

SECTION III
ASIA IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM

CHAPTER XII

GLEANINGS FROM EGYPT
CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE

The survey of plant ornament in Egypt and the Aegean has now been completed. In New Kingdom Egypt, despite the frequency of relatively simple and uncombined designs such as the various applications of the swamp plants and the South-flowers, or many of the floral friezes, it is the hybrid motives which stand out as the most distinctive decorations. It is these patterns which are significant for the main stream of plant ornament. We have seen that, although Crete and the Mainland of Greece developed a large repertoire of plant designs of striking individuality, these exerted no influence in Egypt. The only important Aegean contribution was the drop motive attached to the South flower hybrids, and derived from the abstract spiralforn decoration of MM II Crete. Although it is on the basis of the Egyptian evidence that we have claimed a completely indigenous origin for the South-flower compounds, data gleaned from the materials of Egyptian archaeology have also provided the justification for the conclusions reached by various scholars as to the Asiatic origin of the hybrid “palmettes.”

In 1910 W. Max Müller eliminated the “palmette-like” ornaments from the repertory of Egyptian patterns and cited specifically CL 139.¹ He laid stress on the role played by similar designs on vessels seized as booty, and insisted that a strong influence emanating from Western Asia governed the decoration of the weapons, chariots and saddler’s equipment which had been introduced by Easterners. Moreover, he believed that the importation of wood was correlated with an imitation of foreign models in the decoration of

¹ CL and number refers to Topographical Check List of South-flower Hybrids in Chapter VII.

objects made in that material.² When Borchardt discussed the question in 1913, an Asiatic origin was the conventional explanation for hybrid designs.³ More recently their non-Egyptian origin has been referred to by Boreux and Montet.⁴ The latter cites as proof the sudden appearance of the palmette on Ahmose's dagger, its occurrence on objects of Asiatic introduction - chariots and quiver - as well as on native Egyptian objects, and its use between two heraldic animals. Davies relied upon the same arguments in the most recent reference to the problem, made in the course of a discussion of embroidered panels on a tunic of Tutankhamun.⁵ He has built up a strong case for considering this object as either an import from Syria or made in Egypt under strongly Syrianizing influence, possibly by Asiatic craftsmen. Since definitely imported Asiatic objects have rarely been found in Egypt, the tomb and temple representations have served as the chief archaeological source of information. Thus Montet considers that a carved horn (CL 51), together with two designs, apparently serving as jar stoppers and on the crowned head of a horn, exemplify the occurrence of the "palmette" in Syria and its importation thence to Egypt⁶. He does not quote the fragmentary tribute vessel from the tomb of Sebkhotep (CL 109), although it provides as good, or better, "proof" of his theory than the other representations cited.

The introduction of such evidence involves the much discussed question of the accuracy of the ethnographic details of Egyptian representations.⁷ The amazingly faithful rendering of certain specific elements, for example some of the Aegean objects in the tombs of Senmut, Amenmose and Rekhmire (Cf Chapter X, Table 1), does not alter the fact that

² W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches II*, (Washington D.C., 1906-1920), p.9.

³ Cf. Chapter VII.

⁴ Boreux, *Antiquitees égyptiennes du Louvre (Paris, 1932)*, p. 341; Pierre Montet, *Les Reliques de l'art syrien dans l'Égypte du nouvel empire (Paris, 1937)*, pp. 170-171.

⁵ G. M. Crowfoot and N. de G. Davies, "The Tunic of Tutankhamun," *JEA*, XXVII (1941), 127-128.

⁶ Montet, *op. cit.*, p. 82, figs. 106-108. In addition, he cites specimens of hybrid designs derived from Syria itself; cf. Chap. XIII below.

⁷ On this question cf. the excellent article of Davies, "The Work of the Graphic Branch of the Expedition", *BMAA*, XXV (1930), Dec. Pt II, pp.29-42 and Chapter X, Table I, n. 1.

Egyptian artists were not trained to produce scientific depictions of foreign peoples.⁸ Certain salient generalized characteristics, physiognomy, general mode of dress, and the like were seized upon and became standard models to be copied and sometimes confused by succeeding generations of draftsmen.⁹ Many of the details of the depictions were then filled in with purely indigenous items. Although in the general cut, Aegean kilts or Syrian robes are obviously exotic, there does not exist a single case in which the foreign origin of the textile designs can be proved. Reference has already been made to the figure-8 and *Potamegeton* motives used on kilts of Keftians in the tomb of Menkheperassonb.¹⁰ The geometric designs are those characteristic of Egyptian surface decoration. This has been strongly emphasized by A. van Gennep and Jequier, and is indeed, quite evident, based upon a survey of the designs they discuss.¹¹ We will content ourselves here by mentioning a few patterns chosen at random. The tail patterns used on the girdles and kilts of Menkheperassonb's Aegeans is the one pattern ubiquitous in false doors from the time of Hesy on.¹² The lintels of false doors are often filled by two series of chevrons extending symmetrically from a central lozenge, and this occurs as a girdle pattern.¹³ The waist band of another figure from Menkheperassonb's tomb is covered only by a single chevron series, probably a segment of the complete lintel pattern.¹⁴ Very simple are the criss-cross

⁸ Cf. Davies, "The Egyptian Expedition," *BMMA* XXIV (1929), Nov, Pt. II, pp. 38-39, for discussion of ethnic types, especially a fabulous "Keftiu" painted on the throne platform in Tomb 120 (Amenhotep III). A. van Gennep-G. Jequier, *Le Tissage aux cartons et son utilisation décorative dans l'égypte ancienne* (Neuchatel, 1916), pp. 108, 109.

⁹ Cf. Chapter VIII.

¹⁰ Chapter V..

¹¹ Gennep - G. Jequier, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108, Fig. 128. "C'est dans l'Égypte même qu'on peut déjà trouver les éléments, fondamentaux des décors de ces bordures dites égéennes ou syriennes bien avant la XVIII^eme dynastée."

¹² Nina de Garis and N. de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperassonb, Amenmose, and Another* (London, 1933), Pls. IV, V. J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara: Tomb of Hesy* (Cairo, 1907), Pls. VIII, IX. Gennep-Jequier, *op. cit.* pp. 47-48

¹³ Davies, *op. cit.*, Pl. V. Or. Inst. photo 34299 (MK coffin). Georg Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs II* (Berlin, 1901), Pl. I. P. Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieur au nouvel empire* (Cat. Caire, 1904-6), Pls. XV, 28029; XVI, 28030; XXIV, 28083. Gennep-Jequier, *op. cit.*, p. 41, Fig. 42.

¹⁴ Davies, *op. cit.*, Pl. V.

lines on a kilt band, but they, too, can be paralleled on false doors.¹⁵ More distinctive are the hatched, alternating triangles occurring both on a girdle and in a kilt, and frequently found on the false doors painted on wooden sarcophagi.¹⁶

In the later New Kingdom the robes of foreigners were sometimes shown with pictorial designs. Some of these are claimed by Montet to be samples of Syrian embroidery, but this hardly seems likely in view of the fact that the beasts shown find parallels in the animal style normal in Egypt at the period.¹⁷ There is, however, one element of Syrian dress, the round medallion suspended by a short band around the neck, which is prominent in Egyptian representations, as Montet has shown.¹⁸ Proof that this was a feature of Asiatic dress in the period of Hammurabi is given by a mural from Mari.¹⁹ Actual examples in gold have been found in Syria and Palestine.²⁰ However, in no case do the designs with which the Egyptian artists covered the medallions coincide with the decoration on actual pendants. In Egyptian representations they are covered either by simple geometrical circular designs,²¹ or variations on Egyptian quatrefoil motives.²² A *Nymphaea* rosette shown in Puyemre's tomb and a design apparently related to the volute rosette emphasize the custom of filling in the main outlines of a picture with indigenous Egyptian details.²³

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. V. Or Inst. photo 34299. Steindorff, *op. cit.* Pls. I, II.

¹⁶ Davies, *op. cit.* Pl V. Lacau, *op. cit.* Pl. XVI, 28032; XVII, 28069; XVIII, 2807 (1); XXIV, 28083; XXVI, 28085. Gennep-Jequier, *op. cit.*, p. 45, fig. 64.

¹⁷ Montet, *op. cit.*, p. 80, Fig. 102, p. 88, Fig. 11 (both from Tell el Yehudiyah); See also CL 54.. All these are tiles dating to the Nineteenth Dynasty or Ramses III. Earlier the decorated kilts (and tattooing) of foreigners engraved upon the first gold chariot of Tutankhamun (*ILN*, Jan 12, 1924, p. 63) are motives that compare closely with examples of the animal styles on other objects of this reign.

¹⁸ Montet, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-48.

¹⁹ A. Parrot, "Les peintures du Palais de Mari," *Syria*, XVIII (1937), pp. 325-344. .

²⁰ Claude Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra* (Oxford, 1939), Pl. XXXII, 1, middle.

²¹ Montet, *op. cit.*, p. 47, Fig. 36 (Chariot of Tuthmosis IV).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 46, Fig. 34, p. 47, Fig. 36, bottom, second from left.

²³ N. de Garis Davies, *The tomb of Puyemre I at Thebes* (New York, 1922).

The same thing happened in the case of the tribute objects. Most prominent among the vessels brought are the bowls and craters ornamented with flowers and other figurative designs of whose indigenous Egyptian character there can be no doubt.²⁴ The appearance of typical Egyptian *Nymphaea* petal decorations on tribute vessels, and even on the fillers that are ultimately of Aegean inspiration²⁵ illustrate the application of Egyptian details in depictions of foreign artifacts.

It is apparent that the data yielded by the representations can only be properly evaluated when supplemented by other evidence. It is the actual examples of rhyta found at Ras Shamra which indicate the likelihood that those pictured in the hands of Syrians may well correspond to reality, instead of being mistakenly carried over from pictures of Aegeans. Likewise the importance of ivory working along the Asiatic littoral and the actual discovery of a carved ivory horn at Lachish show that the tomb representations of Syrians presenting such objects correspond with reality. In some cases not enough archaeological evidence has accumulated to elucidate the tomb scenes completely. For instance, *Nymphaea* beakers are obviously distinctive indigenous features in Egypt, and yet they appear among the foreign tribute. Since faience imitations were made at Ugarit, there is a possibility that Syrians may have included copies made of costly materials among their gifts.

In the light of such examples it is clear that the vases and vase stoppers with compound plant ornament cited by Montet need not be regarded as Asiatic forms, despite the fact that they appear among the tribute objects. Moreover, it is now easy to realize that the horns, though admittedly foreign, could well be equipped with decorative details of Egyptian derivation. Since there is no supporting evidence from Syria itself for the existence of the motives in question, we cannot accept the Egyptian reliefs themselves as proofs of the Syrian origin of these hybrid designs. The same circumstances form the

²⁴ See Chapter II, pp. 68ff.

²⁵ N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes* (New York, 1935), Pl. IV.

justification for the inclusion in our catalogue of Egyptian South-flower patterns of certain designs purporting to be illustrations of objects manufactured in Syria.²⁶

The introduction of the horse and chariot into Egypt, a by-product of the Hyksos era, entailed the use of a great deal of new equipment. Many scenes illustrate the preparation of this new armament in Egyptian saddlery shops and smithies.²⁷ In addition, the tomb pictures show Asiatics presenting chariots and horses, as well as daggers, scimitars, bows, quivers and helmets.²⁸ Since the South-flower hybrids often occur on objects of this kind, such scenes have served as one of the main arguments for their non-Egyptian origin.²⁹ According to Davies, the palmette “was probably introduced into Egypt from Syria and at first chiefly occurs as the decoration of the weapons, daggers, sheaths, bow cases which Egypt imported.”³⁰ The same reasoning was used earlier by W. Max Müller.³¹

Despite the weight which this view has carried, there are several cogent arguments against it. The essentially Egyptian character of the elements of the compound designs cannot be glossed over by any assumption of the approximation of a foreign motive to the Egyptian South-flower.³² The earliest known example of a compound ornament occurs on ‘Aqhor’s gaming board, not on a weapon. Next in the chronological series are the palmettes of Ahmose’s dagger, which are succeeded by two types of lobed palmettes used in ceiling patterns during the reign of Tuthmosis III (CL 33-34). It is true that when such designs became commoner, in the reign of Amenhotep II, a large number of examples

²⁶ CL 51, CL 109.

²⁷ Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, Pls. XI, XII. N. de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth* (London, 1923), Pl. X (Amenhotep-si-se).

²⁸ Montet, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-39; Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, Pls. I-V, VII (Qurna 86); xxxiv, xxv (Amenmose; Qurna 42).

²⁹ Cf. Chapter VII, Chart, “Military Equipment”.

³⁰ G. M. Crowfoot and N. de G. Davies, “The Tunic of Tutankhamun,” *JEA*, XXVII (1941), pp. 127-128.

³¹ Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

³² Montet, *op. cit.*, p. 170. Montet has chosen the Iris, illustrated among the “Syrian” plants of Tuthmosis III’s botanical garden as the natural prototype of the palmette (*Ibid.*, pp. 82-83).

occur on arms - on a bow (CL 2), wooden (CL 35, CL 107-108) and leather saddlers products (CL 36 a, b), a quiver (CL 37 a,b; CL 89 a-c), but they are balanced by others decorating a boat hull (CL 40), a seal (CL 90), and Qenamun's epergne (CL 98). Even in the earlier phases of development South-flower hybrids occur on a large range of objects, which increased considerably in the latter part of the New Kingdom, as a glance at the table in Chapter VII, "The Habitats of the South-flower Hybrids," will show. A further damaging objection against the view of Davies and Müller is the fact that the Egyptians were clearly not at a loss in providing indigenous decoration for chariots and other equipment. During the reign of Amenhotep II a *Nymphaea* rosette appeared on a wooden button (Fig.IV. 35), daisy rosettes on bridles (Fig.IV. 74-76), on a horse cloth (Fig.IV. 78), and on a wooden "button" (Fig.IV. 77). Under Tuthmosis IV circumscribed rosettes were used on a bridle piece (Fig.IV. 105) as well as *Nymphaea* flowers on blinkers in the same figure. The designs involving volutes found on blinkers (Fig.XI.47-48), on a round leather plaque (Fig.V. 84), and on the tips of quivers (Fig. V.92) are indigenous. The chariot of Tuthmosis IV is decorated by embossed reliefs showing the king overthrowing his enemies, executed in a pure Egyptian style. On both this chariot and one of Tutankhamun's the use of the unification symbol as a central motive with subdued opponents on either side illustrates clearly the application of an age-old indigenous motive in a new situation. It should also be noted that very little is known of the decoration applied to martial equipment in the Asiatic littoral; there is no proof whatsoever that hybrid vegetal designs were used in such contexts, while we know that in Egypt simple South-flowers and papyrus were so used as well as the more complex designs.³³ In view of these points we cannot accept the theory that the hybrid ornaments arrived in Egypt in the wake of imported weapons and chariots.

³³ Cf. Fig.III. 60-63

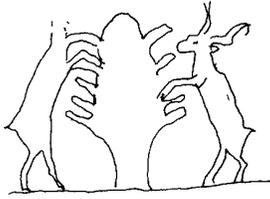


Fig. XII.1

When the space available for decoration was sufficiently large the South-flower hybrids often form the central axis for two heraldic ruminants. In the Eighteenth Dynasty such arrangements occur on a number of objects.³⁴ In the following chapters we shall find that comparable heraldic compositions

were commonly used in Asia;³⁵ in general, examples of symmetrical animal groups flanking vegetal motives were frequent in many phases of Asiatic art.³⁶ Thus there arises the question of whether the appearance of these compositions in Egypt was based on foreign stimulation.³⁷ A demonstration of the non-Egyptian origin of the hybrids would not result even if the composition in which they appear proves to be foreign. However, there is good reason to believe that this is not the case. In Egypt the heraldic motives can be considered formalized decorative applications of naturalistic tomb scenes.³⁸ Goats are most commonly placed in the rampant, heraldic poses, and this is in complete accord with the well known voracity of these animals. They are in the habit, not only of cropping herbaceous forage, but of stripping the foliage from woody plants. Their attacks on trees have been recorded by travelers. Schweinfurth observed that “a large flock of (Ethiopian) goats occasionally groups itself round a tree with pendant branches: in that case animals are rarely seen in any other position than standing upright on their hind legs,”...³⁹

³⁴ CL 93, CL 95, CL 110-111, CL 114-115.

³⁵ Cf. Figs.XIII.3; XIII.26; XIII.27; XIII.31; XIII.34; XIII.36; XIII.42; Figs.XIV.7-17; XIV.20-21, XIV.26-27.

³⁶ H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), pp. 205, 255f.

³⁷ Such heraldic poses were considered Egyptian, but D.Fimmen (*Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, 2nd ed.,Berlin, 1924, p. 209, n. 2) treated them as particularly characteristic of Asia, and this appears to have remained the general consensus of opinion.

³⁸ They are thus in contrast to the Asiatic motives, which, with the exception of Middle Assyrian motives, do not appear directly related with naturalistic themes. In certain sphragistic traditions the antithetical animals surrounding vegetation appear to have been endowed with symbolic content (Cf, Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pp.90-91).

³⁹ George Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa* (New York, 1874), p. 33.

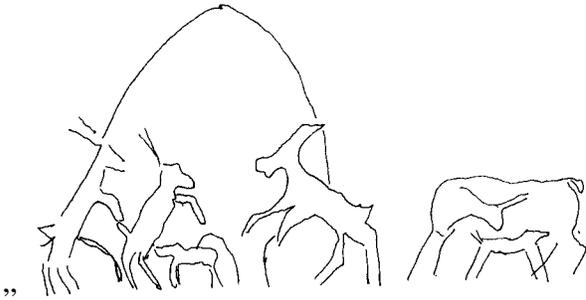


Fig. XII.2

Old Kingdom 1

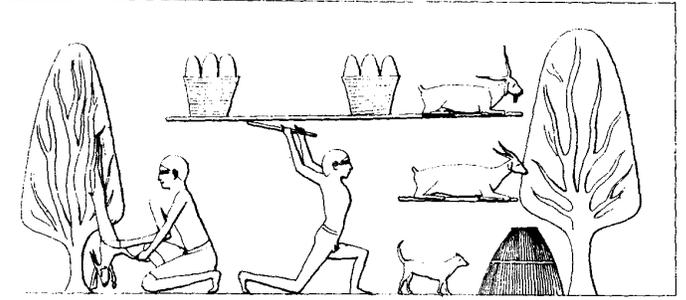


Fig. XII.4

Many years later Fairchild, when traveling in Morocco observed even more remarkable behavior:

“I was quite unprepared for the surprise which came with a sharp turn in the road when we saw across the valley two argan trees full of goats. One of these happened to be a piebald goat and stood out in strong contrast with the dark green vegetation of the tree. Catching up my camera I ran across to see these arboreal animals.... They were not aware of my presence for some minutes and I had time to study the method by which they climbed into the topmost branches, cropping right and left at their leisure. A close examination of the larger branches of the tree showed that the upper sides had been flattened into actual runways by the sharp hoofs of many generations of animals traveling up and down on them. They were even broad enough to allow a goat to spring from one branch to the other and stand there on its hind feet while it browsed. When the animals saw me they scampered down the tree trunks and away across the valley.

We met the same herd of goats at the same spot on our return from Agadir and I persuaded the goatherd to show us how he got them to feed on any particular tree. First he struck with his staff on the tree making quite a noise to attract their attention. Then he threw rocks up into it, which broke off small twigs as they tore through the dense branches and when the goats saw these green bits on the ground, they lost no time in jumping and scrambling up into the tree to browse.”⁴⁰

⁴⁰ David Fairchild, *Exploring for Plants* (New York, 1931), pp. 175-6 and frontispiece.



Fig. XII.3



Fig. XII.5

In the pasturage scenes of Egyptian tombs, from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom, goats are shown making their usual depredations, sometimes even assisted by herdsmen who cut down branches for their benefit.⁴¹

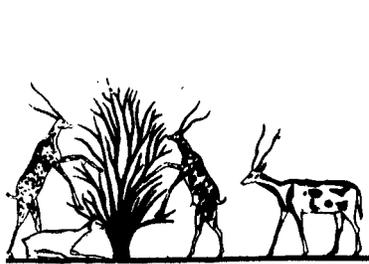


Fig. XII.6



Fig. XII.7

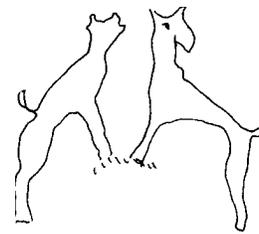


Fig. XII.9

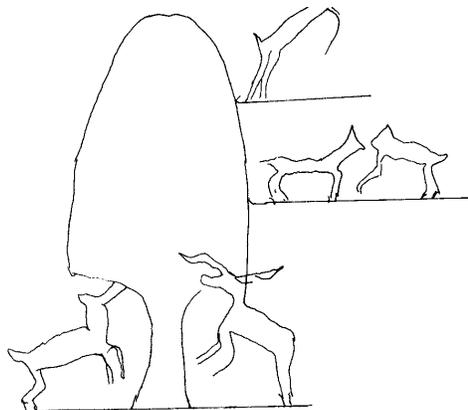


Fig. XII.9

New Kingdom

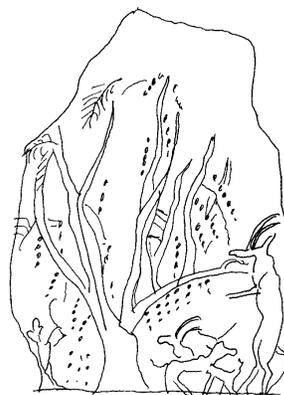


Fig. XII.10

⁴¹ Despite the naturalistic, representative character of such scenes, the animals may assume rampant poses (Figs. XII.1, XII.3, XII.6, XII.9). The two goats nursing their kids on the Bologna chest correspond to groups drawn in the Old Kingdom (Figs. XII.2, XII.3, XII.5).

Figs. XII. 9 and XII.10 illustrate the persistence of the theme of grazing goats in the New Kingdom. By this time, too, it was not impossible to create almost symmetrical groups of young, sporting animals (Fig.XII. 8, XII.9). In view of such antecedents it seems superfluous to assume that the Egyptians would have had to import from abroad the theme of heraldic ruminants. It was necessary only to substitute an artificial vegetal motive in a group from a pasturage scene to produce a composition like that on 'Aqhor's gaming board (CL 125), and the succeeding New Kingdom heraldic compositions. Nor were rampant animals limited to designs involving South-flower hybrids; they occur together with simple pinnate branches on a scarab and two sealings (Fig.XII.11, XII.12,XII.13).



Fig. XII.11



Fig. XII.12



Fig. XII.13



Fig. XII.14

Although it is possible that this usage was derivative from the symmetrical South-flower compositions,⁴² the representative heraldic groups of Fig.XII.1-XII.10 suggest that designs like Fig.XII. 11, XII.12, XII.13 could have easily developed in Egypt on an indigenous basis.

We may conclude that any claim for the non-Egyptian origin of the compounds based on their frequent occurrence in heraldic contexts is unjustified. Moreover, our review of the other items of circumstantial evidence that have been cited in support of these designs' foreign origin has revealed that none of the arguments in question are valid. There

⁴² Fig. XII. 12 and XII.13 belong to the time of Amenhotep III, in whose reign heraldic South-flower compositions were very popular. CL 91 is a sealing design where, as in Fig. XII.12 there is room for only one animal beside the plant.

remains for consideration certain rare objects from Egypt, which may be examples of imports from Asia.

THE TUNIC OF TUTANKHAMUN

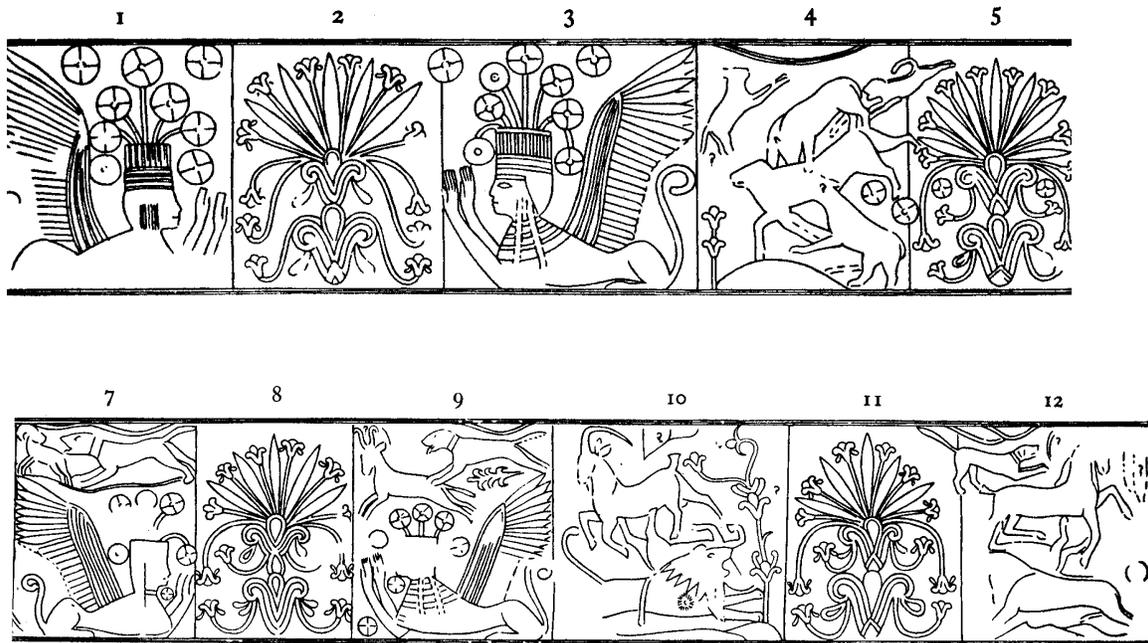


Fig. XII.16: Key to the panels, front side

A tunic decorated by elaborately embroidered pictorial bands around the neck and at the base (Figs.XII. 16, XII.17),⁴³ belonged to Tutankhamun. Davies has considered the designs to be of “distinctly Syrian character, worked either in Syria or by Syrians living in Egypt. A number of his supporting arguments are derived from details of the animal style. Davies cited the fact that lions are much in evidence on the tunic as opposed to their scarcity in tomb hunting scenes. However, this contrast is true only of the scenes made for private

⁴³ Davies and Crowfoot, “The Tunic of Tutankhamun,” *JEA*, XXVII (1941), pp. 113-130. Figs. XII. 16-17 = Pls. XX, XXII,top.

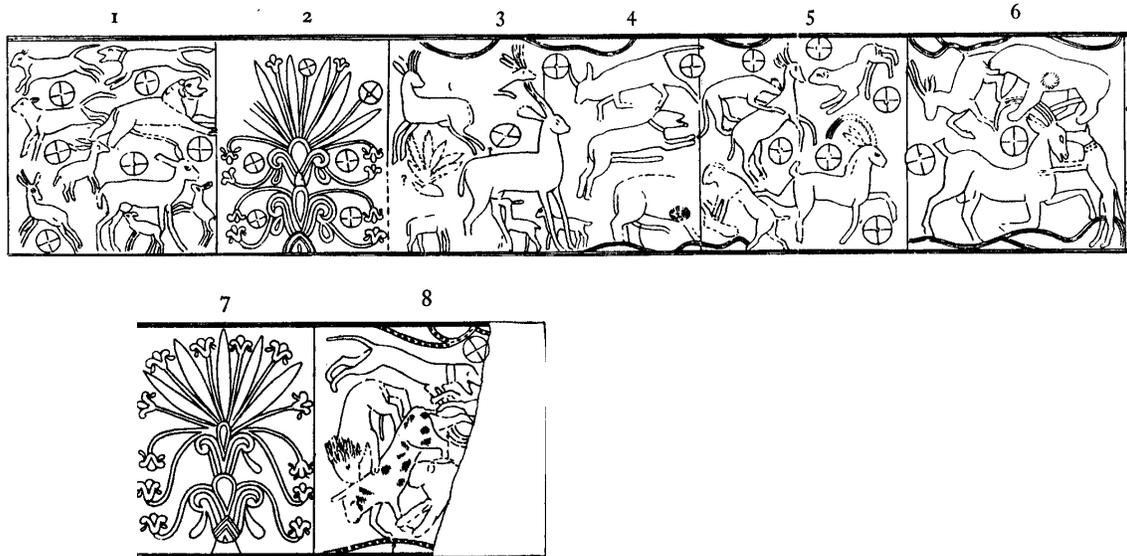


Fig. XII.17. Key to the back panels

individuals and purporting to show their activities. The nobles did not follow such game, which was apparently reserved as royal prey, and they were interested only in displaying their own prowess, not that of lions. Very different are numerous scenes on small objects where human beings were not shown. There the Egyptian craftsmen gave lions or related



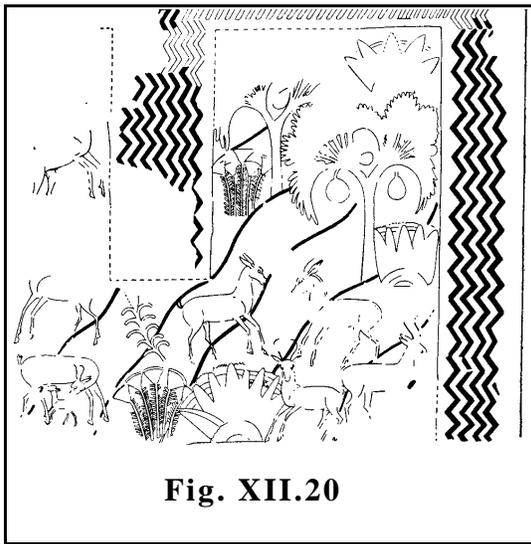
Fig. XI.18

Amarna



Fig. XI.19

carnivores prominent places in the compositions.⁴⁴ The cantering legs of the ibex, which Davies considers Syrian, can be matched by the movement of animals carved during the reign of Akhenaten (Figs. XII.18, 19), in the movement of flocks of goats drawn in an unnumbered late Eighteenth Dynasty tomb and the early Nineteenth Dynasty one of Apy,⁴⁵ and in the gazelles drawn on a hillside in the tomb of a Neferhotep contemporary with Haremhab and Ramses II (Fig. XII.20)



The placing of the tails of carnivores between their hind leg is too widespread a detail to be considered an unequivocally Syrian feature.⁴⁶ There is sufficient evidence to prove that, even if this pose was originally Syrian, it became acclimatized in Egypt.⁴⁷ However, it could well have developed in response to space requirements. The possibility of its origin in Egypt independent of

outside influence is heightened by the occurrence of a dog with tail between its legs in the hunting scene of Hray, a contemporary of Ahmose I and probably of Amenhotep I.⁴⁸ The appearance of a foreign stylistic trait in a tomb relief at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty would be highly unusual. It is significant that throughout Egyptian history the

⁴⁴ Kantor A&O, Pl. XXI A, B (Mahirper collar); Kantor A&O, Pl. XXI C, D (Leiden ointment box); CL 85 (Tutankhamun gold buckle); CL 10 (Tutankhamun gold dagger). Cf. also other objects of Tutankhamun with animal decoration: Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tutankhamun, II* (New York, 1963), Pls. L, LI (stone cosmetic jar).

⁴⁵ Jean Capart, *Documents servire a l'étude de l'art Egyptien I* (Brussels, 1922), Pl. LXVI.

⁴⁶ Davies and Crowfoot, "The Tunic of Tutahkamun," *JEA*, XXVII (1941), p. 127. Cf. Chapter XIII, pp. 522-3.

⁴⁷ Cf. for example Fig.V. 87; CL 85, CL 10. Examples later than Tutankhamun: CL 11, CL 117, Fig. XII.26. Vandier d'Abbad, *Ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh* (FIFAO, 1936), pl. XXVI, 2211,2226; XXVII, 2212.

⁴⁸ *MDIAA*, IV (1933), Pl. IV, b (Dira Abu'n Naga 12).

designers of tomb scenes remained more unreceptive to foreign stylistic traits than did the workers in the applied arts.

There are some details of the animal style of the tunic that are characteristic of Egypt. Attacking carnivores “stand” on the back of their prey in panels 5 and 8 of the back of the tunic.⁴⁹ Ruminants, as in panel 4 of the front and 8 of the back, that have the misfortune to be attacked by two predators at the same time, one from above and one from below, are frequently shown on other objects.⁵⁰ It is in Egypt that the theme of a lion carrying away its prey on its back was used.⁵¹ The specific characters and the general aspect of the composition correspond to the animal style normal to Egypt at the close of the Eighteenth Dynasty except for one unusual group, that of two griffins quarreling over their prey in the 6th panel of the front. We know that the Syrian griffin was occasionally copied by Egyptian craftsmen. The earliest instance on Ahmose’s axe blade is the only case definitely dated to the earlier part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but the appearance of these animals on Tutankhamun’s tunic is followed by a number of examples in the later New Kingdom (Fig.V. 87, possibly late Eighteenth Dynasty; CL 103-104, CL 12, CL 117; Fig. XII.26).



Fig. XII.21



Fig. XII.22

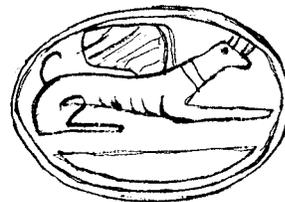


Fig. XII.23

Despite the introduction of this griffin type as early as Hyksos times (Fig.XII. 21, XII.22; cf.also Fig. XII. 23), the fact that the group on the Tutankhamun tunic corresponds to

⁴⁹ Chapter X, pp. 420ff.; CL 10; Fig. V.87.

⁵⁰ CL 85, CL 10; Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tutankhamun II* (New York, 1963), Pls. L, LI.

motives used on Asiatic objects such as Fig. XIII.42, and Fig.XIV.32, suggests, not that the entire tunic was made abroad, but that a reintroduction of the griffin motive may have taken place at this time.



Fig. XII.24



Fig. XII.25

No real proof can be cited for such an assumption. The Louvre has preserved, however, some ivory fragments said to have been found in Egypt. Dussaud has pointed out that they are of coastal Syrian type, and are presumably somewhat later in date than the tunic (Fig.XII.25). The importance of ivory working in Syria is well known, and this would have been a likely means by which a foreign motive could have been introduced into Egypt.



Fig. XII.26

Aside from the animal style, Davies has quoted the female sphinxes as indicative of the Syrian origin of the tunic.⁵² Here, again, these monsters are certainly not indigenous, but had at this time begun to be used by Egyptian craftsmen, as in the ring of Amenhotep III (Fig.V.89) and more numerous examples in the Nineteenth Dynasty (Fig.V.90-91). The headdress worn

⁵¹ Fig. XII.16, front panels 10, 12; CL 10, CL 117; Carter, *op. cit.*, Pl. L.

⁵² Davies in *JEA* XXVII, p. 128.

by the sphinxes is the cylindrical diadem crowned by composites which we have already seen to be characteristic for the Egyptian court,⁵³ and which, to our knowledge, was not represented in Syria. Although the antithetical arrangement of the sphinxes flanking the hybrids could be considered a foreign feature, such compositions were used by Egyptian craftsmen. A bowl of blue faience, found at Gurob, is divided into three registers, one filled by water with *Nymphaeas* and fish. It is separated by a band of petals from the semicircular area containing two sphinxes “adoring” a South-flower hybrid (CL 88). This design forms a very close analogy to those on the tunic. Another example of a plant hybrid placed between symmetrical figures, in this case winged males, occurs on a fragmentary piece of incised wood from the tomb of Haremhab (CL 138).

Other features of the tunic, the sprig of Potamogeton in panel 9 of the front, and the spiky foliage of the third back panel recur on Egyptian objects.⁵⁴ We have already discussed the possible use of hillocks suspended from the upper borders of designs at this time;⁵⁵ one of the probable examples occurs on this garment. More ambiguous is the appearance of scattered rosettes as space fillers, a trait which we will find again in both Syrian and Egyptian contexts.⁵⁶ At present, its origin cannot be attributed with certainty to either area. Another peculiarity of the embroidery is the *djed* pillar, at the neck; instead of the normal four tiers, it possesses only two. Altogether, we believe that, despite some deviations, most of the characteristics of the Tutankhamun tunic were definitely produced by craftsmen steeped in Egyptian traditions.

The garment’s South-flower bushes, which vary from one another only in small details, do not controvert this conclusion. Although not closely related to any specific type, they have affinities with the lanceolate-leaved bushes and with the lateral-stemmed hybrids CL 115 and CL 111. The tunic type is unusual for the alternation of the spiky foliage with

⁵³ Cf. Chapter IV, pp. 148, 152, 160ff.; Figs.IV.59, IV.102.

⁵⁴ Cf. Kantor A&O, Pl. XXI E

⁵⁵ Cf. Chapter X, p. 426 and n. 157.

South-flowers instead of papyrus, as well as the multiplication of both elements of the crown. The suppression of the volutes and the elaboration of the lateral stems are also characteristic features. The appearance of composites alternating with the South-flowers in the second panel of the back is reminiscent of CL 111, CL 110 and CL 112. Compounds, aside from the lobeless and lobed palmettes, lacking volutes are rare, and, on the whole, seem later than the reign of Tutankhamun (CL 117, CL 135). The pendant lateral stems fall from both the upper and lower sides of the South-flower blooms. Some background for their use has already been given.⁵⁷ The manner in which small flowers ending the stems are curved so as to meet one another is a typical feature of the unification symbol and the twisting stems are probably traces of that motive, which was extremely common in Egyptian decorative work. The appearance of the South-flower on both sides of the hybrid stem, which takes the place of the *sm 3* sign, does not weaken this derivation. In symmetrical, decorative designs that is to be expected; moreover, throughout the course of Egyptian history there can be found cases of unification symbols with the same plant, apparently always papyrus, on both sides.⁵⁸

Aside from the thrifty bushes with lanceolate leaves, the tunic also exhibits another kind of hybrid, a narrow, unsymmetrical growth, conforming to no recognized Egyptian type, but adapted to the vacant space at one side of panel 10 of the front. It is comparable to irregular forms such as CL 133 and CL 136. Thus, the plant designs, too, corroborate the assumption of an Egyptian origin for the tunic. It is not possible to consider it as an object of Syrian manufacture or inspiration gleaned from the field of Egyptian archaeology.

THE MEDINET GUROB BOWL

⁵⁶ Chapter XIII, pp. 526, 534.

⁵⁷ Chapter VII, p.296.

⁵⁸ Gustave Jéquier, *Fouilles a Saqqara. Monument funeraire de Pepi II* (Cairo, 1936), Pl. LV. MASBerlin I, Pl. III (base of gold signet; dyn. XII). A. M. Calverly, *The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos III* (London, 1933), Pl. XLIV. Achille Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire de l'art égyptien d'après les monuments II* (Paris, 1878), Pl. CXLIX, 1 (Chair, Ramses III; Biban el Moluk 11).

There is, however, one object, a wooden bowl from the grave of Touti at Medinet Gurob in the Fayum, of which this is true. Illegal diggers in 1900 discovered the burial; the scattered tomb group was reconstructed, as far as possible, by Émile Chassinat.⁵⁹ It had contained six female statuettes of wood, a mirror, a dagger,⁶⁰ a perfume spoon shaped as a crouching gazelle,⁶¹ three ointment vases,⁶² an alabaster vase, six wooden hair pins, six reed kohl tubes, a faience eye amulet, and a wooden ushebti bearing the name of Touti. According to Chassinat, some of the toilet objects bear the names of Amenhotep III, Ti, and Akhenaten. He feels that the statuettes, especially one showing a nude maiden, reveal the influence of the Amarna style. On this basis it is safe to date the grave approximately to the reign of Akhenaten.

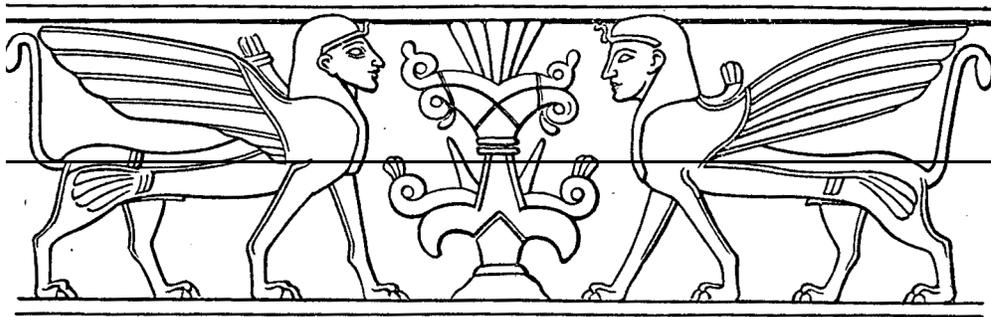


Fig. XII.27

The most unusual object from this tomb is the wooden ointment dish (Fig.XII.27). Like Figs IV.49-50, it belongs to the general class of shallow hemispherical containers with projections to which the lid was attached. The shape of the Medinet Gurob bowl differs

⁵⁹ Émile Chassinat, "Une tombe inviolée de la XVIIIe Dynastie découverte aux environs de Médinet El-Gorab dans le Fayoum," BIFAO, I (1901), pp 225-232 and three plates.

⁶⁰ The dagger, consisting of a triangular blade with an openwork handle is unusual for it is, apparently, a type that flourished in the Middle Kingdom (Hans Bonnet, *Die Waffen der völker des alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1926), p. 54, Fig. 21, e; Flinders Petrie, *Tools and Weapons* (London, 1917), Pls. XXXIII, 7; XXXIV, 47).

⁶¹ Spoons of this type were common: Georg Steindorff, *Kunst der Aegypte* (Berlin, 1896-1901), p. 285, a; Madeleine Frédéricq, "The ointment spoons in the British Museum," *JEA*, XIII (1927), Pl. IX, 20757; p. 13, 36368 (Faience); E. Riefstahl, *Toilet Articles from Ancient Egypt* (Brooklyn, 1943), Pl. VI, below .

⁶² Two of these are of usual cylindrical and ribbed types. The cover of the former is decorated by the unusual Nymphaea rosette.

from that of normal Egyptian examples by its abruptly truncated form and the carving of projections into female faces of distinctly Syrian cast, despite the Hathor locks.⁶³ A blue glazed bowl from Lachish, although later in date and possessing both a distinct base and a broad neck, offers an excellent parallel for the use of female heads as supports of the dowel holes on which the lid swung.⁶⁴

The top and bottom of the bowl are adorned with geometric designs. The guilloche is of Mesopotamian origin, but became popular in Syria.⁶⁵ It was not used by Egyptian craftsmen until the later part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and even then remained infrequent.⁶⁶ On the base, within a thick herring-bone band,⁶⁷ is a large single rosette in which each ray is surrounded by a border. It has no relationship with definitely Egyptian rosette types, but is an abstract form, possibly imitating a metallic prototype.⁶⁸ Small rosettes placed under the female heads resemble the Egyptian daisy type which is known to have been used in Asia during the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁶⁹

The main design, repeated on each side of the bowl, consists of two male, winged sphinxes flanking a hybrid floral design. Such sphinxes were a now ancient Egyptian

⁶³ Unfortunately, there appear to be no contemporary Asiatic parallels. Similar types have been found at Megiddo (Gordon Loud, *Megiddo Ivories* (Chicago, 1939), Pls. XLIII, 186; XLIV, 190-193). Some heads from Lachish have somewhat the same cast (Olga Tufnell, Charles Inge, *Lachish II*, Oxford, 1940, Pl. XVI, 2, 5). A comparison of such works with the female faces of the Egyptian carvings found by Brunton at Qau (Guy Brunton, *Qau and Badari III* (London, 1927), Pl. XXXVI) dating around the time of Ramses II, reveals the unEgyptian character of those on the Medinet Gurob bowl.

⁶⁴ Tufnell and Inge, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXII, 58 (A III).

⁶⁵ Frankfurt, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

⁶⁶ Carter, *op. cit.* II, Pl. LXXXVIII, C (gold sheath, iron dagger). Carter, *op. cit.* I, Pls. LXXVI-LXXVII, lowermost bow. 935, 936. Newberry, *Scarabs*, (London, 1908) Pl. XX, 14.

⁶⁷ The herring-bone design is too generalized a feature to carry any weight. No significance can be attached to the presence of herring-bone hatching on the rim of a stone bowl from the foundation deposit at Byblos (P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte*, (Paris, 1928), Pl. XLVI, 124, 124a).

⁶⁸ The design of a so-called ivory "cover" from Layer E at Hama consists of a rosette surrounded by a hatched border. The archaeological context apparently indicates a date in the early part of the first Millennium B.C. Thus it is impossible to assume any definite connection between this pattern and the Medinet Gurob bowl base, but the vague resemblance between the two suggests the faint possibility that such designs may have persisted in Syria. (Ingholt, "Rapport préliminaires sur sept campagnes de fouilles a Hama en Syrie, 1932-38", *Det Kgl Danske Videnskabernes Selska. Archaeologisk Kunsthistoriske Meddelelson III* (1940).

⁶⁹ Chapter XVII, pp. 731-2.

creation, but, though known in Asia, they never achieved the popularity of the female sphinx. On the whole these monsters follow the model set by examples on chairs or the chariot of Tuthmosis IV.⁷⁰ The plant between them cannot be classified within any of the Egyptian categories. It is, roughly, two centuries younger than the hybrid of 'Aqhor, the earliest known in Egypt, and its derivative character contrasts strongly with the primary quality characteristic of almost any Egyptian South-flower design.⁷¹ Although essentially it consists of two groups - flowers and volutes, topped by five fronds - the individual units are barely recognizable. The lower South-flower perianth lacks the usual spiral tips and drops. Both volutes are completely flattened out, a feature that in Egypt otherwise occurs only on the stela from Amenhotep III's palace (Figs. V.12, 114). The lobe of the lower South-flower has been transformed into a large triangular projection, bound to the base of the second bloom by two horizontal bands. The drops are attached to the upper side of the volutes, a position they never occupied in Egypt. CL 81 and CL 124 are the nearest approximations to this. Although the top leaves are less unusual (cf. CL 12-13, CL 41-43, CL 78-79), Egyptian craftsmen normally filled in with as many leaves as the available space would contain. There are other details that are very unEgyptian; two stalks, meaningless for they end neither in a bud or flower, project from the lower pair of volutes. Both the volute and perianth of the upper tier are tied with vertical bands. The base is awkwardly splayed and arbitrarily divided by a horizontal band.

The foreign character of this hybrid is clear, and yet the Egyptian volute and South-flower are still plainly recognizable, despite the manner in which they have been modified and welded together. All of the components of this bush have become fused together, and have lost the distinct and independent character which they enjoyed in Egypt. On the

⁷⁰ W. Stevenson Smith, *Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1961), p. 112, Fig. 70. Howard Carter and Percy Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV* (Westminster, 1904), Pls. VI, I A; VII, 2 A; IX, XII.

⁷¹ By this primary quality we refer to the fact, already frequently stressed, that the individual elements forming the Egyptian South-flower hybrids are easily discerned and have not coalesced with one another. That is, the hybrids give the impression of being directly formed by the collocation of originally separate constituents. This is not the case with the Medinet Gurob hybrid.

Medinet Gurob bowl the outlines of the individual volutes and South-flowers no longer stand out plainly, so that each could easily be cut out to yield the original individual units. However, despite the marked differentiation from Egyptian designs, the plant of Fig. XII.27 is clearly based on Egyptian sources. The Asiatic provenience of this bowl cannot be doubted, even though its exact source may not be known.⁷² The strongly derivative character of its hybrid shows conclusively that the only example of an imported floral design yielded by Egypt, is plainly a transmutation of originally Egyptian motives. It offers no support for a theory of the non-Egyptian origin of such floral forms. The baselessness of this theory will become clearer as we cross the Egyptian border to collect the evidence obtainable from the Asiatic mainland itself.

SOURCES FOR THE FIGURES

⁷² In 1901 Chassinat did not recognize the foreign extraction of this bowl. He compared it with ivories found at Nimrud and concluded that all such objects were fabricated in Egypt (Chassinat, *op. cit.* pp. 231-34). Thureau-Dargin has declared that all the decoration of the bowl was carried out under Asiatic inspiration (F. Thureau-Dargin, *Arslan Tash* (Paris, 1931), p. 108). Barnett cites it as one of the earliest examples of the handicrafts of the coastal provinces of Syria and Phoenicia, which were not differentiated from one another at this time. The bowl shows, he says, some influence from the "Syro-hittite seals," but he believes it could have been carved at Byblos, Sidon, or in Phoenicia (R. D. Barnett, "Phoenician and Syrian Ivory Carving," *PEQ*, 1939, pp. 6-7).

- XII.1: Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrawi* I, Pl. XI
- XII.2: Petrie, *Deshasheh*, Pl. XV
- XII.3: Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.*, Pl. XXVIII, 4
- XII.4: *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVIII, 3
- XII.5: Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* IV, Pl. XIV (Pepiankh the Middle, called Neferka; good name Heni; T. D, 2; Pepi II)
- XII.6: Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, Pl. XII (Amenemhet; T. 2; Sesostris I)
- XII.7: *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIX (Khemhotp)
- XII.8: Tylor, *Paheri*, Pl. III (El Kab; c. Tuthmosis III)
- XII.9: *Documents Servir* I, Pl. LXVI (end dyn XVIII)
- XII.10: Vandier d'Abbadie, *Ostraca figurés de Deir el Medineh*, Pl. XXX, 2192
- XII.11: Carnarvon-Carter, *Five Years of Exploration at Thebes*, Pl. LXXII, 59
- XII.12: Quibell, *Archaic Objects* (Cat. Caire), Pl. XVIII, 11464 (palace of Amenhotep III at Thebes; sealing)
- XII.13: *Ibid.*, Pl. XVII, 11448 (same provenience)
- XII.14: Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, Pl. XXV, 181 (Mold for cylinder)
- XII.15: *Ibid.*, Pl. XXI, 58 (jar sealing)
- XII.16 and 17: JEA, XXVII (1941) Pls, XX, XXII
- XII.18: BMMA, XVIII (1923), Dec., Pt. II, p.53, Fig 22
- XII.19: Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, Pl. IX, bottom; cf. p. 11 (Sandstone near bases of columns)
- XII.20: BMMA, XVIII (1923), Dec. Pt. II, p. 52, Fig. 20 (Deir el Medineh 216)
- XII.21: Newberry, *Scarabs*, Pl. XXV, 11
- XII.22: Newberry, *Scarab shaped Seals* (Cat. Caire), Pl. VII, 36367 (Hyksos?)
- XII.23: Firth, *Nubia 1910-1911*, Pl. XXXV, 38 (MK-NK)
- XII.24: Rowe, *A Catalogue of Scarabs in the Palestine Archaeological Museum*, Pl. V, 13 2 (Tell Beit Mirsin E; Dyn. XV)
- XII.25: Dussaud, "Ivorie de l'époque mycénienne," *Melanges Glot*
- XII.26: Prisse, *Art égy.* II, Pl CXLVI, 11 (Ramses III; Biban el Moluk II)
- XII.27: *Arslan Tash* I, 107, Fig. 37