



Fig. (4): The first four carriers of tributes. The name (Keftiu) is inscribed above the prostrated man, behind him are two asiatics and an Aegean.  
After, Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXXV, B.

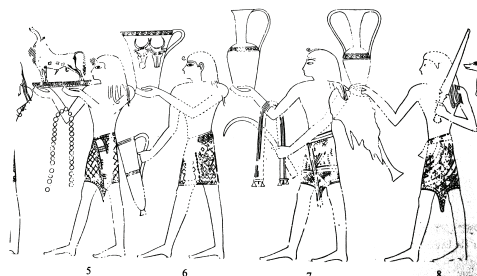


Fig. (5): The following five carriers of tributes are all Aegeans, bringing their products which are statues of bulls, vases and swords.  
After, Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXXVI, A.

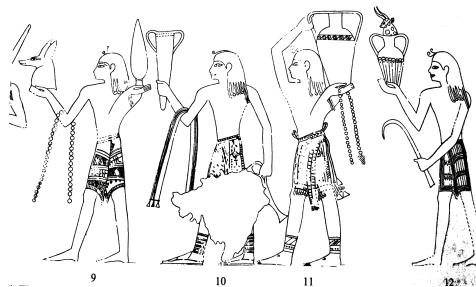


Fig. (6): The last four carriers of tributes while bringing pearl necklaces and vases  
After, Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXXVI, B.

## **2- The tomb n° 71<sup>9</sup> of Senemout<sup>10</sup>.**

The upper register of scene n° 3, which is in the portico of the tomb<sup>11</sup>, shows the remains of six Keftius, three of them are reasonably preserved<sup>12</sup>. They carry tributes, the first holds two vases, one in each hand, the second puts a big jar - decorated with the heads of two bulls - on his shoulder and supports it with his left hand; while the right hand is damaged. As for the third, he holds a long necked jar in his right hand and carries a vase on his shoulder. Parts of their faces and bodies are badly damaged<sup>13</sup> (Fig. 7).

The carriers of foreign tributes are shaved and the vases which they hold in their hands and carry on their shoulders are well decorated with geometrical, floral and animal motifs. Their costumes are simple and their hair is combed in a strange manner, two long locks hanging down to their waists.

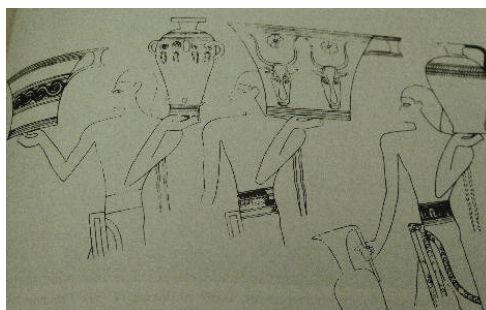


Fig. (7): Scene of three tribute bearers at the tomb of Senemout.

After, Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXIII

## **3- The tomb n° 39<sup>14</sup> of Puevre<sup>15</sup>.**

The scene of Keftius carries n° 12<sup>16</sup> (Fig. 8), it is unique and consists of two registers. On the upper register, the deceased stands inspecting and recording the tributes of

<sup>9</sup> This tomb is located at Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna. It was damaged, but its chapel which carries n°353 and was constructed near the courtyard of Hatshepsut temple is well preserved. The names and titles of Senemout were erased.

<sup>10</sup> During the reign of queen Hatshepsut, Senemout was the attendant of Amun, the first among all ministers of the queen, the architect and the overseer of all the work of the queen. He disappeared in year 16 of the reign of Hatshepsut.

<sup>11</sup> PM, *Op. cit.*, 71, n° 3, p. 140; Wachsmann, S. (1987), *Aegean in the Theban Tombs*, Leuven, 27.

<sup>12</sup> Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXIII: Hall, A. (1903-1904), Ann. Brit. Soc. of Athenes, *The Keftiu fresco in the Tomb of Senmut*, 10, 154 ff, London.

<sup>13</sup> Vercoutter, J. (1922), *Op. cit.*, Pls. I-II (65-9), XIV (124-70), XXXV (231-2).

<sup>14</sup> This tomb is located at Khokha.

<sup>15</sup> He was a prophet of Amun and was responsible for the accounts of the temple of this god, under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III<sup>16</sup>. This explains the presence of a similar scene in his tomb; Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, 29.

the North. On the lower register, four foreign tribute carriers, three Syrians and a Keftiu stand behind a heap of gold ingots, while the officials are presenting them<sup>17</sup> to Puemre.



Fig. (8): Two registers showing gold ingots weighed in front of the owner of the tomb.

After, Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXIV

The four figures are named «The foreign leaders of Additional Asia?<sup>18</sup>», the third figure is shown as brown man like the Egyptians. His black hair is braided in four long locks hanging down on his shoulder, and the rest of the hair is tied together in a single braid on the back. His face differs completely from his companions, his nose is aquiline and his mouth is wide. He is shown without a beard and has a short neck while his companions are all bearded men and with moustaches. He wears a kilt with coloured edges of Syrian style<sup>19</sup>. Therefore this figure is a hybrid<sup>20</sup> : combination of an Aegean by his hairstyle and a Syrian according to his costumes <sup>21</sup> (Fig.8, 9).

<sup>16</sup> PM, I, 39, n° 12, p. 72.

<sup>17</sup> Davies, N. de G.(1923), *The Tomb of Puemere at Thebes*, I, Pls XXXV-XXXIX, pp. 96-101.

<sup>18</sup> This name indicates that the Aegean and the Asiatics were considered by the ancient Egyptians as the same people.

<sup>19</sup> Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, 30.

<sup>20</sup> Hybrid figures clearly indicate that the Ancient Egyptians sometimes could not differentiate between their different enemies. In fact, it would also seem they did not know that each people had its traditions and customs. The Egyptian artist in that case did not make any difference between the Asians and keftius. This is perhaps due to either the nature of the relationship between the Egyptians and both Asians and keftius or because of their attitude and their products in the scene.

<sup>21</sup> He resembles the Aegeans of the tomb of Menkheperreseneb n° 86, but not the Aegeans in the tomb of Senemout or Weseramun.



Fig. (9): The four foreigners in front of the gold ingots in the tomb of Puemere.

#### **4- The tomb n°155<sup>22</sup> of Antef<sup>23</sup>:**

The scene is on the wall n° 3<sup>24</sup> and shows the deceased, his son Ahmose and his brother<sup>25</sup> in front of four registers, representing foreigners bringing products. The second register is occupied by Syrians, the third and the fourth show the inhabitants of the oases with their products. The first register, badly preserved, represents male figures identified recently through the pieces of cloth around their feet as Keftiu<sup>26</sup> (Fig. 10).

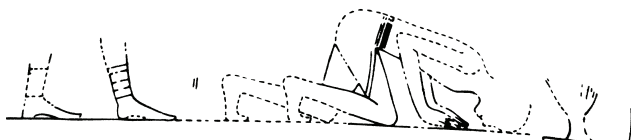


Fig. (10): Traces of a Keftiu figure.  
After, Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXVI.

#### **5- Anonymous tomb<sup>27</sup>, n° 119<sup>28</sup>:**

The wall n° 1<sup>29</sup> depicts Syrians and Keftius bringing products consisting of Oryx, and metal ingots.

#### **6-Tomb n° 131<sup>30</sup>, of OuserAmun, or Amunouser or Ouser<sup>31</sup>:**

<sup>22</sup> It is located in Draa Abou el Naga.

<sup>23</sup> He was a chief messenger during the reign of queen Hatshepsut and king Thutmose III<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> PM, I, 155, n° 3, p. 263.

<sup>25</sup> Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, 31, Pl. XXV.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, 31, Pl. XXVI:A.

<sup>27</sup> The owner of the tomb lived under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> This tomb is located at Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna.

<sup>29</sup> This tomb is located at Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna.

<sup>30</sup> PM, I, 119, n° 1, p. 234.

<sup>31</sup> He was a vizier under Thutmose III<sup>d</sup> during the first part of his reign, and he was followed in this post by his nephew Rekhmire; Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, 31.

On the upper register of the wall n° 11<sup>32</sup>, is a scene showing Keftius dressed similarly to those of the tomb of Senemut<sup>33</sup>. They bring tributes consisting of a head of a bull and statues of bulls (Figs. 11, 12).



Fig. (11): Keftius carrying their presents.  
After, Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXVII (A).

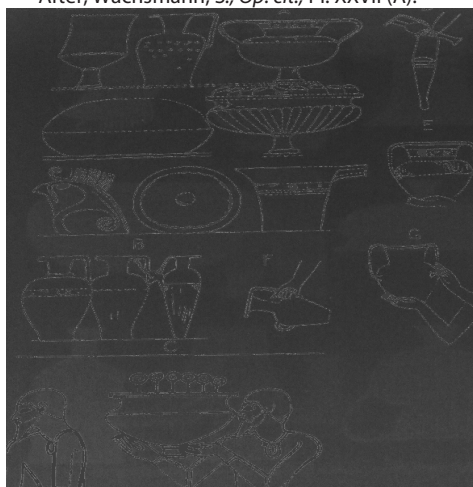


Fig. (12): Products brought by Keftius.  
After, Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXVII, (B).

## **7- The tomb n° 85<sup>34</sup> of Amenemhab<sup>35</sup>:**

<sup>32</sup> PM, I, 131, n° 11, p. 245.

<sup>33</sup> Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXVII.

<sup>34</sup> This tomb is located at Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna.

<sup>35</sup> He served as first chief officer in the army of Thutmosis III<sup>rd</sup> and Aménophis II<sup>sd</sup>.

This tomb which must have been decorated under Amenophis II<sup>nd</sup> <sup>36</sup>, contains a scene of foreign tributes in front of Thutmosis III<sup>rd</sup>. The scene n° 17 is divided into three registers <sup>37</sup>, showing king Thutmosis III<sup>rd</sup>, standing in a kiosk and in front of him, the owner of the tomb with an autobiographic text. In each register, many nationalities are represented such as Syrians, Keftius and Mennus. They are accompanied by their wives, and children<sup>38</sup> carrying numerous vases.

Although the text gives people's name of the third register (The chiefs of Keftiu and Mennus). It is remarkable that every register shows a group of several nationalities and the same people are repeated on the three registers. Some Egyptologists suggest that they are all Syrians, but details and hairstyles are not the same (Figs. 13, 14).



Fig. (13): The three registers showing the tribute bearers kneeling in front of king Thutmosis III<sup>rd</sup>  
After, Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XLV.

<sup>36</sup> Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, 38.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XIV.

<sup>38</sup> PM, I, 85, n° 17, p. 173.



Fig. (14): The name Keftiu in front of the face of the second attendant.

#### **8-The tomb n° 100<sup>39</sup> of Rekhmire<sup>40</sup>:**

The scene on the wall n° 4 is the most detailed and complete of all scenes of Keftius<sup>41</sup>; it shows the vizier accompanied by all his attendants while accepting the tributes of many countries in order to render them to Thutmosis III<sup>rd</sup>. The carriers of gifts are distributed on five registers.

The text gives the names of these people, but it does not respect their order in the scene: Nubians, Pountites, Syrians, Keftius and captives from different countries. However their order had to be according to their succession in the scene: Punt, Keftiu, the countries of the south or Nubia, Syria and finally captives.

The second register shows Keftius carrying their products by both hands and they put them down in front of Rekhmire who stands at the end of the scene with a scribe counting the number of these tributes. The text which is over these figures, mentions that they belong to two identities, Keftius and the inhabitants of the Mediterranean islands. Therefore, they were both linked up together by close relations but they did not live in the same land<sup>42</sup>. In general, their products are: vases and jars of different forms decorated with heads of ibex, bull, dog and lion, as well as statues taking the form of heads of bulls and tusks of elephants (Figs. 15-16).

The order of the people in the text differs from their order in the scenes; the artist probably chose to arrange the people according to their relationships with the Egyptians. In registers 1 and 2, he depicted the people who were not subdued by military means and were only linked up by trade. Registers 3 and 4 are occupied by

<sup>39</sup> This tomb is located at Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna.

<sup>40</sup> He was the governor of the city and the vizier under Thutmosis III<sup>rd</sup> and Amenophis II<sup>nd</sup>, he was also the nephew of the vizier Ouseramun, the owner of the tomb n° 131; PM, I, 100, n° 4, p. 207.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. CXL- XLIV.

<sup>42</sup> Wachsmann, S., *Op.cit.*, 36.

Nubians and Syrians who were considered to be defeated people. The 5<sup>th</sup> register is only occupied by captives.

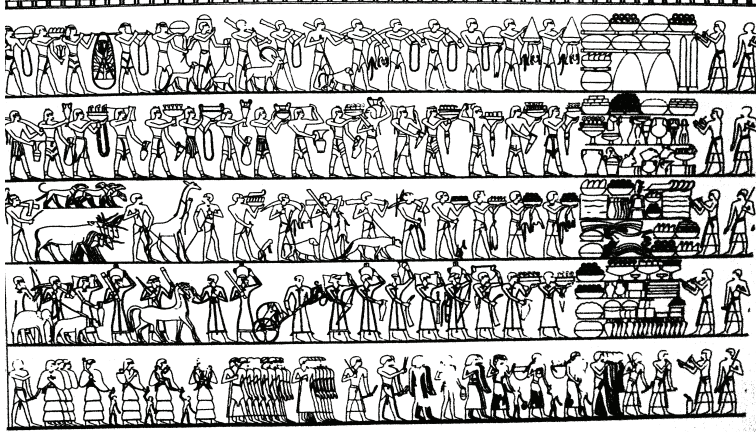


Fig. (15): Rekhmire accepts tributes from foreign people, the second register shows the Keftius.

After, Bentley, J.(2000), *Characteristics and Style of Egyptian Art in the New Kingdom*, *Egyptian Art, Principles and Themes in Wall Scenes*, Guizeh, fig. 2.1, 19.

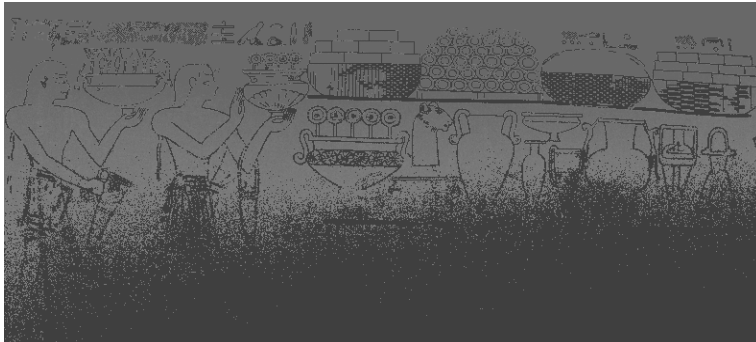


Fig. (16): Two keftius while putting down their gifts on the heap in front of Rekhmire  
After, Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XLI.

### **9-The tomb n° 276<sup>43</sup>, of Amenemopet<sup>44</sup>:**

<sup>43</sup> This tomb is located in Gurnet Marai.



The only surviving scene in this tomb is that depicting some foreigners among whom are three Keftius carrying ingots of metal on their shoulders. the last one holds also a jug in his right hand <sup>45</sup> (Fig. 17).

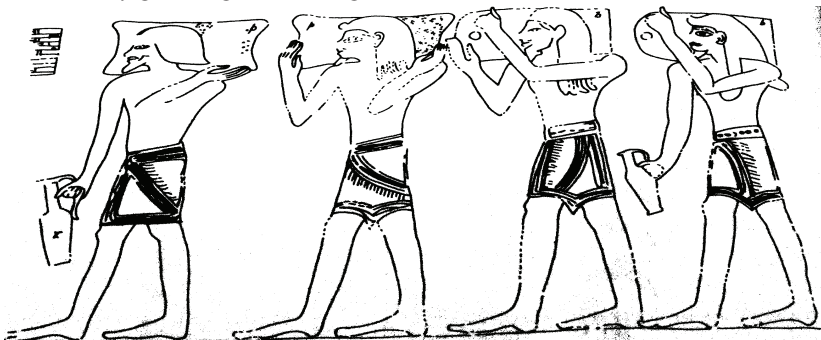


Fig. (17): Four foreigners in the tomb of Amenemopet, the first one who is not a keftiu differs in costumes and hairstyle.  
After, Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. LII (B).

#### **10- The tomb n° 93<sup>46</sup> of Kenamoun<sup>47</sup> :**

The scene of Keftius is on the west wall n° 9. It shows Aménophis II<sup>nd</sup> seated on his throne placed in a kiosk. He is accompanied by goddess Maat and accepting presents on the occasion of the New Year festival<sup>48</sup>. The throne is decorated by names and representations of thirteen foreign captives on its base where the king traditionally puts his feet on the nine bows. Each one of these captives has both arms trussed up behind his back and the body is replaced by an oval shape containing the name of his country. Four names of places survived: Naharina, Keftiu, Mennus and Upper Retenou (Figs. 18-19). The Keftiu is shown with a beard and four locks of hair<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> He was the chief of gold and silver treasury during the time of Thutmosis IV, he was also a judge and the supervisor of the palace; PM, I, 276, p. 163.

<sup>45</sup> PM, I, 276, p. 163.

<sup>46</sup> This tomb is located at Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna. It is one of the largest private tombs in the Theban necropolis.

<sup>47</sup> He was the leader of the herd of Amun and the overseer of the attendants of king Amenophis III<sup>th</sup>; see Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, 39.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XLVI.

<sup>49</sup> PM, I, 93, n° 9, p.191.

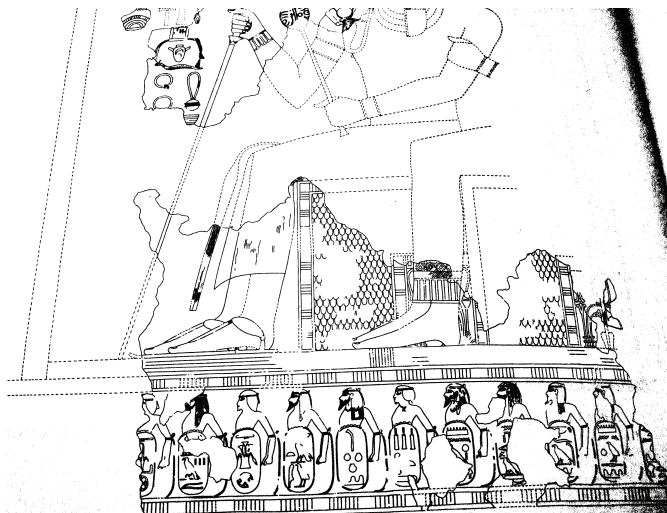


Fig. (18): The king sits on his throne decorated with representation of foreign people.  
After, Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XLVI.



Fig. (19): A Keftiu with a beard and locks of hair; the word Keftiu is inscribed inside an oval shape  
After, Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XLVII.

**11- The tomb n° 120<sup>50</sup> of Aanen<sup>51</sup>.**

The scene which is on the wall n° 3, shows Amenophis III<sup>rd</sup> <sup>52</sup> seated on his throne placed on a dais, decorated with representations of enemies such as Libyans and Keftius <sup>53</sup> with their arms trussed up behind their backs by ropes (Fig. 20). According to the text, the first figure is Keftiu who is represented in the form of a typical hybrid captive (Fig. 21). His dress is of Syrian style resembling the costume of those depicted in the tomb of Ouseramun n° 131<sup>54</sup>.

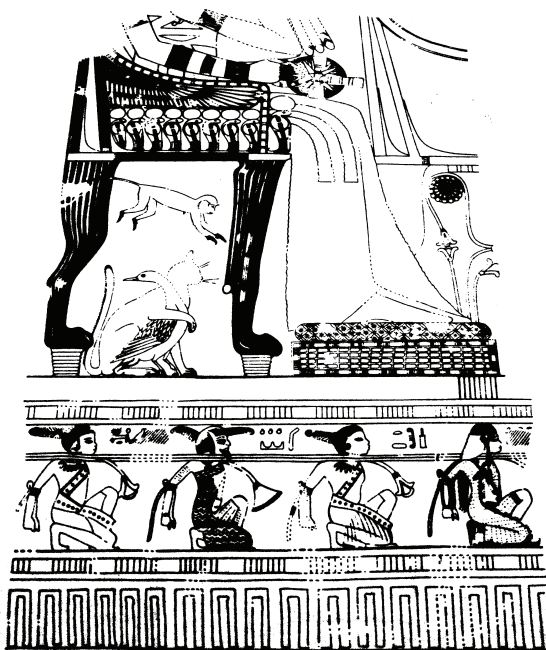


Fig. (20): The dais of the throne decorated by enemies; the first one is a Keftiu.

After, Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XLVI.

<sup>50</sup> This tomb is located at Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna.

<sup>51</sup> He served as the second prophet of Amun under Amenophis III<sup>th</sup> and was probably a brother of queen Tiy.

<sup>52</sup> Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. XLVIII.

<sup>53</sup> PM, I, 102, n° 1, p. 234.

<sup>54</sup> Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, 40.



Fig. (21): A Keftiu figure with the name of his country inscribed before him.  
After, Wachsmann, S., *Op. cit.*, Pl. L.

### **Conclusions:**

According to the studied scenes in this article, it seems that the Egyptians depicted their friends and those who were not subdued by force in the same manner, attitude, clothes and position as their enemies. The Aegean and Keftius shared some characteristics, they were brownish red skin<sup>55</sup> which was the same color used for Egyptian men, while the Aegean women were shown in white color<sup>56</sup>.

Keftius men are always represented well shaved as the Egyptians<sup>57</sup>, but their noses are either shown sharp or bent. Their hair is curly with locks of different lengths, long or medium<sup>58</sup> hanging down on their backs, with spiral short locks indulgent on their foreheads<sup>59</sup>. They occasionally wear long garments made of linen, held at their waist by belts<sup>60</sup>, while in other scenes they are depicted wearing short kilts richly ornamented.

The products which they brought with them caused some confusion, as they were very similar to the products of Syrians, Nubians and Puntites. They included: copper, gold ingots, round objects perhaps silver, baskets full of different materials such as turquoise, lapis lazuli<sup>61</sup>, heads or statues of bulls, jackals<sup>62</sup>, or lions probably in electrum<sup>63</sup>.

The Egyptian regarded Keftius as the inhabitants of a land rich in goods. Their products were important to Egypt but not essential<sup>64</sup>, therefore the trade with them

<sup>55</sup> Vercoutter, J. (1922), *Op.cit.*, 236.

<sup>56</sup> Hoodm, S. (1978), *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece*, Middlesex, 235.

<sup>57</sup> Furumark, A. (2000), *Opuscula Archaeologica, The settlement at Ialysos and Asegean History 1550-1450 B.C.*, 6, 150-271.

<sup>58</sup> Vercoutter, J. (1922), *Op.cit.*, 230-236.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 232, fig.7.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 243-250 et Pls. XIV-XIX, Docs. 124-155.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 364, Pl. IXIV. Doc. 489.

<sup>62</sup> Pendlebury (1930), Egypt and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age, *Journal of Egyptian Archeology*, 16, 78, Pl. XX.

<sup>63</sup> Vercoutter, J. (1922), *Op.cit.*, 311, Pl. XXXVII.

<sup>64</sup> Booth, Ch. (2005), The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt, A Study of Non-Stereotypical Artistic Representations, *BAR International Series 1426*, 94.

was on limited scale. Moreover, Egyptian texts occasionally associated the Keftius with other people. For example, in the tomb n° 100, Keftius are mentioned with Retenous (the Asiatics) and in the tomb n° 131, Keftius were called (The foreigners who came from Islands which are in the middle of the Sea). However, the texts in tomb n° 71 ignore giving the origin of the foreigners depicted on its walls; they can also be from islands of the Sea.

The tombs which contain the scenes of Keftius are eleven in number, they are as follows:

The name	Tom b n°	The location and site	Date	Profession
Menkheperaseneb	86	Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna	Thutmosis I <sup>st</sup>	Prophet of Amun
Senemout	71	Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna	Hatshepsut	Vizier and architect
Pouemre	39	Khokha	Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III <sup>rd</sup>	Prophet of Amun
Antef	155	Draa Abou el Naga	Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III <sup>rd</sup>	Messenger
Anonymous	119	Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna	Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III <sup>rd</sup>	-----
OuserAmun, or Amunouser	131	Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna	Thutmosis III <sup>rd</sup>	Vizier
Amenemhab	85	Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna	Thutmosis III <sup>rd</sup> and Amenophis II <sup>nd</sup>	chief officer in the army
Rekhmire	100	Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna	Thutmosis III <sup>rd</sup> and Amenophis II <sup>nd</sup>	governor of the city and the vizier
Amenemopet	276	Gurnet Marai	Thutmosis IV <sup>th</sup>	Chief of treasury, judge and supervisor of the palace
Kenamoun	93	Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna	Amenophis III <sup>rd</sup>	the leader of the herd of Amun
Aanen	120	Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna	Amenophis III <sup>rd</sup>	Prophet of Amun

Despite that the scenes of Keftius in these tombs are similar; they differ in significance, subject- matter, texts and tributes. Among these eleven tombs, eight are located in Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna, and the remaining three are in Draa Abou el Naga, Khokha and Gurnet Marai.

All of the above mentioned tombs belong to the noblemen of XVIII<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Their owners had different jobs and functions; three were Prophets of Amun, three were Viziers, one was Chief Messenger, one was Chief Officer, one was Leader of the Herd of Amun, one was unknown and the last one was Chief of Treasury, Judge and Supervisor of the Palace. Therefore, it is clear that the jobs of the noblemen neither have any influence on the iconographic program of the tomb nor on the chosen scenes.

All tombs date back to the different periods of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> dynasty, beginning from the reign of Thutmosis I<sup>st</sup> and ending with the reign of Amenophis III<sup>rd</sup>. The scenes of Keftius in tombs appeared for the first time in the period when the military power and political influence of Egypt prevailed over and dominated all the ancient Near East. The main context and theme of the Keftius scenes is paying tributes brought by them to Egypt during the reigns of warrior pharaohs.

This theme changed to humiliation and submission during the reign of the most peaceful king Amenophis III<sup>rd</sup>, as shown in tomb n<sup>os</sup> 93 of Kenamun and 120 of Aanen. Contrary to what was expected, the scenes of the tombs which date back to the warlike kings show presents, gifts and tributes, which may indicate that the relationship between Egypt and the Aegean world in this epoch was amicable and respectful. Another possibility is that the warlike kings did not have a real contact with these countries or these people always tried to keep good relationship with Egypt through friendly visits and paying tributes.

Regarding the two scenes which date back to the reign of King Amenophis III<sup>rd</sup>, the most peaceful king and wars were not of his immediate concern, to the extent that he never led a single military campaign. However, these are scenes of submission and humiliation of the enemies. The Keftius were represented among the captives in a traditional victory scene of the king without attempting to show any efforts in performing the massacre among them.

The depicting of such scenes during the reign of Amenophis III<sup>rd</sup>, may indicate his wish to compensate for the lack of military activity, or a change of relationship with Keftius which took place in this epoch for unknown political reason. A third possibility is that the artist wanted to supplement the list of enemies subjected by the Egyptians without realizing the difference between enemies and friendly neighbors, or he simply copied one of traditional military scenes in order to please his king.

To conclude, it is potently obvious that the relationship of Egypt with the Mediterranean countries reached its peak during the XVIII<sup>th</sup> dynasty, and they were commercial, amicable and peaceful.

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