movable antiquities. Petrie excavated in the central city from October 1891 to late April 1892, hoping to find tablets and to elucidate the city custom-built for Akhenaten, the pharaoh condemned to oblivion by his successors. Mycenaean pottery appeared immediately. In one season, in the royal palace and rubbish heaps, Petrie found 1,329 Mycenaean sherds and over eighty Late Cypriot sherds. On the evidence of labels of wine jars stating the regnal year of vintage, and of finds from a glass factory active in the reign of Tutankhamun (nine years), he concluded that El-Amarna had been the capital and administrative center of Egypt for not more than twenty years. The Mycenaean pottery could be dated by the life span of the city. "There are few facts in all archaeology determined with a more overwhelming amount of evidence than the dating of this earlier stage of Aegean pottery."⁸ His claims were immediately challenged, and still stimulate discussion.

Petrie's distribution of pottery to favored institutions disseminated the good news but complicated study. No

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distribution list exists, so Petrie's sherds cannot be studied with the finds which his successors presented to institutions in Britain, the Republic of Ireland, Cairo, New Zealand, and the United States.⁹

2. EL-AMARNA AND CHRONOLOGY

The Mycenaean pottery from El-Amarna consists mainly of small containers, particularly flasks (FS 189), of LH IIIA 2.¹⁰ A few pieces belong to the style of early IIIB. Their interest for chronology depends partly on the status of Akhetaten (El-Amarna) after the return to orthodoxy. Recent excavations have shown that the Workmen's Village was set up in year 4 of Amenophis IV (Akhenaten), who moved to Akhetaten in year 5.¹¹ Very few Mycenaean sherds came from the village, which was abandoned, like the city, early in the reign of Tutankhamun. Later in the same reign it was reoccupied by a pig-keeping community and finally deserted by the reign of Horemheb, about four years after the death of Tutankhamun. It is unlikely that anyone of social standing would have returned (pigs and presumably swineherds were never highly regarded in Egypt, certainly not by the upper classes), and there is no evidence that pig-keepers bought foreign luxuries. The few pieces of LH IIIA 1 pottery should have arrived at El-Amarna before year 3 of Tutankhamun.¹²

Mycenaean pottery ranging from LH IIA to within LH IIIB has been found at over fifty sites in the Nile valley from the Delta to Argo Island, above the Third Cataract.¹³ Mycenaean pottery at Saqqara illustrates trade at a time when Mycenaean were becoming economic as well as military leaders in the Aegean. Its presence in contexts involving the funerary rites of known officials or royal persons during and after the religious and political upheaval of the Amarna period helps to bring Mycenaean and Egyptians together in the same scenes. The tomb of Aper-El at Saqqara is a particular instance.

In 1976, in the cliff facing the Nile below the rest house of La Mission Française de Saqqarah, Alain Zivie found a rock-cut room with carved inscriptions, titles, and the name Aperia, which was traced by Dr. Jaromir Malek, at the Griffith Institute in Oxford, to unpublished notes made by Petrie in 1881. He had recorded the same room and inscription, plus a second version, Aper-El,

and a reference to the Aten. Excavation began in 1980.¹⁴ From the room found by Petrie, with damaged sculptures in the Amarna style, steps lead down to a second room, then follows a vertical drop of seven meters to a third room. A shaft over six meters deep leads to steps to the burial chamber, containing the skeletal remains and inner coffins of Aper-El's wife Ouria and a son Houy. Among Aper-El's possessions were objects inscribed with cartouches of Amenophis III and of his Great Wife Tiye, a clay sealing with the throne name of Amenophis IV *before* he changed his name to Akhenaten in year 6, and a wine label of year 10 of Akhenaten (wine of year 10 of Amenophis III could not have lasted into the reign of Akhenaten). Pottery included Egyptian, "syro-chypriote," and two Mycenaean pots—a piriform jar FS 45, and stirrup jar FS 166 (as in Shaft 1 of Horemheb's tomb)—both of LH IIIA 2 and identical with pottery from El-Amarna. More Aegean pottery is being studied (information from Dr. Zivie). Aper-El lay under his possessions. He died late in the reign of Amenophis III. Houy completed the tomb, and added the inscription "First Prophet of the Aten," in Room 1 to give his father the protection of the divinity worshipped by Akhenaten, Houy's master. This find places the use of the LH IIIA 2 pots within the last years of Amenophis III to at latest year 10 of Akhenaten, or between about 1360 and 1342 B.C.

Chronology, high or low?

The "traditional" chronology of the Aegean Bronze Age is essentially dependent on Egyptian and Near Eastern correlations. A high date for the beginning of the Aegean Late Bronze Age and a drastic lowering of its end are very hard to accommodate. The debate is lively but inconclusive, and will continue so until the opposing parties agree upon bases for discussion. In practice it is more important to establish in relative terms what people and which events were contemporary. In this paper, we follow Kitchen's dates B.C., as follows:

- Amenophis III, 1390–1352;
- Amenophis IV (Akhenaten), 1352–1336;
- Smenkhkare, 1338–1336;
- Tutankhamun, 1336–1327;
- Ay, 1327–1323;

Saqqara
T. of Aper-El

Horemheb, 1323–1295;
 Ramesses I, 1295–1294;
 Sethos I, 1294–1279;
 Ramesses II, 1279–1213;
 Merneptah, 1213–1210;
 Ramesses III, 1184–1153.¹⁵

3. HOMER'S REFERENCES AND REALITY

The following references concern Egypt:

The wealth of Egyptian Thebes: *Iliad* 9.382.
 Egypt, the country: *Odyssey* 3.300; 4.351; 14.246, 275;
 17.426, 448.
 Egypt, the river: *Odyssey* 4.477, 483, 581; 14.257, 258;
 17.427.
 Egyptian: *Odyssey* 4.83, 127, 228, 385; 14.263, 286;
 17.432.

Conditions for contact by sea in the Bronze Age

At the Strait of Gibraltar the inflow of water from the Atlantic creates a counterclockwise circulation of surface water, accelerated in the summer by the Etesian winds blowing from northwest to northeast.¹⁶ Evidence from EM Crete pinpoints the Minoans as pioneers in the contact, arriving at the Delta by accident or intent, and returning counterclockwise via the Levantine coast and Cyprus. A direct but hazardous northward return route to Crete and the Aegean may have been attempted.¹⁷

Menelaos and Odysseus Odyssey 3.300

Menelaos set out from Troy, but was blown off course, to Egypt, with five ships. In *Odyssey* 4.315–319, he says he wanted to go to Egypt, but his ships were held up for twenty days by contrary winds on an island called Pharos, a day's sail with a following wind from Egypt. It had a good anchorage and water supply. After the episode with the Old Man of the Sea, Menelaos rowed and sailed a long weary way over the misty deep to Egypt, moored his ships, offered a hecatomb, and made a memorial mound to Agamemnon. Then he sailed home via Sidon.

Comment

There is no island a day's sail north of the Nile Delta. Since, however, *ai-ku-pi-ti-jo* ('Aiguptios') occurs in

Linear B at Knossos, as well as an Ithacan named "Aiguptios" in *Odyssey* 2.15, a nonexpert may suggest that *pharos*, first found in Homer, was also known to the Mycenaeans.¹⁸ Is *pharos* a version of *pr-'ah*, the 'great house'? In the time of Amenophis IV (Akhenaten), *pr-'ah* meant 'king' rather than his palace.¹⁹ Perhaps the first landfall in the Delta was known to sailors as *phara* or *pharo* long before the famous *pharos* was built in the Ptolemaic period.

Homeric voyages Odyssey 14.246–304

Odysseus pretends to be a Cretan who had led nine seaborne raids on foreign lands before joining the expedition against Troy (14.229). After a short postwar stay in Crete, he sailed with nine ships, running before the north wind as if sailing downstream. Without disease, accident, or hard work, the helmsman and wind steered the ships. On the fifth day they came to fair-flowing Aiguptos and moored in the river. Odysseus stayed in Egypt for seven years and became rich. Then he was tricked into going to Phoenicia by a Phoenician, who a year later sent him on a false business trip to Libya. He sailed across the north wind, along the north coast of Crete, but was wrecked by a storm. In *Odyssey* 17.426–444 the story is changed. Odysseus was sent by Zeus on a practical expedition to Egypt. After a disastrous shore battle he was given to a friend of the defenders to take to Dmetor, son of Iasus, ruler of Cyprus, and returned to Ithaca from Cyprus.

Comment

Bradford's voyage confirmed the Homeric account.²⁰ Menelaos and Odysseus both returned via Phoenicia, following the counterclockwise route to the Aegean. The trading pattern of exported Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus, the Levant, and Egypt at the end of the line (particularly in LH IIIA 2 and early IIIB) shows that it was practicable to sail clockwise to Egypt via Cyprus and Ugarit, and south along the Levantine coast.²¹ Egypt imported timber from Lebanon from at least the Fourth Dynasty, presumably by sea, and maintained some control over Levantine coastal waters up to north Syria until the southward move of the Hittites late in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The Sea Peoples reached the Nile Delta from the north by ship and land in year eight of Ramesses III. Euboea made maritime contact with north Syria (Al

Mina) in the ninth century, and Ionian exploration southwards led to the foundation of Naukratis. Homer's account matches patterns of navigation in Mycenaean times and after the Bronze Age.

Action in Egypt Odyssey 17.421–444

Odysseus' landing party laid waste the fields, carried off women and children, and killed their men. In the battle many of his crew were killed or taken prisoner into slavery. Odysseus was rescued by the king, who took him home in his chariot. Or, as he told the suitors later, he was given to a friend of the defenders to take to Dmetor, ruler of Cyprus, and had subsequently come to Ithaca from Cyprus.

Comment

Is this yarn a folk memory of piracy on prosperous Late Bronze Age trade routes? Or of the battle between Ramesses III and the Sea Peoples at the Nile? Or is it about Ionian and Carian adventurers, ex-mercenaries serving Psammetichus I, or Ionians prospecting in the Delta? Herodotus placed the foundation of Naukratis in the reign of Amasis (570–526 B.C.), but, since pottery there points to an earlier settlement, he may refer to confirmation of the Ionian settlement rather than permission to land.²²

Piracy

In the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties piracy and privateering along the trade routes was a fact, as was the recruitment of healthy prisoners of war into the Egyptian army. The rescue of an outstanding foreigner and his subsequent removal to Cyprus would not be inconsistent with this practice. Homer's "Sackers of Cities" would be at home in the international scene of the late Eighteenth Dynasty. Movements of people at the end of the thirteenth century B.C. perhaps reduced the recruitment of mercenaries.²³

Comment

At the colloquium "Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant" at the British Museum (July 9, 1991), Drs. R. Parkinson and L. Schofield gave an account of a miniature papyrus from El-Amarna, excavated by Pendlebury in 1936, and recently acquired by the British Museum.²⁴ This shows foreign soldiers fighting alongside Egyp-

tians against Libyans. If the foreigners, wearing what may be boar's-tusk helmets and oxhide tunics, are Mycenaeans, they neatly fit the scenario of a diplomatic mission to the Aegean, in particular to Mycenae, late in the reign of Amenophis III.²⁵ Officials on the mission took home perfumed oil whose empties (FS 189) are the major type at El-Amarna. The Egyptians, moreover, were aware of and perhaps alarmed by Hittite aggression (a later embargo by Tudhaliya IV on Ahhiyawa shipping was identified by Houwink ten Cate).²⁶ Amenophis' defense advisers may have gladly recruited well-trained Mycenaean toughs who were bored with the *pax Mycenaeca* established following the downfall of Knossos about 1360 B.C. Did they, like the Egyptian visitors, take their favorite perfumes with them, or were they glad to leave a home which had abandoned the arts of war in favor of the manufacture of cosmetics?

Residence in Egypt Odyssey 3.300

In Egypt Menelaos earned a good living and much gold, wandering with his ships among foreign-speaking people (*Odyssey* 14.286). Odysseus, too, stayed in Egypt on good terms for seven years, and became rich.

Comment

Unless "Egypt" includes the coastal area of Palestine under Egyptian control in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the Homeric accounts suggest that foreigners were free to sail upriver for trade or employment. Tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty at western Thebes show scenes of apparently foreign seagoing ships unloading at riverside quays. Amenophis III employed foreigners, particularly from Retenu and Djahi, but there is no evidence for independent foreign enterprise.

Wealth and exchange of gifts

At *Iliad* 9.380–384 Achilles rejects Agamemnon's offer of vast wealth as enticement back to the fighting force, saying he would not rejoin the war, not even if Agamemnon were to add the wealth of Orchomenos or Egyptian Thebes, where the greatest treasures were stored in houses—Thebes, the city of a hundred gates, through each of which two hundred soldiers drove out with their chariots and horses.

Odyssey 4.124–130 lists gifts from Polybus and Alcandre of Egyptian Thebes to Helen as a silver basket

(*talaron*), a gold distaff (*elakaten*), and a silver basket with gold or gilded rim, on wheels. Menelaos was given two silver baths (*asaminthous*), two tripods, and ten gold talents.

Comment

The most elaborate travelers' tales about Egypt must relate to the period of Theban opulence from the Eighteenth to early in the Twentieth Dynasty. The Greek name "Thebes," a corruption of "Ipet-esut," is likely to have been invented during the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty, rather than in the period before the foundation of Naukratis, when the main center of Egypt had shifted from Thebes to the Delta.

After the end of the Bronze Age, Egyptian and Egyptianizing goods in Protogeometric and Geometric tombs, particularly in Euboea and Crete, appear to have arrived via Phoenician traders, also remembered by Homer.²⁷ None of the gifts to Menelaos and Helen can be said specifically to recall Mycenaean objects, except possibly her basket on wheels, which could be a recollection of bronze-wheeled stands that are not found later than LH IIIC.²⁸ Homer's account, retold and embroidered by Ionians, may well have originated in the late Eighteenth Dynasty.

Egyptian Medicine Odyssey 4.220-234

Helen's panacea for all ills is a drug given her by the Egyptian Polydamna, wife of Thon, for in Egypt, where the earth produces the greatest variety of drugs, good and bad, everyone is a doctor, because Egyptians are of Paëon's race.

Comment

Pa-ja-wo in Linear B at Knossos may refer to a healing deity.²⁹ For Homer the word was an attribute of Apollo, but this does not prove an Egyptian connection. In the eastern Mediterranean the common analgesic or anaesthetic seems to have been opium, produced and processed in Cyprus, and widely exported to the Levant and Egypt in small Base-Ring ware containers imitating seed pods slashed to release the latex.³⁰ These juglets are rare among Cypriot pottery in the Aegean.³¹ The production of opium has not been traced through succeeding centuries, so it is not possible to say whether Homer reflects contemporary Ionian admiration for Egyptian

medicine and knowledge of the human body acquired through the process of mummification, or a transmitted knowledge of skills observed in Mycenaean times.

THE EXCAVATIONS, 1975 - 1990

In 1975 the Egypt Exploration Society of London and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, with permission from the Department of Antiquities of Egypt, began a joint excavation in the New Kingdom necropolis south of the causeway of the Pyramid of Unas at Saqqara, an area long known to be rich in tombs of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties. In 1843 Lepsius uncovered parts of superstructures, the most famous of which came from the tomb of the Treasurer of Tutankhamun, Maya, and his wife Meryt. Some of the sculptures found then are preserved in several museums, including the Rijksmuseum, Leiden, which has three charming statues of Maya and Meryt. The main aim of the joint mission was to relocate Maya's tomb, then buried under the sand, and excavation began where the account of Lepsius suggested that Maya's tomb was sited. Unfortunately this was not so, but the excavators were not too disappointed since it quickly became clear that the large tomb they were excavating was that of Maya's contemporary, the Army commander Horemheb. This monument had been known for a long time through the reliefs preserved in several museums.³²

The tomb of Horemheb consists of a forecourt and entrance pylon, an outer (first) court with colonnaded portico, a statue room flanked by two magazines, an inner (second) court, and three cult chapels (pl. 4.1). The main burial shaft (Shaft iv), cut from the inner court, descended to a complex substructure which eventually led to the main burial chamber. The tomb was presumably constructed during the reign of Tutankhamun, but when Horemheb became pharaoh his tomb was prepared in the Valley of the Kings, Thebes. The remains of a rich burial were found in the main complex of Shaft iv, and it is possible that Horemheb's wife, Queen Mutnodjmet, was buried there.³³ No Mycenaean pots were found here. Sometime during the Ramesside period the upper level of Shaft i, cut from the first court, was used for the burial of at least four people, one a princess, possibly Bnt'-nt, the eldest daughter of

Ramesses II.³⁴ Two stirrup jars and a vertical flask (infra, Cat. nos. 1-3) were associated with these burials. Sherds from stirrup jars (Cat. nos. 13, 14, 19) and a closed vessel (Cat. no. 22) were found in surface débris.

Immediately west of the tomb of Horemheb two smaller tombs were found, of Paser, the Royal Scribe and Overseer of the Builders of Pharaoh, and Ra'ia, the Chief Singer of Ptah-Lord-of-Truth.³⁵ Sherds from a stirrup jar (Cat. no. 11) and an alabastron (Cat. no. 21) were found in the surface débris, but cannot be unequivocally associated with these tombs, which are datable to the reign of Ramesses II.

North of the tomb of Horemheb is the tomb of Tia, Overseer of the Treasury of the Temple of Ramesses II in the Domain of Amun, and his wife, also named Tia, elder sister of Ramesses II (pl. 4.2).³⁶ This is the first large tomb of the Ramesside period in the Memphite necropolis to have been completely cleared and planned. It consists of a paved forecourt, a pylon with a small porch in front, an outer (first) court, a colonnaded inner (second) court, an antechapel, side chapels, cult room, and a small pyramid. There was no Mycenaean pottery in the main burial chambers, but parts of two stirrup jars (Cat. nos. 4, 5) came from a tomb cut below the southwest corner of the first court, and backing on to the north wall of the tomb of Horemheb. This is the small tomb of Iurudef, Scribe of the Treasury, named in reliefs and inscriptions in the Tias' tomb, and therefore contemporary with them.³⁷ Presumably he died sometime during the long reign of Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213). His burial chambers were on two levels. The upper level, rooms A-D, had been reused during the late New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period. The lower level, rooms E-G, had been used only during the Nineteenth Dynasty. Despite the later reuse of this tomb, much of the original funeral furniture remained. The two stirrup jars (Cat. nos. 4, 5) evidently belonged to Iurudef or his immediate family.

Directly opposite the tomb of Iurudef was another tomb (Shaft C), which had been destroyed in antiquity. The superstructure had not survived, and the name of the owner was not recovered. Its burial chambers were in imminent danger of collapse and so were not fully excavated. Part of a Mycenaean stirrup jar was found (Cat. no. 6). In view of its location, Shaft C was presumably the tomb of another favored servant of the crown,

like Iurudef, and can probably be dated to the reign of Ramesses II.

To the west of the Tias' tomb, and partly overlaid by it, was the tomb of Ramose, the Chief of the Bowmen of the Army, probably dating to the late Eighteenth Dynasty.³⁸ The tomb was a simple one, with two courts, the inner one having three cult chapels and the main burial shaft. The ceramic material has not yet been studied, but a sherd from a stirrup jar (Cat. no. 7) found in the burial chamber joined one from the surface.

In 1987, immediately north of the tombs of Ramose and the Tias, and twelve years after their search had begun, the team found the tomb of the Overseer of the Treasury, Maya, and his wife Meryt (pl. 4.3).³⁹ Maya, who held his official position under Tutankhamun, Ay, and Horemheb, probably died in or shortly after year 9 of Horemheb (c. 1314), since a docket of that year was found. In plan the tomb resembles that of Horemheb, the only difference being that the outer (first) court had a portico with columns at the west (innermost) end only, and not on all four sides. The main shaft descended, as in Horemheb's tomb, from the second (inner) court. The burial chambers are on two levels. Sherds from two stirrup jars (Cat. nos. 8, 9) were found in the lower level, joining sherds from the surface débris. Warren and Hankey suggested that the pieces found underground had fallen in with débris when the tomb was closed.⁴⁰ Further study of the Egyptian material, however, shows that funerary detritus found overlying the central chapel at the west end of the tomb had been taken out from the underground rooms at a later date. We can therefore be certain that pots 8 and 9 were part of Maya and Meryt's original grave goods and not accidentally mixed in at the final closing of the tomb.

Directly in front of the entrance pylon, at the eastern end of Maya's tomb, some later shafts were also cleared. One (Shaft xv) contained New Kingdom pottery, including a wine amphora with a hieratic docket of year 40 of Ramesses II (c. 1239 B.C.). The base of a closed vessel (Cat. no. 10), probably a stirrup jar, comes from this dated deposit.

Other sherds (Cat. nos. 11-25) were found in the surface débris, mixed in with a vast quantity of material from Old Kingdom to Coptic times, and cannot be allocated to any specific New Kingdom tomb. They could originally have come from any one tomb, or even from



PLATE 4.1 The Memphite tomb of Horemheb, Saqqara, from west. From foreground to background: first (outer) court, entrance pylon. Shaft i is located adjacent to the column at bottom left. Photo by G. T. Martin.

tombs not yet found. They are presented here to round off the account of Mycenaean pottery found so far by the joint expedition.

THE MYCENAEAN POTTERY

The clay, which has not been analyzed, is fine, fired buff to pink, with a shiny slip of the same color or lighter than the body. Particles of mica and dark and white grits may be present. Decoration ranges from orange to light red, brown, and black. The variation in color, often in the same pot, is due to its position in a vertical up-

draught kiln. The pottery is classified according to Furumark, with modifications by Mountjoy.⁴¹ The following shapes are represented: straight-sided alabastron (pyxis) FS 94 (cat. no. 21); stirrup jar (cat. nos. 1, 2, 4-9, 11-20); globular vertical flask FS 189 (cat. no. 3); shallow cup FS 220 (cat. no. 24); kylix FS 264 (cat. no. 25). Among the stirrup jars FS 166 (piriform); 171 (globular, H. = D.); 178, 180 (squat); and 182 (conical) are present. It is difficult to be precise about types of stirrup jar whose profile is not complete or definite. Cat. nos. 10, 22, 23 are from closed vessels of unidentified type. The fine distinctions between stirrup jars of LH IIIA 2 late, of the transition to IIIB, and of early IIIB are elusive, particularly in the case of sherds.⁴² The stylistic dates suggested are referred to as "Late Helladic" (LH) rather than "Mycenaean" (Myc), the term frequently used in the Eastern Mediterranean. These are imprecise where the pieces have details common to the late stage of LH IIIA 2 and the beginning of LH IIIB. "LH IIIA 2-IIIB 1" indicates the transition between the



two phases. Inv. no. 87-208, a badly damaged sherd from a stirrup jar, is not catalogued. Only one sherd from a Mycenaean shape in local clay was identified, and no imitations of the stirrup jar in faience or calcite were reported.

Measurements (H. = height, D. = maximum diameter) are in centimeters.

CATALOGUE

(Catalogue numbers also refer to the line drawings)

I - 10. POTTERY FOUND INSIDE TOMB SHAFTS OR ROOMS, LISTED IN ORDER OF EXCAVATION.

I. P298 + 914 and unmarked sherds. Stirrup jar, piriform FS 166, with hollow torus base, hollow false neck, flat disk added separately, flattened handle, concave spout with sloping rim. Poor condition. Part of body

PLATE 4.2 Tomb of Tia and Tia, Saqqara, from east. From foreground to background: first (outer) court, colonnaded second (inner) court. Stirrup jars (cat. nos. 4-5) came from the Tomb of Iurudef, visible on the left side of the outer court. Another stirrup jar (cat. no. 6) came from the tomb on the right side of the outer court. Photo by G. T. Martin.

missing. H. 14.5, D. 10.7, base 4.6. Fine dirty buff clay, pinker on the surface, white and dark grits, the body splitting into two layers where buff and pink meet. Shiny buff slip, almost worn off. Decoration in shiny orange to red and brown, worn. Zone of bands and fine lines above painted foot. Multiple Stem FM 19.21 on shoulder. Broad bands round base of false neck and base of spout. Large solid circle in reserve on disk, badly placed reserved triangle on handle, broad band round rim of spout. Tomb of Horemheb, Shaft 1, level 9, at entrance to corridor to rooms A to H, in rooms F, G, H,



PLATE 4.3 Tomb of Maya, Saqqara, from east. From foreground to background: column bases at west side of first (outer) court, statue room flanked by side chapels, colonnaded second (inner) court. The shaft to the main burial chamber descends from the second (inner) court.

pit in F, and surface debris. LH IIIA 2.⁴³ (Fig. 4.1 and pl. 4.4.)

2. P1185. Stirrup jar, globular FS 171. Drawn-up false neck, concave spout with sloping rim. Poor condition. Base, handle, and false neck missing. H. (extant) 8.0, D. 10.4. Fine yellow to buff clay, greenish inside, splitting into two layers. Yellow buff slip, once shiny, decoration in orange to red. Zones of bands and medium fine lines on body. Foliate Band FM 64.20 on shoulder, band round base of spout. Tomb of Horemheb, Shaft i, level 12, rooms B, E, F, H. LH IIIA 2.⁴⁴ (Fig. 4.2 and pl. 4.5.)

3. P1184. Globular flask FS 189, complete except for

two small body sherds. Thrown from the small ring base upwards, small sloping rim, unevenly laid-on handles, slight ridge at base of neck. H. 13.9, D. 10.4, base 3.7. Fine deep pink to buff clay, surface redder than core, large dark red inclusions. Slightly shiny buff slip, decoration in shiny orange to red. Groups of Foliate Band FS 64, variant of 22 in handle panel. On side (a) twenty-four, (b) eighteen evenly spaced medium to fine concentric circles, within a narrow border (a broad border is more usual on FS 189 at El-Amarna and elsewhere). Tomb of Horemheb, Shaft i, level 9, rooms A, E, H. LH IIIA 2, late.⁴⁵ (Fig. 4.3 and pl. 4.6.)

4. 85-214. Part of upper body of stirrup jar FS 171, 178, or 180. D. 12.0. Fine buff clay with pink interior, shiny buff slip. Decoration in black, almost worn off. Circles with central dot on shoulder, a variant on FM 27, Sea Anemone (?), single loop round base of false neck and spout, very sloppy triangle in reserve on handle. Tomb of Iurudef, shaft and room E. LH IIIA 2-III B 1.⁴⁶ (Fig. 4.4 and pl. 4.7.)

5. 85-216. Short concave false neck, flat disk, and part of handle of a stirrup jar. D. 2.7. Loop at base of false neck, concentric circles on disk. Tomb of Iurudef, chamber B among burnt material of the Nineteenth Dynasty. LH IIIA 2-LH IIIB 1. (Fig. 4.5 and pl. 4.8.)

6. 83-222. Body sherd from squat stirrup jar, FS 178, or 180. D. 13.2. Pink clay, shiny buff slip, decoration in shiny red. Two zones of broad and fine bands. Tomb of Tia and Tia, shaft C, burial chamber. The tomb was not excavated owing to the danger of imminent collapse. Time of Ramesses II or later. LH IIIA 2-IIIB 1.⁴⁷ (Fig. 4.6.)

7. 88-207. Upper part of squat stirrup jar, FS 178 or 180. Thin false neck and slightly domed disk made in one piece. Rather tall spout with sloping rim. D. 13.5. Buff clay and slip, decoration in red to brown. Body zone of band and fine lines, two bands below. No pattern on shoulder area, loop round base of false neck and spout. Disk has two concentric circles round central "U." Tomb of Ramose, burial chamber and surface. LH IIIB 1. (Fig. 4.7 and pl. 4.9.)

8. 87-207 A+B. Sherds from globular to squat stirrup jar, FS 178 rather than 171. Thick slightly concave base. H. extant 8.3, D. 10.4, base 3.4. Fine dark buff clay, dark grits, shiny buff slip, decoration in shiny red brown. Isolated Semi-circles FM 43, or Concentric Arcs FM 44, or widely spaced Multiple Stem FM 19, on shoulder. Tomb of Maya. Shoulder from surface, base and two body sherds from rooms Q and R, nonjoining sherds from room Q and surface. LH IIIA 2-IIIB 1.⁴⁸ (Fig. 4.8 and pl. 4.10.)

9. 87-206 + 88-554. Small globular to squat stirrup jar, FS 171, with narrow hollow false neck and flattened disk made in one piece, ring base. Spout and most of shoulder missing. H. 11.0, D. 11.8. Fine buff clay and shiny slip, decoration in red. Three body zones of bands and fine lines, and one of fine lines, no pattern on shoulder, large solid circle in reserve on disk, small reserved triangles on handle. Tomb of Maya, rooms I, Q, R, and surface. LH IIIB 1 rather than IIIA 2.⁴⁹ (Fig. 4.9 and pl. 4.11.)

10. 90-258. Torus base of closed vessel, perhaps stirrup jar, FS 182. Bands in shiny black above base. H. extant 1.7, D. base 7.6. Tomb of Maya, Shaft XV, Chamber B. Date of deposit not earlier than year 40 of Ramesses II (c. 1239). LH IIIB 1.⁵⁰ (Fig. 4.10.)

II - 26. SHERDS FROM SURFACE DEBRIS, THE MIXTURE OF WIND-BLOWN SAND AND MATERIAL THROWN OUT OF THE UNDERGROUND TOMBS BY TOMB ROBBERS.

II - 20. STIRRUP JARS (APPROXIMATELY IN ORDER OF FURUMARK'S CLASSIFICATION).

11. 87-238. Part of disk and handle. Concentric circles on spiral round solid center. LH IIIA 2 or IIIB 1. (Fig. 4.11.)

12. 88-596. Part of shoulder and spout, globular or squat. H. extant 4.6. Incomplete loop round base of false neck and spout. Mycenaean Flower FM 18 on shoulder. LH IIIB 1. (Fig. 4.12 and pl. 4.12.)

13. P166. Body sherd from FS 180. D. 13.5. Two zones of bands and fine lines on body, Multiple Stem FM 19.28 on shoulder. LH IIIA 2-IIIB 1. Listed with surface finds from the tomb of Horemheb. (Fig. 4.13 and pl. 4.13.)

14. P158. Body sherd from of FS 178-180. D. 12.0. Two zones of bands and fine lines, plain shoulder. LH IIIA 2-IIIB 1. Listed with surface finds from the tomb of Horemheb. (Fig. 4.14 and pl. 4.14.)

15. 87-260. Lower body of FS 178-180. H. extant 4.7, D. 11.8, D. base 6.0. Zone of bands and fine lines at greatest diameter. LH IIIA 2-IIIB 1. (Fig. 4.15 and pl. 4.15.)

16. 88-553. Lower body of FS 178-180. Zones of bands and fine lines. Three concentric circles on slightly concave base. LH IIIB 1.⁵¹ (Fig. 4.16 and pl. 4.16.)

17. 88-349. Body sherd of FS 180. D. 12.0. Two zones of bands and fine lines on body. LH IIIB 1. (Fig. 4.17.)

18. 82-234 + 83-224 + 86-212 + 87-210. Profile of angular FS 180 (spout missing) with small domed disk. Two body zones of broad and fine bands, shoulder plain, loop round base of false neck. LH IIIB.⁵² (Fig. 4.18 and pl. 4.17.)

19. P267. Body sherd, FS 182. Max. D. 14.0. Two zones of bands and fine lines, plain shoulder. LH IIIB 1.⁵³ Listed with surface finds from the tomb of Horemheb. (Fig. 4.19 and pl. 4.18.)

20. 86-213 + 86-221 + 86-346 + 90-201. Joined sherds from upper part of FS 182. Narrow false

neck made separately, disk missing, concave spout. Zone of bands and fine lines below shoulder, Mycenaean Flower FM 18.128 on shoulder, loop enclosing base of false neck and spout, small reserved triangle on handle. The decoration suggests a date late in LH IIIB 1 or even in IIIB 2. This could be the latest Mycenaean import found. LH IIIB. (Fig. 4.20 and pl. 4.19.)

21 - 23. OTHER CLOSED VESSELS

21. 81-275. Straight-sided alabastron (pyxis), FS 94, profile almost complete. H. 7.3, D. 10.5. LH IIIA 2 or IIIB 1.⁵⁴ (Fig. 4.21.)

22. P1116. Sherd from upper body of medium to large piriform jar, FS 35, or jug, or large fine ware stirrup jar. H. extant 4.0, D. more than 27.0. Zones of bands and fine lines. LH IIIA 2 or IIIB 1. Listed with surface finds from the tomb of Horemheb.⁵⁵ (Fig. 4.22.)

23. 88-597. Body sherd from ovoid vessel. Buff micaceous clay, inner surface eroded, two bands above base. LH IIIA 2 or IIIB 1. (Fig. 4.23.)

24 - 25. OPEN VESSELS

24. 83-212. Rim sherd from cup, FS 220, very worn. H. extant 2.7, D. of rim 11.2. V pattern FM 59. LH IIIA 2 or IIIB 1. A few of this shape reached El-Amarna.⁵⁶ (Fig. 4.24 and pl. 4.20.)

25. 82-206 + 82-260. Two joining sherds from a kylix, FS 264. Fine buff clay, light red shiny monochrome in and out. LH IIIA 2. A few sherds from a kylix are among the El-Amarna deposit. So far as we know, this is the only recorded example of a monochrome kylix from Egypt, here shown in a reconstruction of somewhat bizarre appearance.⁵⁷ (Fig. 4.25 and pl. 4.21.)

DISCUSSION

Of the pots found in the closed deposits, 1-3 would be at home in the El-Amarna deposit.⁵⁸ In particular 3, FS 189, thrown from the base up, is the most numerous shape found there. It was apparently made only in LH IIIA 2.⁵⁹ In their Ramesside context, 1-3 are survivals from the Amarna period. 4-5, with features found in late IIIA 2 and early IIIB, came from a tomb used within the sixty-six years of Ramesses II's reign. 6, of similar

stylistic date, may have been deposited later in the Nineteenth Dynasty. 7, however, of LH IIIB 1 rather than IIIA 2, may come from a burial of the late Eighteenth Dynasty. The context of 8 (LH IIIA 2-IIIB 1) and 9 (LH IIIB 1 rather than IIIA 2) added weight to evidence for placing the end of LH IIIA 2 *before* the reign of Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213 in the Nineteenth Dynasty).⁶⁰ The context of 10, apparently IIIB 1 in type, is placed in or after year 40 of Ramesses II.

Assuming that their stylistic dates are acceptable, six of the ten fragments in these dated contexts were not new, filled with fresh contents, when used. None of the containers could have preserved the original contents, presumably refined and perfumed olive oil, in good condition for very long in Egyptian heat. So, like old perfume jars or vintage wine bottles, the jars may have been kept in use by the good and the great of Memphis long after the original contents had gone, and after production of containers in the Aegean had evolved.⁶¹ In Egypt the domestic life of imported pottery before deposition in a tomb is obscured because most areas of ancient occupation in Egypt now lie under the silt deposited by the annual rise and fall of the Nile (El-Amarna is a notable exception). At Memphis, however, sherds of similar pots of LH IIIA 2 are being found in current excavations by the Egypt Exploration Society.⁶² Reuse of old vessels is fairly common. A Tell El-Yahudiyeh juglet of the Second Intermediate Period was found in one of the cache burials of the Late New Kingdom within the tomb of Iurudef. A Red Lustrous spindle bottle was also found in surface debris.⁶³

Except for 20, the pieces from surface debris also belong to the ceramic range of LH IIIA 2 and IIIB 1, the period when the main trade route to the east was by way of Cyprus, Ugarit, and Tell Abu Hawam.⁶⁴ At even these major destinations Mycenaean wares were a minor accompaniment to bulk shipments of White Slip and Base-Ring wares. This is illustrated in the Uluburun wreck, which carried a few Mycenaean pieces, and large storage jars packed with Cypriot pottery.⁶⁵ At present we do not know the extent of Aegean trade with Egypt in the Nineteenth Dynasty, or what route was followed. Since Cypriots and/or Ugarites were involved in the Aegean trade with Egypt, Mycenaean pottery should have decreased or even disappeared from Egypt, as Cypriot wares did, when Cypriot traders began to feel the pres-

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sure of Hittite influence at Ugarit at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This was before the decline of Aegean trade with Cyprus and the Levant sometime in LH IIIB.⁶⁶ Recent excavations at Bates' Island, Marsah Matruh, where Cypriot pottery formed eighty percent of the Late Bronze Age sherds found, will help to trace at least one of the possible trade routes.⁶⁷

NOTES

* We are very grateful to the Egypt Exploration Society of London, to Professor G. T. Martin of the Department of Egyptology, University College London, and to Professor H. D. Schneider of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden for permission to publish this material and for help in its study. We also thank Will Schenk, who drew pots 1-3, 13, 14, 19, 22, and Henry Hankey for help with other drawings; the staff of Promotion House, Edenbridge, Kent, for patience over copying; Swan Hellenic of London, for Hankey's many visits to Saqqara in the course of Nile Cruises, and the Egyptian staff at Saqqara who helped to uncover these tombs.

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2. M. S. Drower, *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology* (London 1985) 136-138.
3. R. A. Higgins, *Minoan and Mycenaean Art* (London 1967) 10.
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5. A. Brown, "I propose to begin at Gnosso," *BSA* 81 (1986) 37-44, especially 41, n. 19.
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7. Warren and Hankey (supra n. 6) 125-131, 135-137; V. Hankey, "Pottery as Evidence for Trade: 1. The Levant from the mouth of the river Orontes to the Egyptian border; 2. Egypt and Nubia," in E. French and C. Zerner, eds., *Wace and Blegen. Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age: 1939-1989*, Proceedings of the Conference sponsored by the American School of Classical Studies and the British School at Athens, December 2-3, 1989 (Amsterdam 1993) 101-116.
8. W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell El Amarna* (London 1894) 15-17. On chronology see below and n. 15.
9. Howard Carter, a seventeen-year-old art student collecting for a wealthy patron, worked at El-Amarna with Petrie and found about twenty sherds, which were eventually bought by the Allard Pierson Museum of Amsterdam (displayed in the exhibition *Howard Carter: Before Tutankhamun*, which opened on November 18, 1992, at the British Museum).
10. Furumark, *MP*, Catalogue of Shapes 583-643 (= FS), of Motifs 236-429 (= FM); P. A. Mountjoy, *Mycenaean Decorated Pottery: A Guide to Identification* (Göteborg 1986).
11. B. J. Kemp, "The Amarna workmen's village in retrospect," *JEA* 73 (1987) 21-50.
12. Warren and Hankey (supra n. 6) 148-152.
13. V. Hankey and A. Leonard, *Ägypte und die Levante: Ägäische Importe des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. Tübingen Atlas des Vorderen Orients der Universität, B III 4/5* (Tübingen 1992); Hankey (supra n. 7).
14. A. Zivie, *Découverte à Saqqarah: Le vizir oublié* (Paris 1990), beautifully illustrated (Mycenaean pots on pls. 89, 90).
15. K. A. Kitchen, "The Basics of Egyptian Chronology in Relation to the Bronze Age," in P. Åström, ed., *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology held at the University of Gothenburg 20th-22nd August 1987*, Part 1 (Gothenburg 1987) 37-55, and idem, "Supplementary Notes on the Basics of Egyptian Chronology in Relation to the Bronze Age," *ibid.*, Part 3 (1989) 152-159. On the convergence of radiocarbon and Egyptian dates, see F. A. Hassan and S. W. Robinson, "Radiocarbon chronometry of Egypt," *Antiquity* 61 (1987) 119-135. For a recent assessment see S. W. Manning and B. Weninger, "A light in the dark: archaeological wiggle-matching and the absolute chronology of the close of the Aegean Late Bronze Age," *Antiquity* 66 (1992) 636-663. Discoveries in 1990-1993 by Professor M. Bietak at Tell el-Dab'a in the eastern Nile Delta may modify the high date proposed for the beginning of the Aegean Late Bronze Age at the Third International Thera Congress in 1989; D. A. Hardy, ed., *Thera and the Aegean World III* (London 1990). Lowering the end of the Aegean Late Bronze Age by up to 350 years is proposed by P. James et al., *Centuries of Darkness* (London 1991) and by many studies in *Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum* 1-5 (1987-1992) of the Institute for the Study of Interdisciplinary Sciences. For the conventional view see Warren and Hankey (supra n. 6) 119-120, 127-128, 137-138; P. M. Warren, "The Minoan Civilization of Crete and the Volcano of Thera,"

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28. H. W. Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World* (Oxford 1964) 207-210.

29. *Docs.*² 46, 126, 312.

30. R. S. Merrillees, *The Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery found in Egypt* (London 1968) 154-158.

31. Watrous (supra n. 17) 174-175.

32. G. T. Martin's *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis* (London 1981) is fully illustrated. See 208-209 for bibliography and references to preliminary reports, general plan on fig. 5. For the Tomb of Horemheb see 35-98 with figs. 9 and 11.

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35. Martin (supra n. 32) 120-123, 124-130, fig. 79.

36. Kitchen (supra n. 34) 28, 98; Martin (supra n. 32) ch. 4, 101-115, with fig. 64. G. T. Martin, "The Tomb of Tia and Tia: Preliminary Report on the Saqqara Excavations, 1982," *JEA* 69 (1983) 25-29, and "The Tomb of Tia and Tia: Preliminary Report on the Saqqara Excavations, 1983," *JEA* 70 (1984) 5-12; G. T. Martin, M. J. Raven, and D. A. Aston, "The Tomb Chambers of Iurudef: Preliminary Report on the Saqqara Excavations, 1985," *JEA* 72 (1986) 15-22.

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40. Warren and Hankey (supra n. 6) 151-152.

41. *MP* and Mountjoy (supra n. 10).

42. Mountjoy (supra n. 10) 108.

43. Mountjoy (supra n. 10) 77.

44. Mountjoy (supra n. 10) 77-78.

45. Mountjoy (supra n. 10) 81, fig. 95.2.

46. Aston in Martin, Raven, and Aston (supra n. 36) 15-22.

47. Aston in Martin 1984 (supra n. 36) 8-9.

48. Warren and Hankey (supra n. 6) 151-152; Mountjoy (supra n. 10) 79, 95-96.

49. Warren and Hankey (supra n. 6) 151-152.

50. Mountjoy (supra n. 10) 106-107.

51. Mountjoy (supra n. 10) 107-108.

52. Mountjoy (supra n. 10) 107.

53. Mountjoy (supra n. 10) 107-108.

54. Mountjoy (supra n. 10) 73-74, 100.

55. Mountjoy (supra n. 10) 70-71.

56. V. Hankey, "The Aegean Deposit at El Amarna," in V. Karageorghis, ed., *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium, "The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean"* (Nicosia 1973) 128-136.

57. Mountjoy (supra n. 10) 90 notes that this shape was very popular in the Aegean mainland in LH IIIA 2.

58. Hankey (supra n. 56).

59. Mountjoy (supra n. 10) 81; Martin (supra n. 32) 90-91.

60. Warren and Hankey (supra n. 6) 117-118, 148-154 place LH IIIB between the eighteenth and early Twentieth Dynasties (1340-1190 B.C.).

61. For a preliminary report on the Aegean Pottery from Deir El-Medina, see *ASAE* 68 (1982) 143-163. At the conference on Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean (Oxford, December 1989), Dr. J. Evans of East London Polytechnic described gas chromatography, a non-destructive method of identifying substances trapped in the

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body of a clay vessel. This application, which is not costly, is particularly valuable in Egypt where pots rarely need washing before study. In Mediterranean lands the shelf life of olive oil for culinary purposes is about one year.

62. We thank Drs. J. Bourriau and D. G. Jeffreys for this information.

63. We thank Professor M. Bietak for dating the Yahudiyeh juglet, c. 1630-1590/1570 B.C.; Aston in Martin, Raven, and Aston (supra n. 36) 21.

64. Reexamination of old material and new excavation here by Dr. J. Balensi of the Centre nationale de recherches scientifiques, Maison de l'Orient, Lyon, has shown that Tell Abu Hawam, near Haifa, was a major point of entry for Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery. We thank Dr. Balensi for information on her work, now in process of publication. Catling (supra n. 21) suggests that the Mycenaean exports went di-

rectly to Ugarit, from where they were reshipped to Cyprus, the Levantine coast, and Egypt.

65. G. F. Bass, "A Bronze Age shipwreck at Ulu Burun (Kaş): 1984 Campaign," *AJA* 90 (1986) 269-296; C. Pulak, "The Bronze Age shipwreck at Ulu Burun, Turkey: 1985 Campaign," *AJA* 92 (1988) 1-37. G. F. Bass, C. Pulak, et al., "The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun, Turkey: 1986 Campaign," *AJA* 93 (1989) 1-29.

66. M. Drower, *CAH*³ II.2, 137-141; Merrillees (supra n. 30) 202; on White-Slip sherds at Saqqara, see Aston in Martin, Raven, and Aston (supra n. 36) 9; P. Åström, "Comments on the Corpus of Mycenaean Pottery in Cyprus," in V. Karageorghis, ed. (supra n. 56) 123-127.

67. D. White, "1985 Excavations on Bates' Island, Marsa Matruh," *JARCE* 23 (1986) 51-84.

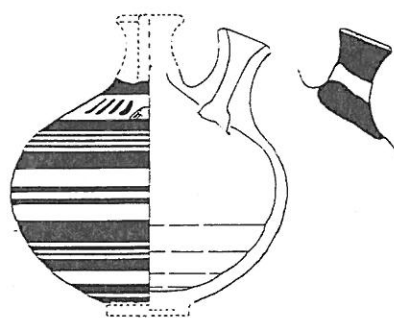
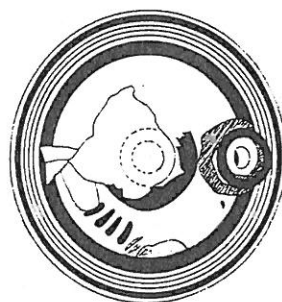
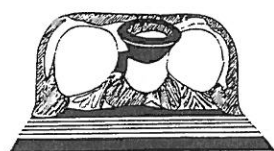
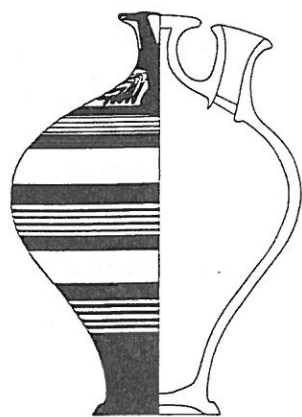


FIGURE 4.1 Cat. no. 1, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2. Tomb of Horemheb, Shaft i. (see plate 4.4)

FIGURE 4.2 Cat. no. 2, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2. Tomb of Horemheb, Shaft i. (see plate 4.5)

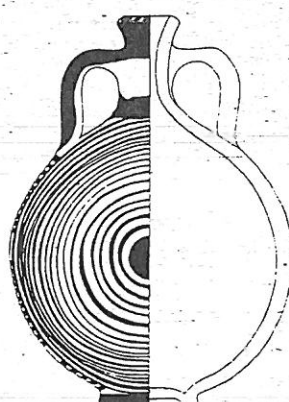
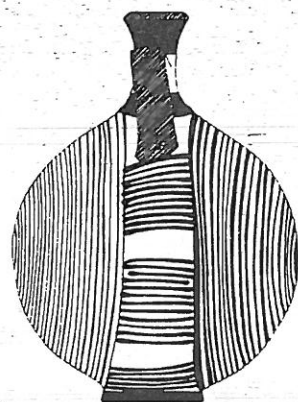


FIGURE 4.3 Cat. no. 3, globular flask, LH IIIA 2, late. Tomb of Horemheb, Shaft i. (see plate 4.6)

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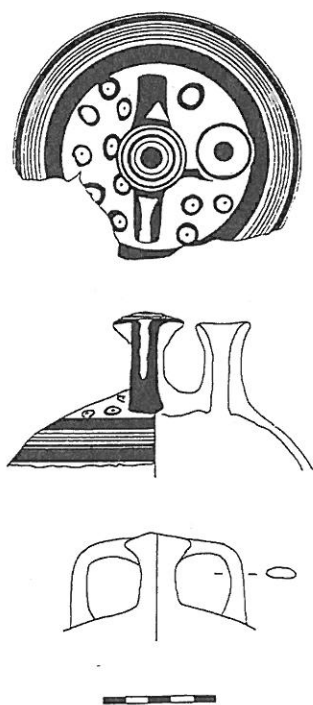


FIGURE 4.4 Cat. no. 4, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2–IIIB 1. Tomb of Iurudef. (see plate 4.7)

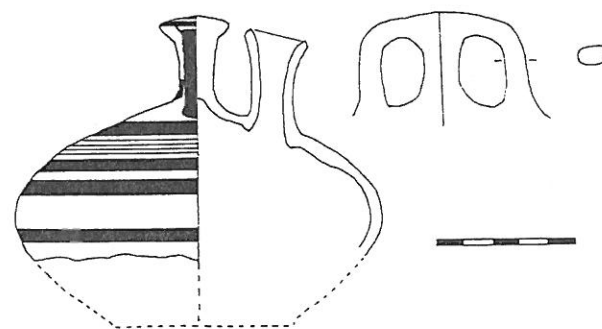
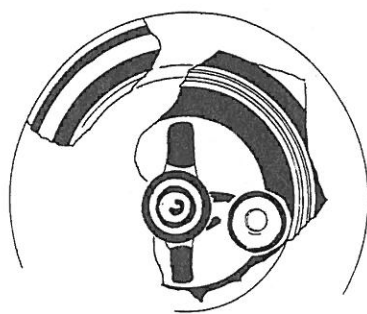


FIGURE 4.7 Cat. no. 7, stirrup jar, LH IIIB 1. Tomb of Ramose. (see plate 4.9.)

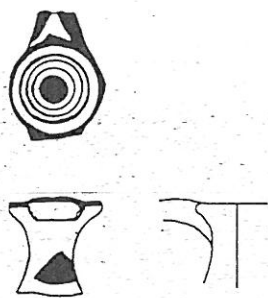


FIGURE 4.5 Cat. no. 5, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2–IIIB 1. Tomb of Iurudef. (see plate 4.8)

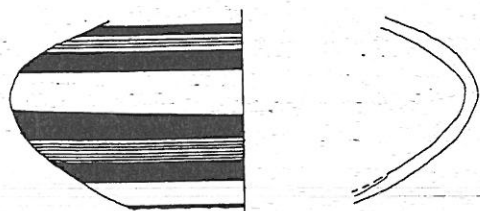


FIGURE 4.6 Cat. no. 6, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2–IIIB 1. Tomb of Tia and Tia, Shaft C.

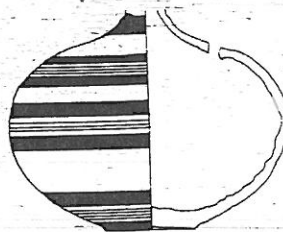


FIGURE 4.8 Cat. no. 8, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2–IIIB 1. Tomb of Maya. (see plate 4.10)

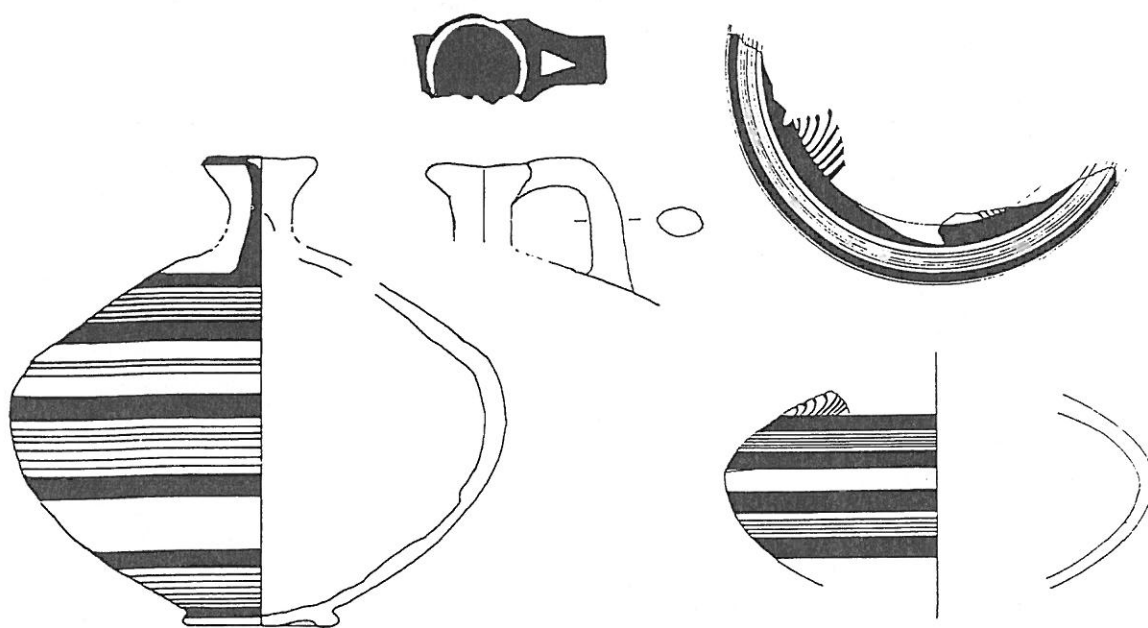


FIGURE 4.9 Cat. no. 9, stirrup jar, LH IIIB 1 rather than III A2. Tomb of Maya. (see plate 4.11)

FIGURE 4.13 Cat. no. 13, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2-IIIB 1. (see plate 4.13)

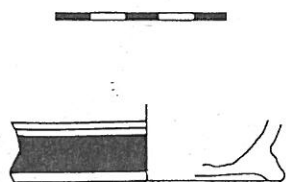


FIGURE 4.10 Cat. no. 10, stirrup jar (?), LH IIIB 1. Tomb of Maya.

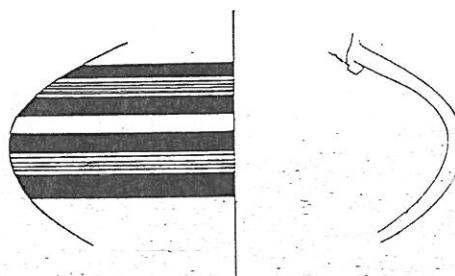


FIGURE 4.14 Cat. no. 14, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2-IIIB 1. (see plate 4.14)



FIGURE 4.11 Cat. no. 11, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2 or IIIB 1.

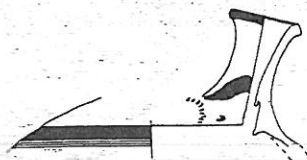


FIGURE 4.12 Cat. no. 12, stirrup jar, LH IIIB 1. (see plate 4.12)

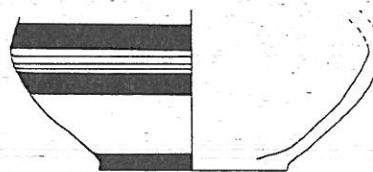


FIGURE 4.15 Cat. no. 15, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2-IIIB 1. (see plate 4.15)

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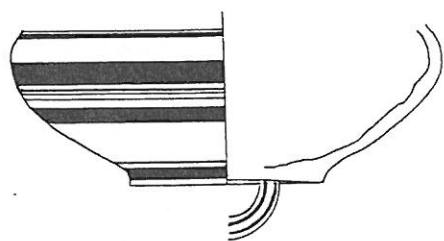


FIGURE 4.16 Cat. no. 16, stirrup jar, LH IIIB 1. (see plate 4.16)

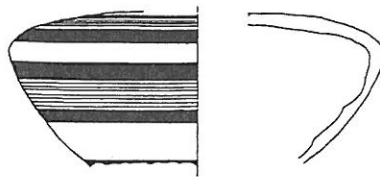


FIGURE 4.19 Cat. no. 19, stirrup jar, LH IIIB 1. (see plate 4.18)



FIGURE 4.17 Cat. no. 17, stirrup jar, LH IIIB 1.

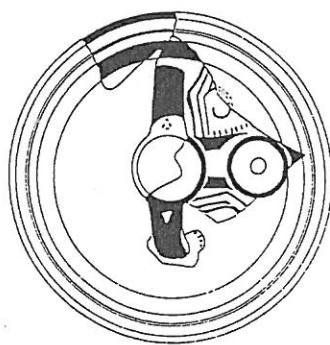


FIGURE 4.20 Cat. no. 20, stirrup jar, LH IIIB. (see plate 4.19)

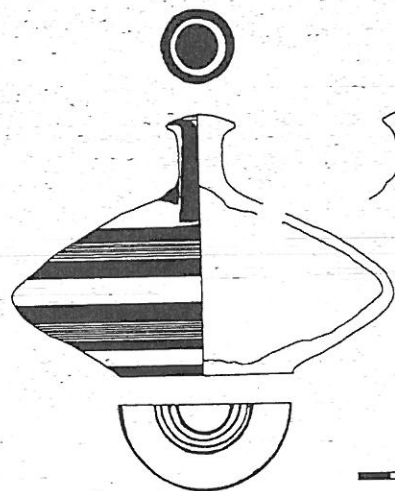
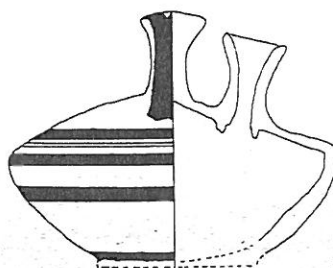


FIGURE 4.18 Cat. no. 18, stirrup jar, LH IIIB. (see plate 4.17)

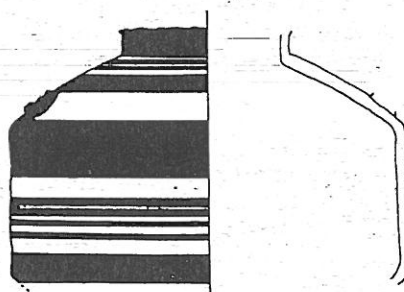


FIGURE 4.21 Cat. no. 21, alabastron, LH IIIA 2 or IIIB 1.



FIGURE 4.22 Cat. no. 22, closed vessel, LH IIIA 2 or IIIB 1.

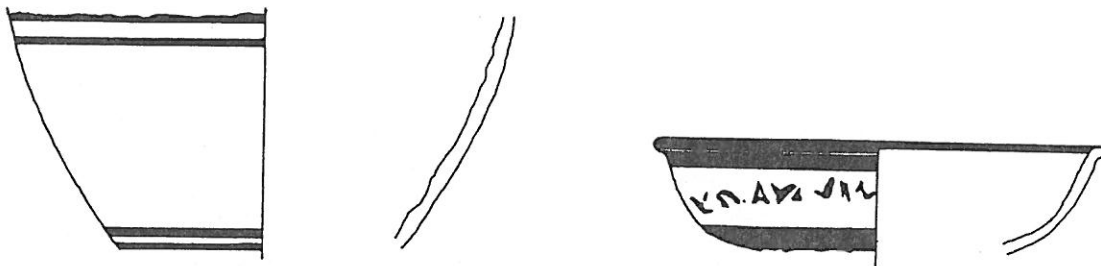


FIGURE 4.23 Cat. no. 23, closed vessel, LH IIIA 2 or IIIB 1.

FIGURE 4.24 Cat. no. 24, cup, LH IIIA 2 or IIIB 1. (see plate 4.20)

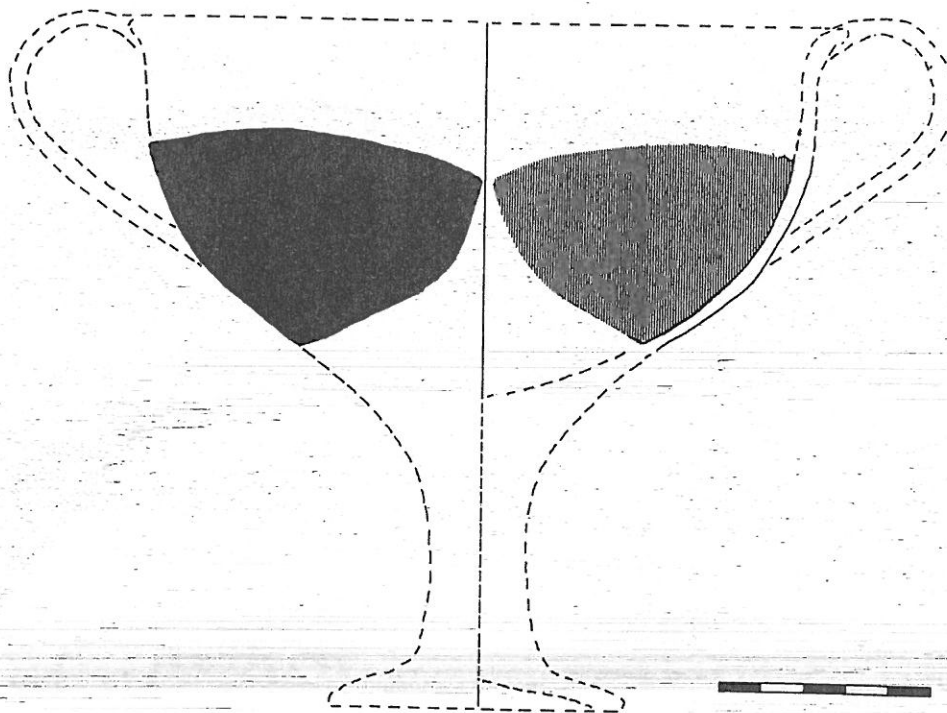


FIGURE 4.25 Cat. no. 25, kylix, LH IIIA 2. (see plate 4.21)

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PLATE 4.4 Cat. no. 1, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2. Tomb of Horemheb, Shaft i. (see figure 4.1)



PLATE 4.6 Cat. no. 3, globular flask, LH IIIA 2, late. Tomb of Horemheb, Shaft i. (see figure 4.3)



PLATE 4.5 Cat. no. 2, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2. Tomb of Horemheb, Shaft i. (see figure 4.2)



PLATE 4.7 Cat. no. 4, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2–IIIB 1. Tomb of Iurudef. (see figure 4.4)



PLATE 4.8 Cat. no. 5, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2–IIIB 1. Tomb of Iurudef. (see figure 4.5)



PLATE 4.9 Cat. no. 7, stirrup jar, LH IIIB 1. Tomb of Ramose. (see figure 4.7)

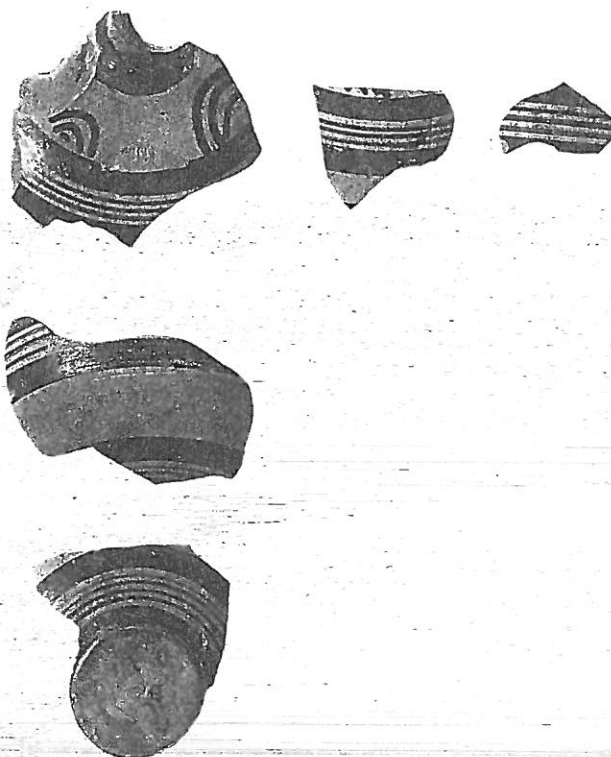


PLATE 4.10 Cat. no. 8, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2–IIIB 1. Tomb of Maya. (see figure 4.8) –

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PLATE 4.11 Cat. no. 9, stirrup jar, LH IIIB 1 rather than III A2. Tomb of Maya. (see figure 4.9)

PLATE 4.12 Cat. no. 12, stirrup jar, LH IIIB 1. (see figure 4.12)

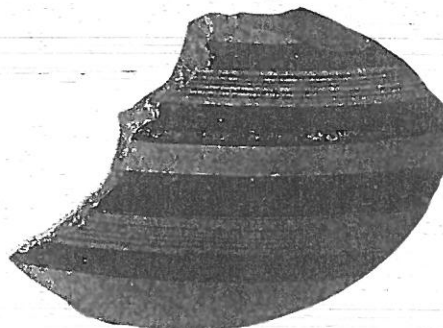
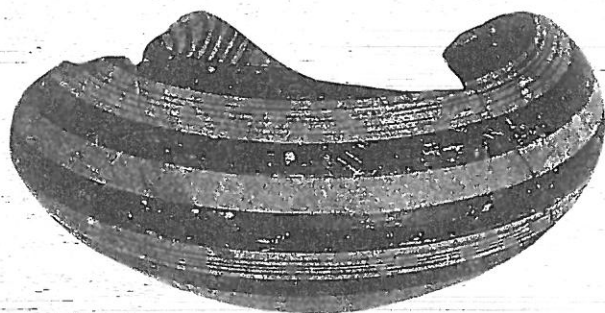


PLATE 4.13 Cat. no. 13, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2-IIIB 1. (see figure 4.13)

PLATE 4.14 Cat. no. 14, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2-IIIB 1. (see figure 4.14)



PLATE 4.15 Cat. no. 15, stirrup jar, LH IIIA 2–IIIB 1. (see figure 4.15)

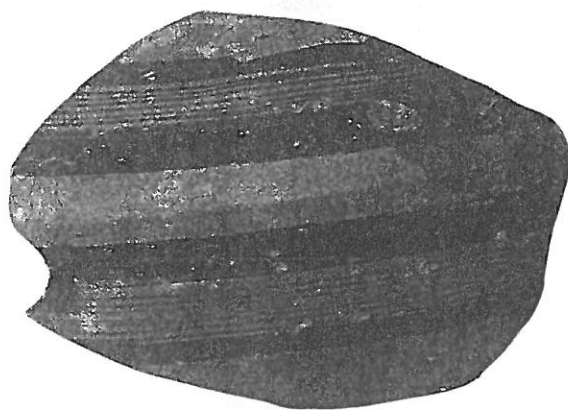


PLATE 4.18 Cat. no. 19, stirrup jar, LH IIIB 1. (see figure 4.19)



PLATE 4.16 Cat. no. 16, stirrup jar, LH IIIB 1. (see figure 4.16)

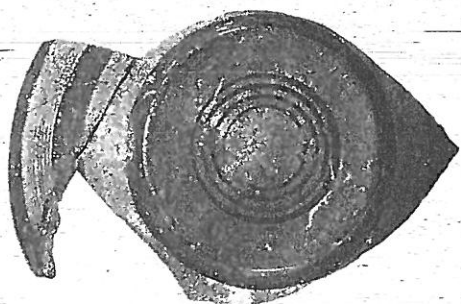
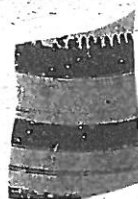
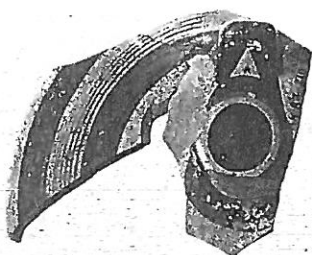
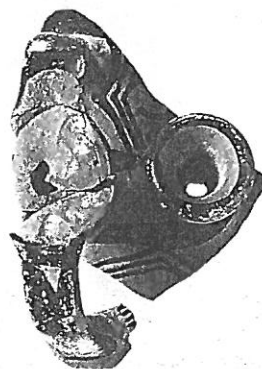


PLATE 4.17 Cat. no. 18, stirrup jar, LH IIIB. (see figure 4.18)

PLATE 4.19 Cat. no. 20, stirrup jar, LH IIIB. (see figure 4.20)

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PLATE 4.20 Cat. no. 24, cup, LH IIIA 2 or IIIB 1.
(see figure 4.24)

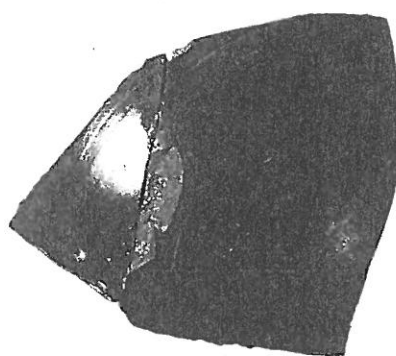


PLATE 4.21 Cat. no. 25, kylix, LH IIIA 2. (see figure 4.25)