

gifts in Homer in images designed to reinforce both the merits of his patrons and the claims of his own art to complete and make permanent their achievements.<sup>55</sup>

It is to some extent a misconception, born of our own cultural prejudice, that sees the coming of coinage as a focus for aristocratic discontent during the socio-economic upheavals of the Archaic period. What mattered most was not the form wealth took, but the attitudes of those who possessed it, and the uses to which it was put.<sup>56</sup> Homeric talents are not coinage—they lack the stamp of the polis—but well before the first Lydian stater was struck, we can see in them with hindsight, a blueprint for the aristocratic assimilation of money, because the closest things the epics have to it are emphatically shown to be of essentially symbolic rather than substantial value. Gold and the talents focus attention on anomalies in the workings of the honorific system only as a way of emphasizing the centrality of honour and esteem in themselves; for without them, even gold itself loses its worth to the hero.

My conclusions, then, are these. The closest thing the Homeric epics have to money can be shown to be regarded by the heroes as of essentially symbolic rather than substantial value. In order to make this plain to an audience accustomed to the purchasing power of gold, which was for them an extremely scarce resource, the poet ascribed to the heroes gold that was (in substantial terms) out of proportion to the level of wealth he generally depicts them as possessing, which is (by the standards of some other epic traditions at least)<sup>57</sup> relatively modest. Therefore the Homeric socio-economy, although it is a coherent system that can profitably be analyzed by anthropologists, can at least as validly be regarded as owing that coherence to literary design as to an effort simply to reflect historical reality, whether that of the past or that of the time of composition. Finally, I would suggest that Homer's presentation of the talents offers yet another reason why the Greeks, although they did not invent coinage, were the first fully to exploit it: because they were the first to arrive at an awareness of the problems of value it was capable of articulating.

ADAM BROWN

London

### Egyptian bronze jugs from Crete and Lefkandi

John Boardman has pointed to the squat bronze jugs with lotus handles from early Iron Age contexts in Crete and at Lefkandi on Euboea as Egyptian imports 'certainly straight from Egypt itself with no eastern intermediaries'.<sup>1</sup> On close inspection, however, the Egyptian antecedents of these jugs pose a chronological, and even a philosophical, puzzle; whatever the solution, the jugs found in Crete and at Lefkandi surely do not furnish convincing evidence for early direct connections between Egypt and the Aegean.

After illicit digging in the Idaean Cave by shepherds in 1884, the Syllagos of Candia invited Federico Halbherr to conduct excavations in the cave. Halbherr did so in August of 1885 and was rewarded with remarkable finds including Syro-Phoenician ivories, bronze statuettes, and the famous bronze shields. His publication of this excavation mentions, in addition to his own finds, objects retrieved by the Syllagos of Candia from the Idaean shepherds. Among the objects in the Syllagos collection, according to Halbherr, were five bronze jugs with handles in the form of a lotus blossom; a drawing of one of these jugs is illustrated in the folio atlas that accompanied his excavation report (PLATE 1a).<sup>2</sup> The National Archaeological Museum in Athens has a display case containing ivories and other objects found in the Idaean Cave by Halbherr. There is no lotus-handled jug in the case, but there is a bronze handle (PLATE 1b) that is decorated with a lotus blossom and appears to have belonged to a jug of the type illustrated in the atlas.<sup>3</sup> Hartmut Matthäus has now identified fifteen examples of lotus-handled jugs from the Idaean Cave, as well as additional examples from Thera and Tegea.<sup>4</sup>

Two such squat bronze jugs were found among the multiple burials in Tomb P at Fortetsa near Knossos, the richest tomb in the cemetery there. They lay between a Late Protogeometric krater (c. 900-850 BC) and a Late Geometric pithos (c. 770-735 BC), but they could have been deposited as late as the latest burials in the tomb (c. 680-630 BC).<sup>5</sup> At Amnisos on Crete, Marinatos found a bronze handle decorated with a lotus blossom; from the same black and oily stratum, Marinatos recovered Egyptian or Egyptianizing faience objects.<sup>6</sup> All together, then, there are three published examples of bronze, lotus-handled jugs of a distinctive squat shape from Crete (one

<sup>1</sup> J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*<sup>3</sup> (London 1980) 113. I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers of this article for their helpful comments.

<sup>2</sup> F. Halbherr, 'Scavi e trovamenti nell'antro di Zeus', *Museo Italiano di antichità classica* 2 (1888) 725 and *Atlante* pl. 12, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Inv. no. 18221. Unless this handle belonged to one of the five jugs in the Syllagos collection, Halbherr does not mention the handle in his report.

<sup>4</sup> H. Matthäus, 'Crete and the Near East during the ninth and eighth Centuries BC—new investigations on the finds from the Idaean Cave of Zeus', paper delivered at the Colloquium on Post-Minoan Crete, Institute of Archaeology, London, Nov. 10-11, 1995.

<sup>5</sup> J.K. Brock, *Fortetsa*, BSA suppl. 2 (Cambridge 1957) 136, 200-1, nos. 1571-2, pl. 113. The dates are those given by Brock.

<sup>6</sup> S. Marinatos, 'Ανασκαφή Ἀμνίσου Κρήτης', *Praktiká* (1933) 99 (ἡ λαβὴ ἐνδὸς χαλκοῦ σκευῶς, καταλήγουσα ἄνω εἰς λωτοειδῆς ἄνωθος, not illustrated), 99-100 and figs. 4-5 (faience objects).

<sup>55</sup> *Olymp.* 7.1 ff., *Nem.* 7.77 ff.; cf. *Pyth.* 6.5-18, *Isth.* 5.1-10, *Olymp.* 1.1-7, 3.42-4.

<sup>56</sup> Von Reden (n.19); cf. Bloch and Parry (n.29) 12-16.

<sup>57</sup> Contrast the profusion of gold in Irish epic, for instance: J. Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* (Harmondsworth 1981) 41, 47 f., 52, 79, 85, 87-90, 148, 204, 235 ff.

from the Idaean Cave and two from Fortetsa), possibly 15-20 more (if the other jugs from the Idaean Cave are like the one illustrated in Halbherr's atlas), and two handles with lotus-flower decoration that might have belonged to such jugs (one on display in the National Museum and one from Amnisos).

Two more jugs of this type have been found in the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi on Euboea. Toumba Tomb 33, which contained one jug (T 33,15), can be dated to Lefkandi Sub-Protogeometric III (c. 850-750) by the Attic pottery in the grave (PLATE 1c).<sup>7</sup> The second jug came from Toumba Tomb 39 (T 39, 31), a grave dated by Attic pottery to the Late Protogeometric phase at Lefkandi (c. 950-900 BC).<sup>8</sup> The deposit dates of the Lefkandi jugs confirm the possibility of similarly early dates for the Cretan jugs.

The jugs from Crete and Lefkandi all share the same oddly truncated, squat body and short, slightly flaring neck. Those from Crete and the jug from Toumba Tomb 33 at Lefkandi are quite small, 8-9 cm. h. All of these have handles that open out at the top in the form of a lotus blossom. The outer blossoms on each side of the lotus terminate in a vertical rotelle that is riveted to the rim of the jug. The jug from Toumba Tomb 39 at Lefkandi differs slightly from the others in size (it is 12 cm. h.) and in the form of its lotus flower (which has no central stamen) but conforms to the same squat shape.

There are plenty of Egyptian parallels for bronze jugs of this type, but all of them appear to belong to Dynasties XVIII and XIX. All of the Egyptian examples, that is, are at least 250 years earlier than the earliest possible dates for the deposition of the jugs in Crete and Lefkandi, and they could be as much as 500 years earlier. This anomaly has been obscured by attempts to situate the jugs from Crete and Lefkandi among bronze vessels of the Iron Age that continue Bronze Age traditions.

Culican, for example, argues that Phoenician bronze and silver jugs found in Etruria and Spain imitate Egyptian prototypes. This is not an unlikely proposition, but it is difficult to demonstrate because, as Culican points out, 'we have not recovered much of the XXV Dynasty Egyptian background against which Phoenician craftsmen worked'. To supplement the sparse evidence from Egypt, Culican cites the jugs from Crete as evidence that Egyptians continued making bronze, lotus-handled jugs into the XXV Dynasty.<sup>9</sup> Culican's main argument may be correct: Egyptian metal vessels may have provided models for Phoenician craftsmen into the middle of the first millennium BC.<sup>10</sup> The evidence cited

by Culican does not, however, demonstrate this proposition; in particular, the parallels named by Culican for the Cretan jugs do not persuasively date them to the XXV Dynasty.

In order to show the close relationship of the Phoenician metal vessels from Etruria and Spain to Phoenician metal vessels in the Phoenician East, Culican compares the examples from Etruria and Spain to bronze vessels from Cyprus in the Cesnola Collection. He then identifies the Egyptian traits among the Cesnola vessels. One of the Cesnola objects to which Culican draws attention is a bronze handle with an openwork lotus at the top and vertical rotelles at either side (PLATE 1d).<sup>11</sup> This handle is indeed very similar to the handle from the Idaean Cave in the National Museum at Athens (PLATE 1b), especially in the arrangement of the openwork petals and the bar that extends under the petals near their tips, and both handles would fit the squat shape of the jugs from Crete and Lefkandi. Culican refers to objects from Matmar in Egypt, Nuri in Nubia, and Nimrud as proof that Egyptian production of such lotus-blossom handles continued in Dynasty XXV.

None of Culican's parallels, however, bears a significant resemblance to the Cesnola handle or to the jugs and handles from Crete and Lefkandi.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the jugs from Crete and Lefkandi bear no resemblance to the Phoenician vessels found in Etruria and Spain, which are much taller (19 cm. or more) than the juglets from Lefkandi and Crete and more slender in relation to their height, nor do they resemble bronze jugs from Cyprus in

<sup>11</sup> Culican (n.9) 85 and fig. 6. See: J.L. Myers, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection* (1914) no. 4701; G.M.A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes* (New York 1915) 241, no. 690, and ill. on 243; Myers gives a date of 1300-1200 BC, and Richter gives Dynasties XVIII-XIX.

<sup>12</sup> The references given by Culican (n.9) nn. 14-16 are full of inaccuracies. He cites G. Brunton, *Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture* (London 1937) when he actually refers to G. Brunton, *Matmar* (London 1948) 67-8, no. 1017, pl. XLIX, 1; this error is duplicated from his earlier article, 'Quelques aperçus sur les ateliers phéniciens', *Syria* 45 (1968) 280 n. 1. The Matmar jug is long-necked, about 25 cm. tall, with an incised lotus on the handle, dated by the excavator on the basis of associated pottery to Dynasties XIX-XXI; it is thus much larger than the Cretan jugs and does not belong to Dynasty XXV. At Nuri in Nubia, the tomb of King Aspelta did contain a gold vase with a lotus handle, but the shape of this vase is very elongated, with a tall, slightly flaring neck and slender, round-bottomed, inverted piriform body. The handle has no rotelles and is attached to the rim 'by means of clinched cotter pins', of which there appear to be four; the bottom of the handle is soldered to the body of the vase: D. Dunham, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush. Volume II. Nuri* (Boston 1955) 81, #18-3-321, fig. 55, pls. XXXIV D, LXXXIX A (now Boston Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 20.341). The pages and illustration cited by Culican for a jug from the tomb of 'queen Amtalqa' at Nuri do not mention or illustrate such a jug; indeed, Amtalqa was a king, not a queen. There is no other vessel with a cut-out or incised lotus on its handle in the publication of the cemetery at Nuri. As for 'the example found by Layard at Nimrud', this is a handle only, bronze with cut-out lotus decoration, which probably belonged to a wide shallow bowl rather than to a jug: A.H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (New York 1853) 181. The shape of this handle corresponds to the handles of wide, shallow bowls such as A. Radwan, *Die Kupfer- und Bronzegefäße Ägyptens, Prähistorische Bronze-funde ii.2* (Munich 1983) nos. 335-336.

<sup>7</sup> M.R. Popham, L.H. Sackett, and P. Themelis, *Lefkandi I*, *BSA* suppl. 11 (1980) 188-9, 249-50; L.H. Sackett and M.R. Popham, 'Lefkandi: a Euboean town of the Bronze Age and the early Iron Age (2100-700 BC)', *Archaeology* 25.1 (1972) 18.

<sup>8</sup> M.R. Popham, E. Touloupa, and L.H. Sackett, 'Further excavation of the Toumba Cemetery at Lefkandi, 1981', *BSA* 77 (1982) 219 (T 39.31), 239, fig. 8, pl. 33e.

<sup>9</sup> W. Culican, 'Phoenician metalwork and Egyptian tradition', *Revista de la Universidad Complutense* 25 (1976) 89.

<sup>10</sup> In the same way, Egyptian decorative schemes of the New Kingdom provided models for the Egyptian lotiform relief chalices made in Dynasty XXI (c. 1075-944); makers of bronze bowls in eighth and seventh century Cyprus then adopted these decorative schemes. See G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (U. Cal. Publ. in Classical Studies 26, 1985) 30-3.

the Cesnola Collection. The Egyptians (or Nubians) may have continued to make lotus-handled jugs as late as Dynasty XXV, and the Phoenicians may have copied them, but the jugs from Crete and Lefkandi do not belong in such a context.

The jugs from Crete and Lefkandi have also been associated, again somewhat misleadingly, with bronze lotus-handled jugs from Late Bronze Age tombs in Palestine and Cyprus.<sup>13</sup> The shapes of the Crete/Lefkandi jugs differ, considerably in most cases, from the shapes of the Palestine/Cyprus jugs. However, like the bronze jugs from Palestine and Cyprus, the jugs from Crete and Lefkandi appear to have belonged to wine services.

Placed with the jug as a grave gift in Toumba Tomb 33 at Lefkandi was a plain, hemispherical bronze bowl; Catling compares the set to a New Kingdom wine service now in Cincinnati (PLATE Ie).<sup>14</sup> Tomb P at Fortetsa, in which two of the Cretan juglets were found, also contained six undecorated, hemispherical bronze bowls.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, the case containing objects from the Idaean Cave in the National Museum at Athens has a bronze hemispherical bowl that could have belonged with one of the Idaean jugs in a wine service.<sup>16</sup> The hemispherical bowls may or may not have come to Crete and Lefkandi from the same source as the bronze jugs, but they do seem to form sets in their Aegean contexts.

At Deir el-Balah in the Gaza strip, a bronze jug with an incised lotus blossom on the handle was found inside a terracotta anthropoid sarcophagus in Tomb 118 of the thirteenth century BC. The jug in Tomb 118 differs from those found in Crete and Lefkandi in that the handle is soldered to the rim, rather than riveted, and the neck and body are taller (ht = 14.5 cm.). The sarcophagus contained two adult skeletons, a male and a female; the jug was paired with a wide shallow bowl, which, like the jug, has an incised lotus on the handle.<sup>17</sup> A similar

jug, with a raised lotus blossom on the handle, came from a rich tomb of the twelfth century BC at Hala Sultan Tekke on Cyprus. Like the jugs from Crete and Lefkandi, the Hala Sultan Tekke jug has three rivets visible in the interior, but it is taller (16 cm.) than the Aegean jugs and has a tall straight neck and a bulbous fluted body like the Dynasty XIX bronze jug from Denderah (see n. 17). Together with a wide, shallow bowl and a hemispherical bowl, the jug had been placed between the legs of its 40-year-old male owner.<sup>18</sup>

At least nine other such sets, all including a strainer, have been found in contexts of the fourteenth to eleventh centuries in Palestine.<sup>19</sup> Four sets, those from Beth Shan, Tell el-Ajjul, Grave 101 at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, and Hala Sultan Tekke, include hemispherical bowls. Two of the sets contain handleless situlas; six sets have jugs with narrow necks, globular or piriform bodies, and pointed or rounded bottoms. Only the jugs from Deir el-Balah Tomb 118 and from Hala Sultan Tekke, which have flat bottoms and lotus blossoms on the handles, even faintly resemble the Crete/Lefkandi jugs, and both probably date to Dynasty XIX.

Wine services consisting of situla or jug, drinking bowl, and strainer originated in Egypt; a relief from Tell el Amarna shows Queen Nefertiti pouring wine from a situla through a strainer into a bowl for King

<sup>13</sup> G. Falsone, 'Phoenicia as a bronzeworking centre in the Iron Age', in J. Curtis (ed.), *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c. 1000-539* (London 1988) 234.

<sup>14</sup> Catling in Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980 (n.7) 250. Culican uses the Cincinnati wine service (FIG. 5) as an example of an Egyptian Dynasty XVIII jug with two real rivets and a false rivet in between: Culican (n.9) 86 and fig. 13. Catling points out that the thickness of the metal at the rim of the Lefkandi bowl is twice (or more) the thickness of the rest of the bowl. This feature does not occur in the numerous bronze Cypriot bowls of the Late Cypriot and Cypro-Geometric periods. Catling also observes that the Lefkandi bowl was placed with the jug in the tomb as a grave gift, whereas in Athens bronze hemispherical bowls of Cypriot type were used as covers for cremation urns during the Protogeometric, Early Geometric, and Middle Geometric I periods. He concludes that the Lefkandi bowl probably came (with the jug) from a different source than the bowls found in Athens.

<sup>15</sup> Brock (n.5) 136, nos. 1574-1579, pl. 112.

<sup>16</sup> Athens, National Museum #11790/2. In four of the hemispherical bowls from Fortetsa Tomb P, a small hole is visible near the rim. Brock explains that a loop handle was probably attached to these bowls by means of a single rivet. The hemispherical bowl in the Athens Museum also has a small hole near the rim.

<sup>17</sup> T. Dothan, *Deir el-Balah, Qedem x* (Jerusalem 1979), Tomb 118, 46-91, figs 148-54; L. Gershuny, *Bronze Vessels from Israel and Jordan*, *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* ii.6 (1985) 19, no. 127, pl. 12. For the soldered handle and the shape of this jug, compare a Dynasty XIX bronze jug with a lotus engraved on the handle from Denderah: Radwan (n.12) 135, no. 384, pl. 68.

<sup>18</sup> P. Åström *et al.*, *Hala Sultan Tekke* 8 (Göteborg 1983) 169-87: Tomb 23, N 1220 (platter), N 1221 (bowl), and N 1222 (jug). The tomb is dated to the transition between Late Cypriote IIIA1 and IIIA2, c. 1175 BC. See also H. Matthäus, *Metallgefäße und Gefäßuntersatz der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern*, *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* ii.8 (Munich 1985) 26, 58-9, 80 (#151, bowl), 194-5 (#469, platter), 234-6 (#532, jug).

<sup>19</sup> Eight wine services have been conveniently assembled by Gershuny (n.17) 46-7, pls. 17-18, A-H (note that the caption on pl. 17 should identify sets A and B as Megiddo, set C as Beth Shan, and set D as Tell es Sa'idiyeh). The dates given below (except no. 5) are from Gershuny. Another wine service (no. 5 below) was recently excavated at Tell es Sa'idiyeh.

1. Tell el-Ajjul, Tomb 419 (the Governor's Tomb), 14th century. Gershuny 24, nos. 77 (almost hemispherical bowl), 117 (strainer), and 119 (situla), pl. 18 F.
2. Beth Shan, Tomb 90, 13th century. Gershuny 26-7, nos. 16 (hemispherical bowl), 114 (strainer), and 130 (jug), pl. 17 C.
3. Deir el-Balah, Tomb 114, 13th century. Gershuny 29-30, nos. 72 (shallow bowl), 116 (strainer), and 122 (situla), pl. 18 E.
4. Tell es Sa'idiyeh, Grave 101, late 13th century. Gershuny 43-4, nos. 7 (hemispherical bowl), 112 (strainer), and 131 (jug), pl. 17 D.
5. Tell es Sa'idiyeh, Grave 32, 13th-12th century. J.N. Tubb, 'The role of the Sea Peoples in the bronze industry of Palestine/Transjordan in the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age transition', in Curtis (ed.), *Bronzeworking Centres* (n.13) 254, fig. 156: shallow bowl, strainer, and jug.
6. Tell el-Far'ah, South, Tomb 914, end of thirteenth/beginning of twelfth century. Gershuny 33-4, 70 (bowl) and 115 (strainer), pl. 18 H (note that the strainers have been switched in pl. 18: strainer no. 115 belonging to Tomb 914 is placed with pl. 18 G, while strainer no. 113 belonging to Tomb 229 is placed with pl. 18 H).
- 7-8. Megiddo, Locus 1739, 12th century. Gershuny 41-2, nos. 46-7 (shallow bowls), 110-11 (strainers), 128-9 (jugs), pl. 17 A and B.
9. Tell el-Far'ah, South, Tomb 229, 11th century. Gershuny 31, nos. 92 (carinated bowl), 113 (strainer), and 132 (jug), pl. 18 G.

Akhenaton.<sup>20</sup> Egyptian officials stationed in Palestine introduced such wine services to Canaan. In particular, Egyptians who occupied the Egyptian installations at Deir el-Balah, Tell el-Ajjul, Beth Shan, and Tell el-Far'ah South could have brought with them from Egypt the wine services found in burials at these sites (n.17 and n.19, no.3; n.19, no.1; n.19, no.2; and n.19, no.6, respectively).<sup>21</sup> Egyptian or Egyptianizing wine services come from Philistine levels at Tell es Sa'idiyeh (n.19, nos.4-5), Megiddo (n.19, nos.7-8), and Tell el-Far'ah South (n.19, no.9).

In discussing Egyptian jugs of the XVIII-XIX Dynasties, Culican observes that 'one peculiarity of the Egyptian metalworker is evident, namely the placing of a third non-functional rivet between the two rivets which fasten the rotelles to the upper rim of the jug' (cf. PLATE Ie). Culican thinks that this purely decorative rivet, visible on the inner surface of the jug, was not adopted by Phoenician metalworkers.<sup>22</sup> The Lefkandi jug from Toumba Tomb 33 (PLATE c) has rivets through the two rotelles and a false rivet in between, and for that reason Catling has concluded that the Lefkandi jug is Egyptian in origin.<sup>23</sup> The Idaean jug illustrated in Halbherr's atlas (PLATE Ia) seems to have five rivets, and each of the Fortetsa jugs three rivets, visible on their interior surfaces, but the published descriptions do not say whether any of the rivets are false. On the other hand, the jug from Toumba Tomb 39 at Lefkandi has four functional rivets, two through the rotelles and two between the rotelles. Toumba Tomb 39 is about 150 years earlier than Toumba Tomb 33, and the excavators tentatively suggest that the jug with four rivets from Tomb 39 is an older version of the jug from Tomb 33.

<sup>20</sup> The use of these vessels was first identified by Petrie, in connection with his excavation of the Governor's Tomb at Tell el-Ajjul (n.19 above, no.1). For discussions of wine services, see: J.B. Pritchard, 'New evidence of the role of the Sea Peoples in Canaan at the beginning of the Iron Age', in W. Ward (ed.), *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations* (Beirut 1968) 99-112; O. Negbi, 'The continuity of the Canaanite bronze work of the Late Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age', *Tel Aviv* 1 (1974) 159-72; P.R.S. Moorey, 'Metal wine-sets in the ancient Near East', *Iranica Antiqua* 15 (1980) 181-97; Gershuny (n.17) 46-7; Matthäus (n.18) 59.

<sup>21</sup> For the Egyptian presence in Palestine in the Ramesside period: I. Singer, 'Egyptians, Canaanites, and Philistines in the period of the emergence of Israel', in I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman (eds.), *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel* (Jerusalem 1994) 282-338; F.W. James and P.E. McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan: A Study of Levels VII and VIII*, U. of Penn. University Museum Monograph 85 (1993); R. Gonen, 'The Late Bronze Age', in A. Ben-Tor (ed.), *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel* (New Haven & London 1992) 217, 221; I. Singer, 'Merneptah's campaign to Canaan and the Egyptian occupation of the southern coastal plain of Palestine in the Ramesside period', *BASOR* 269 (1988) 1-10; E.D. Oren, "'Governors' residences" in Canaan under the New Kingdom: a case study of Egyptian administration', *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 14.2 (1985) 37-56; R. Gonen, 'Urban Canaan in the Late Bronze period', *BASOR* 253 (1984) 61-73; J.M. Weinstein, 'The Egyptian empire in Palestine: a reassessment', *BASOR* ccxli (1981) 1-28.

<sup>22</sup> Culican (n.9) 86, 89.

<sup>23</sup> Catling in Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980 (n.7) 250.

The reason for the additional rivets could be functional rather than (or in addition to) chronological; the jug from Tomb 39 (12 cm.) is larger than the jug from Tomb 33 (8.6 cm.), and the extra rivets would have supported the greater weight of the larger jug when it was full. It would be a little odd if a Phoenician imitation (with four functional rivets) had reached Lefkandi 150 years before its Egyptian prototype (with a false rivet), and Culican may simply be wrong that a jug with extra functional rivets is not Egyptian but Phoenician.

The truncated shape of the Crete/Lefkandi jugs most closely matches Egyptian jugs of the New Kingdom. Seventeen examples of these squat, lotus-handled jugs have been assembled by Radwan: seven from Abydos, one from Denderah, one from Edfu, and eight of unknown provenance.<sup>24</sup> In four cases, Radwan calls attention to a single false rivet between the two functional rivets at the rotelles, and he notes one jug with two false rivets between the rotelles; the last two jugs on Radwan's list, both assigned to Dynasty XIX, have handles soldered to the rims. Radwan believes that the Egyptian juglets became larger over time. Thus, he assigns jugs that are 7-8 cm. h. to Dynasty XVIII, one jug that is 8.3 cm. h. probably to Dynasty XVIII, those that are 10-11 cm. h. to late Dynasty XVIII or early Dynasty XIX, and those that are over 11 cm. h. to Dynasty XIX. The jugs from Crete and the jug from Toumba Tomb 33 at Lefkandi are 8-9 cm. h. If Radwan's chronology is correct, then these jugs most resemble Egyptian examples from Dynasty XVIII. The jug from Toumba Tomb 39 (12 cm. h.) resembles Egyptian jugs from Dynasty XIX.

The comparison of the Cretan and Lefkandi jugs to the Palestinian wine services implies that the Aegean and Palestinian examples derive from the same sources and that the Aegean sets (from contexts of the tenth and ninth centuries BC) are a continuation of the fourteenth to eleventh century BC Egypto-Palestinian tradition. Certainly the Aegean wine services appear to be Egyptian, as is manifest from a comparison with the Egyptian jug and bowl in Cincinnati (PLATE Ie). In actual fact, however, the Aegean sets should probably be dated earlier than the Palestinian and Cypriot sets. As just noted, most of the Aegean jugs find their best Egyptian parallels in Dynasty XVIII (1552-1305 BC, low chronology); only the jug from Lefkandi Toumba Tomb 39 might be Dynasty XIX (1305-1186 BC, low chronology). By contrast, all but one of the sets from Palestine and Cyprus belong to the thirteenth century or later. (The one fourteenth-century set, from Tell el-Ajjul, has a situla rather than a jug.) The jugs found on Crete and in Toumba Tomb 33 at Lefkandi, that is to say, appear to have been made before the spread of Egyptian/Egyptianizing wine services to Palestine.

Catling finds this situation improbable. 'If we were dealing solely with the Lefkandi piece, we might accept that an antique vessel could be buried in a context that is up to 450 years later than its date of manufacture. But it is very difficult to accept this explanation for the seven, perhaps eight, more examples found in Crete.'<sup>25</sup> From Catling's point of view, the situation has become more implausible still with the discovery of the second jug from

<sup>24</sup> Radwan (n.12) 133-7.

<sup>25</sup> Catling in Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980 (n.7) 249.

Lefkandi and the identification by Matthäus of more squat Egyptian jugs from the Idaean Cave, Tegea, and Thera. How could so many very old, very similar, imported heirlooms have survived in so many different places in Greece?

There are, however, basically only two options for explaining the squat jugs found in the Aegean, and neither scores very high in probability. Either the Aegean jugs were made between 250 and 500 years earlier than the contexts in which they were found, or else the manufacture of such small, squat, bronze jugs continued (or resumed) in Egypt or Palestine or elsewhere during the tenth and ninth centuries BC.

The existing comparative evidence supports the first hypothesis, however unlikely it may seem, and it is not impossible to envision circumstances in which very old objects of similar type could have obtained a widely scattered distribution outside their homeland. For example, we might imagine that, in the fourteenth century, an Egyptian king of Dynasty XVIII sent to Crete a diplomatic embassy supplied with a large number of bronze wine sets (without the strainers) as gifts for the island's elite.<sup>26</sup> The recipients of such gifts would, probably, have held the wine sets in very high regard, more for the unusual circumstances of their bestowal than for their intrinsic value, and the original recipients would have handed down these objects to their descendants. The value of these wine sets could only have increased during the reduced circumstances of the early Iron Age; it is credible that they became pedigreed heirlooms to be kept as indicators of high status or given as markers of particular esteem or buried with an individual of eminent rank. Lefkandi, after all, offers a most remarkable instance of such an heirloom. The bronze amphora that held the cremated warrior buried in the great funerary building at Toumba during the tenth century BC seems likely to have been made at least two hundred years earlier on Cyprus.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Such an embassy in the fourteenth century would require that the jug from Toumba Tomb 39 could be dated in Dynasty XVIII; otherwise the Egyptian embassy might have been Ramesside, or the the jug in Tomb 39 came later. An official Egyptian embassy from Amenhotep III to cities in Crete and mainland Greece, including Mycenae, in the first half of the fourteenth century BC has been proposed based on the list of apparent Aegean toponyms found in the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan and the six or more objects from Mycenae inscribed with the name of Amenhotep III or Queen Tiyi: E. H. Cline, "Amenhotep III and the Aegean: A Reassessment of Egypto-Aegean Relations in the 14th Century", *Orientalia* 56 (1987) 1-36 and *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean*, BAR International Series 591 (Oxford 1994) 39-42.

<sup>27</sup> See the discussion of this and other pedigreed objects from Toumba by C.M. Antonaccio, "Lefkandi and Homer," in Ø. Andersen and M. Dickie (eds.), *Homer's World* (Bergen 1995) 5-27. The case may be similar with the bronze vessel stands of a type made on Cyprus in the late thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC that have been found in contexts as late as the eighth century BC at Athens, Knossos, and Thera; see Matthäus (n.18), 305-6, nos. d, f, and i and j, respectively. For the arguments for and against these stands as heirlooms: H.W. Catling, "Workshop and Heirloom: Prehistoric Bronze Stands in the East Mediterranean", *RDAC* 1984, 69-91 and H. Matthäus, "Heirloom or Tradition? Bronze Stands of the Second and First Millennium B.C. in Cyprus, Greece and Italy", in E.B. French and K. A. Wardle (eds.), *Problems in Greek Prehistory* (Bristol 1988) 285-300.

There are more entrepreneurial possibilities for how jugs made in Egypt during the New Kingdom could end up in Greek contexts of several centuries later. Of the squat, lotus-handled jugs found in Egypt, the nine that have a known provenance come from Upper Egypt, seven of them from Abydos. Perhaps, during the XXII Dynasty (c. 945-715 BC), with political power divided between the Delta chieftains and provincial nobles, enterprising robbers looted Dynasty XVIII and Dynasty XIX tombs at Abydos and sold or traded the pilfered goods. Eventually, some of these looted goods, including a number of bronze jugs, could have been traded in Crete; a number of the jugs could subsequently have come to Thera, Lefkandi, and Tegea as trade goods or gifts. Alternatively, tenth-century looters could have found a hoard of Dynasty XVIII/XIX Egyptian jugs in graves on Cyprus or in Palestine.

The second hypothesis, that the squat jugs found in Aegean contexts were made in the tenth or ninth centuries BC, requires us to regard the absence of the squat jugs in Iron Age Egyptian and Palestinian contexts as a reflection of the incomplete material record of these regions during the tenth and ninth centuries. Indeed, it would not be difficult to accept the production of the squat jugs in the tenth and ninth centuries if such jugs could be documented after Dynasty XIX, in the twelfth and eleventh centuries. However, the general development of bronze jugs with lotus handles, from Dynasties XVIII and XIX in Egypt, to the wine-sets in Palestine, to the Phoenician examples found in Italy and Spain, appears to evolve from the small, truncated type into taller, graceful shapes. The squat, truncated shape would be a stylistic anachronism in the tenth and ninth centuries. If, nevertheless, there was an Iron Age workshop in Egypt or Palestine that produced squat bronze jugs, the growing number of such jugs known from Greece makes their total absence in contemporary Egypt and Palestine all the more curious. With perhaps 25 or more squat jugs now identified in Greece, it really is surprising that not one is known from Iron Age Egypt or Palestine.<sup>28</sup>

The little Egyptian jugs found in Greece, then, force the archaeologist to confront the status of the exception, the anomaly. It does sometimes happen that existing evidence points to an explanation that just does not seem very likely given our general knowledge of the periods and places involved. In such a case, should the archaeologist reject the unlikely explanation in favour of a more plausible one for which there is no existing evidence? To do so prevents our evidence from revealing what may actually have been unusual, exceptional. Unlikely things occur now; we can be sure that unlikely things occurred in the past. In some ways, the anomalous event is the most interesting; in any case, unlikely events serve to reinforce our idea of what *was* likely in a certain time and place. We will only recognize the anomaly, however, if we accept an unlikely explanation when the evidence favours it.

<sup>28</sup> The apparent concentration of Iron Age examples on Crete does suggest another possibility, that the jugs found in the Aegean were made in a Cretan workshop and patterned on an antique jug from Egypt. It would be very interesting to compare metallurgical analyses of the jugs from Abydos with the jugs from Crete and Lefkandi.

If the jugs found in the Aegean did not come there directly from Egypt in the Bronze Age, then they probably arrived by way of the Levantine coast and Cyprus. The one possible example of a squat lotus-handled jug from a non-Greek, Iron Age provenance is the jug handle from Cyprus in the Cesnola collection (PLATE Id), which exactly resembles the handle from the Idaean Cave (PLATE Ib). The carriers who brought the jugs from the east Mediterranean could have been the Euboians who left their pendent semi-circle cups at Levantine ports or the Phoenicians who installed a shrine at Kommos on the south coast of Crete.<sup>29</sup> The little jugs seem genuinely Egyptian, but they almost certainly did not come straight from Egypt in the tenth or ninth century BC.

JANE B. CARTER

Tulane University

ILLUSTRATIONS (PLATE I)

- (a) Bronze jug from the Idaean Cave. After the drawing from *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 2 (1888), *Atlante*, pl. 12, 9.
- (b) Bronze handle with lotus blossom. From the Idaean Cave. Athens NM 18221.
- (c) Bronze jug with lotus blossom on the handle. From Lefkandi, Toumba Tomb 33. By courtesy of the Chalkis Museum.
- (d) Bronze handle with openwork lotus blossom. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cesnola Collection, purchased by subscription, 1874-76. (74.51.5461)
- (e) Wine service from Thebes in Egypt, consisting of a bronze lotus-handled jug and hemispherical bowl. Dynasty XVIII. Cincinnati Museum of Art, accession no. 1947.341.2. Gift of Millard F. and Edna F. Shelt.

<sup>29</sup> Sackett thinks that 'the family using the Toumba graveyard included a number of wealthy traders, who may themselves have penetrated to the Near East as early as the tenth century BC' (Popham, Touloupa, and Sackett [n. 8] 237). J.W. Shaw, 'Phoenicians in southern Crete', *AJA* 93 (1989) 165-83.

**Biography, fiction, and the Archilochean *ainos*\***

That articles on Archilochus begin with a historical overview of the approaches to his 'I' and the issue of the historicity of the characters who occupy his poems is a tradition in its own right.<sup>1</sup> Scholarly debate on Archilochus oscillates between total disbelief in and defensive support of the actuality of these figures and an autobiographical stance for the poet. The positions of the respective scholars have often been uncompromising and the language passionate, mirroring perhaps the generic requirements of *iambos*, or inspired perhaps by the 'roguish Archilochus' himself.<sup>2</sup>

This note similarly engages in this debate. It consists of three parts: first, reflections on the shape of this debate over the biographical tradition of the poet; next, a reinterpretation of a particular epode of Archilochus, that of the fox and the eagle, which attempts to bypass the polarities of the debate by illustrating how aspects of the biographical tradition may yield greater meaning for this poem; and finally, a return to issues about biography and the 'I' which considers the benefits that an open approach has overall for an interpretation of the sophistication and artistry of Archilochus.

I

In 1964, Kenneth Dover, as if prophesying the discovery of the Cologne epode and the concerns it would elicit, advanced the notion that the poet's 'I' need not be his own.<sup>3</sup> And yet despite the relative novelty of this stance—'agnostic to the point of nihilism' as Dover anticipates some will argue—Dover's own formulation was far less controversial or prescriptive than the positions that would follow in the next decade. He suggested, '[T]he poet's own standpoint is only *one among the standpoints which he adopted* in the composition of poetry'.<sup>4</sup>

The Cologne Epode and the famous words of Merkelbach pushed the issue to a crisis in the early seventies. Merkelbach tipped the scales of Archilochean debate, when he called Archilochus 'ein schwerer Psychopath' and continued, 'As a bastard himself, he presumably had to endure much neglect in his youth and through this experience his character was shaped: What

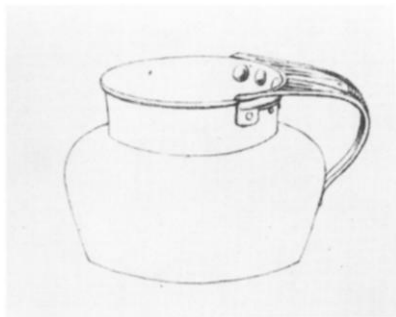
\* Versions of this article have been presented to the annual meetings of the American Philological Association (New York 1996) and the Classical Association (Royal Holloway 1997). I thank those audiences for helpful comments. I am also grateful to those who have commented on earlier drafts: E.L. Bowie, P.E. Easterling, B. Graziosi, L.M. Slatkin and M. Stears. I would like to thank also the Editor and anonymous referees of *JHS*.

<sup>1</sup> Some examples: H. Rankin, 'The new Archilochus and some Archilochean questions', *QUCC* 28 (1978) 7-27; G. Nagy, *Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore 1979); C. Carey, 'Archilochus and Lycambes', *CQ* 36 (1986) 60-7; J. van Sickle, 'Praise and blame for a "full commentary" on Archilochus' first epode', *BICS* 36 (1989) 104-8; S. Slings, 'The I in personal archaic lyric: an introduction,' in S. Slings (ed.), *The Poet's I in Archaic Greek Lyric* (Amsterdam 1990) 1-30.

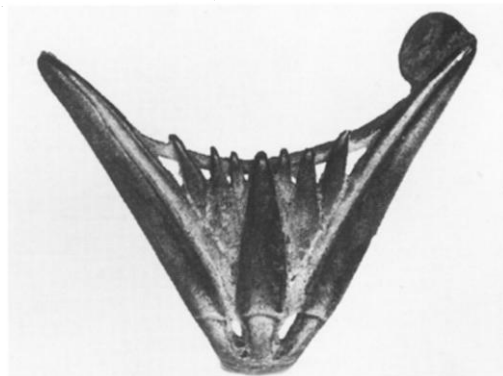
<sup>2</sup> As G. Nagy has recently referred to him, *Poetry as Performance* (Cambridge 1995) 219.

<sup>3</sup> K. Dover, 'The poetry of Archilochus', *Fond. Hardt* 10 (1964) 181-212.

<sup>4</sup> Dover (n.3) 211-2 (italics are mine).



(a) Bronze jug from the Idaean Cave.



(b) Bronze handle with lotus blossom, from the Idaean Cave.



(c) Bronze jug with lotus blossom on the handle, from Lefkandi, Tomba Tomb 33.



(d) Bronze handle with openwork lotus blossom from Cyprus (Cesnola collection); Metropolitan Museum of Art.



(e) Wine service from Thebes in Egypt: bronze lotus-handled jug and hemispherical bowl. Dynasty XVIII.