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COMMENTATIONES

Amenhotep III and the Aegean: A Reassessment of Egypt-Aegean Relations in the 14th Century B.C.*

(Tab. I-IV)

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Vronwy Hankey has suggested a possible correlation between faience plaques with the cartouche of the Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaoh Amenhotep III found at Mycenae and a list of presumed Aegean place names found at his mortuary temple at Kom el-Hetan. She hypothesized that the list may represent the itinerary of an Aegean trip made by an official embassy of Amenhotep III¹, and concluded, "Further investigation may tell us whether there is a link between the plaques... and a visit from Egypt"². Several additional objects with the cartouche of Amenhotep III or his wife Queen Tiye have now been found both at Mycenae and elsewhere in the

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¹ V. Hankey, "The Aegean Interest in El-Amarna", *Journal of Mediterranean Anthropology and Archaeology* [hereafter *JMAA*] 1 (1981) 45-46.

Without referring to this list but only to the plaques and other objects of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye at Mycenae, W. Helck (*Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* [hereafter *Die Beziehungen* 1979] [Darmstadt 1979] 97) had earlier expressed a similar hypothesis.

² Hankey, *JMAA* 1, 46.

Aegean, and Hankey's idea can be placed in broader perspective by reviewing three sets of data: 1) the 'Aegean' list of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan; 2) the findspots in the Aegean of objects inscribed with the cartouches of either Amenhotep III or Queen Tiye; and 3) the relative amounts of Mycenaean pottery in Egypt during the reigns of Amenhotep III and his successor, Akhenaten.

The 'Aegean' List

Set between columns at the northwest corner of Amenhotep III's funerary temple at Kom el-Hetan are five statue bases (labelled A_N to E_N by Edel³). Although these bases presumably once supported statues of Amenhotep III, only the sculpted feet still exist. Each base is inscribed with a list of toponyms arranged in a single horizontal row, running along the front and sides of the base. Each toponym consists of a cartouche surmounted by the figure of a bound prisoner. The first four bases appear to have been inscribed originally with 28 to 34 toponyms, evenly distributed on the right and left sides. The fifth, or 'Aegean', list, however, has only 17 toponyms, 15 of which are inscribed on both the left side and the left half of the front, with two more on the right half of the front side⁴.

List A_N names various major powers, North Syrian states, and some smaller states. Included are Sangar (Babylonia), Naharin (Mitanni), Carchemish, Aleppo, Hatti, Arzawa, and Assur. As Strange notes⁵, all of these placenames are located in the north and northeast portion of the Egyptian 'universe'. List B_N mentions minor Syro-Palestinian city-states, many as yet unidentified, but including Damascus and places in both East and West Palestine. List C_N is badly damaged but seems to contain more Syro-Palestinian names, apparently covering both the Phoenician coast and the Syro-Palestinian hinterland. D_N has a series of difficult names; among those translatable are Aram (an early reference to the Arameans) and both Ashur and Babylon. According to Kitchen, these four lists "reflect the usual world of Near Eastern great powers and petty kingdoms"⁶, as seen by the Egyptians. Finally, List E_N is the so-called 'Aegean' list (fig. 1-2)⁷.

³ E. Edel, *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III.* (Bonn 1966).

⁴ J. Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu* (Leiden 1980) 26.

⁵ *Ibid.* 23.

⁶ K. A. Kitchen, review of Edel *Die Ortsnamenlisten*, *JEA* 55 (1969) 224.

⁷ For principal discussions, see K. A. Kitchen, "Theban Topographical Lists, Old and New", *Or* 34 (1965) 1-9, pls. I-XIV; Edel, *Die Ortsnamenlisten* 1-60; K. A. Kitchen, "Aegean Place Names in a List of Amenophis III", *BASOR* 181 (1966) 23-24; P. Faure, "Toponymes créto-mycéniens dans une liste d'Amenophis III", *Kadmos* 7 (1968) 138-49; and Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu* 23-24. See Table 2 for additional references.

Because these five statue-base lists are concerned with countries and areas to the north of Egypt, a similar set of five more bases, concerned with countries and areas to the south of Egypt, are hypothesized to have stood in the southwest corner of the temple. Virtually nothing, however, remains of this southern series of bases⁸.

Because of the difficulties involved in the transliteration and identification of the 'Aegean' list and because of its potential importance, the interpretation of this list was actively debated after Edel's study appeared⁹, and remains controversial even today. Although there are still protestations to the contrary, the identifications suggested by Edel in 1966 have been generally accepted, with the possible exceptions of "Ilios" for *Wilj/Wirj* and "Rhodes" for *Tnj*¹⁰. He identifies the names on this list as (in order): *Front (Right Half)* – Crete, Rhodes; *Left Side and Front (Left Half)* – Amnisos, Phaistos, Kydonia, Mycenae, ??, Messenia, Nauplia, Kythera, Ilios, Knossos, Amnisos (again), and Lyktos¹¹. These sites are plotted on Map 2.

Because Edel's identifications of the toponyms are generally accepted, only two of the debated toponyms, *Wilj/Wirj* ("Ilios") and *Tnj* ("Rhodes"), will be briefly discussed¹². Faure, Helck, and others¹³ propose that *Tnj* is not "Rhodes" but "Danaoi" or "*Danaia". *Tnj* would then be either a specific reference to the inhabitants of Argolis on the Greek Mainland or a term for the Mycenaean Peloponnese in general. This proposal seems preferable to that of Edel and fits better with the analysis presented here. If this alternate identification holds true, then *Tnj* and *Kftiu*, placed as they are by themselves on the right-hand side of the front of this statue base, should most likely be seen as the headings "Greece" and "Crete", respectively, for the list of placenames found on the left side of the base. All of these placenames, with the exception of "Ilios", are either Mycenaean or Cretan sites, islands, or regions¹⁴. As for

⁸ Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu* 23; Edel, *Die Ortsnamenlisten* XIVf.

⁹ See Table 2. Helck (*Die Beziehungen* 1979 26, 30-32) and Strange (*Caphtor/Keftiu* 23-24) have the most recent discussions of the various proposals.

¹⁰ See again Table 2 for alternative identifications.

¹¹ Edel, *Die Ortsnamenlisten* 37-40, 52.

¹² As noted, the toponyms of the 'Aegean' list are listed in detail in Table 2. Since the literature on these particular toponyms is already voluminous, and since most of Edel's translations of these toponyms are generally accepted, albeit with occasional reservations, no further systematic analysis of them will be attempted here.

¹³ Faure, *Kadmos* 7, 145-47; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* [hereafter *Die Beziehungen* 1971] [Wiesbaden 1971] 306-307; Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu* 25-26; B. Sergent, "La liste de Kom el-Hetan et le Péloponnèse", *Minos* 16 [1977] 170; most recently, J. D. Muhly, "The Nature of Trade in the LBA Eastern Mediterranean: The Organization of the Metals Trade and the Role of Cyprus", in: J. D. Muhly – R. Maddin – V. Karageorghis, *Early Metallurgy in Cyprus, 4000-500 B.C.* [Nicosia 1982] 260.

¹⁴ This proposal has been briefly considered previously in Helck, *Die Beziehungen*

Wilj/Wirj, it should be noted that not only is its identification as "Ilios" much debated, but also "Ilios" itself does not fit particularly well within this list. Its significance remains uncertain and perhaps a different identification should be sought.

Much of the controversy surrounding the 'Aegean' list has focused on whether the list is 'anachronistic propaganda'¹⁵, or is contemporary to the reign of Amenhotep III¹⁶. If the latter, it may well reflect visits to the Aegean by Amenhotep III, his officials, or simply by Egyptian traders.

Merrillees regarded these statue-base lists at Kom el-Hetan as compilations of earlier lists and as obvious propaganda, "aimed more at conveying an impression of the ubiquity and universalism of Egyptian authority than at objectively stating political facts"¹⁷. Strøm also argues that the 'Aegean' list is an earlier compilation recopied in the time of Amenhotep III¹⁸. However, other scholars, such as Muhly, would now argue that the lists at Kom el-Hetan do "reflect political and commercial reality in the sense that they describe the world known to the Egyptians at the time of Amenhotep III"¹⁹. The observed correlation (infra, pp. 6-7), between the Aegean findspots of inscribed Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye objects and the placenames on the 'Aegean' list, provides additional support for this latter view.

1979 26, 30; Helck, *Die Beziehungen* 1971 306-307; Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu* 25-26; Sergeant, *Minos* 16, 171; and Muhly, *Early Metallurgy* 260.

¹⁵ Among others: J. D. Muhly, "Homer and the Phoenicians: The Relations Between Greece and the Near East in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages", *Berytus* 19 (1970) 61; T. G. H. James, "Aegean Place-Names in the Mortuary Temple of Amenophis III at Thebes", *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* (hereafter *BICS*) 18 (1971) 144-45; R. S. Merrillees, "Aegean Bronze Age Relations with Egypt", *AJA* 76 (1972) 290-91; R. S. Merrillees, "Mycenaean Pottery from the Time of Akhenaten in Egypt", in: *The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean* (hereafter *MEM*) [Nicosia 1973] 181.

¹⁶ Among others: K. A. Kitchen, *BASOR* 181, 23; Faure, *Kadmōs* 7, 144, 146; Hankey, *JMAA* 1, 41, 45; M. J. Mellink, "The Hittites and the Aegean World: 2. Archaeological Comments on Ahhiyawa-Achaia in Western Anatolia", *AJA* 87 (1983) 141.

¹⁷ Merrillees, *AJA* 76, 290-91.

¹⁸ I. Strøm, "Aspects of Minoan Foreign Relations, LM I-LM II", in: R. Hagg - N. Marinatos, *The Minoan Thalassocracy* (Stockholm 1984) 192-93, n. 9, 203.

As supporting evidence, Strøm cites the sole fact that while Kythera is mentioned in the 'Aegean' list, the Minoan colony on Kythera had been abandoned since the end of LM IB. This seems a weak argument on which to base a redating (and/or dismissal) of the entire 'Aegean' list. The excavators of Kythera, although they do report that the Minoan colony on Kythera was abandoned at the end of LM IB, also state that the island was reoccupied again from LM IIIA2 to LM IIIB1 (J. N. Coldstream - G. L. Huxley, *Kythera* [Park Ridge, N. J. 1973] 52), and that there are, in fact, scattered LM IIIA1 remains on the island as well (ibid. 34, 304). Thus, although a colony *per se* may no longer have existed in LM IIIA1 on Kythera, the island was occupied and the port(s) were presumably still in operation. Additionally, all of the other sites and regions mentioned in the 'Aegean' list were occupied during the LH IIIA1-2 periods (see A. Kanta, *The Late Minoan III Period in Crete* [Göteborg 1980] and R. Hope-Simpson - O. T. P. K. Dickinson, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age*, v. 1: *The Mainland and Islands* [Göteborg 1979]).

¹⁹ Professor J. D. Muhly, personal communication.

The possibility that the 'Aegean' list is an anachronistic borrowing from earlier sources is unlikely. Kitchen, citing Edel, says that no earlier mentions of such Aegean sites and areas exist, and that this list probably reflects knowledge and conditions existing during the reign of Amenhotep III²⁰. The possibility that Akhenaten, the son of Amenhotep III, was responsible for creating this list at his father's mortuary temple seems unlikely, since most evidence suggests that Pharaohs often claimed the deeds of their predecessors²¹, and not the reverse.

Some scholars have suggested that Amenhotep III claimed actual domination over the Aegean area because the 'Aegean' list was included among the other statue-base lists at Kom el-Hetan. They suggest that these lists, in their totality, represent the whole world known to the Egyptians and are meant to suggest Egyptian dominance²². Others have seen domination implied because the names on the 'Aegean' list are inscribed on the statue-base as cartouches surmounted by bound prisoners. These conclusions, however, are not necessarily correct. Not only are the 'prisoners' conventional, generic representations of Asiatics (i.e., foreigners)²³, but also the combination of a toponym in a cartouche with a superimposed figure of a bound prisoner seems to be the standard New Kingdom iconographic convention for indicating "foreigner". A claim of Egyptian physical dominance over the foreign people in question is not necessarily implied²⁴. Some of the countries named in these lists (e.g. Sangar, Hatti, Assur, and Mitanni [see *supra*]) were never dominated by Egypt and their rulers were regarded by the Egyptian Pharaoh as equals²⁵. These names too are inscribed in cartouches surmounted by bound prisoners²⁶. Thus the 'Aegean' list cannot be seen as a statement that the Aegean was physically under Egyptian domination at the time of Amenhotep III²⁷.

²⁰ Kitchen, *JEA* 55, 224.

²¹ For example, Lesko ("The Wars of Ramses III", *Serapis* 6 [1980] 83-86) has recently suggested that Ramses III's 'Sea Peoples' inscriptions and reliefs are merely anachronistic propaganda "borrowed" from Merneptah's earlier mortuary temple.

²² See e.g. Merrillees, *AJA* 76, 290.

²³ See Kitchen, *Or* 34, pls. VI-IX.

²⁴ Redford, "A Bronze Age Itinerary in Transjordan (Nos. 89-101 of Thutmose III's List of Asiatic Toponyms)", *JSSEA* 12 (1982) 55-56, notes that such a motif, that of the name inscribed in an upright oval and surmounted by a bound captive, was most popular during and following the time of the Thutmosides. (See Redford also for a review of the previous literature on this topic and for a discussion of the history of the use of this type of representation.)

²⁵ Amenhotep III's relations with these other states are evidenced in various letters from the archive at Amarna; e.g. EA 1, 9, 21, to name only a few. See also C. Aldred, *Akhenaten* (New York 1968) 47-48 and D. B. Redford, *Akhenaten* (Princeton 1984) 40.

²⁶ See Kitchen, *Or* 34, 1-4, pls. VI-IX.

²⁷ Redford (*JSSEA* 12, 57) notes that Giveon (*The Impact of Egypt on Canaan* [Göttingen 1978]) has raised the intriguing possibility that the lists are perhaps a reflection of 'wishful thinking'. Redford quotes, "The Egyptians included in the lists cities and ene-

These arguments typify the problems of interpreting Egyptian toponym lists, which may be political maps, conquered towns, fictional compilations of dominated geographical territories, or itineraries. A recent study by Redford indicates that the great toponym list of Thutmose III is "nothing more nor less" than a group of routes known to the Egyptians of this period²⁸. There is thus a precedent for the interpretation of the 'Aegean' list as an itinerary or route travelled by Egyptians during the reign of Amenhotep III. Furthermore, we know that Amenhotep III's agents were also adventurous in areas to the south of Egypt and that new African names were added to traditional topographic lists during his reign²⁹. This constitutes additional evidence that topographical lists of Amenhotep III's reign were less static and formulaic than those of other periods of Egyptian history, since new names could appear as a result of new explorations or campaigns.

The 'Aegean' list has some internal inconsistencies as a route plan if the sites are followed exactly in the order inscribed. The ordering of the sites is, however, not irreconcilable with a geographical itinerary, since it follows a roughly circular pattern from Crete to Mainland Greece to Crete again. It may thus be interpreted as a route to, and around, the Aegean from the Eastern Mediterranean. The hypothesis suggested by Strange³⁰, that the 'Aegean' list is a record of a *Mycenaean* embassy sent to Egypt is highly unlikely — the fact that this list can be seen to be an itinerary or description, in reasonably proper geographical order, of a route *from* Egypt *to* the Aegean, or at least from East to West to East again, negates such a hypothesis. The lack of pictorial representations in Egypt depicting such an event also would seem to argue against Strange's hypothesis.

*Egyptian Artifacts from the Aegean Inscribed with the Cartouche
of Amenhotep III or Queen Tiye*

There is an obvious correspondance between the findspots of objects bearing cartouches of either Amenhotep III or Queen Tiye in the Aegean

mies they would like to conquer—in the hope that 'sacrificing' them in a temple would exert a magic influence on reality" (Givone 104).

An additional note of interest is that not one of Amenhotep III's 'Large Commemorative Scarabs' is to be found in the Aegean. These 'Large Commemorative Scarabs' (of which there were five separate issues, each depicting a "significant" event of the reign of Amenhotep III) were sent throughout the territories controlled by Egypt. Their purpose has been debated but, as Simpson has stated, "... their wide distribution leads one to believe that their primary purpose was to publicize the events rather than to commemorate" (W. K. Simpson, "Egyptian Sculpture as Propaganda", *JEA* 68 [1982] 271).

²⁸ Redford, *JSSA* 12, 56, 60.

²⁹ See D. B. O'Connor, "Appendix to Chapter 12", in: J. Desmond Clark, *The Cambridge History of Africa*, v. 1 (Cambridge 1982) 925-940, esp. 933. I thank Dr. O'Connor for this reference.

³⁰ Strange, *Caphor/Keftiu* 25.



Map 1. Findspots of Amenhotep III or Queen Tiyi inscribed objects in the Aegean

(Map 1) and the Aegean placenames listed at Kom el-Hetan (Map 2)³¹. If Edel's identification of toponym B2 on the statue-base as Phaistos is correct and the assumption is made that the site of Ayia Triadha is in fact linked to Phaistos, four of the six findspots of such inscribed objects appear on the 'Aegean' list; Knossos, Phaistos/Ayia Triada, Kydonia, and Mycenae. Moreover, the ancient name of one of the remaining findspots (Ayios Elias) is not certainly known³².

These Aegean finds may reflect the 'political and commercial reality' described by Muhly. The objects include at least four faience plaques,

³¹ It is conceivable that Edel knew of these inscribed Egyptian finds, most of which had been published before he made his identifications, and that this knowledge influenced his identifications. Nevertheless, his identifications *are* acceptable to other Egyptologists.

³² Hope-Simpson - Dickinson (*Gazeteer*, 181-82) identify Ayios Elias as ancient Ithoria and note that it was evidently a Late Helladic site "of considerable and long-lived importance".



Map 2. Sites appearing on the 'Aegean' List of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan (according to Edel 1966)

one faience vase, and seven scarabs³³ (plates I-IV; see Table 1 for references). Parallels for each can be found in Egypt.

At Mycenae, the faience vase inscribed *ʾImnhṯp ḥꜥꜣ wꜣst*, "Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes" (fig. 5), was found in a rich chamber tomb of probable LH IIIA date³⁴. A scarab inscribed *Ty*, "Tiyi" (fig. 3), was found in

³³ Of the seven scarabs, four have cartouches of Amenhotep III and three of Queen Tiyi. Only two come close to being identical, however: the Amenhotep III scarabs at Ayios Elias and Ialysos; the other five are all slightly different in style and/or inscription (see *infra*).

³⁴ Only the lower three-quarters of the cartouche on this vase is visible in the photograph on Plate II, due to heavy restoration of the vase; see H. R. Hall, "Keftiu and the Peoples of the Sea", *BSA* 8 (1901-02) 188-89, for a drawing of the vase, and complete cartouche, prior to restoration. The cartouche could be attributed to either Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, or Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV for the first five years of his reign), all of whom are known to have used the epithet *ʾImnhṯp ḥꜥꜣ wꜣst*, "Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes", in their cartouches (W. Helck - E. Otto, *LA* III [Wiesbaden 1980] 550-52; see W. M. F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names* [London 1971] pl. 30 no. 39 for an example of Amenhotep II's use of this epithet, pl. 36 no. 2 for Akhenaten's use, and both pl. 31 nos. 1, 2, 5-6 and pl. 35 nos. 126, 130-36, 138-39 for Amenhotep III's use). However, it is Amenhotep III who uses the epithet *ḥꜥꜣ wꜣst* as a specific title most often (*LA* I

room Gamma of the shrine area of Tsountas House, in an LH IIIB context³⁵. A second scarab, inscribed *hmt nswt Ty*, "The King's Wife Tiye"³⁶ (fig. 4), was found in an LH IIIB2 context in the 'Room with the Idols' (Room 19) in the Cult Center. The faience plaques were found broken up and scattered, in 10 fragments of varying sizes and in three separate locations within the Citadel at Mycenae. A preliminary study indicates that each one of the plaques originally had an identical inscription on both the obverse and reverse faces. The full reconstruction of these faience plaques is to be discussed in detail elsewhere³⁷. However, it may be briefly stated that the inscription in each case appears to contain the pre-nomen and nomen of Amenhotep III. In its entirety the inscription(s) appears to read: *nṯr nṯr Nb-m'at-R' sṯ R' 'Imnḥtp ḥkꜣ wst di 'nh*, "the good god Neb-Ma'at-Re, son of Re, Amenhotep ruler of Thebes, given life"³⁸. All of the fragments were found in definite or probable LH IIIB contexts: seven fragments by Tsountas in a house on the Acropolis to the northeast of the Lion Gate (fig. 6-7), part of a plaque (in two pieces) by Mylonas in room M3 of Building M, a building located near the Lion Gate end of the Citadel Wall (fig. 8), and part of an additional plaque by Taylour in the 'Room with the Frescoes' (Room 31) in the Cult Center (fig. 9).

[1975] 207). Amenhotep II commonly used the epithet *nṯr ḥkꜣ 'Iwnw*, "God-ruler of Heliopolis", and Akhenaten, during his five years as Amenhotep IV, generally preferred the variant *nṯr ḥkꜣ wst*, "God-ruler of Thebes" (ibid. 203-04, 207, 210). In addition, there are no other objects of Akhenaten to be found in the Aegean and only one of Amenhotep II (see Table 3), in contrast to the seven scarabs and the four or more plaques of Amenhotep III to be found there. Thus, we feel justified in attributing this vase to Amenhotep III. For the most recent discussion of this vase, and the chamber tomb in which it was found, see A. Sakellariou, *Les tombes à chambre de Mycènes* (Paris 1985) 127-28, pl. 35. Eighteenth Dynasty parallels from Egypt for a vase with an inscribed cartouche can be seen in W. C. Hayes, *The Sceptre of Egypt II* (Cambridge, Ma. 1959) 45, 80, 140. The alabaster vase inscribed with the cartouche of Thutmose III found at Katsamba, Crete (see Table 3) also presents a parallel, although not identical, example.

³⁵ Parallels for this scarab, from Egypt and elsewhere, can be seen in W. C. Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III", *JNES* 10 (1951) f. 34 no. R15, and Petrie, *Scarabs* pl. 35 nos. 149-50. I am indebted to Dr. E. B. French for assistance in locating the exact findspot of this scarab at Mycenae (see, in addition to Table 1 references, G. E. Mylonas, "The Cult Centre of Mycenae", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 67 [1981] 307-320).

³⁶ An exact parallel for this scarab can be seen in P. E. Newberry, *Ancient Egyptian Scarabs* (Chicago 1905) pl. 31 no. 17. Similar parallels can be seen in Petrie, *Scarabs* pl. 35 nos. 159, 161, 163; W. M. F. Petrie, *Historical Scarabs* (London 1889) pl. 18 nos. 1294-95; and Hayes, *JNES* 10, f. 34 no. R14.

³⁷ By Mr. Pericles A. Kourachanis of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Since the study by Mr. Kourachanis is forthcoming, neither the individual plaque fragments nor the reconstructions of the original plaques and their inscription(s) will be discussed here. However, it should be noted that a number of arguments (i.e. those presented in notes 34 and 51, plus others [i.e. parallels from Egypt]) may be marshalled to convincingly explain the identification of the faience plaques with Amenhotep III.

³⁸ I am indebted to Professor D. B. O'Connor for his help in transliterating and translating the hieroglyphs inscribed upon the plaque fragments.

Preliminary investigations show that these faience plaques at Mycenae are indeed to be identified as being of the type intended for use in Egyptian foundation deposits³⁹, plaques which in Egypt have a votive function⁴⁰. In addition, all of the other objects at Mycenae inscribed with the cartouche of Amenhotep III or Queen Tiye were found in votive contexts or in association with figurines and idols⁴¹. Thus, although it is clear that several, if not all, of these objects at Mycenae had been redeposited and were not found in their original contexts⁴², it is also clear that the votive nature of these plaques (and perhaps scarabs) was still acknowledged, even in redeposition, at Mycenae, even if not in precisely the same manner as in Egypt. The use to which these objects were put upon their arrival at Mycenae can only be conjectured. Foundation deposits in Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt are found under both religious and secular buildings and under statues, obelisks, and royal palaces⁴³. Helck has hypothesized that the plaques were originally set into the door of an 'Egyptian Room'⁴⁴. This, however, seems improbable, since these plaques at Mycenae were inscribed on both sides, unlike the somewhat similar examples found at the Malkata palace of Amenhotep III and elsewhere in Egypt⁴⁵. Hankey has speculated as to whether they were meant for dedication at Mycenae, perhaps in the foundation of a temple or shrine⁴⁶. An intriguing possibility is that

³⁹ As previously suggested by Professor G. T. Martin. See Hankey, *JMAA* 1, 46 and J. M. Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Egypt* (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation [Philadelphia 1973]: Index, v-xxix ("Plaques", "Rectangular Plaques").

⁴⁰ Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, lxix.

⁴¹ The scarab of Queen Tiye from the "Room with the Idols" (Room 19) in the House of the Idols was found in the company of ceramic idols and snakes, in a small two-handled bowl which also held an ivory comb, a small ivory figurine, a cowrie shell, and beads of amber, rock crystal, lapis lazuli, carnelian, and glass (Lord W. D. Taylour, "Mycenae, 1968", *Antiquity* 43 [1969] 92-93). Taylour's partial plaque from the "Room of the Fresco" (Room 31), also in the House of the Idols, was found on the floor in or near a crushed lead vessel, in a votive or cultic context (*ibid.* 95-96). Mylonas' partial plaque came from room M3 of Building M, in a deposit which also contained crushed lead vessels and late LH IIIB pottery (G. E. Mylonas, "Mycenae", *Ergon* 1963, 67; G. E. Mylonas, "Anaskaphi Mykenon", *Praktika* 1963, 101; Sp. Iakovides, *Late Helladic Citadels on Mainland Greece* [Leiden 1983] 52). Building M also contained figurines and other lead vessels "crushed but in their original position"; nearby was found an ivory female figurine (Mylonas, *Ergon* 1963, 67; Mylonas, *Praktika* 1963, 101; G. E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age* [Princeton 1966] 198). Finally, the scarab of Queen Tiye found by Tsountas in room Gamma of Tsountas House was in close association with two female figurines and a bronze figurine of a horse; more importantly, it was found in the shrine area of this house, which is to be linked with the Cult Center (Ch. Tsountas, "Archaeotites ek Mykenon", *Ephemeris Archaeologike* 1887, 169; also *supra*, n. 35). Unfortunately, at present little can be said about the objects found in association with Tsountas' seven plaque fragments (Ch. Tsountas, "Ek Mykenon", *Ephemeris Archaeologike* 1891, 18, 23-24, 30).

⁴² A. F. Harding, *The Mycenaean and Europe* (London 1984) 106.

⁴³ Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits* 102-3, 430, 432.

⁴⁴ Helck, *Die Beziehungen* 1979 97.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 97; Hayes, *The Sceptre of Egypt* II 246, 332-36.

⁴⁶ Hankey, *JMAA* 1, 46.

they may have been accompanying a statue of Amenhotep III, which was to have been set up at Mycenae. Why these objects should have been sent to Mycenae in the first place will be discussed below.

It is possible that all of these objects at Mycenae reached the Aegean through a secondary, rather than a direct route (e.g. Egypt to Syro-Palestine/Cyprus to the Aegean⁴⁷), and may even have arrived after the death of Amenhotep III. Similarly, the possibility that these objects accumulated at Mycenae throughout the LH IIIA and IIIB periods, and were only by-products of the "real" trade⁴⁸, must be acknowledged. Of the ca. seven objects found at Mycenae, one is in an LH IIIA context and ca. six are in definite or probable LH IIIB contexts. One may interpret these observations as indicating that the various objects arrived at Mycenae via a number of different voyages, and over a period of 200 years. However, the stratigraphical contexts of these inscribed objects may also be interpreted as supporting the conclusion that they all arrived during the reign of Amenhotep III. As stated, the earliest secure context at Mycenae is LH IIIA; if these objects all arrived together, this date may be taken as a terminus ante quem for their arrival. It may be hypothesized that these objects arrived in the LH IIIA period, with some remaining in circulation through the IIIB period. Although both the faience plaque of Amenhotep III and the scarab of Queen Tiye found in the House of Idols were in LH IIIB2 contexts⁴⁹, the scarab was found in association with both LH IIIA and LH IIIB artifacts⁵⁰; this may lend further credence to an LH IIIA date of arrival.

Elsewhere in the Aegean, the scarab found at Kydonia, inscribed *Nb-mi't-R' mry R'*, "Neb-Ma'at-Re, Beloved of Re"⁵¹ (fig. 10), and the sca-

⁴⁷ It is conceivable, as B. J. Kemp and R. S. Merrillees contend (*Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt* [Mainz am Rhein 1980] 283-84), that the Mycenaean pottery reached Egypt and the Egyptian objects reached the Aegean not through direct contacts but rather through intermediaries (i.e. Syrians/Cypriotes) and/or transactions conducted at one of the "international ports" flourishing during this period. Apart from Cyprus, and probably Byblos as well, Ugarit is the most likely candidate for the latter since 1) both Mycenaean LH IIIA-B pottery and objects with the cartouche of Amenhotep III appear in reasonable quantities here, and 2) this site has already been recognized as one of the major Late Bronze Age international ports (see, for example, M. Heltzer, *Goods, Prices and the Organization of Trade in Ugarit* [Wiesbaden 1978] 150-53 and M. C. Astour, "Ugarit and the Aegean", in: H. A. Hoffner, *Orient and Occident* [Kewlaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973] 17). However, it should be noted that even Kemp and Merrillees, who doubt the existence of direct general Egypto-Aegean trade and who would prefer to see such trade conducted indirectly along the "coastal trading corridor" (Kemp-Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery* 284), do not deny that the "exchange of prestigious objects at court level" (ibid. 284) may well have occurred.

⁴⁸ See e.g. Hope-Simpson - Dickinson, *Gazeteer* 383.

⁴⁹ Tylour, *Antiquity* 43, 92, 95-96.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 92.

⁵¹ An exact parallel for this scarab can be seen in Petrie, *Historical Scarabs* pl. 18 no. 1242-43. Similar parallels can be seen in Petrie, *Scarabs* pl. 33 no. 52; Newberry,

rab found at Ialysos, inscribed *Nb-m's't-R'*, "Neb-Ma'at-Re"⁵² (fig. 11), cannot be dated more closely than LM IIIA-B and LH III respectively. The scarab at Ayia Triadha, inscribed *hmt nswt Ty*, "The King's Wife Tiye"⁵³ (fig. 12), was found in an LM IIIA chamber tomb and that at Ayios Elias⁵⁴, inscribed *Nb-m's't-R'*, "Neb-Ma'at-Re"⁵⁵ (fig. 13), was found in a chamber tomb with LH IIB-III A2 (early) ceramics. The scarab inscribed *Nb-m's't-R' sbt tswy*, "Neb-Ma'at-Re, Star of the Two Lands"⁵⁶, which was found at Sellopoulo (Knossos) in a LM IIIA1 chamber tomb⁵⁷ (fig. 14), is perhaps the most important piece of evidence. This particular scarab does not appear to have remained in circulation for long. According to the excavators, the scarab is "in a good and unworn condition"⁵⁸, which argues for a burial soon after its manufacture⁵⁹. Thus, of the ca. 12 objects from the Aegean mentioned above, four were found in LH/LM IIIA contexts (including two in LM IIIA1 or LH IIIA1-2), ca. six in definite or probable LH IIB contexts, one in an LH/LM IIIA-B context, and one in a context dated only to LH III. Taking into consideration these data, particularly that provided by the Sellopoulo scarab, it may be sug-

Ancient Egyptian Scarabs pl. 31 no. 17; H. R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum* (London 1913) 176 no. 1753; and Hayes, *JNES* 10, f. 34 nos. R31-33.

"Neb-Ma'at-Re" is a pre-nomen unique to Amenhotep III, Ramses VI of the Twentieth Dynasty, and an "obscure kinglet of the Second Intermediate Period" (K. A. Kitchen, "Appendix I: An Egyptian New Kingdom Scarab from Alalakh", *Levant* 14 [1982] 88; see also *LÄ* V [1983] 124 and M. R. Popham - E. A. Catling - H. W. Catling, "Sellopoulo Tombs 3 and 4, Two Late Minoan Graves near Knossos", *BSA* 69 [1974] 216). From the contexts in which the plaque fragments and relevant scarabs were found in the Aegean, it seems far more reasonable to attribute these objects to Amenhotep III rather than to Ramses VI or to the "obscure kinglet".

⁵² Parallels for this particular scarab can be seen in Petrie, *Historical Scarabs* pl. 18 nos. 1171, 1173, 1185; Petrie, *Scarabs* pl. 34 nos. 77, 87-88; Newberry, *Ancient Egyptian Scarabs* pl. 30 no. 26; P. E. Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, *Catalogue général du Musée du Caire* (London 1907) 54, 57, pl. IV nos. 36211, 36224, 36225; Hall, *Catalogue* 176 nos. 1754 and 1760, 192 no. 1915; and Hayes, *JNES* 10, f. 34 nos. R28-29.

⁵³ The cartouche on this scarab, although it has an identical translation to that on the Queen Tiye scarab from the House of Idols at Mycenae, has its signs in a slightly different order (see Plate II). An exact parallel for this scarab at Ayia Triadha can be seen in Petrie, *Scarabs* pl. 35 no. 163. Similar parallels may be seen in Petrie, *Historical Scarabs* pl. 18 no. 1294-95; and Hayes, *JNES* 10, fig. 34 (after p. 234) no. R14.

⁵⁴ See *supra*, n. 32.

⁵⁵ The cartouche on this scarab is virtually identical, in terms of style and inscription, to the one found at Ialysos. See *supra* n. 52 for description and parallels.

⁵⁶ As read by Dr. I. E. S. Edwards, who takes the first sign of the epithet as an inverted *sb* (Popham et al., *BSA* 69, 216-17). Edwards states that the metaphorical use of the word 'star' was particularly favored by Amenhotep III, citing several examples of his use of this phrase (*ibid.*). An alternate reading, *Nb-m's't-R' pt tswy*, "Neb-Ma'at-Re, he/the one of the Two Lands", in which there is no need to invert the first sign of the epithet, might be suggested, but there are no other examples or direct parallels immediately apparent for such a reading.

⁵⁷ Popham et al., *BSA* 69, 195-257.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 217.

⁵⁹ I am indebted to Professor P. M. Warren for bringing this point to my attention.

gested that all of the inscribed objects of Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye in the Aegean, and not just those at Mycenae, arrived in LH/LM IIIA1, a period at least partially concurrent with the reign of Amenhotep III⁶⁰. The correlation between the 'Aegean' list and the Aegean findspots of Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye objects suggests further that all of these objects may have arrived in the Aegean as the result of a single voyage.

In summary, these inscribed objects of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye found in the Aegean should *not* be regarded as mere ordinary trade goods nor should they be seen as "bric-a-brac" accompanying regularly imported items; rather, they must be viewed as something of special worth⁶¹.

Mycenaean Objects in Egypt

Given the hypothesis that Egyptians, whether an official embassy or private merchants⁶², visited the Aegean during Amenhotep III's reign, we might expect the Egyptians to have returned with Aegean objects. The main sites associated with Amenhotep III in Egypt, such as his palace at Malkata in Thebes, reportedly contain little Mycenaean pottery and no other Aegean objects at all⁶³. Other Egyptian sites, such as Rifeh and

⁶⁰ Hankey-Warren ("The Absolute Chronology of the Aegean Late Bronze Age", *BICS* 21 [1974] 151-152) suggest dates of c. 1420-1385 B.C. or c. 1405-1375/70 B.C. for the LH IIIA1 period and note that the reign of Amenhotep III is presently dated to either 1417-1379 B.C. or 1405/2-1367/63 B.C. Merrillees (*AJA* 76, 294), D. B. Redford ("On the Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty", *JNES* 25 [1966] 124), and Helck (*Die Beziehungen* 1979 54) have similar suggestions concerning the dating of Amenhotep III's reign. The chronology suggested by Wente - van Siclen ("A Chronology of the New Kingdom", in: *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* [Chicago 1977] 217-261) is intriguing; however, if indeed there are connections between Amenhotep III and the LH IIIA1-early IIIA2 Aegean, their suggested dates for the reign of Amenhotep III (1386-1349 B.C.) are very nearly too low to satisfactorily encompass such.

It should be pointed out that only after these researches had been completed and an LH IIIA1 date of arrival suggested for these objects was it discovered that Mellink (*AJA* 87, 139) had previously and independently proposed this same date for the 'Aegean' list of Amenhotep III.

⁶¹ Hankey (*JMAA* 1, 46) states that they "are not traveller's trinkets or the product of casual trade, and are likely to have arrived at Mycenae in a formal manner".

It is of interest to note that, over fifty years ago, A. R. Burn (*Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks* [New York 1930] 99), citing Glotz (*The Aegean Civilization* [New York 1925]), wrote "the arrival of mainland Mycenaean pottery in Egypt at this very time and simultaneously at Mykenai that of a whole consignment of Egyptian faience ware, marked with the royal cartouche of Amenhotep III, marks the conclusion of an agreement between the Pharaoh and the Greek mainland dynasts to trade direct and cut out the exorbitant middlemen's profits of the House of Minos".

⁶² See *infra*, n. 75.

⁶³ Von Bissing claimed long ago (*AA* 1899, 57) that some sherds of Mycenaean pottery were found at Amenhotep III's palace at Malkata (see i.e. H. J. Kantor, *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.* [Bloomington, Indiana 1947] 80 and Merrillees, *AJA* 76, 291). Hankey (*JMAA* 1, 46) states that only one Mycenaean sherd, from a later stratigraphical context, is known from the recent excavations at Malkata. However, according to O'Connor ("The University Museum Excavations at the Palace-City of

Gurob, also contain little Mycenaean pottery in contexts contemporary with Amenhotep III⁶⁴. On the other hand, comparatively large quantities of Mycenaean LH IIIA2 and IIIB1 pottery are found at Amarna⁶⁵ and Sesebi⁶⁶, two sites associated with *Akhenaten*, Amenhotep III's son and immediate successor. The Mycenaean LH IIIA-B pottery found at these two sites is identical in typology, fabric, and decoration and occurs in similar circumstances at each (i.e. in functional contexts, as if broken while in actual use, rather than in funerary or ritual contexts)⁶⁷. Why should these Mycenaean wares be at Akhenaten's sites when it is Amenhotep III who specifically names Aegean cities and territories? This apparent paradox is resolved by relatively recent observations.

In 1977 B. J. Kemp noted Mycenaean pottery at Kom el-'Abd, a building of Amenhotep III's near Malkata⁶⁸, and in 1982 M. R. Bell published a study of approximately 120 Mycenaean LH IIIA2-B1 vessels found at nearby Deir el-Medina, a village of artisans in West Thebes⁶⁹. Additionally, in 1985 sherds of Mycenaean pottery, at least one identifiable as LH IIIA, were uncovered at Marsa Matruh, a small coastal settlement on the northwest coast of Egypt⁷⁰. These new data on LH IIIA-B pottery in Egypt (Map 3) in contexts of the later Eighteenth and the Nine-

Malkata", *Expedition* 21/2 [1979] 53), a Mycenaean sherd was found at Malkata in 1977, in the good company of many late Eighteenth Dynasty sherds. These were dredged up from the watertable, under three meters of stratified Hellenistic and Roman town remains (*ibid.* 53). Perhaps this situation (watertable; three meters of overburden) serves to partially explain the lack of excavated Mycenaean pottery at Malkata to date.

⁶⁴ There are references to a Mycenaean jug at Rifeh and five Mycenaean stirrup jars from Gurob which Petrie dated to the time of Amenhotep III; see i.e. Kantor, *The Aegean and the Orient* 80.

⁶⁵ See Hankey, *JMAA* 1, 41-44 for references.

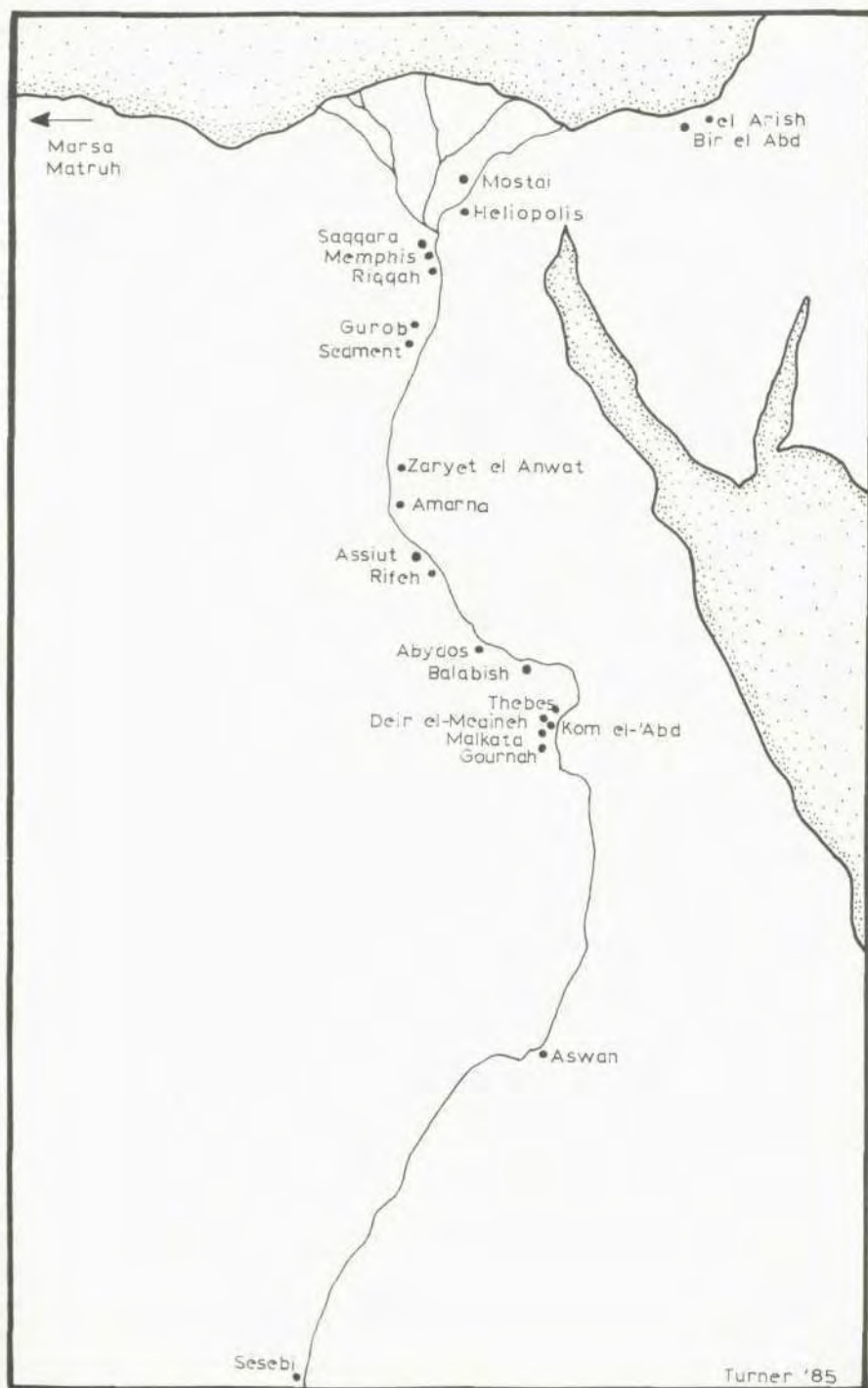
⁶⁶ A. M. Blackman, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Sesebi, Northern Province, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1936-37", *JEA* 23 (1937) 149; Hankey, *JMAA* 1, 46; Merrillees, *MEM* 76-78.

⁶⁷ Merrillees, *MEM* 76-78. Hankey (*JMAA* 1, 46), however, seems inclined to minimize the significance of this pottery at Sesebi. Additionally, according to Hankey (*ibid.* 43), Petrie's original estimate of approximately 800 Mycenaean vessels at Amarna "seems far too high". However, as she also notes (*ibid.* 44), there is strong evidence, by way of spectographic analysis, that these Mycenaean vessels at Amarna were produced in the Greek Peloponnese, rather than on Cyprus, Rhodes, or elsewhere as had previously been suggested.

⁶⁸ B. J. Kemp, "A Building of Amenophis III at Kom el-'Abd", *JEA* 63 (1977) 75.

⁶⁹ M. R. Bell, "The Mycenaean Pottery from Deir El-Medina, Egypt", *AJA* 85 (1981) 186; M. R. Bell, "Preliminary Report on the Mycenaean Pottery from Deir El-Medina (1979-1980)", *ASAE* 68 (1982) 1-21. It does not seem to have been determined if the LH IIIA2 vessels at Deir el-Medina are associated with contexts of Amenhotep III, Akhenaten, or both.

⁷⁰ I am indebted to Professor Donald White of the University Museum for permission to mention these recent finds. Pamela Russell has tentatively identified one of these sherds as LH IIIA; identification of the others is pending. A preliminary report on the 1985 excavations at Marsa Matruh (D. White, "Excavations of Mersa Matruh, Summer 1985", *ARCE Newsletter* 130 [Fall 1985] 3-17) identified these sherds as 'probable IIIA and perhaps IIIB' (*ibid.* 10), but this may have been premature. Two Minoan sherds, one perhaps LM IIIA, and nearly 200 Cypriot sherds were also discovered at Marsa Matruh in 1985.



Map 3. Published Findspots of Mycenaean LH IIIA-B Pottery in Egypt

teenth Dynasties may indicate that the paradox reflects a lack of excavated material, rather than a true lack of pottery. It also follows that the much debated concept of Akhenaten as unique in his "preoccupation" with foreigners is invalid, as is the concept that Mycenaean pottery was a possession unique to the Pharaoh and his immediate family⁷¹. Bell⁷² states that the Mycenaean pottery at Deir el-Medina implies

* "that rather simple people wanted and could acquire it [the Mycenaean pottery]... it does not require an occupation of the site by members of the Court to explain the... Mycenaean pottery".

The ceramic evidence now accumulating also indicates that Egypto-Mycenaean trade did not cease with the end of the Amarna Age, but continued into, and perhaps throughout, the following Ramesside Period as well⁷³. Therefore, while the comparatively large number of scarabs and plaques inscribed with the cartouches of Amenhotep III or Queen Tiye in the Aegean may be tentatively identified as the extant remains of one instance of Egyptian contact, other contacts appear to have taken place during the LH IIIA-B periods and perhaps even earlier as well⁷⁴.

It should be stressed that neither the inscribed Egyptian objects found in the Aegean (both those of Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye [Table 1] and those of other Pharaohs [Table 3], nor the 'Aegean' list, nor the LH IIIA-B pottery in Egypt, can be used to determine whether trade was normally in the hands of royalty or in those of private merchants⁷⁵. Nor can these

⁷¹ The finds at Sesebi alone demonstrate this latter point, for Sesebi was hardly a 'royal family site'.

⁷² M. R. Bell, "Egyptian Imitations of Aegean Vases: Some Additional Notes", *GM* 1983: 18.

⁷³ D. B. Redford, review of Helck *Die Beziehungen* 1979, *JAOS* 103 (1983) 482.

In 1977, Mycenaean LH IIIA2 and possible IIIB pottery, made in the Argolid and with close parallels to that found at Amarna, was discovered at Saqqara, in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb, within a shaft and rooms not thought to have been used until the early Ramesside Period (G. T. Martin, "Excavations of the Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, 1977: Preliminary Report", *JEA* 64 [1978] 6; G. T. Martin, "Excavations of the Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, 1978: Preliminary Report", *JEA* 65 [1979] 16). Additionally, in 1983, Mycenaean LH IIIA2-B vessels were again found at Saqqara, in the Ramesside tomb of Tia and Tia (sister and brother-in-law of Ramses II) located adjacent to the Memphite tomb of Horemheb (G. T. Martin, "The Tomb of Tia and Tia: Preliminary Report on the Saqqara Excavations, 1983", *JEA* 70 [1984] 5, 8-9). These Mycenaean vessels may, of course, be heirlooms from the Amarna Age rather than true Ramesside imports.

⁷⁴ The additional finds of a scarab of Ankhesenamon, wife of Tutankhamun, in an LM IIIB context at Poros on Crete, a scarab of Pharaoh Horemheb at Knossos, and two scarabs/cartouches of Ramses II at Perati (see Table 3) provide further support for this view.

⁷⁵ The debate as to who was in charge of Egyptian foreign trade in the New Kingdom, the government or private individuals, is still ongoing. Merrillies, quoting Kemp, has stated that "private enterprise trading must have been inherent in the economic structure of ancient Egypt..." (Merrillies, *MEM* 178) and has said himself that "during the New Kingdom trading expeditions abroad were mounted not only by Pharaoh but also by temples and private individuals" (*ibid.*). Helck (*Die Beziehungen* 1979 92, 96-9),

evidences confidently be used as precise indicators of the level of trade in each period. They are only indications that some Egypto-Aegean contact occurred from time to time during the Old and Middle Kingdom Periods, and that it may have been particularly frequent during the latter half of the Eighteenth Dynasty and into the Nineteenth Dynasty.

Further Evidence of Egypto-Aegean Contact and Trade During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties

Changes in pictorial representations of 'Aegean peoples' in Egypt and in the extant Egyptian references to the Aegean and Aegean peoples (such as *Kftiw*, *iww hryw-ib*, and possibly *Hꜥw nbwt*) may reflect the differing nature of contact between Egypt and the Aegean during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (ca. 1550-1200 B.C.).

Vercoutter showed that there were 16 references to the *Kftiw* (commonly accepted as Crete and the Minoans) in Egyptian documents of the fifteenth century B.C., two in the fourteenth century, three in the thirteenth century, and only one in the twelfth century. Conversely, during this time span, there was an *increase* in the number of references to the *iww hryw-ib* (the 'Isles in the Midst of the Sea'), commonly accepted as a reference to the Mycenaeans⁷⁶. According to the Sakellarakis⁷⁷, this term (*iww hryw-ib*) occurs a total of seven times before the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Although it is not found in any texts of Amenhotep III's time, it is used twice in texts of Akhenaten's reign⁷⁸. However, *Tnj*, the probable reference to Danaoi (i.e. probably referring to Mainland Greece and thus a

however, has stated that all evidence points towards a royal monopoly on the Egypto-Aegean trade and that there is absolutely no reason to believe that private merchants were connected with this route at all. Helck also interprets the regional distribution of Mycenaean ware in Egypt as proof that "its presence in Egypt is due to royal, not private trade" (Redford, *JAOS* 103, 481). For other discussions, see Y. Portugali and A. B. Knapp, "Cyprus and the Aegean: A Spatial Analysis of Interaction in the Seventeenth to Fourteenth Centuries B.C.": 64-65 and A. B. Knapp, "Production and Exchange in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean: An Overview": 5, 9; both articles in: A. B. Knapp and T. Steh, *Prehistoric Production and Exchange in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean* (Los Angeles 1985). See also *supra*, n. 47.

⁷⁶ J. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique* (Le Caire 1956) 114-115; J. Vercoutter, *Essai sur les relations entre égyptiens et préhellènes* (Paris 1954) 126-127. See now also E. Sakellarakis - Y. Sakellarakis, "The Keftiu and the Minoan Thalassocracy", in: R. Hagg - N. Marinatos, *The Minoan Thalassocracy* (Stockholm 1984) 197-99, 201, for a fairly detailed catalogue in English; also the discussions in Helck, *Die Beziehungen* 1979, e.g. 32-35 and Kemp-Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery* 279-82.

⁷⁷ Sakellarakis-Sakellarakis, *Minoan Thalassocracy* 201.

⁷⁸ The 'Isles' are once recorded in a text of Akhenaten's Year 12 as having brought gifts to the king and are once given special mention in a description of the world governed by the god Aten. See Vercoutter, *L'Égypte* 136-7, n. 37; Merrillees, *AJA* 76, 290, 291; Merrillees, *MEM* 81; Sakellarakis-Sakellarakis, *Minoan Thalassocracy* 201.

more specific term than 'the Isles'), occurs on Amenhotep III's 'Aegean' list and also in a list of toponyms dating from the time of Amenhotep III in the Temple of Amon-Re at Karnak⁷⁹. The term also occurs during the time of Akhenaten⁸⁰. The term *Kftiu* occurs only three times in texts of Amenhotep III, each time in a geographical list (including the 'Aegean' list), and does not appear at all in the time of Akhenaten⁸¹. These points may indicate that contacts with the Minoans declined after the fifteenth century B.C., when contacts with the Mycenaeans increase.

The pictorial representations which depict 'Aegean' peoples in Egypt may provide further support for a change in Egypto-Aegean contacts after the fifteenth century B.C. Such pictorial representations are found only in tombs dating from a restricted period of time: that of the Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaohs Hatshepsut to Akhenaten⁸². Of the more than 50 Eighteenth Dynasty tombs recorded by Porter-Moss⁸³ as having paintings depicting foreigners, only about ten have representations of 'Aegean' peoples; the earliest is in the tomb of Senmut, dating from the time of Hatshepsut⁸⁴. Other tombs with accurate representations of 'Aegean' peoples include those of User-Amen and Rekhmire, both from the time of Thutmose III⁸⁵. These depictions continue to appear sporadically throughout the reigns of the next several Pharaohs. The sole, inaccurate, example from the time of Amenhotep III, in the Tomb of 'Anen⁸⁶, and the equally inaccurate example from the time of Akhenaten, in the Tomb of Huya⁸⁷, are the last Egyptian pictorial representations of 'Aegean' peoples. There are no further representations of 'Aegean' peoples for the rest of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and indeed for the remainder of the New Kingdom period.

The reign of Thutmose III saw a notably large number of accurate pictorial representations of 'Aegean' peoples⁸⁸. However, the tomb paint-

⁷⁹ On Amenhotep III's list at Karnak, *Tnj* occurs between the names for Alasia and Ugarit, according to Sergent, *Minoan* 16, 172.

⁸⁰ Sakellarakis-Sakellarakis, *Minoan Thalassocracy* 202.

⁸¹ Merrillees, *AJA* 76, 290, 291; Kemp-Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery* 280.

⁸² Kemp-Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery* 280. See also Vercoutter, *L'Égypte* 201 ff; Merrillees, *MEM* 180-81; Sakellarakis-Sakellarakis, *Minoan Thalassocracy* 198-99; Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu* 56-62.

⁸³ See *PM* v. 4 (1934) 211, 213, 221 and *PM* v. 1, pt. 1 (Oxford 1960) for some examples.

⁸⁴ Vercoutter, *L'Égypte* 202 ff; Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu* 56.

⁸⁵ Vercoutter, *L'Égypte* 130, 133; Kemp-Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery* 281; Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu* 59, 61-2; Sakellarakis-Sakellarakis, *Minoan Thalassocracy* 198.

⁸⁶ Vercoutter, *L'Égypte* 226, 287, 293-94; *PM* v. 1, pt. 1, 234; Merrillees *MEM* 181; Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu* 67.

⁸⁷ W. S. Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven 1965) 91, f. 141; Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu* 69-70.

⁸⁸ See especially Vercoutter, *L'Égypte* 130, 133, 202, 205-223; Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu*

ings during the reigns of the succeeding Pharaohs, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, and Akhenaten, contain misidentifications or misrepresentations⁸⁹ and may indicate a lack of firsthand knowledge of the appearance of Aegean peoples. Thus, representations of 'Aegean' peoples were never common in Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt, and were often inaccurate when they occur in the latter part of this period. It should not be surprising, therefore, that 'Aegean' peoples are pictured only once in all the tombs dating from the time of Amenhotep III and only once among the constructions of his successor at Amarna⁹⁰. Perhaps the Mycenaeans were only rarely seen in Egypt⁹¹.

Other evidence for Egypto-Aegean contact during the time of Amenhotep III comes from a survey of objects inscribed with the cartouche of an Egyptian Pharaoh which have been found in the Aegean (see Tables 1 and 3, Map 4). This reveals that: 1) inscribed Pharaonic objects found in the Aegean are relatively rare, when regarded in the light of the ca. 2700 year span represented by the period between the beginning of the Old Kingdom (Dynasty III) and the end of the Saite Renaissance (Dynasty XXVI); 2) the New Kingdom as a whole, and the Eighteenth Dynasty in particular, is represented by more inscribed objects in the Aegean than is any other Egyptian Dynasty or Period; 3) fully 12 out of the 21 inscribed Pharaonic objects found in the Aegean belong to Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye⁹².

Motivations for a Visit: The primacy of Mycenae?

The relatively large number of late Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian objects with royal inscriptions in the Aegean seems to indicate increased contact at the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C., a critical time in the

59-62; Sakellarakis-Sakellarakis, *Minoan Thalassocracy* 198; Strøm, *Minoan Thalassocracy* 192.

⁸⁹ Such as the tombs of Kenamun and Menkheperresenb from the time of Amenhotep II (Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu* 64-8; Strøm, *Minoan Thalassocracy* 192), Amenemopet from the time of Thutmose IV (Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu* 68-9), 'Anen from the time of Amenhotep III (Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu* 67-8), and Huya from the time of Akhenaten (Smith, *Interconnections* 91; Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu* 69-70).

⁹⁰ Merrillees, *MEM* 181. See *PM* v. 4, 211, 213, 221 for three tombs at Amarna which depict other types of foreigners.

⁹¹ Helck (*Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte der Universität Frankfurt a. M.* 1977: 10) has a similar interpretation; see Strøm, *Minoan Thalassocracy* 192.

⁹² The several observations mentioned here corroborate Kemp and Merrillees' (*Minoan Pottery* 283) statement, that "surveys by J. Pendlebury and R. Brown of Egyptian objects on Greek sites show that with a few uncertain exceptions Egyptian material only started to arrive in this area in the Eighteenth Dynasty... the most important concentration is [at] Mycenae itself".



Map 4. Inscribed Objects of Egyptian Pharaohs Found in the Aegean Area (excluding those of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye)

Aegean. If the inscribed objects of Amenhotep III arrived in the Aegean early in the LH IIIA period, then they were brought immediately before the LM IIIA2 destruction of Knossos and the 'Mycenaeanization' of the Aegean but after the destruction of other Minoan palatial centers, i.e. during Hallagher's 'Intermediate Period'⁹³. It is possible that increased contact between Pharaonic Egypt and the Aegean was the consequence of the Mycenaeans expanding their economic sphere. Hankey has previously suggested that an Egyptian voyage to the Aegean, as recorded on the 'Aegean' list, was perhaps in response to one made earlier by Aegean peoples⁹⁴. The earlier tomb paintings and Aegean pottery found in Egypt, as well as the relative lack of Egyptian material in the LH I-II Aegean, do

⁹³ E. Hallagher, "The Intermediate Period—LM II and IIIA1 Crete". Paper presented at Colloquium: "Forschungen zur ägäischen Vorgeschichte in Deutschland", 11-13 Feb. 1983: 13-14.

⁹⁴ Hankey, *JMAA* 1, 45.

suggest that most of the earlier contact was 'Aegean peoples' coming to Egypt and its dependencies, rather than the opposite.

It should be recalled that Egyptian influence was also expanding at this time. According to Redford, Egypt was perhaps at the height of its power during the reign of Amenhotep III, and was the "unrivalled leader of the known world", conducting its diplomacy from a position of strength, through a combination of persuasion, diplomatic gifts, marriage, and veiled threat⁹⁵.

The reasons for the unusual distribution of Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye inscribed material in the Aegean in general, and the abundance of these at Mycenae in particular, must remain conjectural. It may reflect Egypt's position as a "world" power and the fact that Mycenae was emerging as the dominant power among the various Mycenaean kingdoms at this time. Some sixty years ago Glotz⁹⁶, in commenting upon the fall of Knossos, wrote

"nor was this catastrophe unrelated to the exchange of gifts which took place between the king of Mycenae and the Pharaoh; at the very time when the Cretan empire was going under there arrived at Mycenae, with a scarab of Queen Tiye, a whole assortment of faience marked with the cartouche of Amenhotep III... while these sovereigns received in exchange a consignment of Mycenaean pottery".

Although conjectural, Glotz's idea is not without potential merit and perhaps should be reconsidered in the light of the present discussions.

It may be observed that although six out of the eleven readable place-names on the 'Aegean' list are sites on Crete, Mycenae is the site which has by far the most Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye objects. This may reflect more extensive excavations at Mycenae, the chances of random sampling, or the greater importance of Mycenae among the Aegean sites. Mycenae is the only Aegean site to contain inscribed objects of Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye other than scarabs, to have more than one object of Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye, and to have faience plaques with Egyptian royal cartouches of *any* period⁹⁷.

⁹⁵ Redford, *Akhenaten* 34, 39.

⁹⁶ Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization* 212 (see also 226).

⁹⁷ Of the ca. 12 inscribed objects of Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye found in the Aegean, ca. 7 have been found at Mycenae (supra pp. 8-9).

It should be noted as well that two faience Egyptian scarabs inscribed with non-royal cartouches have been found at Mycenae in Tomb No. 526, reportedly in the context of an LH III sherd. Both are recorded as "Egyptian XVIIIth Dynasty, probably reign of Amenhotep III" (A.J.B. Wace, "Chamber Tombs at Mycenae", in *Archaeologia* 82 [1932] 93); see also J.D.S. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca: A Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Aegean Area* (Cambridge 1930) 56 nos. 95, 96. A small faience ape with the cartouche of Amenhotep II has also been reported from Mycenae, although from an unspecified context (see Table 3).

The preponderance of inscribed material at Mycenae when the 'Aegean' list mentions at least eleven, and perhaps fifteen, other sites (see Table 2) might suggest that the list represents Egyptian knowledge of the 'old' and the 'new' Aegean at the time of Amenhotep III. The majority of the placenames are sites on Crete (*Kftiw*) or nearby islands, the areas familiar from previous commercial dealings with the Minoans. The rest of the placenames, with the exception of 'Ilios', are regions and sites on Mainland Greece (*Tnj*/"Danaoi"), such as Mycenae, Nauplia, and Messenia. Of these latter three, Mycenae and Messenia were two of the most powerful polities in Greece during the previous LH II period, after which Mycenae emerged as the most influential in the LH III period⁹⁸. Thus, the 'Aegean' list might be a physical representation of the changes in authority and influence occurring within the Aegean during the LH IIIA1 period; the list shows both the old and the new dominant polities in the region, just at the time when authority was changing hands.

Professor Rutter has suggested that it is also conceivable that the distribution of these Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye inscribed objects both may be a clue to the identity of *which* Mycenaeans were involved in the occupation of Crete and may explain why, of the Mainland Greek areas approximately equal during the LH I-II periods, the Argolid rather than Messenia or Laconia became *the* center of Mycenaean wealth, power, and influence in the LH IIIA-B periods⁹⁹. Although it is already a commonly accepted hypothesis that Mycenae was the leading force in the Mycenaean world during the latter part of the Late Bronze Age, this data just may allow us to pinpoint more precisely the emergence of Mycenae as a leading power.

Summary and Conclusions

From various sources of evidence, including the 'Aegean' list, faience plaques and other inscribed objects of Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye found at Mycenae and elsewhere in the Aegean, and Mycenaean pottery excavated in Egypt to date, one can draw certain conclusions regarding contacts between Egypt and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age. The 'Aegean' list of Amenhotep III is probably a valid, contemporary, and accurate document, recording a voyage or voyages to the Aegean by Egyptians during his reign. Correlations between findspots in the Aegean of inscribed ob-

⁹⁸ Professor J. B. Rutter, personal communication.

⁹⁹ Professor J. B. Rutter, personal communication.

jects of Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye and the placenames recorded on his 'Aegean' list provide supporting evidence for this thesis. The four or more faience plaques found at Mycenae, similar to foundation deposit plaques in Egypt, provide further support, and may indicate the existence of an 'official Egyptian embassy'. Evidence, from both the Aegean and Egypt, confirms that significant Egypto-Aegean contact and trade occurred during the LH IIIA-B/New Kingdom periods. Fluctuations in the intensity of these contacts over the course of the Eighteenth Dynasty may be traced in part by the frequency of discovered artifacts, pictorial representations, and textual mentions. The abundance of Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye inscribed objects in the Aegean, and at Mycenae in particular, may indicate particular Egyptian interest in the activities of the early LH IIIA Aegean and correlates with the emergence of Mycenae as a dominant power in the Aegean world. The faience plaques at Mycenae may have formed part of a gift from Amenhotep III, and may have been intended to help woo a new potential ally in the Aegean¹⁰⁰. Finally, increasing quantities of Mycenaean pottery are now appearing in Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty contexts in Egypt. Although most Mycenaean pottery excavated thus far in Egypt has been found primarily in contexts dated to the time of Akhenaten, it appears that LH IIIA-B pottery may be more abundant in Egypt than has been previously apparent.

Addendum: Those interested in the toponyms of the 'Aegean' list may be intrigued by G. Huxley's suggestion that the Minoan name of Kato Zakro, Crete was Dikta ("The Ancient Name of Zakro", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 8 [1967] 85-87). It is conceivable that toponym B5 could be identified as Dikta, or Diktaia as Astour suggests (see Table 2), and that it represents the important Late Minoan harbour town of Kato Zakro. Such an identification would fit quite well with the rest of the names on this list.

¹⁰⁰ Such a scenario might be considered similar to that which Porada has hypothesized to account for the presence of the Near Eastern lapis lazuli cylinder seals found in a late 13th century B.C. context at Thebes in Greece. She suggests that Tukulti-Ninurta I of Assyria, his country under a trade embargo by the Hittites, sent a royal gift, one mina of lapis lazuli objects, to the Mycenaean king at Thebes in hopes of procuring an ally (E. Porada, "The Cylinder Seals found at Thebes in Boeotia", *AJO* 28 [1982] 68-70,77).

TABLE 1

INSCRIBED OBJECTS OF AMENHOTEP III
AND QUEEN TIYI FOUND IN THE AEGEAN

	AREA	SITE	INSCRIBED OBJECT	CONTEXT/PROVENANCE
A.	Mainland Greece	Mycenae	7 fragments of faience plaques w/ cartouche of Amenhotep III (Athens. Mus. nos. 2566.1-5, 2718, 12582)	Area on Citadel, NE of Lion Gate; apparently in neighborhood of Buildings N and M; in probable LH IIIB context
<i>Primary:</i> Tsountas 1891: 18, 23-24, 30, pl. III; Schmidt 1905: 360-61. <i>Secondary:</i> Sewell 1904: 258-59; von Bissing 1912: 41; Fimmen 1924: 175-76, f. 171; Pendlebury 1930a: 88; Pendlebury 1930b: 55; Porter-Moss 1951: 402; Edel 1966: 43; Taylour 1969: 95-96; Foster 1979: 157; Helck 1979: 97; Leclant 1979: 405; Hankey 1981: 45-46.				
B.	Mainland Greece	Mycenae	1 faience plaque (in 2 fragments) w/ cartouche of Amenhotep III (Nauplion Mus. nos. 13-887, 13-888)	Room M3, Building M (near north wall of Citadel; in LH IIIB2 context)
<i>Primary:</i> Mylonas 1963a: 67 and f. 67; Mylonas 1963b: 101 and f. 76. <i>Secondary:</i> Daux 1964: 721-22; Edel 1966: 43; Leclant 1966: 169; Taylour 1969: 95-96; Hankey-Warren 1974: 148; Foster 1979: 157; Helck 1979: 97; Leclant 1979: 405; Alden 1981: 60; Hankey 1981: 45-46; Iakovides 1983: 52.				
C.	Mainland Greece	Mycenae	1 faience plaque w/ cartouche of Amenhotep III (Inv. no. 68-1000)	Cult Center, in Room w/ Fresco (Room 31); possible cult context; LH IIIB2
<i>Primary:</i> Taylour 1969: 95-96; Fraser 1969: 12-13. <i>Secondary:</i> Foster 1979: 157; Helck 1979: 97; Leclant 1979: 405; Hankey 1981: 45-46; Harding 1984: 106.				
D.	Mainland Greece	Mycenae	1 faience scarab of Queen Tiye (Athens Mus. no. 2530)	Room Gamma, in shrine area of Tsountas House; probable LH IIIB context
<i>Primary:</i> Tsountas 1887: 169 and pl. XIII no. 21, 21a. <i>Secondary:</i> Fimmen 1924: 176, f. 172; Pendlebury 1930a: 88; Pendlebury 1930b: 55; Porter-Moss 1951: 402; Smith 1965: 90; Edel 1966: 43; Foster 1979: 157; Helck 1979: 95; Schuchardt 1979: 294, 316.				

	AREA	SITE	INSCRIBED OBJECT	CONTEXT/PROVENANCE
E.	Mainland Greece	Mycenae	1 faience scarab of Queen Tiye (Inv. no. 68-1521)	Cult Center, in Store-room of Idols (Room 19); LH IIIB2
<i>Primary:</i> Taylour 1969: 92.				
F.	Mainland Greece	Mycenae	1 faience vase w/ cartouche of Amenhotep III (Athens Mus. no. 2491)	Chamber tomb no. 49; probable LH IIIA
<i>Primary:</i> Tsountas 1888: 156 and f. 10, 10a. <i>Secondary:</i> Hall 1901-02: 188-89; Fimmen 1924: 175, f. 170; Hall 1928: 211, f. 273; Pendlebury 1930a: 88; Pendlebury 1930b: 56; Porter-Moss 1951: 402; Edel 1966: 43; Vermeule 1972: 153; Foster 1979: 157; Helck 1979: 97; Sakellariou 1985: 127-28, pl. 35.				
G.	Mainland Greece	Aetolia (Ayios Elias)	1 scarab of Amenhotep III	Chamber tomb; LH IIB-LH IIIA2 (early) ceramic context
<i>Primary:</i> Ergon 1963: 127-28, f. 137; Mastrokostas 1963: 204, pl. 167; Daux 1964: 762-63; Megaw 1964: 14. <i>Secondary:</i> Leclant 1966: 168; Fraser 1969: 33; Hankey-Warren 1974: 147, 149; Helck 1979: 95; Alden 1981: 51.				
H.	Crete	Knossos (Sellopoulo)	1 faience scarab of Amenhotep III (part of a necklace)	Tomb no. 4; LM IIIA1
<i>Primary:</i> Popham-Catling-Catling 1974: 216-17, f. 146, pl. 38 (g-i). <i>Secondary:</i> Faure 1968: 148; Fraser 1969: 33; Leclant 1969: 300; Popham 1970: 227-28; Leclant 1970: 364; Hankey-Warren 1974: 147, 149; Helck 1979: 95; Kanta 1980: 315; Alden 1981: 51; Peterson 1981: 273, n. 47.				
I.	Crete	Ayia Triada	1 steatite (?) scarab of Queen Tiye	Chamber tomb no. 5, in house SE of Palace; LM IIIA, but context uncertain
<i>Primary:</i> Fimmen 1924: 177. <i>Secondary:</i> Pendlebury 1930a: 83, 85; Pendlebury 1930b: 8-9, pl. 1 no. 10; Porter-Moss 1951: 405; Smith 1965: 90; Edel 1966: 58; Popham 1970: 227; Hankey-Warren 1974: 144; Helck 1979: 95; Kanta 1980: 316; Peterson 1981: 273, n. 47.				

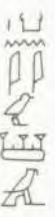
	AREA	SITE	INSCRIBED OBJECT	CONTEXT/PROVENANCE
J.	Crete	Kydonia	1 faience scarab of Amenhotep III	LM IIIA-B context
<i>Primary:</i> Tzedakis 1967: 503, pl. 377d. <i>Secondary:</i> Faure 1968: 148; Leclant 1969: 300; Leclant 1970: 364; Pino 1975: no. 237; Helck 1979: 95; Kanta 1980: 315.				
K.	Rhodes	Ialysos	1 faience scarab of Amenhotep III	Tomb no. 9; LH III
<i>Primary:</i> Furtwaengler-Loeschcke 1886: 75 and f. E (no. 1). <i>Secondary:</i> Hall 1913: 192 (no. 1915); Fimmen 1924: 176-77; Pendlebury 1930a: 88; Edel 1966: 58; Helck 1979: 95.				

TABLE 2

AEGEAN PLACE-NAME LIST
(from Temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan)

	HIEROGLYPH	SUGGESTED TRANSLITERATION(S)	SUGGESTED IDENTIFICATION(S)
A. 1)		<i>K-f-tj-w</i> (Edel p. 37; Faure 139) (<i>Kftiw</i>)	<i>Crete</i> (Edel p. 52; Faure 139; James 144-45; Helck 26, 30; Strange 21)
2)		<i>Tj-ni-jj-w</i> (Edel 37; Faure 139) (<i>Tnj</i>)	<i>Danaoi</i> (<i>Argolis/Peloponnese</i>) (Faure 145-47; Helck 1971: 306; Sergent 170-172; Helck 26, 30; Muhly 1982: 260) <i>Rhodes?</i> (Edel 52) <i>Adana, Cilicia</i> (Edel 1974: 20; 1975: 63) <i>Danaia</i> (<i>Myc. Peloponnese</i>) (Lehmann 1977: 108)
B. 1)		<i>[j]'-m-n-i-s?</i> (Edel 37-38) <i>A-m-ni-s?</i> (Faure 139) (<i>'mns</i>)	<i>Amnisos</i> (Edel 41, 52; Faure 139; Goedicke 7; James 144-45; Ventris-Chadwick 530; Strange 21; Helck 30)

HIEROGLYPH		SUGGESTED TRANSLITERATION(S)	SUGGESTED IDENTIFICATION(S)
B. 2)		<i>Bi-jj-si-X-ji</i> (Edel 38) <i>Bi-sa-ja</i> (Faure 139-40) <i>(Bjs[.j])</i>	<i>Phaistos</i> (Edel 41-42, 52; Strange 21) <i>Pisaia</i> (Sergent 144) <i>Phaistos?</i> <i>Sisaia?</i> (Faure 139-40) <i>Pisaia?</i>
3)		<i>Ki-tw-ni-ji</i> (Edel 38) <i>Ku-tu-na-ja</i> (Faure 140-41) <i>(Ktnj)</i>	<i>Kydonia</i> (Edel 42-43, 52; Faure 140-41; Goedicke 7; James 144-45; Ventris- Chadwick 557; Helck 30; Strange 21; Sergent 167)
4)		<i>Mw-k-j-nw</i> (Edel 38) <i>Mu-ka-n'</i> (Faure 140-41) <i>(Mkn; Mkin)</i>	<i>Mycenae</i> (Edel 43, 52; James 144-45; Mellink 141; Strange 21; Sergent 135; Helck 31) <i>Mycenae, Crete</i> (Faure 141) <i>Mykonos</i> (Goedicke 8-9)
5)		<i>Di-qi-ji-s</i> (Edel 39; Faure 141) <i>(Dq's)</i>	?? (Edel 39, 52) <i>Tegeai, W. Crete?</i> (Faure 141- 42) <i>Mt. Dikte or Diktaia, Crete</i> (Astour 313-14—based on <i>Di-qa-</i>) <i>Tegea, Arcadia</i> (Sergent 140- 43)
6)		<i>Mi-di-n-ji</i> (Edel 39) <i>Mi-da-na</i> (Faure 142; Kitch- en 1966: 24) <i>Mi-dja-na-</i> ' (Astour 313) <i>(Mdn'; Mdni)</i>	<i>Messenia</i> (Edel 44, 52; Faure 142; Strange 21; Sergent 128) <i>Messene, Messenia</i> (Astour 314-15, 317; James 144-45) <i>Methana (Argolid, N. Coast)</i> (if <i>me-da-na</i>) or <i>early Mes-</i> <i>sene</i> (if <i>me-za-na</i>) (Goe- dicke 8)

HIEROGLYPH		SUGGESTED TRANSLITERATION(S)	SUGGESTED IDENTIFICATION(S)
B. 7)		<i>Nw-pj-r-jj-i</i> (Edel 39) <i>Nu-pi-ri/li-ja</i> (Faure 142-43) <i>Nu-pi-ra-yi</i> (Kitchen 1965: 5; Astour 313) <i>(Nplj/Nprj)</i>	<i>Nauplia</i> (Edel 44-45, 52; Kitchen 1966: 23; Faure 142-43; James 144-45; Goedicke 7; Helck 31; Strange 21; Sergent 136) <i>Na-pe-re-wa</i> (toponym) (district w/ in Kingdom of Pylos) (Astour 313)
8)		<i>Ki-tj-i-r</i> (Edel 39) <i>Ku-ti-ra</i> (Kitchen 1965: 5; Astour 313; Faure 143) <i>(Ktr)</i>	<i>Kythera</i> (Edel 45-46, 52; Kitchen 1966: 23; Astour 315; Faure 143; Goedicke 7; James 144-45; Ventris-Chadwick 559; Strange 21; Sergent 138)
9)		<i>Wi-jw-r-jj-i</i> (Edel 39) <i>W'i-ra/la-ja</i> (Faure 143) <i>Wa-i-r(a)-hi</i> (Astour 313) <i>(Wilj; Wirj)</i>	<i>Ilios</i> (Edel 52; Kitchen 1966: 24; Strange 21) <i>Elaea, NW Crete?</i> (Faure 143) <i>Aulis, Boeotia</i> (Goedicke 10) <i>Wa-e-ro</i> (toponym) (in Kingdom of Pylos) (Astour 315) <i>Helos, Laconia</i> (Sergent 152-61)
10)		<i>Ki-jn.jw-s?</i> (Edel 39; Kitchen 1965: 5) <i>Ku-nu-s?/s(a)</i> (Faure 143; Astour 315) <i>(Kns)</i>	<i>Knossos</i> (Kitchen 1965: 5; Edel 39, 52; Astour 315; Faure 143; Goedicke 7; James 144-45; Ventris-Chadwick 555; Strange 21; Sergent 167; Helck 32)
11)		<i>j-m-ni-s?</i> (Edel 39-40) <i>A-m-ni-s?</i> (Kitchen 1965: 5; Astour 313; Faure 143-44) <i>('mns; 'Imns)</i>	<i>Amnisos</i> (Kitchen 1965: 6; Edel 39-40, 52; Astour 315; Faure 143-44; Goedicke 7; James 144-45; Ventris-Chadwick 530; Strange 21; Sergent 167; Helck 32)

HIEROGLYPH		SUGGESTED TRANSLITERATION(S)	SUGGESTED IDENTIFICATION(S)
B. 12)		<i>Ri-k3-tj</i> (Edel 40) <i>Ri/Li-k3-tj</i> (Faure 144) <i>Ri/Li-ka-ta</i> (Kitchen 1965: 5; Astour 313, 316) (<i>Rkt</i>)	<i>Lyktos</i> (Kitchen 1965: 6; Astour 316; Edel 40, 52; Faure 144; James 144-45; Ventris-Chadwick 581; Strange 21; Sergent 167; Helck 32)
13)		... <i>jt</i> /'t... (Edel 40; Faure 144)	?? (Edel 40, 52) <i>Siteia, Crete?</i> (Faure 144)
14) 15) 16)		lost	lost (Edel 40, 52)

Summary:

Kitchen 1965:5 and 1966: 23-24: Amnisos, Knossos, Lyktos, Nauplia, Kythera, Ilios, Midana (?).

Astour 1966: 313-16: Mt. Dikte (Crete) or Diktaia, Messene, region of Na-Pe-re-wa (in Kingdom of Pylos), Kythera, region of Wa-e-ro (in Kingdom of Pylos), Amnisos, Knossos, Lyktos, town of Pa-ki-ja-me (in Kingdom of Pylos).

Edel 1966: 37-40, 52: Crete, Rhodes(?), Amnisos, Phaistos, Kydonia, Mycenae, ??, Messenia, Nauplia, Kythera, Ilios, Knossos, Amnisos, Lyktos.

Faure 1968: 139-48: Amnisos, Phaistos or Sisaia (Crete), Kydonia, Mycenae (Crete), Tegeai (Crete), Messenia, Nauplia, Kythera, Elaea (Crete), Knossos, Amnisos, Lyktos, Siteia (Crete) (?).

Goedicke 1969: 7: Amnisos, Knossos, Kydonia, Nauplia, Kythera, Methana or Messenia, Aulis (Boeotia), Mykonos.

James 1971: 144-45: Crete, ??, Knossos, Amnisos, Lyktos, Kydonia, Mycenae, Messene, Nauplia, Kythera.

Sergent 1977: 128-67: Crete, Peloponnese, Amnisos, Pisaia, Kydonia, Mycenae, Tegea (Arcadia), Messenia, Nauplia, Kythera, Helos (Laconia), Knossos, Amnisos, Lyktos.

Helck 1979: 26, 30-32: Crete, Danaoi, Amnisos, Kydonia, Mycenae, Nauplia, Kythera, Knossos, Amnisos (again), and Lyktos, plus others of debated identification.

Strange 1980: 21: Keftiu, Tinay, Amnisos, Phaistos, Kydonia, Mycenae, Dikte?, Messania, Nauplia, Kythera, Ilios?, Knossos, Amnisos, Lyktos.

In reviews of Edel 1966 (*Die Ortsnamenlisten*), Kitchen (1969a: 224; 1969b: 199) and von Beckerath (1969: 332-33) agree with Edel's proposed identifications; Helck (1969: 76) said that Nauplia, Ilios, Amnisos (the first occurrence), and Phais-

tos are uncertain identifications, though he agreed with Mycenae, Messene, Kythera, Knossos, Amnisos, Lyktos, and Kydonia as correct translations. Other early, brief discussions of the names on this list can be found in Degen (1967) 54 n. 27, Grumach (1969) 174, and Buchholz (1970) 141-146, esp. table on 145.

TABLE 3

INSCRIBED OBJECTS OF EGYPTIAN PHARAOHS
TO BE FOUND WITHIN THE AEGEAN AREA
(excluding Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye)

A) Objects of Old Kingdom date
(Dynasties III-VIII)

	AREA	SITE	INSCRIBED OBJECT	CONTEXT/PROVENANCE
1.	Kythera	??	Stone dish w/ name of Sun Temple of Userkaf, Dyn. V	??; probably originally from Abusir
<i>Primary:</i> Evans 1897: 349-50, f. 23 and 24; Tsountas-Manatt 1897: 279. <i>Secondary:</i> Porter-Moss 1951: 403; Coldstream-Huxley 1973: 33.				

B) Objects of Middle Kingdom date
(Dynasties XI-XIII)

	AREA	SITE	INSCRIBED OBJECT	CONTEXT/PROVENANCE
1.	Mainland Greece	Sparta	1 scarab of Sesostris, Dyn. XII	Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia; no context
<i>Primary:</i> Dawkins 1929: 380, pl. ccv (no. 2). <i>Secondary:</i> Pendlebury 1930b: 109 (no. 297); Porter-Moss 1951: 403.				

C) Objects of Second Intermediate Period date
(Dynasties XIV-XVII)

AREA	SITE	INSCRIBED OBJECT	CONTEXT/PROVENANCE
1. Crete	Knossos	1 alabaster lid of Khyan — Hyksos king, Dyn. XV	In MMIIIA (or LMIIIA) deposit; underneath wall of upper terrace of pal- ace (near NW lustral ba- sin)
<i>Primary:</i> Evans 1901: 64-66, f. 20-21. <i>Secondary:</i> Evans 1921: 419, f. 304 (no. b); Fimmen 1924: 172, f. 167; Evans 1930: 8-9; Pendlebury 1930b: 22, 118, pl. ii (no. 30); Porter-Moss 1951: 405; Vercoutter 1954: 77-78; Warren 1969: 113; Hankey-Warren 1974: 145; Peterson 1981: 149; Alden 1981: 37-38, 42; Palmer 1981: 108-117, 125-28; Hentschel 1982: 148, 252.			

D) Objects of New Kingdom date
(Dynasties XVIII-XX)

AREA	SITE	INSCRIBED OBJECT	CONTEXT/PROVENANCE
1. Mainland Greece	Mycenae	1 faience ape w/ car- touche of Amenhotep II, Dyn. XVIII (Athens Mus. no. 4573)	on Acropolis, context unknown
<i>Primary:</i> Hall 1901-02: 188, f. 13 <i>Secondary:</i> Fimmen 1924: 175, f. 169; Pendlebury 1930b: 55, 118, pl. iv (no. 85); Porter-Moss 1951: 402; Vermeule 1972: 153; Foster 1979: 157; Helck 1979: 93; Peterson 1981: 274, n. 49.			
2. Mainland Greece	Perati	2 faience cartouches of Ramses II, Dyn. XIX	Tombs no. 1 and 104; LH IIIC
<i>Primary:</i> Iakovides 1980: 84. <i>Secondary:</i> Desborough 1964: 52, 69, 116; Hankey-Warren 1974: 149; Helck 1979: 95.			

	AREA	SITE	INSCRIBED OBJECT	CONTEXT/PROVENANCE
4.	Crete	Katsamba	1 ovoid alabaster vase w/ cartouche of Thutmose III, Dyn. XVIII	LM IIIA1 tomb (Tomb of the Blue Bier)
<i>Primary:</i> Alexiou 1952: f. 1. <i>Secondary:</i> Hutchinson 1954: 184, pl. IX; Hutchinson 1962: 267-269, f. 50; Warren 1969: 113; Helck 1979: 93; Alden 1981: 50; Peterson 1981: 273, n. 47.				
5.	Crete	Poros	1 scarab of Ankhesenamun (wife of Tutankhamun), Dyn. XVIII	in house, on LM IIIB floor
<i>Primary:</i> Kanta 1980: 315. <i>Secondary:</i> Hankey-Warren 1974: 148; Helck 1979: 95; Alden 1981: 60; Peterson 1981: 273, n. 47.				
6.	Crete	Knossos	1 scarab of Pharaoh Horemheb, Dyn. XVIII	chance find on land N of Palace
<i>Primary:</i> Catling 1975: 26-27, f. 50. <i>Secondary:</i> Kanta 1980: 315.				

E) Objects of Saite Renaissance date
(Dynasty XXVI)

	AREA	SITE	INSCRIBED OBJECT	CONTEXT/PROVENANCE
1.	Mainland Greece	Corinth	1 clay vase of Psamtek I, Dyn. XXVI	??
<i>Source:</i> Pendlebury 1930b: 72, 118.				
2.	Many scarabs, plaques, etc w/ imitation cartouches of Unas, Mycerinus, and others, <i>particularly</i> Thutmose III. See: Lythgoe 1905; Hall 1913; Dawkins 1929; Pendlebury 1930b; Porter-Moss 1951 among others for examples of imitations of the Saite period to be found in the Aegean.			

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Fig. 1 - Kom el-Hetan, 'Aegean' list, front



Fig. 2 - Kom el-Hetan, 'Aegean' list, left side



Fig. 3 - Queen Tiye scarab, Mycenae (Tsountas)



Fig. 4 - Queen Tiye scarab, Mycenae (Taylour)



Fig. 5 - Amenhotep III vase, Mycenae



Fig. 6 - Tsountas fragment, Mycenae, obv. and rev.



Fig. 7 - Two Tsountas fragments, Mycenae



Fig. 8 - Mylonas' plaque, Mycenae

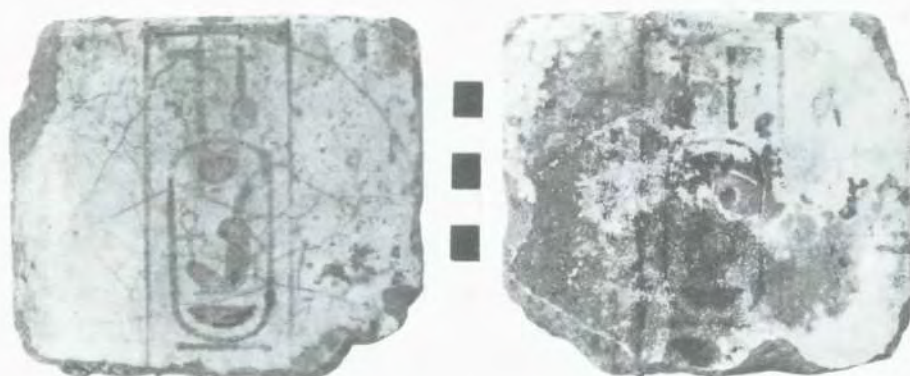


Fig. 9 - Taylour's plaque, Mycenae, obv. and rev.



Fig. 10 - Amenhotep III scarab, Kydonia, Crete



Fig. 11 - Amenhotep III scarab, Ialysos, Rhodes



Fig. 12 - Queen Tiye scarab, Ayia Triadha, Crete



Fig. 13 - Amenhotep III scarab, Ayios Elias, Aetolia



Fig. 14 - Amenhotep III scarab, Sellopoulo, Crete