

THE ANNUAL
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

No. 86

1991

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS
31-34 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON WC1H 6PY

Published by the Managing Committee

MONKEY BUSINESS IN THE BRONZE AGE AEGEAN: THE AMENHOTEP II FAIENCE FIGURINES AT MYCENAE AND TIRYNS*

(PLATES 1-2)

INTRODUCTION

A number of articles have been written about monkeys and monkey representations in ancient Egypt, Anatolia and Mesopotamia.¹ A few additional articles and books have discussed monkeys in the Aegean area, primarily as an aside to other issues.² Both Marinatos and Langdon have noted that monkeys become integral elements in Minoan religious iconography by the time of the Late Bronze Age, as evidenced by the frescoes at Akrotiri and various objects found on Crete.³ However, Langdon has noted that representations of monkeys are rare in Mycenaean contexts, and Immerwahr has observed that monkeys never appear in Mycenaean wall paintings, although they were clearly familiar with the animal.⁴ Two imported Egyptian frit figurines in the shape of monkeys

* W. Biers, J. Binder, B.D. Craig, V. Hankey, K. Kilian, C. Lilyquist, J.D. Muhly, E.J. Peltenburg and J.M. Weinstein kindly read early versions of this manuscript. Their information, comments and suggestions are incorporated herein, but they must not be held responsible for conclusions reached by the author. S. Harvey, O.W. Muscarella, J. Phillips, K. Shelton, and the Griffith Institute generously provided additional information and references for some of the figurines and vases discussed below. Particular thanks are due to K. Kilian for permission to discuss the Tiryns figurine and to A. Papadimitriou and the Ephoria of Nauplion for their assistance in the Tiryns Apotheke; to K. Demakopoulou, L. Papazoglou, and N. Divari for permission to discuss the Mycenae figurine and for their help in the National Museum in Athens; to E.S. Banou and the Ephoria of Heraklion for assistance in the Heraklion Museum in Crete; to C. Andrews, M.L. Bierbrier, G.N. Reeves and J.N. Tubb at the British Museum in London; to the Department of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art for study photographs; to the staff of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens; and to D. Harris and J. Tobin for their company during visits to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and to the Aleppo and Damascus Museums respectively. Research for this paper was begun in 1987-88 and continued in 1989-90, in connection with research conducted for the author's dissertation. Financial support from the Archaeological Institute of America and the U.S. Educational Foundation in Greece is most gratefully acknowledged. Plate 1a is by the author; Plate 1b-d appears courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum at Athens; Plate 2a-c are reproduced courtesy of K. Kilian. A brief version

of this article was presented at the annual meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America in San Francisco on 30 December 1990. cf. *AJA* 95 (1991) 326.

¹ J. Vandier d'Abbadie, 'Les singes familiers dans l'ancienne Egypte', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 16 (1964) 147-77; Idem, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 17 (1965) 177-88; Idem, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 18 (1966) 143-201; R.D. Barnett, 'Monkey Business', *JANES* 5 (1973) 1-10; C. Mendleson, 'More Monkey Business', *AS* 33 (1983) 81-83; S. Dunham, 'The Monkey in the Middle', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 75.11 (1985) 234-64; M.J. Mellink, 'Anatolian Libation Pourers and the Minoan Genius', in A.E. Farkas, P.O. Harper and E.B. Harrison, eds., *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (Mainz am Rhine 1987) 65-72.

² W.C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity* (Baltimore 1938); N. Marinatos, 'An Offering of Saffron to the Minoan Goddess of Nature: The Role of the Monkey and the Importance of Saffron', in T. Linders and G. Nordquist, eds., *Gifts to the Gods: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985* (Uppsala 1987) 123-32; Idem, 'The Monkey in the Shrine: A Fresco Fragment from Thera', in *Eilapini: Festschrift for Nicholas Platon* (Heraklion 1987) 417-21; S. Langdon, 'From Monkey to Man: The Evolution of a Geometric Sculptural Type', *AJA* 94 (1990) 407-24.

³ Langdon (supra n. 2) 417; N. Marinatos, in *Gifts to the Gods* (supra n. 2) 124-30; Idem, in *Platon Festschrift* (supra n. 2) 419-20.

⁴ Langdon (supra n. 2) 418; S.A. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age* (University Park 1990) 108, 162, 165.

found at Tiryns and Mycenae in 14th and 13th century B.C. contexts merit further discussion, particularly as they are inscribed with the cartouche of the Egyptian Pharaoh Amenhotep II (ca. 1427–1400 B.C.).

THE MYCENAE FIGURINE

A small blue frit figurine (NMA no. 4573; PLATE 1a–d) was discovered by Tsountas in 1896 on the Acropolis at Mycenae. The figurine is in the shape of a monkey. Inscribed in yellow on the upper right arm of the monkey is a cartouche containing the prenomen of Amenhotep II (^c3-*Hprw-R^c*), son and successor of Thutmose III. H.R. Hall, with Tsountas' permission, first published a brief description and sketch in 1901–02. Numerous publications have since mentioned the figurine, but have not added anything of significance to Hall's original note.⁵

The upper back/neck region of the figurine is curved forward, with the head tilted slightly forward and down, indicating that the monkey is in a squatting or sitting position. The figurine is in a fragmentary condition; only the head, upper torso, upper arms above the elbows, the upper and middle parts of the back, and the final length of the tail remain. The break is uneven, so that the back of the figurine is longer than the front, and slightly more of its left side is preserved than its right side. It is impossible to determine how the legs were positioned, although it is clear that they were either outstretched or drawn up to the chest. It is also impossible to determine whether the monkey's arms dropped vertically to the ground on either side of its legs or were held horizontal to the ground, holding an infant or some other object. The preserved height of the figurine (top of head to bottom of break) is 3.5 cm. The preserved width of the body is 1.5 cm; 2.0 cm if the face is included. The thickness (diameter of the core/body) is 1.3 cm.

The ears of the figurine are moulded and finely detailed, as are the eyebrows, the ridge of the nose, and the cheeks. The mouth and nostrils are incised and filled with black; the eyes are also incised and are outlined in black. Lines incised on the cheeks are filled with yellow and indicate that the cheeks of the monkey were a different colour from the rest of its body. The tail was not moulded but was apparently added as plastic decoration to the body before final firing. The final portion of the tail is visible on the rear of the figurine; coming up vertically from the missing lower portion of the body, it curves and ends on a horizontal line extending right to left just below what would have been the middle of the monkey's back. A slight broadening at the very end of the tail suggests a tuft of hair at the tip.

⁵ H.R. Hall, 'Kefiu and the Peoples of the Sea', *BSA* 8 (1901–02) 188, f. 13; D. Fimmen, *Die Kretisch-Mykensische Kultur* (Leipzig 1924) 174–5, abb. 169; V. Stais, *Mycenaeen Collection of the National Museum, v. II* (Athens 1926) 95 (no. 4573); J.D.S. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca: A Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Aegean Area* (Cambridge 1930) 55 (no. 85), 118, pl. IV; McDermott (supra n.2) 24, 213–14 (no. 302); H.J. Kantor, *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium BC* (Bloomington 1947) 38; E.T. Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age* (Chicago 1972) 153; K.P. Foster, *Aegean Faience of the Bronze Age* (New Haven 1979) 157; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*

(Darmstadt 1979) 93; E. Cline, 'Amenhotep III and the Aegean: A Reassessment of Egypto-Aegean Relations in the 14th century BC', *Orientalia* 56 (1987) 21 n. 97, Table 3.D1; P.W. Haider, *Griechenland-Nordafrika* (Darmstadt 1988) 43; Langdon (supra n. 2) 418 n. 58.

The figurine has frequently been the victim of inaccurate description, epitomized by Osman Hill's unfortunate statement: 'a fragmentary figurine from Mycenae in Argolis depicting the pharaoh Amenhotep II with a monkey on his shoulder'; cf. W.C. Osman Hill, *Primates: Comparative Anatomy and Taxonomy. VI. Catarrhini Cercopithecoidea. Cercopithecinae* (New York 1966) 212.

The colour of the frit ranges from medium to dark blue over the entire figurine. Small pinpricks, the result of airholes occurring during firing, are visible in the figurine here and there over the surface and in the core. The core is solid, coloured medium blue all the way through from surface to inner core to surface again; a small hole was drilled in the core at the bottom of the figurine after its discovery so that a rod of plexiglass could be inserted for display purposes.

The outer line of the cartouche is slightly smeared in two places, so that it touches the top right leg of the middle hieroglyph (*hprw*) and the rightmost line of the bottom hieroglyph (*°3*). The orthography of the cartouche is good and there is no reason to doubt the Egyptian origin of the figurine.

It is somewhat of a surprise to find that the blue-and-yellow colour scheme of the figurine is a reasonably accurate portrayal. The type of monkey depicted by the figurine is most likely a Grivet (*Cercopithecus aethiops aethiops*) or possibly the more common Green Monkey (*Cercopithecus aethiops sabaeus*), both of the family known as Guernons. These monkeys are remarkable for the colour of their pelt, usually various shades of green, for the colour of their underlying skin, often a shade of blue except for the face which is black, and for the development of elongated side (cheek) whiskers, usually white or yellow.⁶ The Grivet in particular has a black face with white cheeks and a terminal tuft to its tail, coloured a creamy white, but also has a narrow white frontal band running from cheek to cheek just above the eyes and a white moustache on its upper lip. The Green Monkey has distinct yellow cheek whiskers and is distinguished from all other members of *aethiops* by the lack of a white frontal band across the eyes, but has no tuft at the end of its tail, although the tip is coloured golden yellow.⁷

Guernon monkeys were popular in New Kingdom Egypt and were frequently traded or given as presents. The Green Monkey was prized as a pet, while the Grivet is found engraved upon the walls of numerous temples and tombs in Egypt.⁸ The natural habitat of Guernons is confined to Africa south of the Sahara, but they dwell in a wide range of environments within that expanse. The Grivet in particular inhabits an area in Northeast Africa which runs from the Red Sea coast near Tokar southwards through Abyssinia; the whole of the southern Sudan is included in this range. The Green monkey is found primarily in West Africa, ranging from the Senegal to the Niger, extending through Gambia, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia and the Ivory and Gold Coasts.⁹

Bearing in mind that there are numerous sub-species of Guernons and a wide range of variation within those known, it is not surprising that an exact match with the Mycenae figurine cannot be made. It is, however, equally clear that the figurine is meant to depict a Guernon monkey, and more specifically, some variation of either the Grivet or the Green Monkey.

There are a number of Egyptian objects which present parallels for the Mycenae figurine, in terms of size, posture, and features. The best is a small dark blue faience seated monkey (5.4 cm high) holding a ball or fruit, currently in the Brooklyn Museum.

⁶ Osman Hill (supra n. 5) 216, 218, 222, 398-9, 533, 541-3, 574-81; J.R. Napier and P.H. Napier, *A Handbook of Living Primates* (London 1967) 100, 102, 109; I.T. Sanderson, *The Monkey Kingdom: An Introduction to the Primates* (Garden City 1957) 116, f. 44.

⁷ Osman Hill (supra n. 5) 537-41, 575-6, f. 67, pl. XXXVI.

⁸ Osman Hill (supra n. 5) 241, 579; N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rehimire at Thebes* (New York 1943) 19, 26, 35, 46, pls. XVII-XX, XXIX, XLVIII.

⁹ Osman Hill (supra n. 5) 364, 387, 389, 534-5, 540-3, 579; Napier and Napier (supra n. 6) 100, 109; Sanderson (supra n. 6) 116.

Said to be from Amarna, it is dated to the late Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁰ It is possible that the arms of the Mycenae figurine originally held an infant or a ball, fruit or similar object, of which no trace is now left.

Three other parallels are of earlier, Twelfth Dynasty manufacture. The first is a small (3.6 cm high) amethyst figurine of a mother monkey sitting crosslegged on a base, holding an infant in her arms. Presently in the Schimmel Collection in New York, the figurine is uninscribed and comes from an unknown provenance.¹¹ The infant's head is now missing. Its tail runs under the mother's left forearm and curves up just past the elbow. The mother's tail is visible as a thin ridge running just above the plinth along the right side of the figure, ending below her right foot. The figurine is pierced from side to side just below the shoulders with a small hole and is thought to be an amulet, but without religious significance. A figurine currently in the British Museum (BM no. 46713) is very similar. It is a small (3.5 cm high) amethyst figurine of a squatting monkey, its hands resting upon its knees. The tail begins at the base of the spine and, remaining flat, curls around the right side of the figurine. This figurine too is pierced from side to side just below the shoulders with a small hole and was probably used as an amulet. It is uninscribed and comes from an unknown provenance.¹² A third small figurine, of faience, depicts a squatting mother monkey holding an infant against her stomach. The figurine had been exported to Syro-Palestine and was found, along with similar Egyptian figurines, in a foundation deposit placed beneath the floor of an antechamber in the pro-cella of the Obelisk Temple at Byblos.¹³

The findspot and context date of the Mycenae figurine are uncertain, but B.D. Craig plausibly suggests an LH IIIB2 context in the vicinity of Mylonas' 'House of the High Priest', immediately south and west of the Cult Centre at Mycenae. The area is just south of the so-called Hellenistic Tower in the western area of the Citadel. This building was partially uncovered by Tsountas in 1896 and was excavated by Mylonas in 1970-2.¹⁴ Her reasoning is as follows:

All that is known for certain is that the figurine was found on the Acropolis of Mycenae in 1896. That year Tsountas excavated extensively on the Acropolis: continuing his clearance of Mylonas' Wall TW, digging an area of the West slope by the Hellenistic Tower, and making smaller clearings in other parts of the Acropolis.¹⁵ Mrs Craig suggests the possibility that NMA nos. 4573-4576 form a group found in the same area, though not necessarily close together.

The NMA accession numbers from before 1894 do not relate to the discovery dates of

¹⁰ *Egypt's Golden Age* (Boston 1982) 275-6 (no. 379).

¹¹ O.W. Muscarella (ed.), *Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection* (Mainz 1974) no. 176; also *von Troja bis Amarna* (Mainz am Rhein 1978) no. 205.

¹² I am indebted to C.N. Reeves and the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum for information concerning this object.

¹³ M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos II* (Paris 1958) 746-50, f. 876; pls. XCVI, CVIII; W.S. Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven 1965) 42, f. 62; N. Jidejian, *Byblos Through the Ages* (Beirut 1968) 36. Cf. also references in note 35 infra, for additional Egyptian monkey figurines exported to Byblos.

¹⁴ B.D. Craig, personal communication. I am very grate-

ful to Mrs Craig for permission to communicate the following information and ideas. For a plan and description of the area in question, cf. Sp.E. Iakovidis, 'The Current State of Excavations at Mycenae', *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London* 14 (1977) 132, f. 12; G.E. Mylonas, 'Anaskaphi Mykenon', *PAE* 1973: 104, f. 2; Idem, *Mycenae Rich in Gold* (Athens 1983) 92 f. 72 (no. 13), 148-50. Haider (supra n. 5) 43 n. 144 has recently stated that the figurine was found in Chamber Tomb 68 at Mycenae, but this cannot be so. Tsountas excavated Chamber Tomb 68 in 1893; the monkey figurine was found on the acropolis in 1896.

¹⁵ Ch. Tsountas, 'En Mykenais', *PAE* 1896: 29-31; Idem, 'Kephali ek Mykenon', *AE* 1902: 1.

the objects, but rather to the order in which the finds were transferred from the Polytechnic Institute, where the finds from Mycenae were originally stored, to the National Museum, where they were entered into its inventory between July 1892 and 4 September 1893.¹⁶ From 1895, however, the Mycenae excavation finds were taken straight to the National Museum in Athens.¹⁷ The accession numbers now may become significant, designating objects found in close proximity or soon after one another. No. 4573 is the monkey figurine. No. 4574 is a haematite lentoid seal depicting a daemon subduing two lions.¹⁸ No. 4575 is the famous painted plaster female head, which Tsountas himself, *pace* Mylonas, says was uncovered in 1896 on the West slope of the Acropolis, in the ruins of a building lying a little further south than the polygonal tower [the Hellenistic Tower] of the west part of the citadel wall.¹⁹ No. 4576 is a tripod mortar of stone.

According to Mrs Craig, the most likely candidate for the findspot of the head, the best recorded of the above objects, is the part of Mylonas's Southwest Building or 'House of the High Priest' which was excavated by Tsountas in 1896.²⁰ Mylonas says that 'in his diary, Tsountas states that the head was found in the fill of the stepped way.'²¹ This 'stepped way' is most probably the stepped street located between the buildings labelled A and B on Mylonas' 1973 *Praktika* plan, which is dated to LH IIIB2. The figurine and other objects mentioned may thus come from this approximate area as well, considering the consecutive accession numbers. Furthermore, the head was found among so many broken pieces of clay pots and so many animal bones that Tsountas supposed rubbish had been taken to that spot from elsewhere on the Acropolis, and that the head was with this rubbish quite by chance.²² The head is now considered to be that of a goddess, however, and broken pottery and animal bones would not be out of place as the discarded remains of offerings. The monkey and the seal-stone might well be votives, and tripod mortars are sometimes associated with cult activity as well.

The suggestion that the monkey figurine and other objects can be linked with the plaster head and were found nearby is no more than a possibility, but seems plausible. As to why Tsountas did not include the figurine in his short list of the chief finds from the Acropolis of 1896, among which were the plaster head and the haematite seal-stone, Mrs Craig suggests that he neglected to include it because it was temporarily out of his hands, having been sent to Erman in Berlin for identification of the cartouche.²³ He then permitted H.R. Hall to describe it in the *BSA* article of 1901-02.

¹⁶ *PAE* 1892: 61; *PAE* 1893: 24.

¹⁷ *PAE* 1895: 147.

¹⁸ A. Xenaki-Sakellariou, *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, Band I. Die minoischen und mykenischen Siegel des Nationalmuseums in Athen* (Berlin 1964) no. 172. As noted in the volume, this object should have been included in 'isolated finds from the Acropolis', rather than in 'finds without provenance'.

¹⁹ Tsountas, *PAE* 1896 (supra n. 15) 29; Idem, *AE* 1902 (supra n. 15) 1; G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenaean Religion: Temples, Altars and Tombs* (Athens 1977) 92; Idem, 'The Cult Centre at Mycenae', *Proc. Brit. Ac.* 67 (1981) 311.

²⁰ Cf. Iakovidis (supra n. 14) 132, f. 12; Mylonas, *PAE* 1973 (supra n. 14) 104, f. 2. According to Mrs. Craig, in

1896 Tsountas excavated what in Mylonas' above plan are A14, A15 and the triangular area immediately south. He also excavated Mylonas' A10, A11 and the rest of the complex.

²¹ Mylonas, *Proc. Brit. Ac.* (supra n. 19) 311.

²² Tsountas (supra n. 15) 5.

²³ Tsountas (supra n. 15) 31. Other Egyptian objects found at Mycenae by Tsountas and referred to Erman for identification of the inscriptions include the Queen Tiye scarab, the Amenhotep III faience plaque fragments and the Amenhotep III faience vase. Cf. Ch. Tsountas, 'Archaeotites ek Mykenon', *AE* 1887: 169; Idem, 'Anaskaphai Taphon en Mykenais', *AE* 1888: 156; Idem, 'Ek Mykenon', *AE* 1891: 18 and n. 1; also Cline (supra n. 5) 8-9, Table 1.

THE TIRYNS FIGURINE

A small blue frit figurine (Tiryns Inv. no. LXI 36/88 a 12.46; PLATE 2a-c) was discovered at Tiryns during the 1977 season of excavations directed by Klaus Kilian. The figurine is in the shape of a mother monkey standing upright, supporting an infant against her stomach. Inscribed in yellow on the mother's upper right arm is a cartouche containing the prenomen of Amenhotep II (*3-Hpwe-R^c*). The figurine was found east of Building III in the Unterburg, in an LH IIIA context beneath an LH IIIB2 level, nearly upon the bedrock. The pottery associated with the figurine cannot be dated more specifically than LH IIIA. The figurine was first studied and published by Th.E. Haevernick.²⁴

The mother-and-infant combination is skillfully depicted and is remarkably touching. The infant faces its mother, suckling at her left breast. Its hands and feet clutch both sides of the mother's body tightly and its tail curls around her left thigh. The mother's left arm is around the infant. Her left hand is on the small of its back, steadying the infant. Her right arm is bent up at the elbow; her right hand presumably resting on or near the infant's head. The mother's tail begins at the base of her spine and drops vertically between her legs, at the rear of the figurine. The figurine itself is in a fragmentary condition; the mother's head is missing, as are both legs below the upper thigh, the right arm below the elbow, and all but the initial length of the tail. The head of the infant and the lower part of its tail are missing as well. The preserved height of the figurine (neck to upper thighs) is 3.8 cm; the preserved width 1.8 cm. The thickness across the legs is 0.9 cm, across the neck 1.0 cm, and across the body 1.3 cm.

The break at the bottom of the mother's neck is a clean one, flush with the body. The angle of this break and the slight curvature at the top of the upper back indicate that her head was bent slightly forward, probably gazing down at the nursing infant. The break midway down the upper thighs of the mother is also a clean and even break, straight across the width of the figurine. It is not clear if the figurine would be able to stand on its own two feet, even if they were still present, but there is no sign of a suspension loop on the upper back, nor is it likely that there was one on the head, if the Mycenae figurine is any indication.

The entire figurine, including the attached infant, appears to be mould-made. Only the mother's tail was apparently added as plastic decoration to the body before firing. The mother's left hand and the infant's hands and feet are finely detailed; the mother's fingernails are indicated in yellow.

The colour of the frit ranges from dark to medium blue, with a tinge of purple, except on one side where it is scorched a grey-brown colour. Large and small cracks are visible on the sides and back of the figurine. The core is solid, coloured medium blue all the way through from surface to inner core to surface again. Within the scorched region, on the left side of the figurine, is a mass of uncertain material and origin, measuring ca. 0.2 cm in all dimensions except for length. Beginning at the same height as and just behind the mother's left shoulder, the mass runs the length of her torso, ending at, overlapping onto,

²⁴ K. Kilian, Ch. Podzuweit, and Th.E. Haevernick, 'Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1977', *AA 94* (1979) 405, 443, 447, abbs. 30, 55a-c. For a plan of the area, cf. *Ibid.*, abb. 16

(after p. 394), 398 abb. 20. I am indebted to K. Kilian for detailed information on the findspot of the figurine.

and partially obscuring part of the infant's lower right leg and ankle. It is unclear what this represents. Something may once have been joined to the figurine in this area, such as another monkey. The careful articulation of the infant's right foot suggests, however, that the foot was meant to be visible and argues against any attachments in this region. Much more likely is that the mass consists of extraneous material which became fixed to the figurine during an accidental conflagration. Both the scorched colour and the numerous cracks visible attest to other effects of this calamity upon the figurine.

The fragmentary condition of the figurine prevents an accurate identification of the species of monkey being portrayed, but it is most likely also a Guernon, either a Grivet or a Green Monkey, similar to the Mycenae figurine. Osman Hill states that Guernon infants are 'carried on the ventral aspect of the mother's body supported by one or both of her hands. When sitting with knees drawn up, one hand or both may be used. When walking, running or leaping, one hand alone supports the baby . . . The infant seeks the nipple and suckles instinctively . . .'²⁵

The orthography of the cartouche on the mother's shoulder is good and the figurine should undoubtedly be assigned an Egyptian origin. However, in the original publication of the Tiryns figurine, Haevernick concluded that it was of Syrian rather than Egyptian origin. The figurine was also considered to be of no use for chronological studies.²⁶ Haevernick's primary argument for a Syrian origin stemmed from the observation that the figurine had been fired twice, resulting in a dark blue colour and a polished smoothness to the surface of the figurine. These features, cited in conjunction with unspecified objects seen in the museum at Antakya, and with three campaigns conducted by Amenhotep II in Syro-Palestine, pointed towards a Syrian origin for the figurine in Haevernick's opinion. Her conclusion has either not been questioned or has been ignored by subsequent researchers.²⁷ Only Haider has briefly addressed the problem, stating: 'Haevernick . . . halten dieses Gefäß für ein Produkt aus einer syrischen Werkstatt, was allerdings erst zu beweisen wäre.'²⁸

Haevernick's arguments are far from persuasive and may be dealt with quickly. First, the campaigns of Amenhotep II. Amenhotep II, following in the footsteps of his father Thutmose III, conducted two, or possibly three, campaigns in Syro-Palestine. A debated initial campaign to the region of Takhsi, located on the border-lands east of the Orontes river in the southern part of central Syria, may have taken place during the third year of his reign. References to this campaign are inscribed on stelae found at Amada and Elephantine. The campaign of his seventh year was also concerned with Syria. It is not precisely clear how far north he reached, but commemorative stelae set up at Memphis and Karnak indicate that his army crossed the Orontes near Qatna and that the campaign was directed primarily against various towns in western Syria. The campaign of his ninth year concentrated not on Syria but on the southern Levant, in the Plains of Sharon and

²⁵ Osman Hill (supra n. 5) 381.

²⁶ Kilian et al. (n.24 supra) 405, 447. Kilian (personal communication, 5 November 1990) reiterates his position that 'the object in normal settlement surroundings is not useful for absolute dating.'

²⁷ A. Yannai, *Studies on Trade Between the Levant and the Aegean in the 14th to 12th Centuries B.C.* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Oxford 1983) 58 n. 30; S. Manning, 'The Bronze Age Eruption of Thera: Absolute Dating, Aegean Chronology

and Mediterranean Cultural Interrelations', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 1 (1988) 36. Three citations appeared before or were in press when Haevernick's identification was published; cf. G. Touchais, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1977', *BCH* 102 (1978) 666, 669 f. 65; J. Leclant, 'Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1977-78', *Orientalia* 48 (1979) 405; Helck (supra n. 5) 282 n. 97.

²⁸ Haider (supra n. 5) 43 n. 144.

Esdraelon.²⁹ A number of Egyptian garrisons and administrative centres were established in Syro-Palestine as a result of the campaigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, and a number of imported Egyptian artifacts have accordingly been found in the region. The campaigns of Amenhotep II to Syria by themselves do not provide convincing evidence for a Syrian production of the Tiryns figurine.

Second, the colour of the figurine. Kaczmarczyk and Hedges's thorough study of Egyptian faience states that a faience object originally coloured blue will turn dark blue or even purplish during or after a final firing.³⁰ They cite in particular an Eighteenth Dynasty scarab and dish from Medinet Gurab and a Late Period ushabti found in a tomb, which were examined during the course of their investigations. The same is apparently true of frit (Egyptian blue). Small objects made of fine-textured frit, like the Tiryns figurine, were usually double-fired. However, such double-firing resulted in the colour changing from dark to light blue, not vice-versa.³¹ The dark colour of the Tiryns figurine must therefore be explained in some other manner. Kaczmarczyk and Hedges blame a cloth wrapped around the above ushabti, which caught on fire when the contents of the tomb were set ablaze, as the culprit responsible for the final purple colour of this object. They state, 'Glazes of this type ... are a product of accident and have no relation to the original intent.'³² As noted above, the Tiryns figurine has scorch marks, numerous cracks, and foreign material adhering to it, all the result of intense heat. Such deformations, which Haevernick did not mention, are more likely the result of an accidental fire than of deliberate baking in a kiln. This last firing probably occurred during the destruction, not the manufacture, of the figurine. The Tiryns figurine most likely was a lighter shade of blue originally, virtually identical to the figurine found at Mycenae and to numerous frit objects manufactured in Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt.

Third, Haevernick cited unnamed objects ostensibly of dark blue material in the Antakya Museum as parallels for the Tiryns figurine. These objects, if they are of frit, are as likely to be Egyptian imports as they are Syrian copies. Throughout Syro-Palestine, imported Egyptian objects are found intermingled with local Late Bronze Age products.³³ Moreover, while deep blue faience and frit are found in Late Bronze Age contexts in both Egypt and Syro-Palestine, e.g. at Amarna, Malkata and Ugarit, it is not more common in Syro-Palestine than in Egypt, *contra* Haevernick.³⁴ In any event, such comparisons are moot if the figurine was a lighter shade of blue before its fiery destruction.

Haevernick cited two objects as parallels for the Tiryns figurine, not mentioning that both are of Egyptian, or probable Egyptian, origin. The first is the Schimmel Collection's small Twelfth Dynasty amethyst figurine of a sitting mother monkey with an infant, cited above (p. 32) in connection with the Mycenae figurine. The second is a large (19.0 cm) Sixth Dynasty alabaster perfume flask in the form of a mother monkey clasping an infant

²⁹ Cf. W.J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* (Chicago 1977) 44-49, with references; J.M. Weinstein, 'The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment', *BASOR* 241 (1981) 12-15, with references; P. Der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim 1987) 45-97, with references.

³⁰ A. Kaczmarczyk, and R.E.M. Hedges, *Ancient Egyptian Faience* (Warminster 1983) 155.

³¹ M.S. Tite, M. Bimson, and M.R. Cowell, 'The Technology of Egyptian Blue', in M. Bimson and I.C. Free-

stone, eds., *Early Vitreous Materials* (London 1987) 45-6.

³² Kaczmarczyk and Hedges (supra n. 30) 155-6.

³³ Foster (supra n. 5) 47-49.

³⁴ E.J. Peltenburg, personal communication; C. Lilyquist, personal communication. Cf. the small dark blue faience monkey figurine from Amarna cited above (supra p. 31). A small Eighteenth Dynasty crocodile amulet of dark blue faience, now on display in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, was also found at Amarna.

to her stomach, with the cartouche of King Menera, son of Pepi I, inscribed on the right shoulder of the mother. Currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the vase was found in Egypt in the tomb of King Menera.³⁵ Neither object is a particularly good parallel for the Tiryns figurine, as neither is standing upright, but closer parallels are difficult to find, for no Eighteenth Dynasty monkey figurines with cartouches have yet been found in Egypt. For the moment, additional parallels meriting mention include the Twelfth Dynasty faience figurine of a mother monkey with an infant found at Byblos, mentioned above (p. 32); a larger (12.0 cm high) Eighteenth Dynasty wooden monkey standing up holding a piece of fruit to its mouth, currently in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (MFA no. 148.70);³⁶ and a blue faience amulet of a standing monkey with a suspension loop protruding from its upper back, now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (EM no. 43764), most likely of Eighteenth Dynasty date.³⁷

There is a long history in Egypt for the manufacture and export of amulets, figurines and vases in the shape of a monkey. These appear from Predynastic times onward, in a variety of materials (faience, stone, wood), shapes (free-standing, attached to kohl-tubes; squatting, sitting, standing) and functions (amulets, figurines, vases, inlays; religious, secular). The tradition continues especially strongly in the Eighteenth Dynasty, with the same range seen.³⁸ We know, furthermore, that the royalty of the Eighteenth Dynasty possessed monkey figurines and vases, and also gave them away as presents. A small silver figure of a female monkey holding an infant was given by Akhenaten to Burna-Buriash II, king of Babylon (cf. Amarna letter EA 14:48), and an ivory figurine (9.4 cm high) of a monkey was found by Howard Carter in the tomb of Tutankhamen (Cairo JE 62068; no. 1218 of the Tutankhamen collection).³⁹

There are also numerous extant examples of royally-inscribed Eighteenth Dynasty amulets, figurines and vases in the shape of other animals.⁴⁰ Of greatest interest to the present topic is a small (3.2 cm high) figurine of red jasper, currently in the Metropolitan

³⁵ Cf. H. Kayser, *Ägyptisches Kunsthandwerk* (Braunschweig 1969) 30, abb. 29; also W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, v. I (Cambridge, MA 1953) 128, f. 78; K. Michalowski, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (London 1969) 463 (no. 768), f. 768. Similar Sixth Dynasty vases of a mother monkey holding an infant, with a royal cartouche inscribed on the shoulder of the mother, have been uncovered elsewhere in Egypt, as well as exported to Syro-Palestine. Cf. G. Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII. Der Tempel der Salet. Die Funde I* (Mainz am Rhein 1986) 152 (no. 455), Taf. 58; P. Montet, *Byblos et L'Égypte: Quatre campagnes de fouilles à Gebeil (1921-1924)* (Paris 1928) 72-74 (nos. 56-58, 62), pls. XL, XLI; McDermott (supra n. 2) 13; Dunham (supra n. 1) 260; Jidejian (supra n. 13) 17, 19-20, f. 18.

³⁶ *Egypt's Golden Age* (supra n. 10) 276 (no. 380).

³⁷ Numerous other faience ape amulets are in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, but the majority are without provenance or context date. Cf. references in n. 38 infra.

³⁸ Cf. numerous objects on display in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and in the British Museum in London; also Fr. W. von Bissing, *Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Fayencegefässe* (Vienne 1902) 86 (no. 3979); Idem, *Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Steingefässe* (Vienne 1907) 96 (no. 18486), 118-21, Taf. IX; G.A. Reisner, *Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Amulets*, v. I (Le Caire

1907) 165-8, pl. XXI; G.A. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1907-1908*, v. I (Cairo 1910) 242 (no. 17), pl. 72a; G.A. Reisner, *Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Amulets*, v. II (Le Caire 1958) 6-7, pls. II, XXI; J.D.S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, pt. III, vols. I and II. *The Central City and the Official Quarters. The Excavations at Tell el-Amarna during the Seasons 1926-1927 and 1931-1936* (London 1951) 125, pl. LXXXVIII:5, 6; *Egypt's Golden Age* (supra n. 10) 217, 225 (no. 285), 226 (no. 286); J. Samson, *Amarna: City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (London 1972) 37-40, pls. 16-17; Vandier d'Abbadie, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 18 (supra n. 1) 143-201.

³⁹ H. Murray and M. Nuttall, *A Handlist to Howard Carter's Catalogue of Objects in Tut'ankhamun's Tomb* (Oxford 1963) 18 (no. 62013); McDermott (supra n. 2) 14-15; Osman Hill (supra n. 5) 211; Dunham (supra n. 1) 258-60; W.L. Moran, *Les Lettres d'El-Amarna* (Paris 1987) 96-97; Griffith Institute, personal communication.

⁴⁰ Cf. Michaelowski (supra n. 35) 463 (no. 770), f. 770; H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tutankhamen*, v. 2 (London 1927) 34-35, pl. L; Idem, *The Tomb of Tutankhamen*, v. 3 (London 1933) 146-7, pls. XLVIII, XLIXb; P.R. Riesterer, *The Funerary Treasure of Tutankhamen. Das Ägyptische Museum Kairo*, v. II (Cairo 1965) 42, pls. 35, 37, 39; W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, v. II (Cambridge, MA 1959) 123, f. 65.

Museum in New York (MMA 26.7.1452).⁴¹ The figurine is carved into the form of a lion's head, with careful attention to modelling and detail. Incised on the top of the lion's head is an Eighteenth Dynasty cartouche containing the prenomen of Hatshepsut (*M^c3t-Ku-R^c*). On the back of the head and the neck is inscribed '(Long) live the Daughter of Re, [Khnemmet-Amen] Hatshepsut, may she live forever'. The piece, while indubitably of Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian origin, has no known provenance. It passed in 1911 from the Hilton Price collection to the Carnarvon collection and thence with the latter in 1926 to the Metropolitan Museum. An earlier Twelfth Dynasty figurine also deserves brief mention. This is a small (4.8 cm long) amethyst figurine of a couchant lion, also in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 26.7.1341).⁴² This latter figurine has an inscription naming the Pharaoh Senwesret engraved upon its right side: 'The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheper-ka-re, Beloved of the spirits of Heliopolis.' The figurine is pierced with a hole for stringing or mounting and was probably worn as an amulet.

In sum, Haevernick's arguments can be readily countered and reasonable Egyptian parallels for the Tiryns figurine can be found. In keeping with the good orthography of the cartouche, the Tiryns figurine can confidently be re-assigned to an Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian origin.

MONKEYS IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE AEGEAN

The figurines at Mycenae and Tiryns are not totally unique in the Aegean area, for a number of other imported primate-shaped objects or representations of primates have been found in Bronze Age contexts within this region. These merit a brief mention to complete the picture.

First, a toilet-vase of Egyptian calcite (HM no. 110), dated to the Old Kingdom period, was discovered in Chamber Tomb 5 at Ayia Triadha. The vase is in the shape of a medium-sized (9.3 cm high) squatting baboon, with its hands resting upon its belly. The vase is uninscribed. The head of the figure has been hollowed out via a hole drilled through the top. The tomb dates most likely to the LM IIIA period; a scarab-seal of Queen Tiye, wife of Amenhotep III, was also found in the tomb.⁴³

A second Old Kingdom vase, of alabaster or calcite, comes from an unknown context on the Acropolis at Mycenae (NMA nos. 2657+6250). The vase is in the shape of a mother monkey with an infant held against her stomach, very similar to the Sixth Dynasty Egyptian vases cited above (p. 37). Unfortunately, the entire right side of the figure below the face is missing, so that one cannot say whether it once bore an inscription on its upper arm; the left side is uninscribed.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Hayes (supra n. 40) 104. I am indebted to C. Lilyquist and the Department of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum in New York for information on this and the following object.

⁴² Hayes (supra n. 35) 195.

⁴³ R. Paribeni, 'Ricerche nel Sepolcreto di Haghia Triada Presso Phaestos', *MA* 14 (1904) 727-8, 733-5, figs. 25, 33; M.I. Maximova, *Les Vases Plastiques dans L'Antiquité* (Paris 1927) 114-15; P. Warren, *Minoan Stone Vases* (Cam-

bridge 1969) 104, P587; Cline (supra n. 5) 12, f. 12, Table 1:1.

⁴⁴ J.A. Sakellarakis, 'Mycenaean Stone Vases', *SMEA* 17 (1976) 178-9, pl. IV, 9. One of these pieces (NMA no. 6250) was originally mislabelled as coming from Tiryns, but has since been restored with the other fragment (NMA no. 2657). The two are now displayed in the Mycenaean Room of the National Museum in Athens as pieces from the same vase.

Two small (1.9 cm high) lapis lazuli Egyptian amulets (HM no. 146) were found in the LM II Royal Tomb at Isopata, near Knossos on Crete. The first amulet is in the shape of a monkey in a squatting position, raising its right hand to its right ear, and with its left hand resting upon its left knee. Its tail can be seen running up its back, ending just below the head. The second amulet is in the shape of a monkey seated on a square base with its forearms resting on its knees, while its tail curls around by its right foot. Both amulets are pierced for suspension on a necklace or bracelet.⁴⁵

A fifth object was found in an LH II-IIIc tholos tomb at Ayios Elias, in Aetolia on Mainland Greece. It is a small (2.0 cm high) Egyptian amulet, probably of faience, depicting a seated monkey.⁴⁶

A sixth object is a small Egyptian figurine (3.8 cm high) of green steatite (HM no. 2555) in the shape of a squatting monkey with hands to mouth, possibly drinking from a small cup. Found during illicit excavations in the Siteia area of eastern Crete in 1955, its context date remains unknown. It is complete except for the lower legs and feet, which are missing. An identical parallel can be seen on display in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. There is also a third parallel, assumed to have been found on Crete, currently in Munich (Inv. no. 10.369).⁴⁷

Finally, there is a Syro-Palestinian cylinder seal (HM no. 2347) of green jasper (L: 1.1 cm; Dm: 1.05 cm), found at Poros on Crete in an MM IIIB-LM IA context within a chamber tomb. Probably of Old Syrian origin and dating to the 17th century B.C., the scene engraved depicts a male figure approaching an Anubis-type figure. Behind the male figure stands an attendant. Out in the field there are three pieces of vegetation, a dagger and a possible ankh sign, and a squatting monkey facing the Anubis-type figure with hands and tail raised in a worshipping pose.⁴⁸

There are also approximately 32 locally-made Aegean objects which depict monkeys. Most of these locally-produced monkey representations are found on Crete. They begin to appear during the Pre-Palatial period and surge in popularity during the Late Bronze Age, undoubtedly reflecting varying degrees of Egyptian influence or contacts.⁴⁹ Most, if not all, of these representations depict the monkey(s) in votive or possibly votive contexts; either worshipping or being worshipped, or engaged in ritual activities. Few such objects are known from Mainland Greece, although they do exist. It has therefore been suggested that knowledge of monkeys and monkey iconography entered the Aegean from Egypt and

⁴⁵ A.J. Evans, *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos I and II* (London 1906) 141, 152-3 (nos. 26-27), f. 131a-b; Pendlebury (supra n. 5) 25 (nos. 44-45); McDermott (supra n. 2) 23, 205, 213 (nos. 300-1).

⁴⁶ E.I. Mastrokostas, 'Anaskaphi 'Ayios Elias', *PAE* 1963: 207, pl. 173c; R.B. Brown, *A Provisional Catalogue of and Commentary on Egyptian and Egyptianizing Artifacts found on Greek Sites* (Ann Arbor 1974) 2 (no. 2).

⁴⁷ This last figurine is a small (H: 3.2 cm) crouching monkey of yellow steatite, with knees drawn up, feet crossed, and hands to mouth, which Buchholz and Karageorghis date to EM II although its find context remains unknown; cf. H.G. Buchholz and V. Karageorghis, *Prehistoric Greece and Cyprus* (London 1973) 98, 362 no. 1184, with references.

⁴⁸ A. Lembessi, 'Anaskaphi Spilaioudou Taphou eis

Poron, Iraklion, *PAE* 1967: 195-6, 268, pl. 192a, c; V.E.G. Kenna, 'Three Cylinder Seals Found in Crete', *KrChron* 21 (1969) 355, 358-62; figs. 3-5; E. Möller, 'A Re-evaluation of the Oriental Cylinder Seals found in Crete', in J. Best and N. de Vries, eds., *Interaction and Acculturation in the Mediterranean v. 2* (Amsterdam 1980) 95-96, f. 9; D. Collon, 'The Green Jasper Cylinder Seal Workshop', in M. Kelly-Buccellati, ed., *Insight Through Images: Studies in Honor of Edith Porada* (Malibu 1986) 58, 62, f. 5; N. Marinatos, in *Gifts to the Gods* (supra n. 2) 128-9 n. 17; Langdon (supra n. 2) 417 n. 53.

⁴⁹ Cf. the lists and descriptions in McDermott (supra n. 2) 23-24, 206-9, 316-17, 323-4; N. Marinatos, in *Gifts to the Gods* (supra n. 2) 125-8; and Langdon (supra n. 2) 416-17.

the Near East via Minoan Crete. A fossilized monkey skull found on Thera may lend credence to this hypothesis.⁵⁰

There are also a number of monkeys depicted in Late Bronze Age (LM IA) Aegean wall paintings, but again only on Crete and Thera. These include the 'Crocus (or Saffron) Gatherer' Fresco and the 'Monkeys and Bluebird' Frieze found by Evans at Knossos, and the 'Blue Monkeys' Fresco and fragments of three additional frescoes found by Sp. Marinatos at Akrotiri.⁵¹ Cameron, McDermott and Osman Hill identify the monkeys in these six frescoes as Grivets (*C. aethiops aethiops*) or Tantalus (*C. aethiops tantalus*) monkeys, both varieties of the greenish Guernon monkey. Again, as in the case of the Mycenae and Tiryns figurines, the identification is likely but not exact.⁵²

ARRIVAL AND PURPOSE OF THE MYCENAE AND TIRYNS FIGURINES

It is curious that the figurines at Mycenae and Tiryns are so similar, and yet are without ready parallels anywhere else. Their presence in the Aegean area raises a number of questions, most of which pertain to the significance of the royal cartouche on these objects. Can they be linked to the sending of an official gift or an official embassy to the Aegean, as was perhaps done in the reign of Amenhotep III?⁵³ Should they instead be regarded as mere curiosities or 'bric-a-brac'? Did they arrive in the Aegean during Amenhotep II's reign or did they come later, during the reign of Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III? For what purpose were they meant?

Hayes describes Egyptian objects similar to the figurines at Mycenae and Tiryns as perhaps ornaments intended for no more serious purpose than to give pleasure to their owners.⁵⁴ It is conceivable that the Mycenae and Tiryns figurines were simply unusual imported 'bric-a-brac' displayed as collector's items, serving a purely ornamental and decorative function. Hayes warns, however, that one cannot overlook the possibility that such figurines may have been amuletic in nature or perhaps were intended as sacred images; the ape, for example, was associated with Thoth, the god of learning in Egypt. The Mycenae figurine, as noted above (p. 33), may have been in a votive context at the time of

⁵⁰ N. Platon, 'Symboli eis tin Spoudin tis Miniokis Toixographias', *KtChron* 1 (1947) 523; N. Marinatos, in *Gifts to the Gods* (supra n. 2) 124-32; Idem, in *Platon Festschrift* (supra n. 2) 419; Langdon (supra n. 2) 416-18.

⁵¹ A.J. Evans, *PM I* (London 1921) 265, pl. IV; Idem, *PM II* (London 1928) 447-50, figs. 262, 264, pl. X; M.A.S. Cameron, 'Unpublished Paintings from the "House of the Frescoes" at Knossos', *B.S.A.* 63 (1968) 1-5, 19-22, 27-28, figs. 1a-c, 10, 13, pl. 1:1-4, colour plate A:1-3; Sp. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera II* (Athens 1969) 12, 53-54, figs. 43-44, colour pl. B:11; Idem, *Excavations at Thera III* (Athens 1970) 63-64, pls. 61, 62:1; Idem, *Excavations at Thera IV* (Athens 1971) 45-46, pls. 113-15; Idem, *Excavations at Thera V* (Athens 1972) 38, pls. 91a-b, 92b, 93, colour pl. D; Idem, *Excavations at Thera VII* (Athens 1976) 25-26, 37-38.

Cf. most recently N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion in Thera* (Athens 1984) 61, 89, 112-16, figs. 40, 61, 79-81, 83; Idem,

in *Gifts to the Gods* (supra n. 2) 124, 127-30, 132, figs. 1-3, 4:5; Idem, in *Platon Festschrift* (supra n. 2) 417-21, figs. 1, 6; Idem, 'The "African" of Thera Reconsidered', *OpAth* 17:9 (1988) 137, 140-41, figs. 6-7; L. Morgan, *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera* (Cambridge 1988) 29, 38, 89, 168, figs. 21-22, pls. 25, 45; Immerwahr (supra n. 4) 13, 21, 41-46, 61-62, 99, 135, 162, 167, 170 (Kn nos. 1-2), 185 (Ak no. 1), 186 (Ak no. 6), 188 nos. 9 and 13, 208 n. 3, figs. 16, 20, pls. 10-13.

⁵² McDermott (supra n. 2) 105, 274-6 (nos. 472-3); Cameron (supra n. 51) 3-5; Osman Hill (supra n. 5) 212, 547-9; cf. Napier and Napier (supra n. 6) pl. 24 for Tantalus monkey.

⁵³ V. Hankey, 'The Aegean Interest in El Amarna', *Journal of Mediterranean Anthropology and Archaeology* 1 (1981) 45-46; Cline (supra n. 5) 1, 13, 22-23.

⁵⁴ Hayes (supra n. 35) 45.

burial. The two figurines are unlikely to have been worn as amulets, however, for no trace of a suspension loop or a pierced hole can be found on either of the figurines. If they were sacred images, they were apparently free-standing. An additional, but less likely, possibility is that the Tiryns and Mycenae figurines were used as playing pieces for the Egyptian game of Snakes.⁵⁵ Such a game set, complete with inlaid playing board, would have made an exquisite royal gift. Unfortunately, there are no known parallels from Egypt for game pieces carved in the shape of a monkey – the only other types of figures known are Bes, dog, horse and possibly gazelle heads⁵⁶ – and thus such an identification must be regarded as tentative.

Given their relative similarity and rarity, the figurines at Mycenae and Tiryns are likely to have arrived in the Aegean together. It is possible that they were originally sent as a pair or as part of a set; a squatting male figurine accompanying a standing mother-and-infant figurine.⁵⁷ If so, they were split up at some point after their arrival, one going to Mycenae and the other to Tiryns. It is unclear at what time they arrived – sometime before the end of the LH IIIA period is the best we can say. The Mycenae figurine cannot be used for any chronological purposes, due to the uncertainty of its find context. The Tiryns figurine might prove useful, *contra* Kilian, since it was found in a good LH IIIA context.

For those following the traditional dating scheme, which places the reign of Amenhotep II during the LH IIB/LM II period in the Aegean, the Tiryns figurine must be seen as an heirloom already at the time of its final deposition.⁵⁸ However, for those following Betancourt's recently propounded dating system, which suggests that the LH/LM IIIA1 period lasted from Thutmose III's reign into Amenhotep III's reign, the Tiryns figurine might be seen as a contemporary export to the Aegean during the reign of Amenhotep II. It could be used in conjunction with the Thutmose III vase in the LM IIIA1 tomb at Katsamba and the Amenhotep III scarab in the LM IIIA1 tomb at Sellopoulo to show concrete synchronisms between the LH/LM IIIA1 period and the reigns of these three Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaohs.⁵⁹

There is little textual and pictorial evidence to support extensive contact between Egypt and the Aegean during the reign of Amenhotep II. 'Keftiu' (Minoans) appear only twice in tomb paintings during his reign, both times occurring in stylized scenes perhaps copied from earlier sources. 'Tanaja' (Mainland Greece) and 'the Isles in the Midst of the Great Green' (Cyclades) are never mentioned during his reign. Such references occur primarily in the time of Thutmose III, Amenhotep III and Ramses II.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ The jasper lion head inscribed with the cartouche of Hatshepsut, mentioned above (p. 38), may be a good parallel for an Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian game piece engraved with a royal cartouche. Hayes (*supra* n. 40) 104 identified this figurine as a draughtsman, or gaming piece, but unfortunately presented no supporting evidence.

⁵⁶ C. Lilquist, personal communication, citing information from T. Kendall.

⁵⁷ A parallel might be drawn with Amarna in Egypt, where Petrie found a series of twenty-three painted Eighteenth Dynasty limestone statuettes of monkeys (ca. 5.5–8.5 cm high), several depicted holding their young. Cf. Samson (*supra* n. 38) 37–40, pls. 16–17. Those cited by Samson are in the Petrie Collection in London. Several others are on display in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo

(EM nos. 12583–12585).

⁵⁸ P. Warren and V. Hankey, *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology* (Bristol 1989) 169.

⁵⁹ P.P. Betancourt, 'Dating the Aegean Late Bronze Age with Radiocarbon', *Archaeometry* 29 (1987) 45–49. On the objects at Sellopoulo and Katsamba, cf. St. Alexiou, 'New Materials on the Later Aegean Chronology and History', *KrChron* (1952) I, 1; Warren (*supra* n. 43) 113; M.R. Popham, E.A. Catling, and H.W. Catling, 'Sellopoulo Tombs 3 and 4. Two Late Minoan Graves near Knossos', *BSA* 69 (1974) 216–17, f. 146, pl. 38g–i; Cline (*supra* n. 5) 12, 25, 32, Tables 1:H and 3:D4; Warren and Hankey (*supra* n. 58) 137, 147–8.

⁶⁰ J. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique* (Le Caire 1956); J. Strange, *Caphitor/Keftiu: A New Investigation*

The extant artifactual evidence is slightly more helpful. There are currently no published examples of LH IIB/LM II or of LH/LM IIIA₁ sherds in contexts of Amenhotep II or Egypt. In the Aegean area there are a number of Egyptian objects in contexts specifically dated to LH IIB/LM II: at Mycenae and the Argive Heraion on Mainland Greece, and at Isopata and Archanes on Crete.⁶¹ The Royal Tomb at Isopata, near Knossos on Crete, contains twelve Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian alabaster vessels, an Early Dynastic porphyry bowl, the two small Egyptian lapis lazuli amulets in the shape of monkeys mentioned above (p. 39), a third such amulet in the shape of a crouching frog, and numerous small beads of lapis lazuli from an imported Egyptian necklace or bracelet. There are also four Egyptian objects in LM II–III A₁ contexts at Knossos itself.⁶² It is conceivable that these are Egyptian trade items sent to the Aegean during the reign of Amenhotep II.

In contrast, the intensity of contacts between Egypt and the Aegean during the time of Amenhotep III is by now well known. 'Keftiu' (Minoans) appear five times in texts and tomb paintings during his reign, while 'Tanaja' (Mainland Greece) occurs three times, including once on the famous 'Aegean' list at Kom el-Hetan, which names at least fourteen sites and regions in the Aegean area. Mycenaean pottery is found in quantity in both Amarnan and pre-Amarnan contexts in Egypt, while more than fifty Egyptian objects, including scarabs of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye, faience bowls, stone vases, and ceramic vessels, have been found in LH/LM IIIA contexts within the Aegean area. A similar state of affairs is found prior to the time of Amenhotep II as well, during the reign of Thutmose III.⁶³

In sum, only if one accepts Betancourt's dating scheme and places Amenhotep II contemporary with the LH/LM IIIA₁ period can one attempt to argue that contacts between Egypt and the Aegean were as fully developed during Amenhotep II's reign as they were during the earlier reign of Thutmose III or the later reign of Amenhotep III. Although we will never be able to tell for certain, the Amenhotep II figurines at both Mycenae and Tiryns seem more likely to have been heirlooms than contemporary imports at the time of their arrival in the Late Bronze Age Aegean.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, whether we regard the blue frit monkey figurines with the cartouche of Amenhotep II at Mycenae and Tiryns as 'bric-a-brac', as gaming pieces from a royal gift, or as objects of possibly greater significance, whether we regard them as heirlooms or as contemporary imports, they are important for the on-going debate concerning the nature and extent of contacts between Egypt and the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age. The Tiryns figurine, of Egyptian rather than Syrian origin, now becomes an important consideration in any future discussions on this topic.

ERIC H. CLINE

(Leiden 1980); E. Sakellarakis, and Y. Sakellarakis, 'The Keftiu and the Minoan Thalassocracy', in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos eds., *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality* (Stockholm 1984) 197–202; S. Wachsmann, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs* (Leuven 1987) 27–40, 103–5, 124; E. Cline, *Orientalia in the Late Bronze Age Aegean* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1991).

⁶¹ V. Hankey, 'The Chronology of the Aegean Late

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)*, Pt. 2 (Göteborg 1987) 46–47; Cline (supra n. 60).

⁶² Cf. Evans (supra n. 45) 146–61; Warren (supra n. 43) 105, 112–13; Cline (supra n. 60).

⁶³ Cf. references in n. 60 supra; also Cline (supra n. 5) 1–23, with further references.



(a)



(b)

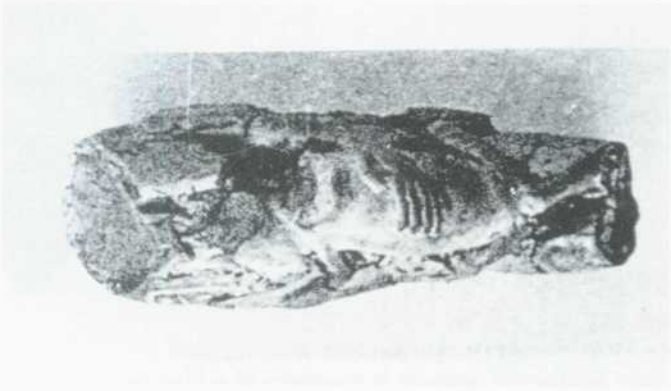


(c)

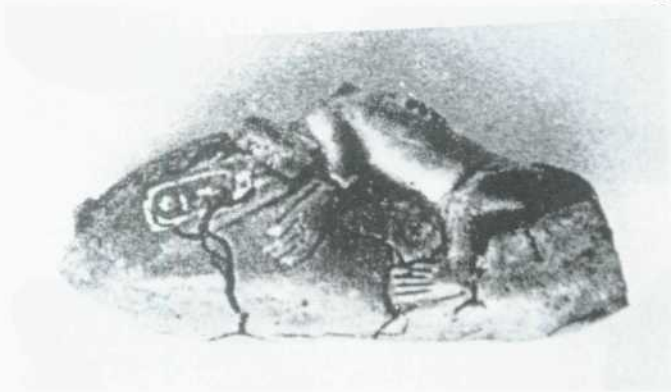


(d)

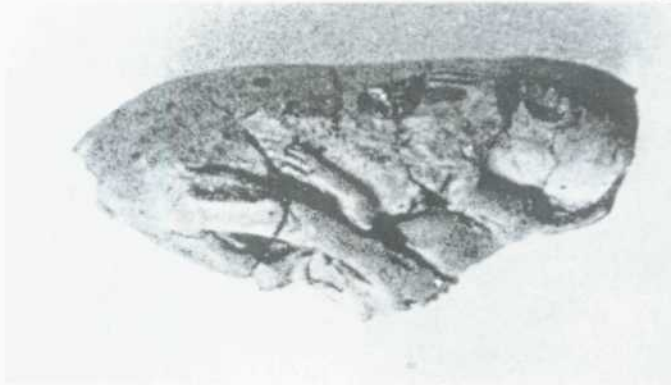
MONKEY BUSINESS IN THE BRONZE AGE AEGEAN
Blue frit monkey figurine with cartouche of Amenhotep II at Mycenae.



(a)



(b)



(c)

MONKEY BUSINESS IN THE BRONZE AGE AEGEAN
Blue frit monkey figurine with cartouche of Amenhotep II at Tryns.