

**Part II**

**Egypt**





## 5 International idiom on artefacts from Egyptian contexts

The foregoing discussion was intended to build a basic structure for this material in its global eastern Mediterranean context in order that a more critical discussion of the material that is the focus of this dissertation may be introduced. As such, ivory artefacts, inlays from furniture and cosmetic tools dominate discussion external to Egypt, with a nominal contribution from vessels in precious metals and faience, but again this is highly predicated on the definition of this group. Dates for the majority of international artefacts cited thus far are situated in the second half of the Late Bronze Age into the early Iron, predominantly between 1300 to 1100 BCE. Only the relatively recent gold material from Qatna in Syria pushes the date somewhat earlier to the period immediately preceding the Amarna period and the early fourteenth century.

This naturally brings the focus south to Egypt where the primary candidates for discussion of entangled international iconography come from three academically scrutinised sources: the late Eighteenth Dynasty tombs of Tutankhamen and of Yuya and Tuya in the Valley of the Kings and the less chronologically secure hoards of precious metals from the temple of the goddess Bastet at Bubastis in the north-eastern Nile Delta. The former two royal tomb groups will be dealt with in the following chapters. The latter cache from Bubastis contains pieces that may be dated anywhere between the Nineteenth Dynasty reign of Ramesses II and the final decades of the Late Bronze Age, perhaps even later.

They will not necessarily constitute the focus of this dissertation as they have been addressed more than adequately in the past by competent scholars, and the paper by Christine Lilyquist requires no repetition.<sup>1</sup> However, the gold and silver objects with international idiom do have considerable bearing on the topic and merit mention here.

### 5.1 Egypt: The Tell Basta treasure<sup>2</sup>

The Tell Basta treasure is again problematic to discussion of hybrid idiom due to the issue that appears to plague this topic, its being representative of three groups of precious metal artefacts from a temple hoard, each of which contained a variety of mixed use, style and varied chronology artefacts. This problem notwithstanding, the

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<sup>1</sup> Lilyquist 2012.

<sup>2</sup> See Table I.5 and Catalogue IV.1.

presence of jewellery and vessels with royal cartouches most likely places the objects from this group in the second part of the Nineteenth Dynasty within the one hundred or so years between the reigns of Ramesses II and queen Tausret (1279–1186 BCE), however it should be noted that the Metropolitan Museum dates its pieces later, to the Third Intermediate Period, after Lilyquist. In addition to royal names, some artefacts also carry inscriptions from elite Egyptian individuals such as temple chantresses and royal stewards. Because of this, in all probability these prestige gold and silver vessels, like those from Ras Shamra and Lachish, were associated with the cult complex in which they were found.<sup>3</sup>

The entire group consists of silver and gold wide bowls, situlae, flasks, jars, jugs, a bottle, a patera, precious jewellery of royal standard, in combination with scrap metal, jewellery and seals. The vessels are all top tier prestige feasting ware of a standard to which only senior officials and temple personnel would have had access. Four vessels function as *ka* vessels naming senior court officials (but no ruler) and two jars name chantresses of Neith and Bastet. The likely function of these sophisticated vessels was to both maintain the memory of the deceased and to celebrate specific public cult festivals, such as those associated at that time with the cults of Bastet, Sekhmet and Hathor.<sup>4</sup> The visual style of the objects is relatively homogenous with variations in technique and idiom, but overall content appears related to themes of desert steppe and nilotic abundance consistent with the decoration of prestige vessels in Egypt.



Fig. 5.1 Detail on the neck of Tell Basta Vessel A, 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Image A. Sinclair.

### 5.1.1 Vases/jugs

Vessel A<sup>5</sup> is a silver repoussé incised vase or jug with a single handle of modelled gold in the shape of a rampant goat with volute flowers on the studs that attach the handle to the body. The vessel base is globular and decorated in a repoussé geometric pattern

<sup>3</sup> Simpson 1949; 1956; Edgar 1907; 1925; Maspero 1908.

<sup>4</sup> Meskell 2002, 168–77; Lilyquist 2012, 20–1; Horváth 2015; Darnell 1995; 2010.

<sup>5</sup> Cairo JE 38705 and 39876.

that resembles the mottled surface of a fruit, probably a pomegranate.<sup>6</sup> The shoulder has a horizontal hieroglyphic inscription identifying the owner as Atememtaneb with the title translated variously as ‘royal cupbearer’ or ‘king’s steward’. The text dedicates the vessel to the eternal life of the *ka* of this individual. There is a single presentation scene to a goddess on one side, whose specific identity is disputed, but is variously attributed to Bast or a Levantine deity such as Qudshu or Anath.<sup>7</sup> The neck of the vase has two horizontal registers which each depict thematically different, but complimentary themes.



Fig. 5.2 Tell Basta Vessel B. After Simpson 1959, fig. 4.

The upper frieze is ostensibly international in content, with mobile animal combats and volute trees with palm and poppy or ‘fill-herb’ crowns. On the trees long leafy palm droplets that are characteristic of the Ramesside period fall down from the uppermost volute. The animal combats constitute themes consistent with Egyptian hunt imagery and with international content: hunting dog versus lion, mating gazelles, griffin versus lion, leopard attacking a calf, caprid and lion and one passive collared griffin that faces the handle. In comparison to objects with this idiom from the Eighteenth Dynasty there is a clumsiness of line, some awkward poses, with the addition of predator and predator combinations that are rare, such as a griffin or dog attacking a lion.<sup>8</sup> The subjects are all only nominally grounded to the baseline and the negative space in the field contains dot rosettes. The lower register contains a series of agricultural scenes from the canonical Egyptian repertoire: papyrus swamps where men are fishing and fowling. In addition there is a small cult barque with a shrine containing a duck that is brooding eggs. As already observed, this theme of nilotic abundance was common in Egypt for the decoration of cult and funerary vessels and for elite funerary paintings.

<sup>6</sup> This type of vessel is attested one hundred years earlier from the tomb of Tutankhamen, Cairo: JE 62192, Carter number 469.

<sup>7</sup> Anath was argued by Montet (1937, 141) to support a Syrian origin for these vessels. Which is flawed reasoning, as Anath was a royal goddess in Egypt during the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Most scholars are cautious and call the figure an Asiatic goddess, Lilyquist 2012. Bastet was suggested by Simpson (1959, 32).

<sup>8</sup> The identification of a dog may be problematic as it is spotted, and could therefore be a leopard, however this pose and action of biting the genitals is attested for hunting dogs.

Lilyquist in her paper on these vessels concluded that style and iconography on the upper frieze of the Atememtaneb jug A were Near Eastern and Aegean, basing her reasoning on the assumption that the griffins are Aegean style and the composite plants (volute tree) Near Eastern, and citing the Ugarit gold bowl as support of this rationale.<sup>9</sup>

Vessel B has been reconstructed from various fragments of modelled silver that now reside in museum collections across the globe.<sup>10</sup> It is in form consistent with Vessel A with globular pomegranate body and hieroglyphic inscription naming the same Atememtaneb on the shoulder. Interestingly, on this vase he is also named as royal messenger to all foreign lands.<sup>11</sup> Instead of the rampant goat on Vessel A, the single handle of B is modelled as a bullock and there is only one horizontal register on the neck which is framed by bands of spirals, lotus, alternating with rosettes and grapes and mandrakes/persea fruits to fill the overall space. This is incidentally the only vessel to contain spirals which may argue for an earlier date.<sup>12</sup> The idiom of the figurative register consists of mobile animal scenes in lush vegetation, again fusing motifs of animal combat, ducks and horses in papyrus swamp with emblematically posed caprids and volute trees. There are dot rosettes used as fill in the field, but much of this zone is occupied by papyrus clumps.

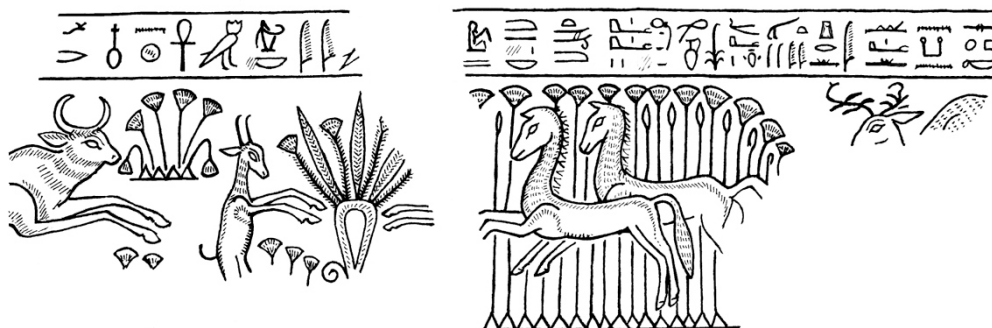


Fig. 5.3 Tell Basta Vessel C. Image A. Sinclair.

Vessel C<sup>13</sup> is of similar form and material as the previous vases and consists of various reconstructed fragments of a single handled vase or jug. The globular body, however, is less ornately modelled and consists of vertical lines of fluting, typical of metal and stone royal vessels in the New Kingdom.<sup>14</sup> The handle in this example is simpler, consisting of a tubular body and modelled lion protomé where the top meets the rim, effectively

<sup>9</sup> Lilyquist 2012, 24.

<sup>10</sup> Cairo JE 38710, 39868, Berlin ÄM 20105, 20106 and MMA: 7.228.219, 220, 222, 241, 242.

<sup>11</sup> Cue speculation that this could support an argument he was himself a foreigner.

<sup>12</sup> Lilyquist (2012, 40) also suggests this may be the earliest piece.

<sup>13</sup> Simpson 1959, 34.

<sup>14</sup> The argument that fluting is un-Egyptian stems from Montet 1937, 56–8, who argued most of this exotic idiom is Syro-Phoenician. See fluted vessels from the royal workshops from the tomb of Tutankhamen (Cairo: JE 62115) and from the tomb of Qenamun, (reign of Amenhotep II), de Garis Davies 1930, pl. XVIII–XIX.

showing the big cat biting the rim. There is again only one primary register on the neck of the vase and instead of ornamental bands this is simply surmounted by a single fragmentary hieroglyphic text again identifying Atememtaneb. The reconstructed frieze consists of two horses in a broad papyrus thicket, a gambolling bullock, a deer<sup>15</sup> and at least one stock example of rampant goats flanking a volute tree with palm and fill-herb crown. There are no fill elements visible except papyrus in this example.

Due to the inscription on each vessel, all three may be associated with a senior Egyptian court official, but currently may not be attributed to a specific reign within the Ramesside period. It is also worth noting that the text is dedicated to the life of his *ka* and his name is qualified with ‘justified’ in all examples. Therefore it should be assumed these could have been originally funerary ritual vessels, perhaps looted from a tomb associated with the temple site or city, or otherwise donated to the sanctuary after his death. It has also been suggested in the past that these vases are in fact ‘*ka* vessels’,<sup>16</sup> however, the most recent argument for function is that these jugs are feasting ware bestowed on the sanctuary for ritual public consumption at cult festivals still with the intention of keeping this individual’s *ka* alive.<sup>17</sup> The other vessels with international idiom may have similarly functioned in this capacity and are associated with elite Egyptian women of senior cult status.

### 5.1.2 Patera

The silver repoussé ‘Amy’ patera contains a dedication to the *ka* of the lady of the house and chantress of Neith, Amy (or Tamyt), invoking her eternal celebration and drunkenness in the afterlife. The outer vertical rim has again a register of animal combats with four emblematic scenes framing sacred trees. Unusually for this style the usual gazelle/ibex and tree idiom is in one instance replaced with winged female sphinxes that emblematically flank the volute tree. This motif is attested from a faience offering bowl from Gurob which has the same unusual female hairstyle,<sup>18</sup> but the figures on the bowl are couchant not upright.<sup>19</sup> Another unprovenienced stucco piece with a sphinx from a quiver, chariot body or bowcase from Western Thebes is fragmentary and therefore lacks the tree and opposing figure, but is quite stylistically close,<sup>20</sup> however this idiom is otherwise relatively uncommon. The inner register has the canonical Egyptian scene of swimming girls in a pond filled with lotus, papyrus

<sup>15</sup> The inclusion of a deer is anachronistic both for Egypt and for this idiom, the only other visual parallel would be from the ivory bed panels from Ugarit. Deer are rare in Egyptian iconography, occurring sparsely from the Old Kingdom to New Kingdom in funerary hunt scenes as desert animals, but it is still debated whether they were native to Egypt. They were probably introduced in the Middle Kingdom as an exotic import: see Kitagawa 2008; Houlihan 1987.

<sup>16</sup> Simpson 1959, 35.

<sup>17</sup> Lilyquist 2012.

<sup>18</sup> Which appears to be characteristic of Egyptian princesses or royal ornaments, but in the past has been employed to argue exotic intrusions and ethnicity, Bryan 1996a, 69; Liebowitz 1987, 8.

<sup>19</sup> See image page 125. Late 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty from Petrie’s excavations at Gurob, Manchester: 721.

<sup>20</sup> See image page 215, no date, Borchardt 1933, 35–8, pl. 13.

and waterfowl that is attested in the New Kingdom from cosmetic tools and other precious metal and faience offering bowls.<sup>21</sup> The centre of the bowl consists of a band of crosshatching that signals water, then successive rows of filigree plaiting around a raised nodule.

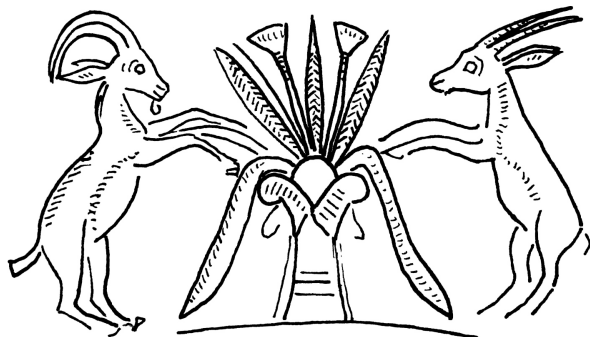


Fig. 5.4 Ibex and oryx flanking a volute tree from the Amy patera. Image A. Sinclair.

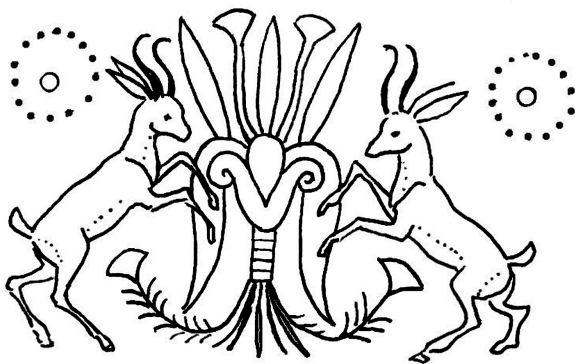
### 5.1.3 Repoussé bowls

Eight broad silver bowls were also found with the hoards. However, four, while consistent with the rest, were undecorated or too corroded. Of the decorated bowls, one is a fairly canonical Egyptian swimming girls bowl decorated with chasing and repoussé with two circular friezes. The inner contains a pastoral scene of calves in mobile poses frolicking in papyrus. The outer register has a marsh setting with naked girls of whom three have elaborate jewellery, body ornament and quite specific, again floppy or feather-like, hair. These four girls are swimming among lotus leaves, *tilapia* fish, flying ducks and hold *nymphaea* blossoms. The centre of the bowl has a plain raised nodule or knob. Realistically this bowl contains no intrusive idiom except the mobility of the pastoral scene and, some scholars might argue, the unusual hair of the girls, which is tenuous and more likely to indicate status in an internal context. However, it contributes here by providing correlations to the themes and content of the ‘international’ pieces.

The more widely known silver bowl from this treasure is highly decorated with chasing and repoussé and is slightly more complete than the previous bowl. The outermost register again has a frieze of fertile marshland with papyrus swamp, wild cattle and horses, not unlike the idiom of the previous jugs. Beneath this is a fragmentary frieze of fishing and fowling in the marshes, then a frieze of desert hunt with ostriches, caprids and oriental roosters alternating with volute trees. The next register represents the harvest of vines and fruits with grazing domestic animals and farmers. The innermost register is resolved with a large *nymphaea* blossom with dot rosettes used as fill between petals. The iconography of bucolic leisure of the radiating bands of the bowl is, however, arguably pure Egyptian in content with the only ‘intrusive’ or international idiom being the four volute trees and dot rosettes.

<sup>21</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1967, 18–23.

A further very fragmentary silver repoussé bowl belonging to the royal scribe Amenem-  
inet consists mainly of pieces of the outer rim and inner friezes, but completely lacks  
the inner frieze or raised nodule. This bowl has scenes of agrarian activities, fishing  
and fowling, herding cattle and horses around the outermost register with two possible  
visual signals for the goddess Hathor provided by slumbering cows, one in particular is  
being ferried on a boat by two naked girls. The inner register is consistent with the use  
of dichotomies of steppe and marsh and contains fragmentary scenes of animal combat  
and galloping desert animals. Volute trees with palmette crowns function to break up  
the visual narrative into vignettes in similar style to the idiom of the three vases, but  
interestingly the visual content of the trees from all vessels is not the same.



*Fig. 5.5* Gazelles flanking a volute tree on a metal vessel in an offering scene from the tomb of Ramesses III, 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Image A. Sinclair.

Christine Lilyquist has noted that these volute trees bear stylistic affinities with each other, but argued that they have no exact parallels from Egypt.<sup>22</sup> She instead employed the example set by Schaeffer in 1932 and compared them to the trees from the Ugarit gold bowl and the Megiddo ivories, suggesting that the only comparisons from Egypt may be found in the Eighteenth Dynasty, which is reasonably accurate, except that the long floppy palm leaf on the volute tree does not occur in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and appears to be a distinctly Ramesside feature for this idiom. It occurs on the costumes of two Nine-Bows figures from Ramesside era royal palace tiles (Ramesses III),<sup>23</sup> from an offering scene in the tomb of Ramesses III (above), on a cylinder seal in Brooklyn,<sup>24</sup> and on a papyrus artist's sketch for a royal chair from Deir el Medina that is dated to the reign of Ramesses XI. The hieratic text on the verso of the papyrus cites the royal vizier Nebmaatrenakht who is documented under Ramesses XI.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Lilyquist 2012, 62.

<sup>23</sup> Tell el Yehudiya: Vienna: AE INV 3896a and 3897c, see images pages 420 and 421.

<sup>24</sup> Flanked by ostriches and naming Ramesses II, Brooklyn: CUR 44.123.82.

<sup>25</sup> Turin: 2034. The museum calls these designs sketches for *naoi*, however there is little question that they are designs for royal furnishings. This drawing has all the features required, including visual content, traces of animal legs and cross struts under the frame, Haring 2004, 220–1.

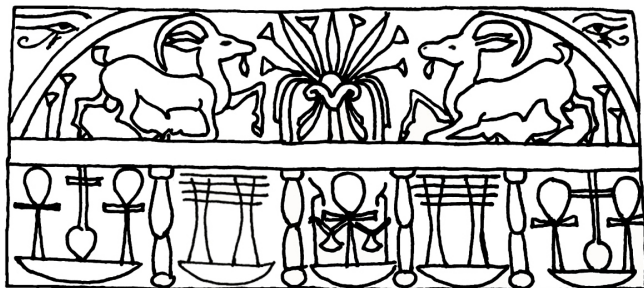


Fig. 5.6 Egyptian idiom with volute trees from a design for the back of a royal throne. Reign of Ramesses XI, 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Image A. Sinclair.

#### 5.1.4 Discussion

The decoration of these vessels from Tell Basta is in fact consistently Hathoric, reflecting the dichotomy of order imposed over chaos that was so intrinsic to Egyptian thought. The symbols of chaos, steppe animals, are posed in mobile ‘disorganised’ poses and hunted by the forces of order. They constitute a lesser element of the idiom and are dominated by the symbols of the forces of order: fertile marshland, bucolic activities and agricultural scenes. Ornamental bands on these vessels consist of Egyptian idiom floral designs and are predominantly based on the *nymphaea lotus*, *caerulea*, papyrus, grapes, mandrake, lozenges, but voluted plants as complex trees, south lily and flowers are also present.

International idiom ornamental bands like guilloche and spirals are by contrast virtually absent, with the exception of a raised nodule with spiral filigree<sup>26</sup> and one silver jug (B) with running spiral bands that has emblematic scenes and animal combats. Because of this idiom and the specific choice of ornamental bands on this object I am tempted to push the date for these two back to the Amarna period or early Ramesside for reasons that will become apparent in the following chapters. Boundaries between hybrid and internal idiom are effectively blurred on both single decorated objects and between objects ostensibly unrelated in the corpus. Another telling example of this ambiguity would be the presence of volute flowers as rivets on most handled jugs and bowls regardless of absence of decoration or of ‘hybrid’ elements.

The Tell Basta precious metal artefacts that exhibit exotic features are situated loosely in the final century of the Late Bronze Age, or even later, but in truth ought to be excluded from discussion of the international style, due to the overbearing presence of Egyptian idiom that is not just consistent with prestige artefacts from funerary and cult contexts within Egypt, but that are clearly associated, both from context, attribution and function, as cult artefacts with internal value. This internal value is reinforced by the evidence of the inscriptions and by the presence of senior Egyptian court and temple figures. The recurring argument that the exotic idiom present on these vessels is evidence for foreign connections for some of these individuals appears spurious (and based on culture historical models) when the internationalism of the Ramesside period

<sup>26</sup> Lilyquist 2012, fig. 58; MMA: 30.8.371.



is taken into consideration. Their ethnicity is surely open to debate, but their Egyptian administrative and social roles are here clearly defined. Again Egypt's flawless ability to impose its own cultural agenda on people and artefacts must be taken more firmly into consideration for these objects.

Equally, under the general terms stipulated for international objects there should be no dominance of human actors, culturally specific idiom or signifiers of either internal cult or gods in objects bearing the fully fused idiom. Egypt already disappoints in this respect. The rather prevailing presence of signifiers of the cult of Hathor and dedications to related gods like Neith, Anath and Bastet in the Tell Basta treasure tend to belie this premise. However, if cult associations must be excluded to identify international style objects then many artefacts previously cited here might also be rejected. While 'secular' palatial contexts are represented, although secular is a loaded word for the Bronze Age, the majority of artefacts discussed here are from elite funerary contexts or from sanctuaries and cult emplacements, such as the gold bowl and patera from the Baal temple at Ugarit, the Fosse Temple ivories and Tell Basta vessels. However, this discussion of the vagaries of identification does not end with these gold and silver objects from the latter half of the Late Bronze Age in Egypt.

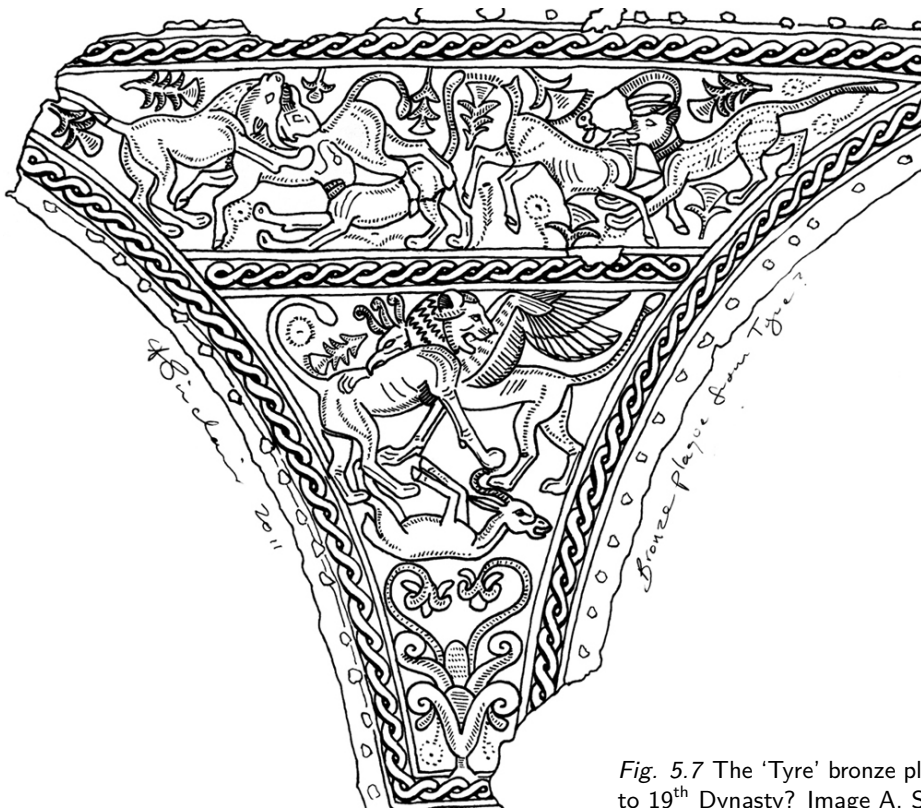
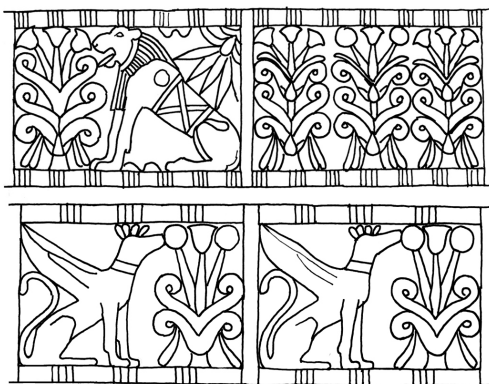


Fig. 5.7 The 'Tyre' bronze plaque, 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty? Image A. Sinclair.

## 5.2 Some rejections from current discussion

Beyond the silver and gold cult vessels with international features from Tell Basta there is an eclectic sampling of single pieces that in the past have contributed enormously to this topic, but which have been moved to the sidelines due to dubious provenience.<sup>27</sup> Some of these have already been cited in the discussion of early scholarship in Chapter One. The first is the ‘Tyre’ bronze plaque from the Louvre.<sup>28</sup> While many authors would include this object among the Levantine international pieces it shall be included here with the Egyptian evidence on the basis of style and repute. It was purchased in Egypt by Henry Salt before the middle of the nineteenth century and has closest visual parallels to Egyptian royal objects from the fourteenth century, although most scholars have chosen to compare it stylistically with the Ugarit gold bowl.

There is no basis for the appellation ‘Tyre’, beyond an early visual association with Phoenician art, like was once argued for the Ugarit bowl. On this basis Janice Crowley ascribed it to a thirteenth century date and Joan Aruz, the fourteenth century, contemporary with the bowl and Amarna period objects, however, both conclusions are based on style alone.<sup>29</sup> In terms of function, it may also have served as a harness or weapon panel, being of a shape potentially consistent with the Qatna royal material and the chariot or quiver pieces from KV 62. The international idiom on its surface is consistent with the decoration of international pieces from KV 62, and therefore in my opinion it is likely to be from an Egyptian royal tomb. On the understanding that forgers would not have had access to images or artefacts bearing this unique imagery until the early twentieth century, it is unlikely to be a forgery.



*Fig. 5.8* Louvre gold cloisonné bracelets, 14<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c. BCE (style). Image A. Sinclair.

The same assumption applies to two gold cloisonné bracelets from the Louvre<sup>30</sup> that were also acquired at this time and are loosely dated by the museum to the early Nineteenth Dynasty. In early scholarship they are called the bracelets of prince Psar

<sup>27</sup> See Tables I.3 and I.5 and Catalogue IV.1.

<sup>28</sup> Louvre: AO 15557.

<sup>29</sup> Aruz 2008, 404, cat. 259; Crowley 1977, 492, cat. 492; Kantor 1945, 532–4, fig. XIII.39, ‘Phoenician’; Perrot and Chipiez 1885, 374, fig. 289, ‘pectoral’.

<sup>30</sup> Louvre: N 1957, N 1958.

which easily misleads the reader into confusion.<sup>31</sup> The prince referred to is in fact Paser, a senior Ramesside official.<sup>32</sup> However, I can find no evidence that connects Paser to these bracelets, nor could I establish if this name is inscribed on them. These two bracelets or armbands are decorated respectively with cloisonné inlays with only traces of the original blue and red glass. One has a royal or divine lion (hair whorl and strapping) flanking a complex volute tree that is crowned with triple papyrus in volute vegetation. This lion is attested usually as a pair from royal monuments of the Eighteenth Dynasty which may, with this volute tree, argue an earlier date. They are as a pair associated iconographically with solar *ruty/Aker* lions that flank the horizon and protect the sun and/or the divine duality of the gods Shu and Tefnut. Two notable examples of these lions are painted on cult and funerary contexts from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari and TT 226 the tomb of Heqareshu, overseer of the nurses of the king under Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III in Western Thebes.<sup>33</sup> On the opposing face of this bracelet there are three more complex volute trees crowned with papyrus and rosettes. The other bracelet has two panels, each with a canine winged griffin flanking another volute tree that is crowned with rosettes and a papyrus umbel. Here the conflation between hunting dog and griffin is pronounced, with both a canine snout and again a collar. These two bracelets are incidentally the only occasion I am aware of that lions and griffins flank this tree beyond the Ugarit ivory inlays.

The third object is a nominal contribution here, as it appears to only have been cited for this topic in the last fifty years, having been acquired by the Louvre in the 1950s.<sup>34</sup> This late purchase date places significantly more doubt on the plaque and it is therefore only cited here as a gesture, as I am not entirely confident of its authenticity. This is a small gold appliqué, not unlike a Cypriot diadem, that has traces of red-gold patina. It contains an animal combat between framing papyrus clumps. The field has a flower that is not common to this material and most resembles the hieroglyph for flower  $\text{ḥn/ḥrr.t}$  (Gardiner M2) which also has a cryptographic value in New Kingdom Egypt. The animal combat has a clumsy and static pairing of lion and bull that is lacking dynamic interaction and an unusual attack between a griffin and leopard. Both griffin and leopard have collars. The modelling of the figures is not consistent with the majority of examples in this medium, with the exception of Tell Basta Vessel A which is equally clumsy and combines awkward postures. From this I would assume that if the plaque is authentic it is quite late if from Egypt and situated after 1300 BCE for either Cyprus or the southern Levant, where elements of this iconography may be reinterpreted.

The final dubious object to be mentioned here was also a purchase, but in the early twentieth century from an antiquities dealer in Thebes, which again gives it less credibility. This is notwithstanding that the iconography is exceptional and again very

<sup>31</sup> Kantor (1945, 269, fn. 102–3) from the Serapeum? Ramesses II: Maspéro 1914, 368, fig. 342; Vernier 1907, pl. VII.2; Goodyear 1891, pl.31; Perrot and Chipiez 1885, 833, fig. 598.

<sup>32</sup> Perhaps TT 106, Paser, king's vizier between Seti I and Ramesses II.

<sup>33</sup> For a study of these lions see Kantor 1947b.

<sup>34</sup> Louvre E 17383; Aruz (2008, 405, cat. 260) dates it earlier, 14<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century, but seems to be unaware of the Tell Basta parallels and considers the narrative to be 'misunderstood' and 'provincial'.

unlikely to have been concocted in a modern workshop, due to the understanding that no museum or cheerful tourist would be able to recognise the visual idiom as Egyptian, which would not facilitate its sale. This fragment is another possible chariot, bowcase or quiver panel that is constructed in linen hardened with modelled plaster consistent with the construction of royal chariots, bowcases and quiver panels in Egypt in the New Kingdom.<sup>35</sup> Ludwig Borchardt wrote it up in 1933 and concluded that it was from the type of bowcase that was normally attached to a royal hunting chariot.<sup>36</sup> He argued a date between the reigns of Amenhotep III and Ramesses III, due to the visual characteristics of the female sphinx, also arguing a connection between the use of this griffin type with royal female sphinxes, but cited no parallels. The panel appears to have dropped out of circulation in the 1940s and to my knowledge only rates mention in Kantor's doctoral monograph on plant ornament.<sup>37</sup> However, her illustration is faulty and she incorrectly cited the original publication which may have contributed to its lack of exposure in scholarship.<sup>38</sup>



Fig. 5.9 Red gold appliqué from the Louvre, 13<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> c. BCE (style). Image A. Sinclair.

The decoration on the fragment is polychrome and consists of a winged and female royal sphinx with a volute pendant who presides over a scene of animal combat. In this scene an astonishing five predators attack a large blue spotted bullock. The lowest zone has three male lions with hair whorls. The other two assailants are a winged Seth headed griffin and a leopard, which both wear collars. Here the visual connection to the god Seth is quite pronounced on the griffin, due to the crest being replaced by the Seth animal ears. This griffin is spotted and the colouring of all animals is speckled except the royal sphinx which to my mind may not signal feline species, as some might argue,<sup>39</sup> but instead may reference Hathoric imagery from faience bowls

<sup>35</sup> See the chariot body from KV 43, the tomb of Thutmose IV, Carter and Newberry 1904, 26, cat. 46097, and the gilded chariot from KV 46, Quibell 1908, 66, cat. 51188.

<sup>36</sup> Borchardt 1933, 35–8.

<sup>37</sup> It is cited by Fischer (2007b).

<sup>38</sup> Kantor 1945, 191, fig. V.87.

<sup>39</sup> Borchardt (1933, 37) discussed the likelihood that the spiral tail and long body of queen-sphinx and griffin indicate a cheetah. He was at a loss as to why the lions would be spotted, but this is characteristic of the idiom of *Aker/Shu-Tefnut* lions.

where gazelles and *tilapia* fish too may be spotted in contrast to biological norm, and I would hazard that they may all have been employed to signal the spotting on the blue lotus *nymphaea caerulea*. Both sphinx and griffin have blue wings creating a visual connection between the two magical figures of royal power.



Fig. 5.10 Linen and plaster painted harness or quiver panel, 'New Kingdom'. Image A. Sinclair.

### 5.3 Egypt: International miscellanea

Beyond this sizable group of prestige artefacts from the Nineteenth Dynasty and the five unprovenanced outsiders, there are further eclectic groups of luxury materials from the decorative arts that are not necessarily associated with other hybrid assemblages, but that have in the past been employed in scholarship to argue foreign ethnicity for individuals and illustrate hybrid and intrusive visual idiom from Egypt in the Late Bronze Age. The majority of these are represented by small cosmetic implements such as spoons, bowls, kohl jars and cosmetic boxes and metalwork in the form of ceremonial weapons. These artefacts are not usually cited in the current discussion of international objects and none were employed by Feldman in her monograph. However they cannot be excluded here as they contribute visual idiom that conforms to the basic requirements of this notional style.

In this section this additional group of objects will be introduced including many of the latter that once contributed to the topic of hybrid idiom. These objects represent a wider range of form, function and medium than thus far discussed in this thesis. Interestingly however, in Egypt ivory is not prominent under this banner and rather the materials most represented by this idiom or aspects of it are constructed in wood, faience and glazed stone, with ivory and bone as only a nominal contribution. Another source for these 'exotic' motifs is from metallurgy, continuing where the Tell Basta

vessels left off and comes in the form of both prestige vessels and weaponry. Again the question of adequately classifying inclusion in this shared ‘style’ raises its head, as it is quite possible to trace individual motifs from a much wider range of objects.

### 5.3.1 Metal: Bronze and copper<sup>40</sup>

The repertoire for objects with hybrid features from Egypt is not restricted to highest prestige artefacts like the Tell Basta gold and silver vessels. However, as with those precious metals, objects in bronze are similarly absent from the material record due to looting and the economic advantages of reworking throughout antiquity. One similar drinking vessel shall be mentioned briefly here that serves to contribute nominally to this topic. This is the chased bronze bowl from an elite tomb in Western Thebes that was cited in Chapter One and shall be discussed further in Chapter Seven.<sup>41</sup> It is from the tomb of Hatiay, scribe and steward of the granary of the Aten during the Amarna period.<sup>42</sup> The bowl is stylistically consistent with objects from the Tell Basta treasure, in particularly the swimming girl bowls, but lacks human rural activities, sacred trees or emblematic caprids.<sup>43</sup> The theme is pastoral ease in a nilotic landscape with bands of ducks and cattle in papyrus thickets and water teeming with fish. The primary scene around the centre is nilotic with mongooses and ducks in papyrus, with four radiating scenes of cattle: two bulls, a calf and a nursing cow with calf. The feature of interest to this discussion is an animal combat of a lion leaping on a bull, with both figures rendered in mobile poses. However, this motif is a minor feature from an Egyptian object which in the absence of international parallels is easily read as Amarna period in style.

Bronze vessel stands are similarly rare from Egypt, with again the representatives of this type all situated in the Eighteenth Dynasty and of varying technical sophistication. These openwork stands were prestige versions of a quotidian form of stand designed to hold a rounded based ceramic or faience vessel with stability. There is currently only one bronze stand attested with characteristic hybrid idiom. It is in the Chicago Field Museum of Natural History and it is disappointingly unprovenient.<sup>44</sup> This awkward fact has not prevented this object from being cited repeatedly in publications on Egyptian decorative arts and metallurgy, particularly for the arrival of the volute tree in Egypt.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> See Catalogue IV.1.

<sup>41</sup> See pages 42 and 321.

<sup>42</sup> Whose identity is subject to debate, Zivie 2004; Gessler-Löhr 2012. While some authors cite Theban Tomb 324 (Wiese 2004, 220), this appears to be an error based on the common name.

<sup>43</sup> Cairo JE 31382, von Bissing 1898a, 1–28; 1901, 60; Daressy 1901, 11.

<sup>44</sup> Chicago: 30177a,b.

<sup>45</sup> Spalinger 1982, 119–20, cat. 106; Simpson and Smith 1999, 136; Dreyfus 2005, 247–9, cat. 178; Lilyquist, 2012, 21.

It contributes to this discussion due to stylistic consistency and the presence of an inscription:  $\dot{\text{r}} \text{ n } \text{h} \text{nj } \text{n } \text{h} \text{m} \text{z} \text{f } \text{p}3 \text{-}^{\text{c}}3 \text{m}$  ‘made for the oarsman of his majesty, Pa-‘am’. Pa-‘am may be variously translated as ‘the Levantine’ or ‘the Asiatic’ which, with the presence of reputedly ‘Syrian’ sacred trees has fuelled an argument for intrusive motifs.<sup>46</sup> The body of the stand consists of a doubled scene of rampant gazelles flanking a complex volute tree with a crown of three rosettes. Volute flowers with rosettes suspend from the top line behind the figures. The stand is currently dated stylistically to the reign of Amenhotep III, a decision that I support, as gazelles flanking a tree with rosette crown appear to be a feature of his reign. The volute tree and antelope motif has relatively close visual parallels from the palace of this king at Malqata and the tomb of his parents-in-law, Yuya and Tuya, KV 46, but an earlier date may not be excluded.<sup>47</sup>

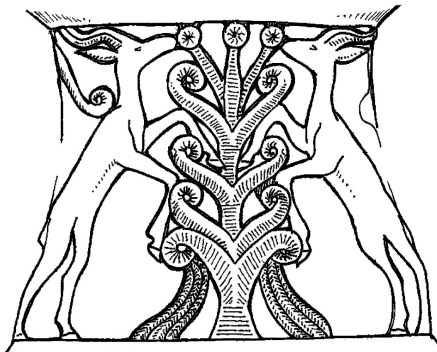


Fig. 5.11 Antelopes with volute tree from the Chicago Field Museum bronze vessel stand, 1450–1350 BCE. Image A. Sinclair.

This type of stand has technical parallels within Egypt and yet again the visual idiom associated with these is consistent with New Kingdom vessel decoration, consisting of papyrus marsh, *nymphaea* flowers, papyrus thickets, ducks, festival, banquet and pastoral or agrarian scenes. Two openwork bronze stands with complex designs that are comparable to the idiom on the Tell Basta treasure come from an elite tomb at Aniba in Sudan that is dated to the mid Eighteenth Dynasty, ca. 1500–1450 BCE.<sup>48</sup> The larger of the two stands is a slenderer pair to the Chicago stand and has four horizontal friezes down the thin body. The uppermost register has papyrus thickets teeming with flying ducks. Below this is a band of petal ornament, followed by another band of papyrus thickets with nesting ducks. The focal register has three frolicking long backed horses in mobile poses, of which two are led by men and the third gallops free among papyrus. The mobility of these figures could be used to argue cultural style influences.

The second stand is a tripod with a single frieze around the circular support. The three legs are resolved by *nymphaea* flowers at the top and jackal/fox heads at the base. The focal register is a stock banquet scene with seated elite figures and naked

<sup>46</sup> ‘What the helmsman of the king, P3-<sup>c</sup>3m (‘the Asiatic’), made’ after Dreyfus (2005) and Lilyquist (2012).

<sup>47</sup> Both to be discussed further in Chapter Seven, pages 314 to 318.

<sup>48</sup> Tomb S 91 of User and Ta-neferet: Leipzig *ÄMUL* 4803, 4804, 4807, 2166: Steindorff 1937, 147–8, pls. 96–8; Patscher and Raue 2014, cat. V 6–7, 155–7; Lilyquist 2012, 20.

female musicians. There are pendant lotus flowers hanging from the top line serving to anchor some figures. The theme of this stand has parallels with banquet scenes from Levantine Egyptianising ivories, New Kingdom elite tombs and the vessels from the decorative arts.<sup>49</sup> Both objects were found in the tomb of a senior scribe User and his wife Taneferet, with an eclectic sampling of elite funerary material, such as amulets, furniture, bronze tools and funerary vessels.

The final example is a simpler openwork bronze vessel stand with cut out design of a *nymphaea caerulea* that comes from Western Thebes, TT 8, the tomb of Kha and Merit, who were upper middle class elites from the village associated with the Valley of the Kings, Deir el Medina. This tomb is dated from the middle to late Eighteenth Dynasty, between the reigns of Amenhotep II to Amenhotep III (1425–1352 BCE) and is discussed in further detail in Chapter Seven.<sup>50</sup> It should be noted that aside from the stand with ‘international’ idiom of gazelles and volute trees, all objects reflect the decoration of prestige funerary and cult vessel forms from Egypt and hail from members of Egyptian and Nubian middle to upper social strata.

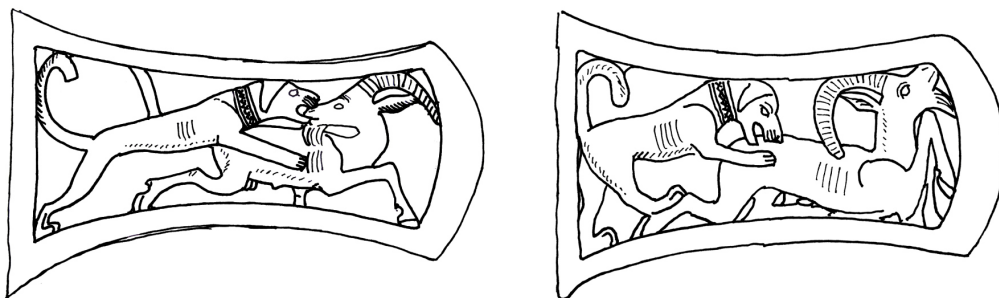


Fig. 5.12 Axe heads with animal combats from elite tomb S 5.3 of the garrison at Semna (left), and unprovenanced from the Ashmolean (right), 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Images A. Sinclair.

The final contributors to this discussion of metal are perhaps the least satisfactory in terms of evidence, yet still alluring: bronze ceremonial axes dating from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty that have been associated with elite funerary contexts and due to blunt edges and few signs of wear are considered to be purely symbolic tools of the funerary assemblage.<sup>51</sup> These have openwork rectangular lugged heads that contain a selection of cult and apotropaic designs. They range from the usual repertoire for the Egyptian decorative arts: pastoral scenes, papyrus, apes, monkeys, long backed horses and riders, bull leapers, but the most representative motif is an animal combat, particularly between hunting dogs and ibex or antelope, although lions, leopards and bulls are also attested. There are also two Middle Kingdom type openwork axes that have *sefer* griffins (one winged), but both are disappointingly unprovenanced.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Harrington 2016; Meskell 2002, 168–77; Manniche 1997; 2003; Teeter 1993.

<sup>50</sup> Schiaparelli 1927; Meskell 1998; see here page 323.

<sup>51</sup> Kühnert-Eggebrecht 1969, ‘Prunkäxte’; Eggebrecht 1975, 587; Davies 1987, 53.

<sup>52</sup> Hannover-Kestner: 1935.200.98, originally from the von Bissing collection; Kühnert-Eggebrecht 1969, table XXI.1–2; Davies 1987, 35.



Where these objects let us down is that many examples are again early purchases by museums and possess no secure archaeological provenience, with some few examples having the appearance of scruffy forgeries. Therefore, only two openwork axe heads will be shown here, because stylistically these two both conform very closely to the animal idiom from Tell Basta, Ugarit and Megiddo and also from KV 62 and Egyptian cosmetic boxes. More so because one is from a secure funerary provenience having been excavated from an elite tomb at Semna in northern Sudan.<sup>53</sup> Again the assemblage was consistent with the prestige requirements of an Egyptian/Egyptianising elite burial and is dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty. The mobility of the protagonists is to be expected, but it should be noted also heavily influenced by the need for structural strength. Details on the animal figures and mobile poses are consistent with the previously cited objects.

### 5.3.2 Ivory and bone<sup>54</sup>

Ivory objects that bear hybrid idiom from Egypt are few and far between, and come from archaeological contexts with insecure dates, secondary deposition or in fact that have no provenience at all. Those from secure contexts do not necessarily possess narrow dates and are often yet again from excavations from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Three pieces are cited here that hail from legitimate sources. The first is a cosmetic spoon carved in relief of a lion attacking a calf from Petrie and Brunton's excavations at Sedment near Saqqara in 1924. This object was in an elite tomb cache with traces of five individuals that was dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty. The content and style of the vessel is consistent for the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty to early Nineteenth and while lacking other 'international' features is an accurate example of this animal combat idiom from Egypt when carved in relief, representing a lion pulling down a kneeling calf in twisted pose.<sup>55</sup>

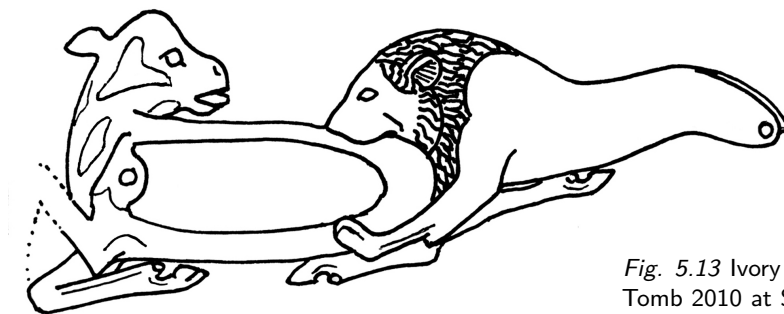


Fig. 5.13 Ivory cosmetic spoon from Tomb 2010 at Sedment, 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Image A. Sinclair.

A further fragmentary plaque from a box or pyxis from Brunton's excavations at Matmar has two friezes of bulls and foliate vegetation (often described as olives) that are stylistically similar to cattle and plants on twelfth and eleventh century ivories

<sup>53</sup> Tomb S 537, Reisner 1929, 74; Porter and Moss 1975, 150; Simpson and Smith 1998, 135.

<sup>54</sup> See Catalogue IV.2.

<sup>55</sup> Petrie and Brunton 1924, vol I, pl. XLII, vol. II, 32, tomb 2010; Aruz 2008, fig. 123.

previously cited from Cyprus and the Levant from Megiddo, Farah and Byblos.<sup>56</sup> The assemblage is from the tomb of an elite woman, Tomb 1000, and dated by Brunton to the Nineteenth Dynasty. Stylistically I would also favour a late date for this piece and it could well be an international hybrid piece, but as usual the fragmentary state provides little corroboration for its overall visual content and scheme.

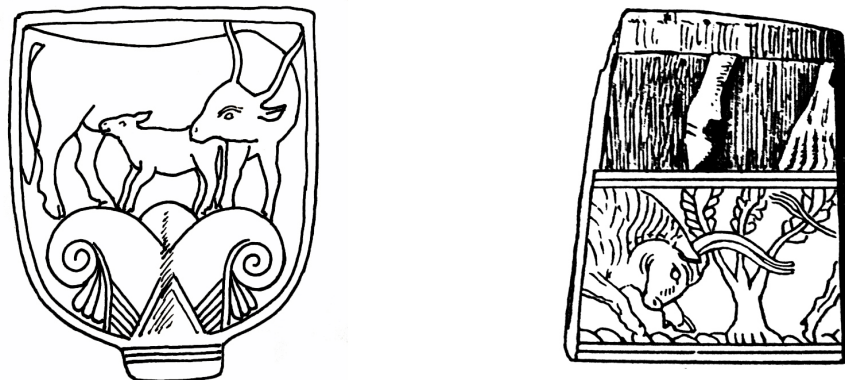


Fig. 5.14 Ivory handle from Qau, (left) and pyxis fragment from Matmar, 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Images A. Sinclair and Brunton 1948, pl. XLVII.

The final ivory object to be mentioned here has a pastoral scene of a cow suckling a calf above a pronounced volute flower/south flower of Upper Egypt. While Brunton assumed this was a handle of a fan, a mirror handle may not be excluded, as it is quite similar in form to ivory mirror handles from Cyprus with this idiom. It was found at Qau in Cemetery 400 in the 'bone deposit', a hoard of ivory and bone (mainly cosmetic implements) which incidentally included human material and may therefore have served as a looters dump in antiquity. However, votive deposit has also been proposed. Brunton dated the group to anywhere between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, with the reign of Ramesses II as the most likely period for many objects.<sup>57</sup>



Fig. 5.15 Ivory kohl tube from the Louvre, 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (left), ivory pyxis from Helmiya (right), early Iron Age. Images A. Sinclair.

<sup>56</sup> Brunton 1948, pl. XLVII, tomb 1000.

<sup>57</sup> Brunton 1927, 18–20, pl. XXXVI.9.

In the region of ivory with dubious antecedents the Louvre contributes an unproven kohl tube which has a coarse incised decoration of pastoral ibex in the usual poses for Egyptian cosmetic implements, with the timely addition of one rampant figure framing a stylised volute tree.<sup>58</sup> Below this open field there are traces of a scene of papyrus thicket with flying pintail ducks. This object is dated by the museum to the Eighteenth Dynasty, presumably solely on the basis of style, as context is lost. There are also an ivory pyxis and a ritual horn reputedly from Helmiya near Cairo that are no longer cited for this style, due to both their dubious antecedents and a probable much later date. These do little else than illustrate how problematic and enduring this idiom was in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age. The pyxis has a frieze of rampant caprids and foliate tree of similar type to the Matmar pyxis, some Megiddo pieces and the Enkomi game board. The ritual horn has a pronounced Hathoric figure with a frieze of emblematic winged goats around the base. Both ivories were originally dated according to style parallels with the hybrid idiom ivories from Megiddo and Ugarit (particularly the ritual horns) and the ivory game board from Enkomi, but have subsequently had their dates pushed forward.<sup>59</sup>

### 5.3.3 Wood<sup>60</sup>

While wood like bone is *persona non grata* for the international style, due to its perceived low value as a quotidian material, beyond the high value hardwoods like cedar and ebony, it actually represents a more respectable contribution to discussion of visual ambiguity. With Egypt contributing at least twenty wooden cosmetic boxes from secure and insecure sources that have stylistically consistent scenes of animal combat and pastoral romp. In this case these vignette scenes are always framed by ornamental bands of arguably Egyptian origin: zigzags, petal ornament, false door/*serekh* and chequers. Some include culturally ambiguous idiom like wheel rosettes and a wavy line that is also attested on the Ugarit faience rhyton. These wooden cosmetic boxes are not currently associated with royal tombs from Egypt, with the exception of one scruffy incised lid with a cow suckling its calf from fill near the tomb of Horemhab at Memphis, which due to it being built when he was an official and the secondary context may not contribute a great deal to discussion here.<sup>61</sup>

These boxes were instead a feature of Egyptian elite assemblages and three boxes with secure context and ‘exotic’ idiom were excavated by Petrie and Brunton at Sedment, with another two from nearby Gurob.<sup>62</sup> The iconography of these cosmetic boxes is consistent with objects in varying prestige materials and function previously cited here. They may be incised or carved in relief and many employ blue frit pigment as fill, some

<sup>58</sup> Louvre: N 1764.

<sup>59</sup> Keimer (1945, 126–31, pls. III, V) ‘Phoenician’; Kantor (1960, 22–3) ‘13<sup>th</sup> century’; Helck (1962, 542) compared the horn to the late 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Touti bowl: the MMA (cat. 50.198.2) currently calls the pyxis ‘Levantine’.

<sup>60</sup> See Catalogue IV.3.

<sup>61</sup> Raven et al 2011, 92, cat. 55.1999-49.

<sup>62</sup> Petrie and Brunton 1924, 25, LXXI–3, 5, LXVII, 31–2, pls. LVIII-47, LXVII; Petrie 1890, pl. XVIII-31, 35.

more sophisticated examples even use stained ivory inlays. They bear animal combats with hunting dogs, leopards and lions in mobile poses falling on or dragging down ibex or antelope. The compositions are open and usually contain the stock low growing fill-herb associated with this hybrid style, but also may contain papyrus clumps, lotus, poppies or actual cornflowers. They may also have pastoral romps with frolicking steers, calves or ibex, with lesser contributions from the motif of the suckling cow with its calf.

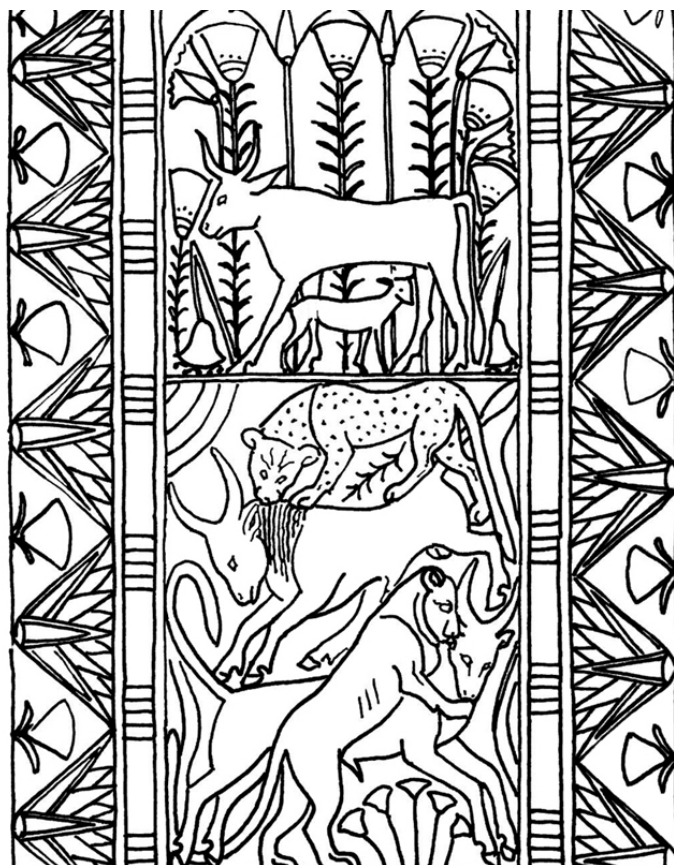


Fig. 5.16 Wooden cosmetic box from Abydos. Pastoral scene and animal combat with border of *nymphaea caerulea* and poppies, late 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Image A. Sinclair.

These boxes with mobile animal combats have in the past been active participants in discussion of hybrid idiom and an international style for good reason, because they do conform to stylistic requirements for international idiom. Although none cited thus far employ emblematic scenes with a complex volute tree, barring the tree as fill in the field above left. It is possible to break this drought, however, with two fragmentary cosmetic boxes from Tell el Amarna which therefore have a more precise date in the mid fourteenth century.



Fig. 5.17 Cosmetic boxes from elite tombs at Sedment, 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Images A. Sinclair.

The first is an incised upright cosmetic vessel with paste fill that was excavated by Pendlebury at Amarna in the 1930s. The pyxis has a rampant goat flanking a typical fourteenth century Egyptian complex volute tree, and considering earlier precedents I would be inclined to propose there may have been an opposing figure.<sup>63</sup> This object with ostensibly exotic idiom and some Mycenaean pottery sherds (with incidentally some few rings naming Akhenaten, Smenkhkare and Tutankhamen) were used by Pendlebury to argue in predictable culture historical style that the house where these were found had belonged to a Mycenaean merchant.

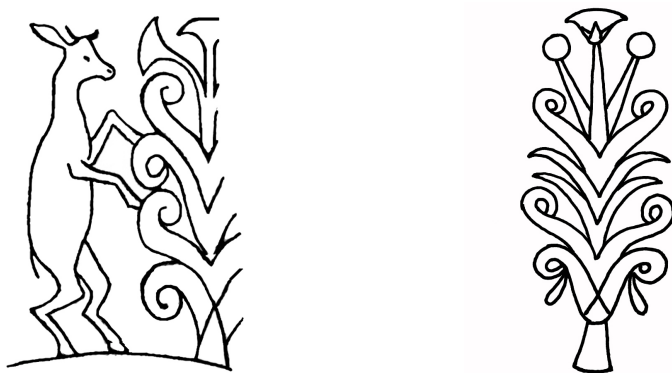


Fig. 5.18 Fragmentary cosmetic vessel from Tell el Amarna, 1350–1330 BCE (left). Duck pyxis lid from Saqqara, 1450–1400 BCE (right). Images A. Sinclair.

Another series of fragments from the ‘foreign office block’ represent on reconstruction a semi circular vessel of unknown function, although perhaps the lid of a box. This has a radiating scene in relief of bullocks in mobile poses frolicking within an open field with plants.<sup>64</sup> One fragment associated with it also has traces of the cartouche and titles of Amenhotep III, ‘Nebmaatre, given life’. This work would be pure Amarna period in execution if not for the small volute plant under one steer and stylistic parallels with

<sup>63</sup> Tell el Amarna, North Suburb, S/W quarter, House T.36.59, Frankfort and Pendlebury 1933, 52, pl. XLII; Pendlebury 1931, 236.

<sup>64</sup> Tell el Amarna city, clerk’s house no. 23, Pendlebury 1934, 135, pl. XVIII.1; 1951, 123, pl. LXXVII.3.

the international style unguent jar from KV 62. The rest of these boxes are not so considerate chronologically and due to secondary contexts or dubious antecedents most are generally dated stylistically to the Eighteenth Dynasty.



Fig. 5.19 Fragmentary wooden vessel 'lid' from Tell el Amarna, 1350–1330 BCE. Image A. Sinclair.

A wooden pyxis in the shape of a duck which has a pretty standard complex volute tree with papyrus and rosette crown contributes the only early date here and was excavated by Quibell near the Teti pyramid complex at Saqqara.<sup>65</sup> The tomb contained an elite assemblage consistent with an early to mid Eighteenth Dynasty date, such as monkey juglet, amulets and cosmetic vessels, yet conveniently also contained a scarab naming Thutmose III, giving it an approximate fifteenth century date. Duck shaped cosmetic vessels themselves are attested from Egypt, Cyprus and the Levant in the Late Bronze Age, however, they are more common in ivory and cultural origin may be disputed, as they are again identified according to stylistic features.<sup>66</sup>

Another wooden object that could be argued to exhibit our exotic features is a wooden frame from a stand or perhaps a headrest base that was excavated by Petrie at Gurob and dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>67</sup> It is decorated with vignettes on three panels using incised bone and pigment. Two long sides of the stand represent an ibex adoring a volute flower with palm and papyrus crown. The centre panel is damaged and shows a female musician with plaited sidelock and modius crown through which is threaded a lotus. Again this wooden object combines Hathoric festival and funerary Egyptian idiom with caprids flanking a volute, although here it could be argued that the focus is the girl, and her coiffure and modius diadem may infer she is a princess or at very least a royal ornament.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Quibell and Hayter 1927, 38, pl. 20: 4, 5.

<sup>66</sup> Liebowitz (1987) argued Levantine origin (ivory); Tufnell (1940) favoured early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egypt due to this object and images of these in New Years offerings from the royal workshops in the tomb of Qenamun, (Thutmose III–Amenhotep II).

<sup>67</sup> Petrie Museum: UC 7914: Petrie 1927, 43, pl. 38 (no excavation cited, partially burnt, perhaps the 'burnt group?').

<sup>68</sup> Troy 1986, 121; Desroches-Noblecourt 1956, 197–202; Green 1989, 61–3.



Fig. 5.20 Wooden frame from Gurob, 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Reconstruction by A. Sinclair.

Wooden objects bearing similar isolated elements of this idiom, such as the spiral or volute flower constitute too large a topic for this discussion, as the ‘south flower’ with the papyrus, spiral band, the ibex, leopards and hunting dogs are all common motifs for the decoration of cosmetic spoons, mirrors, hair combs and small boxes.<sup>69</sup> Therefore only three more examples from toiletry objects shall be referred to here. The first is a cosmetic spoon with a decoration of two antelopes flanking a bouquet of volutes from Saqqara in the Cairo Museum.<sup>70</sup> The spoon is incised with less precision than higher quality ivory and wood relief carved versions and is designed with a flat rectangular handle upon which resides the scene with antelopes. The recessed spoon proper is standard for this type of object from Egypt, consisting of a framing rectangular royal cartouche with a flying duck, papyrus and *tilapia* incised crudely in the centre. The rim has a zigzag relief band.

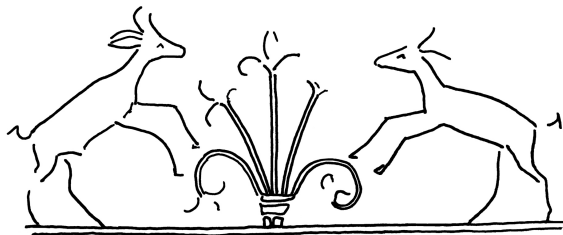


Fig. 5.21 Wooden cosmetic spoon from Saqqara, New Kingdom. Image A. Sinclair.

The second object is the flat lid of a wooden cosmetic box from the Louvre that combines ostensibly pure international idiom, with both animal frolic/combat and the caprid flanking tree motif, perhaps the only wooden object from Egypt that combines these elements. This incised box lid (below) is again executed in a less precise or elegant manner than the more sophisticated examples and from this may be assumed to be associated lower down the relative social scale in skill and in fact in medium. Thus, probably associating it with an individual of lower-elite status.<sup>71</sup> A third lid of a box is more prestigious having been rendered with more care, with carved relief and traces of inlays. This has a scene of calves or steers frolicking in lush open composition vegetation that are specific to the requirements for inclusion within international idiom, but also to Amarna period idiom.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1967, 23–6.

<sup>70</sup> Cairo JE 33211/CG 44911: Gamer-Wallert 1967, pl. 20.

<sup>71</sup> Louvre: N 1711b.

<sup>72</sup> Louvre: N 1711a.

Finally the gazelle and tree motif from larger wooden chests from the tomb of Perpare/Perpaut, a chanter of Amen, will be briefly cited here, due both to the specific idiom and to these two unprovenanced boxes having again served to argue both intrusive motifs and ethnicity in scholarship. While the deceased is known from the inscriptions, the location of his tomb is lost, as both boxes were acquired separately on the antiquities market in the early nineteenth century. They now reside in museums in Bologna in Italy and Durham in the United Kingdom, and are usually dubbed the Durham and Bologna boxes.<sup>73</sup> In this instance both objects are standard Egyptian funerary chests with gabled lids and scenes of the family offering to the deceased and his wife on the two longer sides, with stock *ḥtp dī nsw*<sup>74</sup> offering formulae on each face. On three ends of these same boxes, however, there is the problematic ‘intrusive’ idiom of gazelles/goats flanking complex volute trees with triple rosettes, lotus, and papyrus crowns. The gazelles are male on the Durham and female on the Bologna box and it is also worth noting that biological accuracy is ambiguous, for while the gazelles have markings and horns consistent with their species they also have the beard of a goat/caprid.



Fig. 5.22 Wooden cosmetic boxes from the Louvre, New Kingdom. Images A. Sinclair.

Naturally, because of the intrusive idiom some effort has been put into arguing that ethnicity was a factor in the unusual decoration of these boxes, with the names of each of the children of Perpare being examined for foreign structure or origin.<sup>75</sup> However, this thesis has been subsequently dismissed, with none of the family names now considered an argument for foreign ethnicity.<sup>76</sup> If anything, an issue of the identification of both boxes with one man could be called into question, as he is named Perpare (*Prp3rꜥ*) on the Durham boxes (there is another undecorated box with a *ḥtp dī nsw* offering formula naming him) and Perpaut (*Prp3wt*), chanter of Amen, on the Bologna museum box. This is compounded by the wives having dissimilar names, respectively Wry and

<sup>73</sup> Pernigoti 1994, 71; Birch 1880, 194–6; Porter and Moss 1964, 838; Bryan 1995, 285–7, pl. 33; Killen 1994, 49–50; Strandberg 2009, 146–7.

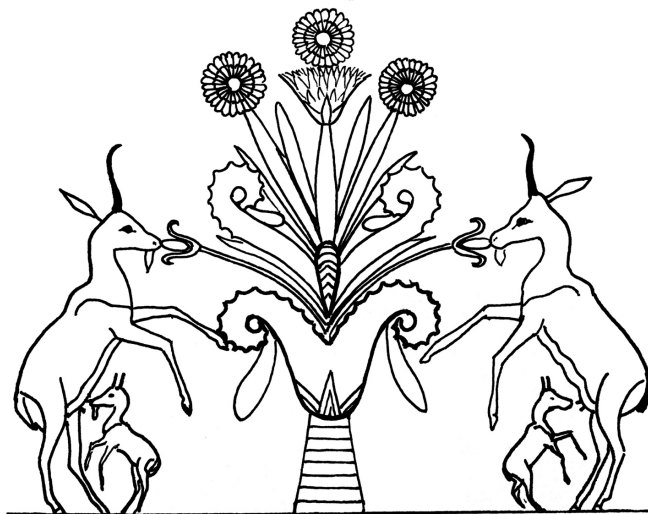
<sup>74</sup> ‘An offering that the king gives’ to a god on behalf of the deceased.

<sup>75</sup> Bryan 1995, 287.

<sup>76</sup> Roehrig 2005, 47.



lady, as do most of the five or six children, with only two names overlapping, the daughters called Takhat and Tay Tay. As such there is always the possibility that these are different families with slightly different dates, but the same workshop source.



*Fig. 5.23* Goats with nursing kids flanking volute tree from the Durham University chest, mid 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Image A. Sinclair.

The style of the complex volute tree has been employed to argue a date to the reign of Amenhotep III, because it is most visible in Egyptian art at that time, while others consider that the style and costume of the figures in the offering scenes argue a much earlier date.<sup>77</sup> Catherine Roehrig for example gives the boxes a date range of 1550 to 1425 BCE, yet cites the idiom as internal, but introduced to Egypt from Western Asia, which leaves either the Hyksos period or early Eighteenth Dynasty for its introduction.<sup>78</sup> As a personal aside, I favour the later Eighteenth dynasty for these boxes, due to the use of volute ‘south flowers’ as tendrils, the triple rosette and papyrus rosette crowns, in addition to the quite distinctive lozenge band ornament on both boxes that appears to be a feature of the royal workshops of the fourteenth century from Egypt from faience and wooden boxes, but an earlier date cannot otherwise be excluded.

<sup>77</sup> Roehrig (2005, 48) Thutmose III to Amenhotep II (1479–1400 BCE); Bryan (1995, 285) Amenhotep II to III (1425–1352 BCE).

<sup>78</sup> Roehrig 2005, 47.

### 5.3.4 Ceramic and stone<sup>79</sup>

Quotidian materials are not considered to contribute to this discussion in current discourse on the international style, however, a brief doffing of my cap must go to a rare few ceramic vessels and ostraca from Western Thebes that exhibit exotic features or minor elements of this style. These features are naturally again the volute tree and the mobile animal combat. ‘Strong exotic features’ must be the best way to describe a group of sherds from two red and black ware vessels from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep II in Western Thebes, although the term exotic may be entirely erroneous.<sup>80</sup> These sherds have a horizontal register of repeated reclining ibex flanking volute trees around the body of the vessel. The simple south flower volute tendril hints at a later date for these vases, as they were found in fill from the restoration of the temple by Amenhotep III, however red and black ware is an earlier diagnostic feature, as the workshops of Amenhotep III favoured blue painted ceramic. A date range between the two kings is therefore most likely, ca. 1425–1352 BCE.

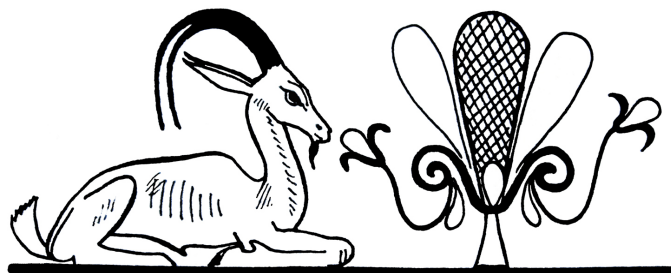


Fig. 5.24 Fragments of ceramic vessels from Western Thebes, funerary temple of Amenhotep II, mid 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Image A. Sinclair.

It ought to be noted here that pastoral romps with galloping calves, antelope and horses were also a feature of Egyptian polychrome ceramic at this time<sup>81</sup> and that this theme extends out to embrace animal combats when it is employed to decorate the walls of royal palaces and elite tombs. A direct correlation for this would be from some few ostraca from Deir el Medina, the worker’s village for the royal tombs. Mobile figures and animal combats are attested from artist’s trial pieces on limestone and ceramic sherds spanning the late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasties.

For example, a limestone sherd of this type was excavated by Bruyère in the early twentieth century and has a fairly standard scene of open composition with mobile animal combat between hunting dogs, lions, cattle and ibex.<sup>82</sup> It may be assumed this piece was a rough sketch for a larger elite or royal tomb hunt scene, or for a design on embossed sheet metal. Other sherds feature the female sphinx or griffin. Again, arguing internal Egyptian value and function for themes within this repertoire.

<sup>79</sup> See Catalogue IV.4.

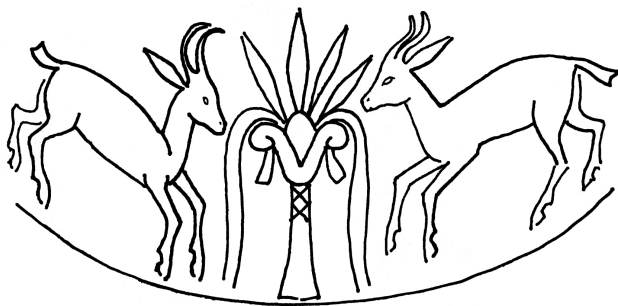
<sup>80</sup> Petrie: UC15939: Petrie 1897, 6, pl. V.

<sup>81</sup> Hope 2001, 24–6.

<sup>82</sup> Bruyère 1929, 29, fig. 8.5, Cairo JE 63800, see Catalogue IV.4.

### 5.3.5 Faience and glass<sup>83</sup>

Another medium to contribute to this discussion is faience which has been under-represented in discussions of hybrid international style in the past and according to previous scholarship is restricted to the three vessels from Kition in Cyprus. As this topic was covered by me in a dissertation from 2012,<sup>84</sup> a small group of hi-tech faience and glass objects with specific international hybrid features will be briefly introduced here. From Egypt they consist of four broad function types in vitreous materials: wall tiles, vessels/cosmetic objects, seals and jewellery. The wall tiles are sophisticated polychrome tiles from palace dado, platform and walls that are extant from Eighteenth Dynasty palaces at Malqata and Amarna, and Nineteenth Dynasty palaces at Qantir, Pi-Ramesses and Tell el Yehudiya. The hybrid features of these objects are both ornamental elements such as rosettes and running spirals (Amarna and Malqata) and secondary decorative elements on the costumes of bound Nine-Bows captives (Qantir, Tell el Yehudiya and Pi-Ramesses). The latter constitute most of the required idiom that defines this style, assuming one ignores the overall Egyptian royal setting and intention. The most convenient solution in the past has been to employ these motifs on foreign costumes as a model for arguing ethnicity of the wearer and for bolstering arguments for the cultural origin of this idiom.<sup>85</sup>



*Fig. 5.25* Collar of a Nine-Bows 'Syrian' captive, faience palace tile from Tell el Yehudiya, 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Image A. Sinclair.

#### 5.3.5.1 Wall tiles

All requirements are fulfilled in terms of international idiom on the palatial wall tiles from Tell el Yehudiya and Qantir in the Delta, with animal combats between hunting dogs and cattle or ibex, pastoral scenes with frolicking ibex, emblematic winged griffins, complex volute trees, rosettes and specific fill vegetation all attested. Motifs from the repertoire of faience vessels and wooden cosmetic boxes, such as zigzags, chequerboard and undulating lines are also present as borders. In the past the decoration of Nine-Bows tunics has been used to support a notion of evidence for foreign textile design, however there appears to be no ethnicity associated with this idiom on these plaques. This assumption is also supported by previous research into subdued foreign figures in

<sup>83</sup> See Catalogue IV.5.

<sup>84</sup> Sinclair 2012, MA thesis, The University of Melbourne, Australia.

<sup>85</sup> Montet 1937, 80.

Egyptian rhetoric from Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>86</sup> These minor motifs, however, ought to be rejected from inclusion in an international style due to their setting: a palace and the context: visual rhetoric of royal power. The interior decoration of these palaces was consistent with New Kingdom Egyptian palatial design and consisted of imagery of order over chaos, with both business-like subdued or grovelling foreign enemies, heraldic *sema-tawy*, *rekhyt* birds, with the addition of recreational Hathoric scenes of bucolic marshlands and ponds teeming with wildlife. The latter theme flows over into the following artefacts.

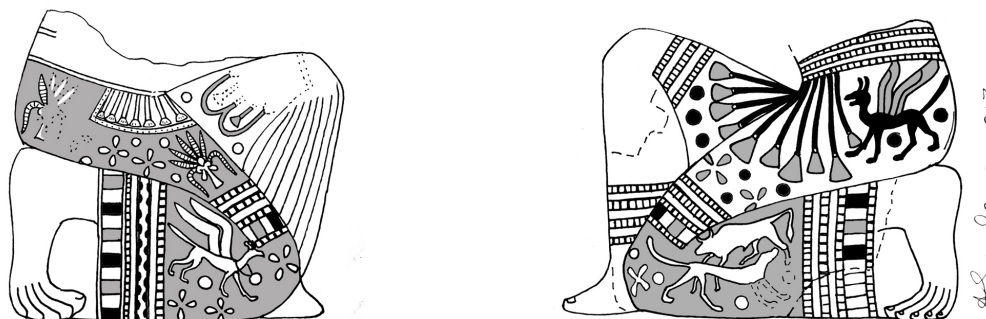


Fig. 5.26 Kilts of Nine-Bows captives, faience tiles from Tell el Yehudiya, 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Images A. Sinclair.

### 5.3.5.2 Cosmetic vessels: Kohl jars

Vessel fragments in saturated colour polychrome faience are a diagnostic feature of the late Eighteenth Dynasty, with the reign of Amenhotep III supplying some of the most sophisticated examples to date. As a result, the palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata in Western Thebes contributes two white faience vases with ‘ambiguous’ idiom in deep blue with minor details in red.

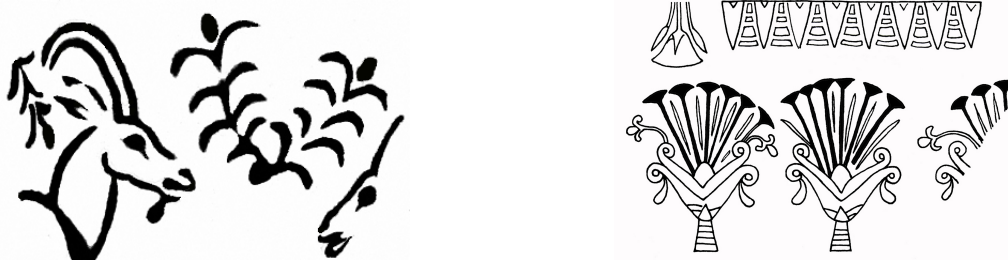


Fig. 5.27 Polychrome faience jars from the palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata, Western Thebes, early 14<sup>th</sup> c. BCE. Images A. Sinclair.

The first is from a fragmentary jar with emblematically facing ibex and in the centre the specific ‘fill-herb’ foliage associated with international idiom from Egypt.<sup>87</sup> The second

<sup>86</sup> Wachsmann 1987, 6–9; Panagiotopoulos 2006, 388; Redford 2003, 253.

<sup>87</sup> MMA: 26.7.954, formerly in the Carnarvon collection and published in Friedman (1998, 90, 184).

example is a small globular handled jar with the titles and cartouches of Amenhotep III and his great royal wife Tiye inserted in blue on one face. The rest of the available space is taken up by three particularly sophisticated complex volute trees in the same deep cobalt blue.<sup>88</sup> On the shoulder and fragment of handle there are traces of petal ornament and a papyrus flower.

From vastly further afield, the late Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Hathor at Serabit el Khadem in Sinai contributes a polychrome pyxis lid and a jar, both with scenes of frolicking ibex and cattle in open composition and mobile poses.<sup>89</sup> The techniques and colours employed on these are consistent with the high standard produced by the late Eighteenth Dynasty vitreous workshops associated with royal palaces. Again the thesis of no specific connection to a major culture or local cult is undermined by first a palatial context and a royal inscription, and the second by the objects serving as offering paraphernalia in a temple of a major Egyptian goddess, the same goddess who recurs for precious metals. So, to maintain current thinking these objects must be rationalised as bearing intrusive idiom, which is incidentally beginning to look fully assimilated into Egyptian royal rhetoric in the fourteenth century.

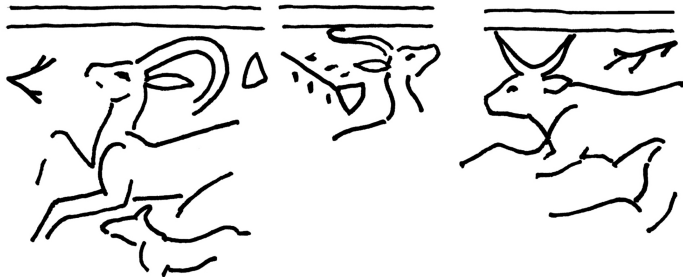


Fig. 5.28 Animal combats on faience vessels from Serabit el Khadem, New Kingdom. Image A. Sinclair after Petrie 1906, fig. 56.

### 5.3.5.3 Blue offering or marsh bowls

To wind up the discussion of intrusive idiom from New Kingdom Egypt the issue of opaque definitions for this international hybrid group may lastly be illustrated by cosmetic and cult vessels in vitreous materials, with some emphasis on the evidence for pastoral scenes, emblematic figures flanking volute trees, volute flowers and the running spiral border on cult and funerary implements. Flinders Petrie excavated two 'blue offering bowls' from elite tombs at Gurob in the nineteenth century.<sup>90</sup> These two bowls exhibit ostensibly international motifs featuring complex volute trees within scenes of Hathoric fecundity. The first was mentioned briefly with the Amy patera from Tell Basta and has a primary upper scene of two winged female sphinxes emblematically worshipping a central tree. The two sphinxes have distinctive hair and floral headdresses that are associated with Egyptian princesses and royal ornaments.<sup>91</sup> Below this scene there is a wide band of petal ornament separating a lower scene of a pond teeming

<sup>88</sup> Unpublished: Scottish National Museum: A.1954.37

<sup>89</sup> Petrie 1906, 151, fig. 156, 1–3; Cooney 1972, 284, pl. XLV; Pinch 1993, 307.

<sup>90</sup> Gurob group 4, Petrie 1891, 19, pl. XX.4; Manchester: 721.

<sup>91</sup> Liebowitz 1987, 6–9; Troy 1986; Green 1989, 61–3; Desroches-Noblecourt 1956, 197–202.

with *nymphaea lotus* and *tilapia*. The second bowl has a female antelope grazing in an open field with a suckling kid. Complex volute trees frame the figures, while below and above the circular composition is resolved with large *nymphaea* flowers and buds. These bowls are currently dated by style to the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>92</sup>



Fig. 5.29 Frolicking caprids on a faience lid from Serabit el Khadem, New Kingdom. Image A. Sinclair.

‘Blue blossom bowls’, ‘blue offering bowls’, ‘Hathor bowls’ or ‘Nun bowls’ are a characteristic cult and funerary vessel from the Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom from Egypt and Nubia, they were a popular elite object and even copied in the Late Bronze Age in the emporia of the Levant and Cyprus. The primary themes of the purple black decoration of these blue bowls is ‘Hathoric procreation’, reflecting symbolism associated with fecundity, regeneration and the first act of creation.<sup>93</sup> In the New Kingdom in Egypt this entailed a specific idiom repertoire of *tilapia* fish and lotus flowers, but equally extended out to antelopes or cattle (symbolising the goddess) in bucolic marsh scenes or on boats, female musicians, the potamogeton<sup>94</sup>/fill-herb, papyrus umbels, Hathor protomés (masks or cult standards), monkeys and cats.<sup>95</sup> Lesser idiom on these vessels includes the volute flower in a wide variety of schematic forms which may be placed with *tilapia*, lotus or antelopes in this imagery. Ornamental bands consist predominantly of the wavy line, zigzag or the running spiral, which latter idiom prompted early scholars such as Petrie to talk about Aegean influences on these bowls.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Gurob group 4, Petrie 1891, 19, pl. XX.5: Ashmolean: E 1890.1137.

<sup>93</sup> Strauß-Seeber 1974, 73–5; Porter 1992, 138; Pinch 1993, 304–8; Bianchi 1998, 211; Allen 2005, 176–7; Wiese 2004, 170.

<sup>94</sup> Here called a ‘fill-herb’ due to ambiguity over identification.

<sup>95</sup> Bianchi 1998, 211; Pinch 1993, 308–9; Strauß-Seeber 1974, 13–25.

<sup>96</sup> Petrie 1906, 141.



Fig. 5.30 Volute flowers from offering bowls: Manchester NK 6232 (left), Maihirperi KV 36 (centre) and Tomb 1382 at Deir el Medina (right), 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Images A. Sinclair.

Again we are faced with a conundrum, should these bowls that combine international idiom in varying degrees, not unlike the objects cited previously, inform discussion or should they be excluded due to their clear internal Egyptian values? Their original function is disputed, apart from their apparent value as a receptacle for liquids and their deposition contexts indicating probable use as an offering in sanctuaries.<sup>97</sup> They are not thus far associated archaeologically with royal tombs, instead they are attested from elite tombs and from cult contexts, particularly the Hathor temples and associated funerary contexts at Deir el Bahari, Deir el Medina (Western Thebes) and from Serabit el Khadem (Sinai). To compound the issue, if an inscription is present on these vessels they name Egyptian queens or princesses, presumably in their role as representatives of the goddess Hathor and her associated divine personas, the eye goddesses.<sup>98</sup>

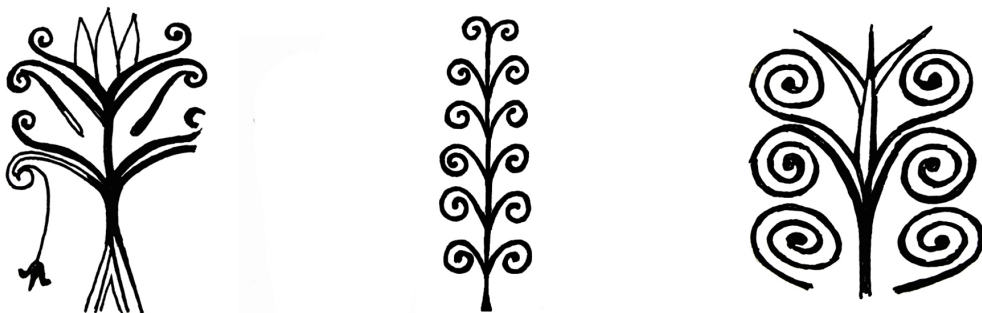


Fig. 5.31 Offering bowls: Fragment from Deir el Bahari (left), from the von Bissing collection, Hannover (centre, right), New Kingdom. Images A. Sinclair.

Thus, at best the pastoral scene, volute tree and running spiral must be assumed to be fully assimilated idiom for this material from New Kingdom Egyptian decorative arts with likely associations to regeneration, rebirth and Hathor cult. In addition, it is entirely beyond the scope of this study to pursue this idiom further into every medium and isolated example of intrusive features in Egypt, but suffice to say it is reasonably well represented in objects from the decorative arts in Egypt and Nubia and that the

<sup>97</sup> Porter 1992, 138.

<sup>98</sup> Pinch 1993, 309: For the role of royal women see Troy (2002) and Robins (2002).

volute and spiral also intrude into the major arts as minor features usually associated with royal patronage, rulers proper, or their spouses. It should be noted that in the second half of the Late Bronze Age this value range ultimately extended north beyond Egypt. Cyprus and the Levant<sup>99</sup> provide a wealth of dialectic over the provenience of their blue offering bowls that are found in elite funerary contexts and incidentally also often bear this idiom, with the running spiral again being employed as a tool for arguing hybrid idiom and cultural attribution.<sup>100</sup>



Fig. 5.32 Blue offering bowl from Gurob, late 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Image A. Sinclair.

## 5.4 Discussion: Visual homogeneity

There isn't a narrow art historical style argument that may be attributed to any of the foregoing artefacts from abroad or from within Egypt, as style in this case is predicated first on medium and second on the workshop producing it. As a result, the styles of the objects with international features or with individual features of idiom vary enormously from region to region and within cultures, with Egypt contributing the widest variation of object types and media, but ironically less internal stylistic variation. Idiom such as griffins, volute trees, antelope, winged female sphinxes, etc, and themes such as animal combats or bucolic pastoral frolics are the features that possibly qualify many objects for inclusion in this entangled visual style. Typology, medium and method are enormously varied, just as date range is broad and mostly covers the two hundred and fifty years from the mid fourteenth century to the end of the Late Bronze Age, late thirteenth century. It should also be noted that too many objects that are included in this style have weak chronologies and contexts. This has contributed to the tendency in scholarship to overlook chronology and view the Late Bronze Age as a nebulous

<sup>99</sup> See Caubet (2013b, 232) adoption of the bowl with its Hathoric value in the Levant. For the similar reception of blossom bowls, Hathoric imagery and cult in Cyprus, see Peltenburg (2007).

<sup>100</sup> Peltenburg 1972; Matoian 2005, 57–8.



whole, with a few scholars in specific disciplines choosing to note the late date of many hybrid objects.



*Fig. 5.33* Blue offering bowl from Gurob, late 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Image A. Sinclair.

The other point worth making here would be that in Egypt this idiom appears to have much broader scope and not to be exclusively associated with a highly contracted social sphere and prestigious material range. Rather an eclectic assortment of media and function is represented, inclusive of bone, bronze, wood, stone, ceramic, leather,<sup>101</sup> stucco and faience. Find context, when it exists, also often imposes a wider social stratum on the evidence. The other major impediment to discussion and definition is the visible intrusion of distinctive cultural features on objects from the Aegean, Cyprus, Ugarit and Qatna. Egypt similarly compounds this issue by often seamlessly fusing cult, funerary and/or elite inscriptions with ostensibly hybrid idiom. In fact, if a high percentage of internal idiom and technology is present, then reasonably a large proportion of objects cited here must be excluded from this notional international style, but where does this leave the often quite accurate rendering of animal combats, running spirals or the specific forms of the volute tree?

For me the issue of chronology looms large in discussion of this style, with a consensus of acknowledged international material cited here belonging in the period after the turn of the fourteenth to the eleventh and sometimes even tenth centuries. The prestige material from the Levant, Ugarit and Cyprus, where it can be established, may be dated to the thirteenth century or later. The Mycenaean pieces are also late or the date is completely open, but in my opinion these are Mycenaean under the influence of an international climate, with the exception of the faience which may be imported from either Cyprus or Egypt. This premise is equally applied to the Cypriot, Syrian and Levantine material that display internal royal and cult idiom. The only secure archaeological material cited here under the ‘loose’ aegis of international idiom that dates firmly before 1300 BCE is from Egypt and from Qatna in Syria. However, the Qatna material, it must be emphasised, is most likely to be internal production from a kingdom emulating international tastes at the time, rather than a freestanding exclusive idiom of kings, as local Syrian content intrudes conspicuously on nearly all objects. To return to Egypt, there are only two groups of international objects that have not come

<sup>101</sup> Leather shall be introduced in the following chapters.

under scrutiny here and due to scale will be assigned to the following chapters: tombs KV 62 and KV 46 from the Valley of the Kings.

The tomb of Tutankhamen is of particular value to discussion of royal prestige by dint of its almost complete state of preservation, therefore representing a glimpse of the opulence of an Egyptian royal tomb. Equally, because it also provides a relatively secure date for the artefacts, containing objects that were likely manufactured and in use in the fourteenth century, with some few heirlooms from earlier kings. In addition, the assemblage contains the widest repertoire of object types, technologies and media relating to discussion of this style. Prestige materials used in their construction include gold, silver, alabaster, carnelian, rock crystal, ebony, ivory, glass and iron. Technologies for the metalwork and hardwood military accessories include the spectrum of Late Bronze Age 'high tech', like granulation, filigree, cloisonné, vitreous glasses and pastes, as were discussed earlier in Chapter Three.

However, at this point it suffices to add that the examples from this assemblage that form the core of currently published discussion are not comprehensive and generally follow Claude Schaeffer's lead from 1939 with representations (often from his original publication) of the animal combats and volute trees from the sheath of one dagger and a gold chariot appliqué with a griffin.<sup>102</sup> If one is lucky there may be a photograph of a panel on an unguent jar or of the inlaid chest.<sup>103</sup> By contrast, this study looks beyond the celebrity objects to the wider group, and further beyond these at the whole assemblage in pursuit of hybrid features, technologies and idiom. The eclectic sampling of material, technology, form and function represented in the construction of these royal objects also manifests the internationalism of late Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt and the sheer wealth of the Amarna period kings. The following two chapters shall examine the evidence for this and for exotic idiom within Egyptian royal tombs.

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<sup>102</sup> Aruz 2013, fig. 19.2–3.

<sup>103</sup> Schachermeyr 1967.

## 6 The tomb of Tutankhamen

The previous chapters have provided an introduction to the evolution of the model for an international style for prestige objects in the Late Bronze Age and also outlined the political climate that is argued to have inspired the creation of an elite iconography of power. This iconography is considered to have been exchanged between the royal courts of the various states partaking in international gift exchange in the Late Bronze Age. Chapter Four introduced the artefacts that fuel this discussion, outlining their material form and the visual idiom that currently constitutes the mainstay of academic dialectic over hybrid visual styles. The second half of the dissertation deals with the material realities of such an entangled visual style from within New Kingdom Egypt and Chapter Five introduced the problematic lacunae that are rarely voiced in scholarship.<sup>1</sup> Naturally, we are at a singular disadvantage with discussion of this material in relation to various opaque definitions of what constitutes a fully entangled prestige object, as opposed to one that ostensibly exhibits intrusive imagery, technology or form. The latter being the result of various agencies, including elite emulation and adoption or the vagaries of foreign technicians and migrants introduced within another cultural context. This is an issue that is particularly problematic within the trans-culturalism of the second millennium eastern Mediterranean.

Another stumbling block is the application of general chronologies to the existing data, where focus on textual evidence of diplomatic exchange is dependent on the first two centuries of the Late Bronze Age. However, if one excludes the evidence from Egypt, the bulk of material evidence for this visual style by contrast comes from the final two centuries and in some cases even the early Iron Age. This is notwithstanding the tendency for ideas about first millennium cultural styles to seep into contemporary discussion as a result of over a century of ideological slippage. This loose approach to chronology is assisted by the weak contexts associated with many artefacts due to secondary and hoard contexts and to elite funerary assemblages with multi-generational timeframes.

The disparity between the textual evidence and the material record must be emphasised here, as no artefact under discussion may be established as being the direct object of gift exchange between two great kings, and in fact only object types and media supply firm correlations for the argument. Gifts and dowries containing chariots, harness, horses, weaponry, jewellery and so on are all attested from the political correspondences. This correlation combined with hybrid artefacts supplies the basis for current theory, and the argument is sound at face value, as long as one excludes the evidence for immediate

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<sup>1</sup> Erika Fischer, Dirk Wicke and Ömür Harmanşah have all published sound critiques.

translation of prestige gifts, such as gold statues, into objects of internal prestige and cultural value.

## 6.1 Royal tombs

As originally stated in the introduction, the focus of this dissertation is the extant material ostensibly belonging within the international repertoire that comes from a firm chronological foundation and an equally secure excavation context, thus eliminating two of the primary detriments to discussion of this topic. As such, the core material to be addressed here is the funerary assemblage of the thirteenth ruler of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty, Tutankhamen, from tomb KV 62 in the Valley of the Kings in Western Thebes. This assemblage is of singular importance to research due to the tomb being one of the few relatively unplundered Egyptian royal tombs excavated with due care in the history of Egyptology in the early twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> Thus, it currently serves as the template for discussion of royal funerary prestige for the entire pharaonic period. This tomb also contributes the widest repertoire of material with problematic idiom to discussions of hybrid iconography, but in contrast to the extant material from external eastern Mediterranean contexts, it does not contain any hybrid ivory furniture inlays or pyxides. The media used for furniture plaques from this tomb are predominantly sheet gold, stone and glass.

Tutankhamen was historically a relatively nondescript figure who was crowned around the age of nine and ruled only briefly for ten years at the end of the controversial Amarna period in Egypt. He succeeded one or two very short reigns of the kings who immediately followed Akhenaten, either Smenkhkare and Neferneferuaten or these names could actually represent one ruler.<sup>3</sup> In fact, Tutankhamen would bear little value to posterity except as the vehicle of transition back to traditional social values and cult in Egypt had his tomb not escaped the activities of robbers in antiquity. It is also entirely convenient to this discussion that his reign as pharaoh is situated quite firmly within a reasonably precise date range from 1334 to 1324 BCE, which is incidentally in the period immediately following a sizable proportion of the extant textual evidence for international diplomacy.<sup>4</sup>

As a result, the majority of objects from this assemblage may be considered belonging within the middle to third quarter of the fourteenth century, at the close of the Amarna period and when the power demographic of the Syro-Levantine region was in flux as Hatti removed Mitanni from the club of great kings and in doing so also destroyed some smaller states like Qatna and Alalakh. This date range is also incidentally considered by many scholars as the point of departure for the genesis of an international visual

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<sup>2</sup> It was robbed twice relatively quickly after interment, but the thieves were disturbed and only removed portable and high value materials like oils, textiles and jewellery, Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 125–6; Reeves 1984, 55–65; 1995, 95–7.

<sup>3</sup> Dodson 2009, 47–52, 61–88; Dodson and Hilton 2004, 142–57; Eaton-Krauss 2016, 17.

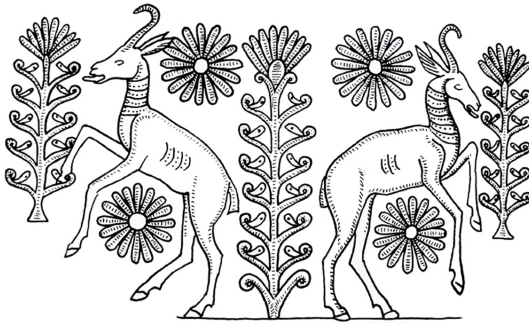
<sup>4</sup> The Amarna correspondences: Cohen and Westbrook 2000; Moran 1992; Rainey et al 2015.

style.<sup>5</sup> The tomb and its contents are currently considered to have been prepared hurriedly for use in the wake of this ruler's unexpected death at age nineteen and there is considerable dialectic in scholarship as to attribution of many objects, with evidence for some important royal artefacts having been usurped from royal predecessors. There are also un-modified prestige heirlooms in the tomb that bear titles and names of previous rulers, such as Akhenaten and Neferneferuaten/Smenkhkare.<sup>6</sup>

## 6.2 KV 62. The tomb of Tutankhamen<sup>7</sup>

In this chapter the objects from this tomb bearing international idiom that were only briefly cited previously will now be viewed, both for their materiality and as a part of their broader context, with some deference to the other prestige objects and materials with which they were intentionally deposited. In addition, those aspects of problematic idiom that have been avoided in previous discussion will merit inclusion here. I also propose to introduce more artefacts from this assemblage that have not been cited in previous scholarship, but that do contribute substantially to the topic and bear both fully 'entangled' and 'intrusive' idiom and media. To reiterate, the currently acknowledged and ubiquitously illustrated artefacts which are considered in most scholarship to bear elements of an international style from Tutankhamen's tomb are:

1. Chariot and harness equipment: Gold appliqués and bosses.
2. Furniture: An ebony chest.
3. Vessels: A calcite ointment jar or pyxis.
4. Ceremonial attire: A linen robe.
5. Weapons: Two gold daggers and two gold dagger sheaths.



*Fig. 6.1 Appliqué 122gg.  
Image A. Sinclair.*

<sup>5</sup> Steel 2013, 51–2; Feldman 2006a argued 14<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries; Smith 1965, 1600–1200 BCE.

<sup>6</sup> Dodson 2009, 50; Reeves 1995, 168–9; Gabolde 1998, 152; Eaton-Krauss 1993, 13–23.

<sup>7</sup> See Catalogues I–III.

### 6.2.1 Chariot and Harness Equipment

The state chariot of the ruler was a defining feature of Egyptian royal prestige in the New Kingdom.<sup>8</sup> As discussed in Chapter Three, it is currently considered to have been adopted into use and the rhetoric of kingship in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period from a Near Eastern, possibly northern Mesopotamian or east-Anatolian source.<sup>9</sup> As a vehicle of royal power it is attested textually as early as the reigns of Kamose and A'hmose at the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty.<sup>10</sup> In the early Eighteenth Dynasty the technology had been thoroughly mastered in Egypt and by the reigns of Thutmose III to Amenhotep II it had been refined to include a six spoked wheel designed to support two riders rather than one.<sup>11</sup> In state visual representation the image of the ruler hunting or at war on his chariot largely superseded the earlier convention of hunting wild animals on foot.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, by the interment of Tutankhamen in the Valley of the Kings, the chariot had been an essential part of the Egyptian royal propaganda machine for over two hundred years and it had had ample time to develop an internal value and a visual program.



Fig. 6.2 Appliqués 122qq and rr. Image A. Sinclair.

#### 6.2.1.1 Context

When Howard Carter and his team cleared the first large chamber of the king's tomb, the Antechamber, they found a disorderly pile of chariot frames and harness gear which was eventually reconstituted as four entire chariots, including two gold decorated ceremonial chariots. Another two gilded, but less elaborate chariots with further harness fittings and accessories were later found in the Treasury.<sup>13</sup> The gold foil plaques discussed here were associated with no one vehicle in the Antechamber and ultimately assigned a single designation of 122, from chariot 122, as a convenience. It

<sup>8</sup> Crouvel 2013, 86; Shaw 1991, 41; 2012, 92; Hoffmeier 2001, 411; Calvert 2013, 45.

<sup>9</sup> Moorey 1986; Hoffmeier 1976, 43; Littauer and Crouvel 1979, 76; Spalinger 2005, 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Biography of A'hmose son of Ibana*, Shaw 1991, 40; Spalinger 2005, 1; Darnell and Manassa 2007, 70, 77; Kamose war inscription, Hoffmeier 2001, 403; Spalinger 2005, 3.4.

<sup>11</sup> Hoffmeier 1976, 43–4.

<sup>12</sup> Shaw 2012, 94.

<sup>13</sup> Carter and Mace 1963.II, 54–64; Littauer and Crouvel 1985, 53–63, 99; Reeves 1995, 170–3; Crouvel 2013, 78.

ought to be noted that Carter does not at any time state that they were all found together, just that most appliquéés were found near ceremonial chariot 122.<sup>14</sup>

### 6.2.1.2 Materiality

The appliquéés are on the viewed face constructed of embossed thin sheet gold. All are decorated with repoussé designs that are framed within a variety of plaque shapes and proportions. The backs of the plaques bear traces of layers of linen and leather that may be still adhering in places. Due to their size, media and context they may have been associated with horse harness or perhaps with other royal hunting implements, such as quivers for arrows or bowcases. Howard Carter was only confident that the blinkers, bridle bosses, roundels and a few plaques were definitely associated with the harness of the chariots.<sup>15</sup> Subsequent scholars have since associated most of the appliquéés with the harness decoration of horses.<sup>16</sup> The gold appliquéés are currently undergoing restoration at the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Mainz in Germany under the direction of Christian Eckmann in collaboration with the Cairo Museum.<sup>17</sup>

Of approximately one hundred plaques with figural decoration, only twenty-two gold foil plaques and four bridle bosses from the chariot equipment have in the past been treated as hybrid idiom objects, presumably on the assumption that they are exotic gifts from another great king that were incorporated into this ruler's ceremonial equipment and then buried with him on his death. To these may be added another nine appliquéés that were never documented visually from the Treasury chariots, but are described with this idiom in Carter's notes.<sup>18</sup> This collection of appliquéés compares quite compellingly with the canonical imagery residing on the rest of the plaques which constitute images from the repertoire of Egyptian rhetoric of power: the ruler hunting lions, subduing the Nine-Bows, as a lion trampling same or shooting from a chariot. In addition, there are plaques bearing royal cartouches and Tutankhamen's royal titulary along with icons of royal prerogative such as solar disc, *uraei*, cobra and vulture of the goddesses Wadjet and Nekhebet, *sema-tawy*, and so on.

The themes for the decoration of the hybrid idiom appliquéés are varied, but consistent with expectations for this international style. There are ten plaques with the animal combat motif, most with hunting dogs, griffins, lions or leopards attacking ibex. One plaque has a griffin attacking a lion. Another ten plaques have freestanding complex volute trees as their focus and perhaps another six to eight exhibit 'caprid flanking sacred tree' idiom, although the animal where identifiable may be a gazelle. Four further plaques have animal motifs that probably fall loosely under the banner of pastoral scenes. It should be noted that these categories are again predicated on

<sup>14</sup> Two gold plaques (046ll 1–2) from a textile bundle in the Antechamber were also assigned to this group and some few pieces from the Annex where other chariot paraphernalia was deposited.

<sup>15</sup> Carter notes: *Tutankhamen Anatomy of an Excavation*, Griffith Institute, henceforth 'Carter notes'.

<sup>16</sup> Littauer and Crouwel 1985, 87–8; Broschat et al (2017) are more cautious.

<sup>17</sup> Bertsch et al 2014, and ongoing.

<sup>18</sup> Carter notes: 333-16, 18, 19, 20; Littauer and Crouwel 1985, 87, cat. G75–G82, pl. LXI.

definitions of combat, pastoral or emblematic, also the use of the volute plant varies, from a freestanding tree to background fill.



*Fig. 6.3* The plaque most widely employed in discussions of international style; appliqué 122w. Image A. Sinclair.

The argument for these plaques being isolated examples of an international style becomes opaque when the other objects in this group are examined more carefully beyond the former bald generalisations that I have just given, such as hybrid idiom versus canonical Egyptian. For what in fact constitutes ‘international’ or hybrid idiom? Is it the combination of elements or the constituent components? Here boundaries become blurred when aspects of definition for fully integrated idiom conflate with the artefacts exhibiting ostensibly canonical content.



*Fig. 6.4* Appliqué 122yy. Image A. Sinclair.

The information that is overlooked too easily in discussion is that the international idiom is not an isolated element among the chariot appliqué and these motifs are not restricted to the ostensibly international style plaques.<sup>19</sup> Volute trees that are considered international on twelve plaques also occur on eight plaques with canonical Egyptian idiom, in this case, three are volute palmettes flanking scenes of the pharaoh as a lion subduing an enemy under foot. Another four plaques with volute palmettes

<sup>19</sup> See Table II.



have the prenomen and nomen of Tutankhamen in cartouches over the unity of two lands icon, the *sema-tawy*. However, of interest to this discussion is the use of the same volute plant that is placed in the field in the animal combats for the decorative fill of two canonical plaques, 122ss and tt. These plaques, instead of a scene of wild nature, have cartouches with Tutankhamen's nomen and prenomen which are flanked by the nsw-bjt, the bee and sedge emblems of kingship.



Fig. 6.5 Appliqués 122ss and tt.  
Image A. Sinclair.

Spiral borders similarly do not occur on all the 'exotic' plaques (twelve), yet they do occur on a further seventeen plaques which have canonical idiom. Idiom that is, in nearly all cases, conveniently inclusive of royal cartouches. More than half of this group constitutes round bosses decorated with the king's titulary, nomen and prenomen. And it is worth noting that of ten harness bosses, eight bear the king's name still retaining the Aten element and only two the post-Amarna reversion to Amen. Thus, at least eight appliqués from this group are most likely heirlooms from the Amarna period and the reign of Akhenaten. In fact, from this evidence, Howard Carter assumed in his reports that one royal chariot in the assemblage was an 'old one', and it is difficult to disagree with his judgement.<sup>20</sup> The appliqués and bosses with spiral and volute motifs combined with the canonical add another twenty-seven objects that contain intrusive idiom to the original thirty-three that are ostensibly fully fused international, amounting in total to sixty objects that bear intrusive idiom out of approximately ninety figural gold plaques.<sup>21</sup> This infers that more than half of the harness appliqués from this tomb are visually ambiguous and at least a third are conservatively internationally influenced.

Of those plaques that are bordered with spirals, the majority are circular harness bosses decorated with royal cartouches. However, three larger appliqués, 046ll(1), 122zz and 122aa, stand out as seamlessly blending royal idiom with the intrusive. These are rectangular plaques with an emblematic placement of Tutankhamen's nomen and prenomen in cartouches flanked by the bee and sedge hieroglyphs. In addition, two other bosses are decorated with the winged *khepri* beetle in a design that visually

<sup>20</sup> Carter notes: 122zzzgg.

<sup>21</sup> Predicated on the inclusion of bosses and plaques alone, if gold strips from harness, blinkers, knobs and unidentified scraps are added the number increases.

mimics the writing of Tutankhamen's prenomen,<sup>22</sup> but instead of the *neb* basket, the beetle holds a *shen* amulet. This motif has an earlier visual parallel from the inner face of the silver war chariot of Thutmose IV from KV 43. On that chariot the beetle is placed above the ruler who is depicted as a sphinx trampling Nine-Bow captives.<sup>23</sup>



Fig. 6.6 Harness bosses 122cccc and dddd (left) and 122bbbb (right). Images A. Sinclair.

In tandem with this visual parallel another fragmentary gold plaque, 122kk, may be reconstructed with relative ease due to it having almost exact parallels with two others that only lack the spiral border, 122jj and 122ii. These three appliqué depict the ruler in this same idiom of royal power that may be traced back to the Old Kingdom, as a lion trampling a Nine-Bow under foot with royal prenomen in the upper left field.<sup>24</sup> In case of any doubt as to the value of the central motif, the field in this theme also contains the stock rhetoric phrase: *ptpt-ḥ3s.wt-nb.t* 'trampling all foreign lands'. This scene is augmented by a large volute palmette with volute droplets on the lion's right on two plaques and on the left on the mirrored one. This palmette is also present as fill on plaque 120ee, with the ruler as the Monthu sphinx again trampling a foreign foe.

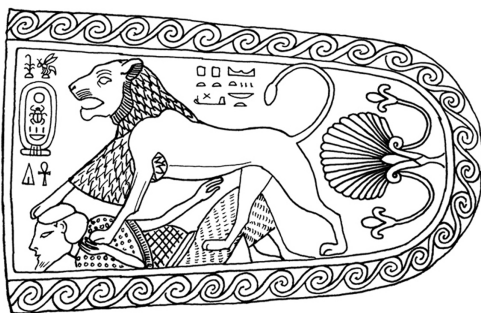


Fig. 6.7 Reconstruction of appliqué 122kk. Image A. Sinclair.

Previous scholarship would dismiss these examples of the same motif upon canonical scenes as a separate phenomenon and therefore evidence of intrusive idiom, disassociated

<sup>22</sup> For the writing of Tutankhamen's name as a cryptogram see Silverman 1980.

<sup>23</sup> Carter and Newberry 1904, pl. XII.

<sup>24</sup> This motif of ruler as sphinx, griffin or lion is attested as early as the Old Kingdom, 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty from the Temple of Sahure, reign of Sahure: Borchardt 1913, vol. 2, pl. 8.

with the hybrid pieces, just as the chariots themselves, Carter numbers 120 and 122, have been summarily dismissed from discussion in the recent past due to their seamless fusion of Egyptian royal rhetoric with running spirals, rosettes and complex volute trees. However, if volute trees in isolation, with or without running spirals are to be excluded here due to their apparent conflation on royal rhetoric, then a respectable proportion of the original appliqués must perforce be excluded as well. In fact, it is only the absence of a clear final context for these artefacts that permits them to be judged in isolation and not as the normal trappings of a royal chariot and its horses.



*Fig. 6.8* Harness appliqués 122ccc, ddd (left) and 122eee, fff (right), there is an error in the numbering of these in the original notes (ee-ff). Images A. Sinclair.

### 6.2.1.3 Ceremonial chariots 120 and 122<sup>25</sup>

I have chosen to place the gilded ceremonial chariots here with the additional harness plaques which bear intrusive idiom, not because many earlier scholars have previously deemed these vehicles to be a part of this style, but rather because in their material context they belong with other objects of similar media, construction techniques, function and social value that have been discussed under this topic, and also as a prelude to introducing a small group of unpublished artefacts that belong here and which may be functionally associated with Tutankhamen's ceremonial chariotry.

There were six complete chariot bodies of varying sophistication within the disorderly piles of chariot paraphernalia in tomb KV 62. These six vehicles constitute approximately half of the entire historical evidence from ancient Egypt for elite war chariots.<sup>26</sup> Four are 'plain' royal hunting chariots with predominantly leather, wood and linen housings, and two vehicles are elaborate prestige objects covered in embossed gold and glass inlays that would have been more than suitable for ceremonial occasions. All six chariots are constructed using various nuances in decoration and in structural design and so each vehicle may be considered unique.<sup>27</sup> Both of the gold embossed and inlaid state chariots manifest an abundance of intrusive visual idiom, particularly on the

<sup>25</sup> Carter and Mace 1963.II, 54–64; Littauer and Crouwel 1985, 99 (chariots A2 and A1); Crouwel 2013.

<sup>26</sup> Littauer and Crouwel 1979, 75. 11 'chariots' from Western Thebes: 10 royal and 1 non-royal from tombs of Tutankhamen (6), Yuya and Tuya, Thutmose IV, an unknown tomb (now in Florence) and fragments from the tombs of Amenhotep II & III. Excavations at a Ramesside horse barracks at Qantir have contributed more small finds, Shaw 2012, 93.

<sup>27</sup> Crouwel 2013, 85.

external faces where broad areas of running spirals combine seamlessly with canonical feathering ornament.

Chariot 122 has the same decoration on the inner and outer faces, with broad horizontal bands of inlaid feathering separating bands of alternating daisy rosettes and running spirals.<sup>28</sup> The central panel is embossed with the *sema-tawy* which is flanked by bound Nine-Bow prisoners. This is topped by *rekhyt* birds adoring *ankh* symbols and a *djed* pillar and above these are four cartouches with the nomen and prenomen of the ruler. These are flanked by *was* sceptres and crowned *uraei*. This panel is surmounted by the divine falcon with extended wings, Horus-Behedety, with solar disc and *uraei*, who is also named to avoid any ambiguity. Equally the end of the pole of this vehicle where it rests near the yoke has a gold and red and blue glass composite rosette of four radiating complex volute flowers.<sup>29</sup>

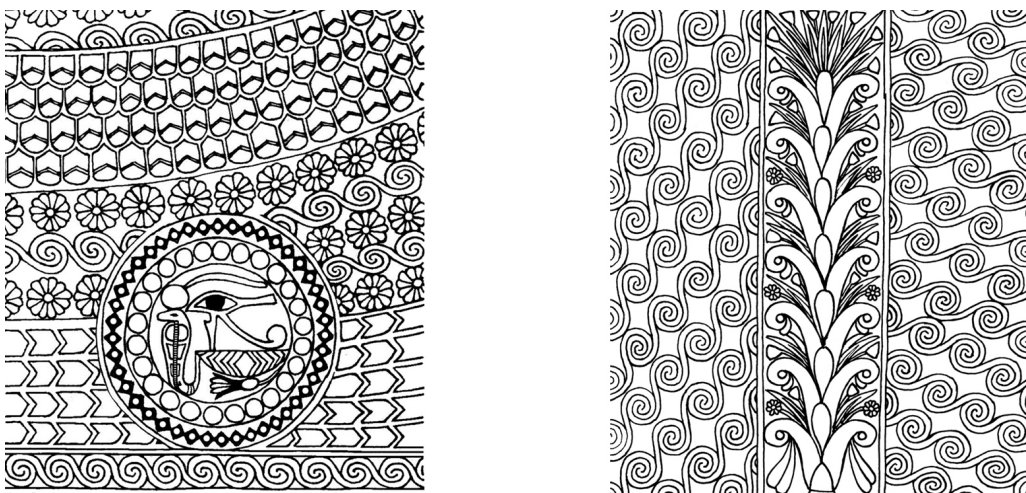


Fig. 6.9 Detail from chariot 122 (left) and chariot 120 (right). Note the conflation of the volute tree with the south flower on 120. Image A. Sinclair.

By contrast, chariot 120 has an overall decoration of layered running spirals that meet in the centre at a prominent vertically stacked volute tree.<sup>30</sup> This tree conforms both in content and style with trees embossed on the harness plaques and on the gold daggers that follow, but it is here clearly comprised of Egyptian south flowers. This tree is repeated twice on the inside of the chariot on the back rails, and placed above the prenomen of the king where rail meets the body. The upper zone of the centre front of the vehicle has again four cartouches with the ruler's nomen, prenomen and Horus names flanked by papyrus and volute staves with crowned *uraei* representing the goddesses Nekhebet and Wadjet. Above these is the Horus-Behedety winged disc, again clearly named. There are minor ornamentations of rosettes, *nymphaea lotus* and

<sup>28</sup> Not 'Aegean style' consecutive spirals as is often cited to make a distinction between indigenous spirals and intrusive.

<sup>29</sup> Carter card 122b-2.

<sup>30</sup> Some publications may in error call these concentric spirals.

petal ornament on both bodies and shafts, joints are embellished with protomés of the god Bes and solar falcons. The chariot pole has thin gold filigree bands of running spirals.<sup>31</sup>

While intrusive idiom is very much present on these two royal vehicles, they have been rejected in recent scholarship due to the unequivocal high ratio of Egyptian state and cult idiom such as divine symbols, the *sema-tawy*, *khepri* beetle, *wraei*, *wedjat* eye, royal titulary and canonical scenes of royal dominion over foreign enemies. All of these elements and themes are consistent with the visual evidence for the decoration of royal chariots from the silver chariot of Tutankhamen's likely great grandfather Thutmose IV from KV 43.<sup>32</sup> This is also consistent with the visual content from the previously cited appliquéés and is therefore problematic to a thesis of foreign attribution for this group.

As a final note, both ceremonial chariots bear the ruler's titulary, with chariot 122 having a longer text and also repeatedly naming the queen, Ankhesenamun and her titles. In addition, it references the notion of everlasting rule with the phrase:  $\text{n}\dot{\text{h}}\dot{\text{h}} \text{h}\text{b}\text{-sd}$ , 'eternal jubilees' which infers either a living association with the king's Heb Sed festival or a funerary one. There is also an uncharacteristic repetition of the feminine suffix on two stock phrases preceding the royal name which occurs on further objects to be discussed here, objects that are acknowledged to be modified Amarna period heirlooms and could, by virtue of the gender displayed, suggest a connection to Neferneferuaten.<sup>33</sup>

#### 6.2.1.4 Minutae

On closer examination, canonical elements within the iconography of at least one of these vehicles again contain specific idiom ostensibly associated with an international style. In the horizontal scene of the subjugation of the Nine-Bows on the lowest register of the interior of chariot 120, four of eleven foreign captive figures wear costumes with tiny dotted embossed scenes of animal combat or frolic and of caprids flanking volute trees. These figures are also decorated with similarly themed tattoos of complex volute trees, caprids flanking volute trees, bands of running spirals, but which also simultaneously exhibit canonical Egyptian content such as *nymphaea* blossoms and monkeys climbing doum palms.<sup>34</sup>

In the past the presence of international motifs on foreign captives has been employed to support the exotic idiom/foreign textile argument for this iconography. However, this has subsequently been justly challenged, due to the lack of consistency of idiom with ethnicity in these designs.<sup>35</sup> This generic style infers a stock repertoire used by craftsmen for depicting captive enemies or decorating fabric on costumes and therefore may not reflect cultural accuracy. Similarly, no ethnic association may be imposed on

<sup>31</sup> Carter card 120bc.

<sup>32</sup> Calvert 2013; Carter and Newberry 1904, 24–33, pls. IX–XII.

<sup>33</sup> Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 48–9.

<sup>34</sup> Doum palm juxtaposed with caprids and volute tree.

<sup>35</sup> Panagiotopoulos 2006, 388; Redford 2003, 253; Wachsmann 1987, 6–9; Kantor 1945, 479.

the imagery from Nine-Bow captives on chariot 120. Animal combats with hunting dog and ibex, running spirals and volute trees occur on the costume and tattoos of two Libyan captives, with additional motifs of lotuses and the linear tattoos normally associated with Libyan figures. Two Nubian captives have frolicking gazelle, birds, ibex flanking volute trees and monkeys on palms as kilt decoration and as tattoos.



*Fig. 6.10* International idiom on tattoos and embroidered textiles, captive Nine-Bows from chariot 120. Images A. Sinclair.

Beyond these, four other Asiatic captives have costumes with concentric motifs of solar rosettes and simple chevron or dotted patterns, but these men are not tattooed. One figure has five point stars (Gardiner N14, *dw3/sb3*) as a recurring pattern, another one of bands of simple volute south flowers. From the lack of consistency I would infer a likely internal apotropaic function for these motifs in this context.<sup>36</sup> This is adequately supported by the volute trees that decorate the tunic of a Syro-Levantine captive on walking stick 50uu from the tomb and is reinforced in the knowledge that motifs from the international repertoire were common features for the decoration of kilts of Nine-Bow figures from glazed palatial tiles of Egyptian rulers in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> From my own observations I would suggest that on captive figures this idiom reflects Egyptian ideals of idiom suitable for woven fabric specifically associated with funerary design, such as boat sails, canopies and tomb ceilings.

<sup>37</sup> See Catalogue IV.5.5.

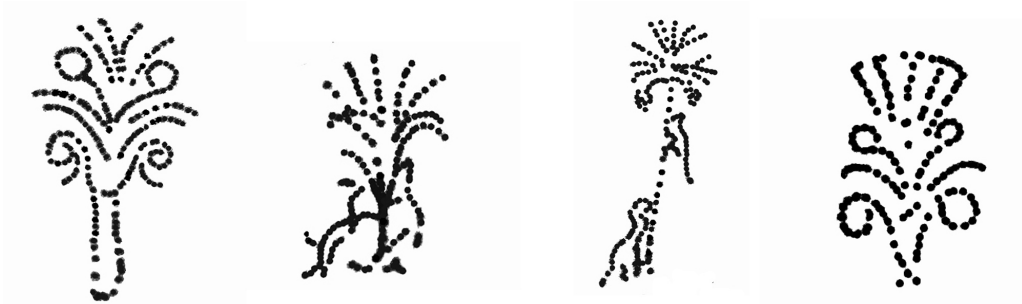


Fig. 6.11 Tattoo designs from bound Nine-Bow figures on chariot 120. Images A. Sinclair.

### 6.2.1.5 Ceremonial chariot 333: Appliqués and harness linen

A closer examination of Howard Carter's excavation notes also revealed more problematic idiom on chariotry artefacts than earlier publications have so far considered worthy of pursuit. These additional examples are fragmentary remnants of decorated linen with variations on the volute flower motif that were not found with the other gold appliqué pieces in the Antechamber, but rather with two leather and gold lined chariots in the Treasury against the north wall.<sup>38</sup> Nine more sheet gold and leather chariot appliqués were also found with this chariot, but these were not photographed by Burton for the original publication, nor were they documented beyond their shapes in Littauer and Crouwel.<sup>39</sup> However, in the excavation notes they are recorded as having international motifs. One has animal combats between lion and ibex and hunting dog and gazelle 'in conventional flora', two smaller appliqués have gazelles with 'palmettes', the rest have 'floral palmettes', there is no mention of inscriptions or of border designs.

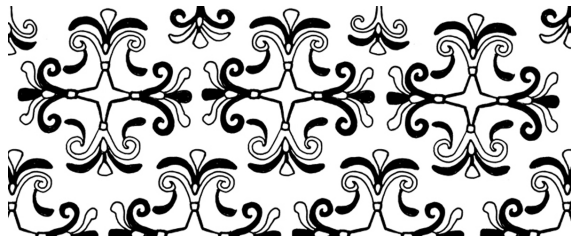


Fig. 6.12 Reconstruction of the volute flower rosette pattern from a horse blanket. Image A. Sinclair.

Additionally, the poorly preserved piece of harness lining represents the only extant example of horse blankets from the tomb. It is a fragment of patterned woven linen that the excavator again assumed to be from chariot 333.<sup>40</sup> This heavy woven fabric in its original state would have had a continuous pattern of cruciform rosettes of four radiating volute flowers with an edge of laddering and simple volute bands. In this instance the volute tree has been artfully used to create a concentric pattern of rosette motifs that would have covered the body of the fabric. The poor condition of the piece

<sup>38</sup> Carter notes, chariots 332–3: Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 167.

<sup>39</sup> Carter notes: 333-16, 18, 19, 20; Littauer and Crouwel 1985, 87–8, G75–82, pl. LXI.

<sup>40</sup> Bowcase 335 may have belonged with this chariot, also the eight extra harness appliqués and the whip of 'king's son Thutmose' were in this context.

dictates that the original colours are no longer visible to the eye.<sup>41</sup> It is probably worth noting that depictions of this ruler in his chariot hunting or in battle usually, where scale permits, show an all over pattern of rosettes on the horse blanket.

#### **6.2.1.6 A note on the chariot wheels**

Intrusive idiom is also present as a minor ornament on both the ceremonial and the secondary gilded prestige chariots. The wheels of three of the six chariots (121, 122, 333) from the tomb have minor embellishments of sheet gold tubing with fine filigree gold decorations of running spirals on their felloes<sup>42</sup> where the wood was joined and on their spokes near the hub. Only one of these chariots is a state ceremonial vehicle, 122, the other two are leather mounted quotidian vehicles. However quotidian must be considered a relative term, since these are still royal vehicles, with royal inscriptions and they are decorated with prestige materials, but at a more modest scale.

#### **6.2.1.7 A royal sunshade or portable pavilion?**

The final addition to a discussion of the royal chariots from KV 62 is perhaps still problematic as to precise material function in antiquity.<sup>43</sup> It is the gilded framework (123) of an elaborate ceremonial sunshade which Carter described as a portable pavilion in his notes, ‘which could be easily carried about and set up in a hurry’, and this assessment has been generally accepted until now. It has recently been argued by Edwin Brock<sup>44</sup> that the canopy frame is another accessory associated with the ceremonial chariotry, specifically with royal chariot 122, and for this reason it has been placed with the discussion of chariots here. It was in fact found in the same context as the chariot accessories in the Antechamber, as the allocation of number 123 indicates. The rectangular framework which provides the structural support for the canopy was supported above four thin columns that are topped with lotus blossoms and buds. The solid moulded framework has a wide cornice with wooden intervening slats for holding up the linen pall that would have been laid over it. In Carter’s notes he described the decoration of this moulded cornice as a ‘palmetto cornice’ (volute palmettes),<sup>45</sup> which I have been unable to confirm, however, below the cornice there is a clearly recorded continuous horizontal band of gilded running spirals. From the presence of gold embossed spirals and volute palmettes it is reasonable to assume this structure may well have had a visual relationship to one of the state chariots. Although regardless of whether it did or not, it certainly contributes relevant visual idiom to discussion here.

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<sup>41</sup> ‘Material too far oxidized to identify the colours (which seem to be blue, red, yellow and green.’ Carter note: 333-15.

<sup>42</sup> Wooden outer rims of a wheel.

<sup>43</sup> Carter notes: 123-01-12. Reeves (1995, 187) assigned it to furnishings with original function unknown and base missing.

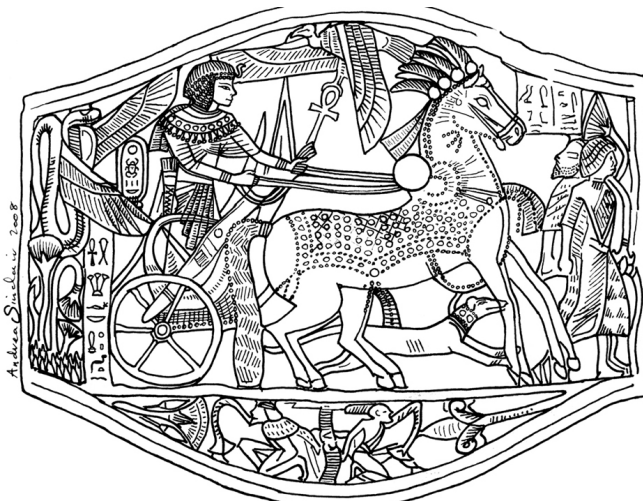
<sup>44</sup> Brock 2013.

<sup>45</sup> Carter notes: 123-01.



### 6.2.1.8 Notes on the Iconography: Content

Here it is necessary to focus on the intrusive/integrated iconography with some brief reference to the canonical on all the chariot related artefacts. Animal attacks occur on nine harness appliqués. They employ the expected subject content of ibex pursued and pulled down by griffins, lions, leopards and hunting dogs. The latter, the hunting dog, is the dominant predator. There is one unusual motif of a griffin attacking another predator, a lion, on a gold appliqué, 122v, otherwise griffins are rare (two). Most images incorporate attacks on ibex in open composition with specific volute plants in the field, or goats/gazelle flanking these same voluted plants. Complex volute trees only occur as freestanding motifs without animal combats on the plaques. On the two state chariot bodies there are no animal combats except for those residing on the costumes of subdued and bound enemies of Egypt.



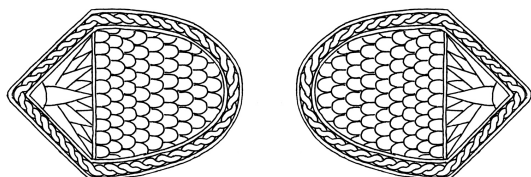
*Fig. 6.13 Red gold openwork 'buckle' with yellow granulation (this has no Carter number, private gift to king Farouk by the excavator). Image A. Sinclair.*

This seamless fusion of entangled idiom appears to traverse the range of equipment associated with this king's royal chariots and horse harness, being employed to decorate the outer face of two state vehicles and a significant percentage of the horse harness. However, a chariot like 333, while relatively simpler, might have also exhibited a broad repertoire of this idiom in royal usage, from the gold spirals on the wheels and canopy, volute rosettes on the patterned horse blankets and finer details from the blinkers and harness fittings. There are six chariots from this tomb and three or four of these vehicles exhibit intrusive idiom in varying degrees on their surfaces, so that simultaneously it could be argued this visual content is fully entangled with the otherwise ubiquitous canonical rhetoric of royal power. It is probably also important to point out that this idiom only occurs on the objects of highest economic value and prestige.

### 6.2.1.9 Notes on the iconography: 'Style'

Regardless of medium, or rather, because the media involved in the idiom cited here: sheet gold and leather, employ embossed or repoussé techniques, this results in

compositions where all images are ostensibly reduced to line drawings. In this case the use of line appears comparable across hybrid, intrusive and canonical objects and while there are typological differences to, for example with the volute trees, the content and visual style is consistent across all objects. The representation of hunting dogs is particularly consistent across international idiom and royal hunt scenes.<sup>46</sup> The one fragment of woven coloured linen, on the contrary is constrained by the use of areas of colour and line, but does not lose the nature of the floral symbol.



*Fig. 6.14* Guilloche borders on gilded wooden blinkers 122k. Image A. Sinclair.

## 6.2.2 Ebony inlaid chest (Carter 551 and 540)<sup>47</sup>

It is a material leap from embossed gold, linen and leather equipment associated with royal chariotry to the next object bearing international idiom which instead could be regarded as a royal domestic or personal object. This is an elaborately inlaid hardwood chest constructed in the shape of an Egyptian cult shrine, such as would have been represented framing a ruler or god during major festivals, particularly the Heb Sed ritual. This type of construction is typical of Egyptian prestige storage boxes and these may be dated to as early as the Old Kingdom as an accessory of funerary scenes in elite tombs.<sup>48</sup> This practice continued into the Middle Kingdom where these shrines were depicted as essential funerary paraphernalia along with pectorals, bows, staves and headrests in offering friezes on elite coffins.<sup>49</sup> In the early New Kingdom they are first attested in association with royal cult, but are otherwise still associated with funerary use.<sup>50</sup> The chest from KV 62 itself is notable for the unadulterated luxury manifested in the complexity of construction skill, being highly decorated and inset with detailed inlays of precious materials.

### 6.2.2.1 Context

This small chest was found in the north-west corner of the storage Annex, but its lid was not attached to the body and rather was placed opposite this in the north-east corner of the chamber. The chest may be assumed to have been either empty on original deposition, or after the activities of tomb robbers, due to the fact that

<sup>46</sup> Compare the chariot hunt scenes from a gilded royal fan stock (242) and on a painted chest (021).

<sup>47</sup> Carter and Mace 1963.III, 118–9, image on frontispiece.

<sup>48</sup> The earliest visual evidence comes from tombs of the late 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, ca. 2200–2100 BCE, Killen 1994, 35, fig. 43.

<sup>49</sup> Jequier 1921, 247–9; Willems 1958, 222.

<sup>50</sup> Two vaulted chests with scenes of Hatshepsut offering to Amen-Kamutef, temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el Bahari, Kapiec 2016.

no objects are recorded or assigned to this number in Carter's notes.<sup>51</sup> The latter assumption is supported by the evidence that Egyptian elite funerary chests and boxes were generally used to store a broad range of personal objects for the deceased, including toiletry equipment, linen, clothes, accessories, jewellery, amulets, tools of office or trade and sometimes foodstuffs.<sup>52</sup> This is no exception for chests from this king's burial, approximately ten of which are vaulted and in the absence of recorded material for this receptacle it must be assumed that it could have once contained personal objects of worth and portability, like precious metal jewellery.<sup>53</sup>

### 6.2.2.2 Materiality

The chest is rectangular and shaped like an Egyptian cult shrine with a raised curved or vaulted lid at one end. It is highly decorated on all five faces with rectangular scenes framed by typical Egyptian geometric ornamental bands ('ladder'). The detailed panel designs were achieved with a fine marquetry technique using close fitting inlays of hardwood and other multicoloured prestige materials like ebony, coloured glass, faience, ivory and calcite. While elaborately inlaid furniture was a longstanding feature of Egyptian woodworking, this box represents the summit of application of these techniques. The quality of finish and material used for a funerary chest was a direct reflection on the social status of the deceased and only a king could command the prestige that is represented here.<sup>54</sup>



*Fig. 6.15* Animal combats and floral bands from one end of the inlaid chest. Image A. Sinclair.

The international idiom from this chest that attracts scholarly discussion resides on three of the four side panels of the body of the box. These three thin panels have

<sup>51</sup> Carter notes 540-1a-b, 540-2a-b.

<sup>52</sup> Smith 1992, 206; der Manuelian 2006, 1633.

<sup>53</sup> Reeves 1995, 193.

<sup>54</sup> Killen 1980, 17; Scott 1965, 131; Smith 1992, 206.

horizontal friezes of animal combats and bucolic pastoral scenes that are all set within lush foliage. Due to the influence of the medium, the plant motifs exploit all the available space in the field. Each scene contains stock idiom that we have come to expect from this visual style; predators such as leopards, lions and hunting dogs attack ibex, bulls or calves. In addition, there are non-violent images of calves or steers frolicking carelessly in a pastoral scene with no visible predator. The foliage itself is used to frame the scenes and fills the entire composition with mandrakes and poppies. These friezes are then framed on three sides by bands of semi-circular mandrakes, poppies and cornflowers, each spaced by *nymphaea*. Along the top is a horizontal band of lotus petal ornament and chequerboard.

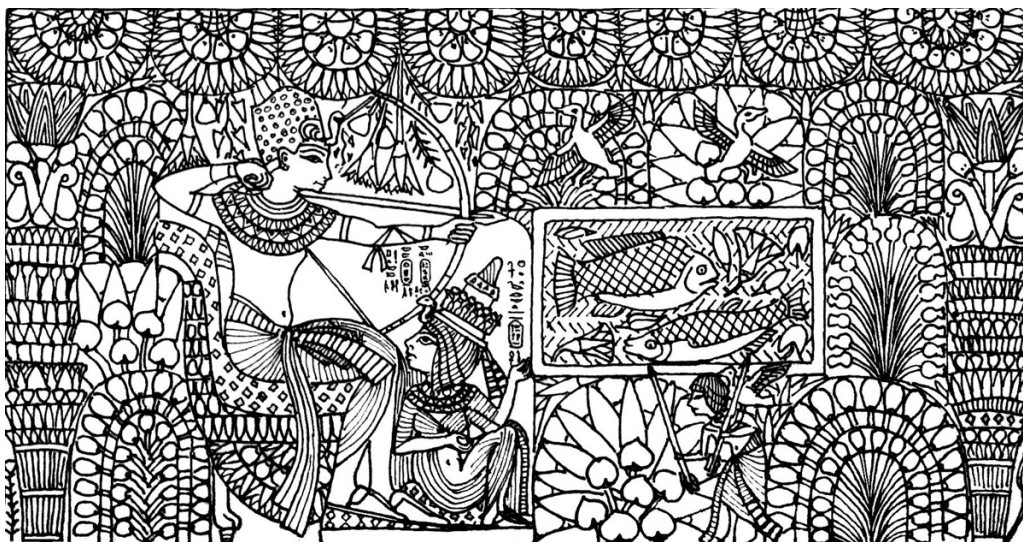


Fig. 6.16 Image from the other end of the chest. Tutankhamen ritually hunting ducks with queen Ankhesenamun. Image A.Sinclair.

One end and the lid of this ornamental chest, by contrast, have images of specific Amarna period Egyptian visual rhetoric which are usually tactfully left out of discussions of international styles.<sup>55</sup> These larger panels consist of what may be erroneously described as recreational scenes of the king Tutankhamen and the queen Ankhesenamun and are accompanied by inscriptions naming both, with their stock titulary. The side end of the box has the ruler in a lush marsh setting seated on his throne and shooting wild fowl with a bow, while the queen is seated at his feet. Both figures are wearing distinctive royal regalia, the king the ruler's military *khepresh* crown and the queen an unusual variant on the *uraeus* modius diadem, which both infer a ritual value to the image. There is a garden pond teeming with lotus and fish, and before this a small princess is collecting arrows. Her costume matches that of the queen. The scene employs hierarchic scale, with the ruler the largest and most important figure, then his great royal wife, with the princess smallest. This entire composition of ruler and queen in their garden is framed on either side by floral bouquets forming vertical columns

<sup>55</sup> For no examples of the Egyptian visual content see for example Schachermeyr 1967, pls. XLVII–L.

that are each surmounted by a *nymphaea lotus* and a simple volute flower/south flower. Plants represented within the garden again include both varieties of lotus, mandrakes, poppies and cornflowers, with the addition of hanging vines and the international fill-herb. This entire theme of king hunting fowl with his wife is paralleled on the smaller golden shrine, 108, from the tomb that is dedicated to Weret-Hekau.<sup>56</sup> The theme is also consistent with the canonical motif of fishing and fowling in the marshes that was an essential element of elite funerary architecture.



Fig. 6.17 Primary image on the lid (540) of the inlaid chest. Image A. Sinclair.

The scene of the king and queen on the lid of the box is similarly set within this lush setting of luxuriant vines, papyrus, lotus, poppies and mandrakes. There is also an Amarna period backdrop of possibly decorated textile that hangs between the two figures.<sup>57</sup> The scene is framed by two papyrus pillars bound with winding grape vines. Within the main scene the king is being offered tall floral bouquets of lotus and papyrus by the queen. While the king is not wearing royal regalia beyond a *uraeus*, the queen is ritually dressed, wearing an elaborate *uraeus* modius diadem and two *uraei* with

<sup>56</sup> Eaton-Krauss and Graefe 1985, 'side B', pl. XV.

<sup>57</sup> Parallels for the lozenge pattern occur on the cushions and seat covers on which the couple are seated on the former panel and from the Princess Fresco from Amarna in the Ashmolean AN1893.1-41 (267).

feathered sun discs on her forehead. The inscriptions above their heads name them both and the titles lord/lady of the two lands are neatly mirrored for each. Beneath this scene, two royal women dressed similarly to the queen stoop to pick poppies and mandrakes. The figure on the left visually mimics the emblematic sign for the god Heh holding palm ribs and wears the same hairstyle of the queen, lacking only the diadem.

Inset into each raised side of the lid are more elaborate floral bouquets of a type used as offerings to the deceased and to gods that triangulate at the base to fit the confined space. Both primary scenes are entirely consistent with highly charged ritual iconography that is present on other objects from this tomb, such as the small golden shrine 108 and the ceremonial throne 087. The iconography of these has been subject to examination in multiple publications in the past and may be connected with the queen's role in the symbolism associated with the goddesses Hathor/Weret-Hekau, the coronation ceremony and the regeneration ritual of the Sed Fest. Equally, this idiom references canonical Egyptian funerary symbolic of renewal and regeneration for the deceased ruler and naturally the guarantee of cosmic order.<sup>58</sup>

### **6.2.2.3 Notes on the Iconography: Content**

This object seamlessly fuses internal rhetoric with the ostensibly 'external'. All animal combatants are visually consistent with content for the Egyptian international corpus; mobile poses, composition and the stock repertoire of predators and male prey are all present. There are however no winged sphinxes, and griffins are also noticeable by their absence. If not for the presence of two simple volutes in a canonical scene, it would be possible to assume the plant content is not consistent for this hybrid style, but rather we are looking at plant schemes entirely consistent with Amarna period royal compositions. In terms of textual content this chest names the ruler and his wife repeatedly. Local divine context is also present with the ruler described as 'beloved of Ptah, lord of maat'.

### **6.2.2.4 Notes on the iconography: 'Style'**

The visual style of this wooden inlaid vessel is singularly influenced by the medium, but composition, postures and idiom within the international scenes is consistent with this hybrid style, which immediately becomes problematic in the knowledge that it is seamlessly juxtaposed in medium and technique with Egyptian Amarna period royal text, idiom and form. I hesitate to suggest that the entangled imagery is constructed separately from the canonical Egyptian, as there is absolutely no visual evidence to support this claim. Rather the inclination is to assume we are viewing accepted late Amarna period royal rhetoric on an Egyptian object.<sup>59</sup> This assumption is reinforced in the knowledge of the decoration of ceilings and walls of royal palaces at this time and by the many artefacts of Egyptian origin that have similar visual content.

<sup>58</sup> Troy 1986, 62–3; Eaton-Krauss 1989; Eaton-Krauss and Graefe 1985; Angenot 2011; Bosse-Griffiths 1973.

<sup>59</sup> Robins 1986, 53–6 incidentally uses an example of an animal combat from this box (plate 50) as typical of Amarna period Egyptian artistic style.

### 6.2.3 Calcite unguent jar 211<sup>60</sup>

This vessel is another ‘old chestnut’ that is cited in many publications as bearing a typical example of fully hybrid international iconographic style on its body.<sup>61</sup> As such this would entail the idiom replete on this object displaying a fusion of various cultural visual styles in its form, fabric, execution, themes and idiom. Like the chest and chariots previously cited, this premise is again grounded in viewing only two components of the iconography in isolation from the physical context and takes no account of the semantic idiom present in the construction of the entire artefact. Here the hybrid iconography shall be viewed in conjunction with the entire vessel.



Fig. 6.18 Animal combats on the body of the calcite jar. Image A. Sinclair.

#### 6.2.3.1 Context

The jar 211 is a high prestige toiletry vessel of the type intended for holding liquids or unguent. When originally deposited in the tomb it should have held valuable perfumed oils, aromatic resins or unguents, but the fatty residue that was originally documented by Carter has since been removed and the vessel was subsequently thoroughly cleaned. It was found within the Burial Chamber of the tomb in the cavity between the internal wall and the outermost golden shrine along with a jumble of staffs, sticks, bows, a linen pall covered in rose-gilt rosettes and another larger calcite perfume vase on a calcite trellis pedestal, 210. The lion on the lid was arranged facing outwards towards the entry from the Antechamber.<sup>62</sup>

#### 6.2.3.2 Materiality

The unguent jar is an upright conical vessel with circular swivel lid and knob ties that is made of carved white calcite/travertine which may be described in certain academic publications as alabaster, but essentially differs from gypsum alabaster in terms of hardness.<sup>63</sup> The body of the jar is tubular in common with wooden and ivory

<sup>60</sup> Carter and Mace 1963.II, 34–5, 206–10, pls. L–LI.

<sup>61</sup> Schachermeyr 1967; Crowley 1977/1987; Feldman 2006a.

<sup>62</sup> Carter notes 211-1.

<sup>63</sup> Harrell 1990, 37–42; Ogden 1982, 93; Lilyquist 1995, 13.

## 6 The tomb of Tutankhamen

pyxides of the same period. It is flanked by diagonally opposing vertical lotus columns which are topped with protomés of the dwarf god Bes, each with protruding and red stained ivory tongues. Beneath these heads is a lotus capitol surmounting a vertical hieroglyphic text which employs standard royal titulary formulae and Tutankhamen's nomen and prenomen in cartouches:

Side A: s3-r<sup>c</sup> nb-h<sup>c</sup>.w twt-<sup>c</sup>nh-jmn-hk3-jwnw-šm<sup>c</sup> mj r<sup>c</sup>.

'Son of Re, lord of manifestations, Tutankhamen, ruler of Southern Heliopolis, like Re.'

Side B: ntr-nfr nb-t3.wj nb-hpr.w-r<sup>c</sup> 𐎃 𐎃nh.<sup>64</sup>

'Perfect god, lord of the two lands, Nebkheperure, given life.'

The exterior surface of the jar has an incised decoration which has been filled with three coloured pigments, here given in order of use precedence: dark blue, red and dark green. The blue pigment dominates the composition and has discoloured with age, now appearing black to the naked eye. Gold leaf has also been used for specific details such as bands on the two lotus columns. Minor additional details, like protruding tongues, were dealt with by using stained ivory.<sup>65</sup>



Fig. 6.19 The visual idiom of the entire unguent jar. Image A. Sinclair.

The blue decoration incised into the body comprises two animal attack vignettes (back and front) beneath a lotus petal garland frieze (top) and above a *serekh* or false door frieze (bottom). Between the vignette compositions and the petal ornament there

<sup>64</sup> Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 65.

<sup>65</sup> Carter and Mace 1963.II, pl. LI; Wiese 2004, 360–3.



is a horizontal band of red zigzag lines. The two scenes of animal combat are open compositions, with simple volutes and lily plants employed as fill in the field. The composition itself is a variation of the one basic theme on both sides: a lion attacking a bull as principal subject and dogs pursuing a caprid and a gazelle as secondary figures. There is also a recumbent gazelle and a running hare in the field of one scene. The dogs are collared and both large male lions have prominent hair whorls on the shoulder.

The lid of the jar is flat and circular in shape with two red ivory knobs for securing it to the body. Reclining upon the flat surface is a young lion with crossed forepaws and a protruding tongue of red ivory. The eyes are gilt with details painted black. The eyebrows, claws, end of tail and cartouche are dark green. On the front shoulder there is an incised cartouche containing the king's prenomen, Nebkheperure. On the rear shoulder there is an incised hair whorl. The base of the jar rests on a crossbar of calcite which ends in the form of four heads of crushed foreign captives. Two opposing heads are carved from black stone and represent Egypt's southern enemies and the final two heads represent the northern enemies of Egypt and are from red stone.

### 6.2.3.3 Notes on the iconography: Content

When viewed globally the iconography of the vessel becomes problematic, as viewed in isolation scenes of animal attack in circumvalate vegetation of volutes and fill-herb are entirely consistent with rationales for an international style. However, the presence of royal titulary on the vessel, particularly on the shoulder of the lion that dominates the composition, shifts focus elsewhere. The young lion with protruding tongue mimics the facial signals of the Bes protomés on either side of the vessel's body, inferring a specific connection for the ruler to this god. The prominent hair whorl on the shoulder of the predator infers that the lions in each animal combat vignette are in fact visual metaphors for this same king as conqueror of chaos. The four heads of captive Nine-Bow prisoners residing on the base also reinforce this same canonical rhetoric of cosmic stability, inferring control over the northern and southern lands and thus the universe. All content together transform the semantic value of the object to an internal Egyptian one of the ruler's role in guaranteeing order and the conquest of the forces of chaos.



Fig. 6.20 Wooden toiletry boxes from Petrie's excavations at Sedment and Kahun. Images A. Sinclair.

#### 6.2.3.4 Notes on the iconography: 'Style'

Taking into account the materials, form and carving techniques involved in the production of the object, style and content of the iconography is consistent with other objects in this group, but also could be argued to be consistent with Amarna period late Eighteenth Dynasty visual representation. The media, calcite, ivory, blue frit pigment and gold all broadcast that this is a prestige artefact, as well as all representing Egyptian and Nubian materials and technology.<sup>66</sup> In addition, the emphasis on dark blue and white harks back to the favoured colour scheme of the court of Amenhotep III.<sup>67</sup> As with previous objects cited here, the only international content of this vessel is in fact the two panels of animal combat incised on the sides, but these have distinct visual parallels with Egyptian cosmetic vessels that have been previously cited. A particularly close parallel for the animal combat on this alabaster jar comes from an elite funereal context from Petrie's excavation at Sedment and is on one of the wooden and blue paste boxes where ornament, predators and prey exhibit almost identical content and even mimic poses. The only significant lacuna is the volute flower used as fill.

#### 6.2.4 Linen tunic 367j<sup>68</sup>

It is commonplace for discussions of textile production from Egypt to talk in terms of a dependence on monochrome,<sup>69</sup> so naturally an assessment of a polychrome textile carries considerable intellectual baggage regarding the possibility of foreign influence, particularly since coloured textiles were an important component of international gifting in the Late Bronze Age.<sup>70</sup> That being said, the use of coloured linen is documented from Egypt from reasonably early, but naturally it is only associated with high prestige elite use. In the Middle Kingdom yellow and blue are attested for linen, but the colour red dominated. In the cosmopolitan Eighteenth Dynasty the introduction of madder and indigo dyes to Egyptian textile production widened the colour vocabulary for red shades to orange and pink, and blue, with violet, turquoise and dark blue.<sup>71</sup> As a result linen textiles with coloured bands, particularly with the colours blue and red, are attested from Egyptian sources,<sup>72</sup> and tapestry woven multicoloured textiles are found in the tombs of kings.<sup>73</sup> The tomb of Tutankhamen for example was robbed of its oils and textiles in antiquity, yet still represents a plethora of textiles decorated with both elaborate designs created from coloured threads, but also with appliquéd beads, sequins, plaques of faience, glass and also red gold.<sup>74</sup> It is probably worth noting that

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<sup>66</sup> See Chapter Three.

<sup>67</sup> Kozloff 1992, 396, 411.

<sup>68</sup> Carter and Mace 1963.III, 124–6, pl. XXXIX.

<sup>69</sup> Barber 1998, 13; Crowfoot and Davies 1941; Lilyquist 1999, 215.

<sup>70</sup> Bryce 2003, 149; Barber 1998, 16–7; Vercoutter 1956, 241–304.

<sup>71</sup> Germer 1992, 8–15, 62, 70–1.

<sup>72</sup> See for example the textiles from 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs, excavation of Gurob, Picton, et al 2014, 7–9.

<sup>73</sup> Vogelsang-Eastwood 2000, 274–5; 1999.

<sup>74</sup> Carter numbers: 021m, woven coloured bands, royal cartouche, floral border and gold sequins: 021p, 021q, 021r, plain with decoration of gold and faience daisy rosettes: 021v, design of winged

the most common motif for these is the rosette. The tunic that is the topic of this section is one of the more sophisticated ceremonial objects.

### 6.2.4.1 Context

The elaborately ornamented linen tunic was found within wooden box 367 in the centre of the Annex room which would normally have held storage containers, such as jars of precious oils and foodstuffs that were stored for the sustenance of the king in the afterlife. There were not one, but two highly decorated tapestry woven tunics and a pair of royal gauntlets thrown in together in a crumpled mass in the top of this box. Tunic 367i has a pattern of red and blue rosettes over the entire body, with cartouches and titles of the king and Heb Sed signs over the upper breast. There would have been a long royal inscription down the centre front, but it is barely legible in the records. The hem has a frieze of alternating *nymphaea* flowers, *neb*, *nefer* signs and *wedjat* eyes above the fringe. The connection of the tunic to royal jubilees is made clear by repeated use of the Heb Sed sign with the king's names. The gauntlets 367f are covered in red and blue feathering with a pomegranate and lotus flower border.<sup>75</sup> This box also contained a number of other prestige objects: six faience rings naming Ankhnesamen, one of Tutankhamen, six further ornamental rings,<sup>76</sup> some scribal palettes, a box and hunting stick, all with the appearance of having been thrown in indiscriminately. From this Carter concluded that the objects were grouped together after the discovery of looting and hastily placed in the box in the process of the tidy up by royal officials.<sup>77</sup>

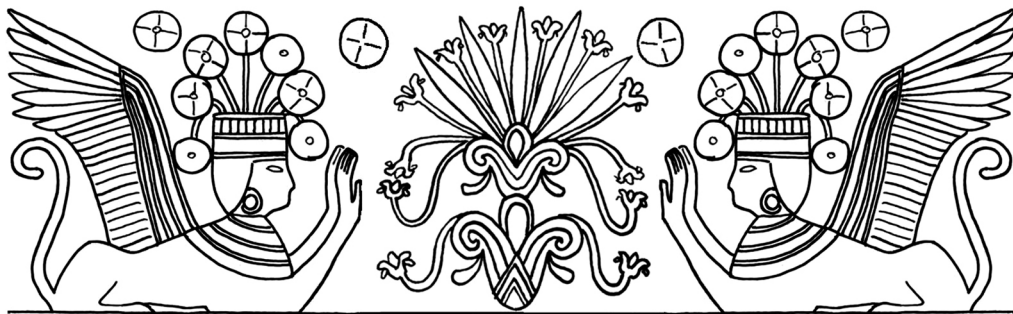


Fig. 6.21 Emblematic panels from hem of tunic 367j. Image A. Sinclair after Crowfoot and Davies 1941.

scarab: 050a, bands of flying ducks and band of walking ducks: 101p, gold sequins, faience beads, applied woven panel with vulture, *sema-tawy*, *uraei* and royal cartouches: 367i, woven large winged bird (vulture or hawk), rosettes, lotus, royal titulary, cartouches and palm ribs? 367f.

<sup>75</sup> Tunic 367i (JE 62625, 82 x 125 cm approx. to below adult knee). Gauntlets 367f (JE 62675).

<sup>76</sup> *Khepri* beetle and *nymphaea lotus*.

<sup>77</sup> Carter notes: Card 367.

## 6.2.4.2 Materiality

The tunic 367j is a plain weave long linen rectangle with a keyhole neck for the head to pass through that was then folded over and sewn together. This is usually described as a bag tunic in scholarship.<sup>78</sup> A similar sleeveless version with decorated bands was found with it, 367i above, and another is attested from the Deir el Medina tomb of Kha and Merit by Schiaparelli.<sup>79</sup> This basic rectangle shirt that fell to below the knee was in this instance augmented with sleeves and wide decorative strips were affixed to the body. These tapestry woven and perhaps embroidered<sup>80</sup> patterned bands had been attached to the collar, cuffs, sides, front and back hem of the garment employing now substantially faded threads of red, blue and possibly green and black according to Carter.<sup>81</sup> Crowfoot in 1941 emphasised the prevalence of blue in the overall design, with detail provided by red, green and black threads, but when discussing visible colour cited dark blue, light blue, red, green and natural.<sup>82</sup>

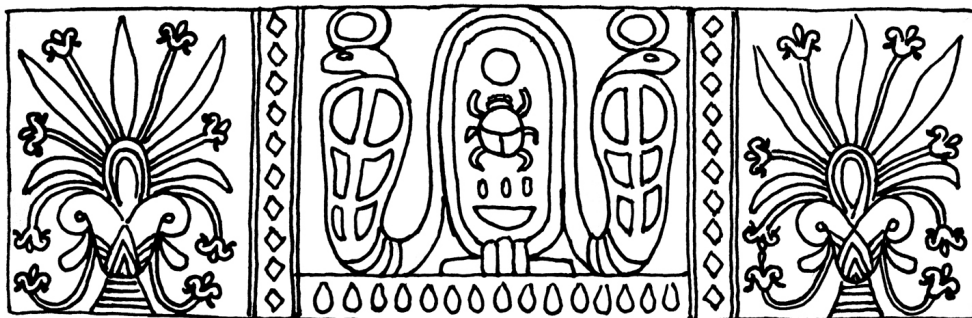


Fig. 6.22 Emblematic panels from neck front of tunic 367j. Image A. Sinclair after Crowfoot and Davies 1941.

The vertical bands that frame either side of the tunic were decorated with ornamental bands of geometric patterns, such as chevrons, lozenges and zigzags. Similar patterns are consistent for Egyptian visual design and repeated on other objects from the tomb, including one ceremonial chariot, furniture, staves, bows, hunting sticks and the sarcophagi. The neck inset mimics an *ankh* amulet with the head inset providing the top loop and which was woven with a thin band of radiating pattern of repeated cartouches of the ruler's prenomen, Nebkheperure. The T extremities of the *ankh* are composed of square panels of three elaborate volute trees that frame a central panel with a royal cartouche containing the king's prenomen. This is flanked by *uraei* with sun discs. Directly below this is a panel with a *djed* pillar flanked by two *uraei* wearing the white crown of Egypt. The two woven hems of the tunic have ornate horizontal

<sup>78</sup> Riefstahl 1970, 253; Janssen 1975, 260; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 130; 2000, 289.

<sup>79</sup> Turin: 8530.

<sup>80</sup> 'Needlework/embroidery' Carter (1932, 9–10) and Barber (1991, 161) contra Barber 'tapestry weave' (1982, 220).

<sup>81</sup> Carter note: 367j-1.

<sup>82</sup> Crowfoot in Crowfoot and Davies 1941, 106, 118–9.

embroidered bands of alternating volute trees, antithetical female sphinxes and animal combats, and are finished with fringing.<sup>83</sup> It is the latter hem design that is cited for the international style.

#### 6.2.4.3 Notes on the Iconography: Content

The visual content of the garment is fairly consistent over all fields; Tutankhamen's prenomen dominates the centre front of the keyhole neck and is a repeated smaller ornamental motif on the circular rim of the entire collar. The primary cartouche feature is then framed by *uraei*,<sup>84</sup> protective amulets and complex volute trees. The latter with simple volute flower (south flower) tendrils and crowns of alternating simple volutes and palmettes. The same volute trees are repeated on the hem bands below, but the design is augmented by blocks of animal combat alternating with emblematic reclining female sphinxes wearing floral crowns who appear to adore the trees. Stylistic parallels for these trees have been cited in Chapter Two and predominantly date to the early fourteenth century and the reign of Tutankhamen's likely grandfather, Amenhotep III, from faience seals, vases and ceramic. The wild animals present in the field are consistent with international idiom and are respectively hunting dogs, big cats and griffins that are attacking and pulling down gazelle and ibex in open composition with mandrakes and wheel rosettes floating in the field. It should be noted that there is also a pastoral subtext to the scenes, as within this scene of activity, female antelopes also stand passively suckling their young.

#### 6.2.4.4 Notes on the iconography: 'Style'

Discussion of style for this tunic is problematic, as there are no typological precedents for this garment from any site in the eastern Mediterranean, except for the few royal tapestry woven polychrome linens from New Kingdom Egyptian royal contexts (this tomb and Thutmose IV) and less elaborate tunics from elite graves and cult sites.<sup>85</sup> The construction and cut of the whole tunic is consistent with Egyptian textile design.<sup>86</sup> However, the hem panel designs appear to be unique for a textile and the medium places strict limitations on the outcome of the composition with more stress on groups of colour than on line. As a result of this, most textile experts have opted for some degree of influence from Syro-Palestine and Mitanni for the iconography of the hem bands,<sup>87</sup> bearing firmly in mind that this influence is more likely to be in terms of foreign craftspeople or training within cosmopolitan Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt than imported material itself, for which we only have textual evidence.

<sup>83</sup> Barber 1991, 153–61, fig 5.11; Crowfoot and Davies 1941.

<sup>84</sup> Two *uraei* with solar diadems flanking the *shen* cartouche may be a visual signal for the god of the solar disc and kingship, Horus Behedety, see Shonkwiler 2014, 100, 108–12.

<sup>85</sup> Tomb of Thutmose IV: fragments of a polychrome textile of Amenhotep II, lotus and papyrus flowers (JE 46526) and one of Thutmose IV with polychrome pattern of rosettes (JE 46529), Carter and Newberry 1904; Janssen (1992, 217–24) argued these textiles are ceremonial covers, not tunics.

<sup>86</sup> Crowfoot in Crowfoot and Davies 1941, 115.

<sup>87</sup> Davies in Crowfoot and Davies 1941, 127–8; Feldman 2006a, 36; Barber 2007, 175; Helck, 1962, 439.

The exotic input on the tunic is counterbalanced by the dominant royal cartouches and Egyptian amuletic symbols of the collar. From this seamless juxtaposition of internal and external<sup>88</sup> idiom it could be argued that panels were added to an Egyptian royal object later, for reasons that, in order to make sense for an Egyptian king, must involve conspicuous display in defiance of internal value. But this use would still be predicated by Egyptian choices for the function, arrangements and value for the final royal object.



Fig. 6.23 Emblematic panels from hem of tunic 367j. After Crowfoot and Davies 1941.

That being said, the line drawing from Crowfoot and Davies, which is in all likelihood not entirely accurate and therefore should be viewed with caution, does represent the compositional style and general idiom of the international repertoire. In it antelopes and ibex in mobile poses are attacked by predators in an open field combined with distinctive volute trees. However, the closest stylistic parallel for these volute trees with simple volute tendrils may be associated with prestige objects from the reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>89</sup> In fact, to my knowledge no volute tree beyond Egypt employs the simple volute (Egyptian south flower) as a tendril element, unless the unprovenanced Tyre plaque is included in discussion. In addition, posture and accessories of the female sphinxes are similarly consistent with late Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian royal rhetoric for great royal wives,<sup>90</sup> although some scholars choose to focus on the wings and gender of these as evidence of foreign influence.<sup>91</sup> Finally, the prevailing rationale for this design as derived from Mitanni as is described in Tušratta's gifts to Egypt ought to only be predicated on its being an heirloom from the Amarna period. As by the time of Tutankhamen's interment in his tomb Mitanni had ceased to have a great king, which would lessen the likelihood they were sending extravagant gifts.<sup>92</sup> This argument is however contradicted by the royal funerary context, the use of Tutankhamen's titles and of Egyptian visual rhetoric within the embroidery, not to mention that the tunic is an adult size.

<sup>88</sup> Predicated on the assumption that the volute tree is Syrian or Syro-Mitannian.

<sup>89</sup> See page 230. Polychrome faience jar with titles of Amenhotep III and Tiye from the Scottish National Museum: A.1954.37 and ceramic jar from the temple of Amenhotep II at Western Thebes, Petrie Museum, UC 15939 (dated to between Amenhotep II and III).

<sup>90</sup> See plaque of Amenhotep III's queen Tiye from the MMA, and detail from a statue block of Mutnodjmet, chief queen of Horemhab from Turin, images page 120.

<sup>91</sup> Von Bissing 1889, 43; Murray 1900, 8; Frankfurt 1936, 116; Liebowitz 1987, 7–9; Crowley 1989, 43–4.

<sup>92</sup> Fall of Mittani, Qatna and capitulation of the northern Levant (Ugarit and Amurru) to Hatti ca. 1350–1340 BCE, reign of Tutankhamen 1334–1324 BCE.

### 6.2.5 Ceremonial daggers 256dd and 256k<sup>93</sup>

‘1 dagger, the blade, of which is iron;<sup>94</sup> its guard, of gold, with designs; its haft, of ebony with calf figurines; overlaid with gold; its pommel, of ...-stone.’<sup>95</sup>

EA 22.I.32–4: Gifts from Tušratta of Mitanni to Amenhotep III.

Elaborately wrought daggers constructed in precious metals and with complex technologies are well attested in the diplomatic texts from the fourteenth century. The letters of kings like Tušratta to Amenhotep III and Akhenaten have provided the textual evidence that constitutes the foundation of our interpretation of the scant material evidence of gifting. With the daggers from KV 62 there is a marked similarity between text and object that for once comes close to providing tangible evidence of kingly gift exchange. This correlation has not gone unnoticed and a century of scholarship of Near Eastern interconnections have employed the text cited above as an argument that iron was a valuable import to Egypt from northern Syria or Anatolia.<sup>96</sup> In addition to the evidence of text there is the ‘Syrian’ iconography residing on these two ceremonial knives that has formed the lynch pin for much discussion of the international style in the last eighty years, beginning with a drawing from Schaeffer’s publications of the excavations at Ugarit in the 1940s. Since that time this one slightly inaccurate drawing<sup>97</sup> from one face of the sheath of 256dd has graced most academic publications and served as the model for discussion of international idiom in the Late Bronze Age. Here context, form and idiom for these weapons will be viewed as a whole.

#### 6.2.5.1 Context

The two ceremonial daggers were found within the Burial Chamber of the king’s tomb wrapped within the linens of the king’s body; one, dagger 256k, was placed against his upper right thigh with a thin sheet gold girdle band 256l, the pommel placed parallel with the pubis next to a gold and inlaid cloisonné royal apron 256j. The other dagger, 256dd, lay against his abdomen with pommel positioned right of the navel. This dagger was similarly placed with a thin sheet gold girdle band 256ee, with which it was assumed to belong. Both bands have a row of small fastening holes which may have once suspended a beaded fringe, which is another longstanding feature of Egyptian royal attire. Both sheet gold girdle bands are embossed with the ruler’s royal cartouche, in this instance with a variation on his prenomen: *nb-ḥpr.w-r<sup>c</sup>-tj.t-r<sup>c</sup>*, ‘Nebkheperure, image of Re’, and the usual royal titles.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Carter and Mace 1963.II, 131–6, pls. LXXXVII–LXXXVIII.a–c.

<sup>94</sup> *ḥabalginnu* / *ḥabalkinnu* was probably an alloy of iron used for the manufacture of weapons in the second millennium, Muhly et al 1985, 76; *CAD* 6, 1956, 3; Moorey 1994, 289.

<sup>95</sup> Rainey et al 2015, 162–3, 1354–5, see also iron blades at II.16–19, III. 7–9.

<sup>96</sup> Lucas 1962, 239–40; Stech-Wheeler et al 1981, 264; Muhly et al 1985, 76; Moorey 1994, 289; Ogden 2000, 167–8; Feldman 2006a, 16, 116; Lilyquist 1999, 216; Carter and Mace 1963.II, 135.

<sup>97</sup> Schaeffer 1949, pl. XI.

<sup>98</sup> Carter notes 256dd-1-3: Gnirs 2004, 294.

### 6.2.5.2 Materiality

According to the excavator's notes both daggers were constructed using a base of red gold that on the grips (and one pommel) is decorated with granulated and filigree yellow gold and also inlaid with ornamental designs of cloisonné stone and glass. The colour of the gold is no longer particularly visible which may perhaps be attributed to overzealous cleaning of what are prestigious museum objects. The dagger sheaths are both constructed using two pieces of joined embossed sheet red gold that are decorated with repoussé designs on either side, one sheath has very fine cloisonné as well.<sup>99</sup> The style of construction of both daggers is consistent with the design of Egyptian daggers of the New Kingdom where blade and hilt were forged in one piece and the hilt is slightly concave, widening at the pommel and base.<sup>100</sup>

### 6.2.5.3 Gold dagger 256dd

Dagger 256dd has an ornate pommel, the flat upper surface of which is inlaid with a cloisonné design of red and blue glass south flower volutes and papyrus flowers which form a rosette around two embossed gold cartouches of the ruler, giving his nomen and prenomen. The side of the pommel is framed by two blue glass birds (not vultures, more likely Horus Behedety) with outspread wings possibly gripping shen signs in their claws, and separated by *nymphaea caerulea* flowers, again in cloisonné.

The decoration of the grip consists of an upper band of upright blue cloisonné volute flowers above successive bands of granulated zigzags and lozenges which are spaced by thin bands of red and blue cloisonné simple volute (south flower) inlay and a centre thin band of cloisonné circles alternating in red and blue. The final lower part of the grip has another wider band of blue volute flowers similar to the first, but inverted, and the join to the blade has a filigree gold plaited guilloche band. The blade of the dagger is incised with a simple vertical scheme of four lines that end in a classic volute flower, here with four buds on the crown. The style, colour and medium infer that all variants of volute flower are related to each other.

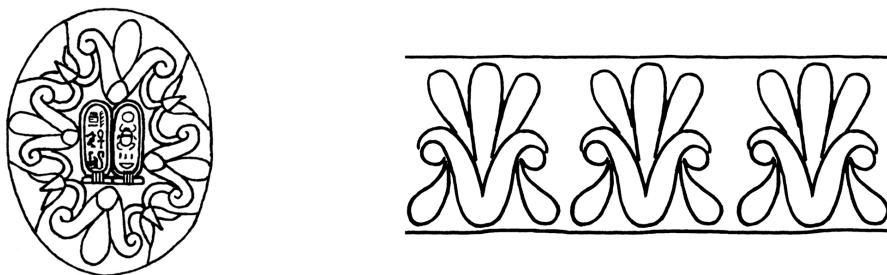


Fig. 6.24 Details from dagger 256dd. Pommel (left), bands on grip (right). Images A. Sinclair.

<sup>99</sup> That this is 'enamel' is unlikely, as the use of enamel in Egypt is contested and the method is entirely different (hot working of paste) to cloisonné, Ogden 2000, 166; Lacovara 2015; Teeter 1981.

<sup>100</sup> Shalev 2004, 69–71, 'Type 10E Egyptian dagger'; Petschel 2011, Type VII dagger.



The separate gold embossed sheath has the decoration that is the subject of most discussion of this topic, bearing a vertical scheme of animal combats and volute plants on most of one surface. The point is resolved with a complex volute tree that has a rosette crown and side shoots of persea/mandrake fruits and palm leaves. The top edge is decorated with an embossed running spiral band above which are placed the king's cartouche and stock military title:

nṯr-nfr nb-ḥpš nb-ḥpr.w-rꜥ đī ʿnh,

‘perfect god, lord of valour, Nebkheperure, given life.’

On either side of the hieroglyphs there are also two small loops of gold that would have served to attach this sheath to the gold sheet belt. These thin loops are modelled into schematic simple volute flowers in the similar vein the use of volutes on the rivets from the Tell Basta pieces. The opposite side of the sheath has a continuous pattern of inlaid red and blue glass feather ornament that is resolved at the point with an embossed gold jackal, dog or fox head. The upper edge has a wide band of blue and red cloisonné volute flowers.

#### 6.2.5.4 Gold and iron dagger 256k

Gold dagger 256k easily evokes the description of the royal gift from Tušratta of Mitanni and has an opaque rock crystal pommel above an ornately granulated and inlaid grip. The decoration of the grip is similar to dagger 256dd, but it is not the same. It again consists of an uppermost band of cloisonné volute flowers, this time red and inverted at the pommel. This rests above successive bands of granulated zigzags and lozenges spaced by thin bands of heart shaped red or blue, red or yellow cloisonné volute flowers<sup>101</sup> with a centre band of blue and red simple rosettes or sunbursts. The lower part of the grip has another band of upright red volute flowers and the join to the blade has in this case gold filigree plaiting rather than guilloche. Where the volute flowers were dominated by dark blue glass on the previous dagger, this handle favours red glass. In contrast, the blade of this dagger is distinctive not due to its decoration, but due to being made of iron which in the Late Bronze Age was highly prestigious and, as cited earlier, considered a rare and significant characteristic for kingly gifting. The provenance of iron from second millennium Egypt is naturally disputed and until relatively recently pre-Iron Age examples of iron were considered haphazard and not attributable to an internal Egyptian source.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Broschat et al 2018, 16, fig. 23, describe this symbol as reminiscent of the face of the ‘m’ owl hieroglyph, this appears to be based on subjective interpretation of a schematic sign. A succession of abbreviated owl hieroglyphs makes little symbolic sense on a royal dagger, whereas a frieze of abbreviated south flowers has precedents (e.g. the other dagger has the same two rows and these are south flowers).

<sup>102</sup> Ogden 2000, 166; Lucas 1962, 235–6.

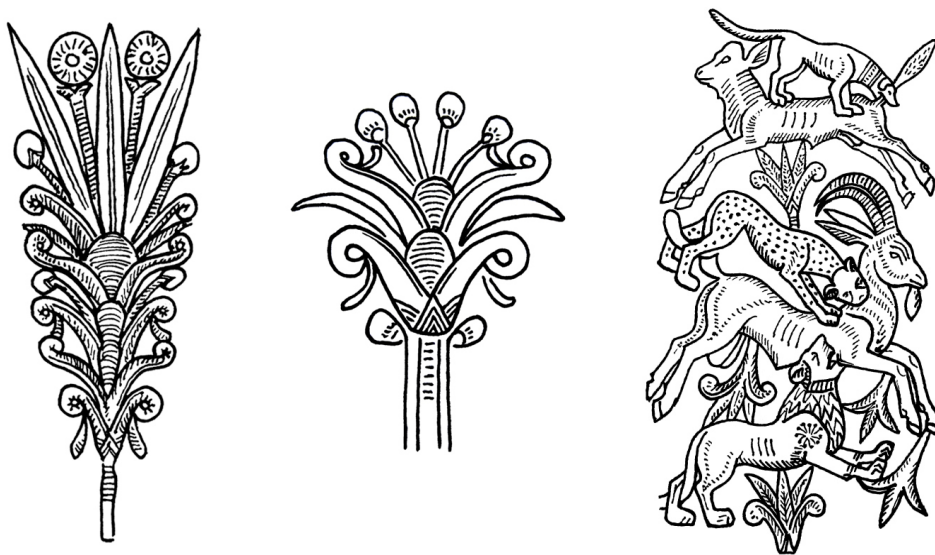


Fig. 6.25 Details from the gold sheath and from top of blade of dagger 256dd. Images A. Sinclair.

However, as stated in Chapter Three, chemical analysis of the iron blade of this dagger against iron from the entire eastern Mediterranean has established a correlation to meteoric iron from the Kharga area in the Western Desert which effectively rules out the iron of dagger 256k as evidence of prestige gifting or in fact evidence of a Hurrian kingly gift, again without even going into the awkwardness of the chronology for Mitanni's likely presence in the club of kings, between 1330 and 1324 BCE.<sup>103</sup> The accompanying gold embossed dagger sheath has a complex volute tree running vertically up the blade with palmette crown and a papyrus sceptre resolving the point. The entire design is framed by a thin guilloche band and on the opposite side, like the dagger sheath of 256dd, there is a contiguous feathering ornament. This time in embossed gold sheet that terminates at the point with a low relief jackal head. While content is the same as the 'pair', the rendering of the feather design is broader and exhibits closer correlations to the embossing of feathering on other canonical artefacts from this assemblage, particularly gold collars and amulets from the same context.<sup>104</sup>

### 6.2.5.5 Notes on the Iconography: Content and style

The visual idiom of the daggers is typical of what is to be expected from international style pieces, substantially due to one dagger sheath serving as a core model for this theoretical construct, with 256k manifesting subjects such as antelopes and ibex in mobile poses being pulled down by predators like hunting dogs and lions in an open field. However, visual content and posture of the animals is even more consistent with this idiom from Egyptian prestige objects, such as wooden cosmetic boxes and spoons.

<sup>103</sup> For the iron, Comelli et al 2016; for Mitanni chronology, Novac 2007.

<sup>104</sup> On the royal mummy: *uraeus* amulet 256(4)f, falcon collar 256t, falcon pectoral 256uuu.

Volute trees and flowers also conform neatly with the precedent set by those from the previous gold appliqué, but may be argued to show a broader stylistic range, occurring as embossed gold trees and small flowers and in glass inlays as bands of flowers. Running spirals are, however, virtually absent, except for the small embossed gold band on one dagger. But guilloché bands and volute flowers as a repeated ornament adequately make up for this absence.

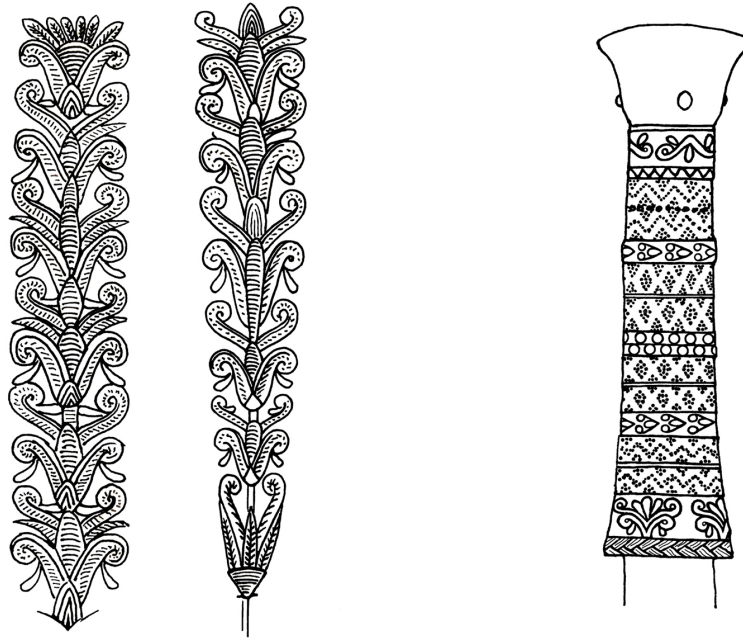


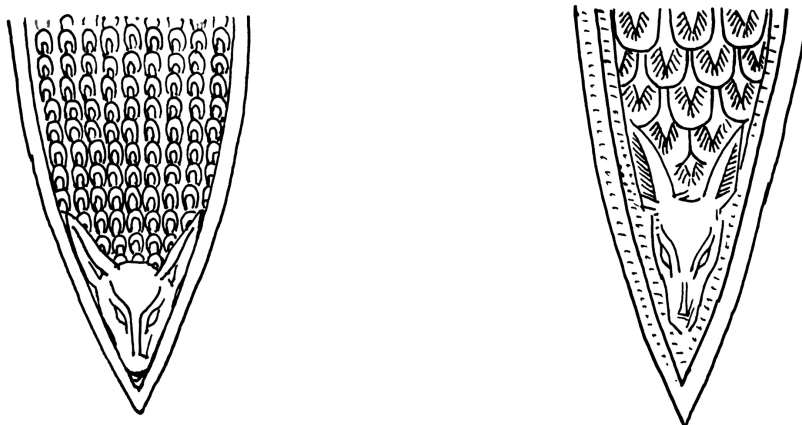
Fig. 6.26 Details from gold sheath (left) and handle (right) of dagger 256k. Image A. Sinclair.

The medium and method of embossing on gold facilitates the marked similarity in visual style between the idiom on the chariot appliqué and daggers. Features for modelling animal figures such as rib and knee markings and lines of shading on necks and thighs are comparable to the appliqué and to cosmetic implements with these features from Egypt. Both daggers are constructed in moderately like manner, both visually and materially. With the exception of the use of iron for one blade, the framing and choice of content is noticeably alike.

But this is where the similarity ends, each dagger displays similar design, media and iconographic content, thus it could be argued that the value and intention of these two weapons is similar, but the execution and some minor idiom is singularly different and may argue at least for different workshops, but not for a different recipient: Tutankhamen.<sup>105</sup> In terms of spatial use, more than fifty percent of the surface area of these weapons exhibits Egyptian canonical design consistent for funerary, ceremonial or

<sup>105</sup> Although the prenomen and titles on dagger 256dd are on sheet gold and reworking cannot be excluded, considering the current controversy over objects belonging to an earlier king in this tomb.

apotropaic objects. Finally, it should be emphasised that these are the most prestigious objects of weaponry buried with the highly charged and scrupulously embalmed corpse of an Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian king.



*Fig. 6.27* Details from the verso of the dagger sheath points of 256dd (left) and 256k (right). Images A. Sinclair.

#### 6.2.5.6 Discussion

The former artefacts represent five quite diverse object types: weaponry, chariotry, costume, a cosmetic vessel and furnishings. They also represent diverse international materials and technologies that would be consistent with an argument for royal gift exchange if one looks at specific materials, technologies and motifs, and pointedly excludes the substantial intrusion of internal rhetoric and internal technology. It is also necessary to avoid ‘making eye contact’ with chronology when citing the external sources for many of these technologies, as many contemporary scholars are liable to do. For example while it is convenient for technologies like granulation, glass and chariotry in general to be described as exotic to Egypt, it is important to overlook that these innovations at best were absorbed into the edifice of royal power and rhetoric some two hundred and fifty to five hundred years earlier than the tomb that is discussed here and were therefore at this time not foreign technology.<sup>106</sup>

Similarly the Hurrian element is problematic in the knowledge that Mitanni and most northern Syrian and some Levantine states had succumbed to Hatti conservatively ten years earlier than the burial of Tutankhamen and at that time were dealing with internal power struggles and focussed on negotiating with Hatti. They were therefore less likely to have the financial wherewithal to be sending Egypt gifts that exceeded Egyptian objects of prestige in value and luxury. At this point in the discussion it is difficult to set aside the aforementioned evidence and the singular impression left by the sheer wealth of the objects, the presence of royal names and of canonical idiom on

<sup>106</sup> See Chapter Three.

nearly all objects discussed so far. The presence of this ruler's name upon deposition in this tomb is a clear indication of final intention for the objects within it. However, this royal assemblage does not in fact contain approximately thirty-five uniquely decorated international style objects, but rather it contains a much wider repertoire of artefacts with problematic iconography that have not been the subject of discussion in previous scholarship<sup>107</sup> and which conveniently also bear royal inscriptions. The next section will introduce them to the discussion.

## 6.3 Additional artefacts from KV 62<sup>108</sup>

### 6.3.1 Furniture: Child's chair/throne 039

This small prestige furnishing is not unknown to the topic and rather has figured in discussion of international idiom in the past until that moment when the idiom it bears was excluded from discussion by Marian Feldman in 2006 due to the apparent internal construction techniques, Egyptian visual idiom, and the materiality of the finished artefact, an inlaid ebony chair. In addition, while the problematic scenes on the chair are framed with running spirals, they are otherwise recognisable conventions of Eighteenth Dynasty elite iconography, particularly associated with the Amarna period.

#### 6.3.1.1 Context

The small chair was found in a state of very good preservation in a dishevelled stack of chests, boxes and chairs in the Antechamber of the tomb that were all placed under one of the gilded lion beds, 035. Carter noted in his record that the construction of the chair was almost identical to the cedar chair, 087.<sup>109</sup>

#### 6.3.1.2 Materiality

The frame of this chair is constructed from darkest brown-black ebony hardwood and then decorative details were created using the visual contrast of inlaid ivory. The ivory inlay on the backrest reproduces stock ornamental bands from the Egyptian visual repertoire such as lotus petal, chequerboard, false door/*serekh* and laddering. The armrests by contrast are inset on each side with four semi-rectangular gold sheet plaques that are embossed with, on the exterior a reclining antelope with twisted posture that reaches to nibble a single rambling plant frond, and on the interior the scene is filled completely with a similar plant motif. Each of the antelope scenes is framed by spiral

<sup>107</sup> Lilyquist cited a general selection of these in 1999 (with the chest, tunic, daggers and so on), but the entire paper was an argument for international gifting, and depended on the Amarna letters for the origins of the technologies, media and the international style.

<sup>108</sup> See Catalogue II.

<sup>109</sup> Carter notes: 039-1-3.

bands of the same appearance and technique as the chariot appliqué. The plant motif is framed by a band of laddering.<sup>110</sup>



Fig. 6.28 Gold sheet panel from the arms of the ebony chair 039. Image A. Sinclair.

### 6.3.1.3 Notes on the iconography: 'Style'

Accordingly, the presence of spiral bands framing the two armrest panels might be fairly interpreted as evidence of intrusive idiom within otherwise canonical Egyptian elite furnishing. However, it would be interesting to know what the verdict would have been for these plaques if they had been discovered divorced from their finished context, like the harness appliqué were. In fact, had they been found with the appliqué no doubt they would have been included with the international style pieces. The difficulty with this object, like many before this, is that the fusion of intrusive and canonical idiom combined with internal construction techniques decries a status of international. Rather, we appear to be viewing another artefact that is the product of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the associated visual innovation of the Amarna period. This is borne out by the stylistic similarities the plant motif has with vegetal idiom from the palaces of Akhenaten at Amarna, particularly the pavement designs from the southern palace of Maruaten. In addition, while gold embossed running spirals may superficially appear to be exotic motifs, it should be noted that spirals are repeated as a design element on other internal Egyptian furnishings from this tomb.

The photogenic gilded and inlaid throne from the Antechamber, 091,<sup>111</sup> has gold spirals on the armrests and framing the king's prenomen on one side, in addition to all the usual canonical royal elements of idiom, such as *nsw-bjt* signs and protective winged *uraei* (Weret-Hekau/Wadjet/Iaret). Like the inlaid chest, the inner backrest of this chair has a primary scene of the royal couple in state regalia in a scene of ritual intimacy. The focal feature of this composition is the Aten sun disc with its rays streaming to the nostrils of the pair granting them life. Subsequently, this chair is an heirloom from the royal palaces at Amarna. Perhaps with contested ownership, both due to presence of

<sup>110</sup> Gnirs 2004, 348–51.

<sup>111</sup> Cairo: JE 62028, Carter notes: 091-01-10. See Catalogue III.1.

Aten and Amen forms of the royal names and signs of use wear and of repairs.<sup>112</sup> The use of the titulary of the god Aten indicates that the chair is probably dated to after year nine of Akhenaten<sup>113</sup> and it was designed for an adult, being the largest chair from KV 62. It is also worth noting that the queen in the main scene wears a tiny gold filigree bracelet on her left wrist that is decorated with a band of running spirals.

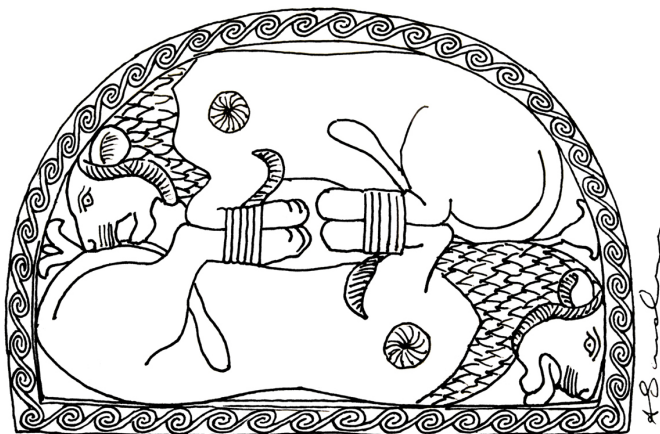


Fig. 6.29 Carved relief of bound lions on the seat of stool 412. Image A. Sinclair.

A further throne of cedar that is inlaid with semi-precious stones, ivory and glass, Carter 351,<sup>114</sup> is deceptively Egyptian in visual decorum and extensive royal texts, yet it too has a running spiral band framing the large pictorial representation on the rear of the backrest. In this case the iconography is dominated by the goddess of Upper Egypt, Nekhebet, as a vulture with displayed wings and accompanied by *uraei*, *wedjat* eyes and *ankhs*. The writing of Tutankhamen's name with the Aten and presence of the god and his titulary on this throne infer that this too is from early in his reign, which poses an enigma when one considers it is an adult throne. Additionally the cedar chair, 087,<sup>115</sup> that was cited earlier has a large emblematic design with the god of eternal rule Heh kneeling on a nbw sign ('gold') as focal figure on the backrest. Above this god is the hovering winged solar disc, Horus-Behedety. The chair is of similar construction to the child's chair and has gold spirals decorating the brackets on either side where backrest and seat join, but is otherwise pure Egyptian in content. Both chairs again display the expected internal Egyptian visual idiom and the royal titulary of Tutankhamen. Finally, there is a white painted wooden three legged stool, 412,<sup>116</sup> from the Annex that has a concave openwork seat. This seat has an overall design of two lions that are fettered together by the legs with a simple volute and a papyrus flower, therefore making a neat visual metaphor for bound subdued enemies of Egypt. The edge of this scene and the seat is framed by a semicircular continuous band of spirals carved in relief. Consistent with the combination of structural support and decoration for

<sup>112</sup> Eaton-Krauss 2016, 23.

<sup>113</sup> Wilkinson 2003, 239.

<sup>114</sup> Cairo: JE 62030, Carter notes: 351-1-8.

<sup>115</sup> Cairo: JE 62029, Carter notes: 087-1-8.

<sup>116</sup> Cairo: JE 62043, Carter notes: 412-1-2; Carter and Mace 1963.III, 113-4, pl. LXVIIIa.



royal chairs the underside of the chair has an openwork wooden *sema-tawy* between the leg supports. Here the canonical is again seamlessly fused with the ostensibly intrusive spiral. Therefore, from the use of spirals as a decorative element on at least five ceremonial chairs within this assemblage it might be easy to conclude these were fully integrated motifs within Egyptian royal idiom.

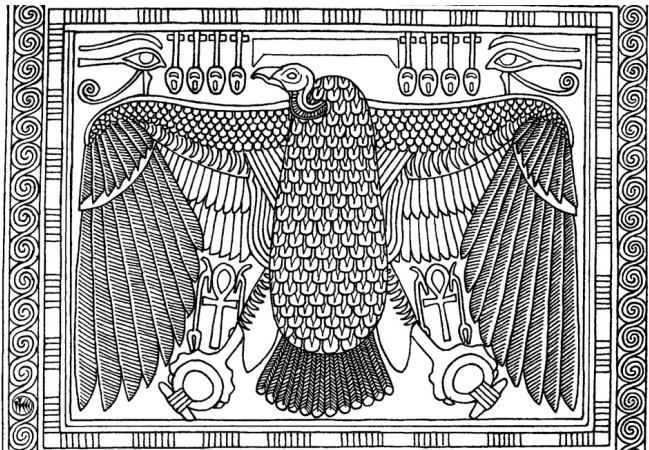


Fig. 6.30 Rear backrest of folding throne 351. Image A. Sinclair.

### 6.3.2 Gold sheet openwork plaque 050tt

Within the tomb there were also some few small openwork plaques that currently are not attributed to any final object or purpose and surprisingly they are never discussed with the international pieces from this tomb. Carter variously called them plaques or 'buckles', due to their shape and small size (6–8 cm), but in the absence of visible means of attachment or a context, their function remains problematic. The most likely function would be as inlays for armbands, bracelets or attachments from ceremonial textiles, perhaps tunics or even horse trappings.

#### 6.3.2.1 Context

The first gold openwork plaque 050tt(2) was found in the Antechamber within wooden box 050. This box also contained woven shawls, ceremonial sticks and folded cloth (see a walking stick with Syrian captive and volute tree design from the same context).<sup>117</sup>

#### 6.3.2.2 Materiality

The plaque is a rectangular red gold 'buckle', whose function is unknown, but could be a fabric appliqué or perhaps an inlay panel. The thin sheet gold has light gold granulation applied to the surface. It is decorated with two scenes of animal combat between hunting dogs, a bullock (the head is damaged) and an ibex, all in mobile poses.

<sup>117</sup> Carter note: 050tt.



The field contains stock south flower volute and a voluted plant, whereas the centre of the composition is dominated by a complex volute tree with palm and triple rosette crown. The border is framed above and below by granulated dot rosettes. It should be noted that the structural nature of an openwork metal plaque somewhat dictates the placement of subjects in the composition.



*Fig. 6.31* Gold openwork plaque 050tt. Image A. Sinclair.

### 6.3.2.3 Notes on the iconography: Content and style

Visual content for this plaque is unequivocally international and contains a good representation of idiom from the repertoire: animal combats, rosette bands and a complex volute tree. Interestingly, this is one of the few objects from this assemblage that incorporates a complex volute tree with an animal combat. The use of granulation and multicoloured gold could also be argued to contribute to the same discussion. The visual style is consistent with previously cited gold repoussé appliqués in terms of framing, composition, specific idiom and active poses. However, the execution is constrained by a different technique, openwork and accords more with the artefacts that shall follow here. Both the use of red gold and granulation are consistent with the construction of the daggers and the following plaque.

## 6.3.3 Gold openwork buckle/plaque 044a(1)

### 6.3.3.1 Context

This small red gold plaque or buckle was found in the Antechamber in a gold and ebony inlaid box, 044, with three other openwork red gold plaques, one of which is of the same dimensions, but is decorated with a canonical scene of the king enthroned in a jubilee shrine and receiving offerings. The other two show the god Heh holding palm fronds and the ruler as a rampant sphinx. The contents of the box included rings, scarabs, linen and gold, but were not considered to be from the original interment and were probably added later in the hurried tidy up of the tomb by authorities.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Carter notes: 044a(1)-1-2.

### 6.3.3.2 Materiality

The second openwork plaque is buckle shaped 044a(1) and again has no visible function, but due to size and to lack of fastenings, may have been sewn to a garment, inset into furniture or an armband or even belong with the chariot appliqué. It is decorated with a central scene of animal combat between a lion, a leopard and a large bullock. Either side of the primary scene is flanked by vertically placed caprids in twisted poses nibbling on volute trees. There are a papyrus, poppies, (or fill-herb) and a volute tree in the field of the main scene. The border and framing around and within the plaque are decorated with granulated dot rosettes. All details such as spots, line, dappling and rosettes are applied to the gold sheet with light yellow gold granulation. Some floral details are constructed using light gold in filigree.



Fig. 6.32 Gold openwork buckle 044a(1). Image A. Sinclair.

This openwork plaque is one of four similar plaques employing the same techniques of workmanship and the same materials: red and yellow gold. Scale for each is comparable, at around 8 x 6.5 cm, but the other three are composed along horizontal lines. The three buckles each contain canonical Egyptian royal themes. The previously cited pair that was found with this buckle, 044a(2), has a jubilee scene with the king enthroned in a pavilion, behind him the goddess Maat offers the palm reeds representing his promise of years of rule. Before him the god Atum offers him a statue of a recumbent sphinx above the symbols of the Heb Sed festival.

Another buckle, 585s, shows a similar jubilee scene with the king enthroned in a columned shrine where the queen offers him a papyrus bouquet. Both rulers are in full ceremonial attire and stand on a groundline above bound and subjugated enemies. Above the enshrined royal figures spread the protective wings of Horus-Behedety. This scene is spatially similar to the first buckle, as the central scene is flanked by upright panels, in this case with reclining sphinxes offering *neb* signs upon which the goddess Maat as her hieroglyph is seated (symbolically reading ‘all justice’ or ‘all order’). Both sphinxes are incidentally male and winged with the use of sun disc with *uraei* perhaps also inferring a link to Horus-Behedety.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>119</sup> See Shonkwiler 2014, 106.

Finally, the third plaque<sup>120</sup> shows the ruler Tutankhamen driving in his chariot in triumph over Egypt's enemies who are bound by south flower and papyrus. He is offered 'life' by the goddess Nekhebet as a vulture and shown protection by the goddess Wadjet as a winged *uraeus* serpent. Two of these plaques bear volute flower idiom within the design, as the lily of southern Egypt binds a prisoner on the unnumbered buckle and 585s has a volute flower as an emblematic component of the shrine columns on the jubilee scene, where it is placed between the papyrus of northern Egypt and the *nymphaea lotus*. Here there is clear ambiguity as to whether the lotus or the volute is intended to represent southern Egypt.

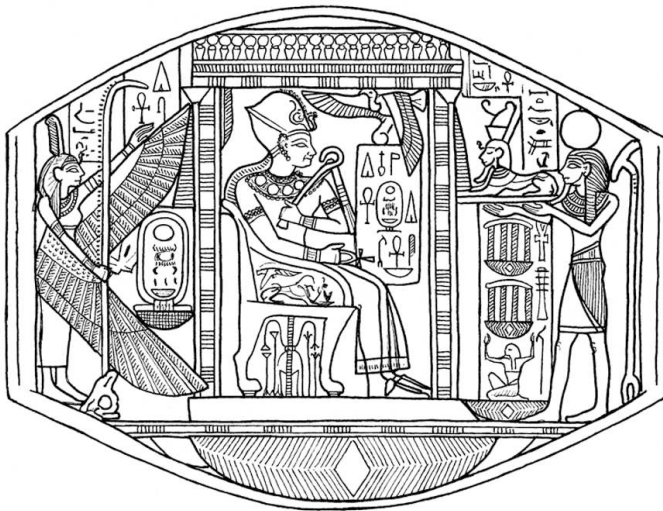


Fig. 6.33 Gold openwork buckle 044a(2). Image A. Sinclair.

### 6.3.3.3 Notes on the iconography: Content and style

In terms of technique: repoussé, filigree, granulation, the media: red and yellow gold and the visual idiom: rosette borders, volute trees, animal combats and caprids, these two plaques with animal combats satisfy all criteria for belonging within the international style and may have been overlooked previously due to their not being well published artefacts from this tomb. However, the application of these criteria in fact points towards internal production in the fourteenth century and the number of objects from this tomb with these characteristics, such as media, animal combats and combinations of exotic motifs expands further to include a wider functional repertoire of elite hunting bows, ceremonial sceptres, staves and jewellery.

<sup>120</sup> Cairo: JE 87847. See image page 251. This buckle was unnumbered and is not listed in the Griffith Institute catalogue. While publications cite it as Carter number 044, this is incorrect. It is instead likely to have been one of the objects not recorded from the tomb, and in this case gifted to King Farouk of Egypt by Carter, which was later donated to the Cairo museum, Hoving 2002, 356–7.



**6.3.4.1.2 Notes on the Iconography: Content and style** Surface composition, chevron, zigzag and floral bands and techniques such as granulation, cloisonné and filigree are entirely consistent with those evidenced from the problematic gold daggers. These multiple techniques and ornaments are augmented by the presence of two bands of animal combats, bands of dot rosettes and the inclusion of red and blue cloisonné insets of simple volutes. The composition of the small granulated animal scenes is consistent with the content of the international repertoire, as are the inclusion of other elements of ornament from the idiom. Again the anomaly is the culturally specific royal inscription constructed using the same techniques and materials. The small vignettes of animals are again consistent with discussions of international style, comprising open compositions with mobile animal figures in running poses amongst floating foliage. The visible plant motif, a papyrus or fill-herb, is consistent with objects and idiom from this visual style from Egypt in faience and precious metal, yet again conflates easily with Amarna period convention.

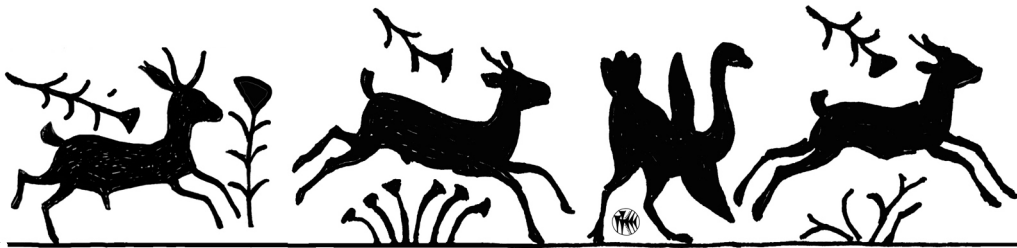


Fig. 6.34 Detail of granulation animal band from stave 098. Image A. Sinclair.

#### 6.3.4.2 Gold embossed ceremonial stave 224

This short stick was found in the Burial Chamber between the outer first gold shrine and the second gold shrine, to the south of the doors of the latter in a loose bundle of sticks containing a mace, a *was* sceptre, gilded sticks, crooks and staves.

**6.3.4.2.1 Materiality** The ceremonial stave is a straight stick of hardwood of mdw type,<sup>124</sup> with additional gilding that again has elaborate bands of granulated gold decoration and glass cloisonné inlays. The cap is in the form of an ivory papyri-form knob attached to the wood by a gold pin. Below this pommel are six alternating horizontal bands of gold and dark blue glass. From this point the gold sheet decoration begins with a band of cloisonné floral inlay. Beneath this is a wider band of plaited cord, chevrons and granulated lozenge patterns. The floral band and geometric bands are repeated down the staff sometimes spaced by thin plaited gold. Towards the centre is a single band of animals in open vegetation applied again with granulation. As with stave 098 there is a plain tube of gold to resolve the base, but here there is an additional band of ornament in silver with embossed figures of bound foreign captives. There is no royal inscription.

<sup>124</sup> There were approximately 70 mdw staves in this tomb, Hassan 1976, 131.

**6.3.4.2.2 Notes on the iconography: Content and style** Here the most noteworthy feature is the repetition of volute flower inlaid bands and the striking similarity between the method of rendering of geometric decoration in granulation to the previous stick's comparable scenes of animal combat and titulary. Again, there is a single animal band that is similarly constructed using granulation. The already well attested volute flower bands of cloisonné glass would qualify this object as international, but the rest of the design inclusive of captive prisoners could be argued to be pure Egyptian rhetoric, thus inferring intrusive idiom or thoroughly entangled and assimilated.

### 6.3.4.3 Ceremonial sceptre 050jj

This long *mdw* stave was found in wooden box 050 among a roughly jumbled group of staves, arrows and a mace. They were placed under a pile of folded clothes which may have occurred as part of the tidy up after the looting. Some bows that were found loosely nearby may belong in the box.<sup>125</sup> The sceptre is structurally and in terms of visual content similar to the previous stave, but longer. It has a stone pommel with gold decoration down the upper shaft. This decoration constitutes successive rows of volute trees, double rows of gold granulated royal titulary and bead netting, then titulary, volutes and so on. The gilded zone is finished with a running spiral band and a thin line of filigree gold plaiting. The base has a design of bound foreign captives in gold. The gold granulation employed here appears comparable to the work on the daggers and on staves 224 and 098. The volute tree employed on this object appears stylistically comparable to the cloisonné inlays of the handles and one sheath of the gold daggers and to stave 224. The inscription on the shaft is very large, containing stock titulary and a problematic text which is beyond the scope of this study. The titulary reads:

*nṯr-nfr nb-ṯr.t-ṯḫ.t nb-ḥpr.w-rꜥ s3-rꜥ n ḥ(t)ꜣf twt-ḥnḫ-jmn-ḥḳ3-jwnw-šmꜥ, nsw-bjt nb [...] nb-ḥpr.w-rꜥ s3-rꜥ mrꜣf twt-ḥnḫ-jmn-ḥḳ3-jwnw-šmꜥ (repeat).*<sup>126</sup>

‘Perfect god, lord of ritual performance, Nebkheperure, son of Re, of his body, Tutankhamen, ruler of Southern Heliopolis, of the two ladies, lord of [...] Nebkheperure, son of Re, beloved of him, Tutankhamen, ruler of Southern Heliopolis.’<sup>127</sup>

### 6.3.4.4 Ceremonial sceptres 227a and 227b

Both of these staves, as is indicated by their numbering, were found together in a small cloth bag of sticks and bows in the Burial Chamber, placed between first and second shrines, south of the doors. Stave 227a is a bent stick of Egyptian *ḥꜥw* type<sup>128</sup> that is not gilded, nor luxuriously ornate like the former staves, but is constructed of hardwood with laminated ebony and ivory. The upper bent handle has a wide marquetry panel

<sup>125</sup> Carter note 050jj-1.

<sup>126</sup> Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 65.

<sup>127</sup> In his notes Carter stated there were textual anomalies.

<sup>128</sup> Hassan 1976, 8.

with two adjacent animal combats, one with hunting dog pulling down an antelope and the other a dog attacking a steer, both in an open circumvalate field of vegetation. The rest of the decoration of this stick, however, is canonical Egyptian, with broad chevron and chequer bands, bead netting, poppies, petal ornament and false door/*serekh*. The base has an inlay of the *sema-tawy* between bound foreign captives. There is a text running vertically down the shaft with the *ka* name of this ruler, as well as his stock titulary:

ḥrw k3-nḥt-twt-mś.wt nsw-bjt nb-t3.wj nb-ḥpr.w-r<sup>c</sup> s3-r<sup>c</sup> nb-ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w twt-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-  
jmn-ḥk3-jwnw-šm<sup>c</sup> mrj jmn.r<sup>c</sup> ḏī <sup>c</sup>nḥ mj r<sup>c</sup>.<sup>129</sup>

‘Horus, victorious bull, image of (re)birth, of the two ladies, lord of the two lands, Nebkheperure, son of Re, lord of manifestations, Tutankhamen, ruler of Southern Heliopolis, beloved of Amen-Re, given life like Re’.

The most notable feature of this stick must be the two thin friezes of animal combat on the handle which are rendered using similar technique and media as the inlaid chest (Carter 551, 540). In exclusion of this ostensibly international animal combat, the stave design and idiom of 227a appears canonical.

Stave 227b by contrast is interesting for additional reasons, as it is recognisably an heirloom of the Amarna period and still retains traces of the altered Aten element in the royal names. The body is what Carter described as ‘red stained hardwood’, which was overlaid with sheet gold (colour not stated), inlays of ivory, coloured bark and blue faience/glass. This latter is described in the notes as ‘beetle wing’ decoration.<sup>130</sup> The form is also a bent ḥ<sup>c</sup>w stick with continuous zones of ornament down the shaft. The upper zone has a gold band of royal titulary, then lotus petal ornament, guilloche, lozenges, gold discs with feathering and a ‘pseudo’ spiral pattern that visually conflates with a dot rosette. Double bands of gold filigree running spirals are used to finish zones of ornament. The former designs are repeated down the shaft. The base of the decoration is finished with a gold band of royal titulary and the motif of *sema-tawy* with bound foreign captives.



Fig. 6.35 ‘Pseudo’ spiral band from stave 582b. Image A. Sinclair.

The inscription on this stave is extensive, running vertically down the shaft and constituting royal titulary, both emphasising the military prowess of the ruler and naturally the subduing of chaos. There are also textual anomalies that date this stave earlier. ‘Perfect ruler’, ḥk3-nfr, replaces the stock form, nṯr-nfr, which may indicate a

<sup>129</sup> Carter notes: 227a-1-4; Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 65–6.

<sup>130</sup> Carter notes: 227b-1-10.

date in the latter half of the Amarna period.<sup>131</sup> The name of the Aten has been altered to Amen in the royal names, but remains in place of Re before one cartouche. It should be noted that for the stock phrase ‘son of Re of his body, beloved of him’, the term *mr* ‘beloved’ bears the feminine suffix twice in the text and there is also an unclear use of the second person feminine pronoun. Therefore, there is reason to assume this stave may have originally belonged to the previous female ruler, Ankhkheperure-Neferneferuaten.

#### 6.3.4.5 Ceremonial stave 582b

This wooden staff was found in the Annex in a group of sticks and other weapons. It is a hardwood ‘*wn.t* stave or ‘walking stick’ with straight shaft and short fork on the upper grip of Egyptian type.<sup>132</sup> These are attested from elite Egyptian tombs, such as two similar, but less prestigious media sticks from KV 8, the tomb of Kha and Merit, that were funerary gifts dedicated to Kha by different individuals, and which incidentally employ motifs attested here, particularly the unusual pseudo spiral.<sup>133</sup>

The upper zone and base of this ‘*wn.t* stick are decorated with gold wire over silver sheet tubes and the pommel with coloured glass. There is a cloisonné rosette on the pommel with successive bands of ornament down the upper shaft: these entail two zones of gold filigree netting between double filigree spiral bands (four in total) with areas of plain gold and silver tubing, the primary feature is a gold applied *wedjat* eye with the royal name that is aligned with the fork of the staff. The base is again completed with a gold and silver appliqué of bound foreign captives.<sup>134</sup> Inscriptions occur as two bands, the upper with royal cartouches and lower as a text:

*rhj.t-nb hr rd.wj ntr pn nfr t3.w-nb.w h3s.t-nb.t h3.w-nb fnh.w-nb*

‘All the population is under the feet of this perfect god of all foreign lands, of all Hau islands, of all Fenkhu lands’.<sup>135</sup>

#### 6.3.4.6 Staves: Content and Style

Five ceremonial staves with problematic idiom have been cited and discussed here, they are constructed using different techniques and media, and bear an eclectic range of ornamental idiom, but are all consistently ‘top of the range’ royal funerary or state equipment in their decoration and intent. They conform nominally with the current requirements for hybrid style, yet also do not comply, all containing too much internal

<sup>131</sup> Gabolde 1998, 105–6; Dorman 2009, 76.

<sup>132</sup> Hassan 1976, 7.

<sup>133</sup> Turin: s. 8625 and s. 8591.

<sup>134</sup> Interestingly, the use of running spirals as a stock motif for walking sticks is supported by two non royal sticks from the New Kingdom: one from KV 46, the tomb of Yuya and Tuya and another from Berlin, see Quibell 1908, 59, cat. 51131; Davis 1907, 48; Berlin: ÄM 4724, Munich 1980, cat. 115.

<sup>135</sup> Hau and Fenkhu have respectively been translated as the ‘Aegean’ and ‘Syria’ or ‘Phoenicia’, but these attributions are disputed and in this context, with the use of a designation all *rhj.t-nb* ‘Egyptian subject peoples’ and *h3s.t nb.t* ‘all foreign lands’, I am assuming a topographical dichotomy: perhaps islands/marsh versus hinterlands, for Hau see Quack 2007b.



Egyptian visual and textual content. Two staves have animal combats consistent with international idiom, all have running spirals or pseudo spirals and one also contributes volute flowers. Finally at least two, perhaps three, additional staves from this assemblage bear isolated intrusive idiom rendered in the same manner as the foregoing staves, but have not been cited, because they lack multiple elements of this supposed style, such as animal combats, volute plants, rosettes or guilloche. Staves 050jj and 095a are by comparison quite simply decorated with only gold sheet that is embossed with Tutankhamen's royal titulary and running spiral bands.

### 6.3.5 Ceremonial hunting bows and bowcase<sup>136</sup>

#### 6.3.5.1 Ceremonial compound bow 048h

The compound bow was, like the chariot, introduced technology that is currently attributed to a foreign source and adopted in Egypt towards the end of the Middle Kingdom to early Second Intermediate Period.<sup>137</sup> As a prestige weapon of hunt and warfare in the New Kingdom it too represents both elite technology and royal prerogative, and contributed another symbolic theme to the conquering hero visual repertoire of Egyptian kingship.<sup>138</sup> The composite or compound bow was a more efficient fighting weapon with a stronger pull back and reach that is created by bonding separate pieces of wood, sinew and bark, rather than using one piece of flexible wood, like a self bow.<sup>139</sup> Under those circumstances and on the understanding that bows were an essential element of the elite funerary repertoire in Egypt, it comes as little surprise that the tomb contained many hunting bows of both plain 'self' and 'compound' bow design in varying degrees of sophistication and ornamentation.

**6.3.5.1.1 Context<sup>140</sup>** The Antechamber of the tomb has also supplied two hunting bows (048h/k) with ostensibly intrusive idiom that were within a group of fabric bound bows and staves bundled together and placed on the wooden bed 047 that has an openwork decoration of the god Bes on the footboard. In his examination of the compound bows from this tomb McLeod dubbed 048h, the very ornately decorated bow, a 'Bow of Honour' because it represents the most prestigious workmanship, media and technology of all the royal bows from this tomb.

**6.3.5.1.2 Materiality** This bow is exceptional, unequivocally an object of royal prestige and lavish conspicuous display. It is an elaborately gilded and inlaid hardwood compound bow that again repeats the complex idiom of ceremonial sceptre 224, but expands the repertoire somewhat to cover even more idiom from the international repertoire, with repeated filigree running spirals, cloisonné volute trees, gold dot rosettes

<sup>136</sup> See Catalogue II.3.

<sup>137</sup> Darnell and Manassa 2007, 70; Moorey 1986, 210; McLeod 1962, 13.

<sup>138</sup> Crouwel 2013, 86; Shaw 2012, 92; Genz 2013.

<sup>139</sup> Western and McLeod 1995, 77–94; Shaw 1991, 42–3.

<sup>140</sup> Carter notes: 048h-1-7; McLeod 1970, cat. 4, pls. IV–VII.

and guilloche alternating over the entire surface. Each single panel contains a central volute flower band which is framed by rosettes, glass inlaid guilloche bands, rope plaiting and an outer band of filigree running spirals. In addition to these there are smaller bands of royal titulary framed by guilloche plaiting and canonical Egyptian bead netting/quatrefoil ornament. The colour scheme is emphatically dark blue on light blue for the glass inlays on the cloisonné bands of guilloche and similarly for the volute flowers.

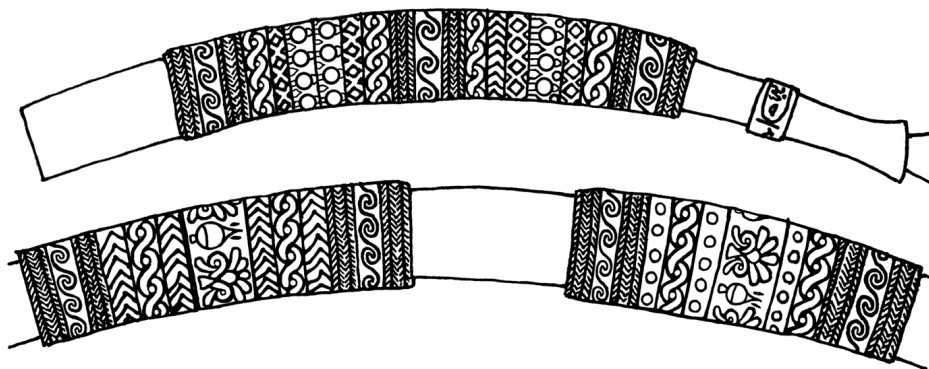


Fig. 6.36 Design of cloisonné volutes, spirals, chevrons and guilloche from the Bow of Honour, 048h. Image A. Sinclair.

**6.3.5.1.3 Notes on the iconography: Content and style** The only element lacking from a comprehensive representation of the international repertoire on this bow is scenes of animal combat or frolic, but in their absence the almost over indulgence in floral and geometric elements from this idiom is compelling. Add to this the similar use of entangled and sophisticated technologies such as glass inlays, filigree and granulation and I have no hesitation in including this opulent piece of royal weaponry within this discussion, however, again, the fully integrated royal titulary dispersed all over the surface of this bow (albeit originally from an earlier ruler) imposes problems on the attribution of the appellation ‘international’ yet again.

nsw-bjt nb-t3.wj nb-ḥpš nb-ḥpr.w-r<sup>c</sup> (ḥ-ḥpr.w-r<sup>c</sup>-mrj-ḥ-ḥpr.w-r<sup>c</sup>), s3-r<sup>c</sup> n ḥt=f mr.t=f nb-ḥpr.w-r<sup>c</sup> (ḥ-ḥpr.w-r<sup>c</sup>-mrj-ḥ-ḥpr.w-r<sup>c</sup>), ḥk3-nfr nḥt nb-t3.wj nb-ḥpr.w-r<sup>c</sup>, nb-ḥpr.w-r<sup>c</sup> ḏī ḥ mj r<sup>c</sup>.<sup>141</sup>

‘Of the two ladies, lord of the two lands, Nebkheperure (Ankhkheperure, beloved of Ankhkheperure?), son of Re, of his body, beloved of him, Nebkheperure (Ankhkheperure, beloved of Ankhkheperure?), mighty perfect ruler, lord of the two lands, Nebkheperure, Nebkheperure, may he live like Re.’

This bow is also noteworthy as, like 227b, it is an acknowledged heirloom of the Amarna

<sup>141</sup> Source is Beinlich and Saleh (1989, 32) and perhaps there was an error copying the earlier name, substituting *ankh* for the *nefer* in ‘beloved of Akhenaten’ (nfr-ḥpr.w-r<sup>c</sup>).

period, due to residual evidence that it had been reworked for Tutankhamen. The reworking of the royal name indicates that the original owner is again likely to have been the problematic ruler who succeeded Akhenaten. Ankhkheperure-Neferneferuaten is currently favoured by many scholars to have been either Akhenaten's chief queen Nefertiti, or perhaps a daughter: Meritaten or Neferneferaten Tasherit. Either of whom may have briefly succeeded Akhenaten after his death.<sup>142</sup> Although the husband of Meritaten, Smenkhkare, assuming this individual was not Nefertiti, cannot be excluded from consideration. Again, the argument for a female holder of this name is supported by at least one overlooked feminine suffix remaining in the text of one band of royal titulary on this bow (mr.t 'beloved').<sup>143</sup>

### 6.3.5.2 Compound bow 048k(1)

Another less ornate gilded wooden ceremonial compound bow is included here, however, as it again fits typologically somewhere in the blurred zone between Amarna artistic style and the international.<sup>144</sup> This bow was found in the Antechamber on the ceremonial lion bed 047 with the previous bow.<sup>145</sup>

**6.3.5.2.1 Materiality** Contrary to the former, this bow is constructed with 'less' prestigious materials than previously cited and like stave 227a is predominantly decorated with complex inlays of coloured wood or barks. While some materials are quotidian, execution, however, is not. It is decorated with many repeated bands of lozenges, zigzags, panels of caprids and horses floating in open composition foliage, in addition to *sema-tawy* with bound captives and bands of *uraei* with *ankhs*. It is not lacking in royal titulary, having bands of royal cartouches which are flanked by *uraei* and topped with the double feather diadem. There are two short texts on the body in addition to the king's prenomen and nomen:

nꜥr-nfr sb3 ḥr ssm.wt wbnꜥf nb ꜥnh nsw-bjt nb-t3.wj nb-ḥpr.w-rꜥ 𐎃 𐎃nh.<sup>146</sup>

nꜥr-nfr ꜥn ḥr ḥpšꜥf s3-rꜥ n ḥ.tꜥf mrꜥf nb-ḥꜥ.w twt-ꜥnh-jmn-ḥꜥ3-jwnw-šmꜥ  
mj rꜥ.

'Perfect god, star over the horses when he rises (over) all living (things),<sup>147</sup> of the two ladies, lord of the two lands, Nebkheperure, given life. Perfect god, vanquishing with his sword, son of Re, beloved of him, lord of manifestations, Tutankhamen, ruler of Southern Heliopolis, like Re'

<sup>142</sup> See Dodson (2009, 34–8) for a summary of the arguments.

<sup>143</sup> Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 22(h).

<sup>144</sup> McLeod 1970, cat. 9, pls. VI–VII.

<sup>145</sup> Carter notes: 048k-1, 1–5.

<sup>146</sup> Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 23.

<sup>147</sup> McLeod (1970, 17) has 'star on the chariot, at whose rising all live'.



Fig. 6.37 Detail from compound bow 596q (left) and from bow 048k(1) (right). Images A. Sinclair.

The unusual use of the phrase ‘rising over the horses’ is not unique to this tomb and both a chariot (121) and a royal whip (050ss) employ variations on this phrasing that are generally translated as upon the chariot or on horseback. However, the term chariot is mirrored in the phrasing of the chariot text and therefore unlikely to be the direct intention in that instance. In these texts the ruler is in fact likened to the radiance of the rising sun and the sun god, but alongside this metaphor he is compared in warlike attributes to the gods Seth and Monthu. What is apparent from the three is this phrasing for objects associated with the king’s chariotry which may infer this ceremonial bow was a state chariot accessory.

### 6.3.5.3 Compound bow 596q

**6.3.5.3.1 Context**<sup>148</sup> This bow was found in the Annex under bed 377 in a bundle wrapped in linen that contained a fan-stock inscribed with the name of Akhenaten, more sticks, bows and arrows. The excavators were of the opinion it had originally come from boxes 370 or 050, or had been left loose somewhere in Antechamber.<sup>149</sup>

**6.3.5.3.2 Materiality** Again the medium of this bow is less prestigious and the object is decorated instead with complex coloured inlays of wood and bark. This decoration constitutes successive bands of ornament and animal frolic: vignettes of ibex or horses float in mobile poses within open composition papyrus foliage. Decorative bands are represented by the usual repertoire of chequerboard, lozenges, petal ornament and zigzags. There may be volute fans placed with the horses which also have ornate floral headdresses. The ruler is singled out by the use of his prenom and nomen in cartouches.

**6.3.5.3.3 Notes on the iconography: Content and style** Both of these bows could readily be described as typical examples of the more progressive artistic leanings of the Egyptian court in the Amarna period and it would be just as easy to talk about the influence of Aegean mobile composition on Eighteenth Dynasty visual design for these objects as it would to talk about international idiom. However, the same basic compositional approaches and idiom are represented here on these weapons, simply the usual filigree spirals and cloisonné volutes constructed in prestige materials are absent.

<sup>148</sup> McLeod 1970, cat. 27, pl. XII.

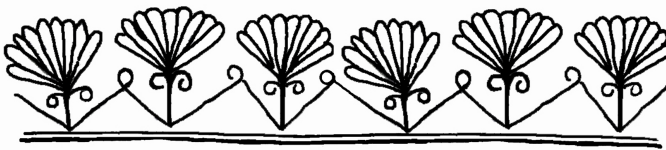
<sup>149</sup> Carter notes: 596, 596q.

#### 6.3.5.4 Ceremonial bowcase 335

This object is worthy of note by virtue of its specific association with controversy regarding identifying this international style. In 2006 Marian Feldman rejected this object due to the unequivocal presence of canonical Egyptian royal symbolism inclusive of desert chariot hunt scenes, which are both firm criteria for exclusion under her terms. However, there are two points of value for inclusion here; one, this verdict is not supported unanimously in scholarship and thus places the artefact loosely under the banner of entangled. Two, which depends on one, is there is enough intrusive or ‘crossover’ idiom on the bowcase to justify inclusion in this discussion?

**6.3.5.4.1 Context**<sup>150</sup> The case was found propped against the wall in the north-west corner of the Treasury with two model funerary ships, 334 and 336, two chariots, 332 and 333, a whip (of prince Thutmose) and the harness linen with volute rosette designs, both numbered under 333. It is the only confirmed and fully extant bowcase to be thus far discovered in Egypt, with all other examples being fragmentary or of disputed use.<sup>151</sup>

#### 6.3.5.4.2 Materiality



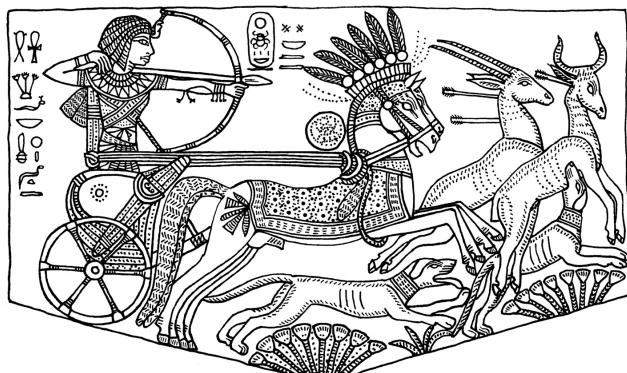
*Fig. 6.38* Detail of gold bands from bowcase 335. Image A. Sinclair.

The bowcase would most likely have been attached to a ceremonial chariot, not unlike those featured in the iconography from this tomb. It is constructed from wood, with linen linings and copper joints for attaching to a chariot. The body is decorated with embossed gold sheet, inlaid leather, coloured wood and painted with coloured pigment. That the iconography of the case is canonical Egyptian is unassailable and is augmented by the framing of all scenes with hieroglyphic text extolling the titles and virtues of the king. The four triangular panels of desert animals represent open compositions with hyenas, hares, oryx, gazelle and ibex in mobile poses fleeing the attack of arrows from the central figure with bow on the chariot who is accompanied by his hunting dogs. The field is balanced with free floating clumps of papyrus, poppy and cornflowers. The ends of the bow are wide bands of embossed gold sheet with four standard scenes of the ruler as a crowned and winged sphinx trampling foreign captives. His titulary is naturally again present. This area is finished with embossed gold decorative bands, which are the primary motivation for inclusion here: the first is a wide band of interconnecting linear volute flowers with palmette crowns. This is followed by thinner bands of petal ornament and bead netting, the two ends are finished by gold sheet and blue glass panther heads.

<sup>150</sup> Carter notes: 335–1; McLeod 1982, cat. 79, 26–38, 44–9.

<sup>151</sup> McLeod 1982, 61.

**6.3.5.4.3 Notes on the iconography: Content and style** The presence of the ruler as strong central subject is problematic to discussion of this style, as are his titles that frame the entire surface, however, we have already negotiated the issue of evidence of this ruler's presence within legitimate pieces from this group. The postures of figures and composition are entirely consistent with Amarna period visual idiom, yet are simultaneously examples of this intrusive style in Eighteenth Dynasty visual culture, with animals in mobile and twisted poses. The choice of plant idiom here is also consistent with the period and does not appear to reference the expected fill-herb or volute plant, until one notices the minor ornament. The visual content: antelopes, caprids, hyena and hares, is consistent for both the international pieces from this tomb and canonical content from Egyptian funerary culture during the Amarna period. Similarly, style is ambiguous, with certain details like animal poses and features fitting easily into both definitions, the similarity between the rendering of hunting dogs in both chariot scenes is particularly problematic. Nonetheless the overall effect is Egyptian royal rhetoric in intention and execution.



*Fig. 6.39* Hunt scene from one face of bowcase 335. Note that the characteristics of the hunting dogs and prey are consistent with the dagger sheath, appliques and cosmetic boxes. Image A. Sinclair.

**6.3.5.4.4 Final note** To add further examples of intrusive idiom to the former discussion, there are three more gilded wooden self bows (228, 244 and 247)<sup>152</sup> from the Burial Chamber of the tomb that are arguably more mundane (in a royal context) and thus less ornate. These are decorated simply with gold sheet embossed bands which have filigree plaiting framing bands, incised running spirals, gold circles and plaiting. They are uninscribed, but superficially appear to employ the same construction methods and design as the daggers, chariotry, staves and bows.

In summary, the foregoing evidence would situate one highly ornate ceremonial compound bow, the 'Bow of Honour', from this assemblage as containing the requisite amount of 'hybrid' idiom to qualify it for inclusion in this notional style. Beyond this unique object which is incidentally the most prestigious bow in the entire assemblage, a bowcase and two ornate bows that bear animal romps and minor idiom cloud the boundary between intrusive and international. Finally three 'utilitarian' royal bows are decorated solely with gold spirals in exactly the same vein as the staves, hunting

<sup>152</sup> Cairo: JE 61505: 61507: 61547/61506: McLeod 1982, 11–2, cat. 44–6.

sticks, a royal sunshade and six chariot wheels. These artefacts are painting a fairly opulent and visually entangled image of an Amarna king.

### 6.3.6 Adornment<sup>153</sup>

#### 6.3.6.1 Ivory bracelet 585q

Ivory is a strong contributor to discussion of the international style until we turn to the Egyptian evidence and then it is relegated to a less significant rank among prestige artefacts, in particular for hybrid idiom objects, as there are few. Thus far in the discussion ivory has only contributed to some toiletry objects and minor inlay details on furniture in Egypt. Elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean ivory inlays, pyxides, cosmetic tools and plaques dominate discussion. Therefore, this ivory bracelet rates some interest, not only for the intrusive idiom, but also for the medium. It is also worth noting that the lacuna in precious media jewellery with entangled idiom from this tomb may be a direct outcome of the original looting of the tomb.

**6.3.6.1.1 Context** This ivory bracelet was found in the Annex room of the tomb in box 585 with a jumble of what Carter described as a child's 'knick-knacks'. These were an ivory senet game board with stained ivory pieces, knuckle bones, shells, hunting paraphernalia, light blue glass mandrake fruits,<sup>154</sup> a gold leopard head and twenty-six to twenty-nine bracelets in various media: leather, horn, ivory and wood, many of these are ivory, but with no decoration. There was also one of the previously cited red gold openwork buckles/plaques, 585s, of similar dimensions to 044a(1) in this same chest. In this instance it has the ritual scene of Tutankhamen and Ankhnesamen within a columned shrine above captive enemies and flanked either side by vignettes of royal sphinxes.<sup>155</sup>

**6.3.6.1.2 Materiality** Incised in shallow relief on one face of this armband, 585, is a circular continuous scene of wild nature in the form of desert animals both in passive and active poses in semi-procession around the inner band. The frieze contains an ostrich, hare, long backed horse, three ibexes and four gazelles, the latter all in running poses with the exception of a recumbent ibex. There is quite possibly an animal combat or hunt motif embedded in the scene due to one fragmentary figure having the basic character of a hunting dog. This figure pursues the horse. A strong groundline is present due to the nature of the object, but few figures are grounded to it. On the opposing face of the bracelet there are two continuous running spiral borders which frame a central band of hieroglyphic text with an expanded version of a ruler's traditional titulary and royal names.

nꜥr-nfr ꜥ[...] s3 prr m hꜥ.wꜥf nsw-bjt hꜥk3 pꜥ.t 9 nb-t3.wj nb-ꜥr.t-ꜥh.t nb-hpr.w-  
rꜥ s3-rꜥ n h.tꜥf mrꜥf nb-hꜥpꜥ nb n hꜥ3ꜥ.t-nb nb-hꜥ.w twt-ꜥnh-jmn-hꜥk3-jwnw-šmꜥ  
ꜥꜥ ꜥnh mj rꜥ ꜥ.t.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>153</sup> See Catalogue III.3.

<sup>154</sup> One (585u) naming Thutmose III.

<sup>155</sup> Carter 585s.

<sup>156</sup> Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 208.

‘Perfect god, son ... who comes forth in his own flesh, of the two ladies, ruler of the Nine-Bows, lord of the two lands, lord of ritual performance, Nebkheperure, son of Re of his body, beloved of him, lord of valour, lord of all foreign lands, lord of manifestations, Tutankhamen, ruler of Southern Heliopolis, given life like Re eternally’.

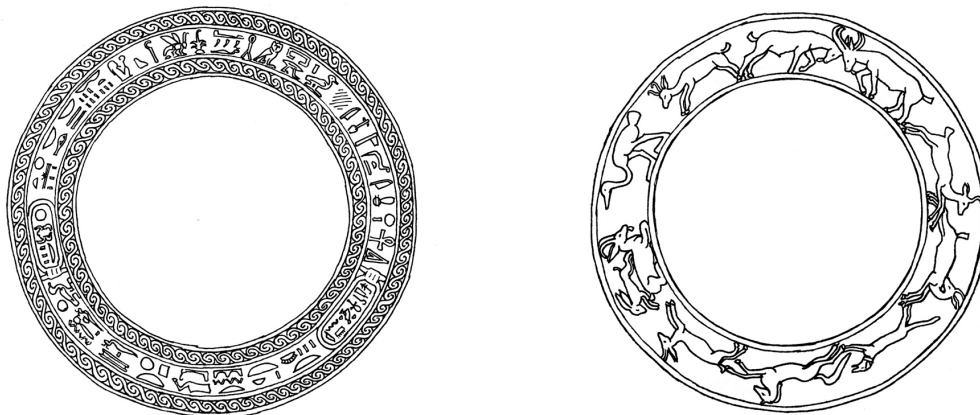


Fig. 6.40 Ivory bracelet 585q, with pastoral scene, spirals and royal inscription. Image A. Sinclair.

**6.3.6.1.3 Notes on the iconography: Content** The incised scenes of animals in running gallop on one face would conform readily to the content of Egyptian desert wilderness scenes as is usually depicted in Egyptian tomb iconography (and on the calcite vase, staves and bowcase), if not for the presence of the long backed horse, which one would more readily associate with the ‘forces of order’ than of chaos. However, horses in mobile poses are consistent with the decoration of objects in the decorative arts from this period and readily attested from objects cited here. Equally, hare, ibex, ostrich, eland and gazelle are stock actors in this iconography of control over the natural world. In contrast, hare and ostrich are only a component of international idiom where it occurs on objects excavated on Egyptian soil and are therefore only present in the idiom from Tell Basta and from this tomb. They are also features of the decoration of cosmetic tools, like ibex and hunting dogs. Of the international pieces only the hare is attested from the animal combat of the calcite jar and the desert scenes of the bowcase. Ostriches, however, are attested from canonical objects with scenes of royal hunt, such as the golden fan stock, 242, from this tomb.<sup>157</sup>

**6.3.6.1.4 Notes on ‘style’** If viewed in isolation from the problematic objects and if the spiral bands are excluded, the iconography of this bracelet is consistent with Egyptian visual rhetoric for Eighteenth Dynasty royal and elite funerary artefacts.

<sup>157</sup> See images pages 119 and 148. The identification of these birds as bustards by Reed and Osborn (1978) is not considered here, as in the text of the fan handle the hieroglyph identifying the hunted birds is ‘ostrich’.



Animals in mobile poses are acknowledged to be a feature of the visual design for royal palaces and funerary monuments in this period. This assumption is augmented by the knowledge that while this is an elaborately decorated object, it is not entirely an isolated one. The ivory bracelet conforms in shape and material to eight other undecorated ivory bracelets from the same box. In addition, there was another similar wooden bracelet from this collection with a hunt scene inset into the wood in blue paste that was neither illustrated nor photographed in the original reports, and another six in various media: wood, limestone and horn.<sup>158</sup>

## 6.4 Discussion

The evidence for international idiom from the tomb of Tutankhamen is much broader and therefore more problematic than previous scholarship of this style has acknowledged. On closer examination, within this wealthy king's tomb there are many artefacts bearing this ostensibly exotic idiom in a wide range of media and representing a similar diverse range of prestige technologies. These exhibit various function types from regalia of royal office to symbols of pharaonic power like hunting and military equipment. In addition to these, there are artefacts which could be attributed to royal personal or domestic function. Although purely personal use is highly disputable, as in terms of type and decoration most of these objects are likely to have had specific royal conspicuous display or funerary function, rather than purely domestic value. None of the objects from this tomb that exhibit international features are isolated examples and all have comparable artefacts of similar function, medium and form. Some have isolated examples of this idiom which would usually be described as intrusive and thus dismissed from this topic.

There is in fact no cut and dried boundary between the ostensibly intrusive or hybrid iconography and the internal Egyptian royal idiom. The same may be applied to the entangled international materials and technologies. Although there is nothing to argue an external source for the technologies, as most exotic technology represented in this tomb may be considered internal by the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, having been introduced into the Egyptian elite repertoire any time between the Late Middle Kingdom and the early Eighteenth Dynasty. There are in fact many (approximately seventy) artefacts from this assemblage that bear what could be considered to be intrusive idiom.<sup>159</sup> These naturally include volute flowers, volute trees, spiral bands, rosettes and guilloche,<sup>160</sup> but that are represented by otherwise canonical royal Egyptian objects that bear both royal rhetoric of heroic conquest of disorder and apotropaic cult idiom.

Under the terms of current scholarship this material does not qualify for discussion, nor is it considered to bear a relationship with the highly contracted group of supposedly fully hybrid material, but it is very difficult to visualise the same construct in the

<sup>158</sup> Carter numbers: 585i–o.

<sup>159</sup> Depending on whom you read and which archaeological discipline they represent.

<sup>160</sup> Guilloche is much rarer than the former (which are ubiquitous), only occurring on the daggers, ceremonial chariots, staves, ceremonial bow 048h, plaque 044a and a silver embossed blinker 620 (50).

original funerary context. The spiral is particularly problematic, because it occurs in this tomb on many otherwise canonical Egyptian royal objects. Its presence on Egyptian royal artefacts infers an internal value for the motif in the fourteenth century. As does the ubiquitous use of the volute flower on artefacts of clear Egyptian value and function. It would be an insurmountable task to cite every example of a volute flower from this tomb, if the simple volute was included in discussion, due to its occurring on every example of the *sema-tawy*, or where it is paired with the papyrus on all sarcophagi and miniature coffins. In exclusion of these south flowers, the volute flower is still alarmingly prolific.

Internal Egyptian visual motifs that are most associated with the running spiral and volute flower include the many forms of the subdued Nine-Bows and various conquering pharaoh motifs, such as rampant sphinx and Monthu griffin. However, the theme of the god Heh holding two palm ribs as a guarantee of millions of years of rule is also prominent. In the absence of further information these motifs appear to reflect a nuanced adaptation of Egyptian royal rhetoric in the Amarna period. There is no evidence to support an argument that this visual idiom in KV 62 is devoid of local values or internal Egyptian cult signifiers, particularly on the understanding that separating cult from kingship is virtually impossible within the rhetoric of Egyptian kingship. The enormous personalities of the New Kingdom are naturally no exception to this rule. However, if these motifs were embedded within Egyptian royal rhetoric in the late fourteenth century, the natural next step is to look beyond KV 62 and this one ruler, Tutankhamen, which brings the discussion to the possibility of further evidence of international idiom from Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt.

# 7 Beyond Tutankhamen

## 7.1 Eighteenth Dynasty royal and elite tombs

This chapter examines the material realm for international visual idiom from Egypt by moving beyond the prestige artefacts from the tomb of Tutankhamen and addressing the evidence from his royal predecessors and from varying upper strata of Egyptian society, beginning with the assemblages where one would expect to find this prestige idiom; royal funerary contexts. Once the basic premise of problematic idiom from royal tombs has been established, the examination widens to examine evidence from members of the Egyptian court and upper 'middle class' funerary contexts from Western Thebes and finishes with an overview of the evidence for intrusive idiom from fourteenth century palatial contexts. This is done with the intention of confirming whether there is a connection for this visual idiom to Egyptian royal prestige and to establish whether the argument for exotic origin for this idiom is supported by the physical objects, their context, value and function.

## 7.2 Royal tombs

The foremost stumbling block that is faced when attempting an assessment of New Kingdom royal funereal assemblages is the issue of ongoing and extensive looting. No royal burial, even that of Tutankhamen, has thus far escaped the attention of looters in the recent past or in antiquity, and so, when the nature of royal assemblages is discussed in scholarship the primary term of reference for royal funerary paraphernalia is the group of objects already under discussion from KV 62. From this corpus comparison is then made to the uneven collection of extant material from upper-elite tombs like that of his likely great grandparents Yuya and Tuya and from pooling the resources from other substantially cleared and damaged royal tombs.<sup>1</sup> In this way the available data is weighted towards objects that were constructed in less economically desirable and readily transferable materials, such as ceramic, leather and wood, although the degree of damage to these due to indifference is also manifold. Equally, all high prestige and economic value materials such as gold, silver, precious stones, glass, linen, oils and cosmetic materials are substantially long absent from their original resting places. Naturally this is a considerable disadvantage to a study of prestige artefacts when they are and always have been the object of resourceful thieves.

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<sup>1</sup> Smith 1992; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996; Reeves 1984.

Another difficulty associated with the limited evidence is the early modern date for the excavations of royal tombs in Egypt. The majority of Eighteenth Dynasty royal tombs were cleared and, if we are lucky, documented at the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth. In worst case scenarios, they were not properly documented, nor were the final destinations of the interesting objects to international museums always monitored with any care. Equally, less valuable objects to early ‘treasure’ hunters, such as fragmentary wooden furniture, vessels, linens and even human remains were often simply disposed of in the quest for prestige artefacts made of materials that the contemporary world values most. That being said, the first step in a pursuit of the possible internal value for the exotic idiom from KV 62 was to examine the evidence of other, preferably also earlier, royal assemblages to discover if these motifs were in any manner visible in the meagre archaeological record, and if so, whether they were on artefacts of similar function and form. The answer, somewhat surprisingly, resulted in; yes. The following groupings are listed chronologically referring backwards from Tutankhamen’s immediate royal contemporaries to the extant material from rulers of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

### 7.2.1 KV 57: Horemhab (1320–1295 BCE)<sup>2</sup>

The final ruler of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Horemhab, was not a member of the Eighteenth Dynasty royal line and probably began his career as a senior military official during the Amarna period under Akhenaten.<sup>3</sup> Because of this he had two tomb complexes constructed in his lifetime, one from his position as a state official near Saqqara<sup>4</sup> and a second royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings, KV 57. This latter king’s tomb was excavated by Edward Ayrton for Theodore Davis in 1908.<sup>5</sup> The assemblage was naturally heavily looted and substantially damaged in the process, and virtually consisted of fragments of funerary furniture and accessories that were standard to a royal burial, such as bitumen blackened protective statues, fragments of coffins, a canopic chest, embalming tables, lion/hippo/cow beds, Osiris bed, chairs, model boats and a broken gilded box which named Tutankhamen, Ankhesenamen and Ay. Smaller items included magical bricks, rosettes from a funerary pall or harness, faience beads and small vessels. All luxury materials, metals, glass, linens and oils were naturally absent.<sup>6</sup>



*Fig. 7.1* Wooden plaque from KV 57, tomb of Horemhab. Image after Davies 1912, 107.

<sup>2</sup> Davis 1912; Reeves 1984, 80–7; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 130–3; Porter and Moss 1964, 567–9.

<sup>3</sup> Dodson and Hilton 2004, 153–4; Kawai 2010, 269; van Dijk 2008; Murnane 1993.

<sup>4</sup> Raven et al 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Reeves 1984, 80; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 130–3.

<sup>6</sup> Davis 1912, 2–3, 98–108; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 132–3; Porter and Moss 1964, 569.

Of the objects published by Davis, only one hints towards the topic of this discussion: a wooden plaque panel or inlay fragment that may have originally been covered with embossed gold sheet. The sides and bottom edge of this were pierced with holes for attaching to an object, perhaps furniture or a textile. It is decorated with an incised relief design of a central volute tree flanked by emblematic and winged divine figures. In his catalogue of objects Daressy concluded from the presence of wings on the figures that the object was an imitation of an Asiatic motif, because ‘winged genii are hardly ever seen in Egyptian bas-reliefs, it is therefore probable that this is an imitation of a scene of Asiatic origin, Phoenician or Assyrian’. Here we witness the early conflation of first millennium artistic genres with those of the second. Be that as it may, winged gods and ‘genii’ are attested in this period from internal sources<sup>7</sup> and the long sashes could in fact indicate the iconography of the god Bes, who was a common protective element on furniture insets and domestic accessories including objects previously cited here, and who was often depicted with wings in the late Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>8</sup> However, an equivalent argument could be made for Syro-Levantine idiom and any firm conclusion about this object is singularly hampered by the very limited visual evidence; one rough line drawing from the original publication.<sup>9</sup>

### 7.2.2 KV 58: Tutankhamen–Ay? (1324–1320 BCE)<sup>10</sup>



*Fig. 7.2 Gold foil appliqué from KV 58, unknown royal. After Daressy 1912, figs. 12, 13, 14.*

The small pit tomb, usually dubbed the ‘chariot tomb’, from the Valley of the Kings was discovered 1909 by Ernest Jones and subsequently cleared under the employ of Davis.<sup>11</sup> There is still a degree of professional dialectic over the identity of the original purpose and interment in this tomb, as the limited material evidence provides the cartouches of two rulers with previously acknowledged royal tombs: Tutankhamen (KV 62) and Ay (WV 23).<sup>12</sup> This tomb is exceptional in that it does contribute gold sheet embossed appliqué of similar technique, form and visual idiom to those from KV 62. However, it contributes little else, as there were scant other remains in the single chamber. These comprised some calcite knobs from a chariot yoke, two faience

<sup>7</sup> The four goddesses framing the granite sarcophagus from this tomb being a case in point, Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 131.

<sup>8</sup> For example, the figures from domestic contexts at Amarna and Deir el Medina or the winged figure of Bes on the back of a chair of princess Sitamen from the tomb of Yuyu and Tuya, KV 46.

<sup>9</sup> Daressy in Davis 1912, 107.

<sup>10</sup> Reeves 1984, 72; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 129.

<sup>11</sup> Tyldesley 2006, 209; Reeves 1984, 74; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 79, 186.

<sup>12</sup> Reeves 1984, 72; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 129.

knobs from a long lost chest(s), scraps of copper, a faience knob from a stave or whip, a fragment of a *uraeus*, perhaps from a *shabti*, and a single alabaster *shabti* figure.<sup>13</sup>

There are approximately twenty-six fragmentary gold sheet appliquéés from this tomb which may have graced toiletry objects, furniture, harness or quivers, although many may claim closest parallels with the harness pieces already dealt with here from KV 62.<sup>14</sup> Of these, seven are decorated with embossed volute plants of varying type, from simple ‘south flower’ to volute tree. On another six a volute flower is a minor element of the otherwise canonical design. These plaques consist of stand alone designs, in strips or as bosses, or larger garlanded designs with bands of lotus, persea and rosettes, not unlike the decoration of polychrome ceramic at this time. The canonical pieces are entirely consistent with their cousins from KV 62 and contain stock royal rhetoric consisting of royal cartouches, the king shooting with bow from his chariot, bound foreign captives and the ruler as sphinx subduing same. There are no running spiral bands used as borders on these plaques, but this lacuna could be ascribed to paucity of material or the very poor condition of many of these artefacts. However, the ‘king’ identified on these plaques is variable.

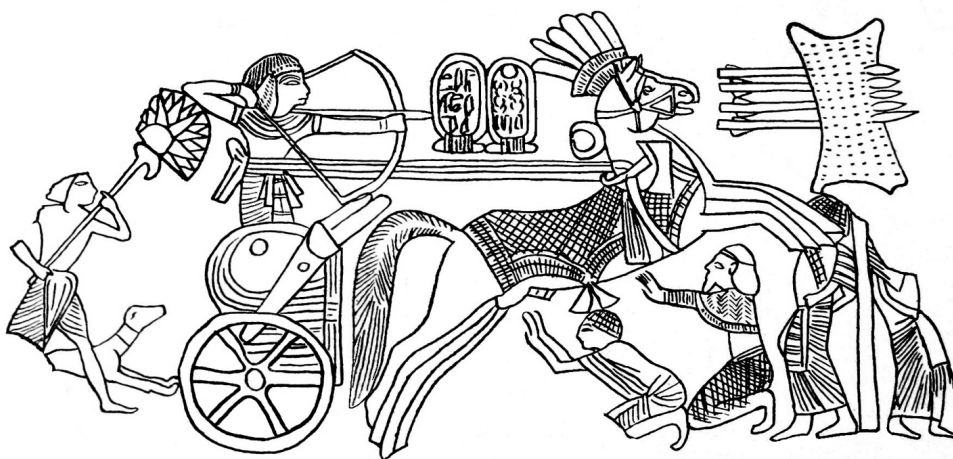


Fig. 7.3 Chariot scene from a gold foil plaque from KV 58. After Daressy 1912, fig. 3.

These gold fragments from KV 58 may not be associated with Ay’s burial, but rather could have been associated with the material from KV 62, due to some three appliquéés containing Tutankhamen’s titles and iconography parallel to those from the former tomb. However, one appliqué of similar form to those from the harness appliquéés of Tutankhamen and with the same theme, the chariot sport pictured above, clearly bears Ay’s titles as pharaoh and of the rest, three bear his royal titles and four his earlier elite roles as a senior official under Tutankhamen. So at best, it could be assumed that these appliquéés traverse the reigns of both rulers, with Ay serving as *terminus ante quem* and therefore the slightly more likely candidate. As an aside, I wonder why

<sup>13</sup> Daressy in Davis 1912, 125–33; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 129.

<sup>14</sup> Reeves 1981, 13.

queen Ankhesenamun has not been proposed as the solution to this problem, as her name also appears twice on these artefacts and she may be associated historically with both rulers.<sup>15</sup>



Fig. 7.4 Tutankhamen smiting a captive in the presence of Ankhesenamun and Ay. Gold foil plaque from KV 58. After Daressy 1912, fig. 4.

### 7.2.3 Amarna royal tombs, Akhenaten (1352–1336 BCE)

The predecessor and probable father of Tutankhamen, Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV) and the contentious Amarna succession has frustratingly contributed little material from royal tombs, predominantly because the tombs that the royal family had prepared at the city of Tell el Amarna, Akhetaten, are attested, but in the wake of Akhenaten's death there is only confused evidence for the final interment places of this ruler and his still contested immediate royal successors.<sup>16</sup> The only funerary artefact perhaps associated with Akhenaten that may contribute nominally to this discussion is a faience hunting stick from the British Museum that is only reputed to be from the Amarna royal tomb. This object, apart from the usual iconographic motifs for apotropaic hunting sticks: *Wedjat* eyes, royal cartouches and *nymphaea caerulea*, also has two small volute trees drawn on the tip.<sup>17</sup> This is not a unique feature and as we travel backwards in time it reappears as an element of the idiom of faience magical sticks from specifically royal tombs.

However, while royal tombs are sadly inadequate for this ruler, archaeological material from elite estates at the city he built, Tell el Amarna, are not so disappointing. Embossed leather fragments from quivers and chariots are attested from the German excavations in the early twentieth century. Ludwig Borchardt concluded from the find context of some of the more exceptional pieces that these were from the domestic

<sup>15</sup> Whether Ay married Tutankhamen's widow currently rests on the evidence of one glass ring from Berlin, see Dodson and Hilton 2004, 153; Dodson 2009, 100–1.

<sup>16</sup> Smenkhkare and Neferneferuaten are not dealt with here, due to the current absence of royal tombs for either. Assuming they were separate individuals, although if Reeves' current theories are proven, they/she may be represented by material in KV 62, see Gabolde 1998; Krauss 2007; Reeves 2015; Habicht 2015.

<sup>17</sup> British Museum: EA 34213.

residences of royal military personnel.<sup>18</sup> These leather appliqués now reside in the Berlin Museum and were examined and published in 2011 by André Veldmeijer.<sup>19</sup> In terms of form and decoration they are consistent with having been associated with chariots, horse harness, bowcases and/or quivers. The decoration unsurprisingly has dominant geometric patterns, like the zigzag and scalloping, but there are also examples with bands of running spirals. However, in support of earlier evidence volute trees and palmette flowers constitute the primary ornaments for these leather appliqués from Amarna.<sup>20</sup> In concurrence with this association, two pairs of bronze horse bits from the same excavation are embellished with a composite rosette design of radiating volutes with papyrus umbels.<sup>21</sup>



Fig. 7.5 Volute trees on a faience hunting stick (left) and bronze horse bits from Tell el Amarna (right). Image A. Sinclair.

#### 7.2.4 KV 55: Tiye? (1389–1336 BCE)<sup>22</sup>

In Western Thebes in the Valley of the Kings there is one tomb that might have contributed evidence from the Amarna interlude and it is KV 55. This tomb may have originally been intended for Akhenaten's mother, Tiye, the great royal wife of Amenhotep III, but ultimately the coffin discovered in it contained a male royal mummy, perhaps that of Akhenaten.<sup>23</sup> What scant evidence for volutes from this tomb comes in the form of a detail on the anthropomorphic sarcophagus which has a broad floral collar of gold and inlay that has a decoration of pendant volute/south flowers. It should be noted that this anthropoid coffin is considered to have been modified to contain a male king and may have originally been intended for an Amarna queen, perhaps Tiye or Kiya. The volute collar is possibly a correlation with this notion, as volute pendants with *nefer* signs on collars are a rare motif that has been specifically associated with royal women and are most prolific in the iconography of Tiye.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Borchardt 1911, 26–8.

<sup>19</sup> Veldmeijer 2011b, 93–140.

<sup>20</sup> Ikram and Veldmeijer 2012, 137.

<sup>21</sup> Berlin ÄM 2943: Borchardt 1911; Seyfried 2012, 212, cat. 11.

<sup>22</sup> Davis 1910; Reeves 1984; 43–53; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996; 117–21; Porter and Moss 1964, 565–6.

<sup>23</sup> The identification is contested, see Habicht et al 2016.

<sup>24</sup> Anthropoid sarcophagi and death mask of Tuya from KV 46, see Johnson 1999, 227–30.



### 7.2.5 KV/WV 22: Amenhotep III (1389–1352 BCE)<sup>25</sup>

The likely grandfather of Tutankhamen ruled Egypt for around forty years as the heir to a vast economically wealthy and stable empire and as an internationally renowned great king. His tomb, as a result, ought to have been well prepared and lavishly stocked with suitable prestige objects for his renewal in the afterlife. No doubt it was. However, it was not by the time of its clearing in the early 1900s and contributes little to our discussion except for the knowledge that it contained a wealth of material comparable to that of KV 62, but in this case reduced to fragments: coffins, shrines, furnishings, chests, protective statues, model boats, prestige vessels, shabtis, one bronze menat counterpoise and negligible fragments of leather that like for KV 62 may have come from the housings or harness of a long vanished state chariot.<sup>26</sup> These objects were dispersed throughout international museums and because of the nature of collecting in the early days of Egyptology, may not all be firmly attributed to the tomb.<sup>27</sup> However, the evidence does not end with the tomb and in 1905, during clearing below WV 22, a group of leather appliquéés were found in what was then described as rubbish heaps, possibly looter's discards from the tomb above. Chassinat in 1906 described them as:

‘d’objets en cuir d’un travail délicate et de très jolie effet. Ornés de dessins géométriques et de rinceaux formés de bandes de cuir vert extrêmement fines appliquées sur un fond de couleur différente.’<sup>28</sup>

...‘objects in leather of delicate workmanship and to very nice effect. Decorated with geometric designs and with vegetal forms in bands of green leather [that are] very thinly applied over a differently coloured background.’

Chassinat described these objects as predominantly fragments from quivers, no doubt under the influence of the evidence of previous leather appliquéés from the tombs of Maihirperi and Thutmose IV. He disappointingly provided no quantity for the objects found and it appears that as low treasure value artefacts they are now lost to posterity. Two pieces are cited in this short report as providing royal attribution, being described as bearing the cartouches of Amenhotep III. One is described as having a scene of the ruler shooting a bow from his chariot, no doubt of similar style to the appliquéés with this theme from KV 62 and KV 58. In like manner to other cited appliquéés, these are described as raised embossed leather which would originally have been plated with thin similarly embossed gold sheet, traces of which were still visible in the early twentieth century. Considering the paucity of evidence from this royal tomb, there does appear to be slight indications that the chariot accessories and weaponry may have had style and thematic correlations to the later Amarna period material.

<sup>25</sup> Reeves 1984, 36–40; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 110–5; Porter and Moss 1964, 547–50.

<sup>26</sup> Daressy 1902, 301; Reeves 1984, 39; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 114; Porter and Moss 1964, 550.

<sup>27</sup> Porter and Moss 1964, 566; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 113–4.

<sup>28</sup> Chassinat 1905–6, 82–3.

7.2.6 KV 43: Thutmose IV (1400–1390 BCE)<sup>29</sup>

The father of Amenhotep III, Thutmose IV, in contrast to his son, ruled Egypt for only ten years yet accidentally managed to provide posterity with a more informative assemblage of residual royal grave goods and to provide this study with objects. The tomb contained the usual outcome of determined precious material theft: a sandstone sarcophagus, the king's mummy, canopic jars, shabti figures, foundation deposits, sealings, model coffins, tools, glass vessels, faience plaques, libation vessels, cups, amulets and hunting sticks, wooden figurines, bitumen blackened protective statues, stone vases, fragments of furniture, staves, fans, leather, hunting equipment, a game board, linen and a wooden chariot body.<sup>30</sup>

*Chariot:* Within this tomb assemblage there was one of the few chariot bodies that are available to current research, apart from the six chariots from KV 62.<sup>31</sup> It was similarly constructed from wood, leather, linen and plaster and overlaid in this case with complex scenes of royal power in embossed silver sheet. However, no trace of the silver overlay remains, again due to the activities of looters. The fragmentary body was decorated with scenes of the ruler in a chariot shooting a bow and trampling the enemies of Egypt in much the same idiom as the internal decoration of chariot 120 from KV 62.<sup>32</sup> Other motifs include the other favourite of this period that stems back to the Old Kingdom in Egypt, the ruler as a sphinx with sundry members of the Nine-Bows crushed under his forepaws.

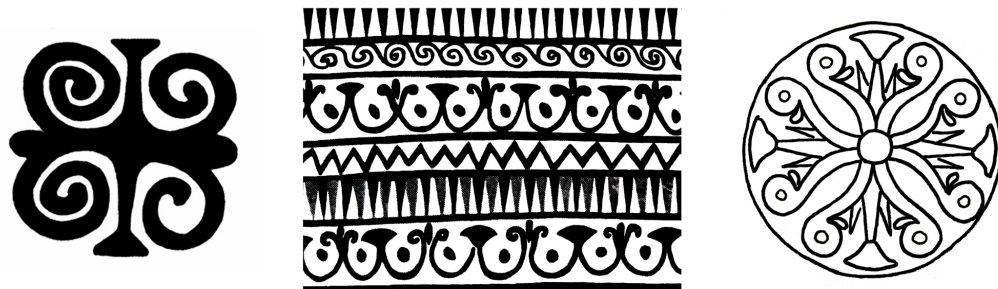


Fig. 7.6 Embossed leather harness boss and appliqué designs from KV 43, tomb of Thutmose IV. Images A. Sinclair.

Of the few chariot appliqué designs extant in this tomb group there is naturally no gold or silver sheet remaining. Instead only the leather remains, the designs on these repeat idiom from similar royal rhetoric, much as the canonical idiom on appliqué designs from KV 62 does, again with themes such as the ruler as sphinx trampling enemy foes and *sema-tawy* with prostate enemies. Of the few appliqué designs, there are four embossed leather

<sup>29</sup> Carter and Newberry 1904; Daressy 1902, 299; Reeves 1984, 28–36; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 104–8; Porter and Moss 1964, 559–62.

<sup>30</sup> Carter and Newberry 1904, 1–144; Reeves 1984, 31–2; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 107.

<sup>31</sup> In total there are eleven chariots and all date to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty: six from KV 62, one from KV 46, this body from KV 43, an axle from KV 22, a lynch pin from KV 35 and a quotidian vehicle of unknown provenience: Littauer and Crouwel 1979, 76.

<sup>32</sup> Carter and Newberry 1904, 24–33, pls. IX–XII; see Calvert (2013) for the value of the iconography.

chariot accessories with the volute designs that are specific to this idiom: two have floral rosettes constructed from four volute flowers and *wadj* papyrus, one rectangular piece has successive ornamental bands of simple concentric volutes alternating with papyrus, running spirals, petal ornament and zigzags. The final poorly illustrated leather piece conforms to the style and form of one of Tutankhamen's chariot appliqués, having a vertical complex volute tree as its central feature. The content of these is consistent with the idiom we have come to expect, but there are technique and style differences.<sup>33</sup>

*Wood:* Furniture is nominally represented by many pieces of inlay and framework from what would have been royal thrones of similar design to those from KV 62. Of these, one fragmentary cedar chair panel with traces of a *sema-tawy* is described as having a decoration of 'coils' and rosettes. Another two fragments of carved cedar of unclear function have incised decorative bands with running spirals and lozenges. These are paralleled by better preserved panels from royal thrones with canonical scenes of Thutmose IV being assigned eternal rule by the gods Thoth and Weret-Hekau and as a rampant sphinx trampling the enemies of Egypt.<sup>34</sup>

*Faience:* The scant evidence does not end with harness paraphernalia and expands out to include blue glazed faience objects. These are three faience magic hunting sticks with volute trees painted in black glaze on the tip, just as the earlier one from the tomb of Akhenaten at Amarna. The other object is a faience *nemset* jar that has a device of *djet* columns and the ruler's prenomen in cartouches around the body. On the shoulder there is a circular 'rosette' floral motif comprising four simple volutes, buds and *nymphaea caerulea* flowers.



Fig. 7.7 Volute flowers on faience hunting sticks from KV 43. Images A. Sinclair.

*Linen:* Finally, of the four rare examples of polychrome tapestry woven linen from ancient Egypt, a fragment (Cairo JE 46526) from this tomb which is of disputed function<sup>35</sup> is woven with a blue and red polychrome pattern of alternating simple volutes and papyrus with a border of lotus flowers and the prenomen of Thutmose IV's father, Amenhotep II flanked by *uraei*. Like the earlier *nemset* jar the symbolic value of these floral patterns clearly references the dichotomy of the united two lands.

<sup>33</sup> Ikram and Veldmeijer 2012, 138; Veldmeijer 2011b, 26.

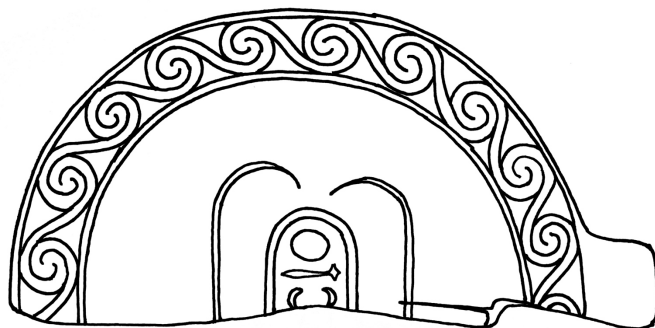
<sup>34</sup> Carter and Newberry 1904, 20–3, cat. 46121–2, 46096, pls. VI–VIII. The throne panels originally belonged to the Davis Collection and now reside in the MMA.

<sup>35</sup> Carter and Newberry (1904, 140) consigned these to ceremonial tunics, Janssen (1992, 223–4) argued a funerary pall and loose covers.

A second textile (Cairo JE 46529) has a design of red-pink and green daisy rosettes woven all over the body in similar intention to tunic 367i from KV 62. The final two fragments have embroidered polychrome hieroglyphic texts, one employs the *ka* name of Thutmose IV and the other has a fragment of royal titulary. These linens were found in the context of the chariot fragments which could in fact support an association with horse housings or palls rather than with royal ceremonial costume.<sup>36</sup>

The two broad motifs, simple volutes and rosettes, reflect the ambiguity of separating external and internal rhetoric, and may be argued to represent both elements of this idiom and at the same time material correlations with artefacts from KV 62. Equally, all four polychrome designs argue that complex coloured weaves were a feature of royal linens at this time. This rather negligible royal tomb assemblage contained no prestige materials, yet it parallels the Tutankhamen material by having comparable leather harness accessories, furniture fragments and ceremonial linens all with idiom of volute flowers, volute trees, rosettes and running spirals, but it also adds faience magical equipment to the discussion, with the funerary symbolic of magic hunting sticks and a *nemset* jar. In the complete absence of precious materials it can only be surmised on the basis of later assemblages that this idiom extended out to include further objects from this royal tomb.

### 7.2.7 KV 35: Amenhotep II (1425–1400 BCE)



*Fig. 7.8* Wooden lid of a cosmetic dish with the prenomen of Amenhotep II from KV 35. Image A. Sinclair.

The tomb of Amenhotep II, KV 35, was investigated and cleared by Victor Loret in the late 1800s and while never formally published, it was documented relatively meticulously.<sup>37</sup> This tomb is significant to research apart from the interment and remnants of this ruler's funerary equipment, but also as one of the two important caches of royal mummies that were discovered in Egypt in the nineteenth century.<sup>38</sup> While it did not escape substantial looting in antiquity, there still remained enough archaeological material for scholars to be in a position to draw comparisons with Tutankhamen's assemblage twenty five years later. Upon clearance this tomb contained

<sup>36</sup> Janssen 1992, 224; Barber 1982, 442.

<sup>37</sup> Loret 1899a; Wilkinson and Reeves 1996, 104–8; Reeves 1984, 107; Porter and Moss 1964, 554–6.

<sup>38</sup> Reeves 1984, 207–14; Tyldesley 2006, 200.

a jumble of the usual fragmentary material that would have been of little financial interest to thieves, such as wooden funerary statues, coffers, shrines, model funerary boats, bows, staves, scraps of chariot paraphernalia, numerous vessels, faience amulets, plaques, clay seals, not to mention the very large number of royal mummies and sarcophagi.<sup>39</sup>

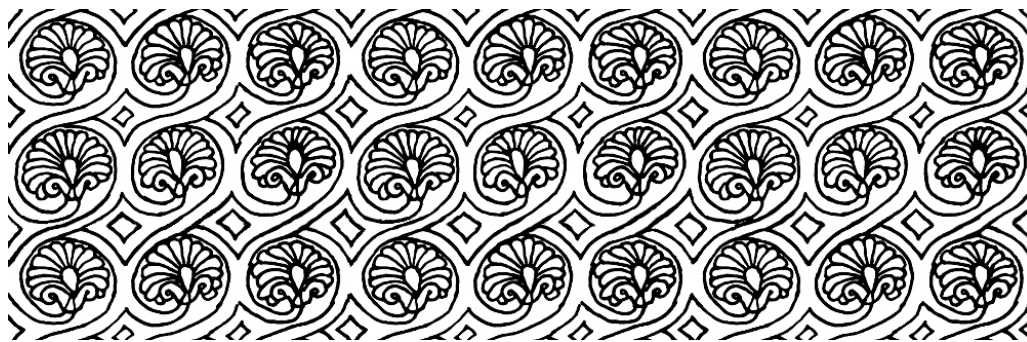


Fig. 7.9 Palmettes on leather appliqué, most likely from quivers or bowcases, KV 35. These appliqué were popular in early scholarship as a correlation with Aegean motifs. Image A. Sinclair.

Of the funerary objects from this tomb, at least three wooden boat models bear designs of various types of standard volute tree, apart from the canonical idiom of royal power which in this instance focuses on representations of the war god Monthu and the defeat of chaos as exemplified again by a sphinx subduing foreign prisoners. These volutes range from simple blue and red flowers on the prows of two funerary boats, to three complex volute trees adorning the cabin of a fragmentary third. It is likely that another fragmentary boat canopy with interlocking running spirals and rosettes, belonged with the latter, or these represent four boats. Another wooden fragment that is of unclear function is decorated with a band of simple interlocking volutes, papyrus and the royal cartouche,  $\text{ʕ3-ḥpr.w-r}^c$ , the prenomen Akheperure, identifying this ruler. Running spirals also occur on a variety of other objects from this tomb. Spiral bands adorn a fragmentary wooden sceptre and an originally gilded swivel lid for a wooden toiletry box. This border ornament frames remnants of a cartouche with the king's prenomen that is framed by palm ribs allocating him millions of years of rule. Concentric spirals also occur on a fragment of incised and originally gilded wood of unknown function, perhaps furniture. On a further three embossed leather pieces concentric spirals are resolved as volute palmettes that parallel those painted on the ceiling of the tomb of a senior official of this ruler, Qenamun, TT 93.<sup>40</sup> These leather pieces conform to the shapes that are currently associated with leather bowcases or quivers.

<sup>39</sup> Loret 1899a, 100–8; Daressy 1902, 63–279; Porter and Moss 1964, 555.

<sup>40</sup> See also palmette-spirals as ceiling decoration from TT 349, Tjay (early 18th Dynasty), TT 67, Hapuseneb (reign of Hatshepsut) and TT 251, Amenmose (Thutmose III).

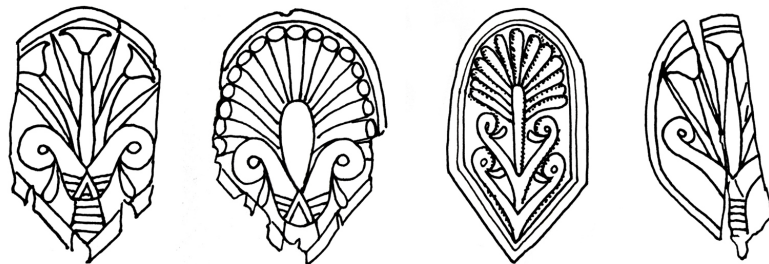


Fig. 7.10 Wooden and leather horse blinkers from KV 35. Images A. Sinclair.

Five wooden blinkers and leather harness pieces contribute volute trees as the central motif and fragments of two wooden self bows supply simple volute bands that Daressy described as palmettes in his catalogue.<sup>41</sup> Of particular interest here are five stamp sealings on a rough clay wine jar stopper that combine a flying duck (the hieroglyph *pa* and common to this repertoire from Egypt) and a standard complex volute tree topped by a crown of papyrus umbels. This type of jar seal is mirrored from limited evidence from the palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata and points towards a royal administrative function for this iconography, although it is commonly argued that the contents of these jars were imported Syrian wines based on the presence of the ‘Syrian’ volute tree.<sup>42</sup> Finally, there were two blue faience magical hunting sticks in this assemblage with black glaze volute palmettes drawn on the tip.

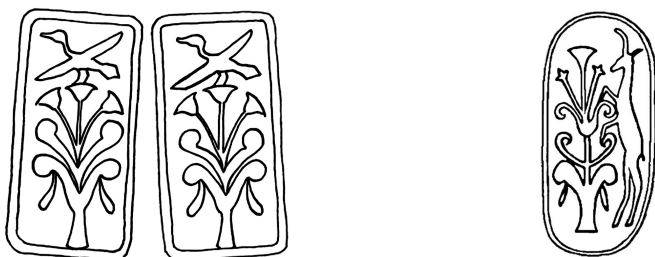


Fig. 7.11 Clay wine jar sealings from KV 35. Clay jar sealing from Malqata, Western Thebes. Images A. Sinclair.

When this small group of quotidian materials with traces of richer materials on their surfaces is compared with KV 62 there appears to be a basic correlation in object function for this idiom. Both royal tombs contain evidence of spiral and volute idiom being used in conjunction with royal rhetoric of power on chariots, harness fittings, cosmetic tools, furnishings and here thrones, staves of office and weaponry. In addition to these, wine jar sealings, magical hunting sticks and model funerary boats contribute further symbolic and quasi-mundane contexts for this idiom in a royal tomb. What is very clear is that in the late fifteenth century this idiom was also ubiquitous to specific media in royal funerary assemblages.

<sup>41</sup> Daressy 1902, 68.

<sup>42</sup> See Hayes 1951, p. 161: ‘...the undoubted Asiatic associations of the motif point either to Syro-Palestine or to the extreme north-eastern border region of Egypt as the source in question. The stoppers bearing this device are perhaps from the jars of ‘Syrian wine’ ...’

### 7.2.8 KV 34: Thutmose III (1479–1425 BCE)<sup>43</sup>

The tomb of Thutmose III is the point where funerary evidence of any worthwhile amount begins to become meagre. It was discovered and cleared by Victor Loret in the late nineteenth century and had naturally been substantially looted, containing only material that offered little financial return to looters, again damaged coffins, fragments of furniture and model boats, magic staves, bitumen coated wooden protective statues, sealings, stone and ceramic vessels and fragments of glass vessels. This tomb was not published formally by Loret and the objects are problematic to source in museum collections.<sup>44</sup> I am currently unaware of any material that manifests exotic idiom from this tomb which may be ascribed to a lacuna in my research or simply to the paucity of the assemblage. However, the volute tree is represented by elite material contemporary with this ruler.

A double sided green glazed steatite stamp seal from an elite tomb, D 108, at Abydos from the Fitzwilliam collection in London has a schematic volute tree on one face and a cryptographic inscription on the other.<sup>45</sup> The assemblage of this robbed tomb contained material typical of an elite funerary assemblage, with kohl jars, jewellery, seals of Thutmose III, a menat fragment, beads, amulets and other seals.<sup>46</sup> The value to discussion here is the intentional juxtaposition of volute tree with Egyptian cryptograms: the verso has Gardiner I12 (𓆎), a *uraeus*, that is attached by the tail to Gardiner H6 (𓆏), a *maat* feather and beneath this is Gardiner X1 (𓆑), ‘t’, and thus it may be assumed to read m3<sup>c</sup>.t ‘truth’ or ‘order’, with the use of the *uraeus* also signalling that the goddess Maat herself is specifically indicated. This may infer a similar value for the volute tree on the reverse, but definitely argues an internal value and relationship for the symbol during the reign of Thutmose III in the fifteenth century.

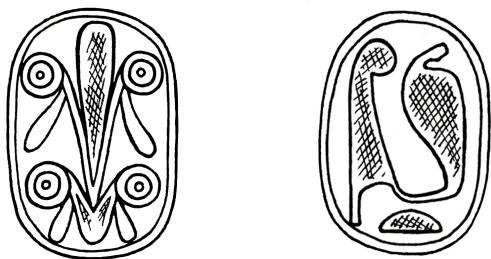


Fig. 7.12 Glazed steatite seal with a volute tree, and on the reverse ‘Maat’ from tomb D 108 at Abydos. Image A. Sinclair.

Additionally, the royal funerary assemblage of the ‘three foreign princesses’ that is ascribed to the joint reign of this sovereign and Hatshepsut<sup>47</sup> contained prestige objects bearing elements of this idiom. A small stone kohl pot has a thin filigree openwork

<sup>43</sup> Loret 1899b, 94–5; Daressy 1902, 281–98; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 97–9; Reeves 1984, 17–24; Porter and Moss 1964, 553–4.

<sup>44</sup> Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 98; Reeves 1984, 20–2; Porter and Moss 1964, 553.

<sup>45</sup> Fitzwilliam: E.16.1901.

<sup>46</sup> Randall-McIver and Mace 1902, 88, 101.

<sup>47</sup> So technically this king’s adolescence: Lilyquist 2003; Roehrig 2005, 184–90.



band of running spirals circumnavigating the body and a gold sheet and blue glass inlaid royal pectoral with style parallels to the New Year gifts of Amenhotep II<sup>48</sup> has a border of sixty-two modelled sheet gold volute pendants with rosette crowns. The body of the collar is constructed using successive rows of gold sheet *nefer* beads originally inlaid with dark blue glass.<sup>49</sup> As previously stated, this type of collar has specific associations with the women of the royal family and with royal favour, while perhaps also having a funerary function, as it conflates visually with the standard *ḥrw* or *w3ḥ* collar.<sup>50</sup> It is probably worth noting that in the past these examples of intrusive idiom will have contributed to an argument of external ethnicity for the women, who are currently believed to be of northern Levantine origin, due to their non-Egyptian personal names.<sup>51</sup>

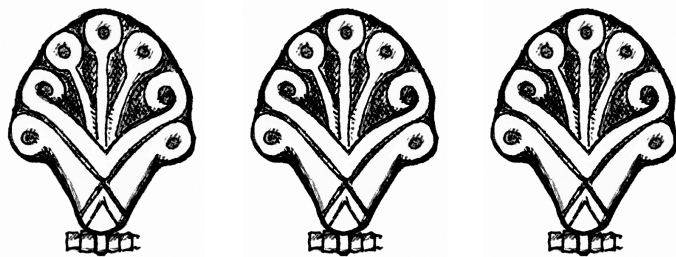


Fig. 7.13 Volute flowers in modelled gold sheet from the tomb of three wives of Thutmose III. Image A. Sinclair.

### 7.2.9 KV 20: Hatshepsut (1479–1457 BCE)<sup>52</sup>

The tomb that Hatshepsut had prepared for her burial when she was God's wife of Amen and royal widow of Thutmose II, was tomb WA D in Wadi ez' Zeide, but presumably after assuming a more senior role as co-regent with Thutmose III, this site was abandoned and she had another larger royal tomb prepared for herself and her father Thutmose I. This latter tomb, KV 20, contained very little residual archaeological material on examination in the early twentieth century. This may again be attributable to ancient sustained clearance and to the fact that it was known to the public from the early nineteenth century and only examined properly by Howard Carter in the early twentieth.<sup>53</sup> What was left remaining in the tomb were two empty sandstone sarcophagi, a sandstone canopic box, alabaster vessel fragments with cartouches of early Eighteenth Dynasty rulers, ceramic, stone and faience vessels and tools, fragments from a single bitumen statue, scraps of furniture, some inlays and a foundation deposit.<sup>54</sup>

Nonetheless, in the poorly preserved fragmentary material gleaned from this virtually

<sup>48</sup> Royal workshop gifts to (or from) Amenhotep II depicted in the tomb of Qenamun (TT 93), Davies 1930, pl. XII.

<sup>49</sup> Lilyquist 2003, 173, cat. 132, fig. 164; Patch 2005, 198–9, cat. 115.

<sup>50</sup> Johnson 1999.

<sup>51</sup> Although on the basis of linguistic values, no cultural source for these names is currently agreed upon.

<sup>52</sup> Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 91–4; Reeves 1984, 8–13; Porter and Moss 1964, 546–7.

<sup>53</sup> Carter 1906; 1917.

<sup>54</sup> Porter and Moss 1964, 547; Reeves 1984, 10–1.



empty tomb there were two pieces of engraved wood that are likely to have come from funerary furnishings, probably chairs or thrones. These two scraps are briefly documented by Carter in *The Tomb of Hâtshopsît*: ‘Among the few pieces of wood, possibly from furniture, there are two pieces with the scroll pattern carved upon them.’<sup>55</sup> These sorry fragments make a satisfactory analogue with the spirals from furniture and cosmetic objects in KV 62 and with other wooden objects bearing spiral bands from earlier kings like Amenhotep II. They equally add weight to the inference that in the fourteenth century (more than one hundred years after Hatshepsut was king) this idiom was embedded in the visual rhetoric of royal funerary assemblages.



Fig. 7.14 Fragment of furniture from the tomb of Hatshepsut, KV 20. After Carter 1906, fig 11.

The final resting place of Thutmose II, husband and half brother of Hatshepsut is currently unknown and therefore contributes little to this discussion beyond the hope that the current excavations at Deir el Bahari may actually be close on its trail. In 2019 a foundation cache naming Thutmose II was found there, and within this was a small faience vaulted box with royal cartouches naming this king. This small votive object was decorated with canonical Egyptian royal and cult idiom that is again inclusive of running spiral bands.<sup>56</sup>

### 7.2.10 Thutmose I (1503–1491 BCE)<sup>57</sup> and Amenhotep I (1524–1503 BCE)

Thutmose I appears to have led a fairly active afterlife, since it appears he was interred by his daughter in her tomb and then later assigned a new burial place in KV 38 by his grandson Thutmose III, his body ultimately ending up in the Deir el Bahari cache. His many travels did not escape the attention of looters and he provides no material towards this discussion beside fragments of a sarcophagus and glass vessels which ‘clearly cannot be dated earlier than the reign of Thutmose III’.<sup>58</sup> Again location and material remains for Amenhotep I provide nothing but energetic dialectic over the identity of his last resting place, with some justifications that he may have been

<sup>55</sup> Carter 1906, 112.

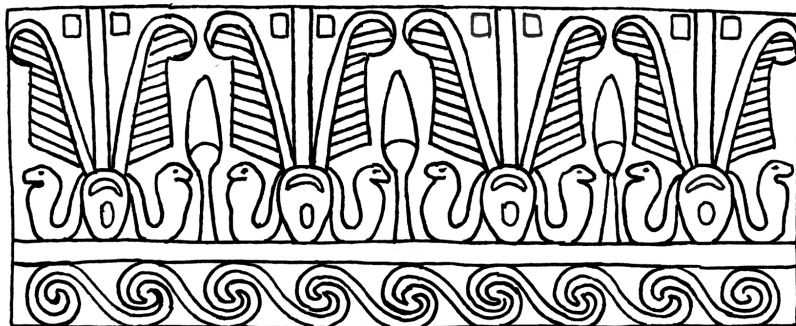
<sup>56</sup> Press release of University of Warsaw, March 2020, <https://www.thefirstnews.com/article/stone-chest-found-in-ancient-temple-and-containing-skeleton-of-a-sacrificial-goose-could-lead-to-hidden-royal-tomb-10980>

<sup>57</sup> Daressy 1902, 300–4 (glass & alabaster vessel fragments, canopic jar); Reeves 1984, 8–15; Wilkinson and Reeves 1996, 91–5; Porter and Moss 1964, 557.

<sup>58</sup> Wilkinson and Reeves 1996, 88; Porter and Moss 1964, 559.

<sup>58</sup> Reeves 1984, 14.

interred in either KV 39 or AN B (Dra Abu en Naga B). In fact, the earliest rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty contribute very little material to this discussion with the final interment places of A'hmose and Kamose currently unknown, but this period does not represent a complete blank in terms of material evidence and we finish with the remains of a queen from this period who has been briefly cited in Chapter One. This material in some way began the discussion of hybrid idiom, so it is perhaps fitting that it ends an examination of idiom from Eighteenth Dynasty royal funerary contexts.



*Fig. 7.15* Faience cosmetic box naming Thutmose II from a foundation deposit at Deir el Bahari, Polish exc. 2019. Image A. Sinclair.

## 7.2.11 Seventeenth Dynasty tombs

### 7.2.11.1 A'hhotep (1600–1530 BCE)

The royal mummy of queen A'hhotep from Dra Abu en Naga has not been associated with a specific tomb context and may never be, as it is not uncommon for Theban Second Intermediate Period queenly interments to be relatively simple. For the benefit of this discussion the exact identification of this queen from the crossover period between the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties is not crucially important. The value of this individual is her role as a great royal wife and founding queen mother of the new dynasty. This value is also reflected in the enormous prestige illustrated by the material with which she was buried. In the sarcophagus of this queen there were objects in precious stones, silver and gold comprising two axes, two daggers, two model boats, a royal fan, golden fly pendants, a mirror and jewellery: a pectoral, cowrie girdle, gold pendants from collars, armbands, rings and bracelets.<sup>59</sup> The majority of this collection exhibits Egyptian royal rhetoric that is to be expected from elite funerary material, with the usual emphasis on symbols of solar regeneration and the role of the ruler in social unity.

Two objects which combine canonical and entangled idiom have already rated mention here, due to their forming the basis of interconnection discussions. They are the axe

<sup>59</sup> Eaton-Krauss 2003, 75–89; Lacovara 2008, 119; Roth 1999, 361–78.

with a crouching winged griffin with Aegean visual intrusions and the dagger that has an animal combat of lion and steer in flying gallop. In addition, a title of this queen, *ḥnwt ḏd.w ḥ3.w-nb.wt* ‘mistress of the banks of all Hau lands’ has contributed, with the iconography, to an early argument that this queen was a Minoan princess. The reading of *ḥ3.w* (Gardiner M16 (𐎓)), a triple papyrus) as the Aegean, however, is disputed, being more likely to function as a general topographical term than to indicate a specific cultural group.<sup>60</sup> It is repeated on a royal staff previously cited here (582b) from KV 62 and there employed in an analogy to Tutankhamen’s dominion over all lands, in a pairing with Fenkhu lands. In the case of Tutankhamen, however, no scholar is arguing that this usage indicates his ethnicity.



Fig. 7.16 Detail from one side of the A’hotep dagger blade. Image A. Sinclair.

The mention of both weapons in Chapter One was superficial and intended to build a discussion of past scholarship. At this point it is appropriate to look at the funerary group with greater scrutiny to establish if the assumption that these are intrusions is borne out by the wider evidence. First, the ceremonial axe with a winged *sefer* griffin is otherwise Egyptian in visual content. On the griffin side it has the royal titulary of A’hmose I and shows a central royal figure executing a Nine-Bow captive with a dagger. On the opposing face a royal sphinx is essentially pair to the griffin on the other side in posture. Above this are the lily and papyrus signs and the signs of the ‘two ladies’ Nekhebet and Wadjet, as vulture and cobra. At the top of the frieze is the god Heh holding two *ḥnp.t* palms as guarantee of eternal rule. Therefore the function of the visual content refers to kingship and cosmic order.

The A’hotep dagger<sup>61</sup> has a lion pursuing a steer stretched out on a thin band on the upper surface of one side of the blade. The posture and use of the space is reminiscent of Aegean models for daggers, but is also attested on contemporary objects from Egypt. A slightly earlier or contemporary ivory game board from an elite burial at Asasif in Western Thebes also resolves its thin space in a similar manner, but with spotted hunting dogs, a lion and gazelles.<sup>62</sup> The lower sequence of the dagger’s frieze consists of four locusts or grasshoppers spaced between schematic grass fronds.<sup>63</sup> This sign *snḥm*, ‘grasshopper/locust’ which the figures mimic, has an internal Egyptian sign value of ‘numerous, many or a multitude’. It was another way of signalling the Egyptian population, a hoard or even a military group. It may also be assigned a cryptographic

<sup>60</sup> Matić 2015; Quack 2007b.

<sup>61</sup> Luxor: JE 4666.

<sup>62</sup> El Asasif, Courtyard CC 41, Pit 3, burial E 3, MMA 16.10.475a.

<sup>63</sup> The locust is the swarming and flying phase of specific types of grasshopper and has wings. It is worth noting that wings are not visible here, but that Egyptian iconography could show either.

value of w or r, which in the plural due to multiple signs could infer rw ‘lion’. These alone tend to contradict an assumption of external idiom.<sup>64</sup> Directly below the handle of the dagger is a vertical royal text reading:

nṯr-nfr nb-t3.wj ỉḥ-mś dī ḥḥ mj rḥ d.t

‘Perfect god, lord of the two lands, A’hmose given life like Re eternally’.



Fig. 7.17 Volutes and jackal head from the opposing side of the A’hotep dagger blade. Image A. Sinclair.

On the reverse of the blade the space is dominated by a schematic vertical design of volute flowers that is resolved, like on Tutankhamen’s dagger sheath points, by a stylised jackal head. Above the many volutes is another brief royal inscription directly under the handle.

s3-rḥ n ḥ.t=f ỉḥ-mś dī ḥḥ mj rḥ d.t

‘Son of Re, of his body, A’hmose given life like Re eternally’.

The inlaid handle and pommel unsurprisingly reference Hathoric imagery with juxtaposed bucrania and Hathor quadrifons protomés. The top of the pommel is resolved as a rosette that may signal the sign wn ‘flower/blossom’. This dagger is of particular interest because of the early date, and yet it fuses two primary elements of the ostensibly international imagery: animal combat and volute flowers. It also repeats idiom that is present on a dagger of Tutankhamen, but the use of this idiom and the accompanying motifs are interpreted differently. Features which could easily be attributed to the two hundred year time difference. In addition, there are visual parallels for this idiom from contemporary daggers in the late Seventeenth Dynasty. The Ashmolean collection<sup>65</sup> has a bronze spear or sword blade from the Arthur Evans collection that has contributed to discussions in the early twentieth century. This weapon naming Kamose has a layered volute south flower pattern on the hilt and on the top of the blade is the stock motif of the war god Monthu as a royal hieracosphinx trampling an enemy captive.

Decorative elements like running spirals and guilloche are absent from the A’hotep dagger and axe, but this lack is adequately compensated for by the idiom from this same queen’s gold pendant collars. These collars have been reconstructed in a variety of designs in the past century, but essentially constitute many small modelled gold sheet pendants. The visual content of these pendants represents animals, such as ducks in flight, falcons, vultures, lions, gazelles, ibex and hunting dogs. These are combined with signs or symbols, such as crosses (Gardiner M42 (⊕), wn), solar orbs (circle

<sup>64</sup> Jaromir Malek (1997, 207–19) has argued that there is visual conflation between the posture of these locust symbols on the dagger and the icon of the subdued enemy trampled under the feet of ruler in pharaonic visual rhetoric.

<sup>65</sup> Ashmolean: AN1927.4622.

rosette), lunar sickles (Gardiner N11 (𓂏), 𓂏), ‘bells’ (papyrus umbels) and lastly, coil running spirals. One unquestionably divine animal is also repeatedly present, the winged cobra, *uraeus*, and symbol of the goddesses Wadjet, Iaret and Weret-Hekau and protectresses of the ruler. It is in this instance reasonably easy to view the visual conflation occurring between image and sign in the design of these two collars.



Fig. 7.18 Detail of queen A'hhotept's gold collar. Image A. Sinclair.

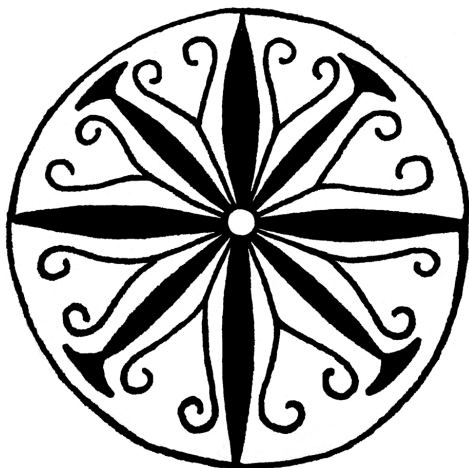
In these examples the only idiom absent from the artefacts is this time the volute flower, as animal combats with galloping and twisted poses, rosettes and coils/spirals are well represented, yet again with an equivalent proportion of canonical Egyptian icons of regeneration and protection. Solar symbolism is present via solar orbs and falcons, lunar symbols reference the queen's name and the many *uraei* could reference the queen's association with the solar/royal eye goddesses. In fact most symbols present here could be read as internal 'protective text'. Even the 'intrusive' coil motif has internal value, as it mimics Gardiner V1 (𓂏), 'šn', a coil of rope that signifies 'encirclement' or 'magical protection' and is a homophone with the other amulet and hieroglyph for 'protection' *shen*, Gardiner V7 (𓂏), which is an essential symbol of royal visual rhetoric.

### 7.2.11.2 The Qurna Burial

The final example, the Qurna Burial, does not represent a royal tomb context, as there was in fact no tomb structure associated with this burial. Again this is because queenly burials are not associated with tombs at this time. It is nonetheless a rich royal burial of a late Seventeenth or early Eighteenth Dynasty queen or princess and a young child.<sup>66</sup> It was excavated by Petrie in 1908 at Qurna in Western Thebes and even in the absence of architecture represents a reasonable sampling of prestige funerary artefacts and anthropoid coffins. Around the *reishi* coffin there was assembled a collection of furniture: a box, chair and stools, baskets containing prestige accessories, bowls with food offerings, a blue anhydrite bowl, unguent horn and bronze tools. The body of the queen was sprinkled with blue glaze beads between layers of wrapped linens. She was

<sup>66</sup> Petrie 1909, 6–10, pls. XXII–IX; Roehrig 2005, 15–22.

attired in relatively standard upper-elite female funerary jewellery, consisting of faience scarabs, gold rings, bracelets, earrings, collar and an electrum girdle. The child was similarly richly adorned.<sup>67</sup>



*Fig. 7.19* Volute and papyrus rosette from a ritual unguent horn of the Qurna burial queen. Image A. Sinclair.

It is the decoration of the ivory and ebony cap of the votive bovine horn that is of interest here, as it provides a nuanced approach to the volute motif that occurs in much later contexts. The horn is a quotidian material, being neither elephant nor hippopotamus ivory, but it is still a luxury object, as it is a vessel for holding precious unguent or libation oil. This type of artefact is a feature of elite burials at this time. It has a circular ebony cap on the widest end and a carved in the round ivory duck head on the point. In the ivory and ebony inlay of the cap the volute design frames a papyrus umbel or palmette in a radiating rosette design that superficially reads to the unconscious eye as a floral rosette, however, the single recognisable plant icon present here is four papyrus or *wadj* sceptres.

Not only does this design visually conflate with the rosette from Late Bronze Age Near Eastern gold plaques, but equally it visually references floral rosettes from much earlier internal sources, rosettes associated with the diadems of Egyptian royal women from the Old and Middle Kingdoms. It is also not too large a leap to find affinities with the later harness boss ‘rosettes’ from KV 43 and KV 58. However, the topic of exotic idiom for this burial has only come up in academic discussion from a southerly perspective, certain artefacts from this assemblage are considered to have Nubian characteristics. However, the ethnicity of the woman is currently considered to be Egyptian.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Petrie 1909, 10; Roehrig 2005, 16. Scottish National Museum’s collections website: ‘Qurna Burial’ <http://www.nms.ac.uk/explore/collections-stories/world-cultures/ancient-egypt/qurna-burial/>

<sup>68</sup> Veldmeijer and Bourriau 2009; Roehrig 2005, 21–2.

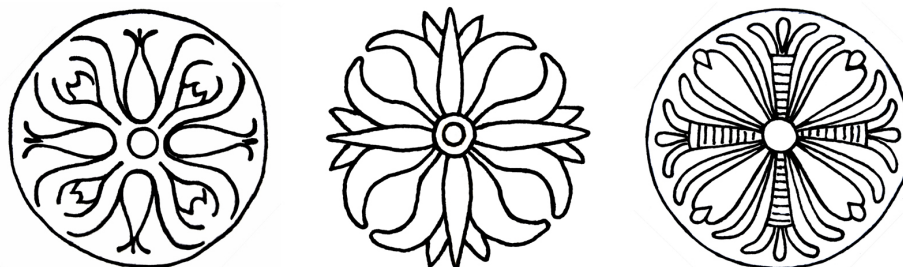


Fig. 7.20 Rosettes on royal female diadems from (left) Giza, 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, (centre) sun temple of Sahure, Abusir, 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, (right) princess Khnumet, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Saqqara. Image A. Sinclair.

### 7.2.12 Discussion

On the basis of what is very limited material evidence from royal tomb contexts it appears that much of this idiom may have been present in funerary assemblages in Egypt from the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The repertoire of material appears to be consistent throughout the period from approximately 1600 to 1300 BCE, with spirals and volute flowers being characteristic motifs for decorating materials such as linen, leather, sheet gold and carved wood. They also appear to have some value for the decoration of vitreous materials, particularly for funerary objects in faience. With regard to object type and function, there is a prevalence of military or hunt regalia for this idiom, such as decoration conventions for royal chariots, for weapons and symbols of office. However, there are also objects from the royal domestic sphere, such as prestige furnishings, with a high likelihood of large proportion of these still being symbols of office or accessories related to state or cult ritual events. This is notable when the substantial absence of prestige materials surviving from royal tombs is taken into account.

In terms of specific idiom, running spirals are associated with sheet gold and faience jewellery, inlays for furniture, furniture proper, staves, weapons, like daggers, bows, quivers and hunting vehicles, like horse and chariot appliqué. Volute trees have a wider application and may be found on all of the above object types, as well as textiles, model boats, toiletry boxes, magical hunting sticks, cult vessels and royal sealings. It should be noted that royal sealings from storage jars for wine are attested for funerary and palace contexts of two rulers, Amenhotep III and II, and it is difficult to argue that on administrative seals these represent intrusions of exotic idiom unless they specifically indicate exotic vessels, at best they could be argued to be icons referencing imported wines. The single faience royal seal with both volute tree and hieroglyphs naming a goddess dating to the reign of Thutmose III adds more fuel to the fire. The primary symbolic content associated with simple and complex volutes is the pairing with the papyrus in literal or inferred *sema-tawy* constructions, beyond this, symbols of royal protection (*maat*, *shen*, *uraei*) and regeneration (*khepri*, *wadj*, Hathoric icons: ducks, gazelle, bucrania) are common.

Animal attacks are the least visible idiom in this broad royal funerary group, with apparently only two extant examples at the very beginning of this dynasty. This idiom is comfortably combined with other required idiom and provides a sound basis for the assumption that combats and hunts are related in some way, where the obvious inference is the submission of chaos, it also hints at an association with Egyptian rhetoric of regeneration and the role of the ruler in the guarantee of cosmic order. The internal rhetoric that is most present on the associated royal funerary objects is the pharaoh in his chariot shooting with bow and/or trampling the enemies of Egypt, as sphinx trampling same or emblematic scenes of the royal name flanked by the symbols of unity or the god Heh and the dual palm fronds that guarantee eternal rule. However, there is enough evidence for an Egyptian royal association with this idiom (regardless of discussions of origin for these motifs) to warrant looking beyond the royal family for further evidence. This brings the discussion to the question of whether there is evidence for similar idiom from Eighteenth Dynasty elite tombs.

### 7.3 International idiom from Eighteenth Dynasty elite tombs

The final tombs to be discussed here represent varying strata of elite funerary assemblages, which is to say they are variously associated with individuals who had a direct connection to the king and his immediate family, upper and middle tier elites, and that their funerary assemblages in some way may reflect this, potentially containing objects that would normally only be associated with royal burials.<sup>69</sup>

#### 7.3.1 KV 46: Yuya and Tuya (1390–1352 BCE)<sup>70</sup>

The tomb of Yuya and Tuya represents a blurring of the boundary between the notions of royal and state prestige in New Kingdom Egypt, as Yuya was a senior official holding many offices in the court of Amenhotep III, including the prestigious title of king's father, father-in-law of the king and master of the horse. His wife Tuya equally held many prestigious titles and roles such as 'royal ornament of the king' and chantress of Amen. Apart from senior roles in the military and the cults of Amen and Min the couple were the biological parents of Amenhotep III's great wife Tiye and therefore intimates of the royal family and grandparents of succeeding heirs, including Akhenaten, Tutankhamen and perhaps Smenkhkare. Their tomb was, as already cited, discovered in 1905 by a team working under the direction of Theodore Davis.<sup>71</sup> Naturally, it did not escape the attention of looters and while containing an abundance of funerary material, had lost most of the portable high value objects, such as precious metal jewellery, perfumed oils, clothing and linens.<sup>72</sup> It also contained two objects that are considered

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<sup>69</sup> Smith 1992, 218.

<sup>70</sup> Excavation reports: Quibell 1908; Davis 1907.

<sup>71</sup> Davis 1907, pl. XXV.

<sup>72</sup> Wiese 2004, 111–4; Reeves 1984, 153–62; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 76–7, 174–8.



to be part of this international style which incidentally also serve to illustrate the ambiguity associated with classifying this style: a gilt chair and a ceremonial chariot.

By contrast with the majority of royal tombs already discussed here, this tomb, while lacking linen and jewellery, still contained the original sarcophagi, funerary paraphernalia like canopic jars and shabtis, elite furnishings and a ceremonial chariot. This chariot is comparable in sophistication both to the fragmentary body frame of the royal chariot from KV 43, but also to the two ceremonial chariots from KV 62, (120 and 122). It is, like these, constructed using wood, leather and modelled plaster overlaid with sheet gold and bears all the visual hallmarks that might normally identify international hybrid idiom. The external surface is decorated with an all over design combining the elements required to fulfil inclusion in discussion. It has multiple complex voluted trees, daisy rosettes, lotus blossoms, running spirals, and the centre front panel has an emblematic scene of gazelles flanking a volute tree with papyrus and rosette crown that also continues vertically up the centre as lotuses. This plant design has stylistic parallels with the daggers and the chariots from KV 62, as does the modelling of details such as the spirals and rosettes.

Due to the overall combination of the required features this chariot, unlike those from KV 62, is considered to belong within the international style, and of any hybrid idiom objects discussed here it qualifies best because it conveniently lacks royal inscriptions or canonical Egyptian idiom. However, by accepting this vehicle as ‘international’ it is necessary to overlook the technical and stylistic similarities to the other Egyptian chariots. In terms of the idiom embossed on its surface, the motif of goats at sacred tree and the volute trees themselves have the closest stylistic affinities with the limestone stele from the palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata and with the two funerary chests of Perpare.



Fig. 7.21 Detail from the front of the chariot from the tomb of Yuya and Tuya, KV 46. Image A. Sinclair.

The other ostensibly international style object from this tomb illustrates more than effectively the inconsistencies that appear to be employed when addressing this topic.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Feldman 2006a, 38.

This small child's chair in dark hardwood is overlaid with gold and silver and has two armrest inlays of openwork with an ibex kneeling before the *ankh*, 'life' and *sa*, 'protection' symbols over the hieroglyph *nḳw* 'gold'.<sup>74</sup> These signs effectively convey the notion of 'life and protection' for the owner of the chair, with the gold sign perhaps signalling a connection to Hathor, 'the Golden', or referencing the royal usage for depicting a ruler's names. In the upper field the space above the ibex is resolved by a pendant volute flower with triple papyrus crown.

The backrest of the chair has a large emblematic scene of two figures of the goddess Tauert flanking a frontal figure of the god Bes. All figures stand on the *nḳw* hieroglyph. This motif is repeated on the two ceremonial beds and the other chairs from the tomb.<sup>75</sup> As much as it would be convenient to infer that the armrest cut outs could be separate to the body panel, the modelling and use of materials does not support this thesis. In appearance and medium the object is homogenous.



Fig. 7.22 Openwork designs on back and armrests of the small cedar chair, tomb of Yuya and Tuya. Images A. Sinclair.

Instead we are faced with an Egyptian elite chair type that is primarily covered with stock idiom for royal furnishings entirely consistent with extant material from other contemporary tombs.<sup>76</sup> Here the rationale of fusion of exotic motifs stumbles again, with the only obstacle to local value being a volute plant that must be intrusive by virtue of the assumption that these plants were introduced to Egypt from the Near East at some (disputed) point in the past. Equally, the use of an antelope or ibex has been employed to argue this same rationale. Whereas, it is in fact impossible to argue that the kneeling ibex is not typical of the ornamentation of luxury cosmetic containers and furnishings in the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>77</sup> Thus the internationalism of this chair rests solely on two voluted plant forms that are employed as minor elements in the design. As a further aside, the inclusion of this object in the international style is in contrast to the rejection of the gilded child's chair from KV 62 on the basis that the insets on the armrests are overwhelmed by the internal Egyptian idiom of the rest of the object.

The volute flower also occurs three times as a minor design element of funerary

<sup>74</sup> Cairo: CG 51111: Quibell 1908, 52, pl. XXXII–IV; Newberry in Davis 1907, 35, pl. XXXV.

<sup>75</sup> Cairo: CG 51109, 51110 (beds), 51112, 51113 (chairs).

<sup>76</sup> A bed from KV 62 (047) has a similar gilded openwork design with frontal Bes flanked by lions.

<sup>77</sup> Pinch 2002, 105, 186; Strandberg 2009, 162, 173; Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 411; Lilyquist 2003, 159.

### 7.3 International idiom from Eighteenth Dynasty elite tombs

equipment in this assemblage. In this case, it is a component of the inlaid collars of the two anthropoid coffins and the gold funerary mask of Tuya, occurring on all three as pendant floral bands along with lotus, mandrakes and lotus petal bands of the collar. It should be noted again that this type of elite collar is not a common design element of New Kingdom funerary sarcophagi or masks and in most cases the collar of a wooden or gilded coffin consists of schematic tubular beads, pendant lotus flowers or petal ornament.

Other objects from this tomb contribute the other problematic motif, the running spiral. A gilded hardwood chair, again a child's chair of royal quality, has openwork figures of Bes and Tauert, that are this time on the armrests, with a large winged figure of Bes brandishing knives on the rear of the backrest.<sup>78</sup> On the front of this chair is the primary scene carved in relief which has the great royal wife Tiye as central subject seated on a small throne upon a reed boat. On either side she is attended by two princesses, her daughters Sitamen and another girl whose name is not given. These girls wear floral diadems consistent with both the international idiom for sphinxes from Egypt and with royal ritual contexts. They also wear long sashes mimicking the dress of the god Bes. This offering scene makes visual signals equating the queen with the goddess Hathor, which is augmented by the boat upon papyrus, the cat under her chair and her ritual attire. She wears the double plumed crown and holds the queen's flagellum, both signals that she is serving in the chief wife's role as representative of the female protective goddesses, particularly Hathor.<sup>79</sup> Flanking either side of this panel there is a vertical band of incised running spiral ornaments. It is probably worth noting that these chairs and possibly the ceremonial chariot may have belonged to the princess and queen Sitamen whose name recurs in the assemblage.



*Fig. 7.23* Backrest of the small throne showing Tiye and princesses. Image A. Sinclair.

<sup>78</sup> Cairo CG 51112: Quibell 1908, 52–3, pls. XXXV–VII; Newberry 1907, 42–4, pl. XXXVI.

<sup>79</sup> Grover 2008, 7–9; Green 1989, 66–8, 145–6; Troy 1986, 116–31; Eaton-Krauss 1989; Quirke 2015, 120–2.

This tomb also contained a wooden ceremonial stave with spirals that has style parallels with both staves from KV 62 and with a fragment of a stave from the tomb of Amenhotep II, KV 35.<sup>80</sup> This object is, however, not decorated with precious materials, but contributes a painted decoration containing successive bands of varied colour, running spirals and daisy rosettes. The absence of gold filigree or cloisonné to decorate this stave may indicate that it is associated with a non royal individual, but rather state related formal function. However, the decoration indicates some form of parallel value to the royal staves. I hesitate to suggest that the high social status of this couple would indicate they were emulating royal regalia in a cheaper material, when the rest of this assemblage argues otherwise. It is much more likely that there may have been gilded staves in this tomb and that they were lost to the activities of looters. It is also interesting to note that the excavators of the tomb assumed this stave was not a personal possession, but rather a component of the funerary ritual.

Finally, there is one more contribution to discussion, or rather two. Two green leather and gold sheet appliqués of similar form and dimensions were, because of their resemblance to a sandal, classified among the nine pairs of sandals by the original excavators. This conclusion has since been refuted by André Veldmeijer in his analysis of Egyptian footwear from this period.<sup>81</sup> These objects of unknown function are constructed in similar materials, leather and gold foil, and decorated in a similar manner to the appliqués previously cited here. And yet again the embossed running spiral serves as the only ornament around the approximate edge of the sheet gold surface. Support for this motif having internal value comes from the team studying chariot and military leather from Amarna and Thebes. With Veldmeijer stating this motif is ‘not extraordinary’ and ‘often encountered in all kinds of decoration, including leatherwork’. In total this provides four objects from this elite tomb that have volute flowers as a minor ornament, four with running spirals and one, the ‘international’ chariot, which has a combination of multiple hybrid elements, but that is otherwise consistent with Egyptian chariot design. There were incidentally no harness appliqués found with this material.

### 7.3.2 KV 36: Maihirperi (1425–1390 BCE)

The tomb of the ‘fan bearer on the right of the king’ and ‘child of the harem (the ‘kap’ or royal nursery)’ Maihirperi is perhaps the next most significant and prestigious Eighteenth Dynasty funerary assemblage after the parents-in-law of a pharaoh. Maihirperi was a court official and senior member of the royal retinue who was singularly honoured by spending eternity in the company of royalty in the Valley of the Kings in Western Thebes. His tomb was naturally robbed in antiquity, but still retained a respectable proportion of its original funerary assemblage, including the sarcophagi and mummy.<sup>82</sup> There is currently no consensus on the date for this individual or which ruler for whom

<sup>80</sup> Daressy 1902, 67–8, pl. XIX, cat. 24117.

<sup>81</sup> Veldmeijer 2011a, 181–4.

<sup>82</sup> Orsenigo 2007, 1429; Lilyquist 2005, 62; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 181.

he was fan bearer, but he may be conservatively placed between the reigns of Thutmose III and Thutmose IV between the middle and the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>83</sup>

The tomb was excavated in the late nineteenth century by Victor Loret and yet again not formally published or even nominally written up by the excavator. However, it was effectively published by Daressy in a report from 1902.<sup>84</sup> The extant precious artefacts remaining in the tomb constitute a reasonable cross section of standard New Kingdom upper elite funerary goods, including multiple anthropoid coffins, canopic jars, one of the better preserved copies of the Book of the Dead, an Osiris bed, armbands, a game board, boxes, ceramic, stone, faience and glass vessels, seals, arrows, two leather quivers and two dog collars. The latter four objects are of interest to discussion here.<sup>85</sup>

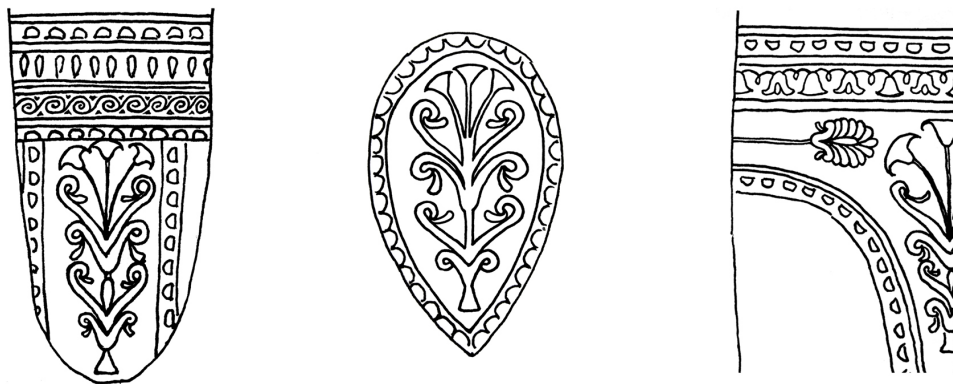


Fig. 7.24 Detail from the quiver and quiver cap from KV 36, the tomb of Maihirperi. Images A. Sinclair.

Of the two pink dyed leather quivers, one is exceptional in terms of the decoration and has with a dog collar served as a model for discussion of intrusive idiom over the previous one hundred years. Interestingly, it has to my knowledge, dropped out of discussion in examinations of the international style, with no mention of the hybrid idiom in the more recent publications. This might be attributed to the lacunae in excavation details,<sup>86</sup> however the report by Daressy is not negligible. The decorated leather quiver has a large primary design of a complex volute tree with a crown of three papyrus flowers. This motif is repeated in smaller scale on the lower section of the quiver and on the cap. There are also three minor volute palmette motifs framing the primary tree and the many decorative borders exhibit both running spirals and simple volutes alternating with papyrus of similar style to bands on leather harness pieces from the tomb of Thutmose IV and from leather stools from elite tombs.<sup>87</sup> Here there can be little doubt that the floral dichotomy of the *sema-tawy* is inferred by the fine floral band. Finally, the framing of the designs is augmented by bands of

<sup>83</sup> Lilyquist 2005, 62, late Thutmose III; Wiese 2004, 168, Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV.

<sup>84</sup> Daressy 1902.

<sup>85</sup> Daressy 1902, 32–4; Orsenigo 2007; Wiese 2004, 168–73.

<sup>86</sup> Now resolved by a comprehensive publication by Orsenigo (2016).

<sup>87</sup> See a painted linen stool from Turin, cat. 6404, Sandri 2012, 60.

scalloping and petal ornament or ‘ḥm’ signs, as Daressy described them. This quiver was accompanied by a plainer quiver of similar form and basic spatial composition that was also dyed pink. As secondary ornamentation it has two horizontal black and white bands at approximately the same positions as those on the former which resemble a globular version of the petal ornament/ḥm frieze from the ornate quiver. This is spaced by dots.<sup>88</sup>

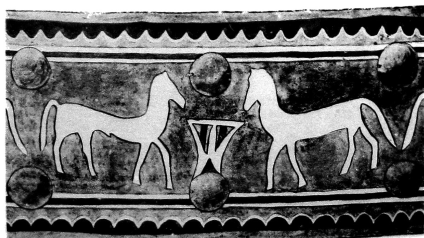


Fig. 7.25 Leather dog collar from KV 36. After Daressy 1902, pl. XI.

The other objects of interest here are the two polychrome leather dog collars<sup>89</sup> that are similarly accessories of elite hunt and which incidentally are the attribute fastidiously included in all representations of hunting dogs in internal visual idiom from Egypt. One collar has a continuous frieze of long backed horses emblematically flanking very minimal and stylised flowers. The scene is framed by horizontal lines and a scalloped border and has double copper studs. This one is in better condition to its pair, but being considered pure ‘Egyptian’ in content has attracted less attention. The second collar has a similarly scalloped border which frames a stock ‘international’ animal combat of hunting dogs and perhaps leopards attacking and pulling down antelope and oryx. The standard papyri-form fill-herb is in the field. This object however, also bears an Egyptian inscription naming the dog and specifying the hound breed, a greyhound or saluki like ‘*teshem*’ dog.<sup>90</sup> Sadly the second dog collar is in very poor condition and the only visual information available for it is an inaccurate drawing from the original publication in 1902.

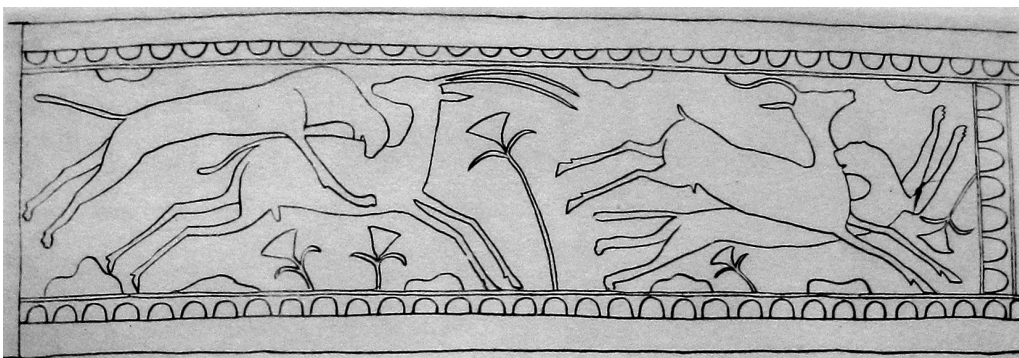


Fig. 7.26 Design on leather dog collar from KV 36. After Daressy 1902, pl. XI.

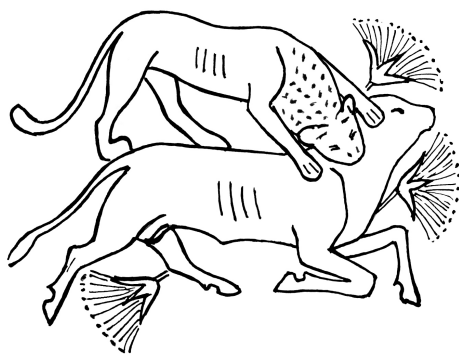
<sup>88</sup> Daressy 1902, cat. 24071–24072, pls. IX–X; Cairo: JE 33772, JE 33775.

<sup>89</sup> Daressy 1902, cat. 24075–24076, pl. XI; Cairo: JE 33774, JE 33777.

<sup>90</sup> Wiese 2004, 172–3.

### 7.3.3 Hatiay and Siamen (ca. 1350 BCE)<sup>91</sup>

The tomb of Hatiay, scribe and overseer of the granaries of the Aten temple at Karnak under Akhenaten, is another victim of the vagaries of early archaeological discovery and therefore is a source of lively discussion as to precise identity and social context.<sup>92</sup> The tomb was discovered in Sheik abd el Qurna, ‘grave 65’, and written up by Daressy in 1901, but never published and is now lost. It contained four coffins with their mummies, including that of Hatiay and of three women presumably associated with the tomb owner.<sup>93</sup> The issue associated with this assemblage is the subsequent citation in scholarship of some of the prestige objects. The objects with problematic idiom from this tomb are usually cited as being from the tomb of Hatiay, with some emphasis on this individual’s social status and his administrative roles as a senior official of a temple complex in the Amarna period. However, in their find context this easily conveys a false impression, as the objects with exotic features of interest in this study all belonged within the coffin of Siamen.



*Fig. 7.27* Detail from the bronze bowl of Siamen, tomb of Hatiay. Image A. Sinclair.

The identity of this woman is still subject to discussion, as another coffin in the tomb identifies the wife of Hatiay as a chantress of Amen, Henut-wedjebu. There is therefore some likelihood that Siamen was a daughter or perhaps a secondary wife of this official, but the richness of her burial goods contradicts an argument for low rank within the family or in fact within Egyptian society.<sup>94</sup> Her sarcophagus was less rich than those of the tomb owner and his wife, only being painted to imitate gold, and it contained no mask or pectorals. However, beyond these there was a reasonable selection of Eighteenth Dynasty upper range funerary objects of originality and prestige: faience rings, kohl tube, mirror, ointment spoon, ivory comb, hairpins, sandals, vessel for unguent and a decorated bronze bowl.<sup>95</sup> This last vessel is the bronze bowl with embossed design of

<sup>91</sup> Daressy 1901: von Bissing 1899, 28–56; 1901, 60–1 (bowl).

<sup>92</sup> The name Hatiay is common for court officials in the fourteenth century and this individual may be conflated with others with that name, some sources associate him with TT 326 in Western Thebes (Porter and Moss 1964, 672) and an individual from Saqqara, see Gessler-Löhr (2012, 150) for an overview.

<sup>93</sup> Zivie (2004) argues a connection to the Hatiay with a tomb in Memphis and notes that the earlier tomb is ‘too rich’ for a simple scribe, 223–4.

<sup>94</sup> Daressy 1901, 1–3.

<sup>95</sup> Daressy 1901, 9; Wiese 2004, 220–3.

animal combat and pastoral scenes that has rated mention in Chapters One and Five which on discovery was found placed under the head of the mummy of Siamen.<sup>96</sup> It is currently the earliest technical parallel to metal vessels in similar execution and theme such as the Tell Basta pateras and bowls.

The iconography of the bowl consists of Hathoric marsh scenes with papyrus and ducks with pastoral scenes of cattle in various passive and mobile postures. It also has elements from the international repertoire with an outer rim of a thin band of daisy rosettes and an animal combat with lion attacking a bullock. Only the animal combat employs mobile postures, but the content compares otherwise well with the Tell Basta treasure, from cosmetic boxes, the inlaid chest from KV 62, or from the painted designs on walls and floors of recreation areas within royal palaces at Malqata and Tell el Amarna. In addition to the bronze bowl, there were three other cosmetic objects buried with Siamen that exhibit elements of this idiom: a carved wooden ointment spoon and a bronze mirror both have volute flowers combined with elements from the Egyptian repertoire of regeneration, such as the *nymphaea lotus*. Finally, there was also an elaborate inlaid wooden unguent jar that depicts a bowed male servant carrying a large highly decorated amphora. This vessel would have contained oil or fat and was decorated with a frieze of inlaid animal frolic in Amarna style ‘Aegean’ poses on the body and lid. These figures are spaced by plant forms visually consistent with both Amarna and with international conventions, again the fill-herb.



Fig. 7.28 Inlaid frieze of cantering calves on the amphora from the coffin of Siamen. Image A. Sinclair.

The value of this assemblage to discussion, apart from the idiom, is that the objects are not all constructed in prestige materials, however, the repertoire of artefacts is prestigious. Equally, the technology associated with the bronze bowl and the unguent jar with inlays of ivory and glass compares well to the royal material from KV 62, 46 and 36, and is in fact worthy of a member of the royal household or a priestess or chantress of a temple sanctuary. Which begs the question; why is a lesser wife or daughter, a ‘lady of the house’, buried quite carefully with, not one, but a group of objects that are not only prestigious, but that equally exhibit motifs that reference this highly specific idiom? The original reports place emphasis on the lower value of this woman’s sarcophagus and funerary paraphernalia and it is very easy to assume that the prestige artefacts from this tomb are associated with the male deceased. This is not aided by the tendency of publications to cite these objects as belonging to Hatia.

How this contributes to discussion here is first the ready conflation of the volute flower with the Egyptian south flower and the intrusion of an upper middle class Egyptian

<sup>96</sup> von Bissing 1899, 28; Daressy 1901, 10.



context. The solution that many past commentators of this topic have provided has been the culture historical one, to ascribe foreign ethnicity to the deceased when faced by intrusive spirals, figures of ‘offering bearers’ and complex volute flowers and trees, while nobody blinks at the style parallels with the internal volute flowers and the simple south flower. Much has been written about the possible ethnic origins of individuals associated with this idiom where it occurs sporadically. However, in the absence of clear indicators of ethnicity, like for example, the Nubian cultural origin of Maihirperi,<sup>97</sup> an argument based on exotic materials or intrusive motifs is highly problematic in the Eighteenth Dynasty. This brings discussion to the final phase which equally muddies the waters regarding an accurate assessment of exotic idiom.

## 7.4 The ‘professional upper middle class’ of Deir el Medina

### 7.4.1 TT 8: Kha and Merit (1425–1350 BCE)<sup>98</sup>

The tomb of Kha and Merit from Deir el Medina in Western Thebes was a late addition to my studies due to the extensive analysis that this tomb has undergone in recent scholarship and the perceived absence of intrusive iconography from these studies. Initially, I was aware of the running spiral decoration from the walls of this tomb, which is a fairly ubiquitous motif for the decoration of Theban tombs in the early to late Eighteenth Dynasty, so my interest was only desultory. However, over the passage of time objects with idiom from this assemblage have appeared in catalogues and in a recent scientific study<sup>99</sup> and Kha and Merit are now considered relevant to this discussion. The tomb of the senior royal craftsman Kha, ‘Chief in the Great Place’ and his partner Merit was excavated by Ernesto Schiaparelli in the early twentieth century and is one of the primary sources for a thorough diagnostic view of the contents of a lesser elite tomb.<sup>100</sup> Kha was not a member of the elite proper or a court official, but rather a senior overseer associated with the village that produced the royal tombs at Deir el Medina. He and Merit are not dated to a specific reign, but rather were probably active between the lifetimes of three rulers: Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III.<sup>101</sup>

The tomb was found intact and contained a representative quantity of Eighteenth Dynasty funerary goods, inclusive of the sarcophagi and mummies of the couple. These have been the source of extensive studies in the past and included objects of similar function and value as have been discussed for Egyptian elite assemblages such as jewellery, staves, furniture, unguent vessels, patterned woven tunics, bronze vessels,

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<sup>97</sup> Which does not indicate that he was not born and raised within the Egyptian court.

<sup>98</sup> Schiaparelli 1927.

<sup>99</sup> Bianucci et al 2015.

<sup>100</sup> Porter and Moss 1970, 16–8.

<sup>101</sup> Meskell 1998, 369.

polychrome glass, faience offering bowls and so on.<sup>102</sup> The use of less prestigious materials to achieve similar results are evidenced by two wooden toiletry chests of Merit that have simple painted motifs of south flower volutes in blue and red on their surfaces, along with rosettes and *nymphaea lotus*. A chair naming Kha ('justified') has a painted version of the running spirals framing design from royal chairs cited earlier here. There were also ʿwn.t staves donated to the funerary assemblage that contain relevant idiom previously mentioned for KV 62.<sup>103</sup> The entire assemblage is in fact considered to be emulation of an elite burial, the style of which would have been readily accessible to members of the workforce who built the royal and noble tombs.

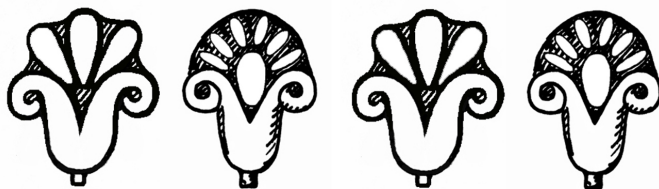


Fig. 7.29 Volute flower and palmette pendants on the neferu collar on Merit's mummy, TT 8, Western Thebes. Image A. Sinclair.

The idiom which attracted my interest is from the neck of the mummy of Merit which has never been unwrapped and only recently subjected to thorough documentation. She was buried in all the finery of an elite Egyptian woman with cowrie girdle, gold earrings and a collar of honour, but not a *shebyu* collar like her husband. Instead Merit has a *neferu* collar around her neck, which under xray shows successive rows of *nefer* symbols, palm leaves, volute flowers and volute palmette flowers, all in what are believed to be semi-precious stones or faience. Volute pendants like these are ubiquitous to elite tombs from this period, but it is not common to find such an elaborate collar on the body of a middle class woman, regardless of the arguably quotidian nature of the material involved. In the past scholarship took the view that this tomb provides a reasonable example of gender disparity for grave goods, with Merit's being argued to be significantly lower in value than her husband's.<sup>104</sup> However, this assumption was recently placed into question by the authors of the study of the mummies and this has established that she too was embalmed and buried with equivalent luxury and care as was her husband.<sup>105</sup> The interesting question is regarding the significance of this unusual voluted collar, as this tomb is an anomaly in a theory that *neferu* collars were exclusive to the depiction of deceased senior royal women at this time.<sup>106</sup> Again we are viewing this floral idiom associated with a 'lady of the house' of the fourteenth century Egyptian middle class.

<sup>102</sup> Particularly Meskell 1998.

<sup>103</sup> See ʿwn.t stave 582b, page 282.

<sup>104</sup> Smith 1992.

<sup>105</sup> Bianucci et al 2015, 18.

<sup>106</sup> Particularly Tiye and her daughters, Johnson 1999, 231; Roehrig 2005, 198.

### 7.4.2 TT 1: Sennedjem and Ijnoferty (1310–1250 BCE)

The final tomb assemblage to contribute intrusive idiom here again poses some interesting questions about funerary wealth, prestige goods and social status. Sennedjem was, like Kha, a senior tradesman in the workers village of Deir el Medina in Western Thebes. He is addressed with the standard title of ‘servant in the place of truth’ that was employed in the Nineteenth Dynasty to indicate all workers building the royal tombs and he was active during the reign of the early rulers of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Seti I to Ramesses II, perhaps also overlapping briefly with the transitional Eighteenth Dynasty reign of Horemhab. He does not bear a title that differentiates his role as a senior one like Kha. In this way he and his spouse Ijnoferty were present at the very end of the peak period for this visual idiom in Egypt and as craftspeople from Deir el Medina it is reasonable to assume they will have had some degree of exposure to this royal funerary material.<sup>107</sup> The tomb was discovered in 1886 and excavated in the late nineteenth century by Maspero. It is one of the best preserved tombs in Western Thebes and is usually noted for the relative prestige of the decoration and artefacts interred with this family of trades-people. And it is a family, since there were in fact twenty mummies in the tomb, of which nine represent the immediate family of Sennedjem and were interred with sarcophagi.<sup>108</sup>

The family tree of Sennedjem is well documented, but not without controversy: The identification of his parents is disputed, with two individuals represented once in the tomb with arguably foreign names, the mother Taia/Atia (t3j3/3tj3) and father Taro/Tjer (tr<sup>109</sup>) being attributed to either Sennedjem or to his wife by various scholars. Davies and Kitchen argued coherently for Taro being a brother and give the mother of Ijnoferty an Egyptian provenance, naming her Mutnofret.<sup>110</sup> Ward, on the other hand, preferred the former couple as a component of his discussions of foreign artisans in the village.<sup>111</sup> While it is an interesting debate, the topic of ethnicity is anything but simple in the cosmopolitan Eighteenth Dynasty when foreign workers were actively present in the Egyptian community. No doubt particularly in the technological sphere and where assimilation, including the adoption Egyptian names, was the social norm.

How this has any bearing on this discussion is again the use of material culture in the form of exotic idiom and artefacts to argue these topics, where the presence of any intrusive idiom is weighed in to bolster a given argument. And it has been applied here with Ijnoferty, as there are a few interesting artefacts from this tomb that more than hint at international idiom. They are, like Kha and Merit’s, not constructed from precious materials, nor do they appear to be imported exotica in any capacity and equally they represent a more middle class approach to this iconographic content. These elements constitute the decoration of four funerary boxes with broad horizontal tops.

<sup>107</sup> Roehrig 2002, 40–1; Saura i Sanjaume 2006, 28; Porter and Moss 1970, 1–5.

<sup>108</sup> Hodel Hoenes 2000, 247.

<sup>109</sup> Ward (1994, 71) considered this an Egyptian rendering of the Hurrian name ‘Zilli’.

<sup>110</sup> Davies 1999, 43–4; Kitchen 1993, 302.

<sup>111</sup> Ward 1994, 71–2.

The flat surfaces of the top of two of these boxes are decorated with repeated bands of black and white motifs in painted pigment. Both box lids have running spiral bands, with respectively lozenges, false door or zigzags and canonical petal ornament.<sup>112</sup> One box has two panels of funerary formulae on the lids: *wšjr nb.t pr ij[nfr]tj m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*, ‘Osiris, lady of the house, Ij[nefer]ty, justified’.<sup>113</sup> But spirals are just a hint at this idiom, as another polychrome wooden box has two painted scenes of frolicking animals juxtaposed on the whole surface of the lid. On one a rampant goat with twisted back head adores a sycamore tree, the symbol of the goddess of the Theban necropolis Hathor.<sup>114</sup> The lower register has a galloping bullock with twisted back head that is set against a backdrop of zigzag lines that on blossom bowls usually indicate water. The upper scene leaves no doubt as to the owner of the box, with the negative space under the goat inscribed in hieratic with the phrase: *ʔr n ʔj[nfr]tj*, ‘that which was made for Ij[nefer]ty’<sup>115</sup> which also makes it clear that this cosmetic box is another object intended specifically for her, either in life or in death.

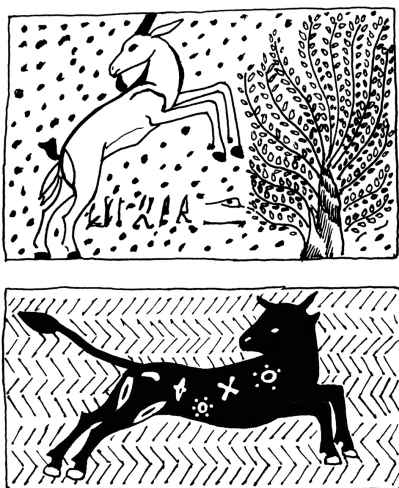


Fig. 7.30 Lid of the toiletry box of Ijneferty, early Ramesside period. Image A. Sinclair.

The final cosmetic box is again a similar design to the previous one, but has a different approach to surface decoration, it is painted with rows of black and white petal ornament, chequerboard and false door on the top and sides. But the four corners of each side are embellished with silhouetted volute trees with palmette crowns, amounting to eight volute trees in total.<sup>116</sup> It is interesting to note that there is an almost identical box to this one that is reputed to be from an elite tomb at Akhmim in the British Museum collection, where they incidentally describe the volutes as ‘vases’.<sup>117</sup> There is also a chair naming Sennedjem from this assemblage that has a painted decoration

<sup>112</sup> Wooden: Cairo: JE 4129, Painted: MMA: 86.1.7: Saura i Sanjaume 2006, 420, 427.

<sup>113</sup> The *nefer* sign is often absent from the writing of her name.

<sup>114</sup> JE 27271; Saura i Sanjaume 2006, 419.

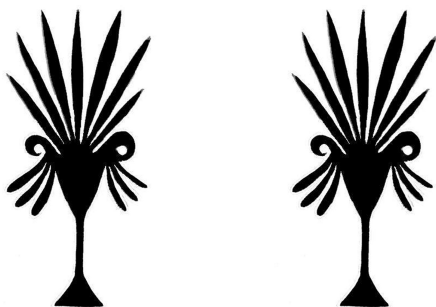
<sup>115</sup> With thanks to Professor Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert for the translation.

<sup>116</sup> MMA: 86.1.8.

<sup>117</sup> BM: EA 21818: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=172734&partId=1&searchText=akhmim&page=1&sortBy=imageName](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=172734&partId=1&searchText=akhmim&page=1&sortBy=imageName)

of running spirals, effectively augmenting the argument that they were an established feature of furnishings.<sup>118</sup> These examples are possibly the only instance in this thesis where an argument for workshop origin might be implemented for furnishings with exotic idiom, and that workshop would be in Western Thebes, at Deir el Medina. However, to argue ethnicity for Ijneferty or her parents on the basis of this idiom is problematic in the face of clear Egyptian funerary values.

Again, like Hatiay, this is a tomb context that has stimulated some vague head scratching from experts in the quest to justify the relative prestige and volume of the assemblage from a family whose main claim to fame was a hereditary trade. For, while the funerary artefacts from Tomb 1 at Deir el Medina are largely constructed from quotidian materials, the standard of the tomb and the finished products, from dummy vases to various items of furniture, does an effective job of duplicating neighbouring upper elite tomb assemblages from Western Thebes and the Valley of the Kings. Naturally the fact that these artisans were in the business of creating the royal tombs gave them access to the technology, tradespeople and idiom from the latter. However, it has also been suggested that the relative prestige of the family may have been associated with the nearby sanctuary of Hathor, as this same Ijneferty is possibly named as a senior (*wr* 'great') chantress of Hathor on a fragment of a stele found by Bruyere near the Ptolemaic temple.<sup>119</sup>



*Fig. 7.31* Volute trees painted in silhouette on the toiletry box of Ijneferty. Image A. Sinclair.

## 7.5 Discussion

At this point the discussion of international idiom from Egypt is beginning to lean away from an emphasis on royal prerogative in terms of exotic gifts and royal emulation of adoptive hybrid idiom as an insignia of membership in an international club. Instead the material record favours an association with internal Egyptian rhetoric that may naturally still be associated with the visual expression of royal power. The Egyptian rulers were under no compunction to adopt the idiom or practices of their royal peers and there is considerable evidence to argue that they did not.<sup>120</sup> So why would they

<sup>118</sup> Killen 1994; Saura i Sanjaume 2006, 428.

<sup>119</sup> Saura i Sanjaume 2006, 31; Bruyere 1935-6, 129.

<sup>120</sup> The refusal to partake in the royal marriage market is a primary example, a second would be the complete absence of identifiable kingly jewels or weaponry from Babylon, Mitanni or Hatti from Egyptian royal funerary contexts.

actively choose to be buried with foreign exotica which, in the example of Tutankhamen, is of the highest prestige value of all his funerary goods, when the most important function of an Eighteenth Dynasty funerary assemblage was to guarantee cosmic order, the deceased regeneration and further millions of years of eternal life?

Similarly, the occurrence of this idiom at several social levels from within Egyptian funerary assemblages does not argue that these are intrusive in the fourteenth century, rather a case for emulation of elite prestige may be made. But because of the narrow parameters and the understanding that many assemblages cited here are the current evidence for funerary assemblages, the case is still open. This local value is augmented by the understanding that all the elite and royal funerary objects discussed here, staves, bows, bowcases, chests, unguent jars, funerary collars, are longstanding elements of both Egyptian funerary ritual and tomb assemblages dating back to the third millennium and which were very carefully documented in funerary iconography from the Middle Kingdom as essential components of funerary ritual.

However, there is still the issue of the narrow sampling of this material and motifs from this repertoire to be dealt with. Naturally the arbitrary nature of survival in archaeological record is paramount. This alone may be responsible for the dearth of leather, textile and wooden objects with these motifs. However, even with this limited evidence it does appear that during the Eighteenth Dynasty specific international motifs, like spiral bands and volute trees were characteristic of the decoration of hunting equipment in various fragile media. Similarly the running spiral and rosette appear to be stock motifs from the repertoire for carved wooden furnishings: toiletry boxes, chests, chairs and thrones. Both motifs were also part of the repertoire for vitreous materials: bezel rings, seals, blue offering bowls, rhyta and jars. However, there is a final context where motifs from this repertoire are attested that will be briefly cited here and that is royal domestic space.

### 7.5.1 Royal palaces

The fourteenth century palaces of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten are representative of a fairly rare phenomenon from Egypt, as domestic buildings regardless of status were built of less durable materials. So while there is ample evidence from Egypt of cult and state monuments, royal palaces are rarer. These rulers, however, provide two samplings of royal palatial estates. Malqata in Western Thebes and the city of Tell el Amarna have both provided evidence for the decoration of Eighteenth Dynasty royal estates. Both sites provide evidence of ostensibly 'intrusive' idiom and naturally from the visual repertoire of Egyptian kingship that parallels the idiom on furnishings and chariot accessories. Palaces of the ruler, the chief queen and daughters all attest to decorations of luxuriant Hathoric marsh, large open composition pastoral scenes and of running spiral bands as palace décor, however, they are not so forthcoming in terms of the volute tree which is more often attested from small prestige objects in the decorative arts.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Weatherhead 1992; 2007; Petrie 1894, pl. X.

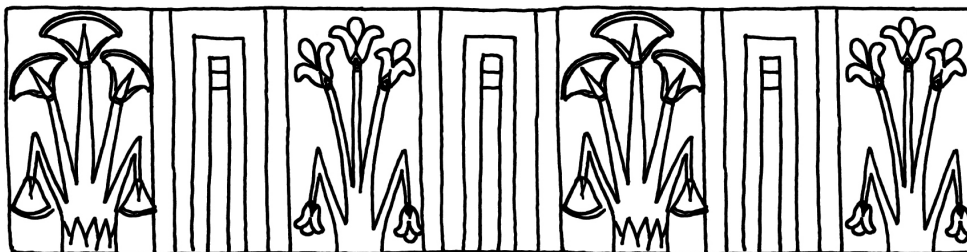


Fig. 7.32 Dado decoration of the floral dichotomy of Upper and Lower Egypt from the palace of Akhenaten at Amarna. Images A. Sinclair.

The vast palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata in Western Thebes is usually cited as an example of Aegean artistic influences on Egyptian monumental idiom in the decoration of royal state rooms in the Eighteenth Dynasty. As such the features attested in publications include the running spiral, both as a painted border and as a patterned consecutive design on polychrome faience tiles. Equally the use of cattle in mobile poses within marsh vegetation is attributed to the Aegean along with the sometime use of the dot rosette as a background fill. The most recent argument for the Aegean connection for this idiom, however, uses questionable reconstructions of the original images and leans too heavily on comparisons to Aegean and Egyptian objects from very broad chronologies.<sup>122</sup> The citation of the paintings from Tell ed Dab'a for example is valid, but excluding the uniqueness of this visual material, discussion too often overlooks the hundred year time lapse between the two contexts. Similarly the discussion of complex spirals, volute palmettes and rosettes from Egyptian mortuary art tends to overlook the idea of adoption within Egyptian elite culture over a general attribution of exotic 'value'. Realistically, these motifs were characteristic of elite tomb ceilings for both the Nineteenth and Eighteenth Dynasties and are attested from elite tombs from the early rulers of the Eighteenth,<sup>123</sup> after this approximate time period they could be assumed to be adopted motifs, as they are a feature of wealthy tombs. Because of their common placement on ceilings, they may be argued to signal the Egyptian heavenly canopy in the Egyptian topos, as solar and celestial symbols. This is reinforced by the ubiquitous employment of *nymphaea* in these designs and of the quatrefoil or bead netting motif which may itself signal the sign *wn*, 'blossom'.

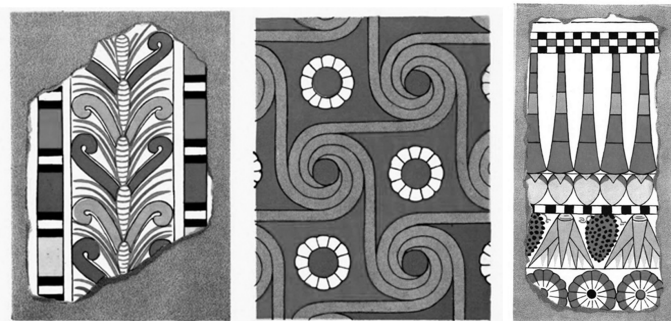
However, the wall paintings with spiral bands, rosettes and cattle frolicking in marshes are not the only ostensibly international motifs attested from the palace of Malqata. This dissertation has already cited a limestone stele with caprids flanking a volute tree and many small finds with complex volute trees that are considered the output of the royal workshops associated with the palace. But incidentally the evidence does not end there. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century very poorly documented excavations at the site also found interesting idiom.<sup>124</sup> In 1903 Robb de Peyster Tytus

<sup>122</sup> Nicolakaki-Kentrou 2003.

<sup>123</sup> TT 21, tomb of User, running spirals and rosettes: TT 349, tomb of Tjay, volute palmettes, running spirals and rosettes.

<sup>124</sup> Daressy 1903; Winlock 1912; Lansing 1918; Nishimoto 1992.

published a report on his excavation at Malqata<sup>125</sup> and included in it idiom of the conquering pharaoh we have come to expect from this king and his predecessors. Many rooms were also decorated with all-over wall, ceiling and floor designs inclusive of Bes figures, south flower and papyrus, ducks in marsh, royal vultures, running spirals and rosette borders. What he allocated as the throne room had imagery of bound foreign captives and compound bows on the floor and a ceiling of yellow spirals interspersed with red and blue rosettes. There was also a wall behind a dais with a likely animal hunt or combat: 'animals running in desert'. It is a singular tragedy to further study that much of this visual information is now lost.



*Fig. 7.33* Paintings from columns, ceiling and walls of the palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata. After De Peyster Tytus 1903, pl. IV, figs. 1–3.

But of singular interest here is one larger suite<sup>126</sup> that was immediately adjacent to the royal bedroom in the row of eight chambers flanking the main hall. This suite instead of the usual columns in the main chamber had two pillars decorated all over with the polychrome volute trees specific to this period and to this king, incidentally employing his preferred colour scheme: blue and white with red details. This was framed by the same ladder designs used in the rest of the palace and common to tomb decoration at this time.<sup>127</sup> Assuming the designs from the original publication are relatively accurate, these volute trees are stylistically parallel with both the trees on the contemporary gilded chariot from KV 46 and with the chariots from approximately forty years later and this king's likely grandson, Tutankhamen. I am disinclined to use the culture historical model and attribute a foreign princess to the owner of this larger chamber, as this is inconsistent with the internal values and domestic behaviour of Egyptian kings.<sup>128</sup> However, it adds an interesting dimension to the discussion, as, if the room was associated with a royal spouse, its scale and more complex decoration would not infer a foreign bride. Rather, it would infer a senior wife, and only one is central to all Amenhotep III's state propaganda, Tiye, or alternatively it could have been associated with an older daughter, like Sitamen, who held the senior rank of great royal wife towards the end of his reign.<sup>129</sup>

But the preceding material in sum immediately begs the question; if the volute tree

<sup>125</sup> De Peyster Tytus 1903.

<sup>126</sup> Room K''''.

<sup>127</sup> De Peyster Tytus 1903, 24, pl. IV.1.

<sup>128</sup> See Matić 2015 for discussion of this topic, but regarding a foreign princess at Tell ed Dab'a.

<sup>129</sup> Dodson and Hilton 2004, 157; O'Connor and Cline 1998, 6–7.



and spiral were motifs of the internal elite repertoire in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries in Egypt, what characteristics identify the ‘international’ objects? The natural conclusion would be to interpret objects that combine multiple elements of the international repertoire like animal combats, griffins, winged sphinxes and volute trees, but as has been covered over three chapters in this dissertation, in isolation and often together these motifs are all acknowledged internal visual idiom from Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt. But the problem still remains, why such a big difference in idiom on objects that appear to be otherwise related? The obvious examples would be the gold buckles and chariot fittings from various royal tombs that have scenes of royal conquest of Nine-Bows or animal combats. One answer is that there is no difference and that the Egyptian elite audience is still reading state symbolism of the conquest of the forces of chaos with the Nine-Bows conflating with the wild denizens of the desert. Thus the predators represented the ruler and sun god, the hunting dogs, leopard and griffin the protective gods and goddesses.

Interestingly, where this idiom is encountered beyond the person of the pharaoh the evidence for a value of specific motifs such as the caprid and tree and the volute flower leans heavily towards the role of women in Theban and therefore Upper Egyptian state cult, but also in the role of royal women in the maintenance of the rhetoric of state and cosmic order. This is the only solution to tombs of lesser officials and tradesmen containing sizable yet mundane aspects of this visual idiom apart from emulation, which may not be excluded. However, if this was simple emulation I would expect a wider corpus of scattered examples from varying archaeological contexts and not rare clusters which infer a quite narrow value range. Perhaps this might have been noticed earlier if it were not for the tendency to assume the male deceased is the socially senior occupant in a tomb.

Which brings me finally to some musing on the material evidence; there are two issues that impact heavily on the nature of this specific idiom for Egypt. One is the apparent conflation of the volute flower and tree with the symbol of Upper Egypt, the other is the identification of the owner of many of the prestige objects from KV 62.

### 7.5.2 The volute flower

As this dissertation is focussed on the international style, it shall not attempt the arduous task of disentangling the volute flower from the Upper Egyptian south flower, nor can it resolve the apparent conflation with the *nymphaea lotus*. In most New Kingdom state rhetoric there is, however, a clear differentiation between the *nymphaea* and the volute flower, often with the two employed together or with the papyrus in emblematic contexts. But a study of these is beyond the scope of this thesis. Contrary to the claims of scholars who argue a Near Eastern ‘Syrian’ source for the volute tree, there is equal evidence to argue that the volute flower did not suddenly appear in the archaeological record in Egypt towards the end of the Second Intermediate Period, where it is usually cited from the game board of Horakh/Akhor and the A’hhotep dagger. For while an uncommon motif, it may be traced in Egyptian funerary and cult

iconography from the early Middle Kingdom most often as a single volute flower with ‘palmette’ crown. This simple volute with three or four ‘leaves’, petals or palmettes may be found in Egyptian visual idiom in a variety of contexts on jewellery, seals, scarabs, tomb paintings (ceilings and festival canopies), temple reliefs and naturally in a very simplified form in *sema-tawy* constructions.

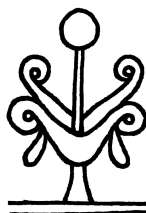


Fig. 7.34 Volutes from late 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Thebes. Gold bead from an elite tomb at Deir el Bahari (left). Ivory game board of Horakh (right). Images A. Sinclair.

Two early examples of this flower serve to argue an internal value in Egyptian state rhetoric:

1. Text and icon: The volute flower is the core plant symbol of Upper Egypt dating from the formation of the Egyptian state and the beginnings of kingship, which began as a triple headed plant form with a trilobal flower head that evolved to become a two lobed flower with globular central sepal. This simple flower as a triple sign is paired with the papyrus umbel or the triple papyrus hieroglyph to indicate the unification of Egypt. This evolution has been adequately traced by Helene Kantor and Christine Desroches-Noblecourt with a general consensus of an association with the lily flower proper in current publications.<sup>130</sup> It also appears as a floral icon associated as a component in the evolution of the floral rosette. The flower is not just aligned with Upper Egypt, but is also employed as a secondary element on the iconography of the god Min, both on the hieroglyph symbol for the god and represented on his cult standard, which is usually placed with his symbol the lettuce behind the god on monumental reliefs dating from the reign of Senwosret II. The White Chapel at Karnak is a particularly good example and was built by Senwosret II to commemorate his Heb Sed festival. The iconography on the shrine references the renewal of the king’s earthly body and his right to rule as sanctioned by the gods. After the Middle Kingdom the flower is also employed to write the hieroglyphic sign for ‘scribe’.
2. Material objects: The lily flywhisk or flagellum is a ritual sceptre that mimics the king’s traditional flagellum that is held with the crook *heka* sceptre in royal ritual scenes. The floral flail is attested in Egypt from the Twelfth Dynasty and at that time was carried by elite men and women in tomb presentation scenes from the wealthy governors of middle Egypt. It is argued to have been derived

<sup>130</sup> Kantor 1945, Chapter III: 89–126; Desroches-Noblecourt, 1995, 55, 58–61; Loeben and Kappel 2009, 149–50.

from the cult regalia of priestesses of Hathor in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>131</sup> This origin is supported visually by Twelfth Dynasty representations of this flywhisk carried in festival scenes by the female relatives of the governor of Hermopolis, Djehutihotep, from his tomb at Deir el Bersha.<sup>132</sup> However, there is also some evidence to suggest that at this time this emblem was not exclusively restricted to female ceremonial contexts, as this same Djehutihotep may hold a fragmentary flagellum in one enthroned scene from this tomb<sup>133</sup> and in a tomb from Memphis the priest Senmerametiensa is also depicted bearing this emblem.<sup>134</sup> Another official, the steward and royal seal bearer Nebankh, similarly carries a lily sceptre in a recreational scene on a funerary stele from the Thirteenth Dynasty cemeteries at Abydos.<sup>135</sup>

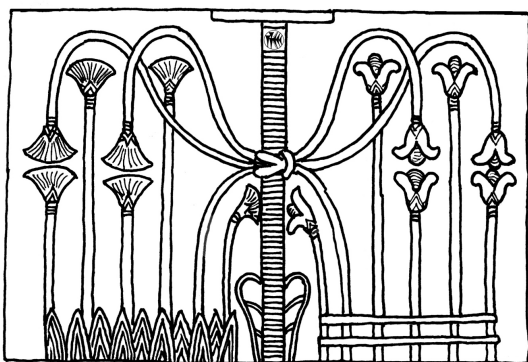


Fig. 7.35 Sema-tawy with lily and papyrus from the inner face of chariot 120, KV 62. Image A. Sinclair.

The connection that has been made with the cult of Hathor for this sceptre may have been taken from the name and role of Djehutihotep's wife, Hathorhotep, whose titles were *nb.t p.t*, 'lady of the house' and *ḥm nṯr ḥt-ḥrw*, 'priest(ess) of Hathor',<sup>136</sup> and from the festive regalia worn by the daughters of these nobles in procession where they are depicted with Hathoric volute-coiled coiffures, pectorals with Hathoric volutes, *nymphaea* blossoms and festive headdresses of blue and white lotus of the same type that reoccurs in hybrid and internal idiom in the New Kingdom. What is most interesting to this discussion is the form taken by these early lily flagella, since they are at this time noticeably floral in composition and mimic quite accurately the simple volute flower, containing a symmetrical volute lily and a triple palmette/leaf crown. The lily flail equally visually mimics the ceremonial flail of kingship that is held by the ruler

<sup>131</sup> Fischer 1975, 83–4.

<sup>132</sup> Tomb 17L20/1, tomb 2, inner chamber in Newberry 1895, pls. XXIV, XXX. The original fragment with flagellum from the tomb in the British Museum, accession number: 343571.

<sup>133</sup> Left hand wall, inner chamber, Newberry 1895, pl. XIX.

<sup>134</sup> Engelbach 1915, 23, pl. XXVII.

<sup>135</sup> Adjacent to tomb C 81, Peet 1914, 117, fig. 80, pl. XIII.

<sup>136</sup> Newberry 1895, 8, 37.

and certain gods on ceremonial occasions. However, the form of the floral flagellum is flexed rather than rigid like the male royal insignia, appearing not unlike a plant stem, and curves at the crown with a volute flower.<sup>137</sup>

### 7.5.3 The queen's flagellum: The 'lily sceptre'

This floral flywhisk or sceptre appears to have been added to the regalia of Egyptian queenship in the late Seventeenth to early Eighteenth Dynasty as early queens Tetisherit, A'hhoteb and A'hmose Nefertari are all represented in state iconography carrying this royal sceptre.<sup>138</sup> By the period under discussion, the mid to late Eighteenth Dynasty, the lily sceptre had become an important emblem aligned to the public office of very senior female members of the royal family, specifically royal wives and on occasion princesses, it may also relate to the cult role of God's wife of Amen which many of these women held.<sup>139</sup> It may be viewed carried ceremonially by royal women in scenes of commemoration of royal jubilee where the ruler reinforced his right to kingship by undergoing a physical trial and a ritual rejuvenation process, the Heb Sed festival. The most prominent figures depicted in this role are Hatshepsut, Tiye, Nefertiti and Ankhnesamen. In this context the role of the chief queen was as the earthly manifestation of the goddess Hathor/Tefnut in the highly formulaic ritual guarantee of regeneration of the solar god and with the semi-divine representative of the sun god Amen-Re and the Horus on earth, her husband.<sup>140</sup>

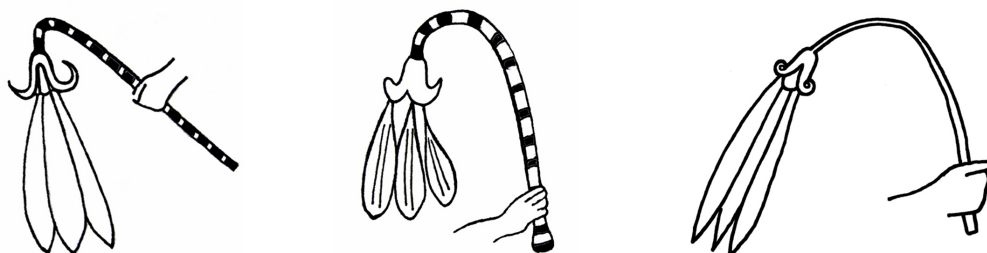


Fig. 7.36 Flagellum held by a priestess of Hathor, tomb of Djehutihotep, Bersha (left), by an elite male, Senmerametiensa, Memphis (centre), 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The queen's flagellum of Tiye, 14<sup>th</sup> c. BCE (right). Images A. Sinclair.

In the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties the floral sceptre is also associated visually with the regalia of dowager mothers of kings, the *mw.t nsw*, not all of whom were necessarily members of the direct royal line. A'hmose, mother of queen Hatshepsut, Isis, mother of Thutmose III, Merytre-Hatshepsut, mother of Amenhotep II, Mutemwiya, mother of Amenhotep III, and Sit-Re, mother of Seti I and founding matriarch of the Ramesside kings are all depicted in state rhetoric holding this flagellum.

<sup>137</sup> Green 1989, 145.

<sup>138</sup> Green 1989.

<sup>139</sup> Roth 2009, 4; Green 1989.

<sup>140</sup> Role of queen as embodiment of the goddess Hathor in solar ritual: Robins 1993; Troy 1986; Roberts 1995; Preys 1998. Importance of Hathor to the king's Heb Sed: Wentz 1969.

However, the role of mother of the god did not require royal descent, it required that her son be a ruling monarch and that at least conceptually this woman had intercourse with the sun god Amen-Re and bore the king.<sup>141</sup> Depictions of these women with the flail have been used to argue cult roles for these women, but it is problematic whether their depictions are from post mortem contexts and therefore were honours conferred after death by their sons.

Equally, non royal descent queens of the fourteenth century, Amenhotep III's chief queen, Tiye, Aye's queen Tiye and the queen of Horemhab, Mutnodjmet, are depicted holding the flagellum in specific scenes relating to the Heb Sed festival or for their husband's coronation. Within these scenes the volute flower and the rosette are repeated visual motifs associated with the queen and her ritual role. And it is reasonable that in this context the floral icons are specific to the function of the queen and/or queen mother as earthly representatives of the goddesses associated with kingship in state ritual, such as Wadjet, Nekhebet, Weret-Hekau and Hathor.<sup>142</sup> This same icon is repeated in the use of the determinative for queens at this time, where instead of the usual female determinative with lotus the female hieroglyph may wear the double feather crown and nearly always holds the voluted flagellum.

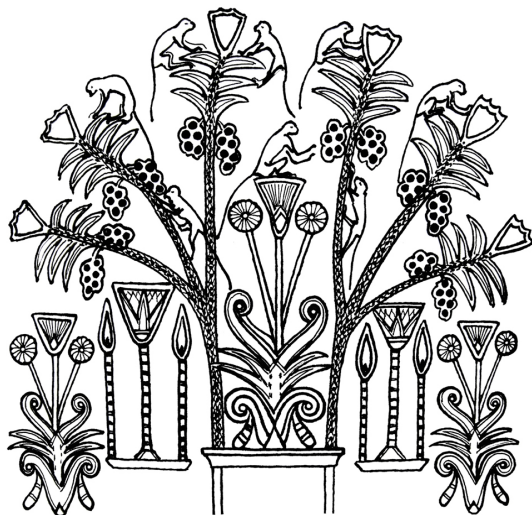


Fig. 7.37 Precious metal set piece among the gifts from the royal workshops of Amenhotep II, tomb of Qenamun, 1425–1400 BCE. Image A. Sinclair.

Similarly this association extends out to the use of the volute flower with *nefer* symbol for the possibly gender and status specific *neferu* floral collars in the Eighteenth Dynasty from at least the reign of Hatshepsut, as is attested from the tomb of the ‘foreign wives of Thutmose’, and where both voluted and *neferu* collars are also depicted with *shebyu* collars as New Year gifts from the royal workshops of Amenhotep II.<sup>143</sup> The latter scenes from the tomb of a senior statesman are problematic as to whether they are

<sup>141</sup> Robins 2002, 26.

<sup>142</sup> Robins 2002, 26.

<sup>143</sup> TT 93, tomb of Qenamun, treasurer of Amenhotep II, Davies 1930, 22–31. Aldred (1969, 79–80) considered they were for this ruler's accession.

gifts from Amenhotep II to his favourites or to him, depending on the interpretation of the inscription. What is not disputed is that they are documented as the products of the royal workshops. They show daggers with volute flower or papyrus on the blade, leather quivers with running spirals, stone and glass vessels with rosettes and spirals, chariotry accessories with volutes and rosettes, furnishings, statues of the king and vaulted chests. While the scenes in this tomb are now and then erroneously cited as examples of foreign gifts to this pharaoh on the basis of the exotic idiom on some of equipment, the inscriptions say otherwise and there is equal argument that this idiom was internal at that time.

This *neferu* collar with emblematic pendants of lotus and *nefer* signs was not commonplace and is usually only associated with senior female members of the royal family, in particular with queen Tiye and is a variant on the standard Egyptian *wah* collar of lotus petals that has been associated with Osiris and is ubiquitous for funerary imagery from very early in Egypt.<sup>144</sup> The *neferu* collar is even less common in royal rhetoric with volute flowers and attested from the death mask of Tuya and in a quotidian material from the collar of Merit. While the complex forms of the volute flower in Egypt are most visible in the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the clear conflation of value with the queen's flower is readily apparent in idiomatic features, media and colour use. The volute flower, when colour is present, is dark blue with a red sepal, when it is a complex tree the emphasis remains on the dark blue volutes. This visual convention is mirrored on the hybrid material from KV 62, which immediately begs the question, was it in fact queenly regalia or idiom associated with queenship and the queen's household in the Eighteenth Dynasty?

#### 7.5.4 The owner of KV 62, Neferneferuaten or Tutankhamen?

Again this discussion cannot weigh into the current controversy over the ownership of KV 62, the tomb of Tutankhamen, as this too is a vast topic worthy of further research and beyond the scope of this study. Suffice to say that Nicholas Reeves<sup>145</sup> has argued that the high percentage of prestige material that appears to be appropriated from earlier rulers may argue that the tomb itself and most of its assemblage is usurped from a previous king, Ankhkheperure-Neferneferuaten, who most experts now concede was female, but whose identity is contested. The majority now favour the likelihood that this ruler was the great wife of Akhenaten, Nefertiti, who assumed the role of king because the male heir was underage. The association with Nefertiti is made due to the employment of the honorific 'effective for her husband' which she held,<sup>146</sup> but there are also arguments for a daughter of this couple, Meritaten or Neferneferuaten-tasherit.<sup>147</sup> It is nonetheless uncontested that there is a high proportion of appropriated royal material dating to the Amarna period from this tomb that will have originally belonged to Tutankhamen's predecessor(s). Currently the objects with altered royal names

<sup>144</sup> Johnson 1999, 223–234; Patch 2005, 198.

<sup>145</sup> Reeves 2015.

<sup>146</sup> Gabolde 1998; Allen 2009; Reeves 2001.

<sup>147</sup> Eaton-Krauss 1978: for an overview of the arguments see Dodson 2009, 34–8.

include the Bow of Honour (048h), a coffin, mummy trappings, the death mask, a statue of Mafdet, miniature coffinettes, jewellery, some furniture, chariot bosses, or more, depending on the scholar one favours.<sup>148</sup> After discovering textual anomalies with the bow and as a component of this research, I examined the inscriptions of every object related to this intrusive idiom for either documentation of an altered name or for hangovers of a feminine suffix, with some interesting results.

Firstly, it should be emphasised that altering royal names on sheet gold would not have been overly complicated for the craftsmen preparing this tomb, so it is possible that more were altered than may be documented now, but this is not so easy for all other media, so that I hesitate to concur with Reeve's claim that most of the tomb contains earlier royal material. But sheet gold is another story, for example, none of the gold chariot appliqué are currently considered to be reworked, but all could have relatively easily been re-embossed. At least four, however, do have the Aten element instead of Amen in the royal name.<sup>149</sup> This leaves the iconography proper as the only clue to possible reworking. One image of the pharaoh shooting a target from his chariot is, true to Amarna visual style, entirely gender ambiguous and therefore the possibility remains open there. Also a large proportion of material cited here carries no royal name. However, of the international objects discussed here at least one state chariot (122), naturally with international idiom, has repeated traces of a feminine suffix on *mr* 'beloved' and on this vehicle the queen is repeatedly named, as well as Tutankhamen which alone might infer this chariot was her vehicle, not his.



Fig. 7.38 Ambiguous gender on a chariot appliqué (reconstruction using 122ff, cc, dd) from KV 62. Image A. Sinclair.

<sup>148</sup> See Dodson 2009, 49–52; Eaton-Krauss 2016, 106.

<sup>149</sup> 122yyy, xxx, eeee, ffff.

The gilded hunting stick (227b) that is as richly decorated as the Bow of Honour also has the feminine suffix and retains the earlier Aten name instead of Amen. From this it could be argued that the richest and most ornate bow in this royal tomb and an equally prestigious ceremonial hunting stick, both replete in gilded spirals and volute flowers, in addition to a ceremonial chariot, may have originally belonged to a very senior royal woman. Whether this woman was also a king and Neferneferuaten is not resolvable at this point and beyond the scope of this thesis, although the gold bow does show traces of this name. Nonetheless, the royal status and the gender of the original owner is self evident. This conclusion naturally led me to question how a queen's iconography of power was dealt with in the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the role of the chief queen and in her absence the queen mother were in fact at their absolute zenith of power in Egyptian state rhetoric and when it seems perfectly reasonable, if she had her regalia for cult and state events, that her weapons of office and state chariot could have also had their own highly specific idiom.

This was also somewhat fuelled by the knowledge that this imagery was not predicated on the traditional religious system, or on Akhenaten's cult reforms, but appears to flourish in both periods, yet fades out considerably from the archaeological record with the rise of the Ramesside kings, reoccurring only with any abundance on the Tell Basta Treasure. After all, the Egyptian queen represented the divine feminine principle and the protective goddesses and in this capacity she had her own cult roles and tools of royal office. One has already been discussed here and it is the lily volute flagellum that mirrored the king's flagellum which was carried by the queen for her roles in cult and jubilee rituals. On state occasions she holds this fly whisk while crowned with the double feather and modius diadem which was usually framed by *uraei*. Over her hair she wore the vulture crown.<sup>150</sup> Around her neck the *neferu* collar, perhaps with volute flowers. All these regalia broadcasted the queen's role as representative on earth of the protective eye of Amen-Re and the bestowers of kingship. Just as her husband was the earthly manifestation of Horus or Amen-Re.<sup>151</sup>

While it is not entirely possible to reconstruct the rest of the state regalia of an Eighteenth Dynasty queen beyond those accessories fully documented in scholarship such as costume, jewellery, diadems, flagellum, menats and sistra, the evidence from the assemblage of A'hotep in the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the dynasty provides military badges, collars and royal weapons all replete with this idiom, including the volute flower, which this queen and her daughter are also depicted in state art holding as the lily sceptre. At the other end of the dynasty the existence of royal chariotry for senior women of the Amarna family is documented from funerary and state monuments which show the royal family taking part in the daily procession of the king through the city, each in their own ceremonial chariot.<sup>152</sup> This daily procession served as a visual metaphor for the ruler as the sun god daily traversing the celestial canopy. As such, the iconography of the royal chariots was embedded in the king's role

<sup>150</sup> Roth 2009, 2–4; Green 1989, 41–66.

<sup>151</sup> Robins 2002, 25–6; Goebis 2007; 2001; Graves-Brown 2010, 130–5.

<sup>152</sup> Karnak talatats and Amarna elite tombs of Ahmose and Meryre, Sabbahy 2013, 196–7; Hoffmeier 1988, 36; Green 1989, 209–11.



as the manifestation of the sun god on earth and as guarantor of order.<sup>153</sup> So if this was a regular state event, how were the queen's and princesses' chariots decorated?

### 7.5.5 The royal chariot

It is to be assumed that these royal women, the great queen and her daughters could not have had personal vehicles decorated in exactly the manner and value of the ruler, who was unique, but at Tell el Amarna the role of the queen mirrored the king's in the visual construction of the semi-divine royal family. Both of whom were manifestations of the divine dichotomy, Shu and Tefnut, Re (Aten) and Hathor and each was responsible for all private and public cult, and for maintaining cosmic order. Thus the chief queen was the overarching feminine element of the divine dichotomy.<sup>154</sup> It is my proposal that the weaponry and chariotry accessories that do not contain a predominant proportion of standard 'canonical' kingly royal rhetoric, such as smiting pharaoh and royal sphinx trampling all foreign lands, may have belonged to the chief queen (or queen mother) and that this imagery still reflects the conquest of chaos, but in a nuanced and more metaphorical manner, employing symbols associated with the feminine aspect of this dichotomy.

Thus the complex volute tree may have been a means of resolving these issues, by expanding on existing Egyptian cult symbols, such as the queen's volute flower, but with specific content employed to create similar compositions. In this way the complex volute tree flanked by caprids could be employed compositionally as focus to mimic the *sema-tawy* with flanking captives that would normally be placed in the lower-centre of the king's royal chariot, on footrests or thrones. As a nominal support for this thesis, this may explain the use of the volute flower or south flower on pseudo *sema-tawy* constructions from appliquéés with scenes of shooting from a chariot from KV 62 and perhaps KV 58.<sup>155</sup> In these images two Nine-Bow figures, representing the northern and southern lands, are tied to a single volute flower stalk with the cowhide target placed above. An earlier example of this pseudo *sema-tawy* scheme with emblematic facing figures is also attested on a scarab finger ring naming the god's wife, Hatshepsut, from the tomb of Hatnefer, the mother of Senenmut, potentially pushing this idea earlier to the fifteenth century.<sup>156</sup>

This alternative design might go some way to explain the decoration of the chariot from the tomb of Tiye's parents as, rather than being an indication of ethnicity or royal gifting from Mitanni, this vehicle could have been associated with the household of the chief queen, their daughter. There is also enough material associated with the daughter of Amenhotep III, Sitamen, from this tomb to make her another potential donor. Particularly since what little visual record we have of her employs many motifs discussed here, gazelles, spirals and rosettes and in the awareness of her elevation to the

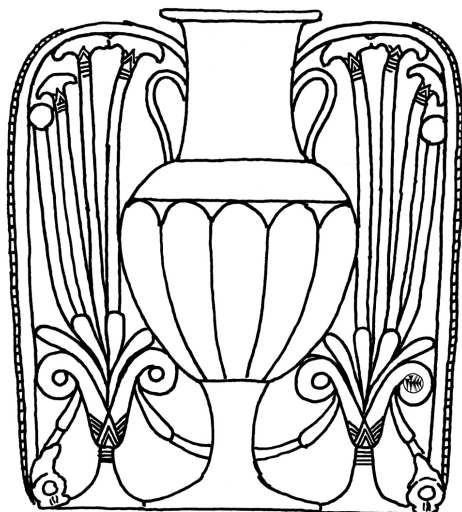
<sup>153</sup> Calvert 2013, 56–7.

<sup>154</sup> Quirke 2015, 120–2; Troy 2002; Robins 2002, 25–6; Samson 1977.

<sup>155</sup> The composition is almost identical, but the area where the flower may be is damaged.

<sup>156</sup> Tomb of Hatnefer and Ramose, Qurna, Western Thebes, below TT 71 (Senenmut), reign of Thutmose II to Hatshepsut, Porter and Moss 1964, 669–70. Scarab ring MMA: 36.3.6.

status of king's great wife later in his reign. Equally, the conflation of volute tree and the *sema-tawy* may be reflected in the intentional preference for the triple papyrus as crowning feature of the complex tree in New Kingdom Egypt, unlike the predominance of palmette crowns from trees from external sources. This arrangement may consciously mimic the dual tree by combining the two primary visual elements of state: lily and papyrus. Alternately, and not mutually exclusively, the complex volute tree adored by gazelles or royal sphinxes may symbolically refer to the tree goddess Hathor, again the divine manifestation of the queen.



*Fig. 7.39* Calcite fluted vase with rnp.t palms and composite Egyptian volute trees, KV 62. Image A. Sinclair.

This also extends out to the presence of animal combats in this idiom which could explain the conscious employment of non-male predators in combat and hunt scenes. Naturally this is excluding the lion that is always going to represent kingship and the king, even when the king is hunting him, and there is no reason to exclude the individual who was the focus of Egyptian statehood and cult from this material. This solution would also explain the conspicuous use of the female royal sphinx in the Egyptian international style objects and beyond in the decoration of Egyptian cult vessels. Not to mention the possible association of the leopard or hound-like griffin with Hathor, Seth and the royal female sphinx.<sup>157</sup> In fact, it is surprising that the ubiquitous presence of female sphinxes within the Egyptian international idiom has not attracted more comment, as a generic royal idiom of shared 'kingly' power ought in theory to have male royal protagonists. In equal measure, there is also plenty of weight for the argument that most of these motifs were not alien to the decorative arts in the New Kingdom, with the running spiral in particular being ubiquitous to certain media in the Eighteenth Dynasty. However, none of the preceding argues that this idiom is foreign, evidence of royal gifting and devoid of cult or local significance in Egypt in the Eighteenth Dynasty, or in fact later.

<sup>157</sup> These sphinxes and griffins have yellow bodies and blue wings when polychrome media are used in the New Kingdom.

# 8 Conclusion

## 8.1 New Kingdom Egyptian objects in an international style

The Late Bronze Age is argued to be somewhat unique in the history of the ancient Near East and the Mediterranean, as in the three hundred and fifty year period between approximately 1550 and 1200 BCE the longstanding cultures of north-east Africa, Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Aegean subtly altered their world view and embraced an interregional community in the pursuit of personal prestige, commodities and instruments to facilitate the expression of these former. This network of power reached thousands of kilometres wider than the region proper, sourcing precious materials from as far away as what is now eastern central Africa, northern Europe, eastern Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan in pursuit of gold, ebony, ivory, amber, lapis lazuli, tin and other rare valuables. It is this period of heightened diplomacy and commodity exchange that has over the past fifty years been argued to have stimulated the creation of a hybrid visual idiom, dubiously entitled the international style or international artistic *koiné*. This visually and materially entangled idiom on luxury artefacts is argued to contain an array of features associated with quite narrow constructions of cultural styles and a narrow vocabulary. Due to scarcity and to high status social contexts this ‘style’ is currently considered to be the outcome of this international political climate as a visual badge of membership in an exclusive club of great kings.

### 8.1.1 Royal letters and royal gifts

This notional club of royal brothers has been extensively documented from diplomatic correspondences from various greater and lesser kings in this complex royal hierarchy, such as the fourteenth century letters from the Egyptian capital at Tell el Amarna in Egypt and the thirteenth century letters from the Hittite capital at Hattuša in Anatolia, but further are also attested from lesser states like Ugarit in coastal Syria.<sup>1</sup> Within these texts rulers and elites negotiated the exchange of prestige commodities in the form of lavish audience gifts and documented enormous bride prices and dowries for marriage contracts. These correspondences were couched in circumscribed formulae of power which reinforced the acknowledged power structures within this notional group. Members of nominally equal royal status, like the rulers of Egypt, Mitanni and Hatti, addressed each other as ‘my brother’ and lesser rulers addressed the superior

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<sup>1</sup> Bryce 2003; Rainey et al 2015; Pedersén 1998.

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economic and military powers as ‘my father’, ‘my sun’ or ‘my lord’. Most letters were introduced with similarly formulaic greeting phrases that inquired after the well being of the ruler, his court, immediate family, his horses, officers and so on.<sup>2</sup> Thus the basic scene is set in most text books that discuss Late Bronze Age interconnections and an international style. A similar overview constituted the introduction of this dissertation in combination with a brief assessment of the terminologies before moving on to some historical realities.

All these carefully prescribed diplomatic formulae between kings are argued to have served to establish a notional elite class of rulers whose relationship transcended cultural boundaries and stimulated the creation of a separate visual vocabulary of power, this international style. But appearances may be deceiving and there is currently no archaeological evidence for objects with this generic visual idiom of royal power from the courts of the great kings of Assyria, Babylon, Mitanni or Hatti. This may be attributed to the vagaries of survival in the archaeological record or it may not. In fact only the tomb of Tutankhamen in Egypt and elite (royal cannot be confirmed) tombs from Cyprus exhibit elements of hybrid idiom on select prestige goods in various media that could argue for a shared idiom of power between high kings. The rest of the evidence is weighted heavily on lesser kings, like Ugarit and Qatna and from Egyptian vassal states in the Levant.

The idea of the egalitarian nature of a club of great kings places a subtle misdirection on the likely reality in the Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean, as this club of royal brothers was familial in terms of public presentation and social niceties, but did not in actuality reflect physical reality, as all great kings were not equal, neither in the power dynamics of the letters nor in the nature of their geographic and economic scope. This elegant process of hierarchical communication could not entirely disguise what was going on in the background and the subtle power differences between notional equals. Egypt, as prime example, maintained a metaphorical distance from the accepted rules of conduct of an egalitarian club, imposing their own terms on inter-dynastic marriages and sometimes on gifting and on visiting ambassadors.<sup>3</sup>

With regard to royal marriages as a political means to cement familial ties and bolster loyalties, in the fourteenth century Egypt distanced itself entirely from the process by only requiring princesses from their royal peers and as far as may be attested now, never returned the favour. While the marriage of a daughter to a royal ally might guarantee a family member on a foreign throne for many royal peers, a method particularly favoured by Hatti, the princesses sent to Egypt never held the role of chief queen, or produced heirs to the throne, nor were they recorded as being appointed senior roles at court.<sup>4</sup> Instead these women quietly disappeared from historical documentation. Similarly, on receipt of royal gifts Egyptian rulers were gleefully prepared to display those from a royal ‘equal’ with those that constituted tribute from vassals or military

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<sup>2</sup> Kopanias 2015, 27–8; Mynářová 2012, 551; Liverani 2000, 26–7; 2008, 166–7; Podanyi 2010, 243–7; Ragionieri 2000, 48; Bryce 2003, 81–4; van de Mieroop 2007, 135–6.

<sup>3</sup> Avruch 2000.

<sup>4</sup> Wilkinson and Doyle 2017, 90–2.

spoil and not overly flustered when their peer made his displeasure public. The letters of the great king of Kassite Babylon illustrate Egypt's notional distance from royal protocol and the subtle power demographic between peers, as in one, Kadašman-Enlil pleads and cajoles Amenhotep III for an Egyptian bride and in another, airs his royal displeasure at having his audience gifts paraded before the pharaoh with the tribute of Egyptian vassals.<sup>5</sup>

The fourteenth century Amarna letters also bear witness to a general imbalance in scale between actual greeting gifts from elite peers which often were a neat cross section of luxury weapons, chariots, horses or servants, and the bride gifts or dowries for princesses that contained thousands of prestige objects. In terms of anthropological theory this inter-marriage strategy was in fact the primary vehicle for cementing ties of loyalty and kinship in antiquity. While it was unbalanced, it guaranteed the flow of prestige objects and people into Egypt and was a means for Egyptian court fashions to be exposed to their royal peers, before being reprocessed into something more suitable for a local king. As such, nearly all objects in precious and mundane metal that were exchanged would have been processed on receipt in another court which may account for the lack of exotic idiom on metals from Near Eastern royal contexts. Ivory and alabaster however could be retained, reworked or, like the later Nimrud ivories from Assyria, put into storage in preference for royal furnishings constructed by royal workshops with internal royal rhetoric, but perhaps assimilating select elements of exotic idiom. However the reprocessing of royal gifts does little to support the idea of a freestanding visual style and the conscious deployment of entangled prestige objects in public display by great kings.

### 8.1.2 Historical context

The Second Intermediate Period, ca. 1650–1550 BCE in Egypt occupied the final period of the Middle Bronze Age in the eastern Mediterranean. At this time there was social instability and interaction hiatus throughout the region as many states struggled to deal with internal power struggles. It is perhaps no accident that this timeframe is also most likely to contain the major volcanic event at Thera in the Aegean which would have dramatically affected population movements, climate and economic productiveness throughout the region.<sup>6</sup> This period of instability saw the fall of wealthy city states to neighbours taking advantage of economic fragility and the weakening of internal structures. In the Nile valley the local system contracted as elites located in Upper Egypt attempted to maintain internal control while their network of power shrank. In the Delta a new elite group of originally foreign, probably northern Levantine origin,<sup>7</sup> the Hyksos, established a separate dynasty and by basing their capital at Tell ed Dab'a on a main tributary of the Delta effectively monopolised trade movement to Egypt via the Sinai and the Nile tributaries. As a result, contact for the internal dynasty to primary trading partners like Byblos in the Levant and Ebla in Syria virtually ceased

<sup>5</sup> EA 1–4, between Amenhotep III and Kadašman-Enlil of Babylon.

<sup>6</sup> 1650–1500 BCE, Höflmayer 2009; Manning 2007, 101–38; 2014, 80; Manning and Kromer 2012, 449.

<sup>7</sup> Bietak 2010.

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or perhaps they were forced to negotiate through Hyksos intermediaries. South of Thebes the powerful Nubian rulers centred at Kerma similarly threatened access to African trade and placed military pressure on the southern border.

In the economic lull of the mid sixteenth to early fifteenth centuries in the Near East the rapidly expanding Anatolian cultural group, Hatti, exploited weakness in the various city states under Amorite control to their south-east and sacked northern Syria at a series of major city sites such as Ebla and Alalakh, ca. 1550–1540 BCE, finally reaching as far east as Babylon before turning back to their homeland, where for a few generations they were only concerned with unstable internal politics and dynastic struggles. In the Levant many smaller trading cities fell to conflagration or sacking from perhaps numerous external sources; cities like Tell el Ajjul, Sharuhen, Jericho and Lachish fell and were later rebuilt.<sup>8</sup> Other palatial cities that had been the vibrant centres of Middle Bronze Age interregional trade in the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries, like Tell Kabri, Sakka and Burak declined economically and were eventually abandoned, perhaps only retaining small local populations.

This power vacuum that the Hittite military activities and probably displaced people of varying origin initiated at the end of the Middle Bronze Age left an opening for the political expansion of the Hurrian<sup>9</sup> cultural group Mitanni in northern Syria and for the Kassites in southern Mesopotamia at Babylon. In the early fifteenth century Mitanni, whose first appearance on the international stage was in a Hittite correspondence in the second half of the sixteenth century,<sup>10</sup> took advantage of the Hittite withdrawal and began expansion into formerly Amorite territories, taking possession of Mukiš and Yamḥad around 1500 BCE and ultimately extending as far east as Nuzi, ca. 1440 BCE, in north-eastern Mesopotamia. Both Alalakh (Yamḥad) and Nuzi are a significant source for data on Mitanni due to the absence from the archaeological record of the capital city Waššukanni, and for that matter other large centralised urban centres whose identities are currently problematic.<sup>11</sup> The kingdom of Qatna to the south of Mitanni that had had important ties to Egypt in the Middle Kingdom was most likely to have been absorbed into this Hurrian political sphere, although their strategic position against Egypt's Levantine boundaries is clearly evidenced in their rich royal funerary assemblages from the Royal Hypogeum.<sup>12</sup>

Similarly, in Egypt in the transition from Middle to Late Bronze Age the Seventeenth Dynasty Theban kings successfully drove out their rivals in the Delta and re-established their links to the northern trade routes. When the Late Bronze Age is cited as a period of intense interregional trade and diplomacy, it is not always emphasised that this international community derived from a period of hiatus, military expansion and

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<sup>8</sup> Massafra 2014.

<sup>9</sup> This refers to the state of Mitanni and is not predicated on the Hurrian language group being new to the region. Hurrian is attested from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium in northern Mesopotamia in the region of the upper Tigris and from pre-Sargonic western Syria, Steinkeller 1998, 89–90; Stein 2001, 150–1; Schwartz 2014, 268.

<sup>10</sup> Novac 2007, 389–40; Bryce 2014, 31.

<sup>11</sup> Bryce 2014, 19, 25; van der Mieroop 2007, 150.

<sup>12</sup> Novac 2007, 399; Liverani 2014, 304; Pfälzner 2012, 778.

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weakened power groups. It is worth remembering that the eastern Mediterranean community took perhaps until the middle of the fifteenth century to set itself on the road to negotiation by diplomacy and courtly brotherhood, rather than military solutions to the pursuit of economic wealth. From this premise it would be reasonable to place the beginning of a notional shared visual repertoire from at least 1450 BCE, perhaps one hundred years before the reign of Tutankhamen and at the time when the most ambitious of Egypt's rulers Thutmose III was still flexing his political muscles with military incursions in the northern Levant. But it must be emphasised this date range is hypothetical and based on the increase in cultural reciprocity at this time in the Near East, most current scholars of this 'style' place the date of its inception after 1400 BCE or after the Amarna period.

After 1450 BCE the political landscape of the Near East did not remain static and while it is possible to speak of diplomacy taking the place of outright war for the great kings it was not unanimously the case. After the battle of Megiddo in the central Levant, Egyptian kings employed both their strategic control of the southern Levant and political parleying, rather than pursuing major territorial battles. However, Hatti, Mitanni and Kassite Babylon were in constant territorial flux and this flowed down to their allies and to the lesser kings. From the Battle of Megiddo to the Amarna period Egypt held its widest political and cultural range in the Levant with Ugarit as a significant economic ally, if not an actual vassal. Qatna and Amurru similarly held strong diplomatic and trade ties to the Egyptian empire.<sup>13</sup> However, between 1350 and 1340 BCE Hatti methodically altered that power demographic in Syria by removing Mitanni and Qatna from discussion, reducing the first to a powerless vassal state and destroying Qatna entirely.<sup>14</sup>

It was then another fifty years and a major battle before the Egyptian and Hittite kings were back to the less martial political solutions that had been in place during the Amarna interlude, and instigated another round of royal marriages and treaties. As is more than evidenced in international diplomacy even today, egalitarian interrelations are ideals projected by rulers rather than political realities, and geographical spheres of influence continued to fluctuate in the eastern Mediterranean littoral until the close of the Late Bronze Age and the Sea Peoples event, ca. 1187 BCE, which effectively brought this period of 'internationalism' to an end. However, what this all illustrates is that at the time that most of the material from Egypt is visible within the archaeological record, in the period from 1475 to 1325 BCE Egypt was a military and economic juggernaut. Of all the cultures mentioned in this text its geographic boundaries were greatest, the input into the royal coffers from vassals and military campaigns were vast, effectively placing Egypt and the Egyptian king on a level above their peers, notionally 'lord of all foreign lands', and making it possible for them to dictate the terms of kingly gifting. The social and political context of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty therefore places the idea of their publicly and private embracing an egalitarian visual culture of royal brotherhood somewhat in doubt.

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<sup>13</sup> Pfälzner 2012, 771.

<sup>14</sup> van der Mieroop 2007, 153; Bryce 2014, 38–9.

### 8.1.3 Theory and history

The past one hundred and fifty years of archaeological scholarship of the ancient Near East has contributed to successive rationalisations regarding objects bearing hybrid visual idiom. In the early years of excavation in the Near East the most significant act of misdirection must have been the retrograde association of this visual idiom with the much later Phoenician tradition which it somewhat resembles. This resemblance contributed extensively to the idea that the Phoenician culture existed as a concrete entity as early as the fourteenth century, with many scholars assigning the visual confluences between the Ugarit vessels, Cypriot ivories, the Tell Basta treasure and the Egyptian royal tombs as evidence of a distinct cultural style that was based on an adoption of visual idiom from the 'great cultures' of the eastern Mediterranean. Some even went so far as to argue chronological upheavals to make the evidence fit their arguments. Naturally, much of those assumptions were based on a contracted range of known 'cultures', 'Mesopotamia', Mycenae, 'the Minoans' and pharaonic Egypt and narrow constructions of what these cultures represented. This approach was not aided by the gleeful employment of culture historical models that assumed ethnicity and population movements could be traced via material culture.

Later art historical methodologies were employed to attempt to trace cultural and workshop styles in order to identify technical and national sources for this material which was still heavily grounded in the idea that objects and visual idiom may equal ethnicity of populations. Admittedly the most time and effort has been put into the exhaustive studies of the Levantine, Aegean and Cypriot ivories with hybrid idiom, but discussion of the gold and silver artefacts from Egypt and Ugarit has also been extensive. However, with regard to the objects from KV 62 no study appears to have chosen to look further than the showpiece objects that have graced publications since the 1920s. The most popular representatives of these arguments have been the daggers from this tomb and the one illustration of an animal combat from a dagger sheath from Schaeffer from 1939. This process has led through the middle of the twentieth century to the concocting of the unfortunate designation for this material 'The International Style' by William K. Simpson, again unconsciously leaning on modern art history models for the title and subsequently dooming this material to a vague name for the next fifty or sixty years.

The late twentieth century shook off the burden of culture historical and art historical models and now it is possible to talk of the entangled international media, idiom and form of these objects without necessarily imposing a cultural origin to the material. But this too has doomed this corpus to the 'too hard basket'. The refined criteria that Marian Feldman introduced in the early twenty-first century satisfied many needs for the academic community by providing a scaled down group of objects and a nuanced name, international artistic *koiné*, which not everybody embraced with energy, but her contribution in actuality moves us no further forward as to clarity and also contains selective approaches to the evidence. Ultimately the issue must be that while theoretical approaches have matured and evolved, there has been a consistent lacuna in the dialogue; the asymmetry between the evidence of text and archaeology for prestige gifts between



Late Bronze Age kings, with many scholars determinedly leaning on the diplomatic correspondences to validate arguments about cultural origin for technology, media and visual idiom, arguments that have in fact been in place for perhaps over one hundred years.

#### **8.1.4 'International idiom'**

The international style is argued to be a hybrid or culturally entangled visual and material idiom that is so effectively fused that it is impossible to disentangle the individual strands. Thus material such as red gold, iron, silver, lapis lazuli, glass, faience, ivory and carnelian used in the construction of a prestige object may be cited as evidence of material entanglement in scholarship. Similarly this may be applied to entangled object forms that were popularised in the Levant and Egypt at this time such as the 'Aegean' conical rhyton and stirrup jar or the 'Syrian' pomegranate vase. Equally the visual idiom on such an object itself must theoretically contain a fusion of diverse themes and motifs ostensibly sourced from various cultures, such as 'Aegean' or 'Syrian' open composition animal combats juxtaposed with 'Mesopotamian' emblematic scenes with sacred volute tree.

There must be no narrative or hierarchic elements present in this 'style' and the human actor ought to be absent or virtually absent with all culturally specific idiom of cult and royal power reduced to a generic notion of 'power over nature and fecundity' with which all members of this club could engage. Which immediately begs the question, why? Why would the royal persona be absent from a shared idiom of power, when in the Late Bronze Age the one ubiquitously shared visual feature of royal power was the royal figure hunting wild animals either on foot with spears or in a chariot with compound bow? There is actually no reason why this motif would not have been legible to all participants in this notional club of rulers, so why would it be excluded? Equally, how is it possible to remove internal cult resonance from iconography? When in fact divine presence could be thought to reside in abstract and natural symbols in the numerous cultures under discussion here, incidentally at a time when cult transference and translation between eastern Mediterranean kingdoms and states was also at its height.

However, the notion of an international style that is isolate and relatively visually homogenous is in fact a contemporary artificial construct that is broadly based on both the history of Near Eastern archaeology and on culture and art historical models. Regardless of whether you are an advocate of rejecting these models or not they inform discussion and the conclusions made by every commentator of this topic since approximately 1850, including mine. What this means is that the basic model for defining this topic is and always has been flawed. A homogenous artistic style that contains a cohesive fusion of themes and motifs that are sourced from diverse dominant cultures in the Late Bronze Age blithely ignores the heightened exchange and adoption of visual idiom at this time, by pointing to specific cultures as artistic source, in some cases while simultaneously denying that this is a viable diagnostic method.

Most of the motifs under discussion here, whether they are attributed in scholarship to the Aegean, such as *was* lily, winged sphinx, winged griffin and running spiral or to Syro-Anatolia, again winged sphinx, winged griffin, complex volute tree and running spiral, had been ‘international’ during the middle to the late Middle Bronze Age and were indigenous or adopted in the administrative and royal glyptic of most regions in the Late Bronze Age, where under normal terms of cultural appropriation they often cease to be exotic motifs. Similarly, to cite a medium (glass, iron, red gold) or technological innovations source (granulation, niello) as exotic, is substantially irrelevant in the period after 1450 BCE, where materials, artisans and technologies were fully entangled in the ancient world as elements of royal gifting. Therefore there is absolutely no validity to employing models that cite the likely Aegean origin of the running spiral or the Syrian origin of the volute flower as exotic elements on an object that dates to 1350 BCE and the height of the international period, or in fact later. This singularly applies to luxury objects from Egypt where these motifs were already fully integrated in local elite culture and attested for objects in the decorative arts, particularly for cosmetic items.

### 8.2 The international artefacts

While the discussion of entangled visual idiom only served to illustrate the circular arguments used to identify this artificial style, the following chapters examined the material realm of an international style. This was structured first in terms of clarifying the issue of dependence on text against the physical evidence for prestige materials and technologies in the second millennium, but it also introduced the non-Egyptian objects from the Aegean, Cyprus, Syria and the Levant that have fuelled discussions of hybrid idiom. Of these objects only the Qatna royal hypogeum assemblage and the temple of Baal gold vessels from Ugarit are roughly contemporary with the mid to late Eighteenth Dynasty, with a high likelihood that the ‘hybrid’ pieces are contemporary with the reigns of Amenhotep III or Akhenaten, as after this the Qatna tombs were sealed with the sacking of the city. But as the excavator Peter Pfälzner argues in his analysis of this material, these artefacts are not ‘international style’, rather they exhibit internal Syrian idiom while displaying international, particularly Egyptianising, features.

The same diagnosis could be applied to the Ugarit ivories and gold vessels which also bear imagery that reflects internal Syrian cult and royal rhetoric, such as the goddess Astarte, divine warrior twins and the bull-horned lion, while again employing idiom from the international repertoire, such as an idiosyncratic form of the emblematic volute tree. The Ugarit material, it must be emphasised, is not so firm with its dates, but the political changeover may well be a factor in securing them. The gold vessels appear to be associated with the transitional period when Hatti was moving in to the region and when Egypt was rapidly losing ground. The ivories probably date between this period and the early twelfth century final destruction of the city when the state was a vassal of Hatti. That both gold vessels from the temple of Baal and the ivory

inlays from the Egyptian court of the royal palace exhibit strong Egyptianising features would argue that they are in fact heirlooms from when Ugarit was intimately entangled with the Amarna regime.

Cyprus similarly appears to have spent the latter half of the Late Bronze Age developing a freestanding local visual style that fused international elements with internal features, as is well illustrated by the bronze stands with local and hybrid motifs. No doubt this iconography also had internal resonance relating to elite power and local cult. The Cypriot hybrid objects, depending again on definition, are all weak chronologically, due to generational use of tombs and secondary deposition, but most are post-Amarna, from the late thirteenth to the eleventh century. I would personally hazard that some of these funerary assemblages are late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty, when Cypriot elite culture is documented as embracing exotic imports like gold, ivory and faience as conspicuous symbols of power.<sup>15</sup> But this is conjecture, pure and simple, based on visual style and the media employed such as polychrome faience. The foregoing is also inclusive of the objects in exotic media and style that may actually be royal gifts from Egypt.

The rest of the hybrid ivory and gold caches from the Levant and Syria, when it is possible to do so, date between 1300 and 1100 BCE, with the majority associated with city destructions towards the end of this period. Equally, these middle and southern Levantine states and cities were under Egyptian jurisdiction for the period from Thutmose III's campaigning in the fifteenth century until the destructions of the early twelfth, placing the Lachish Fosse Temple, Farah and Megiddo palace ivories in this temporal and cultural context, most likely associated with entangled cult practice and governors or royal vassals with Egyptian allegiances. The ivories from Tell Miqne and Byblos are even later, most likely extending into the Iron Age and not impacting on this discussion because the alliance of great kings was at that time a distant memory. What all the aforementioned indicates is that there appears to be a chronological asymmetry for this homogenous artistic style. The objects from beyond Egypt are predominantly late or contemporary with the fourteenth century.

### **8.3 The international style from Egypt**

While the first half of the dissertation served to set the scene by introducing the history of scholarship for this topic, the hybrid iconography and the corpus of objects included in this notional artistic 'style', the second half introduced the Egyptian New Kingdom material, beginning with the various examples with exotic idiom that have in the past contributed to this topic. This chapter briefly summarised the evidence from the Tell Basta treasure and the smaller groups of prestige objects bearing international features, such as wooden, bone and ivory cosmetic boxes and tools, bronze bowls, axes and faience vessels. While examples of this idiom from early scholarship were discussed, a selection of unpublished material was also introduced. The common factor for many of

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<sup>15</sup> Knapp (2013, 160) places this development from the ProBA II (Late Cypriot II) 1450–1300 BCE.

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these objects is the overall Egyptian function and type for the object and very often the seamless fusion of Egyptian visual programs with these ostensibly intrusive motifs. The most common visual connotations on these objects are scenes of natural abundance, Hathoric symbols or animal combats juxtaposed with those of rural activity or with fishing and fowling.

By contrast to their immediate neighbours, much of this Egyptian material may be conservatively dated from the early fifteenth to the end of the fourteenth centuries (Hatshepsut to Horemhab). After this time, elements of this idiom subsequently drop out of visibility until the end of the New Kingdom, recurring sporadically as minor details on royal palace tiles and finally on some vessels from the Tell Basta treasure. In fact, the mobile animal combat, volute flower and running spiral on objects from the decorative arts and associated with the international repertoire from Egypt may be conservatively pushed back another one hundred years, to the first rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty, ca. 1600–1550 BCE. But this is predicated on this idiom being ‘intrusive’ for a considerable duration of time, which the material evidence tends not to support, instead the evidence indicates that these motifs were fully assimilated into Egyptian elite rhetoric by the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

This early date range places pressure on arguments founded in the early twentieth century for northern Levantine and Syrian origin for certain technologies and visual motifs. The first problem is the premise of the adoption of Syro-Levantine idiom at a time when the Theban rulers had spent half a century establishing their right to rule in Egypt and had expelled northern, probably Syro-Levantine, royal rivals. Under these circumstances and also not disregarding the unreceptive nature of Egyptian state rhetoric to novelty, they were unlikely to actively adopt visual idiom from this same enemy into their royal rhetoric, when they were in fact energetically modelling themselves on earlier archaising Egyptian kingship models from the Twelfth Dynasty, like Montuhotep II (ca. 2000 BCE) who had built a vast temple to Hathor and royal mortuary complex at Deir el Bahari in Western Thebes.

The second issue is the early twentieth century rationale for the Hurrian origin of the complex volute tree and sundry technological innovations like polychrome glass, the compound bow and the war chariot. A rationale that was one hundred years ago largely based on the literary evidence, the Amarna letters of Tušratta, but also Nuzi ware ceramic and on Mitanni court style glyptic, incidentally all now dated to the final century of Mitanni (1450–1350 BCE). The kingdom of Mitanni is not attested as a political entity until the second half of the sixteenth century. Royal gifts and looted equipment may be teased into the period after 1500 BCE and well after the expulsion of the Hyksos, but before 1500 BCE it is considerably more difficult to support with evidence. In fact if the Syrian region is to be credited with this material it would be more realistic to look earlier to the Amorite Dynasties of Yamḥad, Ebla and Qatna for the source of these technological innovations and motifs. However, the Middle Bronze Age was another period of intense interaction particularly between Egypt and Syria and entangled material culture and visual idiom are a feature of this. It was in fact at this time that most of the technologies and problematic idiom were exchanged between Near Eastern and Aegean rulers.

### 8.3.1 KV 62, Tutankhamen

With the basic premise of hybrid idiom from Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt established, the discussion turned to the secure chronological evidence for international idiom from KV 62. Of the various artefacts from the tomb of Tutankhamen that are currently cited as products of international gifting and classified for inclusion in an international style: daggers, chest, tunic, calcite vase and gold appliqués, none when viewed globally support an argument for exotic gifts from another king or for foreign workmanship. Rather the evidence does, if anything, support technological and human interaction, the exchange of raw materials, expertise and artisans between the states of the period. While specific objects like the daggers have often been cited as exemplary of fully entangled visual idiom, the foregoing discussion has made clear that many of the rationales employed to support this thesis are not supported by current research. The red gold of the daggers is now understood to be a feature of Egyptian metalwork, as is the source of meteoric iron of one blade. The iconography of the surfaces is also only intrusive if the volute tree is viewed from the standpoint of being a Syrian motif and its origin predicated on the evidence of objects like the Ugarit gold bowl and Mitanni seals, none of which may be argued to predate the appearance of this tree in the decorative arts in Egypt.

The inlaid chest of Tutankhamen has horizontal registers of arguably international animal combat on three sides, but one end and the vaulted lid have two larger scenes that establish the value of the entire object; late Amarna period royal ideology representing the king and queen in a scene most likely reflecting the complex rituals of coronation with the queen as representative of Hathor and Weret-Hekau anointing and supporting the young king. The calcite cosmetic jar is similarly replete with iconography signalling the supremacy of the ruler over foreign lands with visual metaphors equating him with both the lion and with the protective deity that was associated with Hathor, Bes. The linen tunic with embroidered bands also has a broad collar combining the same layered volute trees with Egyptian amulets such as *uraei* and Osirian *djed* pillars. This tunic in form mimics the *ankh* amulet and has the motif of Egyptian queens or princesses adoring the volute tree on the hem that is earlier associated with this king's royal grandfather and grandmother.

All artefacts discussed here, except the harness plaques, bear inscriptions repeating the formulaic titles and names of the ruler. At face value, the harness plaques with animal combats and those with volute trees are the only instance where exotic gifting might be a viable proposition, until closer examination reveals that, of the plaques with canonical Egyptian idiom, seventeen display borders of running spirals and at least ten have the volute flower as fill or as a freestanding volute palmette. In this case the volute palmette is predominantly associated with the conquering ruler (as lion) motif and with the royal name flanked by *nzw-bity*. Similarly, the ceremonial chariots, chariot wheels, sunshade and horse blanket with intrusive features cannot be excluded from this discussion, as they have been in the past, due to their visual and technical parallels with the appliqués. These too are often replete in this ruler's titulary. The foregoing global view does nothing to suggest external source for this group, but rather it argues internal Egyptian value for all objects.

The previously undocumented material from KV 62 also reinforces the argument that specific elements of this iconography had internal value in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Another fifteen prestige artefacts from this tomb contain elements that might qualify them for inclusion in this notional international style. Most of these are royal weapons or symbols of office. All of these manifest combinations of idiom that are argued to define this style: animal combats, pastoral scenes, volute trees, volute flowers, rosettes, guilloche and running spirals, yet they are again often fused seamlessly with canonical Egyptian visual idiom, royal names and text. A notable example would be the most prestigious of the compound bows (048h) and a hunting stick (227b), both of which are covered in complex gold work and decorated with bands of filigree spirals, guilloche, cloisonné rosettes and volute flowers.

Naturally, these ceremonial weapons also have successive bands of Egyptian royal titulary, nomen and prenomen rendered in the same workmanship. As has been discussed in more detail, the bow and stave may be heirlooms and have both previously belonged to the female ruler preceding Tutankhamen, Neferneferuaten, before being modified in the royal workshops for him. A further three hunting sticks (227a-b, 098) and two ceremonial staves (050jj, 224) exhibit similar elaborate features. Two openwork red gold plaques (044a, 050tt) also contribute unquestionable international motifs with scenes of animal combat and volute flowers, yet they have technical parallels with other buckles from this tomb with scenes of the ruler as conquering hero or in scenes of coronation or jubilee with the queen.

In addition to these objects with ‘international’ features, there are approximately seventy more artefacts from KV 62 that while canonical in content also manifest isolated decorative elements like the spiral, volute flower or tree. These include the two calcite vases with volute trees (061, 058), three more bows (228, 244, 247) and three staves (095a, 227c, 582b). The latter bows and staves are decorated with bands of gold worked running spirals and plaited bands. This number of objects displaying ostensibly exotic idiom naturally does not include the daisy rosette which is present as a decorative band on furnishings and as a motif on festival tunics and on the funerary palls. Nor does this number include the south flower that is present both as an ornament and in *sema-tawy* constructions. However, the canonical lily of the south may not be entirely dismissed from this discussion, when in terms of colour and medium it clearly conflates with the volute flower on international pieces like the ‘Bow of Honour’ and the gold daggers. Beyond these examples there are more objects with individual motifs like polychrome faience *wah* collars with running spiral spacers (046qq, 046rr, 054r) and *neferu* collars with volute flowers (021u, 046b).

These many lavishly decorated artefacts represent a wide range of prestige media and technologies with singular emphasis on coloured gold work, filigree, granulation and cloisonné. Similarly, woodwork is well represented on chest, staves and compound bows, all exhibiting complex marquetry techniques and employing ivory, glass and hardwood inlays. Media involved in their construction are wide ranging, but not necessarily limited to high prestige, representing precious metals like gold and silver, semi-precious stones, vitreous materials, ivory, bone, hardwood, stained barks, leather, gesso and linen.

The material value of objects is also quite broad with various functional types of object represented, from the regalia of royal office such as ceremonial sceptres, to hunting and military symbolism such as chariots, daggers, compound bows and hunting sticks. In addition to these, there are artefacts which could belong to the royal household, albeit probably with ritually charged associations, such as the gold openwork buckles,<sup>16</sup> ceremonial tunic and jewellery.

When objects from this tomb are viewed globally it is virtually impossible to create a clear distinction between the reputedly exotic idiom and the Egyptian, unless we simply exclude volutes, rosettes and spirals from discussion of intrusive idiom from late fourteenth century Egypt. But this still leaves the few objects that have isolated scenes of animal combat, like the hunting sticks (098, 227a). According to current criteria these should be considered Egyptian due to the dominance of Egyptian visual rhetoric and the clear parallels with Amarna idiom, and therefore they should be rejected from discussion of international idiom. While confusingly, other examples with single elements from this repertoire, like the openwork panels with volute flowers on a throne of queen Sitamen from the tomb of Yuya and Tuya, may be retained in this style. In truth, the current criteria for this topic appear flawed and the dichotomy of international and intrusive is a modern construct with artificially fluid boundaries that is substantially grounded in selective reasoning.

### 8.3.2 Royal and elite tombs

In addition, this visual conflation is not in fact restricted in either space or time to the unpretentious tomb of one minor pharaoh immediately following the Amarna period. Instead the assemblage from KV 62 is not an isolated Eighteenth Dynasty example of intrusive idiom in a royal or elite funerary context. In fact, this problematic idiom, while not commonplace, is attested for similar function and media prestige objects beyond the one virtually intact royal assemblage. As the tombs of Tutankhamen and of his grandparents Yuya and Tuya represent the current template for the material reconstruction of upper stratum elite burials from Egypt, due to nearly all other royal burials being substantially looted in antiquity, it is of singular interest that this idiom is still traceable in the material record.

Two motifs that are representative of this visual style are extant from royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings in Western Thebes: the volute flower and the running spiral. These two icons are attested from diverse sources, with the running spiral appearing to be a common decorative motif from wooden furnishings, leatherwork, embossed linen and for metalwork, either as filigree or embossed on sheet silver or gold. Spirals are attested as a fill or border decoration on royal and elite funerary objects spanning the entire Eighteenth Dynasty and may be found on royal model funerary boats, faience and cosmetic vessels, toiletry boxes, ceremonial staves, daggers, quivers, bowcases, chariot bodies, chariot accessories and furnishings. The royal and upper elite tombs manifesting this idiom on prestige objects constitute a date range from approximately

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<sup>16</sup> The buckles could also belong with the horse harness.

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1475 to 1350 BCE, from the looted tombs of Hatshepsut, the ‘three foreign wives’ of Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV and Yuya.<sup>17</sup> In the fine arts they were also employed as a ceiling or wall decoration for elite tombs and royal palaces during the entire Eighteenth Dynasty. In view of this, it is reasonable to claim that running spirals were a diagnostic feature of elite visual culture in the Eighteenth Dynasty and therefore cannot be cited as an exotic motif in the fourteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

Volute trees also appear to have been a minor feature of royal and elite funerary assemblages from the late Seventeenth Dynasty to the end of the Eighteenth, and are attested on an eclectic sampling of artefacts, such as model funerary boats, apotropaic wands, administrative seals, bows, chariot accessories, staves and jewellery. The tombs of A’*h*hotep, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Maihirperi, Perpaut, Yuya and Tuya and KV 58 all contribute volute idiom in various media. Immediately preceding the reign of Tutankhamen, during the reigns of his father and grandfather, the volute tree appears to be at its most visible beyond funerary contexts, although this may be predicated on what has endured in the archaeological record. At the palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata in Western Thebes the volute tree is attested from faience seals, vessels, bezel rings, a limestone stele and significantly, to decorate a royal suite.<sup>19</sup>

In Akhenaten’s city of Tell el Amarna the flower and tree are attested again from faience seals, pendants and bezel rings, but also on military accessories and wooden cosmetic boxes.<sup>20</sup> The volute flower, like the evidence from royal tombs, featured in Amarna as a decorative element with the running spiral on embossed leather fragments from elite residences, and these conform readily to those from royal tombs, most likely having originally belonged to the housings of chariots, horse harness and on military equipment.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, to be pedantic, both the simple running spiral and the volute flower or complex tree were features of Egyptian design and ornament in specific media well before the accession of Tutankhamen.

In addition, two themes are attested from Egypt that are equally associated with visual hybridity, the emblematic scene of caprids or sphinxes flanking the volute tree and the mobile animal combat that often conflates with pastoral scenes. The former is again attested in early New Kingdom Egypt, with the first concrete example belonging in the sixteenth century and associated with an elite tomb from Deir el Bahari.<sup>22</sup> This ivory game board also has what has been argued to be the earliest example of the volute tree in Egypt, but this date is disputable and should probably be ceded to two stone scarabs from the Petrie Museum or the cloisonné scarab ring from Ebla.<sup>23</sup> Beyond

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<sup>17</sup> Daressy 1902, 67–9; Carter and Newberry 1904, 23, 37, 39; Carter 1906, 112; Newberry 1907, 35–6, 42–3; Quibell 1908, 52–3, 58–9, 65–7.

<sup>18</sup> Veldmeijer 2011b, 184; Bourriau 1982, 220.

<sup>19</sup> De Peyster Tytus 1903, pl. 4b, figs. 1–2; Winlock, 1912, fig. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Petrie 1894, 28–30, pls. 15–8; Herrmann 1985, 103–6; Nicholson 2007.

<sup>21</sup> Borchardt 1911, 2–6; Ikram et al 2013, 288; Ikram and Veldmeijer 2012, 137; Veldmeijer, 2011a, 26, 93–140.

<sup>22</sup> Cairo: JE 21462: tomb of Akhhor, late 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Mariette 1872, 16–7, pl. 51.

<sup>23</sup> Petrie: UC 60463 and UC 60464, Middle Kingdom, with the amethyst scarab not likely to date after 1700 BCE due to amethyst going out of use in Egypt after this time, Ward 1975, 108, fig 22.



this early example, the emblematic scene with complex tree and caprids or female sphinxes is most apparent in Egypt from early in the fourteenth century and may be particularly associated with the reign of Amenhotep III, being attested from a royal chariot, a stele, prestige vessels and seals with the possibility of further examples from elite tombs dating to this reign or earlier. The motif is also visible later on prestige objects from Tell el Amarna and Tell Basta and from the chariot accessories of KV 62.

The final international theme of the desert hunt or animal combat by contrast is entirely predicated on the style of representation being novel, as the theme proper was ubiquitous to Egyptian visual culture. The iconography of the desert hunt was an essential visual theme specifically associated with Egyptian elite funerary and palatial contexts. It was a primary medium of royal propaganda for advertising the ruler's power over chaos. While the theme is not as visible from the royal tombs discussed here, the steppe hunt or marsh pastoral scene were ubiquitous to funerary iconography often adjacent to scenes of fishing and fowling. In the New Kingdom the postures of wild animal figures on wall reliefs do however become more mobile and twisted, and compositions are less predicated on the use of a groundline, bearing firmly in mind that steppe animals in hunt scenes were not always required to be arranged in an orderly manner. This mobility is commonly attributed to the influence of Aegean or Syrian art in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. However, in the fourteenth century this was an established feature of Egyptian Amarna period visual rhetoric.

It is equally important to be aware that a strong groundline and layered composition are conventions specifically associated in Egyptian visual representation with monumental art.<sup>24</sup> The approach to spatial composition was not so rigid once one turns from the fine arts to objects in various media with unusual surface areas, such as faience bowls, weapons or chariot plaques. These surfaces were decorated more flexibly and with reference to the dictates of form. Thus a figure on a faience offering bowl may not be grounded and both vegetal and animal elements may float in the free space. In the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties these motifs as purely animal scenes without human agents are attested from similar contexts to other elements of this idiom, for the decoration of wood and faience cosmetic boxes, small vessels, game boards, weapons, and from the extant floors and walls of royal palaces.

To sum up, while the internationalism of the Late Bronze Age must have had some influence on Egyptian elite visual idiom, as it did with language and prestige culture, it cannot be argued that the core semantic values have necessarily altered for these objects or for their decoration. While these various themes and motifs do superficially appear alien when confronted with the majority of canonical iconography from Egypt for the pharaonic period it cannot be claimed to be exotic in the period under discussion. However, to remove these from discussion also places the international status of the Egyptian royal material from KV 62 in serious doubt. But in truth most of the evidence for this style from Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt raises doubts.

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<sup>24</sup> Simpson and Smith 1998, 266–7; Robins 1986, 53–6; Robins and Fowler 1994, 8; Davis 1989, 82–92.

## 8.4 Royal rhetoric

In the Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt was in the enviable position of being able to dictate terms to its allies in international diplomacy. Unlike many of the other great kings the Egyptian ruler was under no compunction to display membership of an exclusive club to his internal audience (human and divine) and the absence of the many detailed and luxurious royal gifts in the material record is one expression of this. The ruler of Egypt was a semi-divine mediator between this world and the next in Egyptian thought and at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty had even appropriated fully divine status, elevating himself to a relationship with the Egyptian pantheon that was unprecedented. His funeral and funerary assemblage were equally structured around his divinity, his intimacy with the gods, and were an enormous material vehicle that was intended to guarantee his living eternally. There is no particular logic to the most prestigious objects from his tomb being telltale evidence of foreign gifting, they are much more likely to be internal instruments of his personal prestige and power.

While funerary culture in the Eighteenth Dynasty had expanded out to include a wider repertoire of objects ostensibly from the 'daily life' of an individual, the types of object and conscious deposition of most funerary objects were still grounded in the guarantee of regeneration for the deceased in the afterlife, beyond this, the nature and quantity of the assemblage was grounded in their respective social status.<sup>25</sup> In the case of a king, these objects were intended to serve as active highly charged magical tools in the creation of this afterlife that were also inexplicably entwined with the ruler's guarantee of eternal years of rule and with the continuation of cosmic order. Royal tombs from Egypt were highly parochial in their choice of grave goods and were as a rule not associated with foreign exotica. Exotic ceramics such as Cypriot bilbils or Mycenaean stirrup jars, for example, are a feature of elite assemblages in the New Kingdom, but not of royal tombs.<sup>26</sup>

The physical context of the assemblage from KV 62 also imposes Egyptian values on these objects and perhaps ceremonial value during the lifetime of this ruler or the ruler they may have been usurped from. While state chariots were a technological innovation of the early Eighteenth Dynasty and new to the repertoire of royal tombs essentially replacing the carrying chair as a ceremonial and funerary vehicle, the other objects bearing this idiom, jewellery, chests, daggers, quivers, bows, arrows, staves and hunting sticks are acknowledged to be important elements of the tomb, the embalming ritual and the funeral procession. This specific function of funerary objects is documented from the Sixth Dynasty Pyramid Texts and evolved in Egyptian thought to the conscious choices for the decoration of tombs and coffins of elite Egyptians in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>27</sup> These objects were both mechanical and symbolic tools for the resuscitation of the deceased during the mummification process and were depicted on the coffin in object friezes, with the actual objects like staves and bows laid beside the body upon interment in the tomb.

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<sup>25</sup> Smith 1992, 217–9.

<sup>26</sup> Barrett 2009, 218–9; Kelder 2010, 137; van Wijngaarden 2002, 9–22.

<sup>27</sup> Willems 1958, 203–27; Grajetzki 2004, 20, 22, 27; 2014, 150–1; Bourriau 1991, 11–5.

Likewise, it ought to be noted that Egyptian rulers were not compelled to employ generic idiom of shared royal power in their pursuit of regeneration and eternal life. The complex concept of the afterlife, the institution of kingship and the ideology of same were as inflexible as the writing system and the monumental visual programs, with their ultimate origins in the fourth millennium in Egypt.<sup>28</sup> This social structure, with clearly defined hierarchy and offices, had therefore been in place, albeit with some fluctuations during periods of instability, for over two thousand years by the period that is under scrutiny here. The iconography that is associated with kingship may be traced back to early dynastic artefacts recording the primacy of the figure of the king in the maintenance of Egyptian world order and legitimising his role at the apex of the Egyptian social hierarchy.

Similarly, these royal objects, flagella, ceremonial sceptres, magical hunting sticks and daggers were essential attributes of the ruler and highly charged aspects of this office. Egyptian kingship and for that matter queenship were embodied in the individual, but only once they had been formally appointed by the gods and anointed through complex rituals, often involving these material symbols of rule. In this way Egyptian rulers were defined and empowered by their tools of office which were not just accessories or abstract symbols of power, they were highly charged material manifestations of office and divine sanction. Because of many of these issues, these prestige objects interred with great ceremony within a royal tomb could not under any circumstances be considered devoid of local significance in their decoration, nor could they be easily understood as casual luxury gifts from a foreign ruler left in a tomb as keepsakes from daily life.

#### **8.4.1 Prestige media and social status**

In addition, it cannot be argued that the artefacts from Egypt that bear varying combinations of this specific idiom are uniquely limited to royal contexts, high value, high prestige or even exotic media. This also challenges the additional rationale that luxury hybrid objects from this elite club may be identified by the absence of quotidian materials or of lower status social contexts. Many objects examined here do represent the ability to access and control economic resources, in addition to very high standards of technical expertise, which is consistent with their likely association with Egyptian royal workshops and skilled artisans, particularly those residing at Deir el Medina in Western Thebes. However, many do not, and it is not possible to create a clear differentiation in style or content between the high prestige materials, such as gold, glass or ivory from royal contexts and those that occur in connection with quotidian materials. In fact, in Egypt this idiom also occurs on objects constructed from ceramic, wood, plaster, bark, textile, leather and bone.

Equally, this visual idiom does not appear to be limited to upper elite archaeological contexts from Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt. While it is heavily weighted in royal prestige and royal funerary contexts, various strata of Egyptian society are capable of manifesting

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<sup>28</sup> Baines 2012, 395; Goebs 2011, 2013.

this idiom in their funerary assemblages, from immediate members of the royal entourage (Yu<sub>y</sub>a and Tu<sub>y</sub>a, Maihirperi) to senior temple officials (Hatiay and Sitamen), and to middle class tradesmen of the royal necropolis (Senedjem and Ijneferty, Kha and Merit). Although it must be noted here that the status of the owners of these tombs may have less bearing on this discussion due to this idiom being associated with female family members. The question would be then, why this association with women of various social levels? While most examples may readily be explained by the unusual prestige objects being signals of office and of royal favour, the latter group of furnishings from Deir el Medina may also indicate emulation of royal and elite material in quotidian media, however, the choice of elements of this idiom may still point to specific social connections for the individual.

All the aforementioned discussion naturally raises the question of accurately differentiating between exotic, intrusive or fully acculturated visual idiom in Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt. And here the term entanglement does have application, as Egyptian New Kingdom elite visual culture while retaining much of its traditional rhetoric does exhibit this feature. In the past it was relatively simple for scholars employing culture historical models to view what was perceived as foreign idiom from New Kingdom prestige contexts and conclude that an uncommon motif must imply an exotic source or may signal ethnicity for the owner, an error that has been employed ubiquitously in discussion of intrusive idiom in the past. However, it is crucial to recall that many materials attested with this idiom from Egypt, like linen, wood and leather, simply do not survive in the archaeological record, particularly if there was moisture present in any capacity. And equally, due to substantial looting and reworking of prestige materials in the past, both by royal workshops and by looters, we are dealing with a very limited archaeological record.

The evidence from Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt argues for considerable value for elements of this idiom within the royal rhetoric of the fourteenth century from the coronation of Amenhotep III, spanning the Amarna period to the short lived reign of his grandson Tutankhamen. This period represents the height of Egyptian visual expressionism even in exclusion of the discussion of an international style and may in part have been enhanced by the international climate of the time and by the access to both international exotica and to skilled foreign artisans. It is interesting to note that the prestige value in the decorative arts for some motifs does not appear to abate during the Amarna period and the quite dramatic changes to Egyptian state cult during the reign of Akhenaten. The volute flower was a prolific symbol employed by the chariot industry and produced by the faience and glass workshops of Akhenaten just as those of his father Amenhotep III. Nor does the use of this flower appear to abate under the reformation of traditional cult by Tutankhamen, unless it may be argued that every object from his tomb with the volute tree is usurped from an Amarna period predecessor.

However, evidence for this idiom does appear to dwindle after this period, as the volute flower becomes less apparent within royal rhetoric. The chariot appliqué from KV 58 and an image of Horemhab's queen Mutnodjmet as a sphinx wearing the volute

diadem perhaps represent the few royal examples and the objects of Ijneferty from the early Nineteenth Dynasty may represent the quotidian realm. That the use and proliferation of this volute flower is most visible between the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten supports an argument that the symbolic value for this idiom resided in the role of the ruler in Egyptian state rhetoric, as the Amarna reforms were never intended to threaten the absolute power of the ruler. By contrast, as heir to one of the wealthiest empires of the time, Akhenaten attempted to augment his role as conduit to the divine and made himself and his family divinities and the earthly vehicles for all Egyptian state cult. In doing so he also elevated the role of the queen to even greater heights than his father before him, but while doing this he retained the basic symbolic construction of the royal couple as the earthly embodiment of divine duality, as manifestations of the ideal celestial couple: Re and Hathor, Geb and Nut, Shu and Tefnut.<sup>29</sup> It is perhaps this royal rhetoric that is manifested by this idiom, the duality of the divine pair and the elevated status of royal women at this time which stimulated the raised value of the queen's symbols and tools of office within Egyptian elite culture.

## 8.5 Close

When I first began the research for this dissertation I was asked by another scholar whether I thought there *really* was a unique 'International Style' of the Late Bronze Age and I answered him without too much deliberation that I think it depends on the terms employed to define it. Four years later and after exhaustive time spent viewing the evidence from Egypt and abroad, I believe my answer is still the same; if the current criteria that are employed to define the 'style' are the definition employed, then no, I do not believe in this 'International Style'. The current archaeological evidence does not support the greater and lesser kings having a special generic iconography of power that they shared amongst themselves in exclusion of all others. By contrast the existing archaeological evidence favours the immediate allies and trading partners of imperial Egypt which could in fact be argued to be emulation in equal measure to signals of membership in an elite club.

However, if the international repertoire or international artistic *koiné* that is visible in the rhetoric of kingship in most regions under discussion in the entire second millennium may be deemed an international style, then yes I believe this shared or adopted repertoire may have existed and that this idiom of cult and power held enough resonance throughout the eastern Mediterranean that certain features continued through to the Phoenician period, ultimately trickling down to the classical period. However, the value of these motifs over time and across cultures can not be assumed to have been static, rather they will have been multivalent and fluid, translating into local royal and cult semantic and once fully assimilated will have had their own features and resonance within local visual repertoires.

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<sup>29</sup> Quirke 2015, 120–2.

## 8 Conclusion

On the basis of the evidence presented in this dissertation it might also be possible to argue that this international style is in fact the outcome of elite emulation, with kings in Ugarit, Cyprus and Qatna adopting Egyptian idiom in the fourteenth century to bolster their own political prestige. Thus a case for an Egyptian origin might be made according to the comparison of chronology and the material evidence, however to make such a claim disregards the complexities of iconographic transfer in the Late Bronze Age and I therefore hesitate to do so, on the basis that visual and cultural entanglement are not neat linear processes. It was also beyond the scope of this thesis to pursue many of the interesting avenues that have been opened up during this research, and it would be hoped that the issue of the possible association of this visual idiom with the enigmatic figure and queen, Neferneferuaten, and the use of the volute flower as a core symbol of queenship in the Eighteenth Dynasty might be pursued further.

But the evidence from Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt is clear. This ostensibly intrusive visual idiom is a significant feature of royal tools of office from the tomb of Tutankhamen and from the tombs of his predecessors reaching back to the beginnings of the dynasty. After examining the evidence from KV 62 and from royal and palatial contexts of earlier Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian kings I conclude that this idiom was in fact fully integrated within Egyptian elite culture in the fourteenth century. Rather than being the direct product of international gift exchange, motifs from the international repertoire had internal Egyptian resonance and were in fact another vehicle for expressing royal propaganda and cult. Perhaps having a nuanced gendered value and exhibiting both male and female rhetoric of power under the influence of both the increased emphasis on royal women in state cult in the Eighteenth Dynasty and as an outcome of the internationalism of the Late Bronze Age, but nonetheless still entirely embedded in Egyptian royal rhetoric and thought.