

CONTACT AND TRADE OR COLONIZATION?:
EGYPT AND THE AEGEAN
IN THE 14TH - 13TH CENTURIES B.C. *

This article is an attempt to reassess the nature of the relations between Egypt and the Aegean during the 14th and 13th cen-

- * A preliminary version of this article was presented at the *Thalassa*TM II mini-conference, «Trade With and Within Mycenaean Palatial Civilization: 1600-1200 B.C.», organized by the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory at the University of Texas at Austin on 23 September 1991. I am grateful to T. G. Palaima for his invitation to present a paper on this topic and to all the participants for their helpful comments and criticisms. All Tables and Figures are by the author; Map 2 and the bases for Maps 1, 3 and 4 were originally drawn by L. A. Turner and subsequently updated by the author. Some of the information contained herein updates data presented in E. H. Cline, «Amenhotep III and the Aegean: A Reassessment of Egypto-Aegean Relations in the 14th Century B.C.», *Orientalia* 56/1, 1987, pp. 1-36. All numerical data are based upon the catalogue found in Cline, *OLBAA* (below), except where noted. The following abbreviations which may be unfamiliar to *Minos* readers are used:

- ASAE* = *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*
Bd'E = *Bibliothèque d'Étude, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo*
JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JMA = *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*
JMAA = *Journal of Mediterranean Anthropology and Archaeology*
JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JSSEA = *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*
MBAH = *Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte*
MDOG = *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*
MEM = V. Karageorghis ed., *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: «The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean»*, Nicosia 1973
OJA = *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
OLBAA = E. H. Cline, *Orientalia in the Late Bronze Age Aegean; A Catalogue and Analysis of Trade and Contact Between the Aegean and Egypt, Anatolia, and the Near East*, Ann Arbor 1991 (UMI no. 9125617)
SAK = *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*
ZÄS = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

This article is dedicated to the memories of J. D. S. Pendlebury and Martha R. Bell, whose premature deaths deprived Egypto-Aegean studies of two clear and strong voices.

turies B.C.¹ The topic has again become relevant, both within and without the academic world, as a result of Bernal's *Black Athena* tetralogy, the second volume of which has just been published². Of particular interest is Bernal's contention that the Aegean was under Egyptian hegemony during the Late Bronze Age³.

The data to be reviewed consists of archaeological, textual and pictorial material. The textual and pictorial evidence, primarily Egyptian tomb paintings and inscriptions, is by now well known, thanks to the efforts of scholars such as Vercoutter, Strange and Wachsmann⁴. Much of the archaeological evidence, namely the Mycenaean and Minoan pottery found in New Kingdom Egypt, is also well known, through the work of Merrillees, Kemp, Hankey and Bell⁵. The additional archaeological evidence, namely the corpus of

¹ For recent work in this area see P. W. Haider, «Zu den wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Beziehungen zwischen Mykene und dem ägyptischen Hof von ca. 1450-1250 v. Chr.», in *Exportgewerbe und Aussenhandel vor der Industriellen Revolution: Festschrift für Univ.-Prof. Dr. Georg Zwanowetz anlässlich der Vollendung des 65. Lebensjahres* (Veröffentlichungen der Universität Innsbruck no. 142), Innsbruck 1984, pp. 25-30; *Griechenland-Nordafrika*, Darmstadt 1988; «Zu den ägyptisch-ägäischen Handelsbeziehungen zwischen ca. 1370 und 1200 v. Chr.: I. Das Handelssystem», *MBAH* 7, 1988, pp. 12-26; «Zu den ägyptisch-ägäischen Handelsbeziehungen zwischen ca. 1370 und 1200 v. Chr.: II. Handelsgüter und Handelswege», *MBAH* 8, 1989, pp. 1-29; «Ägäer in Ägyptischen Diensten zwischen ca. 1550 und 1200 v. Chr.», *Laverna* I, 1990, pp. 18-49; C. Lambrou-Phillipson, *Hellenorientalia: The Near Eastern Presence in the Bronze Age Aegean ca. 3000-1100 B.C. plus Orientalia: A Catalogue of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Mitannian, Syro-Palestinian, Cypriot and Asia Minor Objects from the Bronze Age Aegean*, Göteborg 1990; D. B. O'Connor, «Egypt and Greece: The Bronze Age Evidence», paper given at A.R.C.E. annual meetings in Berkeley CA, April 1990 (in press). Portions of G. Kopcke, *Handel*, Göttingen 1990, which was not available to the author, are also relevant.

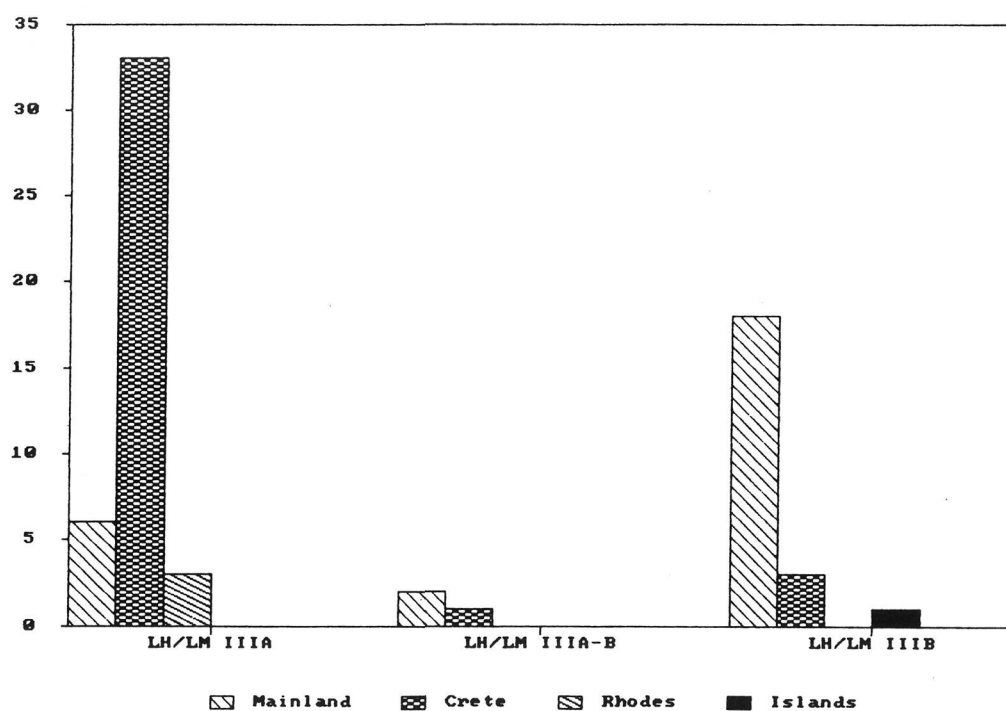
² M. Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation. Volume I: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985*, London 1987; *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization. Volume II: The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence*, New Brunswick, NJ 1991.

³ Bernal, *Black Athena II*, pp. 433-434, 445, 451, 475-476.

⁴ J. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, Cairo 1956; J. Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu*, Leiden 1980; S. Wachsmann, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs*, Leuven 1987.

⁵ V. Hankey, «The Aegean Deposit at El Amarna», *MEM*, pp. 128-136; «Crete, Cyprus, and the South-eastern Mediterranean, 1400-1200 B.C.», in V. Karageorghis, ed., *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: «The Relations Between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000-500 B.C.»*, Nicosia 1979, pp. 144-157; «The Aegean Interest in El Amarna», *JMAA* 1, 1981, pp. 38-49. B. J. Kemp and R. S. Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt*, Mainz am Rhein 1980; M. R. Bell, «The Preliminary

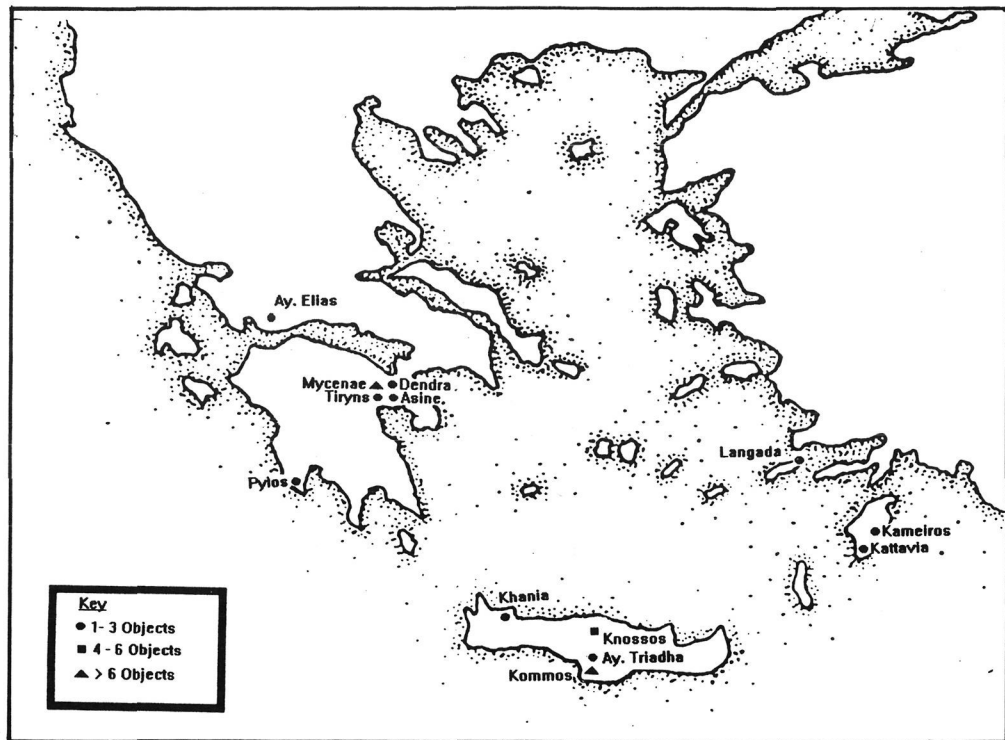
LH/LM / Area	IIIA	IIIA-B	IIIB	Total
Mainland Greece	6	2	18	26
Crete	33	1	3	37
Rhodes	3	—	—	3
Islands	—	—	1	1
Total	42	3	22	67

TABLE 1. *Aegyptiaca in the LH/LM IIIA-B Aegean Area (excluding shipwrecks)*FIGURE 1. *Aegyptiaca in the LH/LM IIIA-B Aegean Area (excluding shipwrecks)*

Egyptian objects found in the Aegean area (MAP 1; TABLE 1; FIG. 1), has been overlooked or scorned by almost all previous scholars. For years the sole exception was the British archaeologist John Pendlebury, who in 1930 published his *Aegyptiaca*, the first attempt at cataloguing such imports⁶.

Report on the Mycenaean Pottery from Deir El Medina», *ASAE* 78, 1982, pp. 143-163; «Gurob Tomb 605 and Mycenaean Chronology», in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, *Bd'E* 97/1, 1985, pp. 61-86.

⁶ J. D. S. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca: A Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Aegean Area*, Cambridge 1930. See now also R. B. Brown, *A Provisional Catalogue of and Commentary on Egyptian and Egyptianizing Artifacts Found on Greek Sites*, Ann Arbor 1974;



MAP 1. *Aegyptiaca* in the LH/LM IIIA-B Aegean Area (excluding shipwrecks)

Chronology and Correlations

This article uses a fairly traditional chronological scheme. The 14th century is equated with the LH/LM IIIA and part of the IIIB periods in the Aegean and with the reigns of the Pharaohs Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, Akhenaten, Smenkhare, Tutankhamen, Ay and Horemheb in Egypt. The 13th century is equated with the larger part of the LH/LM IIIB period in the Aegean and with the first half of the 19th Dynasty in Egypt, including Ramses II and his son Merneptah.

The reasoning is as follows. We know that Amenhotep III is contemporary with the late LH/LM IIIA1 and early IIIA2 periods;

Lambrou-Phillipson, *Hellenorientalia*, esp. pp. 55-56, 64; J. Phillips, *The Impact and Implications of the Egyptian and Egyptianizing Objects found in Bronze Age Crete ca. 3000 - ca. 1100 B.C.*, University of Toronto 1991. The Egyptian objects found on Late Bronze Age Crete are not nearly so problematic as Lambrou-Phillipson, *Hellenorientalia*, p. 56 suggests. There are at least 104 good, unquestionable imported Egyptian objects found in LM I-IIIC contexts in Crete. See Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 12-13.

Akhenaten is contemporary with the LH/LM IIIA2 and early IIIB1 periods; and Ramses II is contemporary with at least the latter half of the LH/LM IIIB period. The first synchronism, between Amenhotep III and the LH/LM IIIA1/IIIA2 (early) periods, is suggested by the scarab of Amenhotep III found in Tomb 4 at Sellopoulo on Crete in the company of LH IIIA1 and LM IIIA1 pottery; by the scarab of Amenhotep III found in an LH IIb-III A2 (early) tomb at Ayios Elias in Aetolia on the Greek Mainland; and by an undisturbed tomb near Akko in Syro-Palestine which contained LH IIIA1-2 pottery and two objects with the cartouche of Amenhotep III⁷. The second synchronism, between Akhenaten and the LH/LM IIIA2/IIIB1 (early) periods, is suggested by the quantities of Mycenaean IIIA2, and a lesser extent of early IIIB1, pottery found at Amarna in Egypt, Akhenaten's capital city⁸. Re-

⁷ E. I. Mastrokostas, «Anaskaphi Ayios Elias», *Praktika* 1963, p. 204, pl. 167; V. Hankey and P. M. Warren, «The Absolute Chronology of the Aegean Late Bronze Age», *BICS* 21, 1974, pp. 147-149; M. R. Popham, E. A. Catling, and H. W. Catling, «Sellopoulo Tombs 3 and 4, Two Late Minoan Graves near Knossos», *BSA* 69, 1974, pp. 216-217, fig. 146, pl. 38g-i; Cline, *Orientalia* 1987, p. 12, Table 1:4 and 1:6, figs. 13-14; Haider, *Griechenland-Nordafrika*, pp. 36-37; S. W. Manning, «The Bronze Age Eruption of Thera: Absolute Dating, Aegean Chronology and Mediterranean Cultural Interrelations», *JMA* 1/1, 1988, pp. 36-37; P. M. Warren and V. Hankey, *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology*, Bristol 1989, pp. 146-148; Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 346 (no. 121) and 348 (no. 126); C. W. Shelmerdine, «The Consequences of Chronology», unpublished paper presented at the Sixth International Congress of Aegean Prehistory, Athens 1987.

Other objects which may be used, but which are less helpful for precise synchronisms, include the frit (Egyptian blue) bowl of Amenhotep III in LH IIIA Chamber Tomb 49 at Mycenae and the ivory scarab/stamp seal of Queen Tiyi in LM IIIA Chamber Tomb 5 at Ayia Triadha. See Cline, *Orientalia* 1987, pp. 8, 12, Table 1:F and 1:I, figs. 5, 12; *OLBAA*, pp. 365 (no. 172) and 534 (no. 675), with full references.

⁸ See most recently Hankey, *MEM*, pp. 128-132; *JMAA* 1981, p. 44; «The Chronology of the Aegean Late Bronze Age», in P. Åström, ed., *High, Middle or Low? (Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg 20th-22nd August 1987)*, Pt. 2, Göteborg 1987, pp. 48-50; Haider, *Griechenland-Nordafrika*, pp. 35-36; Warren and Hankey, *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology*, pp. 148-154.

The gold scarab of Nefertiti, wife of Akhenaten, recently found on the Ulu Burun (Kaş) shipwreck is useless for chronological considerations, as it was certainly an heirloom. The faience scarab of Ankhesenamen, wife of Tutankhamen, found in an LM IIIB context at Poros on Crete, and the faience scarab with the abbreviated prenomen of Horemheb found by chance on land north of Knossos, also cannot be used as good chronological synchronisms. See A. Kanta, *The Late Minoan III Period in Crete: A Survey of Sites, Pottery and Their Distribution*, Göteborg 1980, p. 315; Cline, *Orientalia* 1987, p.

cent discoveries which may be useful for confirming such synchronisms include LH IIIA2 pottery found in the tomb of Aper-El at Saqqara in Egypt. Aper-El appears to have been a previously unknown vizier of Amenhotep III who lived on into the reign of Akhenaten⁹. The third synchronism, between Ramses II and the LH/LM IIIB period, is suggested by LH and LM IIIB pottery found with a calcite vase inscribed with the cartouche of Ramses II in a tomb in the Kharji cemetery in Beirut; by an LH IIIB stirrup jar and a scarab of Ramses II in Tomb 605 at Gurob in Egypt; and, less precisely perhaps, by two faience cartouches of Ramses II found in transitional LH IIIB/C tombs at Perati on Mainland Greece¹⁰.

Absolute dates for the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten have been fluctuating recently, but the likely suggestions appear to be 1405-1367 or 1390-1352 for Amenhotep III and 1367-1350 or 1352-1336 for Akhenaten. The dates for Ramses II have remained fairly steady at 1290-1224 or 1279-1213, while Merneptah dates to 1224-1211 or 1213-1203¹¹. These dates, and the above synchronisms, indicate that the LH/LM IIIA1 period was underway by at least 1400 B.C., the IIIA2 period dates to the middle of the century, and the IIIB period perhaps had begun sometime in the second half of the 14th century and then continued through the 13th century¹².

16 n. 74, Table 3:D5-6; G. F. Bass, C. Pulak, D. Collon, and J. Weinstein, «The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun: 1986 Campaign», *AJA* 93, 1989, pp. 17-29; Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 339 n. 423, 347-348 (no. 125) and 354 (no. 146).

⁹ A. Zivic, *Découverte à Saqqarah: le vizir oublié*, Paris 1990, esp. photographs on pp. 144-145. I am indebted to Vronwy Hankey (personal communication) for bringing this tomb to my attention; she tentatively identifies the two Mycenaean vessels as FS 45 (piriform jar) and FS 166 (false-necked or stirrup jar).

¹⁰ Hankey and Warren, *BICS* 1974, pp. 148-149; Bell, *Bd'E* 1985, pp. 62, 71, 73-77; Cline, *Orientalia* 1987, p. 16 n. 74, Table 3:D2-3; Hankey, *High, Middle, or Low?*, pp. 50-51; Haider, *Griechenland-Nordafrika*, p. 46; Warren and Hankey, *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology*, pp. 154-158; Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 334-335 (nos. 92-93).

¹¹ Hankey and Warren, *BICS* 1974, p. 151; E. Wente and C. C. van Sichen, «A Chronology of the New Kingdom», in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, Chicago 1976, p. 218; K. A. Kitchen, «The Basics of Egyptian Chronology in Relation to the Bronze Age», in P. Åström, ed., *High, Middle or Low? (Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg 20th-22nd August 1987)*, Pt. 1, Göteborg 1987, p. 52.

¹² We may note that the above dates approximate the traditional chronology for the LH/LM IIIA and IIIB periods in the Aegean. Cf. Warren and Hankey, *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology*, p. 169, where LH/LM IIIA1 = 1390-1370/60 B.C., LH/LM IIIA2 = 1370/60-1340/30 B.C., and LH IIIB = 1340/30-1185/80 B.C. See also Shelmerdine (*supra* n. 7).

It is possible, as implied above, that the LH/LM IIIA1 period had already been underway for quite some time prior to 1400 B.C., i.e., that it had begun during the time of Thutmose III, as Betancourt has suggested¹³. There is, in fact, some debated evidence in the Aegean which might support Betancourt's supposition; namely, an alabaster vase inscribed with the cartouche of Thutmose III in an LM IIIA1 tomb at Katsamba on Crete and a figurine of frit (Egyptian Blue) in the shape of a monkey with the cartouche of Amenhotep II in an LH IIIA context at Tiryns¹⁴. These two objects are usually considered to have been heirlooms at the time of their deposition, but they could have been contemporary imports, if Betancourt's chronology is correct. However, Betancourt's suggested absolute dates of 1490-1430/10 B.C. for LH/LM IIIA1 must be adjusted at the lower end, for these dates would end the LH/LM IIIA1 period and begin the IIIA2 period before the reign of Amenhotep III even began, which is impossible given the Sellopoulo scarab. The same problem holds with Manning's suggested absolute dates, which are similar to Betancourt's¹⁵.

Bernal has recently stated that Betancourt's redating allows:

the ceramic periods in which there was massive trade between the Aegean and the Near East [to] tally neatly with the periods of maximum Egyptian power and influence over the East Mediterranean¹⁶.

This neat tallying, however, is also true if the traditional chronology is used. All of the available data, both archaeological and

¹³ P. P. Betancourt, «Dating the Aegean Late Bronze Age with Radiocarbon», *Archaeometry* 29, 1987, pp. 45-49; «High Chronology or Low Chronology: The Archaeological Evidence», in D. A. Hardy and A. C. Renfrew, eds., *Thera and the Aegean World III*, v. 3, London 1989, pp. 19-23. Betancourt's suggested dates for the LH/LM I-II periods in the Aegean will not be discussed here; see Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 55-56. However, Betancourt's dates for these earlier periods, which he equates with the Hyksos period in Egypt, might now find further support in the discovery of the remarkable «Minoan» or «minoanizing» frescoes at the Hyksos capital of Avaris (Tell ed-Dab'a) in the Egyptian Delta. See *The Journal of Art* 4/7, September 1991, p. 60, with illustration; *Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum* 4, 1990/91, pp. 85-87, with photographs. I thank J. D. Muhly and V. Hankey for these references.

¹⁴ See Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 306 (no. 6) and 526-527 (no. 683), with full references; «Monkey Business in the Late Bronze Age Aegean: The Amenhotep II Figurines at Mycenae and Tiryns», *BSA* 86, 1991, pp. 29-42.

¹⁵ Betancourt, *Archaeometry* 1987, p. 47; Manning, *JMA* 1988, p. 56.

¹⁶ Bernal, *Black Athena II*, p. 526.

textual and from both Egypt and the Aegean, indicate that the high points of contact between these two areas were during the reigns of Thutmose III, Amenhotep III, Ramses II, and possibly Ramses III. If the traditional chronology is followed, each high point of clearly attested textual and artistic references to the Aegean in Egypt is paralleled by a high point of Egyptian imports in the Late Bronze Age Aegean—the LM IB period with Thutmose III, the LH/LM IIIA period with Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, the IIIB period with Ramses II, and the IIIC period with Ramses III. If Betancourt's revisionist dating is used, the following correlations can be made: LM IB with the Hyksos period, LH/LM IIIA1 with Thutmose III, IIIA1 (late) and IIIA2 with Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, IIIB with Ramses II, and IIIC with Ramses III. The available data, at this point in time, can be used to support either set of correlations; here, I shall follow the traditional chronology¹⁷.

Overview of the Archaeological, Textual and Pictorial Evidence

Previous scholars have suggested that the primary trade goods sent between the Aegean, Egypt and the Near East during the Late Bronze Age included items such as wine, grain, spices, timber, precious stones, textiles, dyes, ivory, and metals such as gold, copper and tin¹⁸. If these bulk trade goods did exist, they are not now available to us, since the majority were perishable and

¹⁷ If the LH/LM IIIA1 period goes back to ca. 1490 B.C., it would be necessary for this article either to disregard most of the Aegyptiaca found in such contexts for these would be in 15th century B.C. strata, or to change the title to include the 15th century and emend these discussions to include the occurrences in Egypt of the terms «Keftiu», «Tanaja» and the «Isles in the Midst of the Sea» from the time of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. For the record, there are six mentions of «Keftiu», one of «Tanaja», and five of the «Isles» during the time of Thutmose III, and two mentions of «Keftiu» during the time of Amenhotep II; see Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 39-41, 43-47.

¹⁸ See especially Haider, *MBAH* 1989, pp. 1, 19, 26. See also, among others, A. J. B. Wace, *Mycenae: An Archaeological History and Guide*, Princeton 1949, pp. 107-108; J. D. Muhly, «Homer and the Phoenicians: The Relations between Greece and the Near East in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages», *Berytus* 19, 1970, pp. 22, 36, 43; E. T. Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, Chicago 1972, pp. 255-257. Most recently, Bernal, *Black Athena II*, pp. 487-488, 526 has reasonably argued that Mycenaean lead and silver were exchanged for Egyptian grain, among other items.

have disappeared without a trace. We know of their existence only through depictions in Egyptian wall paintings, such as in the tomb of Rehmire, and mentions in written texts such as the Amarna letters. The Orientalia in the Late Bronze Age Aegean and the Mycenaean and Minoan pottery found in Egypt and the Near East represent the only group of imported objects which have not disintegrated or otherwise disappeared (FIG. 2, 4; MAP 2)¹⁹.

Of the 293 Orientalia found in LH/LM IIIA and IIIB contexts in the Aegean area, imports from Egypt (67) rank third, behind both Syro-Palestine (126) and Cyprus (75)²⁰. The Egyptian im-

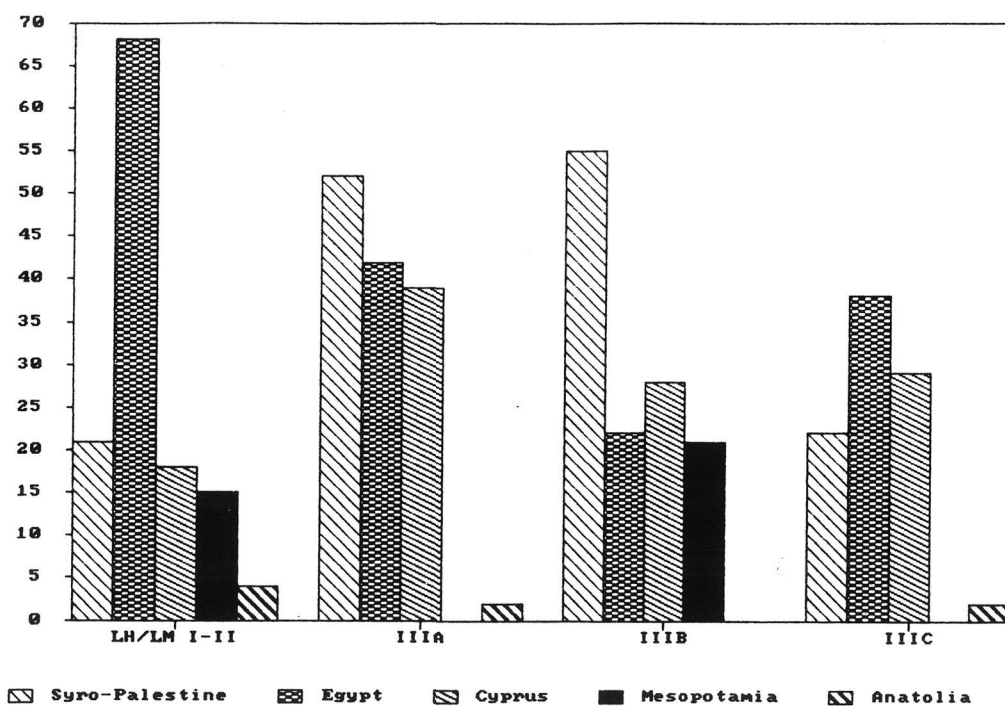


FIGURE 2. *Orientalia in the LBA Aegean Area, by Area of Origin (excluding shipwrecks)*

¹⁹ «Orientalia» are defined as objects of probable Anatolian, Cypriot, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Syro-Palestinian origin. «Late Bronze Age Aegean» includes all LH/LM I-III C contexts on Mainland Greece, Crete, Rhodes and the Cycladic Islands.

²⁰ These numbers exclude the finds on the Ulu Burun (Kas) shipwreck. There are an additional 18 Egyptian objects on board this ship, including the gold scarab of Nefertiti. These numbers also exclude three ostrich-egg rhyta found in LH/LM IIIA-B contexts: one at Ialysos in an LH IIIA context and one each at Mycenae and Gla in LH IIIB contexts. Such rhyta should have been excluded from the catalogue of worked Orientalia in Cline, *OLBAA*, as they are more properly imported raw material, occasionally reworked by Aegean artisans. There are a total of 16 such ostrich-egg rhyta

ports include vessels in stone, ceramic and glass, and scarabs and figurines of faience, frit and steatite (TABLE 2, 3). More than half of these are usable items —jars, bowls, and vases— and all are luxury items. The only ceramic items from Egypt are found at Kommos on Crete, but this undoubtedly stems from our failure to recognize Egyptians ceramics and will change in the future.

In Egypt, LH/LM III ceramic vessels originally containing wine, oil or perfume appear to have been consistently imported throughout most of the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. Such pottery has been found at approximately thirty sites, from Marsa Matruh on the northwest coast to Sesebi in the far south (MAP 2). While it has

LH/LM / Object Type	IIIA	IIIA-B	IIIB	Total
Vessels	34	1	10	45
Figurines	1	—	1	2
Scarabs	6	1	4	11
Seals	1	—	—	1
Plaques	—	—	6	6
Beads	—	—	1	1
Spoons	—	1	—	1
Total	42	3	22	67

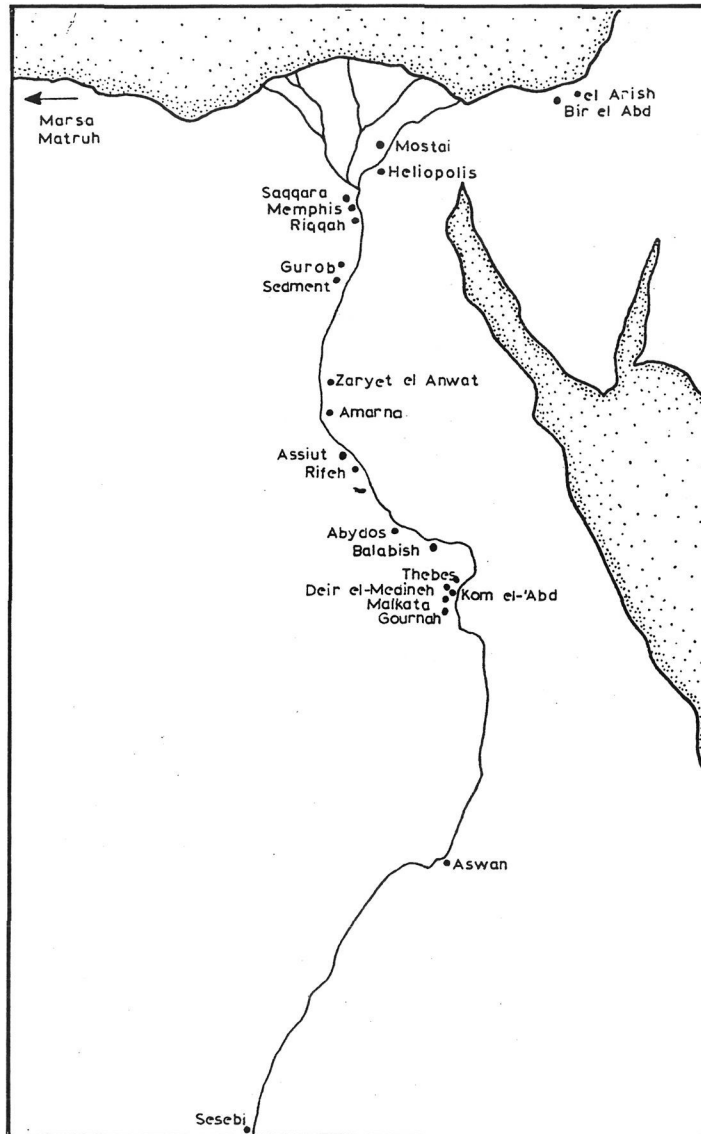
TABLE 2. *Aegyptiaca in the LH/LM IIIA-B Aegean Area, by Object Type (excluding shipwrecks)*

LH/LM / Object Type	IIIA	IIIA-B	IIIB	Total
Stone	15	1	7	23
Ceramic	18	—	2	20
Faience	6	1	12	19
Glass	1	—	—	1
Paste	1	—	—	1
Silver	—	1	—	1
Ivory	1	—	1	2
Total	42	3	22	67

TABLE 3. *Aegyptiaca in the LH/LM IIIA-B Aegean Area, by Object Material (excluding shipwrecks)*

in LH/LM I-IIIC contexts in the Aegean area and at least one more aboard the Ulu Burun (Kaş) shipwreck; see Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 513-518 (nos. 642-659). Thus, the total of worked Orientalia in the LBA Aegean now stands at 826 objects, rather than 842 as reported in *OLBAA*.

long been known that Mycenaean LH IIIA2 ceramic vessels were present in reasonable quantities at sites such as Amarna, new research indicates that Mycenaean LH IIIB vessels may have been imported in even greater numbers by the Pharaohs of the 19th Dynasty²¹.



MAP 2. *Mycenaean and Minoan LH/LM IIIA-B Pottery in Egypt*

²¹ E. J. Peltenburg, «Ramesside Egypt and Cyprus», in V. Karageorghis, ed., *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: «Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident»*, Nicosia 1986, p. 169; Cline, *Orientalia* 1987, pp. 13-16; Haider, *MBAH* 1988, pp. 16-19; *MBAH* 1989, pp. 6-7; M. R. Bell, «Mycenaean Trade with Egypt», paper delivered at the 92nd annual meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Francisco 1990; Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 32-36.

Two references to Egypt and the Egyptians appear in the Linear B tablets found at Knossos, dating to the LM III period. These are: *mi-sa-ra-jo* (KN F 841) = «Egyptian» and *a₃-ku-pi-ti-jo* (KN Db 1105) = «Memphite» or «Egyptian». The former term, *mi-sa-ra-jo*, is interesting as it apparently comes from the Semitic word for Egypt, *Miṣraim*, more commonly found in Akkadian and Ugaritic documents in Mesopotamia and Syro-Palestine. The latter term, *a₃-ku-pi-ti-jo*, is given as the name of an individual who was in charge of a flock of 80 sheep at a Minoan site. As Palaima has stated, «personal names derived from foreign toponyms attest to overseas contacts at some stage prior to the dates of the tablets on which they are recorded»²².

Tomb paintings and literary references in Egypt during this time further document contacts with the Aegean. These are well

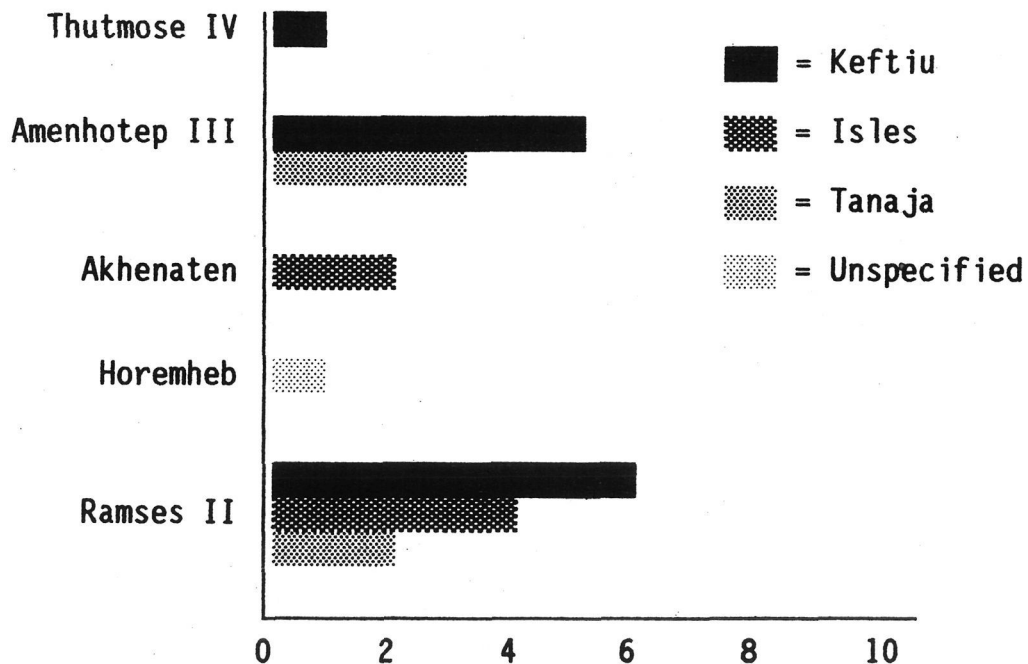


FIGURE 3. Occurrences of Aegean Names and Peoples in Egypt during the 14th-13th Centuries B.C.

²² M. C. Astour, «Greek Names in the Semitic World and Semitic Names in the Greek World», *JNES* 23, 1964, p. 194; «Ugarit and the Aegean», in H. A. Hoffner, Jr., ed., *Orient and Occident*, Neukirchener 1973, pp. 23-24; M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1973, pp. 98, 219, 537, 561; Cline, *OLBAA*, p. 36; T. G. Palaima, «Maritime Matters in the Linear B Tablets», *Aegaeum* 7, 1991, p. 280. Thus Lambrou-Phillipson, *Hellenorientalia*, pp. 141, 154 is incorrect to state that «the Linear B tablets do not appear to contain any knowledge of Egypt» and «the Aegean written testimonials appear to be completely unaware of Egypt».

known from the publications by Vercoutter and others, but may now be updated²³. *K3ft(j)w*, vocalized as «Keftiu», is most likely the Egyptian name for the island of Crete and the Bronze Age Minoans. *Iww ḥryw-ib nw W3d-wr*, translated as «the Isles in the Midst of the Great Green» is usually seen as a reference to the Cycladic islands of the Aegean, perhaps including Crete. *Tj-n3-jj*, read as «Tanaja» of «Tinay», refers most likely to the Mycenaeans of the Late Bronze Age Peloponnese, on the Greek Mainland²⁴. Within the 14th and 13th centuries B.C., «Keftiu» appears once during the time of Thutmose IV, «Tanaja» appears three times and «Keftiu» six times during the time of Amenhotep III, including on three topographical lists, the «Isles» appear twice during the time of Akhenaten, and the reign of Ramses II sees one copied and three new references to the «Isles», five copied and one new reference to «Keftiu», and two copied references to «Tanaja» (FIG. 3)²⁵. There is also a recently discovered depiction of an Aegean person in the Memphite Tomb of Horemheb; unfortunately, the accompanying inscription is now unreadable²⁶.

Spatial and Temporal Distribution of Aegyptiaca

Mycenae on the Greek Mainland and Kommos on Crete are the Aegean sites which have the most Egyptian imports in LH/LM

²³ Vercoutter, *L'Égypte*; Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu*; E. Sakellarakis and J. A. Sakellarakis, «The Keftiu and the Minoan Thalassocracy», in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, eds., *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality*, Stockholm 1984, pp. 197-202; Wachsmann, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs*; Haider, *Griechenland-Nordafrika*, pp. 1-33; Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 37-55.

²⁴ A final term, *ḥ3w-nbw.t*, vocalized as «Hau-nebwet», although long thought to be a reference to Greeks and to the Aegean, more likely refers to areas in Syro-Palestine and is not discussed here; see C. Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amasis*, Bruxelles 1971, p. 139.

²⁵ Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 46-52. Lambrou-Phillipson, *Hellenorientalia*, p. 117 is inaccurate to state that «no Greek words appear to exist in Egyptian documents from the time of the Bronze Age». Cf. conflicting statements on pp. 141 and 154 concerning the «Aegean List» of Amenhotep III (p. 119). The «Aegean List» is only one example among several instances of direct transliteration of Greek toponyms into Egyptian (cf. the «Keftiu» school slate mentioned on p. 118).

²⁶ G. T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamun I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary*, London 1989, p. 27, pls. 18-19; *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis: New Discoveries from the Time of Tutankhamun and Ramesses the Great*, London 1991, pp. 48-49, fig. 14.

IIIA-B contexts. Fully 19 of the 26 Egyptian objects in such contexts on the Mainland are at Mycenae, while 20 of the 37 on Crete are at Kommos (TABLE 4)²⁷. These findings presumably reflect the

LH/LM / Site	IIIA	IIIA-B	IIIB	Total
Asine	1 vessel	—	—	1
Ayios Elias	1 scarab	—	—	1
Dendra	—	1 spoon	1 vessel 1 set of beads	3
Mycenae	3 vessel	1 vessel	6 vessels 6 plaques 2 scarabs 1 figurine	19
Pylos	—	—	1 vessel	1
Tiryns	1 figurine	—	—	1
Ayia Triadha and environs	3 vessels 1 seal	—	—	4
Khania	—	1 scarab	—	1
Knossos and environs	9 vessels 2 scarabs	—	1 scarab	12
Kommos	18 vessels	—	2 vessels	20
Kameiros	2 scarabs	—	—	2
Kattavia	1 scarab	—	—	1
Langada, Kos	—	—	1 scarab	1
Total	42	3	22	67

TABLE 4. *Aegyptiaca in the LH/LM IIIA-B Aegean Area, by Site (excluding shipwrecks)*

²⁷ See Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 21, 24-27. Contra Lambrou-Phillipson, *Hellenorientalia*, pp. 139 and 153, Egyptian objects in south central Crete (i.e. at Kommos) are not «found mainly... in kitchen areas». The 20 Egyptian imports in LM IIIA and IIIB contexts at Kommos are in fact evenly divided between houses on the Central Hillside and Hilltop on the one hand and various «civic» contexts in the southern area of the site on the other hand. Cf. catalogue entries in Cline, *OLBAA*, and discussions in J. W. Shaw, «Excavations at Kommos (Crete) During 1980», *Hesperia* 50, 1981, pp. 219 n. 21, 238, 247 n. 115, pl. 60a; «Excavations at Kommos (Crete) During 1981», *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 193 n. 86, 194; «Excavations at Kommos (Crete) During 1984-1985», *Hesperia* 55, 1986, pp. 239, 268, pl. 58b; E. S. Banou and P. P. Betancourt, *House X at Kommos: The Minoan Pottery Excavated 1984-1985*, Princeton (forthcoming); and L. V. Watrous,

«Directional Trade» model in operation, where inter-Mediterranean voyages had specific destinations in mind rather than «tramping» from minor site to minor site²⁸. Moreover, this distribution pattern appears to be a working example of «gateway communities», in which imported goods came directly to a few major centers and were then redistributed at the discretion of the local ruler. Such «gateway communities» acted as entrances to or from an area and were characterized by long distance trade connections. This definition aptly describes both Mycenae and Kommos. Moreover, such communities were usually located on sites of transportational significance (Kommos) and often had large populations including resident specialist craftsmen and occasional foreign merchants (Mycenae)²⁹. The finds at Mycenae may also indicate diplomatic rather than purely commercial contacts with Egypt; the possibility of an Egyptian embassy sent to Mycenae during the time of Amenhotep III will be discussed below³⁰.

There is a distinct change notable from the LH/LM IIIA period to the LH/LM IIIB period (cf. TABLE 1; FIG. 1). Crete reports 33 Egyptian imports in LM IIIA contexts, but only three in IIIB contexts (with one more in a mixed IIIA-B context). Mainland Greece, on the other hand, reports only six Egyptian imports in LH IIIA contexts, but 18 in IIIB contexts (with two more in mixed IIIA-B contexts). While these numbers by themselves are not large, the observable switch from Crete in LH/LM IIIA to the Greek Mainland in IIIB is a microcosm of the situation observable in all 826 Orientalia found in the LBA Aegean-Crete has 101 Orientalia in LM IIIA contexts but only seven in IIIB contexts, while

Excavations at Kommos in Southern Crete, III: The Late Bronze Age Pottery, Princeton (in press). Lambrou-Phillipson is correct, however, in stating (pp. 139-140) that «Egyptian objects are found mainly in palace and grave contexts in eastern and central Crete» and «in palatial contexts in the Argolid area».

²⁸ Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 244-248. See C. Renfrew, *The Emergence of Civilisation*, London 1972, pp. 465-466 for an early discussion of the «Directional Trade» model.

²⁹ Tiryns, Knossos and Ialysos also fit this description; see Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 286-287. On «gateway communities» see most recently T. R. Smith, *Mycenaean Trade and Interaction in the West Central Mediterranean 1600-1000 B.C.*, Oxford 1987, pp. 61-62, 65-66, 133-134, 136, 138, with references. On Kommos' status as a major Minoan port, and the function of individual buildings as harbor facilities, see Shaw, *Hesperia* 1981, p. 219; «Excavations at Kommos (Crete) During 1982-1983», *Hesperia* 53, 1984, pp. 257-258.

³⁰ See previously Hankey, *JMAA* 1981; Cline, *Orientalia* 1987; «An Unpublished Amenhotep III Faience Plaque from Mycenae», *JAOS* 110/2, 1990, pp. 200-212.

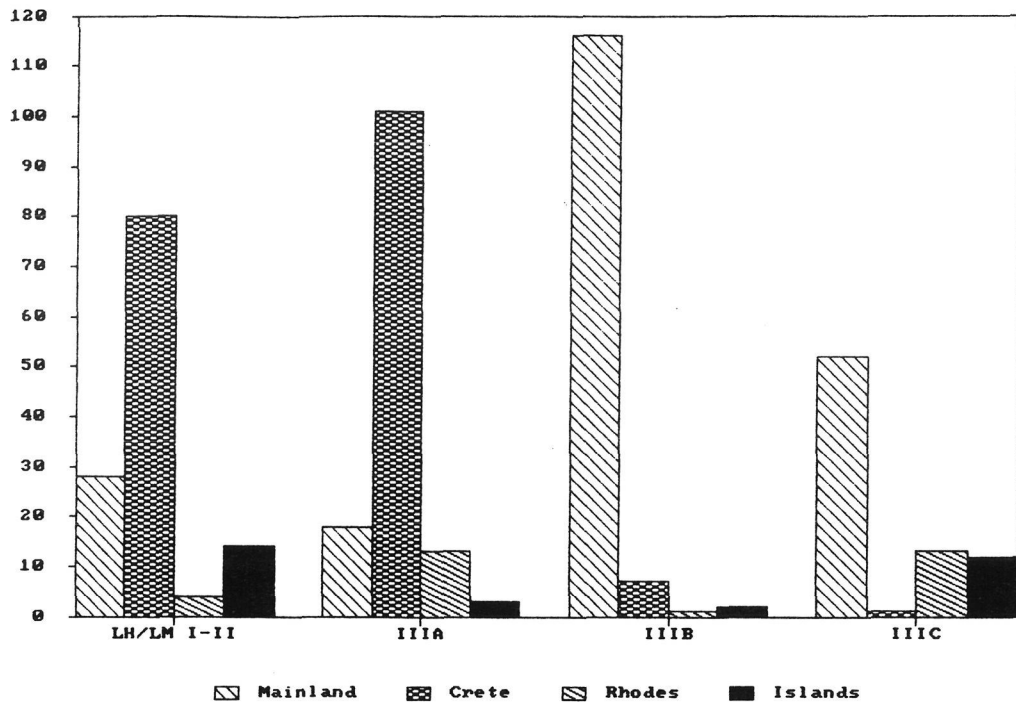


FIGURE 4. *Orientalia in the LBA Aegean Area, by Area of Findspot (excluding shipwrecks)*

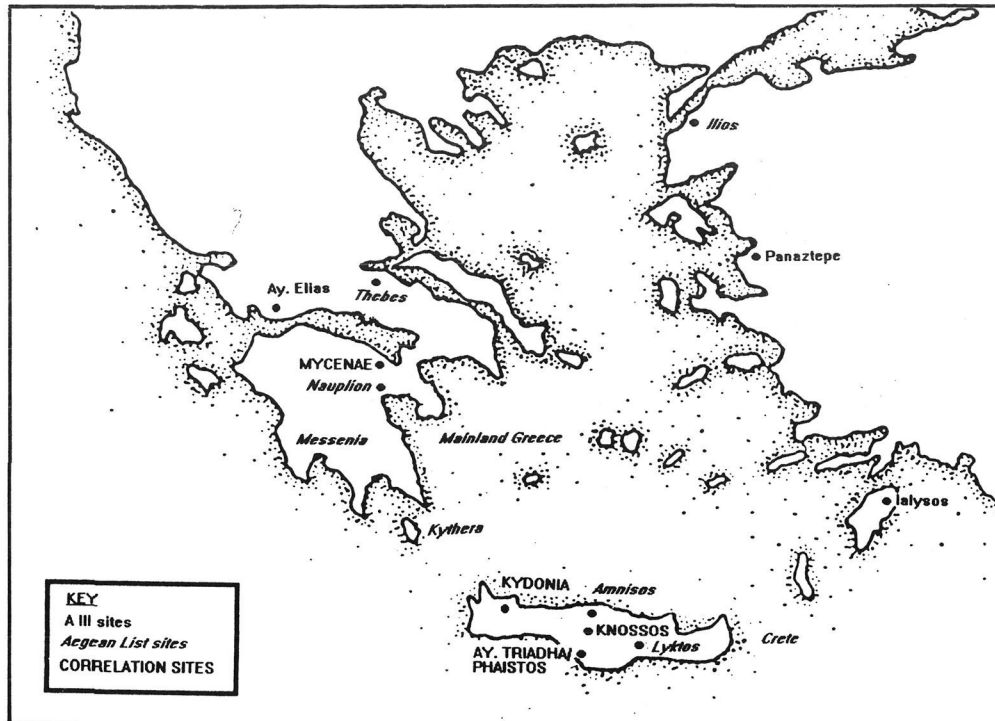
Mainland Greece has only 18 Orientalia in LH IIIA contexts but fully 116 in IIIB contexts (FIG. 4). This shift may be a reflection of the takeover of the Eastern trade routes by the Mycenaeans at this time, while the Minoans began looking more towards the Western Mediterranean³¹.

Amenhotep III and the Aegean

There are a large number of objects in the Aegean which are inscribed with the cartouche of Amenhotep III or his wife Queen Tiyi. These include one vase at Mycenae, seven scarabs at various locations around the Aegean, and at least six faience plaques, again all at Mycenae (MAP 3). Many or all of these objects original-

³¹ Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 297-299, with earlier references; L. V. Watrous, «Late Bronze Age Kommos: Imported Pottery as Evidence for Foreign Contact», in J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw, eds., *A Great Minoan Triangle in Southcentral Crete: Kommos, Hagia Triadha, Phaistos*, Toronto 1985, p. 10 should be added to these references.

ly arrived in the Aegean in the LH/LM IIIA1 period, during the reign of Amenhotep III. It seems likely that all 14 of these royally inscribed items arrived together, in a single voyage which can be linked to the «Aegean List» inscribed on Amenhotep III's mortuary



MAP 3. *Correlations between Findspots of Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye Objects and Sites on the «Aegean List» of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan*

temple at Kom el-Hetan³². The list mentions Mainland Greece and Crete, and includes Mycenae, Knossos, Nauplion, Troy, and Kythera among other Aegean place names (MAP 3). It has been previously suggested that this list is a record of a formal Egyptian embassy sent to the Aegean and that the inscribed objects of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye may be seen as the remnants of a Pharaonic gift sent to help establish trade relations with a new Aegean power (the Mycenaeans of Mainland Greece) as well as to maintain and confirm previously existing ties with an old and valued trading partner (the Minoans of Crete)³³.

³² E. Edel, *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III*, Bonn 1966; Cline, *Orientalia* 1987; *JAOS* 1990.

³³ Cline, *Orientalia* 1987; *JAOS* 1990; also Haider, *Exportgewerbe und Aussenhandel*, pp. 26, 28. See now discussion in Bernal, *Black Athena II*, pp. 476-480.

The above observations and hypotheses may now be updated as a result of recent discoveries and publications. First, in 1985 another scarab inscribed with the cartouche of Amenhotep III, *Nb-m3^ct-R^cb^c(w) nfr(w) nfr(w)*—«Neb-Ma'at-Re, Appearing in Beauty», was found in a tomb at Panaztepe, a site on the western coast of Anatolia. Elsewhere in the cemetery was LH IIIA pottery (a piriform jar, two kylikes, an alabastron, and two stirrup jars), as well as local pottery, bronze weapons, tools and utensils, sealstones, jewellery in gold, glass and silver, and a second 18th Dynasty scarab³⁴. It is certain that four of the six sites in the Aegean and western Anatolia where objects inscribed with the cartouche of Amenhotep III or Queen Tiye have been found are listed on Amenhotep III's statue base at Kom el-Hetan. These are Knossos, Phaistos/Ayia Triadha, Kydonia, and Mycenae (MAP 3)³⁵. Although Panaztepe is too far to the south of Troy to add a fifth correlation to this list (Troy/Panaztepe), the discovery of this scarab shows that there was some kind of contact, either direct or indirect, between Egypt and Northwest Anatolia at this time. More importantly, it lends credence to Edel's still-controversial reading of the ninth name on the «Aegean List» (*W3-jw-r-jj-i*) as Ilios (Troy). Second, in 1988 Edel published an article identifying the fifth name on the «Aegean List» as Boeotian Thebes³⁶. The list should now read as follows: Amnisos, Phaistos,

³⁴ The Amenhotep III scarab (PZ 85/24) was found in Panaztepe N-12, within Grave L, a pithos grave. Made of faience or frit, it measures 1.41 cm in length, 1.02 cm in width, and 0.7 cm in height; the diameter of the stringhole is 0.2 cm. The second scarab (PZ 85/25), inscribed *Imn-R^c* («Amen-Re») and dating from the time of Amenhotep III, was found in Panaztepe N-11, within a pithos grave holding three skeletons. See A. Erkanal, «Panaztepe Kazisiu 1985 Yili Sonuçlari», in *VIII. Kazi Sonuçlari Toplantisi I (26-30 May 1986)*, Ankara 1986, p. 258; M. J. Mellink, «Archaeology in Anatolia», *AJA* 91, 1987, p. 13; Warren and Hankey, *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology*, p. 148; B. Jaeger and R. Krauss, «Zwei Skarabäen aus der mykenischen Fundstelle Panaztepe», *MDOG* 122, 1990, pp. 153-156, abb. 1-2.

³⁵ See Cline, *Orientalia* 1987, pp. 6-7 for discussion. Ayia Triadha has the ivory scarab/stamp seal of Queen Tiye (Cline, *OLBAA*, p. 365 [no. 172]) while Phaistos appears in the «Aegean List». A link between the two sites has long been hypothesized (cf. J. W. Graham, *The Palaces of Crete*, Princeton 1962, pp. 49-51). Moreover, we may note that Phaistos has five imported objects in LM contexts. All are Egyptian imports (Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 400-401 [nos. 258-259], 465 [no. 480], 474-475 [no. 514], 495 [no. 580]); one is from an LM I context, two are in general LM III contexts at the site and two more are in LM IIIA tombs in the Kalyvia cemetery.

³⁶ E. Edel, «Der Name *di-q3j¹-j3-s* in der minoisch-mykenischen Liste En li 8 gleich Θηβαις?», *ZÄS* 115, 1988, pp. 30-35. Previous scholars had suggested Tegeai in West Crete, Tegea in Arcadia, and Mt. Dikte or Diktaia on Crete, but only G. L. Huxley's

Kydonia, Mycenae, Boeotian Thebes or Kato Zakro, Methana (Argolid) or Messana (Pylos/Messenia area), Nauplion, Kythera, Ilios (Troy), Knossos, Amnisos (listed again), and Lyktos; Mainland Greece and Crete are the headnames for the list. We may now note that most of the entities listed are either major citadels of the Mycenaeans and Minoans or are the port cities for these citadels³⁷. The inclusion of these particular names in this list is no accident. The register reads like a «Who's Who» of the politics of consequence in the LH/LM IIIA Aegean, which no diplomatic embassy could afford to ignore or overlook³⁸.

Fully nine of the above 15 royally inscribed objects are found at Mycenae. It, therefore, seems likely that the Egyptian embassy was directed specifically towards Mycenae, although stops elsewhere in the Aegean were necessarily included on both the outbound and return legs of the voyage. We should note that the shift in distribution of Egyptian objects from Crete to Mainland Greece (*supra*) took place immediately after this Egyptian embassy to Mycenae. These events may be connected, and may also be related to the great surge in Mycenaean exports to Egypt, Syro-Palestine and Cyprus in the LH/LM IIIA2-B periods³⁹. We should note also that the term *Tj-n3-jj* or «Tanaja» occurs primarily during the reign of Amenhotep III. This is consistent with its identification with the Mycenaeans of the Greek Mainland and is perhaps evidence that direct contacts between Egypt and Mainland Greece began during Amenhotep III's reign⁴⁰.

suggestion («The Ancient Name of Zakro», *GRBS* 8, 1967, pp. 85-87) of Kato Zakro on Crete seemed at all plausible in the given context. Edel's new suggestion of Boeotian Thebes, on the Greek Mainland, strengthens the hypothesis of the «Aegean List» as a geographical itinerary; see Cline, *Orientalia* 1987, pp. 6, 22-23, 27, with references.

³⁷ The use of ovals with projections, rather than cartouches, as frames for these Aegean toponyms on the statue base may have some relevance. D. B. Redford, «A Bronze Age Itinerary in Transjordan», *JSSEA* 12, 1982, p. 55 n. 4, states that «the ancient [Egyptian] term for the fortified oval was *wnt*», which is usually translated as «stronghold» or «fortress». I am indebted to C. Lilyquist for this observation.

³⁸ An alternative possibility, that the list records visitors from the Aegean perhaps participating in one of Amenhotep III's *heb sed* festivals, will be investigated. If so, the noted correlations between sites on this list and the objects of Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye in the Aegean area may be the result of these objects having arrived either via an Egyptian envoy announcing the impending *heb sed* festival or via the returning Aegean emissaries. I am grateful to E. Davis, R. Koehl, C. Lilyquist and M. Wiener for animated discussions leading to this suggestion.

³⁹ Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 62-64.

⁴⁰ P. Faure, «Toponymes créto-mycéniens dans une liste d'Aménophis III», *Kadmos* 7, 1968, pp. 145-147 presents convincing arguments for identifying «Tanaja» with the

One must again wonder if the Egyptians did not give a «helping hand» to the Mycenaeans⁴¹. Certainly we do not have to search very far for a potential motive for the actions of the Egyptians—namely, the rise of the Hittites under Tudhaliya III and Suppiluliuma I, and the potential threat which this posed to Egypt and its empire in Syro-Palestine in the early 14th century B.C. Schulman has recently and convincingly suggested that many of Amenhotep III's foreign policies were aimed at leashing the growing power of the Hittites⁴². In brief, Amenhotep III signed treaties with a series of major and minor rulers in the lands surrounding the Hittite homelands, ranging from Amištamru I of Ugarit to Šuttarna II and Tušratta of Mitanni, Kadašman-Enlil I of Babylon, and Tarkhundaradu of Arzawa. He also married the daughters of most of these kings in order to cement the treaties⁴³.

An Egyptian embassy to the Aegean, particularly one which stopped at Mycenae, Knossos and Troy, may have been sent to conclude a similar treaty with the power(s) in the Aegean, with the aim of containing or at least partially blocking the Hittites from expanding further to the west. Such a scenario is supported by recent evidence that the Mycenaeans, a.k.a. the Ahhiyawans, actively encouraged anti-Hittite activities in western Anatolia and that the Hittites may have established an economic embargo against the Mycenaeans⁴⁴. Egyptian anti-Hittite overtures, particularly those which benefitted Mycenae, may have found an eager ally in the Aegean. Alternatively, the hostility and lack of trade between Mycenaeans and Hittites might well have been the *result*

Greek Mainland, rather than with Rhodes or Cilicia. Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu*, pp. 22-23 n. 33 and 25-26, presents a summary of the previous suggestions; cf. also Cline, *Orientalia* 1987, p. 26 (Table 2).

⁴¹ Cline, *Orientalia* 1987, pp. 19-23.

⁴² A. R. Schulman, «Hittites, Helmets and Amarna: Akhenaten's First Hittite War», in D. B. Redford, ed., *The Akhenaten Temple Project v. 2: Rwd-Mnw, Foreigners and Inscriptions*, Toronto 1988, pp. 59-60.

⁴³ A. R. Schulman, «Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom», *JNES* 38, 1979, pp. 183-185.

⁴⁴ T. R. Bryce, «The Nature of Mycenaean Involvement in Western Anatolia», *Historia* 38, 1989, pp. 1-21; «Ahhiyawans and Mycenaeans—An Anatolian Viewpoint», *OJA* 8, 1989, pp. 297-310; E. H. Cline, «A Possible Hittite Embargo Against the Mycenaeans», *Historia* 40/1, 1991, pp. 1-9; «Hittite Objects in the Bronze Age Aegean», *Anatolian Studies* 41, 1991, pp. 133-143.

of an anti-Hittite treaty signed between Egypt and the Aegean during the time of Amenhotep III.

The one scenario these data are *not* evidence for is Egyptian hegemony over the Aegean at this time, despite Bernal's recent arguments⁴⁵. Bernal suggests that punitive expeditions were dispatched to the Aegean by the Egyptians, resulting in the sending of tribute, as seen in Egyptian tomb paintings, and in Egyptian suzerainty over the Aegean during the 15th and 14th centuries B.C.⁴⁶. There is no evidence in the Aegean area, however, to support the hypotheses of Egyptian punitive expeditions or of Egyptian suzerainty at this time; the data which do exist are indicative of more peaceful diplomatic and commercial expeditions. There are certainly indications that there were numerous instances of contact and trade, that the relationship between the Aegean and Egypt may have been unequal, that there may have been Egyptian influence on Mycenae during the 14th century B.C., and that there were formal exchanges of gifts during this time. However, Bernal's ultimate conclusion that «Egypt exercised some kind of hegemony over the [Aegean] region» is at present unwarranted⁴⁷.

Akhenaten, the Amarna Pharaohs, and the Aegean

The second half the LH/LM IIIA period, LH/LM IIIA2, and the initial phase of the LH/LM IIIB1 period are approximately contemporary with the reign of Akhenaten and the four Pharaohs following him: Smenkhare, Tutankhamen, Ay, and Horemheb. The myth of Akhenaten's 'lack of interest' in activities outside of Egypt is notorious but quite exaggerated, as attested by his marriages to Mitannian and Kassite princesses, two literary mentions of the «Isles» and recent evidence for a battle fought against the Hittites during

⁴⁵ Bernal, *Black Athena II*, pp. 433-434, 445, 451, 475-476.

⁴⁶ Bernal, *Black Athena II*, pp. 434, 445, 451. R. S. Merrillees, «Aegean Bronze Age Relations with Egypt», *AJA* 76, 1972, p. 290, had previously suggested that the «Aegean List» represented symbolic domination of the Aegean by Egyptians; Bernal takes this hypothesis one step further to suggest literal domination. Cogent arguments against seeing the «Aegean List» as a statement of Egyptian dominance over the Aegean have been presented in Cline, *Orientalia* 1987, pp. 4-5; Wachsmann, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs*, p. 95; cf. also Redford, *JSSEA* 1982, p. 55 and nn. 1-4.

⁴⁷ Bernal, *Black Athena II*, pp. 475-476; cf. Cline, *Orientalia* 1987; *JAOS* 1990.

his reign⁴⁸. As mentioned, there are a substantial number of Mycenaean IIIA2 vessels, and possibly a few IIIB1 vessels, in Egyptian contexts dating to Akhenaten's reign, such as at Amarna and Sesebi⁴⁹. It appears unlikely that the exportation of Egyptian objects to the Aegean at this time was affected by Akhenaten's so-called 'lack of interest' in trade, for the contacts established earlier certainly continued during the heretic Pharaoh's reign.

Until recently, the available evidence has suggested that there was a decline in Egyptian contacts with the Aegean after Akhenaten's death, as part of the reaction which set in after his reign⁵⁰. The data indicated a decrease in importation of Egyptian objects into the Aegean, a decline in the numbers of Aegean vessels found in Egypt, and a total lack of representations of Aegean peoples in Egypt⁵¹. It is difficult to tell, however, if there were truly any fluctuations in the Aegean importation of Egyptian objects during this specific period. In Egypt, the relative lack of Aegean pottery in contexts dating to this particular era may be a real phenomenon. More likely, it is an accident of archaeological investigation, for some LH IIIA2 (late) or LH IIIB1 (early) pottery has recently been discovered in the Memphite tomb of Maya, Treasurer of Tutankhamen⁵². Similarly, the recent publication of a scene depicting an Aegean person in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb suggests that the previous absence of mentions of Aegean peoples in Egyptian tombs and inscriptions from just after the time Akhenaten until the time of Ramses II may also have been an archaeological accident⁵³. Moreover, one must

⁴⁸ Schulman, *JNES* 1979, p. 185; «Hittites, Helmets and Amarna» (*supra* n. 42); Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 50-51.

⁴⁹ Merrillees, *AJA* 1972, p. 291; «Mycenaean Pottery from the Time of Akhenaten in Egypt», *MEM*, pp. 176-178; Hankey, *JMAA* 1981; Cline, *Orientalia* 1987, p. 14; Haider, *MBAH* 1988, pp. 14-15; Warren and Hankey, *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology*, pp. 148-154.

⁵⁰ Bass, Pulak, Collon and Weinstein, *AJA* 1989, pp. 24-26; cf. also Haider, *MBAH* 1988, pp. 15-16.

⁵¹ Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 66-67 and Table 1.

⁵² Similar pottery was also found in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb, but was discovered within a shaft and rooms not thought to have been used until the early Ramesside period. See G. T. Martin, «Excavations of the Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, 1977: Preliminary Report», *JEA* 64, 1978, p. 6; «Excavations of the Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, 1978: Preliminary Report», *JEA* 65, 1979, p. 16; Warren and Hankey, *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology*, pp. 151-152.

⁵³ Martin, *Memphite Tomb of Horemheb*, p. 27, pls. 18-19; *Hidden Tombs of Memphis*, pp. 48-49; fig. 14. Note also the faience scarab of Horemheb found in a surface context

remember that the Ulu Burun (Kaş) shipwreck contains fully 18 worked Egyptian objects, plus at least five logs of ebony wood. If the wreck dates to just after the Amarna period, this evidence alone suggests that trade did continue between Egypt and the Aegean during the latter part of the 18th Dynasty⁵⁴.

Ramses II and the Aegean

During the 19th Dynasty and in particular during the time of Ramses II, trade between Egypt and the Aegean was apparently again flourishing, at a level not seen since the days of Amenhotep III. Numerous Egyptian imports are found in 13th century contexts in the Aegean (MAP 1; FIG. 1) and, as noted above, a multitude of Mycenaean IIIB vessels have been found in 19th Dynasty contexts in Egypt, particularly at Deir el-Medina and Saqqara/Memphis⁵⁵. Peltenburg is almost certainly correct in stating:

As more 19th Dynasty sites are being excavated... it seems likely that LH IIIB pottery will prove to be more common in Egypt than previously was assumed to be the case⁵⁶.

One might therefore tentatively disagree with Bernal's recent statement that there was a decline in Egyptian contact with the Aegean during the 19th Dynasty and specifically during the reign

at Knossos on Crete; see Cline, *Orientalia* 1987, p. 16 n. 74, Table 3:D6; Bass, Pulak, Collon and Weinstein, *AJA* 1989, pp. 25-26 and n. 125; Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 66, 339 n. 423. *Contra* Bernal, *Black Athena II*, p. 519, there are no scarabs of Horemheb at Perati; the publication in question cites «several scarabs, one of them datable to the reign of Horemheb or Ramses II». See R.-P. Charles, «Note sur un Scarabée Égyptien de Pérati (Attique)», *BCH* 89, 1965, pp. 10-14; A. Yannai, *Studies on Trade Between the Levant and the Aegean in the 14th to 12th Centuries B.C.*, Oxford 1983, p. 58; Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 341-344 (nos. 104-113).

⁵⁴ See now the catalogue compiled in Cline, *OLBAA*. If, on the other hand, the wreck dates to the early 13th century B.C., these Egyptian objects may be representative of trade during the 19th Dynasty. On the dating of the Ulu Burun (Kaş) shipwreck, see Bass, Pulak, Collon and Weinstein, *AJA* 1989, pp. 12, 24-25, 29; L. Vagnetti and F. Lo Schiavo, «Late Bronze Age long distance trade in the Mediterranean: the role of the Cypriots», in E. J. Peltenburg, ed., *Early Society in Cyprus*, Edinburgh 1989, pp. 222-224, fig. 28.2.

⁵⁵ Bell, *ASAE* 1982; Martin, *JEA* 1978, p. 6; *JEA* 1979, p. 16; «The Tomb of Tia and Tia: Preliminary Report on the Saqqara Excavations», *JEA* 70, 1984, pp. 5, 8-9; Haider, *MBAH* 1988, pp. 16-17; with map; *MBAH* 1989, pp. 2-7, abbs. 1-2; Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 33-35.

⁵⁶ Peltenburg, «Ramesside Egypt and Cyprus», p. 169. See also Haider, *MBAH* 1988, pp. 16-19; *contra* Lambrou-Phillipson, *Hellenorientalia*, pp. 65, 141.

of Ramses II⁵⁷. It is true, however, that while literary references to the Aegean are common in Ramses II's time, their significance is debated since most of the references are copied from earlier lists⁵⁸. It has been suggested that the lack of new lists may indicate that the goods were being transported by merchants based in other Near Eastern countries; i.e. that Syro-Palestinian or Cypriot merchants were carrying the goods between Egypt, the Near East and the Aegean during this period⁵⁹. However, Ramses II is known to have had substantial contacts with Anatolia, Syro-Palestine, Cyprus and Mesopotamia throughout his reign⁶⁰. It would be surprising if he did not have direct contact with the Aegean as well.

Trade Routes and Merchant Nationalities

During the earlier LH/LM I-II periods in the Aegean, Egyptian objects comprise the vast majority of the Orientalia found in the Aegean area (FIG. 2). Most are on Crete, in LM IB contexts (FIG. 4). These data suggest that Egypt dominated trade with the Aegean during this time and that Minoan Crete was the partner with whom Egypt was trading during these early centuries. We may thus hypothesize that a direct route between Egypt and Crete was utilized and that the mariners sailing this route were predominantly of Egyptian and Minoan nationality (MAP 4)⁶¹.

In the early LH/LM IIIA period, virtually all of the Egyptian imports, and the Orientalia in general, continue to be found on Crete rather than on the Greek Mainland. This argues for a continuance of directional trade between Crete and Egypt at this time,

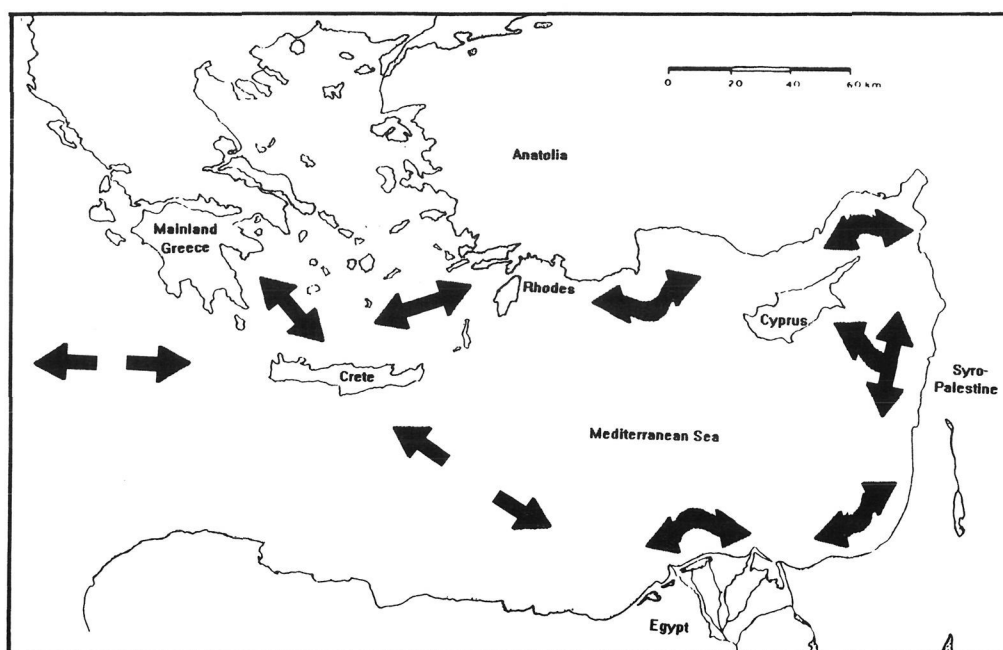
⁵⁷ Bernal, *Black Athena II*, pp. 445, 489; cf. also Yannai, *Studies on Trade*, p. 59. Note the two faience cartouches of Ramses II found in LH IIIIB/C (transitional) tombs at Perati (Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 334-335 [nos. 92-93]), which Bernal himself cites on p. 519.

⁵⁸ Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 51-52, with references.

⁵⁹ Haider, *Griechenland-Nordafrika*, pp. 46-47; *MBAH* 1989, p. 12; Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 67-69.

⁶⁰ Schulman, *JNES* 1979, pp. 186-187, with references; K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II*, Warminster 1982; Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 127-128 and n. 173.

⁶¹ Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 245-246, 255-256, 260-261. See also A. Furumark, «The Settlement at Ialysos and Aegean History c. 1550-1400 BC», *Opuscula Archaeologica* VI, 1950, pp. 213-215, 246-249 for the suggestion that there were Egyptian sailors and merchants travelling the searoutes between the Aegean and the Near East during the Bronze Age.



MAP 4. Possible Sea-Routes between Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age

and for Egyptian and Minoan mariners. The «Aegean List» at Amenhotep III's mortuary temple records a specific example of the use of this route and suggests the itinerary that was followed once the embassy reached the Aegean⁶². However, beginning late in the LH/LM IIIA period, Egyptian and Minoan dominance of Aegean-Eastern Mediterranean trade appears to have decreased as other Near Eastern and Mycenaean merchants asserted themselves. The increasing numbers of Syro-Palestinian and Cypriot objects in the LH/LM IIIA-C Aegean indicates that alternate routes, or an extension of the above Crete-Egypt-Crete route, were travelled at this time, particularly during the LH/LM IIIB period. At that time, in

⁶² If Lambrou-Phillipson, *Hellenorientalia*, pp. 151, 293-294 (no. 301) and D. E. McCaslin, *Stone Anchors in Antiquity: Coastal Settlements and Maritime Trade-routes in the Eastern Mediterranean ca. 1600-1050 B.C.*, Göteborg 1980, p. 32 are correct in their identification of trapezoidal anchors in front of the Peiraeus Marine Museum as possibly of 18th Dynasty Egyptian origin, this would lend credence to the above observations concerning direct routes between Egypt and the Aegean. No other possible Egyptian or Near Eastern anchors have been discovered yet anywhere else in the Late Bronze Age Aegean, apart from those on the Ulu Burun (Kaş) and Cape Gelidonya shipwrecks.

addition to the direct route between Egypt and the Aegean, the traditionally postulated route came into use: running counter-clockwise from the Aegean to Egypt, up to Syro-Palestine and Cyprus, and back to the Aegean via Anatolia, Rhodes and the Cyclades (MAP 4). A clockwise route around the Aegean was also possible, as Watrous has recently demonstrated. One may reasonably hypothesize that the Egyptians and Minoans, by the end of the LH/LM IIIA period, had been joined by Mycenaean, Syro-Palestinian and Cypriot merchants. This multi-national situation then continued until the collapse of the international trade routes at the end of the Late Bronze Age⁶³.

Royal versus Commercial Sponsorship

Egyptian foreign trade is frequently stated to have been «conducted only by the Pharaoh» —that is, such ventures were undertaken by state employees, whether merchants or diplomats, using state-owned vessels⁶⁴. Amenhotep III's embassy to the Aegean almost certainly falls into this category. The Amarna letters provide evidence that state-sponsored expeditions could also be conducted by private merchants whose costs for a particular voyage would be underwritten by the State⁶⁵. Common sense, and other Near Eastern documents, suggests that completely private commercial ventures also took place, conducted by both wealthy merchants such as Sinaranu of Ugarit and by stateless middlemen⁶⁶.

⁶³ Haider, *MBAH* 1989, pp. 1-2, 21-26, abbs. 6-7; Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 253-263; Watrous, *Kommos III*.

⁶⁴ Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, p. 278; A. B. Knapp, «Production and Exchange in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean: An Overview», in A. B. Knapp and T. Stech, eds., *Prehistoric Production and Exchange: The Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean*, Los Angeles 1985, p. 5; St. Alexiou, «Minoan Palaces as Centres of Trade and Manufacture», in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, eds., *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, Stockholm 1987, p. 251; Haider, *MBAH* 1988, pp. 16, 18, 24; *MBAH* 1989, pp. 18-19.

⁶⁵ Y. Portugali and A. B. Knapp, «Cyprus and the Aegean: A Spatial Analysis of Interaction in the 17th-14th Centuries B.C.», in A. B. Knapp and T. Stech, eds., *Prehistoric Production and Exchange: The Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean*, Los Angeles 1985, p. 66.

⁶⁶ Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, p. 277; Yannai, *Studies on Trade*, pp. 103-105; M. Heltzer, «Sinaranu, son of Siginu, and the Trade Relations between Ugarit and Crete», *Minos* 23, 1988, pp. 7-13.

The majority of the Aegyptiaca in the LBA Aegean offers no clue as to the sponsors of their voyage to the Aegean, but we should probably imagine a combination of the above possibilities, similar to the situation today⁶⁷.

It has been argued that the trade which brought Egyptian and Near Eastern goods to the Late Bronze Age Aegean, and vice versa, was purely commercial with only profit as the motivating factor. An alternative suggestion is that such «trade» was in reality a series of gift-giving embassies conducted as exchanges between palatial centers. Surely the answer lies in the combination of the two⁶⁸. The «Keftiu» represented in the Egyptian wall paintings bearing gifts for the Pharaoh are clear examples of commerce conducted under the guise of gift (or tribute) giving. The Amarna letters attest to the popularity of such transactions between the Pharaoh and various Near Eastern rulers. Virtually all such exchanges at the palatial level are recorded in terms of reciprocal gift-giving⁶⁹. It would be no surprise to learn that the Mycenaean and Minoan envoys to the Pharaoh followed the same principles and practices as the envoys from the Kassite, Mitanni and Hittite kings of that time. Such transactions, however, would only have been representative of trade conducted at the highest state, or palatial, level. The Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye objects in the LBA Aegean area may be recognizable remnants of such Pharaonic «trade»; they undoubtedly accompanied other, perishable, goods and luxury objects without royal cartouche⁷⁰. The sheer numbers of the Orientalia found in the

⁶⁷ Smith, *Mycenaean Trade*, p. 56; Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 248-251.

⁶⁸ J. F. Cherry, «Politics and palaces: some problems in Minoan state formation», in C. Renfrew and J. F. Cherry, eds., *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, Cambridge 1986, p. 41; M. Liverani, «The collapse of the Near Eastern regional system at the end of the Bronze Age: the case of Syria», in M. Rowlands, M. Larsen and K. Kristiansen, eds., *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1987, p. 67; C. Zaccagnini, «Aspects of Ceremonial Gift Exchange in the Near East During the Late Second Millennium BC», *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1987, p. 57. Unfortunately, M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest: International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600-1100 B.C.*, Padova 1990, was not available to the author.

⁶⁹ Renfrew, *Emergence*, p. 472; Liverani, *Centre and Periphery*, p. 67; Zaccagnini, *Centre and Periphery*, pp. 58, 60-61; E. J. Peltenburg, «Greeting Gifts and Luxury Faience: A Context for Late Mycenaean Orientalising», in *Science and Archaeology: Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean*, Jonslered 1991, pp. 166-170.

⁷⁰ Cline, *Orientalia* 1987; *JAOS* 1990. Cf. also the numerous mentions of «Tanaja» which occur only in pharaonic inscriptions and primarily during the reign of Amenhotep III

LBA Aegean area suggest, however, that there must have been numerous voyages made during this period. Surely the official embassies and diplomatic missions were far outnumbered by transactions conducted on a more mundane, commercial level ⁷¹.

Egypt and the LH/LM IIIA-B Aegean in Perspective

Relations between Egypt and the Aegean during the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. must be viewed in the light of three considerations: 1) Egypt's relations with the Aegean earlier in the Late Bronze Age, during the LH/LM I-II periods; 2) Egypt's relations with other areas of the ancient world during the 14th and 13th centuries; and 3) relations between other Near Eastern areas and the Aegean during this time.

As mentioned above, the contacts between Egypt and the Aegean during the LH/LM IIIA and IIIB periods simply continue the extensive connections established between these two areas during the preceding centuries, going back into the Middle Helladic/Middle Minoan period and seen especially during the LH/LM I-II periods. As noted above, in these earlier centuries Egypt appears to have been the principal Near Eastern area trading with the Aegean. Egyptian imports in the LH/LM I-II Aegean area outnumber other Near Eastern imports by a ratio of more than 4:1. By the time of the late 14th and 13th centuries, however, Syro-Palestine and Cyprus had surpassed Egypt in numbers of artifacts sent to the Aegean, if the extant imports are properly representative ⁷². This is not an indication of a decline in Egyptian interest in the Aegean, especially given Amenhotep III's embassy in the LH/LM IIIA period, but rather an indication of the international nature of trade during these later centuries.

As noted above, formal relations with the Aegean may have been initiated by Amenhotep III as part of a series of treaties and dynastic marriages between Egypt and other Near Eastern powers

(described above). These may be specific references to direct Egypto-Aegean contacts which were 'Royal' in nature. In contrast, both «Keftiu» and the «Isles in the Midst of the Great Green» appear throughout the New Kingdom period and in a variety of textual and pictorial instances, not always pharaonic in nature.

⁷¹ Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 251-253.

⁷² Cline, *OLBAA*, pp. 209-219.

during this period. Illustrated by the royal archives found at the site of Amarna, Amenhotep III's policies may have been a reaction to the growing power of the Hittites⁷³. These new relations, diplomatic as well as commercial, would have gone beyond the simple trading system established earlier between Crete and Egypt. Such relations, incorporating both diplomatic measures and trading rights, would have been maintained by Akhenaten, who may have fought a war against the Hittites, and by succeeding Pharaohs. By the time of Ramses II, when a treaty between Egypt and Hatti was signed after the Battle of Qadesh and a defense pact between Egypt and the Aegean was no longer necessary, the Aegean was firmly established as a link in the circular trade routes around the Eastern Mediterranean area⁷⁴.

Summary and Conclusions

Bernal, particularly in Volume II of *Black Athena*, uses lively strokes to paint a broad picture of a truly international Bronze Age. His reinterpretation of the evidence gives pause, as it should, and requires us to question anew basic hypotheses and theories which have been taken for granted. Nevertheless, as Bernal himself admits:

The existence during much of the second half of the 2nd millennium BC of such a cosmopolitan society throughout the East Mediterranean, including the Aegean, makes the idea of cultural isolation absurd... such a period of prolonged intimate contact can explain substantial religious, linguistic and other cultural borrowings without resorting to the idea of conquests or colonies⁷⁵.

The 14th and 13th centuries B.C. saw the high point of relations between the Aegean, Egypt and the Near East during the Late Bronze Age. Relations between Egypt and the Aegean during this

⁷³ Schulman, *JNES* 1979; «Hittites, Helmets and Amarna» (*supra* n. 42); W. L. Moran, *Les Lettres d'El-Amarna*, Paris 1987.

⁷⁴ On the Egyptian-Hittite treaty, see most recently A. Spalinger, «Considerations on the Hittite Treaty Between Egypt and Hatti», *SAK* 9, 1981, pp. 299-358.

⁷⁵ Bernal, *Black Athena II*, pp. 56-57. Contrasting statements may be found on pp. 362-363, 409, 445 and 494.

time were a continuation of contacts established in preceding centuries but may have entered a new phase, in which diplomatic communications accompanied routine commercial exchanges of trade goods. It is clear, as Bernal suggests, that there was prolonged, sustained, and probably continuous contact and trade between Egypt and the Aegean throughout the Late Bronze Age, and transfers of ideas and innovations no doubt occurred. However, there is no archaeological evidence to support Bernal's contention that the Aegean was under Egyptian hegemony during this time.

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