Enkomi and Egypt: Exploring the Third Space in Cyprus

Louise Steel

Y Athrofa, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Wales Trinity Saint David, College Street, Lampeter, Ceredigion SA49 7ED, Wales

07975 849301

l.steel@uwsd.ac.uk

Running title: **Enkomi and Egypt**

Abstract

This paper explores Egyptian influence in Late Bronze Age Cyprus through the lens of cultural hybridity. It draws specifically on Bhabha's concept of the third space, identified here as an in-between space where two (or more) cultural identities mix and become materially entangled. Key for such an analysis of Cypro-Egyptian contacts is the understanding that this place need not have any direct political dimensions but instead could be a fluid space characterized by diverse contact situations. The focus is Egyptian(izing) objects from Enkomi, which highlight the cultural impact of New Kingdom Cypro-Egyptian cultural contacts. .

Key words

Cultural hybridity, third space, Cyprus, Egyptianizing

Introduction

This paper examines Egyptian influence in Late Bronze Age (LBA) Cyprus, focusing on Egyptian(izing) material from Enkomi found in the tombs excavated by the British Museum in the late 19th century (Murray et al. 1900; Tatton-Brown 2003; Crewe 2007). It seeks to examine Enkomi (Figure 1) through the lens of a third space (Bhabha 2004, 54-6), as a "place of encounter" (Stockhammer 2012a, 49) where multiple cultural identities came into contact and became materially entangled. Cyprus lay beyond the reach of Egyptian military colonial activity; however, the island was fully integrated within multiple networks of contact, diplomacy and exchange throughout the wider East Mediterranean and Near East, including with Egypt. Indeed, key for our understanding of Cypro-Egyptian contacts in the LBA is that a place of cultural and economic encounter need not result from any direct political or

military action but simply reflects cultural mix and material entanglement as a result of the ongoing movement of people, ideas and objects. Here, Enkomi is identified as a thriving cosmopolitan hub, a place where new material values and social practices were shared, exchanged and experienced between local Cypriots and other peoples (including Canaanites, people from the Aegean, Anatolia (de Martino 2008) and, in this discussion particularly, from Egypt), all of whom had radically different cultural traditions. The result was the transformation of the Cypriot social and material worlds and in particular the creation of an urban way of life (see Knapp 2013a, 348).

< Fig. 1 about here>

The Third Space

> [C]ontact between cultures is inherently disruptive, challenging people's views of themselves and of others
>
> (Cusick 1998, 3).

This paper explores the material consequences of people from vastly different cultural backgrounds coming into close contact with each other, sharing and exchanging goods, ideas and social practices, in particular when one cultural grouping might be perceived as being militarily, economically and possibly even culturally superior to the other. The approach investigated here recognises how objects are manipulated to negotiate a person's place in the world, expressing their social, economic and cultural capital and thus mediating their relations with other people both within and beyond their cultural group. Cross-cultural interactions such as these inevitably result in social and material change, as people are exposed to novel ideas, different ways of doing things and new items of material culture. This is evident in the urban communities of LBA Cyprus, who eagerly consumed imported

pottery, items of personal adornment and other luxuries from the Near East and Aegean, which they embedded in their daily life; particularly noteworthy are the close social ties and shared cultural practices – the *marzihu* (a social gathering associated with wine consumption and possible funeral or ancestral associations, Dawson 2009, 168) and *kispum* (offerings made to the dead to sustain them in the afterlife, MacDougal 2018, 262)– linking Enkomi and Ugarit (Crewe 2009; Keswani 2012; Steel 2013, 30-40).

There are various nuances in how these material interactions have been articulated. Helms (1988) for example, has demonstrated how control over access to exotic imports, alongside the knowledge of novel practices and geographically distant places, might be used by individuals to accrue social and cultural capital and perhaps to enhance and reinforce their political position. Following Helms (1988), Knapp (2013b) has examined how exotic imports from Egypt were manipulated as objects of elite authority in LBA Cyprus, focusing on some of the material from the British Museum Enkomi excavations (see discussion below). Gosden (2004) has developed two closely related models of culture contact with specific application to the ancient Mediterranean: the middle ground (see also White 1991) and the shared cultural milieu. These models assume that social interaction between distinct cultural groups is mutually beneficial and is enacted through the exchange of culturally appropriate and valued gifts; the inevitable transmission of knowledges of exotic practices and new items of material culture results in the development of shared cultural values and new social structures as the participants adopt and adapt the novel and integrate this within new social practices. These models do not presuppose that such social and material changes result from colonial activities, but rather suggest that interaction between elites of different cultures is the primary causal factor.

Recent archaeological studies of entangled connections between peoples in the Bronze Age East Mediterranean are grounded in postcolonial thought, exploring culture contact through the lens of cultural hybridity (Knapp 2012; Steel 2013; 2018; Hitchcock and Maier 2013; Stockhammer 2012a) and transculturalism (Hitchcock, 2011; Stockhammer 2012b). Postcolonial theory shifts the focus to the local context, emphasizing the agency of the native population in these interactions. It focuses on the choices people make in adapting foreign customs, ideologies and goods to renegotiate their own identities and their development of a new system of values and ways of doing things. Particularly significant for our understanding of this process is Homi Bhabha's concept of the third space (see also Knapp 2012), an interstitial space which "opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference *without an assumed or imposed hierarchy*" (Bhabha 2004, 5, my emphasis). This is an in-between, marginal and ambiguous space where people come together, mix and share ideas and physical things, from food and drink to items of material culture; importantly however, it recognises the agency of the colonized and explores how they actively rework the novel into their own social identities and existing practices. Bhabha highlights what he calls the "productive capacities" (2004, 56) of the third space, that this is a space where cultural difference and "contraries" can be assimilated and changed to suit new cultural circumstance; indeed "the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; ... even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew" (Bhabha 2004, 57).

Cultural hybridity refers to the development of new social practices drawing upon new ideas, ways of doing things and imported materials, rather than the creation of hybrid objects, influenced by diverse cultural traditions (Steel 2018, 17). Although such hybrid objects can be identified in the LBA East Mediterranean, exemplified by the so-called International Style (Feldman 2006), the focus here is on the assimilation of imported Egyptian objects within the

lifeways of the recipient Cypriot community at Enkomi. It seeks to interrogate how these were altered in meaning and function, indeed were reinvented, as they moved into a new phase of their existence and were incorporated within new structures and social practices. "What is significant about the adoption of [these] alien objects – as of alien ideas – is not the fact that they are adopted, but the way they are culturally redefined and put to use' (Kopytoff 1986, 67). To understand the shifting meanings of these socially significant objects and how they have moved into new relationships we might think of their biography (Kopytoff 1986), an approach that has been successfully employed by archaeologists to the material world (Gosden and Marshall 1999), or from a less anthropomorphic perspective that these items are following an itinerary (Joyce and Gillespie 2015), changing meaning as they move. The following analysis therefore seeks to explore how Egyptian imports became socially embedded at Enkomi, highlighting this as a significant and transformative stage in their existence. Here, the site is characterized not simply as a cosmopolitan hub, a place of economic encounters, but as a third space, "a more complex cultural situation where 'previously unrecognized spiritual and intellectual needs' emerge from the imposition of foreign ideas, cultural representations and structures of power" (Bhabha 2004, 17).

Egypt and Cyprus

That Cyprus was part of the diplomatic and trading networks of the later second millennium East Mediterranean, and within the cultural orbit of the Egyptian New Kingdom empire, has long been recognised. There is a divide between textual approaches to this topic, that are inevitably dependent on sources external to the island, and archaeological analyses, which focus on the distribution of Egyptian goods in Cyprus and Cypriot pottery in Egypt (Merrillees 1968). There has been much discussion of the possible identification of Cyprus with Asy from Egyptian texts (Quack 1996; van de Mieroop 2007) and more particularly with

Alashiya, as mentioned in the Amarna archives and other Near Eastern sources (Merrillees 1987; 2011; 2018; Goren et al. 2003; Gilbert 2018; Mantzourani et al. 2019). This identification is significant as it would place Cyprus (or part of the island) among the brotherhood of kings (Podany 2010), one of the major diplomatic powers of the Near East. While this paper draws attention to a horizon of contact evident at Enkomi during the late Eighteenth Dynasty (mid fourteenth century), perhaps related to a programme of diplomatic overtures from the Egyptian court to the Aegean in the reign of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye (Cline and Stannish 2011), it attends to the material evidence extant at the site and makes no claims as to the historical identification of Enkomi (or the wider island of Cyprus), which is grounded in an understanding of the historical texts rather than the physical archaeological record.

Enkomi: Tombs Excavated by the British Museum

The postcolonial approach outlined above seeks to explore the materiality (human-object entanglements; Boivin, 2008, 26; Ingold 2014, 27) of Egyptian interactions with Cyprus during the LBA. To date, studies of Egyptian(izing) objects found on the island have tended to focus on classification and description rather than the social roles of the object itself (Peltenburg 1986; Jacobsson1994; Matthäus 2013; Smith 2013; Papasavvas 2018; see however Peltenburg, 2007; Knapp 2013b; Papasavvas 2022) and the material consequences of this cultural contact have not been the primary focus of enquiry. Two sites in particular stand out for their close economic contacts with Egypt – Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke (Smith 2013, 13; Steel 2021, 93) – both of which were major trading centres and have also been the focus of sustained archaeological investigation. The ensuing discussion focuses on the British Museum excavations at Enkomi in the 19th century, specifically Egyptian(izing) objects found in the tombs and now housed in the British Museum (see also Knapp 2013b).

Indeed, one of the aims of this paper is to demonstrate the merit of revisiting earlier excavations, where the quality of recording does not meet the rigour of recent excavations such as Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* Tomb 11 (Goring 1989; 1996) and more recently at Hala Sultan Tekke (Bürge and Fischer 2017; Fischer and Bürge 2017). While it is not possible to examine in detail the context of the Egyptian imports and Egyptianizing objects found in the British Museum excavations at Enkomi, investigating these items as a discrete group reveals some interesting patterns and throws light on how they might be used to illustrate material engagements and Cypro-Egyptian relations in the LBA.

The British Museum excavated one hundred tombs at Enkomi in what they interpreted as a cemetery "of the Mycenaean age" (Murray et al. 1900): 95 chamber tombs, four ashlar-built tombs and one tholos tomb. While the excavators recorded a site location map and a plan of the tombs relative to each other (Murray et al. 1900, 30; Crewe 2007, 58, fig. 1), their aim was not to provide a detailed record of the tomb architecture, nor of the burials contained within. Plans were made for only two tombs: Tombs 66 and 93 (Murray et al. 1900, figs. 4, 5), the finds were not recorded in situ, nor were the number of extant burials or disposition of the human remains recorded and indeed the skeletal remains were not recovered, let alone studied by a physical anthropologist (Crewe 2007, 63). There are however, some interesting details nestled within the excavation notebooks; for example, Tomb 47 was:

> Full of human bones, very short & thick, several skulls of a very low type, one with a gold diadem still adhering. Got out whole & saved...This tomb contained about 4ft. of human bones. Possibly this burial had followed upon some act of war, but there were no apparent traces of violence upon the skulls
>
> (Tatton Brown 2003, 25-6)

Given the absence of detailed stratigraphic recording of the tombs, or indeed of discrete groupings of objects with individual burials, together with the Cypriot practice of reusing tombs over generations, it is impossible to date the British Museum tombs, and the objects found therein, precisely. Instead, the tombs can only be assigned to broad chronological phases in the LBA, bracketing the earliest materials deposited to latest demonstrable use of the burial facility.

The purpose of the excavations was to collect a "representative sample" of grave goods, but there was an emphasis on certain categories of material and objects, with a marked bias towards those deemed to be suited for museum display (Crewe 2007, 63-4), and thus the recovery of materials was not complete. Consequently, these tombs are of limited, if any, use for exploring LBA funerary practices at Enkomi. Nonetheless, taking into consideration the marked weighting of evidence towards the exotic and shiny artefact, crafted from precious substances such as gold, alabaster, faience and ivory, an assessment of the finds from tombs excavated by the British Museum might allow us to evaluate the social importance of these imported items for certain elements of the LBA community at Enkomi and how they were incorporated within a Cypriot context.

Egypt at Enkomi

The following discussion draws upon Egyptian imports, or possible Egyptianizing objects, recovered from these tombs and which are now housed in the British Museum. Although there are a small number of faience scarabs, travertine vases, and faience and glass vessels from the British Museum excavations currently housed in the Cyprus Museum (Pilides 2019; Pilides n.d.). The majority of these are unprovenanced and have not been previously

published, except for a faience scarab dating to the reign of Ramesses III and attributed to Tomb 42 (Pilidies n.d.; Peltenburg 1986, 164, inscribed scarab no. 3). Given the limited information available for these objects they have not been included in this analysis. Some 54 Egyptian(izing) items were identified from the British Museum Enkomi website (Appendix), of which 38 were found in 18 tombs (Table 1), while the other 16 were either surface finds or unprovenanced. These comprise ivory cosmetic items, faience vessels, scarabs and occasional pieces of jewellery, glazed steatite scarabs, glass vessels, gold and silver jewellery and a small number of items of personal adornment fashioned from carnelian.

For the most part we can only assign these objects very broadly to the New Kingdom and only very occasionally with more precision. This is exacerbated by the longevity of certain Egyptian named royal objects – for example those marked with the names of Thutmosis III or Ramesses II, whose "patronage and protection...remained relevant for later generations" (Smith 2013, 12-13) – meaning we cannot assume that the arrival of these objects in Cyprus, let alone their deposition in a tomb, was contemporary with the reign of the named pharaoh. The first Egyptian imports identified at Enkomi are surface finds with no secure context. The earliest of these is a Twelfth Dynasty scarab marked with the prenomen of Senwosret I (*ḫpr-k#-ro*). (Kenna 1971, No.1; Jacobsson 1994, 47, No. 245, ca. 1956-1910 BCE). This predates the foundation of the settlement at Enkomi by some 200 years, suggesting that the scarab may have been in circulation for some time (see discussion below). Although there was no contemporary settlement at Enkomi and also only limited evidence for Cypriot engagement in international trade (see however Webb and Knapp 2021, 222-8; Webb 2022), we should not dismiss the possibility that the scarab reached the island during the Middle Bronze Age, perhaps contemporary with a Egyptian military campaign to the island during the reign of Amenemhet II, recorded on the Mit Rahina stela (Quack 1996, 79-80). Even so, the Mit

Rahina inscription is problematic and the identification of ’Iɜsii with Cyprus has been questioned (Marcus 2007, 146-8; Gubel and Lofet 2011-2012, 151; Webb and Frankel 2021, 228). The British Museum also discovered a Second Intermediate Period faience scarab (Cat. No. 31: Murray et al. 1900, 39, pl. IV.761), again with no fixed context; this is paralleled by another unstratified Second Intermediate Period scarab found in the French excavations at the site and now housed in the Louvre (AM2179; Jacobsson 1994, pl.68.287). Possibly these objects document an early phase of contact between Enkomi and Egypt during the formative stages of the town’s existence; however, we should note the presence of other Second Intermediate Period scarabs in much later, 13th-12th century BCE, tomb deposits (Smith 2013, 13), suggesting such objects were in circulation over generations, moving through many hands before finally being placed in a tomb.

There is a distinct horizon of late Eighteenth Dynasty objects associated with Tomb 93, including a fine example of an Egyptian usekh, or broad collar (Papasavvas 2022), which Goring suggests is most closely paralleled by one dating to the reign of Smenkhkare (Goring 1983, 256-7). Other objects identified as being specifically Eighteenth Dynasty include a Queen Tiye scarab and an Akhenaten silver ring (Cat. Nos. 30, 49), a couple of glass vessels (Cat. Nos. 16, 27) and three faience vases (Cat. Nos. 18, 20, 24). For the most part the other Egyptian(izing) objects cannot be more closely dated than Eighteenth-Nineteenth dynasties, excepting one Twentieth Dynasty scarab found in Tomb 42 (Peltenburg 1986, 164).

<Table 1 about here>

Three tombs stand out in particular for the concentration of Egyptian imports and Egyptianizing materials: Tombs 66; 67; and, most notably, Tomb 93 (Table 1). The

concentration of seven objects in Tomb 93 is striking, as is the quality and comparative value of these items. Tomb 93 was also the wealthiest of the tombs, at least in terms of weight of gold recovered, some 1430g (Crewe 2007, 63; see Papasavvas 2022, 47). The excavators did comment on the comingling of bones and finds in the tomb and its dromos:

> Bones very much mixed up and many pieces of gold necklace found in [dromos] shaft...We commenced finding fragments of necklace about 3 ft from surface. Also fragments of fine Myceni vase depicting figures. The bones and antiquities were all mixed up with the earth and rocks in the tomb.
>
> (Tatton-Brown 2003, 53)

Consequently, it is impossible to establish whether these groupings represent a single event in the tomb, associated with a specific burial, or if the tombs themselves contained a number of individuals each with their own Egyptian object. For the most part these date to the Eighteenth Dynasty (some specifically to the reign of Amenhotep III or the Amarna period – a Tiye scarab, a signet ring with possible depiction of Amenhotep III and Tiye and an Akhenaten silver signet ring (Cat Nos. 30, 46, 49) – suggestive of a specific connection between a social group at Enkomi and the Egyptian royal court. Most significant is the usekh collar (Figure 2; Murray et. al. 1900, pl. VI; Courtois et al. 1986, 109-111, pl. XXI) identified by Goring (1983, 254-9) as being of royal quality, being most closely paralleled in a burial from the Valley of the Kings Tomb 55 (Aldred 1978, pl. 67; Goring 1983, 256-7), and thus suggestive of interaction with Egypt at the highest level (Papasavvas 2022, 52). Although perhaps not as spectacular as Tomb 93, Tomb 66 stands out for its ashlar masonry and its lavish array of grave goods (Tatton-Brown 2003, 34-6; Crewe 2009), including some 300g of gold (Crewe 2007, 63) – only paralleled by British Tomb 19 and Swedish Tomb 18 at Enkomi –, as well as four Egyptian(izing) vessels made from vitreous materials. Given the collection of Egyptian objects in these tombs it seems reasonable to suppose that the source

of gold was likewise Egypt (Goring 1983, 79-81), as reflected in the dialogue of the Amarna letters (Moran 1992; Rainey et al. 2015).

<Fig. 2 about here>

Renegotiating Cultural Value at Enkomi

Despite the number of Egyptian imports and Egyptianizing objects identified in the tombs at Enkomi, initial analysis suggests the site both culturally and economically to be on the Egyptian periphery. Certainly, how its inhabitants assimilated Egyptian materials appears very different to the patterns of contact identified in the more overtly Egyptianized Levant (Koch, 2018; 2021; Steel 2018), which reflect closer political and cultural interactions. The physical impact of Egyptian culture as a result of colonial military activity in the southern Levant was far reaching and includes the construction of garrison towns at sites such as Beth Shean (Mazar 2011) and Jaffa (Burke et al. 2017); locally-made Egyptian pottery (Martin 2011a, 2011b) and the adoption of anthropoid clay coffins (Pouls Wegner 2015; Steel 2018). Enkomi, in contrast, appears to have been more of a middle ground (cf. White 1991) where cultural exchange largely occurred without the application of force, although we should note the possible Egyptian military operation on the island in the reign of Amenemhat II (Quack 1996; Marcus 2007; Altenmüller 2015, 267-306; Langer 2021, 13, 387), predating the establishment of the island's LBA towns and large-scale Cypriot involvement in mercantile trade by a couple of centuries. As noted above, however, there are problems with the identification of Cyprus in the Mit Rahina inscription. By the LBA it appears that the urban inhabitants of Cyprus had access to a variety of traded commodities and that as people acquired new materials and objects, they readily assimilated these within their own value system and social practices. This included a range of luxury imports from Egypt: vessels of

glass, faience and alabaster (travertine) (Peltenburg 1986, 151-63) as well as scarabs and finger rings (Smith 2013). Here, however, I am focusing on just a few pieces from the impressive range of Egyptianalia from the British Museum excavations at Enkomi which exemplify a peculiarly Cypriot way of engaging with the exotic; namely the broad collar, the carnelian amulets and the Senwosret I royal scarab.

Perhaps the most spectacular find from Enkomi, and one which certainly needs to be taken into consideration for any real understanding of Egypto-Cypriot connections, is the broad collar from Tomb 93. This was a standard item of Egyptian personal adornment in the Eighteenth Dynasty both in life and death (Figure 3; Hayes 1959, 319-22, figs. 71, 188, 203; Goring 1983, 255); moreover, as noted above, the example buried in Tomb 93 was of royal quality being most closely paralleled by an Amarna period burial in the Valley of the Kings and a fragmentary example, possibly from Memphis, now in the British Museum (Papasavvas 2022, 49, fig. 4). Also worthy of note is the recent find of a lotus -flower pendant from Hala Sultan Tekke inlaid with carnelian and faience (Fischer and Bürge 2021, fig. 7.5, NR38), plausibly originally part of a broad collar. The collar from Tomb 93 therefore, is an exceptional item to find outside Egypt, as such items were "a visible manifestation of royal favour" (Papasavvas 2022, 50). These do not appear to have been considered suitable for exchange within the Egyptian colonial territories and were not integrated within Canaanite lifeways (Courtois et al. 1986, 110), even though Egyptian beads (possibly from simpler strung items such as necklaces and girdles) circulated widely throughout the East Mediterranean and as far west as Crete (Phillips 2008, 140-7). In fact, only one Egyptian-style broad collar has been identified at the Fosse Temple at Lachish (Tufnell et al. 1940, 75-6, pl. 14; Koch 2017, 68, n.14). This was composed of faience beads with floral motifs and more closely resembles Egyptian private collars (Hayes 1959, 319-22, fig. 203), in contrast to

the royal connotations of the gold and inlay collar from Enkomi. Koch (2017) suggests that, along with other Egyptian imports at Lachish, the faience collar was associated with the reworking of the local cult in LB II to incorporate the Egyptian goddess Hathor, initially as an Egyptian initiative linked with the royal cult of Tiye, but gradually appropriated by the local Canaanite elite.

<Fig. 3 about here>

The broad collar from Enkomi illustrates a very different cultural interaction – one in which a Cypriot urban elite was able to appropriate and consume luxury items from Egypt on their own terms – to that articulated at Lachish, which was performed within a context of political subordination and military control. Although unique on Cyprus, this collar undoubtedly appealed to Cypriot fashion, adorning the body with large quantities of gold – necklaces, earrings, finger-rings, hair-rings, diadems, pins, bracelets abound in tomb groups from across the island (e.g. Murray et al. 1900, pls. VIII-IX; Goring 1983; 1996) – and we might imagine that the collar was simply incorporated within Cypriot dress code alongside these other items in Tomb 93, but equally as a means of socially distancing and distinguishing its wearer. As it moved into the Cypriot social sphere, we might expect the collar to be transformed, acquiring new associations, meaning and value in this new phase of its existence (c.f. Kopytoff 1986). This object also reflects how Enkomi was situated within changing external relations. In the earlier part of the LBA Enkomi lay within the Near Eastern sphere of influence, exemplified by the Cypriot ongoing fascination with the cylinder seal, but appears to have been shifting towards an Egyptian cultural orbit by the later Eighteenth Dynasty, reflected by increasing interest in Egyptian scarabs (Smith 2013). Given its association with a range of Egyptian royal named objects of late Eighteenth Dynasty date we might infer that the broad collar arrived in Enkomi at this time. While the exact mode of transmission – and why Cyprus was

singled out for such attention – remains obscure, the substance of the piece, which is unmatched in the contemporary Levant, suggests it was sent, perhaps as a gift from the Egyptian court. Certainly, it highlights the importance of Cyprus to Egypt at a time more or less contemporary with the Amarna letters. At Enkomi, it is evident that a particular individual or family was able to accumulate a number of Egyptian royal objects, including the collar, as a statement of their authority, influence and Egyptian connections. The broad collar, and indeed the wider Tomb 93 assemblage, therefore might be viewed as a marker of political change and fluctuating foreign allegiances at Enkomi, part of the "complex, ongoing negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of *historical transformation*" (Bhabha 2004, 3, my emphasis).

Carnelian was commonly used in Egypt to make jewellery, scarabs and amulets; moreover, these objects were widely distributed throughout the major LBA Levantine centres (McGovern 1985, 15-28; Pierce 2013, 258; Steel 2018, 23) and to the Aegean (Phillips 2008, 145-9). It is notable therefore, that only relatively small quantities of carnelian were found in the British Museum excavations at Enkomi, although more carnelian jewellery has been found in recent excavations of tombs at Hala Sultan Tekke (Fischer and Bürge 2017, 194, fig. 12; Fischer and Bürge 2021, fig. 7.5): in addition to beads of various forms (barrel-shaped, elongated lentoid, globular; Table 2) there was a scarab amulet in Tomb 79 and two unprovenanced pieces, an amuletic pendant in the form of the god Ptah and a pendant in the form of a closed lotus seed-head (Figure 4). The Ptah amulet/pendant is worthy of comment, as these are rare in Egyptian New Kingdom contexts – although McGovern mentions two possible faience Ptah pendants from LB II contexts in the southern Levant (21, fig. 16), a mould for a glass Ptah amulet is recorded from Amarna (Metropolitan Museum of Art n.d.) and a Nineteenth Dynasty bronze pendant of Ptah from Memphis (Virtual Egypt n.d.) –

instead being more typical of the Late Period (Andrews 1994, 19). Lotus seed pendants were particularly common at Deir el-Balah, a site with strong Egyptian affiliations, and their adoption there explicitly mimicked Egyptian fashion (Dothan 2008, 151-3). Likewise paralleled at Deir el-Balah is the uninscribed carnelian scarab (Dothan 2008, 153, Pierce 2013, 132). These rare pieces from Enkomi imply some knowledge of Egyptian(izing) practices and fashions, certainly as they were being articulated in the Canaanite periphery.

<Table 2 and Fig. 4 about here>

The relatively limited presence of carnelian at Enkomi (c.f. Peltenburg 1986, 163-4) is striking as it contrasts with the more prevalent consumption of this material in the southern Levant, which was integrated within the Egyptian cultural and political sphere. Even taking into consideration later excavations at numerous LBA sites across the island, only small quantities of carnelian have been found on Cyprus (Peltenburg 1986, 163-4; also more recent discoveries from burials at Hala Sultan Tekke, see above) While their Canaanite counterparts eagerly consumed Egyptian carnelian trinkets and amulets, it appears that the community at Enkomi either did not have ready access to this material or otherwise that there was no significant demand for personal ornamentation in carnelian, but instead a preference for necklaces, pins and earrings of gold. The odd occurrences at the site might simply be due to personal whim, an individual response to the inherent attractiveness of the brightly coloured shiny objects; alternatively, it might signify the presence of someone who had close contact with Egypt or Canaan and some awareness of exotic fashions from the Egyptianizing world. There is no reason to suppose that the symbolic connotations of the stone, nor the apotropaic significance of a theomorphic pendant were transmitted. Indeed, given their prevalence in the southern Levant we might even suppose that they were exchanged by Canaanite middlemen, rather than documenting direct Cypro-Egyptian contacts. Nonetheless, in Cyprus these rare

carnelian items might have been highly valued for their material properties, perhaps conferring the allure of Egyptian connections on their owners.

Possibly the most iconic Egyptian object circulating throughout the East Mediterranean was the scarab (Phillips 2008, 121-32; Ben-Tor 2011). These objects, which were inscribed with esoteric motifs, abstract designs and hieroglyphic signs, including royal names, conveyed messages of ownership, status and identity and were highly desirable exchange items, being small, portable, decorative and symbolically charged. Other than a few exceptions mentioned above, however, scarabs were relatively uncommon at Enkomi prior to the late Eighteenth-Nineteenth dynasties. Joanna Smith (2013) has recently examined how scarabs became part of the Cypriot material world in the later part of the LBA, gradually supplanting the cylinder seal and ultimately influencing production of local conoid stamp seals. Egyptian style signet rings also become increasingly common in the thirteenth century BCE, a pattern which is evident in the British Museum tombs at Enkomi (Smith 2013, 257). Her detailed analysis demonstrates the chronology of this process at Enkomi and does not need to be repeated here. Instead, we are focusing on one scarab, which has signs of having been reworked, to illuminate Enkomi's changing relationships with Egypt.

Although it has no secure context and predates the foundation of Enkomi by a couple of centuries, the Senwosret I scarab (Figure 5) merits some discussion as it was clearly an object with multiple social lives, acquiring many associations and accumulative identities (c.f. Kopytoff 1986) throughout its long period of circulation. The chipped edge of the scarab and worn inscription reflects its long life. The presence of a royal name symbolized royal authority and authenticity (Sparks 2003, 43), which presumably would have especial

significance for an item destined for exchange. As noted above, this plausibly reached the island during the campaign of Amenemhet II and might thus have more political connotations. However, once the inscribed object moved from Egypt – where at least a proportion of the population was literate – to another cultural setting that was largely illiterate raises a number of questions concerning the reception of the inscription: were certain signs or combinations of signs (such as royal symbols, titles, names and epithets) recognisable even if they could not be "read" ; were these royal symbols/names more highly valued or is it the presence of Egyptian writing itself that is significant? Be that as it may, the "visual appearance of the script, intelligible or not, would have conjured up associations with the culture and power behind it" (Sparks, 2003, 45).

<Fig. 5 about here>

At some point in the scarab's use-life the decision was made to rework the inscribed base; the inscription was elaborated into an intricate design with the addition of a number of signs almost obscuring the royal name. This possibly occurred in a Cypriot workshop, although this cannot be demonstrated with any certainty, the practice of re-inscribing seal stones is well attested on the island (Smith 2018). The confusion of signs on its base, and how these complicate the reading however, is evident in the catalogue entry on the British Museum website:

> a scarab flanked on either side by a uzat eye, an ankh and a was sceptre; signs of magical significance, conveying blessings or expressions of royal power that do not translate into words.
>
> (Enkomi n.d., https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1899-0604-3)

The *ro*-sign was converted into a winged sun-disc; the other signs added around the prenomen refer to concepts of eternal life and authority, perhaps conveying royal power. These additions were clearly made by someone who at least recognized some significant Egyptian signs, although whether they could actually read hieroglyphs is a moot point. Certainly, the way in which the winged sun disc crossed the eye of Horus motif was not consistent with the Egyptian practice of writing a name. Moreover, this practice of reworking an object and layering the imagery with new carvings was embedded in Cypriot engagements with seal stones, and is well attested in the local use of cylinder seals (Smith 2018). Thus, the Senoswret I scarab was incorporated with local seal carving practices and culturally informed knowledges, which layered new meanings on the object and used it to "initiate new signs of identity" (Bhabha 2004, 2) within the emerging Cypriot urban environment. This was unique amongst the scarabs attested at Enkomi, that were adopted and incorporated within the Late Cypriot material world without modification.

Conclusions

This paper has sought to demonstrate how material from early excavations, despite the limitations of recording and incomplete contextual information, might be used to increase our understanding of material interactions in antiquity and specifically the material expression of new social practices within a third space. Focusing specifically on a discrete corpus of objects of Egyptian derivation, largely recovered from tomb groups at Enkomi, has illustrated how the presence of foreign and exotic objects might transform social spaces and material worlds, even if their perceived influence on the local material culture is negligible. Around one-fifth of the British Museum tombs contained at least one imported Egyptian object (Table 1); however, a small number of tombs stands out for the quantities of Egyptian goods, suggesting some control over access to this material. Particularly significant was the accumulation of

Egyptianalia from Tomb 93, apparently dating to the late Eighteenth Dynasty. In all the tombs there is evidence for the adoption of new and intrusive Egyptian materials, which were integrated within local Cypriot lifeways. As Stockhammer has noted, it is the object itself that changes people; simply the presence of something new and exotic transforms social spaces and people's behaviour. New practices might be shaped through incorporation of the novel, effectively learning the correct way to use an object; alternatively, the object itself might be transformed, being attributed new meanings and value and embedding it within new traditions (Stockhammer 2012b, 15-16; see also Franković 2018).

While we might articulate the adoption of Egyptian goods in the Levant within a colonial narrative (Koch 2018; Steel 2018), the cultural interactions documented at Enkomi are of a very different nature, more characteristic of Bhabha's third space, as "innovative sites of collaboration and contestation" (Bhabha 2004, 2). At Enkomi people of diverse cultural backgrounds, with their own ideologies and social practices, encountered each other and shared ideas, new ways of doing things and cultural knowledges, as they exchanged goods and materials. Significantly, as Enkomi lay beyond the reach of the Egyptian New Kingdom empire, no one group was predominant or subordinate; instead, the interactions reflect the agency of both the native and the incomer and demonstrates a mutually beneficial exchange, resulting in the creation of a new system of values. Thus, this absence of a political, colonial dimension to the cultural contact at Enkomi resulted in an in-between and creative space where the exotic was eagerly acquired and worked into local ways of doing things.

<Appendix here>

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Christian Langer for inviting me to contribute to this special edition. I am grateful to Bill Manley for help with some of the Egyptian inscriptions, in particular for confirming the reading of Senoswret I's praenomen, and to Christian Knoblauch and Katharina Zinn for discussion of Egyptian material culture. Given Covid restrictions at time of research it was not possible to handle the objects under discussion myself and I have been dependent on the photos and descriptions provided on the website as well as the information provided in the publications cited.

References

Aldred, C. (1978). *Jewels of the Pharaohs: Egyptian Jewelry of the Dynastic Period*, New York, Ballantine Books.

Altenmüller, H. (2015). *Zwei Annalenfragmente aus dem frühen Mittleren Reich*, Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg.

Andrews, C. (1994). *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, University of Texas, Austin.

Ben-Tor, D. (2011). Egypto-Canaanite relations in the Middle and Late Bronze Age as reflected by scarabs. In Bar, S, Kahn, D. and Shirley, J.J. (eds.), *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature*, Brill, Leiden and Boston, pp. 23--44.

Bhabha, H.K. (2004). *The Location of Culture*, London and New York, Routledge Classics. (reprint).

Boivin, N. (2008). *Material Cultures, Material Minds: The Impact of Things on Human Thought, Society, and Evolution*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Bürge, T. and Fischer, P.M. (2017). New Insights on Burial Practices at the Late Bronze Age City of Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus. *Ugaritic-Forschungen* 48: 121--71.

Burke, A.A., Peilstöcker, M., Karoll, A., Pierce, G.A., Kowalski, K., Ben-Marzouk, N., Damm, J.C., Danielson, A.J., Fessler, H.D., Kaufman, B., Pierce, K.V.L., Höflmayer, F., Damiata, B.N. and Dee, M. (2017). Excavations of the New Kingdom fortress in Jaffa, 2011–2014: Traces of resistance to Egyptian rule in Canaan. *American Journal of Archaeology* 121: 85--133.

Catling, H.W. (1964). *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Cline, E.H. and Stannish, S.M. (2011). Sailing the Great Green Sea? Amenhotep III's "Aegean List" from Kom el-Hetan, once more. *Journal OF Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 3(2): 6--16.

Courtois, J.-C., Lagarce, J. and Lagarce, E. (1986). *Enkomi et le Bronze Récent à Chypre*, Leventis Foundation, Nicosia.

Crewe, L. (2007). From lithograph to web: the British Museum's 1896 Enkomi excavations. *Archaologia Cypria* V: 57--70.

Crewe, L. (2009). Feasting with the dead: Tomb 66 at Enkomi. In Kiely, T. (ed.), *Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum: Essays in Honour of Veronica Tatton Brown*, Trustees of the British Museum, London, pp. 27--48.

Cusick, J.G. (1998). Introduction. In Cusick, J.G. (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact: Contact, Interaction, Culture Change and Archaeology*, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, pp. 1--20.

Dawson, T. (2009). *Whisper of Stone. Natib Qadish: Modern Canaanite Religion*, O Books, Winchester and Washington.

de Martino, S. (2008). Relations between Hatti and Alašiya according to textual and archaeological evidence. In Wilhelm, G. (ed.) *Ḫattuša – Boğazköy: Das Hethiterreich im Spannungsfeld des Alten Orients*, Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 6, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden: pp. 247--63.

Dothan, T. (2008). *Deir el-Balah: Uncovering an Egyptian Outpost in Canaan from the Time of the Exodus*, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

Enkomi (n.d.). Enkomi, at the British Museum, www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/x31300. Accessed January-October 2021.

Feldman, M.H. (2006). *Diplomacy by Design: Luxury Arts and an "International Style" in the Ancient Near East, 1400-1200 BCE*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Fischer, P.M. and Bürge, T. (2017). Tombs and offering pits at the Late Bronze Age Metropolis of Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 377: 161--218.

Fischer, P.M. and Bürge, T. (2021). The New Swedish Cyprus Expedition 2020. *Egypt & the Levant* 31: 97--145.

Franković, F. (2018). Something old, something new and something borrowed – appropriating foreign material culture in the Late Bronze Age Aegean. *Studia Hercynia* 22 (1): 7--30

Gilbert, A.S. (2018). Why Alashiya is still a problem. In Maner, Ç., Horowitz, M.T. and Gilbert, A.S. (eds.), *Overturning Certainties in Near Eastern Archaeology: A Festschrift in Honor of K. Aslıhan Yene*, Brill, Leiden and Boston, pp. 211--21.

Goren, Y., Bunimovitz, S., Finkelstein, I. and Na'Aman, N. (2003). The location of Alashiya. new evidence from petrographic investigation of Alashiyan tablets from El-Amarna and Ugarit. *American Journal of Archaeology* 107(2): 233--55.

Goring, E. (1983). *Late Cypriot Goldwork* vols 1 and 2. Unpublished PhD, Bedford College, London.

Goring, E. (1989). Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Cypriot period. In Peltenburg, E.J. (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, pp. 95--105

Goring, E. (1996) Jewelry from an intact tomb: evidence from Late Bronze Age Cyprus." In A. Caliensecu (ed.), *Ancient Jewelry and Archaeology*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, pp. 26--34.

Gosden, C. (2004). *Archaeology and Colonialism. Cultural Contact from 5000 BC to the Present*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Gosden, C. and Marshall, Y. (1999). The cultural biography of objects. *World Archaeology* 31(2): 169--78.

Gubel, E. and Lofet, H. (2011--2012). Sidon, Qedem and the Land of Iay. *Archaeology and History in Lebanon* 34–35, 79--92.

Hayes, W.C. (1959). *The Sceptre of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* II. *The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Helms, M. (1988). *An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Hitchcock, L.A. (2011). Transculturalism as a Model for Examining Migration to Cyprus and Philistia at the End of the Bronze Age. *Ancient West and East* 10(1): 267--80.

Hitchcock, L.A. and Maier, A.M. (2013). Beyond creolization and hybridity: entangled and transcultural identities in Philistia. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28(1): 29--50.

Ingold, T. (2013). *Making: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture*, Routledge, London and New York.

Jacobsson, I. (1994). *Aegyptiaca from Late Bronze Age Cyprus*, SIMA 112, Åströms Förlag, Jonsered.

Joyce, R.A. and Gillespie, S. (2015). Making things out of objects that move. In Joyce, R.M. and Gillespie, S. (eds.), *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*, School for Advanced Research Press, Santa Fe, pp. 3-19.

Kenna, V.E.G. (1971). *Catalogue of the Cypriote Seals of the Bronze Age in the British Museum*, Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 3, SIMA XX:3, Åströms Förlag, Göteborg.

Keswani, P.S. (2012). Urban Mortuary Practices at Enkomi and Ugarit in the Second Millennium BC. In Pfälzner, P., Niehr, H., Pernicka, E. and Wissing A. (eds), *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East*, Qaṭna Studien: Supplementa 1, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 183--203.

Knapp, A.B. (2012). Matter of fact: transcultural contacts in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean. In Maran, J. and Stockhammer, P.W. (eds.) *Materiality and Social Practice: Transformative Capacities of Intercultural Encounters*, Oxbow Books, Oxford, pp. 32--50.

Koch, I. (2017). Revisiting the Fosse Temple at Tel Lachish. *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 17: 64--75.

Koch, I. (2018). The Egyptian-Canaanite interface as colonial encounter: a view from southwest Canaan. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 18: 24--39.

Koch, I. (2021). *Colonial Encounters in Southwest Canaan during the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age*, Brill, Leiden and Bosto.

Kopytoff, I. (1986). The cultural biography of things. In Appadurai, A. (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 64--91.

Knapp, A.B. (2013a). *The Archaeology of Cyprus from Earliest Prehistory through the Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Knapp, A.B. (2013b). Cyprus and Egypt in the Late Bronze Age. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 5(3), 1--9.

Langer, C. (2021). *Egyptian Deportations of the Late Bronze Age: A Study in Political Economy*, De Gruyter, Berlin.

MacDougal, R. (2018). Ancient Mesopotamian remembrance and the family dead. In Klass, D. and Steffen, E. (eds.) *Continuing Bonds in Bereavement: New Directions for Research and Practice*. Routledge, New York, pp. 262--75.

Mantzourani, E., Kopanias, K. and Voskos, I. (2019). A Great King of Alašiya? The archaeological and textual evidence. In Kelder, J.M. and Waal, W.J.I. (eds) *From 'Lugal.Gal' to 'Wanax': Kingship and Political Organisation in the Late Bronze Age Aegean*, Sidestone Press, Leiden, pp. 95--130.

Marcus, E. (2007). Amenemhet II and the sea: maritime aspects of the Mit Rahina (Memphis) inscription. *Ägypten und Levante* 17, 137--190.

Martin, M. (2011a). *Egyptian-Type Pottery in the Late Bronze Age Southern Levant*, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna.

Martin, M. (2011b). Egyptian Type Pottery at Late Bronze Age Megiddo. In Finkelstein, I. and Na'aman, N. (eds.), *The Fire Signals of Lachish: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Israel in the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age and Persian Period in Honor of David Ussishkin*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, pp. 245--264.

Matthäus, H. (2022). Cyprus, Egypt and the Levant during the Late Bronze Age. New evidence from Enkomi. In G. Bourogiannis (ed.), *Beyond Cyprus: Investigating Cypriot Connectivity in the Mediterranean from the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Classical period*. Aura Supplement 9, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens, pp. 63--71.

Mazar, A. (2011). The Egyptian garrison town at Beth-Shean. In Bar, S., Kahn, D. and Shirley, J.J. (eds), *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature. Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3–7 May 2009*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 52, Brill, Leiden, pp, 151--85.

McGovern, P.E. (1985). *Late Bronze Palestinian Pendants: Innovation in a Cosmopolitan Age*, University of Sheffield, Sheffield.

Merrillees, R.S. (1968). *The Cypriot Bronze Age Pottery Found in Egypt*, SIMA XVIII, Lund: Paul Åström Förlag.

Merrillees, R.S. (1987). *Alashiya Revisited*, J. Gabalda, Paris.

Merrillees, R.S. (2011). Alashiya: a scientific quest for its location. In *Metallurgy: Understanding How, Learning Why: Studies in Honor of James D. Muhly*, P.P. Betancourt, and S.C. Ferrence, INSTAP, Philadelphia, pp. 255--64.

Merrillees, R.S. (2018). Cyprus and the Elusive Kingdom of Alahsiya. In Hulin, L. Crewe, L. and Webb, J.M. (eds.), *Structures of Inequality on Bronze Age Cyprus: Studies in Honour of Alison K. South*, SIMA Pocketbook 187, Åströms Förlag, Nicosia, pp. 1--6.

Metropolitan Museum of Art. (n.d.). Mold for Ptah Amulet, Acc. No. 21.9.141, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/569954. Accessed October 2021.

Moran, W.L. (1992). *The Amarna Letters*, John Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Murray, A., Smith, A. and Walters, H. (1900). *Excavations in Cyprus*, British Museum, London.

Papadopoulos, A. (2021). Mycenaean pottery and 'objects of no value'. Finds management and issues of division during the British Museum Excavations in Cyprus in the late 19th c. AD. Paper presented at *Empire and Excavation: Critical Perspectives on Archaeology in British-Period Cyprus 1878-1960*, British Museum and CAARI, January 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AUr0f_ODBk8. Accessed October 2021.

Papasavvas, G. (2018). A cast-off Egyptian royal from Amarna at Enkomi. In Hulin, L. Crewe, L. and Webb, J.M. (eds.), *Structures of Inequality on Bronze Age Cyprus: Studies in Honour of Alison K. South*, SIMA Pocketbook 187, Åströms Förlag, Nicosia, pp. 227-44.

Papasavvas, G. (2022). Egyptian gold at Enkomi. A material manifestation of a ruling ideology on Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In G. Bourogiannis (ed.), *Beyond Cyprus: Investigating Cypriot Connectivity in the Mediterranean from the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Classical period*. Aura Supplement 9, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens, 45--61.

Peltenburg, E.J. (1986). Ramesside Egypt and Cyprus. In Karageorghis, V. (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident*, Department of Antiquities, Nicosia, pp. 147--79

Peltenburg, E.J. (2007). Hathor, faience and copper on Late Bronze Age Cyprus. *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 37: 375--94.

Phillips, J. (2008). *Aegyptiaca on the Island of Crete in Their Chronological Context: A Critical Review*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna.

Pierce, K.V.L. (2013). Living and Dying Abroad: Aspects of Egyptian Cultural Identity in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Canaan. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. University of California.

Pilides, D. (ed.) (2019). *The Tombs of Egkomi. British Museum Excavations*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.

Pilides, D. (n.d.). The digitisation of the artefacts of the Enkomi tombs (British excavations) in the Cyprus Museum, http://www.enkomicm.org/digitisation-artefacts-enkomi-tombs. Accessed September 10, 2021. n.d.

Podany, A.H. (2010). *Brotherhood of Kings: How International Relations Shaped the Ancient Near East*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Pouls Wegner, M.-A. (2015). Anthropoid clay coffins of the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age in Egypt and the Near East: Are-evaluation of the evidence from Tell el-Yahudiya. In Harrison,

T., Banning, E. and Klassen, S. (eds.) *Walls of the Prince: Egyptian Interactions with Southwest Asia in Antiquity. Essays in Honour of John S. Holladay, Jr*. Brill, Leident, pp.292—315.

Quack, J.F. (1996). kft3w und i3sy. *Ägypten und Levante* 6: 75-81.

Rainey, A.F., Schniedewind, W. and Cochavi-Rainey, Z. (eds.) (2015). *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna based on Collations of all Extant Tablets*, Brill, Leiden.

Smith, J.S. (2013). From Egyptian to Egyptianizing in Cypriot glyptic of the Late Bronze Age. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 5(3): 10--43.

Smith, J. S. (2018). Authenticity, seal recarving, and authority in the ancient Near East and eastern Mediterranean. In Ameri, M. Costello, S.K., Jamison, G. and Scott, S.J. (eds.), *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient World: Case Studies from the Near East, Egypt, the Aegean, and South Asia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 95--124.

Sparks, R.T. (2003). Egyptian stone vessels and the politics of exchange (2617-1070 BC). In Matthews, R. and Roemer, C. (eds.), *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt*, UCL Press, London, pp. 39--56.

Steel, L. (2013). *Materiality and Consumption in the Bronze Age Mediterranean*, Routledge, Abingdon.

Steel, L. (2018). Shifting relations in Bronze Age Gaza: an investigation into Egyptianizing practices and cultural hybridity in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age." *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 20 15--30.

Steel, L. (2021). Agencement, matter flows and itinerary of object in the Bronze Age East Mediterranean: a new materialities approach to globalization. In Autiero, S. and Cobb, M.

(eds.), *Globalization and Transculturality from Antiquity to the Pre-Modern World*, Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 81--102.

Stockhammer, P.W. (2012a). Conceptualizing cultural hybridization in archaeology. In Stockhammer, P.W. (ed.), *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization in Archaeology: A Transdisciplinary Approach*, Springer, Berlin and Heidelberg, pp. 43-58.

Stockhammer, P.W. (2012b). Performing the practice turn in archaeology. *Transcultural Studies* 1: 7--42, http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/ojs/index.php/transcultural/article/view/9263/3238. Accessed September 2021.

Tatton-Brown, V. (2003). Enkomi: the notebook in the British Museum. *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriote* 33: 9--66.

Tufnell, O., Inge, C.H. and Harding, G.H. (1940). *Lachish* II. *The Fosse Temple*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

van de Mieroop, M. (2007). *The East Mediterranean in the Age of Ramesses II*. Blackwell, Oxford.

Virtual Egypt. "The Virtual Egyptian Museum", https://www.virtual-egyptian-museum.org/Collection/FullVisit/Collection.FullVisit-JFR.html?../Content/MET.SS.00369.html&0. Accessed October 2021.

Webb, J.M. (2021). Cyprus' maritime connectivity before and during the transition to the Late Bronze Age: The case of the north and northwest. In G. Bourogiannis (ed.), *Beyond Cyprus: Investigating Cypriot Connectivity in the Mediterranean from the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Classical period*. Aura Supplement 9, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens, 23--34.

Webb, J.M., and Knapp, A.B. (2021). Rethinking Middle Bronze Age communities on Cyprus: ‘egalitarian’ and isolated or complex and interconnected? *Journal of Archaeological Research* 29, 203--53.

White, R. (1991). *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Tables

Illustrations

Table 1: Egyptian(izing) objects arranged according to tomb group

Tomb Group	Catalogue Number	Object	Date
Tomb 12/9	**18**	Faience shallow bowl	Eighteenth Dynasty
Tomb 12/13	**22**	Faience flask?	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 19	**39**	2 gold fly pendants	New Kingdom
Tomb 19/80	**46**	Gold signet ring	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 24/10	**29**	Faience scarab	Twentieth Dynasty
Tomb 24/34	**9**	Ivory duck box (incomplete)	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 33/1	**32**	Scarab, glazed composition	Nineteenth Dynasty copy?
Tomb 45/2	**24**	Faience lentoid flask	Eighteenth Dynasty
Tomb 47/4	**14**	Faience bead	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 47/5	**25**	Faience lentoid flask (incomplete)	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 53/14	**3**	Travertine amphora	Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 60/3	**13**	Faience finger ring	New Kingdom
Tomb 61/1	**23**	Faience beaker	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 66/29	**16**	Glass amphoriskos	Late Eighteenth Dynasty?
Tomb 66/31	**17**	Glass lentoid flask	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 66/34	**19**	Faience shallow bowl	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 66/38	**21**	Faience shallow bowl	Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 66/92	**44**	Gold and glazed composition scaraboid ring	New Kingdom
Tomb 67/3	**53**	Bronze signet ring	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 67/61	**42**	Gold and blue glazed composition scaraboid ring (Egyptianizing)	New Kingdom
Tomb 67/62	**45**	Gold and glazed composition scaraboid ring (Egyptianizing)	New Kingdom
Tomb 67/82	**52**	Silver signet ring	New Kingdom
Tomb 67/86	**5**	Travertine amphora	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 69/1	**53**	Bronze signet ring	New Kingdom
Tomb 69/4	**15**	Glazed/faience lentoid flask	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 70	**40**	14 gold fly pendants	New Kingdom
Tomb 75/39	**11**	Ivory cosmetic pot: swimming woman	Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 79/1	**36**	Carnelian scarab	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 80/1	**26**	Faience stirrup jar	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty

Tomb 83/3	**1**	Travertine amphoriskos	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 91/22	**6**	Travertine vessel	New Kingdom?
Tomb 93/5	**27**	Glass juglet	Late Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep III-Amarna)
Tomb 93/8	**30**	Faience scarab	Eighteenth Dynasty
Tomb 93/78	**47**	Gold signet ring	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty
Tomb 93/150	**43**	Gold scaraboid ring (Egyptianizing)	New Kingdom
Tomb 93/194	**41**	Gold usekh collar	Eighteenth Dynasty
Tomb 93/207	**49**	Silver signet ring	Eighteenth Dynasty
Tomb 93/208	**50**	Silver signet ring	New Kingdom

Table 2: Carnelian Beads from Enkomi, British Museum Excavations

U. unprovenanced.

Context	Type	Dimensions	BM Accession Number
U.54	Lentoid	L: 2.0cm; W: 1.5cm	18970401.692
U.55	Barrel	L: 2.0cm; Diam:1.1cm	18970401.693
U. 57	Elongated lentoid	L: 1.60cm; W: 0.6cm	18970401.738.2
U 58	Lentoid	L: 1.4cm; W: 1.2cm	18970401.738.3
U.175	Gold and carnelian beads assembled into necklace: Biconical bead (not described on site) and 3 disc beads (not strung)	Disc beads: H: 0.40-0.50 cm; D: 0.50 - 0.70cm	18970401.701
Tomb 66/26	Gold beads and 2 carnelian beads strung as a necklace: 2 lentoid carnelian beads	L: 1.45cm; W: 1.15cm	18970401.307
Tomb 67/5	6 carnelian beads assembled with gold beads and agate beads: 5 carnelian barrel beads, 1 with shallow engraved lines 1 globular bead	Barrel beads: L: 1.80 - 2.1cm; Diam: c.0.9-1.0cm Globular bead: L: 0.7cm; Diam: 0.8cm	18970401.363
Tomb 67/7	Elongated biconical	L: 1.5cm; Diam: 0.6cm	18970401.714
Tomb 86/1	Flattened elliptical	L: 2.7; W: 2.0cm	18970401.756
Tomb 93/1	Disc-shaped with bevelled edges	L: 1.5cm; Th: 0.7cm; W: 0.4cm	1897,0401.605
Tomb 93/3	Spherical	H. 0.5cm; Diam: 0.8cm	18970401.622
Tomb 93/190	Gold necklace with 6 elongated lentoid beads and 4 spherical beads of carnelian	Lentoid beads: L. 1.9-2.3cm; Diam: 0.7-1.0cm Spherical beads: Diam: 0.7cm	1897,0401.604

Appendix: Catalogue of Egyptian(ising) Objects from Enkomi, British Museum Excavations

Context: S. Surface find; U. unprovenanced

Catalogue Number	Material	Type	Dimensions	Decoration/ inscription	Context	Date	BM Accession Number	References
1	Travertine	Amphoriskos (J: cup)	H: 5.8 cm; Diam: 11cm		Tomb 83/3	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.1180	Jacobsson 1994, no. 31
2	Travertine	Amphoriskos (J: cup)	H: 9 cm; Diam: 6.20cm; W: 6cm		U.294	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.1315	Jacobsson 1994, no. 18
3	Travertine	Amphora	H: 15cm; Max. Diam: 12.4cm	Black paint, faintly preserved on one side: Double framed row of petals around upper neck and semi-circular floral garland on shoulder	Tomb 53/14	Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.990	Jacobsson 1994, no. 33
4	Travertine	Lentoid flask	H: 33.9cm; Max Diam: 22.4cm		U.295	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.1336	Jacobsson 1994, no. 60
5	Travertine	Amphora	H: 18cm; Max Diam: 8.6cm		Tomb 67/86	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.1090	Jacobsson 1994, no. 43
6	Travertine	Vessel:	H: 13.2cm; Max. Diam: 6.8cm		Tomb 91/22	New Kingdom?	18970401.1285	Bevan 2007, type Es6
7	Ivory (hippo)	Duck-head (part of cosmetic box)	L: 7.2cm; H: 2.3cm; W: 2cm		U.196	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.1344	
8	Ivory	Frag of ivory duck cosmetic box	L:7.2cm; H: 2.1cm; W: 3.8cm		U.212	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.1350	

9	Ivory	Lower part of an ivory duck-shaped box	L: 15cm; W: 5.2cm; Max H: 3.1cm		Tomb 24/34	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.884	
10	Ivory	Lower part of an ivory duck-shaped box	L: 10.1cm; W: 4.5cm; H: 2cm		U.213	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.1351	
11	Ivory	Swimmer cosmetic spoon	L: 24.7cm; Max. H: 7.6cm; W: 7.1cm		Tomb 75/39	Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.1125	
12	Ivory	Staff/Walking stick	H: 4.1c; Max Diam: 3.3cm	3 carved horizontal lines at the base	U.207	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.145	
13	Faience	Finger ring	Diam: 1.8cm (inner); Diam: 2.8cm (outer); Bezel L: 2.5cm; W: 1.1cm	Plain bezel	Tomb 60/3	New Kingdom	18970401.790	
14	Faience	Bead	Diam: 2.1cm; Th: 0.5cm		Tomb 47/4	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.189	
15	Glazed/ faience	Lentoid flask	H: 11.8cm; W: 9.1cm; Th: 4.2cm		Tomb 69/4	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.1111	Jacobsson 1994, no. 168
16	Glass	Amphoriskos	H: 11.2cm; Max D. 5cm		Tomb 66/29	Late Eighteenth Dynasty?	18970401.1055	Jacobsson 1994, no. 97
17	Glass	Lentoid flask	H: (restored) 9cm; Max Diam: 7.3cm		Tomb 66/31	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.1053	Jacobsson 1994, no. 87

18	Faience	Shallow bowl	Diam: 13.8cm; H: 4.9cm; Th: 0.4cm		Tomb 12/9	Eighteenth Dynasty	18970401.858	Jacobsson 1994, no. 186
19	Faience	Shallow bowl	Diam: 9.8cm; H: 3.8cm		Tomb 66/34	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.1049	
20	Faience	Shallow bowl	Diam: 13.7cm; H: 4.1cm		Tomb 83/B	Eighteenth Dynasty	1897,0401.1180+	Jacobsson 1994, no. 201
21	Faience	Shallow bowl	Diam: 23cm; H: 4.7cm		Tomb 66/38	Nineteenth Dynasty	1897,0401.1042	Crewe 2009, no. 122 Jacobsson 1994, no. 164
22	Faience	Flask (?)	H: 15.5cm; Diam (rim): 4.9cml Th: 0.4cm		Tomb 12/13	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	1897,0401.854	Jacobsson 1994, no. 237
23	Faience	Beaker[1]	H: 22.5cm; Diam: 9.8cm	Decorated with Egyptian god Heh holding lotus flowers and palm ribs; the lower part shows a lotus flower	Tomb 61/1	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.999	Jacobsson 1994, no. 238
24	Faience	Lentoid flask	H: 13.7cm; Max Diam: 10.0 cm		Tomb 45/2	Eighteenth Dynasty	18970401.959	Jacobsson 1994, no. 169
25	Faience	Lentoid flask (incomplete)	Pres. H: 12.1cm; Max. Diam: 11.8cm		Tomb 47/5	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.960	Jacobsson 1994, no. 170

[1] Identified as a Kohl bottle on the website; but more likely a beer beaker. I am grateful to Christian Knoblauch for this identification

26	Faience	Stirrup jar	H: 8.1cm; Diam: 8.3cm	row of petals framed by double horizontal lines on shoulder; rosette on top of false neck	Tomb 80/1	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.11	Jacobsson 1994, no. 232
27	Glass	Round-bottomed juglet	H: 8.8cm; Max. Diam: 5.1cm		Tomb 93/5	Eighteenth Dynasty (Reigns of Amenhotep III-IV)	18970401.1295	Jacobsson 1994, no. 110
28	Faience	Scarab	H: 0.80cm; L: 1.6cm; W: 1.1cm	Maat feather, uraeus and neb sign; very worn	U.78	Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.763	Kenna 1971, no. 104
29	Faience	Scarab	H: 0.9cm; L: 1.9cm; W: 1.5cm	Prenomen of Ramses III, poorly preserved	Tomb 24/10	Twentieth Dynasty	18970401.29	Jacobsson 1994, no. 257
30	Faience	Scarab	H: 0.8cm; L: 1.7cm; W: 1.4cm	Name of Queen Tiye, poorly preserved: hmt-nswt-ty	Tomb 93/8	Eighteenth Dynasty	18970401.608	Jacobsson 1994, no. 251
31	Glazed composition	Scarab	H: 0.8cm; L: 1.9cm; W: 1.4cm	6 concentric circles joined by crossing diagonal lines and four circular impressions	U.77	Second Intermediate Period	18970401.761	Jacobsson 1994, no. 286; Kenna 1971, 55
32	Glazed composition	Scarab	H: 0.7cm; L: 1.7cm; W: 1.3cm	Prenomen of Thutmose III in an oval between two maat feathers with uraei: mn-Xpr-re; glaze worn and faded to white	Tomb 33/1	Nineteenth Dynasty copy?	18970401.694	Jacobsson 1994, no. 250 Kenna 1971, no. 105 Peltenburg 1986, 165, no. 3
33	Glazed Steatite	Scarab	H: 0.6cm; L: 1.25cm; W: 0.9cm	Prenomen of Ramses II: wsr-mA't-r' stp.n-r'	U.269	Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.760	Jacobsson 1994, no. 255

								Kenna 1971, no. 81
34	Glazed Steatite	Scarab	H: 0.8 cm; L: 1.7cm; W: 1.3cm	Red crown of lower Egypt and a djed pillar, neb signs above and below Nb-n-djd-nb	S.14	Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.759	Jacobsson 1994, no. 282; Kenna 1971, no. 106 Peltenburg 1986, 165, no. 2
35	Glazed Steatite	Scarab	L. 1.65; Th. 0.7; W. 1.15 cm	Praenomen of Senwosret I (ḫpr-k3-r‘),flanked on either side by an *uzat* eye, an *ankh* and a *was* sceptre and seemingly reworked.	S.15	Twelfth Dynasty	18990604.3	Jacobsson 1994, no. 245; Kenna 1971, no. 1
36	Carnelian	Scarab	H: 0.8cm; L: 1.65cm; W: 1.2cm	Hole drilled longitudinally; engraved lines demarking elytra, head and legs; plain base.	Tomb 79/1	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.436	Jacobsson 1994, no. 292 Kenna 1971, no. 64
37	Carnelian	Pendant: horizontal suspension hole drilled through projection at back at shoulder level	H: 2.80cm; Th: 1.0cm; W: 1.15cm	Carved and polished figure of Ptah; wears a close-fitting garment with embroidered band down the middle in front; facial details engraved;	S.6	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.769	Jacobsson, 1994, no.318

38	Carnelian	Bead	H: 1.9cm; Diam: 0.8cm	Lotus-seed shaped.	U.60	New Kingdom	18970401.770	
39	Gold	2 gold pendants in the form of a fly	L. 1.1cm		Tomb 19/88	New Kingdom	18970401.151	Goring 1983, no.570; Jacobsson, 1994, no.317
40	Gold	14 gold pendants in the form of a fly	L. 0.9cm		Tomb70/1; Tomb 70/2	New Kingdom	18970401.397 18970401.398	Goring 1983, no.571; Jacobsson, 1994, no.316
41	Gold and glazed	Usekh collar	(a) H.2.9cm (b) H. 2.2cm (c) H. 2.5 cm; W. 1.3cm (d) H. 1.9cm (e) H. 1.8cm; W. 1.0cm (f) H. 6.6cm (g) H 4.9 cm; W. 6.5 cm	(a) sixty-two long husk-shaped pendants; (b) twenty-one double pendants, each with three divisions containing blue and red vitreous paste; (c) ten double pendants, each with two unequal compartments containing red and blue vitreous paste; (d) eleven double pendants and part of a twelfth, each divided into three cloisonné compartments filled with white, red and blue vitreous paste; (e) thirteen convex discs; (f) three egg-shaped	Tomb 93/194	Eighteenth Dynasty	18970401.54	Goring 1983, 254-9, no. 559; Jacobsson, 1994, no. 320

				convex pendants; (g) two pendants in the form of lotus-flowers with cloisonné leaves filled with blue, red and white vitreous paste; (h) four fragments of tubes. Inset material examined by Research Lab 14/08/72 and is not enamel. Probably filling and backing for inlay.				
42	Gold & blue glazed	Swivelling bezel set in gold mounting Wire twisted around the hoop.	Diam (inner): 1.9cm; Diam (outer) 2.7cm; L (scaraboid): 1.5cm; W: 0.9cm; Wt: 7.42g	Scaraboid of blue glazed composition	Tomb 67/61	New Kingdom	18970401.352	Goring 1983, no. 669
43	Gold	Scaraboid ring with swivelling bezel with wire coiled around ring hoop; scaraboid bezel set in a gold mounting	W: 1.0cm; Wt: 12.41 Diam (inner): 1.8cm; Diam (outer): 2.5cm; L: 1.4cm;	Scaraboid missing, probably originally glazed composition.	Tomb 93/150	New Kingdom	19000615.48	Goring 1983, no. 667

44	Gold & glazed composition	Scaraboid ring (Egyptianizing)	Diam (inner): 2.0cm; Diam (outer): 3.0cm; L: 1.7cm; W: 1.2cm; Wt: 21.08g	Gold finger-ring; Egyptian or Egyptianising type with swivelling bezel; round-sectioned hoop tapering towards splayed, pierced ends; bezel swivelled around a wire inserted through the pierced ends and block-twisted around the hoop; bezel is of scaraboid form set in a gold mounting, scaraboid of glazed composition extremely poorly preserved.	Tomb 66/92	New Kingdom	18970401.276	Goring 1983, no. 668
45	Gold & glazed composition	Scaraboid ring (Egyptianizing)	Diam (inner): 1.8cm; Diam (outer): 2.6cm; L: 1.5cm; W: 1.2cm; Wt: 8.65g	Pale gold finger-ring; Egyptian or Egyptianising type with swivelling bezel; round-sectioned hoop tapering towards splayed, pierced ends; hammering marks; bezel swivelled around a wire inserted through the pierced ends and block-twisted around the hoop; bezel is of scaraboid form set in a gold mounting, scaraboid of brown glazed composition poorly preserved.	Tomb 67/62	New Kingdom	18970401.353	Goring 1983, no. 670

46	Gold	Pale gold signet -ring of Egyptian type; very large and heavy; stirrup-shaped with oval bezel. Very worn.	Diam (inner): 1.9cm; Diam (outer): 3.1cm; Bezel L: 2.7cm; W: 1.6cm; Wt: 49.75g	Engraved design depicting a sun disc above a queen wearing the modius and feathers of Maat, she is standing before a seated king offering him a lily, below this is a lion; Possibly to be identified as Amehotep III and Queen Tiye, Akhenaten and Nefertiti or Tutankhamen and Ankesanamun.	Crewe S7	Eighteenth Dynasty Amarna period	18970401.741	Goring 1983, no 974 Jacobsson 1994: no. 306 Kenna 1971, no. 43
47	Gold	Signet stirrup-shaped ring with oval bezel. Signs of wear. Possibly Egyptian but probably Cypriot Egyptianising	Diam (inner): 1.7cm; Diam (outer): 2.3cm; L: 1.7cm; W: 1.0cm; Wt: 14.39g	2 pairs of antithetic uraei flanking a nefer sign.	Tomb 93/78	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	19000615.3	Goring 1983, no. 673 Jacobsson 1994, no. 303 Kenna 1971, no. 63
48	Gold	Stirrup-shaped signet ring	Diam (inner): 1.9cm; Diam (outer): 2.4cm; L: 2.0cm; W: 1.1cm; Wt: 15.45g	Hieroglyphic inscription: Mwt nbw t3wy (Mut of the gold of the twin lands) Or:	Tomb 19/80	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.95	Goring 1983, no. 672 Jacobsson 1994, no. 302

				Mwt nbw(ty) t3wy (Mut golden one of the twin lands)[2]				Kenna 1971, no. 62
49	Silver	Stirrup-shaped signet ring	Diam: 2.8cm; Th: 0.5cm; L. 2.6cm; W. 1.6cm; Wt: 34.55g	Hieroglyphic inscription with invocation of Ptah and Ra-Horakhty and naming the king Nefer-Kheperu-re (Akhenaten).	Tomb 93/207	Eighteenth Dynasty	18970401.617	Jacobsson 1994, no. 308 Kenna 1971, no. 48
50	Silver	Stirrup-shaped signet ring Egyptianising?	Diam: 1.6cm; Th: 0.2cm; L: 1.4cm; W: 0.8cm; Wt: 1.78g	Bes with a tail and wearing a feathered crown, near his right hand is a curved object, perhaps a snake or sceptre	Tomb 93/208	New Kingdom	18970401.618	Kenna 1971, no. 51
51	Silver	Stirrup-shaped signet ring	Diam (inner): 1.7cm; Diam (outer): 2.5cm; : 2.2cm; W: 1.3cm; Wt: 16.88g	Crowned hawk behind which is a sun disc; surface poorly preserved and very worn	U.264	Eighteenth Dynasty	18970401.78	Jacobsson 1994, no. 307 Kenna 1971, no. 44
52	Silver	Stirrup-shaped signet ring	Diam (inner): 1.6cm; Diam (uter): 2.3cm; L: 1.6cm; W: 1.0cm; Wt: 7.71cm	Surface too corroded to make out any design.	Tomb 67/82	New Kingdom	19690701.51	Kenna 1971, no. 35b
53	Bronze	Stirrup-shaped signet ring	Diam (inner): 1.2cm; Diam (outer): 1.5cm; L.	Figure of Bes to front with hands on knees and wearing a crown of	Tomb 69/1	New Kingdom	18970401.360	Catling 1964, 234-5, no. 2

[2] I am grateful to Bill Manley for reading this inscription.

			1.0cm; W: 0.7cm; Wt: 1.93g	feathers; uraeus on either side.				Jacobsson 1994, no. 312 Kenna 1971, no. 35
54	Bronze	Stirrup-shaped signet ring Egyptianising?	H: 0.7cm; L: 2.1cm; W: 1.0cm	Name of Isis, figure of Ra, and an adorer.	Tomb 67/3	Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty	18970401.355	Catling 1964, 234, no. 1 Jacobsson 1994, no. 313 Kenna 1971, no. 34