The Pomegranate Vase: Its Origins and Continuity
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THE POMEGRANATE VASE
ITS ORIGINS AND CONTINUITY

(PLATES 71, 72)

POMEGRANATES, and vases in the form of a pomegranate, have been a special interest of mine since publishing the prehistoric pottery from the Athenian Agora. In researching the unique Mycenaean example (P 27028) from Tomb XXVI, I traced its ancestry to the Near East and endeavored to relate it to later Geometric vases of similar type.[1] Although at that time I wrote the draft of a fairly lengthy paper with a catalogue of known examples of pomegranates in various media, I eventually abandoned that article because of a seeming lacuna of four or five hundred years between the Late Bronze Age and the Late Geometric examples. Nonetheless I suspected Oriental continuity with a reintroduction toward the end of the Dark Age.

Some twenty years later it seems worthwhile to offer in an abridged form some of the results of my investigations, for it is now possible to be briefer owing to further research by other scholars and especially because of an important recent discovery that has narrowed the gap by at least one hundred and fifty years. The book by F. Muthmann published in 1982 gives a broad perspective on the meaning of the pomegranate with examples of its occurrence in art from the Near East and the Classical world through the Early Christian period, and the article by Nota Kourou in 1987 has brought order into the Geometric examples, dividing them into three main types and showing their geographical distribution.[2] But perhaps the greatest reason for reviving my thesis of the continuity of this type in the Near East and its reintroduction in the Dark Age has been the discovery of two faïence pomegranate vases in the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi where they occur in graves of the Sub-Protogeometric period datable about 900 B.C. (Pl. 71:d).[3]

[1] See abstract of paper read at the 75th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America at San Francisco in December, 1969: *AJA* 74, 1970, p. 197.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

Åström	= L. Åström, *Studies in the Arts and Crafts of the Cypriote Bronze Age*, Lund 1987
Catling	= H. W. Catling, *Cypriote Bronze Work in the Mycenaean World*, Oxford 1964
ExC	= A. S. Murray, A. H. Smith, and H. B. Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus*, London 1900
Farnell, *Cults*	= L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford 1896–1909
Harden	= D. B. Harden, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Glass in the British Museum*, London 1981
Jacobsthal	= P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins and their Connections with Europe and Asia*, Oxford 1956
Johansen	= K. F. Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens*, Paris 1923
Kilian-Dirlmeier	= I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Anhänger in Griechenland von der mykenischen bis zur spätgeometrischen Zeit* (*Prähistorische Bronzefunde* XI, ii), Munich 1979
Kourou	= N. Kourou, «Ροά Γλυκεία», in ΕΙΛΑΠΙΝΗ: Τόμος Τιμητικός για τον Καθηγητή Νικόλαο Πλάτωνα, Herakleion 1987, pp. 101–116
SCE I	= E. Gjerstad, J. Lindros, E. Sjöqvist, and A. Westholm, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus, 1927–1931*, Stockholm 1934

[2] F. Muthmann, *Der Granatapfel, Symbol des Lebens in der alten Welt*, Bern 1982; Kourou.

[3] M. R. Popham, E. Touloupa, and L. H. Sackett, "Further Excavation of the Toumba Cemetery at

These imported examples (Egyptian or Egyptianizing from a Phoenician workshop?) precede by at least fifty years the Early Geometric woman's grave from the North Slope of the Areopagus with its gold earrings with pomegranate pendants and other exotica;[4] together these show that light from the East was penetrating the Greek Dark Age at a considerably earlier period than had been previously thought. In brief, the thesis that I advance in this paper is that the pomegranate itself was exotic to mainland Greece and that its artistic appearance occurred in periods of contact with the Near East, most often in objects whose techniques or specific usages imply a Levantine connection. Such objects are faïence and core-formed glass pomegranate vases, gold pendants with granulation, bronze pomegranate pendants or "bells", and ivory or bone spindles with pomegranate finials.

Terracotta vases are, however, an exception to these more exotic techniques and usages and are suggestive of the Greek reaction to such imports. Of the pottery examples, it seems desirable to distinguish between pomegranate *vases*, where the corolla is at the top and is open, and model *fruits*, where the corolla is closed and the fruit meant to be suspended from a perforated stem. The former type should derive from imported objects such as the Lefkandi faïence vases (Pl. 71:d), whereas the latter may suggest actual acquaintance with the pomegranate tree with its hanging fruit (Pl. 72:a). The Mycenaean example (Fig. 1, Pl. 71:a) from the Agora tomb was clearly of the first type, whereas many of the Geometric examples (Fig. 4) belong to the second.[5]

I

Although fragmentary, the Agora vase can be restored on paper (Fig. 1, Pl. 71:a). It was almost globular with a flaring rim cut into eight or ten points and had a height of 12.8 cm. with a diameter of 10.8 cm.[6] The decoration in orange-red glaze on a fine, pink-buff surface consists of a shoulder frieze of pendent concentric semicircles framed above and below by a broad band bordered by a row of neat dots. Although somewhat unusual, all these features can be paralleled in the Mycenaean repertory, and there is no doubt as to the Mycenaean context of the vase, which furnishes a date in the second half of the 14th century B.C.[7]

Lefkandi, 1981," *BSA* 77, 1982 (pp. 213–248), pp. 243–245, pl. 31:d, e (Toumba, T. 42, no. 20); *JHS-AR*, 1986–1987, p. 13, fig. 16 (Toumba, T. 59).

[4] E. L. Smithson, "The Tomb of a Rich Athenian Lady, *ca.* 850 B.C.," *Hesperia* 37, 1968 (pp. 77–116), pp. 122–123, no. 77, pls. 30, 32 for earrrings. See also R. A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, 2nd ed., Berkeley 1980, pp. 97–98.

[5] In Kourou's article, this distinction is not clearly made.

[6] S. A. Immerwahr, *The Athenian Agora*, XIII, *The Neolithic and Bronze Ages*, Princeton 1971, pp. 228–229, pls. 53, 76. Kourou (p. 115, note 83) questions whether the shape has been correctly restored and whether it should not be more globular, like the glass pomegranate vases. In September 1988, however, a re-examination of the fragments yielded the same diameter of the base as published.

[7] It came from a disturbed chamber tomb under the Stoa of Attalos which yielded the remains of four skeletons; there was no intrusive material at this level. Other finds consisted of two Mycenaean Phi-type figurines, some loops of lead wire, a fragmentary stirrup-vase, and a small hydria with octopus decoration of advanced III A type which should assure a date in the late 14th century. Mycenaean parallels for the individual features are given in the publication (*Agora* XIII [footnote 6 above], pp. 228–229), but the total effect is rather unusual and seems based on the glass pomegranate type (see below).

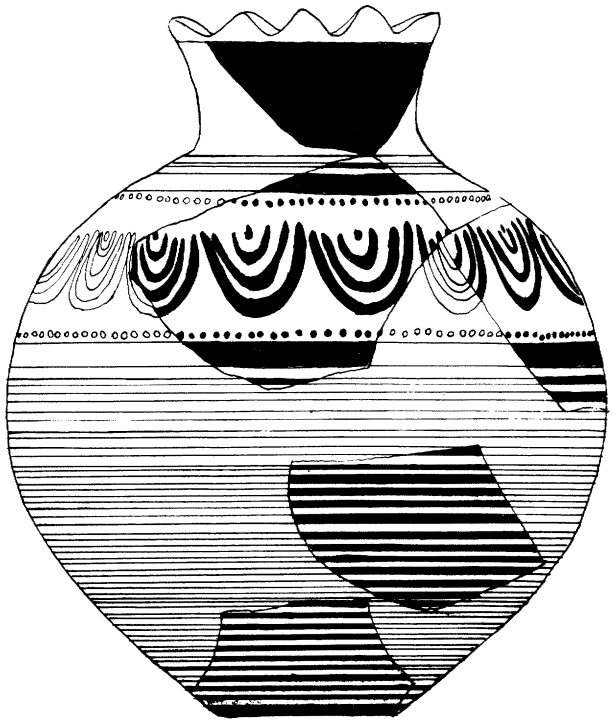

FIG. 1. Agora vase P 27028, reconstructed drawing

Indeed the very peculiarities of the vase, both the serrated rim and the shoulder decoration, seem derivative not merely from the pomegranate fruit but more specifically from the Eighteenth Dynasty multicolored glass examples referred to by Johansen as possible prototypes for the Geometric pottery examples.[8] These small glass containers are often decorated by double hanging festoons on the shoulder, inlaid in another color and sometimes matched by corresponding festoons below (Pl. 71:c).[9] This scheme seems not merely decorative, but intended to reproduce the wrinkled skin of the ripe fruit, with some examples actually fluted or gadrooned, a system also followed in some Geometric examples.[10]

The multicolored glass pomegranate vases form by far the greatest percentage of Late Bronze Age examples of the pomegranate. At least sixteen were offerings in wealthy tombs

[8] Johansen, pp. 28–30.

[9] For general discussion of these vases see P. Fossing, *Glass Vessels before Glass-blowing*, Copenhagen 1940, pp. 22 and 28; Åström, pp. 58 and 125. "Core-formed" rather than "sand-core" is now the accepted terminology for these vessels, since the core was often of clay and organic material in the Bronze Age examples (see M. McClellan, *Core-formed Glass from Dated Contexts*, diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1984, which deals only with the examples after 800 B.C.).

[10] C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia*, I, *Nouvelles missions en Chypre, 1946–1950*, Paris 1952, p. 191, fig. 75, no. 238, pl. XL, above left, from Tomb 5. It has also been suggested that the fluting resulted from the application of the colored threads of glass in the process of decoration, since it is not confined to this shape (McClellan, *op. cit.*, p. xix). For Geometric examples, see below.

at Enkomi in Cyprus, another was found at Kourion, and a scattering of examples with less secure provenience may have come from Cyprus.[11] On the basis of numbers Cyprus would seem a likely candidate for their place of manufacture, yet it is not certain that the island was where they originated, since they may have been part of the wealth of foreign goods attracted in exchange for the rich copper deposits of the island in the wealthy Late Cypriote II period. Egypt and Syria have each been suggested.[12]

The tradition behind the pomegranate vase type, mentioned briefly by Johansen,[13] leads to the Valley of the Kings at Thebes, where nineteen votive pomegranates of faïence were found in the Tomb of Amenhotep II (1450–1415 B.C.; Fig. 2).[14] These range in size from 4 to 8 cm. in height, and from a realistic portrayal with a curving stem at one end and corolla at the bottom (no. 24518) to a more conventional representation with a short corolla at the top, usually divided into eight points and with a hole at the bottom of the fruit for affixing a stick. Sometimes the globular body is decorated with black vertical stripes (no. 24524), and once it bears the cartouche of Amenhotep II (no. 24525). In another example the corolla is tall and flaring (no. 24508), very much like the Egyptian pomegranate vases, but it is closed. Thus it is a votive fruit and not a container in the shape of a pomegranate, a distinction important in tracing the history of the type into the Geometric period. After these examples from the Tomb of Amenhotep II, actual pomegranate *vases* in which the corolla at the top is hollowed out to form a receptacle begin to appear in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs.[15] These vases are of faïence, but they may have served as inspiration for the glass examples, although none of the latter has a certified Egyptian provenience. An even

[11] Åström (p. 58) gives a compressed and difficult listing which can perhaps be expanded by other museum specimens of less certain provenience. Harden (pp. 37–38) gives a complete description of the six examples in the British Museum. Since these glass vessels provide the closest parallels for the Agora vase, I give a complete list in the Appendix.

[12] See discussion by Harden (pp. 31–32 and 37–38), who now supports Cyprus, having changed his previous position favoring Syria (D. B. Harden, "I. Syrian Glass from the Earliest Times to the 8th Century A.D.," in "Histoire de la verrerie en Syrie," *Bulletin des journées internationales du verre* 3, 1964, pp. 19–24). No example has been found at Ras Shamra, and of the two fragments from the Syro-Palestinian mainland, that from Beth Shan is of the Egyptian type (taller neck, multiple calyx-tips usually rounded and outlined with yellow and with less elaborate trailed decoration), whereas the fragment from Megiddo is of the Cypriote type (short neck, six pointed calyx-tips, and scalloped festoons of trailed decoration). For Egyptian type see G. A. Eisen, *Glass: Its Origins, History, Chronology, Technic and Classification* I, New York 1927, pl. 2, center and B. Nolte, *Die Glasgefässe in alten Ägypten* (*Münchner Ägyptologische Studien* XIV), Berlin 1968, p. 173, form VIII. A later Egyptian type which has affinities with a Twentieth Dynasty glass factory at Lisht is different, with squarish body and feather patterning (S. H. Auth, *Ancient Glass at the Newark Museum from the Eugene Schaefer Collection of Antiquities*, Newark 1976, p. 26, no. 3, and *JGS* 11, 1969, p. 109, no. 1 [British Museum]). Despite the preponderance of Cypriote examples, I am not completely convinced by Harden's arguments without the discovery of a factory to settle the question.

[13] Johansen, pp. 28–29.

[14] G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois, Catalogue générale du musée du Caire* III, Cairo 1902, nos. 24508–24525, pl. XXX.

[15] See the two faïence examples in the Cairo Museum (nos. 2783 and 2802) mentioned by Åström (p. 121) in connection with the faïence example from Enkomi, O.T. 43. Also two examples from Abydos (D. Randall MacIver and A. C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, London 1902, pl. LV:19 and E. R. Ayrton *et al.*, *Abydos* III, London 1904, pl. XV:16).

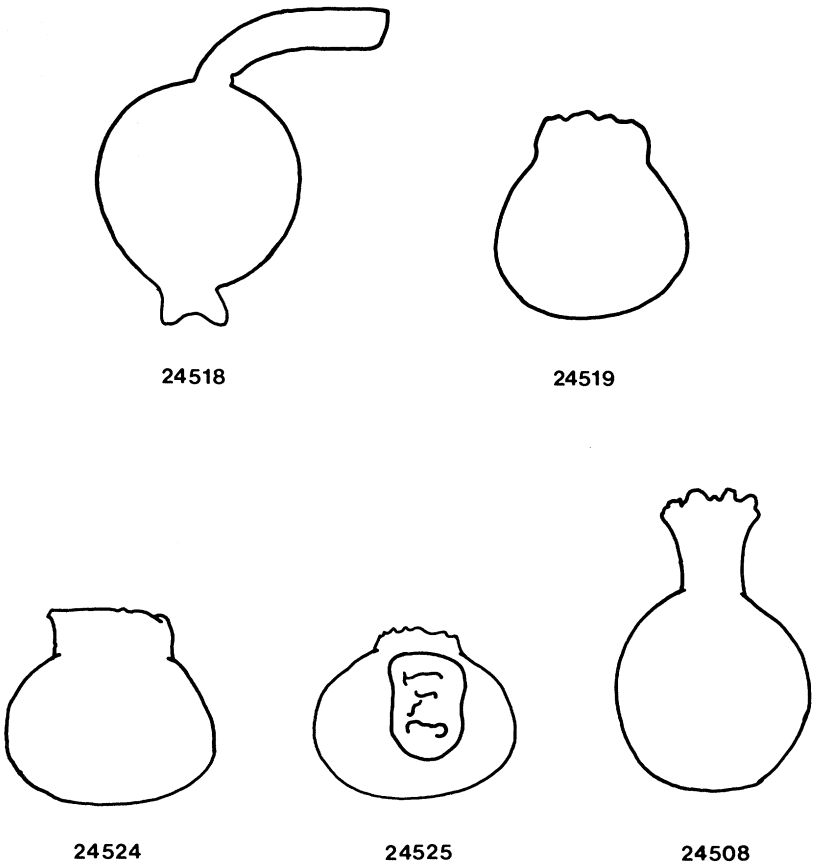

FIG. 2. Faïence model pomegranates from Tomb of Amenhotep II (drawings, M. S. Reid after G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, pl. XXX)

more sumptuous Egyptian vase of the pomegranate type is the silver example with chased floral decoration from the Tomb of Tutankhamen. Almost twice as large as the glass examples, in size and shape it corresponds well to the Agora vase.[16]

We are thus confronted by the somewhat ambiguous role played by Egypt in the dissemination of the type to Greece. Although she did have factories producing core-formed glass in the Eighteenth Dynasty, they have not yielded pomegranate vases, and the Egyptian glass examples are of a different type and probably later.[17] Yet the tradition of votive faïence

[16] H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tutankhamen* III, London 1933, p. 130, pl. LXXIII. H. 0.134 m., compared with a restored height of 0.128 m. for the Agora vase.

[17] See W. M. F. Petrie, *Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt*, Edinburgh/London 1909, pp. 124–125; Fossing (footnote 9 above), pp. 6–7, 18. Three or four glass factories were discovered at Tell el Amarna (W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, London 1894, pp. 25–27).

fruits in tombs goes back, as we have seen, to the time of Amenhotep II, and faïence pomegranate vases were made as late as the Dark Age examples from Lefkandi. Whether Egypt, or Syria, or perhaps Cyprus was the actual fabricator of the glass examples is almost impossible to determine. This was a truly international age, the arts and crafts a blend of Egyptian, Syrian, and Aegean features, so that it need not surprise us to find a silver vase in the Tomb of Tutankhamen, a pottery container of pure Mycenaean technique in the Agora tomb, and the glass examples in wealthy tombs at Enkomi, all belonging to the same time and all imitating the exotic pomegranate fruit.

If the ultimate home of the glass technique was Mesopotamia or Syria,[18] this fact would correspond to what has been discovered in botanical studies of the pomegranate tree itself. It is generally agreed that in spite of the popularity of the pomegranate in Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt, the tree was not native there but was first introduced after the Syrian campaigns of Thothmes I (1525–1512 B.C.).[19] Whether it was really native to the Syro-Palestinian coast or had merely long been cultivated there is not certain,[20] but its actual presence is attested as far back as the Middle Bronze Age when real pomegranate fruits were deposited in tombs at Jericho.[21] Indeed, from one of these very tombs comes our first example of a pomegranate vase, a small wooden box fashioned in two halves joined transversely across the fruit and fastened by two dowels (Fig. 3).[22] Considerably smaller than the glass pomegranate vases, this box belongs to a different tradition and is more akin to the model fruits with closed

[18] D. Barag, "Mesopotamian Glass Vessels of the Second Millennium B.C.," *JGS* 4, 1962, pp. 9–27; A. L. Oppenheim, R. H. Brill, D. Barag, and A. von Saldern, *Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Corning 1970.

[19] A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th ed., London 1962, p. 36; V. Loret, *La flore pharonique*, 2nd ed., Paris 1892, pp. 76–77; L. Keimer, *Die Gartenpflänzen in alten Ägypten*, Hildesheim 1967, pp. 47–51 and 180–182 (drawings).

[20] The consensus in botanical works which I consulted in the John N. Couch Botany Library of the University of North Carolina has the pomegranate a native from Iran to northwest India and in districts south and southwest of the Caspian (see J. F. Morton, *Fruits of Warm Climates*, Miami 1987, p. 352; cf. also *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., *s.v.* Pomegranate). It has, however, been under cultivation since time immemorial in Syria and Palestine and was introduced from there to Egypt in the Eighteenth Dynasty (see above, footnote 19). The Latin name *malum punicum*, while showing that the Romans derived the fruit from Carthage, might imply an ultimate Phoenician or Canaanite origin. In the Old Testament, pomegranates were one of the prized fruits of the Promised Land, brought back by the Israelite spies to the people in the wilderness (Num. 13:23 and 20:5, Deut. 8:8), and in the time of Solomon they were cultivated in the vineyard (Song of Sol. 6:11, 7:12). They were an important motif in Hebrew religious decoration, alternating with bells on the border of Aaron's robe (Exod. 28:32–34; 39:24–26) and suspended from a net that decorated the capitals of the two bronze pillars furnished by Hiram, King of Tyre for the Temple at Jerusalem (1 Kings 7:18–21). The Biblical passages have been collected by H. N. and A. L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, Waltham 1952, pp. 189–191. Recently an ivory pomegranate finial inscribed with Hebrew letters of the 9th or 8th century B.C. has been published (*Biblical Archaeology Review* 14, 1988, pp. 66–67). The inscription reads "holy (to the) priests", and it is surmised that the finial was a relic from Solomon's temple; unfortunately the object was discovered in illicit digging and was acquired from the art market (I owe this reference to M.-H. Gates).

[21] K. Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho* I, London 1960, pp. 392–393, pl. XVII:4 (from Tomb B 35); *eadem*, *Excavations at Jericho* II, London 1965, p. 465 (Tomb G 73). Mention is also made of pomegranate finds from Neolithic Gezer (M. Zohary, *Plants of the Bible*, Cambridge 1982, p. 82).

[22] *Jericho* I (footnote 21 above), p. 390, fig. 158:6 and pl. XVII:1 (Tomb B 35). Only 0.03 m. high, with another centimeter to be added owing to shrinkage of the wood. I am indebted to Professor Edwin L. Brown for calling this box to my attention.

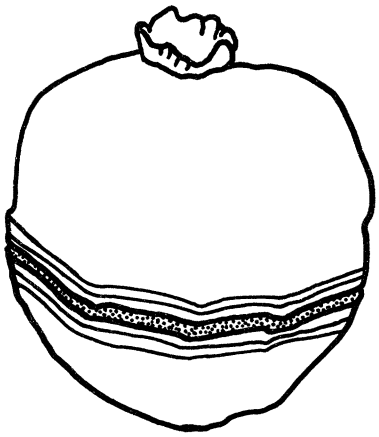

FIG. 3. Middle Bronze Age wooden box from Jericho, Tomb B 35 (drawing, M. S. Reid after K. Kenyon, *Jericho* I, pl. XVII)

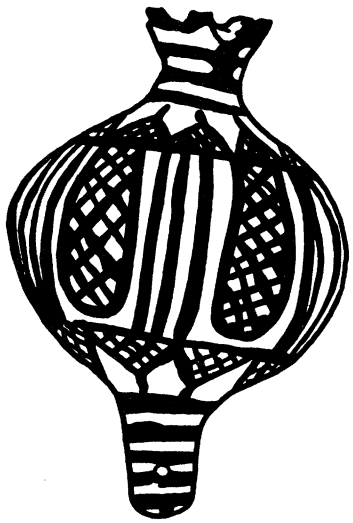

FIG. 4. Attic Geometric model pomegranate from Thorikos, TC 65.598 (drawing, M. S. Reid after *Thorikos* III, fig. 51)

corolla. It is clearly earlier than the Eighteenth Dynasty examples, dating back perhaps to the Twelfth Dynasty or at any rate to the Second Intermediate Period.[23]

Are there any indications of earlier Aegean contact with this pomegranate-rich region, and conversely, indications that the tree itself was not native to Greece? As confirmation of their exotic nature, one may note the almost complete absence of pomegranates in the naturalistic art of Crete (where one would expect them to figure had they been native),[24] their restriction to jewelry and the goldsmith's art in the Mycenaean period (with the exception of the Agora vase), and their infrequency in Homer, where both mentions occur in an unreal setting.[25] The recent discovery of one or more pomegranate vases at Phaistos in the Old Palace excavations of Doro Levi might seem to belie the above statements, yet I think they also are proof of the international character of the Middle Minoan period, which introduced exotica from the Near East and Egypt and transformed them through Minoan garb.[26] The

[23] *Jericho* II (footnote 21 above), pp. 580–655 for discussion of the scarabs used to date the tombs, the latest of which ends about 1600 B.C.

[24] The only reference to pomegranates in the index to the *Palace of Minos* is to the bone inlays from the West Temple Repository (*PM* I, p. 496, fig. 354:a). Dating to MM III, these represent alternately flowers and buds.

[25] *Od.* VII.115 (Garden of Alcinoös) and XII.589 (Underworld). Whether the Greek word for pomegranate, *rhoia*, was derived from the Hebrew *rimmon* (= pomegranate), as has been suggested, or whether it meant "flowing fruit" in allusion to its juice, the alternative term *side* must have come from the city in Pamphylia famous for its pomegranates and using the fruit as a canting device on its coins (*RE* XIV, 1930, *s.v. malum punicum*). While the pomegranate was cultivated in Greece in the time of Theophrastos, clearly it was not a staple and required a certain amount of pampering (*HP* IV.5.3–4; *CP* I.9.2, VII.3, XI.6–7).

[26] For the influence of Syria on Minoan textiles and seal designs and the introduction of the griffin, see H. Frankfort, "The Cretan Griffin," *BSA* 37, 1936–1937, pp. 106–122. For the influence of Egypt see J.-C.

published example (Pl. 71:b)[27] is somewhat smaller than the Agora vase (8.3 cm. high, 7.5 cm. in diameter); it is clearly modeled after the pomegranate fruit with the globular body divided into four segments by vertical flutes and with one of the points of the serrated mouth surviving. The body ends in a perforated tube (perhaps reproducing the stem of the fruit?), and it is thus allied to the globular-rhyton form introduced in this period (Phase III). Covered with a lustrous red glaze, its decoration consists only of a white stippling around the neck, placing it in the post-Kamares or MM III period. Its date ought thus to be about contemporary with the Jericho pomegranates of the 17th century, but a still earlier (unpublished?) pomegranate vase in eggshell Kamares ware, also from Phaistos, is known.[28]

Other Aegean pomegranates of the Late Bronze Age are restricted to jewelry. The earliest are the twelve hollow gold beads from Shaft Grave III at Mycenae, which seem to represent the form just after the fruit has set; they should date about 1500 B.C., and their rather coarse workmanship suggests that they are probably of local manufacture.[29] Far finer and only slightly later are the silver pin with gold pomegranate head from the Vaphio tomb[30] and the gold pendant from the Kalkani cemetery at Mycenae,[31] both of which are fluted and have granulation outlining the longitudinal ribs. They represent the fully developed fruit and are standard for subsequent examples in that the flaring calyx is at the top of the pin's head but at the bottom of the pendant, which thus represents the fruit hanging naturally on the tree. Wherever these examples of Aegean pomegranate jewelry were made, they imply influence from the Syro-Canaanite region. Gold pendants with granulation have a long Oriental tradition and reach their most elaborate form in two magnificent large pendants from Enkomi with triangles of granulation in horizontal rows.[32] Simpler pendants without granulation are also found in Cyprus, where they are accompanied by beads in the shape of dates and a haematite Babylonian cylinder seal.[33] Although the Cypriote pendants are found in wealthy tombs with Mycenaean pottery, they are most likely of Levantine origin. In this connection the mold for making a gold diadem with pomegranate pendants from the House of the Goldsmith at Ugarit is significant.[34]

Poursat, "Reliefs d'appliqué moulés," in *Mallia: Quartier Mu* (*Études Crétoises* 26), Paris 1980, pp. 116–132 and *idem*, "Le sphinx minoen," *Antichità Cretesi: Studi in onore di Doro Levi*, Catania 1978, pp. 111–114.

[27] *ASAtene* 27–28, n.s. 1965–1966, p. 399, fig. 95, now published in D. Levi, *Festòs e la civiltà minoica* I, Rome 1976, p. 346, pl. 180:f (F 5438). Through the courtesy of Professor Levi this vase was examined for me by Dr. Geraldine Gesell in 1971 in the Phaistos apotheke.

[28] A second example in eggshell Kamares ware, discovered in 1971 just north of the road to the Tourist Pavilion, was also shown Dr. Gesell. It had a serrated mouth but was not gadrooned, and it was decorated with white, red, and orange on a black background. As far as I know, this piece has not been published.

[29] G. Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, Munich 1930–1933, p. 55, no. 77, pl. XXII.

[30] Ἀρχ Ἐφ 1889, pl. VII:4.

[31] A. J. B. Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, Oxford 1932, p. 195, no. 75 from Tomb 518, pl. 88. Although called a "pomegranate bud" by Wace, it is surely a fruit and is skilfully decorated with granulation.

[32] *ExC*, p. 18, fig. 35 (Enkomi, O.T. 67), now in the British Museum; second example from recent excavations at Enkomi (Cyprus Museum 1954/III-24/1) in *Mycenaean Art in Cyprus* (Picture Book No. 3), Nicosia 1968, pl. XXXII:7.

[33] *SCE* I, pls. CXLVII:9 and LXVII:3 (A. Iakovos); *ExC*, p. 43, pl. X:416 (Enkomi, O.T. 75).

[34] C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* I, Paris 1939, p. 43, fig. 31.

Another class of Bronze Age objects with pomegranates has a purely Levantine distribution. These are the ivory "wands" or long pins with detachable pomegranate finials, which are found primarily in Syria (Lachish and Hama) but also in Cyprus (Enkomi, Ayios Iakovos, and Kourion). The occurrence of a similar object at Megiddo with spindle whorls suggests that some were spindles, but kohl-sticks have also been suggested.[35] Although the Cypriote examples belong to the same Late Cypriote II period which yielded the gold pendants and glass vases, they seem not to have influenced Mycenaean art. They had a greater longevity, however, occurring also in the Late Cypriote III period, and they may have inspired some of the long pins with pomegranate heads of later times.[36]

To summarize the Bronze Age pomegranates, we may note their earlier occurrence in the Levant, where both the fruit itself and its wooden imitation occurred in Middle Bronze Age Jericho. This Syro-Palestinian region probably provided the inspiration for the Aegean examples that antedate the Mycenaean III A expansion to the Levant, particularly for the Middle Minoan examples from Phaistos, as well as the bone inlays from Knossos and the gold jewelry from Mycenae and Vaphio. At the same time that this exotic fruit was making casual forays into the Aegean, it was adopted wholeheartedly by the Egyptians of the New Kingdom who had become acquainted with the fruit during their Syrian campaigns at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Because of its blood-red juice and many seeds, they recognized its appropriateness as a funeral offering, and through their insistence upon an afterlife, they may have set their seal upon the pomegranate as a symbol of life in death.[37] From their votive pomegranates in faïence developed the multicolored glass pomegranate vases, the silver vase from Tutankhamen's tomb, and ultimately the Agora vase. The gold jewelry with pomegranate pendants is, however, more specifically Canaanite than Egyptian, as are the ivory spindles with pomegranate finials. Although the Late Cypriote tombs in Cyprus have provided us with by far the greatest number of all these types, it seems unlikely that Cyprus was the actual creator of any of them. Was she then the conservator of these types during the Dark Age period, as Johansen and Jacobsthal believed?[38]

II

Until the discovery of the faïence pomegranate vases from SPG Lefkandi (Pl. 71:d) I was reluctantly forced to conclude that there could scarcely be a connection between the Bronze Age and the Late Geometric examples which appeared in Greece in the 8th century,

[35] O. Tufnell, C. H. Inge, and L. Harding, *Lachish*, II, *The Fosse Temple*, Oxford 1940, pl. 20, nos. 25 and 26; *eidem*, *Lachish*, IV, *The Bronze Age*, Oxford 1958, pl. 28, no. 7; P. J. Riis, *Hama: Fouilles et recherches 1931–1938*, II, iii, *Les cimetières à crémation*, Copenhagen 1948, p. 173, fig. 217; *ExC*, p. 14, fig. 24 (Enkomi); *SCE* I, pls. LXXVIII, nos. 240–241 and CLII, no. 4 (Enkomi N.T. 3); C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Missions en Chypre*, Paris 1936, p. 100, figs. 41, 92 (Fr. T. 6). For the suggestion that some were spindles, see Åström, p. 137, although she prefers to call them pins (pp. 78, 138). The ivory finial believed to come from Solomon's Temple (footnote 20 above) is clearly in the tradition of these Bronze Age finials.

[36] See below and Jacobsthal, p. 38, figs. 145–147, from Ephesos.

[37] In hot, dry countries the juice held out a ray of hope (cf. the shriveled pomegranates uncovered in the Dead Sea caves used by the Bar Kochba rebels: D. V. Zaitschek, "Remains of Plants from the Cave of the Pool," *IEJ* 12, 1962, pp. 184–185, pl. 21:B, nos. 10–12).

[38] Johansen, p. 29 and Jacobsthal, p. 187.

although I had a suspicion that they had somewhere "wintered over" in the Levant during the Dark Age. Apparently this was not in Cyprus but more likely Egyptianizing Phoenicia.[39] In Cyprus the LC II glass pomegranate vases abruptly ceased with no influence upon the ceramic repertory of LC III or Cypro-Geometric. To the best of my knowledge there is not a single pomegranate vase in any material, although the pomegranate itself continued in other media and forms: in the bronze pendants that decorated some of the LC III tripod stands[40] and in the finials of pins,[41] both of which provide a bridge to Geometric and Orientalizing examples.[42]

These Geometric pomegranate vases, especially model fruits, i.e., votive offerings for either sanctuaries or tombs, exist in countless examples.[43] They have been discussed by Johansen, Charitonides, and most recently by Kourou.[44] In general, they belong to the Late Geometric period, but they continue into the Orientalizing period of the 7th century and gradually die out in the 6th. In addition to the four main regional classes distinguished by Charitonides (Attic, Corinthian, Argive, and Cycladic), Kourou adds three more: Samian, Cretan, and a special handmade class with impressed decoration allied to Argolic and Attic handmade ware in other shapes. Because of her article, I do not intend to discuss the Geometric examples in any detail. She stresses the importance of Athens in the development of the type and notes the occurrence of the only Mycenaean example in the Agora grave as suggestive of continuity of function. While several Attic examples are reminiscent of the Eighteenth Dynasty glass pomegranate vases in having a rounded base and corolla at the top, others add a low foot but keep the open corolla.[45] Most of the Attic examples, however, are not pomegranate *vases* but rather model fruits painted in the contemporary ceramic tradition. They have a closed corolla and are meant to be suspended from a short stem, which is usually pierced horizontally (Fig. 4).[46] In hanging corolla downwards, they would thus reproduce the fruit hanging naturally on the tree (Pl. 72:a), and this naturalistic effect was sometimes enhanced by vertical "melon" decoration which recalls the fluted specimens of earlier times.[47]

[39] The Lefkandi vases appear to have been of the Egyptian type (see footnote 12 above), and the first was so identified by E. Brovarski ("Egyptianizing work from a Near Eastern workshop") in Popham *et al.* (footnote 3 above), pp. 243–245.

[40] Catling, p. 202, no. 30, pl. 32:f (Ras Shamra); *AM* 55, 1930, Beil. 33 (Tiryns); Catling, p. 201, no. 25, pl. 32:a, b (Amathus).

[41] Catling, p. 239, no. 1, pl. 41:j (Kaloriziki, T. 26); *SCE* I, pls. XLVI:15b, 17b, and 101 and CLIII:11 (Lapithos); also other examples, mostly from Lapithos.

[42] For Geometric pendants see Kilian-Dirlmeier, pp. 123–127, nos. 674–711, pls. 35–37; for pins, Jacobsthal, pp. 38–39.

[43] The catalogue I compiled in 1970 ran to over fifty examples and was certainly not complete.

[44] Johansen, pp. 28–30, pl. VIII:1–3; S. Charitonides, «Πηλίνη Γεωμετρικὴ Ῥοιά», Ἀρχ Ἐφ 1960 (1965), pp. 155–164, with catalogue of 32 examples; Kourou (pp. 101–116) adds a number of examples, particularly of the handmade class.

[45] Cf. Kourou, Type III, nos. 8 and 9 with Type I, nos. 1–3 in her diagram of types (fig. 1). References to specific examples are given in her footnotes.

[46] Kourou, Type II, nos. 4–6. Figure 4 is from Thorikos (TC 65.598, *Thorikos 1965*, III, Brussels 1967, pp. 44–45, figs. 51, 52).

[47] See footnote 10 above.

The Protocorinthian Linear Style pomegranate vases discussed by Johansen seem to belong to a different tradition from the Attic. Basically they are of two types. One, with a globular body on a high stem, has a short flaring, or frilly, rim with many serrations and is perhaps more reminiscent of the poppy capsule than of the pomegranate.[48] This type, however, is an actual vase with the corolla forming the orifice. The other type consists of model fruits, not vases, and they reproduce the globular or top-shaped type of fruit with navel-like excrescence unknown in the Attic examples.[49] Although the Attic and the Protocorinthian types must be roughly contemporary, they clearly belong to different traditions. In the Corinthian examples there is nothing to indicate any connection with the multicolored glass vases of the Eighteenth Dynasty or with Geometric bronze pomegranate pendants and bells.[50]

The Argive examples are perhaps closer to Corinthian than to Attic, but they feature more realistic decoration than either: vertical panels, melon decoration, or gadrooning suggestive of the actual fruit.[51] With the exception of a single specimen all seem to be model fruits. Likewise the Cycladic examples are model fruits with a close resemblance to the Protocorinthian top-shaped type, and the Cretan examples are similar.[52]

Where then can one seek inspiration for the Geometric model fruits painted to resemble vases? A remarkable clue is furnished by the early sanctuary of Hera at Samos, where votive pomegranates were a customary offering in the cult of Hera and are found in great quantities from the Geometric period onward. Although hollow, certainly sometimes wheelmade, and about the size of our pomegranate vases, they are never actual vases nor are they painted to resemble contemporary pottery. Instead they are realistic imitations of the fruit itself and often strive to reproduce its actual appearance in such details as the corolla of a partially ripe fruit as distinct from the fully ripe, or the difference in color between the "sunny" and the "shady" sides of the fruit.[53] In general, the more realistic examples seem to be earlier and are based on firsthand acquaintance with the fruit. There were two types, either different species, or more likely, stages of development, that led to the top-shaped type

[48] Kourou, Type I, no. 11. See Jacobsthal, Appendix I, pp. 287–292, for valuable discussion of differences between representations of pomegranates, poppy capsules, and apples. The article by R. S. Merrilees, "Opium Trade in the Bronze Age Levant," *Antiquity* 36, 1962, pp. 287–292, enables one to draw fundamental distinctions between the poppy capsule and pomegranate, the former being more piriform than globular and having a horizontal swelling with grooves at base of capsule and a shorter, flatter corolla with a greater number of serrations. It should not be shown pendent but rather erect. I am reasonably certain that the examples here considered are all pomegranates.

[49] Kourou, Type I, no. 12; cf. Johansen, pl. VIII:1.

[50] For the Geometric squared-off pomegranate pendants which are especially characteristic of Thessaly and Arcadia, see now Kilian-Dirlmeier, nos. 681 and 682. One can perhaps trace some influence from them on certain suspended Attic pomegranates with squared-off sides (e.g., one in the Copenhagen National Museum) and the Argive (or Attic?) example in Nauplion published by Charitonides (footnote 44 above).

[51] Kourou, Type I, nos. 14 and 15. The low type found in Kourou, Type III, no. 17 shows no corolla and could perhaps better be considered an apple (see Jacobsthal, p. 186 and fig. 613).

[52] Kourou, Type II, nos. 20 and 21.

[53] Kourou (pp. 105–106) has done well to recognize Samian pomegranates as a separate class. See *AM* 58, 1933, pp. 140–141, Beil. XLII:16. For chronology see *AM* 72, 1957, p. 43, where the more realistic model fruits (Beil. 60) are assigned to the pure Geometric period, the more schematized form (Beil. 61) to the 7th century.

with navel excrescence (Pl. 72:c)[54] or the type with modeled depressions and flaring corolla (Pl. 72:b).[55] Perhaps these types are the basis for the distinction between the Protocorinthian and Attic versions of the pomegranate.

While it would be rash to claim Samos and the cult of Hera as the main reason for the popularity of Geometric pomegranate "vases", this early sanctuary gives us a clue for the revival of the type and perhaps explains why so many of the Geometric examples are meant to be suspended like votive fruits even when painted to resemble vases. Most examples are not vases but imitations of votive fruit. It thus seems more likely that the pomegranate itself with its various cult significances was the impetus for the popularity of pomegranate "vases" in the Geometric period. In this revival Ionia, rather than Phoenicia or Cyprus, may have played a dominant role, for we know that in historical times Asia Minor was an important center for the production of pomegranates and Ionia the home of many of the early Greek sanctuaries.[56] Clearly the pomegranate had a number of different associations in Greek mythology and cult, its beauty making it an appropriate attribute for Aphrodite,[57] the multiplicity of its seeds with the idea of fruitfulness appropriate for Hera the marriage goddess,[58] and its blood-red juice a symbol of life in death appropriate to the Underworld and the cult of Demeter and Persephone.[59]

It is perhaps in this final chthonic conception that we find the closest link with the Bronze Age. Most Geometric pomegranate vases and votive fruits are found in graves, a fact that agrees with the occurrence of almost all earlier examples: from Middle Bronze Age Jericho, Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt, Late Bronze Age Cyprus, and Mycenaean Athens. Thus there seems to be some continuity of cult idea in which the pomegranate with its red juice played a symbolic role appropriate for those going on a journey to the Underworld.[60] Some such continuity of chthonic cult with liquid offerings may be surmised from the survival of the kernos shape with hollow ring and interconnecting plastic vases which is found in Mycenaean Cyprus (Maroni, T. 23, with a bukranion and a vessel with vertical depressions

[54] As in the early examples from Well F (*AM* 74, 1959, p. 14, Beil. 22: see Kourou, Type III, no. 18).

[55] Cf. *AM* 72, 1957, Beil. 60:1, 2.

[56] In Classical times Asia Minor was a leading center for pomegranate production (Theophrastos, *HP* IV.5.4), and apparently until recently Izmir was the main center for shipment. For Side in Pamphylia as a source, see footnote 25 above.

[57] According to some traditions Aphrodite introduced the pomegranate to Cyprus. See Farnell, *Cults* II, p. 642.

[58] Compare the pomegranates as votive offerings in the Heraion at Samos and the use of the pomegranate as an attribute in the Polykleitan cult statue of Hera at the Argive Heraion (Pausanias, II.17.4). See also Farnell, *Cults* I, pp. 216–217.

[59] Farnell (*Cults* II, pp. 696–697) makes a distinction between these two aspects of the pomegranate, its many seeds connoting life and fertility, its blood-red juice strife and death. But this latter trait also had the idea of blood as the source or essence of life. See also W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Oxford 1985, pp. 160–161.

[60] For the sustaining qualities of the pomegranate, see footnote 37 above. For an exception to the use of Bronze Age pomegranates as funeral offerings, note the pomegranate vases from the Old Palace at Phaistos (pp. 403–404 above).

recalling the pomegranate) and in the early Archaic masterpiece from the Heraion at Samos, which also features the bull's head and the pomegranate along with a whole menagerie of animal forms (Pl. 72:d).[61]

In conclusion, one may wonder why the pomegranate, which is so much a part of ancient Greek cult in the Geometric and later periods and which today grows in Greece, is so decidedly Orientalizing in its archaeological manifestations. In the Aegean Bronze Age it occurs in gold jewelry and in pottery only in two periods of Levantine influence: at Phaistos in the Middle Minoan period, a period that saw the introduction of the griffin and the sphinx from the same Syro-Canaanite region, and in Athens in the Late Helladic III period, an era of internationalism in which pomegranates of exotic materials were rife in the Near East, particularly Cyprus. After the Mycenaean trade routes were disrupted, pomegranates cease in mainland Greece until the first contacts with Phoenicia, which were considerably earlier than previously thought. For we now have the two faïence pomegranate vases from Lefkandi of about 900 B.C. and the gold earrings with pomegranate pendants from the Areopagus Tomb of about 850 B.C. Unfortunately it does not yet seem possible to trace the survival of the pomegranate vase type from the latest Cypriote glass examples of *ca.* 1200 B.C. to the faïence vases from Lefkandi, for the intervening three centuries are also relatively obscure in the Near East.[62] In the Geometric period, however, but presumably inspired from a different region of the Near East (Luristan), we have bronze pendants, weights, or bells in the shape of a pomegranate,[63] some of which may be the ultimate descendants of the pendants of the LC III tripod stands.[64] And in the iron pins with bronze heads shaped like squared-off pomegranates from the early Archaic sanctuaries of the Argive Heraion and Perachora,[65] we can trace back a lineage to the bronze pins with pomegranate heads from LC III and Cypro-Geometric contexts in Cyprus.[66]

As for Geometric pottery pomegranates, I think we may detect two distinct influences, one from the survival of the Bronze Age glass and faïence vase type through Phoenician imports, as we now know from Lefkandi, and the other from direct acquaintance with the pomegranate tree in the early sanctuaries of Ionia (Samos). The former resulted in actual vases with the corolla at the top, whereas the latter led to the production of model fruits shown with a closed corolla and suspended from a stem, simulating the fruit growing on the tree. Was the pomegranate not yet grown in mainland Greece? Its exotic nature may have contributed to its appropriateness as an attribute for divinities and as a gift for mortals in their journey to the Underworld.

[61] *CVA*, Cyprus 1, pl. 33:4 and K. Vierneisel, "Neue Tonfiguren aus dem Heraion von Samos," *AM* 76, 1961 (pp. 25–59), pp. 52–59, Beil. 24–32.

[62] See comments of E. J. Peltenburg (in Popham *et al.* [footnote 3 above], pp. 242–244) on faïences from Lefkandi.

[63] Kilian-Dirlmeier, pp. 123–127, nos. 674–711A and Jacobsthal, p. 190, fig. 618.

[64] Catling, pls. 27:e, f, 28:b, f, 32:a–f.

[65] Jacobsthal, p. 38, fig. 161.

[66] Cf. *SCE* I, pl. XLVI:15b, 17b, 101 (from Lapithos, T. 406).

APPENDIX
MULTICOLORED GLASS POMEGRANATE VASES OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE

Enkomi, O.T. 66: *ExC*, p. 35, fig. 63, nos. 1052 and 1056 = Harden, nos. 14 and 15.
Enkomi, O.T. 88: *ExC*, p. 34, fig. 62, no. 1218 = Harden, no. 16.
Enkomi, O.T. 44: B.M. 97.4-1.925 = Harden, no. 18.
Enkomi, O.T. 47: B.M. 97.4-1.961 = Harden, no. 17.
Enkomi, N.T. 3: *SCE* I, pl. LXXVIII:87 = Åström, fig. 71:5; Fossing (footnote 9 above), fig. 18.
Enkomi, N.T. 18: *SCE* I, pl. LXXXIX:122; also 108, 125, and s.c. 37 (4 examples).
Enkomi, Fr.T. 5: *Enkomi-Alasia* I (footnote 10 above), pl. XL, nos. 238, 153, 83, 154; fig. 75, no. 251; no. 235, not illustrated (6 examples).
Kourion (Bamboula), T. 24: J. L. Benson, *Bamboula at Kourion: The Necropolis and the Finds Excavated by J. F. Daniel*, Philadelphia 1972, pl. 52, no. 4.
Larnaca region: B.M. 1899.12-29.32 = Harden, no. 13, pl. I.
Corning Museum: S. M. Goldstein, *Pre-Roman and Roman Glass in the Corning Museum*, Corning 1979, p. 63, no. 32.

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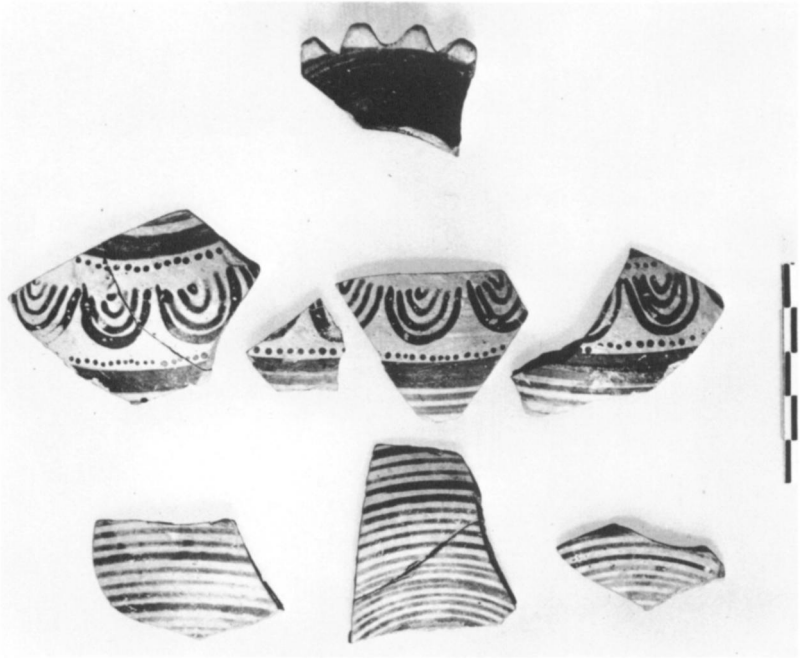


a. Athenian Agora P 27028

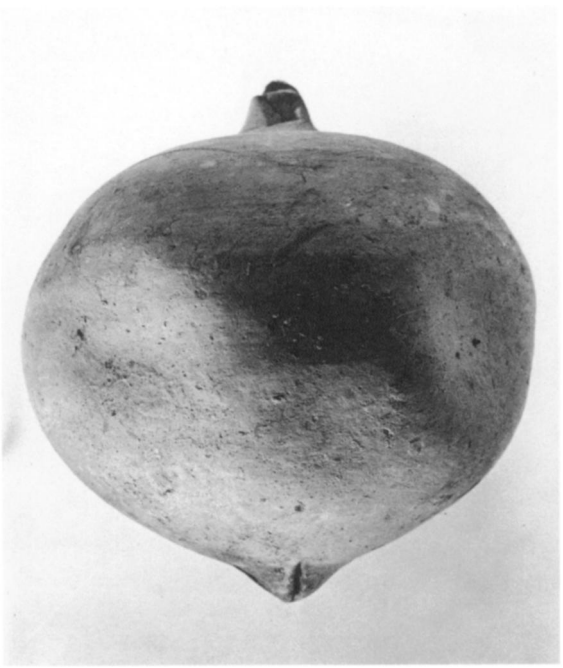
b. Middle Minoan III pomegranate rhyton from Phaistos (cf. Levi, *Festòs*, pl. 180:f; photograph courtesy Scuola Italiana, Athens)

c. Glass pomegranate vase from Enkomi, O.T. 66, no. 1052 (photograph courtesy British Museum)

d. Faïence pomegranate vase from Lefkandi, Toumba T. 42, no. 20 (photograph courtesy M. Popham)

a. Branch of Agora pomegranate tree with hanging fruit (photograph, Craig Mauzy)

b. Model pomegranate from Heraion, Samos (photograph, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)



c. Model pomegranate from Heraion, Samos (photograph, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)

d. Archaic ring kernos from Heraion, Samos (photograph, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)