

## CHAPTER VI

### THE FLORISTS' TRADE IN EGYPT AND ITS REFLECTION IN DECORATIVE WORK

#### THE FLORIST'S PRODUCTS

“The florist (?) makes bouquets and makes gay the wine jar stands. He spends a night of toil, like one on whose body the sun is shining” (i. e. like one who works by day).<sup>1</sup> With these words a certain Nebma're'nakht described the life of the florists. The products of these workmen, who must have labored on their fragile wares in the cool nights so that the flowers would be fresh the next day, are well known both from actual remains of their work and more vividly from colored representations in the tombs. The floral fillets, collars and garlands indispensable for all festal occasions were made in several different ways. Collars were produced either by sewing individual petals, leaves, flowers and fruits onto a backing, usually of papyrus, or by braiding the stems of leaves and flowers onto a long wither. Fillets must have been made by sewing individual petals onto a backing, and garlands by folding *Mimusops* (*persea*) or olive leaves around long withers cut from palm foliage. These folded leaves formed pockets into which individual petals or small flowers could be inserted.<sup>2</sup> Full ceremonial or banquet dress was not complete

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<sup>1</sup> JEA XI (1925), 288, 4, 5 (Papyrus Lansing). This passage is not duplicated in other surveys of the different trades (cf. JEA IX [1923], 260; ZAS LXII [1927], 64-65). Cf. Keimer, ATSL XLII, (1925-6), p. 205, addition to his bouquet article discussing term used in this passage.

<sup>2</sup> This method of making garlands was first described and illustrated by detailed drawings by Wilhelm Pleyte, “La Couronne de la Justification,” *Actes du Sixième Congrès international des Orientalistes*, 1883, Leide (part IV), 17-18, Pls. XXIII-XXV (made after preparations by Schweinfurth?). On this report are based the accounts given by Victor Loret (“Recherches Plusieurs plantes connues des anciens Égyptiens,” *Recueil Maspero* XVI [1894], 100), who discussed primarily the meaning of the word “outou,” and Keimer (*Gartenpflanze im alten Ägypten* (Hamburg, 1924), pp. 32, 169, Fig. 9 [after Meurer, *Vergleichende Formenlehre des Ornamentals und der Pflanze* (1909), p. 369, Abt. XV, Pl. VII 1, 176, 2 and BIFAO, XXXI [1931], 200-201), who adds a list of the variety of flowers that could be fastened to the *Mimusops* or olive leaves.

without the floral collar worn by both sexes<sup>3</sup> and the fillet of *Nymphaea* petals, worn during most of the Eighteenth Dynasty by women only, to which were usually added whole waterlilies, sometimes accompanied by buds, bending over the brow.<sup>4</sup> Floral garlands adorn the necks, and occasionally the horns, of sacrificial bulls,<sup>5</sup> and a collar might be hung around the neck of a Hathor cow.<sup>6</sup> Imperishable versions of these collars were made of faience flowers and beads,<sup>7</sup> and when such floral *usekh* collars decorated the sacred barks of the gods, they were wrought of precious materials.<sup>8</sup> The anthropoid sarcophagi of the New Kingdom and Late Period are regularly painted with collars, sometimes very ornate.<sup>9</sup>

In the New Kingdom no banquet was ready until the wine jars and their stands had been festooned with colorful and fresh strands of foliage, and with chaplets.<sup>10</sup> The most

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<sup>3</sup> *Rekhmire*, Pl. XXVI (key plate to banqueting scene); *Atlas* I, Pls. X, LXXXIX, a; CX, a; CCCXXXII, CCCXXXIII (Qurna 100; Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep II). *Ibid.*, Pls. VII, a (BM 37986; Tuthmosis IV [?]; banquet), CLXXIII (Neferhotep; Qurna 50; Haremhab; worn by statue of Tuthmosis III, that is being transferred to the mortuary temple). *Neferhotep* II, Pl. VII (Khokhah 49; Ai).

<sup>4</sup> *Puyemre* I, Pl. XLI (Khokhah 39; early Tuthmosis III). *Nakht*, Pls. XII, XVII, XXIV (worn in marshes, and *passim* (Qurna 52; Tuthmosis IV [?])). *Two Sculptors*, Pls. V, VII and *passim* (Nebamun and Ipuky; Qurna 181; late Amenhotep III-early Akhenaten). Bruyere, *Deir el Medineh* 1930 (FIFAO, VIII [1931]), Pls. X, bottom; XI, bottom (T. 359). The majority of the Eighteenth Dynasty fillets were formed by a single band; in the final phase of the period, and in the Nineteenth Dynasty they become larger, sometimes formed of three registers. It is at this time also that men sometimes appear wearing fillets; cf. *Neferhotep* I, Pl. XXXVII (49); Bruyere, *op. cit.* 1923-4; Schäfer-Andrae, *Kunst des Alten Orients*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1942), p. 396, 2 (Haag, Museum Scheurleer; relief fragment; Dyn. XIX or XX).

<sup>5</sup> *Anc. Egy. Paint.*, Vol. I, Pl. XXXIV (Tjenro; Qurna 101; Amenhotep II {?}); II, Pl. LIX (Qurna 226; Amenhotep III). *Amarna* I, Pl. XIV (Meryra; T.4).

<sup>6</sup> *Neferhotep* I, Pl. LIV (49).

<sup>7</sup> *Ken-Amun* I, Pls. XV, XIX, XXII (Qurna 93; Amenhotep II). Jecquier, *Frisés d'Objets*, p. 68, Fig. 178 (Anena; Qurna 81; Amenhotep I - Tuthmosis III). Frankfort, *Mural Painting of El-Amarnah* (London, 1929), Pl. XV. *City of Akhenaten* II, Pl. XXXVI, 1, 2.

<sup>8</sup> Calverley, *The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos* (London-Chicago, 1933-38), I, Pls. VI, VII, XIX, XXII.

<sup>9</sup> Frankfort, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVI.

<sup>10</sup> Chaplets: *Two Officials*, Pl. XXIII (Nebamun; Qurna 90; Tuthmosis IV). *Atlas* I, Pl. CXCVIII (Khaemhet; Qurna 57; Amenhotep III; semi-circular chaplet with three registers slung between the Hathor pillars of a kiosk of Renutet). JEA XVIII (1932), Pl. XII, 2 (room above gateway of Northern palace; around stand). Frankfort, *op. cit.*, Pl. XII, G (Northern palace; stands and jars). *Neferhotep* I, Pls. XII, XIV (49; food stands), XXI (funerary kiosks), XIII (bier on boat). Bruyere, *Deir el Medineh*, 1927 (FIFAO V [1928]), pp. 62, Fig. 45 (T. 218; offering stands), 65, Fig. 46 (T. 218; bier), 77, Fig. 52 (Neben ma'et; T. 219; Dyn. XIX - XX; bier).

imposing of all the florist's products were the formal bouquets; these were not only necessary adjuncts at feasts, but were important in court and religious ceremonies. A great nobleman on being received in audience would often tender a bouquet to his ruler.<sup>11</sup> When the astute courtier, Djehuty (who rendered homage to both Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III in his tomb), is shown offering two bouquets to Hatshepsut, the scene is accompanied by the words:

“Presentation of various flowers native to the land, the pick of the pools of the marshlands of the king, namely ... lotuses, and lotus buds, reeds and fruit of mandrake (?), fresh balsam of Punt, the scent of water (?) - plants and blossoms varied and pure, native to the land of the gods and in which is joy and health, all that has been dedicated to the king of the [gods], towards the nostril of his beloved daughter, Hatshepsut-Khnumet-Amun, who lives forever, by the aforesaid royal cupbearer, clean of hands, who ever does the pleasure ... [Djehuty].”<sup>12</sup>

By analogy with the earthly court, when the “justified” deceased, who has surmounted the dangers of the Underworld and the nominal peril of the judgment, is now introduced before the enthroned Osiris, he may offer a bouquet to the god, one column of whose kiosk is often decorated by fastening to it a bouquet.<sup>13</sup> Smaller bouquets were made of a size conveniently held in the hand, so that the fragrance and beauty of the flowers could be

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<sup>11</sup> *Men et al*, p. 3f; Pl. III (Qurna 86; Tuthmosis III). Bouriant, *Tombeau de Harmhabi* (Mem. Miss. Arch. Fr., V. 3 [1894]), Pl. III (Qurna 78; Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep III). *Two Officials*, Pls. XI (75), XXVIII (90).

<sup>12</sup> *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), p. 282; Pl. XLI (Qurna 110).

<sup>13</sup> *Neferhotep II*, Pl. II = I, Pl. XXX (offering to Osiris); I, Pl. LI (offering to Amenhotep I and Nofretiry). Farina, *La Pittura Egiziana* (Milan, 1929), Pl. CXIX (Menna, Qurna 69; Tuthmosis IV; bouquet tied to column).

enjoyed at close range. Such “nosegays” were presented by returning husbands to wives, standing at the main entrance to welcome their consorts home.<sup>14</sup>

Among the mortuary gifts, bouquets, garlands and floral collars were never lacking either in the representations or, as proven by the few undisturbed or incompletely plundered graves, in the actual burials.<sup>15</sup> The service of the gods, too, required many floral items; bouquets were necessary offerings;<sup>16</sup> garlands and wreaths ornamented the temple chapels and furnishings.<sup>17</sup> Proof that there was a definite temple office concerned with the supply of flowers is yielded by Dira Abu'n Naga 161, for its owner, a certain Nakht living around the time of Amenhotep III, occupied the office of “Bearer of floral

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<sup>14</sup> Metropolitan Museum Studies I (1928-29), 242, Fig. 6 (Mosi; Khokhah 254; after Akhenaten), 243, Fig. 7 (Thoy; Qurna 23; Menepthah).

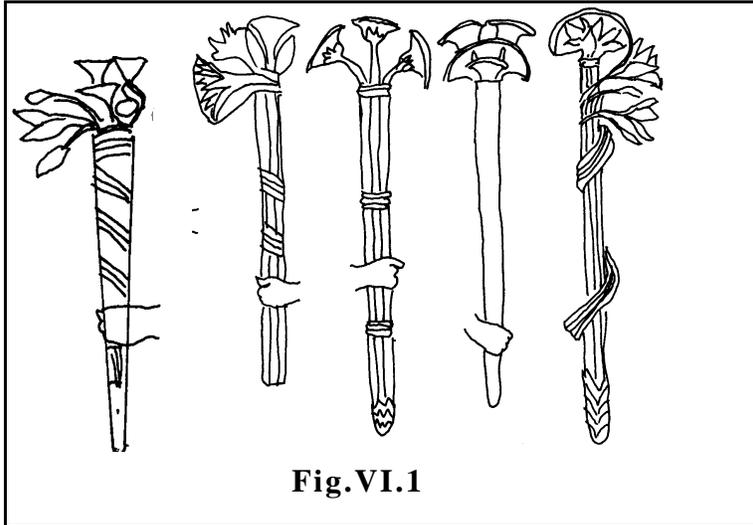
<sup>15</sup> Collars: Metropolitan Museum of Art: *Handbook of the Egyptian Rooms*, 1911, pp. 113-114, Fig. 49 (from private burial in a royal tomb at Biban el Moluk; excavated by Davies; *terminus post quem*; Tutankhamun, 6th year; three collars were found; flowers, leaves, berries, and beads sewn on a semicircular papyrus sheet). ILN, July 8, 1926, p. 17 = *Tomb Tut II*, Pl. XXXVI (on second coffin). *Atlas I*, Pl. LXXXIX, c, 13 (Cairo; Dyn XXII; leaves only).

Garlands: Carnarvon-Carter, *Five Years Exploration at Thebes* (Oxford, 1912), p. 25, Pl. XVII, 2 (T.5; burial I B). Schiaparelli, *Cha* (Torino, 1921-27). pp. 21, Figs. 21, 22 (around sarcophagi); 24, Fig. 25 (made somewhat differently from the preceding; stems of *centaureas*, *melilot* and *Nymphaeas* are fastened to withes); 65-69, Figs. 32-36; 71, Fig. 38 (all these made like Fig. 25). ILN, June 27, 1925, p. 1290 (Tutankhamun; small wreath around uraeus of coffin; shows clearly the details of construction of folded leaves and palm strips). *Tomb Tut II*, Pls. XXII, XXIV (around second coffin). Bruyere, *Deir el Medineh* 1928 (FIFAO VI, 1929), Pls. IV, VI, bottom (wreaths on mummy of Sennufer lying inside coffin; willow and vine leaves, etc.). Winlock, *Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amun at Thebes* (New York, 1932), pp. 51-52; Pls. XLIV, XLV (Dyn. XXI restoration). Berlin, *Königlichen Sammlung: Egyptische-Vorderasiatische Sammlung*, Vol I, Pl. XXXVIII, above (*Mimusops* and *Nymphaea* petals), below (long stemmed *Nymphaeas*; mummy of Ramses II; Dyn. XXI restorers). For another long stemmed dried waterlily, cf. Petrie, *Qurneh* London, 1909), Pl. LIII, top, left). Keimer, *L'arbre* (BIFAO 21, 1931), pp. 202-204 (catalogue of a number of garlands made from the leaves of the Egyptian willow and added flowers), Pls. I, 1, 4 (Deir el Bahri; after drawings by Schweinfurth), II, 1 (royal mummy with numerous garlands and a number of long stemmed *Nymphaeas*).

<sup>16</sup> *Amarna III*, Pl. X and passim (Huya; T. 1; floral decorations in temple and palace). Calverley, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. VI, left. *Medinet Habu IV*, Pls. CCVIII, CCVIII, CCXII, left (offering staff bouquet); CCXVI (Hrihor offering triple papyrus bunches to Min). An even better source of information than the reliefs themselves is the Papyrus Harris which lists in detail among the dues of Amun and other gods the required kinds of flowers, bouquets, and garlands, giving the numbers needed (cf. below, p. 5).

<sup>17</sup> Calverley, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. XI (hand bouquets; floral garlands; *Nymphaea* bud-flowers groups; naturalistic convolvulus and grape leaves). *Medinet Habu IV*, Pls. CCXXII (floral collars, *Nymphaeas*; shrine of bark of Sokar); CXXIX (shrine of bark of Theban triad).

offerings of Amun."<sup>18</sup> The gods not only received bouquets but on occasion they might in turn give one to a favored worshipper, who would take it home as a memorial of his visit to the sanctuary. Thus Neferhotep, son of Neby, living during the reign of Ai, paid a



ceremonial visit to the temple of Amun at Karnak, where a bouquet from the altar of the god was bestowed upon him. On leaving the sanctuary he handed it to his wife, Mereyet-Amun, who had waited for him outside the temple.<sup>19</sup> Tomb

inscriptions commonly state that bouquets come from some god (usually Amun) of such and such a temple.<sup>20</sup>

Although love of flowers characterized the Egyptians of all historical periods, the great development of floral wares is a hallmark of the luxurious and elegant existence led by the upper classes during the floruit of the New Kingdom.<sup>21</sup> Before that time floral

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<sup>18</sup> Porter-Moss, "Theban Necropolis", *Topographical Bibliography* (Oxford, 1927-51), p. 148.

<sup>19</sup> *Neferhotep I*, Pls. XLI, Vol. II, Pls. III, VI (49).

<sup>20</sup> *Men et al*, pp. 3, 14, 21, 31.

<sup>21</sup> The Egyptian love of flowers is well known; cf. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1894), (trans. H. M. Tirard), pp. 193-196, who described the use of flowers, the planting of gardens, and referred to the description in the Papyrus Harris of the landscape gardening performed by order of Ramses III in Thebes and at his Delta capital; Schäfer, *Von Agyptischer Kunst*, (Leipzig, 1919-1922), p. 24; Schäfer-Andrae, *Kunst des Alten Orients*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1942). Although the Egyptians appear to be the first people among whom floral products assumed great importance, they were by no means the last. In the later phases of the classical cultures of Greece and Rome floral garlands and crowns were very popular, and existed in a great number of varieties, including costly artificial substitutes. According to Pliny the Younger's report, even the stern Cato approved the growing of flowers for this purpose. Pliny himself gives a detailed and at times apologetic report of the origin and use of garlands, and even makes the amazing statement that "more recently again, they (i.e. chaplets) have been imported from India, or from nations beyond the countries of

collars and fillets were not made, and the formal bouquets of carefully arranged and mounted flowers tied together had existed only in a rudimentary form. Their beginnings are to be found in the simple bunches of *Nymphaea* and papyrus offered to the owners of Old Kingdom, and to a lesser degree, of Middle Kingdom tombs (Figs. VI.1).<sup>22</sup> These flowers may be held together only by the grasp of the bearers, but sometimes the central papyrus stalks are tied in place and *Nymphaea* stems are twined around the bundle. A rather unusual group of flowers appears to be shown in the tomb of Sena at Saqqara (Fig. VI.2).<sup>23</sup> Waterlilies and their buds are placed within what appears to be a wickerwork tube. To our present knowledge this is a unique representation.



Fig. VI.2

By the New Kingdom these simple floral offerings had been in large part superseded by much more elaborate and artificial formal bouquets.<sup>24</sup> Doubtless the Egyptian florists distinguished several varieties of bouquets, probably with definite specifications as to form, ingredients, and cost. The details of their craft have left some

lexigraphic traces. The same word which meant flower, *nkhy* when written with a different determinative, referred to the large staff bouquets. As Jéquier has pointed out,

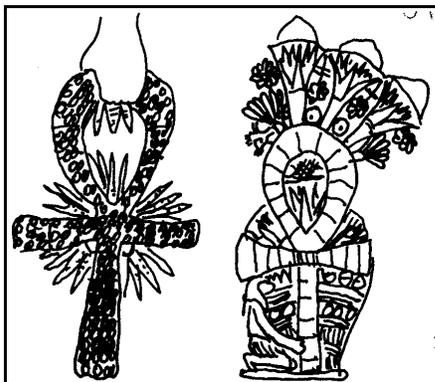


Fig. VI.3

since this form was homonymous with the life symbol, ankh, it is not surprising that the Egyptians delighted in constructing "bouquets" with skeletons of beadwork or

[s. J. Bostock, H. J. Riley; Bohn's Classical Library] XXI, 1-9,

<sup>22</sup> Von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gemnikai* (Berlin, 1905), I, Pls. XXIV, XXV, 76-80. *Mereruka* I, Pls. XLIX, LVII, LIX. *Deir el Gebrawi* I, Pl. XVII (Ibi; T. 8; Dyn. VI). *Meir* I, Pls. III, IX.

<sup>23</sup> Jéquier, *Tombeaux de Particuliers contemporaines de Pepi II* (Cairo, 1929, IFAO), Pl. III.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Keimer in *AJSL* XLI (1925), 150 ff. for discussion of such formal bouquets and citation of certain modern parallels.

other materials in this shape (Fig. VI.3),<sup>25</sup> or considered it appropriate for a bouquet to be presented in what may well have been an actual holder carved in the ankh shape (Fig. VI.4).<sup>26</sup> Loret has claimed that the word *wd* refers to the palm

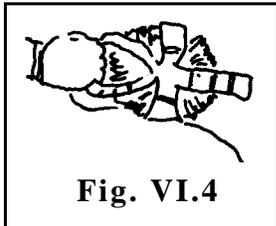


Fig. VI.4

leaf and also garland; he states that the second meaning is easily derived from the first since palm leaves formed the essential part of the garlands and the flowers and fruits were secondary additions.

As proof he cited the passage in the Story of the Two Brothers, where it is stated that when Pharaoh presented himself in the Window of Appearance, “ he had a garland of all manner of flowers around his neck.”<sup>27</sup> Jéquier has suggested that the word *g3yn3* refers to the long rigid central stems of large bouquets, while the leaves, flowers and fruits attached to this framework were designated *ddnt*.<sup>28</sup> The Papyrus Harris specifies among the list of dues to be paid to Amun and other gods a large number of different types of floral products. Unfortunately the referents of most of the names are

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<sup>25</sup> Jéquier, “Matériaux pour servir à l’établissement d’un dictionnaire d’archéologie égyptienne,” BIFAO, XIX (1922), 134. = BMMA XXIV (1929), Nov., Pt. II, p. 36, Fig. 1 (Onen, brother of Ti; Qurna 120 according to Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 35, but according to Gardiner, *Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs at Thebes* (London, 1913), p. 26, T. 120 belongs to Mahu, possibly dating around Hatshepsut or Tuthmosis III; the bouquet is held by Ti, enthroned with Amenhotep III); Jéquier, *op. cit.*, p. 135, Fig. 87 (Huy; Qurna 54; Tuthmosis IV-Amenhotep III [?]; usurped by Kenro; early Dynasty XIX; from sketch of Jéquier; held by wife of the dead); *Anc. Egy. Paint.* II, Pl. LXXXIX = *Two Ramesside Tombs*, Pls. V, VIII (Userhet Neferhabef; Qurna 51; Seti I; slung over arm of the mother, accompanying her son, who approaches the deities of the necropolis. The case in which an offering bearer has papyrus and fruit suspended from his arm by a loop is rather different [Baud, *Dessin ébauchées* (Mem. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or., LXIII, 1935)], p. 222, Fig. 108 (unnumbered tomb B, Deir el Medineh; Dynasty XIX) but in the tomb of Hr-ms at Kom el Ahmar, which is probably Nineteenth Dynasty, a dancing girl carries a purely floral bouquet slung over her arm by a loop in this same manner (Wreszinski, *Bericht über die photographische exoedition von Kairo* (Halle, 1927), Pl. XLIV); Calverley, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. XI (rosettes, *Alcea ficifolia* L. and poppy flowers, as well as a strange paired *centaurea* appear here).

<sup>26</sup> *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), p. 282; Pls. XXXV, XLI (120). Cf. *Men et al*, p. 39, Pl. XLV, C for a stand covered by an elaborate design carried out with flowers and fruits, painted in Qurna 226 (Amenhotep III). The representation is unfortunately very fragmentary but it may have shown a rekhyt or ankh holding a *w3s* sceptre.

<sup>27</sup> *Recueil Maspero* XVI (Paris, 1894), 100. Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (New York, 1928), p. 160.

<sup>28</sup> Jéquier, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64.

unclear. Among the objects itemized, together with the numbers required for the cult, are the following classes:

“Blossoms of the impost of flowers: sun shades  
Blossoms: tall bouquets  
Blossoms of the impost of flowers: ‘garden fragrance’  
Isi-plant: measures  
Flowers: garland  
Flowers: strings (meaning uncertain)  
Blue flowers: ropes  
Flowers for the hand  
Flowers: measures  
Lotus flowers (*ssn*) for the hand  
Lotus flowers for bouquets  
Lotus flowers (*ssny*) for the hand  
Papyrus flowers: bouquets  
Papyrus: stems  
Large bouquets of the impost of flowers  
Isi-plant for the hand  
Corn: bouquets  
Ears of grain for the hand  
Blossoms: bouquets  
Blossoms: measures.”<sup>29</sup>

Some of these floral goods seem to be self explanatory. Thus the *Nymphaeas* for the hand must refer to the waterlilies with short stems which were held by the Egyptians on most occasions, and we know exactly what the garlands were like. In addition, it is possible that the “tall bouquets,” possibly the same as the “large bouquets of the impost of flowers,” and the “flowers for the hand” correspond to the two main types of bouquets which can be

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<sup>29</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records* (Chicago, 1906-7), Egypt, IV, p. 139 (Papyrus Harris, Pl. XXI, a, 2-15; XXI, b, 1, 6-10. Cf. also other kinds of floral products, Pls. XXXVI, b, 7-12; XXXVII, a, f; XL, a, 6, 9; XL,

distinguished in the representations. In the temples and tomb scenes the large staff bouquets (Stabstraus; "Bouquets montés"), often as tall as their human bearers, are sharply distinguished from the smaller, formal bunches of flowers, frequently shown held in the hand. It is tempting to identify these two categories as illustrations of the terms used in the papyrus Harris, but the very multiplicity of types cited there is proof that the florist's trade was highly developed in ancient Egypt, and probably involved distinctions far more minute than the division between the hand and staff bouquets.

Aside from the evidence given by actual dried examples,<sup>30</sup> the structure of the large formal bouquets is made clear by numerous representations. The cores of such bouquets



Fig. VI.5

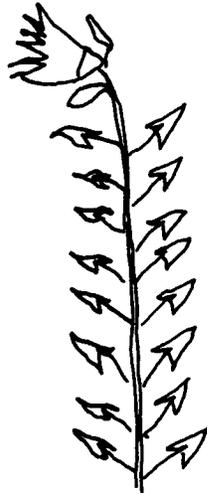


Fig. VI.6

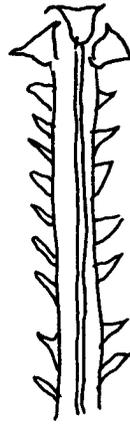


Fig. VI.7



Fig. VI.8

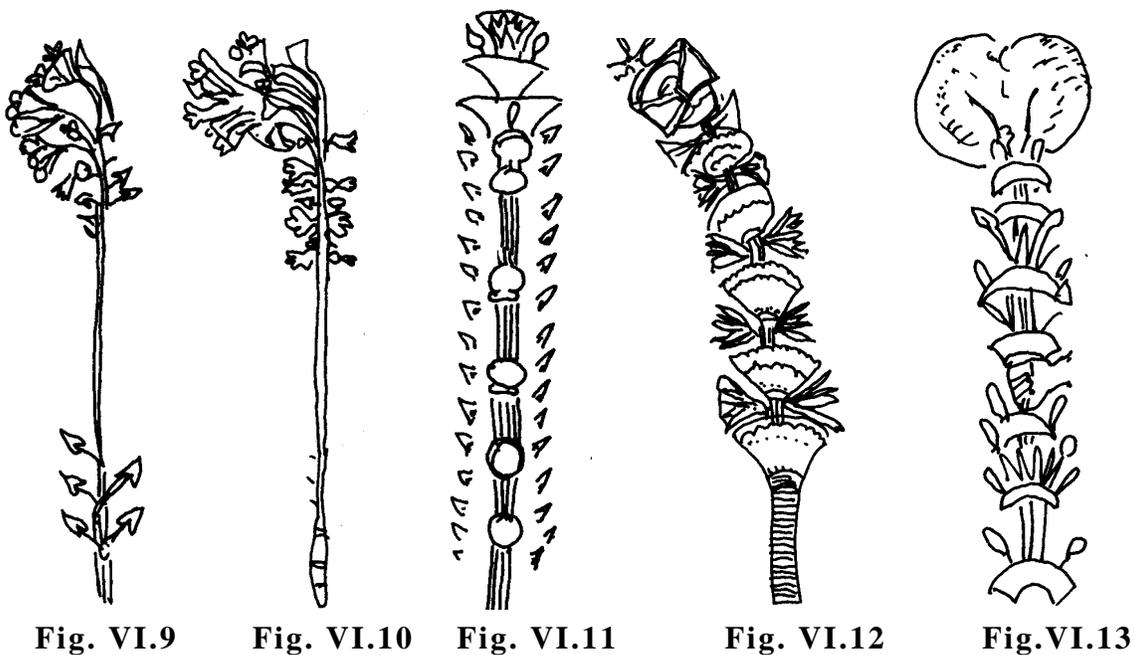
were formed by stiff papyrus stalks, and simple forms consist of one, or more, generally three, papyrus stems twined with *convolvulus* (Fig. VI.5, 6, 7).<sup>31</sup> When a more complex

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b, 1-6. Breasted suggested that the term "garden fragrance" may have been either the name of a flower or a term for a particular kind of bouquet.

<sup>30</sup> Schiaparelli, *Cha* (Torino, 1921-27), p. 13, Fig. 12 (*Persea* and papyrus staff). *Tomb Tut I*, Pls. XVI, right; XXVII. Bruyère, *Deir el Medineh* 1928, pp. 42-3, Fig. 28; Pls. II, X, 4 (Sennufer; bouquets of natural foliage mounted on long stems, trimmed with tree leaves; also long *Nymphaea* stems tied to these bouquets?).

bouquet was demanded, the florists added one or more waterlilies to project above the papyrus (Fig. VI.8, 9, 10)<sup>32</sup> and frequently fastened tiers, apparently consisting of bunches of petals perhaps sewn to a backing of papyrus "paper," to the long sedge stalks at regular intervals (Figs. VI.11).<sup>33</sup> In Fig. VI.8 the bands tying the main stems together and the twining *convolvulus* stems are clearly shown. *Nymphaeas* arranged in the bud-flower pattern may crown the bouquets (Fig. VI.11), and the waterlilies often have



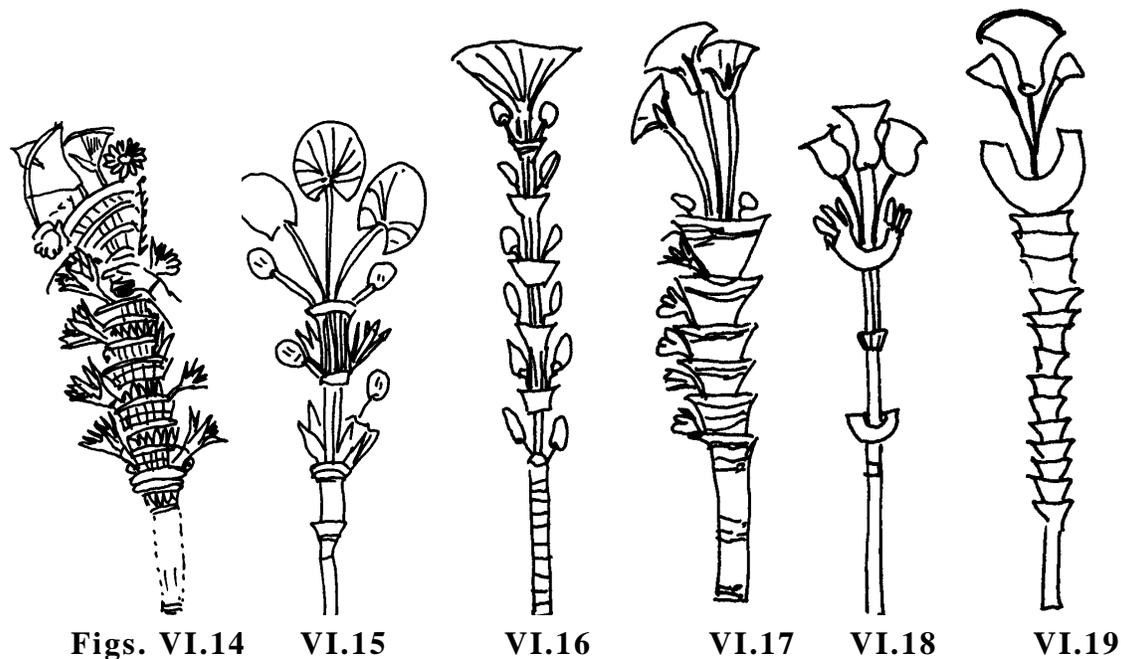
<sup>31</sup> AAA, XIV (1927), Pls. XXI, XXVI (Paheqmen called Binya; Qurna 343; early Dynasty XVIII; stems end in either papyrus or waterlily). *Puyemre* I, Pl. XXX, 1 (39). *Ken-Amun* I, Pl. XXVII (93; single stalk). *Atlas* I, Pl. CCCXXXIX (Nebsey; Qurna 108; Tuthmosis IV [?]). *Nakht*, Pl. VIII (52). Pierre Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel Empire* (Cat. Caire), Pl. XLIX, 34100.

<sup>32</sup> *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), Pl. XLI (120). *Ken-Amun* I, Pl. XXXVIII (93). These have morning glory leaves alone or accompanied by *centaureas* and South Flowers. A number of papyrus umbels and *Nymphaeas*, together with bunches of grapes, for the top. *Mimusops* fruits, *centaureas*, and South Flowers are fastened to the larger flowers; cf. also *ibid.*, Pl. LIV.

<sup>33</sup> Baud, *op. cit.*, Pl. VIII (Neferronpet; Qurna 43; Amenhotep II). *Nakht*, Pl. XV (52). Farina, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXIX (69). *Two Officials*, Pl. XX (90). *Anc. Egy. Paint. I*, Pl. XLIV (Sebkhotp; Qurna 63; Tuthmosis IV). *Annales XXXIV* (1934), Pl. XXXIV, 2 (Kamhrebsen; Qurna 98; Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep II [?]). *Atlas* I, Pl. CCIX (Kha'emhet; Qurna 57; Amenhotep III; unfinished relief of funerary kiosk).

*Mimusops Schimperi Hochst.* fruits fastened inside the corolla. Occasionally *Nymphaea* flowers are attached in a bow pattern to the space between the petaled tiers (Fig. VI.12).<sup>34</sup> The most complex bouquets have short-stemmed waterlilies and their buds, *Mimusops* and possibly *Mandragora* fruits, corn-flowers, poppies, and occasional composites bound to the strong central core in addition to the tiers of petals (Figs. VI.13, 14).<sup>35</sup> Often such compound bouquets were given extra firmness by a base tightly bound with horizontal cording; they were usually grasped in the middle when carried (Fig. VI.12).<sup>36</sup>

In most of the staff bouquets of the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty the rigid stalks are well covered by vegetation, but in the latter part of the dynasty there is a noticeable tendency to leave much of the supporting framework uncovered; the bouquet takes on a

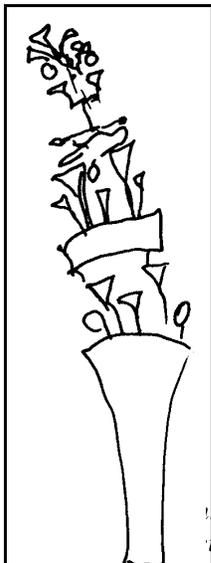


<sup>34</sup> BMMA XXIV (1929), Nov. Pt. II, p. 37, Fig. 2 (T. 120 according to Davies).

<sup>35</sup> Farina, *op. cit.*, Pl. CVI (Zezerkera'somb; Qurna 38; Tuthmosis IV). Fig. VI.22 = *Neferhotep I*, Pl. LI (49). *Two Officials*, Pls. I, V, VI, XI (75). LD III, Pl. LXIX, a (Heqerenheh; Qurna 64; Tuthmosis IV). Bouriant, *op. cit.*, Pl. III (78). Anc. Egy. Paint. II, Pl. LIX in part = *Men et al.*, Pl. XLV (226). Bouriant et al., *Monuments pour servir à l'Étude du Culte d'Atonou* (MIFAO, VIII [1903], Pl. X (Amarna, Royal Tomb; funerary kiosk of Makit-aten).

<sup>36</sup> Farina, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXIX (69). Bouriant, *Tombeau de Harmhabi* (Mem. Miss. Arch Fr., III, 3 [1894]), Pl. III (78).

much drier and less floriferous aspect (Figs. VI.15, 16).<sup>37</sup> This same trend continues in the Nineteenth Dynasty and later, in many bouquets where the verdant quality of the finest Eighteenth Dynasty forms (Figs. VI.9, 10 for instance) has been replaced by long expanses of bare stalks (Figs. VI.17, 18, 19).<sup>38</sup> Such simplified types, whether they correspond to a change of fashion in the actual bouquets or not, can be regarded as illustrations of the sterilizing and conventionalizing tendencies of much Ramesside art. On the other hand, the free, lush workmanship which is also characteristic for some of the products of this phase of Egyptian art, is illustrated by a staff bouquet from the tomb of a Nekhtamen,<sup>39</sup> and others from the tomb of an Amenmose; one of the latter is an unusual



example crowned by large palm leaves and bearing two garlands of Nymphaea petals from which project *Alcea* flowers and papyrus umbels.<sup>40</sup> Bouquets crowded with flowers are still to be found, although they are in a minority; two are present in the tomb of Panhesy,<sup>41</sup> which also contains Fig. VI.18. One of the crowded Panhesy bouquets, Fig. VI. 20, has stemless *Nymphaea* rosettes placed above profile

Fig. II, Pl. LXIV (181).  
*op. cit.*, I, Pl. XXII. Foucart, *Tombeau de Panhesy* (MIFAO, LVII, 2 [1932], p. 33, Fig. 17  
 (Qurna 10, Ramses II). Or. Inst. Thebes Photo 28474 (Thennufer; Dira Abu'n Naga 158; Menephtah [?]).  
 Two **Fig. VI.20** *Tombs*, Pl. XXX = *Atlas I*, Pls. CCCLXIII, CCCLXVI (Ipuye; Deir el Medineh 217;  
 Ramses II) Boreux, *Antiquités égyptiennes du Louvre* (Paris, 1932), II, pp. 451-2; Pl. LXIII, left (found  
 by Mariette in one of Serapeum chapels: Boreux says the block was probably reused from an Eighteenth (!!)  
 Dynasty tomb). MJ VIII (1917), 225, Fig. 85 (stela from Memphis; found near south portal of Menephtah  
 palace). Or. Inst. Thebes, Neg. 46797 (Late Period relief; two bouquets with and without collar).

<sup>39</sup> REA III (1938), 31, Fig. 4 (Qurna 341; Ramses II; banqueting scene). It is possible that a much more  
 precisely executed bouquet of the same general type, i. e. with closely set tiers of petals, had already  
 occurred in the tomb of Haremhab in the Eighteenth Dynasty (Bouriant, *op. cit.*, Pl. V, lower part ,  
 bouquet in front of Osiris kiosk).

<sup>40</sup> *Atlas I*, Pl. CXX = Foucart, *Tombeau d'Amonmos* (MIFAO, LVII, 4 [1935]), Pls. XX (Hay's copy),  
 XXII (example with palmleaves; presented to Amenmose). *Ibid.*, Pls. XXVIII-XXX = *Anc. Egy. Paint.* II,  
 Pl. LXXXV = *Atlas I*, Pl. CXIX (carried in procession of statue of deified Amenhotep I; with *concolvulus*,  
 papyrus, *Alcea*, and poppies). This tomb is Dira Abu'n Naga 19; Ramses I - Seti I (?).

<sup>41</sup> Foucart, *Tombeau de Panhesy* (MIFAO, LVII, 2 [1932]), 24, Fig. 12; also cf. 31, Fig. 16 (16). The  
 prominent tall bases of these bouquets appear to be derived from the hand bouquets.

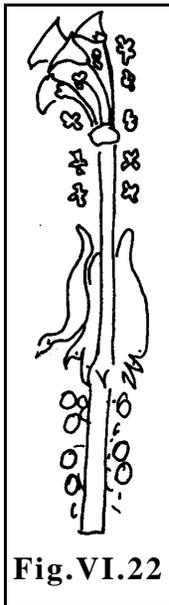
waterlilies; such a detail emphasizes the increasingly artificial quality of the later New Kingdom bouquets. These objects were artificial creations, but the Eighteenth Dynasty drawings seem to be representations of actual florist wares, tied and fastened together. In contrast, some of the later bouquets look like doubly artificial motives, in that they are more the result of the painters' combination of motives rather than reflections of the florists' artifacts.



An excellent example of the conflation of different types of vegetal offerings that would have been kept separate in the Eighteenth Dynasty is to be found in a staff bouquet drawn in the tomb of a Ra'mose who lived during the Twentieth Dynasty (Fig. VI.21).<sup>42</sup> Here the *Nymphaea* bud-flower group substitutes for the usual papyrus heads at the top. In the middle the floral bouquet suddenly shows sheaves of grain with grasshoppers and probably quails attached. In earlier times the sheaf of grain to which are tied quails is often part of the harvest scenes, and even when carried among the offerings, it was not combined with the floral

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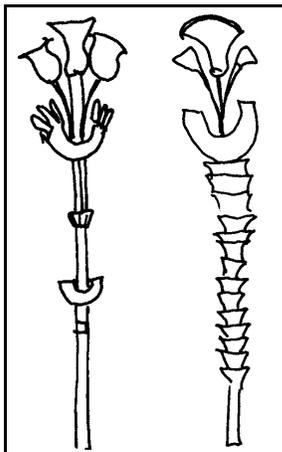
<sup>42</sup> Baud, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXI (Dira Abu'n Naga 166).



items (Fig. VI.22).<sup>43</sup> The lowest part of Ramose's bouquet is formed by hanging strands of grape leaves and clusters, a motive which was common enough among the Eighteenth Dynasty offerings (or adorning wine jar stands), but was never conflated with the bouquets.

Several of the examples already cited illustrate a characteristic late Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside feature - the addition of short, semicircular (at least in the representations) wreaths to the bouquets (Fig. VI.23).<sup>44</sup> This is part of the custom which became very popular at this time, of using such drooping semicircular bands and broad semicircular collars which are inseparable from the festoons, as festal decorations, replacing the

straight floral garlands of the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty. The former appear as the



**Fig. VI.23**

<sup>43</sup> *Nakht*, Pl. XX (52). Farina, *op. cit.*, Pl. CVII (Zezerkera'somb 38). Only once are birds, ducks, not quail, attached to a bouquet; this design, Fig. VI.22, is from the tomb of Neferronpet (Baud, *op. cit.*, p. 92, Fig. 39 (43).

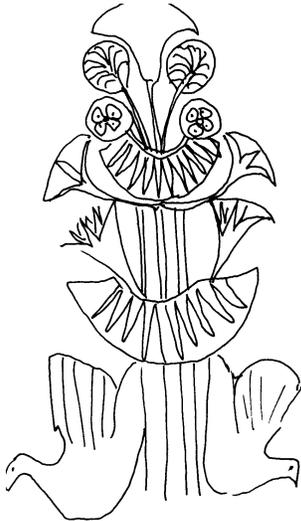
<sup>44</sup> Bouquets of Amenmose cited in note 40. Cf. also *Tomb Tut ., III*, Frontispiece (Ivory lid of box). *Anc. Egy. Paint.* II, Pl. LXXXIX (Userhet; Qurna 51; Seti I). *Two Ramesside Tombs*, Pls. V, XIII (51; the latter plate also shows examples of very high and very weedy Ramesside bouquets). *Or. Inst. Thebes Neg.* 46797.

<sup>45</sup> *Two Ramesside Tombs*, Pl. V (51; roof, pillars of Osiris' baldachin; also throne). *Neferhotep I*, Pl. LIV (49; Hathor shrine columns). Foucart, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV (19; boat with shrine of Nofretiry, dragged on sledge in procession). *Amarna II*, Pl. XXXII (Meryra II).

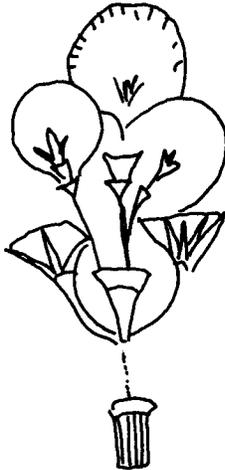
<sup>46</sup> *Two Ramesside Tombs*, Pl. XIII (51; stands; also pyramidal ointment [?] and pyramid of tomb!). *Anc. Egy. Paint.* II, Pl. XLV (Neferronpe, called Kenro; Qurna 178; Ramses II; stand supporting draughts-board). *Or. Inst. Thebes Neg.* 8176 (T. 222; offering table). Calverley, *op. cit.*, I, Pls. XXVII, XXX, XXXI.

<sup>47</sup> *Or. Inst. Thebes Photo* 28253.

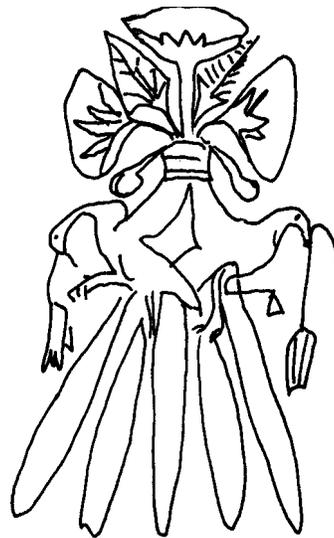
fresh bundles of living plants (Figs. VI.8, 9). The stiff framework of stems is partially veiled by two semicircular bands of petals from



**Fig. VI.24**



**Fig. VI.25**



**Fig. VI.26**

which project stiff *Nymphaeas* or papyri. Two completely artificial quatrefoils at the ends of the upper wreath connect the design with the architectural friezes in use at this time. The two quail at the base belong not on a staff bouquet, but on a sheaf of grain. The only possible parallel for the stiffness and jointed construction of the Ramses III bouquet is one from the tomb of Haremhab (Fig. VI.25),<sup>48</sup> which is still far removed from the rigidity of the Twentieth Dynasty motive, and may indeed owe much of its stiffness to the French copyist rather than the Egyptian painter. Fig. VI.24 is undoubtedly a purely two dimensional creation of the painter, no longer reproducing the florists' products with the degree of accuracy with which, we assume, many of the Eighteenth Dynasty drawings did, and as contemporary reliefs at Medinet Habu or even later representations still did.<sup>49</sup> At

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<sup>48</sup> Bouriant, *op. cit.*, Pl. III (78).

<sup>49</sup> *Medinet Habu* IV, Pls. CXCIII, CXCVI, CCI, CCII, CCXII, CCXXII, CCXXIX (one of the bouquets here is interesting for it is a most monstrous combination of a hand bouquet with two stemmed papyri on each side, with a large collared shaft of a staff bouquet; the same plate shows also a priest bearing a pole on his shoulders; it ends in "staff bouquets" with pendant swags of ducks and grapes; the majority of these Medinet Habu bouquets have collars). Felix Guilmont, *Tombeau de Ramsès IX* (MIFAO, XV [1907], Pls.

present examples like Fig. VI.24 are rare, but nevertheless as late as the Twenty-sixth Dynasty a successor is to be found in the epigonous decoration placed behind musicians in the tomb of Zanefer, son of Ankh-Psammetik (Fig. VI.26).<sup>50</sup>

The hand bouquets were much smaller than the “*Stabsträuße*” and when not held by seated nobles are brought as gifts, laid on offering tables, or placed upright around temple furniture. At the banquet of Zeserkera's tomb a hand bouquet is set into a stand and lettuce is laid on top of the *Nymphaeas*.<sup>51</sup> Practically no remains of small bouquets appear to have been found in the tombs,<sup>52</sup> but the general nature of the hand bouquets is clear from the representations. The greater part was formed by a sheath, undoubtedly of some kind of matwork or basketry which enclosed the stems of the flowers, usually

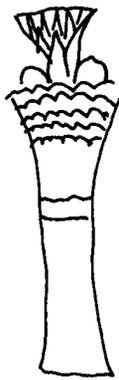


Fig. VI.27

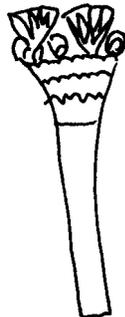


Fig. VI.28



Fig. VI.29



Fig. VI.30

*Nymphaeas*.<sup>53</sup> The tops of these sheaths are often scalloped (Figs VI.27), and a detailed example from the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky shows that these fringed registers represent

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XXVII (combination between a staff and hand bouquet; *convolvulus* with tiny bloom on offering stand), LXXVI (single papyrus twined with morning glories).

<sup>50</sup> Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien* (Cairo, 1890-1924), II, Pl. XL; cf also the variant bouquets on Pl. LXI (Musée Alexandria).

<sup>51</sup> *Atlas I*, Pl. CXLIV = Weigal, *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art* (London, 1924), p. 159 (38; Tuthmosis IV).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Carnarvon-Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 124; Pl. XVII, 3 (T. 5; male burial; bunch of cornflowers).

<sup>53</sup> *Nakht*, Pls. XI, XVIII, 2 (under chair of wife).

rows of petals (Fig. VI.28).<sup>54</sup> In another specimen from the same tomb three waterlilies with *Mimusops* fruits project above a prominent row of petals (Fig. VI.29).<sup>55</sup> The *perseae*

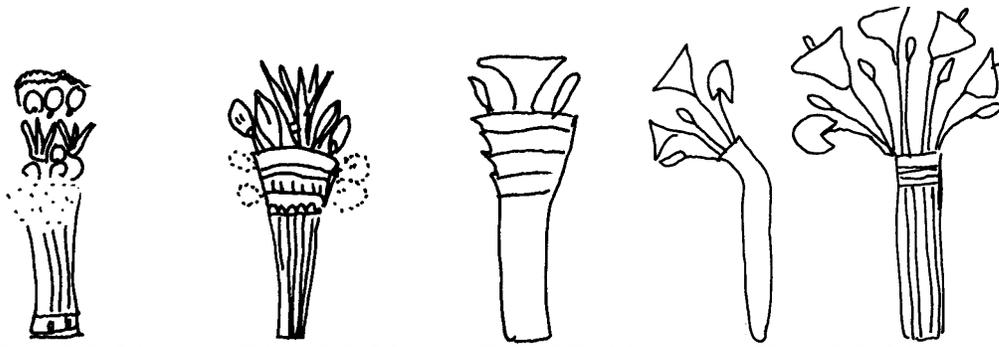


Fig. VI.31

Fig. VI.32

Fig. VI.33

Fig. VI.34

fruits might be fastened to the basketry work (Fig. VI.30), or the sheath could be enlivened by bands decorated with block patterns substituted for the simple functional horizontal withes (Fig. VI.31).<sup>56</sup> Simpler examples were often topped by *Nymphaeas* arranged according to the bud-flower formula (Figs. VI.28, 30).<sup>57</sup> Elaboration of the bouquets was achieved by superimposing rows of *Nymphaeas*, poppies, and other flowers, as in a fine but fragmentary example from the temple of Amenhotep, son of Hapu (Fig. VI.31). Some examples from the tomb of Nakht have bead work loops attached to the sides of the fringed top, as well as poppies flanking the *Nymphaea* buds and flowers (Fig. VI.32). In the tombs at Amarna the bouquets are sometimes very simple, consisting of little more than the binding and two *Nymphaea* buds and a flower (Fig. VI.33).<sup>58</sup> In addition there are examples in which papyrus, waterlily buds and leaves appear with stems

<sup>54</sup> Cf. also *Nakht*, Pls. XXVII, below; XXVII, A. *Nakht* Pl. XIII); *Two Sculptors*, Pl. I

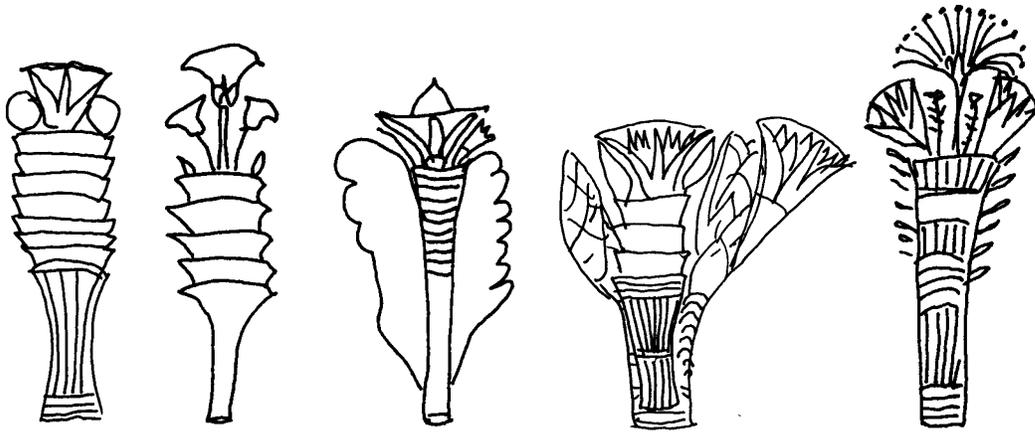
<sup>55</sup> *Two Sculptors*, Pl. XVII.

<sup>56</sup> *Atlas* I, Pls. CXC, CXCVI (Kha'emhet; 57).

<sup>57</sup> *Ken-Amun* I, Pls. LIV, LVI, B (with some small bell-shaped flowers added). The hand bouquet of Pl. IX has a *Nymphaea* apparently flanked by a *Mimusops* and a round fruit (?). Bruyère-Kuentz, *Tombe de Nakht-Min* (MIFAO, LIV [1926]), Pl. VI (29), late Dynasty XVIII; in Pl. III, papyrus with *Nymphaeas*.

<sup>58</sup> *Amarna* I, Pls. XIV, XXII, XXVIII (Meryra; T. 4). *Amarna* II, Pls. XII (Panhesy); XXIII.

projecting considerably above the basketry sheath (Figs. VI.34).<sup>59</sup> In the last phases of the Eighteenth Dynasty there appear bouquets with the long matwork sheath of the hand bouquets, but growing larger so as to approach in size the staff bouquets.<sup>60</sup> In Ramesside times such crosses between the two types of bouquets were usually characterized by



**Fig. VI. 35**

**Fig. VI.36**

**Fig. VI.37**

**Fig. VI.38**

several geometrical tiers of petals (?) (Figs. VI.35).<sup>61</sup> Another new feature exhibited by hand bouquets at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty is the addition of leafy bunches of lettuce at each side of the wicker work, as in the bouquet presented to Ai at Karnak (Fig. VI.36).<sup>62</sup> Such bouquets had already occurred in reliefs at Amarna.<sup>63</sup> An example from Seti I's temple at Abydos shows clearly the lettuce with bound stems attached to the base of the bouquet (Fig. VI.37).<sup>64</sup> Aside from these lettuce bouquets, and the hybrid forms that are half staff and half hand bouquets, smaller bunches of flowers comparable to the hand

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<sup>59</sup> *Amarna* II, Pl. V; *Amarna* III, Pl. II.

<sup>60</sup> *Amarna* II, Pl. XL (Merya II). *Neferhotep* I, Pls. XXXI, LII (49).

<sup>61</sup> *Abydos* I, Pl. 7 (Abydos). *Medinet Habu* IV, Pl. 229.

<sup>62</sup> *Neferhotep*, Pl. XLI.

<sup>63</sup> *Amarna* II, Pl. XII (Huy).

<sup>64</sup> *Abydos* Pl. 6. Cf. also *Two Ramesside Tombs*, Pls. I, V, VII, XI (Userhet; Qurna 51; Seti I), XXV (Ipy; Deir el medineh 217; Ramses II). The same kind of subsidiary lateral binding as in Fig. VI.37, but

bouquets normal in the Eighteenth Dynasty continue to be found at the end of that dynasty and afterward (Figs. VI.38).<sup>65</sup>

In view of the great variety and elaborate nature of the florists products, and the minute, detailed labor required to produce them, it is no wonder that the scribe Nebma're'nakht cited this craft as a tedious occupation to be avoided. Nevertheless, many Egyptians must have spent their lives toiling to manufacture the various types of objects - the wreaths, fillets, floral collars, and bouquets - which occupied such an important place in the culture of the New Kingdom. In view of this prominence it is not surprising that the florists' products also served as motives in the designers' repertory.

## THE FLORISTS' PRODUCTS IN DECORATIVE WORK<sup>66</sup>

### ARCHITECTURAL ORNAMENT

According to the evidence at present available the use of floral bouquets and semicircular floral collars as architectural decoration does not begin before the reign of Akhenaten. Since there is detailed information concerning the Eighteenth Dynasty private houses and royal residences only during the Amarna Period, it is possible that such designs or their primordial existed earlier. The Deir el Medineh village, belonging to the Nineteenth Dynasty and after, demonstrates that it was not exceptional even for rather poor dwellings to be decorated by murals; the tradition of painted ornament in houses must have also been

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containing only a *Nymphaea* flower is shown in Lacau, *Steles du Nouvel Empire* (Cat. Caire), Pl. XLIX, 34100.

<sup>65</sup> *Amarna* II, Pl XII (Panhesy?) Cf. also *Two Ramesside Tombs*, Pls. V, VII, XV (Userhet; 51), XXV, xxxiv (Ipy). *Atlas* I, Pl. CXIII (Pinehas; Dira Abu'n Naga 16; Ramses II). Calverley, *op. cit.*, Pls. VII, XXII. *Medinet Habu* IV, Pl. CCXXIX. Steindorff-Wolfe, *Thebanische Gräberwelt* (Glückstadt, 1936), Pl. XVII (Pbes, 279; Dynasty XXVI).

present in the earlier part of of the Eighteenth Dynasty. However, there is some indication that the Amarna period may have actually seen the rise of these floral motives as architectural decoration. In the first place several of the examples of the use of bouquets come from tombs, but never, to our knowledge, appear in graves constructed before the end of the reign of Amenhotep III. In the second place, although floral *usekh* collars were common throughout the dynasty, the use of semicircular collars or garlands to enliven a variety of objects does not occur until close to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty,

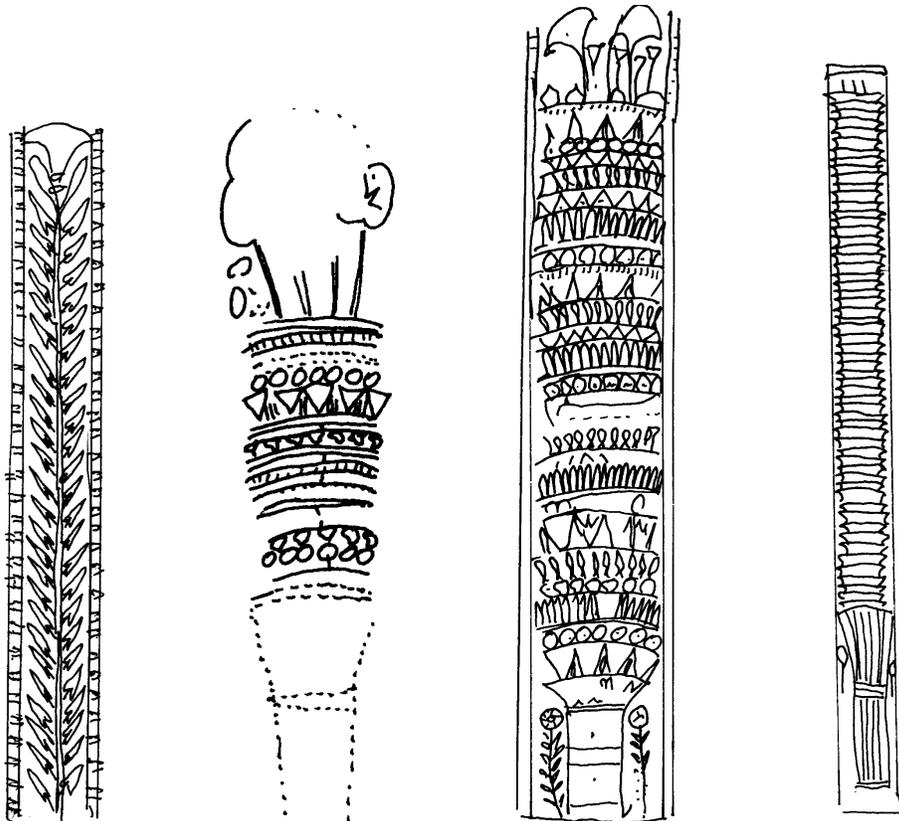


Fig. VI.39

Fig. VI.40

Fig. VI.41

Fig. VI.42

coincident with a marked increase in the use of all the floral products. Accordingly, it seems probable that the use of bouquet and semicircular garland motives as large-scale decoration actually began during the reign of Akhenaten.

Although the dwellings in the "Workmen's Village" at the east side of Amarna were so small and rough as to be little else but hovels, a house on the main street possessed a pilaster on which was painted a single papyrus stalk twined with *concolvulus* leaves (Fig. VI.39).<sup>67</sup> This corresponds to the simplest kind of staff bouquet (Fig. VI.5). In the tomb of Panhesy, the owner is seated, together with his wife and three daughters, at a table of offerings, and is being presented with a hand bouquet. Behind the figure of the officiating servant is placed a huge staff bouquet with a large number of formal friezes of flowers and fruits, topped by fluffy papyrus umbels in three quarters view (Fig. VI.40).<sup>68</sup> Here the mass of flowers no longer corresponds to a real bouquet decorating the place of offering, but has grown out of the scene to become a border. A panel (B) in the antechamber of the tomb of Meryra is filled by a large bouquet completely dissociated from any representative scene (Fig. VI.41).<sup>69</sup> The main mass of the ornament is formed by rows of *Nymphaea* with *Mimusops* fruits, bands of waterlily petals, poppies and *centaureas*, and is crowned by a triple papyrus group interspersed with red poppy flowers. The whole complex is fastened tightly at the base by binding, which is flanked at each side by a stemmed composite flower. A degenerate successor of Figs. VI.40, 41 is to be found in the tomb of Neferhotep, son of Neby, dating from the reign of Ai (Fig. VI.42).<sup>70</sup> The walls of his shrine are framed by an extremely tall, thin bouquet, consisting only of numerous plain, oblong tiers, of the kind whose increasing popularity at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and later has already been noted. The basketry binding of the base is that typical for the hand bouquets in the Eighteenth Dynasty, but which we have seen had been transferred

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<sup>67</sup> *City of Akhenaten* I, Pl. IX, 2. A possible explanation for the unexpected decoration of poor houses, found here and also at the Deir el Medineh village, may be fact that both were inhabited by workmen, who were apparently capable of decorating their own dwellings as well as the mansions and tombs of their employers.

<sup>68</sup> *Amarna* II, Pl. XXIII

<sup>69</sup> *Amarna* I, Pl. XL (T.4).

also to larger groups of flowers by Ramesside times. Vestigial traces of the two flowering basal shoots of *Merya*'s bouquet remain in Fig. VI.42. According to Davies the use of staff bouquets in this manner was common in Ramesside times, but he gives no references, and we have found no published examples substantiating his statement.<sup>71</sup> However, in the tomb of Pinehas a narrow horizontal frieze is filled by a staff bouquet, which loses all meaning by being placed on its side.<sup>72</sup> In the same tomb, a rough hand bouquet fills a corner space in an irregular frieze that contains also a figure of the jackal of Anubis with a worshipper.<sup>73</sup>

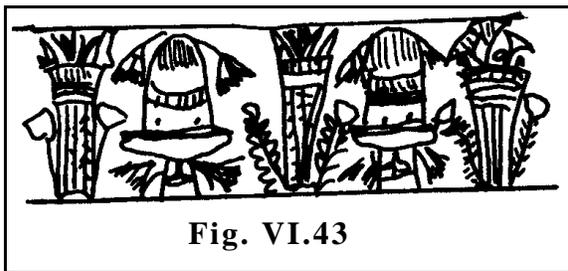


Fig. VI.43

Except for this example, the use of hand bouquets in architectural decoration appears to be limited to the city of Akhetaten. A large number of these bouquets, each equipped with side shoots, used together

with garlanded stands, form a border surrounding the pool and naturalistic clumps of plants in the large pavement of the main palace (Fig. VI.43).<sup>74</sup> The arrangement in serried rows is paralleled by the painting flanking the stairs south of the transverse hypostyle hall of the

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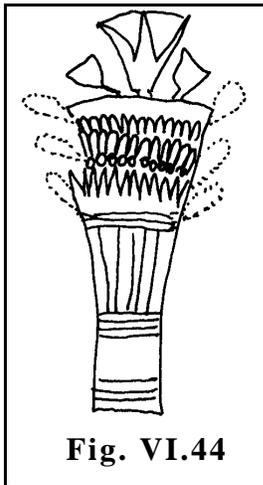
<sup>70</sup> *Neferhotep* I, Pl. LV, A (49). This is one of a number of features connecting this tomb closely with representations produced in the Amarna Period.

<sup>71</sup> *Neferhotep* I, p. 16.

<sup>72</sup> Baud-Drioton, *Tombeau de Panehsy* (MIFAO, LVII, 2 [1932]), p. 41, Fig. 21 (16)

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36, Fig. 18 (16).

<sup>74</sup> Fig. VI.43 = Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London, 1894), Pl. II.



**Fig. VI.44**

Northern Palace (Fig. VI.44); these bouquets show clearly the beaded loops that had appeared in Fig. VI.32. These designs illustrate the proper panoply for a feast, and Davies has suggested that the design on the pavement of the Central Palace may have been used as an accompaniment to detailed pictures of banquet scenes, or the setting of a banquet, that may have once been painted on the walls.<sup>75</sup>

The most spectacular decoration of the main public, and sometimes of the more important private, rooms in the Amarna houses was provided by large semicircular garlands or collars, from which swags of ducks were often suspended. Glanville, who has studied these designs in detail,<sup>76</sup> mentions the relationship between the architectural motives and the painted floral collars of mummies, which he considers derived from the Amarna usage. The garlands were evidently placed high up on the walls, touching the usual frieze of pendant waterlilies and buds and only a small number could have been accommodated on any one wall.<sup>77</sup> Single examples were used as the decoration of the large panel below the opening of the Window of Appearances.<sup>78</sup> Here we need not repeat the details of the construction and ingredients of the individual garlands described by Glanville;<sup>79</sup> he has identified the natural prototypes of the different registers and pointed out that the artists, instead of drawing the outlines of each individual floral unit separately and then coloring them, would paint in bands of the required colors, and superimpose the outlines. Sometimes the borders of the individual elements might be omitted and then

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<sup>75</sup> Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 69, Pl. XII, H.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-57.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. *City of Akenaten* I, Pl. IV for a reconstruction by Newton, some of the details of which are rectified by Glanville. *JEA* XVIII (1932), Pl. XII, 2 (room above gate, Northern Palace). For fragments of such garlands cf. *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* LXVI (1916), Pl. L, 3 (*Nymphaea* flower and buds, House 46, 1), 7 (fragment showing waterlily petals, *centaureas*, and subsidiary bands; House 47, 3).

<sup>78</sup> *Amarna* I, Pls. VI, VII (Meryra; T. 4); *Amarna* III, Pl. XVII (Huya; T. 1).

green and blue bands would serve as a row of *Centaurea* flowers with green calices and blue corollas. This tendency for the rows of flowers to break down into colored bands is also illustrated by many of the tiers and registers of the formal bouquets in representational scenes.

### APPLIED ART

The classes of objects decorated by transcriptions of the evanescent products of the florists are not numerous. Formal bouquets are most common on ointment spoons. The openwork handle of one in Berlin consists of a girl playing a tambourine, flanked by two staff bouquets (Fig. VI.45).<sup>80</sup> The papyrus umbels with long sheathing leaves, the sparseness of flowers in the bouquets and the characteristics of the girl's figure, all date this spoon to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty or afterwards. There are several cases in



<sup>79</sup> Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-50; Pls. XVII-XX. *City of Akhenaten* I, Pl. XV, 1, 4 (wrongly restored).

<sup>80</sup> Fechheimer, *Die Kleinplastik der Ägypter* (Berlin, 1922), p. 142 = Steindorff, *Die Kunst der Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 283, a = *Atlas I*, Pl. X, c, 6. For parallels to the figure of the girl, cf. *Neferhotep I*, Pls. XVII, XVIII; *Huy*, Pl. XV; Schäfer-Andrae, *Kunst des Alten Orients*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1925), p. 397, 2 (Saqqara; now in Cairo; Dyn. XIX).

**Fig. VI.45**

**Fig. VI.46**

**Fig. VI.47**

**Fig. VI.48**

which the entire handle is shaped as a hand bouquet, usually with the upper, floral part enlarged at the expense of the wickerwork binding (Figs. VI.46).<sup>81</sup> A number of the spoon handles end in large South-flowers (Figs. VI.47, 48; IV.94),<sup>82</sup> which never, to our knowledge, occur in hand bouquets, and, but exceptionally, in staff bouquets. Their appearance on the handles is practically the only ornamental change suffered by the bouquet motives in the shift from a primarily representative to a primarily decorative function. However, the handle of an elaborate spoon in Berlin has been changed more than the others. The sheath of the bouquet has been greatly enlarged so as to afford space for the figure of a kneeling lute player, and is, in addition, decorated by a greater number of vegetal friezes than was normal in most actual bouquets (Fig. VI.49;<sup>83</sup> cf. Figs. VI.30, 44).

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<sup>81</sup> JEA XIII (1927), Pl. IV (BM 5965) . *Art égy.* II, Pl. CLV, 5 (probably = Riefstahl, *Toilet Articles from Ancient Egypt* (Brooklyn, 1943), Pl. XVI).

<sup>82</sup> *Art. égy.* II, Pl. CLV, 6. Champollion, *Mon.* II, Pl. CLXIX, 4 (qurna). *Annales* II (1901), 11, Fig. 12 (Qurna; coffin of Sa'aImn from cave in which the main coffin belonged to *H3t-i3y*; approximately time of Akhenaten).

<sup>83</sup> Fechtheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

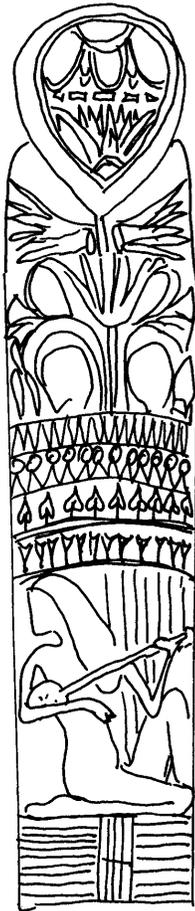


Fig. VI.49

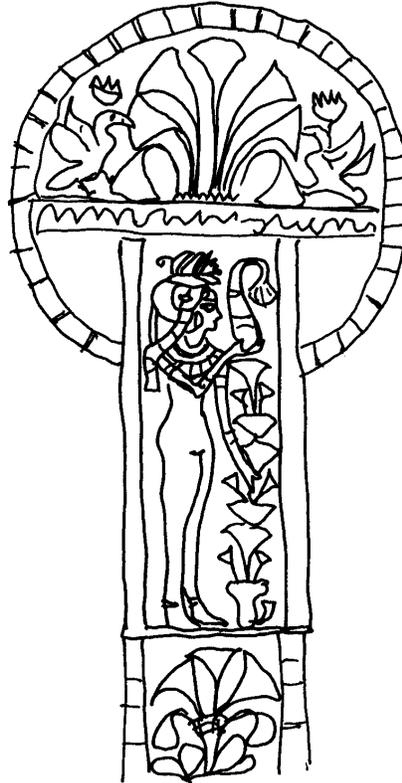


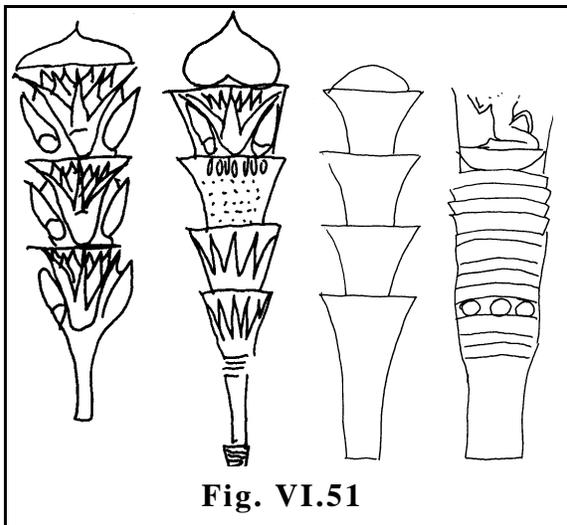
Fig. VI.50

A mirror case belonging to queen Hent-tawi, wife of Nesubanebted of the Twenty-first Dynasty, is decorated by several floral motives (Fig. VI.50).<sup>84</sup> A papyrus clump and isolated *Nymphaea* flowers decorate the upper part of the object; the lower section of the handle is covered by a formalized bouquet with pendant ducks; the base ends in a floral collar. The whole design is closely related to the staff bouquet of Ramses III (Fig. VI.24) which had been heralded in the Eighteenth Dynasty by a bouquet of Haremhab (Fig. VI.25).

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<sup>84</sup> Benedite, *Miroirs* (Cat. Caire), Pl. XXIII, 44101 A.

Except for these toilet implements the bouquets were used only occasionally in the applied arts. Sometimes they appear, represented under impossible conditions, in pictorial contexts. Thus the front of the carved wooden panel that forms the back of a chair of Thuiu shows a lady and her attendant in a papyrus boat, the two ends of which are shaped as elaborate bouquets.<sup>85</sup> The maid holds an ornate staff bouquet which is unexpectedly tipped by a fan. An ivory box lid of Tutankhamun is decorated by a panel showing the queen presenting the young king with two staff bouquets in a setting of garlands and cushions. Two large staff bouquets serve as borders on each side of the representative scene, and though not definitely severed from the pictorial context, their use here is a small-scale parallel to the architectural application of the staff bouquets in the Amarna tombs.<sup>86</sup> A closer analogy is to be found in the two outer borders filled with bouquets of the foot board of a bed from the same burial.<sup>87</sup>



Aside from the decorative usages cited, several small limestone plaques found at the village site of Deir el Medineh should be mentioned (Fig. VI.51).<sup>88</sup> They are shaped on both sides as bouquets and were found in the temple, except for one in a private dwelling. Bruyere considers them to be votive objects, presumably substitutes for the real and expensive offerings. In any

case they are simply models of the bouquets and cannot be cited as decorative applications.

<sup>85</sup> Quibell, *Tomb of Yuua and Thuiu* (Cat. Caire), Pl. XXXVI, 5112.

<sup>86</sup> *Tomb Tut.*, III, Frontispiece.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXII, C.

<sup>88</sup> Bruyere, *Deir el Medineh 1934-35* (FIFAO, XVI [1939]), p. 211, Fig. 100. Fig. VI.51. from the temple and from house S.O. IV-a, the home of a lapidary worker.

In the applied arts the use of floral collars or semicircular garlands was limited chiefly to vessels, usually of pottery,<sup>89</sup> but occasionally of faience.<sup>90</sup> Elaborate examples are painted on sherds of a vessel from Amarna.<sup>91</sup> Such motives were also used on metal vessels. A ewer and basin, copied from an uncertain tomb, are shown in Rosellini;<sup>92</sup> the former is ornamented by a garland with hanging *Nymphaeas*. A gold vessel, part of the second hoard of Tell Basta which also contained bracelets with the name of Ramses II, is decorated by a semicircular collar complete even to the two ties, here transformed into small leafy stalks.<sup>93</sup> A single waterlily flower with two ducks at the sides serves as a pendant.<sup>94</sup>

In addition to the semicircular garlands, large pottery jars were apparently often decorated by the painted equivalents of the actual naturalistic foliage with which they were draped. They appear, represented in the tombs in a manner showing that the designs were actually on the vase and not meant as real foliage. Thus the fine two-handled amphora in the tomb of Amenhotep III is decorated by a frieze of *Nymphaea* petals, a painted grape vine, spirals and hanging foliage, a few of the leaves of which project beyond the outline of the jar; exactly the same foliage and this time actual leaves, decorate a nearby stand.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Schäfer-Andrae, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIX, 3 (Deir el Medineh; Berlin 21325). Bruyere, *Deir el Medineh* 1933-34, Pt. I: Necropolis de l'Ouest (FIFAO, XIV, 1917), p. 54, Fig. 28 (Huy-Nefer; T. 1322-1323). Nagel, *Ceramique du nouvel empire à Deir el Medineh* (Cairo, 1938), pp. 11, Fig. 5, 1, 2 (T. 357, A; with *Nymphaea* bud-flower pendants), 37, Fig. 24, 96, 97, 99 (T. 359, Q), 73, Fig. 56, 8 (T. 1164). *Atlas I*, Pl. XII, 5 (Cairo; design is apparently impressed). Henry Wallis, *Egyptian Ceramic Art* (London, 1898), p. 35, Fig. 66 (Qurna tomb; probably "Dyn. XIX;" Cairo). Bruyere, *Deir el Medineh* 1927 (FIFAO, V[1928]), p. 98, Fig. 65, 3 (Dyn. XVIII pottery).

<sup>90</sup> Henry Wallis, *op. cit.*, p. 48, Fig. 98 (Louvre).

<sup>91</sup> *City of Akhenaten* I, Pl. XLV, 2. A confused and degenerate design appears on a wide-necked jar bearing a Hathor head. On its shoulder is an uneven frieze of petals from which is suspended a rather amorphous pattern of papyrus heads (Nagel, *Ceramique NE*, p. 30, Fig. 20, 66 (T. 359). This group is actually a degraded version of a triple papyrus cluster that is suspended from a semicircular garland in a painting from Amarna (Fig. VI.92).

<sup>92</sup> Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.*, Pl. LXII, 1.

<sup>93</sup> Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien*. (Cairo, 1890-1924), II, pp. 96, 100-101; Pl. XLVI.

<sup>94</sup> An imitation of a stirrup jar in faience is decorated with a design of a pendant waterlily with a duck on each side that is reminiscent of the pendant added to the garland on the Tell Basta jar (Wallis, *op. cit.*, p. 48, Fig. 101 (Flinders Petrie coll.).

<sup>95</sup> *Two Officials*, p. 6; Pls. I, VI (75).

Nevertheless, the decoration of the amphora is clearly painted. A drawing in Prisse, unfortunately unidentified, shows a beautifully decorated jar being carried in a net,<sup>96</sup> and other cases of painted naturalistic foliage occur.<sup>97</sup>

## FRIEZES INVOLVING FLORAL ELEMENTS

### GARLAND FRIEZES

The decorative applications of the florists' products are relatively small in contrast to the universal use of the actual objects. However, besides the motives discussed so far, there is a class of designs, the floral friezes, which was very prominent in New Kingdom decorative work, being found most commonly at the top of tomb walls, and which were in part created on the basis of the garlands produced by the florists.

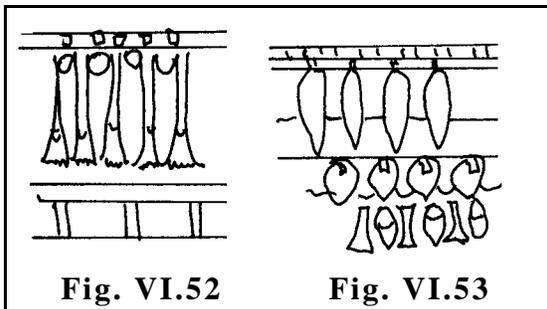


Fig. VI.52

Fig. VI.53

There exist a number of different types of floral friezes, and those which consist of a series of petals, small flowers, and fruits reveal most clearly their derivation from the florists' products, in this case the chaplets of petals mounted on papyrus or other backing.

The earliest known example probably dates to the reign of Tuthmosis IV (Fig. VI.52),<sup>98</sup> which would make it contemporary with a motive (Fig. VI.53), consisting of three

<sup>96</sup> *Art égy.* II, Pl. CXLIV, 8.

<sup>97</sup> *Atlas* I, Pl. CXLIV (Zeserkerá'sonb; Qurna 38; Tuthmosis IV; *Nymphaea* bud and flower friezes with naturalistic grapes hanging below).

<sup>98</sup> G. Farina, *La Pittura Egiziana* (Milan, 1929), Pls. CXIX, CXX, CXXII, CXXIV (Menna; Qurna 69; Tuthmosis IV [?]).

registers of different kinds of petals or buds and *Mimusops* fruits, that was used as frieze over the whole wall).<sup>99</sup> In the tomb of Neferhotep at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty

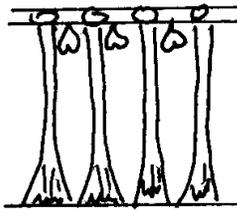


Fig. VI.54

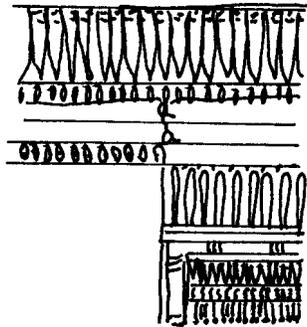


Fig. VI.55



Fig. VI.56

the baldachins of Amenhotep I and Nofretiry, and of Hathor are similarly decorated with a petal frieze.<sup>100</sup> As bands on the tops of walls such patterns occur in the tombs of Pere (Fig. VI.54) and of Nebamun and Ipuky.<sup>101</sup> Davies has remarked that garland designs increased immensely in popularity during the Amarna period, and at Akhetaten the houses were decorated by many registers of straight, garland friezes, formed chiefly of *Nymphaea* petals, *Mimusops* fruits, cornflowers and poppies (Fig. VI.55).<sup>102</sup> A single frieze of petals, together with bands of geometric design ornamented a “false window” in a house at

<sup>99</sup> Jéquier, *Decoration égyptienne* (Paris, 1911), Pl. XXXIX, 62 (Thenuna; Qurna 76; the design is reproduced in a stylized drawing the details of which cannot be trusted). Porter-Moss, “Theban Necropolis,” *Topographical Bibliography* (Oxford, 1927-51), p. 103.

<sup>100</sup> *Neferhotep I*, Pls. LI, LIV (49).

<sup>101</sup> Or. Inst. Thebes Neg. 6152 (Pere, Qurna 139; Amenhotep III). *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, p. 20; Pls. XV, XVIII (Qurna 181; late Amenhotep III-early Akhenaten), white petals on a background colored green above, blue below; bordered above by three lines of red and black chequers. According to Davies this kind of frieze was also used in Qurna 54, which originally belonged to Huy (Tuthmosis IV-Amenhotep III [?]), but was usurped by a Kenro in the early Nineteenth Dynasty (*Neferhotep I*, p. 15, n. 28).

<sup>102</sup> *Neferhotep I*, p. 15. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIII, B (Official residence of Panhesy). MDVOG, no. 46, Nov, 1911, Pl. V (House J 53, 1, room 1. Lintel and “hollow plane”) = *Zeitschrift für Bauweser* LXVI (1916), Pl. L, 2 (vertical *nymphaea* bands; corner house N 57, 8) 4 (*Nymphaea* petals and *Mimusops*; House 246, 1); 6 (*Nymphaea* petals, yellow and brown petals [?]); cornflowers, *mimusops*, House 246, 1).

Amarna,<sup>103</sup> and a similar band was also placed below the Window of Appearance in the tomb of Neferhotep, son of Neby (Fig. VI.56).<sup>104</sup> In the same tomb petal friezes were used as wall borders,<sup>105</sup> and they occur as the borders completing the tops of painted linen cloths, dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty or after, on which the dead are shown seated at a table of offerings.<sup>106</sup>

As in the case of the semicircular garland friezes, petal bands on garlands appear most commonly in the applied arts as the decoration painted on pottery, and such ornamentation is clearly derived from the practise of hanging actual chaplets around the vessels at feasts. Often in representations of vessels with this kind of painted motive, the pots are, in addition, wreathed with the real chaplets of the florists.<sup>107</sup> Actual examples of such vessels, in a variety of shapes and sizes, are common.<sup>108</sup> As is to be expected,

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<sup>103</sup> Frankfort, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXI (House V.37.1; north loggia).

<sup>104</sup> *Neferhotep I*, Pl. IX.

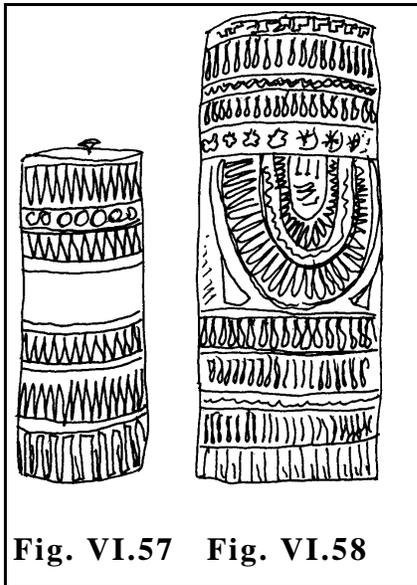
<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. L; Vol. II, Pl. VII.

<sup>106</sup> Bruyere, *Deir el medineh*, 1926 (FIFAO, IV [1927]), p. 12, Fig. 3 T. 1022; anonymous). Bruyere, *Deir el Medineh* 1928(FIFAO VI [1929]), Pl. III (Sennufer).

<sup>107</sup> *Atlas I*, Pls. CCXCV-CCXCVII (Suemnut, royal butler; Qurna 92; Amenhotep II; richly decorated vases; both painted and natural garlands). Prisse, *Art égy.* II, Pl. CXLIV, 1 (92; large *Nymphaea*; beaker with petal frieze), 3 (92; large bellied jar; petals), 6, 7 = *Two Officials*, Pl. I, VI (75; petals with pendant *Nymphaeas*, poppies, *Mimusops*, and grapes); Cf. also *Ibid.*, Pl. XXI (90). *Art égy* II, Pl. CXLIII, 1 (petaled bands; pendant, stemmed South Flowers and *Nymphaea* buds), 3 (petalled bands), 2 (*Nymphaea* petals on curved surface; pendant stems with alternate leaves, oval "buds," and papyriform heads), 7 (narrow, petaled borders). Fechheimer, *Die Kleinplastik der Ägypter* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 132-3 (Leiden figurine of slave girl carrying a large jar with *Nymphaea* petal friezes), 137 (flat spoon, same subject).

<sup>108</sup> BMMA XVII (1922), Dec., Pt. II, p. 22, Fig. 5, lower right (early Dyn. XVIII grave in Mentuhotep V cemetery; faience). Bruyere, *Deir el Medineh* 1927 (FIFAO V [1928]), p. 98, Fig. 65, 2, 4, 6, 16 (Dyn. XVIII pottery with petal friezes). Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.*, Pl. LIII, 16-18. Nagel, *Ceramique* (Cairo, 1938), pp. 4, Fig. 2, 37 (T. 356), 11, Fig. 5, 8 (T. 357), 52, Fig. 33, 1 (T. 1098; above representative register). 58, Fig. 39, 22-23 (T. 1145), 68, Fig. 51, 2, 3 (T. 1159 A); 69, Fig. 53, 25 (T. 1161), 90, Fig. 70, 5 (T. 1169), 97, Fig. 76, 80 (T. 1169), 103, Fig. 82, 16, 24 (T. 1172-1174); all fairly simple petal friezes); pp. 108, Fig. 87, 1 (T. 1182; tall pattern with petals and grapes below); Pls. III, 1169.80, K.2.108, K.2.105; V, K.2.110; XI, 1117, 1; K.2.99 (bowls with petal frieze). Schiaparelli, *Cha* (Torino, 1921-27), pp. 80, Fig. 45 (funnel; petals ?, cornflowers, *Mimusops*), 140, Fig. 123, middle and 141, Fig. 124, left; petal friezes; Fig. 124, right, *Alcea ficifolia* L. (?) frieze), 158, Fig. 141 (jars with meal; petal friezes; pot on right also has a frieze of grape clusters and *Mimusops*). *City of Akhenaten I*, Pl. XLIV, 2 (petal friezes; also *Nymphaeas* and buds), 3 (petals). Bruyere, *Deir el Mideneh* 1933-34, Pt. I, Necropole de l'Ouest

garland friezes were also used on metal vessels.<sup>109</sup> Narrow bands, usually of *Nymphaea*



**Fig. VI.57** **Fig. VI.58**

petals, decorated the legs of chairs,<sup>110</sup> and other products of the cabinet maker.<sup>111</sup> The upper and lower sections of the semicircular ointment boxes common at this time were ornamented by a number of petaled registers, even when the main panel bears a pictorial representation;<sup>112</sup> in one case the middle panel is blank and the friezes remain the only decoration, both on the cover and base of the box (Fig. VI.57).<sup>113</sup> The central panel of another box is filled by a large semicircular garland, in addition to the straight friezes (Fig.

VI.58).<sup>114</sup> A comb of the Nineteenth Dynasty from Abusir el Meleg is adorned by a simple petal frieze.<sup>115</sup> Fragments of faience from Tell el Jehudiyeh show that *Nymphaea*-petal designs were also created by means of tiles, presumably used for architectural decoration.<sup>116</sup>

## PARATACTIC FRIEZES

In architectural design the garland friezes were often combined with other registers showing pendant *Nymphaea* flowers alternating with buds or clusters of grapes, in

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(FIFAO, XIV [1937]), p. 65, Fig. 30, a (T. 1325). *Nakht*, Pl. XXIX, 2 (52). Wine jars with coarse green, red, white garlands (Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London, 1894), p. 30.)

<sup>109</sup> Vernier, *Bijoux et Orfèvreries* I (Cat. Caire), Pl. CIV, 53259 (petal *Mimusops*?, broad-banded rosettes), 53261 (petals; also late type of paratactic frieze and arc frieze)

<sup>110</sup> Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, p. 114, Fig. 94.

<sup>111</sup> Capart, *Documents à servir* (Brussels, 1922), I, Pl. XLIV (statuette of girl carrying chest with garland friezes, BM).

<sup>112</sup> *Sedment* II, Pls. LVIII, 3 (Gr. 132), 5, left. *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), Pl. XXV, a (Cairo; with Nubian landscape).

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVI, e ("Cat. gen." 44716); *Ibid.*, c (J.d.E. 39213) is apparently unfinished.

<sup>114</sup> Petrie-Brunton, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXI, 5.

<sup>115</sup> Bénédite, *Objets de Toilette* I (Cat. Caire), Pl. IV, 44316.

unconnected, paratactic series. These bands of alternating units possess no such close relationship with the florists' craft as do the petal friezes.<sup>117</sup> The most likely explanation of the paratactic friezes of grapes and *Nymphaea* is that they arose as the copies on a flat surface of what were primarily decorations in the round. Faience waterlily buds with dowel holes for suspension have already been cited,<sup>118</sup> and there also exist faience pomegranates, one of which preserves a bent stem of faience, from the tomb of Amenhotep II,<sup>119</sup> and grape clusters from Amarna, Gurob, Qantir, and Abusir.<sup>120</sup> Although the exact application of the pomegranate fruits of Amenhotep II is uncertain, since they possessed curved and fairly long stems,<sup>121</sup> the bunches of grapes were attached to ceiling beams at Amarna. Some must have hung free, and the waterlily buds were probably suspended in the same way. Other grape clusters have a section cut out so that they would fit over the corners of the beams.<sup>122</sup> The grapes with the sections removed prove without a doubt that these faience objects were manufactured as architectural decorations, but, in addition, many

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<sup>116</sup> Trans. SBA VII (1880-82), Pl. III, 1-3, opp. 184.

<sup>117</sup> The occasional occurrence of such alternating bands of *Nymphaea* flowers and buds in a semicircular garland from Amarna (Frankfurt, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIII, A [Lobby, House V.37.1]) or in the collar painted on an anthropoid coffin (Quibell, *Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu* [Cat. Caire], Pl. XII [alternating with *Mimusops* ]) cannot serve to connect the paratactic friezes with florists' work, since the examples cited are later than the architectural friezes and are undoubtedly reflections of such large scale friezes.

<sup>118</sup> Chapter II, n. 332.

<sup>119</sup> Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois* (Cat. Caire), Pl. XXX, 24508, 24518 (with stem), 24519, 24523-25. A large number of these were found, cf. pp. 143-146, 24508-24525.

<sup>120</sup> Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London, 1894), Pl. XIX, 446 (mold), 447 (violet bunch), 448 (mold). A number of examples from this site are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Metropolitan Museum Studies II [1929-30], 142; *ibid.*, p. 142, n. 32 refers to the example from Gurob, which is preserved in the University Museum, Philadelphia, no. 273). Hamza, *Excavations at Qantir*, 1928, *Annales* XXX (1930), Pls. III, C (bunch with hole for fastening), IV, a (two moulds), The Qantir specimens appear to be too small to have been architectural adornments, however. Borchardt refers to bunches of grapes that were used as baldachin ornaments found at Sahure's mortuary temple together with a scarab bearing the name of Amenhotep III and a plaque with that of Haremhab (WVDOG XIV, 133; no illustration).

<sup>121</sup> Daressy, *op. cit.*, p. 146; Pl. XXX, 24526, B is a fairly long piece of faience stem, possibly one fitted into one of the pomegranates. Daressy terms the pomegranates, together with the waterlily buds, and faience objects that may be models of a kind of gourd, as votive objects.

<sup>122</sup> *Dec. Art*, p. 80, Figs. 155-156. Metropolitan Museum Studies II (1929-30), 142, n. 32.

representations in the tombs show grapes,<sup>123</sup> or *Nymphaeas* alternating with grapes or *Mimusops*<sup>124</sup> hanging from the roofs of baldachins. On occasion a more elaborate series might be used, as in the case of a kiosk of Osiris in the tomb of Qenamun. Here, South Flowers alternate with *Nymphae* buds and smaller broad-banded concentric rosettes.<sup>125</sup> Such baldachin decorations have appeared in tomb representations by the time of Amenhotep II,<sup>126</sup> and the faience buds from his tomb may be cited as supporting evidence for the existence of such ornamentation at this time, one reign before the appearance of the earliest floral friezes, which begin in good earnest in the reign of Tuthmosis IV (according to present knowledge).<sup>127</sup> However, even if it is admitted that the painted friezes are most probably transcriptions of such rows of baldachin ornaments, there still remains the question of how the latter trait developed. To a certain extent the nature of the baldachins themselves may explain this. They are elaborated and highly decorated variants of the outdoor kiosks which served as garden pavilions, often being shown in those funerary

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<sup>123</sup> *Ken-Amun* I, Pl. XI; Vol II, Pl. XI, A (93; king's baldachin). Baud, *op. cit.*, Pl. VIII (Neferronpet; Qurna 43; Amenhotep II). Bouriant, *Tombeau de Harmhabi* (Mem. Miss. Arch. Fr. V, 3 [1894]), Pl. V, below (78; Osiris). *Atlas* I, Pl. CCV. *Art. égy.* I, Pl. LXXX (Khaf' met, 57). Steindorff-Wolf, *Thebanische Gräberwelt* (Glückstadt, 1936). Pl. XI (Amenemhet-Surer; Qurna 48; Amenhotep III). Vandier d'Abbadie, *Chapelle de Kha* (MIFAO, LXXIII {1939}), Pl. VIII (Dier el Medineh 8; end of Tuthmosis IV-beginning of Amenhotep III). Bruyere-Kuentz, *Tombe de Nakht-Min* (MIFAO, LIV [1926]), Pl. VI (Deir el Medineh 291; late Dynasty XVIII; Osiris baldachin). Huy, Pls. IV, XX, XXII (Qurnet Murai 40). Bruyere, *Deir el Medineh* 1930 (MIFAO VIII), Pl. XXIX, 2 (T. 360). Prisse, *Mon.*, Pl. XXXIX.

<sup>124</sup> *Annales* XXXIV (1934), Pl. XXXIV, 1 (Kamheribsen; Qurna 98; Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep II [?]; grapes). *Ken-Amun* I, Pl. IX; Vol. II, Pl. IX, A (93; Amenhotep on lap of nurse; with *Mimusops*).

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, I, Pl. XLIII (Osiris baldachin).

<sup>126</sup> Baldachin scenes from the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty are rare. That in the tomb of Tetiky showing the enthroned Hatshepsut does not possess hanging floral decoration (*Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), Pls. XXXV, XLI; T. 110). It is possible that the appearance of this feature is another example of the ever increasing application of floral forms in the Eighteenth Dynasty. This use of plants is climaxed by the well known scene of Akhenaten seated in a kiosk decked with long trails of *convolvulus* and other plants (*Amarna* II, Pl. XXXII; Merya II).

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Wegner in MDIAA IV (1933), p. 48. He cites the Qenamun baldachin ornaments as examples of floral friezes. Although the wall friezes, or some of them at least, may be closely related to the baldachin pendants, it is apt to be confusing to classify the two groups of decorations together without any distinction.

ceremonies conducted in a garden setting,<sup>128</sup> as shelters in which the master was shielded from the sun,<sup>129</sup> or shading wine presses. It was perfectly natural to decorate these pavilions with hanging plants, the realistic character of which is especially plain in the case of the funerary kiosk with dripping foliage or grape branches.<sup>130</sup> It is difficult to tell whether the alternating *Nymphaea* flowers and buds that appear hanging from the kiosk of Mentiwey, under which the grapes are pressed and the wine jars sealed, or from the funerary pavilion of Khaemhet are meant to be real plants or faience models,<sup>131</sup> but in either case, once the precedent for vegetal pendants had been set, it is not at all surprising to find the universally beloved waterlilies used. The alternation of buds and open blooms is nothing but an expansion of the bud-flower formula which we have seen to be the simplest and one of the most widespread motives in representative and decorative contexts. The custom of hanging flowers or grapes from the kiosk ceilings may have been in part suggested by the ordinary usage of hanging branches from the roofs over the wine presses, so that the men treading the grapes would have some support to keep them from falling in the slippery mass. In at least one case a grape frieze, which in this context we would expect to consist of natural clusters, decorates a kiosk over a press.<sup>132</sup> Kiosks of the commissariat pictured in the tomb of Peh-su-kher, lieutenant of the King, have the same decoration.<sup>133</sup>

Accordingly, it seems likely that the painted paratactic friezes involving *Nymphaeas* and grapes may have been decorative transcriptions of faience or real floral pendants used

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<sup>128</sup> Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.*, Pl. LXIX (Sennufer; Qurna 96, A; garden of Amenhotep II). *Atlas* I, Pl. CCLX, A (Dhutnufer; Qurna 80; Amenhotep II; funerary kiosk).

<sup>129</sup> *Atlas* I, Pl. CCXXXI (Menna; Qurna 69; Tuthmosis IV [?]). *Nakht*, Pls. XVIII-XXI. G. Farina *La Pittura Egiziana* (Milan, 1929), Pl. CVII (Zeserkerra sonb; 38).

<sup>130</sup> *Atlas* I, Pl. CCLXXXVIII (Minnakht; Qurna 87; Tuthmosis III). *Two Sculptors*, Pl. XIX (hanging grape foliage and clusters; 181).

<sup>131</sup> *Atlas* I, Pls. CCCLV (Khokhah 172; Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep II [?]; Nenuhet with offering table and two *Nymphaea* beakers is also shown under the same shelter), CCIX (57; Amenhotep III).

<sup>132</sup> *Atlas* I, Pl. CCLVI (Menkheper; Qurna 79; Tuthmosis III- Amenhotep II [?])

in kiosks, just as the decorative garlands painted on pottery are copies of the actual florists' chaplets. As additional proof may be cited the fact that on two walls in the tomb of Nebamun, which dates to Tuthmosis IV, the owner is shown seated with two different wives at a banquet, and the frieze appears only over these main figures. This corresponds rather closely to the way in which the king or the necropolis deities are enthroned under a frieze of vegetal motives pendant from the baldachin roofing.<sup>134</sup> On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that paratactic seriations of floral units are very simple designs and could have been developed by an Egyptian draughtsman independent of any prototype. We have already seen that he tended to arrange papyrus in this way even in representative scenes.<sup>135</sup>

The possibility exists that an additional representative source contributed to the development of the paratactic frieze. New Kingdom representations of "naturalistic" grape arbors were very formalized; the leaves and branches were alternated in a squared off pattern,<sup>136</sup> which hardly needed further stylization before being used as a ceiling pattern.<sup>137</sup> More often, however, grapes grow in several parallel arcs with regular alternating bunches

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<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. CCLXXXI (Qurna LXXXVIII; Tuthmosis III [?]).

<sup>134</sup> *Two Officials*, p. 19; Pls. XXI, XXIII (90). An exceedingly degenerate and provincial painting in the niche of the grave of 'kw at Asswan (T.32) shows the owner and his wife seated in front of an offering table and officiating priest (Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Pl. LI). Over them appears a row of bunches and Wreszinski interprets the scene as taking place in an arbor; however no parallels for such a representation exist, and the grapes here are undoubtedly the degeneration products of a paratactic frieze.

<sup>135</sup> According to Glanville, "In the Middle Kingdom the single row of grape clusters is regularly found as a top border decoration," (Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 43). We have, unaccountably, not been able to find any examples of this; if they exist, they would certainly form evidence very damaging to the theory that the paratactic friezes may have been copied from actual kiosk decorations, as kiosks with such elements are not known in the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>136</sup> Carnarvon-Carter, *Five Years Exploration at Thebes* (Oxford, 1912), Pl. III, 2 = Capart, *Documents Servir à l'Etude de l'art égyptien* I (Brussels, 1922), Pl. LXXVI, A (Tetiky; Dira Abu'n Naga 15; probably Ahmose I). *Ken-Amun* I, Pl. XXVII (93).

<sup>137</sup> Bruyere, *Deir el Medineh* 1924-25 (FIFAO III [1926]), pp. 67, Fig. 42; 68, Fig. 43; 74, Fig. 51 (Amenemhet; 340; early Dynasty XVIII). *Ibid.*, 1929, (VII), p. 72, Fig. 31 (Thuthermaktef; 357). Foucart, *Tombes thébaines* (Cairo, 1928), p. 9, Fig. 1, right (= probably Capart, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. LXXVII, B; Pinehas; 16). *Ibid.*, I, Pl. LXXVI, C ("Huy"). Jéquier, *Decoration égyptienne* (Paris, 1911), Pls. XXIX, 41

of grapes and leaves on each side. Although the majority of the vines are shown apparently unsupported,<sup>138</sup> the plants were in reality held up by long forked stakes as in the tomb of Menkhepera's sonb.<sup>139</sup> A third manner of picturing growing grapes was to allow the stems to branch from a thick central trunk. Such vines not only cover a huge arbor in the garden of Amenhotep II shown in the upper hall of the tomb of Sennufer, and appear on a more modest scale in a garden of Nebamun and outside the harim of Ai,<sup>140</sup> but were also used as a naturalistic ceiling design in the subterranean burial chamber of Sennufer,<sup>141</sup> and at Amarna.<sup>142</sup> Sennufer's subterranean chamber bears the designs pertinent for the paratactic friezes. The junction of walls and ceiling is marked by a wavy line, corresponding to one of the long grape stems used in the arc-shaped arbors. From the top of this line spring the thick vine trunks which ramify over the ceiling, and below hang alternating bunches of grapes and leaves. The correspondence of this wavy border line with a grape branch is particularly clear in one corner of the room, where two ends project over a doorway, and bear leaves and grapes on both sides.<sup>143</sup> These borders form a good parallel to the ordinary paratactic friezes, although here grapes and their leaves, otherwise to our knowledge

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(Qurna 58; usurped by Amenhotp. Dynasty XIX, and Amenemhet, Dynasty XX); XXX, 45 (Nespenefrhor; Qurna 68; Hrihor; Dynasty XXI).

<sup>138</sup> *Atlas I*, Pls. CCCXXXVIII (Rekhmire; Qurna 100; Tuthmosis III), CCLXXXII (Pehsukher; Qurna 188; Tuthmosis III {?}), CLXXVIII (= *Nakht*, Pls. XXII, XXIII, XXVI; 52; Tuthmosis IV {?}), CCXXX (Hepu; Qurna 66; Tuthmosis IV {?}), CLVI (CCLVI?) (Menkheper; Qurna 79; Tuthmosis IV-Amenhotep II {?}).

<sup>139</sup> *Men. et al.*, Pl. VIII (86; Tuthmosis III).

<sup>140</sup> Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.*, Pl. LXIX (Qurna 96 A). *Two Officials*, Pl. XXX (90). *Neferhotep I*, Pl. XIV (49)

<sup>141</sup> *Recueil Maspéro*, XX (Paris, 1898), 217, Fig. 5; Steindorff-Wolf, *op. cit.*, Pl. IX, b; *Atlas I*, CCCIX; Farina, *op. cit.*, Pls. LXXVII, LXXVIII; Qurna 96 B.

<sup>142</sup> It was a favorite ceiling decoration in the Northern Palace (Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 43). Fragments, unillustrated, are mentioned in JEA, XXI (1935), 130-131. *City of Akhenaten I*, Pl. XXXVI, 2 (shrine of tomb chapel 551; ceiling).

<sup>143</sup> *Recueil Maspéro* XX (1898), 219, Fig. 6. This is an early example of a rare motive, the use of a naturalistic vine branch with leaves and tendrils as a subsidiary running border. It occurs in the tombs of Hori (Baud, *op. cit.*, p. 256, Fig. 122 = Mackay in *Ancient Egypt VI* [1921], no. 21 on Pl. opp. p. 33; Qurna 259; Haremhab or Ramesside), of an Amenmose (Dura Abu'n Naga 149; Dynasty XIX-XX) and in an

unknown, are involved and are suspended from a wavy line. However, one wall of Qurna 96 B offers an even closer parallel, for there, quite unaccountably, *Nymphaea* flowers appear instead of the leaves found elsewhere, and are accompanied by thin strips which in this context are clearly recognizable as grape tendrils.<sup>144</sup> This design is very close indeed to the normal paratactic motives, which do not appear before the following reign.

Accordingly we may assume that, besides the association with the pendant decorations of kiosks, the paratactic friezes, especially those involving grapes, may also have been influenced by the motive of a trailing grape-vine branch.

In the succeeding reign, that of Tuthmosis IV, several paratactic friezes appear; although this period may have seen the actual beginning of the use of architectural floral friezes, it is very possible that the apparent *terminus post quem* is caused by accidents of

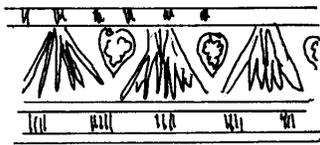


Fig. VI.59



Fig. VI.60

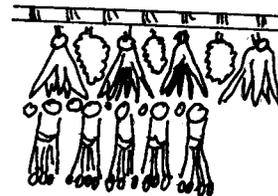


Fig. VI.61

preservation, destruction, and discovery. It would not be surprising, especially in view of the vine branch with clusters of grapes and *Nymphaeas*, to find full-fledged floral friezes from the reign of Amenhotep II. In any case Khokhah 175 is probably dated to Tuthmosis IV; it contains a frieze of alternating grapes and waterlilies (Fig. VI.59, the first of a fairly common series (Fig. VI.60).<sup>145</sup> However, the single row of grapes and *Nymphaeas* was

unnumbered XIX-XX Dynasty tomb a little west of Dira Abu'n Naga 154 (for references to the two latter examples, cf. Ancient Egypt VI (1921), pp. 40, 41).

<sup>144</sup> Farina, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXIX.

<sup>145</sup> Mackay in *Ancient Egypt VI* (1921), no. 12, on Pl. opp. p. 33; Mackay states that similar friezes are found in the tomb of Hesiherkerra sonb (38) and Neferronpet (249). *Ibid.*, 15 (this is either from Thanuny [Cairo Museum No. 1000] or from Hety [Dira Abu'n Naga 151; probably Tuthmosis IV]; both tombs are in the same tomb). Mackay, p. 41, says that such a frieze also occurs in Amenhotep's tomb, but no such

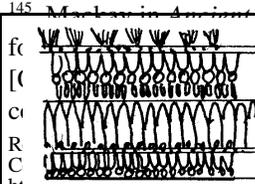


Fig. VI.62

often felt to be insufficient and another register would be added. In the tombs of Heqenerheh and Nebamun these consist in the one case of *Mimusops* fruits, cornflowers, and poppies (?) and in the other, of *Alcea* (?) flowers or petals (Fig. VI.61).<sup>146</sup> In other tombs *persea* fruits alternate with poppy petals.<sup>147</sup> At Amarna paratactic grapes and *Nymphaeas* were combined with a number of registers of petals and small fruits as a pavement pattern (Fig. VI.62).<sup>148</sup> A border of *Nymphaeas*, with the grapes removed to a

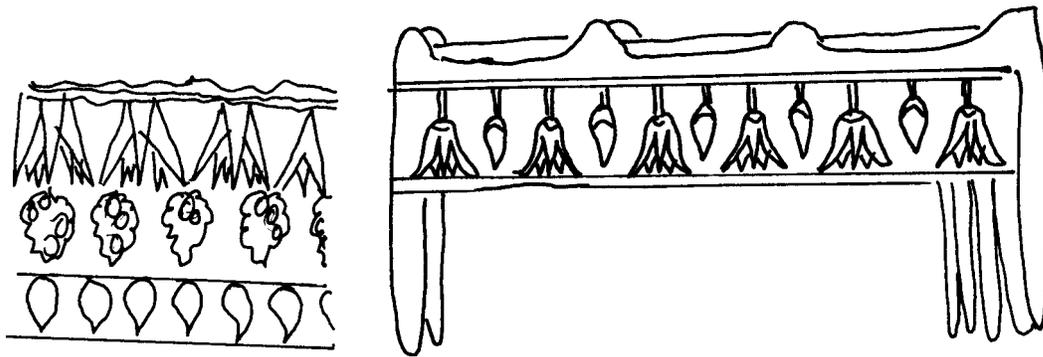


Fig. VI.63

Fig. VI.64

separate register below was used after the reign of Akhenaten (Fig. VI.63).<sup>149</sup> Friezes in which buds alternate with the waterlilies do not appear as early as those with grapes, but they were the favored design used at the tops of walls of the Amarna houses,<sup>150</sup> and occur in graves belonging to the close of the dynasty.<sup>151</sup> Such simple *Nymphaea* friezes were

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form is published in *Two Officials*). Bruyere-Kuentz, *La Tombe de Nakht-Min* (MIFAO, LIV [1926]), Pl. III (Deir el Medineh 291; late Dynasty XVIII). Fig. in *Ancient Egypt VI* (1921) No. 18, Pl. opp p. 33 (this occurs in Hety [151] and Neferronpet [249]).

<sup>146</sup> Mackay in *Ancient Egypt VI* (1921), No. 19, on Pl. opp. p. 33 (cf. Jequier, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXVIII, 57 for colored reproduction, less accurate, and LD III, Pl. LXIX, a for the setting of the frieze in a scene showing Heqenerheh nursing a young prince [64]). *Two Officials*, Pls. XXIII, XXIV (90).

<sup>147</sup> *Ancient Egypt VI* (1921), No. 20 on Pl. opp. p. 33 (either Dira Abu'n Naga 147 [Tuthmosis IV?] or Hety [151]).

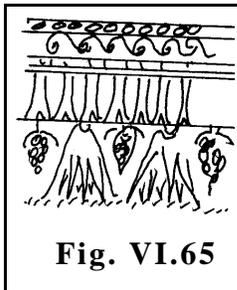
<sup>148</sup> *City of Akhenaten I*, Pl. IX, 1 (Maru Aten; building I; panel 16 of the pavement).

<sup>149</sup> Bruyère, *Deir el Medineh* 1927 (MIFAO V [1928]), p. 107, Fig. 71 (T. 354; on p. 105, Fig. 70 the *Mimusops* fruits seem to hang on long stems between the grapes).

<sup>150</sup> Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 42, Pls. XVIII, 28, C (House R. 44. 2; running above garland); XX (House of Ra'nufer).

<sup>151</sup> Huy, Pls. XIX, XXIII, XXV (40). Cf. also an unnumbered tomb near 153, 151 at Dira Abu'n Naga mentioned by Baud, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

occasionally used in applied art on combs. One from the coffin of *S 3-'Imn* at Thebes dates to the Amarna Period;<sup>152</sup> an almost identical example published by Prisse is without



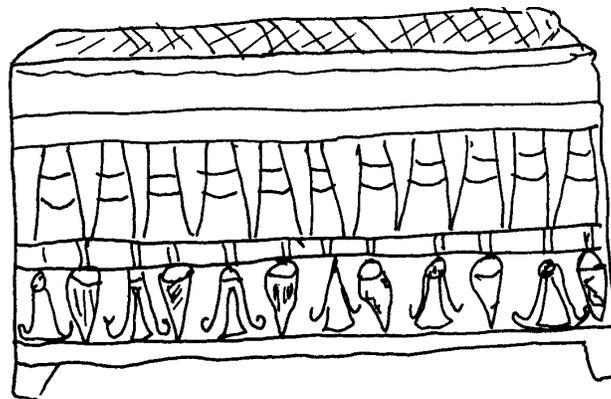
**Fig. VI.65**

provenience (Fig. VI.64).<sup>153</sup> In the tomb of Kha a fine frieze formed by a number of registers, contains one prominent band filled by alternating waterlilies, their buds, and grapes (Fig. VI.65).<sup>154</sup> From the same burial come a chair (Fig. VI.66) and linen chests (Fig. VI.67)<sup>155</sup> decorated by several different combinations of paratactic

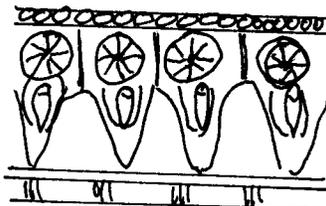
friezes. Waterlilies and their buds are prominent, but the knops may also alternate with South Flowers. *Mimusops* fruits, grape clusters, and petal friezes are also used.



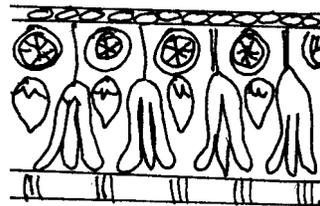
**Fig. VI.66**



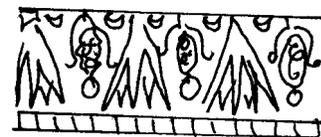
**Fig. VI.67**



**Fig. VI.68**



**Fig. VI.69**



**Fig. VI.70**

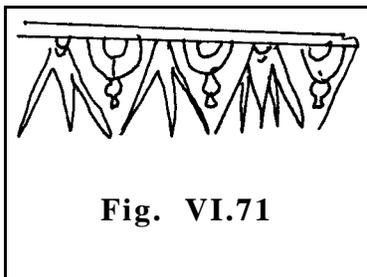
<sup>152</sup> *Annales* II (1901), 11, Fig. 11 = Bénédictine, *Objets de Toilette* I (Cat. Caire), Pl. IV, 44315.

<sup>153</sup> Prisse, *Mon.*, Pl. XLVII, 26.

<sup>154</sup> BMMA XVII (1922), Dec. Pt. II, p. 51, Fig. 2 (T.8).

<sup>155</sup> Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, top; 71, Fig. 38, and 113, Fig. 93; 111, bottom; 112, top; 126, Fig. 110; 127, Fig. 111; 128; Fig. 112.

There are in addition some unusual examples of paratactic friezes which do not fall within the normal categories of *Nymphaeas* with grapes or buds. Sebekhotp's tomb displays a frieze formed by a row of rosettes between which hang long-stemmed waterlilies with bud filling (Fig. VI.68) and a design in Heqerenheh's grave is much the same save that South Flowers and *Mimusops* appear (Fig. VI.69);<sup>156</sup> both date to the reign of Tuthmosis IV. A contemporary pattern consists of waterlilies alternating with curious red, arc-shaped areas from the tips of which are suspended examples of an unidentified vegetal motive (Fig. VI.70).<sup>157</sup> In Haremhab's tomb occurs a frieze in two registers; the identity of the elements of the narrow top band is not clear; the lower row is built up of *Nymphaeas* alternating with a banded, cone-shaped element that is probably homologous with the



cluster of grapes (Fig. VI.71).<sup>158</sup> Figs. VI.68-70<sup>159</sup> are purely decorative developments, with but little relationship to the florists' garlands or to the natural or faience friezes of grapes or flowers attached to the kiosks and baldachins.

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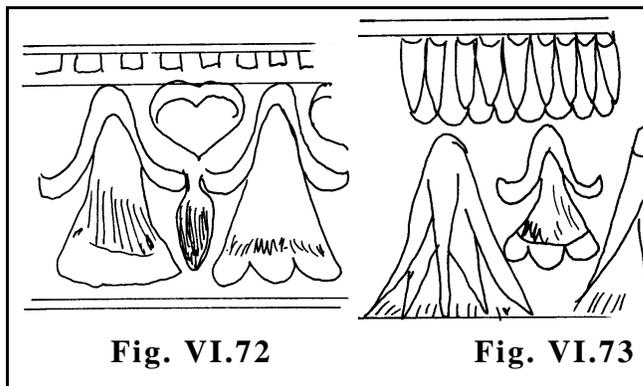
<sup>156</sup> Jéquier, *Decoration égyptienne* (Paris, 1911) Pl. XXXIX, 58 (63), 61 (64).

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXVIII, 56 (Thanuny; Qurna 74; a more accurate copy of the pattern might possibly enable identification of the pendants; in general they resemble the shape of cornflowers, or even pomegranates).

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 55 (78).

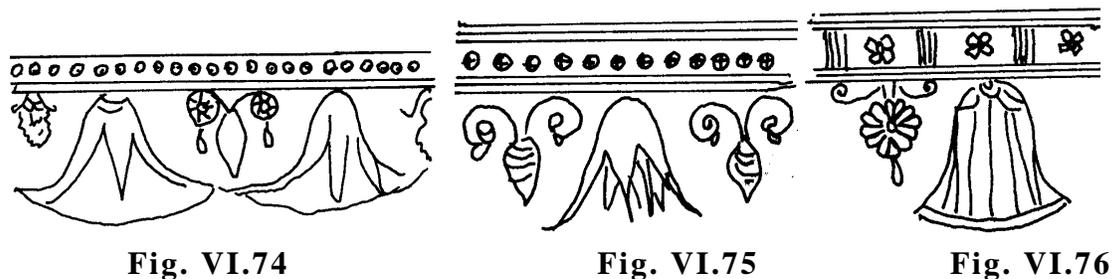
<sup>159</sup> not identified.

At the close of the Eighteenth Dynasty elaborate versions of paratactic friezes in which the space between the pendant stems is filled by rosettes were coming into vogue. In the applied arts such friezes were used for pectoral ornaments<sup>160</sup> and on the axles of chariots<sup>161</sup> from the tomb of Tutankhamun. Similar floral bands, but without rosettes, were also used on the chariots and on a pectoral.<sup>162</sup> In the Nineteenth Dynasty and after very ornate paratactic friezes were created; the elements of the



various floral motives are combined in wilful mixtures. In Fig. VI.72 and 73 South-flower-like petals flank *Alcea*-like flowers. Figs. VI.74, 75 and 76 are all characterized by the addition of spiral elements to the knob shapes, and of hanging drops to several

motives. All of these unfortunately are from Prisse, and without provenience; nevertheless their character proves them to be undoubtedly post-Eighteenth Dynasty, and they probably occur in Nineteenth to Twenty-first Dynasty tombs.<sup>163</sup>



<sup>160</sup> *Tomb Tut III*, Pl. XIX, B (*Nymphaeas*, *Mimusops*, or poppy petals, and broad-banded rosettes are the main elements).

<sup>161</sup> *Tomb Tut II*, Pl. XXXIX, B ("Daisy" rosettes are used here).

<sup>162</sup> ILN, Jan 12, 1924, p. 63; Mar. 15, 1924, p. 453; Feb. 26, 1927, p. 355.

<sup>163</sup> *Art égy.*, Pl. XIII, 10 for *Nymphaeas* alternating with pendant loops. Cf. also *Ibid.*, Pl. XIII, 3.

One very distinct class of Ramesside paratactic friezes can be distinguished.<sup>164</sup> Here the main elements are usually *Nymphaea* or papyrus heads interspersed with rosettes and other filling elements. The distinctive feature is the increasing prominence of the intervening areas, which sometimes amounts to the emergence of the former negative background as a positive part of the design. The new character of these roughly triangular spaces,

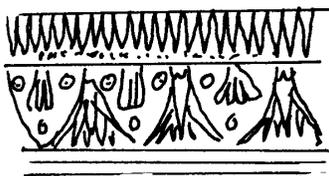


Fig. VI.77

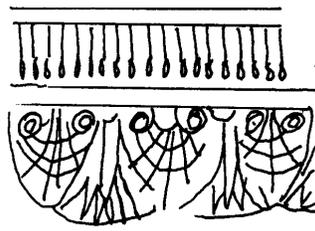


Fig. VI.78

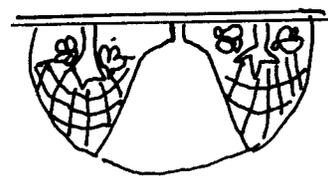


Fig. VI.79

sometimes indicated only by dark paint as in the tomb of Pinehas (Fig. VI.77), or by vertical and horizontal hatching as in the tomb of a Nakhtmin (Fig. VI.78), both dating to the reign of Ramses II. A Twenty-first Dynasty example from the tomb of Nespamerhor forms part of a ceiling pattern,<sup>165</sup> and other designs of this type have been published by Prisse (Fig. VI.79).<sup>166</sup> The mummy cases of the Twenty-first to Twenty-second Dynasties often have one register or more of the painted garlands occupied by an elaborate frieze of this type.<sup>167</sup> Such patterns were also carried out in faience; as on tiles from Tell el Yahoudiye the yellow background still remains subordinated to the positive designs.<sup>168</sup>

## HYPOTACTIC FRIEZES

<sup>164</sup> Cf. *Dec. Art*, p. 65.

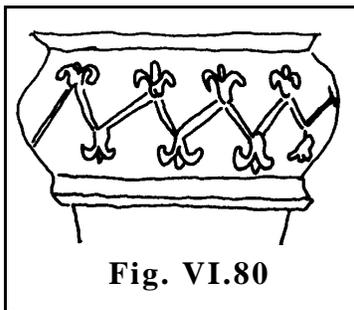
<sup>165</sup> Jéquier, *op. cit.*, Pl. XL, 63 (Qurna 63; Hrihor)

<sup>166</sup> Cf. also *Art Égy.* I, Pl. LIV, 6.

<sup>167</sup> Bruyere, *Deir el Medineh*, Nord, 1928 (FIFAO VI [1929], p. 17, Fig. 17, lower left. British Museum Guide to First Second and Third Egyptian Rooms, 1924, Pls. VI (Hu-en-Amen; No. 6660), VIII (Bak-en-Mut; No. 24792), IX (No. 24790).

<sup>168</sup> Trans. SBA, VII (1880=82), Pl. VI, 2, opp. p. 190.

The garland friezes are quite clearly reflections of actual florist's chaplets and we have assumed that the idea of imitating the real or faience baldachin hangings, and possibly also the concept of twining grape foliage, was an important determining factor in the development of the paratactic friezes. However, it is now necessary to point out that, in addition, the Egyptians developed a number of connected, hypotactic, frieze designs, which must be regarded as purely ornamental motives. Since in composition they are not imitated from any natural prototype, although employing naturalistic floral units, they may be termed in a certain sense abstract.<sup>169</sup> The earliest known example occurs on a sword of



Kamose; around the end of the bronze socket runs a zigzag frieze, every point of which is tipped by a South-flower (Fig. VI.80).<sup>170</sup> A zigzag frieze does not recur again until the reign of Ramses III, when it is found decorating the robe of an Asiatic prisoner on a tile from Medinet Habu (Fig. VI.81).<sup>171</sup>

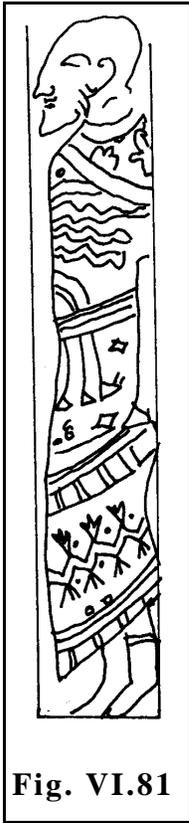
There can hardly be any doubt that many examples of the use of such a border have been lost.

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<sup>169</sup> Cf. Riegl, *Stilfragen* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 70-71, 67 ff.

<sup>170</sup> Burlington 1922, Pl. XXIII. PM IV, 843, Fig. 824.

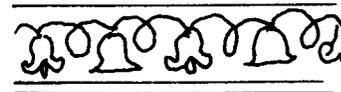
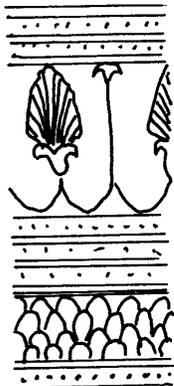
<sup>171</sup> BMFA VI (1908), 48, top, "Amorite." The occurrence of the design in this context does not mean that it should be considered foreign to Egypt, as it was perfectly normal and usual for the Egyptian artists to endow the figures of foreigners with age old indigenous Egyptian motives.



**Fig. VI.81**

The next hypotactic designs to appear are the arc friezes which occur in the reign of Amenhotep II on small objects. A fragment of a wooden bow from the tomb of that monarch was ornamented with bark mosaic; one register is filled by a tiny papyriform element on an attenuated stalk, alternating with a hybrid ornament (Fig. VI.82).<sup>172</sup> A wooden bracelet that belonged to Maiherperi, a contemporary of Amenhotep II, is decorated by a simple arc frieze of *Nymphaea*, buds and flowers (Fig. VI.83). Maiherperi had also possessed a leather quiver elaborately ornamented, among other designs with an arc frieze of South-flowers and papyri separated by loops (Fig. VI.84). The existence of such patterns on small objects indicates the possibility that these motives could also have been carried out on a larger scale as architectural motives; it is for this reason that we may suspect the sudden appearance of floral friezes in the reign of

Tuthmosis IV to be a fortuitous phenomenon. A pointed leather trapping from the tomb of that king bears two registers of an arc frieze, tipped alternately with the emblems of Upper and Lower Egypt (Fig. VI.85). In this reign, too, *Nymphaeas* alternating with



<sup>172</sup> The sources of Figs. VI.82-89 have not been identified.

Fig. VI.82

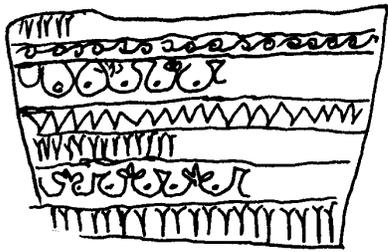


Fig. VI.85

Fig. VI.83

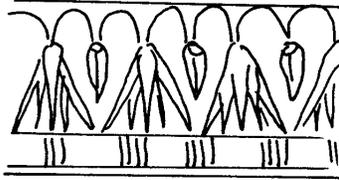


Fig. VI.86

Fig. VI.84

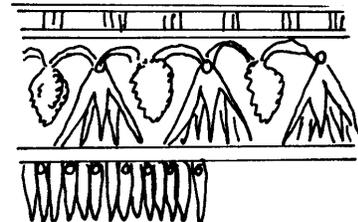


Fig. VI.87

buds (Fig. VI.86) or grapes<sup>173</sup> appear as architectural designs. In one case the hypotactic frieze of waterlilies and grapes is supplemented by a row of petals (Fig. VI.87). Two variants appear in the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky; one shows *Nymphaeas* and grapes with round fruits (?) attached to their tips (Fig. VI.88); the waterlily buds in the other

bordered by pendant tendrils that really belong to clusters of grapes (Fig. VI.89).

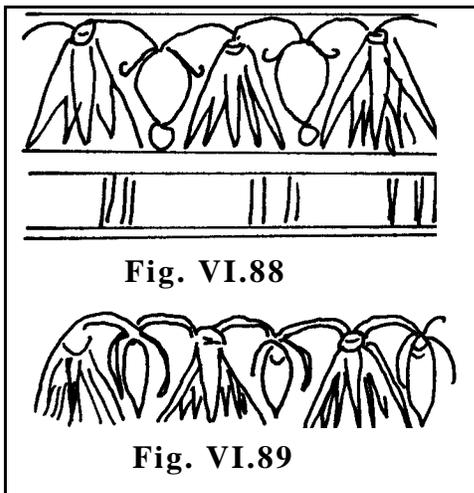


Fig. VI.88

Fig. VI.89

Although the arc frieze appears suddenly in several variants, it is not an isolated phenomenon in Egyptian design. We have already seen *Nymphaeas* arranged according to the bud-flower formula linked by stems on scarabs and painted pottery,<sup>174</sup> and the arc bands are simply extrapolations of such simple motives. Two faience bowls, unfortunately not

precisely dated, are decorated with pertinent designs. The interior of one (Fig. VI.90),<sup>175</sup> is covered by four stemmed *Nymphaeas* and four buds radiating from the center. These

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Mackay's list in *Ancient Egypt* VI (1921), p. 41, no. 4. Khokhah 175; Tuthmosis IV; Hety (Dira Abu'n Naga 151; Tuthmosis IV); Cf. also Or. Inst. Thebes, Neg/ 6139 (Huy, Qurna 54; Tuthmosis IV-Amenhotep III [?]; usurped by Kenro in early Dynasty XIX).

<sup>174</sup> Cf. Chapter II, p. 65 and nn. 290, 291; n. 302.

<sup>175</sup> Krönig in MDIAA, V (1935), 152, Fig. 11 (pier Coll).

elements are joined secondarily by loops. The other, (Fig. VI.91),<sup>176</sup> probably post-Eighteenth Dynasty in date by analogy with Figs. VI.74 and 75, only bears superficial resemblance to the arc friezes, since the spiral tendrils do not join. Fig. VI.90, too, is probably the result only of secondary conflation with the arc friezes, and it is the simple bud-flower groups which must be considered as the primordia of these hypotactic bands.

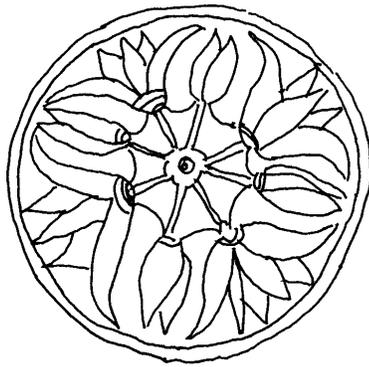


Fig. VI.90

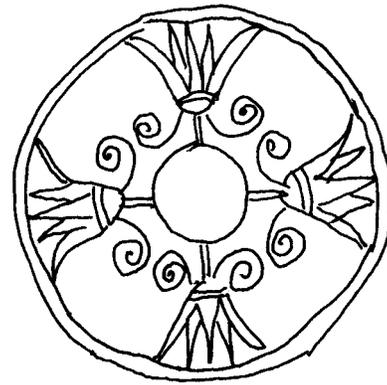


Fig. VI.91

Although a fairly simple version of an arc frieze with *Nymphaea* flowers and buds

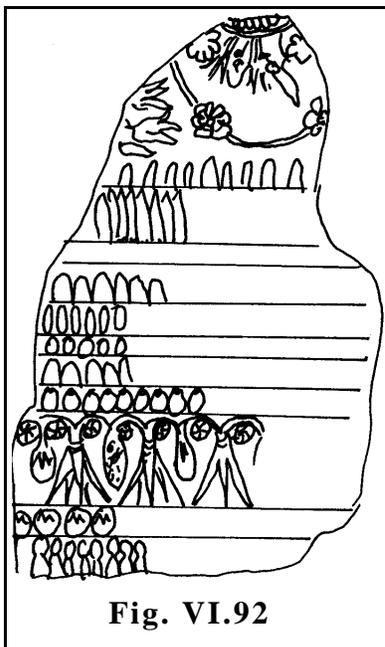


Fig. VI.92

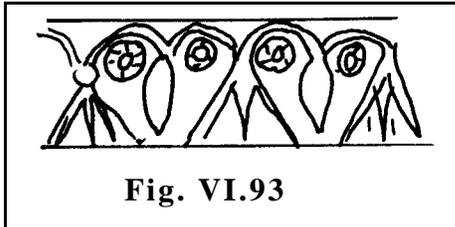
occurs in the tomb of Neferhotep, son of Neby,<sup>177</sup> in the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty it became usual to complicate such friezes in the same manner as the paratactic patterns, by introducing rosettes within the loops. This is exemplified by a large wall painting and a tomb frieze from Amarna (Fig. VI.92). This same process of applying rosettes in order to elaborate designs was also used, as we have seen, in the later unification symbols<sup>178</sup> and in the *Prunkgefässe* of the later New

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 152, Fig. 12 (Berlin, Agyptische Museum).

<sup>177</sup> *Neferhotep I*, p. 15.

Kingdom.<sup>179</sup> Aside from the architectural designs, an arc

frieze with inserted rosettes, carried out in elaborate faience work, adorned the outside of



**Fig. VI.93**

a faience dish with straight vertical walls; on the interior it bore a *Nymphaea* rosette (Fig. VI.93).

The vessel is not dated by its *Fundplatz*, except that it must have been deposited in the Sahure Mortuary

temple during the New Kingdom cult of Sekhmet that was carried on there. Borchardt has compared it to fragments of faience from Amarna, and it must be dated around that time.<sup>180</sup>

The end piece of a pectoral from the tomb of Tutankhamun is formed by a single bud-flower unit connected by arcs and filled with rosettes.<sup>181</sup> In the Nineteenth Dynasty and possibly afterwards, rosette-filled arc friezes were produced with the same kind of baroque detail as was applied to the late paratactic friezes. The clarity of earlier

Eighteenth Dynasty examples is lost. Of the examples published by Prisse, only Fig. VI.94 is dated; it is from the tomb of Neferhotep, son of Amenemait.<sup>182</sup> Fig. VI.95 and 96 are of much the same type.<sup>183</sup> On a small scale an imperfect arc frieze (the lower parts of the loops have disappeared) tipped with South Flowers and alternating with curious rosettes, possibly degenerate descendants of the volute rosettes, was used on a fragmentary tile from Qantir (Fig. VI.97). Only a few instances of the use of arc friezes in the applied arts remain aside from those already described. *Nymphaea* buds and flowers are arranged

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<sup>178</sup> Cf. Chapter IV, pp. 147ff

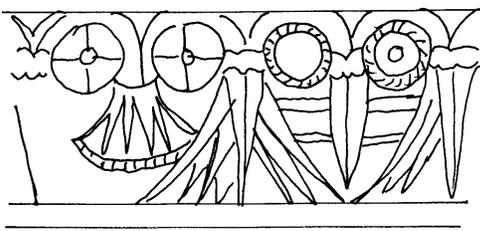
<sup>179</sup> Cf. Chapter IV, p. 155 and n. 105.

<sup>180</sup> Borchardt in WVDOG XIV, 130-131.

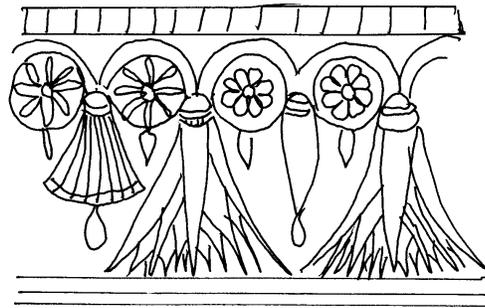
<sup>181</sup> *Tomb Tut.* III, Pl. XIX, C.

<sup>182</sup> *Art égy.* I, Pl. LIV, 4 = Bénédite, *Tombeau de Neferhotepou* (Mem. Miss. Arch. Fr., V, 3 [1894], Pl. VI, 3 (Qurna 50; Haremhab).

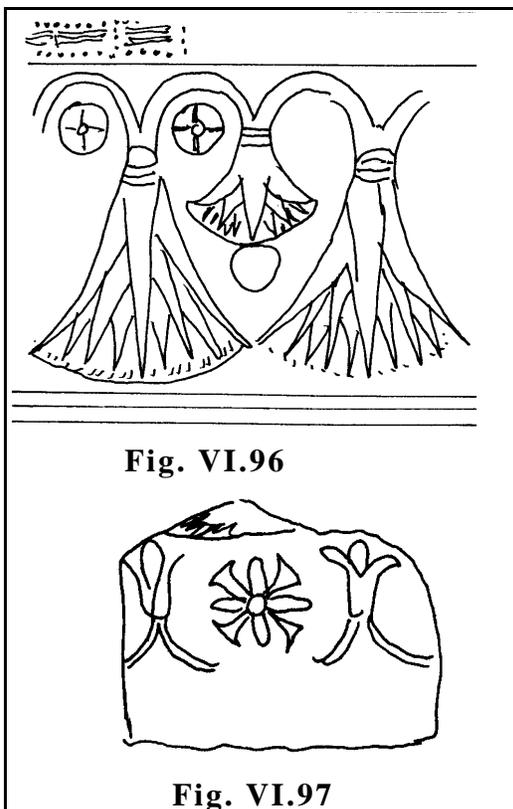
<sup>183</sup> *Art égy.*, Pl. XIII, 6, 8.



**Fig. VI.94**



**Fig. VI.95**



**Fig. VI.96**

**Fig. VI.97**

in this way, together with petal friezes on painted pottery.<sup>184</sup> Another example, ending in papyriform flowers with somewhat recurved tendrils, is one of several friezes on a gold vase from Tell Basta.<sup>185</sup> It was also a textile design and a bound Syrian prisoner on a tile from Medinet Habu wears a robe decorated with arcs tipped with South-flowers.<sup>186</sup> In addition to the single arc friezes there existed in Egypt interlocked arc motives, which were probably once commoner than the scanty material remaining indicates. The earliest example occurs on the girdle of one of Senenmut's Keftians.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>184</sup> Met. Mus. Neg. 81427. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes* (London, 1896), Pl. V, 8 ("Amenhotep II or III"). Boreux, *Antiquités égyptiennes au Louvre* (Paris, 1932), II, Pl. XLV, bottom; bronze bowl (Tuthmosis III).

<sup>185</sup> Vernier, *op. cit.*, Pl. CIV, 53261.

<sup>186</sup> Steindorff, *Die Kunst der Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 277, left (Cairo). Cf. Chapter VII, CL # 135.

<sup>187</sup> *Anc. Egy. Paint.* I, Pl. XIV.

Such designs ornament harness,<sup>188</sup> or are shown in a painting of a metal vessel from the tomb of Ramses III.<sup>189</sup> However, a more elaborate version of the motive had served as a ceiling decoration in the shrine of Neferhotep, son of Neby, at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>190</sup> A similar design published by Prisse is undated,<sup>191</sup> but the motive apparently persisted into the Nineteenth-Twentieth Dynasties, for a fragment of such a motive is illustrated, together with flying birds and plants, as coming from the tomb of Kakem opposite Asswan.<sup>192</sup>

The arc friezes are the commonest hypotactic motives, and other types are rare. In addition to the zigzags already noted, there are two examples of a frieze formed by running spirals enclosing *Nymphaea* rosettes, from which depend *Nymphaea* buds and flowers. This frieze is prominent in the tomb of Amenhotep III, belonging to the reign of Tuthmosis IV,<sup>193</sup> and also occurs in the tomb of a Huy, TT 54 (Qurna), which was built around the time of Tuthmosis IV-Amenhotep III, but was usurped early in the Nineteenth Dynasty by a Kenro;<sup>194</sup> most of the representations stem from that time, but the frieze must have been painted at much the same date as Amenhotep III's.

The number of types of hypotactic friezes, which are of purely decorative origin, is very small compared to the variety of garland friezes directly copied from the florists' products and compared to the paratactic borders, some of which may have arisen as decorative developments, although most appear to be constructed in imitation of actual architectural ornaments. Although future discoveries may increase the number of hypotactic designs known, the patterns modeled after actual florists' chaplets and

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<sup>188</sup> *Art égy.* II, Pl. LXXXIV.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.* II, Pl. CXLVI.12.

<sup>190</sup> *Neferhotep* I, p. 16, Fig. 6.

<sup>191</sup> *Art. égy.* I, Pl. XXXII, 7.

<sup>192</sup> *Atlas* I, Pl. CCCLXXV (*Annales*, IV, p. 60, no. 15).

<sup>193</sup> *Two Officials*, Pls. XI, XIII, XIV (75).

semicircular collars will probably remain unchallenged as the most frequent floral-frieze motives used in architectural decoration and for the adornment of painted pottery, serving as well as important motives on other classes of objects. Although the formal bouquets were extremely prominent in the life of the Egyptians and were repeatedly shown in the tombs, where the Eighteenth Dynasty draughtsmen appear to have delighted in forming them into decorative versions that assume a cast far more symmetrical than could have been possible in the case of the actual bouquets, these motives made a much smaller contribution to the strictly decorative repertoire than the other types of florists' products. Nevertheless, they are important as illustrations of an interesting cultural trait of the New Kingdom Egyptians, which may form an analogy to the manner in which certain purely decorative compounds were developed. The Egyptians were not content to enjoy flowers as they found them, but delighted in artificial combinations. The inflorescences were dissected, and the individual elements recombined in petal friezes or tiers. Completely different species were added to one another; *Mimusops* fruits were fastened into waterlily corollas to form a single unit. The stems of a composite or of papyrus were twined with *convolvulus* leaves. The gathering of all the countless blooms required for such work, and the minute and detailed labor of combining the different units into the floral products must indeed have made the florists' trade of New Kingdom Egypt an exacting occupation, one worthy of being held up by the scribe Neb-ma're'nakht, who, however, could not imagine a pleasant existence without the presence of garlands produced by the florists,<sup>195</sup> to his pupil Wenemdyamun, as an example contrasting darkly with the advantages of an influential, scribal career.

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<sup>194</sup> Or. Inst. Thebes, Neg. 6139.

<sup>195</sup> JEA XI (1925), p. 295, Papyrus Harris, 12, 10-13, 1. Nebma re-nakht is describing all the rewards attendant upon a diligent scribe and mentions that "garlands are made for thee of their leaves."

## SOURCES FOR THE FIGURES

- VI.1 Von Bissing, *Gemnikai* I, Pls. XXIV, XXV.
- VI.2 Jéquier, *Tombeaux de Particuliers contemporaines de Pepi* II, Pl. III.
- VI.3 BMMA XXIV (1929), Nov. Pt. II, p. 36, Fig. 1.
- VI.4 *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, p. 282, Pls. XXXV, XLI.
- VI.5 AAA, XIV (1927), Pl. XXI.
- VI.6 *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVI
- VI.7 *Puyemre* I, Pl. XXX, 1.
- VI.8 *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, , Pl. XLI.
- VI.9 *Ken-Amun* I, Pl. XXXVIII
- VI.10 *Ibid.*
- VI.11 Baud, *Dessin ébauchées* (MIFAO, LXIII, 1935) Pl. VIII.
- VI.12 BMMA XXIV (1929), Nov. Pt. II, p. 37, Fig. 2.
- VI.13 Farina , *La Pittura Egiziana*, Pl. CVI.
- VI.14 *Neferhotep* I, Pl. LI.
- VI.15 *Anc. Egy. Paint.* II, Pl. LXIV.
- VI.16 *Ibid.*
- VI.17 Calverley, *The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos* , I, Pl. XXII.
- VI.18 Foucart, *Tombeau de Panehsy* (MIFAO, LVII, 2 [1932]), p. 33, Fig. 17.
- VI.19 Or. Inst. Thebes photo 28474.
- VI.20 Foucart, *op. cit.*, p. 24, Fig. 12.

- VI.21 Baud, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXI.
- VI.22 *Ibid.*, p. 92, Fig. 39
- VI.23 Foucart, *Tombeau d'Amonmos* (MIFAO, LVII, 4), Pls XX, XXII.
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- VI.25 Bouriant, *Tombeau de Harmhabi*, Pl. III.
- VI.26 Maspero, *Musée égy.* II, Pl. XL.
- VI.27 *Nakht*, Pls. XI, XIII
- VI.28 *Two Sculptors*, Pl. 1
- VI.29 *Ibid.*, Pl. XVII.
- VI.30 *Ken-Amun I*, Pls. LIV
- VI.31 *Atlas I*, Pls. CXC, CXCVI.
- VI.32 *Nakht*, Pl. XXVII (?)
- VI.33 *Amarna I*, Pl. XIV
- VI.34 *Amarna II*, Pl. V; *Amarna III*, Pl. II.
- VI.35 *Medinet Habu IV*, Pl. 229
- VI.36 *Neferhotep*, Pl. XLI
- VI.37 *Abydos*, Pl. 6
- VI.38 *Amarna II*, Pl. XII
- VI.39 *City of Akhenaten I*, Pl. IX, 2.
- VI.40 *Amarna II*, Pl. XXIII.
- VI.41 *Amarna I*, Pl. XL.
- VI.42 *Neferhotep I*, Pl. LV, A.
- VI.43 Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, Pl. II.
- VI.44 Frankfort, *Mural Painting of El Amarneh*, p. 69, Pl. XII, H
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- VI.46 JEA XIII (1927), Pl. IV.

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- VI.50 Benedite, *Miroirs* (Cat. Caire), Pl. XXIII, 44101 A.
- VI. 51 Bruyere, *Deir el Midineh* 1934-35 (FIFAO, XVI, 1939), p. 211, Fig. 100.
- VI.52 Farina, *op. cit.*, Pls. CXIX, CXX, CXXII, CXXIV.
- VI.53 Jéquier, *Dec. égy.*, Pl. XXXIX, 62.
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- VI.56 *Ibid.*, Pl. IX.
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- VI.61 *Two Officials*, Pls. XXIII, XXIV.
- VI.62 *City of Akhenaten* I, Pl. IX, 1.
- VI.63 Bruyère, *Deir el Medineh* 1927 (FIFAO V [1928]), p. 107, Fig. 71
- VI.64 Prisse, *Mon.*, Pl. XLVII, 26.
- VI.65 BMMA XVII (1922), Dec. Pt. II, p. 51, Fig. 2
- VI.66 Schiaparelli, *Cha* , p. 113, Fig. 93.
- VI.67 *Ibid.*, pp. 126-128, Figs. 110, 111, 112 *Ibid.*
- VI.68 Not identified (Jéquier?)
- VI.69 Jéquier, *Dec. égy.*, Pl. XXXIUX, 58
- VI.70 *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXVIII, 56
- VI.71 *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXVIII, 55
- VI.72 Prisse, *Art égy.* Pl. XIII

VI.73 *Ibid.*

VI.74 *Ibid.*

VI.75 *Ibid.*.

VI.76 *Ibid.*

VI.77 Cf. Petrie, *Decorative Art*, p. 65 (Source not identified)

VI.78 “ “ “

VI.79 Prisse, *Art égy.* I Pl. LIV,6 (?)

VI.80 Burlington 1922, Pl. XXIII. PM IV, 843, Fig. 824.

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VI.82-VI.89 Sources not identified

VI.90 MDIAA V (1935), 152, Fig. 11

VI.91 *Ibid.*, 152, Fig. 12.

VI.92-VI.93 Sources not identified

VI.94 Prisse, *Art égy.* I, Pl. LIV, 4

VI.95 *Ibid.*, Pl. XIII, 6.

VI.96 *Ibid.*, Pl. XIII, 8

VI.97 Source not identified

