

**TO KILL AND TO BE KILLED: THE TRANSFERENCE,
TRANSFORMATION AND USE OF THE SMITING POSE IN EGYPT
AND THE AEGEAN DURING THE BRONZE AGE**

A Dissertation
Submitted to
the Temple University Graduate Board

In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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August 2023

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ABSTRACT

The smiting pose is a motif used by the Egyptians, Minoans and the Mycenaeans during the Bronze Age (ca. 3000–1200 BCE). Although the smiting pose has been identified as an emblem of the pharaonic office, the pose has never been investigated in the field of Aegean prehistory. This motif is incorporated as evidence when discussing larger topics, such as warriors and warfare of the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age. In these arguments, art-bearing iconography is used as evidence to support the presence of martial Minoans and are only ever mentioned as such. This dissertation investigates the smiting scenes from the Egypt and Crete and the Mainland of Greece and examines them to answer the following questions: how are people creating and expressing power in the Eastern Mediterranean and how do trade networks influence this. The first part of this approach considers different trade routes explored by Crete and the Mainland as well as the role the Aegean peoples played in the international trade networks. The second part of this study focuses on the smiting motif in its regional context to explore how power was constructed and represented through violence to fit their concepts of ruling and kingship.

To the little girl who sat with her skeleton and dreamed.

To my family whose support knows no bounds.

And to my love who helped me complete it, it's time to find a new dream.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many thanks are owed to several different people and institutions who provided assistance to this project. I wish to first express my appreciation to my advisors and committee members Dr. Jane DeRose Evans, Dr. Muge Durusu-Tanriover, Dr. Joseph Kopta and Dr. Marie Nicole Pareja for their guidance and wisdom through this study. This dissertation would not be complete without their continued support.

Various organizations helped fund the completion of this project. The Temple University Fellowship allowed me to fully dedicate myself to the study of Aegean Prehistory and my sincere thanks goes to the Temple Graduate School for this award. This dissertation also benefited from funding provided by the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP) for travel grants and graduate fellowships.

My gratitude goes out to the various museums who allow open access of their objects including The British Museum, The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, The National Archaeological Museum in Athens, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, and the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Finally, a special thanks to Dr. Reinhard Förtsch, Dr. Henner von Hesberg, Dr. Walter Müller, and Dr. Ingo Pin for the digitization of the Corpus of Minoan and Mycenaean Seals which allowed for remote access of glyptic comparanda.

The completion of this dissertation would not have been possible without the continued support of a few individuals. My thanks go out to Leanna Kolonauski, Rachel

Salmon, and Sydney Sarasin, for their extensive knowledge and endless support and for those who have continued to bring light into my life.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their unparalleled cheer and encouragement in anything I do. A special thanks to my sister, Tara who read through countless edits and rewrites of this dissertation brought laughter during periods of stress and with the completion of this project, I consider her an honorary Art Historian. I am forever grateful to my husband for his unwavering love, support, and laughs throughout my doctoral process. Without these people, the dream I had as a child while I dug in the sand or sat with my skeleton would have remained a dream.

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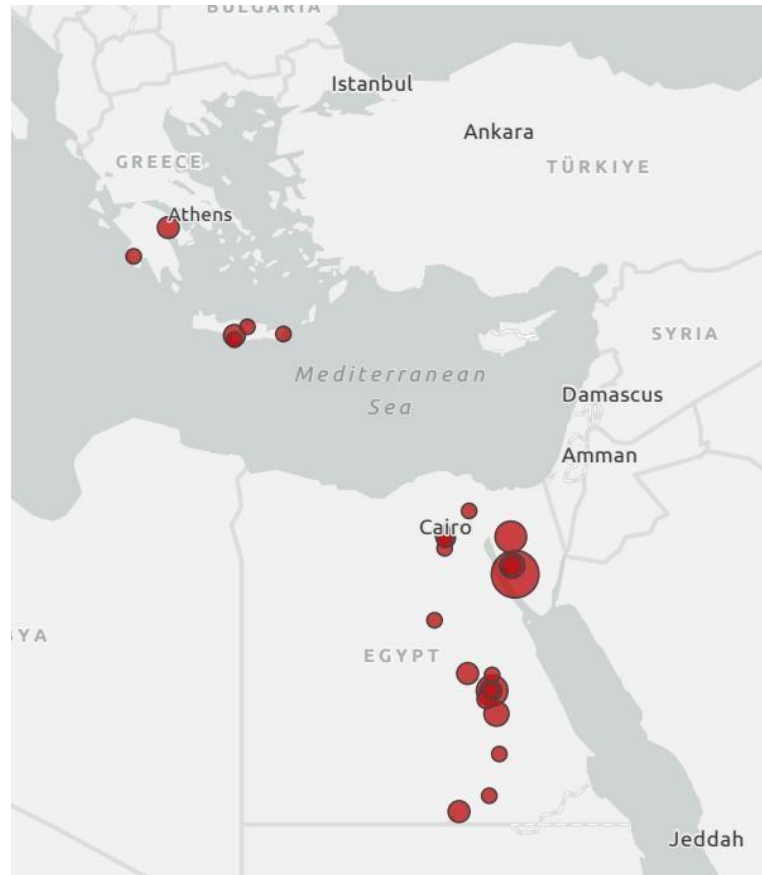
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Figural artwork of the Eastern Mediterranean during the Bronze Age produced a large number of poses representing power and domination. Some of these motifs include scenes of training, combat, hunting, heraldic poses, and others that showcase how the body moves in different ways in moments of physical power. One such gesture, the smiting pose, has a long history of use in Egypt during the Predynastic period as a domination motif (Figures 3.1, 3.2). The smiting pose developed into a visual representation of the pharaonic office during the reign of Narmer (Figure 3.3) and became an expression of Egypt's power throughout the Bronze Age. The smiting pharaoh adorned the walls and pylons of temples and was chiseled into rock faces in the Sinai. For my dissertation, the definition of the smiting pose is an image that incorporates at least two or more individuals, with one individual normally portrayed as larger than the other. In most cases, the victorious character holds a portion of the enemy's or enemies' body or part of the defensive weaponry with one hand while the other lands the fatal blow.

In this dissertation, smiting scenes from the Egypt and Crete and the Mainland of Greece will be examined to answer the following questions: how people are creating and expressing power in the Eastern Mediterranean and how do trade networks influence this. The study will first explore the rich recorded smiting images from Egypt from the Naqada culture through the reign of Ahmose I of the New Kingdom (ca. 1550–1250 BCE). Following this, I will then investigate the evidence from the Minoans and

Mycenaean spanning from Crete and the Mainland of Greece from the Early Minoan (EM) II– Late Minoan/ Late Helladic (LM/LH) II periods (2200–1400 BCE).



Map 1: Dot density map showing sites where the smiting pose is found in Egypt and the Aegean from 4000-1200 BCE. All mapped objects can be found in Appendix A. Map by author.

During the Early and Middle Bronze Age (EBA and MBA), the Minoans began to create figural scenes of power to fit the needs of the emerging elite. These scenes of training and combat from Early Minoan III – Middle Minoan III (EM III–MMIII, ca. 2200–1700 BCE) highlight the specific desires of the patrons (Figures 4.1, 4.2). As this dissertation will demonstrate, these members of society developed a preference for

combat scenes, which evolved into the Aegean smiting pose. The maritime trade that developed throughout the Eastern Mediterranean allowed the smiting pharaoh motif to make its way to the Aegean from Egypt and influence the evolution of the smiting pose. In the Aegean, the smiting scene is only found on seals and sealings at palatial and administrative sites during the Late Minoan period. As part of the longer trajectory of interaction between the Aegean islands and the Mainland during this period, the smiting scene was then imported to the Mainland, where it is seen on objects from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae and in an elite tomb near the Palace of Nestor at Pylos. By the Late Minoan/Late Helladic II period, the smiting motif disappeared from the material culture of Crete and the Mainland. Depictions of combat were still made, but the preference shifted to emphasizing hunting, soldiers, and military scenes, which include men against animals as well as military training scenes like the later 12th c BCE *Warrior Vase* from Mycenae. In other words, human-to-human violence was replaced with scenes of preparation for such violence or with scenes where humans were represented as hunting (and thus dominating) other species.

While the smiting pose was no longer included in artistic representations of the Late Bronze Age (LBA) Aegean, I argue that Egypt imported the Aegeanized form during the New Kingdom period. After importing the Aegean smiting pose, the pharaohs of Dynasty XVIII and XIX expanded and evolved the traditional smiting scene from the conservative pose that was canonized by Narmer to include Aegean characteristics of power (Figure 5.4).

Although the smiting motif played a large role in creating a visual representation of power in Egypt and the Aegean, it has not been previously studied as a singular pose.

Instead, the smiting scene has been classified under the general term of power stances. In this dissertation I study the smiting scene on its own as a motif and then consider its meaning when included in larger narratives. First, although the Minoans and the larger Aegean world never portrayed their smiting figures the same way the pharaohs of Egypt did, the Minoan portrayal of these figures has never received the in-depth analysis they deserve. Second, the smiting motif has also never been viewed as a design that links two states to one another. The pose was created in Egypt, imported and changed by the Minoans, so much so that Egypt would later import the Aegean smiting pose to further accentuate the pharaoh's power. Third, my study highlights the context, audience, and site to understand the smiting pose in the premise of the emerging elite. This dissertation finds that the smiting scene is a representation of carefully curated violence that served as a visual representation of power for the elite.

Review of Scholarship

The smiting iconography of Minoan Crete and the Mycenaean Mainland has never been studied on its own. It is usually incorporated as evidence when discussing larger topics such as warriors and warfare in the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age (see Molloy 2012, 2013; Papadopoulos 2006, 2012; Peatfield 1999; Hiller 1999; Evely 1996). Early scholars such as Schliemann and Evans concentrated on the emergence of an elite warrior class in Mycenaean Greece as evidence in the burials from the Shaft Graves who gained power through violence (Schliemann 1878; Evans 1928). Evans noted that there is

evidence of Minoans engaging in violence during the Neopalatial period but also suggests that Mycenaeans impose a culture of warfare on Crete during the latter half of the Late Bronze Age.

While Evans noted the violent imagery seen during the Neopalatial period, his ideas concerning the “Pax Minoica,” or Minoan peace, created the idea that the Minoans enjoyed peaceful prosperity. This shifted the focus to Mycenaean warriorhood, leading scholarship to consider evidence of interpersonal combat only in Mycenaean examples, as Evely rightly points out (1996, 59; see also Evans 1928). Later, Evely (1996) and Peatfield (1999) found that imagery, fortifications, and weaponry in the archaeological record does, in fact, support evidence of an elite warrior class on Neopalatial Crete. This dissertation further supports evidence of an emerging elite warrior class as evidenced by the seals and sealings bearing the combative image. This image thus captured power for these elite warriors and members of society.

Studies concerning warfare and violence continued to focus on topics such as weaponry in the Aegean during the Bronze Age (Sandars 1961; 1963; Peatfield 1999; Malafouris 2008; Molloy 2008; 2010; Papadopoulos 2012), warfare in the Aegean (Hiller 1999; Branigan 1999; Driessen 1999; Driessen and MacDonald 1984; Molloy 2012; 2013; Walker 2001), and evidence of warriors on Crete (Evely 1996; Manning 1986). In these arguments, art-bearing combat iconography is used as evidence to support the presence of martial Minoans. Many of the examples in this dissertation (Figures. 4.1 – 4.12) are used as visual evidence of warriors and combat in the aforementioned works. While they are used in support of an elite warrior class on Crete, they are only ever mentioned as such. My dissertation is the first comprehensive study to focus specifically

on the smiting pose with the aim to explore its meaning and value to the elite, as well as its role in highlighting trade and elite interaction between Egypt and the Aegean during the Bronze Age. Work has been done on the smiting pose in Egypt (Hall 1986; Wilkinson 2000; 2015; Partridge 2002; Morris 2010; 2013; Sales 2012; 2017; Dean 2017; Bestock 2017; Campbell 2020), but Egyptologists have never mentioned a change in their artistic canon during the New Kingdom period which this dissertation now contributes the field.

Previous work on the smiting motif in the wider Eastern Mediterranean has been done by Crowley (1977), Papadopoulos (2006), and, more briefly, by Stocker and Davis (2017). Though past scholarship has mentioned the smiting pose, this image remains relatively unexplored, especially in the context of the broader eastern Mediterranean. Crowley's 1977 dissertation offers an extensive overview of multiple motifs that were part of a larger network of exchange between the Aegean, Egypt, and the Near East and offers a discussion of international artistic influences during the Bronze Age. While this work began the larger discussion concerning artistic exchange, the motifs are briefly mentioned, followed by a brief catalog of items that bear the design through the Bronze Age. All motifs, such as heraldic poses, contest scenes, and even the smiting pose, were given attention, but no deeper investigation was done on the smiting pose.

Papadopoulos' 2006 work is more recent and provides new insight into the military art of the Bronze Age Aegean from a different approach. While Crowley looked outside of the Aegean for similarities in motifs in the East, Papadopoulos focused solely on the imagery and symbols of warfare in the Aegean, which he argues was present since the Early Bronze Age. The smiting pose in this work was used as evidence of an emerging warrior class and military in the Aegean during the Bronze Age. In his

scholarship, all images of military motifs are included, such as hunting scenes, seals bearing double axes or figure of eight shields, archers, and more, as a catalog of images of warfare in the Aegean. Papadopoulos focuses on the iconography of warfare as a whole, which includes boxing, battle, and combat imagery from Crete, the Cyclades, and the Mainland. While Papadopoulos does not fully investigate any military scene he presents, he laid the foundation for further iconographic studies to take place, especially with scenes of violence.

The aforementioned works of Papadopoulos and Crowley have the same limitations. Both works understand that violent imagery exists in the Aegean during the Bronze Age, which bears similarities to the rest of the eastern Mediterranean due to artistic international exchange. Yet both authors explicitly mention that the Aegean does not include the smiting pose rendered like Egypt does (Crowley 1977, 15; Papadopoulos 2006, 274). While the smiting pose originates in Egypt, the Minoans actively chose not to copy the pose directly from their Egyptian neighbors but incorporated the pose to fit the needs of the emerging elite members of society, which likely included legitimizing their power. The smiting pose in the Aegean has long been viewed as evidence of militaristic violence from the Mycenaeans without first investigating the origin, development, and use of the pose. Although this pose captures violent scenes of warriors fighting until death, the scene, I argue first and foremost, represents power.

My dissertation seeks to connect the Aegean smiting pose to the earlier Egyptian precedents and later Egyptian adaptations as part of a larger and comparative analysis into understanding elite power through representations of human-to-human violence. No investigations exist concerning the smiting pose in the Aegean, perhaps due to the limited

number of scenes available. An in-depth iconographic study of the pose's origin, evolution, and use has yet to be done. Earlier scholarship focuses on broader themes of violence and combat scenes as evidence of a developing warrior class on Crete. While the aforementioned scholars have made significant strides to better understand violence in the Bronze Age Aegean, no publication focuses on a singular militaristic power stance which brings in comparanda from the larger Eastern Mediterranean. This study seeks to trace the beginnings of the motif from Egypt to the Aegean and back to Egypt as evidence of iconographic exchange occurring between two powerhouses of the Bronze Age.

Methodology and Dataset Limitations

This dissertation is an iconographical study of the smiting pose in the Bronze Age, specifically on pharaonic Egypt, as well as the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures. Many examples from Crete date to the Late Minoan I– II period (LM I–II). The popularity of these depictions appears to decline at the beginning of LM II in favor of scenes showing men smiting animals, a trend which is also seen on the Mainland during LH II. As this study examines the use and the transference of the smiting pose, depictions of the smiting pose in different media from Egypt are studied to provide an in-depth account of its use in a Bronze Age Aegean context. Many of these images from Egypt have the typical stance of one individual smiting one enemy, but they may include

multiple people being struck down. Multiple enemies are commonly seen in Egyptian art since the pharaoh was seen as the tamer of chaos (Wilkinson 2000; Luiselli 2011; Sales 2017). While the smiting pose has a long iconographic history in Egypt into and through the Iron Age, this dissertation will not examine smiting images after the reign of Merneptah (roughly 1200 BCE) as the collapse of the Bronze Age occurred shortly thereafter.

While this study focuses on objects with the smiting motif, there is an imbalance in the dataset as a whole. Fourteen smiting scenes were analyzed in-depth in this dissertation from Egypt. These include predynastic finds from the late Naqada culture through the reign of Merneptah. The catalog is a representative data set from the predynastic period through Dynasty XIX. The difference in numbers is visible as I have forty-eight scenes from Egypt and only ten from the Aegean. There is a further imbalance within Egyptian history, as examples dating to the Old and New Kingdoms overpower the examples available from the Middle Kingdom. While the Old and New Kingdom periods produced more smiting scenes, I prioritized analyzing smiting scenes distinctive from the period to highlight the breadth of artwork in Egypt.

A final variable to be considered within the study is that the smiting scenes come from very different contexts in Egypt, which include funerary examples from tombs, religious examples from temple wall, and political settings of monuments especially from examples in the Sinai on the periphery of Egypt's control. They are represented on multiple media, including a small ivory tag, objects of personal adornment, seal carvings, and impressions. They represent very different scales, from miniature to monumental and everything in-between. While there are differences, they have been evaluated as part of a

single work by explicitly focusing on the iconography of the smiting motif. Analysis of the objects focused on the smiting figure and the enemy(s) and their relationship within the artistic narrative.

This dissertation evaluates iconography to understand the smiting motif and further highlights interregional trade between the Aegean and Egypt during the Bronze Age. By examining the iconographic evidence of the smiting pose in Egypt and the Aegean, we can better understand the ideals of the emerging elite and how they represented power through human-to-human violence. This study will also aid in the discussion of warriorhood and interpersonal violence in the broader field of Aegean prehistory. To better understand these early peoples, we first need to understand how they viewed power.

This iconographic analysis takes a formalistic and semiotic approach to view the pose and better understand why the Aegean people incorporated the smiting image into their art for a short period, especially on seals, seal impressions, signet rings, and their impressions. When analyzing the Minoan depictions of themselves and their depictions of non-Minoans, a formalist approach is taken when breaking down the scene's visual aspects. In this dissertation, attention is paid to costuming (including jewelry), the position of the body, and offensive and defensive weaponry, which allow for an in-depth analysis of how the Minoans viewed themselves and how they differentiated themselves from the "other." Semiotics plays a role when investigating the relationship between the meaning and the image of the smiting pose, which is explicitly analyzed in the Aegean chapter as the smiting pose becomes part of a larger smiting narrative. My dissertation presents a new interpretation of the smiting pose by drawing on information about the

socio-political systems and hierarchies in place during the Bronze Age and discussing the possibility of a developing warrior ethos within the rising military elite.

Overview of Chapters

This dissertation investigates the use and transformation of the smiting pose in the Aegean and how the smiting scene connected and influenced artists in Egypt and the Aegean. The transference, transformation, and use of the smiting motif will be tracked iconographically between these regions of the Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean. It includes data collection and analysis through GIS to understand further how trade influenced the spread of iconography. Chapter 2 looks at the active trade routes Crete and the larger Aegean utilized directly or indirectly throughout the Bronze Age to receive and export elite materials. Case studies in metals, lapis lazuli, and the Uluburun shipwreck are discussed to call attention to how well Crete was interconnected with seaborne trade, especially with Egypt. Chapter 3 dives into the origins of the smiting pose, as seen in Egypt and discusses a select number of pharaonic smiting scenes from the predynastic period through the reign of Ahmose I of Dynasty XVIII.

Chapter 4 continues the iconographic survey of the smiting motif in the Aegean. The pose's incorporation and evolution are contextualized into Crete's developing combative iconography. The chapter begins with early domination scenes dating to the EMIII period through the Late Minoan II period. Objects from the Mainland are also

evaluated in the chapter. The fifth chapter returns to Egypt, beginning with the reign of Thutmose IV, continuing through the reign of Merneptah, and assesses how the Aegean smiting pose was incorporated into the long-held conservative smiting pharaoh imagery.

The comparison of the smiting scene and its use in the Aegean to its creation and use in Egypt will shed new light on the motif. These approaches suggest the motif held a purpose for the pharaohs of Egypt as well as the emerging elite in the Aegean world. My dissertation demonstrates that the image of power was used on a variety of levels. The use of the smiting motif places the Aegean as part of a larger network of elite iconographic exchange during the Bronze Age. Finally, the smiting pose marks the emergence of power structures captured through the imagery of violence, by which the motif became an emblem of power for thousands of years.

CHAPTER 2

ELITE INTERCONNECTED TRADE NETWORKS OF THE AEGEAN

Crete's location in the Mediterranean allowed the Minoans to become a hub for international trade as they were at the confluence of the Aegean and the Mediterranean and in close proximity to Cyprus. Luxury goods were able to find their way to Minoan Crete via maritime trade routes. While the Minoans could source many goods, such as silver, locally via inter-Aegean trade, other materials, such as copper, gold, and lapis lazuli, were sourced further afield, outside the Minoan realm in Afghanistan, Egypt, and Europe. Although lapis lazuli seemingly did not find its way to the island until the late EM period, the lapis trade played a crucial role in developing interregional trade of the Eastern Mediterranean. The high degree of interconnectivity facilitated the later transference, adaption, and subsequent alteration of goods and materials, as well as languages, ideologies, and of course, iconographies.

In spite of the fact that some of the sources of luxury metals and stones have been identified, many questions still surround the idea of material sourcing during the Bronze Age. There is continued debate concerning the earliest date these materials were imported into Crete. Previous scholarship held that before EMII, there was no metal on Crete, a period that was followed by a "metallurgical explosion" (Nakou 1995, 8–9). This statement has now been proven false, as indicated by the stratified find of a copper ax beneath a Late Neolithic floor at Knossos (Renfrew 1967,14). Smelting at Petras during

the Final Neolithic attests to one of the earliest known sites of metallurgy on Crete (Tzachili 2008, 9). The site of Chrysokamino saw smelting intermittently beginning in the Final Neolithic, which was confirmed by slag (Betancourt et al. 2012, 129). These sites confirm that smelting and metalworking were present during the Final Neolithic and that these early peoples had some advanced knowledge of pyro-technology (Tzachili 2008, 9). By EMI, the Aegean people had already located sources of the metal ores needed and had the knowledge needed for smelting. By EMII, Crete had established contacts throughout the eastern Mediterranean, evidence of which can be seen from a small number of imports found in mid-late third millennium BCE contexts at Knossos, allowing for the transference of goods and ideas to travel over land and sea (Kelder et al. 2018, 8; Colburn 2008, 208).

Copper, gold, and tin were chosen as representative windows for metals and trade in the present study, as they offer an exciting perspective concerning Crete's interregional trade during the Bronze Age. These metals have a long history of use throughout Europe, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, and it is essential to investigate multiple sources that may have been available to Minoan Crete. On the other hand, lapis lazuli is a rare blue stone that was mined in modern Afghanistan, but it offers another window of elite trade that connects these regions. The rarity and exoticness of this stone turned it into a high-demand and high-value item in the eastern Mediterranean, of which only elite objects would be carved from lapis lazuli. During the Neolithic period, peoples in southwest Asia traded lapis with Egypt, as evidenced by grave goods. Although lapis lazuli found its way to Minoan Crete later than metals, it is essential to note that the lapis trade had connected

the people in Egypt and Mesopotamia for quite some time, especially considering lapis is not local to Egypt. Lapis was part of a much larger network of tribute and trade. This dissertation seeks to explore trade connections between Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece to Egypt, it is crucial to introduce the Aegean's extensive trade history to the north, south, and east to highlight further how complete objects and raw materials changed hands throughout the Bronze Age.

From the investigation of copper, tin, and gold, it becomes clear that a few probable sources are available to the people of Minoan Crete from both Europe and Egypt in Africa and throughout southwest Asia. Testing these resources on an isotopic level has deduced some answers for both copper and now tin. Gold testing often raises questions rather than answers, as the best testing done with gold can only determine what the metal is composed of at an isotopic level, and it is not possible to match this with a mine. On the other hand, the source of copper can be narrowed down to a specific mine and can act as a marker of a specific territory. Lapis lazuli tests can determine where the piece of stone was mined (Lo Giudice et al. 2017, 640). As there are very few sources of lapis lazuli in the world and only a few within a reasonable distance from Minoan Crete, it is manageable to narrow down potential mines, but scholars cannot discount others. This testing provides solid evidence of far-reaching international trade, essential when discussing the specific trade connections between Egypt and the Aegean world in this dissertation.

Silver and lead are essential in the metals trade, but this dissertation will not discuss them in depth in this chapter as there have been extensive studies on the ore used

during the Bronze Age in the Aegean. Many silver objects recovered from the Minoan Bronze Age have undergone testing. Results show that silver was sourced from the Cycladic island of Siphnos and Laurion on the Mainland (Gale and Stos-Gale 1981a *passim*; Laffineur 1995, 633-634). The exploitation of the Laurion mines began as early as the second half of the third millennium (in the Early Bronze Age), allowing local silver to be available to the Aegean peoples (Gale and Stos-Gale 1981b *passim*). This demonstrates that the Aegean had already formed a system of interaction by the third millennium BCE.

The Uluburun shipwreck, located off the southern coast of Anatolia, sank in the LBA and is analyzed as a distributed case study to demonstrate how interregional maritime trade functioned in the eastern Mediterranean among three large trading partners. Analysis of the Uluburun shipwreck follows the introduction of each material. Many metals and elite goods are found on this ship, allowing testing to narrow down the potential source. The Uluburun shipwreck was discovered in the summer of 1982 near Kas, on the south coast of Turkey (Fawcett and Zeitsman 2001, 5). The wreck is located on a slope beginning at a depth of 44 m and going as deep as 51m. This ship most likely sank during the 14th c. BCE most likely during the reign of Akhenaten, as evidenced by the finding of a scarab cartouche with the name of Akhenaten's chief consort, Nefertiti, inscribed on it (Bachhuber 2006, 347). Though this scarab with Nefertiti's name on it establishes a terminus post quem, ceramic assemblage and dendrochronology help date this wreck to the LH /LM III period (Zangani 2016, 231). The Uluburun shipwreck is physical evidence of the Bronze Age maritime trade. While the wreck is dated to the later

part of the 14th c. BCE, many instances from the data in this dissertation date to the LBA, and the connections onboard ties these cultures to one another and serve as a physical tie between these civilizations.

Copper

Copper (Cu) is one of the first metals to be exploited by early civilizations. This reddish-colored metal has a Mohs hardness scale of 3.0, making it easy to work and shape (Ward 2008, 143-145). Copper can be extracted from several ores, including malachite, azurite, cuprite, and chalcantite. Shaping can be done by hammering, casting, or a combination of the two (Darvill 2008, 108). Copper provides the main constituent for several alloys, the most widely used bronze on a ten-to-one ratio with tin.

Lead-Isotope Analysis of Copper

The lead-isotope analysis is a tool that has allowed specialists to determine a probable origin, if not the specific mine, for copper. For lead-isotope analysis to work, the lead must be naturally present in the copper and not artificially added (Gale and Stos-

Gale 1982, 12-13). The lead amount is important to the artifact as the isotopic composition of lead is the same as in the ore it derives from. Different ores will have different lead isotope compositions dependent on their geological age. The act of extraction and refining does not alter the isotopic composition of the lead, allowing for the identification of the ore source compared with lead isotopic analyses from ancient mines (Gale and Stos-Gale 1981b, 203). Lead-isotope analysis identifies and measures the isotopic composition of the lead and compares it to isotopic fields of known lead samples (Gale and Stos-Gale 1986, 87). In some instances, results can only determine that the copper tested is similar to “x” origin, whereas in other cases, a specific “y” mine can be identified.

Ingots from Cyprus, Hagia Triada, and Tylissos on Crete have been subject to lead-isotope testing. The lead-isotope analyzed Cypriot ingots resulted in copper ore from Cyprus. For some of these ingots, lead-isotope testing even determined the mine. The ingots from Hagia Triada, dated to LM IB (1480-1425 BCE), did not match any Cypriot ores. Results showed the copper used was from a Precambrian source, which does not exist in the Aegean world (Gale et al. 1992, 91). The only Precambrian ores mined during the Bronze Age are located in Anatolia and Afghanistan. Similarly-aged ores have also been found in Sardinia and Jordan. The ingots from Hagia Triada currently do not match any ore as of yet (Gale et al. 1992, 91). From more than 500 pieces of metal artifacts from Bronze Age sites on Crete, about one-third of the copper objects, which include ingot fragments, originated from Cyprus. Forty percent originates from the Aegean, and thirty percent comes from regions yet to be identified (Gale, Stos-Gale 2007, 103; Mangou and Ioannou 2000, 213-215).

Ingots from Gournia and Mochlos on Crete were tested, and results found that the ore originated from Cyprus, specifically from the Apliki deposit. This deposit, before analysis, was thought to not be in use until 1250 BCE. Yet, these ingots from Gournia and Mochlos suggest the Apliki deposit were in use by 1500 BCE (Soles and Stos-Gale 2004, 55-59; Gale 2011, 218). From lead-isotope testing, it becomes clear that the Cypriot deposit at Apliki exported copper by LM IB. Simultaneously, although Crete received copper from Cyprus, another source produced copper for the Aegean world.

Regional Sources

The origin of copper in the Aegean has been debated since the 1970s and remains a central question. Cyprus was a major exporter of copper during the LBA, but before the LBA, the copper sources remain problematic. Earlier scholars suggested that copper was mined from Cretan ore deposits, and Crete herself was an exporter of copper (Gale and Stos-Gale 1986, 84). There was a desire to see Crete as a copper exporter before Cyprus monopolized the trade, but there are no copper ore deposits on the island. Muhly and Rapp have also reached the same conclusion that Crete was not a producer of copper (Wheeler et al. 1975, 31-39; Gale and Stos-Gale 1986, 96). Although there are no copper ores on the island, Egyptian figural records indicate that Aegean peoples were involved with the circulation and perhaps manufacture of copper ingots at an early stage (Sabatini

2016, 39). Even if Crete participated in the copper trade from an early stage, the question concerning the source of copper remains.

During the Early Cycladic (EC) and Early Helladic (EH) periods, the Cyclades and Mainland are potential sources of copper, with the Laurion and Kythnos mines being proposed early production centers (Laffineur 1995, 633-634; Betancourt 2012, 129). Lead-isotope analysis shows copper was actively sourced from Laurion (Gale and Stos-Gale 2007, 105). Kythnos may have been a significant copper source for Crete during this time, as evidenced by the analysis of weapons from the Mesara tombs on Southern Crete. Metal objects from Hagia Photia have also undergone lead-isotope analysis, which linked the copper to ore from Siphnos and Skouries on Kythnos (Gale and Stos-Gale 2007, 106). Ores from Kythnos and Siphnos were likely smelted on Crete at Chrysokamino, as testing of the ore from the site suggest. Only two of the Hagia Photia objects that underwent testing had their copper sourced from the Laurion mines. During the prepalatial period on Crete (3000-1900 BCE), the breakdown of sources for copper is as follows: 58% from the Cyclades, 26% from Cyprus, 6% from Laurion, 6% from Anatolia, 2% from Wadi Arabah in the Levant, and 2% which remains unidentified (Gale and Stos-Gale 2007, 107). Siphnos was also a producer of copper, but the primary use for the mines on the island was for the lead-silver-antimony ores (Gale and Stos-Gale 1982, 15).

During the protopalatial period, the dominant copper source was from the Cyclades (roughly 66%), and the use of ore from Laurion increased to 11% (Gale and Stos-Gale 2007, 107). From MM III- Late Minoan III, there is also evidence of copper continuing to come from Laurion (Gale et al. 1985, 82). The metals trade route between

Crete and the Mainland via the Cyclades suggests copper sources in the Cyclades might be especially important. The Aegean people exploited their local resources for copper during the Early and Middle Bronze Ages. Copper sourcing from Cypriot ores continued, and copper ore from southwest Asia and the Taurus mountains were also used (Gale and Stos-Gale 2007, 107).

International Sources

Outside of the Aegean world, copper sourcing has an impressive legacy. Anatolia has evidence of copper mining from small quantities of smelted ore excavated during the sixth millennia. But the first large-scale production of copper took place in the Balkans during the early fifth millennia. The earliest mines have been discovered in Aibunar in northwestern Bulgaria, Plonik in Serbia, and Rudna Glava in present-day eastern Serbia (Cunliffe 2008, 155-156; Jovanovic 1980, 159; Radivojevic and Kuzmanovic-Cvetkovic 2014, 7-8). While it is possible that knowledge of copper mining spread to Europe via Anatolia during the sixth millennium, the sheer mass of production in the Balkans probably owes little to outside influence. After 3800 BCE, the Balkans metallurgy disappeared for centuries (Cunliffe 2008, 155).

During the fifth millennium, copper extraction occurred in the west, as new evidence from Cerro Virtud in Almeria in southeast Spain suggests. Metal-rich areas of Spain may have also developed locally without reference to events occurring in the

Balkans (Cunliffe 2008,155). Southwest Asia was not the only other source of copper during the Bronze Age, and until more testing can be done, the possibility remains that Aegean peoples were receiving copper from the north or the west.

The Uluburun Shipwreck

The discovery of the Uluburun shipwreck was due to the large amount of metal on board. The sponge diver who came across the remains noted “biscuits with ears” on the ocean floor(Pulak 1998, 193). These biscuits turned out to be rows upon rows of copper ingots (Fawcett and Zeitsmann 2001, 6). Over three hundred and fifty copper ingots have been recovered from excavation; the weight of the ingots alone is estimated as eleven tons: ten tons of copper and one ton of tin. The largest group of oxhide shapes are commonly depicted in New Kingdom tomb paintings which show Minoan (called *keftiu* in Egyptian) emissaries carrying ingots of this type.¹ About half of the over three hundred and fifty ingots show evidence they were incised after they cooled (Pulak 1998, 195). The marks on these ingots range from simple forms to more intricate and complex designs. Pulak has pointed out that the marks of special interest have to do with sea iconography, including fish hooks, tridents, fish, and even a sailboat. Pulak proposed that the people who incised the ingots had some tie to the sea from these incisions, but the precise

¹ Well-preserved depictions are found in the tomb of Rekhmire, a high official during Dynasty XVIII (Rehak 1998 *passim*).

meaning has yet to be determined (Pulak 1998, 195). The copper ingots on board have been provenanced as Cypriot ore (Zangani 2016, 230; Gale 2011, 218). Copper from Cyprus is expected as Cyprus was one of the major exporters of copper during the LBA.

Summary

This history of use and origin of copper during the Bronze Age can be summarized as follows: copper during the Late Neolithic period may have been smelted on the north of Crete, as local axe typology suggests (Muhly 2004, 285). During the Final Neolithic period and EM period, when Cretans began smelting at the site of Chrysokamino, copper may have been sourced from the north, as well as localized ores from either the Laurion or Kythnos mines highlighting inter-Aegean trade (Betancourt 2012, 129; Muhly 2006, 177). During the Prepalatial period, there is evidence of the use of Cypriot ore, which could not have occurred without international trade (Stos-Gale 2001, 200). Ingots from Late Minoan contexts attest to an Aegean source still maintaining its dominance. At the same time, imports of copper from the Apliki mine in Cyprus, evidenced by the finds at Mochlos, have been added to available sources (Gale and Stos-Gale 1992, 98; Soles and Stos-Gale 2004, 56-57). There is also a high probability that outside of the Aegean and Cypriot copper sources, Anatolian or other copper from southwest Asia sourced was used, as suggested from the lead-isotope test results from the Hagia Triada ingots (Gale et al. 1992, 91). The Uluburun shipwreck

discovery also revealed Cypriot copper in vast amounts dating to the fourteenth century BCE (Pulak 1998, 198).

The Cape Gelidonya shipwreck, which dates to the later decades of the thirteenth century BCE, includes copper ingots provenanced to the Apliki mine in Cyprus and the Laurion mines (Bass 2013, 70). During the Late Minoan period, another source, which testing has yet to identify, is used for copper, as the ingots from Hagia Triada and Tyliisos suggest (Gale et al. 1992, 91).

At the beginning of the LBA, copper was available from several sources throughout the eastern Mediterranean, southwest Asia, and northern Europe. Judging from the contents of the Uluburun shipwreck, the copper onboard suggests an east-to-west movement of the metal due to currents, with Cyprus as a major exporter of copper during the latter half of the LBA. Copper was plentiful and accessible from multiple trade routes and vital in making bronze.

Gold

Gold was one of the earliest metals used in the western world. Many cultures have used gold to make elite goods to signify wealth. Gold is a metallic element (Au) with a hardness of only 2.5, allowing the metal to be easily shaped into jewelry and other objects (Allaby 2020, 692). Gold is usually a bright yellow color, and if silver is present, the color is yellow-white obtained from both placer and mine deposits (Scott 2012, 384; Tylecote 1987, 69).

In the Aegean world, gold is known from Late Neolithic contexts in the Cyclades, Crete, and the Mainland (Nakou 1995, 4). Although gold is found in the Late Neolithic context and is seemingly the preferred metal type for elite goods in succeeding periods, the source of gold remains an open question. During the Bronze Age, in Near Eastern tablets, Egyptian texts, Middle Assyrian tablets, and Linear B, gold is mentioned in large quantities, however, the origin is never documented (Muhly 2015a, 425).

Scientific Analysis

Gold presents some problems when undergoing scientific analysis for provenance. Scientific analysis of gold is not helpful when determining the origin of the gold. At most, scholars can detect what inclusions are present within the metal at the time of use (Laffineur 1995, 633). Further issues arise in determining whether or not the gold is native or alluvial, as the difference between alluvial and native gold depends on the presence of tin as a trace element (Muhly 2015b, 248). The inclusion of tin in alluvial gold suggests that this metal formed in a geological environment containing tin, a common geological feature in western Europe (Tylecote 1987, 79). Copper and silver are present in native gold. Copper values for native gold rarely exceed 1%, and the silver content can range from 1 to 50%, with the average being anywhere from 5 to 30%. The higher-silver-content alloys are called electrum (Pantazis et al. 2002, 3; see also Scott 2012). Native gold is of two types: platinum-bearing and platinum-free gold. Platinum-bearing gold is rare in Europe outside of Varna (in modern Bulgaria) but is

found in objects throughout southwestern Asia and the Aegean (Muhly 2015a, 428). Platinum-free gold is seen more commonly in the Aegean as compared to Europe.

Analysis of the gold from Varna proved to be native, not alluvial, which confirms that early peoples exploited gold sources in the Balkans during prehistoric times (Pantazis et al. 2002, 3). Pantazis et al. also tested gold objects from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae. The results separated the objects into two groups, one made from platinum-bearing gold and the other from platinum-free gold. This finding implies different suppliers and raises concerns about the possibility of recycled and reused metal during this period (Laffineur 1995, 633; Pantazis et al. 2002, 3).

Aegean

Thassos and Siphnos, in the Cyclades, have previously been suggested as potential gold sources. Evidence shows that Siphnos was mined during the Bronze Age for its lead-silver ores, but there is no evidence of Siphnos producing gold (Laffineur 1995, 631). Archaeologists later uncovered gold mines on the island of Thassos, exactly where Herodotus said they were during the fifth century BCE (Wagner et al. 1981, 263). It cannot be determined whether these mines were active during the Bronze Age. At best, all that can be said is that during the later Classical period, Thassos had gold mines.

Because of the lack of evidence of gold during the Bronze Age in the Aegean, scholars have turned to other areas to identify a possible supplier (Laffineur 1995, 633).

Potential sources of gold have been suggested in Europe, with Romania and Ireland to the north and Spain to the west, Anatolia, kingdoms in southwest Asia, and Nubia (Cunliffe 2008, 193; Tylecote 1987, 83; Muhly 2015a, 431- 433). Europe has been suggested as the gold objects in Late Neolithic contexts on Crete hint at ties to the Balkans, as the shapes and styles are reminiscent of northern types (Muhly 2006, 158-160).

Europe

In Europe, gold was the second metal to show up in the Balkans, following copper (Cunliffe 2008, 156). Over three thousand gold objects have been recovered at the fifthmillennium site of Varna near the Black Sea. The gold found is in the form of clothing attachments and solid gold jewelry. This finding creates a problem, as the previous belief was that European gold was imported from the Eastern Mediterranean (Muhly 2015a, 427). A Transylvanian connection has been suggested, especially during the late MH – LH I, the Shaft Grave Period on the Mainland, and is accepted by many European prehistorians and stems from the finding of hoards in the plateau of central Romania (Davis 2015, 458–459). One hoard has the fragmentary remains of a gold sword that imitates an Aegean type, and another has other gold weapons, including daggers of the Aegean type.

Chronologically these hoards are dated to the period before the European Bronze Age, which is contemporary with the Shaft Grave period (Davis 2015, 459). There is more evidence of gold in the archaeological record beginning in the fifth millennium

BCE in Europe than in Anatolia, the Levant, and Mesopotamia before Early Bronze II. Gold to the north in Ireland and the west in Spain also have evidence of gold being extracted during the third millennium BCE (Cunliffe 2008, 208).

Southwest Asia and Anatolia

Gold in southwest Asia is much less present compared to prehistoric Europe. Before 3000 BCE, there was very little use of gold in Mesopotamia. It is not until the finds from the Royal Cemetery discovered at Ur, that large amounts of gold are found in the form of luxury elites' goods. These finds date to 2600-2500 BCE (Muhly 2015a, 430). The Nahal Kana cave in Israel has produced gold rings which may be the earliest use of gold in the Levant, dating to the 4th millennium BCE (Gopher et al. 1990, 437). In Palestine, gold use appears earlier, in the gold from the site of Azor, a Chalcolithic site dating to the later part of the fourth millennium. (Muhly 2015a, 433). The source of gold used for the rings is difficult to determine, as there are no gold sources nearby. The gold analyzed shows a high concentration of silver. This finding does not help narrow down the possible provenance of the gold as sources in Egypt and Northern Europe are known to have similar levels of silver (Gopher et al. 1990, 441).

In Anatolia, the sites of Troy and Alacahöyük have produced lavish gold objects from the EB II levels, around 3000–2700 BCE. Anatolia has gold deposits in Kirazlı and Kartalkaya, located in the Çanakkale province, and in Salihi in the Manisa province, all in western Turkey. Gold deposits in western Anatolia were widespread and operated

during the Early Bronze Age. The site of İzmir-Baklatepe, had gold, and elite objects such as knives, daggers, and jewelry indicate a rich mining tradition, and excavations from Antalya-Bademağacı also revealed various gold jewelry, including gold ear plugs. İzmir-Limantepe gold finds indicate mining activity there. Cemeteries at Eskişehir-Küçükhöyük and Demircihöyük-Sarıket show diversity in gold work during the Early Bronze Age (Oy 2017,13-18; Erkanal 2008, 165-175).

Northeast Africa

Gold in Egypt and Punt is well known from its documentation in the Amarna letters. It was so readily available by the fourteenth century BCE that the letters describe it as common as dust (Muhly 2015a, 425). The earliest gold object in Egypt dates to the Naqada II era, in the fourth millennium, similar to the gold used at the Nahal Kana cave (Renfrew 1978, 200; Gopher et al. 1990, 441). Geological surveys show extensive mining in the Eastern Desert during Predynastic times (Colburn 2011, 4). Later, gold is known to originate from Nubia (Muhly 2015b, 248). Colburn notes that during the prepalatial period, Egypt's territories were likely the principal sources of gold (2011, 10). Egypt also received an abundance of this material outside of mining through conquest and tribute.

The Uluburun Shipwreck

The gold on board the wreck took many forms, with some as strips and others as intricately detailed objects (Zangani 2016, 231). Two pendants bear Canaanite iconography (Pulak 1998, 206). One displays a nude female figure believed to be one of the great Canaanite goddesses: Ashera, Astarte, or Anat. The second pendant shows a four-pointed star, a known Canaanite symbol (Pulak 1998, 206). The gold scarabs found onboard bear the cartouche names of Nefertiti and Tuthmosis I. Some other scarabs also have hieroglyphics dating to the Second Intermediate Period in Egypt. Nefertiti's cartouche gives the ship a terminus post quem date which is helpful when establishing just when this ship sank (Pulak 1998, 206; Fawcett and Zeitzmann 2001, 14). The source of the gold on board the Uluburun shipwreck may be twofold. The scarabs bearing cartouches of rulers in the New Kingdom Egypt and hieroglyphics from the Second Intermediate period may have been loaded on board at an Egyptian port. The gold pendants with Canaanite iconography may be from the Levant or Mesopotamia (Zangani 2016, 231). From the finds on board the Uluburun shipwreck, it can be said the gold was also moving in an east-to-west fashion, where it may have ended up in the Aegean.

Analysis

The current possibilities concerning the source of Aegean gold include the

Balkans, Ireland, and Spain through indirect trade or southwest Asia and Egypt via maritime trade. The Balkan trade connection is well known later in the Bronze Age, as evidenced by Baltic amber beads in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, which highlights a northern European good making its way to the Aegean and the larger Mediterranean world (Laffineur 1995, 635; Muhly 1985a, 288; Davis 2015, 460; see also Harding and Huges-Brock 1974 *passim*). The trade networks in Europe had long established the flow of metals, allowing metals like gold being mined in Ireland, Spain, and the Balkans to reach the Aegean world during the Bronze Age (Cunliffe 2008, 181).

The kingdoms in southwest Asia, Egypt, and Anatolia are also contenders for gold producers for the Aegean. Gold in use during the fourth millennium across all of these areas denotes a long history of working with this metal that continued after the end of the Bronze Age. It is also likely that the gold on Crete originated from more than one source (Colburn 2011, 10). The gold on the later Uluburun shipwreck in the thirteenth century BCE includes gold scarabs from Egypt and jewelry with pendants showing a Canaanite goddess and other Canaanite iconography (Pulak 1998, 206). The finds excavated suggest the gold was coming from southwest Asia and Egypt and was moving in an east-to-west route for maritime exchange.

Tin

Tin (Sn) is a silver-white malleable metal (Mohs hardness of 1.5) with a low melting point; it occurs naturally in cassiterite (Darvill 2008, 461). By the height of the

bronze age, copper is combined with tin in a 10:1 ratio as relatively standard practice (Pulak 1998, 199).

Sources

Bronze Age sources of tin are known from a few places and although it is used to make bronze throughout the eastern Mediterranean, there are no known sources of tin in the Aegean. Because of this, many scholars turned their attention to the north and east in hopes of finding a match for the tin in tested objects. Artifacts of pure tin are known from Egypt, Europe, and the Ancient Near East, with England and the western Mediterranean yielding tin ingots (Muhly 1985a, 279). Muhly speculates on the presence of tin mines in Egypt, Iran, and possibly Cornwall, England (Muhly 1977, 75). Regarding geographic proximity, the nearest deposit of tin that was available to the Aegean would be in Tuscany, as well as limited deposits in Sardinia (Muhly 1985a, 285). Recent testing from the Uluburun shipwreck also shows that during the LBA, the Taurus Mountains, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan supplied tin (Powell et al. 2022 *passim*).

Aegean

In the Aegean, the island of Lesbos yielded the earliest known object made of pure tin: the Thermi bracelet, which dates to the third millennium. The absence of tin and tin-bronze from EBA Aegean metallurgy is striking. During this period, only a few objects

represent a deliberate or intentional alloy with over 4% of tin (Muhly 1985b, 119). Arsenical copper was the alloy of choice for the Aegean world during the Early Bronze Age. Tin must have been an important part of the larger metals trade in the eastern Mediterranean, but how tin reached Crete during the Early Bronze Age have yet to be determined (Muhly 1985b, 120-121). Only a few objects securely dated to EBA II are tin-bronze, suggesting that tin was brought into the Aegean during the EBA (Stos- Gale 2016, 389).

Europe

Tin artifacts are known from Europe, including finds from England, Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland. All these regions have tin mines dating to the second half of the second millennium and demonstrate the use of tin as a metal used apart from an alloy (Muhly 1985b, 120). Trade in tin is known to have occurred in northern Europe and the British Isles, with some indications this trade may have extended down to the Mediterranean world² (Wheeler 2015, 74; see also Berger et al. 2019). Muhly has argued for the use of European tin in the Aegean during the Middle Helladic period onward, with the exploitation of tin from Cornwall (Muhly 1985a, 275). European prehistorians also point to Bohemia as a tin producer in the present-day Czech Republic. Although this has

² Berger et al. 2019 notes that tin from the site of Mochlos dating to the Late Bronze Age was sourced from Cornwall, highlighting connections to the north.

been proposed, there is no evidence of tin exploitation there during antiquity (Muhly 2015b, 247).

The main mineral in which tin occurs is cassiterite, known in Cornwall and Brittany (Tylecote 1987, 36; Cunliffe 2008, 254; Muhly 2015b, 247). The only recorded evidence preserved in the archaeological record was tin slag found at St. Austell in Cornwall, England. This slag suggests that tin was smelted from about the fifteenth century BCE (Muhly 1985a, 278; Tylecote 1987, 140). Tin sources such as Brittany, Iberia, Cornwall to the north, and Sardinia and Tuscany to the west cannot be discounted as possible sources through indirect trade (Laffineur 1995, 635).

Anatolia

There has also been debate on tin being present in the Troad due to the presence of tin-bronze in Troy II levels (around 2600 BCE), as well as at Göltepe in EB II levels (ca. 2600-2250 BCE) (Muhly 1977, 75; Laffineur 1995, 635). Many scholars believed the tin source was in the vicinity of the Troad because that area produced objects that showed the first extensive use of bronze in Anatolia (Muhly 1993, 239). The Troad has been debated for decades as a source of tin. Muhly et al. (1991, 209-220) investigated the Kestel mine in western Anatolia and found low cassiterite levels present with native gold, and thus proposed that the mine was used to source gold (Powell et al. 2021, 2). Perkika et al. (1993) and Steadman and Hall (1991) also concluded that Kestel was likely the remains of a gold deposit.

Because Assyrian texts show extensive contact between Kültepe and Troy, Syria, and Mesopotamia, dating back to the Early Bronze Age, especially during Early Bronze III, it was previously believed that Anatolia had no tin sources (Muhly 1993, 252). Yet, new studies of the Kestel mine produced evidence of tin exploitation that likely continued into the LBA. This emphasizes that Central Anatolia was a significant tin producer during the Early Bronze Age, a millennium prior to tin being imported from central Asia (Powell et al. 2021 *passim*). The recent developments concerning the tin aboard the Uluburun shipwreck further emphasized Anatolia as a tin producer. This study found that two-thirds of the tin was consistent with the tin in the Taurus Mountains, with the final third matching deposits in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan (Powell et al. 2022 *passim*).

Asian Tin Source

Southeastern Asia, specifically Non-Nok Tha and Ban Chiang sites, has also been suggested as sites where tin was produced due to their history of sophisticated metallurgy with tin-bronze, which dates to the early fourth millennium BCE. However, connections between Southeast Asia and Mesopotamia have yet to be demonstrated (Muhly 1977, 76; Wheeler 2015, 73). There is a reference to tin and the production of bronze in Sumerian texts dating to the Early Dynastic III period in Mesopotamia (around 2600 BCE). The first real use of tin bronze came from the Royal Cemetery at Ur, dating to the twenty-sixth century BCE (Muhly 1985a, 281). The presence of tin bronze, gold, and lapis lazuli

may suggest Afghanistan as a source for the tin, as all three materials can be found there. If these goods originated from Afghanistan, it is possible they made it to Mesopotamia via overland routes across Iran (Muhly 1985a, 281). Weeks notes that tin found in Early Bronze levels in the Aegean likely comes from the Indus Valley (1999, 2–7).

Egypt

Egypt is also cited as a potential source of tin as well. The eastern deserts have significant deposits of alluvial cassiterite, which would have been accessible to ancient prospectors. But the use of tin-bronze in Egypt was extremely sporadic before the late third millennium, making it unlikely that Egypt was a tin producer during the third millennium for the industries in the Near East (Muhly 1985a, 283).

Uluburun Shipwreck

Tin was also recovered onboard the Uluburun shipwreck. Since divers found tin onboard the Uluburun wreck, it has been suggested that this metal originated in southwest Asia (Pulak 1998, 199). The tin is found in rectangular slabs and disks. There was also tin found to be in a non-metallic state with the same consistency as toothpaste. Due to the state of the non-metallic tin, it only remains as documentation in excavation

notes. Pulak notes that there may have been about one ton of tin on board at the time of the sinking. If this is true, then the ratio of copper ingots to those of tin is the amount necessary for the manufacture of bronze. The different shapes of the ingots suggest an Anatolian or Mesopotamian source, further hinting at the Uluburun shipwreck undertaking an east-to-west trade route (Pulak 1998, 200).

The tin ingots when tested were found to be over 99% pure tin, which is rarely found (Fawcett and Zeitsmann 2001, 11). Testing has been done and shows that two-thirds of the tin came from the Taurus, and the other third came from mines in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The tin signatures from the Uluburun shipwreck match those of Bolkardağ and suggests a longer tin industry in the Taurus than previously believed (Powell et al. 2022 *passim*; See also Yener 2000).

Summary

Major tin deposits in Afghanistan were discovered in the 1980s near suspected Bronze Age trade routes (Laffineur 1995, 635; Muhly 1985a, 281; Cleuziou and Berthoud 1982, 14-15). The tin found in Afghanistan could have been a major source during the third millennium. Textual mentions of tin come from the east and mention its distribution at Ugarit. Specifically, a tablet from Mari mentions amounts of tin coming in to be distributed and sent to individuals in other southwest Asian sites. A Cretan is mentioned in the tin exchange as a “chief trader” (Laffineur 1995, 635; Cleuziou and Berthoud 1982, 17). Before the tin is distributed, it had to travel in from somewhere.

Muhly suggests tin would have been transported through the Persian Gulf through Dilmun first, then up the Euphrates to Mari from an unknown source in the east, most likely Afghanistan, and then further westward to Ugarit (Muhly 1985a, 282; Laffineur 1995, 635).

Once at large ports, the second part of the route can be better reconstructed from the evidence of shipwrecks off the coast of Turkey. The LBA wreck, the Uluburun wreck, brought to light the presence of tin in the eastern Mediterranean metals trade (Laffineur 1995, 635; Pulak 1998, 199). The majority of the tin onboard the Uluburun shipwreck came from the Taurus Mountains, and the remainder from central Asia.

For the larger Aegean world during the Bronze Age, tin was available from a few sources, with possibilities being to the east in Afghanistan and the west with Tuscany, Spain, Cornwall, and Brittany to the north. Although accessible, this metal was not as common as copper. Tin was a vital ingredient in making bronze, and with no tin locally available in the Aegean, the importation of tin was all the more important to these early people.

Lapis Lazuli

Lapis lazuli is a blue mineral widely used as a semiprecious stone for ornamental purposes. It is composed chiefly of the blue amino-silicate mineral lazurite

$(\text{Na,Ca})_8\text{Si}_6\text{O}_{24}[(\text{SO}_4),\text{S,Cl,}(\text{OH})_2]$ embedded in a matrix of white calcite and usually also contains some specks of pyrite (Aston et al. 2000, 39). It occurs in a few places in crystalline limestones as a contact metamorphic mineral.

Lapis lazuli caught the attention of Neolithic people in the Eastern Mediterranean beginning in the seventh millennium BCE (Lo Giudice et al. 2017, 638). These earliest finds come from archaeological excavations of burials from the site of Mehrgarh in present-day Pakistan (Lo Giudice et al. 2017, 638). There is an increase in this material's use during the Chalcolithic period, as evidenced by finds throughout Iran and the Indus Valley. This trade allowed this precious stone to find its way to the Mediterranean and Egypt in later times. This stone would become a marker of elite status throughout the end of the Bronze Age.

Sources

Lapis lazuli is one of the few luxury materials that craftworkers in Egypt could not obtain locally (Oshihiro 2000, 70). Few lapis lazuli sources exist in the world due to the low instances where the geological conditions match the conditions needed to produce this stone (Lo Giudice et al. 2009, 2210). The chief source is Afghanistan; lapis lazuli also occurs near Lake Baikal in Siberia. It was previously suggested to occur in Iran and the Sinai, but these claims have not been verified (Lo Giudice et al. 2009, 2212). Members of the geological survey of Iran have recorded no known sources (Herman

1968, 27). The quarries in Badakhshan are located in an area connected by trade networks that allowed this stone to make its way westward to the Mediterranean (Aston et al. 2000, 39; Herrmann 1968, 21).

Mesopotamia and Eurasian Steppe

The earliest appearance of lapis lazuli in Mesopotamia occurs in a stratified context from the tombs of Gawra X during the Late Ubaid period (ca. 3800 BCE). A seal from an unstratified context may hint at the use of lapis and its importation as early as the Gawra XIII phase (ca. 3600 BCE; Herrmann 1968, 21,29). From Gawra the XIII- XI phases, finds of lapis lazuli are rare, but by the Gawra X phase, finds of the stone increase (Herrmann 1968, 30). During the Early Dynastic (ED) I period at sites such as Uruk, Ur, and Tell Brak, there is a noticeable decline in the use of lapis. This decline was due to a trade relations break shortly after the ED I period began. This was echoed in Egypt during this period (Herrmann 1968, 37). During the ED II period, the desire for lapis to beautify temples and shrines drove the trade to open back up. The stone, which shows up at several different sites during the ED II period, highlights the desire many had for this stone (Herrmann 1968, 38–39). In Mesopotamia, lapis lazuli's use peaked during the ED III period (ca. 2600 BCE). During this period, the stone was used for several purposes, such as jewelry, cylinder seals, stamp seals, lyre-inlays, and much more. Some of the most significant lapis lazuli uses can be seen in objects from the ED III Royal Cemetery at Ur.

Lapis objects from the Caucasus region and Troy highlight the most northern and western appearance of lapis in the late fourth to early third millennium BCE (Rahmstorf 2010, 280). Lapis traveled along established trade routes during the fourth millennium (*Ibid*, 284). Scholars initially believed that the finds of lapis from regions to the west of Badakhshan, as in the Aegean world, were due to the stone being transported with tin, yet the Maikop graves in the Eurasian Steppe show lapis already present as early as the second half of the fourth millennium BCE. Due to the lack of tin in the archaeological records during this period, Rahmstorf notes that lapis lazuli was the first material to be involved in interregional trade networks (2010, 284).

Egypt

Lapis lazuli does not appear to be sourced locally for Egyptians, although some scholars claim that lapis lazuli occurs at Kharga Oasis and the Uweinat Oasis. The geology at the Kharga oasis proves impossible for lapis lazuli to appear there, and reports have yet to confirm the possibility of lapis lazuli occurring at the Uweinat oasis (Aston et al. 2000, 39; al-Idrisi 1836, 122). The earliest instance of lapis lazuli recovered in Egypt dates to the Naqada I period (ca. 4000-3500 BCE; Oshihiro 2000, 70). During this period, lapis lazuli is commonly made into beads and used as an inlay. Objects made of this stone became more evident during the Naqada II period (ca. 3500-3200 BCE; Crowfoot-Payne 1968, 58; Aston et al. 2000, 39). From the Naqada II period, there is evidence of lapis lazuli used for amulets and scarabs. Lapis lazuli only begins to be used for vessels from

the Naqada III period through the Early Dynastic period (ca. 3200-2686 BCE). Due to trade systems breaking down in Mesopotamia during the first half of the third millennium, Egypt shows little to no lapis importation, as evidenced by the noticeable absence of archaeological record material. This period chronologically corresponds with the Early Dynastic period and early dynasties of the Old Kingdom in Egypt (Herrmann 1968, 37; Oshihiro 2000, 70). After about two hundred years, lapis lazuli reached Egypt once more and was used frequently until the Third Intermediate Period (Aston et al. 2000, 39-40). The Tod treasure dating to Amenemhat II's reign during Dynasty XII (during the late twentieth and early nineteenth centuries BCE) contains a large cache of lapis lazuli objects that rivals those found in the Royal Cemetery at Ur (Lo Giudice et al. 2017, 638). The Tod treasure represents the continued interregional trade between Egypt and southwest Asia during the late third to early second millennium BCE.

Crete

Only a small amount of this blue stone made its way to the Mediterranean (Betancourt et al. 2017, 74). Scholars have suggested that the route lapis lazuli would have taken to Crete was via northern Iran, Iraq, and subsequently through the well-known port town of Ugarit and Cyprus (Younger 1979, 42). There are several sites on Crete where lapis lazuli has been found. One artifact of note comes from the site of Petras on the east part of the island of Crete (Betancourt et al. 2017 *passim*). A lapis and gold bead

was recovered from MM II contexts in a house tomb. The gold bead is not rare on the island as Cretans had worked with gold for some time before MM II (1800–1700 BCE). This bead has a small lapis lazuli inclusion, which was rare in the Aegean during the early Middle Bronze Age (Betancourt et al. 2017, 67).

Betancourt et al. published that the lapis lazuli bead was sourced from Afghanistan as the lazurite sourced there is visually similar to the bead from Petras. The lapis lazuli and a gold bead further indicate that this stone was a rare material reserved for the elite. Scholars have suggested that the lapis lazuli pieces found on Crete were heirlooms in re-use for a considerable period (Betancourt et al. 2017, 72–73). There is no direct parallel to this bead found at Petras. This bead, along with other objects of gold from Petras, is not associated with northern styles or techniques, making this bead an import (Betancourt et al. 2016, 36–37). Other lapis lazuli objects paired with gold are often found in palatial settings, like Knossos, and more often than not, are paired with gold. For example, a lapis lazuli cylinder seal archaeologists recovered from Knossos found gold caps on either end (Betancourt et al. 2017, 73–74). Lapis lazuli, when seen on Crete, is frequently found in the same context as gold and carnelian. These three materials are also associated with one another when found in southwest Asia as early as the third millennium BCE. The best-known association comes from the Royal Tombs at Ur, where lapis, gold, and carnelian were excavated by archeologists and believed to possess a vital value to the elite buried there (Herrmann 1968, 14). When comparing the distribution of lapis on Crete to sites throughout Mesopotamia, Anatolia and Egypt, it becomes clear that lapis was a highly prized material.

Another example of lapis lazuli on Crete can be seen in the assemblage from tholos tomb A from the site of Hagia Triada (Pendlebury 1930, 8-9). Originally this lapis lazuli ape was dated to EM II–III, but it has now been redated to MM IB/II (Lambrou-Philipson 1990, 192 no. 20). There are two other lapis lazuli apes from Crete which date to LM II and all three pieces come from funerary contexts and were manufactured during Dynasty XVIII in Egypt.³ While lapis lazuli was likely mined in Afghanistan, there is no doubt that the raw material made its way to Egypt. From Egypt, the raw material was transformed into finished products for the elite members of Minoan society.

Summary

Lapis lazuli has a long history of use throughout Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Egypt, and the Mediterranean. The origin of this stone was discovered to be Badakhshan in Afghanistan, as the Aegean and Egypt do not have the geology to produce this stone locally. Though this location was thousands of miles from their find spots in the Aegean and Egypt, the complex interregional trade is responsible for the wide distribution of lapis lazuli. The use of this blue stone is visible in jewelry, as ornamentation, and in seals, making these objects highly prized (Herrmann 1968, 53).

³ These come from the royal tomb at Isopata. While they were manufactured during Dynasty XVIII, their deposition likely dates to LM II period (Davis 2006, 85, table 20).

Egypt and the Aegean: Trade through the Bronze Age

In the prior sections, trade in metals and elite materials has been mapped extensively showcasing the transportation of goods from northern Europe, Asia, and Egypt into Crete. The Uluburun shipwreck, in the previous section, also highlighted an east-to-west movement of elite materials that was occurring in the LBA.

As a means to contextualize the iconographic exchange of the smiting pose from Egypt to the Aegean—followed by the Aegeanized pose being imported back to Egypt—this section will specifically consider material and artistic movement occurring between these two powers from the beginning to near the end of the Bronze Age (ca. 3000–1200 BCE).

Early Bronze Age

The EBA allowed for trade to expand. Dating to EM IIA from Knossos comes an obsidian rim fragment as well as ivory⁴ which Warren has been argued to be an Egyptian import, although it cannot be said how it reached Crete (Warren 1989, 634; 1981, 633–63; Wiener 2013, 34). Miniature Egyptian stone vases used in funerary customs were also imported during the EM II period (Watrous 2021, 48). Colburn notes that during the

⁴ Ivory was recovered in EM IIA fill above the West Court House.

Prepalatial period, Egypt was a principle source of gold (2011, 10). During EM III into the early MM IA period, Egyptian scarabs, Egyptian stone vessels, faience, and ivory can be found on Crete. These imports would also inspire imitation.

While Crete imported goods from Egypt during the EM period, the Minoans also were exporting goods and motifs as well. Watrous notes that during EM II, Minoan sailors made their way across the Eastern Mediterranean, as evidenced by an Egyptian poem known as “The Lamentation of Ipuwer”(Watrous 2021, 47). This poem notes chaos during the end of the third millennium BCE as well as the *Keftiu* (the Egyptian name for Crete) no longer stopping by Egypt. The *Keftiu* are mentioned in reference to them no longer bringing oil, perhaps suggesting that Crete was exporting oil early on (Watrous 2021, 47). During Dynasty X (2103–2040 BCE), equivalent to late EM III– MM IA, tombs in Egypt showcase double heart spirals believed to be based on designs from Minoan-style textiles (Shaw 1970, 25–30). The objects and motifs exchanged are relegated to the funerary sphere which suggests an active decision was made to incorporate them as burial goods and as tomb decoration. Material movement during the EBA links the Aegean and Egypt to one another, and although it slowed, it never completely disappeared.

Middle Bronze Age

During the MM I period on Crete, there was a larger spread of Egyptian imported goods from new prosperity with increased international trade⁵. Burial practices during this time incorporate Egyptian equipment⁶ that pertains to funerary practices, which can be seen in elite tholos tombs in the Mesara (Wiener 2013, 37). Evidence of sistra is also found from the cemetery sites of Archanes Phourni and from Hagios Charalambos, likely from Egypt.⁷ The cemetery at Phourni also showcases that the Egyptian imports resided with the elite burials. These finds include an Egyptian scarab, gold, ivory, amethyst, and faience (Watrous 2021, 55). Egyptian iconography also makes its way to the island of Crete. Minoan sealings depict Egyptian divinities such as Bes, Bastet and Taweret.⁸ At the end of the MM period, a seal from the Palace at Phaistos depicts a royal military victory scene derived from Egyptian iconography (Watrous 2021, 69). It was during the late MM period that this study argues the smiting figure motif made its way to Crete.

⁵ Legarra- Herrero 2011, 269. See also Pareja et al. 2020; Pareja 2021; 2020; 2017; Bevan 2004; and Phillips 2005.

⁶ In the form of stone vases and seals. See Yule 1987.

⁷ Betancourt 2011 notes that the clay is Cretan for the Hagios Charalambros sistrum, but the idea is likely imported from Egypt.

⁸ A seal with the Egyptian goddess Taweret can be found in Tholos B at Platanos (Pendlebury 1930, 35; Ward 1981 *passim*).

Evidence during the MBA supports that Egypt was also importing Minoan goods and motifs. During this period, Kamares ware makes its way to a few sites in Egypt such as Abydos and Tel el-Dab^a (Davis 2006, 21, table 10). Remains of Kamares Ware have classical motifs like the palmette and rosettes with round-tipped petals, which have clear parallels to the Minoan site of Phaistos (Davis 2006, 25). Tel el-Dab^a also has Kamares Ware along with a small gold pendant typical of Minoan gold work, which stylistically dates to the MM period (Davis 2006, 26; Laffineur 1998, 57). A Kamares Ware vase with appliqué flowers from Aswan, dating to the Middle Minoan period, parallels vases seen at Malia and Palaikastro (Davis 2006, 26–27; Cadogan 1983, 516). This reciprocal trade of goods and motifs will continue throughout the LBA as evidence from the wreckage of the Uluburun suggests.

Late Bronze Age

Evidence of trade between Egypt and the Aegean is well attested during the LBA. Gold came from Egypt during this period (Colburn 2011, 10). Egyptian alabaster, faience, and stone vessels have been found at the sites of Zakros, Hagia Triada, and Palaikastro and from Knossos which bears the cartouche of Khyam, a pharaoh of Dynasty XV (Davis 2006, 13; Warren 1989, 112–113; Cline 1994, 263). A seal with Amenophis III was discovered from Chania on the west of Crete, and Egyptian stones of jasper, hematite, and amethyst are imported for Minoan manufacture and use (Boschloos 2017,

149–166; Yule 1981, 199). Increased contact between Egypt and the Aegean occurs during the reigns of Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, and Ramesses II.⁹ During the reign of Amenhotep III (1391–1353 BCE), an Egyptian diplomatic envoy was sent to the Aegean likely to reaffirm trade connections with Crete and, as Cline notes, to establish connections with the Mycenaeans on the Mainland.¹⁰

Reciprocal trade continues in the LBA. Where there are no depictions of Egyptians in the Aegean world, Egypt has many depictions of the *Keftiu* during Dynasty XVIII. Depictions of Minoans are known in tomb paintings, which also show them bringing tribute during the reign of Thutmose III/ Hatshepsut¹¹ and during the early reign of Amenhotep II (Bietak 1995, 19–28). The site of Tel el-Dab'a showcases Minoan imported motifs such as bull leapers and the Minoan labyrinth maze with half rosettes. The palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata, Thebes, has frescoes done with Minoan motifs, such as a field of spirals as well as bullheads with rosettes between their horns.¹² The

⁹ Cline 1994, 32. The reigns of these pharaohs are as follows: Thutmose III (Dynasty XVIII, 1479–1425 BCE), Amenhotep/ Amenophis II (Dynasty XVIII, 1427–1401 BCE), Ramesses II (Dynasty XIX, 1290–1224 BCE). See also Aruz et al. 2012.

¹⁰ Cline 1994, 41. The Egyptian name for the Mycenaeans (*Tanaja*), while known during the reign of Thutmose III, is recorded more during the reign of Amenhotep III. The Egyptian name for Crete is *Keftiu*.

¹¹ Evidence of Minoans 'keftiu' in Egypt can be seen in the tombs of Senenmut, Useramon, Rekhmire, and Menkheperreseneb. The tomb paintings of Senenmut shows Aegean metal vessels with distinct Minoan iconography (bulls). The later tomb of Menkheperreseneb has animal head and conical rhyta, and resembles the cupbearer and procession fresco from Knossos. Tomb of Menkheperreseneb also has depictions of swords being carried as tribute. (Rehak 1998).

¹² Watrous 2021, 124, figure 6.4; Karetsou et al. 2000, 294, number 289a. There is also debate on whether Minoan artists were traveling to Egypt during this time or if Egyptian artists were being trained in the Minoan style.

Aegean *Keftiu* are referenced to in art and text over ten times prior to or during the reign of Thutmose III.¹³ The Aegeanized smiting pose makes its way to Egypt likely via maritime trade during the reign of Thutmose III where it is then used in artwork during the reigns of Thutmose IV, Seti I, Ramesses II, and Merneptah.¹⁴

Conclusion

Interregional metals trade was necessary for Minoan metallurgy to flourish. Contact between Egypt and Crete and the Mainland that evolved from the irregular exchange of precious and raw materials to fully developed and heavily utilized exchange networks in art and cultural objects (Kelder et al. 2018, 17). These trade routes linked the Aegean world with Egypt and the states in southwest Asia and allowed for ideas and goods to spread across vast distances. Trade also was not a strictly one-way trade system. Egypt was a known importer of Minoan goods, as evidenced by material culture and motifs at Egyptian sites. Throughout the Bronze Age, the Aegean world was linked to the East by utilizing trade. Gold, copper, tin, and lapis lazuli are early examples of the complex and far-flung exchange routes in which the Aegean participated. The Uluburun

¹³ Davis 2006, 35. Davis notes that three date prior to the reign of Thutmose III. One example comes from Dynasty XII and two from earlier Dynasty XVIII. There are five during his reign and two come from tombs.

¹⁴ While there are other examples of the smiting pose after Merneptah, this scope of this dissertation ends after his reign (ca. 1200 BCE).

shipwreck showcases that by the 14th century BCE, these trade routes were still flourishing. These finds do supplement ancient texts, are now revealing just how interconnected these early people were and the importance of this trade was to the polities and kingdoms of the Eastern Mediterranean. This chapter evaluated how interconnected the Aegean was with the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond, and serves as groundwork for the following chapters in the discussion of the interconnectedness of the smiting iconography between Egypt and the Aegean.

CHAPTER 3

THE SMITING POSE IN EGYPT

The eastern Mediterranean's complex trade routes throughout the Bronze Age allowed art, objects, and elite goods to move between Egypt and Crete and the Mainland in the Aegean. The smiting pose is one such link between the two. In order to understand the creation and artistic attributes diachronic investigation of the Egyptian Smiting Pose is imperative. The smiter's defining characteristics in Egypt, such as grabbing the victim, help us understand the use of smiting imagery and its role in Bronze Age iconography. These features define the smiting pose in Egypt and encapsulate its distinct meaning for the Egyptian viewer which was the pharaoh will instill order over chaos.

The smiting motif in Egypt is a pose symbolic of the pharaonic office. These images portrayed the king as the conqueror of chaos who imposed divine order (Bestock 2017, 34). The depiction of the pharaoh smiting defines and embodies what it meant to rule during the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms. While this motif was used less frequently during the Middle Kingdom, the smiting scene remained unchanged until the New Kingdom, through Dynasty XVIII.

As defined in this discussion, the smiting pose has certain qualifications which determine whether or not the image is a true smiting pose. The investigation defines the smiting pose as a motif that incorporates two or more individuals, with one individual portrayed as larger. In most cases, the victorious character will hold a portion of the

enemy's or enemies' body or part of the defensive weaponry. If qualifications are not met, such as when there is only one figure, then the motif does not count as a true smiting pose but instead is labeled in the literature as a threatening pose as termed by Cornelius (1994 *passim*).

Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt

A few early examples of domination scenes during the Naqada I period show a development in iconography, leading to the smiting pharaoh image. The earliest example in this study is a domination scene on a clay vessel from the Naqada I period, dating to 4000–3500 BCE.



Figure 3.1: White cross-lined pottery vase with domination scene, Naqada I period. Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology. Accession Number: LDUCE-UC15339. Height: 31.5 cm. Findspot unknown. Licensed under Creative Commons (CC BY-NC-SA).

This object is unprovenanced and shows two figures engaged in combat. The figure depicted to the right is larger than the figure to the left. The former has both arms raised above their head in a menacing stance. A slight curve in this figure's right knee may suggest that they are striding towards their opponent. No distinct costume is

portrayed beyond that of a possible pouch or sheath on the figure's hip. The line connecting the two figures could be a weapon impaling the larger figure (Bestock 2017, 19; 23). The dominating figure and the one being dominated do not resemble the formalized smiting pose especially considering the smaller figure is seemingly stabbing the larger figure. While this image does not fit the criteria of the smiting pose, it is noteworthy as an early domination scene that lent iconography to Egypt's Predynastic development of the smiting pose.¹⁵

Tomb 100

The earliest depiction of the true smiting pose was documented at Tomb 100 at Nekhen (Hierakonpolis), dating to the late Naqada II period (ca. 3500–3200 BCE), as it shares many similarities in burial assemblage with other Gerzean graves (Wilson 2010, 799). This tomb was discovered by Quibell and Greene in 1897 and was believed to have belonged to a chieftain due to the finds in the tomb and its size (Case and Crowfoot Payne 1962, 10; 15). The paintings covering the walls represent a visual narrative concerning the state of growing chieftains during this early formative period. If the

¹⁵ See catalog for other Predynastic examples.

paintings in the tomb are in fact depicting a real-life event of the period, Case and Crowfoot Payne claim that the individual buried here may be a legendary early king (1962, 18).

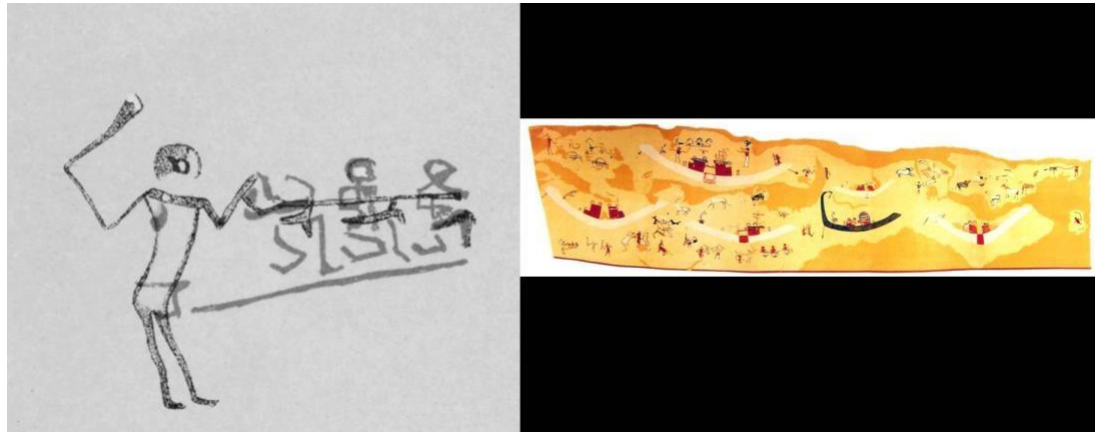


Figure 3.2. Painting from Tomb 100 from Nekhen (Hierakonpolis), now in the Cairo Museum, with a detail of the domination scene. Public Domain.

The painting found in Tomb 100 is large and captures scenes of animal hunting, combat, and sailing (Case and Crowfoot Payne 1962, 14). The painting on Wall A shows two examples of early smiting scenes. One instance can easily be seen at the top left. This smiting scene depicts man versus animals. The other instance is on the bottom left and depicts a man versus man smiting scene. This scene of man versus man shows a larger figure painted linearly on the left-hand side with a mace raised above their head. The kilt and other details present do not help identify who the smiter is. The victor raises the weapon above the figure's head and grabs the head of the nearest victim with their other hand. The victor appears to grab the head of the bound captive closest to them as an act

of control and to land the fatal blow. The three smaller kneeling figures are opposite the victor with their hand-bound in front of them. The dark solid line which goes through the three captives suggests they are all bound and awaiting their execution.

Tomb 100 does show an early smiting scene on the bottom left-hand side but also includes other aspects of power in the larger image. In the upper left-hand side of the painting is a man hunting quadrupeds with a mace. To the right of the smiting image is a depiction of a man holding an animal in each arm. This motif is known as the “master of animals” and was likely an imported motif from Mesopotamia. Only a few examples come from this period, the first from Tomb 100 and the second from the Gebel el-Arak knife handle.¹⁶ To the right of the Master of Animals are other domination scenes that use weaponry. Of all the power poses in this painting, the smiting pose was chosen to represent kingship in Egypt. This pose suggests that prior to the scene, depictions of interpersonal violence or combat in art were known, but this pose was actively chosen as an icon of early rulership. This posture depicts the pharaoh instituting order by virtue of eliminating threats to their singular rule.

Whoever occupied Tomb 100 had artists depict early smiting imagery that would be seen later in formalized royal iconography. Tomb 100 lays the blueprint for the

¹⁶ The Gebel el-Arak knife handle likely comes from Mesopotamia due to the inclusion of the priest king (Pittman 1996, 11). This pose has been found at sites that date to the late Uruk period.

smiting pose motif, which became formalized in the following period during the reign of Narmer in Dynasty I.

Narmer (Dynasty I, 3100 BCE)

The Narmer Palette (Figure 3.3) is a ceremonial object discovered in a temple deposit in Hierakonpolis, dates to a period during the unification of the Upper and Lower Egypt (the Nile Valley and Delta, respectively) under one ruler (Davis 1992, 164; see also Trigger et al. 1983 *passim*). On stylistic grounds, the palette has been dated to the early First Dynasty (3100 BCE) by Egyptologists and with it, the iconography of divine kingship emerged as a powerful ideology to unite the kingdoms.

Scholars suggest that the image represents the uniting of Upper and Lower Egypt. Narmer was unlikely solely responsible for this (Davis 1992, 164). Still, the scene may act as an historical record of a military campaign undertaken against the peoples of SyroPalestine during Narmer's reign. More often, this scene is identified as representing the communities of Lower Egypt, as the papyrus plant is a reference to the Nile Delta. The papyrus is located on the right-hand side of the palette and is directly under the falcon god Horus, who claws at the plant. Other scholars suggest that the palette was in dedication to a victorious general during the rule of Narmer or it shows the king's achievement commemorating his victory over his enemy (Davis 1992, 166; see also Fairservis 1991 *passim*; Dreyer 2000; Dreyer 2005; Morenz 2002).



Fig 3.3 Narmer Palette, from Hierakonpolis, Egypt, Early Dynastic, ca. 3100 BCE. Now in the Cairo Museum. Dimensions: 64 x 42 cm. Public Domain.

The Narmer Palette shows the events preceding and following the ruler's ritual execution of his enemy. Narmer is depicted in a mixed perspective with his right arm outstretched above his head, holding a mace. He is deliberately depicted wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt on the front of the palette and the red crown of Lower Egypt on the reverse. The use of both crowns on the palette, the domination of an individual of Lower Egypt on the front, and the presence of decapitated enemies on the reverse side

can be read as an artistic representation of events leading to the unification of Egypt. Considering that Narmer is only shown in the white crown here, this image can be viewed as one of conquest of cities in the Delta. This may be a key battle or moment in the domination of the Delta, even if it's not specifically the moment of unification. He also wears a kilt, has a beard which is likely facial hair rather than the false royal beard, and wears a bull's tail on his hip. The bull's tail is a standard element of royal regalia and continues in pharaonic iconography for centuries (Wilkinson 2000, 28; Morris 2010, 212). Narmer is also depicted in a hierarchy of scale, making him larger than any of his victims. Narmer has both feet flat on the ground as he stands in place.

The victim wears a loincloth and does not raise their arms in submission or stop the impending killing blow. This image perfectly summarizes the components needed for a pose to be a true smiting pose; there are two figures present, with one portrayed more significantly. The victor is grasping the hair of the victim to control them better. And finally, the pharaoh holds a weapon, notably the mace, which becomes a symbolic weapon in the pharaonic office, especially when it comes to killing victims (Dean 2017, 46).

Whether the event depicted is recording a literal or symbolic victory by the pharaoh or one of his generals, the iconography represents divine kingship (Wilkinson 2000, 41, 58). Narmer intentionally includes divine figures in the iconography. Hathor is represented twice in her bovine form in the upper register of the palette framing the overall scene. This placement suggests that this goddess is watching over the ritual killing. Horus is depicted in his falcon form to the right of Narmer. His placement on top

of the papyrus of Lower Egypt symbolizes Horus helping the king defeat enemies. From the rule of Narmer into the Ptolemaic period, the image of the smiting pharaoh represented divine authority and power.

Den (Dynasty I, ca. 2990 BCE)

Following the creation of the Narmer Palette, the early dynastic pharaoh Den (Dynasty I) continued the use of the smiting pose, further asserting the pose as a standard of royal iconography. The ivory sandal label of Den from Abydos, now in the British Museum,¹⁷ depicts the smiting pose (Figure 3.4). Although sandal tags are small and portable, this ivory piece was deposited in Den's tomb. Later, the pose became restricted to royal patronage, shown in large-scale reliefs on large temple walls and pylons.

¹⁷ British Museum number is BM EA55586. This object was purchased by the museum in 1922 through Sotheby's from Rev William MacGregor.



Fig 3.4: Ivory label showing the pharaoh Den smiting. Dynasty I, 2985 BCE, Abydos. Dimensions: 4.50 x 5.30 cm. Now in the British Museum. Image courtesy of the © The Trustees of the British Museum.

This depiction of Den in the true smiting pose is similar to his predecessors. The image of the pharaoh is on the left-hand side. He holds a mace in his right hand above his head in preparation for striking the victim. The mace handle and mace head are carefully depicted. Den wears a headdress with the uraeus visible from the profile. Also, he wears a bull's tail and a kilt spread across his thighs. His movement forward, which is only shown by his heel lifting off of the groundline. This motion highlights the climactic scene unfolding. The left hand of the pharaoh, which grasps the victim's headdress, also holds

extra weapons and symbols of power. Depictions of the extra weapons are not essential to the criteria of the true smiting pose as defined in this study. The victim in this scene is more active than seen previously as he is not kneeling but is in a lunging. He is shown in a square kilt, which is not worn tightly around the thighs (Bestock 2017, 205-206). Den grabs his headgear; the victim's left arm reaches up as if to escape before the fatal blow. The victim's other hand is reaching for the calf of the pharaoh, perhaps in a manner that would suggest a struggle.

Like the Narmer Palette, this piece and image are mobile. While their size suggests mobility, their context also determines who would have had access to viewing these objects. The Narmer Palette was found in a temple at Hierakonpolis, a location that suggests an audience limited to a few people. While the ivory tag of Den would have been attached to a sandal, it cannot be said how often the king would have used them. Like the Narmer Palette, once deposited the audience of this piece may have been exclusive and limited to individuals of high rank, which highlights how the image of the smiting pharaoh became a well-known statement to those in the pharaonic office.

This sandal appears to be an important part of royal imagery as an image of a sandal-bearer is also seen on The Narmer Palette.¹⁸ The imagery from both objects includes the god Horus. Horus's appearance is necessary, as Egyptian rulers identified strongly with Horus and embodied the deity in human form, through which they enacted

¹⁸ Bestock 2017, 205. The sandal bearer is the only other human depicted in the scene. Sandal bearers will also appear on the carvings of Den in Wadi el-Humur; see catalog.

out his divine will. He is often shown in his falcon form. Horus legitimized the pharaoh's right to rule and cemented the divine ancestry of the king (Baines 1995, 100).

Old Kingdom

Sekhemkhet (2649-2643 BCE, Dynasty III)

During the short reign of Sekhemkhet, a few rock reliefs were created for the pharaoh in Wadi Maghara in the Sinai. The relief (Figure 3.5) is located on the periphery of Egyptian rule in an area with copper and turquoise mines and is about 25 km north from the site of Wadi el-Humur. The Egyptians frequented this area from the Early Dynastic period onward, and by Dynasty III, Egypt sent expeditions to this region to mine (Shalaby 2015, 167–169). The pharaoh likely ordered the creation of rock carvings in this region to show that the place already has an Egyptian presence, perhaps acting as a warning for others. The iconography is propaganda: it reminds others of Egypt's power.¹⁹ Including Sekhemkhet, pharaohs who also had ordered the carving of smiting images at

¹⁹ It should be noted that this relief is one of ten smiting scenes from this region included in the catalog. While this dissertation is not investigating all scenes in Wadi Maghara, it is my hope to expand this project in the future to further analyze the placement of these smiting scenes on the periphery of the Egyptian

Wadi Maghara include Djoser, Sanakhte, Snefru, Khufu, Sahure, Niuserre, Djedkare Izezi, and Pepi I, spanning dynasties III-VI.

This rock relief shows the pharaoh three times. On the far left, Sekhemkhet wears the hedjet crown (white crown of Upper Egypt) and the false royal beard, showing him to be the legitimate ruler while he smites a victim. The size of the king is larger than the crouching victim, showcasing him as a powerful ruler. Sekhemkhet raises a mace in his right arm above his head, preparing to land the final blow. It is of note that the blow would not be administered with the mace head but rather with the weapon's handle (Bestock 2017, 183).



Figure 3.5: Line drawing showing relief of Sekhemkhet three times, Wadi Maghara Sinai, Dynasty III, 27th c BCE. Dimensions: for the royal figures, 62 x120 cm; for the leader with a bow, 58x 40 cm. See Bestock 2017, Figure 6.9–6.10; Hall 1986, Figure 12.

empire and investigate why they were placed here only during the Old Kingdom period. See catalog numbers 10–17, 19, and 22.

He wears a garment that wraps around his torso with one shoulder strap, and the bottom ends in a kilt. One foot is firmly planted on the groundline, with the heel of the other lifted. He also has a bull's tail near his right calf. His left hand grasps the headdress of the kneeling victim in front of him. The pharaoh also holds a long staff in the hand that grasps the victim. The victim crouches and turns away from the pharaoh with his hands raised to prepare for impact (Bestock 2017, 182). The victim holds a feather in his arms, which may relate to his identity or impending death (as the feather of Ma'at).

Horus is represented twice in the scene. He is first represented on the left-hand side atop a serekh. He is also shown to the right again atop a serekh wearing the red crown. The two other reliefs of the pharaoh in the panel show him wearing the white and red crowns. These two relief figures walk in front of the smiting relief of Sekhemkhet. These other depictions of the king may serve not only the tenacity of the smiting scene as it was first depicted in Predynastic times but also the duality of divine power with the pharaonic office. The smiting pose established the pharaoh's position of maintaining order over chaos. The repetition of the image in the same cliff face may show that when order is maintained, the state flourishes, even at its outermost boundaries of the state. The conservative depictions of the smiting scene showcase that the pharaonic office.

Niuserra (2445-2422 BCE, Dynasty V)

The smiting pose is depicted in a relief fragment from the site Abusir at the valley temple of Niuserra. Unfortunately, all remains of this piece come from a drawing created during the 20th century. The original fragment was lost during WWII and was never photographed.²⁰

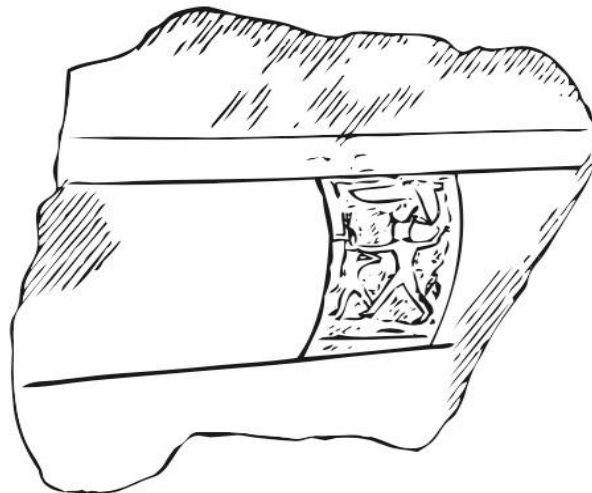


Figure 3.6. Line drawing of a relief fragment from Abusir. The relief shows the pharaoh smiting on a bracelet: 25th c BCE, Dynasty V. Dimensions unknown. From Borchardt 1907, Figure 19. Public Domain.

²⁰ Personal communication with Dr. Robert Kuhn and Dr. Caris-Beatrice Arnst from the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. February 25, 2021.

The scene depicted on the bracelet is a true smiting pose. Niuserra is shown wearing the *deshret* (red) crown of Lower Egypt and holds a mace in his left hand, preparing to strike the victim down. Due to the preservation of the piece, the weapon and crown are the only visible attributes of the king. His right hand grasps the head of the victim. The depiction of the pharaoh is larger than the victim, who, when standing, only comes up to the shoulder of the king. The king's feet are on the groundline, with his weight placed on the forward-striding foot. The king's back foot shows his heel lifted off the ground in a movement that has become typical of the smiting pose since the reign of Den in Dynasty I. The slight raise of the foot is the only evidence of movement within the scene. The victim is standing, with his body facing away from the pharaoh. His left arm desperately reaches up, trying to grasp the arm of the pharaoh to try and free himself before the fatal blow. The iconography of the victim with raised arms is standard of the Old Kingdom.

The image of Niuserra smiting here is noteworthy for being depicted on the jewelry and having two divinities portrayed, one in the smiting scene above the pharaoh and, remarkably, a deity wearing the bracelet (Borchardt 1907, 38–39; Ćwiek 2003, 202). Bestock suggests that the falcon god Horus or the vulture goddess Nekhbet appear above the pharaoh's figure.²¹ Both deities have ties with the pharaonic office and the protection

²¹ Bestock calls the animal a falcon, but due to the preservation of this piece, the vulture should also be considered (Bestock 2017, 106).

of the king. The other divinity present in the scene wears the bracelet depicting Niuserra. The green coloring on the arm of the figure wearing the bracelet identifies it as belonging to the god of the Underworld, Osiris.²² Osiris is depicted with a green skin tone to symbolize his aspects of fertility, vegetation, and death (Wilkinson 2017,120).

Discussion of Predynastic to Old Kingdom Characteristics of the Smiting Scene

The smiting pose during the Predynastic Period and Old Kingdom of Egypt (Dynasty I–VI) developed from an early domination scene meant to highlight the power structure of early leaders. The domination scenes created during the Naqada I–IIIc (approx. 4000–3100 BCE) period display a clear desire from the early rulers to have the artists separate the victorious figure from the unfortunate victim. This is a conscious decision to show the interpersonal violence as a trait of kingship. The early smiting image in Tomb 100 exhibits characteristics of the smiting pose. As seen in Tomb 100, there is a clear hierarchy of scale in the depictions between the smiting figure and the cowering victims. The victorious figure holds a weapon in one hand while the other grasps a portion of the victim. Tomb 100 shows the victor with both feet flat and unmoving. The groundline is also different for the victor and the victims, which changes the pose's evolution. Tomb 100's smiting image is a

²² Borchardt notes the presence of green on the forearm (1907, 38–39, figure 19). As this piece was lost in WWII, no photographs of this object exist. It exists only as a drawing.

true smiting image as it fulfills the requirements. This early cultivation and refinement of the smiting pose lays the foundations for pharaonic imagery that has remained unchanged for millennia.

By the time of the Narmer Palette, the smiting pose becomes an iconic representation of pharaonic power. Narmer and all subsequent imagery solidify the meaning, symbolism, and key compositional elements of the smiting pose. Narmer's depiction on the palette is clear and concise, with all aspects deliberately chosen to highlight the king's divine power when establishing order over chaos. The portrayal of Narmer also illustrates development in the budding iconography of the pharaoh. On the palette, Narmer is shown in detail not seen previously and represents the formalization of the image of the pharaoh that his successors continue.

Although deities are portrayed in the Narmer Palette and other examples dating to Dynasty I–II, from the Old Kingdom onward that the presence of a deity does not define whether or not the scene is a true smiting pose. Divinities add to the duality of the pharaonic office, and those depicted have mythological ties to the pharaoh himself. Because of this, it is unsurprising that the falcon-headed god Horus makes an appearance, as he represents a direct link with kingship and the conquering of chaos (Wilkinson 2017, 2000). Though divinities may play a role in the smiting scene, they can also be absent. When divinities are not formally depicted, the Pharaoh continues to act out the divine will of the gods in smiting down the enemy and thus reestablishing order in Egypt.

The smiting poses can be classified into Types A and B. The smiting pharaoh is present in both, but the addition of a deity is what separates the two types. Type A shows

a smiting scene with a divinity formally represented (even if the divinity is not identified). The Narmer Palette is an example of Type A. The deities depicted in Egyptian pharaonic artwork represent the divine's interconnected role with the rulers. Later in the New Kingdom, especially during Dynasty XIX, the deities hold a sacred weapon for the pharaoh to kill the victim. Although these gods do not actively smite the enemy, the deities' presence reiterates the pharaoh's dual divine nature.

Along with Horus and Hathor, the goddess Nekhbet and the god Amun-Re are associated with the smiting scene. Nekhbet held associations with the protection of the pharaoh. Her associations with war and protection make her inclusion in smiting scenes pivotal when depicting the pharaoh's power since the Old Kingdom. Amun-Re also makes appearances later during the New Kingdom. Like Horus and Nekhbet, Amun-Re was another ancestral link to the pharaoh, which reinforced the pharaoh's divine right to rule with no contest.

The Type B smiting scene depicts only the pharaoh acting alone with no formal divine support. This type is seen during the Middle and New Kingdom, for example during the reigns of Mentuhotep II (figure 3.7) and Ahmose I (3.9). Their absence may stem from the notion the pharaoh himself is a divine being who is earthbound. When a formally represented deity is present, the pharaoh smites in their name specifically. If no deity is present, there appears to be an added layer of duality: when smiting, he is acting out his role as head of the state and as the divine will of the gods. Thus, when the pharaoh smites alone, he is smiting as both pharaoh and deity, while establishing order over the chaos.

These examples show the pharaoh as the active agent, smiting that passive victim. The presence of divinity does not determine whether or not the image is a true smiting pose as long as the image meets all elemental and compositional qualifications. When gods are present, they watch over the scene or give the pharaoh a divine weapon. In these scenes, the pharaoh is an exalted ruler smiting the enemies of the state.

The smiting pose can be seen alongside other poses of power in Tomb 100, suggesting that the emerging rulers of Predynastic Egypt were constructing a specific pharaonic narrative. From this early period onward, the smiting pose onward constitutes a deliberate choice that shows kingship and control via violence against enemies while being led by divine will. The origin of the pose can be seen in earlier domination imagery of the Naqada period, but the creation of the Narmer Palette during the thirty-first century BCE serves as a foundation for the archetypal image of the reigning pharaoh. The formula includes: a clear standard of hierarchy, multiple figures interacting with one another, and the presence of weaponry. allowed the smiting pose to remain virtually unchanged in the artistic canon of Egypt through the reign of Ahmose I of the New Kingdom.

The Middle Kingdom and the Early New Kingdom

The Middle Kingdom pharaohs continued this centuries-long tradition regarding pharaonic figural representation through the scene. The smiting pose model that

developed during the Predynastic period was maintained through the Middle Kingdom as the pharaohs of Dynasty XI–XIII kept the artistic representations conservative. There is no doubt that the iconography was used as a way to assert control over the state after the reestablishment of a reunified Egypt following the First Intermediate Period. The pharaohs continued to use lineage (divine and mortal) to establish their right to rule.

During the Middle Kingdom, there is a decline in the prominence of smiting images. Two are analyzed here in depth (Figures 3.7 and 3.8), and a total of three are included in the catalog (E 25– E 27). When comparing this number to those found dating to the Predynastic period and the Old Kingdom, a large imbalance is seen. This catalog includes four objects from the Predynastic period and twenty from the Old Kingdom. An object dating to the early New Kingdom is included in this chapter as the smiting pharaoh iconography continues during the reign of Ahmose I of Dynasty XVIII. It is after his reign during the latter part of Dynasty XVIII that a foreign influence is witnessed in the smiting pose which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Mentuhotep II (1997–1991 BCE, Dynasty XI)

Mentuhotep II of Dynasty XI is credited with the reunification of Egypt after the First Intermediate Period. During this Intermediate Period, foreign rulers sat on the Egyptian throne; they were deposed when Mentuhotep II retook control, marking the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. His imagery reflects the ways in which earlier

pharaohs were represented. Analysis of Middle Egyptian representations of the smiting scene in this section focuses on a relief fragment from the site of Gebelein (Ibrahim and Tallet 2009, 182-183). The relief of the smiting pose follows the older model but adds a personal touch to the unfolding scene.

In this relief fragment (Figure 3.7), the king is shown in the lower register striding forward from right to left. His pose is typical of the pharaonic smiting imagery with one weapon-wielding arm raised above his head. He holds a mace as his weapon of choice, much as his predecessors did. His other hand steadies steady the victim by his head. In this drawing, the king may have other weaponry or sigils of kingship in his hand, but those no longer survive. Mentuhotep II wears the *hedjet* and an intricate necklace. His kilt is pleated, much like the victim's. To the left of the victim are three large kneeling figures who face the smiting scene. They all have plain kilts and have shaved heads. Two of them have feathers sticking out of their hair, which are perhaps identifiers of these figures' identities.

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be reproduced here.

Figure 3.7. Line drawing of Mentuhotep II, limestone relief fragment from Gebelein, now in the Cairo Museum. Dimensions: 70 x 76 cm. From Hall 1986, Figure 24.

The victim cowers in a pose not previously seen: they do not fight back or raise their hands to brace for the fatal impact. Instead, this victim kneels with a hunched back, almost limp, and perhaps signals complete defeat. Bestock notes this figure may be Egyptian due to the depiction of the kilt, which is similar to the pharaoh's (Bestock 2017, 163). If this victim is in fact an Egyptian, his position and posture could be considered fitting. If the victim were Egyptian, then his pose suggests he was in the forces that fought against the Pharaoh and as such, had to be killed.

A similarity between this victim and all others portrayed as foreigners, is that the image represents events in which the pharaoh killed individuals to maintain control. If the

pharaoh's subjects supported the foreign rulers, it would be in his right to strike them down to continue his rule uncontested. The three larger kneeling figures represent the Pharaoh's subjects pledging their loyalty to his rule. They are denoted as "(a type of) Nubian, (a type of) Asiatic, and (a type of) Libyan," respectively (Bestock 2017, 163). This scene reiterates the violence with which the pharaoh maintains order, which may be especially as a new era of Egyptian rule began.

Amenemhat III (1844–1797 BCE, Dynasty XII)

During Dynasty XII, the smiting pose continues to be depicted on jewelry. This pectoral (Figure 3.8) was discovered in the tomb of a royal woman during the reign of Senwosret III (1878–1841 BCE) and is now in the Cairo Museum. Bestock comments it may have belonged to Senwosret's daughter, Mereret (2017, 207). Nonetheless, the pectoral bears the name of Amenemhat III, who is Mereret's brother and successor to Senwosret III.



Figure 3.8. Pectoral bearing the name of Amenemhat III, Dynasty XII, Middle Kingdom. Mortuary temple of Senwosret III, Dashur. Dimensions: 7.9 x 10.4 cm. Pectoral of Amenemhat III by Dmitry Denisenkov under the Creative Commons license.

This rectangular pectoral has a patterned border outlining the space of the smiting imagery. Immediately under this border is a vulture whose wings are outstretched to their fullest extent. This bird of prey may very well represent the goddess Nekhbet who has a long-held connection as a protector of the pharaoh. In the claws of the vulture are the symbol of life and power, the ankh. Beneath each wing is an image of the pharaoh

smiting an enemy down. The smiting scene is arranged back-to-back with itself. Amenemhat III is depicted with his front foot flat on the groundline. His back heel is raised on his back foot, which moves the weight to the front as he moves forward and to help better stabilize the victim and the killing blow. The king is in the typical smiting stance with one arm raised above his head bearing a weapon. This weapon is not the traditional mace, but rather it is a bladed mace as evidenced by the curved blue inlay.

The bladed mace represents an interesting problem. Although this weapon is present in scenes of smiting pharaohs, no bladed maces have been recovered from archaeological excavations. The only record of this weapon survives in visual arts. Wilkinson thinks that these weapons are composed of a round-headed stone mace with an inset blade from the artwork (Wilkinson 2015, 97). The stone or bronze head likely held the blade of this weapon.

In the pectoral, the king wears a necklace and a headdress with the uraeus depicted in both scenes (Bestock 2017, 207). He is clothed with a shoulder strap around his torso and midsection, with multiple alternating inlaid colors suggesting a pattern. The arm that raises the bladed mace is bare. This strap attaches to a kilt with the fabric of the same patterning as the shoulder strap. The placement of the pattern on the kilt highlights the movement from both the pharaonic figures who stride toward the center with all of his weight on his front foot for better stability. The linear designs direct the viewer's eye to the rest of the scene.

The victim is grasped by his hair and is in a part-lunging, part-kneeling position as he inclines his head towards the king. This victim wears a vertically striped kilt and

bears two objects in his hands. Bestock suggests the lower object is a dagger (Bestock 2017, 208), as evidenced by the pommel and handle protruding from the victim's hand. It appears the dagger is in a scabbard, it is not shown as an offensive weapon here. The other object is curved with a rounded end, but its identification is unclear. These objects may help determine the identity of the soon-to-be-smote individual. The hieroglyphics denote the victim as *menet*, which is the same name that was carved into the rock reliefs at Wadi Maghara Sinai around the bound captives during the Old Kingdom.²³

Critically, this piece is the only one that shows the smiting pose as both a double and a mirror image in the corpus of selected imagery discussed here. The doubling and inverting adds symmetry to the piece that is otherwise not possible with single renderings of the scene. This objects is wearable, which would have allowed this piece to be a mobile, intimately visible piece of pharaonic propaganda.

Ahmose I (1550–1525 BCE, Dynasty XVIII)

The last piece in this chapter comes from the reign of Ahmose I of Dynasty XVIII, during the beginning stages of the New Kingdom. Ahmose I is credited with reunifying Egypt after the overthrow of Hyksos rule during the Second Intermediate

²³ See Figure 3.5. Bestock 2017, 209.

Period. This ceremonial axe, now in the Luxor Museum, was found in the tomb of Queen Ahhotep. The axe was likely used for ceremonial purposes, as can be noted from the luxury materials that make up the piece. The axe-head is made from bronze and is inlaid with gold and other precious materials, and the handle is wood (Aruz et al. 2008, 119120; Elliot 2017,104). The smiting scene is located in the middle register of one side.



Fig 3.9. Ceremonial axe of Ahmose I, New Kingdom Egypt, c. 16th century BCE.
Dimensions: 47.5 x 6.7 cm. Ceremonial Axe of Ahmose I by Jesse, under Creative Commons License (CC-BY-SA-2.0).

Ahmose I is depicted striding to the right. Movement is captured by the weight distribution favoring the right foot. The back left foot is raised and pushed off the ground to further suggest movement. Ahmose I wears the *khepresh* crown, which was worn by pharaohs during battle or ceremonies during the New Kingdom. This crown symbolizes the ritual killing taking place. The king wears a double necklace as well as armbands and bracelets. The pharaoh also wears a kilt with linear designs that mold to his legs as he moves forward.

The pharaoh's left arm grasps the head of the victim while the right arm strikes the victim's arm with a blade. This smiting pose is different from earlier smiting scenes, as this one captures the moment of smiting rather than the movement just before, with the pharaoh's arm held above his head. It is unclear which weapon the pharaoh holds, but the short length of the blade paired with the proximity of the pharaoh to the victim suggests that the weapon may be a dagger. The victim looks back at the king and appears to make eye contact with him. He also wears jewelry: necklaces, armbands, bracelets, and chest straps. Because he wears jewelry, the victim may be a high-ranking Hyksos official. Whomever he may be, this image was meant to visually portray Egypt's reunification under Dynasty XVIII and thus establishes the New Kingdom. This scene serves as another portable piece of propaganda that serves as a reminder of pharaonic power.

Discussion of Middle Kingdom and Early New Kingdom Characteristics

In the Middle Kingdom (Dynasties XI–XIII), the characteristics codified during the Old Kingdom period remain relatively unchanged as the pharaohs continued the visual tradition laid by their predecessors. This continuation of the pharaoh's pose almost certainly related to the reestablishment of Egyptian control after the First Intermediate Period. Maintaining the pharaonic iconography that developed during Egypt's state formation allowed the rulers of the Middle Kingdom to legitimize their claim to power.

The one critical change seen in this corpus is the depiction of the victim. During the Old Kingdom period, the cowering pose of the victim appears standard in all the smiting depictions. Yet the two pieces highlighted in this section show a different representation of the victim. To begin, the individual depicted in the relief from the reign of Mentuhotep II (Figure 3.7) does not raise his hands to brace in a defensive position. This individual kneels and slumps, defeated at the feet of the pharaoh. If this individual is an Egyptian, the pose may signal to the elite audience to not defy the pharaoh during the reunification process of Egypt that began in Dynasty XI. This relief is propaganda that reminds Egyptians they will face serious consequences if they choose to defy their godking.

The depiction of the second victim, seen in the pendant of Amenemhat III (Figure 3.8), contradicts the standardization seen during the Old Kingdom. This victim here does not raise their arms but instead raises a curved object in one hand and a dagger in the

other. This depiction shows a victim with a weapon for the first time, and yet the victim seems to offer these items to the king. The weapon is not raised with the blade out in an aggressive manner, suggesting that the victim offers his weapon in surrender. This victim and this piece are interesting as this is a portable object meant to be worn around the neck of a noble person. The wearable imagery becomes mobile propaganda to remind others of the divine power the pharaoh has on his side and that divine punishment will be delivered if necessary.

The beginning of the New Kingdom Period (early Dynasty XVIII) saw the continuation of the artistic style of the Middle Kingdom. The early pharaohs of Dynasty XVIII used portable art objects with the smiting pose to re-establish their divine right to rule after the second intermediate period and the subsequent expulsion of the Hyksos.

The composition portrayed in the smiting scene from pre-dynastic times to the beginning of the New Kingdom is conservative and has remained relatively unchanged for over a millennium. Trade with the Eastern Mediterranean world would influence the conservative pharaonic artistic canon, which can be seen explicitly during the reign of Tuthmose III.

Discussion

The foundations of the smiting pose came about during the period of state formation in predynastic Egypt. This pose would become an emblem for the pharaonic office after Narmer's unification of Upper and Lower Egypt and set the artistic precedent for millennia. The development and use of the smiting pose from the Predynastic period through early Dynasty XVIII can be divided into three phases.

The first phase of the smiting pose in Egypt corresponds to the predynastic examples of Figures 3.1 and 3.2, which date to the Naqada I–II period. This phase focuses on domination, and power poses and is characterized by these images found in funerary contexts.²⁴ The desire to have scenes of power is distinctly seen in the imagery of Figure 3.1. Power poses are further developed and considered in the imagery of Figure 3.2 from Hierakonpolis. Multiple poses and miniature scenes of combat, dominance, and power are shown together in a large narrative. Yet, from this point onward, a purposeful decision was made to focus on the smiting scene rather than develop others. To the early emerging rulers, the smiting pose visually constructed their ideas of kingship.

The second phase concerns the formalization and standardization of the pose, as seen in Figure 3.3. Narmer makes the smiting pose the official emblem of the pharaonic office, and the imagery sets the standard for future rulers. The pose itself is formalized,

²⁴ Figure 3.1 is believed to be from the Umm el-Qaab cemetery at Abydos (Bestock 2017, 18).

whereas the scene as a whole allows each pharaoh to add their own socio-political imagery to highlight their specific rule while harking back to traditional roots. While Narmer's palette includes divine figures of Hathor and Horus, that is not a standard moving forward, as evidenced by Figure 3.4. Following Narmer's reign, Den chose to base his smiting pose on the standard set before him and adds movement in the scene by having the smiting pharaoh raise his back heel to suggest a forward trajectory. Phase II is representative of the canonization of the pose as a royal emblem of the pharaoh. Notably, during the beginning of Dynasty XI and XVIII, Mentuhotep II, and Ahmose I, represented in Figures 3.7 and 3.9, are credited with reunifying Egypt and ending foreign rule, and have their imagery representative of Phase II. This may be partially due to these kings reviving traditional artwork to associate themselves with Narmer, whose imagery reinforces the concept of unification through violence. Mentuhotep II and Ahmose I of Dynasties XI and XVIII also use imagery representative of phase II. This may be due to these kings reviving traditional artwork to associate themselves with Narmer as they focus on expelling foreign rulership.

Finally, phase III is characterized by the expansion of the scene in terms of use, placement, and characters. Figures 3.5, 3.6, and 3.8 represent examples of this phase during the Old, the Middle, and the New Kingdoms. Sekhemkhet smiting in the Sinai, Figure 3.5, demonstrates the pose's placement expansion. Wadi Maghara is located on the periphery of the empire, yet the pharaoh chose to leave his mark near the copper and turquoise mines in the area to remind those who come across it of Egypt's power. Niuserra and Amenemhat III in Figures 3.6 and 3.8, respectively, demonstrate an evolution in the pose with the addition of gods in their scenes. Gods are represented as

watching over the scene, similar to Hathor in the Narmer palette. Figure 3.6 pushes that even further with the depiction of the god Osiris wearing a bracelet of the smiting pose. The addition of a divine figure would continue further in the New Kingdom during the latter part of Dynasty XVIII and into Dynasty XIX.

CHAPTER 4

THE SMITING FIGURE AND THE AEGEAN

The smiting pose in the Aegean is essential to the artistic repertoire of the Aegean peoples and was likely an imported motif from the Eastern Mediterranean with a strong case for Egypt.²⁵ The smiting pose depicting man versus man in combat showcases an imported motif that was transformed to fit the needs of the emerging elite on Crete and later the Mainland. The Minoans and the Mycenaeans take the smiting motif and implement local iconography to make this pose distinctly Aegean. The smiting motif in the Aegean shows two or more individuals in combat fighting one another. The Aegean smiting and combat pose differ from Egypt's pharaonic smiting pose. Where Egypt showcases ritualized killing on a grand scale where only the pharaoh is active, Minoan Crete and the Mycenaean Mainland transform this pose to showcase active figures fighting for domination and power on a smaller scale for personal use.

From an early period, the Minoan people had the desire to showcase power and dominance through duels and fighting imagery. Artisans began to create scenes of

²⁵ While the intricate trade networks of the Bronze Age were developed, a definitive point of transmission for the smiting pose remains unclear.

interpersonal violence on small-scale material from the evidence available during the EM III–MM III period. During this early developmental period, two iconographic categories emerge. One is scenes of training, such as boxing which does not show weaponry. The second is scenes of interpersonal violence, like duels, where conflict is heightened as the secondary figure fights back, unlike the Egyptian pose, where the victim is resigned to their fate. It is this category that would develop into the Aegean smiting pose.

During the Neopalatial period, heightened trade with Egypt would allow for the smiting pose to be adapted by local artists. The pose that is imported is not the whole scene of the pharaoh smiting enemies unchallenged; rather, the Aegean artists are more interested in the smiting pose of the pharaoh specifically. This Egyptian pose associated with power would have stood out to elite members of Minoan society. With the smiting pose, the evidence suggests that the motif was not a direct copy, as seen with other motifs and material culture, such as Egyptian stone vases and scarabs. The Aegean smiting pose was stylized to show the power that is gained after deposing any who challenge it.



Map 2: Dot density map of all findspots of seals and sealings bearing the smiting image.

Map by author.

While a small selection of smiting scenes from Egypt was presented in the previous chapter, in this chapter, all known surviving depictions of the smiting pose in the Aegean will be presented with a discussion to follow each chronological section. This is because that data available is much smaller in comparison to those in Egypt.

Early Combat Iconography on Crete

Many objects with the smiting motif come from central and eastern Crete palatial sites. No examples of the smiting scene exist in wall paintings on Crete. The early domination scenes are only seen on seal impressions and a few seal stones during the Early and Middle Minoan periods (EM–MM).

CMS VSIA no. 294.

An early seal from Crete combat pose may show what develops into the smiting pose later. This object dates to the later part of the EM Period or the early MM Period (EM III–MMIA; 2200–1900 BCE). The material of this seal (*CMS VSIA no.294*) is hippopotamus ivory, and scholars believe it to be from the burial site of Moni Odigitria in southern Crete,²⁶ an area which shares close artistic ties to Hagia Triada (Pini 1992, 306–312; Branigan and Vasilakēs 2010, 216).

²⁶ CMS notes that this ivory seal came from a possible tholos.



Figure 4.1. CMS VS1A no. 294, Drawing, two individuals with bows and daggers. Mitsotakis collection, Chania Museum. Dimensions: 2.31 x 2.22 x 2.58 cm. Courtesy of idai.objects.arachne.arachne.dainst.org/entity/1158365

This ivory seal has two archers shown in combat. These two figures cross over each other, imitating the movement of the attacks. It is unclear if they are crossing over each other to represent a “miss” or if they are moving to fight each other in the midline of the seal. There is no groundline present. The figure on the left has one arm raised with some type of weapon with a tapered end, which may suggest a dagger. (Papadopolous 2006, 21). No legible handle or pommel is present to confirm the raised object is a dagger. This figure does not appear to wear a helmet or any other defensive protection. This figure has no other defining features to determine who they may be. The second

figure is a mirror image of the first with one arm raised, holding a tapered object, and the same type of object in the lowered hand.

The lowered object that each figure has is most likely a bow and not an early stylized shield, as it does not look large enough to be the figure of eight shield or the tower shield, notably depicted during the Late Minoan I period (1700–1450 BCE) (Matoušková 2020, 67–78). In either case, this object’s iconography is noteworthy in the development of the smiting pose in Crete and highlights that Early Minoans already developed a combative pose in their art.

This seal is important as the Aegean would have needed to import this raw material. Ivory use outside of the Aegean had flourished for a considerable time. In Egypt, objects were crafted from ivory from the Naqada culture.²⁷ The Aegean was likely acquiring ivory via trade with the cultures of the Eastern Mediterranean before the end of the third millennium, as evidenced by hippopotamus incisors or lower canines used for seals during the EM III–MM I period (Rehak and Younger 1998, 232). Younger notes that trade in this raw material also allowed foreign motifs to travel with them, as evidenced by seal shapes and the inclusion of non-native animals, such as lions on stamp cylinders.²⁸

²⁷ Three ivory cylinders with early power scenes can be seen from the site of Hierakonpolis in the main deposit. These date to the Naqada II period (3500–3200 BCE). See Bestock 2017, 57–58; Rehak and Younger 1998, 231).

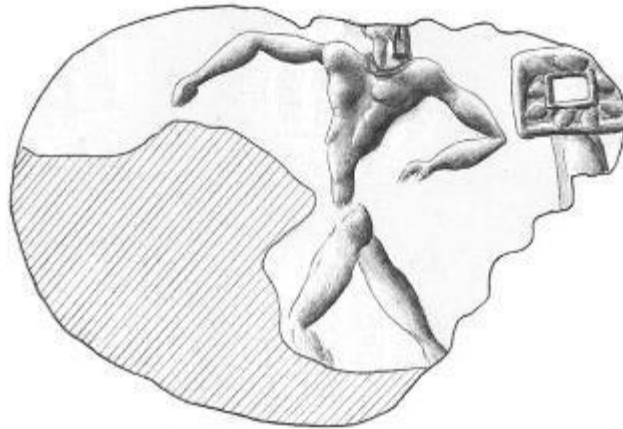
²⁸ Rehak and Younger 1998, 232. Seals in the shape of seated apes include CMS II. I nos 20 and 249. Birds: CMS II. I nos 112, 113, and 438. Seals with lion motifs: CMS II. I nos 224a, 249, and 250.

The second example of early combat iconography is a seal impression from the Eastern Repository of Knossos, dated to MMIII (1750–1700 BCE). Prior to the Middle Minoan period, a small number of Egyptian imports can be found dating to the mid-late third millennium BCE, suggesting that Crete was part of an international trade system.²⁹ It should be noted that a Knossos sealing from the Hieroglyphic Deposit (MM IIB/ III) showcases a close reproduction of the goddess Taweret.³⁰

This object is different from the one previously mentioned. Without a second individual in the scene, it does not fit the criteria of a true smiting pose. But this image highlights early domination and combat scenes, which later develop into the smiting pose.

²⁹ See Kelder et al. 2018, 9. A limestone base was also recovered from Knossos in a late neolithic stratum which may suggest early trade. This piece is no longer traceable. Bevan notes that this may be a rare local product or evidence of international trade (Bevan 2004, 11; see also Bevan 2001, 153–154). An obsidian bowl comes from a secure EM IIA level from the ‘Royal road’ at Knossos (Warren 1989, 634; 1981, 633– 634).

³⁰ The sealing bears a hippopotamus head and dorsal appendage of the goddess and is noted that the vegetation in the scene has “an Egyptian flavor” (Weingarten 1991, 6; see also Gill 1970, 405). Schoep notes discussion over the dating of the deposit, with a stylistic date range of MM II–III (Schoep 2001, 147).



II,8-280-1

Fig 4.2: CMS II.8 no 280. Drawing, Knossos Repository, Archaeological Museum of Heraklion. Dimensions: 1.75 x 1.3 cm. Courtesy of iDAI.objects Arachne.

arachne.dainst.org/entity/1153725

This seal impression was recovered and published by Sir Arthur Evans in *Palace of Minos Vol I* (1921, 689 fig. 509). The image shows a nude male body from mid-shin to just below the nose, making it unclear if this individual was anyone specific. This individual wears a two-strand necklace and is bare-chested. His body turns as he jabs his front arm toward an unseen opponent. His lower back arm suggests he is preparing to throw a cross punch. His leg moving forward would suggest the individual continues his onslaught with more punches. His body is noticeably different from the previous image as special attention is paid to his anatomy, specifically the muscles. In the background is

a column similar to the one depicted in the Grandstand fresco from the same site and on the Boxer's rhyton from Hagia Triada (Evans 1921, 689; Yule 1981, 169).

It should be noted that there is a discrepancy between the drawings of the sealing in Evans' *Palace of Minos* and the *Corpus der minosichen und mykenischen Siegel* (see Figures 4.2 and 4.3). Evans records that this object includes a second individual. It is unclear if this is the upper arm (shoulder, bicep, and tricep) or a leg. The *Corpus der minosichen und mykenischen Siegel* does not include this portion. Due to the preservation of the piece, it is unclear whether the upper portion of the arm of the second person exists. If it does, this object becomes strikingly similar to imagery found later in the Boxer's rhyton in both the pose of the standing individual and the figure on the ground.

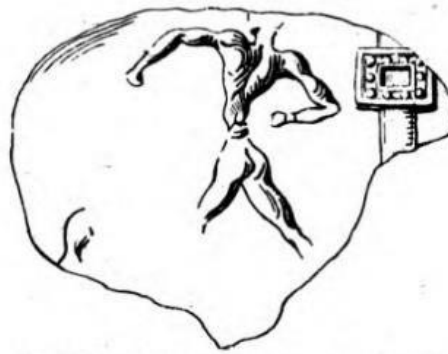


Fig 4.3: CMS II.8 no 280 (as depicted in Evans, POM I,689, Figure 509), Public Domain.

This combat scene highlights the desire for active fight scenes which incorporate a victorious individual. This object showcases how Minoan artists view the body's movement when put into an active scene. The detail of human anatomy from Figure 4.3 lays the foundation for more naturalism in boxing, combat, and the later smiting scene on Crete.

Discussion of Early Combat Iconography on Crete

The smiting pose in Crete from EM III- MM III (2200–1700 BCE) develops from early combat scenes. The earliest scene of combat found on an ivory seal showcases an interest in highlighting scenes of fighting and dueling with more than one individual. This early combat scene (Figure 4.1) lays a strong foundation for later artisans to build upon during the Late Minoan period. Though not a true smiting pose, Minoan artisans were developing iconography which dealt with multiple individuals engaging with one another. Figure 4.1 does not have a clear victor or victim, but it does capture combative interaction. On the other hand, the imagery from Figure 4.2 has created two characters: the victor and the victim. The victim, in this case, has not been killed but has lost the fight. Figure 4.2 captures the scene directly after the last blow. While this sealing shows power, the climax of the fight is passed.

The depiction of the human body in Figure 4.2 also takes a different form. Human anatomy is now more naturalistically portrayed, with directional movement present.

There is now a clear desire to capture the details of the muscular system as it moves and reacts in battle. Previous depictions did not visually express the twists and movements of the body seen here. The image thus takes on a naturalistic feel compared to Figure 4.1.

These early depictions of combat on Crete began to separate by the end of the Middle Minoan period. They branch into two categories. The first includes aspects such as boxing, wrestling, and depictions of training regiments. In this category, the figures may use weaponry, but not always. Instead, brute strength from the figure's body is all that is needed. The second category focuses more on combat scenes and the later smiting pose. Within this sphere, there are usually, if not always, weapons included. The weaponry may change, but this is a clear separation between this combative and smiting type and those that show sports and training. Both categories highlight power, but the second category depicting interpersonal violence inherently differs from the Egyptian scenes. Figure 4.1 shows that both figures fight for an edge and ultimate victory.

Visibility for these two objects also comes into play with understanding the ideas of early power on Minoan Crete. Figure 4.1 is from a burial context, and Figure 4.2 comes from the temple repository at the palace of Knossos.³¹ In both of these settings, few people would have been able to view these pieces. Only a select few would have had access to administrative sealings in the palace of Knossos. The ivory seal (Figure 4.1) would likely only have been viewed by family members or those in that community, as the findspot

³¹ Krzyszkowska notes that while there has been a desire to link this imagery with high-ranking administrative officials, the evidence to support that is scant (2005, 165).

suggests.³² With that in mind, it would seem that the imagery seen in these early scenes constitutes an active choice in the imagery and the function. One was placed in a funerary context to join the afterlife with the owner, and the other was used in an administrative setting.

These small-scale scenes construct personal ideas of power during the Early and Middle Minoan periods suggesting that only certain people were meant to view and understand the motif. The portability of these scenes would have allowed the motif to spread, as discussed below. While pharaohs constructed images of divine power on portable objects (Figures 3.3, 3.4, and 3.8), by the Old Kingdom period, monumental images of the pharaoh smiting can be found. From all the available evidence, the same cannot be said for the Aegean; rather, the Minoans emphasized portability and smallscale visual understanding.

³² Tholos tombs were popular in the Mesara and were used between the EM –MM period, although there are rare finds of tholoi in use during the later MM period and even into the LM period. These tombs were in use for centuries and were most likely to emphasize kin relations. For tholos tombs, see Branigan 1993 *passim*; Branigan et al. 2012 *passim*.

Smiting Pose on Crete: Late Minoan I (1700–1450 BCE)

Early combat iconography seen during EM III–MM III laid the foundation for the formalized smiting pose of the LM I period.³³ The focus on the human body and how it moves continues to develop, allowing for more action in the scenes. The images of the smiting pose capture an entire plot frozen at the climax of the action. It is during LM I on Crete when the character of the victorious warrior becomes more prevalent in the smiting pose. As with the early combat imagery, examples of the smiting scene during the LM I period come from palatial and administrative sites. A brief explanation of the site will be given prior to the catalog of objects bearing the smiting pose in this section. Objects bearing the smiting pose come from Hagia Triada, Zakros, and two from unknown findspots.

Hagia Triada

Three examples with the developed smiting scene come from the site of Hagia Triada. The tholos tombs here showcase an emerging elite as evidenced by prestige grave goods dating to EM IIB (La Rosa 2010, 497–498). During the Middle Minoan period,

³³ Late Minoan I period is roughly concurrent with the end of the Second Intermediate Period through Early Dynasty XVIII with the reign of Thutmose III.

dwellings with stucco and funerary assemblages continued to denote a high level of social complexity. Due to the proximity of the Phaistos palace, Hagia Triada takes on a more administrative role during MM III- LM I. The Royal Villa shows evidence of a centralized administrative system, as seen in the archive of Linear A inscriptions (*Ibid*, 499). The Boxer's Vase, seen in Figure 4.3, was discovered in the vicinity of the villa (Krzyszowska 2005, 171).

International trade can be seen in two instances highlighting Hagia Triada's connections with the eastern Mediterranean. The first comes from an ape amulet made of lapis lazuli discovered in tholos tomb A (Pendlebury 1930, 8–9; see also Davis 2006, table 4). Pendlebury notes that this piece was discovered with EM II–III pottery. The period of deposition spans from EM II- MM IB/II (Lambrou- Philipson 1990, 192 no.20). The second example is a copper ingot dating to LM IB. Lead isotope testing was done on the ingot, and findings showed that the copper did not match any Cypriot ores. Rather the copper came from a Precambrian source not known in the Aegean. Precambrian ores mined during the Bronze Age are found outside of the Aegean in the Eastern Mediterranean, meaning the copper was imported from the East (Gale et al. 1992, 91).

CMS II.6 no. 15

To begin, one of the earliest images from the site of Hagia Triada highlights the continued desire to depict movement in the human body. This chase scene has two human

figures moving from left to right and will be referred to as figures A and B respectively.

This scene is also found on sealing fragments from Knossos (CMS II.8 no.

279). The sealing below is likely from a ring and is unpierced (CMS).

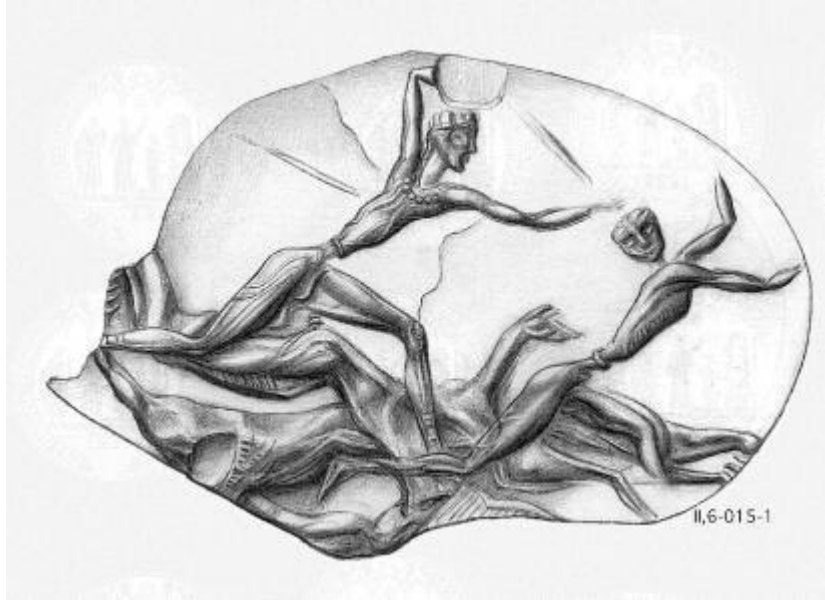


Figure 4.4. CMS II.6 no 15, LM I, unclear findspot, drawing. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Heraklion. Dimensions: 1.95 x 1.6 cm. Courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne. arachne.dainst.org/entity/1152901

Figure A to the left is more prominent than the second. Figure A's head and lower body are in profile, and his torso twists to highlight the body's movement while reaching toward the second figure. His right arm raises his sword over his head. His other hand reaches out to grasp the second figure's head or hair to land the fatal strike better. It is unclear if this figure is wearing a helmet or a headband. In contrast to Figure B's costume, a single-strand necklace is around Figure A's neck made from circular beads.

There is a prominent codpiece around his narrow waist, which is detailed similarly to that seen in the reconstruction of the 'Priest King' fresco from Knossos. His ankles appear to have straps, perhaps suggesting footwear. The presence of jewelry, detailed codpiece, and shoes suggests this figure is one of status.

Figure B looks directly at the viewer with both arms upraised in a desperate attempt to escape his predicament. There is no helmet, defensive, or offensive weaponry present. Like his counterpart, he wears a codpiece around his slim waist. This codpiece is not as prominent or elaborate as Figure A. It is also clear this individual is not wearing any footwear, as there are no straps around the ankles. Where Figure A had his torso twisted, Figure B's torso is in the profile adding to the overall feeling of frantic movement while trying to escape.

Both figures have clear attention paid to their muscular system, emphasizing the biceps, triceps, and quadriceps. They also share a similar body type: broad shoulders tapering down to a slim waist. There is also a dog (quadruped) whose head and neck are noticeable between the victim and his attacker. The canine representation highlights the aspect of hunting portrayed and may further denote these figures as warriors, as suggested by Marinatos (2005, 156). The ground line is uneven and slanting, suggesting a rough terrain where this scene occurs.

The second example from Hagia Triada, another sealing, highlights a pair in combat (Figure 4.5). Unlike in the previous piece, no animals are present. From left to right, two figures are depicted and will be referred to as figures A and B, respectively.

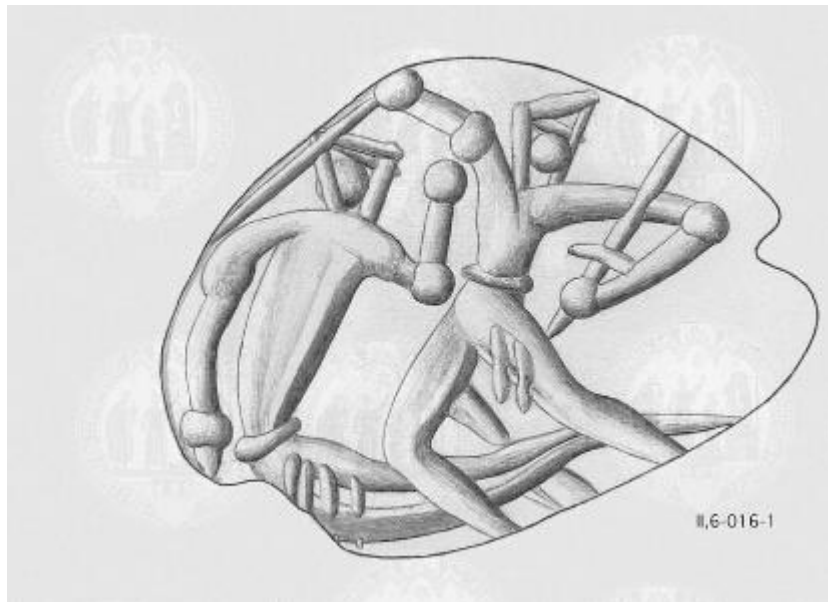


Figure 4.5. CMS II.6 no.16; drawing, LM I. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Heraklion. Dimensions: 1.55 x 1.0 cm. Courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne. arachne.dainst.org/entity/1152902

Figure A appears to be fallen as his legs lie on the bottom of the impression. His back is to the viewer. His legs no longer support the weight of his upper body, implying he is about

to be fatally struck by the other figure (Figure B). In an attempt to escape, Figure A raises his right arm to try and deflect the blow; he wears no armor except a helmet and does not carry a weapon. He is wearing a codpiece with minimal detail. The belt is present along with four vertical lines.

Figure B wields two weapons, most likely swords, due to the noticeable handle and defined blade in this figure's left hand. He likely holds these swords not because he is ambidextrous but because he has disarmed his opponent. Again, it is unclear if this figure is wearing a helmet, but similar lines encompass his head like his opponent's. There is no jewelry depicted. A codpiece is denoted from the belt depicted around his narrow waist, and there are two vertical lines over his left quad. In the sealing, there is an indistinct shape behind the fallen figure's legs and just behind the second figure's hamstring, which could depict the surrounding terrain.

This sealing shows a true smiting pose and introduces an interesting aspect within the scene, that of the fallen or defeated warrior. Though not dead, this figure is in his last moments before the killing blow. The introduction and subsequent use of the fallen warrior will be continually seen during LM I on Crete and the Mainland during LH I.

This is also an interesting development from what is seen outside of the Aegean, where the victor smites down the unarmed individual. At most, the victim tries to fight with his arms or turns away from the blow. However, in the Aegean and Crete, there is a clear desire to show the victim's fight to the death using all his remaining energy to try and find a way out. Images and examples such as this bring up the idea of a warrior

ideology through images of “warriorhood” that would be known throughout the island (Molloy 2013, 61). This warrior ideology is vastly different from what was depicted at the same moment in pharaonic Egypt.

CMS II.6 no. 17

The final example from the site of Hagia Triada (Figure 4.6) is more complex than the previous object. This oval sealing is likely from a ring from Villa Reale, although the findspot is unknown (CMS). The sealing shows something like a narrative in the smiting scene by introducing a third figure. From left to right, there are three figures. The first (Figure A) runs to the right. The second figure (Figure B) prepares to land a fatal blow on Figure A; the final figure (Figure C) lies unmoving on the ground. Between Figures A and B is a pillar that separates Figure A from both Figures B and C, creating a dynamic scene.

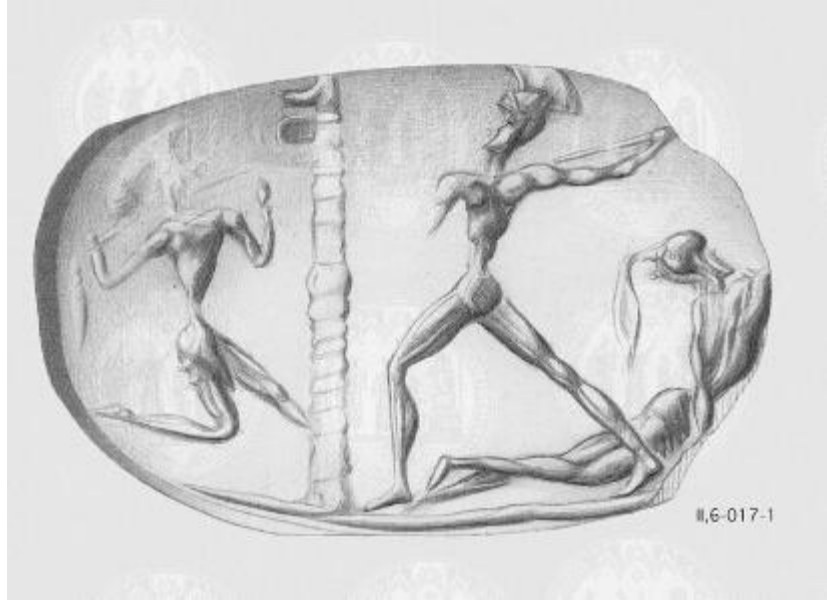


Figure 4.6. CMS II.6 no. 17, drawing, LM I. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Heraklion. Dimensions: 3.10 x 1.95 cm. Courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne.

arachne.dainst.org/entity/1152903

Figure A runs to the right. He strides forward on his left leg while his right leg is bent, highlighting his running movement. The head and neck of Figure A are unclear due to damage to the sealing. His left arm reaches out in a fist while his right arm cocks back in preparation to launch a weapon toward Figure B. It is unclear what type of weapon he holds, but the CMS denotes the weapon as a lance or spear (CMS). There is a noticeable decoration hanging from the end of this weapon. Figure A wears a kilt or codpiece, which can be seen around his upper right quadriceps. He wears no jewelry, nor does he hold defensive weaponry. His lower body is in profile, and the muscular system is again highlighted in the shoulders, hamstrings, and quadriceps.

Figure B is portrayed as larger than Figure A. He wears a plumed helmet with a noticeable cheekpiece. This figure's back is to the viewer, highlighting his athletic build. His right arm cocks back as he aims his weapon in his hand. This weapon looks shorter than the one that Figure A holds. It may be a sword, as it is held in a similar position as a sword-wielder seen in an example from Mycenae, which will be discussed later in this chapter. No pommel is present on the other side of his hand, so it cannot be confirmed that this is a sword. His left arm from the elbow down is missing. Figure B wears a codpiece. He strides forward to the left side of the scene with his left leg leading. He may be wearing footwear. There is some evidence of straps around his back ankle, but it is unclear due to the preservation of the sealing. What is clear is that Figure B's feet are firmly on the groundline.

The body of Figure C is at an angle on the bottom right side of the scene. This position makes Figure B step over him to continue moving toward Figure A. His legs are crossed over one another, highlighting his defeat. The odd position of his left arm lying limply behind his back may suggest he is unconscious or deceased. His head leans to the side, and he is helmeted. The plume on this helmet differs from Figure B's, which may denote different groups in combat. There is no evidence of jewelry or weaponry.

This scene adds to the developing smiting scene in the Aegean. With the addition of a third figure, a story develops, as does the imagery of the victorious warrior. With these figures in play, there is now the "fallen" figure, who has been clearly defeated or even killed; the "fighter," who continues to try to turn the fight to his advantage; and

finally, the “victor” who lands the fatal blow on his opponent. This tripartite scene captures the moment where the victor advances for the final kill at the scene’s climax.

Kato Zakro

One smiting example comes from the palatial site of Zakros (Kato Zakro). This site is on the Eastern coast of Crete. The location highlights that the site functioned as an important port connecting Crete to the East, as evidenced by imported elite materials in the form of ivory, copper, Egyptian stone vases, and semi-precious stones found in the palace (Warren 1985, 101; Branigan 1989, 70). The wealth seen in luxury finished objects and administrative sealings uncovered in House A highlights Zakros’ role in international trade during the Neopalatial period (Wiener 2007, 235).

CMS II.7 no. 20

This seal impression comes from the palatial site of Kato Zakro on the Eastern side of the island of Crete (Figure 4.7). This oval impression was made from a ring (CMS). No distinct groundline is present; the scene incorporates three figures from left to right, which I will refer to as A, B, and C, respectively.

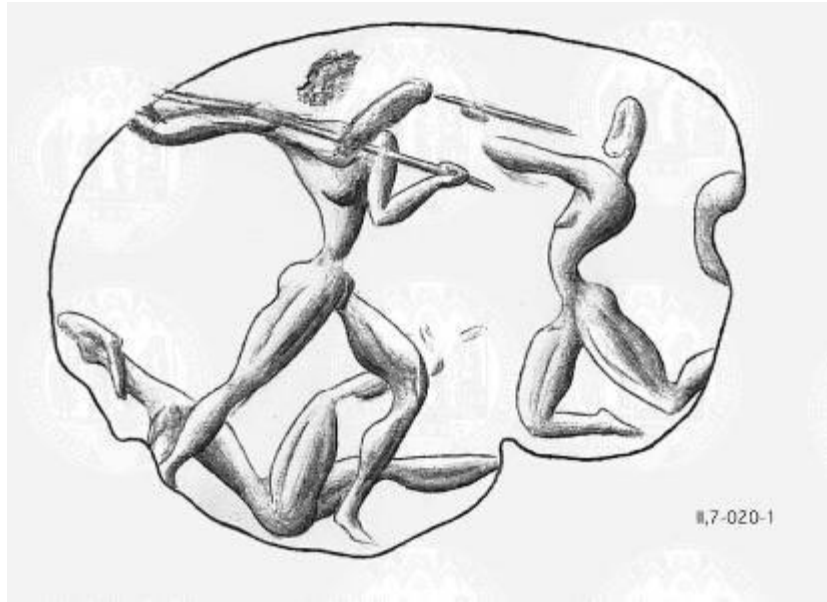


Figure 4.7. CMS II.7 no. 20, drawing, LM I. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Heraklion. Dimensions: 2.0 x 1.5 cm. Courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne. arachne.dainst.org/entity/1153195

Figure A is the fallen figure to the far left of the scene. He has an unclear head, and his torso is twisted in a heap. His body lies limp with an arm over his face. His legs are portrayed as though this figure was knocked down, as his right leg is bent upwards. He holds no clear weaponry, wears no helmet, has no jewelry on his person, and it is unclear if a codpiece is represented.

Figure B is facing to the right and steps forward with his left leg over the fallen figure. There is no clear helmet present and no jewelry. His torso and chest turn as his right arm reaches back while holding a lance. His left-hand grips the front to help drive

the weapon into the opponent. He has no defensive weaponry on his person. Muscle definition is present in his lower body.

And finally, Figure C is on the far right of the scene. He is portrayed as smaller than Figure B. His body is in profile, and he has no helmet, defensive weaponry, or jewelry. His left arm is holding onto a lance, trying desperately to hit Figure B. Figure C is at a disadvantage in this fight as he is on his knees, meaning he cannot get as much forward momentum as he would when standing. He also aims his weapon upward, making it harder to hit his target. Behind him is another object. This may be a rock or another landscape element.

This scene is very similar to what was found on the sealing from Hagia Triada (Figure 4.6). In these two instances, a third figure is present, allowing for a deeper story to be told as the viewer is brought into the scene after the fighting has begun. These scenes have the victorious warrior, the fighter, and the fallen. The fallen figure is interesting as they demarcate the end of the scene in both instances. The placement of the fallen at the edge of the scene adds movement to the victorious warrior while also showcasing power. The victorious warrior in both scenes has already incapacitated one opponent and is now going for the kill against the fighter.

From these depictions, we can see that there was a desire to develop scenes of power through warrior iconography during the LM I period. The smiting pose begins to develop in Crete. The scene in Egypt is representative of ritualized killing where the pharaoh instills power over prisoners who do not fight back. At most, the Egyptian

victims raise their hands and cower, whereas, in Crete, there is a desire for a combative story to be captured in the scene with figures fighting to the death.

CMS VII 129

This lentoid seal stone is said to be from the island of Crete, although no findspot is recorded. This pierced carnelian seal is now in the British Museum,³⁴ dated stylistically to the LM I period. There are two figures in this scene (Figures A and B).

³⁴ This seal was acquired by D. N. Petrides in 1874. D N Petrides was a dealer of antiquities during the late 19th c. The museum number is 1874,0405.5.



Figure 4.8: CMS VII 129, carnelian seal impression, LM I, Crete(?). Now in the British Museum (1874,0405.5). Dimensions: 1.68 x 1.60 cm. Photograph courtesy of © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure A is on the left-hand side of the seal drawing. He is right facing and is depicted in profile with his left foot striding forward. His chest and torso open to the right as his right hand holds a sword in the air, preparing to strike his opponent. While his right hand holds the weapon, his left hand grabs his opponent's tower shield to move it out of

the way. The pose of the body suggests that the most direct manner of killing one's opponent was to reach over the defensive shield to inflict a fatal wound (Evely 1996, 63).

He appears to wear a plumed helmet or a plumed headpiece. A strap crosses his body from his left shoulder to under his right arm and connects to a scabbard. He wears a belt and kilt, as denoted by the horizontal bands on his upper thighs. His strength and muscular build are highlighted in his upper body.

Figure B is the figure on the right side of the object that is left-facing. His body is almost completely covered by a tower shield (CMS). Only his head left arm, and legs from the shin down are represented. He wears more defensive protection in the form of a helmet. It is not plumed, suggesting these men are from two fighting groups. His left hand holds a spear with two notches at the bottom of the blade. He tilts the weapon upward to try to deflect the fatal sword strike.

This is a true smiting pose, like what we have seen in Egypt, as Figure A prepares to land the killing blow. Here, the dominant hand of Figure A wields the sword, while the non-dominant hand moves barriers such as shields out of the way to ensure the sword fatally strikes its target. Note how he does not have protective weaponry outside of a possible plumed helmet. From this scene, Figure A can be called not only the victor but also the character of the victorious warrior, which the Egyptian victorious pharaoh examples can parallel. In many Aegean victorious warrior scenes, the sword fighter lacks armor, whereas his opponent, who also carries a weapon, has defensive armor (Kramer-Hajos 2016, 35).

The material of this seal stone is also important. This scene, along with CMS XII no 292 and CMS I no 12 (listed below), are created on carnelian. Carnelian raises a few questions about the origin of the stone. Carnelian is seen in the Aegean archaeological record, spanning back to the Early Bronze II period (Pieniżek 2016, 54; Blegen 1928, 43-55; Konstantinidi 2001, 55). Carnelian has a long extensive history long before it appeared in the Aegean, with some of the earliest finds dating to the Neolithic period in Anatolia and Cyprus (Pieniżek 2016, 54; see also Astruc et al. 2011, 3423) as well as during predynastic times in Egypt (Andrews 1990 *passim*). There is a high probability that some carnelian from the Aegean dating to the Early Bronze Age originated from the Indus Valley (Pieniżek 2017, 59).

Carnelian is also found throughout the LBA, with a fair number of carnelian seals coming from Crete dating to 1650-1500 BCE (Younger 1979, 41). Carnelian is an imported stone to the Aegean, specifically to Crete and the Mainland, with a few possible origins (Laffineur 1990, 276). Many scholars have often pointed to the Indus Valley, Iran, Caucasus, and Anatolia as possible origins for the stone, as this stone is not local to Crete.³⁵ Younger notes that this stone came from the site of ancient Meluhha, located in

³⁵ See Andrews 1990: 41; Hughes-Brock 1999: 284; Moorey 1994: 97.

southwest Iran, and made its way to the Aegean in a significant amount “to warrant the term import” (1979, 41).

CMS XII no. 292

This pierced carnelian seal stone is believed to be from Crete, although no findspot is recorded (Figure 4.9). This seal is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (26.31.262)³⁶; it is stylistically dated to the LM I period. Two figures are present in this smiting scene (Figures A and B).

³⁶ Seal was Acquired by bequest of Richard B. Seager in 1926. It should be of note that the Metropolitan Museum of Art lists this piece as Minoan, but the CMS only notes Greece as the origin.



Figure 4.9. CMS XII no 292, seal impressions, LM I, Crete? Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (26.31.262). Dimensions: 1.56 x 1.40 cm. Open Access.

Figure A is on the left side of the seal drawing. This figure towers over his competitor. In the drawing, he is shown wearing a helmet, yet no helmet or cap is present in the seal photograph. He holds a sword in his raised right arm, preparing to strike down. He is in the standard position for landing the fatal blow, with one hand grabbing the shield to strike between the neck and the shoulder of figure B. Behind his raised arm is a scabbard with two straps, likely to secure it to himself. He wears a decorated belt and garment with horizontal bands near his knees. His feet have been stylized, and he does not wear any footwear.

Figure B is left facing on the right-hand side of the scene. His head is denoted by the presence of a boar's tusk helmet. He is behind a tower shield that allows only an arm and his legs from the shin down to be seen. There is a diagonal line present on the shield, which may be decoration. And figure B holds either a spear or a lance. This weapon can be traced from his left exposed hand, behind the shield, and through the other side. While the weapon gets close to Figure A, it is unclear if it has pierced him.

Discussion of the Smiting Pose on Crete: Late Minoan I

The depiction of combat iconography continued to grow from the developed foundation that was laid during the late EM period through the MM period (EM III–MM III). During the Late Minoan I period, there was a clear desire to develop these representations of combat, which appear to be influenced by scenes of power from Egypt. But where other motifs, such as the Egyptian divinity Taweret,³⁷ are either direct copies or Egyptian imports, the Aegean smiting pose transforms and adapts the pharaonic smiting pose to fit into the combative narrative that began during the EM III period.

³⁷ Ward 1981, 70–73. Seal carved with Egyptian Taweret found in Platanos tholos B.

The corpus available shows that the smiting scene continued only on seals and sealings. Two examples from this section (Figures 4.8 and 4.9) are on carnelian, an imported elite stone. While the context of two of the objects is unknown, the location of the others showcases that they are from palatial sites and administrative centers. Characteristics of the LM I period include a developed narrative with two to three figures in the scene, various weaponry, movement, and emerging awareness in art when differentiating the “other.”

During the LM I period on Crete,³⁸ there was a continued desire to have two warriors face off against one another, as seen in Figures 4.4 and 4.5. Though these examples only depict two individuals, it is clear these are combative scenes with true smiting poses. They showcase more movement compared to earlier depictions. Another aspect carried over into LM I is the incorporation of different weapons. Scenes of the smiting pose are not limited to one specific weapon. Rather, different types of weapons are seen, such as the lance and the sword (sword seen in Figure 4.4 and lance seen in Figure 4.7). There is not a preferred weapon in the smiting scene on Crete during this period. Scenes with the Aegean smiting pose showcase multiple weapons, whereas the smiting pharaoh in Egypt during this period only used a mace, a clear and concise symbol of pharaonic rule and power. There is only one exception to this, seen in Amenemhat III smiting with a bladed mace (Figure 3.8).

³⁸ Roughly the end of the second Intermediate Period through the reign of Thutmose III of Dynasty XVIII in Egypt.

A third figure was added to the Aegean smiting narrative during this period. This third figure allows an interconnected story to be told. It is not simply just man versus man in a fight to the death; the third character introduces the character of the fallen warrior. This fallen character is just that, defeated fully and entirely. He lies at the bottom of the scene, often delineating the ground line (Figures. 4.6 and 4.7). This tripartite image tells a story of a victorious warrior who had smote the fallen warrior and will conquer the remaining warrior. This tripartite smiting image is predominantly seen in the Mainland during this period and in the subsequent period discussed below. This contrasts with what is being represented in Egypt. Only once are multiple victims depicted from the Early Dynastic period through the reign of Ahmose I of Dynasty XVIII from Tomb 100 from Hierakonpolis.³⁹ Another continued aspect of the Aegean smiting scene that further showcases their local development on the imported pose is the aspect of the victim fighting back. These figures are fighting for any leverage to save their lives, whereas the victims of the smiting pharaoh are either non-responsive to the killing blow or, at most, reach a hand up to where the pharaoh grasps their hair.⁴⁰

During the LM I period, there was an emerging inclination to denote different groups of people from one another. From the LM I objects available on Crete, four instances showcase the differentiation of people (roughly 66%). The individual, group,

³⁹ See Figure 3.2. I am discounting the Narmer palette, as the fallen enemies are not interacting with the scene above.

⁴⁰ Victims in Figures 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6 reach an arm up to where the pharaoh holds their hair. Figure 3.8 does have a weapon that was likely meant to denote who specifically the individual was. Refer to Amenemhat III and Figure 3.8 for more.

and even social differences are captured with the inclusion of jewelry, headgear design, and helmets. Figure 4.4 from Hagia Triada includes jewelry and a headband on the victor and not seen on the victim. Figure 4.6, also from Hagia Triada, shows three figures belonging to two groups. The plumes on the helmets of the fighter and the fallen are the same, whereas the plume of the victorious warrior does not match. Lastly, the two examples from unknown contexts denote the “other.” Figure 4.8 has two types of helmets represented; the victorious warrior wears a plumed helmet, and the victim wears a boar’s tusk helmet. Helmets also play a role in Figure 4.9, where the victorious warrior wears no helmet, and the victim wears a stylized boar’s tusk helmet.⁴¹ These subtle differences suggest that artists on Crete were working to make groups of people identifiable to the users of the seals. This is vastly different from what is seen in Egypt. From the beginning of Pharaonic Egypt, the figure(s) of the “other” has always been explicit in who they are and what group of people they belong to. Examples in the previous chapter usually incorporate hieroglyphic text explaining the scene and who exactly is involved.⁴²

Combat scenes with a victorious warrior were developed on Crete during the LM I period. Evidence of trade with Egypt from an early period on Crete in the form of elite

⁴¹ While these differences may denote the group of people these individuals belong to, this dissertation will not investigate who exactly the “other” is in these scenes. It is my hope to expand this project in the future to incorporate this question into my research to highlight further who exactly the “victorious warrior” is and the role he plays in the iconography of the Aegean.

⁴² Figure 3.3 has explicit symbols that represent lower Egypt. Figure 3.7 mentions “Asiatics,” and Figures 3.5 and 3.8 mention “menet” in the smiting scene. Other examples also use costuming and jewelry to help differentiate the pharaoh from the victim.

materials from the sites mentioned above suggests that iconographic aspects were traded along with materials, as seen with the Minoan Genius.⁴³ Iconographic connections between Crete and the Mainland continue to be seen, with inter-Aegean imports during the Shaft Grave period seen below.

The Smiting Pose on the Mainland: LH I– II

We now shift our focus to the Mainland during the Late Helladic I–II (LH I–II) Period (roughly 1700–1400 BCE).⁴⁴ With international trade linking the Aegean with Egypt, the smiting pose also made its way to the Mainland, with some of the best examples from this period found at the site of Mycenae from objects in Grave Circle A.

Schliemann discovered and excavated what is now referred to as Grave Circle A in the late 19th century. The grave goods, notably from Grave Circle A, are elite objects

⁴³ By MM III, there is already Egyptian aspects being seen in art from the site of Knossos as evidenced from the Minoan Genius, which shares Egyptian characteristics of the goddess Taweret (see Weingarten 1991, 9). Other imported motifs from Egypt and the East are lions, apes, griffins, bees, and hieroglyphic characters such as the sistrum. These are found on seals (Yule 1987, 161–175).

⁴⁴ LH I–II is roughly concurrent to the Second Intermediate Period through the early reign of Thutmose IV of Dynasty XVIII of the New Kingdom.

that held symbolic value and represented a new wealth not seen before on the Mainland. These objects, made from gold and other precious materials, are some of the finest examples from the Late Helladic period. These luxury items boast local and foreign influences from Crete and beyond, highlighting inter-Aegean and long-distance trade.⁴⁵

Grave III, Grave Circle A, Mycenae

Grave III has the remains of three individuals referred to as Λ, M, and N and was referred to as the “tomb of women” by Schliemann (Papazoglou-Manioudaki et al. 2010, 160–161). Goods include gold diadems, seals bearing combat seen below, amethyst beads, carnelian, a bronze knife, and gold vessels (see Karo 1930–1933 *passim*).

⁴⁵ Gold rings and gold cushion-shaped seals are closely connected to the Minoan tradition and therefore should be viewed as an inter-Aegean import from Crete. Other artifacts such as the ostrich rhyta from Grave Circle A are of Minoan inspiration. For Crete imports see Graziadio 1998,431; Watrous 1993,82; Dickinson 1977 *passim*; 1989 *passim*; Laffineur 1990 *passim*. For gold interconnections, see Davis 2015; Laffineur 1995; Muhly 2015; Pantazis et al 2002. For foreign objects, see Graziadio 1991; Betancourt 2007.

This gold pillow seal was discovered in grave III (Figure 4.10). The gold rings and cushion seals in Grave Circle A are believed to be a Cretan import.⁴⁶ The scene includes two figures battling to death. Looking at the scene from left to right, they will be referred to as figures A and B, respectively.

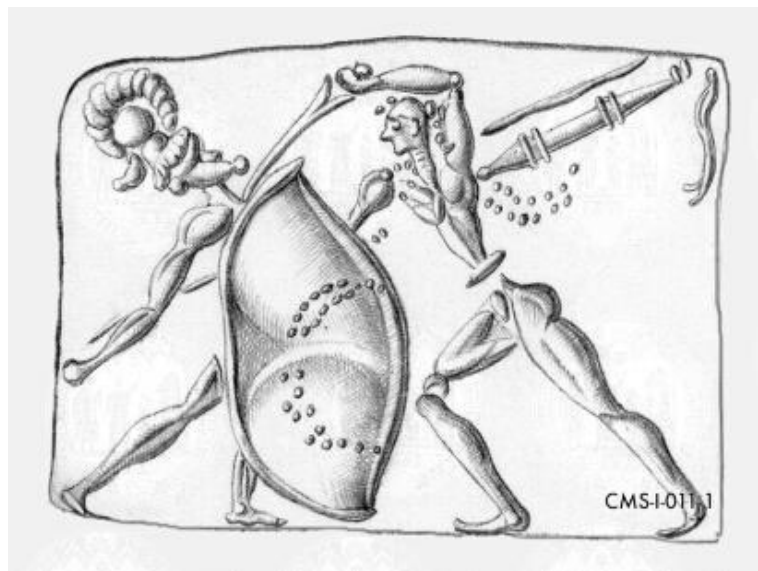


Figure 4.10: CMS I no. 11, Drawing, LH I. Now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Dimensions: 1.8 x 1.2 cm. Courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne.

arachne.dainst.org/entity/1150048

⁴⁶ Believed to be an import from Crete although the iconography has been dubbed ‘non-minoan’ (Laffineur 1990, 281).

Figure A, on the left-hand side, has just been struck in the soft tissue between the neck and the shoulder. This injury is not only battle-ending but also fatal. The scene perfectly captures the moment of utter loss Figure A is experiencing. He wears a plumed helmet, possibly a boar tusk helmet, with a noticeable cheekpiece. Figure A also holds a figure-of-eight shield to defend himself. This shield type was also common along with the tower shield (see Figure 4.8). This shield covers the torso of his body with only his right arm, right leg, and left foot uncovered.

He wields a lance in his right arm and desperately tries to thrust it forward. This lance can be traced through the figure-of-eight shield behind Figure B. Unfortunately, he missed his target, paying the ultimate price for Figure A. This figure is muscular, as detail is noted in his arms and legs.

Figure B is the victor in this scene. He strides from right to left with his right foot leading and propelling his weight forward. His right foot is on the ground to offer stability while his back foot is raised. The position of the feet here imitates movement within the scene. His face and legs are in profile, while his torso opens to the left. His hair is stylized with small circles. They may also hint at beads which would denote this individual as high-ranking, especially when considering the presence of jewelry. He wears a necklace as well. A belt and codpiece are present around his slim waist. The musculature is noted throughout the entire body.

His left arm is raised, and he holds a sword. The sword is shown in a downward stabbing motion as it connects with the neck of Figure A. This manner of killing an

opponent has similarities seen in CMS VII no. 129 (fig 4.8) from Crete. This is a practical form of attack, as the throat and neck are not protected by armor, allowing the attack to be lethal (Kramer-Hajos 2016, 38). Figure B may also be wearing shoes, which can be seen as a strap around the left ankle. The addition of shoes would further separate him from his opponent. Shoes, jewelry, and helmet types play a role in denoting who is who in these scenes and are important in the identification of the figures.

Finally, the most important feature here, which has parallels to objects found on Crete, is that he has no defensive or protective weaponry. Figure B simply has a sword. This is critical for the victorious warrior as it showcases he does not need anything else to win as he is the ideal warrior. The swordsman is always portrayed as the victor in the scene, even when facing armed opponents. In a duel especially, the swordsman is always poised to win in combat (Kramer-Hajos 2016, 34).

CMS I no. 12

This carnelian seal stone also comes from Grave III (Figure 4.11). As stated above, carnelian is an import from the east. This scene depicts another smiting scene and includes two warriors with figure-of-eight shields, only the second seal to do so from Mycenae. This seal stone is of note due to the scene depicted on it and the material.



Figure 4.11: CMS I no 12. Drawing, LH I. Now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Dimensions: 2.3 x 1.7 cm. Courtesy of idai.objects.arachne.arachne.dainst.org/entity/1150049

These two figures are locked in combat, with Figure A, on the left, crouching in front of Figure B. He is facing Figure B, who approaches from the right. Figure A holds a figure of eight shield on his back with decorations along the side. The head of this warrior is heavily stylized and is represented by a boar tusk helmet. He wears no jewelry, which may highlight his status. He wears a double belt and kilt with three horizontal lines and carries no weapon. The body's positioning highlights the musculature in his back and legs.

Figure B is the victorious warrior. He strides to the left with his right foot leading. His back heel is lifted, which aids in the movement of his pose. Both feet are on the ground line. He has a detailed figure-of-eight shield behind him. A boar's tusk helmet also represents his head, with a cheek piece easily seen in his profile. He wears a one-strand necklace as well as a belt and kilt. The detailing on this kilt is not the same as in Figure A. His right arm is extended forward, grabbing the helmeted head of Figure A with his raised left arm raised. The left-hand plunges a sword down into the soft tissue between the neck and the shoulder, a classic smiting spot that is a fatal blow. The feature behind Figure B may be a specific landscape, with Karo suggesting that they are "bushes" (Karo 1930–1933, 59). Two horizontal lines denote the groundline in the smiting scene.

Grave IV, Grave Circle A, Mycenae

Grave IV has five burials, with three of them wearing gold masks. This grave includes many rich grave goods, many of which are made of gold. These include diadems, rings and seals, lion head rhyton, ostrich egg rhyton, swords, silver krater, and the cup of Nestor (Laffineur 1990, 249; Karo 1930–1933 *passim*; PapazoglouManioudaki et al. 2010, 161–163).

CMS I no. 16

Schliemann excavated this gold ring in 1876 from Grave IV (Figure 4.12); it is dated stylistically to the LH I period (*CMS*). This ring was believed to be placed in the grave around 1600 BCE but may have been produced on Crete earlier.⁴⁷ This grave is well known for the inclusion of many gold objects (Karo 1930–1933). The scene has four figures enclosed by rockwork. From left to right, they will be referred to as figures A–D respectively.

⁴⁷ Phillips 2021, 18. May have been an import from Crete due to the rockwork which surrounds the scene. Krzyszkowska notes that this is typical of Neopalatial Crete (Krzyszkowska 2005, 250–252).



Figure 4.12: CMS I no. 16, drawing. Now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Dimensions: 3.5 x 2.1 cm. Courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne. arachne.dainst.org/entity/1150053

These four figures are locked in battle, and each plays a particular role in the larger scene. Figure A is depicted with a tower shield covering most of his body. There are small circle nodules on it as decoration. Only his helmeted head, an arm, and a leg can be seen outside of the shield. He is in a crouched position wearing a single-plume boar tusk helmet, and he holds a spear which can be seen on the other side of the shield (Phillips 2021, 18). The spear has three “ties” with abstract shapes sticking out of the shaft. This may be a decoration denoting this man’s identity or the group he belongs to.

Figure B is kneeling while moving toward the center of the scene and the central standing figure. His heels are raised, suggesting movement. This pose is reminiscent of a “last stand” where the warrior may know he will not survive but will do everything in his power to ensure he does some damage to the opposing warrior. Due to his position, he has to angle his head up to see Figure C. Figure B has short hair, and no boar tusk helmet is depicted. His right arm cocks back with a sword in hand, indicated by the pommel, and his chest opens to the viewer. The tip of his sword touches the cheekpiece of the central standing figure. His left hand reaches up to grasp Figure C in an attempt to land his blow. He also wears a belt and a kilt.

Figure C is standing in the center of the scene with his right foot forward to balance his weight as his back left foot propels him forward to the left side. He wears a boar’s tusk helmet, similar to Figure A, although the plume differs. His right arm holds Figure B by the hair to better control his opponent. His left hand holds a dagger or a short sword⁴⁸, poised to strike down between the neck and shoulder of Figure B. This figure is lean, and his musculature is noticeable. Like Figure B, he also wears a belt and a kilt.

There has been debate on who the victor is in this scene between figures B and C. Kramer-Hajos has suggested that swordsmen are never defeated, yet the weapon in Figure C’s hand is not aimed at Figure B but rather his own neck (2016, 35). This would

⁴⁸ This may be a short sword and should not be discounted. Short swords appear during the later EM I period on Crete at the site of Hagia Photia in tomb 216 (Davaras and Betancourt 2004, 196–198).

thus make Figure B the victor. To my knowledge, there is no imagery of a warrior suicide in seal iconography, and this would be the first. A strong warrior ideology⁴⁹ would have had to have been in place during this time if the man holding the dagger were to take his own life (Papadopoulos 2006, 257–59).

Phillips argued that figure C is the victor since figure C sets up the killing strike (Phillips 2021, 19). The interaction between these two characters is interesting and thus requires a deeper investigation. In favor of the view that figure C was the victor, it should be noted that the pose of figure B is not stable compared to the positioning of figure C's lower body⁵⁰. Thus, there is an argument that the victor is figure B since other depictions show that a true victor does not need any defensive weaponry to win. All that is needed is their sword (Kramer-Hajos 2016, 34–35). Figure B does fit that motif, as he does not have any armor. Figure C, on the other hand, does, in the boar's tusk helmet. Swords, including short swords, are better suited for group fighting and single combat as they, unlike daggers, do not need to be paired with other weaponry (Molloy 2010, 413). They function well in close and mid-range combat.

⁴⁹ It cannot be said what the belief of warriors was surrounding defeat or how warfare was conducted during this time. Perhaps they held the belief of death before defeat. If that is the case, the point suggested by Kramer-Hajos should be reevaluated. Warrior ideology and identity play a large role in this. While this dissertation will not investigate the warrior ideology of the Bronze Age Aegean, it is my hope to investigate this human aspect and how it relates to artwork in the future. See also Molloy 2013.

⁵⁰ Experimental positioning using real bodies was done for this. It was found that the position of figure B is unstable and unsteady. With one hit the individual in figure B's position easily toppled, whereas the individual in figure C's position was sturdy and well-balanced. Human factors such as adrenaline, fight or flight, and others need to be taken into account in the idealized piece. For human aspects in the instance of killing, see Molloy and Grossman 2007, 188–202.

Finally, figure D is to the far right of the scene and can be classified as “the fallen.” He sits on the rock border. He appears alive, unlike other examples, but defeated. He looks to the left, where the main action continues to take place. His arms are limp at his sides, and he makes no effort to rise. He wears a cap or fitted helmet and has a beard. Figure D has no weaponry at all. He, too, is lean with his muscles highlighted.

Pylos

Pylos Combat Agate, Tomb of the Griffin Warrior.

The final piece from the Mainland comes from the palatial site of Pylos, which is located on the west coast of Greece in Messenia. The site of Pylos is best known as the Palace of Nestor. The seal stone (Figure 4.13), known today as the Pylos combat agate, was found in July 2015 near Tholos tomb IV, which is near the Palace of Nestor and is now referred to as the Tomb of the Griffin Warrior (Stocker and Davis 2016, 628; Stocker and Davis 2017, 584). The seal stone was on the body’s right-hand side, along with four gold rings.



Figure 4.13: Pylos Combat Agate. Dimensions: 3.6 x 2.2 cm. Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati. Jeff Vanderpool. Fair Use.

This amygdaloid seal is banded agate, pierced at either end and only carved on one side (Stocker and Davis 2017, 589). Agate does not narrow down an origin, unfortunately. Agate is found throughout the Mainland but was also a common material for Cretan seal stones during the Neopalatial period (*Ibid*, 600; see also Krzyszkowska 2005, 82–89). Stocker and Davis also note that the Mainland lacks workshops; therefore, this piece may have come from Crete as an inter-Aegean import. From left to right, there are three figures in the scene, two active, with one already deceased.

Figure A commands the scene with impressive force. He strides forward with his left leg in a lunge over the fallen figure. He has long, curled hair that flows down his

back. His face is carved in profile, and he wears a two-strand necklace.⁵¹ Ties for the necklace can be seen behind him in the curls of his hair, highlighting his forward movement in the scene. He is in the classic smiting pose with his arm raised above his head, preparing to strike in a downward motion. His raised arm has a bracelet around the wrist. In his right hand is a sword. It is heavily detailed and has been noted by Stocker and Davis as potentially a Type A or B sword due to similarities to the swords from the Shaft Graves of Mycenae (2017, 594–95). When looking at aspects of this sword, it seems more likely it is of the Type B category due to the horned hilt, stability of the weapon, and popularity on the Mainland. The length of the Type A sword puts the blade at risk for damage by percussive force and strains the user's hand and wrist. Type A swords also require more time between swings (Peatfield 1999, 69). In a scene where the victorious hero is against two people, using the smaller, mobile, and more tactical Type B sword would make sense. Similar horned types have been found in the shaft graves at the site of Mycenae in Grave Circle A.

His left arm reaches over the figure-of-eight shield to grab the plume of the victim's helmet. On his left arm is a bracelet with a possible amygdaloid seal and two other bracelets. The chest of figure A is open to the viewer, which showcases his defined muscles. He wears a codpiece with a scabbard tied to his waist (Stocker and Davis 2017, 592). The ties to the scabbard can be seen in fine detail trailing behind his body, capturing

⁵¹ Similar type of jewelry can be seen on CMS II.6 no 15 from Hagia Triada (Figure 4.4).

forward movement towards the victim. Figure A also appears to have footwear on, along with an anklet. If not an anklet, then most likely straps of the footwear. There also seems to be a band around the bottom of his calf on his right leg, but unclear what it is.

Figure B is the victim fighting the victorious warrior. His head is forcibly moved to the side to allow figure A's sword to pierce the soft tissue between his neck and shoulder, a fatal blow. This warrior wears a plumed helmet with a design in relief.⁵² It has been proposed by Stocker and Davis this helmet may have been made of metal rather than leather or even boar tusk (Stocker and Davis 2017, 595). A comparable seal with the image of a plumed helmet can be seen in CMS I no 153 from the site of Mycenae. In this seal, though, the detail is clear the helmet itself is created from boar tusks. The back of the helmet has extra protection with a neck guard to protect that area from blunt force trauma. This portion has been suggested to have boar tusks lining it.⁵³ The helmet's plume is pliant as it moves with the grip of figure A.

The head of Figure B is contorted so that his features are shown in the profile. Just below his chin is the strap for his figure of eight shield. The inclusion of this shield type is important for several reasons, the first being that there are only a handful of other

⁵² Stocker and Davis 2017, 595. See also Fortenberry 1990, 110–111, discusses the use of bronze and ivory attachments to helmets. The design as an attachment should be considered. If they are attachments, then is this design specific to a group of people or a warrior rank? See note 19.

⁵³ See Fortenberry 1990, 104–106 for neck protection and placement on helmets.

representations of this shield type being used in combat, with two depictions from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae.⁵⁴ While important for full body protection against an opponent, this shield would have been extremely heavy and, due to its size, would not have allowed for swift movement when in active combat. A stitching design is present on the shield, perhaps to denote who the individual is.

Figure B holds a socketed spear with a clear and defined midrib in his right arm. While spears are useful for long and mid-range combat, they are likely ineffective in close combat. The arm that holds the spear is detailed in the musculature. He wears a kilt that is partially blocked by the shield. The patterning matches one of the fallen warriors. There are also fringes at the bottom of the garment. What is most interesting about this figure is the detail in his feet. Both feet are shown as compared to Figure A. There is no evidence of footwear on either of his feet. Both of his feet are on the uneven ground line in the scene.

Finally, the fallen warrior is Figure C. Figure A is careful not to step on him as he smites Figure B. Both of Figure C's arms lay limp, with his right arm over his head. On the ground behind his left arm is a sword with a distinct horned hilt. Grave V from Grave Circle A at Mycenae has an excellent parallel to this sword. The viewer can only see the back of the fallen warrior, who lies on the uneven ground line highlighting a rough terrain. He wears a kilt similar to Figure B, perhaps denoting that these individuals are

⁵⁴ Stocker and Davis 2017, 597; Rehak 1999, 232. Found in Grave III of Grave Circle A. CMS I nos 11 and 12 (Figures 4.10 and 4.11, respectively). Also seen on the silver Battle Krater as well as a silver figure of eight rhyta from Grave IV, Mycenae.

allied. His right leg is bent, whereas his left is out in front, marking his last step. He does not wear any footwear, and his discarded scabbard is in front of his left leg.

This scene highlights the three distinct characters seen in a smiting scene of three or more individuals: the fallen, the fighter, and the victorious warrior. Figure A is the victorious warrior and, as such, does not have any defensive weapons. He fights with only a sword in his hand. In this scene, he wears jewelry around his neck and wrists to denote his elite status. He remains composed, fighting two opponents, and is the clear victor over Figure B while showcasing the epitome of the victorious warrior. Figure B embodies the archetype of the “fighter.” He carries a lance and a figure-of-eight shield while wearing a decorated plumed helmet, typical of a warrior’s panoply during the LBA. Although he has defensive and offensive weapons, he cannot and will not best the victorious warrior. The final character is that of the fallen. The fallen figure adds depth to the entire scene and creates a narrative centered around the victorious warrior.

Discussion of the Smiting Pose on the Mainland during LH I-II

The iconography of the smiting pose makes its way to the Mainland, likely due to long-established trade connections with Crete during the Late Helladic I–II period (LH I–II). The finds from the Shaft Graves of grave Circle A from Mycenae and from Pylos highlight the Mainland people’s preference for the smiting pose. The objects with the smiting pose on the Mainland during the LH period bear similar characteristics to smiting

scenes seen on Crete during LM I. From the Mainland, the artists of the Shaft Grave period have a clear desire to capture different aspects of warriors and power, which pair well visually with the elite swords and prestige grave goods in burials. The corpus of seals bearing the smiting pose during LH I–II incorporates two to four warriors fighting to the death, specialized weaponry for the victorious warrior, and further representation of different groups of people and how they view the “other.”

The use of two or more individuals continues to build the victorious warrior motif. The figure of the fallen warrior, also seen on Crete, continues to be used on the Mainland, creating a narrative in their martial iconography. The inclusion of a third and even the fourth figure (seen in Figure 4.11) creates a tripartite smiting scene that becomes typical of the period. With the addition of the fallen figure(s), a backstory is continually developed in terms of the strength and prowess of the victorious warrior. Stories surrounding this figure and his victims are being told on a small-scale elite material that would have allowed scenes of power to travel with their elite owners. The evidence available from the Mainland from this period comes from burials, further cementing that this motif and scene would have been known to only a select group of individuals who belonged to the elite and the emerging rulers.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ There has been discussion surrounding Grave Circle A from Mycenae and the tomb of the Griffin Warrior from Pylos that the individuals buried here belong to the elite and emerging rulers (Graziadio 1991; Malafouris 2008; Laffineur 1998; Lewartowski 2019; Harrel 2009; Stocker and Davis 2017)

Similar to Crete's smiting scenes, the weapons incorporated are typical of the warrior's panoply, especially when it comes to defensive weaponry. The inclusion of shields differs from the smiting scenes on Crete, and they are important in the overall feel of the scene. All examples in this section depict either tower shields or figure-of-eight shields. The placement of shields in the smiting scenes creates a contrast between victor and all others. The victor does not need them, although examples sometimes depict the winner with a shield (Figure 4.11). In terms of weaponry, the preferred weapon is the sword. The fighter and fallen figures' weapons range from daggers to lances, but the victor will always carry a sword. Again, weapon-wise, this is completely different than the weaponry used by pharaohs in the smiting scenes of Egypt. The mace is the weapon of the smiting pharaoh, and it is the sword that is the weapon of the victorious warrior.

Aspects of the "other" are also evolving on the Mainland. Three of the four artifacts discussed above show inherent diversity in who is represented. Figure 4.10 from Mycenae highlights the victorious warrior by including jewelry, no helmet, and a sword compared to the victim, who wears a plumed boar's tusk helmet and uses a lance. In this case, the boar's tusk helmet may point to a specific group, but from the iconography, all that can be said is that the victorious warrior is likely elite. Figure 4.12, also from Mycenae, showcases two groups of people involved in the scene. Two figures wear plumed boar's tusk helmets, while the other two wear either caps or no head coverings. The figures of the former group use a lance and a dagger, while the kneeling figure of the latter group has a sword. This example has more subtle differences between the two

groups. Finally, the Pylos combat agate (Figure 4.13) shows incredible detail that signifies the “other” against the victorious warrior. The fallen warrior and the fighter wear the same outfit, which may suggest they are from the same group. This is inherently different than the victorious warrior who wears a codpiece, jewelry, no helmet, and who uses a sword. The fighter figure wears a distinctly designed plumed helmet, and his counterpart wears no headgear. Perhaps the decoration on the plumed cap was known to the seal’s owner, who had chosen to include it in the artwork. But that cannot be said for certain as the corpus is limited.

The scenes from Crete focus on aspects of duels and combat, whereas the smiting poses on the Mainland showcase distinct martial iconography at the climax of the scene. On Crete the evolution of the smiting pose begins with domination and chase scenes that are later evolved into the scene focusing on the fatal blow by the victor. The Mainland further evolved the pose with the edition of a third character to capture the intensity of the narrative captures in stone. Capturing the pinnacle of the fight adds to the emerging warrior ideology. Whereas in Egypt, the pharaoh is immortalized just prior to actually smiting. The smiting pharaoh in Egypt is arranged in such a way that order over chaos is easily understood. For the elites of the Aegean, the focus is on the killing blow that emphasizes complete dominance over the other. The Pylos combat agate is the last true smiting pose that is seen on the Mainland. Later scenes from the Palace of Nestor showcase combat iconography in a different setting, making them not a true smiting pose but still crucial in the history of warfare motifs in the Aegean.

Summary of the Smiting Pose in the Aegean

The evolution of the smiting pose in the Aegean goes through three phases. The first phase begins with early domination and combat scenes during EM III–MM III. This phase hints at the Aegean people working out different scenes to show power.

Domination and combat are seen early in EM III, evidenced by CMS VSIA no. 294 (Figure 4.1). Combat and training scenes are also being developed, showing different expressions of power during MM III seen in CMS II.8 no. 280 (Figure 4.2). During this phase, evidence suggests imports from Egypt and the East via maritime trade. While there are imports in the form of raw material, such as ivory, or finished goods from Knossos, they are in small amounts.

The second phase (LM IA–B) sees the scene develop a strong smiting figure reminiscent of the smiting pharaoh in Egypt on Crete. While the victorious warrior has iconographic similarities to the smiting pharaoh, the smiting scenes on Crete have a distinct Aegean take on the subject matter which may suggest a blend of local and imported ideas of power. The Aegean then developed two characters to challenge the victorious warrior. The most notable is the character of the fighter, who is an active participant in the scene, whereas, in Egypt, the victim does not resist the ritual killing. The second is the fallen figure. This figure expands on the depicted scene to further accentuate the victor's power. Increased Egyptian imports are also seen during this phase, suggesting a strong maritime trade connection.

The third phase takes place on the Mainland (LH I–II), especially during the Shaft Grave period, where the victorious warrior is developed to be central in the battle and fight scenes. During this phase, there is the continued use of both the fighting and fallen figures. The Battle of Glen ring (CMS I no. 16, Figure 4.12) adds a fourth figure, though this is not seen elsewhere. The third phase showcases the continued use of trade routes with Egypt as well as inter-Aegean trade between the Mainland and Crete.

Following the LH II period on the Mainland, the victorious warrior and smiting scene are not seen in the material culture. From LH III on, there is a desire to focus on scenes of power between men versus animals rather than interpersonal combat between men. Combat is still shown in artwork later in the LBA, as seen in the Battle Scene fresco from the Palace of Nestor. Trade continued with Egypt, allowing for the Aegeanized smiting pose to make its way to Egypt and influence the artistic canon of the smiting pharaoh beginning in the later part of Dynasty XVIII.

CHAPTER 5

AFTER THE AEGEAN: THE SMITING POSE IN EGYPT DURING DYNASTY

XVIII–XIX

Pharaonic Egypt's version of the smiting pose remained unchanged from the Predynastic period through Dynasty XVIII of the New Kingdom, which saw the reigns of great pharaohs, including Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. New Kingdom rulers expanded borders through conquest and trade throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. Their artwork reflected a developing preference to showcase the pharaoh smiting multiple individuals at once to highlight their divine might further.

The previous chapter focused on the importation and development of the smiting pose in the Aegean. The emerging elite Minoan and Mycenaean families used the pose during the Late Minoan/ Late Helladic I–II period. The smiting pose vanished from the archaeological record in the Aegean after the LH II period but continued to be used by the rulers of Egypt. During Dynasty XVIII, artwork depicting the smiting pharaoh would change for the first time in over a thousand years during the reign of Thutmose IV. From the iconographic analysis of New Kingdom rulers, I propose that these kings desired how the Aegean elites achieved a visual representation of power through the smiting pose during the middle of the LBA. During this period, trade between Egypt and the Aegean continues to suggest two-way exchange between the Minoans and Mycenaeans in the Aegean and pharaonic Egypt.

While the pharaohs used the smiting pose throughout their reign, this chapter begins with international trade of the New Kingdom, followed by instances where the pharaonic smiting pose deliberately changed from the long-held conservative pose during Dynasty XVIII and XIX. Examples come from the reigns of Thutmose IV, Seti I, Ramesses II, and Merneptah; these are the only instances where iconographic development is witnessed. While the smiting scene is known long after the reign of Merneptah both into and through the Iron Age, the scope of this dissertation will not cover the collapse of the Bronze Age (roughly late 12th century BCE). The visual analysis ends in 1200 BCE.⁵⁶

New Kingdom International Diplomacy and Trade

International diplomacy and trade with the Aegean world continued during Dynasty XVIII and XIX, so much so that during the reigns of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, and Amenhotep II, forty-six tombs bear tribute scenes (Matić 2019, 653–654). Six Theban tombs have representations of Aegean peoples (*keftiu*) from Senenmut, Intef,

⁵⁶ During the collapse of the Bronze Age, people are moving throughout the entire eastern Mediterranean to escape destruction. This corresponds with the later rulers of Dynasty XIX and into Dynasty XX. This dissertation will not cover the Bronze Age collapse in this study but the hope is to further investigate the smiting pose through the Iron Age in the future.

Puimre, Useramun, Menkhepereseneb, and Rekhmire.⁵⁷ The figures in these scenes have been identified as *wr.w* or princes but are understood as emissaries (Matić 2019, 654; See also Matić 2015, 2014, and 2012). Panagiotopolous notes these scenes of tribute may depict real and historical visits by the Aegean peoples (2006, 665). The detail given to the Aegean emissaries in these tomb representations shows the Egyptian artists had high regard for them, as they are not depicted in a way that highlights their “otherness” as inferior, as the Egyptians did with the Nubians and Asiatics (Panagiotopolous 2006, 394). The Aegean emissaries being represented as such shows the mutual respect Egypt and the Aegean elites had for one another. Even the goods the emissaries brought as tribute to the pharaoh were artistically rendered appropriate for the ruler, thus suggesting the people of the Aegean world recognized the Egyptian king as a peer (Matić 2019, 665). In 1437 BCE, Thutmose III received an envoy while on a campaign from the prince of *Tanaju*. This prince brought a silver shawabti vessel of *Keftiu* workmanship with copper and silver vessels (Kelder 2019, 44–45).

The *Tanaju* are believed to be the Mycenaean people. *Tanaja* occurred primarily during the reign of Amenhotep III, likely due to increased trade with the Aegean during his reign (Cline 1990, 25; 1994, 41). An Aegean list is inscribed at the mortuary temple at Ko el-Hetan. This list mentions sites on the Mainland and Crete, such as Mycenae and Knossos. In 1936, a papyrus was discovered by Pendlebury from the site of Amarna.

⁵⁷ For more on *Keftiu* and Aegean emissaries see Matić and Francović 2017, 105–130; Rehak 1998, 39–50; Rehak 1996, 35–51; Matthäus 1995, 177–194; Wachsmann 1987; Cline 1987, 1–36.

These remains have figures which show an unidentified group of people coming to the aid of Egypt who was battling Libyan warriors (Kelder 2010, 126). Schofield and Parkinson argue the armor worn by this group parallels the Aegean boar's tusk helmet (1994; 1995 *passim*). A boar's tusk with perforations for attaching it to a leather cap has been uncovered from the site Qantir (Kelder 2010, 127). Linear B tablets and the later Amarna letters are mute on foreign relations with each other making international relations open to interpretation (Koehl 2008, 270).

During the reign of Ramesses II, trade with the Aegean world flourished again. Personal connections with the Aegean can be seen in the four sets of silver earrings worn by Ramesses II's wife, Nefertari (Kelder 2010, 127; Koehl 1999, 424). During Late Minoan III, imports into Crete and the Mainland showed directional trade between Egypt and the Aegean world, especially with Mycenaean pottery imported during the reign of Ramesses II. In the Aegean, two references were discovered at Knossos that mention Egypt and Egyptians on Linear B tablets dating to this period (Cline 1990, 18). Egypt and the Aegean kingdoms were very much aware of each other during the LBA. While documentation is missing in the archaeological record to support this, Aegean connections can be found in the art of New Kingdom Egypt. Minoan-style frescoes from the site of Tell el-Daba highlight artistic exchange and point to a desire and an active choice to have international artwork be represented.⁵⁸ The examples explored below from the reigns of Thutmose IV, Seti I, Ramesses II, and Merneptah also denote a desire to

⁵⁸ See Brysbaert 2007, 151–162; Bietak 2005, 83–90; Morgan 2005, 21–44; Bietak 2000, 33–42; Marinatos 1998, 83–100; Bietak and Marinatos 1995, 49–62. See also Crowley 1977 for motifs exchanged between the Aegean and Egypt.

expand and develop the long-held smiting pose. The evolution of the smiting pose in the New Kingdom allows for further development in the visual representation of personal power. Diplomacy during this period allowed for high level of elite exchange to highlight power and prestige between kingdoms and their rulers.

Dynasty XVIII

Thutmose IV (1400–1391/90 BCE, Dynasty XVIII)

Thutmose IV came to power upon his father's death circa 1400 BCE. Like those who had come before, his father kept pharaonic artwork concerning the smiting pharaoh conservative and harked back to the iconography of the Old Kingdom with the presence of divine figures watching over the scene.⁵⁹ Thutmose IV changed this iconic image during his reign.

An example of the early transformation of the smiting pose is found in an elephant ivory wrist guard, found in the excavations of Amarna (Figure 5.1), and now is in Berlin. The openwork scene bears the smiting pose with Thutmose IV smiting down an enemy with the deity Montu looking on (Bryan 1991, 162). This piece is now held in the

⁵⁹ See figures 3.3, 3.6, and 3.8. See also catalog.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AM 21685). From left to right, figure A is the god Montu who hands the king a *khepesh*. Figure B is a long-haired and bearded Asiatic enemy grasped by Figure C, Thutmose IV. This piece begins a new tradition of the smiting pose, which can be seen in adding an active third character.



Figure 5.1: Ivory guard of Thutmose IV, Tel el-Amarna, Dynasty XVIII, New Kingdom. Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AM 21685). Length: 11.4 cm. By Osama Shukir Muhammed Amin. CC-BY-SA 4.0.

Montu, figure A, strides from left to right and formally marks the end of the smiting scene detailed in the wrist guard. He strides forward in profile with his right foot and wears a kilt with a striped pattern. Montu is the falcon-headed deity associated with

war in Egypt and is represented as half human, half falcon. His origins date to the Old Kingdom with reference to him in Pyramid Texts, but his importance would rise during the Middle Kingdom (Wilkinson 2017, 203). His headdress is a sun disk with two plumes. He carries a *khepesh* in his extended arm, highlighting his ties to warfare, while his other arm holds an ankh. The *khepesh* is a sickle-shaped single-edged sword that differs from the scimitar. The weight is different, and the sharpened blade of the *khepesh* is on the outer edge rather than on the inner edge of the weapon (Morkot 2010, 162). The *khepesh*'s thin blade allows the weapon to be used in slashing ax-like movements (Dean 2017, 54).

He is not on the same ground line as the pharaoh, showcasing their different ranks and denoting his divine status. This placement delineates a divine figure and the pharaoh, and while the king is seen as the embodiment of a god, he is not on the same level as Montu. The hieroglyphic text conveys to the informant that Montu hands over the weapon so that he “may smite the chiefs of all foreign countries” (Bryan 1991, 163; see also Carter and Newberry 1904, 17).

Figure B, the captured enemy, has one knee on the ground in a lunge position, his weight shifting towards his front left leg in a mixed perspective. He wears a necklace with a pendant and a kilt with a belt. His left arm stabilizes himself atop his left thigh while his right arm reaches towards where the pharaoh grasps his hair. This individual has shoulder-length hair and a beard. This enemy is the smallest figure in the entire scene. The text supports the identification of this figure as a foreign chief. In this position, it is clear that figure B is submitting entirely to the pharaoh and, as the text suggests, Egyptian

rule. The text does not explicitly name this individual, suggesting this pharaonic wrist guard was meant to showcase the pharaoh's power and Egypt as a whole against anyone in the empire's way.

And finally, figure C is Thutmose IV, who strides from right to left and grasps the enemy's hair in his right hand. His hand also holds a war bow and arrow, highlighting his divine right to conquer, as he has the support of the war god Montu. The support from the divine figure further promotes the pharaoh by enacting the will of the gods and asserting order over chaos. Thutmose IV wears a "Nubian" wig beautifully portrayed in ivory with a noticeable uraeus (Bryan 1991, 162). Above his head is a sun disk that connects his head to the top part of the image. He wears a two-stranded necklace with armbands on his raised smiting arm. On his chest is a breastplate with two bird wings overlapping, and he wears a pleated kilt with an elaborate belt around his waist with two tassels ending in papyrus-like flowers. Behind the pharaoh are depictions of a lush environment with papyrus.

He raises a *khepesh* in his left arm, the same weapon Montu hands him on the left side of the scene. Wilkinson points out that when a divinity hands the pharaoh this weapon, the *khepesh* can be held with the blade facing the divinity. Usually, in formal dominance poses, when divinity is simply holding a weapon, the weapon's blade is faced outward, which is the opposite of how the weapon would be held (Wilkinson 2015, 98). When the weapon is held this way, it would suggest that Montu is being shown in a pose of dominance. This is further highlighted by Montu standing on a platform. When the

khepesh is turned the opposite way, Wilkinson notes that the divinity is handing the pharaoh the “divine” weapon (Wilkinson 2015, 98). The *khepesh* was not used in the smiting scene during the Old, Middle, and Early New Kingdoms.

This piece is interesting compared to the rest of the selected corpus in the chapter. This image constructed in ivory was worn as a wrist guard, possibly for use by the pharaoh himself. It is reminiscent of Middle Kingdom jewelry that bore the smiting scene (figures 3.6 and 3.8). The earlier relief fragment (Figure 3.6) depicted the pharaoh smiting an enemy down on a bracelet worn by Osiris. The second is the gold pectoral bearing the name of Amenemhat III (Figure 3.8), which depicts mirror images of the smiting scene under the goddess Nekhbet.

This may suggest that while only three instances of the smiting pose have been found on jewelry, that smiting images on personal adornment may have allowed the pharaoh to portray a personal power in a way that could include foreign influences. If the pharaoh were to wear this piece, only those in his closest vicinity would have been able to note the details. The smiting motif had been well known for over two millennia, which begs the question of whether or not viewers of this piece would have noted the transformation in the long-held smiting pose. This wearable motif of the smiting pose would have served as a personal reminder of divine power that the pharaonic office held. Even when this object was worn publicly, only the select few high-ranking officials and priests, who had a close and intimate connection to the pharaoh, could have viewed this piece in close proximity.

Dynasty XIX

Seti I (1294–1279 BCE, Dynasty XIX)

Seti I continues incorporating an active god in smiting iconography. From the site of Karnak (Figure 5.2) comes a relief showcasing the pharaoh smiting multiple captives in front of the god Amun-Re, in his human form, on the exterior north side of the great hypostyle wall (Hall 1986, 28; Wilkinson 2017, 92–95). Other militaristic and war scenes throughout the site depict the king, but these are two smiting scenes of note. The main figures in the smiting pose include Seti I to the far left the cowering enemies in the middle of the scene, and Amun-Re closing the scene on the right-hand side.

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Figure 5.2. Seti I smiting captives before the god Amun-Re, Dynasty XIX, New Kingdom. From Hall 1986, Figure 45.

The pharaoh strides to the right of the scene with his left foot leading. He wears the red crown of Egypt (*Deshret*) with a noticeable uraeus. He wears a pharaonic false beard and wears a collar around his neck. His right arm is poised above his head in the standard pose for smiting. The weapon he holds is the mace, which refers to the earlier

smiting tradition seen during the Predynastic and Old Kingdom periods.⁶⁰ Seti I wears a kilt, and his left arm reaches out to grasp the hair of multiple victims in front of a stake.

The individuals cowering from the oncoming blow from the pharaoh include Libyans, Nubians, Syrians, and Asiatics (Hall 1986, 28). These individuals are kneeling around one another, trying to break away from the immovable grasp of the pharaoh. They all have their arms raised in a defensive posture to try and mask the fatal blow. These individuals are only active with their raised arms. Otherwise they are resigned to their fate. There is erosion in this area of the scene, making finer details harder to see.

Finally, Amun-Re is located on a platform in the upper right-hand corner of the scene. Although smaller than the pharaoh, Amun-Re is placed higher in the scene allowing a clear hierarchy. Amun-Re stands facing the left with his right arm in an outstretched position, holding a *khepesh* out to Seti I. This is different from the weapon that Seti I is using. In this case, it can be understood that Amun-Re is not just handing him the weapon to use in the ritual killing but also symbolizes that the killing is divinely warranted and necessary for the safety and sanctity of Egypt.

This smiting scene is interesting as this relief and others from Karnak showcase the pharaoh using a mace to smite others down, along with having a divinity present so that viewers would understand the scenes of smiting as the will of the divine. While Amun-Re offers Seti I a *khepesh*, the weapon faces the opposite direction to show

⁶⁰ For Predynastic references see figures 3.2–3.4. For references from the Old Kingdom see figures 3.5 and 3.6. See catalog for more scenes.

dominance which is typical of the New Kingdom period (Wilkinson 2015, 98). This relief of Seti I brings in artistic aspects of the Old Kingdom, smiting scenes with the use of the mace and the presence of a divine figure to further develop a narrative. The image of Seti I smiting combines pharaonic tradition while expanding the smiting motif to have another active figure in the scene, building upon imagery seen during Thutmose IV's reign (Figure 5.1).

Ramesses II (1279–1213 BCE, Dynasty XIX)

Ramesses II is one of the longest-reigning pharaohs of Egypt. He led Egypt to new heights during the Ramesside period that had not been seen since Dynasty XVIII. One of his many building projects includes his temple at Abu Simbel, which was created before year 34 of his reign.⁶¹ The temples from Abu Simbel were hewn from sandstone and were dedicated to the divinities of the chief cities.⁶² From the architecture to the artwork inside, the divine prowess of Ramesses II was showcased.

There are three examples of the evolving smiting pose found at Abu Simbel. Two of these focus on the pharaoh's interaction with a divinity, and the third example shows

⁶¹ 61 It is believed to be before year 34 of his reign due to the Marriage stela carved south of the facade of the temple in that year (Spalinger 1980, 84).

⁶² Amun-Re from Thebes, Re-Horakhty from Heliopolis, and Ptah from the city of Memphis. Murray notes that Ramesses was portrayed in reliefs as equal to each of these gods (Murray 2004, 228).

no god but two enemies he easily subdues. The two scenes that include a divine figure continue to expand the smiting pose similar to Seti I. The third scene is an entirely new smiting scene never before seen.

Ramesses II in front of Re-Horakhty

Ramesses II was an incredible military leader, as attested on Abu Simbel's walls. The walls are carved with military and smiting scenes in the great columned hall. The first scene shows Ramesses smiting multiple enemies before the god Re-Horakhty (Figure 5.3). This is found in the interior Great Hall (Porter and Moss 1952,104). As the examples above, this scene includes the addition of the active divinity. From left to right, the scene includes Ramesses II smiting with a bladed mace, the captured enemies, and the god Re-Horakhty.

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Figure 5.3: Ramesses II smiting a group of enemies before Re-Horakhty, Dynasty XIX, New Kingdom. From Hall 1986, Figure 55.

Ramesses II strides to the right of the smiting scene with his left leg bearing his weight. He is positioned in the typical smiting pose with his right arm in the air, preparing to land the fatal blow with a bladed mace. His left hand holds multiple victims by their hair. His chest opens to the right, highlighting his jewelry, and his right leg pushes from the ball of his foot. Ramesses II wears the double crown of Egypt (*pschent*), which signifies the unification of upper and lower Egypt. This crown was chosen as a symbol of a united front while smiting down victims in front of a god. He wears a false beard and a broad collar around his neck. A quiver of arrows can be seen behind his torso. He wears a kilt with a prominent belt around his waist. A bladed mace is used as the smiting weapon, which is very different from the normal mace head or a *khepesh* seen earlier. The bladed

mace can also be seen in gold pectoral with the name of Amenemhat III (Figure 3.8) from Dynasty XII.

In front of the pharaoh are multiple enemies in a pleading position with their hands upraised while kneeling on the ground. The smiting of multiple victims has been seen since Dynasty XVIII⁶³ and by Ramesses II's predecessor, Seti I. The multiplicity of the victims is important as the scene becomes more powerful. These victims try to untangle themselves from the grip of the pharaoh with no luck. They wear kilts and do not have any jewelry present to suggest they are high-status enemies. The artistic rendering of these enemies' heads stacked on one another creates more depth within the scene and lends itself to a claustrophobic feeling of being trapped.

Finally, Re-Horakhty formally ends the scene on the right-hand side. Re-Horakhty is shown here as a falcon-headed divinity. He wears a solar disk on his head with a uraeus and a plain kilt. He is barefoot as he stands, presenting a *khepesh* to Ramesses II. This smiting scene blends aspects seen during the reigns of Thutmose IV and Seti I (Figures 5.1–5.2), with the divinity present and active within the scene. Ramesses II is on the same ground line as Re-Horakhty. Prior to this, divinities in the scene were not on the same ground line as the pharaoh⁶⁴. On the same ground line suggests that they are viewed as the same status. This is an active choice done by Ramesses II to further tie himself to one

⁶³ Smiting images with multiple victims can be seen during the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (see Appendix).

⁶⁴ Montu in figure 5.1 is on a raised platform, and Amun-Re in figure 5.2 resides in the top right corner of the scene.

of the main gods of the Kemetic pantheon. The inclusion of an active god on the same level of the pharaoh highlights that the smiting is not only divine will but is necessary for a new dawn of Egypt through growth and military prowess seen with Re- Horakhty.⁶⁵

Ramesses II Smiting Two Libyans

Although Abu Simbel has many instances of military and smiting scenes, this scene showcasing Ramesses II smiting two Libyans highlights a noticeable change from the standard pharaonic smiting imagery. While the smiting pose here continues some traditions, this scene creates a never-before-seen-smiting pose.

This scene is located near the smiting scenes showcasing Ramesses II in front of the god Re-Horakhty and the smiting scene in front of Amun-Re⁶⁶ in the Great Hall. It is this scene that incorporates aspects of the Aegean smiting pose. This scene calls back to the Old Kingdom tradition of showcasing the pharaoh with his enemies, as no divinity is formally represented. Here, Ramesses II is locked in battle against two enemies, with one of the enemies already defeated. Thus we have a scene set up in a way that was seen in the Aegean smiting poses which includes the figures of the victor, the fighter, and the

⁶⁵ Horus as Horakhty ('horus of the two horizons') was seen as the god of the sunrise. He would become fused with the solar god becoming Re-Horakhty (Wilkinson 2017, 201).

⁶⁶ This scene is not included in this chapter. See Appendix on smiting poses for more information.

fallen. From left to right, there are three figures in the scene, referred to as figures A-C respectively.



Figure 5.4. 1 Battle of Kadesh by Guillaume Blanchard, Under GNU Free Documentation License.

Figure A is Ramesses II, who dominates the scene. He wears a wig with a uraeus present. His upper body is positioned in a typical smiting stance with his right arm raised, holding a weapon, and his left arm holding the upper arm of an enemy. There is a quiver full of arrows behind his torso, with two tassels. He wears a kilt with a decorated sash, which can be seen between his legs. The position of the lower portion of his body is

completely different from the usual pharaonic smiting pose. For millennia, the pharaoh stood on a groundline with the back heel raised to show movement, but in this scene, Ramesses II is physically stepping on a victim (Figure B). His back foot is placed on the victim's face, with the ball of his foot landing on the cheek. The force and weight of the pharaoh cause figure B's head to turn to the side towards the viewer. Ramesses II's left foot seems to rest either on the foot of the fallen figure or the fighter's knee as he continues to move forward. This smiting scene captures the moment before the pharaoh lands the fatal blow on the enemy while stepping on a fallen Libyan (Porter and Moss 1952, 103). Text surrounding the scene denotes the enemies as Libyans and mentions Asiatics as well. It is said that Ramesses II transported the Asiatics to the south and the Libyans to the hilltops which may suggest they were moved to labor camps or for military service (Spalinger 1980, 87).

Figure B is the fallen individual underneath the pharaoh. He wears either a headdress or a wig, and his bearded face is completely turned past the viewer and into the groundline of the scene. He is wearing a sash from his left shoulder to his right waist and a simple kilt with a belt. This Libyan figure reaches up with both hands in a defensive manner, similar to other victims of smiting scenes. While he is on the ground in a defeated position, this victim does not appear to be deceased, as is commonly seen with the fallen figure in the Aegean smiting pose since both hands are raised to ward off his attacker. His legs are in a position that suggests he was defeated and knocked to the ground, similar to what was seen on CMS II.7 no 20 (Figure 4.7) from the site of Zakros.



Figure 5.5. Ramesses II smiting enemies, Abu Simbel, Dynasty XVIII, 1279-1213 BCE.
 CMS II.7 no 20 drawing, Zakros, Crete, LM I, 1600-1450 BCE.

The body positioning of the victorious pharaoh and warrior mimic one another in their stance as they approach the fighting figure to the right-hand side of the scene. Both fallen figures are portrayed in a way that continues to create movement for the victor. The fallen figure from Zakros is likely dead due to the limp nature of their arms, whereas the fallen figure at Abu Simbel is very much alive and is trying to move out of the pharaoh's path. Both fallen figures are captured as though they had just been smitten down. The raised leg is a noteworthy addition to the scene. Where the victorious warrior from Zakros does not use the body of the fallen figure, Ramesses II steps on the fallen figure's raised leg to propel himself forward.

Figure C is the individual fighting on the right-hand side of the scene. He is dressed similarly to his counterpart on the ground. He, too, wears a sash, like figure B, yet this fighter has weaponry on him. He holds a bow in his left hand; a barely noticeable

quiver is on his right-hand side with a small strap attached to his person. This is only the second instance of an enemy with weaponry in a smiting scene.⁶⁷ He wears a kilt and a belt, better preserved than in Figure B. The body positioning of Figure C is unlike anything seen before in the pharaonic artistic canon. This figure is arching back, trying to break free from the grasp of Ramesses II. And as a last-ditch effort, he raises his right arm to try and deflect the fatal blow. While similar to the positioning of smiting victims, Figure C has become more involved with the scene. Rather than a pharaoh smiting kneeling enemies who are resigned to the ritual killing, this Libyan is fighting back, which the artist deliberately chose to include with the addition of weaponry in his other hand. They portrayed this figure as moving against the pharaoh while also visually denoting that he will always lose no matter how the Libyan fights back against the pharaoh.

The fighter's lower body is positioned in a similar manner to the figure from Zakros. Both figures on the right-hand side of the scene have their legs depicted as though they are collapsing. The fighter figure in the Zakros sealing is actively fighting back to prolong his death, but the Libyan fighter is depicted in a way that suggests that while he did fight against the pharaoh, he too will meet his end. The leg positioning may

⁶⁷ The enemy in Figure 3.8 also holds a weapon. In both instances, these enemies are holding the weapon in their hand, but the weapon is not interacting in the larger scene other than helping denote who these enemies are in the understanding of the image as a whole.

be representative of a “last stance” where the figure is trying to do whatever it takes to either get out of the situation or to try and harm the victor prior to the fatal blow.

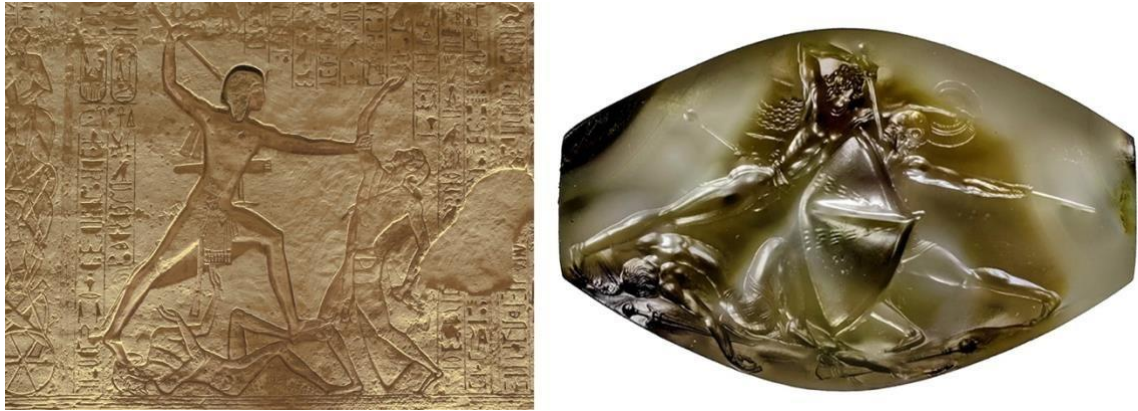


Figure 5.6. Ramesses II smiting, Abu Simbel, Egypt, 13th c BCE and the Pylos Combat Agate, Pylos, Greece, 1450 BCE.

This scene is also reminiscent of the Pylos combat agate. These images are separated by roughly one hundred and fifty years as the Pylos combat agate is dated to 1450 BCE, and this relief dates to the 13th c BCE. These scenes each create an intense story within a triangular composition. The victorious warrior and pharaoh grab the viewer’s attention first. The victorious warrior and pharaoh continue to guide viewers as they both grab an enemy on the right-hand side, creating a second visual point. The fallen figure placed under the victor further accentuates a groundline and creates a third point in

the scene. The triangular layout allows a narrative to be told while accentuating the strength of the victor.

Ramesses II smiting two Libyans showcases a blend of Aegean artistic influence while keeping aspects of the long-held smiting pose in the Egyptian canon. The victorious pharaoh and fighter actively recall the scene on the Pylos combat agate. The Libyan and Pylos fighters are prepared to fight to the death with their offensive weaponry. And like the Pylos victor, Ramesses II has no defensive weaponry and is poised to win without question. Movement is rendered so the viewer's eye constantly moves from one point to another. Treading on a fallen soldier on an uneven ground line further pushes the emotion of adrenaline within the climax of this combat. This movement is unlike any other in the Egyptian artistic tradition. Bodies of the enemies are now responding in a naturalistic manner compared to the conservative tradition seen in the smiting pose since the reign of Narmer.

The figures incorporated in the scene are comparable to the fighter, the fallen, and the victorious warrior seen in the Aegean smiting pose. Previously, in Egypt smiting scenes, the third figure was a divine figure who watched the ritual killing, not interacting with the larger scene. But during the eighteenth dynasty, this changes to incorporate a god actively handing the king a divine weapon. In this example, the smiting pose evolves further, where the third active figure is not a divinity but a second enemy. This scene now reads as having both a fighting and a fallen figure, allowing for a more cohesive and developed narrative in the stone. The fighting figure demands that the victorious pharaoh move and adapt to combat while also serving as a visual reminder that as the human

embodiment of the god, it is his divine right to be victorious. This scene actively shows the pharaoh as a conqueror of chaos while showcasing the true power of Egypt over the Libyans as a political statement.

This image of Ramesses II is unlike any other in the XVIIIth Dynasty. Other instances showcasing his military prowess depict him in a chariot or the traditional smiting pose. This scene was a choice to show the king as an active soldier. Scenes of Ramesses II in the war chariot highlight his role as a commander. This scene focuses on the king as a soldier with military training who is actively smiting down enemies of the state.

This grand image, within the temple at Abu Simbel, would have only been viewed by select members of society, such as priests, as well as the divine. The private nature of the scene's location may have allowed Ramesses II to incorporate the Aegean smiting pose on a large scale without showcasing it to the public. This scene was an active choice by the pharaoh to show off his power, whereas other smiting scenes show power to the masses as political propaganda. The incorporation of the Aegean-influenced pose may hint at Egypt's close trade with the Aegean peoples during his reign.⁶⁸ This image visually suggests that this motif is traveling between Egypt and the Aegean via goods and artists much like the evidence from Tel el-Dab'a suggests. Ramesses II and his artists clearly understood how the Aegean people showed personal power and incorporated the

⁶⁸ Cline notes a period of high contact between the Aegean and Egypt during the reign of Ramesses II (1994, 32).

motif into the visual narrative at Abu Simbel. Combative and militaristic artwork in Egypt fulfills a specific purpose, and this scene is nothing different. In the privacy of his temple, Ramesses II could explicitly showcase Egypt's dominance over Libyans. Publicfacing art thus serves a purpose in the larger politics of the Eastern Mediterranean, but private images can explicitly show dominance in threatening poses.

Similarities with this scene, the Pylos combat agate, and even the sealing from Zakros suggest that artists of this period are familiar with other combat and smiting poses in the Eastern Mediterranean. Perhaps Ramesses II knew how the Aegean people constructed images of power, and he wanted to emulate that within his temple. International connections allowed the trade of art styles and techniques during the Bronze Age between Egypt and the Aegean. During the reign of Ramesses II, there was increased trade between Egypt and the Aegean. Art is moving, and people are as well; Aegean (*Keftiu*) emissaries have been depicted in Egyptian art since Dynasty XVIII.

Merneptah (1213–1203 BCE, Dynasty XIX)

A final instance of the smiting pose discussed in this dissertation comes from the reign of Merneptah, the son and successor of Ramesses II (Figure 5.7). This piece is located in the University of Pennsylvania Museum (E17527) and was originally the door

jamb of the west door in room 14 of the palace of Merneptah (Porter and Moss 1981, 856). From left to right, the scene shows Merneptah, a dog, and two enemies.



Figure 5.7: Door jamb showing Merneptah smiting enemies, the University of Pennsylvania Museum 1213–1203 BCE. Dimensions: 118 x 56 x10 cm. Object E17527. Courtesy of the Penn Museum.

This scene recalls earlier artistic traditions of the smiting pose, including the pharaoh, multiple enemies, and a dog. Merneptah wears the double crown of Egypt, a false beard, and multiple jewelry pieces, which includes a broad collar, arm bands, and bracelets. He wears a pleated kilt with an ornate belt in the center and sandals.

Like those who ruled before him, Merneptah strides from the scene's left to the right side. His left leg bears the weight as his right foot propels his body forward, as evidenced by his right raised heel. He wears the crowns of upper and lower Egypt, which have a noticeable uraeus. Just like his father, he holds a bladed mace in his upraised right arm. His left arm grabs the headdresses of two enemies kneeling on the ground before him.

Two Asiatic enemies have their arms outstretched in a defensive position. The enemy to the back has one arm wrapped around the individual in the front, perhaps as a way to push away from the oncoming fatal blow. This scene may be based on an actual event, as Merneptah led campaigns in the Levant (Wegner and Wegner 2015, 209). However, like many other smiting scenes, it is meant to symbolize Egypt smiting their foreign enemies.

This scene does not have a divinity watching over the smiting act, nor does it have the fallen or fighter figures seen during the reign of Ramesses II (Figure 5.4). This scene refers to earlier smiting traditions of the Old, Middle, and early New Kingdom periods. The dog between Merneptah's legs is an exciting addition to the smiting pose. This dog is lunging toward the enemies cowering on the right side of the scene. Not only are these

two enemies facing a killing blow, but the figure to the back has been bitten in the right elbow by the dog, ensuring he cannot escape. Dogs biting enemies in Egyptian art adds another layer of humiliation to the prisoners about to be executed (Janzen 2013, 185).

The addition of a dog in the scene is reminiscent of an early smiting scene from Hagia Triada⁶⁹ in Crete dating to the Late Minoan I period. The dog's placement in front of the victorious pharaoh and warrior helps lead the viewer through the narrative. The dog is an extension of the victor, further accentuates heightened emotion in the art, and allows for a triangular composition within the scene. Merneptah on the left-hand side of the scene grabs the viewer's attention. Following his outstretched left hand, the viewer is guided to the two kneeling enemies awaiting the fatal blow. The snarling dog helps create a ground line for the scene between the pharaoh and these enemies. Adding a dog in this compact scene also visually shows the pharaoh as the tamer of chaos visualized in the claustrophobic narrative.

⁶⁹ CMS II.6 no 15. See Figure 4.4.

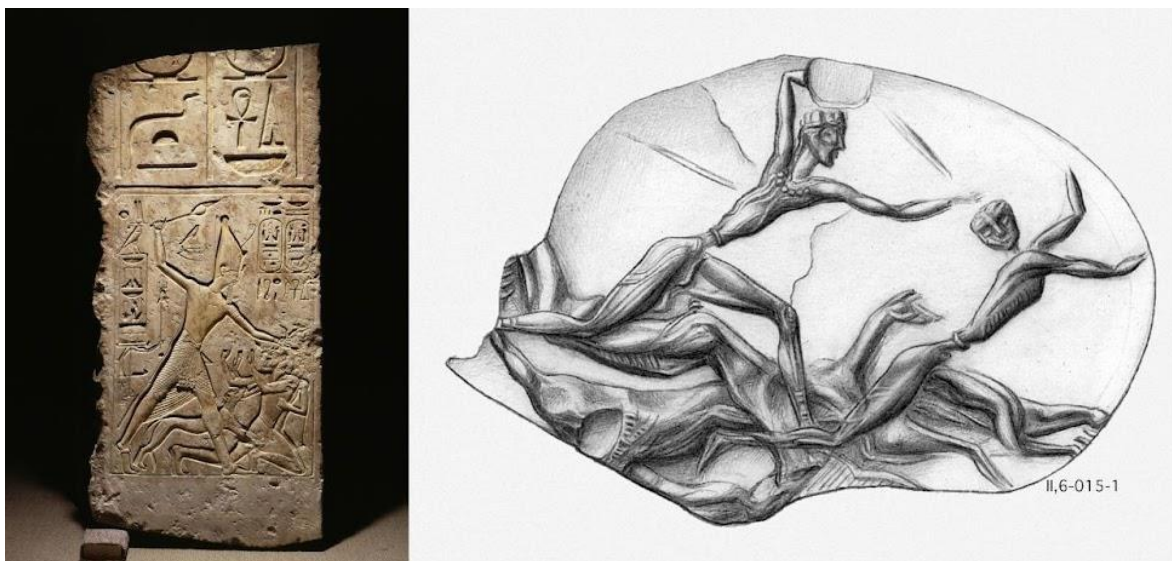


Figure 5.8: Merneptah smiting, 1213–1203 BCE, Dynasty XIX and CMS II.6 no 15, Hagia Triada, LM I.

As this piece was located on a door jamb in the palace of Merneptah, the purpose of this scene and visibility plays a significant role in the iconography. Select groups of high-ranking local and foreign officials would have viewed this piece. The smiting pharaoh motif in this position of the building would not have been surprising. Those passing the scene may have simply noted the royal motif and viewed it as the emblem of the pharaonic office. The smiting image likely would not have been taken as a threat to foreign officials since the motif had been in use for almost two thousand years. As such, this piece should be viewed as Merneptah representing his power. Merneptah smiting with a dog present blends the long-held Egyptian smiting pose with aspects of hunting

scenes. The pharaoh, in this example, is showcasing that while he is taming chaos and protecting Egypt from enemies of the state, he is actively hunting them down.

Discussion of Smiting Scenes in Egypt of Dynasties XVIII-XIX.

The smiting scenes presented in this chapter highlight a change in the artistic canon of Egypt. These changes range from adding a divinity interacting in the scene to dynamic movement not seen in almost two thousand years. New Kingdom smiting scenes of Thutmose IV, Seti I, Ramesses II, and Merneptah tell a story that allows for more depth in pharaonic visual propaganda. These pharaohs showcased their domination over their enemies in their art and showed the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean that the divine would allow them to conquer and succeed.

Examples from the reigns of Thutmose IV and Seti I begin to incorporate the use of a third figure into the scene. This third figure is unlike the smiting scenes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, as the pharaohs choose to incorporate chief gods of their pantheon to highlight their divine status as ruler and show that it is divine will for the pharaoh to succeed. The presence of a divine figure in the scene can be seen as early as the Old Kingdom period. But where the god simply watched the scene unfold, the scenes from the reigns of Thutmose IV and Seti I have an active god. They watch the ritual slaughter from a different groundline and offer the king a divine weapon to carry out the task. The gods,

in this case, honor the king by giving him a divine weapon; the pharaoh reciprocates by killing the enemies in their honor for the continued success of the empire.

The artists working for Ramesses II develop the pharaonic smiting scene in two instances, both of which build upon the addition of an actively involved third character allowing for a dynamic tripartite scene. The first example shows Ramesses II smiting enemies in front of a chief god. The difference here is Ramesses II, and Re-Horakhty are on the same groundline, suggesting that their status is the same. When a god is present in the scene they are usually on the right hand side and act as a formal ending to the piece.

Ramesses II smiting two Libyans (Figure 5.4) completely restructures the Egyptian smiting pose. Here, the third figure in this scene is not divine but is another enemy, allowing for the pharaoh to actively conquer two enemies. The addition of this second enemy makes the scene read like the Aegean smiting pose whose characters include the victorious warrior, the fighter and the fallen. The artists working for Ramesses II push the long-held conservative artistic boundaries. Smiting representations visually state that the pharaoh will not only conquer his enemies in front of his gods, but he will come out on top every single time because he is a skilled warrior. This scene of Ramesses II showcases that the pharaoh does not just smite but instead takes on the characteristic of the victorious warrior seen in the Aegean during the LBA. Enemies with weapons will not change that aspect, as evidenced in Figure 5.4, but rather amplifies the power and control the pharaoh will always have over those who go against Egypt.

Merneptah smiting on the door jamb has a third character, the dog. This animal may suggest an added layer of humiliation to the enemies. In this instance they have been hunted down as prey and are about to receive the fatal blow from the king. The addition of the animal may denote the pharaoh's rule over the natural world and foreign enemies. This piece offers an interesting blend of smiting and hunting poses that play a specific role in the larger narrative.

Summary

A notable change occurs in the artistic tradition of the smiting pharaoh in Egypt during Dynasty XVIII around the time of Thutmose IV. The smiting artistic tradition prior to his reign had not strayed too far from the conservative pose formalized by Narmer during the fourth millennium BCE. This change, while small and slight during the reign of Thutmose IV and Seti I, is prominent at the beginning of the Ramesside period of Dynasty XIX. With art traveling throughout the Eastern Mediterranean during the LBA, it comes as no surprise that Aegean art would have a subtle effect seen in the smiting pose.

This chapter saw three key developments in the smiting pose which reflects how the pharaohs of Egypt viewed their rule. The first can be found in Figures 5.1 and 5.2 which date to the reigns of Thutmose IV and Seti I. These examples showcase that the

kings are ruling with the divine who are active in the overall scene. This is further developed in Figure 5.3 where the king is now on the same level as the god, suggesting they are ruling as one in the same. The second development is explicit in Figure 5.5 with the addition of the fighting figure, similar to what was used in the Aegean (Figure 5.6). This example shows the pharaoh rules through militaristic prowess and by conquering foreign enemies. The final development comes from the door jam showing Merneptah smiting (Figure 5.7). The addition of the dog suggests that the king rules with the natural world to instill order in the empire. These scenes demonstrate how Egypt viewed their power during the later part of Dynasty XVIII and XIX. These pharaohs rule with the divine and the natural world to conquer and protect what is theirs.

While the smiting pose continues through the Roman period in Egypt, this dissertation ends with the reign of Merneptah. This is due to the fact successors of Merneptah in Dynasty XIX and XX are tasked with handling massive movements of peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean with the collapse of the LBA.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

This study investigated artistic exchange between Egypt and the Aegean world by tracing the smiting motif's origin, use, transference, and transformation. This study challenged the previously held beliefs that the smiting pose is nonexistent in the Aegean. The emerging elites in the Aegean use this power pose and transform it so that the pose creates a powerful narrative in miniature art. Thus, the Aegean smiting figure is not a direct copy of their Egyptian neighbor but rather heavily influenced by the Egyptian smiting pose. The Aegean smiting pose inspired the pharaohs of the later part of Dynasty XVIII–XIX to transform the long-held conservative smiting pose to incorporate aspects of personal power never seen in the Egyptian artistic canon.

This investigation evaluated select images from Egypt from the Predynastic Period through the New Kingdom ending with the reign of Merneptah as direct comparisons to the corpus of evidence from the Aegean from EM III–LM/LH II. While Egypt and the Aegean used this pose for different reasons, at the most basic level, the smiting pose is a symbol of power, and this was the image that the two cultures visually understood as such. This pose personifies power and physically represents artistic exchange via inter-regional trade which influenced these regions in the Eastern

Mediterranean. When considered together, the evidence in this dissertation highlights a need for the inclusion of the Aegean in broader conversations concerning artistic and cultural exchange during the Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean.

This dissertation found that the smiting pose in Egypt and the Aegean experienced three aspects of artistic development. Predynastic examples, dating to the Naqada period, characterized the first stage in Egypt. During this stage, the early artists began developing scenes and poses of power, many of which can be seen in the Tomb 100 painting in Hierakonpolis. The smiting pose in this setting is one of many power stances, but it is the one chosen to represent the king's rulership and would go on to become the emblem of the Pharaonic office. The formalization of the smiting pose during the reign of Narmer begins the second stage. The Narmer Palette canonizes this motif as being one of unyielding power. Here the pharaoh grabs the victim with one arm while the other raises a weapon above his head, preparing to land the fatal blow. Mentuhotep II and Ahmose I of Dynasties XI and XVIII also use imagery representing this stage. These later pharaohs may have used the traditional artwork to associate themselves with Narmer, whose imagery reinforced the concept of unification through violence. Characterizations of the third stage show the scene's development in terms of use, placement, and characters. Smiting images in the Sinai on the periphery of the Egyptian empire and the introduction of the active third figure in Dynasty XVIII exemplify the third stage.

The Aegean also experiences three evolutions in smiting iconography. The first phase of the Aegean begins with the early domination and combat scenes during the EM III–MM III period. During this phase, Crete is receiving imports from Egypt on a small

scale. The second phase sees the development of a strong smiting figure reminiscent of the smiting pharaoh in Egypt on Crete. While the victorious warrior has iconographic similarities to the smiting pharaoh, the smiting scenes on Crete have a distinct Aegean take on the subject matter which may suggest a blend of local and imported ideas of power. The Aegean then developed two characters to challenge the victorious warrior. The most notable is the character of the fighter, who is an active participant in the scene, whereas, in Egypt, the victim does not resist the ritual killing. The second is the fallen figure, which expands on the depicted scene to accentuate the victor's power. Increased Egyptian exchange is seen during this phase, suggesting a maritime trade connection. These Egyptian imports include exchanging objects and motifs such as the goddess Taweret which would later transform the Minoan Genius. The third phase occurs on the Mainland (LH I–II), especially during the Shaft Grave period, where the victorious warrior developed as a central figure in the battle and fight scenes. During this phase, there is the continued use of both the fighting and fallen figures. The third phase showcases the continued use of trade routes with Egypt and inter-Aegean trade between the Mainland and Crete.

No study prior to this has given the smiting pose an in-depth investigation. For the first time in the study of Aegean prehistory, this investigation looked at this specific combat pose and found artistic influence which links the pose used in the Aegean to Egypt. This study discovered that during Dynasty XVIII, a subtle change began to take root in the artistic canon of the smiting pharaoh. While Egyptology has studied images of the pharaoh smiting, like Ramesses II at Abu Simbel, no mention of foreign influence has ever been discussed. Direct artistic influence from the Aegean has never been

investigated, especially in scenes of the pharaoh smiting enemies. Though the pharaohs of the later part of Dynasty XVIII and XIX are separated from the Aegean elites by only a generation, their art showcases their awareness of the Aegean aristocratic art form from body position and the inclusion of active secondary and third characters. These subtle changes point to a more significant matter behind the image that this project plans to study further.

In the Aegean, only seals and sealings bear the smiting pose. From all the evidence, nothing suggests this pose or scene was produced elsewhere in wall paintings, pottery, or ritual vessels, as seen with other motifs. All examples from the Aegean discussed in this dissertation are small, portable, and made of elite material, with many being wearable scenes of power. The elite would have worn these miniature scenes of power to highlight their power. These miniature scenes also include narratives rather than simply the smiting motif. The motif is the smiting victorious warrior, but the Minoans and later Mycenaeans prefer this motif as part of a larger composition of power gained through violence.

Nevertheless, the question remains: Why is the smiting pose not found in other media? I propose that the smiting warrior acted as an emblem of elite families to represent a specific family and their power over the rest. The purpose of the smiting pose thus seems to only belong to a specific group of emerging elite who use the symbol in life and are entombed with it in death.

This investigation has led to a clear evolution of the smiting pose. This motif developed during Predynastic Egypt, with early domination scenes dating to the Naqada I period (ca. 4000–3500 BCE). Tomb 100 from Hierakonpolis showed multiple scenes of power, but from 3500 BCE, the early artists deliberately focused on the smiting pose as a construction of kingship. During Narmer's reign, the smiting pose was formalized and would remain unchanged for millennia until the later part of Dynasty XVIII.

To the north, the Aegean people began constructing images of power, beginning with domination scenes on exotic material during the EM III period. The construction of domination scenes continued through the MM III period as artists explored combat and training scenes in miniature art. However, during the LM I period, there was a noticeable change in their iconography. During this period, knowledge of the Egyptian smiting pose made its way to Crete. The Egyptian smiting figure, however, directly influenced the creation and evolution of the victorious warrior character in the Aegean, especially with the body positioning. That is not to say that the victorious warrior is equivalent to the smiting pharaoh; instead, the Aegean patrons used the smiting pharaoh iconography to develop their story through violence. The emerging elite on Crete and the Mainland used this imagery on their seals, showing their power through the LM and LH II period (ca. 1400 BCE). After this, scenes of preparation for such violence and scenes where humans hunt (and thus dominate) other species replaced smiting scenes.

During the latter part of Dynasty XVIII, increased diplomacy between Egypt and the Aegean world suggests high levels of elite exchange and engagement. This awareness

thus allowed the Aegean-influenced smiting pose to make its way to Egypt, where it was incorporated into pharaonic artwork beginning during the reign of Thutmose IV. During Dynasty XIX, Seti I, Ramesses II, and Merneptah each added characteristics of the Aegean smiting pose into their smiting scenes. After almost two thousand years, the longheld pharaonic smiting pose adopted foreign influence.

Looking Forward

This dissertation sought to establish a catalog of the smiting pose in Egypt and the Aegean while analyzing how international trade and diplomacy influenced the motif's use and transformation. With the foundation laid, I plan to use this study in broader discussion topics, such as the depiction of warriors and warfare in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean. Considering all objects bearing the smiting scene are believed to have come from a Cretan workshop, and that the smiting scenes show up earlier on Crete prior to the Mainland, the previously held dichotomy between the peaceful Minoans and the martial Mycenaeans also needs to be revisited.

Tracing the smiting pose between Egypt and the Aegean demonstrated their cultural awareness of one another and how each viewed power. With these connections in place, I wish to investigate further who the smiting figure represents in Aegean iconography. Was the victorious warrior a known figure amongst the elite members of society, or was he a visual representation of an emerging warrior-hero mythos? The

smiting scenes on Crete and the Mainland visually tell a similar story, and I plan to progress this study to include a deeper analysis of this character. By analyzing the victorious warrior, we can better understand why early emerging elites associate themselves with this motif.

I also plan to expand the limitations of this dissertation and dataset by including smiting images from the kingdoms in Anatolia, the Levant, and Mesopotamia. Their inclusion will aid in a deeper comprehension of the creation and evolution of the smiting pose in the Eastern Mediterranean during the LBA.

During the middle of the LBA, Aegean artists were no longer producing man versus man smiting scenes as favor shifted to develop further hunting and military depictions, especially with the incorporation of chariots (Feldman and Sauvage 2010 *passim*). Scenes focusing on hunting became favored throughout the end of the Bronze Age, largely due to international diplomacy. I hope to investigate the Aegean's role in the diplomatic game between kings and empires of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Final Remarks

The smiting pose symbolized power for millennia. Pharaonic Egypt used this pose as a seal of the ruling office, where it was relatively unchanged for almost two thousand years. The emerging elites in the Aegean were undoubtedly influenced by their southern

neighbors' artwork. These people saw power personified in this pose, and the Aegean artists adapted the Egyptian smiting pose and transformed it to fit their needs. Both Egypt and the Aegean elites viewed power through violence.

While it was the pharaoh who smote his enemies, the Aegean patrons focused on the creation of a victorious warrior. This character would develop a narrative within miniature art in which he would win. The smiting pose and victorious warrior held a powerful meaning that the elites likely saw as an amplification of their power. Perhaps they viewed this motif as a reminder that they would win. The victorious warrior motif on Crete and the Mainland perhaps served as a creation-type mythos for the elite. Whomever this individual was, his story of power was only used for a short period.

During the Bronze Age, Power was captured through violence in war and art. The smiting pose in Egypt and the Aegean constructed ideas of prestige by using and transforming the motif to fit their specific needs. Going beyond the battle in the art is essential to understand better how these people created, understood, and visualized their concepts of ruling and kingship. The power exhibited in these scenes still exists today and demands attention from anyone who views the massive reliefs that line temples in Egypt or in miniature scenes in Greece. I wonder what the pharaohs and elites would think if they knew these objects still hold incredible power after thousands of years.

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APPENDIX A

CATALOG OF REPRESENTATIVE SMITING SCENES IN EGYPT

(PREDYNASTIC PERIOD–MERNEPTAH)

This catalog is a representation of the smiting scenes in Egypt as it emerged from the Predynastic period through Dynasty XIX. The scenes chosen give a short history of the use of this pose on stone, vessels, painted reliefs, ivory, and gold. A selection of objects were chosen to highlight each kingdom. More items are representative of the Old Kingdom and New Kingdom as compared to the Middle Kingdom, and this is because this period was shorter than the other two.

Each entry will focus on the smiting pharaoh, his dress, the position of the enemy, the weapon used, and will note the presence of deities and inscriptions where necessary.

While this catalog is not an extensive dataset, the images included highlight variations and evolution within the smiting pose of Egypt.

CAT NO: E 1

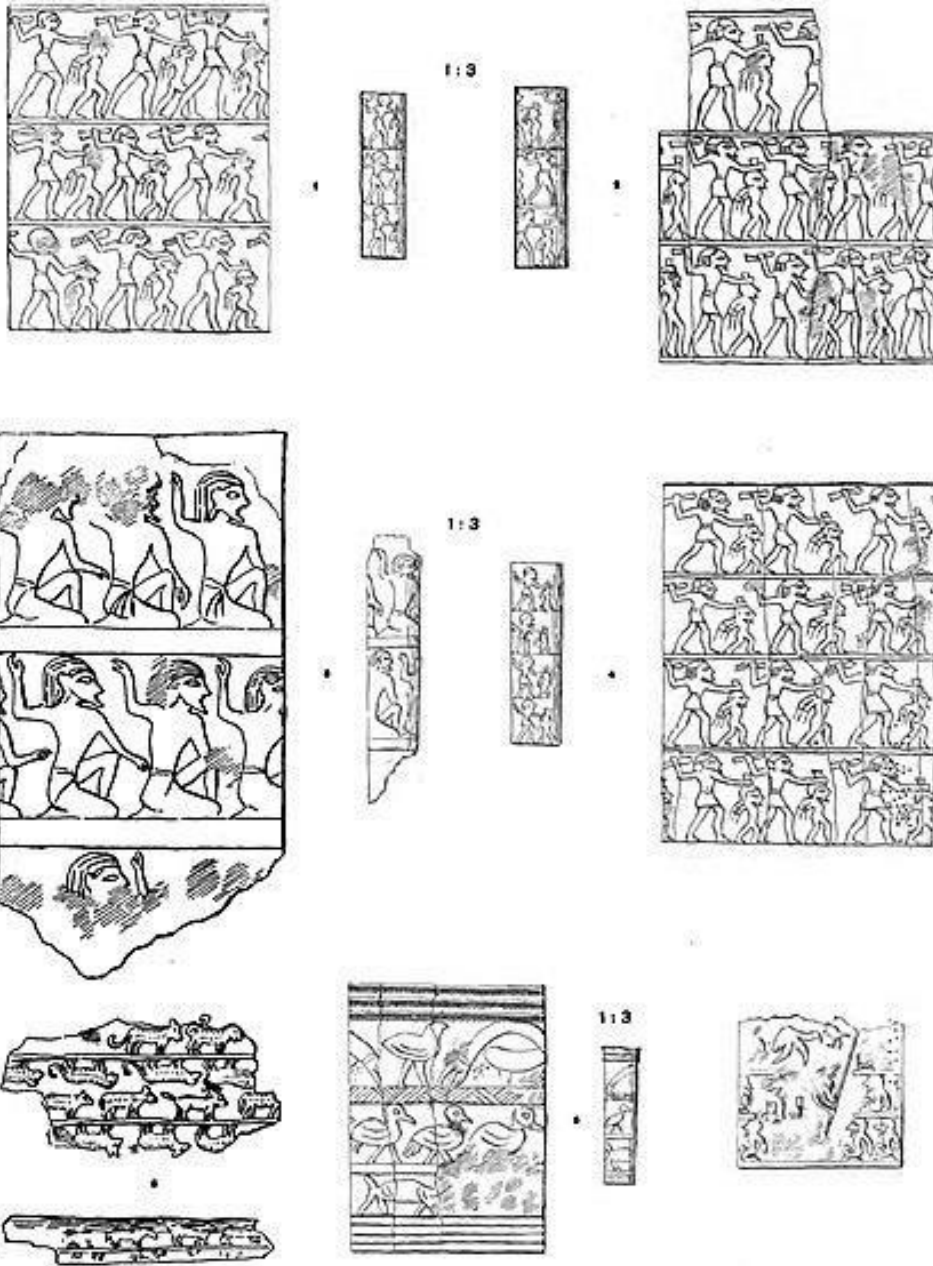


Period: Naqada I
Pharaoh/Ruler: Predynastic
Date: 4000–3500 BCE
Site: Abydos

Comments: White Cross-lined ware vessel drawing and rolled-out image. This domination scene includes two individuals connected with a white line, one a bound captive, the other with a mace at his belt. No gods are present. Findspot is unknown. Height: 31.5cm.

CAT NO: E 2

HIERAKONPOLIS. MAIN DEPOSIT. IVORY CYLINDERS.



(Hierakonpolis Ivory Cylinders, Public Domain)

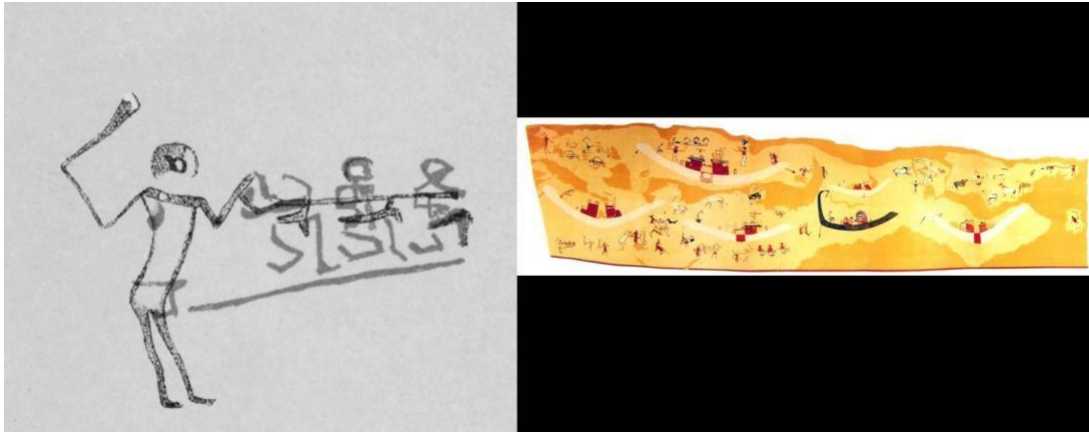
Period: Naqada II
Pharaoh/Ruler: Predynastic
Date: 3500–3200 BCE

Site: Hierakonpolis

Material: Ivory

Comments: Three ivory cylinders from the Hierakonpolis Main Deposit. The smiting motif is shown and repeated with the smiter using a mace, but there is no evidence to suggest that the individual represented is divine or royal. No god represented. Heights: 10.5 cm, 11.4 cm, 11.4 cm.

CAT NO: E 3



(Hall 1986, fig. 5; Image public domain)

Period: Late Naqada IIIC

Pharaoh/Ruler: Predynastic

Date: 3200–3000 BCE

Site: Hierakonpolis

Comments: Tomb 100 painting with a close-up of the smiting scene. This man holds a mace and prepares to strike down three bound captives. There is no god present. The height of the main figure in the smiting scene is 10.35 cm, and the victims are 4.05 cm.

CAT: E 4



(Hall 1986, Figure 8; Image: public domain)

Period: Dynasty I
Pharaoh/Ruler: Narmer
Date: 3100 BCE
Site: Hierakonpolis
Material: Siltstone

Comments: This siltstone palette shows the pharaoh Narmer smiting a man down as the gods Horus and Hathor watch. Narmer uses a mace and wears the crown of Upper Egypt on the front while he wears the crown of Lower Egypt on the reverse. This palette marks the first known formalized use of the smiting pose in Egypt. Dimensions: 64 cm x 42 cm.

CAT: E5



(Hall 1986, Figure 9; Bestock 2017; Figure 7.3; Image: Courtesy of © The Trustees of the British Museum.)

Period: Dynasty I
Pharaoh/Ruler: Den
Date: 2970 BCE
Site: Abydos
Material: Ivory

Comments: Ivory label showing the pharaoh Den smiting a captive with a mace in his right hand. The pharaoh strides to the right, wears a headdress with a uraeus, and grabs the enemy by his hair with his left hand. The right edge of the tag reads “first time smiting the East.” This ivory tag was originally tied to sandals. Currently in the British Museum (BM EA55586). Dimensions: 4.50 x 5.30 cm.

CAT: E 6



(Hall 1986, Figure 10; Image courtesy of © The Trustees of the British Museum)

Period: Dynasty III, Old Kingdom

Pharaoh/Ruler: Sanakhte

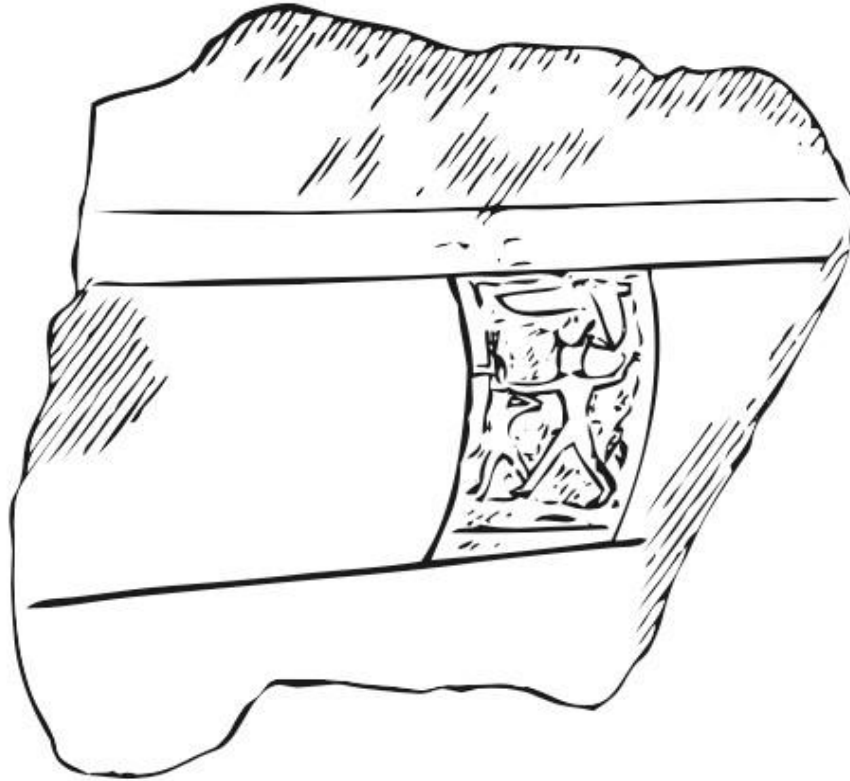
Date: 2650 BCE

Site: Wadi Maghara Sinai

Material: Pink sandstone relief

Comments: The king smites an enemy who no longer survives. The pharaoh's name is under the falcon god Horus. The king grabs the head of the enemy and wears the red crown of Lower Egypt. The hieroglyphs that survive to the right mention turquoise. The Egyptians mined Wadi Maghara in the Sinai during the Old Kingdom for turquoise and copper. Currently in the British Museum (BM EA 691). Dimensions: 35 x 47x 21 cm.

CAT: E 7



(Borchardt 1907, Figure 19)

Period: Dynasty V, Old Kingdom

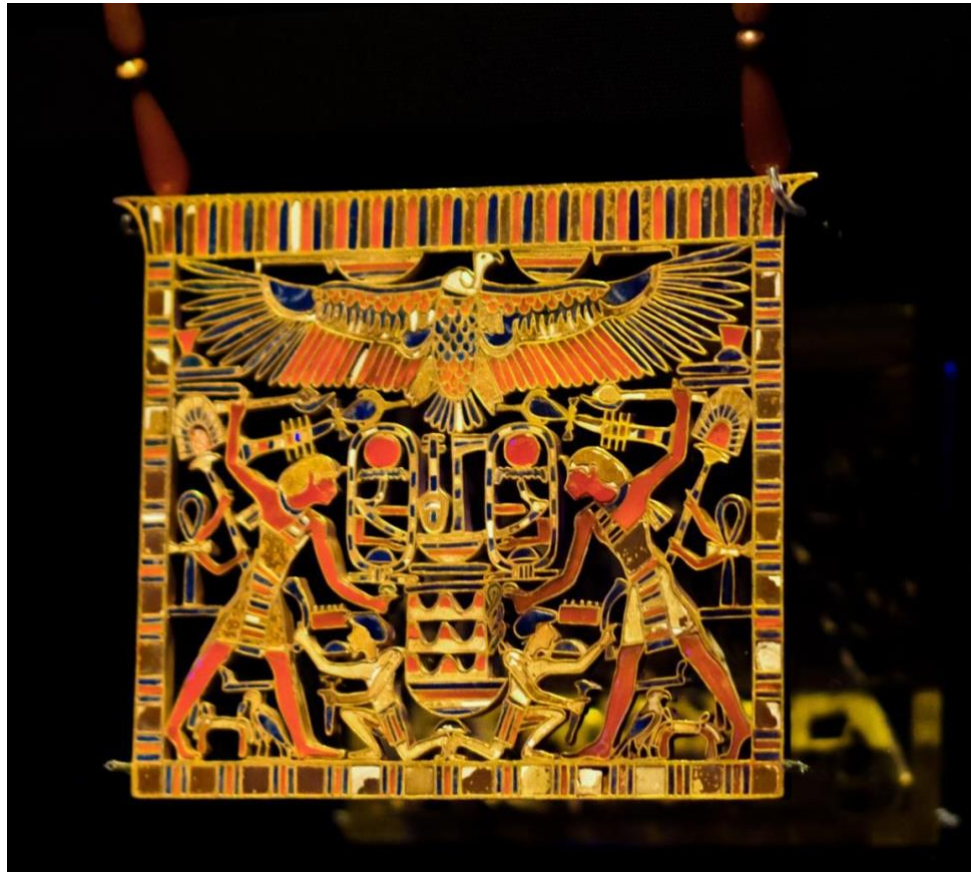
Pharaoh/Ruler: Niuserra

Date: 2445–2422 BCE

Site: Abusir

Medium: Paint on stone

Comments: Small fragment from the Valley Temple of Niuserra shows an oversized green arm wearing a bracelet bearing the smiting scene. Because of the color of the skin, the arm belongs to the god Osiris. The king smites with a mace and wears the red crown of Egypt. The goddess Nekhbet protects the pharaoh smiting with a mace. The enemy is grabbed by his headdress. This piece belonged to the Berlin Museum but was lost in WWII. This piece was never photographed and only exists as a line drawing. Dimensions unknown.



(Bestoch 2017; Figure 74; Hall 1986, Figure 26; Image by D. Denisenkov under Creative Commons license)

Period: Dynasty XII, Middle Kingdom

Pharaoh/Ruler: Amenemhet III

Date: 1860–1815 BCE

Site: Dashur

Medium: Gold pectoral with glass inlays

Comments: This gold pectoral bears a mirrored image of Amenemhat III smiting an enemy under the outstretched wings of Nekhbet. The king wears a headdress with a noticeable uraeus and wields a bladed mace. Amenemhat III is dressed elaborately in a kilt with a decorated apron, a necklace, and a top with one shoulder. He wields a bladed mace and grabs the enemy by the hair. The enemy is labeled as “menet” and wears a striped kilt. He holds a curved object in one hand outstretched to the king and a dagger in the other. This is the first piece to show the enemy with any weapon. Now in the Cairo Museum (CG 52003). Dimensions: 7.9x10.4 cm.

CAT: E 9



(Hall 1986, fig. 27; Aruz et. al 2008, 119-120)

Period: Dynasty XVIII, New Kingdom

Pharaoh/Ruler: Ahmose I

Date: 1550–1525 BCE

Site: Thebes

Medium: Gold, electrum, copper alloy, semiprecious stones, wood.

Comments: This ceremonial ax was discovered in the tomb of Queen Ah-hotep. The smiting scene is in the middle register above a griffin. The king strides to the right and grasps the kneeling enemy by his hair, lowering his arm to strike the victim. This smiting pose is a bit different from earlier smiting scenes, as the scene captures the moment of impact on the victim's body. He wears a kilt and the khepresh crown with a noticeable uraeus. The victim kneels and looks back at the pharaoh. It is unclear what weapon the pharaoh holds, but has been suggested to be a dagger. There are no gods in the scene. The inscriptions read, "The good god Nebphetyre, son of Re, Ahmose," and "beloved of Montu." Now in the Luxor Museum (JE 4673). Dimensions: 47.5x 6.7 cm.

CAT: E 10



(Hall 1986, Figure 1; Image: Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, 37.726E.
Creative Commons License)

Period: Dynasty XVIII, New Kingdom

Pharaoh/Ruler: Amenhotep II

Date: 1425–1400 BCE

Site: Saqqara

Medium: Silver Ring

Comments: This square bezel ring shows the king smiting an enemy. This is one of five known from this period (Hall 1986, 1). This piece is extremely rare as silver was rare during this period and considered more valuable than gold. Amenemhat II is shown striding to the right, wearing the khepresh crown and a kilt. He raises a mace above his head while he grabs the enemy by his hair. The enemy kneels with one arm up while looking directly at the king. No gods present in the scene. The inscription gives the king's name. Now in the Brooklyn Museum (37.726E). Dimensions: 1.27x1.27 cm.

CAT NO: E 11



(Image courtesy of © The Trustees of the British Museum)

Period: Dynasty XVIII, New Kingdom

Pharaoh/Ruler: Uncertain

Date: 1550–1292 BCE

Site: Memphis

Medium: Limestone

Comments: This king strides to the right and wears a short wig and a short kilt. The king raises a khepesh sword above his head and grabs the enemy by his hair with his other hand. The enemy is possibly a Nubian who has his arms upraised in a defensive position. Behind the enemy is the mummiform of the god Ptah, who wears a skull cap and holds a scepter. In front of his head is the god Horus in his falcon form. There are no inscriptions. Now in the British Museum (BM EA69154). Dimensions: 15x13x3 cm.



(Image Licensed Under Creative Commons)

Period: Dynasty XVIII, New Kingdom

Pharaoh/Ruler: Thutmose IV

Date: 1400–1390 BCE

Site: Amarna

Medium: Ivory

Comments: The elephant-ivory openwork wristguard bears the smiting pose with Thutmose IV smiting down an enemy with the deity Montu looking on. Thutmose IV strides towards the left and grabs the enemy by his hair. The pharaoh wears a wig, a detailed collar necklace, two-winged chest straps, and a kilt. Rather than using a mace, the pharaoh raises a khepesh sword and holds the enemy's headdress and a standard in his other hand. The enemy is kneeling, facing the king, and reaches an arm up. This individual has shoulder-length hair and a beard. The inscription reads, "smite the chiefs of all foreign countries." Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AM 21685).

Length:

11.4 cm.

CAT: E 13



(Image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, public domain)

Period: Dynasty XVIII, New Kingdom

Pharaoh/Ruler: Horemheb

Date: 1320–1292 BCE

Site: Unknown

Medium: Limestone relief

Comments: This relief shows the pharaoh smiting his enemy in front of the god Ptah. Horemheb wears a wig and kilt. It is unclear what weapon the king holds in his raised arm as it is not preserved. He grabs the enemy by his hair. The enemy looks at the king as he kneels. His arms are outstretched in a defensive position. The god Ptah is the smallest figure in the scene and watches over the ritual smiting on a small platform. Inscriptions bear the king's name. Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (64.285). Dimensions: 5.8x7.8 cm.

CAT: E 14



(Image courtesy of © The Trustees of the British Museum)

Period: Dynasty XIX, New Kingdom

Pharaoh/Ruler: Ramesses II

Date: 1279–1213 BCE

Site: Unknown

Medium: Glazed steatite

Comments: This scarab shows Rameses II smiting a prisoner in front of the enthroned god Ptah. Rameses II wears a headdress with two plumed feathers and a kilt. He holds a weapon in his raised hand and the prisoner in the other. The enemy is shown kneeling in front of the king with his arms outstretched in a defensive position. The name of the king is continued below this scene. Now in the British Museum (EA66195). Dimensions: 1.14x2.55x1.82 cm.

CAT: E 15



(Hall 1986, Figure 59; Image: Battle of Kadesh by Guillaume Blanchard, Under GNU Free Documentation License)

Period: Dynasty XIX, New Kingdom

Pharaoh/Ruler: Ramesses II

Date: 1279–1213 BCE

Site: Abu Simbel

Medium: Stone Relief

Comments: Ramesses II smites a Libyan, with a second Libyan below his feet. This scene is located near the smiting scenes showcasing Ramesses II in front of the god ReHorakhty and the smiting scene in front of Amun-Re in the Great Hall. Ramesses II is locked in battle against two enemies, with one of the enemies already defeated. Ramesses II wears a wig with an uraeus, holds a weapon, and his left arm holds the upper arm of an enemy. There is a quiver full of arrows behind his torso, with two tassels. He wears a kilt with a decorated sash, which can be seen between his legs. Enemies wear a kilt and a chest strap. The text surrounding the scene notes the enemies as Libyans and makes mention of Asiatics.

CAT: E 16



(Hall 986, fig. 52; Object E 3067. Courtesy of the Penn Museum.)

Period: Dynasty XIX, New Kingdom

Pharaoh/Ruler: Ramesses II

Date: 1279–1213 BCE

Site: Tell el-Rataba

Medium: Stone Relief

Comments: Fragment from a temple facade wall fragment: Ramses II is depicted slaying an Asiatic enemy while wearing the double crown of Egypt with a uraeus. His right arm is missing. The god Atum offers a khepesh to the king as he watches over the ritual killing. Atum holds an ankh in his other hand. The kneeling enemy looks away from Ramesses II and has his arms raised in a defensive position. Now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum (E 3067). Dimensions: 125x187 cm.

CAT: E 17



(Image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, public domain)

Period: Dynasty XIX, New Kingdom

Pharaoh/Ruler: Ramesses II

Date: 1279–1213 BCE

Site: Unknown

Medium: Glazed steatite

Comments: This scarab shows Ramesses II smiting an enemy in front of the god Amun. Ramesses wears the double crown of Egypt and wields a battle ax in his raised arm. The prisoner in the middle is on his knees with his arms flailing. Amun stands at the right side of the scene and hands a khepesh to the king as he watches over the ritual killing. Ramesses II's name is inscribed above them. Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MET 26.7.230). Dimensions: 2 cm.

CAT: E 18



(Image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, public domain)

Period: Dynasty XIX, New Kingdom

Pharaoh/Ruler: Ramesses II

Date: 1279–1213 BCE

Site: Unknown

Medium: Glazed steatite

Comments: Oblong plaque showing Ramesses II smiting two prisoners. The king wears the red crown of Lower Egypt and wields a mace. He grabs the two prisoners by their hair. These prisoners do not kneel; rather they walk to the right. In between the king and the prisoners is a lion. On the other side of the plaque is an image of Harakhty as a falcon flanked by images of Isis and Nephthys. His cartouches and titulary are inscribed in the scene. Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MET 26.7.246).

Dimensions: 1.8x1.4 cm.

CAT: E 19



(Image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, public domain)

Period: Dynasty XIX, New Kingdom

Pharaoh/Ruler: Ramesses II

Date: 1279–1213 BCE

Site: Unknown

Medium: Glazed steatite

Comments: Ramesses II smites an enemy with a spear in front of the god Ptah. Ramesses II wears the khepresh crown, a kilt, and grabs the enemy by his arm. The enemy is on his knees in front of the king with one arm held up by the pharaoh. In front of the enemy is the god Ptah who stands on a small platform. Above the scene is Ramesses II's name. Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MET 26.7.221). Dimensions: 1.8x1.3x0.9 cm.



(Hall 1986, Figure 52; Object E17527. Courtesy of the Penn Museum.)

Period: Dynasty XIX, New Kingdom

Pharaoh/Ruler: Merneptah

Date: 1213–1203 BCE

Site: Memphis

Medium: Limestone door jamb

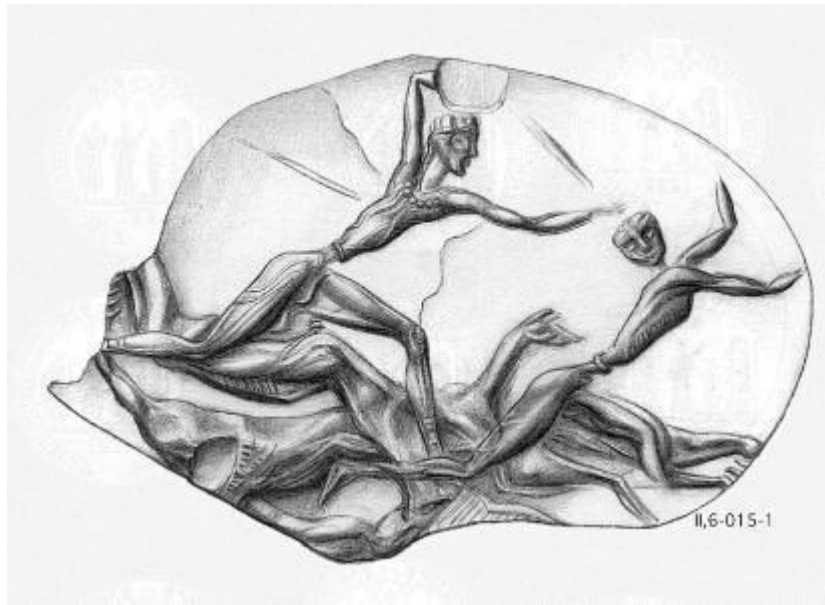
Comments: This smiting scene shows Merneptah smiting two enemies with a dog in between them. This door jamb comes from the west door in room 14 of the Palace of Merneptah in Memphis. He wears the crowns of upper and lower Egypt, which have a uraeus. He holds a bladed mace in his upraised right arm. His left arm grabs the headdresses of two enemies kneeling on the ground before him. Two Asiatic enemies have their arms outstretched in a defensive position. The enemy to the back has one arm wrapped around the individual in the front, perhaps as a way to push away from the oncoming fatal blow. Now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum (E17527). Dimensions: 118x56x10 cm.

APPENDIX B
CATALOG OF ALL KNOWN SMITING SCENES ON CRETE AND THE
MAINLAND

This catalog is a representation of the smiting scenes on Crete and the Mainland during the Late Minoan/ Late Helladic period (roughly 1600–1400 BCE). These scenes appear on seals, seal rings, and seal impressions. All available smiting scenes are cataloged below.

Each entry will focus on the smiting individual, his dress, the position of the enemy(s), the weapon used, landscape and material used.

CAT NO: A 1



CMS II.6 no. 15

Period: LM I

Date: 1600–1425 BCE

Site: Hagia Triada

Medium: Clay seal impression

Comments: This seal impressions likely was made by a seal ring. This chase scene has two human figures moving from left to right over a rocky landscape. This scene is also found on sealing fragments from Knossos (CMS II.8 no. 279). The figure to the left is more prominent than the second. The figure's head and lower body are in profile, and his torso twists to highlight the body's movement while reaching the second figure. His right arm raises his sword over his head. His other hand reaches out to grasp the second figure's head or hair to land the fatal strike. It is unclear if this figure is wearing a helmet or a headband. The victim looks directly at the viewer with both arms upraised in a desperate attempt to escape his predicament. There is no helmet, defensive, or offensive weaponry present. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Heraklion. Dimensions: 1.95x1.6 cm.

CAT NO: A 2



CMS II.6 no.16

Period: LM I

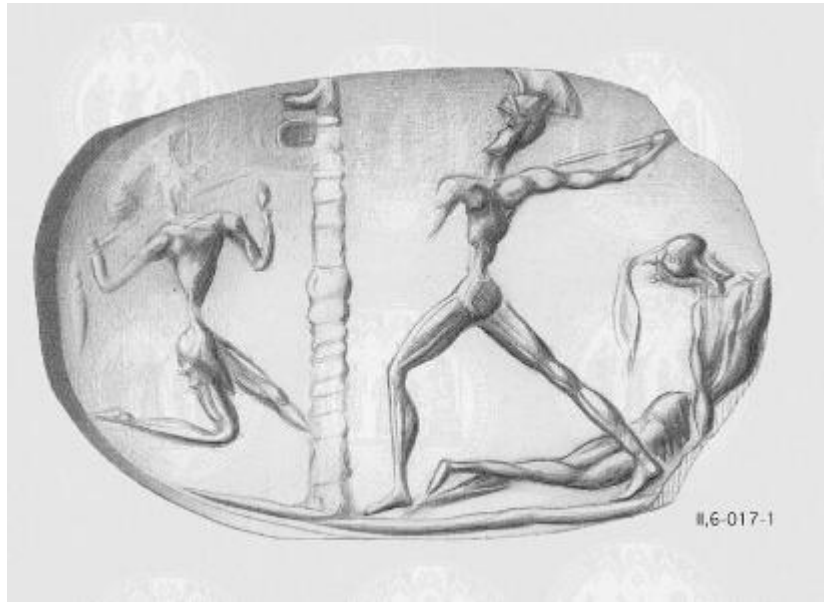
Date: 1600-1425 BCE

Site: Hagia Triada

Medium: Clay impression

Comments: Sealing from Hagia Triada that highlights a pair in combat. The figure on the left (figure A) appears to be fallen as his legs lie on the bottom of the impression. His back is to the viewer. His legs no longer support the weight of his upper body, implying he is about to be fatally struck by the other figure (figure B). Figure B wields two weapons, most likely swords, due to the noticeable handle and defined blade in this figure's left hand. He likely holds these swords not because he is ambidextrous but because he has disarmed his opponent. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Heraklion. Dimensions: 1.55x1.0 cm.

CAT NO: A 3



CMS II.6 no. 17

Period: LM I

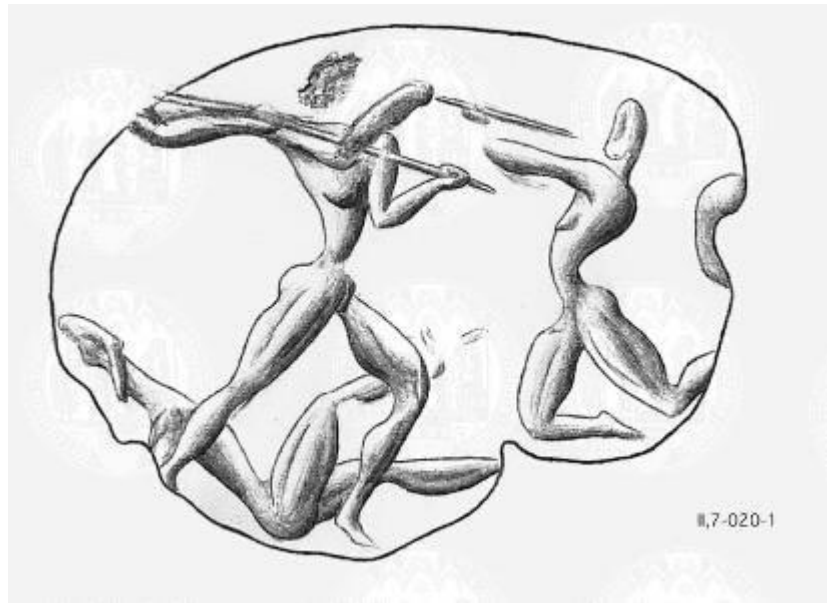
Date: 1600–1425 BCE

Site: Hagia Triada

Medium: Clay impression

Comments: This oval sealing is likely from a ring from Villa Reale, although the findspot is unknown. The sealing shows something like a narrative in the smiting scene by introducing a third figure. From left to right, there are three figures. The first (figure A) runs to the right. The second figure (figure B) prepares to land a fatal blow on Figure A; the final figure (figure C) lies unmoving on the ground. Between figures A and B is a pillar that separates figure A from both figures B and C, creating a dynamic scene. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Heraklion. Dimensions: 3.10x1.95 cm.

CAT NO: A 4



CMS II.7 no. 20

Period: LM I

Date: 1600–1425 BCE

Site: Zakro

Medium: Clay impression

Comments: This oval impression was made from a ring. No distinct groundline is present; the scene incorporates three figures from left to right: A, B, and C, respectively. Figure A is the fallen figure to the far left of the scene. He has an unclear head, and his torso is twisted in a heap. His body lies limp with an arm over his face. Figure B faces the right and steps forward with his left leg over the fallen figure. There is no clear helmet present and no jewelry. And finally, figure C is on the far right of the scene. He is portrayed as smaller than figure B. His body is in profile, and he has no helmet, defensive weaponry, or jewelry. His left arm is holding onto a lance, trying desperately to hit figure B. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Heraklion. Dimensions: 2.0x1.5 cm.

CAT NO: A 5



CMS VII 129

Period: LM I

Date: 1600–1425 BCE

Site: Unknown

Medium: Carnelian seal stone.

Comments: This lentoid seal stone is said to be from the island of Crete, although no findspot is recorded. This pierced carnelian seal is now in the British Museum, dated stylistically to the LM I period. There are two figures in this scene (figures A and B). Figure A is on the left-hand side of the seal drawing. He is right facing and is depicted in profile with his left foot striding forward. His chest and torso open to the right as his right hand holds a sword, preparing to strike his opponent. Figure B is the figure on the right side that is left-facing. A tower shield almost completely covers his body. Only his head,

left arm, and legs from the shin down are represented. He wears more defensive protection in the form of a helmet. Now in the British Museum (1874,0405.5).
Dimensions: 1.68x1.60 cm.

CAT NO: A 6



CMS XII no. 292

Period: LM I

Date: 1600–1425 BCE

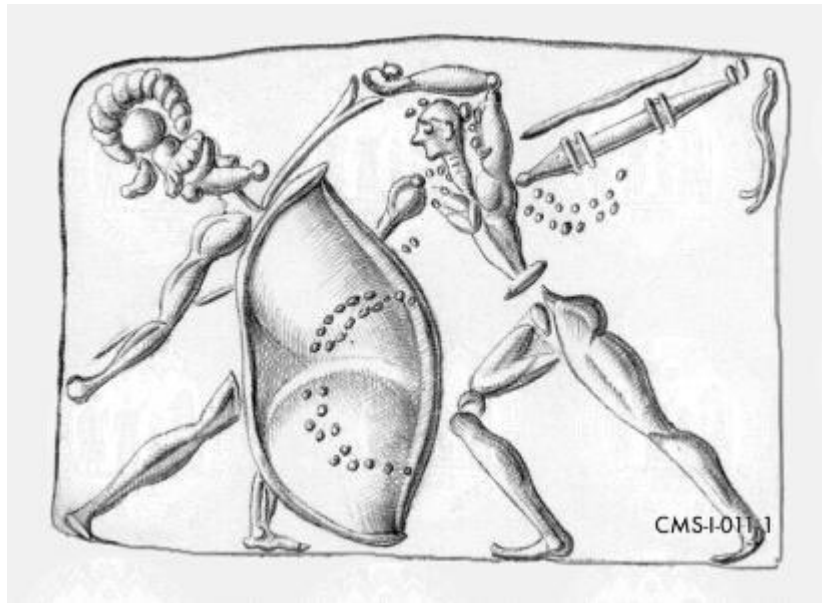
Site: Unknown

Medium: Carnelian seal stone.

Comments: This pierced carnelian seal stone is believed to be from Crete, although no findspot is recorded. Two figures are present in this smiting scene (figures A and B). Figure A is on the left side of the seal drawing. This figure towers over his competitor. In the drawing, he is shown wearing a helmet, yet no helmet or cap is present in the seal photograph. He holds a sword in his right arm, preparing to strike down. Figure B is leftfacing on the right-hand side of the scene. His head is denoted by the presence of a boar's tusk helmet. He is behind a tower shield that allows only an arm and his legs from the shin down to be seen. There is a diagonal line present on the shield, which may be

decoration. And figure B holds either a spear or a lance. This seal is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (26.31.262); it is stylistically dated to the LM I period. Dimensions: 1.56x1.40 cm.

CAT NO: A 7



CMS I no. 11

Period: LH I

Date: 1600–1500 BCE

Site: Mycenae

Medium: Gold pillow seal

Comments: This gold pillow seal was discovered in Grave III in Grave Circle A. The gold rings and cushion seals in Grave Circle A are believed to be a Cretan import. The scene includes two figures battling to the death. Looking at the scene from left to right, they will be referred to as figures A and B, respectively. Figure A, on the left-hand side, has just been struck in the soft tissue between the neck and the shoulder. Figure A wears a plumed helmet, possibly a boar tusk helmet, with a noticeable cheekpiece. Figure B is the victor in this scene. He strides from right to left with his right foot leading and propelling his weight forward. His right foot is on the ground to offer stability while his back foot is raised. Figure B simply has a sword. Now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Dimensions: 1.8x1.2 cm.

CAT NO: A 8



CMS I no. 12

Period: LH I

Date: 1600–1500 BCE

Site: Mycenae

Medium: Carnelian seal stone

Comments: This carnelian seal stone also comes from Grave III in Grave Circle A. This scene depicts two warriors with figure-of-eight shields. These two figures are locked in combat, with Figure A, on the left, crouching in front of Figure B. He is facing Figure B, who approaches from the right. Figure A holds a figure of eight shield on his back with decorations along the side. The head of this warrior is heavily stylized and is represented by a boar tusk helmet. Figure B is the victorious warrior. He strides to the left with his right foot leading. His back heel is lifted, which aids in the movement of his pose. Both feet are on the ground line. He has a detailed figure-of-eight shield behind him. A boar's tusk helmet also represents his head, with a cheekpiece easily seen in his profile. He wears a one-strand necklace as well as a belt and kilt. Two horizontal lines denote the groundline in the smiting scene. Now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Dimensions: 2.3x1.7 cm.

CAT NO: A 9



CMS I no. 16

Period: LH I

Date: 1600–1500 BCE

Site: Mycenae

Medium: Gold ring

Comments: This gold ring was found in Grave IV in Grave Circle A; it is dated stylistically to the LH I period. This ring was believed to be placed in the grave around 1600 BCE. The scene has four figures enclosed by rockwork. From left to right, they will be referred to as figures A–D respectively. Figure A is depicted with a tower shield covering most of his body. There are small circle nodules on it as decoration. Only his helmeted head, an arm, and a leg can be seen outside the shield. Figure B is kneeling while moving toward the center of the scene and the central standing figure. His heels are raised, suggesting movement. Figure C is standing in the center of the scene with his right foot forward to balance his weight as his back left foot propels him forward to the left side. He wears a boar's tusk helmet, similar to Figure A, although the plume differs. Finally, figure D is to the far right of the scene and can be classified as "the fallen." He sits on the rock border. He appears alive, but defeated. Now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Dimensions: 3.5x2.1 cm.

CAT NO: A 10



Pylos Combat Agate

Period: LH II

Date: 1450 BCE

Site: Pylos

Medium: Banded Agate Seal Stone

Comments: This banded agate seal stone is from the palatial site of Pylos near Tholos Tomb IV. From left to right, there are three figures in the scene, two active, with one already deceased. Figure A strides forward with his left leg in a lunge over the fallen figure. He has long, curled hair that flows down his back. His face is carved in profile, and he wears a two-strand necklace. His raised arm has a bracelet around the wrist. In his right hand is a sword. Figure B's head is forcibly moved to the side to allow Figure A's sword to pierce the soft tissue between his neck and shoulder. This warrior wears a plumed helmet with a design in relief. Figure B holds a socketed spear with a clear and defined midrib in his right arm. Finally, the fallen warrior is Figure C. Figure C's arms lay limp, with his right arm over his head. On the ground behind his left arm is a sword with a distinct horned hilt. Dimensions: 3.6x2.2 cm.