



LATE BRONZE AGE PRODUCTION, USE, AND EXCHANGE OF LUXURY VASES: A NEW APPROACH

Hélène Bouillon

University of Paris, Sorbonne, "Orient & Méditerranée" Research Unit (UMR 8167)
Collège de France, Études bibliques et nord-ouest sémitiques' Research Unit (UMR 7192)

ABSTRACT

Egypt shows evidence for major social and cultural changes during the New Kingdom that are clearly visible in funerary contexts, and especially by the typological evolution of Egyptian luxury vessels. In particular, new forms appear in both royal and commoner tombs that imitate foreign vessels. The paradox is that these vessels, when discovered outside of Egypt, are often regarded as "Egyptian" or "Egyptianizing," which is just one indication that Late Bronze Age luxury vessels are and were often linked to questions of cultural identity and international trade. So far, such evidence has often been used to discuss Egyptian cultural imperialism in the Near East, and even throughout the Aegean. However, to understand properly the origins of these new forms and their role in cultural exchange between Egypt and its neighbors, it is important to investigate all sites where such forms have been discovered, from Egypt to North Syria to Iran to Greece. Technological and stylistic comparisons across these regions better help to define cultural trends. The present article also proposes a social and economic approach that favors a different balance between those principal trade mechanisms that are usually highlighted by different commentators: centralized versus private production or emulation versus reciprocity. As a result, Egypt appears only as one among several cultural actors, and not necessarily at the center of this trade network. These phenomena can therefore be analyzed through the prism of "transculturation."

INTRODUCTION

The last few decades have seen mounting interest in the study of trade mechanisms across the ancient world and broader approaches to "exchange" where the latter term implies both economic and cultural meanings.¹ At the same time, luxury goods and artifacts such as vases have regularly been studied as indicators of trade routes² or cultural influence.³ Recently, an international symposium, organized and then published by Birgitta Eder and Regine Pruzsinszky,⁴ allowed for an updated perspective on Late Bronze Age archaeological and epigraphic evidence, with a preliminary article by Mario Liverani highlighting the presence of different

schools of thought about interregional exchange.⁵ His considerations provided a framework to answer additional questions regarding luxury vases and cultural exchange in the Late Bronze Age.⁶

STARTING POINT AND METHOD

In the New Kingdom, a change is visible in the typological evolution of Egyptian luxury vases: in particular, new forms appear that imitate foreign vessels.⁷ And yet, the paradox is that these vases, when discovered outside Egypt, are often regarded as "Egyptian" or "Egyptianizing."⁸ To understand the origins of these forms and their role in cultural exchange between Egypt and its neighbors, it was

TABLE 1: The major vessel forms discussed in this paper.













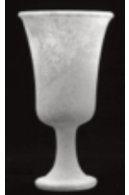

FORM	STONE VASE EXAMPLE	1ST APPEARANCE IN STONE IN EGYPT	LAST APPEARANCE IN EGYPT	PRIMARY MATERIAL AND FIRST ATTESTATION	OTHER MATERIALS	EXAMPLES IN OTHER MATERIALS
Amphora with horizontal handles		Reign of Thutmose III	20th Dynasty	Ceramic EM in Crete	Glass, wood	
Canaanite jar		Reign of Thutmose IV	Reign of Merenptah	Ceramic MBI in the Levant—first exported to Egypt during the Hyksos period	Glass, faience	
Amphora with vertical handles		Reign of Thutmose III	Reign of Merenptah (type without stand)	Ceramic EM III in Crete	Glass, faience	
<i>Bilbil</i>		Reign of Thutmose III	Reign of Tutankhamun	Ceramic LC I in Cyprus	Glass	
Flask		Reign of Thutmose III?	Reign of Seti II	Ceramic Western Anatolia, EB III	Faience, glass, ivory, tin	
<i>Tazza</i>		Reign of Thutmose III	Reign of Ramesses II	Metal? Byblos, Baalat Gebal Temple	Faience, glass, wood	
Chalice		Reign of Thutmose III	21st Dynasty	Stone? Ceramic? First stone chalice from Yarim Tepe, 6th millennium BCE	Faience, glass, wood, metal, ivory	



FIGURE 1: “Asiatic tributaries.” Sebekhotep’s tomb, TT 63. British Museum EA 387991 (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

important to investigate all the sites where such forms had been discovered, from Egypt to northern Syria and from Iran to the Aegean. This led to the creation of a database to gather information about all vases sharing the same type of luxury material: metal, stone, faience, glass, ivory and precious wood. Containers with no clear origin were excluded, and research was limited to the following forms (Table 1):

- base-ring juglets (also known as a *bilbil*),
- flasks,
- amphorae with vertical handles,
- “Canaanite” jars,
- amphorae with horizontal handles,
- chalices,
- cups with vertical sides, two or three ribs, and a foot or ring-base (often called a *tazza*).

These seven forms in particular were chosen because they are widespread across the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age (Tables 2 and 3). They also were vested with an exotic character in New Kingdom Egypt.⁹ Whereas stone vessels found in the Levant are mostly analyzed as Egyptian gifts or imitations,¹⁰ the same forms are clearly represented by the Egyptians as coming from

abroad and do not commonly figure in funerary goods as more traditional, ancestral forms (i.e., *b3s*, *hnm.t*, and piriform vases). They are usually given to Egypt by foreign peoples (cf. in Sebekhotep’s tomb TT 63: Fig. 2) or by the Egyptian king to a god following a military campaign in the Near East, as, for example, Thutmose III and Ramesses II in the Karnak temple.¹¹ The examination of these vessels that follows relies on previous studies by Friedrich W. von Bissing,¹² Flinders Petrie,¹³ and, more recently, Annie Caubet,¹⁴ Barbara Aston,¹⁵ Inga Jacobsson,¹⁶ Christine Lilyquist,¹⁷ Valérie Matoïan,¹⁸ Andrew Bevan,¹⁹ Rachel Sparks,²⁰ and Jaqueline Phillips.²¹ The chosen types are also represented by ceramic versions (see Table 1).

These data show that most of the inspected vases are of Levantine origin (Fig. 2) and that the overwhelming majority come from private tombs (Fig. 3). That most come from tombs is unsurprising thanks to the good preservation conditions provided by these funerary contexts. The fact that we can observe an increasing presence of small luxury vases in private (i.e., non-royal) burials towards the end of the Late Bronze Age is, as we will see, more relevant.

The study of materials and techniques does not lead to indisputable conclusions about precise sites

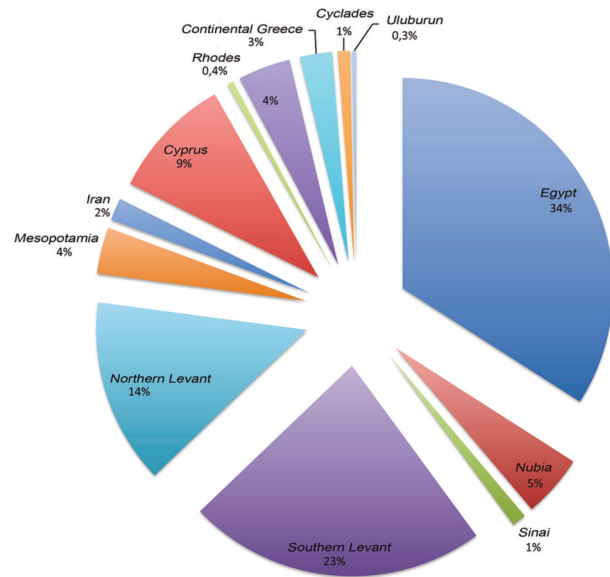


FIGURE 2: The geographical distribution of luxury vessels.

TABLE 2: List of sites (Bouillon 2016).

EGYPT, LOWER NUBIA, AND SINAI	LEVANT	CYPRUS	MESOPOTAMIA
Tell Basta/Bubastis	Deir el-Balah	Enokomi-Agios Iakovos	Nagar/Tell Brak
Sa el-Hagar/Sais	Tell el-'Ajjul	Pyla-Kokkinokremos	Tell Rimah/Qattara ou Karana
Tell Nebeshah/Imet	Tell el-Far 'ah South	Aradhippou-Panagia Ematousa	Qul' at Shergat/Assur
Memphis	Tell el-Hesi	Kition	
Saqqara	Ashdod	Dromolaxia/Hala Sultan Tekke	IRAN
Abu Sir	Palmahim	Klavdia-Tremithos	Tchoga Zanbil/Dur-Untash-Napirisha
El-Riqqeh	Tell Beit Mirsim	Maroni-Tsaroukkas	
Meidum	Tell ed-Duweir/Lachish	Kourion/Episkopi-Bamboula	
Kahun	Ains Shems/Beth-Shemesh	Agos Jaovos-Dhima	
Gurob	Jerusalem	Dhali-Kafkallia	
Sedment	Tell el-Jezer/Gezer	Uluburun	
Amarna	Tell Ta'anach		
Assiut	Tell el-Mutesellim/Mediddo	RHODES	
Akhmim	Tell el-Hosn/Beth Shean	Camiros	
Naqada/Ombos	Khirbet Fahil/Pella	Ialyos/Trianda	
Coptos	Tell es-Sa'idiyeh		
Thebes	Deir 'Alla	CRETE	
Aswan	Tell es-Sultan/Jericho		
Aniba	Amman	Haghia Triada	
Qustul	Baq'ah Valley	Amnisos	
Fadrus-Debeira	Tell el-Husn	Katsamba	
Buhen	Tel el-Qedah/Hazor	Kalyvia	
Semna/Kumma	Tel Dan	Knossos	
Sai	Kamid-el-Loz/Koumidi	Chania	
Soleb	Tel Shiqmona	Makryghialos	
Tombois	Beirut	Malia	
Serabit el-Khadim	Byblos	Mochos	
Timna	Ras Shamra/Ugarit	Pseira	
	Minet el-Beida/Mahadou	Zakros/Kato Zakro	
	Ras Ibn Hani		
	Tell Atchana/Alalakh	CONTINENTAL GREECE	
	Tell Mishrife/Qatna	Dendra/Midea	
	Meskene/Emar	Mycenae	
		Tiryas	
		Thebes	
		CYCLADES	
		Agia Irini	
		Akrotiri	

of production.²² Workshops are highly elusive contexts: places where raw materials (stone, metal, faience, glass, ivory, etc.) were transformed into vases are very difficult to recognize with certainty.²³ However, comparisons made both from technical and stylistic points of view help to define cultural trends for each region.

The present article will highlight only the three most interesting points that call into question the current analysis of the phenomena linked to

production and use of luxury vessels: 1) Egyptian models and production, 2) redistributive economies and diplomatic gifts, and 3) Egyptian imperialism.

TRENDS IN LUXURY VESSELS DURING THE LATE BRONZE AGE

First, in contrast to what is usually written,²⁴ a significant number of stone, faience and glass vases discovered in the Levant and Cyprus have characteristics that are rarely seen in Egypt and

TABLE 3: Dates (Bouillon 2016).

	DATES BCE	EGYPT ^a	LEVANT ^b	AEGEAN ^c	CYPRUS ^d
Period 1	1650–1550	End of SIP–beginning of NK	MB IIC	LH I/LM IA	LC IA
Period 2	1550–1400	Beginning of NK–end of Amehotep II	LB IA–middle LB IB	LH IIA/LM IB	LC IB–beginning of LC IIA
Period 3	1400–1340	End of Amenhotep II–end of Amenhotep III	End of LB IB–1st/2 LB IIA	LH IIB/LM II–LH/MR IIIA	End of LC IIA
Period 4	1340–1295	Beginning of Amenhotep IV–end of Horemheb	2nd/2 LB IIA	1st/2 LH/LM IIIB	LC IIB–beginning LC IIC
Period 5	1295–1190	19th Dynasty	LB IIB	2nd/2 LH/LM IIIB	LC IIB–beginning LC III
Period 6	1190–1070	20th Dynasty	Iron I	LH/LM IIIC	LC IIIA/B

^a Shaw 2000.
^b Sparks 2007.
^c Cline 1994.
^d British Museum, “Chronological Chart for Ancient Cyprus,” https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/ancient_cyprus_british_museum/chronological_chart.aspx, accessed 21 March 2019.

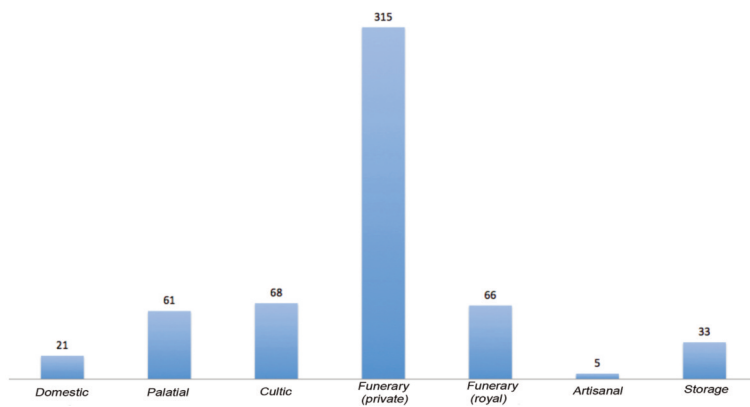


FIGURE 3: Luxury vessel finds by context.

suggest instead their local fabrication: for instance, production using separate parts (collar, handle, foot, etc.) are more common in the Levant and the Aegean (Fig. 4) than in Egypt.²⁵

Another example is the taste for jars with handles in form of a duck’s head (Fig. 5): these types of handles are very rare in Egypt and could be an indication of Levantine and/or Cypriot production.²⁶

The second point is an affinity of taste between the Levant and Lower Nubia visible in certain choices of material and of decoration: for example, duck-head handles or the use of serpentine stone (Fig. 5). This cultural trend may suggest the presence of alternative roads between the two regions that did not pass through Egypt.²⁷ The third point is the correlation between phenomena that, until now, have been observed separately but, when considered together, may point to the development of private production and trade during the Ramesside period/Late Bronze Age IIB (period 5; Fig. 6): an

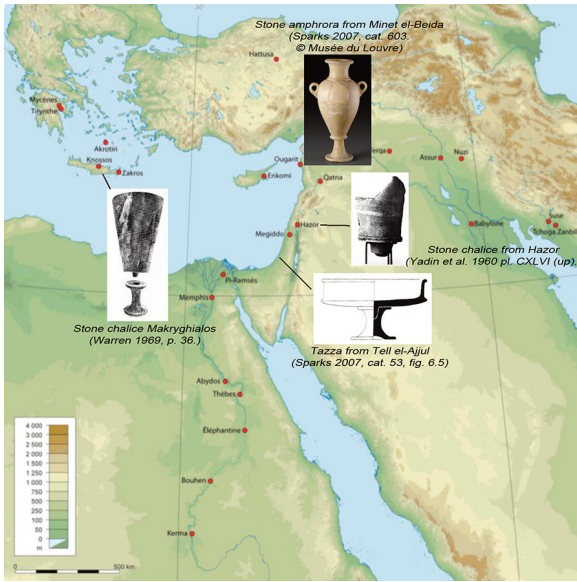


FIGURE 4: Separate parts production (© Vincent Dargery/Hélène Bouillon).

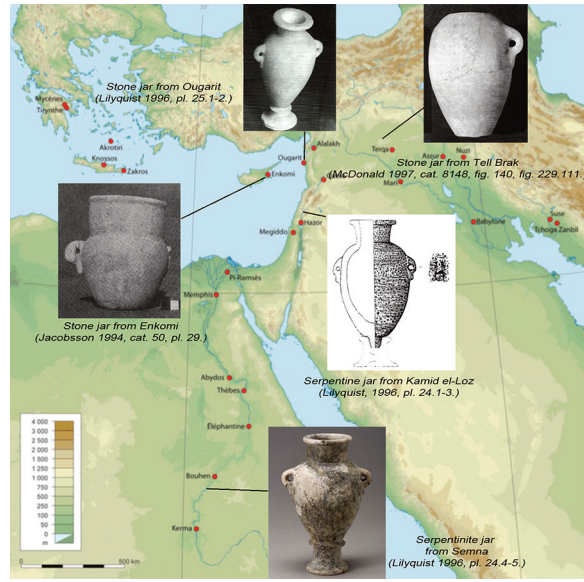


FIGURE 5: Duck-head handles (© Vincent Dargery/Hélène Bouillon).

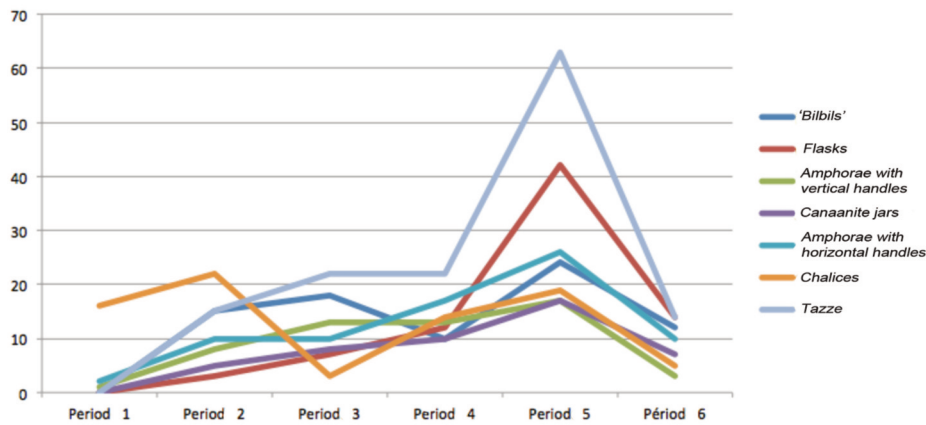


FIGURE 6: Increase of small size forms in the LB IIB period.

increase of small-size forms like flasks or “tazze” and, simultaneously, an increase of vases from private tombs (Fig. 7).

These data indicate an expansion of the production and use of luxury vessels during period 5 (which corresponds to the 19th Dynasty in Egypt and the LB IIB period in the Levant; Table 3) that can be related, for example, to economic developments

in Cyprus. During the 13th and 12th centuries BCE, archaeologists have observed the joint development of urbanism, ashlar masonry, decentralized metallurgical activities,²⁸ and more precious artifacts in tombs.²⁹ To sum up, at the end of the Late Bronze Age, we detect an increasing use of small vases in private tombs and at the same time, a decentralization of raw material exploitation and the

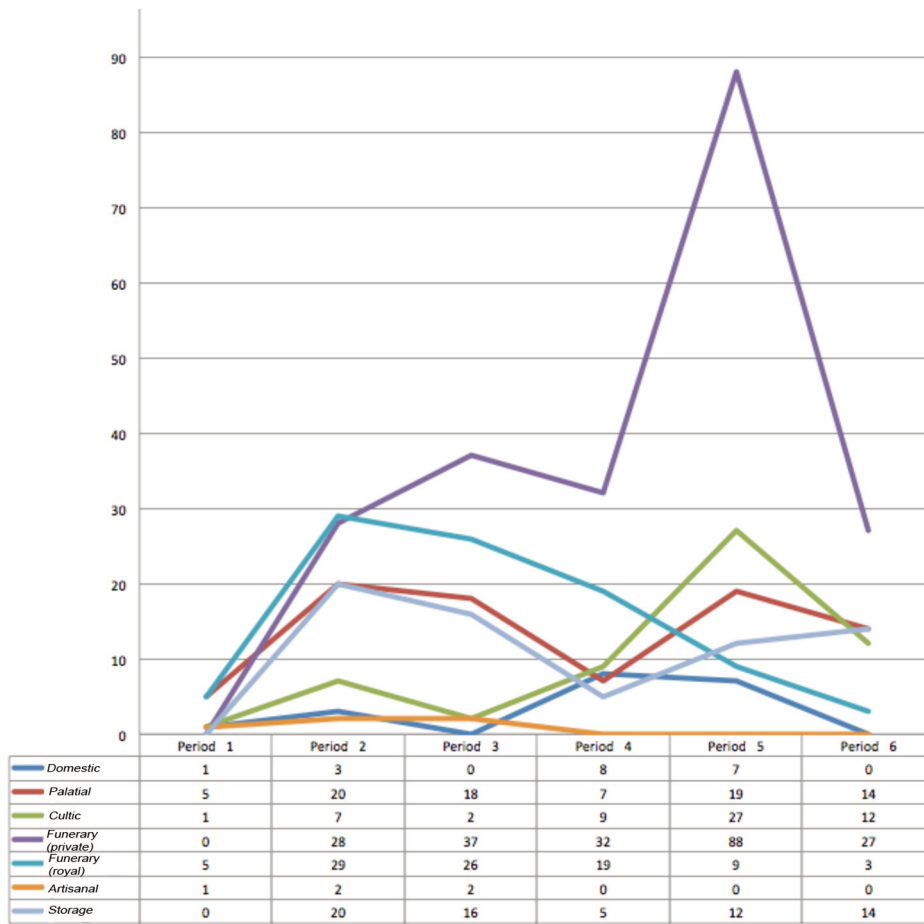


FIGURE 7: Increase of vases from private funerary contexts in the LB IIB period.

new desire (notably highlighted in Cyprus) to keep and be buried with precious artifacts.

These observations bring to light economic and cultural issues. The main question addressed here is: how did luxury vases arrive at the place where they were used for the last time (i.e., their archaeological provenance), whether it was a palace, a tomb, a house, or a temple?

This question leads to possibilities displayed in two charts (Figs. 8 and 9) that present all possible actors of production and trade related to luxury vessels in the Late Bronze Age. Links between these actors represent the actions or processes of circulation. Some of these actions and processes are documented by texts or iconography³⁰ (solid line), others are only hypothetical (dotted line).

CENTRALIZATION AND REDISTRIBUTION VERSUS PRIVATE PRODUCTION AND TRADE

Figure 8 illustrates the disparity between a well-attested centralized economy and scarcely documented private production and trade.³¹ The same disequilibrium between redistributive central mechanisms and private production and trade appears when we consider the circulation of goods from one country to another (Fig. 9).

“International” trade is traditionally considered as an affair of kingdoms. It can be part of diplomatic exchange and/or the supply of provisions and is often called “administered trade.”³² Agents of this “administered trade” are known in Egypt as *šwtj* and in Akkadian as *tamkarû*.³³ The most abundant documentation of the latter comes from Ugarit.

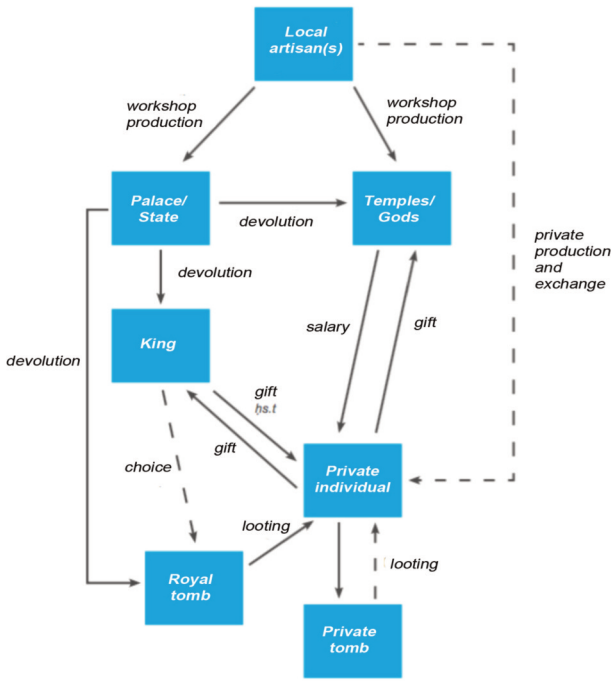


FIGURE 8: Processes of production and exchange within the same country.

Christopher Monroe has summarized the different studies on the subject in a chart showing the hierarchy illustrated in Ugarit’s archives.³⁴ The *tamkarû* is supervised by a *rab tamkarû* (*tamkarû*-in-chief), who is, in turn, managed by the *wakil kêri* (overseer of the *karû*). The latter is under the command of the *šakin* (prefect), who directly receives orders from the king. Some researchers also found rare and ambiguous clues of private activities in Egypt and in the Near East.³⁵ According to Kevin McGeough, for example, these agents may have worked for the palace only part time.³⁶ This assumption seems to find confirmation in Nuzi’s archives, which indicate that private business could be conducted by certain individuals, sometimes labeled as *tamkarû*.³⁷ Liverani has recently synthesized the substantivist and formalist visions:³⁸ the state or public institutions (such as temples) could have provided merchants with instructions and an endowment consisting of merchandise with which they were supposed to exchange abroad. Returning to the palace after the journey, a count calculation would take place, based on prices agreed upon in advance. For Liverani, herein lies the profit margin: while abroad, the merchant could sell high

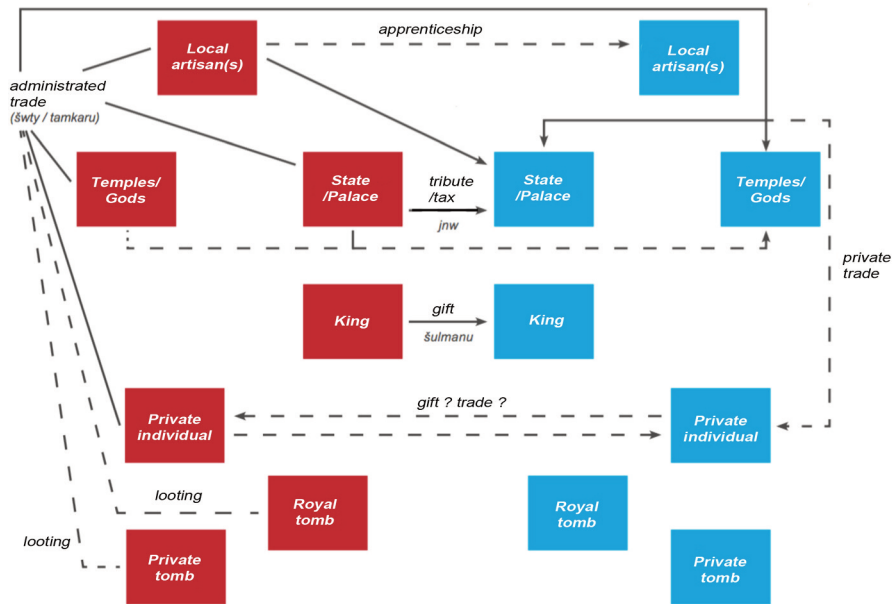


FIGURE 9: Processes of production and exchange from one country to another.

and buy low. This private trade is neither well known nor well documented, but it better explains the increase of small luxury vases in private tombs than does an economic model based only on redistribution.

IMPERIALISM VERSUS RECIPROCITY AND EGYPTIANIZATION VERSUS TRANSCULTURATION

Pictorial representations in Egyptian tombs and temples present every product from abroad as tributes from subjugated countries, since Egypt, according to royal ideology, was supposed to rule the entire world. This “extravagant hyperbole”³⁹ also existed in the Near East: the Akkadian king Naram-Sîn introduced the Mesopotamian title “king of the four quarters” (i.e., north, south, east and west). During the Late Bronze Age, the relations between states in the Eastern Mediterranean are principally documented in the archives of Amarna, Hattusa, Ugarit, Qatna, and Emar. In these archives, luxury vessels (full of “sweet oil”) appear among lists of diplomatic gifts called *šulmanu*, translated as “greeting gifts.” In the Late Bronze Age this word has a social meaning different from that of previous periods. In the Early and Middle Bronze documents, the *šulmanu* was a gift from a vassal to a suzerain or a peace gift to a divinity.⁴⁰ In the Amarna letters, it was a gift between equals.⁴¹ The Egyptian equivalent of *šulmanu* is the term *jnw*. The word is typically translated as “tribute,” but *jnw.w* can also occasionally refer to royal gifts for temples.⁴² It comes from the verb *jn*, which means “to bring.” In the Annals of Thutmose III, it applies to products brought back to Egypt after the taking and looting of cities such as Ardata and Megiddo,⁴³ though there are also *jnw.w* of Sangar (Babylonia) and Hatti.⁴⁴

At this point of the discussion, we will return to what is usually called “Egyptian imperialism” in the Near East.⁴⁵ The Latin word *imperium* means “domination,” “sovereign power,” or “hegemony.” At the beginning of the 20th century, J. A. Hobson used it in opposition to “colonialism.” In 2000, Carolyn Higginbotham proposed two models for Egyptian rule in Canaan: some city-states were under direct rule, such as Tell el-Ajjul (Gaza) or Beth Shean, and others were engaged mainly in “elite emulation.” According to her, luxury vessels become proof of this system in which the elites were becoming “Egyptianized.” The problem is that most

of the non-ceramic vessels listed in her appendix B⁴⁶ labeled as “Egyptian style” show the same new and exotic forms that appeared in Egypt at the beginning of the New Kingdom: flasks, amphorae, *tazze*, etc. In the same way, certain artifacts registered in her appendix C,⁴⁷ such as the Megiddo comb,⁴⁸ show no sign of Egyptian influence. The flaw in this theory is that the vases chosen to exemplify “Egyptianization” are of the types represented as exotic by the Egyptians themselves, and a similar issue arises with the descriptions in Jacobson⁴⁹ or Sparks.⁵⁰ In fact, most of these vases show particularities that are better defined as non-Egyptian and local (separate parts, duck heads, etc.) or do not show any particularity, which means they could originate from anywhere in Egypt, the Levant, or Cyprus. The similarity of taste in luxury goods is well documented,⁵¹ but, in contrast to what is usually written, it does not prove any kind of Egyptian domination. The New Kingdom’s Egyptian policy in the Levant covers in fact many different circumstances, some of them difficult to qualify as “imperialism”.

It is not the intention here to deny the importance of Egyptian influence in the Levant. It is well attested, going back to the 3rd millennium, particularly in Byblos,⁵² but also in the northern Levantine kingdom of Ugarit.⁵³ But the influence of other regions such as Mesopotamia is greater if one judges it by the use of cuneiform writing and liturgy.⁵⁴ Furthermore, there are other influences, such as from the Aegean or via the Hurrians, although the latter remains difficult to identify.⁵⁵ Recent efforts have concentrated on the cosmopolitan character of Levantine art.⁵⁶

Seen as “Egyptianized,” Levantine elites are often considered to fall within the dominated periphery of Egypt and in step with a *world-system* perspective.⁵⁷ Some time ago, Colin Renfrew and John Cherry criticized such core-periphery perspectives and proposed instead the idea of *peer-polity interaction* in which there was relative equality between different actors.⁵⁸ According to Mario Liverani, we should use both theories to provide a more flexible model.⁵⁹ Liverani also recalls that, in the “Great Powers Club”⁶⁰ uncovered by the Amarna Letters, Cyprus is treated as an equal, a “brother” by the Egyptian king, but in reality, Cyprus was not at all equal to Egypt or Mitanni, either politically, economically, or demographically.⁶¹ It is also important to keep in

mind that military superiority is not necessarily synonymous with geopolitical, economic or cultural superiority. Egypt itself was subject to an influence of the Near East due to political marriages and immigration.⁶²

Therefore, the term “transculturation,” developed in the 1940s by Fernando Ortiz in opposition to the word “acculturation,” which highlights the entanglement of cultures rather than the adoption of one culture by another,⁶³ is suggested in place of “Egyptianization.”

TWO ILLUSTRATIONS OF AN ENTANGLEMENT

The glass chalice (Fig. 10) of the Wadi Gabannat el-Qurrud near Luxor was part of the funerary furniture found in the tomb of three wives of Thutmosis III whose names prove to be of Oriental origin.⁶⁴ This chalice is the oldest glass vase discovered in Egypt.

The chalice is the only example of its type, made



FIGURE 10: Glass chalice from the tomb of the foreign wives of Thutmosis III in the Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud (Metropolitan Museum 23.9).

with molded glass that was sculpted after being cooled.⁶⁵ The composition of the glass is similar to that of Mesopotamian blue glasses.⁶⁶ The chalice form is also more popular in the ancient Near East and developed in Egypt with other exotic objects from the reign of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut. It is also during this period that artisans started to decorate such vessels with *Nymphaeae* (incorrectly called “lotuses”): this became a fashion in Egypt and in the Near East at the same time.⁶⁷ It shows a similarity of taste and perhaps a circulation of products and even of artisans.

A second useful example is a cylinder-seal imprint discovered in Georgia (Fig. 11). Its place of production and circumstances of long-distance movement are currently unknown. The hieroglyphic inscription names “The Great King of Sangar, Kurigalzu.” We can see two figures of “Asiatic” type according to Egyptian iconographic conventions.⁶⁸ The inscription and the scene itself demonstrate Egyptian influence. It can be compared to the Amarna period and post-Amarna iconography of the drinking king, but this iconography is itself influenced by the oriental image of the king with a cup.⁶⁹ Finally, the cup in the king’s hand resembles the vases usually called *tazze*, and the other vases shown on the seal are Aegean stirrup jars.

At present, it is impossible to fully grasp the intricate scheme that allowed for the production of such an object, but, by its iconography, inscription and archaeological provenance, it implies a link between Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Caucasia.

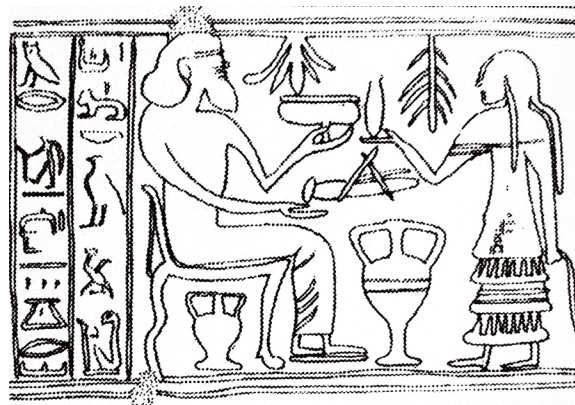


FIGURE 11: Cylinder-seal imprint from Georgia (Collon 2007, fig. 4.26).

CONCLUSION

A new examination of all types of luxury vessels found in Late Bronze Age archaeological sites would certainly lead to a different understanding of the questions of artistic production and influence in Eastern Mediterranean. This review of seven types of vessels introduced in Egypt during the reign of Thutmose III points to a new approach for the topic, highlighting among other things that Levantine and Cypriot production seems to have been more developed than what was previously thought. This method adopts a sociological and economic approach to scrutinizing the mechanisms of trade behind luxury vases of similar types found in Egypt as well as in the Near East, Cyprus, and the Aegean. This leads to a new balance between the principal trade mechanisms that are typically highlighted. Egypt appears as just one major actor among many, and not as the center of this trade network.

NOTES

¹ Institut français d'archéologie orientale, among others: N. H. Gale (ed.), *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean, Papers Presented at the Conference held at Rexley House, Oxford, in December 1989*, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 90 (Jonsered: P. Åström, 1991); D. Charpin and F. Joannès, *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs: études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*, (Paris: Editions recherches sur les civilisations, 1991); E.H. Cline, *Sailing in the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean*, B.A.R. International 591 (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1994); S. Bourke and J.-P. Desœudre (eds.), *Trade, Contact and Movement of People in the Eastern Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of J. Basil Hennessy*, *Mediterranean Archaeology Supplementary* 3 (Sydney: Meditarch, 1995); J. S. Phillips, *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Near East: Studies in Honour of Martha Rhoads Bell* (San Antonio: Van Siclen Books, 1997); E.-A. Braun-Holzinger and H. Matthäus, *Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und Griechenland an der Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Kontinuität und Wandel von Strukturen und Mechanismen kultureller Interaktion* *Kolloquium des Sonderforschungsbereiches* 295 "Kulturelle und sprachliche Kontakte" der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, 11.–12.

Dezember 1998 (Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 2002); C. Zaccagnini (ed), *Mercanti e politica nel mondo antico, Saggi di storia antica Mercanti e politica nel mondo antico*, *Saggi di storia antica* 21 (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2003); K.M. McGeough, *Exchange relationships at Ugarit*, *Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement Series* 26 (Louvain—Dudley: Peeters, 2007); J. Aruz, K. Benzel, and J. Evans, *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009); L. Graslin-Thomé, *Les échanges à longue distance en Mésopotamie au 1er millénaire. Une approche économique*, *Orient & Méditerranée* 5 (Paris: De Boccard, 2009); M. Feldman, *Diplomacy by Design: Luxury Arts and an "International style" in the Ancient Near East, 1400–1200 B.C.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010); J. Aruz, K. Benzel, and J. Evans, *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.* (New York—London: Metropolitan Museum—Yale University, 2013); B. Eder and R. Pruzsinszky, *Policies of Exchange: Political Systems and Modes of Interaction in the Aegean and the Near East in the 2nd Millennium B.C.E, Proceedings of the International Symposium at the University of Freiburg, Institute for Archaeological Studies, 30th May – 2nd June 2012*, *Oriental and European Archaeology* 2 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science, 2015).

² Notably: Cline 1994.

³ I. Jacobsson, *Aegyptiaca from Late Bronze Cyprus*, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 112 (Jonsered: P. Åström, 1994); J. Phillips, *Aegyptiaca on the Island of Crete in Their Chronological Context: A Critical View*, *Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean* 18, *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie* 49 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008).

⁴ Eder and Pruzsinszky 2015.

⁵ M. Liverani, "Exchange Models in Historical Perspective," in Birgitta Eder and Regine Pruzsinszky (eds.), *Policies of Exchange: Political Systems and Modes of Interaction in the Aegean and the Near East in the 2nd Millennium B.C.E*,

- Proceedings of the International Symposium at the University of Freiburg, Institute for Archaeological Studies, 30th May – 2nd June 2012, Oriental and European Archaeology 2*, 19–31 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science, 2015).
- ⁶ The material of this study arises from my PhD: Bouillon 2016. This thesis was directed by Professor Dominique Valbelle and presented in Paris Sorbonne University. I want to thank the members of jury for their support: Professor Pierre Tallet—Paris-Sorbonne University, Professor Valerie Matoïan—CNRS, Madame Genevière Pierrat-Bonnefois— curator in the Louvre Museum, and particularly Professor Andrew Bevan, who read this article and provided me with all his help and council with great kindness.
- ⁷ C. Lilyquist, *Egyptian Stone Vessels, Khian through Tuthmosis IV* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995); C. Lilyquist, “Stone Vessels at Kâmid el-Lôz, Lebanon: Egyptian, Egyptianizing, or Non-Egyptian ?” *Kâmid el-Lôz* 16 (1996): 133–173.
- ⁸ A. Caubet, “Répertoire de la vaisselle de pierre. Ougarit 1929–1988,” in M. Yon (ed.), *Ras Shamra-Ougarit VI, Arts et industries de la pierre*, 204–264 (Paris: Éditions recherches sur les civilisations, 1991); Jacobsson 1994; R. Sparks, *Stone Vessels in the Levant*, Palestinian Exploration Fund Annual VIII (Leeds: Maney, 2007); Phillips 2008.
- ⁹ H. Bouillon, “‘À boire pour le roi !’ Une nouvelle iconographie amarnienne où transparait l’attrait de l’exotique,” in M.-L. Arnette (ed.), *Religion et alimentation dans l’Égypte et l’Orient anciens* (Cairo: IFAO, forthcoming).
- ¹⁰ Caubet 1991; Sparks 2007.
- ¹¹ P. Montet, *Les reliques de l’art syrien dans l’Égypte du Nouvel Empire*, Publications de la Faculté de lettres de l’Université des Strasbourg 76 (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1937); D. Laboury, “Réflexions sur les vases métalliques des tributaires *Keftiou*.” *Aegeum* 6 (1990): 93–115.
- ¹² F. W. von Bissing, CGC nos. 3426–587, *Metallgefässe* (Vienna: A. Holzhausen, 1901); F. W. von Bissing, CGC nos. 3618–4000, 18001^e18037, 18600, 18603, *Fayengefässe* (Vienna: A. Holzhausen, 1902); F. W. von Bissing, CGC nos.18065–08793, *Steingefässe* (Vienna: A. Holzhausen, 1907).
- ¹³ W.M.F. Petrie, *The Funeral Furnitures of Egypt: Stone and Metal Vases*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt 43 (London: British School of Archaeology, 1937).
- ¹⁴ Caubet 1991.
- ¹⁵ B. Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Material and Forms*. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 5 (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1994).
- ¹⁶ Jacobsson 1994.
- ¹⁷ Lilyquist 1995; 1996.
- ¹⁸ V. Matoïan, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit (Syrie) et la production de matière vitreuse au Proche-Orient ancien au IIe millénaire avant J.-C.* Unpublished PhD dissertation (Paris: Université Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2000).
- ¹⁹ A. Bevan, *Stone Vessels and Values in the Bronze Age Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- ²⁰ Sparks 2007.
- ²¹ Phillips 2008.
- ²² H. Bouillon, *Vaisselle de luxe et échanges culturels au Bronze Récent: étude de cas à partir de sept formes introduites en Égypte au Nouvel Empire*, unpublished PhD dissertation (Paris: Université Paris-Sorbonne–Paris IV, 2016), 389–530.
- ²³ Apart from stone quarries such as Wadi Zabayda, where drills, cores (residue) and unfinished vases were found (see H. Willems, S. Vereecken, L. Kuijper, B. Vanthuyne, E. Marinova, V. Linseele, G. Verstraeten, C. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, A. Van den Broeck, W. Van Neer, J. Bourriau, P. French, C. Peeters, V. De Laet, S. Mortier, and Z. De Kooning, “An Industrial Site at al-Shaykh Sa’id/Wādī Zabayda.” *Ägypten & Levante/ Egypt & the Levant* 19 [2009]: 293–331). For a rare urban site where workshop zones were spotted, such as Mochlos, see J. Soles and K. Davaras (eds.), *Mochlos IC. Period III, Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast: The Artisans’ Quarter and the Farmhouse at Chalinomouri: The Small Finds* (Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press 2004); E. Morero, *Méthodes d’analyse des techniques lapidaires. Les vases de pierre en Crète à l’âge du Bronze (III^e–II^e millénaires av. J.-C.)* (Paris: Presses universitaires

- de la Sorbonne, 2016). For materials at Amarna, note P. Nicholson, *Brilliant Things for Akhenaten: The Production of Glass, Vitreous Materials and Pottery at Amarna Site O45.1*. EES Memoirs 80. Bibliotheca Orientalis 70 (London—Oxford: Egypt Exploration Society—Oxbow, 2007; A. Shortland, *Lapis Lazuli from the Kiln: Glass and Glassmaking in the Late Bronze Age* (Leuven: University Press, 2012).
- ²⁴ Caubet 1991; Jacobsson 1994; Sparks 2007; Phillips 2008.
- ²⁵ Bouillon 2016, 487, 498, 506–507.
- ²⁶ Bevan 2007, 144; Bouillon 2016, 616–617.
- ²⁷ Roads notably attested during the Second Intermediate Period: cf. E. Dirminti, “Between Kerma and Avaris: the First Kingdom of Kush and Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period,” in Julie R. Anderson and Derek A. Welsb (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond, Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies*, British Museum Publications On Egypt And Sudan 1, 337–346 (Leuven: Peters, 2014).
- ²⁸ G. Pappasavvas, “Profusion of Cypriot Copper Abroad, Dearth of bBonzes at Home: a paradox in Late Bronze Age Cyprus,” in Vasiliki Kassianidou, Giorgios Pappasavvas and James D. Muhly (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean Metallurgy in the Second Millennium BC: A Conference in Honour of James D. Muhly: Nicosia, 10th–11th October 2009*, 117–128 (Oxford: Oxbow, 2015), 119.
- ²⁹ P. Keswani, *Mortuary Ritual and Society in Bronze Age Cyprus* (London: Equinox, 2004), 125–128.
- ³⁰ Vessel production for the palace is well attested in hieroglyphic and cuneiform archives of the Middle and Late Bronze Age. For the notion of palace as an institution see J. Moreno-Garcia, “Penser l’économie pharaonique,” *Annales: histoire, sciences sociales* 2014/1: 7–38, especially 18–19. For a study devoted to the use and production of luxury vessels within palatial institution, see Michaël Guichard’s study of the Mari Archives: M. Guichard, *La vaisselle de luxe des rois de Mari, Matériaux pour le dictionnaire de Babylonien de Paris. Tome II, Archives royale de Mari XXXI* (Paris: Editions recherches sur les civilisations, 2005). Artisans working for a temple are represented, for example, in the tomb of an Egyptian vizier (Rekhmire, TT 100). See N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes*, Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Expedition 11 (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1943). Devolution from palace/king to temples are, again, well attested in texts and even, in Egypt, in representations (cf. Annals of Thutmose III); see D. Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2003). In Egypt, again, gifts from the king to private individuals are documented by inscriptions (cf. the funerary vessels of General Djehuty); see C. Lilyquist, “The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology,” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* 23 (1988): 5–68. Also note iconography, the perfect illustrations being the “gold of honor” scenes represented in New Kingdom tombs: for example, in Horemheb’s monument in Saqqara, see J. Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis: New Discoveries from the Time of Tutankhamun and Ramesses the Great* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991). Written sources as well as archaeological evidence also attest to looting: see P. Vernus, *Affaires et scandales sous les Ramsès: la crise des valeurs dans l’Égypte du Nouvel Empire* (Paris: Pygmalion/Gérard Watelet, 1993).
- ³¹ K. Polanyi, *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971); J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period: An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes* (Leiden: Brill, 1975); Graslin-Thomé 2009, 110–115; M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest: International Relations in the Ancient Near East 1600–1100 BC: Studies in Diplomacy* (Padova: Sargon, 2015).
- ³² Liverani 2015, 23–24.
- ³³ S. Allam, “Affaires et opérations commerciales,” in N. Grimal and B. Menu (eds.), *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne* (2nd edition), Bibliothèque d’étude 121, 133–156 (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2008); S. Bickel, “Commerçants et bateliers au Nouvel Empire. Mode de vie et statut d’un groupe social,” in N. Grimal and B. Menu (eds.), *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne* (2nd edition), Bibliothèque d’étude 121, 157–172 (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2008); C. Monroe, *Scales of Fate: Trade, Tradition, and Transformation in the Eastern Mediterranean ca. 1350–1175 BCE*, *Alter Orient*

- und Altes Testament 357 (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2009), 189–190.
- ³⁴ Monroe 2009, fig. 5.1.
- ³⁵ B. Menu and A. Gasse, “Economy,” in D. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* I, 422–436 (New York—Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Moreno García 2014.
- ³⁶ K. McGeough, “‘What Is Not in My House You Must Give Me’: Agents of Exchange According to the Textual Evidence from Ugarit,” in B. Eder and R. Pruzsinszky (eds.), *Policies of Exchange: Political Systems and Modes of Interaction in the Aegean and the Near East in the 2nd Millennium B.C.E., Proceedings of the International Symposium at the University of Freiburg, Institute for Archaeological Studies, 30th May – 2nd June 2012*, *Oriental and European Archaeology* 2, 85–96 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science, 2015).
- ³⁷ C. Zaccagnini, “The Merchant at Nuzi,” *Iraq* 39 (1977): 171–189; Monroe 2009: 150.
- ³⁸ Liverani 2015.
- ³⁹ B. Kemp, “Imperialism and Empire in the New Kingdom Egypt,” in P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker (eds.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, 7–57 (Cambridge—New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978).
- ⁴⁰ R. Nam, *Portrayals of Economic Exchange in the Book of Kings* (Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2012), 72.
- ⁴¹ W. Moran (ed.), *Les lettres d’El-Amarna. Correspondance diplomatique du pharaon* (2nd edition), *Littérature ancienne du Proche-Orient* 13 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 2004).
- ⁴² E. Bleiberg, *The Official Gift in Ancient Egypt* (Oklahoma: Oklahoma University Press, 1996).
- ⁴³ *Urk.* IV, 685–688; 1243–1247.
- ⁴⁴ *Urk.* IV, 700–701; D. Panagiotopoulos, “Foreigners in Egypt in the Time of Hatchepsout and Thutmose III,” in E.H. Cline and D. B. O’Connor (eds.), *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, 370–412 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).
- ⁴⁵ D. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in the Ancient Times* (Princeton: University Press, 1992); S. Bar, D. Kahn, and J. Shirley, (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 (Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2011).
- ⁴⁶ C. Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine: Governance and Accommodation on the Imperial Periphery*, *Cultural and History of the Ancient Near East* 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 173–218.
- ⁴⁷ Higginbotham 2000, 219–262.
- ⁴⁸ Higginbotham 2000, fig. 18.1.
- ⁴⁹ Jacobsson 1994.
- ⁵⁰ Sparks 2007.
- ⁵¹ Feldman 2006.
- ⁵² P. Montet, *Byblos et l’Égypte: quatre campagnes de fouilles à Gebeil : 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1929).
- ⁵³ V. Matoian, “Ougarit et l’Égypte: essai d’interprétation de la documentation archéologique et perspectives de la recherche,” in B. Eder and R. Pruzsinszky (eds.), *Policies of Exchange: Political Systems and Modes of Interaction in the Aegean and the Near East in the 2nd Millennium B.C.E., Proceedings of the International Symposium at the University of Freiburg, Institute for Archaeological Studies, 30th May – 2nd June 2012*, *Oriental and European Archaeology* 2, 35–84 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science, 2015).
- ⁵⁴ C. Roche-Hawley and R. Hawley, *Scribes et érudits dans l’orbite de Babylone. Travaux réalisés dans le cadre du projet ANR Mespériph 2007–2011*, *Orient & Méditerranée* 9 (Paris: De Boccard, 2012).
- ⁵⁵ M.-T. Barrelet, *Méthodologie et critiques I. Problèmes concernant les Hurrîtes*, *Publications de l’URA, Mémoires* 8 (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1977); A. Spycket, *La statuaire du Proche-Orient ancien* (Leiden—Köln: Brill, 1981), 300; M. Yon, M. Sznycer, and P. Bordreuil (eds.), *Le pays d’Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C.: histoire et archéologie. Actes du colloque international, Paris, 28 juin–1er juillet 1993* (Paris: Editions Recherches et Civilisations, 1995), 91.
- ⁵⁶ H. Kantor, *Plant Ornament: Its Origin and Development in the Ancient Near East*, PhD Dissertation (University of Chicago, 1945); H. Kantor, “The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.” *American Journal of*

- Archaeology* 51 (1947): 1–103; Feldman 2006.
- ⁵⁷ I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System I–III* (New York—London—San Diego: University of California Press, 1974–1989).
- ⁵⁸ D. Renfrew and J. Cherry (eds.), *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- ⁵⁹ Liverani 2015.
- ⁶⁰ H. Tadmor, “The Decline of Empires in Western Asia ca. 1200 B.C.E.,” in F. M. Cross (ed.), *Symposia Celebrating the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 1–14 (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1979); M. Liverani, “The Great Powers’ Club,” in R. Cohen and R. Westbrook (eds.), *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*, 15–27 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).
- ⁶¹ Liverani 2015, 73.
- ⁶² Redford 1992, 214–237; Bouillon forthcoming.
- ⁶³ F. Ortiz, *Controverse cubaine entre le tabac et le sucre : leurs contrastes agraires, économiques, historiques et sociaux, leur ethnographie et leur transculturation* (Montréal: Mémoire d’encrier, 2011 [1947]).
- ⁶⁴ C. Lilyquist, *The Tomb of The Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003).
- ⁶⁵ Shortland 2012, 52.
- ⁶⁶ C. Lilyquist and R. Brill, “A Collaborative Study of Early Glassmaking in Egypt c. 1500 BC,” in *Annales du 13e Congrès de l’Association internationale pour l’histoire du verre*, 1–9 (Lochem: Association internationale pour l’histoire du verre, 1996), 36; Shortland 2012, 59.
- ⁶⁷ H. Bouillon, “Le motif du nénufar dans l’art égyptien et proche-oriental,” *Égypte, Afrique, Orient* 85 (2017): 47–58.
- ⁶⁸ They are recognizable by their costume and coiffures: beard and bun for the man; flounced dress and locks of hair for the woman.
- ⁶⁹ Bouillon forthcoming.