

mixed Greco-Egyptian artistic influence. The mixing of Greeks and Egyptians led to new artistic development, with traditional subjects depicted in innovative ways, as in the scenes of the tomb of Petosiris¹⁹. Building the tomb of Petosiris was begun under the last years of Pharaonic history and continued until the first years of Ptolemaic period in Egypt²⁰. The scenes of this tomb are very important in the surveillance of the cultural relations between Egypt and the Greek, and to show to what extent the Egyptians were affected by the Greek art before and at the dawn of the establishment of the Greek reign in Egypt.

Two scenes of this tomb are the most important evidence to the Greek artistic influence; first the Greek scenes run on the base of the side walls of the naos (fig 1)²¹, and the agriculture scene on the eastern wall of the pronaos (fig2)²². The scenes on the base of the naos walls represent a procession of priests runs towards the southern side on the base of the western and eastern walls of the naos. The scene represent an intermediate stage between the Egyptian art effected by the Persian art, and the Greek art, this appears from some foreign artistic elements of the scene²³. The scene have no inscribed texts, may be because the scene was executed in a small place and this couldn't enable the artist to add more texts to the scene²⁴.

The procession consists of twenty eight persons on the eastern side facing the south, and in the western wall there are twenty five persons, both are traditional offering bearers.

The persons represented with Greek facial features, and according to the new artistic rules, the scene encompass some new artistic elements belongs to the mixed art during this period, some persons were represented in facing position (see fig. 1 a, b). and the appearance of the red cock in the hands of the tenth woman on the western wall (fig, 1 c), an element resembles the cock on the walls of the tomb of Rekhmere represented in the scene of the Kftw²⁵. The style of dress in general is Greek, for example the women Greek folded dress (fig. 1 d), and men wearing the Greek short dress, and puts the Greek diadem on head (fig. 1 e). Finally these elements in the scene refer to the mixture between Egyptian and Greek civilization during the days of Petosiris. The new mixed artistic elements and new dresses appear here refer to the effect of the Greek culture upon the Egyptians, represented in Greek artistic ways. The procession itself may refer to the unification of these races in the worship of Thoth, the god of Hermopolis, and the influence of the priests of Hermopolis, Petosiris and his family, who were able to subjugate all these different races who give offerings to their god²⁶. The second scene is the agriculture scene in the eastern wall of the pronaos²⁷ (Fig. 2). This scene is traditional scene of Egyptian harvest, but it encompass many foreign elements, as the dress of the woman in the first register which is the Greek Tunic dress, and the dresses of the men are Greek also, like that of the first and second register, and the Greek cloak worn by the man in front of the third register²⁸. Although the scenes of the procession in the naos represent pure Greek scenes, the agriculture scene in the pronaos represents the mixture of the Egyptian traditional art and the Greek artistic elements.

19 See *Greeks*, in Shaw, Ian and Paul Nicholson, 1995, 115-116.

20 For the dating of the tomb see the study of the researcher; Abd El Hafeez, H., T., 2008, 100-109.

21 Azab, A., S., 2002, 326-338.

22 This scene was discussed many times by Egyptologists for its foreign artistic influence see: Montet, P., 1926, 161-181; Picard, Ch., 1931, 201-227.

23 Azab, A., S., 2002, 326.

24 Lefebvre, G., 1924, vol. 1, 31 ff.

25 Houlihan, 1988, 81.

26 Azab, A., S., 2002, 327.

27 Lefebvre, G., 1924, , vol. 3, pl. 13.

28 Picard, Ch., 1931, 201-227.

THE ASIANS

The relations between Egypt and the Phoenicia cost began early from the predynastic period in Egyptian history. The relation became more solid at the beginning of the historical times in Egypt²⁹. Influences of Phoenician art could be found in many objects in Egypt from this time.

From the time of the fourth dynasty the Egyptian pharaoh consolidate the relations with the Phoenician cost where they import the necessary cedar wood for their projects, monuments bearing their names were attested at Byblos³⁰. This policy continued by the pharaohs of the Old and Middle kingdom,³¹.

During the new kingdom period and specially the time of Tuthmossis III, many military expedition were made to subjugate the Mitaneans and the inhabitants of the Libano-Syrian countries, after the battle of Megiddo he succeeded to break the collation between the Mitaneans and the inhabitants of Libano-Syria³².

Amenophis III established peaceful relations with Libano-Syrians, a policy continued under the coming rulers of the 18th dynasty³³. The Syrians appeared in the scenes of the Egyptian monuments, There are many scenes represent the Syrians as delegates on the walls of the tombs of the New kingdom who bring the tribute or gifts, or materials for trade, for example: The tomb of Nebamun (TT 17) the scribe and physician of the king Amenophis II³⁴, the tomb of Amenmosi (TT 42) commander in the army of king Tuthmossis III³⁵, Menkheperresoneb (TT 86) the first priest of Amun under the reign of Tuthmossis III³⁶ Amunuser mayor of Thebes under the reign of Tuthmossis III (TT 131)³⁷, and the most important scene of Rekhmere (TT 100) mayor of The town and vizier, time of Tuthmossis III and Amenophis II.³⁸

The most important scene of the Syrians is the scene of the tomb of Rekhmere, in the fourth register of the scene of foreign people represented the Retjnu or Syrians. The Retjnu of Dynasty 18 may be defined as Palestine and Syria together, and it cannot be doubted that Retjnu in the wider sense continued, as in the Middle Kingdom, to cover both Palestine and Syria³⁹. The scribe stands in front of sixteen Syrians and their tributes. The chiefs of the Syrians the first and third person in front of the procession are marked by some horizontal blue bands on the breast⁴⁰. The Syrian tribute are baskets of gold and silver rings, planks of wood, turquoise and lapis-lazuli, and incense⁴¹.

The text above the Syrians says:

lit m Htpw n wrw nw rTnw xAswt nbt mHtt nw pHWy stt m ksw m wAH tp inw.sn Hr psd.sn sb-tw rdit n.sn
Taw n anx n mrwt wnn Hr mw n Hm.f mAA.sn nrt.f aAt wrt Hryt.f sxm.s ist in iry-pat HATy-a mry nTr mH ib
aA n nb TAwy imy-r niwt TAty Rx-mi-Ra Sspinw n xAswt nbt

"The arrival in peace of the chiefs of Retjnu and all the lands of further Asia in deferential obeisance, their tribute on their backs, in hope that there would be given to them the breath of life because of loyalty to His Majesty; for they have seen his very great victories. His terribleness has dominated their hearts. Now it was the prince, the mayor, beloved of god, confidant of the sovereign, the mayor of the city, Rekh-mi-re who received the tribute of all the lands⁴²". This scene shows the general characteristics of Syrians that all

29 Chehab, M., 1967, 2.

30 Chehab, M., 1967, 2.

31 Chehab, M., 1967, 3-5.

32 Chehab, M., 1967, 6.

33 Chehab, M., 1967, 7.

34 PM, I, 31.

35 PM, I, 82.

36 PM, I, 177.

37 PM, I, 246.

38 PM, I, 206-214.

39 Gardiner, A. H., 1947, vol. 1, 142-149.

40 Davies, Norman de Garis 1943 Vol. 1, 27.

41 Davies, Norman de Garis 1943 Vol. 1, 28.

42 Davies, Norman de Garis 1943 Vol. 1, 27.

men shown the same facial features, they wear the same dress, the heads are well shaven or they wear the hair down to the shoulders. The traditional dress of men is the long white Syrian robe. The faces are colored yellow which is the distinguished colors for the Syrians on Egyptian monuments⁴³

FIRST MELLENIUM B.C.

At the time of Ramses XI Egypt became so weak that it no longer commanded the respect of cities such as Byblos, and the report of Wenamun tells how an Egyptian official was shabbily treated by a high handed prince of Byblos⁴⁴. The century after the 21st dynasty there is shortage in information about the relations between Egypt and the Phoenician coast, but the Egyptian presence there would not stop⁴⁵. In the Harem of Solomon there was an Egyptian princess. The presence of the 22nd and the 23rd dynasty pharaohs is attested in Phoenicia after the famous campaign of Sheshonq I over Jerusalem. After the Assyrian domination of the Phoenician coast and marching toward Egypt the relations between Egypt and Phoenicia became hostile relations and the 25th dynasty pharaohs maintained the hostile policy against the Assyrians, and this policy was continued under Psamtek I of the 26th dynasty⁴⁶.

No archeological evidences were found referring to the Phoenicians during the first millennium B.C. in Egypt, because there were no friendly relations between Egypt and the Syrians in this period.

THE LIBYANS

The Libyans have relations with Egypt from the predynastic period⁴⁷. The relations during the New Kingdom were in part friendly relations during the 18th dynasty. The Libyans bore various appellations on the Egyptian monuments, the most important of these names is &emeHw, a term apparently refers to any nomadic group inhabiting the western desert. The name of that tribe which means "the northern land" or "the blond" became the most general term for the ethnological sense as reference to the all the western tribes living to the West of the Egyptian borders in ancient Egyptian sources of the New Kingdom especially in the Ramesside Period.⁴⁸ Like the linguistically based designation aAmw⁴⁹ for Western Asiatic Semitic speakers,⁵⁰ it is possible that &emeHw is a reference to the Berber language shared by the geographically dispersed (Libyan) groups. Other names could be applied to the Libyan land like "the desert land / or foreign land of Meshwesh"⁵¹, or PA Rbw, "the land of Libu".⁵² Traditionally, the two major appellations for Libya that occur prior to the New Kingdom—&eHenu and &emeHu—are considered to be primarily anachronistic by the Ramesside Period.⁵³

43 Faheed, H., 1994, 185-188.

44 For bibliography and translation of the story of Wenamun see Lefebvre, G., 1949, 204-220; see *Phoenicians in Shaw, Ian and Paul Nicholson*, 1995, 224.

45 Leclant, J., 1967, 11.

46 Jean Leclant 1967, 11-18.

47 A recent study of the topic is: Abo El magd. A.M., 2007; see also: Oric, B., 1914, ; O'Connor, D., 1990, 29-115; Shaheen, A., M., 2003.

48 Gardiner, A. H., 1947, vol. 1, 114; Gauthier, H., *Dictionnaire Geographique*, VII, p. 75 ff; Hölscher, W., 1955, 24 ff.

49 Wb. I 167.19-20.

50 Redford, D., 1992, 32.

51 ¹⁷ KRI, IV, 14.4.

52 ³² KRI, II, 475.7; cf. Habachi, L., 1980, 3-30.

53 Osing, J., 1975, 1015; Spalinger, A., 1979, 140-41. for a detailed discussion of the various names of Libyan tribes and their land see: Abo El magd. A.M., 2007, 26-43.

EVIDENCES OF CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH THE LIBYANS IN THE SECOND MELLENIUM B.C.

Although there is a great stress on the military hostile relations between Egypt and Libya in the New Kingdom period, some friendly relations could be attested from archeological evidences in Egypt. These relations could be cultural ones as the participation of the Libyans in the Egyptian feasts, this is represented in the scenes of the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir El Bahari⁵⁴: There is a scene in the Chapel of Hathor, the northern wall of the columned hall, in the fourth register of the wall represents a group of Libyan dancers and 3 musicians participating in the festival of the goddess Hathor (figure 4) and between the two groups there are 2 columns of inscription mention: [ibw in & mHw] means dancing by the & meHw –each one of the dancers and musicians decorates his hair with 3 white feathers, only the one in the middle is straight, bordered by yellow line with a thin red line inside. Each one of the musicians is holding throw sticks to regulate the rhythm. They are wearing white mantles with red overcoats decorated with white small dots in vertical lines. The commercial relations to the Libyans are attested in the text inscribed on a seal of a jar discovered in the remains of the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata at the west of Thebes, a part of the text says:

"HAt-sp 34 aD wAD n kAn MSwS n pA wHm Hp-sd MSwS n Axt-nswt sS-nswt Imn-ms"
*"Year 34, fresh fat of bulls of Meshwesh to repeat the Sed Festival. ... the Meshwesh, for the royal palace, the royal scribe Amun-mose"*⁵⁵

As Hayes points out, the reference must be to cattle of originally Meshwesh type or breed – not need fully to actual cattle or beef-fat imported from the Meshwesh, given the provenance as the stockyards of this or that official. The diplomatic relations between Egypt and the Temehu confirmed through the existence of some ambassadors representing the Temehu among the other ambassadors of the foreign countries in the court of the king. In the tomb of (Pwy-m-Ra), from the reign of Thutmose III, in the valley of the Nobles there is a scene depicting the foreign ambassadors including that of the Temehu.⁵⁶ The same scene is repeated in the tomb of (In tw sf) No. 155 which dates to the same reign and at the same necropolis.⁵⁷

In the tomb of (Ra-msi) Ramose, in the Valley of the Nobles, from the reign of Amenhotep IV, there is a scene represents the owner of the tomb and in his presence a group of the couriers and the representatives of the foreign ambassadors including the Temehu ambassador as noticed through his dress.⁵⁸ In the western wall of the tomb of Mery-Rea II at Tell el-Amarna, there is a scene represents a group of security forces consists of: a Nubian soldier carrying the bow and arrows and wearing a lion skin, an Asiatic who is represented with long hair, heavy beard and wearing a short kilt which is decorated at the fringe, the Temehu soldier carries an axe and was depicted with his short hair and the side lock is hanging down behind his ear and wears a long overcoat, opened at the side, and an inner short kilt, and finally the troop terminates with another Nubian soldier.⁵⁹ (Fig. 5) There is a scene in the northern wall of the same previous tomb represents the visit of the royal family to the temple and at the end of the scene is the depiction of the body guards of the king consists of: 6 Egyptian soldiers carrying divine emblems and followed by another 6 soldiers represents the foreign body guards arranged as follows: 2 Nubians with bows and arrows, 2 Asiatics and finally 2 soldiers of the Temehu without any weapons.⁶⁰ In the eastern side of the northern wall of the tomb of Ay at Tell el-Amarna, there is a scene represents the foreign peoples, including a representative of the Temehu, who came with a translator to congratulate the owner of the tomb because he

⁵⁴ PM, II, 350, No. 30, plan XXXVI; Hölscher, W., 1955, 30-31; Brunner-Traut, Emma, 1938, Abb. 41; Bates, O., 1914, fig. 63.

⁵⁵ Hayes, W. C., 1951, fig. 10 nos. 130, 132.

⁵⁶ PM, I, 71-75.

⁵⁷ Meyer, E., 1913, 778-9.

⁵⁸ Meyer, E., 1913, 738-746.

⁵⁹ Davies, N de G., 1905, II, pl. 40.

⁶⁰ Davies, N de G., 1905, II, 33, pls. XXIV-XXV.

was granted some jewelries by the king (fig. 6).⁶¹ The Libyans represented with their typical phallus sheath and the garment of cross bands over the chest differentiated them clearly from the inhabitants of the Nile valley and that they were circumcised.⁶² they were represented blond, pointed beard, the crossed bands over the chest, the kilt, the tail and the long overcoat and the feathers on the head⁶³

THE FIRST MELLENIUM B.C.

It may be assumed that more and more Temehu came to settle in Egypt, in addition to those already present, for example prisoners of war or mercenary soldiers. During the 21st Dynasty, some Temehu families acquired powerful positions and from these families, in the second half of the 10th century B.C., arose the first Libyan kings of Manetho's 22nd and 23rd Dynasties.

The transition from the "Temehu" of the later New Kingdom to the "22nd Libyan Dynasty", which came to power over two hundred years later, is almost completely undocumented at the moment, but it is reasonable to assume that significant continuity linked the two. The 22nd Dynasty was descended from a line of rulers (wrw) of the "Libyans" of the very Late New Kingdom, and so presumably were the various Great Rulers (wrw) of the Ma (Meshwesh) and of the Libu who rose to power during the Third Intermediate Period. Moreover, it is suggested that more specifically "Libyan" trait survived the long period during which "Libyans" settled in and (partially) assimilated in Egypt, to emerge in the form of "decentralization, institutionalized as a recognized mode of government"; changes in linguistic patterns; and a "move towards family vaults in preference to individual burial". The historic and cultural picture in the Third Intermediate Period is very complex, and continuity and adaptation of earlier forms of government practices and cultural traits must also taken into account⁶⁴.

The Temehu seem to have had no artistic or architectural tradition of their own, and the elite culture of the period remained wholly Egyptian. No special archeological evidences represent the Libyans as a nation differs from the Egyptian could be attested in the first millennium B.C. Those foreigners became now Egyptianized or completely Egyptians⁶⁵

CONCLUSION

Studying the Egyptian evidences of the cultural relations between the Egyptian civilization and the civilizations of the Mediterranean basin reveals the fact that those relations passed two stages; first during the second millennium which parallels in Egypt the New kingdom period, in this period there were Aegeans, Syrians and Libyans represented on the walls of the Egyptian tombs seeking the friendly relations with the Egyptians and maintaining trade activities.

There are tomb scenes refer to these relations although the majority of the temple scenes refers to the hostile relations between Egypt and Syria and Libya, The Aegeans were not represented as enemies for the Egyptians, may be because they were abroad from the Egyptian military activities. The first millennium B. C. witnessed a fall in the friendly relations between Egypt and Syria.

The Libyans of the first millennium in Egypt became Egyptianized, so no special characteristics could noticed for them, they reflect the same Egyptian artistic conventions with no special trends for them as foreigners.

The situation differs for the Greeks; from the time of the 26th dynasty they came to Egypt in plentiful numbers as mercenaries, travelers, and merchants. Many Greek communities were established in Egypt during this period.

⁶¹ Davies, N de G., 1905, VI, 22, pls. XXX-XXXI.

⁶² Gardiner, A.H., 1961, 32.

⁶³ Gardiner, A. H., 1947, 121.

⁶⁴ Abo El magd. A.M., 2007, 271.

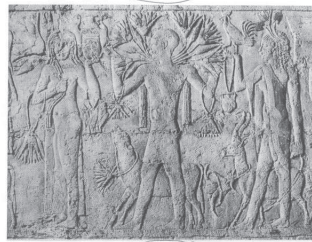
⁶⁵ Abo El magd. A.M., 2007, 272.

The scenes of the tomb of Petosiris towards the end of the Pharaonic and beginning of the Greco-Roman period are very important document for the cultural interrelations between Egypt and the Greeks during this period. The scenes of this tomb reserves a mixture between Egyptian and Greek artistic conventions as an evidence for the flourishing of the cultural relations between Egypt and the Greeks, in the time of the fall of the relations between Egypt and the other Mediterranean basin cultures. Then the Greeks came to Egypt as rulers with their special architectural and artistic features.

Figure 1 Petosiris



naos (a)



naos (b)



Figure 1 (c)



Figure 1 (d)



Figure 1 e

(After N., Cherpion, and others, *Le tombeau de Petosiris a Touna el-Gebel releve photographique*, IFAO, 2007, p.13)

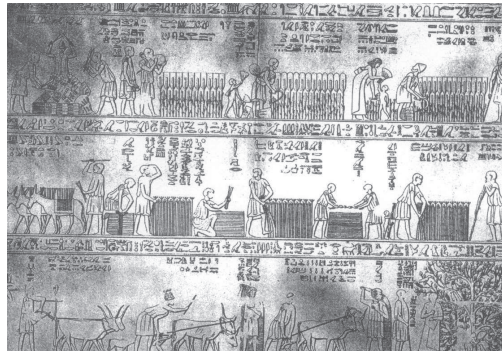


Figure 2

(N., Cherpion, and others, *Le tombeau de Petosiris a Touna el-Gebel releve photographique*, IFAO, 2007, p.65)
(Lefebvre, Petosiris, plate 13-15)

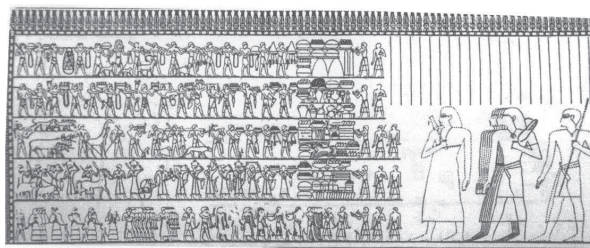


Figure 3

(After Faheed, H., 1994, *Analytical study of the scenes of Asians on the Egyptian temples in the New Kingdom in Upper Egypt*, Unpublished Master thesis, Zagazig University, 354)

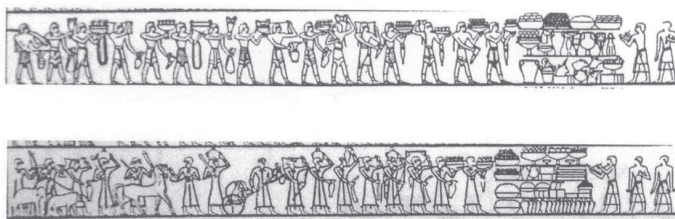


Figure 3a - Figure 3b



Figure 4
(Bates, O., 1914, fig.63.)

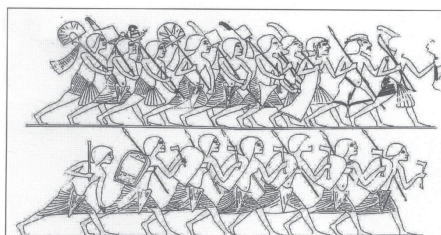


Figure 5
(Davies, N de G., 1905, II, pl. 40.)



Fig. 6
(Davies, N de G., 1905, VI, 22, pls. XXX-XXXI.)

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THE ROLE OF KEFTIU IN THE INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN THE LEVANT AND THE NEW KINGDOM EGYPT AS SHOWN IN THEBAN PRIVATE TOMBS.

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The present topic deals with one of the Aegean elements; the Keftiu as such, according to their depiction in the Theban private tombs of the 18th. Dyn. (ca. 1540-1295 B.C.E), which witnessed the success of the Egyptian empire in dominating a great part of the ancient world, from Nubia in the South to the southern Mediterranean islands in the North, and from the Phoenician coast in the east and its hinterland to the Libyan border in the West.

One would say in the outset that the sporadic contacts between Egypt and Crete was evidently known since the O.K Egypt, whereas its people were identified amongst the northerners in the Egyptian texts by three specific names; THE HAW-NEBW, in the Pyramid Texts (i.e. the people of the far north, or the inhabitants of the Aegean Sea ... etc.), THE KEFTIU (the Cretans) in various texts but mainly from the 18. Dyn., and finally from the reign of Thutmosis III up to that of Ramesses III the *Imyw iww hryw ib nw w3d wr* (Lit. the islanders in the midst of the Mediterranean-sea, e.g. The Mycenaeans).

However, not only was the Egyptian hegemony confined to the military power, but also the economy and culture influence had been targeted as well. And in return, The neighbours of Egypt expressed their homage to the ruling pharaoh in many ways. The most notable one in the Theban tombs is the offering of their country products as tributes or gifts rather than taxes.

The keftiu were one of those neighbouring elements whose mention and depiction appear -as far as we know- only on ten private Theban tombs, whereas the reference to them is varied in names and appearance. These tombs, however, are TT. No. 71 of Senenmut, the chief steward in Hatshepsut's reign, where they are not called Keftiuans but " people of the isles in the midst of the sea (The Islanders). The second tomb is TT. No. 155 of his colleague Antef the great herald of the king, whose career continued also during Thotmosis III' reign, similar to the career of the owner of TT. no. 119 whose name and titles are unfortunately lost.

From the succeeding reign of Thotmosis III, we have TT. No. 131 of Weser Amun (sometimes called User) ; the governor of town and vizier, where the people are visibly the same as those of Senenmut. They also appear in TT. No. 39 of Puim-re the second prophet of Amun.

It seems notable that they appear in TT. No. 86 of Menkheper-re-seneb, the 1st. prophet of Amun, coming with the chiefs of the Hittites and Tunip (in the vicinity of Aleppo).

The Keftiu appearance seems also notable in two other tombs whose owners' career maintained in authority during the reign of Amenophis II, son and successor of Thotmosis III. The first is TT. 85 of Amen-em-hab; lieutenant and commander of soldiers, where they are depicted in accompany with Syrians apparantly of upper and Lower Retnu. Whilst in the second of the same reign; TT. 100 of Rekhmi-re; the governor of town and vizier, they are depicted coming with The Islanders. A reference which diferenciate between the two elements (i.e. Keftiuans and Islanders).

TT no. 93 of the chief steward Ken-Amun stands the only one which contains the Keftiu scenes from the reign of Amenophis II solely.

As for the tenth tomb no. 120 of Anen the 1st. Prophet of Amun in the reign of Amenophis III, it should be discarded for two reasons. Firstly, it refers to the Keftiu amongst the traditional foes of Egypt, the so-called nine bows, despite their specific and peaceful interrelation attested by several examples, such as their mention in Kom el-hitan toponyms list, the transcription of medical remedy attributed to Keftiu, the existence of their ships in the royal dockyards and the adoption of their decoration style in many instances.. etc.. Secondly and consequently this representation of Keftiu amongst the traditional foes in