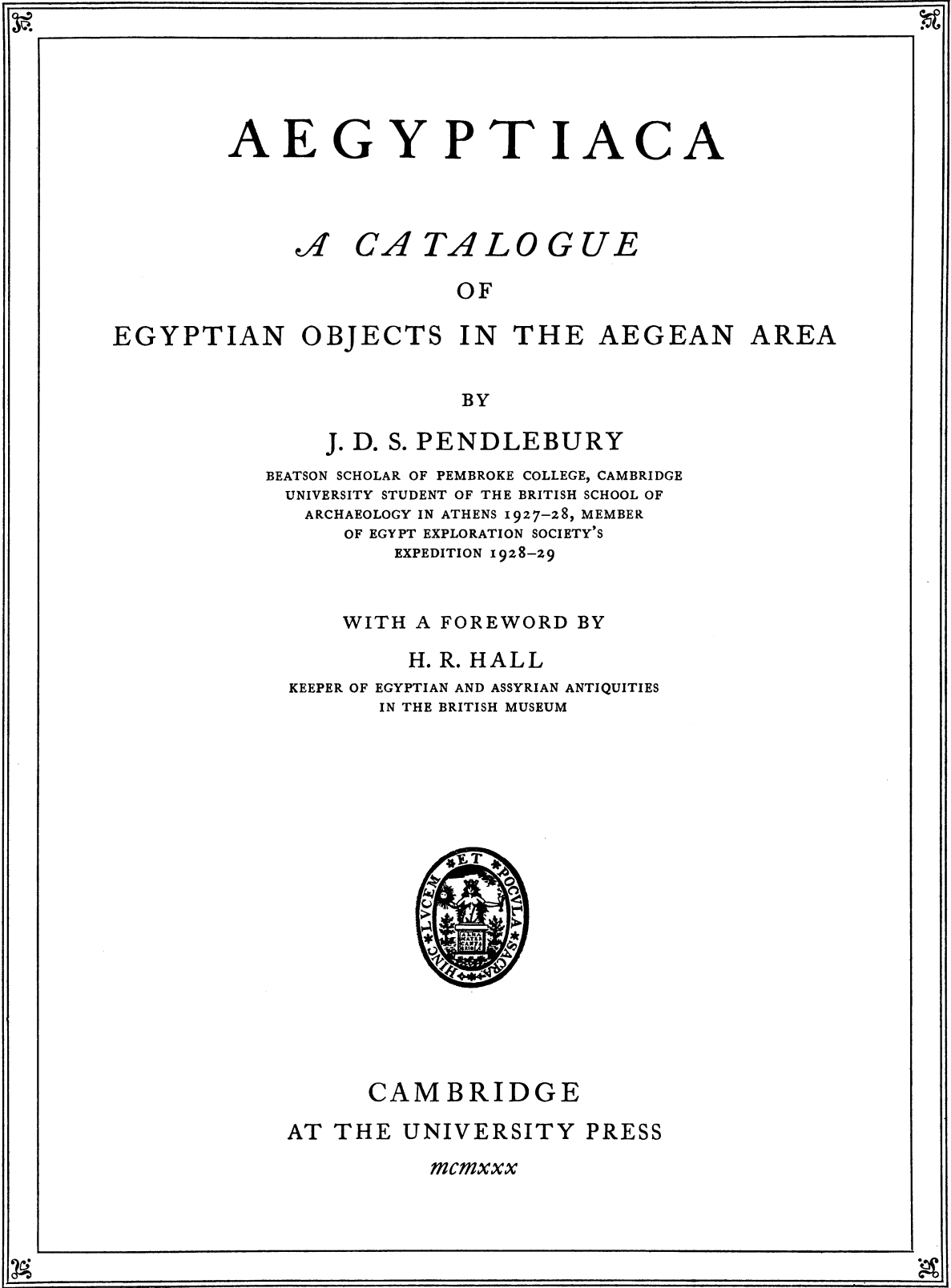


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AEGYPTIACA



15. DICTAEAN CAVE. SCALE $\frac{1}{1}$



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To
MY FATHER

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PREFACE

THIS small book, outcome of two years' studentship in Greece and a season's excavation in Egypt, is an attempt—the first so far as I know—to collect under one cover all the Egyptian objects which have been found in the Aegean area down to the close of the XXVIth Dynasty.

I had intended to include Rhodes, but have been dissuaded therefrom by two facts. Firstly, it would entirely outbalance the rest of the book (there are some 1500 objects from there). Secondly, the Italian excavations of Ialysos, the first scientific excavations yet attempted on the island, are soon to be published, and I hope to show in the report, which Professor Maiuri of Naples has done me the honour of accepting, the importance of the Egyptian finds as supplementing the mass of material lying with context unknown in the British Museum,¹ and as showing beyond doubt how Rhodes alone of the Aegean lands kept up close contact with Egypt throughout every period from the Late Bronze Age.

I must meanwhile thank Dr Jacopi, Director of the Rhodes Museum, for his courtesy in allowing me full permission to study the finds.

In the present catalogue the difficulties have been twofold: the extraordinary diversity of publications and languages in which the original references are to be found; and the widely scattered state of the objects themselves. Many have never been properly published, or were published in the days when they themselves were the centre of interest apart from where and in what context they were found.

The plan adopted has been to give a short account of each site from the point of view in question, and then to give a catalogue of the objects with their context. The numbering runs right through and the Dynasty is given a prominent place after each object or series of objects.

Tables will be found at the end showing: (1) the objects which can be referred to some definite pottery stratum; (2) the objects which can be referred to each Dynasty; (3) the Museums which contain the objects; (4) the types of objects and their materials; (5) the Kings or Queens who have left their names.

I have also included a list of sites in Egypt where Aegean pottery has been found, though the details of this I hope to work out with my wife in another volume.

¹ The most important objects in the British Museum are from Tomb 9 at Ialysos, with L.H. III pottery: (1) large scarab of Amenhotep III (1412–1376); (2) smaller scarab of XVIIIth Dynasty, engraved with a "ded" between uraei; (3) small scarab, broken, with a leaf design, also XVIIIth Dynasty (B.M. Vase Room I, Case F. Forsdyke, *J.H.S.* xxxi. p. 114. Furtwängler-Loeschke, *Mykenische Vasen*, Pl. E. Nos. 1–3).

Lastly there are maps, showing the distribution of objects from Egypt in the Aegean, and of objects from the Aegean in Egypt, and an index referring to the text apart from the catalogue.

References have been made as far as possible to works which contain an illustration as well as to the original publication. For my own illustrations I must thank Sir Arthur Evans for permission to use four of the photographs on Plate II (Nos. 25, 26, 28, 30), the British Museum for No. 226 on Plate III and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, for No. 227 on the same plate. The rest are of my own taking, except that of the statuette of User on Plate II and the ivory statuettes from Palaikastro on Plate III, both of which were kindly taken for me in my absence by Mr H. G. G. Payne. The drawings in the text are the work of my wife.

In conclusion I wish to thank Mr A. J. B. Wace for suggesting the task and for much invaluable help; Sir Arthur Evans for his hospitality and generous advice when I have been in Crete; Dr H. R. Hall who has kindly read through my work and corrected it in many places; Dr H. Frankfort who introduced me to the practical side of Egyptology and Mr S. R. K. Glanville who has often assisted me in my varied problems; while but for Mr C. T. Seltman I should long ago have despaired of my task.

Also I would like to say how much I appreciate the kindness of Dr Castriotis and the late Dr Xanthoudides in Athens and Candia respectively; and last, but not least, my admiration and thanks are due to the untiring "Phylakes" of many a country and island museum for the long hours they have spent uncomplainingly holding open cases.

J. D. S. P.

1929

FOREWORD

MR PENDLEBURY'S collection of all the known ancient Egyptian objects, dating up till the end of the XXVIth Dynasty, from Greek archaeological sites, will be most useful as a book of reference to all students of prehistoric and early Greek archaeology. Its usefulness is enhanced by the careful dating of all the objects described, a work which our knowledge of Egyptian archaeology enables us to do with practical certainty, especially in the important matter of scarabs. In addition to this, Mr Pendlebury's book is of considerable interest as showing us what sort of things from Egypt were prized by the Greeks of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, and the kind of memento of the Land of the Nile which early Greek seafarers were in the habit of bringing back with them, much as we bring back scarabs and ushabtis ourselves nowadays. There is one difference, however, the ushabti (with a single doubtful exception) does not appear: it was a funerary object that belonged only to the dead in their tombs at a time when Egyptian religion was a living thing, and it did not fall into the hands of a casual tourist as it does now. Figures of gods were in a different category: they could be bought as ordinary objects of worship, and naturally appear exported to Greece. But the scarab, an adornment of the living as well as of the dead, was as popular a memento of Egypt, from the earliest days of its existence at the end of the Old Kingdom (*c.* 2500 B.C.), as it is now. The scarab and the vase of alabaster and faience (more often the former as the more durable) were the common Egyptian things most prized in Greece: the alabastron, no doubt, usually came containing Egyptian unguents, as in return the Minoan "stirrup vase" was exported to Egypt from Greece with olive-oil or some other Greek product in it.

Mr Pendlebury has given us just such a collection of "Aegyptiaca" in Greece as I myself would have liked to compile years ago, but was dissuaded from doing so by lack of time and opportunity to search through the local museums of Greece for material. This Mr Pendlebury has done, with the result that he has provided us with a very complete and acceptable conspectus of the evidence existing up to date. We may hope that he will next give us a similar collection of the "Minoica" and "Mycenaica" in Egypt.

I have read his descriptions of scarabs very carefully, and have made occasional suggestions with regard to the readings of their legends, etc., but I can only congratulate him on the very great knowledge of their styles and inscriptions that he shows, as well as of other sides of Egyptian archaeology.

H. R. HALL

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Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur, by D. Fimmen (1922), is a work indispensable to those interested in the subject. It covers a tremendous range and its great value lies in the exhaustive bibliography of each prehistoric site.

For the connections of Egypt and Crete in early times by far the best illustrated and most suggestive work is to be found in the *Palace of Minos* by Sir Arthur Evans. There are also—though they are chiefly concerned with ceramics—the two volumes of Dr H. Frankfort’s *Pottery of the Near East*, while his chapter in the *Mural Paintings of el ’Amarneh* is invaluable for its hints as to the influence of Cretan art on Egypt and for its references to the latest literature on the subject. For Egyptian connections with the Mainland one must turn to Dr H. R. Hall’s *Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*.

These are the general works on the subject. I have attempted no more, because the scattered references which would otherwise be necessary are all to be found under the respective sites.

The following are the abbreviations used:

<i>A. J. A.</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
<i>Arch. Anz.</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger in Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.</i>
<i>Arch. Delt.</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δέλτιον.</i>
<i>At. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.</i>
<i>B. C. H.</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.</i>
<i>B. S. A.</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens.</i>
<i>C. A. H.</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i>
<i>Cat. Fig. Ant. du Louvre</i>	<i>Catalogue des Figurines Antiques de Terre Cuite de Musée du Louvre. Léon Heuzey.</i>
<i>E. E. C.</i>	<i>Excavations in Eastern Crete, Sphoungaras and Vrokastro. Miss E. Hall.</i>
<i>Eph. Arch.</i>	<i>Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική.</i>
<i>Fimmen</i>	<i>Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur.</i>
<i>J. H. S.</i>	<i>Journal of the Hellenic Society.</i>
<i>Mon. Ant.</i>	<i>Monimenti Antichi.</i>
<i>P. of M.</i>	<i>Palace of Minos. Sir Arthur Evans.</i>
<i>P. S. B. A.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.</i>
<i>V. T. M.</i>	<i>Vaulted Tombs of the Messarà. S. Xanthoudides. (Translated by Professor Droop.)</i>

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INTRODUCTION

THE connection of Egypt with the Aegean is of the greatest importance not only in early times when it provides us with our only positive dating, but also all through early Greek history, for it shows us where to turn for possible foreign influence on art and culture.

The following is concerned with the undeniable evidence of archaeological finds, and has some strange facts to show. Single objects may not have much value as evidence. It cannot be maintained that Boeotian Thebes owes anything to Egypt just because a scarab was found in a Theban tomb, any more than that because a few pieces of iron were found in the Kamares Cave the Minoans must have been an iron-using race, or that because a piece of jade was found at Troy the Trojans were in close relations with the Far East. But on the whole the finds do show how far Egyptian influence reached, at what dates and where that influence is to be looked for, and at what dates and where it is totally absent.

One must go cautiously in using the discoveries for dating purposes. Several stone vases of the Old Kingdom have turned up in deposits thousands of years later. Other objects too may have been kept as heirlooms or bought as “genuine antiques” in Egypt itself. Not all the scarabs which bear the name of Thothmes III date from his time. His name was one to conjure with, not only in Egypt but, for hundreds of years after his death, in Syria, where, like Richard Cœur de Lion, he was the bogey of children and the cause of all unknown fear. For Cyprus, too, which he may actually have conquered as he claims, hundreds of scarabs bearing his name were made as amulets more than a thousand years later.

As is shown in more detail below,¹ Predynastic Egypt has left its mark on the south of Crete and two objects at least have found their way north to Knossos.

Objects of the Old Kingdom, i.e. Dynasties I–VI, are found in the Messarà Plain, at Knossos, and in the east of the island at Mokhlos. The stone bowls of Mycenae and Asine can be omitted for they are well out of their context, though it might be conceivable that they were kept for a long time as heirlooms, since the men of the Mainland had little skill in making such vessels.

The succeeding dynasties are a blank save for a few rough scarabs. Egypt was in the grip of a barons’ war for some hundreds of years. There was a foreign domination by Syrians. Even the stronger Kings, like Khety, merely held tight to the throne. The seal-stones of the “double sickle” pattern, however, found at Mokhlos and

¹ Introduction to Crete.

elsewhere, seem to show some common source with similar examples belonging to the First Intermediate Period in Egypt.¹

With the Middle Kingdom, i.e. Dynasties XI, XII and XIII, again the finds carry us no farther than Crete, though there the influence on art was intense. The Messarà Plain, Pyrgos on the road north, Knossos, Gournes on the north coast, and the sacred Dictaeon Cave in the heart of the mountains are the scenes of discovery. The potter's wheel, faience, and certain designs for gems, are Egypt's gifts.²

Then again the curtain falls on the tragedy of the Hyksos. Once only it rises: at Knossos we find an alabaster lid of the greatest Hyksos King—Khyam. Otherwise Dynasties XIV–XVII are blank.

Then comes the great revival of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Egypt carves herself a huge Empire and traces of her spread all over the Aegean world. In Crete are found alabaster vases, scarabs, beads and amulets. Agia Triada, Kalyvia the necropolis of Phaistos, the tombs of Knossos (not the Palace, strangely), and the Dictaeon Cave, have provided us with results useful to our purpose. In Laconia, at Vaphio, vases are found. In the Argolid, Mycenae had objects of Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III and his wife Tiye, as well as many fragments of alabaster and faience; the Heraeum also produces a scarab and a vase from its tombs; there is an alabaster vase from Midea—the modern Dendra—where the great rich tholos was found: there are jars from Menidi in Attica and an alabaster vase from Chalcis in Euboea.³ The period of the XIXth Dynasty is chiefly remarkable for the fact that Greece has preserved no record of Rameses II, whose output of scarabs in his own country was only rivalled by the number of his buildings and his children. He sought to make it as if no other Pharaoh had ever reigned, yet his name seems to be unknown in the Aegean. Crete, now under the Achaean domination,⁴ disappears apparently from the Egyptian view. Perhaps the Egyptians thought it had disappeared literally, and invented the Atlantis legend. But Laconia, the Argolid, and Thebes in Boeotia still provide objects.

Then again comes a blank, but this time only in history. During the dark ages in

¹ The source is almost certainly Anatolian, see Frankfort, *J.E.A.* xii. p. 80 ff., and for the whole of the First Intermediate Period; and for this class of seals in Crete, see *P. of M.* i. pp. 123, 124.

² See *P. of M.* i. p. 201. The wheel however has probably its ultimate origin in Sumeria. See Hall, *Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*, p. 84.

³ There are two more objects of this period which I have not included in the catalogue. They are both frog amulets of the type so frequently found at Amarna (cf. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, Pl. XVII. No. 328); one in my possession is said to be from Thasos, one in the possession of Mr Seltman is said to be from Aegina. The provenance of neither is certain enough to warrant inclusion.

⁴ How much of Cretan culture the Achaeans destroyed and how much they took over can hardly be determined until more sites, such as Arkades, are excavated. Was the Minoan thalassocracy destroyed and were the cities of Crete sacked in order to open up the Egyptian trade for the men of the Mainland? This would explain the sudden influx of Egyptian objects into the Mainland and of Mainland objects into Egypt which suddenly begins in the middle of the reign of Amenhotep III. I hope to enlarge on this theme elsewhere.

Greece there were plenty of opportunities to collect “souvenirs” of a successful raid or even of a peaceful visit. The art—if it can be so called—of the XXth to XXVth Dynasties appears in Crete at Arkades up in the Lasithi Mountains, at Vrokastro on the Hierapetra Peninsula, and at Kavousi in the east. At Sparta scarabs were found in the oldest deposit in the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. At Athens in the Dipylon Cemetery and on the Acropolis, and at Eleusis in tombs and outside the oldest Telesterion, objects have turned up. Even in Thessaly a bronze vase and, they say, scarabs¹ have appeared.

The XXVIth Dynasty is in sheer force of numbers the most productive of Egyptian objects in the Aegean world. It was perhaps lucky for the Greeks that the really close connections which they had with Egypt at that time should happen to be during a very fine artistic outburst. In this dynasty Egypt attempted, and to a large extent succeeded in, the amazing device of putting back the artistic clock nearly 3000 years. In art, literature and official life they went right back to the Old Kingdom, and, astounding as it may seem, they did to a great extent succeed in recapturing some of the wonderful freshness of that period. Then too, as never before, the ordinary Greek, not the adventurer alone, had the opportunity of visiting Egypt. There was the great trading station at Naucratis and, for all we know, personally conducted tours up the Nile by guides as delightfully inaccurate as their descendants. A possible result of this throwing open of a hitherto forbidden land I have suggested below;² the visible outcome can be seen in the hundreds of scarabs and figurines in faience, which were found in great hoards in Greece. The Menelaion near Sparta, the Argive Heraeum, Corinth, Athens, Sunium, Aegina, are all well represented.

With the close of the XXVIth Dynasty Egypt, except for short, desperately troubled periods, was never again a free country, and here our story ends.

In conclusion it may be interesting to see some of the places in which no Egyptian object has been found. Among these I put Western Crete³ very tentatively. The Canea and Rhethymno Museums have an Egyptian collection, but absence of a museum inventory and lack of all record makes it uncertain whether any of the objects were found in Crete at all.

More surprising is the total absence of finds at Olympia and Delphi. Though this may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that the excavators here, as at Corinth, have not yet reached a low enough level, it is nevertheless surprising.

But Crete, the bridge between Europe and Africa, is well represented in almost every period, while, after the XVIIIth Dynasty, Laconia, the Argolid, Attica are never out of touch with Egypt.

¹ We await Dr Arvanitopoulos' report of an excavation too many years old.

² See Introduction to Aegina, p. 95.

³ But see *Eph. Arch.* 1907, p. 163, Pl. VI. No. 42, for a seal said to come from Eleutherna and resembling those from Vrokastro. Candia Museum, Inventory No. 64.