

# Braziers and the Hellenistic *koiné* in the kitchen: the case of Paphos, capital of Cyprus



**Abstract:** Portable braziers played a very important role in ancient kitchens. Stoves with a stand, fire bowl and three supports were very common in Middle and Late Hellenistic times (2nd century BCE and late 2nd century to 30 BCE, accordingly), but they do not seem to have been imported in large numbers to Cyprus. The paper discusses the finds from Cyprus, and from Paphos in particular, the island's capital from the end of the 3rd century BCE, which is where most of the finds come from. The research entails a re-examination of the stoves from the House of Dionysos (original spelling after Hayes 1991) and the mostly unknown material from the University of Warsaw excavations in the Maloutena area. Fabrics were distinguished by macroscopic observation with the naked eye using a hand lens, identifying macroscopic groups (MG). Paphos is suggested as a potential place of production, as well as a major importer of stoves, an idea that should be clarified by future archaeometric analyses.

**Keywords:** brazier, brazier supports, moldmade attachments, portable stove, Hellenistic kitchen, Paphos, Cyprus, Hellenistic *koiné*

**Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka**

Polish Centre of Mediterranean  
Archaeology, University of Warsaw

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## INTRODUCTION: SOME GENERAL COMMENTS ON BRAZIERs

Portable clay stoves were certainly a very important element of house furnishing in antiquity, next to other cooking devices, e.g., stoves, cooking stands and grills. Portable stoves and braziers are attested in the Greek world from at least the Archaic period (Thomas n.d.: note 3). In this period and later, in Classical times, they had a simple form and were usually without decorations.

Stoves became very common during the Hellenistic period (see, e.g., Le Roy 1961; Scheffer 1981: 24–27 and 84–88; Rottroff 2006: 199–220 with extensive bibliography; Scheffer 2014; Nocon 2016; Dima and Tsakanika 2016–2017; Bernal-Casasola and Vargas Girón 2017; Ackermann 2018; Fabbri 2019; Poludnikiewicz 2020; Thomas n.d.). Based on the Delos findings, two kinds of braziers have been distinguished dated to the Hellenistic times: 1) a brazier on a low or high stand (“réchaud bas” and “réchaud à pied élevée”) (Fabbri 2019: 14, Fig. 1), and 2) a kind called the “Bakalakis” type,<sup>1</sup> which has an open hearth extended by a kind of tray (Le Roy 1961: 474–477, Figs 1–3).<sup>2</sup> The most common are stoves of the first kind [Fig. 1]. Charcoal was burnt in these stoves. They had two main parts: a fire bowl and a lower or higher stand. The fire bowl with an everted or projecting rim had holes (from one to four) in the bot-

tom to facilitate oxygen access for combustion and allow ash to drop down. Usually, there were three molded or, more seldom, handmade pot supports (also called attachments or lugs). The supports consist of an upright panel and a projecting spur, and inside the bowl, reinforcements from pieces of clay were added under the supports to enhance their supportive effect: here the pot was placed. The stand, usually an almost cylindrical or truncated cone with a floor, had ventilation opening(s), a large hole for removing ash and two horizontal, turned-up handles. Braziers were made using a combined technique: partly turned on a wheel, and partly modeled by hand. They are sometimes decorated outside with either molded or incised or appliqué motifs<sup>3</sup> (e.g., face with open mouth on the ventilation hole; see Fig. 1), etc. Stoves of this kind were very fragile objects, rarely repaired. When the walls were not decorated on the outside, they are difficult to identify and were often not recognized during excavations. The supports are the parts preserved most often because they are massive and less prone to breaking. After the Hellenistic period, the form of the braziers was simplified: they usually took on a cylindrical tubular form open at the top, without any decoration (see below).

1 It was also called “réchaud à sole”; however, actually it is not “sole” but “hearth”.

2 The variant of this type was known outside Delos, see objects from the sea in the Bodrum Museum (Leonard 1973: 22, low brazier on stand with tray, Nos 4–10, Figs 1–2: 6–12) dated generally to the Hellenistic period (Scheffer 1981: 85, 87, Fig. 61; Didelot 2000); one fragment of this type was found in the Paphos Agora excavations (Nocon forthcoming), see also below.

3 For a very well preserved, richly decorated example see <https://www.theacropolismuseum.gr/en/content/settlement-slopes-acropolis>, from the settlement on the slope of the Athenian Acropolis.

Stoves with a low or high stand (of the first kind) are the most characteristic form of braziers from Middle and Late Hellenistic times and were widespread in the Eastern Mediterranean (Fabbri 2019: 15, Fig. 2, distribution map), especially from the beginning of the third quarter of the 2nd century until the end of the 1st century BCE. As established by Susan Rotroff (2006: 203) in the Athenian Agora, the main period of use of these devices

was roughly 170–86 BCE, but some scholars, e.g., Ross Thomas (n.d.: 2 and note 10) believes that the production started earlier: notably in Knidos and Egypt.<sup>4</sup> Stove manufacturing began to decline, at least in Athens and Knidos, either as a result of the wars of Mithridates, or because metal stoves had become cheaper and more accessible (Fabbri 2019: 13). But in some regions, like Egypt, stoves continued in use until the 2nd century CE (Południkiewicz

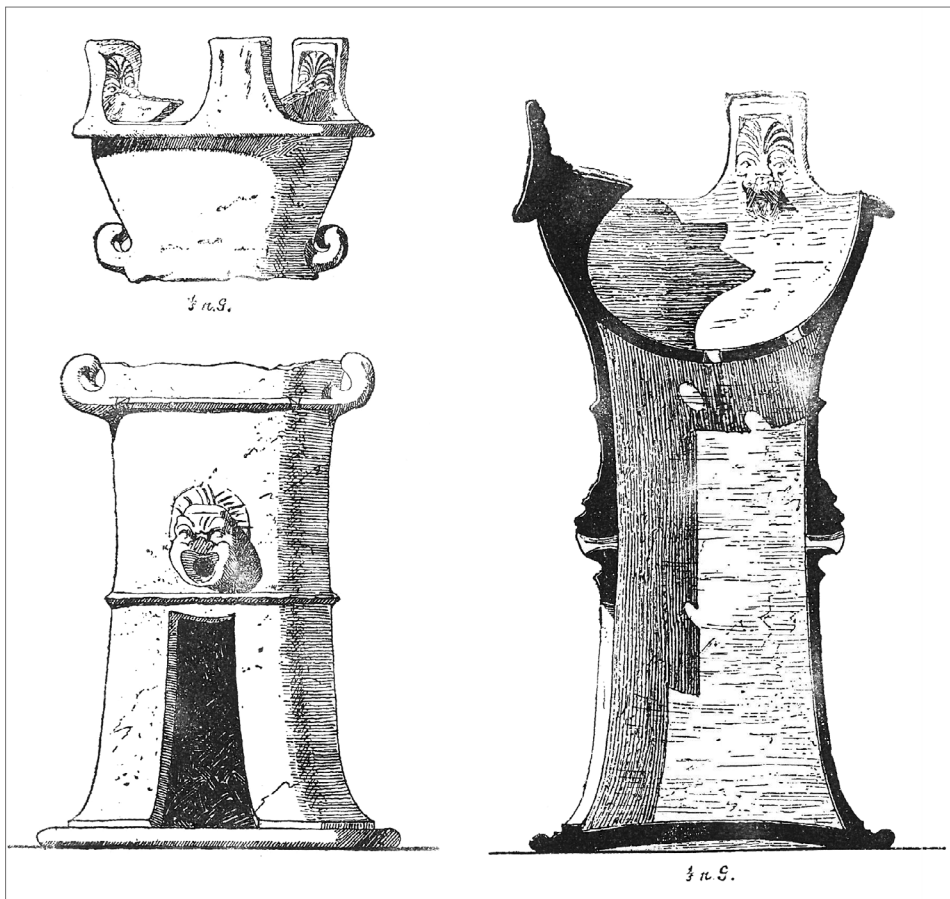


Fig. 1. Brazier set on a stand (After Conze 1890: 134–135)

4 Thomas (n.d.: Fig. 5) publishes a support from Naucratis (British Museum Inv. 1926.0324.46) decorated with a representation of a transport amphora and waves, and covered with pine-pitch resin. The support was of Knidian make and was dated to about 250–200 BCE.

2020: 93, No. 11, Fig. 10, one almost complete example from Athribis) and even later, in Libya, until the 3rd century CE (Riley 1979: 303–304; Fabbri 2019: 13).

As far as function is concerned, the find context gives grounds for determining the function of a given stove, e.g., a home context as from the “l’ilot de la Maison des comédiens” on Delos (Siebert 1970), well filling, etc., or finds in a tavern, especially when they are also accompanied by kitchen ceramics, pointing to domestic use. However, the fragments analyzed in this paper do not provide much basis for a broader discussion on this topic. Generally, it is known that stoves were primarily used for cooking meals, heating water and

keeping food warm. Sometimes, but much less often, stoves served other purposes. In sanctuaries they could be used as movable altars and for the preparation of religious meals (Şahin 2003: 103–113; Scheffer 2014: 178–180) and also for burning incense in domestic religious rituals, as observed by Thomas (n.d.: 4, note 34) in the material from Naukratis. Heating was a secondary function of the stoves and, in this case, as rightly observed by Odile Didelot (2000: 137, note 3), supports were unnecessary. Other functions have been reported, such as use for artisanal purposes, e.g., for melting pine-pitch resin, as noted again regarding the material from Naukratis (Thomas n.d.: 4, note 34).

## BRAZIER SUPPORTS

The material presented in this paper is limited to brazier supports. They could have been molded (most of them) or, sometimes, handmade. The stove of the first kind described above had three identical supports usually made from the same mold, which also saved the potter’s time. The pot supports, which are—as previously discussed—the only preserved parts of the braziers as a rule, can be counted in the thousands:<sup>5</sup> Didelot (1997: 377, note 6) reported 2845 examples on Delos, 1367 from the Alexandria Museum, 439 from the Athens Epigraphical Museum, and roughly 200 from Knidos (Şahin 2003) and about 90 from the Athenian Agora (Rotroff 2006: 200–201, Chart 22).

The mold-made supports are decorated with a variety of motifs but the

bearded male head is the most common type, because the long beard served as a prop. Three iconographic types of the bearded male head are recognized: a man’s head in a conical cap, the *pilos*; Satyr with an ivy-wreath (Papposilenos or sometimes Pan); and Satyr with an *onkos*. All of them are represented in the material discussed below. Other motifs include animal heads (bull, ox, goat, lion, and others), and less common motifs such as the rosette [see *Cat.* 9 below], amphora, palmette, rose etc. The meaning of these decorative motifs has been discussed for many years (see, e.g., Şahin 2001: 126; Rotroff 2006: 204; Thomas n.d.: 4). They are considered as apotropaic (Fabbri 2019: 13). Bettina Kreuzer (2011: 114, Pl. 108, No. 204 with comparanda) associates them with

5 As estimated by Didelot (1997: 377, note 6), there are about 6000 specimens known and only about one-fourth of them have been published.

Dionysus of the type with a *pilos*. The material presented here does not contribute any relevant observations to this topic, but one should cite Thomas (n.d.: 4) based on the Naucratis finds that “the depiction of characters associated with the Dionysian sphere may be little more than decorative motifs borrowed from theatrical masks from a popular satyr play ... and illustrates how everyday objects were decorated with religious symbolism”. Thomas (n.d.: 4, Fig. 2) has also suggested that the head in an ivy wreath (Papposilenos or Satyr) could also be interpreted as Dionysus. Regarding recently published material from Rhodes, Evangelia Dima and Eleni Tsakanika (2016–2017: 53–54) proposed an apotropaic role for the characters from the entourage of Dionysus on the Rhodian stoves. But mindful of the spread of satirical drama in Rhodes, which essentially sought the same effect as New Comedy, they could have also been harbingers of cheerfulness and fun. Signatures appear occasionally (in

the form of a stamp or in relief, see for example *Cat.* 9).

The production place of the stoves and supports is one of the most important research issues. The preserved supports, on the one hand, lead to many important observations on this topic, but on the other hand, they were made in molds, and many variants of molds existed: parallel molds, variations of the same mold and copies, that is, overmolding (French “surmoulage”, see Didelot 1997: 378–386; 1998: 283–284; Rotroff 2006: 205, note 123 uses the term “derivative”), which makes the provenance of these supports difficult to determine.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, neither the stylistic features of the representations nor the signatures can be a basis for identifying production centers in the case of these objects. So, as was rightly said years earlier by Didelot (1997: 388–389), only a detailed examination of the clay and production techniques could resolve or at least clarify the question of their origins.

## METHODOLOGY

Stoves are generally insufficiently published, the detailed studies of Didelot (1997; 1998; 2000) and Rotroff (2006) being an exception in this respect. Detailed descriptions are often lacking and the dimensions of individual elements are not precise enough to permit recognition of replicas and determining the generation, etc. Detailed description of the clay and technical execution are also frequently missing, and illustrations are usually limited to one.

No pottery kilns or molds etc. have been excavated in Cyprus, hence the fabric of the stoves becomes the main criterion for distinguishing production centers. Therefore, the material presented in this paper has been divided into macroscopic groups (MG), suggesting a place of origin for each of the groups. The classification into macroscopic groups was supported by macrophotography of the matrix (Orton and Hughes 2013). The assemblage was documented following generally accepted descriptive and

6 For techniques of production of molded objects and terminology see Muller 1997.

photographic standards; however, it is essential to sample the fabrics representing the different macroscopic groups (from Paphos as well as Cyprus in general) in order to carry out a program of archaeometric analyses. This will be the next step in research, including comparison with ex-

isting reference material (Rahmani 1984: 225; Gunneweg and Perlman 1984; Didelot 1997: 380, note 14; Şahin 2003: 58–66; Rottroff 2006: 40–45, 213–215). The results of this future research will at least clarify, if not resolve, the issue of production centers proposed for specific macroscopic groups.

## BRAZIERS IN CYPRUS

A query of published and unpublished material, still not complete, has brought the number of recognized stoves up to 90 (although there could be many more unpublished pieces), including two complete objects (see below). Even so, this hardly matches the number of finds from other places in the Eastern Mediterranean as cited above.

The bulk of the finds from Cyprus comes from Paphos: 77 examples (see below). Objects noted outside Paphos come from various sites. Two were discovered in Kition (Larnaca)-Bamboula. Of these two, one, representing the type with a man's head in a conical cap and a thunderbolt-like rosette, is in the British Museum (BM 80.7-10.36, see Şahin 2001: 117, Cat. Ba1, Fig. 101 "Halicarnassos group", Hellenistic period). The other one, representing the iconographic type with a Satyr's head in an *onkos* [see below, *Cat. 2* and 6–8], from regular French excavations in the hangars of a Cypro-Phoenician harbor, was published by

Marguerite Yon (2000: 114, Fig. 14c, dated there to the 1st–2nd centuries CE). An exemplar from the British Museum (BM 1891.8-6.62) comes from site A near the Agora in Salamis and was published by Mustafa Şahin (2001: 117, Sa 1, Fig. 102); he dated it to the first quarter of the 1st century BCE and attributed to his "Halicarnassos group". An unpublished brazier found in Amathus is now in the Geneva Museum (O. Didelot, personal communication). A support uncovered in Agia Irini was published by Lorenzo Quilici (1971: 134–135, No. 122, Fig. 85, Papposilenos type), another one coming from Cyprus is in the collection of Brock University (Robertson 1986: 24, No. 90, C-75-24). The last object, representing a Satyr-with-*onkos* type, was found by the Danish team excavating Panagia Ematousa near Kition-Larnaca and was published by Kristina Winther Jacobsen (2006: 243, Fig. 130, red fabric 2.5YR 4/6–8, no description of inclusions provided).

## BRAZIERS IN PAPHOS

The stove supports found in Paphos (77 as noted above) come from three major areas [Fig. 2]: 24 are included in Hayes's catalog of finds from the House of Dio-

nysos, about 30 were discovered in the Maloutena excavations, and about 20 in the Agora. Additionally, one was uncovered in the Italian excavations in

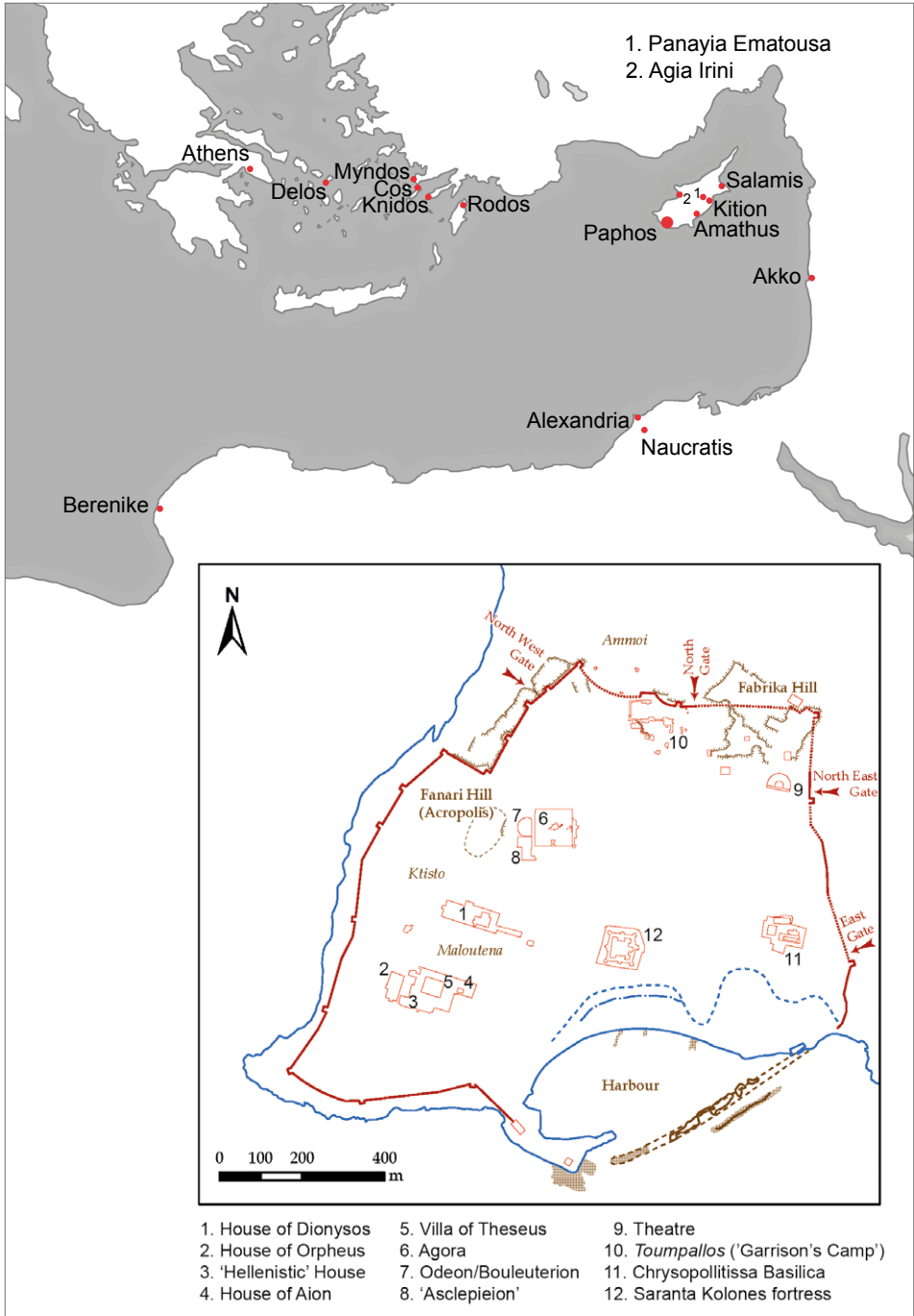


Fig. 2. Map of the Eastern Mediterranean with sites mentioned in the text; right, map of Nea Paphos with the location of findspots mentioned in the text (map drawing U. Wicenciak-Núñez; map of Nea Paphos after Papuci-Władyka 2020: 83, Pl. 5 | editing W. Ostrowski)

the Toumpallos site (Giudice 1993: 297, No. A 15, Pl. LXXVI:1, lion mask, type as Conze 1890: No. 849, with a parallel in Berenike/Benghazi; another parallel from the House of Dionysos OΔ 4368 of Ware I variant should be added to the list, see below). Another unpublished support comes from the Cypriot excavations in the House of Orpheus in Paphos. The last one, from Paphos, is in the Besançon Museum, and has been published by Antoinette Decaudin (1987: 25, No. 11, Pl. XI, head in ivy wreath; Conze 1890: Type II, without description of the clay).

The 24 fragments from the House of Dionysos were catalogued by the tireless John W. Hayes (1991: 75–77, list of examples Nos 1–24 from various deposits, Fig. 26, Pls 17–18). This sizable set comprises 19 attachments and one complete brazier,<sup>7</sup> as well as four uncertain fragments. Hayes proposed different Cypriot wares based on macroscopic analysis with the naked eye, but there is a problem with his hypothesis. The wares are as follows:

– **Ware I:** presumed Cypriot, clay maroon brown, Nos 1–4, 7–8, 11–13; and Ware I variant Nos 5, 6, 9, 10 (=OΔ 4368),<sup>8</sup> coarse red brown to grey, gritted, calcite tempered; the complete restored brazier, No. 24 (OΔ 1336) on the list, was assigned to this ware: “Ware I variant (see that of 10)” (see below). Altogether, 14 objects.

– **Ware II:** possibly Cypriot, orange red clay, only one example, No. 14 (OΔ 772).

– **Ware V:** Cypriot(?), Nos 17–18, orange ware, yellow buff on the surface, straw/shell tempered; also assigned to this ware are the “loose stand(?) attachments” Nos 20, 22–23.

– **Ware VI:** “Cypriot?, early”, very gritty dark red-brown ware with lime etc., wet-smoothed, No. 19, type related to Nos 17–18 (Ware V): nose shaped.

Hayes also distinguished imported fabrics: **Ware III** (“perhaps Asia Minor?”): “red-brown ware with sparkling calcite grits and gold mica” (his No. 15), and **Ware IV** (“classic” Cycladic?): “drab red-brown ware with some silvery mica-schist and dark specs” (No. 16).

Hayes observed that the bulk of the House of Dionysos finds could be classified with a lower or higher probability as “local production” (21 objects), considering only two of the 24 catalogued objects as imports (His No. 21, OΔ 1855, lion mask, no ware indicated).

Observations made on the material lead the present author to consider only some of the specimens from Hayes’s Ware I and his Ware II as truly local products—especially the “clay maroon brown” of Ware I, which presumably resembles the fabric of local-made cooking pots and casseroles as said by Hayes himself. However, some of the braziers from this group seem to be imported and the same can be observed with regard to Wares V and VI (see below).

The second major source of brazier finds in Paphos—more than 30 pieces—is the University of Warsaw excavation

7 Hayes reported a second whole piece, restored, in the Paphos Museum (1991: 75, note 128, not inventoried, no provenance): “of ‘early’ type with plain knobs”; the same piece is cited probably once again under his No. 17 Ware V (Hayes 1991: 76).

8 With annotation: “possibly related to ware of 16 (= Ware IV)”, but Ware IV is described by him as “classic Cycladic?”.

at the Maloutena site: a total of 11 fragments, including ten fragments from the excavations carried out between 1965 and 1998, and one surface find (presented here in detail), plus some 20 fragments, as yet unpublished, from excavations after 1998.<sup>9</sup> The bulk of the braziers from Maloutena, unlike those from the House of Dionysos, seem to be imported.

The third source of braziers in Paphos is the Agora excavation of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, in progress since 2011 ([www.paphos-agora.archeo.uj.edu.pl](http://www.paphos-agora.archeo.uj.edu.pl)). After nine years of excavations, there

are about 20 fragments of stoves. Kamila Nocon (2020: 309–310, Pl. 106) has published two fragments: KW<sub>115</sub>, theatrical mask, and KW<sub>116</sub>, plain “nose-shaped” (the rest is being prepared for publication). Nocon believes most of these stove fragments to be imported, apparently foremost from the Knidos-Halikarnassos region. In the opinion of the present author, there are three fragments that were probably imported from Berenike/Benghazi (see below, MG 5), including the above-mentioned KW<sub>116</sub> (see Nocon forthcoming).

## THE MALOUTENA MATERIAL (1965–1998): UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW EXCAVATIONS

The items in the catalog are presented in the order of the five macroscopic groups. All dimensions are given in centimeters; color descriptions are based on Munsell Soil-Color Charts with genuine Munsell color chips (2009 year revised/2013 production); abbreviations: D. – diameter, H. – height, W. – width; MG – Macroscopic Group, P.H. – preserved height, P.W. – preserved width.

### MACROSCOPIC GROUP 1 = HAYES'S WARE I

*Description of fabric:* Many ill-assorted inclusions: abundant, fine and medium-high sphericity rounded, white; few, coarse high sphericity angular, white; few coarse high sphericity rounded, orange and gray; frequent, medium low sphericity sub-rounded, white, yellow and black. No voids. The fabric is hard. The feel of the surface is rough, the fresh break is hackly. Fresh break color

is dark reddish brown 2.5YR 3/4, surface color is uneven, dark gray 5YR 4/1.

*Provenance:* local Paphos or Paphos-region production.

#### 1. Support and part of bowl [Fig. 3]

Inv. FR 16/86, context HA 3/86, 30–60 cm below top of wall.

*Dimensions and state of preservation:* P.H. 12.8; D. bowl could not be estimated; W. support 6.9; W. frame 5.7; W. panel (“cadre” in French) 4.3; W. of head (ear to ear) 3.2; H. of cap 2.1; distance between the outer corners of the eyes 1.7. Rather well preserved, although the surface partly damaged on the right cheek with the mouth and beard, right part of frame, left of the head and the tip of the beard; some details effaced. Blackened surface from firing, not fire marks from use. Connection of the support with the bowl is well masked, no details are visible.

9 This material will be published separately (Monika Więch is working on this material).

*References:* Daszewski 1992: Fig. 15; Papuci-Władyka 1995: 124–125, Cat. 135, Pl. 22.

*Iconographic type:* Man's head in a pointed cap (*pilos*) – Rotroff Agora I (Conze I; Mayence IV B).

*Description:* Support and small part of bowl preserved. Plain conical cap (*pilos*). Head in raised field surrounded by Π-shaped groove and ridge reached by the top of the *pilos*; wide face, almond eyes under bushy eyebrows; hair protruding from under the headgear: locks fall over the forehead in three short groups, two from the temples and one from the

center; marked protruding ears (not pointed), slightly visible lips surrounded by a mustache and long beard, which has four ridges in the middle and a wider ridge on either side.

*Date:* End of 2nd–beginning of 1st century BCE.

*Comments:* The fabric fits rather well with the possibly local-made kitchen pottery as already suggested by Hayes in reference to the House of Dionysos artifacts. Made in the same ware as support OΔ 636 from the House of Dionysos Ware I, which was discovered in the very well dated context of the Quarry pit in

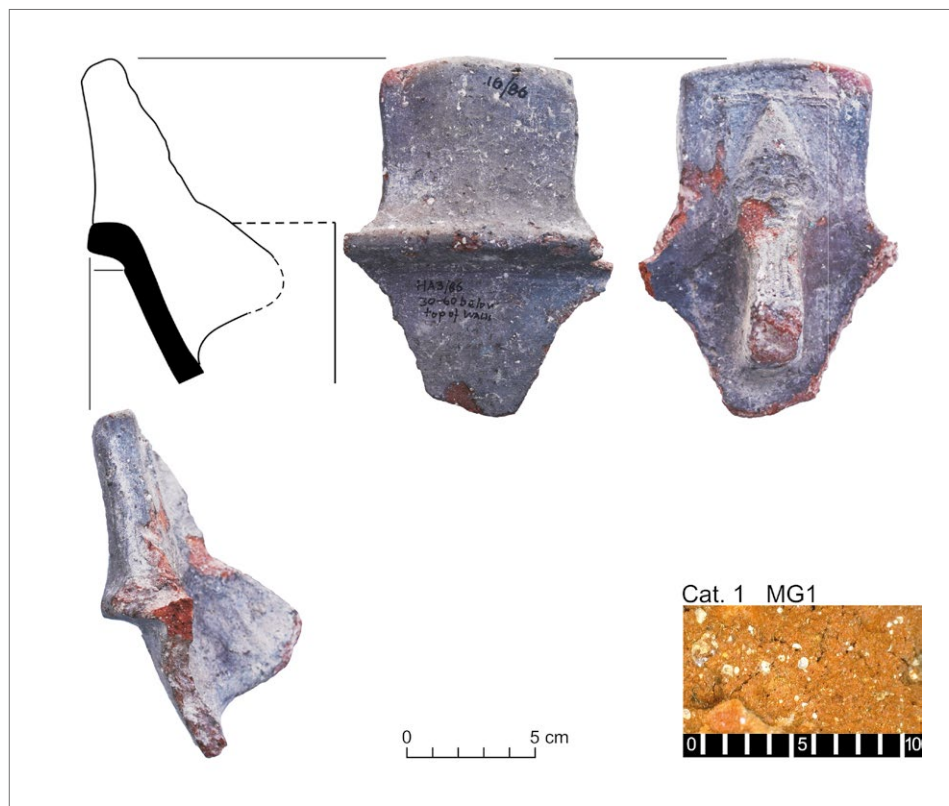


Fig. 3. Brazier support **Cat. 1**, Macroscopic Group 1, Paphos or Paphos region; matrix with linear scale (PCMA UW | photo A. Kubicka-Sowińska; matrix photo U. Wicenciak-Núñez; drawing E. Papuci-Władyka; digitizing U. Bąk)

room AA (about 110–100 BCE; Hayes 1991: 75, No. 8, Pl. 17:7 and 140, Fig. 26:8, for the deposit pp. 131–142); it represents the same iconographic type, but *Cat. 1* appears to be made from another mold. The fabric is most like the local-made macroscopic group of kitchen ware distinguished in the Agora of Paphos material by Nocon (2020: 300–301, Pls 97–99), MG 1 variant 2, Late Hellenistic.

The iconographic type is very common: in the House of Dionysos material it is also represented by OΔ 772 No. 14 on Hayes's list (1991: 76, Ware II, Pl. 18:3, Fig. 26, deposit BE); see also Şahin 2003: 39–47; Rotroff 2006: 205–207 (with further literature).

Details are blurred and the frame narrower than in the original object, which it is a derivative of overmolding. Considering the width of the field in its higher part, which is 4.3 cm, the object is a replica of the third generation (second-generation objects have a width of 5.6 cm, first-generation objects 6.6 cm, see Didelot 1997: 383, Figs 3–4). For the presumed replica of a first-generation object with very well visible details see British Museum Inv. 1857.12-20.363 from the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos (Conze 1890: No. 83) and Inv. 1969.3-6.9. from Halikarnassos, both published by Şahin (2001: 103, No. Ha 42, Fig. 51, and Ha 43, Fig. 52, second quarter of the 2nd century BCE). For other parallels see Martens 1971: Figs 3 and 4 (National Museum of Warsaw collection, provenance unknown); Rahmani 1984: 225, No. 4, Pl. 29:D (Akko); Şahin 2003: 41–43, Pl. 23, variant P 2 (Knidos); Rotroff 2006: 327, No. 777, Pl. 80 (Attic, Schist Cooking Fabric, Type I.1b) from context “largely dated ca. 150 to early 1st”.

## MACROSCOPIC GROUP 2

*Description of fabric:* Many ill-assorted inclusions: abundant, fine, coarse and very coarse, low sphericity sub-angular, yellow; frequent, medium and coarse, low sphericity sub-angular and sub-rounded, red (smashed pottery?); frequent, fine, medium and coarse, high sphericity sub-rounded and rounded, gray; frequent, fine, medium and very coarse, low sphericity angular white; few fine sparkling. No voids. Fabric hard. Feel of the surface rough, fresh break hackly. Fresh break color 5YR 3/1 very dark gray, surface 2.5YR 5/6 red.

*Provenance:* Unidentified. Paphian(?), Cypriot(?).

## 2. Fragment of support [Fig. 4]

Inv. 1986, without context: surface.

*Dimensions and state of preservation:* H. 8.2; W. 9.5. Very damaged: upper part missing, decoration only partly preserved.

*References:* Unpublished.

*Iconographic type:* Satyr with *onkos* – Rotroff Agora III (Conze III; Mayence IV D).

*Description:* Support with small section of the upper wall of the fire bowl. An arched ridged frame of which the left part is damaged; within it, hair locks arranged around asymmetrically around a central parting: the left part larger with five locks, the right smaller with six locks.

*Date:* 2nd to 1st century BCE.

*Comments:* The iconographic type is very common, see Rotroff 2006: 208–211 (with comparanda) and *Cat. 6–8* below; because of the poor state of preservation of this object, it is not possible to compare the dimensions and determine whether it is a derivative and, if so, of

which generation; for a similar object see Martens 1971: Fig. 7 (Warsaw National Museum collection, provenance unknown).

### MACROSCOPIC GROUP 3

This is the “type égéen” of Didelot (1997: 381, note 15) and the Quartz cooking fabric of Rotroff (2006: 43–45, Fig. 13, so-called “Aegean” fabric).

*Description of fabric:* Fabric gritty, with many inclusions: abundant, coarse and very coarse, low sphericity angular, transparent-yellow to gray; rare, medium and coarse, high sphericity sub-rounded, red; rare, medium and coarse, low sphericity rounded white; abundant fine and medium, rounded or flakes, sparkling golden (mica); rare, fine, thin voids can be observed. The fabric is hard, the fresh break hackly, the feel of the surface rough and gritty. Fresh break color for the most part red 2.5YR 4/8, the surface more or less of the same color although light red (2.5YR 6/8) in one case and black (7.5YR 2.5/1) in another.

*Provenance:* Imported; Didelot (1997: 381, note 15) suggested production in the region between Kos, Myndos and Knidos, while Şahin (2003: 58–68) presented arguments in favor of Knidos.

### 3. Fragment of support [Fig. 5 top]

Inv. 1978, between SW 80/77 and W 80/77 (1st century CE context)

*Dimensions and state of preservation:* H. 8.0; W. frame in the lower part 5.5; W. head (ear to ear) 3.6. The left part of the face deformed: details cannot be distinguished. The surface blackened from fire.

*References:* Unpublished

*Iconographic type:* Male head in conical cap, see here, *Cat. 1, 10*

*Description:* Fragment of a *pilos*; visible long ears (not pointed), the right eye and part of the mustache, no details of hairstyle to be distinguished. Fresh break 2.5YR 4/8 red, surface 7.5YR 2.5/1 black.

*Date:* 2nd to 1st century BCE.

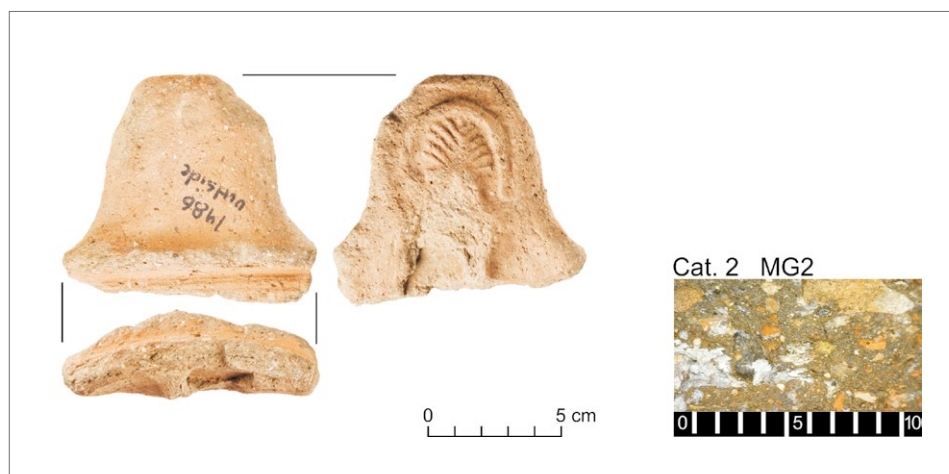


Fig. 4. Brazier support *Cat. 2*, Macroscopic Group 2, Paphian(?), Cypriot(?); matrix with linear scale (PCMA UW | photo A. Oleksiak; matrix photo U. Wicenciak-Núñez)

#### 4. Support and fragment of bowl

[Fig. 5 bottom]

Inv. Str.1/96-97, Cist. 20a; closed deposit in cistern dated from the late 3rd/early 2nd century BCE to the reign of Cleopatra VII (see Papuci-Władyka 1998; Meyza and Papuci-Władyka 1999, cistern sealed before 30–25 BCE).

*Dimensions and state of preservation:* H. 11.8; diameter of bowl not determined; W. frame on top 5.3; distance between outer corners of the eyes 2.8. Chips on the beard end, the beard and the right top of the support and some places on the outer surface blackened by fire.

*References:* Unpublished (mentioned in Meyza and Papuci-Władyka 1999: 83).

*Iconographic type:* Head in ivy wreath, Papposilenos – Rotroff Agora II (Conze II; Mayence IV C).

*Description:* Support and part of bowl with out-turned rim preserved. Raised panel with a double-ridge frame. Inside the panel, head in a wreath of eight leaves (four on either side) and two small bunches of berries, *korymbos*,<sup>10</sup> tied with a double fillet (hardly visible); on either side of the parting in the hair over the forehead; small bunch of grapes on either side of the face (the one on the right hardly visible). Below, the curved end of a fillet on either side of the head (ears not indicated). A marked triangle in relief between the eyebrows: wrinkles on the forehead shown as four unequally spaced, slightly curved grooves. Thick, highly arched eyebrows run into the nose; eyebrows marked with distinct diagonal lines. Wide-open eyes with prominent

lids and pupils indicated by small circles. Triangular cheeks. Broad snub nose. Woolly, arched mustache. Beard has three central ridges framed by scored thicker ones on either side. Fresh break 2.5YR 4/8 red, surface 2.5YR 5/6 red to 5/8 red.

*Date:* Second half of 2nd century BCE

*Comments:* Rather well indicated details, probably first generation of a replica, see Didelot 1997: Fig. 19, from Delos (Mus. Inv. R 1942), W. of frame 5.2. Iconographic type very common, see Conze 1890: 122–123, IIA No. 274 from Athens with inscription EKATAIOY; Şahin 2003: 8–13, Pls 2–5, Variant E 1 (Knidos); Rotroff 2006: 207–208 with comparanda; Nocoń 2016: 106–108, Pl. 2 (similar fabric but with silver mica, proposed origin: Knidos).

Very similar fabric and type: K 166 from Halikarnassos: Vaag, Nørskov, and Lund 2002: 191, 209, Pl. 81, context K Trench R<sub>1</sub> dated: “an end-accumulation datable to the first decade of the 1st century BC” (Vaag); Şahin 2003: 21, E F<sub>4</sub>, Pls 1 and 10 but smaller: W. of frame 5.0 (from Knidos, without context) and E F<sub>5</sub>, Pl. 10, W. of frame 5.3 (from Knidos); from Athens: Rotroff 2006: 207, Type II.1, 324, Nos 754–756, Pl. 75; from Rhodes: Dima and Tsakanika 2016–2017: 80, Nos 70–71, Type IV with inscription EKATAIOY, clay 5YR 5/6 reddish-yellow with mica, dated to the second half of the 2nd century BCE.

For the profile of the rim and the upper part of the bowl see two specimens from the House of Dionysos OΔ 3513 and OΔ 4746: Hayes 1991: 75, No. 1, Ware I, Fig. 26:1 and No. 3, Fig. 26:3, Ware I.

10 Flowers and berries that appear in an umbel or cluster, ivy berries in particular (French: “corymbes”).



Fig. 5. Brazier supports, top *Cat. 3*, bottom *Cat. 4*, Macroscopic Group 3, Aegean, region between Kos, Myndos and Knidos; matrix with linear scale (PCMA UW | photos A. Oleksiak; matrix photos U. Wicenciak-Núñez)

### 5. Fragment of support and bowl [Fig. 6]

Inv. AR 5/93, “Hellenistic” House [HH], Trial Pit 1/93-3, layer 3, depth 0.60–1.00 m below top of east wall of Room 10 of HH.

*Dimensions and state of preservation:* P.H. 7.2; W. 7.5; distance between outer corners of the eyes 3.0. Nose, mustache and beard blackened by fire.

*References:* Papuci-Władyka 2000: 735–736, Fig. 7:5.

*Iconographic type:* Head in ivy wreath, Papposilenos, see *Cat. 4*.

*Description:* Part of support preserved with a small part of the bowl’s rim. Similar to *Cat. 4*. Fragment of wreath preserved, furrowed forehead, nose a little bit longer than in *Cat. 4* and not snub. Fresh break 2.5YR 4/8 red, surface 10R 5/6 red.

*Date:* Late 2nd to mid-1st century BCE.

*Comments:* See *Cat. 4*.

### 6. Fragment of support [Fig. 7 top]

Inv. FR 5/94, Villa of Theseus [VT] Room 29, trial pit VT 29/94, 0.45 m below the corner of the foundation wall.

*Dimensions:* P.H. 13.2; W. 10.6; W. frame 6.3; W. head (ear to ear) 4.7; distance between outer corners of the eyes 2.3. Edges

of the support broken, nose and tip of beard chipped. Blackened top of the *onkos* and end of the beard, also the area below it. Polished surface, fired hard, impossible to scratch with fingernail, break rough, irregular. Golden mica specs visible to the naked eye, also on the surface. Joining of bowl and support well masked, details not visible, nicely connected and smoothed.

*References:* Unpublished.

*Iconographic type:* Satyr with *onkos*, see here *Cat. 2*, 7–8.

*Description:* Partly preserved support of a brazier with a small part of the bowl and rim. Satyr’s head outlined with a thick arcaded ridge (partly preserved). Ten locks of hair on the left side and eight on the right, no central lock; all come down to the hair border. The forehead is projecting; below, thick arched eyebrows and strongly marked eyelids with round, deep-set, projecting eyeballs. Nose flares at the base. Big pointed ears (evident especially on the right where the tip is broken off). Fleishy lips. Beard with eight ridges: six inside and a thicker one on either side. Mustache runs into the outer beard ridges. Fresh break 2.5YR 4/8 red, surface 10R 4/6 red.

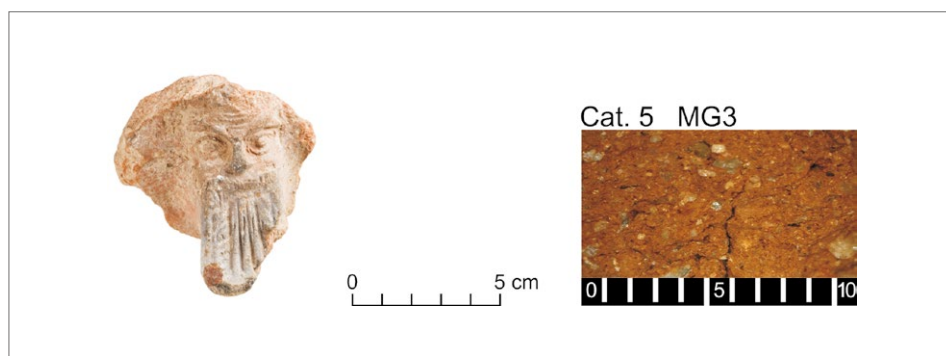


Fig. 6. Brazier support *Cat. 5*, Macroscopic Group 3, Aegean, region between Kos, Myndos and Knidos; matrix with linear scale (PCMA UW | photo A. Oleksiak; matrix photo U. Wicenciak-Núñez)

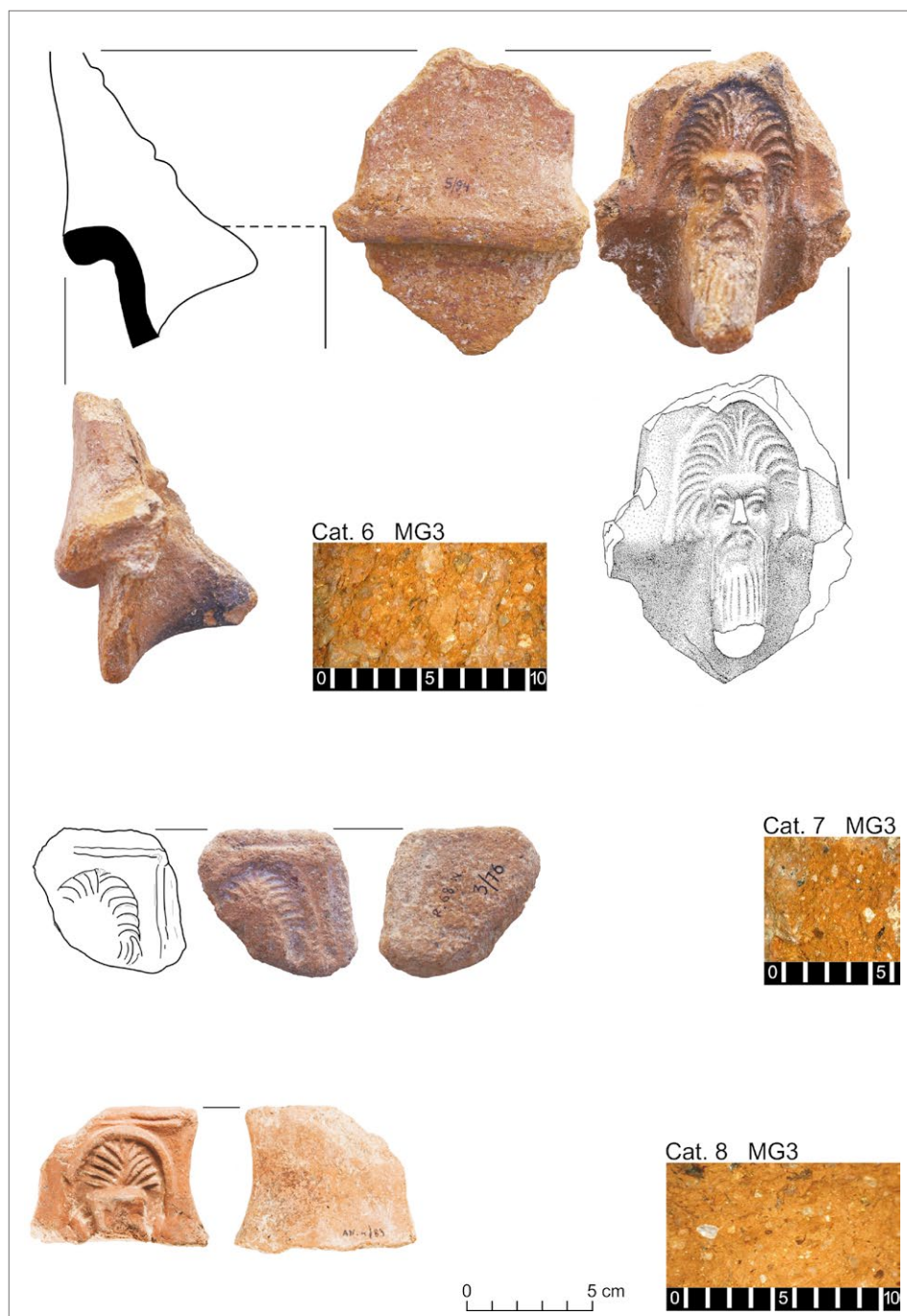


Fig. 7. Brazier supports: top, *Cat. 6*; center, *Cat. 7*; bottom, *Cat. 8*, Macroscopic Group 3, Aegean, region between Kos, Myndos and Knidos; matrix with linear scale (PCMA UW | photos A. Kubicka-Sowińska, A. Oleksiak; matrix photos U. Wicenciak-Núñez; drawing E. Papuci-Władyka, T. Witczak; digitizing U. Bąk)

*Date:* 2nd to 1st century BCE.

*Comments:* A widespread iconographic type; similar (but not from the same mold) to Rotroff 2006: 209, 325, No. 763; Satyr with *onkos* type III.3.a, Fig. 92, Pl. 77, context from the first or second quarter of the 2nd century BCE.

### 7. Fragment of support [Fig. 7 center]

Inv. FR 3/76, context VT Room 68 North.

*Dimensions and state of preservation:* P.H. 5.8; P.W. 6.0. Surface effaced, damaged, details not clearly visible. Hard firing, break rough, uneven, rough surface. No sign of fire.

*References:* Unpublished.

*Iconographic type:* Satyr with *onkos*, see here *Cat.* 6, 8.

*Description:* Small part of the upper double ridge framed support; hair combed up in a ridged arcaded frame: seven locks on the left, a small central lock on the right, and part of the left ear (pointed?). Fresh break and surface 2.5YR 6/8 light red.

*Date:* 2nd to 1st century BCE

### 8. Fragment of support [Fig. 7 bottom]

Inv. AR 4/83, Sq. 13/82-83, 15, upper layer.

*Dimensions and state of preservation:* P.H. 6.5; P.W. 8.3; W. arcaded frame 3.7. Left corner missing (broken).

*References:* Unpublished.

*Iconographic type:* Satyr with *onkos*, see here *Cat.* 2, 6, 7.

*Description:* Upper part of a double ridge framed support preserved; hair combed up in a ridged arcaded frame: six locks on the left and five on the right

with one smaller central lock; high forehead, traces of eyes and ears (pointed?) visible. Fresh break 2.5YR 4/8 red, surface 2.5YR 4/6 red.

*Date:* 2nd to 1st century BCE.

*Comments:* See Paphos House of Dionysos ΟΔ 851, Hayes 1991: 75, No. 6, Pl. 17:8, Ware I variant, Satyr-mask, type Conze III A.<sup>11</sup>

### 9. Upper part of support [Fig. 8]

Inv. FR 2/76, found in Room 68N of VT in 1976.

*Dimensions and state of preservation:* P.H. 8.2; W. 7.5; W. of frame 5.2; W. of panel 3.9. Missing corners and lower part of the spur. Upper part of the rosette and frame slightly blackened; surface smoothed in places, hard-fired, break rough, uneven.

*References:* Unpublished.

*Iconographic type:* Rosette (inscribed) – Rotroff Agora VI (Conze VIII; Mayence IIIA).

*Description:* Eight-petal rosette with alternately pointed and rounded petals. All petals have one groove running centrally down their length. In the center, probably a smaller rosette with rounded petals and central depression. On the raised border, an outward facing ovolo on two sides (five oves on the left side, only three preserved on the right) and partly preserved inscription in relief at the top: EKA[TAIOY]. Plain spur in place of the usual beard (seen in the other examples here). Fresh break and surface 2.5YR 4/8 red.

*Date:* Probably second half of 2nd century BCE.

<sup>11</sup> Object examined by the author: clay red (2.5 YR 4/4) with rocks and other inclusions, does not recall any known Cypriot clay.

*Comments:* Conze 1890: 132–133, VIII, No. 861 from Athens-Varvakion is identical, but with a ridged frame from left and right and without inscription, H. 11, *Cat. 9* could be from the same mold; Didelot 1998: Fig. 40, P 13102 (Alexandria Museum); Rotroff 2006: Type VI, *Cat. 773*, Pls 79, 83 from “context before ca. 150 ?” BCE, Quartz cooking fabric, imported to Athens; Şahin 2001: Fig. 4, Ha 3 from Halikarnassos in the British Museum, dated “probably the second half of the second century BC”. Rosette, but from another mold: Şahin 1999–2000: 66, V.8, Resim 21.1, from Halikarnassos in the Bodrum Museum, suggested Halikar-

nassos production. For the plain spur see Hayes 1991: 75, No. 7, Pl. 1,7:6, OΔ 1530, Ware I, variant but with “trace of gold mica”.

The inscription is of the producer (or workshop owner). Signatures of this kind are very common in the material coming from other regions of the Mediterranean, specifically from Delos, Alexandria—according to Didelot (1998: 279), 140 of the 180 supports with signatures were of this manufacturer—and Athens. Thus, Hekataios is a widely known manufacturer, whose activity is placed in the second half of the 2nd century BCE; see Şahin 2003: 76–81, stating that the workshop



Fig. 8. Brazier support *Cat. 9*, Macroscopic Group 3, Aegean, region between Kos, Myndos and Knidos; matrix with linear scale (PCMA UW | photos A. Kubicka-Sowińska; matrix photo U. Wicenciak-Núñez; drawing E. Papuci-Władyka; digitizing U. Bąk)



Fig. 9. Brazier support *Cat. 10*, Macroscopic Group 4, imported from unknown center, and its matrix with linear scale (PCMA UW | photos A. Oleksiak; matrix photo U. Wicenciak-Núñez)

of Hekataios was not located in Knidos; Rotroff 2006: 212–213; Dima and Tsakanika 2016–2017: 52–53.

#### MACROSCOPIC GROUP 4

*Description of fabric:* Many inclusions: frequent to common, coarse and very coarse, low sphericity angular, red, yellow and gray; common, medium to coarse, high sphericity angular white; few fine sparkling (silver mica?). No voids visible. Fabric hard, feel of the surface smooth. Fresh break red, 2.5YR 5/8, surface light red, 2.5YR 6/6.

*Provenance:* Imported from an unknown center.

#### 10. Fragment of support [Fig. 9]

1981 “Gate”, found in the rubble of large stone blocks, northeast of the eastern gate to VT, October 1981.

*Dimensions and state of preservation:* P.H. 5.5, H. of cap 2.4; W. 7.1; distance between outer tips of the eyes 1.8. Preserved upper part of a support.

*References:* Unpublished.

*Iconographic type:* Male head in conical cap, see here *Cat. 1, 3*.

*Description:* Squared single-ridge frame; conical cap reaching the upper frame, traces of two eyes and the left ear.

*Date:* 2nd to 1st century BCE.

#### MACROSCOPIC GROUP 5

*Description of fabric:* Many inclusions: abundant circular or of various shapes, medium to large (2–4 mm) bluish gray fragments of shells, revealing segmented fossil remains when split open; this

is the reason for surface cracking; rare, coarse high sphericity rounded red; the inclusions are well visible on the surface. Abundant voids, fine and medium, thin, rather angular and elongated in shape. The fabric is soft, scratchable with a fingernail. Fresh break hackly, feel of the surface smooth. Fresh break reddish yellow 5YR 6/6, surface pink 5YR 8/3 to reddish yellow 5YR 6/6.<sup>12</sup>

*Provenance:* Berenike (Benghazi in Libya).

#### 11. Support and fragment of bowl

[Fig. 10]

Inv. Sq.10/82-83 l.2.

*References:* Unpublished.

*Dimensions and state of preservation:* P.H. 12.2; estimated D. 29–30. Fragment of upper part of support missing from the outer face; the tip of the “nose” missing; some chips on the surface. Traces of fire. Whitish slip(?) preserved on the lower part.

*Iconographic type:* Handmade, plain lunate panel with “nose-like” support (not in Conze’s catalogue); Rotroff (2006: 219–220) – Agora: Brazier with plain, handmade supports.

*Description:* Support and fragment of upper part of a bowl. The bowl is rounded with high, rounded, projecting rim-molding. The support rises vertically from the top of the rim. The upper part of the support, above the rim, is shaped as a plain, slightly out-turned tongue or lunate form; the lower part below the rim on the interior is a plain ridge recalling a nose (the term “nose-like” was first used by Hayes 1991: 75).

12 I am greatly indebted to E. Zimi for confirming the identification of our MG5 with the Benghazi local fabric during the Kaštela conference of IARPotHP in 2017.

*Date:* First half of 2nd century BCE?

*Comments:* Imported from Berenike/Benghazi; it represents the Benghazi local fabric 1 and brazier type B distinguished by John A. Riley (1979: 94–95, 308, No. D692, diameter of bowl about 24 cm, Fig. 113, but *Cat. 11* has a different type of bowl rim); this type of brazier is always made in this ware and is the most common Hellenistic brazier at Berenike. At least one more fragment of this fabric was found in the Maloutena excavations after 1998,<sup>13</sup> three such fragments—as stated above—were found in the Paphos Agora,

and two other nose-shaped specimens in the House of Dionysos (Hayes 1991: 76, Nos 17–18, Fig. 26, Pl. 18:4, Ware V).<sup>14</sup> Also similar in type and fabric is one object from Halikarnassos but fossils were not reported in the fabric description (Vaag, Nørskov, and Lund 2002: 53–54, 190, J51 Trench R13, Pls 40, 73).<sup>15</sup> Fossils are mentioned in the clay of other brazier supports from Halikarnassos, also nose-shaped, which should be similar to the fabric of our specimen, the differences in color could be the effect of the firing process (Vaag, Nørskov, and Lund 2002:



Fig. 10. Brazier support *Cat. 11*, Macroscopic Group 5, imported from Berenike (Benghazi); matrix with linear scale (PCMA UW | photos A. Oleksiak, matrix photo U. Wicenciak-Núñez), drawing E. Papuci-Władyka; digitizing U. Bąk)

- 13 Inv. 14/018/5, 74/16, I owe this information to Monika Więch.
- 14 For other iconographic types from the House of Dionysos see Hayes 1991: 77, Nos 20 – lion-mask, 22 – female mask, 23 – “slave” mask, all of Ware V described also here above.
- 15 Fabric: “Medium-hard very hackly coarse fabric containing abundant very large up to 2 mm long flat grayish-black almost transparent flakes of rock, and common, medium to large black inclusions; no mica. No slip. Fabric 5YR 6/6”, the context is dated: “...end accumulation of the layer just before the middle of the 2nd century BC” (Vaag, Nørskov, and Lund 2002: 183), with parallel in Corinth: Edwards 1975: 119, 120, Pl. 61.646 (local imitation of imported model, dated to the late second quarter of the 2nd century BCE).

131–132, 144, Well C, G77, Pls 21, 67);<sup>16</sup> this specimen was dated to the 2nd century and identified as a brazier handle, but in the opinion of the present author it is a Type A brazier support from Berenike – square in shape (see Riley 1979: 304–305, No. 691, Fig. 113).<sup>17</sup> Two similar exemplars from Knidos published by Şahin (2003: 50–51, U4 and U5, Pl. 27) contain mica, but the local Benghazi fabric 1 can sometimes have a little mica as reported by Riley (1979: 95, “In thin section [Pl. XIXa] there is, apart from the shell, a little mica and quartz”). One similar

example of a handmade lunate panel from heavy shell-tempered clay from the Athenian Agora according to Rotroff (2006: 220, Inv. P 34502) was imported from Berenike and found in the fill which was discarded not long after 200 BCE, so it attests manufacture of this type in North Africa in the early 2nd century BCE. Many fragments of a brazier, including a base form and mask corresponding to Riley (1979) No. D710 made of Berenike local fabric 1, have been found in Alexandria (Hayes and Harlaut 2002: 115, No. 3, Fig. 72, Pl. 2.3).

## THE CASE OF PAPHOS

Among the 11 fragments of braziers from the Maloutena excavations (1965–1998), ten were of a type with hemispherical bowl on a stand and three moldmade supports (*Cat.* 1–10) and one with a hemispherical bowl and handmade supports (*Cat.* 11) (for a summary of the catalogued objects see *Table 1*).

The main iconographic types in the Paphos Maloutena material examined here correspond to those from other centers: male head in a conical cap *pilos* (*Cat.* 1, 3, 10); head with an ivy wreath Papposilenos (*Cat.* 4, 5); and head with combed up hair, *onkos* (*Cat.* 2, 6, 7, 8). We also have one rosette (*Cat.* 9) and one nose-shaped type (*Cat.* 11).

It merits note that the published Paphos material produces only one signature, that of Hekataios (*Cat.* 9), decorated with a rosette. It is generally the

only signature known so far in the Cypriot material. Thus, it appears that Cyprus was isolated in some way from the main commercial routes of this region, i.e., those from Knidos, Kos and Rhodes to Alexandria, at least where braziers are concerned, because the same is not true for categories like tableware and transport amphorae (see, for example, Papuci-Władyka and Miszk 2020: 510–519, Tables 1 and 2; Dobosz 2013; 2020 for transport amphorae).

Our MG 1, which is the same as in the case of the Hayes Ware I, is proposed to be a local product. However, as suggested above, the material from the House of Dionysos should be reexamined and some of the exemplars should be removed from Hayes's Ware I list.<sup>18</sup> Ware I was sporadically exported outside Cyprus: accord-

16 Fabric: “Soft light red clay, 2.5YR 6/6. Abundant small to large grey inclusions of fossils. Also occasional large inclusions of light grey lime. ... whitish-yellow slip 7.5YR 8/3. The inclusions are very well visible on the surface. No mica”.

17 For other iconographic types from the House of Dionysos see Hayes 1991: 77, Nos 20 – lion-mask, 22 – female mask, 23 – “slave” mask, all of Ware V described also here.

18 For example, No. 5 (OΔ 3193) Pl. 17:5, No. 7 (OΔ 1530) Pl. 17:6 and No. 13 (OΔ 637) Pl. 18:2, which are all of an ‘Aegean’ type of clay, that is our MG 3, according to this author's observations.

ing to Hayes (1991: 75), it can be related to some groups determined by Rahmani (1984) in material from Israel which could have been imported from Cyprus (but this statement should also be subjected to further study).

The MG 5 group is very interesting as it is a probable import from Berenike/Benghazi. The clay includes many fossil shells and is very calcareous, exactly as described by Riley (1979; see also above). As shown above, also the iconographic type has analogies in the Benghazi material, as well as in the House of Dionysos in Paphos, where this object has been described by Hayes as a probably local product, his Ware V. Equally, the examination of another object from the Ware V

list (ΟΔ 3211, Hayes 1991: 76, No. 18, Fig. 26, Pl. 18:4) showed that it, too, should be treated as an import: it has a great number of rock fragments of gray color, significant pores which indicate organic additions, and large red particles also visible on the surface, and this clay does not resemble any Cypriot clay. Summing up, in the opinion of this author, Ware V of Hayes corresponds, like our MG 5, to the local fabric 1 of Berenike. Similarly, Hayes's Ware VI should be examined once again, because it does not seem to be local and also shows strong similarities with Berenike productions.

The last piece from the House of Dionysos worthy of note is the complete brazier displayed now in the reopened Paphos

Table 1. Overview of the catalogued braziers from the Maloutena excavations (1965–1998)

Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Macroscopic Group (MG)	Suggested provenance	Iconographic type	Chronology (all dates BCE)
1	FR 16/86	MG 1	Paphos or vicinity	Male head with <i>pilos</i>	End 2nd/beginning 1st century
2	1986, no context	MG 2	Paphian(?), Cypriot(?)	Satyr with <i>onkos</i>	2nd to 1st century
3	1978, between SW 80/80/77 and W 80/77	MG 3	Aegean, region between Kos, Myndos and Knidos	Male head with <i>pilos</i>	2nd to 1st century
4	Str.1/96-97, Cist. 20a	MG 3	Same as No. 3	Papposilenos	Second half of 2nd century
5	AR 5/93	MG 3	Same as No. 3	Papposilenos	Late 2nd to mid-1st century
6	FR 5/94	MG 3	Same as No. 3	Satyr with <i>onkos</i>	2nd to 1st century
7	FR 3/76	MG 3	Same as No. 3	Satyr with <i>onkos</i>	2nd to 1st century
8	AR 4/83	MG 3	Same as No. 3	Satyr with <i>onkos</i>	2nd to 1st century
9	FR 2/76	MG 3	Same as No. 3	Rosette, inscription: EKA[TAIOY]	Second half of 2nd century?
10	1981 "Gate"	MG 4	Imported from unknown center	Male head with <i>pilos</i>	2nd to 1st century
11	Sq.10/82-83 l.2	MG 5	Berenike/Benghazi (Libya)	Handmade, "nose-like"	First half of 2nd century?

Archaeological District Museum. It was found in a very well dated deposit from about 110–100 BCE (OΔ 1336, Hayes 1991: 77, No. 24, deposit ΑΛ, Fig. 26, Pl. 18:10–12). Its supports are decorated with the heads of bulls<sup>19</sup> on the obverse and lions on the reverse, and a Medusa head on the stand, evidently similar to the Berenike models (Riley 1979: 310–311, Pls XXX-VIII:705, 706, 707, 708, XXXIX:714). Hayes classified this object as a Ware I variant of possible local make and related the ware to his No. 10 which, however, is “possibly related to ware of 16 (=Ware IV)?” and later is referred to as Aegean and imported (Hayes 1991: 76, No. 10 [OΔ 4368], Ware I variant). The present author does not see the clay of object Hayes No. 24 as Cypriot and would rather place it with her MG5 group. The abovementioned example from the Italian excavations with the lion’s head may also belong here. And, if the supports of the bull/lion shapes are really of local production, why are they so much dependent on the Berenike models? It is surely an issue to be addressed in any future study of the relationship between Paphos and Berenike: the connections between the island and Libya, and the role played in them by Paphos.

According to Didelot (1997: 380–382), there could have been three groups of brazier production centers. First, the major centers, which she proposes to locate in the region of Kos–Myndos–Knidos and which used the so-called ‘Aegean’ clay (here MG 3); Şahin (2001: 128–129; 2003: 58–68) has argued in this case for Knidos. The second group is represented by secondary centers that also exported some of their products, e.g., Berenike/Benghazi, which used calcareous clay with fossils (here MG 5). The third group embraces many local workshops producing on a small scale with little or no export; this production can be original or dependent on imported models. Athens, Egypt and Sardinia workshops have all been suggested as third-group centers by Didelot (1997: 380–382; 1998), Şahin (2003: 87) and Rotroff (2006: 200). One should add Eretria in the light of a recent study, which has found evidence of local production in the form of a support designed for a kind of brazier with plain supports, as well as one imported mold for a Papposilenos type of support (Ackermann 2018: 417, No. K113, Pl. 169 and 132, 424, No. L13\*, Pl. 171). Paphos, producing on a small scale from imported models, could also probably be placed in the third group (here MG 1; see Didelot 1997: 382 and note 24).

## CONCLUSIONS

The overview of material from the Maloutena excavations and the still incomplete survey of published finds from the island has led to the following conclusions.

1. The very small number of braziers found in Cyprus shows that, at least in this respect, the island generally was not so much in the Hellenistic *koiné* (on the *koiné* recently see Laftsidis 2018; 2019).

19 Bull’s heads are quite common in Athens (Retroff 2006: 211, Pl. 79 Agora V: Bull), but also in Naucratis; according to Thomas (n.d.), all the rare Egyptian examples with a bull’s head are from Naukratis.

2. A local center producing braziers may have existed in Paphos (or the Paphos region), drawing on non-local designs: our groups MG 1 and possibly MG 2. It is also possible that some quantities of local products may have been exported to the Levantine coast.

3. Aegean production center(s) (MG 3) were the most likely source of brazier imports to Paphos. These braziers were very common in the Mediterranean, especially in its eastern part. Smaller numbers of imported braziers came from Berenike/Benghazi (MG 5) and another, as yet unidentified, center (MG 4). In light of this,

the relationship between Paphos and Berenike should come under closer scrutiny.

4. Future archaeometric clay analyses will resolve or at least clarify the issue of brazier production centers.

5. Considering that almost 70% of the 90 brazier fragments uncovered in Cyprus were found in Nea Paphos, the city evidently played a major role on the island as the main importer and producer of braziers (local groups: MG 1 and possibly MG 2), confirming its important position as the capital of the island during a large part of the Hellenistic period.

#### Prof. Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4533-2557>

University of Warsaw

Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology

[e.papuci-wlady@uw.edu.pl](mailto:e.papuci-wlady@uw.edu.pl)

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