AEGEAN NATIVES IN THE THEBAN TOMB PAINTINGS: THE KEFTIU REVISITED*

Our sources of information for reconstructing Aegean-Egyptian contacts during the Bronze Age have expanded enormously in the half-century since Kantor’s influential 1947 study.1 We now recognize Egyptian artistic and perhaps cultural influences on Crete as early as the Protopalatial period, when the minor divinity, Taweret, was adopted as the Minoan "genius."2 During the Neopalatial period, Egyptian stone vases were imported and sometimes reworked,3 and blue monkeys from Egypt were adopted into the Minoan religious system.4 Minoanizing paintings have recently been discovered at Tell el-Dab’a in early 18th Dynasty levels,5 and the influence of Aegean textiles has been detected in the painting of tomb ceilings.6 For the latter half of the 18th dynasty, we have Amenhotep III inscribed objects in the Aegean7 that have been correlated with LM/LH IIIA1, and Mycenaean pottery at Amarna which covers the later stages of LM/LH IIIA2.8 The Uluburun shipwreck belongs to about this time as well.9 Toward the end of the Bronze Age, Egyptian sources record attacks of the "Sea Peoples," possibly including inhabitants of the Aegean.10 The exchange of artistic and

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9. For bibliography, see paper by REHAK and YOUNGER, this volume.

cultural influences among the cultures of the eastern Mediterranean have also been treated in a number of studies as well. This paper focuses on a fairly brief period in the early 18th Dynasty when probable Aegean natives, the Keftiu, appeared in paintings in the tombs of a handful of nobles in Western Thebes.

The tomb paintings are just one type of evidence: there is a much broader literature on the Keftiu in Egyptian sources, and these have been conveniently collected and discussed by E.H. Cline. For the visual representation of the Keftiu, five of the Theban tombs are particularly important. In chronological order, these include the tombs of Senenmut, Antef, Useramun, Rekhmire, and Menkhpeperreseneb, all high officials whose careers spanned a period of just over half a century during the reigns of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, and Amenhotep II (Pl. III: chronological chart). When Keftiu are illustrated in a number of other tombs, those paintings appear to be derived from, or are free adaptations of, the more detailed compositions in the tombs cited above.

Although the tomb of Rekhmire is the earliest actually to label certain figures as "Keftiu," there is general agreement among scholars that all of the tombs listed here illustrate Aegean natives, depicted as tribute-bearers bringing offerings to pharaoh. These figures share certain characteristics: they are slim, often with waists that are narrower than those of the Egyptians in the same paintings; they have long hair, sometimes with curls over the forehead or crown and strands trailing over the shoulders and down the back; they sometimes wear sandals with pointed toes; many of them carry metal vases that are recognizable as Aegean products because related vessels have been found in archaeological contexts on the mainland and in Crete.

The earlier paintings, from the tombs of Senenmut, Antef, and Useramun, show individuals dressed in a stylized version of the Minoan breechcloth with codpiece and backflap. The later paintings in the tombs of Rekhmire and Menkhpeperreseneb show Keftiu in kilts that resemble those in the Procession Fresco from the palace at Knossos. From an Aegean standpoint, the most important figures occur in the tomb of Rekhmire, vizier from late in the reign of Thutmose III to early in the reign of Amenhotep II. There, a group of

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SWDS, esp. Catalogue I.


13 SWDS, esp. Catalogue I.


15 Good color photographs of the Keftiu from this tomb have recently been published: E. DZIOBEK, Die Gräber des Zwei User-Amun. Theben Nr. 61 und 131 (1994) pls. 20, 21, 23.


18 A three-dimensional sandal of this type, carved in ivory, was found at Knossos: PM II 2 727 fig. 455.
Keftiu was originally painted wearing breechcloths with codpieces and backflaps; after these figures had already been completed, the garments were repainted as kilts.19 The codpieces are visible as *pentimenti* under the kilts. Some of the vessels carried by these figures were also repainted "but were not altered in their typological character."20

A conventional Egyptian date of ca. 1450 BC for the Keftiu paintings in the tomb of Rekhmire (Hayes’ "CAH chronology") coincides with the end of the pottery phases LM I B/LH II A according to the traditional high Aegean chronology.21 And, since LM IB marks the widespread destructions across the island of Crete which some have attributed to the actions of Mycenaean invaders, the change in costume in the Egyptian paintings could reflect changes in the balance of power between Crete and the mainland, if the costumes were diagnostic of their respective cultures.22

Over the last decade, however, the dates associated with the traditional Aegean pottery chronology have been challenged,23 and according to a revised, ultra-high Aegean chronology

| Interconnections, 85; WACHSMANN (supra n. 12) 37, 44-45. |
| MATTHÄUS (supra n. 12) 183. |

| Hatshepsut | Kitchen | Helck |
| 1503-1482 BC | 1479-1457 BC | 1467-1445 BC |
| 1504-1450 | 1479-1425 | 1467-1413 |
| 1450-1425 | 1427-1392 | 1414-1388 |
| 1425-1417 | 1392-1382 | 1388-1379 |
| 1417-1379 | 1382-1344 | 1379-1340 |


Egyptian paintings datable to ca. 1450 BC in absolute terms would coincide with the pottery phases LM/LH IIIA1. At the same time, several Egyptologists have proposed lower chronologies for the 18th Dynasty (e.g., Kitchen, Helck). Most recently, a reassessment of the ultra-high Aegean chronology, based in part on a clustering of 14C dates just after 1500, suggests that the end of LM I B/LH IIA occurred around 1490 BC; when we associate this with the lower Egyptian chronology (Kitchen), the death of Thutmose III and accession of Amenhotep II should be dated ca. 1427/25 BC. If this scheme is correct, the Tell el-Dab’a paintings should be roughly contemporary with the end of the Neopalatial period on Crete, with the earliest representations of Keftiu at Thebes contemporary with LM II/LH II B, and the transition from Thutmose III to Amenhotep II contemporary with the transition in the Aegean from LM/LH II/IIB to LM/LH IIIA1.

An analysis of Aegean costumes, however, shows that whatever chronology one employs, the hypothesis that the figures wearing breechcloths with codpieces represent Minoans and those in kilts represent Mycenaeans is not supported by the evidence.

The Minoan breechcloth with codpiece first appears in Prepalatial times (MM II) on the terracotta figurines of men from the peak sanctuary at Petsos. In the Neopalatial period, this garment is worn by individuals who are particularly active (e.g., the "harvesters" on the Harvester Vase) or those who participate in ritual activities like the men making offerings at peak sanctuaries on some stone vases, the spectators in several miniature frescoes, and figures on gold rings. In scenes of combat and bull-leaping, activities that are particularly prominent in Minoan art between MM III-LM IB, the codpiece often appears to have a sharp profile, like a modern athletic "cup" which protects the genitals during contact sports: this costume is represented with particular clarity on the gold cups from a burial in a cist dated LH II A/LM IB in the Vapheio tholos. After LM IB, the codpiece becomes rare,

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24 BETANCOURT 1987 (supra n. 23) 47; REHAK (supra n. 12) 38 Table 1.
27 Herakleon Museum 184: WARREN (supra n. 3) 88; S. MARINATOS and M. HIRMER, Crete and Mycenae (1960) pl. 104 (below); B. KAISER, Untersuchung zum minoischen Relief (1976) 24-25 Hagia Triada 1; S. MARINATOS and M. HIRMER, Knossos, Thea und das mykenischen Helias (1986) pl. 104 (below); H.-G. BUCHHOLZ and V. KARAGEORGIS, Prehistoric Greece and Cyprus (1973) pl. 1165.
28 E.g., the Grandstand and the Sacred Grove and Dance frescoes from the Knossos palace: PM III col. pls. XVI and XVIII; IMMERWAHR (supra n. 12) 173 Kn Nos. 15, 16, pls. 22, 23; the man on the gold ring from the Vapheio tholos: NMA 1801: CMS I, no. 219. A good example of the breechcloth with codpiece and back flap occurs on the male figure (a god or a ruler?) on the "Master Impression" from Khania: Khania Museum 1563: CMS V Suppl. 1 A, no. 142. Individuals on a miniature fresco from Tylissos wear the same garments: M.C. SHAW, "The Miniature Frescoes of Tylissos Reconsidered," AA (1972) 171-88. Cf. the man with the breechcloth with codpiece and back flap on a gold ring from grave 91 at Mycenae: NMA 3179: CMS I, no. 126. Cf. J.A. SAKELLARAKIS, "Die Chronologie der Siegelringe und Siegel aus Grab 91 von Mykene," CMS Beiheft 1 (1984) 115-32. The male votary on the well-known "Mother on the Mountain" sealings from Knossos wears a breechcloth: PM II 2, 809 fig. 528; PM IV 2, 608 fig. 597 A e.
except in scenes of bull-leaping where it may be worn by both male and female figures in paintings from Crete and the mainland until relatively late (LM/LH IIIA-B).²⁰

But the kilt also has a long history on Crete and in the Cyclades, from at least MM II-LM IIIA. On a Protopalatial kilt guard from Mallia, a youthful acrobat with curly hair wears an elaborately patterned kilt with tassels.³¹ Among the men with breccloths on the Harvester Vase there is also a plump sistrum-player who wears a kilt.³² Very elaborate kilts with tassels appear on the men in the Procession Fresco from the West Entrance Corridor and the South Propylon of the Knossos palace, like the well-known "Cupbearer."³³ At least one individual on the LM II-IIIA Ayia Triadhia sarcophagus, another work dated primarily on stylistic grounds, also wears a kilt which descends to a point in front like the Procession Fresco costumes.³⁴ Two men on the LM II-IIIA "Captain of the Blacks" fresco from Knossos wear a different shape of kilt with simpler patterns,³⁵ a garment which recurs as late as LH IIIB at the Pylos palace on the mainland.³⁶

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³⁰ E.g., on the LM II-IIIA Taureador panels from the Knossos palace: MARINATOS and HIRMER 1960 (supra n. 27) col. pl. XVII; MARINATOS and HIRMER 1986 (supra n. 27) col. pl. XVII; IMMERWAHR (supra n. 12) 175 Kn No. 23. A possible late representation of the breccloth with codpiece and backflap occurs on one of the frescoes from the Pylos palace: M. LANG, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, II. The Frescoes (1969) 94 no. 59 H nws, pls. 44, 129, D. Lang rightly calls attention to the resemblance between the belt of this figure and that of the kilted cupbearer from Knossos, but the black's costume otherwise resembles the Minoan breccloth. For bull leapers from Mycenae see W. LAMB, "Frescoes from the Ramp House," BSA 24 (1919-21) 192-95, col. pl. VII.4; IMMERWAHR (supra n. 12) 190 My No. 1; M.C. SHAW, "The Bull-leaping Fresco from below the Ramp House at Mycenae: A Study in Iconography and Artistic Transmission," BSA 91 (1996) 167-90; for Pylos see LANG, Palace of Nestor II (supra) 77 no. 36 H 105, pls. 24, 116, 124, C; IMMERWAHR (supra n. 12) 196 Py No. 1; and for Tiryns see: IMMERWAHR (supra n. 12) 202 Ti No. 1. Immerwahr suggests a date of LH IIIB (?) which seems rather late.


³² Supra n. 27.

³³ PM II 2 704-736, Suppl. pl. XXVII figs. 20-22; MARINATOS and HIRMER (supra n. 27) col. pl. XV (cupbearer); CAMERON (supra n. 12) pls. 7A, 8-11; MARINATOS and HIRMER 1960 (supra n. 27) col. pl. XV (cupbearer); S. HOOD (supra n. 31) 66 fig. 49 (cupbearer); IMMERWAHR (supra n. 12) 85-89, 174-75 Kn No. 22; C. BOULTOTTIS, "Nochmals zum Prozessionsfresko von Knossos: Palast und Darbringung von Prestige-Objekten" in R. HÄGG and N. MARINATOS (eds.), The Function of the Minoan Palaces (1987) 145-55. Cf. comments by R. HÄGG, "Pictorial Programmes in Minoan Palaces and Villas," in DARQO and POURSAT (supra n. 31) 209-217.

³⁴ C. LONG, The Ayia Triadhia Sarcophagus: A Study of Late Minoan and Mycenaean Funerary Practices and Beliefs. SIMA 41 (1974); HOOD (supra n. 31) 70 fig. 54; CAMERON (supra n. 12) pl. 12B, pl. 151; IMMERWAHR (supra n. 12) 180-81 AT No. 2. He occurs in the upper register of one short end of the sarcophagus, above the zone containing two women in a chariot drawn by agrimia. Although not well preserved, he evidently belongs to another procession of figures since the feet of another man are preserved behind him at the right.

³⁵ PM II 2 755-57, pl. XIII; IMMERWAHR (supra n. 12) 176 Kn No. 27. The Captain himself wears a yellow kilt with a black and white checked hem and a tight belt. One of the more scantily preserved black figures behind him wears a light blue kilt with a black and yellow checked hem. The edges of the kilt form a V-shaped point between the legs of the Captain, perhaps a frontal rendering of the design seen in profile on the Procession Fresco and Ayia Triadhia sarcophagus, but this costume lacks elaborate surface patterns.

³⁶ E.g., the offering-bearers from the vestibule (room 5): LANG (supra n. 30) 64-65 no. 5 H 5, pls. 5-6, N, 119; IMMERWAHR (supra n. 12) 197 Py No. 8. Cf. some of the combatants in frescoes from room 64: LANG (supra n. 30) 74 no. 28 H 64, pls. 20, 123; 72-73 no. 24 H 64, pls. 118, 124.
Because both the later Keftiu paintings and the Knossos Procession Fresco include kilted men carrying vessels, the Egyptian and Cretan paintings have often been compared. The Knossos men, however, are drawn at a far larger scale than their Egyptian counterparts, and the tomb paintings and palace frescoes presumably served very different purposes. Also, in the Knossos painting, kilts are not the only costume depicted; other men wear long tunics and probably the hide skirt.\textsuperscript{37} The date of the Knossos Procession Fresco is also debated: Evans suggested that it belonged to his final phase of the palace (which he put in LM II) but was based on an earlier LM I composition, fragments of which survived under the floor of the West Entrance Corridor. Most subsequent scholars have favored a later date for the Procession Fresco in LM II-III A, but E. Davis has suggested that the fresco may be no later than LM IB on the basis of vessel forms and the interlocking textile patterns of the kilts.\textsuperscript{38} Her point is well taken, since the later Keftiu kilts have rather different linear, banded designs which E. Barber has compared to the patterns on LM III A pottery.\textsuperscript{39} Nevertheless, the Knossos Procession has a static, monumental quality that we tend to associate with subsequent Mycenaean wall painting of LH III A- B date. In any case, the Knossos figures do not correspond very closely to the Keftiu in the later Egyptian tombs in several important details.

Important in this discussion of kilts and processions is the recent discovery on Thera of a long file of men wearing elaborately patterned kilts which can be dated definitively to LM IA, well before any of the dates suggested for the Knossos Procession Fresco.\textsuperscript{40} The early date of the Thera kilts makes it clear that both breechcloths and kilts coexisted chronologically, and that both costumes should be considered Minoan or Cycladic.

Early representations of the human figure on the mainland are almost entirely lacking until the Middle Helladic/early Mycenaean populations came into contact with Crete, and so we do not really know what costumes they wore.\textsuperscript{41} In art of the Shaft Grave period, however, we apparently have no representations of men wearing kilts or breechcloths with codpieces. Instead, most individuals wear "shorts," which seem to consist of heavy fabric or leather strips, perhaps sewn onto a base garment and evidently worn over the breechcloth to protect the

\textsuperscript{37} P.M. 2 Suppl. pl. XXV, figures 1-5. For the probable appearance of a hide skirt in the Procession Fresco, see BOULOTIS (supra n. 33) 149 figs. 4a and 4b; P.M. 2 Suppl. pl. XXVI figure 18.

\textsuperscript{38} E.N. DAVIS, "The Cycladic Style of the Thera Frescoes," TAW III, vol. I, 214-27, esp. 214. This interpretation represents a compromise between the views of Evans on the one hand and Cameron and Immerwahr on the other. Evans argued somewhat tentatively that these paintings followed a LM I A destruction but were modeled on a preexisting cycle of decoration: P.M. 2 679-84. Subsequently, M. Cameron, S. Immerwahr, and others have dated these murals to a later stage in the life of the palace after a probable Mycenaean takeover of Crete at the end of LM IB. The Procession Fresco would then date to LM II-III A, but might still reflect an earlier Minoan processional scheme: IMMERWAHR (supra n. 12) 174-75. On the problems of dating frescoes, see C.W. HAWKE-SMITH, "The Knossos Frescoes: A Revised Chronology," BSA 71 (1976) 65-76.


\textsuperscript{40} C. DOUMAS, The Wall-Paintings of Thera (1992) pl. 138; REHAK (supra n. 12) 47 fig. 10 (reconstruction). Kilts also appear at least three other times in the Thera frescoes: in the Miniature Fresco from the West House (DOUMAS, Wall-Paintings [supra], pl. 40), a seated male from Xeste 3 (Ibid. pls. 110, 114), and the life-size man who wears a kilt from room 5 in Xeste 3, not yet fully published.

\textsuperscript{41} J.B. RUTTER, "Review of Aegean Prehistory II: The Prepalatial Bronze Age of the Southern and Central Greek Mainland," AJA 97 (1993) 745-97, esp. 779 fig. 14 a, 792 fig. 17, for depictions of human figures on late MH pots.
upper thighs and legs, not unlike a cowboy's chaps.\textsuperscript{42} The hunters on the well-known "lion hunt" dagger from SG IV at Mycenae wear this garment, for example.\textsuperscript{43} And even this costume may be Minoan in origin, since we see figures wearing it on some Neopalatial sealstones and sealings, as well as on a stone relief vase fragment from Knossos.\textsuperscript{44}

Like the breechcloth and kilt, the shorts are increasingly rare in representational art produced after LM IB/LH IIA. Instead, these garments appear to have been replaced by the short or long tunic, which are costumes worn by both sexes.\textsuperscript{45} But even the tunic does not make a sudden appearance at this point, for it is attested earlier, worn by one of the individuals on the silver "Siege Rhyton" found in SG IV at Mycenae but generally thought to be of Minoan workmanship.\textsuperscript{46}

It should be obvious, then, that neither the breechcloth nor the kilt is a particularly good chronological indicator when it comes to Aegean art or the Egyptian tomb paintings. Furthermore, since all of the Aegean evidence suggests that both the breechcloth and the kilt should identify islanders from Crete or the Cyclades, not mainlanders, these costumes also cannot be used to determine a Minoan or Mycenaean ethnicity of the Kefitu. Elsewhere, I have suggested instead that the Aegean costumes reflect roles or spheres of activity of individuals, and perhaps their ages and status as well. It is thus possible that the differences between the costumes of the earlier and later Kefitu reflect a change in the composition of the embassies sent from the Aegean to Egypt.

H. Matthäus has recently approached the Kefitu problem from a slightly different point of view, by examining not the costumes but rather the metal vessels held by the Kefitu in the individual tomb paintings.\textsuperscript{47} He notes that the earlier paintings, like those in the tomb of Senenmut, tend to show vessel shapes that we associate with the Neopalatial period like Vapheio cups and jugs and ewers with a distinctive torus moulding masking the join between neck and body. Similar metal shapes have been found in the Northwest Treasure House at

\textsuperscript{42} The term "shorts" is used here instead of breeches (short trousers that cover the hips and thighs) in order to avoid any confusion with the term breechcloth. Examples include, e.g., the warriors on the silver Battle Krater from SG IV: NMA 605-607: A. SAKELLARIOU, "Un cratère-d'argent avec scène de bataille provenant de la IVème tombe de Mycènes," in \textit{Atti e memorie del I congresso internazionale de micenologia} (1966) 282-65; \textit{Eadem, "Un cratère d'argent avec scène de bataille provenant de la IVème tombe de l'acropole de Mycènes,"} \textit{AntIK} \textbf{17} (1974) 3-20; DAVIS (\textit{supra} n. 29 [1977]) 222-27 no. 86, figs. 176-78. Shorts also occur on the silver Siege Rhyton: NMA 477, 504: \textit{Interconnections}, 66-67, fig. 85; A. SAKELLARIOU, "La scène du 'siège' sur le rhyton d'argent de Mycènes d'après une nouvelle reconstitution," \textit{Revue} \textbf{75} (1975) 195-208; DAVIS (\textit{supra} n. 27 [1977]) 227-30 no. 87, figs. 179-80. Figures wearing shorts on seals include: NMA 33 (CMS I, no. 9); NMA 116 (CMS I, no. 12); NMA 241 (CMS I, no. 16). Cf. also the men fighting lions on seals found at Kazokatos (\textit{PM IV} 2 463 fig. 387; CMS XI, no. 208) and the LM I Khasia sealing with a related composition (CMS V Suppl. I B, no. 135).

\textsuperscript{43} SG IV: NMA 394: MARINATOS and HIRMER 1960 (\textit{supra} n. 27) col. pl. XXV, XXVI; MARINATOS and HIRMER 1986 (\textit{supra} n. 27) col. pls. XLIX center, pl. L below; BUCHHOLZ and KARAGEORGHIS (\textit{supra} n. 27) pl. 682. On the niello technique, see discussion in DAVIS 1977 (\textit{supra} n. 29) 215-20; cf. R. LAFFINEUR, "L'incurstion à l'époque mycénienne," \textit{AntI} 43 (1974) 5-37, esp. 7 no. 1; A. XENAKIS-SAKELLARIOU and C. CHATZILOU, \textit{Peinture en métal à l'époque mycénienne} (1989).

\textsuperscript{44} Herakleion Museum 257: WARREN (\textit{supra} n. 3) 85, 177, 181; KAISER (\textit{supra} n. 27) 12-13 Knossos 3; BUCHHOLZ and KARAGEORGHIS (\textit{supra} n. 27) pl. 1164.

\textsuperscript{45} Cf. the falling warrior in a tunic from the megaron fresco of the Mycenaean palace: \textit{PM III} 86 fig. 48 e; IMMERWAHR (\textit{supra} n. 12) 192 My No. 11. Cf. LANG (\textit{supra} n. 30) 68 no. 16 H 43 (hunter with deer), 70-71 no. 21 H 48 (men with dogs), 73 no. 26 H 64 (charioteers). The short tunic is still being worn in LH IIIC, as on the Warrior Krater from Mycenae: MARINATOS and HIRMER 1960 (\textit{supra} n. 27) pls. 292-33; MARINATOS and HIRMER 1986 (\textit{supra} n. 27) pls. 256-57. Among the early examples of the long tunic are figures on the Knossos Procession Fresco and the Aya Triada Sarcophagus. It is common in the LH IIIB frescoes from the vestibule (room 5) of the Pylos palace: LANG (\textit{supra} n. 30) 66-68 no. 7-10 H 5, 12-14 H 5.

\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Supra} n. 42.

\textsuperscript{47} MATTHÄUS (\textit{supra} n. 12).
Knossos, on Thera, and in the Mycenaean Shaft Graves, all in contexts datable to LM/LH I.\textsuperscript{48} He observes that the metal jug and ewer shapes in the later Egyptian tomb paintings tend to lack torus mouldings, and thus are more similar to vessels produced between LM II and LM IIIA.\textsuperscript{49} As a result, Matthäus accepts the traditional low chronology for the Aegean pottery phases \textit{vis \& vis} Egypt, and he also argues that codpieces and kilts indicate Minoans and Mycenaenans, respectively.

Matthäus' observations about the vessel shapes, however, need not be a stumbling block to the revised high Aegean chronology adopted here. Metal vessels were precious objects, and it is likely that some Neopalatial pieces survived the LM IB destructions into LM II or even later periods.\textsuperscript{50} In addition, we see a gradual evolution in the style of metal vessels manufactured over time, with some earlier features continuing while new features were being introduced. For these reasons, it would not be surprising to see Keftiu in the earlier paintings (contemporary with LM II) who carry vessels which still resembled pieces manufactured in LM IA-B, and Keftiu in the later paintings (contemporary with LM IIIA1) with vessels produced in LM IB-II. Although the level of metal vase manufacture in the Aegean appears to have declined significantly after the LM IB destructions, Knossos seems to have maintained its position as the premier palatial center in the Aegean until a destruction at the transition from LM IIIA1 to IIIA2.

Just as the Egyptian perception of Keftiu costumes is problematic, so also the metal vessels in the Egyptian paintings should not be taken at face value as solid documentary evidence. First, as many scholars have observed, many of the paintings show vessels at scales that are wildly different from the size of these objects in the Aegean. Two of the Keftiu in Senenmut's tomb, for example, carry Vapheio cups that are the size of suitcases.\textsuperscript{51} If the vases are not simply enlarged to show their surface details (a possibility), the artists may have misjudged their sizes because they were working from drawings and had not actually seen the objects themselves. We should remember that the paintings appear in Theban tombs in Upper (southern) Egypt, where they were presumably executed by local artisans, while the main administrative capital of the country during the New Kingdom was Memphis in Lower (northern) Egypt, and actual visiting Keftiu may not have penetrated much beyond the port towns of the Delta.

In addition, many of the Keftiu vessels cannot be equated precisely with Aegean works. In the tomb of Menkheperreseneb, one man carries a bull's head rhyton on a salver,\textsuperscript{52} which has been compared frequently to the silver bull's head from SG IV or the steatite rhyton from the Little Palace at Knossos. Aegean rhyta, however, have a back-plate which runs diagonally from just behind the ears to the base of the muzzle, in contrast to the Egyptian example which has a horizontal rim at the base of the neck.\textsuperscript{53}

In an oral paper delivered in Chicago in 1993, E. Davis\textsuperscript{54} addressed the problem of the vessel shapes by drawing attention to one unusual shape of vessel sometimes carried by the Keftiu, the metallic footed bowl or krater which the Egyptians termed "\textit{ddt}."\textsuperscript{55} These elaborate creations, painted yellow and white to suggest that they were manufactured of gold

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\textsuperscript{49} MATTHÄUS (supra n. 12) 184-86.

\textsuperscript{50} See chart in P. REHAK, "Minoan Art before and after the LM I B Destructions," in \textit{Techné}, 51-66.

\textsuperscript{51} DORMAN (supra n. 14) pls. 8a, 21d.

\textsuperscript{52} DAVIES (supra n. 17) pls. IV, XX; S. QUIRKKE and J. SPENCER, \textit{The British Museum Book of Ancient Egypt} (1992) 194-95 col. fig. 151.

\textsuperscript{53} REHAK (supra n. 29).

\textsuperscript{54} As part of a symposium, "The Minoans in Egypt," held in Chicago in February 1993.

\textsuperscript{55} For discussion and illustration of these vessels, see VERCOUTTER (supra n. 12) 340-47, pls. LII-LVI.
and silver, often have floral ornaments on the rim and sometimes the added figures of birds, animal protomes, or even frogs. The kraters are problematic, because they are also shown in the hands of Syrians, identifiable by their beards and long white or multicolored robes with diagonal banding. In the tomb of Kheruef, at the time of Amenhotep III, the Egyptian owner presents one of these vessels to the enthroned king and queen (Pl. IVa), and there is no indication that the vase is associated in any way with the Keftiu. The symbolism of the ornaments attached to the bowls suggests that these vessels are symbols of regeneration, and were probably produced for, and presented at, very special court occasions.

Obviously, then, not all the vessels carried by Keftiu can be considered Aegean creations, and the existence of such artistic hybridism is one of the most interesting aspects of interconnections among various parts of the ancient Mediterranean, a point Kantor's own researches continually underscored.

It is also clear from the paintings that sometimes the Egyptian artists confused Keftiu with Syrians. Thus, men in long robes typical of the Levant often carry Aegean-looking rhyta. In the procession of Syrians from the tomb of Menkheperresoneb, one man wearing Keftiu shoes and a kilt decorated with running spirals has a distinctively Syrian hairstyle, prompting us to wonder whether this is an Aegean native, a Syrian, or perhaps the representative of a mixture of two or more populations that we might expect to find in some of the cosmopolitan port towns of Syria-Palestine or the Nile Delta in the Late Bronze Age. In her 1993 talk, Davis went as far as to suggest that some of the Keftiu might have belonged to an Aegean enclave or colony actually located in the eastern Mediterranean, a suggestion that was originally made back in the early 1950s by G. Wainwright, and made much more plausible by the current excavations at Tell el-Dab'a.

While the tomb paintings cannot be considered "documentary" in the sense that we now regard news photographs, there is yet another aspect of the illustrations of the Keftiu that may shed light on the nature of Egyptian contacts with other cultures during the early 18th Dynasty. It is often overlooked that the paintings in which the Keftiu appear do not show them in isolation. In most of the surviving tombs, the friezes with processions of Keftiu are associated compositionally with processions of Levantine/Canaanite natives and often with Nubian tribute-bearers. In the tomb of Rekhmire, five superimposed registers depict, from top to bottom, tributaries from Punt, Keftiu, Nubia, Syria, and finally the human captives from a variety of conquered peoples (Pl. IVb). The accession of Amenhotep II, which occurred while the tomb of Rekhmire was being prepared, would have been a suitable occasion for such a gathering of peoples, and we know of similar "durbars" that occurred in other reigns.

When we discount a certain degree of Egyptian hyperbole in the paintings, since they clearly reflect an Egyptian-centric view of the interactions between Egypt and all other cultures that were considered foreign and exotic, the scenes provide evidence for international exchange networks among rulers that included textiles, ivory, ebony, metals, perishable goods, and exotic animals like blue monkeys. These goods are important because of their relative scarcity and exotic qualities, characteristics enhanced by the long distances which they traveled in Mediterranean trade networks. Our focus on the goods involved in these exchanges,

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56 E.g., in the tomb of Sobekhotep, ca. 1400 BC: QUIRKE and SPENCER (supra n. 52) 199 col. fig. 153; E. DZIOBEK and M.A. RAZIQ, Das Grab des Sobekhotep. Theben Nr. 63 (1990) pl. 3c, fig. 33b. Cf. the paintings in the tomb of Huy: N. de G. DAVIES and A.H. GARDNER, The Tomb of Huy. Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tut'ankhamun (1926) pls. XX, XIX. Amenmose himself presents a ddī to pharaoh in his tomb: DAVIES (supra n. 17) pl. XXXIII.


58 Several examples are decorated with lotus blossoms; cf. the wooden head of Tutankhamun as an infant rising from a lotus blossom like the sun god, an object found at the entrance to his tomb: C. DESROCHES-NOBELCOURT, Tutankhamun. Life and Death of a Pharaoh (1965) 6 pl. II.

59 DAVIES (supra n. 17) col. frontispiece, pl. V. XX.

60 G.A. WAINWRIGHT, "Asiatic Keftiu," AJA 56 (1952) 196-212.

however, should not make us forget that the bearers of these objects were themselves exotic and therefore just as worthy of note.

One major question remains: why did the Egyptians represent the Kefiu during this one relatively brief (50 year) period in time, not earlier and not later? I would like to suggest that changing conditions in Egypt, the Levant, and in the Aegean may have been responsible. Although Egypt had strong connections with the Levant all the way back to the Predynastic period (as the recent German excavations at Abydos are showing), the Hyksos period dealt a severe blow to Egyptian beliefs about their own cultural superiority and isolationism. The early kings of the 18th Dynasty, engaged in establishing a buffer zone in the Levant, also created an empire or at least spheres of influence which brought them into renewed close contact with port towns like Byblos where Aegean natives had probably felt very much at home since at least the Middle Bronze Age. We have every reason to suspect that even the female pharaoh Hatshepsut pursued the goals of her immediate predecessors through military force, in addition to expanding Egyptian trade south into Punt, the exotic products and people of which were depicted on the walls of her temple at Deir el-Bahri. Thutmose III did the same in his hall at Karnak, where exotic flora he encountered on his conquests were carved in relief and painted.

There are several indications at this time that “official” images of important events were being recorded, probably at the express wish of pharaoh or the highest members of his or her court. These include the highly individualized and labeled illustrations in the Punt colonnade at Deir el-Bahri of the obese queen Eti of Punt and her stringy husband, Perehu, as well as the detailed renderings and labels of flora and booty in Thutmose III’s hall at Karnak. In the case of the campaigns of Thutmose III, we know of the existence of written daybooks, and it does not require a great stretch of imagination to envision the creation of illustrations as a visual record to accompany the written word. Because of their proximity to pharaoh, the nobles who commissioned the Theban tombs during this period may have had access to similar illustrations for the representation of Kefiu, Syrians, Nubians, and their products, even if the painters themselves had no direct, first-hand knowledge of the people or of the objects they brought.

The Kefiu paintings thus must be viewed as part of a larger contemporary Egyptian interest in exotic lands with which Egypt was now perforce in direct contact, without the filter of any Hyksos intermediary. The iconography of the Kefiu is simply one example of a whole series of extraordinary new images that were being introduced into the conservative Egyptian pictorial repertory at this time.

If the modified high Aegean-low Egyptian chronology accepted here is basically correct, this same time period was one of tremendous changes in the Aegean, even if kilts and breechcloths cannot be used to justify individual historical reconstructions of the period. The early 18th Dynasty minoizing frescoes at Dab’a, dating to near the end of the Neopalatial period, suggest that Aegean, and specifically Knossian, influence in Egypt was already well-established. They occur at precisely the site where we should expect a confluence of Egyptian and Levantine influences, since Dab’a is securely identified as the former Hyksos.

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64 For illustration of the queen, see P.A. CLAYTON, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs* (1994) 106 col. fig.
capital of Avaris. Shortly after the time of the Dabca paintings, the widespread LM IB
destructions across Crete and the Aegean mark the end of the Neopalatial period. What
caused these destructions is still debated: Some would see a Mycenaean invasion, while
others have argued interstate warfare on Crete, with Knossos emerging victorious as the main
power center on the island. Possibly a more complex scenario should be imagined. A second
destruction horizon occurred at Knossos on Crete early in LM IIIA2, and it is at this time that
we see unmistakable signs of actual Mycenaean settlement on the island. However we
interpret the evidence, the LM II to IIIA period on Crete unquestionably involved major social
and political changes. If there were new rulers at Knossos, whether there were Mycenaean
among them or not, it is hardly surprising that they would wish to forge new links with the
emerging international superpower of the time - Egypt. The paintings may reflect new
conditions not only in the Aegean but also in Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean.

Paul REHAK

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65 P. REHAK and J.G. YOUNGER, "Review of Aegean Prehistory VII: Neopalatial, Final Palatial, and
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Pl. III  Chronological Chart (P. Rehak)
Pl. IVa  Offering scene, Tomb of Kheruef (after KOZLOFF and BRYAN [supra n. 57]).
Pl. IVb  Tribute scenes in the tomb of Rekhmire (after WACHSMANN [supra n. 12]).
Discussion following P. Rehak’s paper:

J.D. Muhlly: In her discussions of the Keftiu, Kantor suggests that the Egyptian artists most likely had no knowledge or interest in the distinction between Minoan and Mycenaean – that, as far as the Egyptians were concerned, these were people from the Aegean and that’s all they cared about. What do you think of that?

P. Rehak: Well, I think that’s basically what I was saying. Certainly, however, the change in costumes must be significant, since it was noted and recorded by the Egyptian artists. But we have no way of knowing now whether they were observing an interesting change in the style of costumes, or whether they thought the change meant something else. I think a lot of research still remains to be done on constructions of ethnicity in the Bronze Age.

S. Stannish: Concerning the size of the vessels in the tomb paintings, you mentioned as a possibility that the scribe misjudged their size based on a copybook. Is it not equally likely that the artist was simply trying to create a sense of balance? In Egyptian hieroglyphics, this is a basic principle – symmetry – and after all, draftsmen were trained as scribes.

P. Rehak: That’s an interesting possibility and I really hadn’t considered that. I would say that it is possible, but I think it very likely that the painters of the tombs were working from copybooks and actually had not seen the real objects.

A. Bauer: You showed a picture before of somebody you said seemed more of Syrian origin than of Aegean origin, yet holding an Aegean artifact. I was wondering whether rather than being kind of a mistake of ethnicity, a confusion on the part of the artist, could it be seen as a representation of a merchant?

P. Rehak: I think that’s entirely possible. I think the general trend in scholarship has really moved, say in the last 50 years, from looking at these as actual documents to looking at them more and more as sort of pastiches in a sense, where actual literal accuracy was not the intent. The particular figure that I showed, who wears a Keftiu kilt, occurs in the tomb of Menkheperresoneb, but he is placed in a register of Syrians.

G. Kopcke: We should be careful not to minimize the importance of a tomb like Rekhmire’s. The decoration is cultivated, ambitious, detailed. With such a change in foreigners’ dresses we hardly can doubt serious and informed intention. What turns out more and more I find, in discussions in Egyptology, is the high intellectual level on which decisions were being made; primarily, of course, in the realm of religious practices and pharaonic concerns. What I would conclude from your suggestion is the broadening of the iconography in general. I think this is an important contribution. The context suggests a kind of different intellectual climate in regard to contacts with foreigners.

P. Rehak: Gunter [Kopcke], thank you for that comment. As far as the changing costume, yes, I do believe that the repainting in the tomb of Rekhmire is significant and, as I tried to suggest, I think probably the occasion for it is the death of Thutmose III and the accession of Amenhotep II – where you would expect to have a celebration at the beginning of the new reign. And I think basically what we’re looking at in the changing costume is an updating of what typical Keftiu were thought to be wearing.
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