

Cultural Exchange in the Stone Vessels Production of the First Millennium B.C.E.

Luisa Bonadies

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CULTURAL & MATERIAL CONTACTS IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Proceedings of the International Workshop 1-2 December 2014, Torino

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LUISA BONADIES

CULTURAL EXCHANGE IN THE STONE VESSELS PRODUCTION OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.E.

Abstract

According to common practice in many pre-industrialized societies, stone vases were involved in the exchange of gifts between Near Eastern and Egyptian dynasties.

In archaeological researches it is common to assign the production of these objects to Egyptian craftsmen, based on a long tradition of stone cutting, that goes back to the 4th Millennium B.C.E. and that excels especially during the New Kingdom.

Actually, several studies show that stone vase cutting was practised in many other countries of the ancient world.

Through a morphological analysis of some soft stone jars coming from Near East, Egypt and the Mediterranean, this paper aims to show that the ascription of these artefacts to the Egyptian world is not always certain for different reasons.

The main purpose of this study is investigating the possibility that a vase usually considered as Egyptian could have been made by foreign craftsmen maybe living in the Nile Valley.

Keywords

Stone vases, Egypt, Near East, Mediterranean area, Phoenician craftsmen.

I. INTRODUCTION

Stone vessels played an important role in the exchange of gifts between Near Eastern and Egyptian dynasties because of their economic, political and symbolic values (e. g. diplomacy, marriage, kinship ties, etc.)¹.

Archaeologists commonly tend to assign the production of these artefacts to the Egyptian world because of the existence of a long tradition of stone cutting that stretches back to the predynastic period.

Lilyquist suggests that «the possibility that an unusual vase (or even vase type) excavated in Egypt today could have been made abroad or be the product of a foreign craftsman living in ancient Egypt is rarely considered»².

Based on previous remark, this paper aims to reconsider the question of the ascription to the Egyptian world of some soft stone jars coming from Near East, Egypt and Mediterranean, generally dated from the 8th and 7th centuries BC, in order to show that their production in Nile Valley is not always certain for different reasons.

The sample for this paper includes items coming from Iberian Peninsula: beyond some vessels from Trayamar's necropolis, our study focused on the wellknown *corpus* found in the 1960s in the Cerro de San Cristóbal necropolis, located to the northwest of the Iberian town of Almuñecar, where several pits-tombs were discovered³. Vessels of different shapes, some of which display a hieroglyphic inscription, were used as cinerary urns and were placed in a side niche, closed with stone slabs.

Iberian items has been compared to samples from the Assyrian palaces of Ashur and Nimrud, as well as to some vessels found in Egypt and in some tombs of Carthage⁴.

II. THE STONE CUTTING TRADITION

The existence of a long tradition of stone cutting allows scholars to consider vessels as Egyptian in origin. This industry excels especially during the New Kingdom: according to Bourriau, «in the 18th-19th dynasties there is an enormous proliferation of shapes and materials to match the increase in products from outside Egypt now available»⁵. Indeed, from the 11th-10th centuries BC this production seems in decline: with the exception of Lahun, burial assemblages of 21th-25th dynasties show a scarcity of stone vessels in the tomb equipment that could not be attributed to a simple grave goods looting⁶.

Actually, stone vases cutting was practised in many other areas of the ancient world. As it is well known, Cyprus and Anatolia have long traditions of this production that stretches back to the 8th millennium BC; in the Aegean area (in the Cyclades and in Crete) a manufacture of these artefacts emerges during the Early Bronze Age⁷. Moreover, in her study on ar-

¹ Bevan 2007.

² LILYQUIST 1996, 134.

³ Padró 1985.

⁴ For vessels from Assyria, see SEARIGHT, READE, FINKEL 2008; for Carthage's material see REDISSI 1997. For Egypt, we refer especially to Aston's typology (ASTON B. 1994).

⁵ Bourriau 1984, 365.

⁶ Aston D. 2009, 386.

⁷ BEVAN 2007, 79-99.



Fig. 1 - Stone jar from the Palace of Ashurnasirpal II [Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum ASS2258]. Photo: Fontan-Le Meaux 2007, 310, cat. 56.

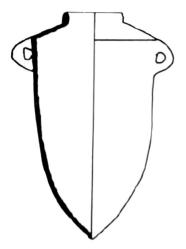


Fig. 2 - Type 7 of Sagona. Drawing: Sagona 1982, 81, fig. 2.

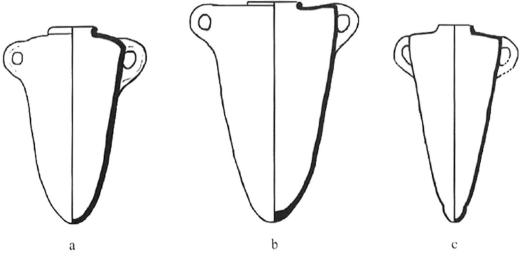


Fig. 3 - Type 5-2 of Pedrazzi. Drawing: Pedrazzi 2007, 74, fig. 3.22.



Fig. 4 - Stone jar from Louvre Museum, Paris. [Department of Egyptian Antiquities P.Mus.D.34]. Photo: Pierrat Bonnefois 2010, 36.

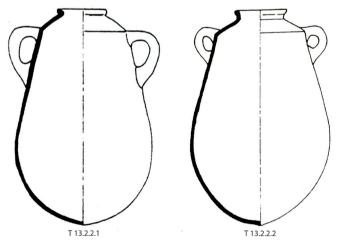


Fig. 5 - Types 13.2.2.1 and 13.2.2.2 of Ramon Torres. Drawing: Ramon Torres 1997, fig. 214.

chaeological material found in Ugarit, Caubet has suggested that stone objects for domestic use could be assigned to a local manufacture⁸.

More recently, Lilyquist has stated that, even if there is also evidence of several possible Egyptian imports, many stone vases discovered in the "Schatzhaus" at Kāmid el-Lōz (Lebanon) should be considered as locally made⁹.

III. THE RAW MATERIAL

Lacking an adequate identification of raw materials, even most vases found outside Egypt have been usually interpreted, only on the basis of their physical appearance, as Egyptian alabaster. This generic terminology is used to refer to «a translucent stone, whitish to pale yellow in colour, and often with bands of darker and lighter shades»¹⁰.

Actually, distinctive banded or mottled calcite, in appearance very similar to the Egyptian alabaster, occurs at various localities in Palestine, e.g. in the Negev Desert, within the Shagur formation¹¹, and in western Anatolia where there is evidence for an exploitation during the Roman period¹².

Some scholars suggest that only petrographic analysis can help to identify the place where an artefact come from, combining data from vessels and from potential quarry sources. Even if this information will be obtained, there is the possibility that «a particular stone, made into a local shape, had come from abroad as a raw material»¹³. The remark suggests that, even if the stone come from Egypt, this not means necessarily that the manufacture of the vessel has been located in the Nile Valley or that Egyptian craftsmen have been responsible for its production.

IV. MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES: THE BODY PROFILE

IV.1 Type A: Conical Body Profile

Many vessels analysed for this study display a conical body profile, characterised by straight sides tapering towards a pointed base and short slightly rounded shoulders. The neck, generally short, has a slightly everted lip with a rounded edge (Fig. 1)¹⁴.

The morphology of these artefacts questions a certain attribution to the Nile Valley: the sharper profile, in fact, seems not to be close to Egyptian ceramic and stone repertories¹⁵, but rather usual among Levantine productions of the Iron Age.

According to Culican's assumption, it recalls the morphology of some ceramic transport jars known under various names: Torpedo jars, Carinated-shoulder amphora and, more generally, Canaanite jars¹⁶.

Produced with different variations from the Middle

Bronze Age in the Levant through the Punic times in the Western Mediterranean, they can be generally assigned to the Type 7c (Fig. 2) of the Sagona's typological classification¹⁷ and, more precisely, to the type 5-2 of Pedrazzi's typology (Fig. 3)¹⁸. This is a group of storage jars widely distributed along the Lebanese and Palestinian coasts during the Iron Age I and II¹⁹, as shown by numerous items found in strata III-II of Tyre, dated of the second half of the 8th century BC²⁰.

Conical body profile jars could be generally assigned to a Levantine production and they should be considered as an evolution of the Canaanite amphora that is present in large amounts in Egypt especially from late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period²¹. In the Third Intermediate Period they became so popular that from 6th-5th centuries BC (Saite Period) local copies are documented²².

IV.2 Type B: Cylindrical-Ovoid Body Profile

In 1615 a soft stone jar was found near the Theatre of Marcellus in Rome: the vessel displays a profile that widens in the lower half and a round bottom; the maximum diameter is located in the last third of the body (Fig. 4). Two volute-shaped elements that replaced original handles have been added in a second time²³.

¹³ LILYQUIST 1996, 136. The same idea has been suggested also by A. Caubet for Ugarit manufacture; see CAUBET 1991, 207.

¹⁴ A comprehensive analysis concerning the production of this type of vessels has been proposed by the author on the occasion of the Conference "*The Crossroads II, or There and Back Again*" held in Prague in September 2014. See BONADIES 2015.

¹⁵ ASTON D. 1996; ASTON B. 1994.

¹⁷ SAGONA 1982, 83-85. Actually, this shape includes jars that cannot be assigned to the same group, because of different morphological elements, as maximum diameter location and shoulder inflection (RAMON TORRES 1995, 272).

¹⁸ Pedrazzi 2007, 72-73.

¹⁹ We adopt here the chronology proposed by PEDRAZZI 2007, 39 and by MAZAR 2005, 15-30, that means second and third quarter of the 12th- first quarter of the 6th centuries BC. On the problem of Iron Age chronology, see PEDRAZZI 2007, 17-39.

²⁰ Bikai 1978, 67.

²¹ The list of scientific publications on this topic is too long to be detailed here; we would just like to quote BOURRIAU 1990, 18-26.

²² Padró, Ramón 2004, 77-102; Defernez, Marchand 2006, 68-71.

²³ Paris, Musée du Louvre, inventory n. MR 889 (n. usuel AE 005658); MARTINEZ 2004, 525, n. 1057, et 581, n. 1167.

⁸ Caubet 1991, 219.

⁹ LILYQUIST 1996, 155.

¹⁰ Ben-Dor 1945, 95. ¹¹ Lilyquist 1996, 140.

 $^{^{12}}$ BEVAN 2007, chapter 6, note 3.

¹⁶ Culican 1970, 31, footnote 24; Sagona 1982, 73.

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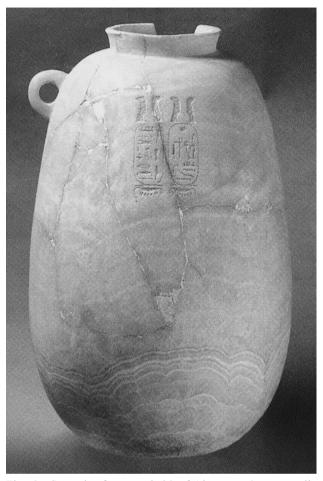


Fig. 6 - Stone jar from tomb 20 of Almuñecar's necropolis [Museo de Granada, CE. 8. 335]. Photo: Fontan-Le Meaux 2007, 178, cat. 106.

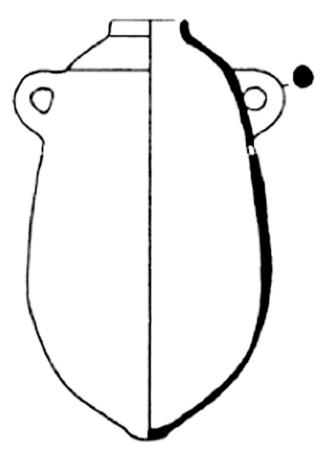


Fig. 7 - Pottery Amphora from Liban, 9th century BC. Drawing: Rossi, CMAO 1997, fig. 3.

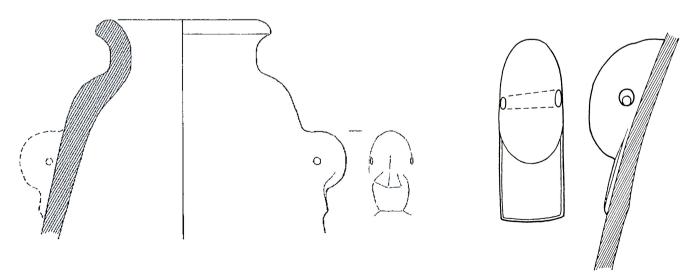


Fig. 8 - Duck-head handles. Drawing: Searight et alii 2008, pl. 13, fig. 98 and 105.

The item, which joined the Borghese collection of the Louvre Museum in 1807, bears an inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphs, with a dedication to the god Amun from a priest of Amun and Montu-Rê, accompanied by a cartouche of Osorkon III, Pharaoh of the 23th dynasty (787-759 B.C.). In the 1st century AD, the vessel has been used as a cinerary urn by a Roman magistrate, Publius Claudius Pulcher, who added a second inscription in Latin characters.

Apart from three other unpublished vessels from the Louvre Museum of unknown provenance²⁴, stone vessels with a similar profile have been discovered in the 1960s in the tomb 3 of Trayamar necropolis in Spain²⁵ and during excavations in Heracleopolis Magna (Egypt)²⁶.

The British Museum in London has two more vessels of the same shape: the first one of doubtful provenance bears three lines of cuneiform characters, with an inscription of Sennacherib (704-681 BC)²⁷. The other one comes from Nineveh and has been found in the SH area that contained 7th century houses²⁸. According to the editors of the recent study on Assyrian stone vessels in the British Museum, a slightly larger jar resembling Louvre item has been also found in Ziyaret Tepe (probably the ancient Tushhan), in Turkey²⁹.

The cylindrical-ovoid body profile of these vessels could relate to pottery storage jars of the Types 13.2.2.1 and 13.2.2.2 (Fig. 5) of the Ramon Torres's typological classification of Phoenician and Punic amphorae from the Central and Western Mediterranean (Fig. 5)³⁰. Pottery jars of these shapes dated by the author from the 6th century BC, are not really widespread in Mediterranean area and they have no parallels among western productions. According to Ramon Torres, Types 13.2.2.1 and 13.2.2.2 could be inspired by a generic ovoid form of Eastern Mediterranean/Cypriot origin. The shape recalls a variety of the well-known bag-shaped jar, produced during the Iron Age II and widespread across Syria, Palestine and the Lebanese coast³¹.

Remarks made here make it difficult to determine whether this shape was originally produced in stone or in ceramic: if we accept the assumption that the presence of a cartouche of an Egyptian Pharaoh indicates the time of the vessel's manufacture, we should think that stone samples preceded pottery items and maybe inspired the ceramic production. Actually, several scholars have questioned the contemporaneity of Egyptian royal names and objects on which the cartouche is engraved³²: it is especially true for the Third Intermediate Period and for the scarab production.

Given the paucity of samples for both stone and ceramic production, we cannot advance for the moment any hypotheses for the origin of this shape.

V. MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES: THE HANDLES SHAPE

V. 1 Type A: Rounded Shape

The most part of soft stone jars analysed has little handles placed on the top of the body, which display a rounded shape and a circular cross-section (Fig. 6). This type seems to be an element that marks especially Palestinian and Levantine storage jars of the Iron Age (Fig. 7)³³.

V.2 Type B: Duck-Head Handles

Of major interest is another type of handles that seems to characterise especially samples from Assyria and from El-Kurru (Sudan)³⁴: the so-called stylized duck-head handles (Fig. 8), perforated oval lugs preserved above a rounded lappet and finely cut and contoured, suggesting the head of a bird.

Duck-head handles are typical of a small group of *alabastra* from Rhodes, made with the core forming technique originated in Mesopotamia: unfortunately, it is not clear if the vessels, generally dated from the 7th century BC, are all imported from the Near East or if craftsmen migrated to Rhodes produced them³⁵.

Anyway, it is interesting to note here the existence of a connection between stone and glass production in the Mediterranean of the First Millennium BC. The idea does not sound really singular if we take into account two jugs respectively made of stone and glass,

²⁵ Martín Ruiz 1995, 171.

²⁶ LOPEZ GRANDE, QUESADA SANZ, MOLINERO POLO 1995, pl. LXXX, h: 6 and i: 7.

²⁷ British Museum n. 1882, 0522, 300.a; SEARIGHT, READE, FINKEL 2008, 23, n. 61.

²⁸ British Museum n. 1932, 1212, 1131; Searight, Reade, Finkel 2008, 27, n. 97.

²⁹ See footnotes 27 and 28.

³⁰ RAMON TORRES 1995, 243, fig. 214.

³¹ Type 14-3-1-1 of Pedrazzi; concerning the distribution in Near East, see PEDRAZZI 2007, 217-219.

³² The problem of contemporaneity of Pharaohs' cartouches and objects has been discussed especially concerning the production of scarabs in Naukratis.

³³ Amiran 1970, pl. 81.

³⁴ For samples from Assyria, see especially SEARIGHT, READE, FINKEL 2008; for material from Sudan, see DUNHAM 1950.

³⁵ Scholars are generally agreed on considering these artefacts as Oriental in origin; see ARUZ, GRAFF, RAKIC 2014, 169, n. 61.

²⁴ Paris, Musée du Louvre, inventory n. N1075, E23315, N1112. The last two samples are miniature versions of the same shape. For N1075 see PIERRAT-BONNEFOIS 2010, 34. I was able to study these samples thanks to the permission of Mrs. Géneviève Pierrat-Bonnefois, Chief Curator of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the Musée du Louvre in Paris. I would like to extent many thanks to her for the discussion about stone vessels of Louvre Museum and especially for the prolific exchange of ideas about Levantine presence in Egypt.

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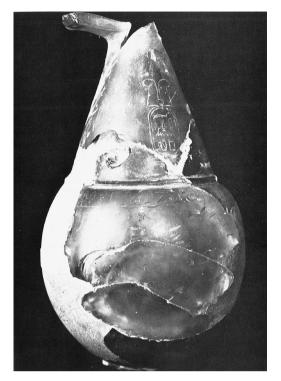


Fig. 9 - Glass trefoil-mouth jug from the La Aliseda Treasure. Photo: Gamer-Wallert 1978: Taf. 31.

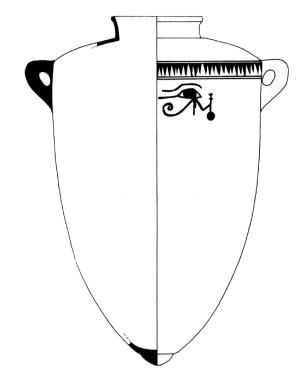


Fig. 10 - Faience Torpedo jar, Carthage, hill of Juno. Photo: Redissi 1992-1993, pl. I.

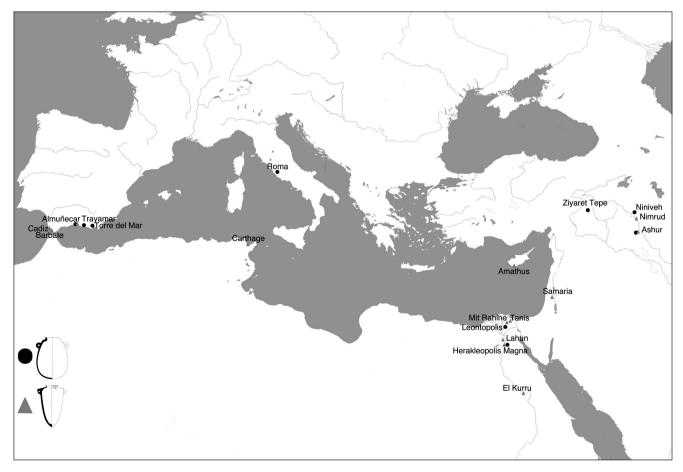


Fig. 11 - Geographical distribution of soft stone jars. Drawing: L. Bonadies.

which exhibit the characteristic pear-shaped (piriform) profile of Phoenician ewers from the Iron Age³⁶. The stone item was part of the grave goods of the queen Khenisa, wife of the Pharaoh Piankhy (25th dynasty) and it has an incised band of red hieroglyphics around the shoulder, including two cartouches of the queen³⁷. It has a moulded palmette below the join of handle and body, usually considered as an element of Phoenician origin very widespread in all the Mediterranean area and object of various reinterpretations.

At the beginning of the last century a glass jug of the exact same shape was discovered in Western Spain, in the famous Treasure of Aliseda (Fig. 9): as the stone sample, the vessel has a band of hieroglyphs around the shoulder and two cartouches on each side of the neck, but the understanding of them is problematic³⁸.

Moreover, a faience amphora discovered by Delattre in a tomb of the hill of Juno³⁹ could offer a further evidence of connection between stone and glass production. The vessel (Fig. 10) has a conical body profile similar to soft stone jars mentioned earlier, except for the bottom that displays a slight bulge. The faience amphora has been considered as an Egyptian import, despite the absence of parallels in the Nile Valley and despite the fact that its profile is clearly similar to Storage Jars 9 found by Bikai in Tyre⁴⁰.

Unfortunately, given the paucity of typological classification and researches on Phoenician glass vessels, for the moment we cannot go any further on the issue of a connection with the stone production in the 1st Millennium BC.

VI. HIEROGLYPHS FORM AND LOCATION

The presence of hieroglyphs and cartouches of Egyptian Pharaohs on stone vessels found outside Nile Valley has been always considered as a proof that the vase was made in Egypt.

A closer examination at samples from Mediterranean reveals that the most common inscription shape is an encircling band of hieroglyphs enclosed by two parallels lines, engraved on the upper part of the body, that end on the front of the vase with two feather-topped cartouches (Fig. 1). Looking at Egyptian inscribed stone vessels, one could remark that this shape is not really widespread: the cartouche, indeed, is usually engraved in the centre of one side of the vessel, in such a way that it fills all the space and it is clearly visible.

The trefoil-mouth jugs found at El-Kurru and in the Treasure of Aliseda mentioned above are a clear example of association between a shape of foreign origin and an Egyptian inscription.

These items suggest that the presence of Egyptian characters does not necessarily define the cultural identity of craftsmen involved in the production of the vessel. In the same way, incorrect or pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription cannot be considered as clear evidence of a foreign production of the artefact, as supposed by many scholars.

According to these examples, I wonder whether we can imagine different reasons that could explain the presence of inscriptions on vessels: in the case of El Kurru jugs, it seems suitable that the person who commissioned the vase maybe gave a copy of inscriptions to be engraved too. Rather, if we can accept the Gamer-Wallert conclusion that Egyptian characters on the jug from La Aliseda seem to be a copy of a fragmented text, we can suppose that some examples of inscriptions with classical formulas could be found in workshops. Of course, the quality of the result was not necessarily linked to the knowledge of the language, but depended on the skill of the craftsmen who engraved the characters.

VII. CONCLUSION

The geographical distribution of soft stone jars (Fig. 11) analysed in the present paper shows that the most part of samples comes from sites located outside Nile Valley. This has prompted different explanations: Gamer-Wallert indicates that soft stone jars from Spain are the result of Egyptian royal tombs' looting at Tanis and they may have been part of Takelot II's tomb equipment⁴¹.

On the basis of the cuneiform inscription of the jar found at Ashur in the Asshurnasirpal II's palace, Culican suggested if even the "Almuñecar alabastra" could be considered as part of Abdimilkuti's palace treasure, looted by Asarhaddon during his campaign of 677 B.C. and then traded by Phoenicians⁴².

According to another hypothesis, Assyrians got soft stone jars in the third quarter of 7th century BC, after the second invasion of Egypt and they gave them to the Phoenician merchants for trading⁴³.

Actually the last two interpretations have some problems of chronology: the study of tomb equipment, in fact, has shown that some of the graves of Almuñecar can be dated from the 8th century BC⁴⁴, so that they precede the looting of the Abdimilkuti's palace

⁴⁴ Mederos Martín, Ruiz Cabrero 2002, 41-47; Aubet Semmler *et alii* 1991, 21; Negueruela 1991,199-207.

³⁶ For a comprehensive analysis concerning the origin and diffusion of this type of vessels, see TALONI 2012, 77-97.

³⁷ Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 21.2783.

³⁸ GAMER-WALLERT 1976a; *idem* 1976b.

³⁹ Redissi 1992-1993, 325-341.

⁴⁰ Bikai 1978, 46.

⁴¹ GAMER-WALLERT 1978, 224-225.

⁴² Culican 1970, 30-31.

⁴³ Pernigotti 1988, 275-276.

at Sidon and the second Assyrian invasion of Egypt⁴⁵. Moreover, as noted by Lopez Castro, the number of soft stone vessels found in the Iberian Peninsula is too large for classifying all these items as stolen.

The most common accepted hypothesis explains the spread of soft stone vessels in the palaces of Near Eastern sites (Assyria, Sidon and Samaria) as luxury gifts within a network of long-distance inter-dynastic contacts. Instead, the Iberian artefacts could be considered as the result of Phoenician trade with rich artisans and merchants of western Mediterranean during the 7th century BC.

All hypotheses concerning the geographical distribution of soft stone jars in the First Millennium BC are based on the assumption of an Egyptian origin of these vessels, that, given our remarks, is not really certain.

In a recent paper on a stone amphora found in the Roger Saidah's reserve at the Beirut National Museum, Oggiano suggests that Phoenician craftsmen have been involved not only in trading, but in the production of stone Torpedo jars too⁴⁶. Therefore she proposes three different scenarios for the manufacture of these artefacts:

- a manufacture in Egypt by Egyptian craftsmen, inspired from Levantine ceramic production;

- a manufacture in the Near East, then traded in the Mediterranean;

- a manufacture in Egypt by Phoenician craftsmen, who combine elements of different origins.

Unfortunately, despite the interest of these suggestions, the scarcity of archaeological findings for the moment does not allow us to detect possible workshops of these artefacts.

Anyway, it is of some interest to remark here that data presented in this paper reveal that not all stone vessels found in the Near East and Mediterranean should be considered as Egyptian in origin. It seems quite clear, instead, that during the Third Intermediate Period/1st Millennium BC commercial contacts originate a cultural syncretism, resulting in a kind of hybrid style where combination of elements of different origin maybe produced new shapes.

The vessels analysed here could be considered an expression of the so-called "International Style", the existence of which has been suggested for the Late Bronze Age⁴⁷.

The 1st Millennium BC, indeed, is a moment when exchanges across the Mediterranean reach their peak, as shown by the so-called orientalising phenomenon, known to have occurred in different sites of the Mediterranean area (Greece, Etruria, south of Italy, Iberian Peninsula especially) between the 8th and 6th centuries BC, and to be characterized by the increase of diffusion of goods, ideas and customs originated or inspired by Near Eastern and Egyptian cultures.

Stone vessels production of the 1st Millennium BC reveals how relations between Egypt, Near East and the Mediterranean are not the result of simple commercial and political activities, but also of an important mutual exchange of ideas and technical knowledge.

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⁴⁵ López Castro 2006, 79.

⁴⁶ The amphora from Beirut National Museum has a conical body profile as vessels mentioned early; see Oggiano 2010, 181-205.

⁴⁷ International Style has been the subject of numerous studies; we would like to mention here the study of Feldman, who examines the profound connection between art and its social context (FELDMAN 2006).

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