

This bead shape has been variously identified as ‘cornflower,’ ‘poppy-head,’ ‘lotus-seed’ and ‘vasiform,’ amongst others, having been interpreted as deriving from these various original shapes by different scholars over the past century. The terminology is confusing, as sometimes the same author can use more than one term in order to distinguish small variations in bead shape, and different terms have been applied to the same small variation by different authors. Merrillees famously contended that the form was derived from Cypriote Base Ring juglets and ultimately the ‘poppy-head’ of the opium plant, due to an affinity of shape.⁶⁵¹ If it indeed had developed from that source, the bead would always be viewed ‘upside-down’ to both the ‘poppy-head’ and the juglet, and generally this suggestion has not been accepted. The cornflower plant seems to be the more generally accepted origin of the bead shape and, although various terms continue to remain in use, this identification is retained in the present study.⁶⁵² More likely, however, the form may have originated from more than one plant, and the popularity of this

form in (red) carnelian, as well as red jasper and garnet, suggests it also may have represented the poppy-head form. Nonetheless, painted illustrations show only a bud-like ‘cornpoppy’ form, without the terminal spray of petals, or a very short, wide angular flower.⁶⁵³

In Egypt

The cornflower plant (*Centaurea depressa*) is indigenous to the Near East, growing from the eastern Balkans through central Asia and Syria, and was introduced into Egypt as an exotic garden flower in Dynasty XVIII.⁶⁵⁴ The flower soon became a popular motif, especially in jewellery and most commonly as a bead. The plant itself also was used in natural wreaths and garlands, and is found in tombs in that role. The flower petals are light blue and the calyx light green, but in Egypt the bead was most commonly made of carnelian and in faience of various colours including, occasionally, the natural ones.⁶⁵⁵ Other materials, including gold, silver, garnet, red jasper, sard, travertine and clay, also are known.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵⁰ An expanded version of part of the thesis chapter was presented at the Sixth International Congress of Egyptology in Turin in September 1991, and a preliminary account of the revised chapter at the SCIEEM2000 EuroConference in Haindorf in May 2001; see PHILLIPS 1992b; 2003.

⁶⁵¹ MERRILLEES 1962:291, pl. XLII. A comprehensive discussion of the ‘poppy-head’ in the East Mediterranean is KRITIKOS and PAPADAKI 1962; I would disagree with their inclusion of Egyptian cornflower beads there (pp. 127–129). However, Merrillees’ proposal that the juglets were employed for transportation of the opiate now has been supported by recent residue analysis; see SHERRATT 1995:32, 45–46 n. 121, with further references. These juglets appear in Egypt in some quantity from the beginning of Dynasty XVIII (see MERRILLEES 1968:passim), long before the appearance and popularity of the bead form there. No relationship between the first appearance of the juglets and the beads in the different civilisations of the East Mediterranean can be recognised.

⁶⁵² MERRILLEES 1962:291 correctly rejects the ‘lotus-seed’ model proposed by PETRIE 1906a:45. For the cornflower, see MÜLLER-WINCKLER 1987:277. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH and TROY 1991:129–130 distinguish between the ‘cornflower’ (Type D2) and the ‘poppyhead’ (Type D1), the latter having a straight edge at the petal (bottom) end without elaboration, whilst the former has a rounded petal end and incised markings indicating the petals (but note that two different bead shapes actually are represented here). GIDDY 1999:85, following SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH and Troy, retains use of the ‘poppy-

head’ term for examples at Kom Rabi’a. However, HEPPER 1990:14 identifies this blue flower and not the red ‘corn poppy’ as the model for the faience necklace pendants. As he is a botanist, and identifies the ‘corn poppy’ as a different flower in life and in art (*Ibid.*:16), this identification is followed in the present study. Both flowers are shown together on an Amarna relief fragment (MANNICHE 1989:131 fig.) and the ‘corn poppy’ as seen there also is found on a pectoral of Tutankhamun (ALDRED 1971:pl. 63) whilst the ‘cornflower’ is found on his earrings (ALDRED 1971:pl. 84).

⁶⁵³ See WILKINSON 1998, 53 and compare flower and bud in her figs. 22–23. The cornpoppy (*Papaver rhoeas* L.) is edible and its seeds were pressed for oil. It is not an opium-bearing plant, and is quite distinct from the poppy (*Papaver somniferum* L.) associated with opium and the Cypriote Base-Ring juglets used to convey this narcotic.

⁶⁵⁴ See GERMER 1985:173; HEPPER 1990:14. M. EATON-KRAUSS, in BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:238 #314, suggests it probably was introduced accidentally with grain that was shipped to Egypt from Syria.

⁶⁵⁵ E.g., MMA Gallery 15A, case E1.2. These usually are of faience.

⁶⁵⁶ BLANCHARD 1909:23 #276–278, pl. XLVII:276–278; PETRIE 1914:51 #271, pl. XLIII:271; MERRILLEES 1962:291; HERRMANN 1985:128–131 #1078–1111. Large quantities of moulds for the bead type have been found from the late Dynasty XVIII onwards; see HAYES 1953–1959:II:278; HERRMANN 1985:129 #1090.

Both Merrillees and Müller-Winckler have examined the bead form in some detail.⁶⁵⁷

The type is extremely common in Egypt from the time of Akhenaten (late Dynasty XVIII) through Dynasty XIX. It declines in popularity after the Ramesside period, but beads or pendants in this shape can be found through to Dynasty XXV and occasionally even into the Christian period. Its most likely role is symbolic of regeneration as the flower itself blooms each morning and closes at night, making it particularly appropriate in funerary contexts, but is not amongst the amuletic types individually distributed about the wrapped mummy. It probably also was considered a charm with some protective power, and may have had some other amuletic conno-

tations. It will be considered as a bead in the present work, although it could also be called a pendant and even an amulet; the distinction between the three terms is somewhat blurred.

A few examples are known from grave contexts datable to the earlier Dynasty XVIII, most dated to the reign of Thutmose III and some perhaps as late as Thutmose IV, and then there *seems* to be a gap of some half a century or so before it reappears in great quantity in Akhenaten's time.⁶⁵⁸ Early graves with cornflower beads are found sporadically, at Abydos and Gurob, and at Fadrus and its vicinity.⁶⁵⁹ These graves are not wealthy, and usually have but one or (at most) two beads of this type, often rather ill-formed, together with a variety of other amuletic

⁶⁵⁷ MERRILLEES 1962:291–292; MÜLLER-WINCKLER 1987:277–280.

⁶⁵⁸ MÜLLER-WINCKLER 1987:280, amongst other sources discussing object by type, indicates a date range only from the reign of Akhenaten, when indeed these beads are extremely popular. I can find only one cornflower bead in a context dated to the reign of Amenhotep III, a gold and blue glazed composition earring from the Malkata palace compound, illustrated in WILKINSON 1971, 127 fig. 54 and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The excavations are published only in a very preliminary report (WINLOCK 1912), and a more detailed overview of the excavated material by HAYES (1953–1959:II:244–255). Susan Allen kindly tells me (personal communication, 21 May 2001) that the Museum's catalogue card notes the bead was found in house 2W. The Malkata palace compound as a whole mostly dates to the last eleven years of Amenhotep's reign, although it was founded on or before his Year 11, and apparently continued in use at least during the reigns of two or three of his immediate successors (HAYES 1953–1959:II:244, 248, 250, 254–255). Hayes (p. 277) also mentions a silver cornflower earring found in an Abydos tomb dated to the reign of Amenhotep III and now also in the Metropolitan Museum. The true identification of this earring, from tomb D99 and published by RANDALL MACIVER and MACE 1902, pl. XLVII.lower right, as a pomegranate rather than a cornflower, kindly was confirmed for me by Susan Allan (personal communication, 15 May 2001).

Indications of earlier dating are extremely problematic. An alabaster cornflower pendant was recovered as part of Esna object group 242 (DOWNES 1974:54), but her SIP dating of this group (and others) is highly problematic as the groupings themselves are unsure and these tombs were reused throughout the New Kingdom. Cornflower bead MMA 15.3.252 (from Tomb 608 at Lisht, North Pyramid area) is dated to the Middle Kingdom, according to its MMA catalogue card; the contents of this tomb, actually found in the fill and not the chamber, otherwise include only typical Middle Kingdom beads. No pottery was found, but the tomb itself can be dated to Dynasty XII and probably post-Amenemhat II, based on the shaft grave type. Cornflower beads MMA 45.4.8, .10, and X619, all without

provenance, are dated to the Middle Kingdom on their catalogue cards, possibly on the strength of the Lisht piece, but this dating is incorrect in light of other material finds. One pendant was recovered in heavily plundered grave PG/147 of apparently later 3rd millennium date at Ur in southern Mesopotamia; see WOOLLEY 1934:II.1:366 fig. 70:23, 375. No others are known at this early date, and it is more likely a later intrusion (possibly by the plunderers?) than original deposition. Others were recovered in Graves 15 and 50 at Babylon (REUTHNER 1926:168, 192–193, pl. 47.15.2, 49.15, 58.50.17–18[& 19–20?]), dated to the 'Kassite' period, during which extensive correspondence and records of gift-giving between Amarna and the Kassite king at Babylon have survived in the 'Amarna Letters,' and it is likely the pendants arrived at this time.

⁶⁵⁹ According to MERRILLEES 1962:291, the earliest example is from the "end of the 16th or beginning of the 15th centuries" Tomb D229 at Abydos (PEET and LOAT 1913:pl. XII:8:lower left); it appears to be early Dynasty XVIII, before Thutmose III, as dated by the pottery, although it is described as "late XVIIIth Dyn" by PEET and LOAT 1913:pl. V. Other early contexts are Gurob tombs 65, 225 and 245, in alabaster, sard and blue-glazed faience (BRUNTON and ENGELBACH 1927:pls. XIV–XVI *passim*, XLIII:45.A, L, N), and several tombs at Fadrus and vicinity (in carnelian, faience and possibly gold, SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH and TROY 1991:129–130). Note that, *contra* SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH and TROY, Gurob tomb 474 dates to Dynasty XX (D.A. ASTON 1997:60–62) and tomb 239 cannot be dated on the basis of the Thutmose III scarab alone; the scarab appears to post-date his reign. The necklace in ENGELBACH 1915:Fronticepiece.bottom, seemingly from Tomb 296 (dated to Thutmose III) according to the text (*Ibid.*:16), actually is not from this tomb and has no real context; see MERRILLEES 1969:31 #3. Most contexts before late Dynasty XVIII are not later than the reign of Thutmose III, and none are later than that of Thutmose IV. My thanks to Janine Bourriau for her dating of the Abydos and Gurob tomb pottery (personal communications, 21 January and 14 March 2001). Other contexts and beads quoted by SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH and TROY 1991 and by GIDDY 1999:85 either are not earlier than late Dynasty XVIII, or are not well-dated.

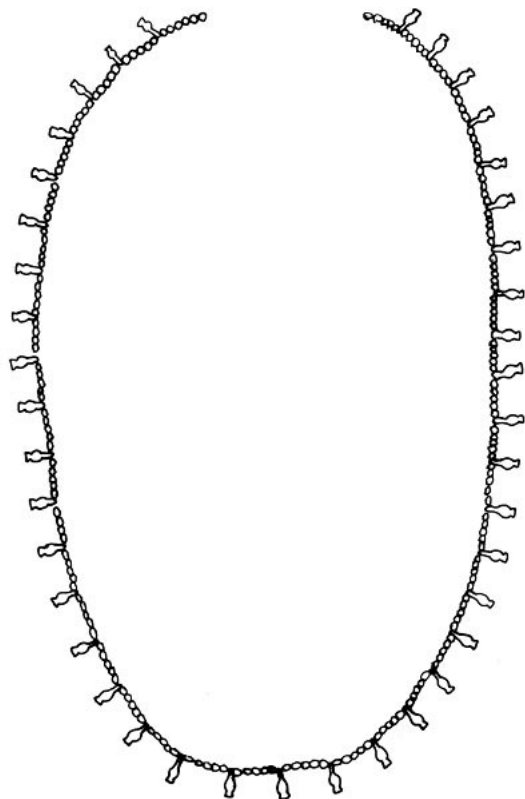


Fig. 15 Necklace of cornflower beads, carnelian, L: 70 cm, from Semna tomb S563, Egyptian, Dynasty XVIII–XIX (BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:238 #314)

bead forms. Beginning in the Amarna period, they are employed almost exclusively in multiple on necklaces. They also are found occasionally as other forms of jewellery,⁶⁶⁰ and also are employed as a furniture appliqué and inlay component, and painted on wall and floor decorative motifs, and possibly also on faience and pottery vessels.⁶⁶¹

Two types of necklaces employing the bead were

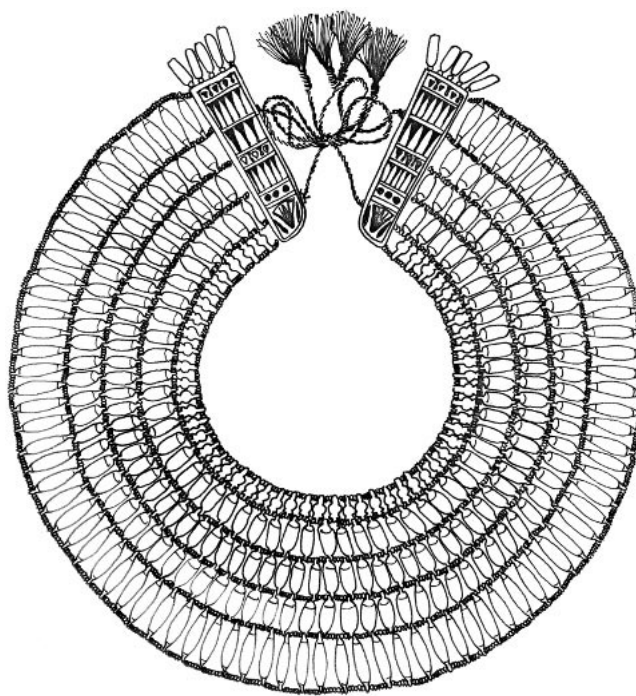


Fig. 16 Broad collar with cornflowers, dates and lotus petals, polychrome faience, Dia.: 31.5 cm, Egyptian, late Dynasty XVIII (HAYES 1953–1959:II:321 fig. 203)

popular in late Dynasty XVIII–XIX. The single strand necklace type employed a number of the beads widely separated from each other by spacer beads most often round in shape; these tended to be made of semi-precious stones (see Fig. 15) but other materials such as gold also are known.⁶⁶² The broad collar type usually employed faience beads strung one after another as one of many rows, not necessarily all of the same motif nor even the same colour (see Fig. 16). Not all broad collars were composed of faience beads, although the majority of examples are of this material.⁶⁶³ This second use developed from

⁶⁶⁰ E.g., as hanging terminals of the elaborate gold earrings of Queen Tawsert (wife of Seti II, Dynasty XIX); see WILKINSON 1971:pl. LVIII:B; ALDRED 1978:124 #93, pl. 93; FREED 1987:151 #19. Less elaborate forms also are known, such as carnelian beads worn as extremely oversize earrings on the small wooden late Dynasty XVIII–early XIX statue of a child (CM JE 44884, on display in Room U46), hanging from the pierced ears by a loop of bronze wire; they most likely are later attachments. A small silver pendant earring apparently is dated to the reign of Amenhotep III; see HAYES 1953–1959:II:277 (the only example assigned this date) and n. 658, above. The cornflower also is found on pectorals, such as the elaborate example from the tomb of Tutankhamun in gold and carnelian; see ANDREWS 1990:135, fig. 20.

⁶⁶¹ See HAYES 1953–1959:II:244; BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:99–100 #81, 83; GERMER 1985:173; MÜLLER-WINCKLER 1987:277.

⁶⁶² E.g., HAYES 1953–1959:II:321–322; BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:238 #314. The extremely elaborate necklace of Queen Tawsert (see HAYES 1953–1959:II:360, fig. 227, and n. 660 above) is of filigree gold. Nonetheless, faience examples with flat backs are strung in this fashion on necklaces, e.g. MMA 17.190.1969 and 29.7.4. A double-strand necklace employing pendant blue-glazed composition and gold cornflower beads is an elaboration of this theme; see ANDREWS 1990:36 fig. 27.

⁶⁶³ E.g., ALDRED 1978:23 #125, pl. 125, who illustrates a faience necklace having yellow, red, green and blue cornflower beads together with those of other shapes; see also HAYES 1953–1959:II:320–321, fig. 203. The collar illustrat-

collars incorporating real cornflowers; some were found amongst the funerary material in the tomb of Tutankhamun.⁶⁶⁴

The beads themselves are of two basic types, either completely in the round or shallow with a flat back. Both have a string-hole at the smaller 'stem' end. The latter tend to be of larger scale than the former, and usually but not always are moulded, but this distinction is found both in carved stone and mould-made beads. Müller-Winckler has differentiated two major variants of the form, the *Naturgetreue Variante* and the *Stilisierte Variante*.⁶⁶⁵ The *Naturgetreue Variante*, as its name suggests, includes details suggesting the natural flower such as cross-hatching on the calyx and delineated individual petals, and generally is proportionally correct. These are usually moulded rather than carved, and normally have a flat back. The *Stilisierte Variante* has no such details, but both moulded and carved examples are found in quantity. There is no 'standard' scale and relative proportions can vary considerably, although the petals are usually quite short in length and the calyx is exaggeratedly large in comparison to the real flower and the *Naturgetreuen Variante*.⁶⁶⁶ Those made for broad collars also had a second suspension loop at the petal end for attachment to the row beneath, unless they constituted the final row.

Both rounded and flat-backed types, mostly in carnelian, also are found outside Egypt in Palestine,⁶⁶⁷ on Cyprus, the Greek Mainland and Rhodes,

as well as Crete. It is noticeable that the number of finds and sites decreases with the seaborne distance from Egypt.

On Crete

Eight cornflower beads are known on Crete.⁶⁶⁸ None appear earlier than LM IIIA2 (early), in context at Archanes {58}, and thus late in the Final Palatial period. The material almost universally is carnelian, although that from Archanes is of gold {58} and from Gournes of faience {73}. The Knossos bead {238} is wide with a flat back while the others are fully rounded but all eight, including the three {67} found at Episkopi possibly in the same tomb, are different from each other.

The carnelian cornflower beads are Egyptian imports, but the others might be accepted as Minoan and therefore variations of the Egyptian form. The colour and quality of the gold bead from Archanes {58} appears to be inconsistent with the other, smaller and definitely Minoan, beads found with it and also strung on the necklace, being slightly more 'white' in colour, but nonetheless it might also be Minoan. The faience Gournes bead {73} also may be local; its appearance is consistent with its companion pieces.⁶⁶⁹ Nonetheless, both are more likely to be imports and the similar appearance of the Gournes bead can be explained by its lengthy interment with the other beads. The 'whiter' gold colour is usual with Egyptian gold until after the New Kingdom.⁶⁷⁰

ed in FREED 1987:152–153 #20 is composed of gold and carnelian beads (but is a modern stringing), whilst two Amarna-period beaded collar necklaces now in Swansea include cornflower beads in the last row (BOSSE-GRIFFITHS 1977:pl. XVI). The broad collar with cornflower beads is seen worn around the neck of painted anthropoid coffins (e.g., ALDRED 1978:pl. 92), but not on figures painted on tomb walls, where the collars rarely have any specific definition.

⁶⁶⁴ HAYES 1953–1959:II:303, fig. 188; ALDRED 1978:226 #113; MANNICHE 1989:27–31.

⁶⁶⁵ MÜLLER-WINCKLER 1987:279–280.

⁶⁶⁶ The variety of scale and form can be seen in BRUNTON and ENGELBACH 1927:pl. XLIII:45. These tombs span late Dynasty XVIII–XX; many of their originally published dates have been revised since, e.g., BELL 1991:87, 255–256, D.A. ASTON 1997:passim. See n. 658, above for early tomb contexts.

⁶⁶⁷ MCGOVERN 1985:47–49 type IV.F.5.a–b, 120–121 #143–159, pl. II:143–155, where they are called 'lotus-seed' pendants and are not found in contexts earlier than LB IIA, contemporary with the reign of Akhenaten. They are most popular in LB IIB, and continue until Iron Age II; see MCGOVERN 1985: 6–7 for relative chronology. This is contemporary with Egyptian popular use of the bead. Both the rounded and

flat-backed types are found, the former in greater quantity. The two LB IIA examples are from Tomb 1080 at Tell el-^cAjjul (PETRIE 1932:pl. VIII:177) and Tomb 877C1 at Megiddo (GUY and ENGBERG 1938:178, pl. 95:27), followed by a considerable number of finds in LB IIB tombs and levels at Beth Shan, Beth Shemesh, Lachish, Megiddo and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, and general LB II contexts at Tell Abu Hawam and Lachish with later examples at Tell el-Far'ah South, Gezer, Megiddo, Timna (see MCGOVERN 1985:48; TUBB 1988: 68 fig. 48B) and Deir el-Balah (DOTHAN 1979:43, 107 n. 18). MCGOVERN (1985:43, 116–117 #98, pl. 9.98) also distinguishes a 'cornflower or corn cockle' form (Type IV.A), again dating to LB IIA and continuing into LB IIB "as heirlooms." He limits this type to moulded examples with natural colouration and suspension loops at top and bottom, effectively Müller-Winckler's *Naturgetreue Variante* for broad collars. No examples of these were recovered in Greece or Cyprus, and it is McGovern's 'lotus-seed' type under discussion here.

⁶⁶⁸ See Distribution Map 21.

⁶⁶⁹ This might be the result of its preservation rather than manufacture. The surface of virtually all beads from the Gournes tombs is very badly eroded.

⁶⁷⁰ The only exceptions are Amarna gold stirrup-rings; see OGDEN 2000:164.

Those from datable contexts, at Archanes {58} (LM IIIA2 early), Episkopi {67} (LM IIIA–B) and Gournes {73} (LM IIIB), all are LM IIIA–B tomb finds, as component parts of locally-made necklaces. Three were found at Episkopi, although whether they were found in the same tomb is uncertain; they all are fully round although of variant size, but could have been from a single item of Egyptian jewellery.⁶⁷¹ Those from other sites are single finds. Other carnelian beads were found apparently in the Sub-Minoan to Protogeometric cemetery at Khamaizi Phatsi {124} (probably to be seen as an antique or heirloom, but possibly generally contemporary with the tombs), at Knossos {238} in a much later dump context, also possibly more or less contemporary with its context. One is entirely without context apparently from the Psychro cave {500}.⁶⁷² On the Mainland, a single bead of glazed clay was recovered from Mycenae Chamber Tomb 91, dated not earlier than sometime in LH IIIA,⁶⁷³ and another faience example found elsewhere without context at Mycenae.⁶⁷⁴ A total of 13 carnelian beads were excavated in Perati in Tombs 4, 75, 92, 93, 134 and 155, all of LH IIIB2–C date.⁶⁷⁵ The eight beads from Tomb 92 were found in restorable arrangement as a single-strand necklace of vaguely Egyptian character, but the individual beads originally must have come from at least two different original sources as they are inconsistent in presentation. One has a flat back and the other seven are in the round; of these latter, two are smaller and five larger in scale.⁶⁷⁶ The round beads could have been strung together in Egypt, but are too few for an Egyptian necklace. Five green faience beads from Tomb NT 25 in the Mycenaean cemetery at Ialysos on Rhodes, dated to LH IIIB, were strung as a single-strand necklace of Egyptian character,⁶⁷⁷

but the quantity of beads again is inconsistently few. Farther afield, two carnelian cornflower beads also were found and restrung onto a necklace and another five also were recovered in the upper burial of Tomb 9 at Kition on Cyprus, and others (mostly in the singular) have been found elsewhere on the island.⁶⁷⁸ These too represent a variety of profiles.

As contemporary Egyptian examples inevitably are never strung singly and individual beads on the same piece of jewellery most often are consistent in shape and usually in scale in late Dynasty XVIII, it is entirely possible that the necklaces to which the Aegean and Cypriote finds originally belonged were disassembled at some point and the beads re-employed. Exemplified by the Archanes {58} and Gournes {73} necklace arrangements, the beads must have been restrung by Minoan jewellers, although these artisans need not necessarily have acquired an intact Egyptian necklace to disassemble. These beads thus are examples of reuse of true imports, in much the same way as the scarabs from Knossos {262; 265; peripherally 275–276} and just possibly Aghia Pelagia {1}, also interred LM IIIA–B.⁶⁷⁹

The earliest datable example on Crete is from Tholos A at Archanes {58}, the LM IIIA2 (early) date of which represents a limited overlap with the re-appearance of these beads in Egypt itself. Thus it seems probable that this single gold bead represents little more than the ‘latest’ in foreign jewellery at the élite level, acquired through close contact with an Egyptian source of export. This woman, therefore, was provided with the very latest foreign exotic for her Afterlife, emphasising her (and her family’s) international connections as well as her (and their) exalted rank and social position. Those from Episkopi should be considered as later depositions,

⁶⁷¹ E.g., BRUNTON and ENGELBACH 1927:pl. XLV:lower left, LIII:Necklace I (this is the same necklace); note that all are the fully rounded type. The tomb is late Dynasty XVIII–XIX in date. See also MERRILLES 1968:pl. XXXVI.6, although it is not said to be an original stringing. The combination of flat and fully-round beads on a single necklace is not found in Egypt.

⁶⁷² Bead {500} is not certainly from the cave, but may have been purchased by Evans. An LM III burial ground may be located just north of Psychro at Skalia (WATROUS 1982:64); it is possible the bead may have come from there instead.

⁶⁷³ XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1985:261, pl. 125:3192 (9). It is quite an unusual piece, and may or may not be an Egyptian product although clearly it is based on the cornflower profile; however, one from Gurob (BRUNTON and ENGELBACH 1927:pl. XLIII:45.L, in alabaster) is quite similar.

⁶⁷⁴ NMA 4563.

⁶⁷⁵ IAKOVIDES 1969:I:44 #A318, 93 #A172, 158 #A13, 204 #A185–A192, 209 #A206, 235 #A259; III:pl. 11β:A318, 31α:A172, 46α:A13, 61α:A185–A192, 62β:A206, 69α:A259; 1980:64, 65 fig. 98:4.

⁶⁷⁶ IAKOVIDES 1969:I:204 #A185–A192; III:pl. 61α:A185–A192; NMA 8431/8429 (Room I, case 20).

⁶⁷⁷ MAIURI 1923–1924:148–149, fig. 69. The illustration is not altogether clear, and individuality of the beads cannot be discussed.

⁶⁷⁸ Kition tomb 9: BUCHHOLZ and KARAGEORGHIS 1973:166 #1772, 487 #1772; KARAGEORGHIS 1976:52, pls. 23, IX. Surprisingly, these pendants are not included, or even considered, by JACOBSSON 1994, but see her pp. 70–71 for their context and dating. PELTENBERG 1986:163–164, however, provides a list of carnelian examples found on Cyprus.

⁶⁷⁹ See Chapter 7, Appendix, and PHILLIPS 1992b:499–500.

and the questionable Gournes example is at least LM IIIB in date. The others are from undatable, secondary, or at least post-Bronze Age, contexts.

We might also consider the social and spiritual aspects of this amuletic bead motif on Crete. In Egypt, all flowers are symbolic of new life.⁶⁸⁰ The cornflower itself blooms each morning and closes at night, making it particularly appropriate in funerary contexts as a symbol of regeneration, and it is commonly found on funerary wreaths. The cornpoppy, a bright red colour that would be represented appropriately by carnelian, is an oil-producing plant associated with food and likewise is found in funerary wreaths. Gold and silver beads in this form are not common but, although known,⁶⁸¹ they are not found before late Dynasty XVIII. What, if any, of this amuletic or apotropaic symbolism was transferred to Crete and Minoan jewellery is unknown, but the

Archanes necklace is one of only a few examples where Egyptian or 'egyptianising' iconography has been included with otherwise Minoan beads, so we may speculate. Other examples of disassembled Egyptian jewellery components incorporated into Minoan jewellery on Crete are scarabs on a necklace at LM IIIA1 Sellopoulo **{262}** and very early LM IIIB Zapher Papoura **{265}**, both cemetery sites at Knossos, and others are recovered elsewhere in the Aegean. Imported jewellery components employing Egyptian iconography rarely are found in the Aegean, mostly scarabs and cornflowers, and some individual beads that do not have strong amuletic symbolism even in Egypt⁶⁸² – no *ꜥnh* signs, no *dd* pillars (S34; R11), as examples – so it seems highly unlikely that any strong Egyptian iconographic associations were transferred to Crete with any of these imported beads.

⁶⁸⁰ ANDREWS 1994, 88.

⁶⁸¹ Examples include a magnificent collection of these beads from Bubastis (FREED 1987, #20, modern stringing with no archaeological basis), also necklaces and earrings of Tutankhamun (ANDREWS 1990, 135 fig. 20; ALDRED 1971, pl. 84) and Queen Tawsert, wife of Seti II (Dynasty XIX; FREED 1987, 151 #19).

⁶⁸² Multiple faience crocodile, Bes and Taweret pendants are found at Perati in late LH IIIB2–C, otherwise only three ape **{245; 256}**, two crescent disc, one hippopotamus and one frog **{246}** pendants can be cited for the entire LB Aegean world; see PHILLIPS 1992b, with further references