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# "Frying Pans" of the Early Bronze Age Aegean\*

JOHN E. COLEMAN

(Pls. 33–37)

## Abstract

Recent discoveries have shed new light on the curious objects known as "frying pans," whose real purpose is disputed. Most are of terracotta, but a few examples are now known of stone and there are also two of bronze from Alaca Hüyük. They may be divided into several groups according to the type of handle (i.e., forked, barred, rectangular and "bracket"). "Frying pans" from the Cycladic islands can often be distinguished from those found on the mainland of Greece by both their handles and their decoration. The chronological evidence indicates that all "frying pans" now known from the Cyclades may be dated to Early Cycladic II. Those found on the mainland date to Early Helladic I and II. It is argued that "frying pans" were probably used as plates, as Mylonas has suggested, although they may often have served a decorative function as well. It is not yet clear whether the form originated in the Cyclades or the mainland of Greece. The examples in bronze from Alaca Hüyük are hard to explain, but they may have copied Cycladic exemplars in stone.

The objects familiarly known as "frying pans" first

came to light in the Cycladic islands in the late nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The discoveries by Tsountas in the Cyclades in the 1890s<sup>2</sup> and subsequently those by Tsountas and Papavasileiou at Manika in Euboea<sup>3</sup> caused these objects to become a focus of scholarly interest. They have continued to attract much attention over the years because of their unusual shape and elaborate incised decoration. Recent finds have shed new light on these curious objects, and we can now attempt to outline their distribution and chronology with considerably greater confidence than before. It is important to remember, however, that inasmuch as those available for study still represent an essentially accidental selection, any conclusions drawn must be regarded as tentative.

"Frying pans," as the term is used here, are low-walled objects, roughly circular as seen from above, with projecting handles of various types. Their function is uncertain, although it is argued below that they were probably plates. For convenience, the outer flat

\* An early draft of this article was presented to a workshop on prehistoric Cycladic chronology at the University of London in June 1983. The workshop was organized by R.L.N. Barber and J.A. MacGillivray; I would like to thank them and the other participants for their comments and encouragement. I should like further to express my thanks to Machteld J. Mellink, Marcia K. Mogelonsky, Jürgen Thimme, and members of the Bronze Age Seminar at Cornell University in Fall 1984 for reading and commenting on various drafts; to Jeremy B. Rutter, whose perceptive criticisms have saved me from a number of errors; and to Martha H. Wiencke for providing information on the pieces with impressed decoration from Lerna, including the text of an unpublished paper. Thanks are also due Marcia Mogelonsky for ill. 1, Richard M. Economakis for ill. 4 and 5 and the following for photographs, permission to publish photographs, or for other information or help on specific pieces: Jane C. Biers, Nancy Bookides, Barbara J. Byrne, Costis Davaras, Ch. Dumas, Angelos Delivorrias, Marie-Louise Erlenmeyer, D. Goulandris, John C. Lavezzi, Patricia Getz-Preziosi, Henry S. Robinson, Jeremy B. Rutter, Olga Tzakou-Alexandri, Michael Vickers, James Wright and Carol W. Zerner. The following museums kindly provided photographs which are reproduced in the plates: National Museum, Athens (2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 12–19, 21, 23–27, 37, 40); Benaki Museum, Athens (76); Museum of Art and Archaeology, Columbia, Missouri (30); Ashmolean Museum, Ox-

ford (54).

The following abbreviations appear in this article:

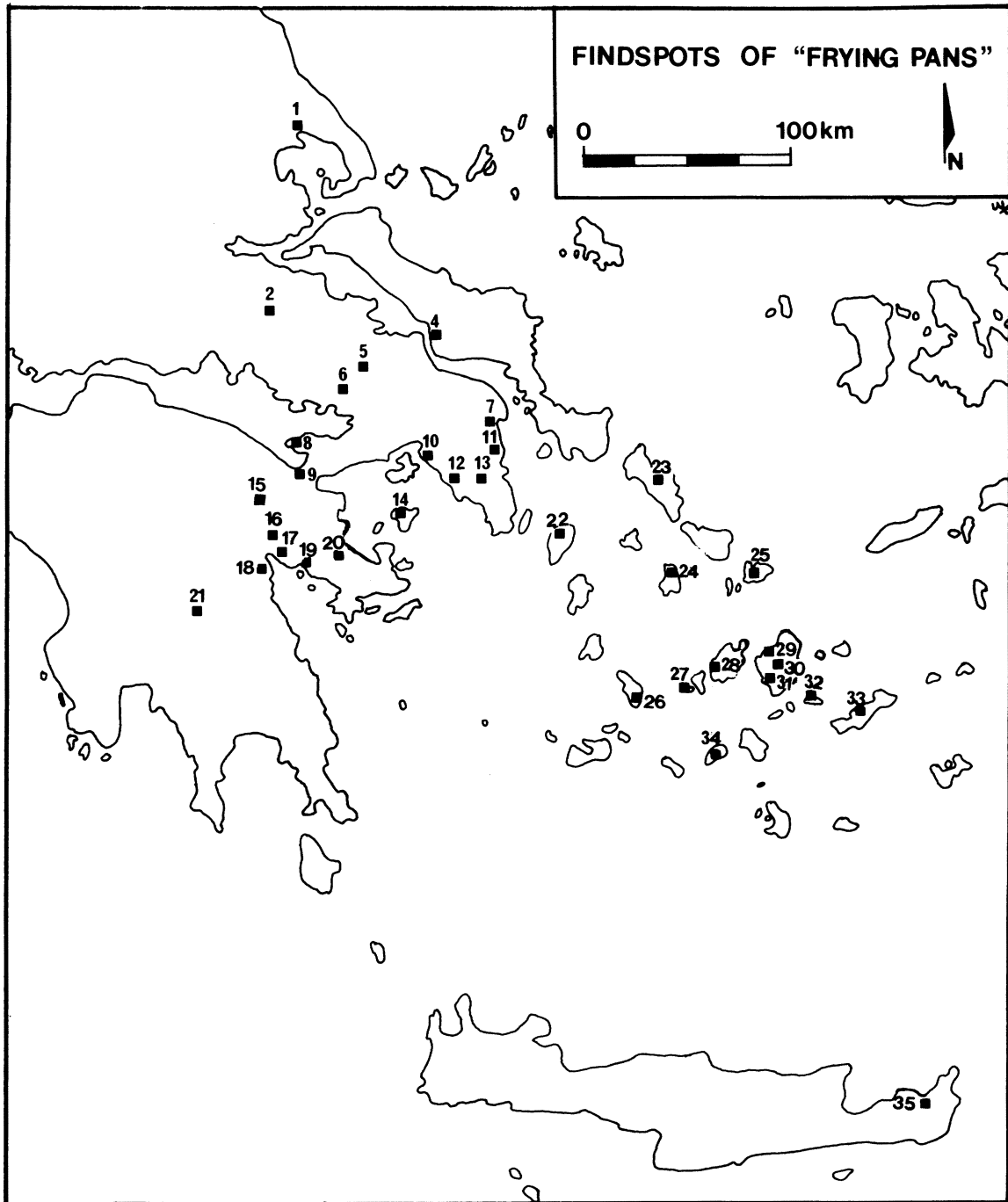
- Bossert 1960 E.-M. Bossert, "Die gestempelten Verzierungen auf frühbronzezeitlichen Gefässen der Ägäis," *JdI* 75 (1960) 1–16.
- Goldman 1931 H. Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis in Boeotia* (Cambridge, Mass. 1931).

- Mellink 1956 M.J. Mellink, "The Royal Tombs at Alaca Hüyük and the Aegean World," *The Aegean and the Near East* (Locust Valley 1956) 39–58.
- Mylonas 1959 G.E. Mylonas, *Aghios Kosmas* (Princeton 1959).
- Papavasileiou 1910 G.A. Papavasileiou, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάφων* (Athens 1910).
- Renfrew 1972 C. Renfrew, *The Emergence of Civilisation. The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.* (London 1972).
- Thimme 1977 J. Thimme, *Art and Culture of the Cyclades* (Karlsruhe 1977).
- Tsountas 1898 Ch. Tsountas, "Κυκλαδικά," *ArchEph* 1898, 137–212.
- Tsountas 1899 Ch. Tsountas, "Κυκλαδικά II," *ArchEph* 1899, 73–134.
- Zervos 1957 Ch. Zervos, *L'art des Cyclades* (Paris 1957).
- Zschietzschmann 1935 W. Zschietzschmann, "Kykladenpfannen," *AA* 1935, 652–68.

<sup>1</sup> The term "frying pan" is clearly a misnomer, as emerges from the discussion of the purpose of these vessels infra, and I share the misgivings about its use expressed by Thimme 1977: 522. There is no other term in English that seems to me better suited, however, and similar appellations are used in Greek and French. "Pan" has too general a meaning to be useful in the present context.

<sup>2</sup> Tsountas 1898, 1899.

<sup>3</sup> Papavasileiou 1910.



Ill. 1. Findspots of Early Bronze Age "frying pans" in the Aegean. Key: 1. Pefkakia; 2. Manesi; 4. Manika; 5. Lithares; 6. Eutresis; 7. Marathon; 8. Perachora; 9. Corinth; 10. Palaia Kokkinia; 11. Raphina; 12. Ayios Kosmas; 13. Markopoulo; 14. Aegina; 15. Nemea; 16. Berbati; 17. Tiryns; 18. Lerna; 19. Asine; 20. Epidauros; 21. Asea; 22. Keos, Ayia Irini; 23. Andros; 24. Syros, Chalandriani; 25. Mykonos; 26. Siphnos, Akrotiraki; 27. Despotikon; 28. Paros, Kampos; 29. Naxos, Grotta and Aplomata; 30. Naxos, Ayioi Anargyroi; 31. Naxos, Louros; 32. Ano Kouphonisi; 33. Amorgos, Kato Akroterion; 34. Sikiнос; 35. Crete, Ayia Photia. Not shown: Alaca Hüyük.

surface is referred to here as the bottom. “Frying pans” and other objects mentioned by number are those listed in the catalogue below. The catalogue includes most of the “frying pans” which are illustrated in publications or which have otherwise come to my attention. A listing of OTHER VESSELS OR LIDS of relevance to the discussion of “frying pans” is appended to the catalogue. Illustration 1 shows the distribution of “frying pans” with known findspots.

All known Aegean “frying pans” were of terracotta until three of stone (cat. nos. 35, 36 and 58) recently appeared. It is possible that Aegean examples will eventually turn up in other materials, since there are two bronze examples from Alaca Hüyük in Central Anatolia (123, 124). The total number of “frying pans” now known is probably not much more than about 200 (there are 124 listed in the catalogue). Most have been found in graves, but even in these contexts they are rare, with only 32 occurring in the more than 600 tombs excavated by Tsountas in Syros.<sup>4</sup> Mylonas reported at least 13 in and around the 51 tombs he excavated at Ayios Kosmas (of which only four are nearly complete)<sup>5</sup> and 11 are reported from the 60 tombs at Manika.<sup>6</sup>

Almost all terracotta “frying pans” have incised and impressed decoration on the flat bottom and sometimes also on the outer surface of the side walls. The incisions and impressions were usually filled with a white chalky substance which sets them off from the generally dark-colored surrounding surface. Decoration is often continued onto the lower surface of the handles and sometimes occurs on the upper surface of the handles. There is only a single undecorated example known from the Cyclades (33); elsewhere, undecorated examples are known only from Manika in Euboea, where they were in the majority (64–69, 71, 72, 74), and possibly from Tiryns (120). Two of the three stone vessels known have carved decoration; the other (35) was apparently undecorated.

“Frying pans” may be assigned to one of several varieties according to the configuration of the handle (ills. 2, 3). One variety has forked handles, i.e., two prong-like projections, usually round in section. Triangular handles, which consist of a single prong-like projection and which are known so far only at Manika in Euboea (71, 72), were probably derived from

forked handles and can be grouped with them. A second variety has barred handles consisting of two projecting struts, placed some distance from one another, to which a perpendicular strip of clay or bar is attached; the bar often continues beyond the struts and has ends which swell into knobs. Many other handles are grouped here under the heading “rectangular.” Most are simple flat projections, roughly rectangular as seen from above or below; the ends may be slightly concave, rounded or pointed and they are sometimes vertically pierced. “Bracket” handles, as the term is here used, comprise a subgroup of the rectangular category. They are roughly rectangular and usually flat, with relatively large central openings contiguous with the outer edge of the vessel; the sides and end may be concave as seen from above or below. “Bracket” handles are probably fairly closely related to barred handles; so far they are known almost exclusively from the mainland of Greece. Both barred and “bracket” handles might also probably be termed “raking,” but I have avoided that term in order to preserve the distinction between the two. A few other handles cannot be easily included in any of these groups (e.g., 59–61, 89, 99, 112, 120); the most distinctive are three from the mainland which evidently were of a socket-like form (89, 99 and 120).

Suggestions have been made about the origins of the handle forms. Mellink noted that the “handles are of such various shapes that one sometimes has to presuppose a wooden origin, as if a twig-like rod had been bent around the disc and then fastened at its ends to serve as a frame and handle.”<sup>7</sup> She also suggested “metal pouring channels such as invariably appear as double tangs at the base of Alaca ‘sun discs’.”<sup>8</sup> Mylonas, on the other hand, outlined a possible development for “frying pan” handles from the horizontal lugs (“ledge lugs”) which are common on terracotta vessels.<sup>9</sup> Until more chronological evidence is available, however, such ideas must be regarded as speculative.

The discussion which follows first considers vessels from reasonably secure contexts in the Cycladic islands, since many complete examples of the shape have been found there.

#### THE CYCLADES

Forked, barred and rectangular handles are com-

perhaps also mention here the various wish-bone and “bracket” handles that occur on bowls of the later Early Bronze Age and early Middle Bronze Age in Macedonia: e.g., L. Rey, “Observations sur les premiers habitats de la Macédoine,” *BCH* 41–43 (1917–1919) 195 figs. 12, 13; E. Hanschmann and V. Milojević, *Argissa-Magula 3. Die frühe und beginnende mittlere Bronzezeit* (Bonn 1976) pl. 83.5, 18. It is not clear, however, whether they have any relationship to the handles of “frying pans.”

<sup>4</sup> Tsountas 1899.

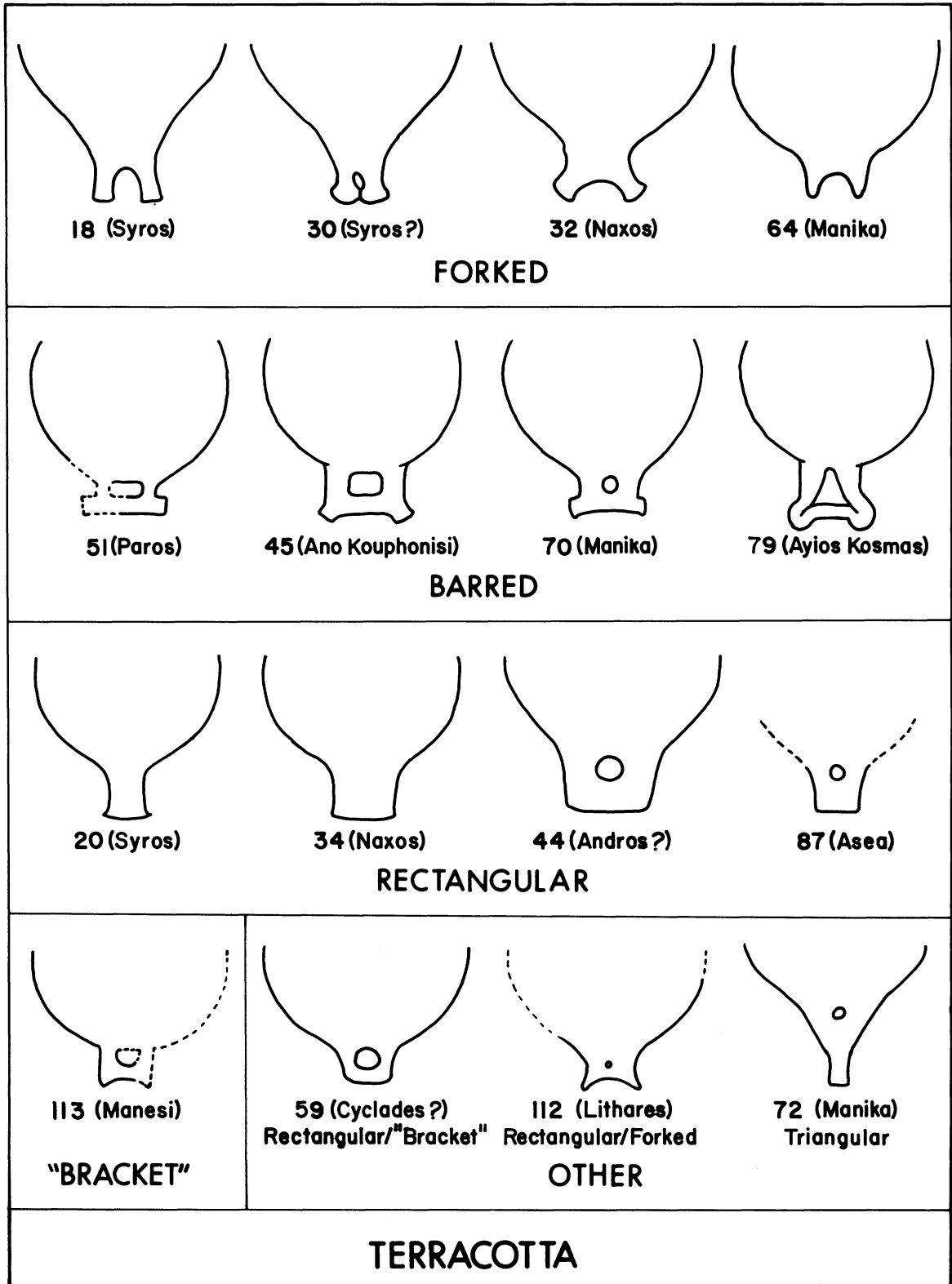
<sup>5</sup> Mylonas 1959: 24, 122.

<sup>6</sup> Papavasileiou 1910; A. Sampson, “Ο πρωτοελλαδικός οικισμός και τὸ νεκροταφείον τῆς Μάνικας Χαλκίδας,” *Archaiologia* 6 (Feb. 1983) 69–76.

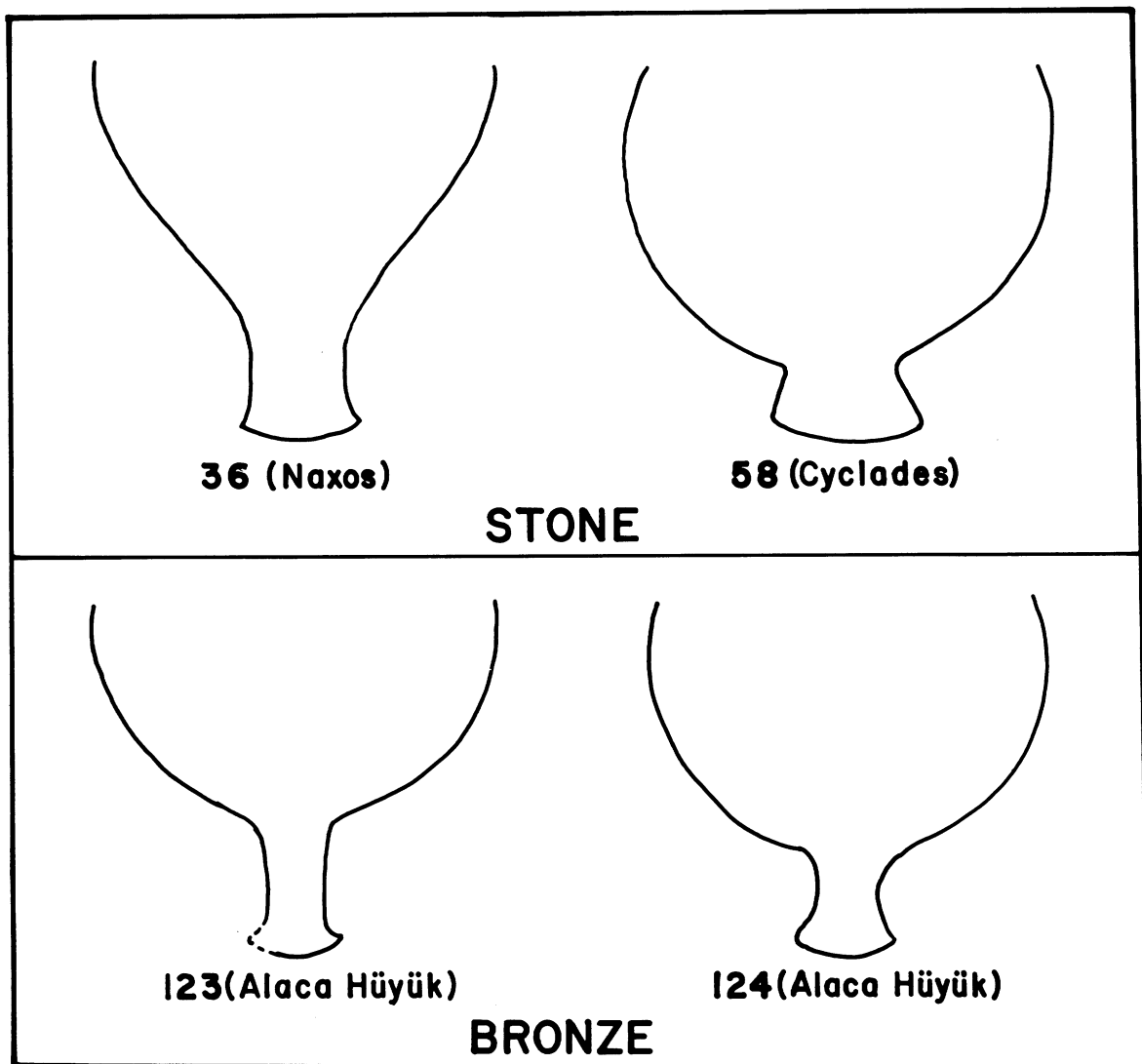
<sup>7</sup> Mellink 1956: 53.

<sup>8</sup> Mellink 1956: 53 n. 41.

<sup>9</sup> Mylonas 1959: 124, 125, fig. 123 and Drawing 63. One should



Ill. 2. Types of handles on "frying pans"

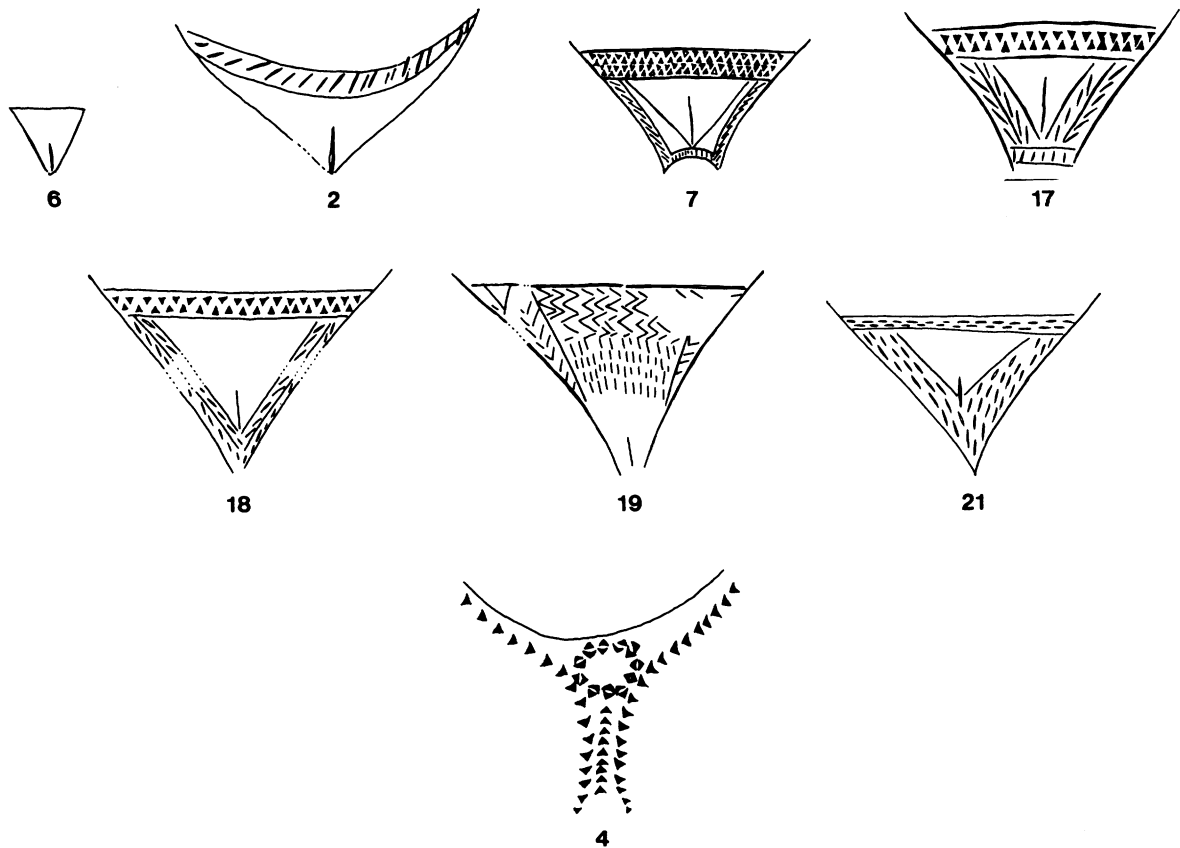


Ill. 3. "Frying pans" in stone and copper or bronze

mon in the Cyclades, although the last form is probably a little less frequent than the other two. Vessels with forked handles usually have a horizontal projection or "flange" around the circumference. This variety is often called the "Syros type" and, in fact, most of the known examples were produced in Syros. In the catalogue I have been able to list only two Cycladic "frying pans" with forked handles not from Syros: one from Naxos (32), and the other from Mykonos (50). Although Renfrew writes that "[the Syros 'frying pan'] is represented by . . . a sherd from Grotta, and a large fragment in Apeiranthos,"<sup>10</sup> it is unclear whether or not the handles are actually preserved on these two pieces from Naxos.

"Frying pans" with forked handles are usually not perfectly circular in outline as seen from above or below because the flange is drawn out toward the handles, although the vessel walls themselves circumscribe a circle. They have a considerable range of decoration. There is usually a band of *Kerbschnitt* (i.e., triangular impressions, generally arranged in matched rows with alternating apices) around the outer edge. Star-like patterns of rays filled with or set off by areas of *Kerbschnitt* often occupy the rest of the circular field (1-4), and the design is sometimes embellished by stamped concentric circles (5, 6). Otherwise, especially in Syros, large areas are often filled with stamped spirals or concentric circles, usually linked by tangen-

<sup>10</sup> Renfrew 1972: 528. See Addendum.



Ill. 4. Genitalia on "frying pans"

tial lines in a rapport design or "network" (7-8), and sometimes with a small central star (9, 10). Two vessels have an area of unlinked spirals surrounded by rays (11, 12). The individual stamped motifs, both unlinked and in "network" designs, are usually arranged in roughly concentric rings (e.g., 7-12), but this arrangement may have been due mainly to the circular field available for decoration rather than to conscious choice. The vessel from Naxos (32) differs somewhat from those from Syros; its handles are less leg-like (but cf. 2) and it has concentric bands of *Kerbschnitt* and herringbone incisions instead of the star pattern one would expect in Syros. The decoration on that from Mykonos (50) is also unusual in its simplicity; a broad zone lacks any incised design.

Female genitalia are often represented on Cycladic "frying pans" with forked handles. Drawings of a representative selection are given in ill. 4. Genitalia usually occur on the bottom near the junction with the handle, either as a triangular pattern, which may be more or less elaborate but includes a central vertical

incision (e.g., 1, 2, 6, 7, 12, 15-19, 21, 22, 24, 31, 50) or, at least once, as a ring of *Kerbschnitt* (4; probably also 3). They also appear in at least two instances (5, 8) on the upper surface of the handle. Since genitalia occur, at least to my knowledge, exclusively on "frying pans" with forked handles, it seems likely that the resemblance to the human body was suggested by the form of the handles. They were clearly not considered strictly necessary, since they are lacking on some vessels with forked handles (e.g., 9, 11, 13, 14, 25, 32). Female genitalia therefore seem to me a secondary feature and I doubt that they have any great significance for the use of "frying pans" (see below).

The variety with barred handle, often called the "Kamos type," usually lacks the projecting flange. Examples are known from Ano Kouphonisi, Paros and perhaps from Sikinos. Vessels with barred handles have a fairly restricted range of decorative motifs, which are almost always arranged in concentric rings. The motifs include *Kerbschnitt* and hand-drawn spirals linked with tangential lines. The central motif is

usually a spiral, a group of concentric circles or a star-pattern, and it occupies only a small proportion of the area of the bottom. One scheme of decoration often recurs (e.g., **38, 39, 41, 43, 48, 51, 56, 76**) and it is this which scholars usually associate with the "Kampos type": the central motif or group of motifs is enclosed by an incised circle or a narrow zone of simple ornament (*Kerbschnitt* or radiating strokes); it is surrounded in turn by two bands of linked hand-drawn double-line spirals separated by an incised circle or a narrow zone of simple ornament; the second band of spirals is surrounded by an outermost band with rows of *Kerbschnitt*; on the outer surface of the walls are running hand-drawn double-line spirals. Numbers **55** and **57** bear slight modifications of this scheme. Stamped decoration (except for *Kerbschnitt*) is rare on vessels with barred handles; for an example with a stamped spiral, see **45**.

Six certain examples of vessels with rectangular handles are known from the Cyclades but two of these are unusual in that they are of marble (**35, 36**). So far as one can tell, these vessels seem generally to have had a flange like those with forked handles. The flange is sometimes drawn out toward the handle (e.g., **20**). Three terracotta ones are decorated, that from Syros (**20**) almost entirely with *Kerbschnitt*, and those from Naxos (**34**) and Andros (**44**) with stamped spirals. One marble example (**36**) has carved decoration which seems more akin to that of other marble vessels than to terracotta "frying pans," although there is one possible parallel in terracotta from Asea (**89**).

There are no clear examples of the "bracket" variety of rectangular handle from the Cyclades, although the handle of one vessel (**59**) has some of the characteristics of this variety (cf. also **44**).

It is often claimed that there was a chronological development from the variety with barred handle to that with forked handle. Although such a development may well have occurred, a consideration of new evidence suggests that it is less certain than used to be believed. An early dating for the variety with barred handles was formerly based mainly on assumptions

<sup>11</sup> J.E. Coleman, "The Chronology and Interconnections of the Cycladic Islands in the Neolithic Period and the Early Bronze Age," *AJA* 78 (1974) 333-44.

<sup>12</sup> See R.L.N. Barber and J.A. MacGillivray, "The Early Cycladic Period: Matters of Definition and Terminology," *AJA* 84 (1980) 141-57.

<sup>13</sup> Renfrew 1972: 527-28.

<sup>14</sup> Ph. Zapheiroupolou, "Πρωτοκυκλαδικά εἰρήματα ξξ "Ανω Κουφονησίου," *AAA* 3 (1970) 48-51; "Αρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Κυκλάδων," *Deltion* 25 (1970) chron., 423-30; "Un cimetière du Cycladique Ancien à Epáno Kouphonissi," in C. and G. Rougemont eds., *Les Cyclades: Matériaux pour une étude de géographie historique* (Paris 1983) 81-87; and "Graves of the Kampos Group from Ano Kouphonisi," in R.N.L. Barber and J.A. MacGillivray

about the so-called "Kampos group" of material from Cycladic cemeteries, which I<sup>11</sup> and others<sup>12</sup> had suggested might be dated late in EC I and which Renfrew<sup>13</sup> placed late in his "Grotta-Pelos culture." The dating of the "Kampos group" to EC I formerly seemed tenable on two counts: the early-looking shapes and the simple herringbone decoration of the characteristic flasks. The discoveries by Zapheiroupolou at Ano Kouphonisi,<sup>14</sup> however, and the arguments by Doumas<sup>15</sup> and Zapheiroupolou<sup>16</sup> now convince me that the "Kampos group," if it can be regarded as a unity at all, belongs in EC II. The finds from Ano Kouphonisi, which have recently been discussed in considerable detail by Zapheiroupolou,<sup>17</sup> include a "frying pan" with a barred handle (**45**) found together with pyxides and beakers best assigned to the EC II phase. The "Louros group," which is known chiefly from a single grave in Naxos, should probably also be dated to EC II, since it has strong links with the graves of Ano Kouphonisi, as attested by the pyxides and the form of the miniature flasks from the Louros tomb.<sup>18</sup> The "frying pan" from the Louros tomb (**37**) is unique in the composition of its decoration and in the use of the fish motif.

If the "Kampos group" and the Louros tomb are redated to EC II, then there are no "frying pans" of any variety which can be securely dated earlier than EC II (all those with known contexts are listed in the catalogue). The stamped decoration on all varieties of "frying pans" lends further support to this chronological position. Many of the vessels with barred handle, for instance, have *Kerbschnitt* decoration and that from Ano Kouphonisi (**45**) also has a stamped spiral at the center. Stamped decoration is generally considered to appear otherwise in the Cyclades only on vessels dating to EC II or later and that on "frying pans" is closely similar to that on other pottery.<sup>19</sup>

The assignment of all known Cycladic "frying pans" to EC II does not necessarily imply that there was no chronological development in the shape or decoration of the vessel. Some of those with barred handles should certainly be dated early in EC II (e.g.,

eds., *The Prehistoric Cyclades* (Edinburgh forthcoming).

<sup>15</sup> Ch. Doumas, "Προϊστορικοί Κυκλαδίτες στὴν Κρήτη," *AAA* 9 (1976) 69-80.

<sup>16</sup> See especially Zapheiroupolou, "Graves of the Kampos Group" (supra n. 14).

<sup>17</sup> Supra n. 14.

<sup>18</sup> G.A. Papathanasopoulos, "Κυκλαδικὰ Νάξου," *Deltion* 17 (1961-1962) 132-34.

<sup>19</sup> It should be noted, however, that the boundary between EC I and EC II has not yet been well defined in terms of habitation deposits. Moreover, given the dearth of evidence from domestic contexts, it is possible that "frying pans" may yet be discovered in EC I settlements.



51), and at least some of the highly decorated "frying pans" of Syros should surely be dated late in EC II. The fact that stamped spirals are rare on vessels with barred handles, however, is not necessarily an indication in itself that they are earlier than the vessels with forked handles from Syros. Stamped decoration occurs more frequently in general in Syros than in other islands in EC II and may have been a local specialty. There seems as yet insufficient chronological evidence to support the elaborately detailed development suggested by Otto.<sup>20</sup> The rectangular handle occurs both early in EC II (33) and probably also late in that phase (e.g., 20). Since the early example from the Louros tomb (37) seems to have no room for a barred handle, it probably had one of some other variety.

Before we leave the Cyclades, a few further comments are in order about representational decoration on "frying pans," since motifs which unequivocally represent real things are found only on Cycladic examples. There are only three such motifs: female genitalia, fish and ships. Genitalia have already been mentioned, and their significance is considered further below. Fish are found for certain only on 37, although a sherd from Keros with an incised fish<sup>21</sup> may possibly be from a "frying pan." It remains, therefore, only to consider the ships, which are in themselves of exceptional interest.

At least ten "frying pans" from tombs in Syros have ships incised within an area with stamped concentric circles or spirals (13–19, 25–27), and one of these (27) bears two ships. Ships are also represented on 29 and 54. Drawings of all the ships except the fragmentary one on 29 are reproduced in ill. 5.<sup>22</sup> The representations are remarkably uniform, and in fact the vessels on which they occur can be assigned to a very few hands. One artisan probably made four (13, 14, 25, 29) and two other artisans two each (15 and 16; 26 and 27). Although the details vary slightly, all the ships have higher and lower ends, paddles or oars,<sup>23</sup> fish emblems and banners at the high end, and projec-

tions from the low end. The maximum number of paddles or oars on any one side is probably ca. 40 (27) and the minimum, not counting fragmentary representations, 12 (14). Although the decorative character of these representations cautions against pressing the details too far, we can probably assume that the largest ships on which they were based accommodated fairly numerous crews, perhaps as many as 60 or 80 if they were paddled and at least half that number if they were rowed. A similar representation of a ship, probably roughly contemporaneous with those from Syros, is also known on the fragmentary handle of an askos at Orchomenos<sup>24</sup>; paddles or oars are represented only on the upper side. A ship incised on a sherd from Phylakopi is probably somewhat later.<sup>25</sup> That these drawings represent real ships is probable, given the existence of models of similar ships in lead.<sup>26</sup> Despite the doubts of some scholars, I find the evidence convincing that the high end is the bow, primarily on the grounds that a projection is represented at the stern of the ships on the miniature fresco from Thera and that the fish emblems are unlikely to be pointing sternward.<sup>27</sup>

#### EUBOEA AND THE MAINLAND

We turn now to the "frying pans" found in Euboea, Attica and elsewhere on the mainland of Greece. Those from the tombs at Manika in Euboea form a unique group and can be considered separately. All are likely to have been locally made. Most were not decorated and the two which were (70, 73) have singularly crude and idiosyncratic designs. Forked handles are common at Manika (e.g., 64–69), which is the only site outside the Cyclades where such handles have yet been found.<sup>28</sup> The Manika handles have a peculiar form of their own, however, with a broad flange terminating in two widespread stubby projections. They hardly seem leg-like, and it is therefore not surprising that representations of genitalia do not occur on them. Otherwise the site produced one vessel

<sup>20</sup> B. Otto, "The Ornamental Motifs of the Cycladic Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages," in Thimme 1977: 133–36.

<sup>21</sup> Ph. Zappeiropoulou, "Ὀστράκα ἐκ Κέρου," *AAA* 8 (1975) 79–84, fig. 6.

<sup>22</sup> Tsountas published drawings of the ships on the 7 vessels included in his report of 1899, and these have often been reproduced. Although the drawings in ill. 5 are new, they were made from photographs rather than on the basis of direct observation. In some places details were omitted because they could not be accurately rendered, e.g., the herringbone decoration of the fish emblem and banner of the ship on 14.

<sup>23</sup> Consideration of the ships on the miniature frescoes from Thera suggests that the many short lines incised above and below the Early Bronze Age ships were intended to represent paddles rather than oars. See S. Wachsmann, "The Thera Waterborne Procession Reconsidered," *IJNA* 9 (1980) 287–95.

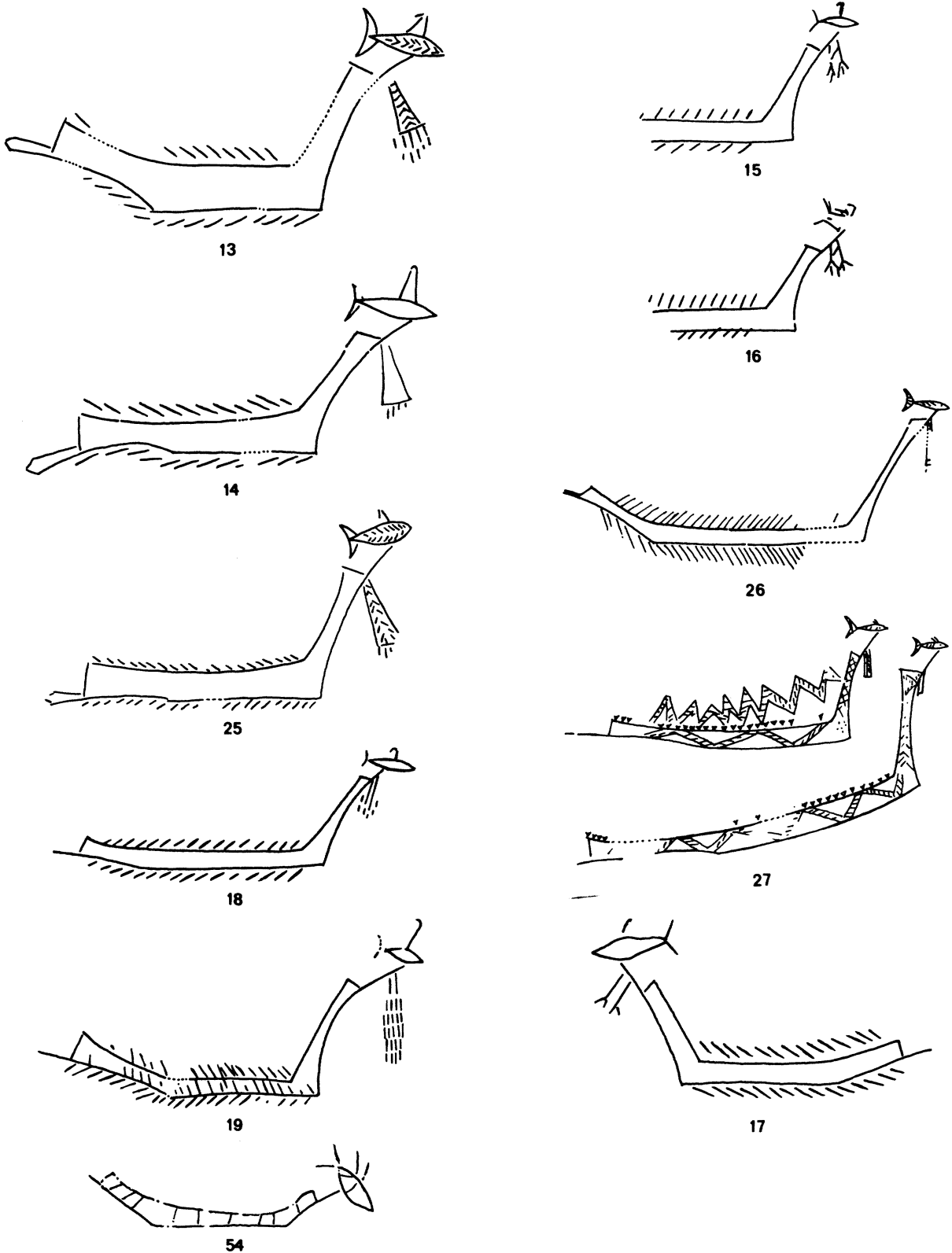
<sup>24</sup> E. Kunze, *Orchomenos* 3 (Munich 1934) pl. 29.3; another, very fragmentary representation of a ship is shown in fig. 43.k.

<sup>25</sup> Renfrew 1972: pl. 28.1.

<sup>26</sup> C. Renfrew, "Cycladic Metallurgy and the Aegean Early Bronze Age," *AJA* 71 (1967) 1–20, pl. 3; and Renfrew 1972: pl. 28.3, 4.

<sup>27</sup> For recent discussion see P.F. Johnston, "Bronze Age Cycladic Ships: an Overview," *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 7 (Philadelphia 1982) 1–8 and bibliography there cited. Cf. also Renfrew 1967 (supra n. 26) 5; and 1972: 355–58. The recent suggestion by A. Raban, in *AJA* 88 (1984) 11–19, that the Thera ships may have been bidirectional would not apply to the Early Cycladic ones, since they have more differentiated ends.

<sup>28</sup> For a fragment possibly from a "frying pan" with forked handle from Corinth, see the catalogue under that site.



Ill. 5. Ships on "frying pans." The herringbone decoration on the fish emblem and banner of 14 is omitted

with a barred handle (70) and two with triangular handles (71, 72), a type which has been found nowhere else and which, as already mentioned, presumably represents a variation of the forked handle.

The chronology of the "frying pans" from Manika is somewhat problematic. The beak-spouted jugs and one-handled tankards from the same cemetery (see catalogue) have Anatolian connections and can be associated with the "Kastri group" in the Cyclades. Barber and MacGillivray<sup>29</sup> assign the "Kastri group" and other such pottery to "EC IIIA" and, on the mainland, to the early stages of EH III, whereas Rutter<sup>30</sup> proposes to date this material to a late stage of EC II and EH II. The arguments are too lengthy to consider in full detail. As far as the "frying pans" are concerned, however, it may be noted that such vessels have not been found anywhere in secure EC III or EH III contexts and that the other Cycladic imports or imitations at Manika<sup>31</sup> are to be associated with the Syros group in the Cyclades, which is of undoubted EC II date. On these grounds at least, Rutter's view is to be preferred.<sup>32</sup> The local character of the "frying pans" from Manika cautions against an uncritical acceptance as imports of all objects found on the mainland which have a "foreign" look.

The examples from Attica and elsewhere on the mainland are somewhat more difficult to deal with. In contrast to the Cyclades and Euboea, only 7 (77–83)—all from Attica—have been found in or may be connected with tombs. Almost all the remaining pieces are small fragments and, since they often lack evidence for handles, doubts are possible that they are true "frying pans" as defined here. Moreover, excavators at mainland sites have often noted that the "frying pans" they found differ in some ways from the usual local wares and considered them probable Cycladic imports (see below). No scientific analyses have yet been carried out which might help in this regard and it is difficult to be sure, particularly when only small fragments are preserved. Furthermore, as the following summary shows, there are some differences in details between the mainland examples and those from the Cyclades.

The finds from Attica are fairly uniform and can be considered as a group. All the handles known so far

are barred and clearly related to their counterparts in the Cyclades. Some of those from Ayios Kosmas, however, have a curious folded convolution at the junction of struts and bar (79 and others there cited), a feature so far limited to Attica. One scheme of decoration often recurs and may be described as a mainland type<sup>33</sup>: a stamped spiral at the center surrounded by a star motif with impressed rays, a band of short strokes, a band of running stamped spirals and, as a border pattern, another band of short strokes (e.g., 79, 80). There are also bands of short strokes on the outer surface of the walls and sometimes there is an additional band of *Kerbschnitt* on the bottom (e.g., 81). Numbers 78, 82 and 83 also have similar decoration, 78 and 82 lacking the running spirals and 83 the star motif. Although running spirals in a similar position are common in the Cyclades on "frying pans" of the "Kampos type," the existing examples are always hand-drawn (e.g., 38, 39, 43, 51). Short strokes as a border pattern and on the outer surface of the walls are also uncommon in the Cyclades, where *Kerbschnitt* is preferred. But the short strokes on pieces like 3, from Syros, 42, from Naxos, and 46, from Ano Kouphonisi, and to a lesser extent 32 and 45, from Naxos and Ano Kouphonisi respectively, provide prototypes for the Attic practice and 45 also has a central stamped spiral surrounded by a star with impressed rays. In general, it seems likely that most, if not all, of the Attic pieces were made locally, in view of their uniformity and somewhat individual character.

Elsewhere on the mainland the examples of "frying pans" are fragmentary and, although they occur in good numbers, it is convenient to consider them together. They are always rare in comparison with undoubtedly local pottery and the excavators at Asea,<sup>34</sup> Asine,<sup>35</sup> Corinth,<sup>36</sup> and Eutresis<sup>37</sup> regarded them, and similarly decorated pieces, as probable imports from the Cyclades. Many of them differ somewhat, however, from those so far known in the islands.

Handles are known only from Asea (87–89), Corinth (99), Eutresis (105, 108, 109, if really from "frying pans"), Lithares (112), Manesi (113), Nemea (114) and Tiryns (120). That from Nemea is of the barred type. All the rest are of either the rectangular or the "bracket" form, the latter of which, as men-

<sup>29</sup> Barber and MacGillivray (supra n. 12); cf. J.A. MacGillivray, "On the Relative Chronologies of Early Cycladic IIIA and Early Helladic III," *AJA* 87 (1983) 81–83.

<sup>30</sup> J.B. Rutter, "Some Observations on the Cyclades in the Later Third and Early Second Millennia," *AJA* 87 (1983) 69–76; and "The 'Early Cycladic III Gap': What It Is and How To Go About Filling It Without Making It Go Away," in *The Prehistoric Cyclades* (supra n. 14) forthcoming.

<sup>31</sup> E.g., Papavasileiou 1910: fig. 2; Sampson (supra n. 6) figs. 10,

12.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Sampson (supra n. 6) 84.

<sup>33</sup> First identified by Renfrew 1972: 536–37.

<sup>34</sup> E. Holmberg, *The Swedish Excavations at Asea in Arcadia* (Lund 1944) 84–87.

<sup>35</sup> O. Frödin and A.W. Persson, *Asine* (Stockholm 1938) 233.

<sup>36</sup> S.S. Weinberg, "Remains from Prehistoric Corinth," *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 516.

<sup>37</sup> Goldman 1931: 80, 228.

tioned above, is rare or absent in examples from the Cyclades. A fragment from Corinth (see catalogue) may also be from a vessel with a forked handle. The strut-like connections to the walls of the vessels on handles from Asea (89), Tiryns (120), and probably also Corinth (99) are without parallel elsewhere. There is a considerable range of decoration and some of the motifs and patterns point as much to Attica as to the Cyclades. Short strokes at the outer border and on the outer surface of the walls are fairly common (e.g., 98, 106, 110, 114, 119), and *Kerbschnitt* borders are less common (100, 112 and 118 are examples; the *Kommaverzierung* on 93 and 94 was perhaps also inspired by *Kerbschnitt*). Bands of linked spirals are also frequent (e.g., 92, 101, 110, 119) and the spirals are always stamped, as in the common Attic scheme of decoration. The vessel with a “bracket” handle from Manesi (113) has a band of crosshatching as a border motif. Such bands are also found on probable “frying pans” from Eutresis (103, 107) but so far nowhere else. They may be peculiar to Central Greece.

Other characteristics of the decoration of these vessels point to the Cycladic islands. For example, the large hand-drawn star patterns (e.g., 103, possibly 89) are more like those of the Cyclades (e.g., 1–6, 49) than the smaller stars with impressed rays found in Attica (e.g., 78, 79). Unlinked stamped decoration such as on 95, 96, 99, 104, 111 and 115 is also found in the islands (e.g., 11, 12, 34), although there the decoration is not so clearly restricted to zones or rings. The herringbone on 89 is rare on other “frying pans” (see catalogue), although it does of course occur frequently on other shapes both in the Cyclades and on the mainland. The large central spiral on 112 is somewhat similar to the *Kerbschnitt* decoration on 47, from Ano Kouphonisi, and identical with that on 61, which is probably from the Cyclades; the continuation of the border pattern on the handle is also reminiscent of Cycladic exemplars (e.g., 2, 3, 32). Although a border pattern of running zigzags, as on 93 and 116, is not common in the Cyclades, it is found on the marble vessel 36 and such a zigzag also occurs in other positions both on the mainland (e.g., 78, 97) and in the Cyclades (e.g., 5).

To sum up, it appears likely that many of the “frying pans” found on the mainland were also made there, although the form and decoration of some may ultimately be derived from Cycladic models. A particular scheme of decoration (a border of short strokes, a band of running stamped spirals and a central star

pattern), commonly found in Attica and somewhat less frequently elsewhere on the mainland, differs somewhat from Cycladic examples now known and may be considered a mainland variation. One should also note that the differences identified by Bossert in 1960 in the use of stamped spirals and concentric circles on the mainland as opposed to the Cyclades seem valid (see Appendix).

That inspiration and influence generally came from the Cyclades to the mainland and not the other way around is suggested by the close connection of the “frying pan” shape and incised and stamped decoration. Such decoration is more frequent in the Cyclades than on the mainland and occurs there on a greater variety of shapes. Like the “frying pans,” the few other shapes on which stamped spirals and concentric circles occur on the mainland (pyxides and jars with suspension lugs) are more akin to Cycladic types than to the usual mainland ones. Hence, although it is possible that the development was to some extent parallel in the Cyclades and on the mainland, the Cyclades probably took the lead on many occasions.

“Frying pans” are found on the mainland in both EH I and EH II contexts. As far as I can tell, those found in the earlier contexts do not differ noticeably from those found in the later contexts. Stamped spirals and short strokes as a border pattern, for instance, are found in both contexts. The possibility was noted above that “frying pans” and stamped decoration first occurred in the Cyclades only in EC II. We must therefore raise the question whether there was some chronological overlap between EH I and EC II, as has been argued by Weinberg.<sup>38</sup> Although the evidence from both areas is still too scanty to permit definite conclusions, it now seems likely to me that there was some overlap.<sup>39</sup> The alternative that “frying pans” and stamped decoration on pottery began earlier on the mainland, on the other hand, remains a possibility (see Appendix).

If EC II had begun before the end of EH I, the close relationship between the “frying pans” with barred handles found in EH II contexts in Attica and those of the “Kampos type” would help to support the view that the “Kampos group” should be dated in EC II. We may note further that a figurine with stumpy arms like those from the Louros grave was found beside Grave 4 at Ayios Kosmas.<sup>40</sup> This figurine, like the other finds in the cemetery, should probably be dated to EH II and it therefore tends to support the dating of the Louros grave to EC II.

<sup>38</sup> S.S. Weinberg, “The Relative Chronology of the Aegean in the Stone and Early Bronze Ages,” in R.W. Ehrich ed., *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (Chicago 1965) 301–302; and “The Cy-

clades and Mainland Greece,” in Thimme 1977: 143.

<sup>39</sup> Despite earlier doubts: Coleman (supra n. 11) 342.

<sup>40</sup> Mylonas 1959: fig. 163, no. 3.

## OTHER AREAS

Only two “frying pans” have come to my attention from Crete. One, in the Giamalakis collection (122), has a barred handle and an arrangement of concentric circles somewhat similar to the design on the “frying pan” from the Louros grave (37). The other (121) comes from the cemetery at Ayia Photia, which also produced several flasks like those of the “Kampos group.” The cemetery at Ayia Photia is dated by Davaras<sup>41</sup> to EM I and II, and these finds are compatible with a dating of the “Kampos group” in EC II if they come from later tombs in the cemetery. The decoration is at first sight unusual, and one is tempted to describe 121 as a fairly free local version of a “frying pan.” A fragment with almost identical decoration, however, was found on the mainland of Greece at Perachora (116). Since mainland influence on Crete, or the reverse, is unlikely in this case, we may conclude that both vessels were Cycladic, or closely followed Cycladic prototypes.

Two copper or bronze vessels from Alaca Hüyük (123, 124) are close in shape to their Aegean counterparts, despite the difference in material. They pose considerable problems of interpretation. Their closest parallels are with Cycladic “frying pans” in stone (see catalogue and ill. 3) and it is possible that they were modelled on Cycladic exemplars in stone which had been imported to Anatolia. We must also recognize the possibility, however, that the resemblance is largely fortuitous and that the vessels from Alaca Hüyük belong rather to an Anatolian tradition. That there was such a tradition may be suggested by a copper pan-like vessel from Horoztepe (146), which differs from the vessels from Alaca Hüyük and the Aegean in that it had two handles, made separately and attached at the rim.

It is interesting to note in this connection that no true “frying pans” have yet turned up at Early Bronze Age sites in the Eastern Aegean and Western Anatolia such as Troy, Poliochni, Thermi, Emporio, Samos and Iasos. Flanged lids from Troy (144, 145) and Karataş<sup>42</sup> are similar to “frying pans” in shape and may be somewhat similarly decorated on the flat side. There is no reason to think, however, that true “frying pans” are more closely related to lids from Western

Anatolia than they are to lids from the Cyclades and the Greek mainland. Although the relationship between the Aegean and Anatolia in the third millennium B.C. has yet to be fully clarified, there is little evidence at present to suggest that Anatolia played a significant role in the development of “frying pans” in the Aegean.<sup>43</sup> What influence there was may well have been exerted by the Cyclades on Anatolia rather than the reverse.

## ORIGIN AND FUNCTION

The origin of the “frying pan” is closely connected with the vexed question of its function. Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age “baking pans” differ in that they are cruder, their outline and the height of their walls tend to be irregular, and the walls are often pierced at intervals<sup>44</sup>; these differences are great enough that they can probably be left out of consideration as possible predecessors. Other flat terracotta objects from Early Bronze Age Greece and Anatolia have a better claim to have provided prototypes for or influenced the development of “frying pans”; examples of some of these are included in the catalogue under OTHER VESSELS OR LIDS SIMILAR TO “FRYING PANS” (125–146).<sup>45</sup> Of particular interest are undecorated flat pans from Eutresis and elsewhere (e.g., 127, 136); 127 even has a horizontal handle attached near the bottom. A unique piece from Tiryns (135) with an incised linear pattern has a horizontal handle attached at an angle, so that it cannot have been placed on a flat surface and used as a container. A recently published object from Thebes (133) resembles a “frying pan” except that it is handleless, and there are fragments from Corinth with similar profiles (e.g., 134). Two fragments from Lerna (131, 132) have raised rather than incised decoration; 132 may be closely connected with the Cyclades, since it has a network of linked concentric circles, rather than the rings or zones of stamped motifs which are the rule on the mainland. Three fragments from Eutresis and Lerna may be grouped together because they are similarly decorated with concentric arches (128–130); they may even be from “frying pans” rather than stands, as Goldman suggested (see 128). Flat lids from Western Anatolia, of which 144 and 145 are examples, are also

<sup>41</sup> K. Davaras, “Ἀρχαιοότητες καὶ μνημεῖα ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης,” *Deltion* 27 (1972) 649.

<sup>42</sup> Information kindly provided by M.J. Mellink.

<sup>43</sup> For the relationship between the two areas, see Mellink 1956. The absence of “frying pans” from the large cemetery at Iasos is especially significant, since both the types of tombs and some of the grave goods, such as the marble vessels, suggest close connections with the Cyclades: for a recent summary see P.E. Pecorella, “La necropoli di Iasos nel quadro delle culture dell’Anatolia occiden-

tale,” *SMEA* 18 (1977) 65–72.

<sup>44</sup> E.g., J.E. Coleman, *Keos* 1. *Kephala* (Princeton 1977) pls. 37.C–H, 84.A–V; H. Walter and F. Felten, *Alt-Ägina* 3.1 (Mainz 1981) pl. 78.65–71.

<sup>45</sup> This listing is highly selective, and is included only for the sake of convenience. For other simple pans from Early Helladic sites see: Mylonas 1959: 24; K. Müller, *Tiryns* 4. *Die Urfirniskeramik* (Munich 1938) fig. 31.

similar in a general way. The existence of such a variety of related pieces suggests that "frying pans" are not the result of external influence or inspiration, but rather that they gradually evolved as a specialized shape in the Aegean. The evidence is as yet insufficient, however, to enable us to trace the steps in this presumed evolution.

There is less evidence from the Cyclades than the Greek mainland for such related pieces and one is tempted to suggest that the shape came into being first on the mainland and subsequently spread to the islands. The dearth of evidence from settlements in the islands, however, cautions against ruling them out as the place of origin. Elaborate "dove bowls" in marble from the Cyclades, like 125, show that at least some other flat vessels played a role in island life.

The evidence for the function of the "frying pans" may be briefly considered.<sup>46</sup> Although some may have been made especially for the tomb, as Mylonas suggests,<sup>47</sup> they were clearly not exclusively funerary, as is attested by the examples from settlements such as Grotta in Naxos, Ayios Kosmas, Corinth, Eutresis, Nemea and Pefkakia. When found in tombs, "frying pans" are generally associated with wealthier burials containing at least several other objects. In Syros, where their positions and associations in tombs are best documented (see catalogue), they are often found near the heads of the dead, usually with other objects in close proximity. They were apparently not used in tombs as lids or covers for other vessels, and many seem too large for such a purpose. Since they occur together with marble figurines in several instances in Naxos and once each in Syros and at Manika (see catalogue), they were probably not regarded as substitutes for figurines.<sup>48</sup> Otherwise, the context of the examples from tombs provides no clear evidence concerning their purpose, or whether they were generally associated with one or the other sex.

That "frying pans" were essentially practical is suggested by the undecorated examples from Naxos

and Manika and by their frequent occurrence in domestic contexts on the Greek mainland. They were certainly not really frying pans, since they show no signs of burning and would not in such a case have had elaborate decoration on the bottom.

The existence of the walls suggests that they may have been intended to contain some substance, and Mylonas' opinion that they were actually plates<sup>49</sup> seems to me plausible. The walls would serve to prevent food from escaping, even when it was in a liquid state. When placed in tombs, they may well also have contained real or symbolic food, intended for use or offered on behalf of the dead. That there was decoration on the bottom can be explained if we suppose that they were often placed in a visible position, perhaps on shelves, when not in use. The large flat surface would invite elaborate decoration and the decorative aspect may sometimes have become more important than the functional, as in the case of finely decorated plates which are now displayed on walls or in cabinets rather than actually used.

I find unconvincing the theory that "frying pans" were mirrors.<sup>50</sup> The bronze examples from Alaca Hüyük are indeed close in shape to those from the Aegean, but it may be doubted that they were themselves mirrors, despite Mellink's opinion.<sup>51</sup> The terracotta and stone examples would not be sufficiently reflective to serve as mirrors unless filled with water or oil. If "frying pans" were not mirrors, there is little other reason to connect them with cosmetics and beautification.<sup>52</sup> Theories that they were drums (with hide stretched over them)<sup>53</sup> or instruments for navigation<sup>54</sup> have little evidence to support them.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, the idea that they were closely connected with religion and served as idols or libation vessels needs consideration.

The view that "frying pans" had a religious significance was first put forward by Zschietzschmann,<sup>56</sup> and it has also been followed in a modified form by Thimme.<sup>57</sup> This theory is supported primarily by ap-

<sup>46</sup> For summaries of earlier views see especially Zschietzschmann 1935; Mylonas 1959: 125-26; O. Höckmann, "Cycladic Religion," in Thimme 1977: 48-49.

<sup>47</sup> Mylonas 1959: 126.

<sup>48</sup> Zschietzschmann (1935: 664-67) suggested that "frying pans" were actually themselves "Idole."

<sup>49</sup> Mylonas 1959: 125-26.

<sup>50</sup> Tsountas 1899: 92; cf. Mellink 1956: 53.

<sup>51</sup> Mellink 1956: 53.

<sup>52</sup> E.g., E. Varoucha, "Κυκλαδικοὶ τάφοι τῆς Πάρου," *ArchEph* 1925-1926, 110-11. The coloring material found in the marble "frying pan" 35 (q.v.) seems to me not significant, in view of the fact that such material was found throughout the tomb. Marks of grinding on 56 (q.v.) might possibly suggest the preparation of coloring material, but to the best of my knowledge such marks are not found on any other "frying pan."

<sup>53</sup> Mentioned in Mylonas 1959: 125.

<sup>54</sup> J. Fauconau, "La civilisation de Syros et l'origine du disque de Phaistos," *Kretologia* 7 (1978) 110-11.

<sup>55</sup> An alternative practical use, first suggested to my knowledge for "frying pans" in general by Martha H. Wiencke in an unpublished paper (abstract in *AJA* 84 [1980] 240), is worth mentioning: that they may have been used with the decorated surface uppermost as stands or trivets. Goldman had earlier described one flat piece as a "small flat stand" (see 128). Several characteristics, in my opinion, argue against such a function: the careful finish on the concave side; the fairly sharp rim-like termination of the walls; and the frequent occurrence of flaring walls.

<sup>56</sup> Zschietzschmann 1935.

<sup>57</sup> E.g., J. Thimme, "Die religiöse Bedeutung der Kykladenidole," *AntK* 8 (1965) 84-86; and "Ein monumentales Kykladenidol in Karlsruhe," *Jahrbuch der staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in*

peal to particular decorative motifs such as stars, female genitalia, ships, and fish and to the shape as a possible libation vessel. I have mentioned above my reasons for thinking that "frying pans" had a practical function in everyday life. Consequently, the decoration does not seem to me likely to have been of any great symbolic importance, especially since it is found on what I take to be the bottom of the vessel. If we take into account the dearth of excavated settlement sites, we cannot be confident that the relevant decoration was applied particularly to vessels destined for tombs and that it therefore had a specific funerary significance. If genitalia were suggested to the artisans who made "frying pans" by the leg-like appearance of the forked handles, as conjectured above, then there is no particular reason to think that the genitalia had any religious significance. Nor is there strong evidence that the other motifs had special religious associations in the Aegean area. As for libations, the shape would certainly have been convenient, but there is no direct evidence that points to such a use.<sup>58</sup> Under such circumstances, a skeptical view of the religious significance of the "frying pans" seems advisable.

#### SUMMARY AND SPECULATION

The following summary is an attempt to account for all the information about "frying pans" currently available. It necessarily involves considerable speculation, since our understanding of the origin, development and purpose of these objects is still incomplete, despite recent discoveries. The shape may originally have been designed in the Aegean area for a practical purpose, and ordinary household pans and plates were the probable models. Since the bronze vessels from Alaca Hüyük (123, 124) are the only examples yet known from Anatolia, an alternative possibility, that "frying pans" originated in Anatolia, seems unlikely. Whether "frying pans" originated in the Cyclades or the mainland of Greece is not yet clear. In either case, however, Attica probably played an important role in their wide distribution.

In the Cyclades, it is possible that the shape goes back to EC I, although it is not yet attested before EC II. Both barred and rectangular handles may have

been used from the beginning and it is possible that the forked handle was a later variation. At the beginning decoration may have been simple, or even absent (cf. 33). Early in EC II, however, a standardized scheme of decoration recurs on many vessels with barred handles in which hand-drawn running double-line spirals are a prominent motif (the so-called "Kampos type" of "frying pan"). During the course of EC II stamped concentric circles and spirals also came into use, at first perhaps just as a central motif (e.g., 45), but subsequently in endless rapport ("network") patterns. Elaborate stamped decoration is especially frequent in Syros, where it parallels that on other shapes. Representations of genitalia and ships were evidently also a specialty of Syros and so far are rarely found elsewhere. "Frying pans" seem to have died out in the Cyclades before or at the end of EC II.

On the mainland, the earliest examples occur in EH I and as yet there is little evidence for the development of the shape. "Bracket" handles were a mainland specialty and forked handles are almost completely absent. A characteristic mainland type is similar to the "Kampos type" in the Cyclades: stamped single-line spirals occur, however, in place of the hand-drawn double-line spirals of the Cycladic examples. It is not clear whether the islands or the mainland took precedence in the use of stamped decoration. If the use of stamped decoration began at roughly the same time in both areas, however, there must have been some chronological overlap between EH I and EC II. Other elements characteristic of mainland examples included a special socket-like variation of the "bracket" handle (e.g., 89, 99, 120), a border pattern of crosshatching (e.g., 103, 107, 113) and perhaps a pattern of unlinked spirals arranged in rings or zones (e.g., 115). The shape seems to have died out also on the mainland before or at the end of EH II. Distinctive local versions of "frying pans" occurred at Manika in Euboea. The two examples of "frying pans" known from Crete are probably imports from the Cyclades.

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*Baden-Württemberg* 12 (1975) 16. Dr. Thimme kindly sent me a short statement in a letter of July 13, 1984, in which he explains that his religious interpretation is restricted to "frying pans" found in tombs. He believes that such objects served in funerary ritual, whether as libation vessels or as mirrors to keep the soul of the dead person in the grave, and that the stars, the motifs associated with the sea, and the genitalia are connected with a goddess (represented also by the marble figurines) who guards the dead and leads them to

a new life. Cf. also Renfrew 1972: 420-21 and Höckmann (supra n. 46).

<sup>58</sup> That 56 is said to have been found with a jug hardly seems significant, in view of the fact that many "frying pans" have been found in tombs with a variety of other pottery; see the general remarks about Syros in the catalogue and detail of the find circumstances of some of the "frying pans" found in Naxos and Manika.

## CATALOGUE

The following catalogue is not intended as a complete listing of all known "frying pans" but rather as a compilation of those for which published illustrations are available and a few others of special interest. It does include, however, all vessels which are commonly mentioned in discussions of the shape.

In the listing for the Cyclades, Syros and Naxos come first, then the other Cycladic islands in alphabetical order. The Cycladic examples are followed by those from Aegina, Euboea, Attica and elsewhere in mainland Greece. For purposes of comparison, there is at the end a brief listing of other vessels or lids which generally resemble "frying pans," although they apparently also differ in some significant way. More detailed findspots are given where possible, as well as references to current locations in museums and collections.

References in the catalogue are confined to the initial publication and/or to sources with good illustrations. I have been able to handle only the fragments in Corinth, although I have also examined all "frying pans" on display in the National Museum in Athens and a few elsewhere in their glass cases. Other vessels are known to me only through published photographs and, since the accompanying descriptions are often woefully incomplete, I have not included dimensions and detailed information about color and fabric.

In general, "frying pans" range in diameter from ca. 0.14 to 0.30 m. (not including the handle) and most have a diameter between 0.20 and 0.28 m. Unless otherwise stated, all decoration is either stamped or incised; in most cases it was also filled with a white substance. Where decoration is described, it is on the bottom of the vessel, unless otherwise noted. The lack of mention of decoration on the outer walls and the top of the handle is not to be taken to imply that these surfaces were necessarily undecorated. The word "linked" implies that each stamped motif (spiral or groups of concentric circles) is joined by tangential lines to those on either side; "network" implies that each stamped motif is joined by tangential lines to all its neighbors. Items in the catalogue are of terracotta, except where otherwise stated. T. is used as an abbreviation for "Tomb."

The listing of "frying pans" includes some fragments on which handles are not preserved but which are close in shape and decoration to unequivocal examples. Although there is a possibility that a few of these were from other shapes, such as plates or pyxis lids, I have excluded, or relegated to the category of other vessels, all pieces which I personally considered doubtful.

## THE CYCLADES

Except where otherwise noted, all vessels listed have rows of *Kerbschnitt* as a border pattern forming the outer-

most band of decoration on the bottom. On vessels with forked handles this outermost band usually bends at either side and continues on the handle.

## SYROS

Almost all are from the excavations of Tsountas in the cemetery at Chalandriani, and the following summary is drawn mainly from his published report.<sup>59</sup> Tsountas reported finding 32 "frying pans" within 30 tombs. He mentions Tombs 172, 174, 192, 262, 268, 292, 307, 322, 338, 347, 351, 355, 356, 364, 398 and 408 as each containing one "frying pan," and Tombs 268 and 338 as each containing two. Åberg<sup>60</sup> also lists Tombs 190, 236 and 283 as containing "frying pans," Bossert<sup>61</sup> also mentions Tombs 239, 289, 297 and 396, and in addition to these attributions the museum labels on two vessels indicate that they came from Tomb 377 (4) and Tomb 382 (11).

Tsountas was able to preserve only 20 of the "frying pans" he excavated and most of these were more or less fragmentary.<sup>62</sup> Where handles were preserved, they were forked in every case but one; Tsountas notes, however, that the handle was not preserved in many cases. He does not tell us the form of the handle which was not forked but it is likely to have been that of 20, a rectangular handle that he would probably have found unremarkable; he surely would have described in detail a handle of a more complex type. The lower surface of the "frying pans" was always decorated. Decoration appeared elsewhere only in two instances (neither identified in detail by Tsountas): the outer surface of the walls of one had thick parallel lines; the upper surface of the handle of another had stamped triangles. Bossert notes that three of the pans found by Tsountas are decorated with the same stamp (15, 16, 22).<sup>63</sup> In at least six instances (13, 14, 19, 24, 25, 29) stamps of two different sizes were used on the same vessel. In one case (28) both stamped spirals and concentric circles are said to have been used on the same vessel.

Tsountas reported<sup>64</sup> that seven of the "frying pans" he excavated had representations of ships and these can be recognized from his published drawings as 13, 15-17, 19, 26 and 27. There are now three more vessels with such representations on display in the National Museum in Athens (14, 18, 25). It is unclear whether the additional three are also from Tsountas' excavations, as might be the case if they were recognized and mended only after he had finished his study of the material, or whether they came to light as a result of the activity of others. Ships are also represented on 29 and 54. Four of the extant "frying pans" with representations of ships were probably made by one artisan (13, 14, 25, 29), two others by another artisan (15, 16) and two others by yet another (26, 27). Vessels without ships were

<sup>59</sup> Tsountas 1899.

<sup>60</sup> N. Åberg, *Bronzezeitliche und früheisenzeitliche Chronologie 4. Griechenland* (Stockholm 1933) 101-103.

<sup>61</sup> Bossert 1960.

<sup>62</sup> Tsountas 1899: 89.

<sup>63</sup> Bossert 1960: 8.

<sup>64</sup> Tsountas 1899: 90, 91.



probably also made by these same artisans: **9** was probably made by the same hand as **13**, **14**, **25** and **29**, and **22** by the same hand as **15** and **16**.

Information concerning the placement and association of the “frying pans” is available in the case of 14 tombs (172, 174, 192, 262, 268, 292, 307, 322, 338, 347, 351, 355, 356, 408).<sup>65</sup> In all but one instance, whenever Tsountas mentions the position of the body, the “frying pan” or “frying pans” were found near the head: sometimes they are reported to have been found in front (Tombs 172, 322, 338, 355), sometimes behind (Tombs 174, 307, 356). The “frying pan” found in front of the head in Tomb 322 rested on the bones of the hand. The only instance where the position of the body is mentioned and the “frying pan” was not found near the head is in Tomb 351, where the “frying pan” was found with other objects in a small niche at the back of the tomb. In several tombs where the position of the body could not be determined or is not reported (Tombs 262, 292 and 347), the “frying pans” were found near the front or rear of the tomb and may have been placed near the head. In every instance where details are available, the tombs with “frying pans” also contained at least three other items and a majority (8 out of 14) contained seven or more other items. “Frying pans” are thus clearly associated with the wealthier interments. “Frying pans” were usually found in immediate association with other objects, sometimes above or below them. There seems no regular pattern in the types of these objects, however, and they include: various vessels of terracotta and stone; vessels and objects connected with the preparation of pigments (presumably for cosmetics) such as stone saucers, stone palettes, pestles, bone tubes and blue coloring material; pins of bone and bronze; bronze weapons. The exact position in which the “frying pans” rested is not reported but they were clearly not generally found covering other vessels. The tomb associations at Chalandriani are therefore clearly counter to any suggestion that “frying pans” were used as lids. A “frying pan” is reported to have been found in the same tomb as a figurine in only one instance, in Tomb 307, which contained two marble folded-arm figurines. Figurines are very rare in the cemetery at Chalandriani in any case and were found in only four other tombs<sup>66</sup>; we may not therefore conclude that “frying pans” served in any way as substitutes for figurines. None of the other objects in tombs containing “frying pans” is necessarily connected with one sex or the other, with the possible exception of the bronze weapons found in five instances (Tombs 262, 338, 351, 355, 408), which might indicate male burials.

The attribution of particular vessels to particular tombs is given wherever possible. This information was noted in only a few instances by Tsountas (e.g., for **1**, **13**, **17**, **24**, **27**, **28**) and most of the other attributions come from museum labels.

Illustrations of at least two “frying pans” reliably reported as from Syros other than those found by Tsountas have also been published (**5**, **10**), and I have listed three fur-

ther examples as “probably from Syros” (**29–31**). Another (**55**), although reported to be from Syros, actually has no certain provenance.

All the “frying pans” known from Syros may be dated to the EC II phase.

#### *Forked handle*

##### 1. *Large stars with circles or circular bands inside:*

Most have a single star, within which a circle may be inscribed; *Kerbschnitt* is much employed to fill the rays of the stars or alternate with them. The rays of the stars vary from 6 (**3**) to 13 (**6**).

1. Athens 5164. Tsountas 1899: pl. 9.4; Zschietzschmann 1935: fig. 6; Zervos 1957: fig. 211. From T. 398. Lacking outer *Kerbschnitt* band. Undecorated central circle surrounded by a *Kerbschnitt* band and star with 8 rays, interspersed with *Kerbschnitt*. Simple representation of female genital triangle near handle.

2. Athens 5077 (pl. 33, fig. 1; ill. 4). Zervos 1957: fig. 206. Lower surface somewhat convex. Splaying handle. The outer band is a single row of *Kerbschnitt* with apices pointing toward the center. Central circle, filled with *Kerbschnitt*, surrounded by a star with 6 *Kerbschnitt*-filled rays and a band filled with four rows of *Kerbschnitt*. Beneath the star on the side toward the handle is a swag with oblique strokes. Simple representation of female genital triangle near handle. Vertical strokes on outside of walls. Possibly made by the same artisan as the following vessel.

3. Athens 5231. Zschietzschmann 1935: fig. 10; Zervos 1957: fig. 207. Lower surface somewhat convex. Splaying handle, pierced with stringhole. The outer band has elongated radiating impressions or strokes; otherwise decoration similar to preceding, but without the swag. Female genitalia probably represented by more or less circular pattern of *Kerbschnitt*. Slender triangular strokes oriented vertically on outside of walls. Possibly made by the same artisan as the preceding vessel.

4. Athens 5153 (pl. 33, fig. 2; ill. 4). Zschietzschmann 1935: fig. 9; Zervos 1957: fig. 209. From T. 377. Strongly flaring walls. Two concentric circles of carelessly executed *Kerbschnitt* at center, surrounded by 8-rayed star, the rays interspersed with *Kerbschnitt*; lines of *Kerbschnitt* also form “spines” within each ray. Female genitalia represented by circular pattern of *Kerbschnitt*. The flaring walls and decoration are reminiscent of **20**, which was possibly made by the same artisan.

5. Athens, American School of Classical Studies at Athens. J.L. Caskey, “Chalandriani in Syros,” *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann (Marsyas, Suppl. 1, 1964) 63–69*, figs. 6, 7. Stamped concentric circles (2) at center, surrounded in turn by: a circle consisting of a single row of *Kerbschnitt*; a 5-rayed star interspersed with *Kerbschnitt*; a band with multiple zigzag interspersed with *Kerbschnitt*; a 7-rayed star filled with *Kerbschnitt* and interspersed with pairs or, in one case, three groups of stamped concentric circles linked by tangents. Lower surface not preserved where genitalia

<sup>65</sup> Tsountas 1899: 109–15.

<sup>66</sup> Tsountas 1899: 100.

might have been represented but a simple female genital triangle is incised on upper surface of handle.

6. Athens 4971 (pl. 33, fig. 3; ill. 4). Zervos 1957: fig. 210; Zschietzschmann 1935: fig. 5; Bossert 1960: fig. 8, no. 4 (drawing of stamp). From T. 172. Central stamped spiral surrounded in turn by: a wheel-like pattern with 4 spokes or rays interspersed alternatively with *Kerbschnitt* and multiple chevrons; a circular band of herringbone-like incisions; groups of stamped concentric circles linked with radial lines; a star with 13 asymmetrical rays, one with nearly parallel sides. The rays are interspersed with *Kerbschnitt*. Small simple female genital triangle near handle.

2. *Network of stamped concentric circles or spirals:*

7. Athens 5064 (pl. 33, fig. 5; ill. 4). Zervos 1957: fig. 220. From T. 307. Network of concentric circles, arranged roughly in concentric rings. Central dot within each group of concentric circles. Female genitalia of complex design near handle, separated from the area of concentric circles by a band with four rows of *Kerbschnitt*. The composition of the decoration is almost identical to that on 17, except for the ship within the area of concentric circle, and the stamp for the concentric circles is the same or very close on both vessels; they were almost certainly made by the same artisan. No. 31 is also perhaps by the same hand.

8. Syros, Ermoupolis Museum. Bossert 1960: fig. 1, fig. 7, no. 12 (drawing of stamp); Renfrew 1972: pl. 7.1 From T. 292. Network of spirals, arranged in a masterly pattern that appears both to be rectilinear and to have concentric rings of individual motifs. Simple female genital triangle on upper surface of handle.

3. *Network of stamped concentric circles or spirals and central star:*

9. Athens 6144 (pl. 33, fig. 4). Fragment lacking center and part of rim. Central star, almost completely lost, surrounded by network of concentric circles. The composition of the decoration and the stamp used for the concentric circles are similar to those of 13, 14, 25 and 29; all five were probably made by the same artisan.

10. L. Pollak, "Von griechischen Inseln," *AthMitt* 21 (1896) 188-228, pl. 5.14. Decoration similar to 24.

4. *Unlinked stamped concentric circles or spirals:*

11. Athens 5154. From T. 382. Unusually small (D. ca. 0.14 m.). Double row of *Kerbschnitt* as outer border. Stamped concentric circles, irregularly spaced.

12. Athens 5058 (pl. 36, fig. 19). Zervos 1957: fig. 205; Zschietzschmann 1935: fig. 7; Bossert 1960: fig. 7, no. 10 (drawing of stamp). From T. 297. Strongly flaring walls. Central pattern of double-line spirals, arranged roughly in concentric rings and surrounded by rays on all sides except toward handle. The spirals, although closely spaced, are mostly not contiguous. The rays are interspersed with *Kerbschnitt*. Large triangular area near handle presumably represents female genitalia; it is separated from the area of spirals by a line with rows of *Kerbschnitt* on either side (cf. 23) and contains a vertical stroke, now very short (perhaps its continuation has been obliterated).

5. *Ships within network of stamped concentric circles or spirals:*

All the vessels in this group have narrow leg-like handles except 13. If we assume the high end to be the prow, which I think is the correct view (see above), all the ships face to the right, except that on 17.

13. Athens 5114 (pl. 34, fig. 10; ill. 5). Tsountas 1899: fig. 16 (drawing of ship); Bossert 1960: fig. 8, no. 14 (drawing of stamp). From T. 351. Part of edge and most of central part of handle missing as well as a few small fragments. Splaying handle like 2 and 3. Ship somewhat below center of field. High end toward the right, surmounted by a fish emblem with herringbone pattern on its side and a hooked line above its back. The mouth of the fish touched or perhaps projected slightly into the *Kerbschnitt* border. A more or less triangular tasselled banner decorated with herringbone pattern depends from the high end. Paddles or oars, 20 above and probably originally 23 below, inclined toward the low end. The underside of the low end is curved and a projection with pointed extremity is attached at its bottom. Stamped concentric circles in two different sizes, the smaller size perhaps being employed to avoid crowding. Enough is preserved of the handle to show that genitalia were almost certainly not represented. Probably made by the same artisan as 9, 14, 25 and 29, to judge by the similarities of shape and composition of decoration, the style and details of the ships, and the use of identical or almost identical stamps; on 14, 25 and 29 two sizes of stamps also occur and they are used in a similar way.

14. Athens 6177.1 (pl. 34, fig. 11; ill. 5). Missing part of edge and other pieces. Centrally placed ship, unusually large in relationship to the other decoration and projecting at either end into the *Kerbschnitt* border. Details of the ship are like that on 13. The herringbone pattern on the fish emblem and banner is not shown in ill. 5 because the details are not clear in the photograph. Twelve paddles or oars above and below. Stamped concentric circles in two different sizes. Genitalia lacking. Probably made by the same artisan as 9, 13, 25 and 29; see further under 13.

15. Athens 5053 (pl. 35, fig. 14; ill. 5). Bossert 1960: fig. 2 and fig. 8, no. 15 (drawing of stamp); Tsountas 1899: fig. 20 (drawing of ship). From T. 289. Missing parts of edge and other pieces including the surface on which the low end of the ship was represented. Ship at lower part of field, just above genitalia. High end toward the right, surmounted by fish emblem with a hooked line above its back. A banner of branching lines depends from the line joining the high end with the fish. Paddles or oars, 9 above and 6 below as preserved, the upper inclined toward the high end, the lower toward the low end. Network of concentric circles. Female genital triangle; areas with groups of short strokes adjacent to lower edges. According to Bossert (1960: 8 n. 22), the same stamp was used for the concentric circles on this and 16 and 22; these three vessels share many other similarities of detail and were almost certainly made by the same artisan; 21 is also generally similar and was possibly also made by the same hand.

**16.** Athens 5046 (pl. 35, fig. 13; ill. 5). Tsountas 1899: fig. 19 (drawing of ship). From T. 283. Missing ca. one-quarter, including all of the walls. Smaller than most "frying pans." Decoration similar to **15**, including details of ship. Low end of ship missing; 11 paddles or oars are preserved above and 7 below. Many similarities of detail with **15** and **22**, including the use of the same stamp; see further under **15**. General similarities also with **21**.

**17.** Athens 4974 (pl. 33, fig. 6; ill. 4, 5). Tsountas 1899: fig. 11; Zschietzschmann 1935: fig. 4; Zervos 1957: figs. 221–23. From T. 174. Decoration only on lower surface. Ship somewhat below center of field. High end toward left, surmounted by a fish emblem, probably with a curving line above its back. Two banners of branching lines depend from the line joining the high end with the fish. Paddles or oars, 14 above and 15 below, the upper inclined toward the high end, the lower toward the low end. The line at the bottom of the low end projects beyond the end of the ship. Network of concentric circles. Elaborate female genital triangle near handle, separated from the main field by a zone with *Kerbschnitt*. Probably made by the same artisan as **7** (q.v.) and **31**.

**18.** Athens 6184 (pl. 35, fig. 15; ill. 2, 4, 5). Zervos 1957: fig. 204; Bossert 1960: fig. 7, no. 3 (drawing of stamp). Ship similarly placed and generally similar to that on **17**. Banner with two major strands depends from the line joining the high end with the fish. Sixteen paddles or oars above and below. Network of double-line spirals. Female genital triangle near handle; lower edges bordered by two strips with oblique strokes. Similar to **24**, except for the ship, and probably made by the same artisan.

**19.** Athens 5122 (pl. 35, fig. 16; ill. 4, 5). Tsountas 1899: fig. 21 (drawing of ship); Bossert 1960: fig. 8, no. 9 (drawing of stamp). From T. 356. Missing ca. one-fifth. Ship below center with high end toward right. Fish with hooked line above back. Banner comprised of short strokes, increasing in width toward center, depending from line joining the high end with the fish. Nearly vertical lines on hull, regularly spaced (cf. **53**). Paddles or oars, inclined toward the low end, 19 above and 23 below as visible in the photograph; in Tsountas' drawing, 25 are shown below. The line at the bottom of the low end projects beyond the end of the ship. Stamped concentric circles in two different sizes. Large, relatively elaborate female genital triangle decorated with zigzag or multiple chevrons and an area of short strokes.

*Rectangular handle, unpierced*

**20.** Athens 5012 (ill. 2). Zervos 1957: fig. 208. From T. 236. Flaring walls; flange drawn out toward handle. Single crude circle flanked inside and out by several rows of *Kerbschnitt*; elsewhere *Kerbschnitt* loosely arranged in radiating lines, some curving. Genitalia not clearly indicated. The splaying walls and the decoration are reminiscent of **4**, which was possibly made by the same artisan.

*Handle uncertain*

Since the handles of the following are missing, they are

grouped separately here; there is a strong probability, however, that all were of the forked variety, to judge by their general shape and decoration.

*1. Network of stamped concentric circles or spirals:*

**21.** Athens 6177 (pl. 34, fig. 7; ill. 4). Missing most of walls and handle. Network of concentric circles arranged in concentric rings, at least toward the outside. Similar in shape, arrangement of decoration and many details to **15**, **16** and **22**, and possibly by the same artisan. The genitalia of **21** differ only in that the top edge is bordered by a band with short strokes.

**22.** Athens 6172. Handle missing; restored as forked. Unusually small. Concentric circles. Pubic triangle with many short strokes near lower apex. Similar to **15** and **16**, except for the ships, and probably by the same artisan. The same stamp is used on all three; see further under **15**. Also close to **21**, which is possibly also by the same hand.

**23.** Athens 5315 (pl. 34, fig. 8). Bossert 1960: fig. 7, no. 11 (drawing of stamp). From T. 396. About two-thirds preserved. Single line spirals, in at least one instance of a smaller size than the rest. A secant set off with *Kerbschnitt* perhaps represents genitalia (cf. **12**). It is divided into two areas by a line and in one of the areas part of a curvilinear stamp impression is preserved.

*2. Network of stamped spirals and central star:*

**24.** Athens 4984 (pl. 34, fig. 9). Tsountas 1899: fig. 13; Zschietzschmann 1935: fig. 8; Bossert 1960: fig. 7, nos. 2, 5 (drawings of stamps). From T. 192. Small central motif of star within a ring filled with two rows of *Kerbschnitt*. The rest of the field has stamped double-line spirals, linked with tangential lines and arranged around the center in 3 or 4 rings. Two impressions near the center are of a smaller stamp than the rest. Only part of female pubic triangle preserved. General organization of decoration similar to **10**; the spirals are close to those on **18**, which was probably made by the same artisan. For the *Kerbschnitt* cf. also **23**.

*3. Ships within network of stamped concentric circles or spirals:*

**25.** Athens 6177 (pl. 34, fig. 12; ill. 5). Bossert 1960: fig. 8, no. 13 (drawing of stamp). Missing handle and other pieces. Although handle is restored as forked, the restoration cannot be regarded as certain. Concentric circles in two different sizes. Centrally placed ship, unusually large in relationship to the other decoration; it projects at either end into the *Kerbschnitt* border. Hull of ship unusually tall. High end toward the right, surmounted by a fish emblem with her-ringbone decoration on body. A tasselled banner, decorated with multiple chevron and widening toward the bottom depends from near the high end. Paddles or oars, pointing toward the low end; at least 9 are now preserved above and 14 below, but there may originally have been five or six more above and two or three more below. A narrow rectangular projection with pointed termination follows the line of the low end. Stamped concentric circles in two different sizes. Enough is preserved of handle to show that it lacked a pu-

bic triangle. Probably made by the same artisan as 9, 13, 14 and 29; see especially under 13.

**26.** Athens 5230 (pl. 35, fig. 17; ill. 5). Zervos 1957: fig. 218; Tsountas 1899: fig. 22 (drawing of ship); Bossert 1960: fig. 8, no. 20 (drawing of stamp). Handle and other fragments missing. Unusually large (D. ca. 0.30 m.). Strongly flaring walls. *Kerbschnitt* in border has a wing-like form. Ship unusually long and delicate. High end to right, surmounted by a fish emblem with herringbone decoration on body. A cross-hatched banner, widening somewhat toward the bottom, depends from the line joining the high end with the fish. Paddles or oars, pointing toward the high end; 25 are now preserved above and 29 below, but part of the hull is missing and there were probably originally about 30 above and 36 below. Narrow rectangular projection following line of low end. Network of concentric circles. Pubic triangle probably lacking, to judge by the small area available. Generally similar to 27 and possibly made by the same artisan.

**27.** Athens 5135 (pl. 35, fig. 18; ill. 5). Zervos 1957: fig. 219; Tsountas 1899: figs. 17, 18 (drawings of ships); Bossert 1960: fig. 8, no. 18 (drawing of stamp). From T. 364. Handle and other fragments missing. Unusually large. *Kerbschnitt* in border has a wing-like form; cf. no. 26. Two ships, one above the other, placed obliquely to the axis of the handle. The high ends are toward the right. Just above the upper ship and touching its high end is an irregular zigzag band embellished with short strokes. The two ships are similar. The fish emblems have dorsal fins and their bodies and tails are hatched; the eyes are represented by a dot. The hulls are decorated by hatched bands of zigzag. The high end of the upper ship is decorated with crosshatching; that of the lower ship with multiple chevrons. Paddles or oars are presumably represented by a row of *Kerbschnitt* above each hull. Twenty-nine are probably represented above the upper ship and at least 33 above the lower one (not all shown in ill. 5). The lower ship is not completely preserved, however, and may have had as many as 40. Single lines project from the lower edge of the lower end of each ship. Network of concentric circles; pairs of tangential lines with hatched space between. Pubic triangle probably lacking, to judge by the small area available. Generally similar to 26 and possibly made by same artisan.

*Fragment:*

**28.** Tsountas 1899: fig. 15. From T. 262. Fragment with band of stamped spirals and concentric circles linked with tangential lines near outer edge. It is not stated, probably because the evidence was insufficient, whether groups of spirals alternated only once or several times with groups of circles; the illustration shows a pair of each.

*PROBABLY FROM SYROS*

*Forked handle*

**29.** Berlin, Archäologisches Seminar no. 1445. Zschietzschmann 1935: figs. 1, 3. About one-half missing, including most of center and ends of handle. Ship near center, high

end toward right. Fish emblem with herringbone on side, and probably a hooked line above. A tasselled, nearly triangular banner decorated with multiple chevron depends from line joining high end to fish. Paddles or oars inclined toward the low end probably appear below the hull, but the ship is so badly preserved that details are obscure. Network of stamped concentric circles in two different sizes. Similar to 9, 13, 14 and 25 and probably made by the same artisan.

**30.** University of Missouri, UM 062.31 (pl. 36, fig. 20; ill. 2). Thimme 1977: no. 406. Handle with knob-like terminations which touch one another. A central motif, consisting of concentric rings and star patterns set off by *Kerbschnitt*, is surrounded by a large 8-rayed star adorned with *Kerbschnitt*. The large star has swags with rows of *Kerbschnitt* from the ends of each pair of rays. Parallel rows of *Kerbschnitt*, asymmetrically oriented, near handle.

**31.** Florence, Museo Archeologico 4333. Thimme 1977: no. 404. Network of stamped concentric circles. A triangular area is marked off next to the handle for a female genital triangle but the vessel is somewhat fragmentary and details are obscure. Perhaps made by the same artisan as 7 and 17.

*NAXOS*

*Forked handle*

**32.** (ill. 2). Kontoleon, *Praktika* 1972, pl. 141. From Aplo-mata T. XIX (EC II); the grave goods in this tomb also included one marble folded-arm figurine. Broad spreading handle with disk-like terminations. Bottom meets walls without projecting. Concentric bands of *Kerbschnitt* and herringbone decoration on bottom with radiating strokes at outer edge. The outermost bands curve outward and continue on the handle. Two rows of vertical lines on outer surface of walls. For the outer bands of decoration and the general shape of the handle, cf. 2 and 3.

*Rectangular handle, unpierced*

**33.** Ch. Doumas, *Early Bronze Age Burial Habits in the Cyclades* (SIMA 48, Göteborg 1977) pl. 37g, h. From Ayioi Anargyroi, T. 21 (probably early in EC II); a marble figurine was associated with a burial at a higher level in the same tomb. Somewhat rounded on bottom. Handle like that of 35: Doumas 104. Polished, but without decoration.

**34.** (ill. 2). Kontoleon, *Praktika* 1972, pl. 142. From Aplo-mata, T. XV (EC II). Lacking outer *Kerbschnitt* band. Unlinked stamped double-line spirals, closely spaced but mostly not contiguous, arranged in concentric rings. *Kerbschnitt* bands and hatched triangles on handle.

**35.** Kontoleon, *Praktika* 1972, pl. 140. Marble. From Aplo-mata, T. XXIII (EC II); the grave goods in this tomb included a marble folded-arm figurine. Very broad flange. No carved decoration (perhaps originally decorated with paint?). Traces of red and blue coloring material were found inside and Kontoleon (152) offers the tentative suggestion that the vessel may have been used in some way with this material. One should note, however, that Kontoleon

also records (150) that coloring material was found throughout the grave, and it need not therefore be especially connected with the "frying pan."

**36.** (ill. 3). Lambrinouidakis, *Praktika* 1976, pl. 196γ, δ. Marble. From Aplomata, T. XXVII (EC II); the grave goods in this tomb also included two marble folded-arm figurines. Carved decoration on bottom: intersecting zones oriented parallel and obliquely to axis of handle create lozenge-shaped areas which are filled with parallel lines; running zigzag near edge; herringbone pattern on handle. For the decoration cf. other marble vessels (e.g., Thimme 1977: nos. 359, 363, 366); cf. also a terracotta "frying pan" from Asea (89) with herringbone incisions. Running zigzag occurs on the bottom of **93**, **97**, **116** and **121** and on the outside of the walls of **60** and **78**.

*Handle uncertain*

**37.** Athens 6140 (pl. 36, fig. 23). A.K. Stephanos, "Les tombeaux prémycéniens de Naxos," *Congrès International d'Archéologie* (Athens 1905) 218; H. Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East 2* (Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Papers No. 8, London 1927) pl. 6.2; Zschietzschmann 1935: fig. 12; Papathanasopoulos, *Deltion* 1961-1962, pl. 66; Zervos 1957: fig. 228. From a tomb at Louros (probably early in EC II); the grave goods in this tomb included five marble figurines with stumpy arms of "Louros type." Although Renfrew (1972: 528) suggests that this vessel may have been a lid, the beginning of the handle is certain and it is properly regarded as a "frying pan." From photographs the handle attachment appears to have been narrow and the handle therefore likely to have been rectangular rather than forked or barred. Flaring lip, offset at angle from walls. No outer *Kerbschnitt* band. Central circle with radiating lines, four linked hand-drawn double-line spirals and, near the outer edge, four fish. For the spirals, cf. **58** (in stone) and for the organization of the decoration, cf. **70** and **122**.

**38.** Athens 6140. Frankfort (supra **37**) pl. 6.1; Zschietzschmann 1935: fig. 13. Central dot and circle, surrounded by small star with solid rays; two concentric zones of hand-drawn spirals; outer border of *Kerbschnitt*.

**39.** Athens 6140. Frankfort (supra **37**) pl. 6.3; Zschietzschmann 1935: fig. 14. Very fragmentary. Part of handle preserved with incised decoration on lower surface. Decoration generally similar to preceding.

**40.** Athens 6140 (pl. 36, fig. 22). About one-third preserved; lacking handle. Diameter ca. 0.18 m. Possibly a lid, but the walls are fairly high (H. ca. 0.04 m.) and somewhat convex. Irregular decoration, arranged roughly in rings, consisting of short strokes in various orientations and a zone of zigzags. On walls: short strokes in roughly horizontal lines, divided at intervals by vertical lines of short strokes. The decoration is somewhat reminiscent of the lid or "frying pan" **126**.

**41.** Kontoleon, *Praktika* 1949, 120, fig. 10; Otto in Thimme 1977: fig. 118.3-5. Settlement at Grotta (probably early in EC II). Fragments of three or more "frying pans" decorated

with concentric rings of radiating lines and hand-drawn spirals. Renfrew (1972: 527) mentions that he studied 9 from this site.

**42.** Renfrew 1972: pl. 4.11. From Grotta (probably early in EC II). Fragment with incised lines oblique to axis at outer edge and on outer surface of walls.

*AMORGOS*

**43.** Athens 4740. Tsountas 1898: pl. 9.16. From a pit ("lakkos") at Kato Akroterion (early in EC II). Handle not preserved. Spiral or concentric circles at center, surrounded by concentric zones of decoration: short radiating strokes; running hand-drawn double-line spirals; radiating triangular impressions or strokes; running hand-drawn triple-line spirals; radiating triangular impressions or strokes as an outer border. On walls: triple-linked spirals bordered below by horizontal line. The decoration is close to that of **51**.

*ANDROS?*

**44.** Athens, British School of Archaeology no. A202 (ill. 2). Frankfort (supra **37**) pl. 6.4; Bossert 1960: fig. 7, no. 6 (drawing of stamp). Rectangular handle with a circular hole in the center, causing it to resemble somewhat both the barred and the "bracket" varieties. Small central circle surrounded by two rings of *Kerbschnitt* and a zone with 6 widely spaced and unlinked stamped, double-line spirals.

*ANO KOUPHONISI*

**45.** (ill. 2). Zapheiroupolou, *Deltion* 25 (1970) pl. 372γ; Otto in Thimme 1977: fig. 121.1. Tomb in field of M. Similidas (probably early in EC II). Barred handle with horns projecting obliquely at either end. Concentric zones of decoration: at center a stamped spiral, then a 9-rayed star, a circle, small *Kerbschnitt*-like rays, impressions making up a lozenge pattern and triangular impressions pointed inward. On outside of walls: not entirely clear in photographs, but probably rows of *Kerbschnitt*.

**46.** Ph. Zapheiroupolou, "Un cimetière du Cycladique Ancien à Epáno Kouphonissi," (supra n. 14) fig. 13. Fragment, lacking center. Barred handle. Zone of linked hand-drawn spirals. Border: two rings of radiating strokes.

**47.** Zapheiroupolou, *Deltion* 25 (1970) pl. 369γ. Unstratified. Lacking handle. The whole bottom covered by rows of *Kerbschnitt* making up a spiral or concentric circles. Cf. **59** and the continuously drawn spirals on **61** and **112**.

*DESPOTIKON*

**48.** Tsountas 1898: col. 164 (reported as similar to **43**). Leivadhi, T. 130 (probably early in EC II).

*KEOS*

**49.** Caskey, *Hesperia* 41 (1972) B 21. Ayia Irini, Period II (Early Helladic/Cycladic II). Handle not preserved. Described by Caskey (365) as having a "star pattern with circle at center and filling of *Kerbschnitt*, surrounded by a band

with stamped concentric circles and tangent lines forming a false running spiral." Since it is apparently broken at the outside edge, it is not clear whether it was surrounded by a band of *Kerbschnitt*. Caskey also reports fragments of three other "frying pans" with "false running spirals."

#### MYKONOS

50. Mykonos Museum (pl. 36, fig. 21). W. Deonna, *Délos* 18. *Le mobilier délien* (Paris 1938) 273, pl. 84.713; Bossert 1960: fig. 8, no. 1 (drawing of stamp). Attributed by Deonna to Rheneia but according to Belmont and Renfrew (*AJA* 68 [1964] 397) from an EC II tomb at Diakophtis in Mykonos. Forked handle. Stamped concentric circle at center, surrounded by a zone with 6 bands of *Kerbschnitt*. Between this and the broad outer *Kerbschnitt* border is a reserved zone. Large pubic triangle near handle but intruding into reserved zone.

#### PAROS

51. Paros Museum (ill. 2). Varoucha, *ArchEph* 1925–1926, fig. 9; Zschietzschmann 1935: fig. 11; Zervos 1957: figs. 226, 227; Bossert 1960: fig. 5. Kampos, T. 3 (probably early in EC II). Barred handle; bar is nearly circular in section and projects beyond struts. At center irregularly drawn concentric circles surrounded by concentric rings of *Kerbschnitt* and linked hand-drawn double-line spirals. *Kerbschnitt* continues on lower surface of handle. On outer surface of walls: linked hand-drawn double-line spirals between rows of *Kerbschnitt*. Similar to 76.

#### SIKINOS?

52. Copenhagen 3245. *CVA* Denmark 1, pl. 37.4; Otto in Thimme 1977: fig. 119.1. Attributed in *CVA* to Amorgos but by Renfrew (1972:523) and Otto to Sikinos. Barred handle, with bar curving away from vessel at either end. Concentric zones of decoration: at center concentric circles, apparently hand-drawn, surrounded by three zones of linked hand-drawn double-line spirals with a *Kerbschnitt* border. On outside of walls: linked hand-drawn double-line spirals bordered above and below with a row of *Kerbschnitt*; a pair of parallel rows of short incised lines extends obliquely from spiral to spiral forming a cross with the continuous tangential lines.

#### SIPHNOS

53. Tsountas 1899: col. 75 (reported as similar to those of Syros). Akrotiraki, T. 143 (EC II).

#### PROBABLY FROM THE CYCLADES

##### Forked handle

54. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1971.842 (pl. 37, fig. 31; ill. 5). Thimme 1977: no. 405. Prongs of handle closely set together. Two concentric incised rings instead of outer *Kerbschnitt* band. Unlinked concentric circles, partly stamped and partly hand-drawn. A crudely drawn ship

near edge opposite handle. High end toward right, surmounted by a fish emblem which incorporates part of the innermost incised ring. Vertical lines on hull (cf. 19). A single line projecting from low end.

##### Barred handle

55. Paris, Louvre CA 2991 (pl. 36, fig. 26). Zervos 1957: figs. 224, 225; Bossert 1960: fig. 6; Renfrew 1972: pl. 4.1; Thimme 1977: no. 400. Reported as from Syros in Zervos but according to Thimme without certain provenance. Large triangular impressions forming a star at center and, at some distance, a toothed band. This in turn surrounded by a circular band of short strokes and one of linked hand-drawn double-line spirals. Short strokes and *Kerbschnitt* on bottom of handle. Linked hand-drawn spirals bordered by *Kerbschnitt* on outer surface of walls.

56. Vienna, private collection. Thimme 1977: no. 401. Reported to have been found with a jug: see Thimme for details and references. Concentric circles at center surrounded by successive bands of ornament including two of running hand-drawn spirals. Short radiating lines rather than *Kerbschnitt* on outer band. Thimme mentions marks of grinding on the interior.

57. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection (pl. 36, fig. 25). Thimme 1977: no. 402. Hand-drawn spiral at center, surrounded at a distance by a band of *Kerbschnitt* and hand-drawn linked spirals.

##### Rectangular handle, unpierced

58. Karlsruhe 75/11 (pl. 37, fig. 32; ill. 3). Thimme 1977: no. 364. Chlorite schist. Carved decoration: *Kerbschnitt*-like band beside edge; network of double-line spirals, which become larger toward the center, arranged in two rings around a large central spiral; on handle a cross-like pattern (perhaps representing a butterfly or insect?). The radially symmetrical design, which is almost flawlessly executed, makes this a masterpiece of Cycladic art.

##### Other handles

59. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection (pl. 36, fig. 24; ill. 2). Thimme 1977: no. 403. The handle is a rectangular projection with a large oval-shaped hole; it appears intermediate between the barred variety and the "bracket" handle of the mainland (e.g., 87–88, 113). Outer band of short radiating strokes rather than *Kerbschnitt*. The remaining surface has hundreds of short strokes arranged roughly in a spiral; cf. 47 and the continuously drawn spirals on 61 and 112.

60. Athens, Goulandris Collection. C. Doumas, *The N.P. Goulandris Collection of Early Cycladic Art* (Athens 1968) no. 99; and *Cycladic Art* (London 1983) no. 39. Handle rectangular but indented somewhat in middle, giving the impression that it is forked; cf. the forked handles from Manika (64–69) and 112 from Lithares. Lacking outer *Kerbschnitt* band. Seven hand-drawn concentric circles in middle, surrounded by asymmetrical pattern of rays, areas of parallel lines and short strokes. Continuous zigzag on outer surface of walls (cf. 78). Incised decoration on upper surface of han-

dle, not clearly illustrated. Decoration reminiscent of 143 and, though somewhat less, of 73. Although published as Cycladic, this piece is possibly from Euboea or the mainland.

61. Athens, Goulandris Collection (pl. 37, fig. 34). Doumas (supra 60) *Goulandris Collection* no. 98; and *Cycladic Art* no. 38. Horizontal spool-shaped handle, pierced vertically near center; it resembles the lugs on some of the bottle-shaped vessels of the "Kampos group," but these are usually pierced along their length: e.g., *Deltion* 1925–1926, 104 fig. 7; Zervos 1957: fig. 87; Doumas, *Cycladic Art* no. 37. Flaring walls. Lacking outer *Kerbschnitt* band. A single spiral covers the whole of the bottom; the handle is ringed with vertical lines. For the spiral cf. 112 and those in *Kerbschnitt* or short strokes on 47 and 59.

#### AEGINA

62. Renfrew 1972: pl. 4, no. 13. Fragment of rim without projecting flange. Outer edge of bottom: short radiating strokes. Outer surface of wall: short strokes near top and bottom.

63. Renfrew 1972: pl. 4, no. 14. Fragment of rim. Short strokes oriented obliquely at outer edge of bottom. Within this was a band of running spirals or concentric circles, possibly stamped, but not well enough preserved to be sure from photograph.

#### EUBOEIA

##### MANIKA

Papavasileiou distinguished 5 groups (*systades*) of tombs.<sup>67</sup> "Frying pans" were evidently distributed throughout the cemetery. Ten "frying pans" were found in 9 tombs, at least one in each group: Group 1 T. 2 (which contained two vessels, 64 and 74), T. 3 (65), T. 4 (66); Group 2 T. 1 (73); Group 3 T. 4 (70); Group 4 T. 2 (67); Group 5 T. 2 (71), T. 3 (68) and T. 5 (72). The position of the vessels within these tombs was generally not recorded. A "frying pan" was the sole object in two tombs (Group 5, T. 3 and T. 5). Objects associated with the "frying pans" in other tombs number from one (Group 2, T. 1) to nine (Group 4, T. 2), and include a marble folded-arm figurine (Group 1, T. 2), bronze tweezers (Group 1, T. 4), bone objects (Group 4, T. 2) and vessels of stone and clay. Beak-spouted jugs and one-handed tankards, which are generally believed to have Anatolian connections (supra p. 200), occur only in tombs of Group 4, although not in the same tomb as the "frying pan" (T. 2). Only one more "frying pan" was found by Sampson during his recent excavation of 21 other tombs (69); although not yet fully published, it evidently had a forked handle and was probably undecorated. In every case the edge of the vessel projects somewhat beyond its walls. The walls are generally nearly vertical but they occasionally have a noticeable flare (e.g., 67). Only two were certainly decorated with incised patterns (70, 73) and in both cases the patterns were crudely organized. Stamped decoration occurs neither on "frying pans" nor any other vessel from

the Manika cemeteries and there is a strong presumption that all these vessels were locally produced.

All the tombs containing "frying pans" at Manika are probably to be dated to EH II. No. 75 is a surface find from the settlement.

##### Forked handle

The forked handles tend to project less than those on the vessels from Syros, particularly after they bifurcate, and the tips are occasionally somewhat thickened and rounded. As a consequence, they bear less resemblance to human legs than their counterparts from Syros and it is noteworthy that representations of genitalia are completely lacking.

64. (ill. 2). Papavasileiou 1910: pl. 2. Group 1, T. 2.

65. Papavasileiou 1910: pl. 2. Group 1, T. 3. Handle restored.

66. Papavasileiou 1910: pl. 2. Group 1, T. 4.

67. Papavasileiou 1910: pl. 11. Group 4, T. 2.

68. Papavasileiou 1910: pl. 13, lower left. Group 5, T. 3.

69. Sampson (supra n. 6) 73 and fig. 14. Apparently the sole object in T. VIII.

##### Barred handle

70. (pl. 37, fig. 28; ill. 2). Papavasileiou 1910: fig. 14. Group 3, T. 4. The bar of the handle projects beyond the struts to form knob-like projections. Incised decoration on bottom: hand-drawn spirals, a large one in the center and four smaller ones asymmetrically spaced near the periphery; the outer line of each smaller spiral links it with the next, giving the effect of a circumscribing circle; the outer line of the central spiral also continues and links it with the outer ring. For the general organization of the four outer spirals, cf. 37 and 122.

##### Triangular, knobbed handle

The handle is represented by a triangular projection, thickened at its end to a knob and pierced with a round hole near the walls of the vessels.

71. Papavasileiou 1910: pl. 13, upper left. Group 5, T. 2.

72. (ill. 2). Papavasileiou 1910: pl. 13, upper right. Group 5, T. 5.

##### Handle uncertain

73. Papavasileiou 1910: fig. 12. Group 2, T. 1. Handle restored as forked but apparently not extant. Incised decoration: near center, concentric circles and rings of punctations surrounded by a band of zigzags; toward edge, expanding rays filled with straight and zigzag lines and punctations and separated in two instances by groups of curving parallel lines. The rays are not placed in a symmetrical relationship with the handle. The decoration is somewhat reminiscent of 40, 60 and 126; cf. also 143.

74. Papavasileiou 1910: pl. 2, upper left. Group 1, T. 2. No handle preserved and perhaps originally without handle, described, Papavasileiou (4), merely as "without handle."

75. Sackett et al., *BSA* 61 (1966) pl. 13d, upper row; Ren-

<sup>67</sup> Papavasileiou 1910: 1–19.

frew 1972: pl. 4.12. Fragment with pattern of concentric rings, probably at center, and linked hand-drawn triple-line spirals.

#### UNKNOWN PROVENANCE

**76.** Athens, Benaki Museum 7688 (pl. 36, fig. 27). Jacobsen, *AA* 1969, 233–42, fig. 5. Barred handle. The bar curves slightly away from vessel and extends beyond the struts to form knobs. At center irregularly drawn concentric circles surrounded by concentric rings of *Kerbschnitt* and linked hand-drawn double-line spirals. The lower surface of the handle has a double row of *Kerbschnitt* on the bar and single hand-drawn spirals on each strut. On outer surface of walls: linked hand-drawn double-line spirals between double rows of *Kerbschnitt*. Close in form and decoration to **51**.

#### ATTICA

##### AYIOS KOSMAS

Mylonas reported finding at least 16 "frying pans"<sup>68</sup> including three from the settlement.<sup>69</sup> All the preserved handles can be assigned to the barred type although some (e.g., **79**) represent an unusual variety of this type. All have incised decoration, although there is also a similar shape of plate<sup>70</sup> which apparently may be undecorated. Many of these vessels may have been locally made. Mylonas mentions "their rather coarse clay and imperfect firing,"<sup>71</sup> and supposes that they were an elaborate and less utilitarian version of ordinary plates.

Two of the four more or less complete "frying pans" from Ayios Kosmas were found in Grave 7,<sup>72</sup> which contained the bones of many individuals. One (**77**) was near the femur of the skeleton with which it is probably to be associated; the other (**78**) was near a skull, but cannot with certainty be associated with it. No. **79** was found on edge leaning against the west wall of Grave 12<sup>73</sup>; bones of two individuals were found on the east side of the grave but no other grave goods can be securely associated with it. Finally, **80** was found outside but near the disturbed Grave 23<sup>74</sup> along with several other objects.

All the "frying pans" from Ayios Kosmas can be dated to EH II.

**77.** Mylonas 1959: 85–86, figs. 146, 148 (no. 190). T. 7. The bottom, which is slightly convex, does not project beyond the walls and the walls incline inward slightly. Barred handle, the struts of which were thrust through the walls. Both struts and bar are apparently round in section and the struts continue beyond the bar and turn outward slightly to form knobs. Stamped spiral at center surrounded by 5 bands of ray-like *Kerbschnitt* with apices pointing toward the center. On outside of walls: two rows of similar *Kerbschnitt* with apices pointing upward. The design, although simple, has no close parallel; **45** is reminiscent.

**78.** Mylonas 1959: 86, figs. 146, 148 (no. 195); Bossert

1960: fig. 9, no. 7 (drawing of stamp). T. 7. Barred handle like that of no. **77** but with externally attached struts. Decoration (from center to edge): a stamped spiral, a star with 7 solidly impressed rays, a circle, a band of radiating strokes, set somewhat obliquely, a band of 3 rows of *Kerbschnitt*, radiating strokes beside edge. On outside of walls: closely spaced vertical strokes near rim; horizontal zigzag extending over the rest of the surface. For the zigzag, cf. **60**.

**79.** (pl. 37, fig. 29; ill. 2). Mylonas 1959: 92, fig. 148 (no. 210); Bossert 1960: fig. 9, no. 14 (drawing of stamp). T. 12. The bottom projects beyond the walls only to the extent that the walls are somewhat concave. Barred handle of unusual type: the bar meets the struts at either end to form a loop which is folded upon itself and which projects obliquely beyond the central part of the bar. Stamped spiral at center surrounded by 5 large ray-like impressions forming a star; this in turn is surrounded by a circle, a band of obliquely placed strokes, a zone of stamped running spirals and, at the outer edge, a band of closely spaced oblique strokes. On outside of walls: closely spaced oblique strokes near rim. The decoration is close to that of **80**. Fragments of three similar handles from the cemetery are also illustrated: Mylonas 1959: figs. 145.12 and 160.315, 316.

**80.** Mylonas 1959: 102, fig. 148 (no. 227); Bossert 1960: fig. 9, no. 16 (drawing of stamp). From area of T. 23. Handle not preserved; shape similar to no. **79**. Decoration also similar except that the spirals are linked with curving lines, the radiating strokes are less closely spaced and less oblique to the axis and there is a second row near the bottom on the outside. Fragments of several similarly decorated vessels are illustrated; at least 3 are from the settlement—see Mylonas 1959: fig. 145.8–11. For others from the cemetery, see Mylonas 1959: figs. 145.4–7; 159.300; fig. 160.313, 314, 317–24.

##### MARKOPOULO

**81.** Papachristodoulou, *AAA* 4 (1971) 140–46, fig. 5. Probable tomb beneath Petrouti Street. Lacking handle. Similar to **79**, but between the band of running spirals and the outermost band of short strokes is a band with 4 rows of crudely executed *Kerbschnitt*.

##### MARATHON

Two are from tombs at Tsepi, which are probably all to be dated to EH/EC II.

**82.** Marinatos, *AAA* 3 (1970) 349–66, fig. 4. From cemetery at Tsepi. Lacking handle. Decoration like **78**, but with 15-rayed star.

**83.** Marinatos, *Praktika* 1970, pl. 34γ; and 1971, pl. 2. Tsepi, T. 13. Barred handle with horns projecting obliquely at either end; from the photographs it is unclear whether the center of the handle is actually pierced, or filled with clay. At center, stamped concentric circles surrounded in turn by

<sup>68</sup> Mylonas 1959: 122.

<sup>69</sup> Mylonas 1959: 24.

<sup>70</sup> Mylonas 1959: 24, S-8.

<sup>71</sup> Mylonas 1959: 126.

<sup>72</sup> Mylonas 1959: 84–87.

<sup>73</sup> Mylonas 1959: 92–93.

<sup>74</sup> Mylonas 1959: 101–102.



bands of radiating strokes, *Kerbschnitt*, linked stamped concentric circles and short, closely set radiating lines. For the decoration, cf. Mylonas 1959: fig. 160.314, 319, 320.

#### PALAI A KOKKINIA

These fragments are probably to be dated to EH I.

**84.** Theochares, *Praktika* 1951, 93–127, fig. 26a. Probable habitation deposit. Fragment with oblique strokes at outer edge surrounding a band of stamped concentric circles, linked by tangential lines.

**85.** Theochares, *Praktika* 1951, 93–127, fig. 26γ. Bossert 1960: fig. 9, no. 5 (drawing of stamp). Probable habitation deposit. Fragment from center with stamped spiral surrounded by star with impressed rays. Theochares fig. 26β and δ are possibly also from “frying pans”; the former apparently has rows of *Kerbschnitt* as an outer border.

#### RAFINA

**86.** Theochares, *Praktika* 1951, 93–127, fig. 14. From settlement, probably to be dated to EH II. Fragment with *Kerbschnitt* bands at outer edge surrounding a band or area with impressed concentric circles.

#### ELSEWHERE IN MAINLAND GREECE

Listed here are pieces that in my view are certainly or likely to have been true “frying pans.” It should be noted, however, that some doubt is possible in the case of some of the fragments lacking evidence for handles and fragments of handles only (e.g., **105**, **108**, **109**). I have excluded here almost all undecorated pans, even when handles are present (e.g., **127**).

#### ASEA

All pieces come from excavations in the settlement by Holmberg.<sup>75</sup> Nos. **87**, **89**, **90**, **92–94** are reported to have been found in Neolithic–Early Helladic mixed layers, **88** in a purely EH layer and **91** in an almost pure EH layer. There is some doubt about their chronology and also whether all were true “frying pans,” given their fragmentary condition. Another piece, although reported as from the Neolithic–Early Helladic mixed layer, is likely to be a lid of later date and is included infra under OTHER VESSELS (**141**). Holmberg regards all of the following as probably imported except **94**, which is evidently of a local yellow slipped and polished ware.

#### “Bracket” handle

**87.** (ill. 2). Holmberg (supra n. 34) fig. 88b. Fragment of handle only. Handle trapezoidal in outline as seen from top or bottom, centrally pierced. Possible curving line of punctations near hole. Cf. a handle on a bowl from prehistoric Macedonia: Rey (supra n. 9) fig. 12b.

<sup>75</sup> Holmberg (supra n. 34) 84–87.

<sup>76</sup> For the dating, see J.L. Caskey, “The Early Helladic Period in the Argolid,” *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 301.

**88.** Holmberg (supra n. 34) fig. 87g = fig. 88c. Fragment with handle reported as similar to no. **87**. A pair of curving lines, concentric with hole in handle.

#### Other handle

**89.** Holmberg (supra n. 34) fig. 87e. Fragment with handle. From the drawing the handle appears to be joined to the walls of the vessel by vertical strut-like extensions so that it has a socket-like form (cf. **99**, **120**). Herringbone pattern arranged in rectilinear zones of uneven width. For the decoration, cf. that on the marble piece **36** and, for the herringbone, cf. also **32**. Herringbone is often arranged in rectilinear zones on pyxis-lids (e.g., Doumas 1977: pl. 33a).

#### Handle uncertain

**90.** Holmberg (supra n. 34) fig. 87a. Fragment of rim. Band of oblique strokes near edge. A stamped group of concentric circles is preserved, beside which are 4 radiating lines coming nearly together near edge. The design was perhaps a large star with rays alternating with concentric circles (cf. **5**).

**91.** Holmberg (supra n. 34) fig. 87b. Fragment of rim. Near edge two concentric bands of carelessly drawn unlinked spirals (cf. **115** and parallels there cited).

**92.** Holmberg (supra n. 34) fig. 87c. Fragment of rim. Near edge a band of running stamped spirals or concentric circles.

**93.** Holmberg (supra n. 34) fig. 87d. Fragment of rim. Near edge band of zigzag, within which a band of short strokes (*Kommaverzierung*). On outer surface of walls multiple chevron-like pattern. For the zigzag, cf. **97**, **116**, **121** and the marble vessel **36**.

**94.** Holmberg (supra n. 34) fig. 68j = fig. 87f. Fragment of rim. Two rows of comma-like impressions separated by an incised line in a band near edge.

#### ASINE

**95.** Frödin and Persson, *Asine* (supra n. 35) fig. 171. Settlement, EH II deposit.<sup>76</sup> Considered typically Cycladic by the excavators; see Frödin and Persson 233. Fragment with impressed spirals and concentric circles, very closely spaced and in some instances contiguous or slightly overlapping. According to Frödin and Persson (233), the impressions comprise “both real spirals and concentric circles”; this view is accepted by Bossert,<sup>77</sup> but from the photographs they appear to me to be only concentric circles. Although Bossert<sup>78</sup> draws the stamps as linked, the lines visible in the photograph appear haphazard and perhaps accidental. The stamp impressions were probably arranged in concentric rings. Perhaps from near center of a vessel decorated like **115**.

#### BERBATI

**96.** G. Säflund, *Excavations at Berbati 1936–1937* (Stockholm 1965) fig. 106h. Settlement, EH. Fragment with area

<sup>77</sup> Bossert 1960: 14.

<sup>78</sup> Bossert 1960: fig. 10, no. 4.

or zone of *Kerbschnitt* surrounded by a pair of concentric rings and a zone of stamped double-line spirals, adjacent and in one case contiguous to one another; cf. 115 and parallels there cited. The decoration is also reminiscent of 49.

97. Säffund (supra 96) fig. 106f; color pl. 4. Settlement, EH. Fragment of rim with double *Kerbschnitt* border within which is a zone of finely incised lines, apparently in a running zigzag. For the latter cf. 93, 116, 121 and the marble vessel 36.

#### CORINTH

Roughly 30 fragments certainly or probably from "frying pans" have been found at Corinth and there are other pieces from similar vessels. All are from settlement deposits or debris. Not enough information has yet been published to permit them to be closely dated. Only two pieces of special interest are included here. John C. Lavezzi, who will eventually publish all these pieces, kindly informs me that among them is a fragment of a flanged bottom with elongated outline, probably from a "frying pan" with forked handle.

98. Corinth C-37-2816. Weinberg, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 515 fig. 34h; Renfrew 1972: fig. 11.6. Fragment of rim. Short radiating strokes near edge; bands of short strokes near top and bottom of outer surface of walls. Two other fragments with running stamped spirals are probably from this or similar "frying pans": Weinberg fig. 34f, g.

99. Corinth C-68-359. Unpublished and mentioned here through the courtesy of John C. Lavezzi and Henry S. Robinson. Probably EH I. Fragment of edge of shallow vessel. The walls flare at an angle of ca. 40° from the horizontal. The angle of the walls increases to ca. 50° on the inside toward the bottom of the vessel, which was probably flat. Badly preserved indications of a handle, probably like those of 89 and 120. At least two concentric rings of unlinked double-line stamped spirals.

#### EPIDAUROS

100. Papademetriou, *Praktika* 1949, 95 fig. 5, lower right. Settlement. Fragment of rim. Band near edge with three rows of *Kerbschnitt*, surrounding a band of radiating strokes and a circle. This fragment is listed here as a "frying pan" because of its decorative scheme, which is unlike that of any lid I know.

#### EUTRESIS

All are reported to be from EH I deposits in the settlement. They are very fragmentary and doubts may be expressed that all are true "frying pans." Three other pieces, possibly related, are listed infra under OTHER VESSELS (127-129).

101. Goldman 1931: fig. 97.7. Fragment of bottom. Band of

linked stamped motifs, probably spirals, surrounding one of short oblique strokes inscribed by a circle.

102. Goldman 1931: fig. 97.3. Fragment of rim. Short oblique strokes at outer edge. Part of a curving line is preserved on the fragment illustrated, and Goldman states (82): "the design includes concentric circles."

103. Goldman 1931: fig. 97.4, 5. Fragments of rim. Band of crosshatching near edge (cf. 107 and 113), apparently surrounding a star with herringbone pattern on the rays.

104. Goldman 1931: fig. 97.6. Fragment of rim. Unlinked concentric circles in a band near rim. The groups of circles seem not to have been made by a single stamp, although each circle may have been impressed; Jeremy B. Rutter has suggested to me in a letter that they may have been drawn freehand, but they seem too regular. For the unlinked motifs, cf. 115 and parallels there cited.

105. Goldman 1931: fig. 114.3. Fragment of "bracket" handle.

106. Caskey and Caskey, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 144 no. IV.14. Settlement. EH I deposits. Fragment of rim. Short radiating strokes near edge; bands of short strokes near top and bottom of outer surface of walls.

107. Caskey and Caskey, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 144 no. IV.13. Fragment of rim, perhaps of a "frying pan." Band of crosshatching near edge; cf. 103 and 113.

108. Caskey and Caskey, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 145 no. IV.19. Fragment of "bracket" handle; cf. 113.

109. Caskey and Caskey, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 145 no. IV.18. Fragment of a "bracket" or "wishbone" handle.

#### LERNA

The EH II levels at Lerna produced 6 fragments of flat vessels with stamped decoration; see Wiencke, *AJA* 84 (1980) 240 for a brief summary. I have included two of these fragments here and three infra under OTHER VESSELS (130-132).

110. Caskey, *Hesperia* 27 (1958) pl. 35f; Renfrew 1972: fig. 11.16; Bossert 1960: fig. 10, no. 5 (drawing of stamp). EH II, "from earliest E.H. deposits." Fragment of rim. Band of short oblique strokes at edge surrounding one of linked stamped concentric circles. On outer surface of walls: band of diagonal lines near center, bordered by incised lines.

111. Caskey, *Hesperia* 27 (1958) pl. 35e; Bossert 1960: fig. 9, no. 4 (drawing of stamp). Found as preceding. Fragment of bottom with contiguous or closely spaced stamped spirals. Perhaps from a vessel decorated like 115.

#### LITHARES

112. (ill. 2). Spyropoulos and Tzavella-Evjén, *AAA* 6 (1973) 373 fig. 3. From settlement. EH. Rectangular handle, centrally pierced and somewhat indented at end so that it resembles a forked handle (cf. 60). A single large spiral almost completely covers the bottom (cf. 61 and parallels

there cited); near edge a band with two rows of *Kerbschnitt* bordered by incised lines, which turns and continues on the handle (cf. Cycladic vessels with forked handles such as **2**, **3** and **32**). *Kerbschnitt* also on outer surface of walls.

#### MANESI

**113.** (ill. 2). Soteriades, *ArchEph* 1908, 73 fig. 6, above; Frankfort (supra **37**) fig. 13 (showing handle). Prehistoric settlement. Fragment of rim and "bracket" handle. Flaring walls. Band of crosshatching near rim (cf. **103**, **107**), surrounding poorly preserved radiating lines, perhaps part of star (cf. **103**). The doubts expressed about this piece by Wace and Thompson<sup>79</sup> that this is a true "frying pan" seem unnecessary.

#### NEMEA

**114.** Settlement at Tsoungiza, excavations of Bryn Mawr College, 1984. Unpublished; mentioned through the courtesy of James Wright and described for me by Jeremy B. Rutter. From an EH I stratum. Fragment of rim with place of attachment of barred handle; the handle struts were attached by plugs thrust through the vessel wall. The only decoration preserved is a border of short strokes.

#### PEFKAKIA

**115.** Touchais, *BCH* 101 (1977) 593 fig. 182. Settlement. Early Bronze Age (evidently contemporary with EH II). Large fragment. Decoration from center to outside: a circular area with contiguous stamped spirals, one at the center surrounded by two concentric rings; a band with two rows of *Kerbschnitt*; a band with two rows of contiguous spirals; a band with two rows of *Kerbschnitt*; a band with two rows of contiguous spirals as a border. Bands or areas of unlinked spirals or concentric circles are also found on **91**, **95**, **96**, **104** and **111** and in the case of **95**, **96** and **111** the individual motifs are similarly closely spaced. Although unlinked spirals occur in the Cyclades on **11**, **12** and **34**, they occupy a larger area and are not so carefully set off in zones. The overall design is somewhat reminiscent of **111**.

#### PERACHORA

All pieces come from the EH settlement by Lake Vouliagmeni. Phase Y dates to EH I, Phase Z to a little later in EH I or to early in EH II.<sup>80</sup>

**116.** Fossey, *BSA* 64 (1969) 63 fig. 5, lower right, no. 1. From Phase Y. Handle not preserved and possibly not from a "frying pan." Star-like band of zigzag at center; then, at some distance, a band of radiating strokes; near the edge, a band of running zigzag. Cf. **121**, from Ayia Photia in Crete and, for the zigzag as a border pattern, **93** and the marble vessel **36**. For the inner band of zigzag, cf. also **73**, from Manika.

**117.** Fossey, *BSA* 64 (1969) 63 fig. 5, lower right, no. 2.

<sup>79</sup> A.J.B. Wace and M.S. Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly* (Cambridge 1912) 202.

From Phase Y. Fragment of rim. Radiating strokes at outer edge. Band of vertical strokes on outer surface of walls near top.

**118.** Fossey, *BSA* 64 (1969) 66 fig. 6, lower right, no. 2. From Phase Z. Fragment of rim. At outer edge a single band of *Kerbschnitt*. Near edge a pair of stamped spirals, adjacent to one another, with tangential lines, each with a row of *Kerbschnitt* running parallel to it. The design is unusual and may be like that on a jar from Eutresis: Goldman 1931: pl. 3.2. Another sherd from Perachora, called a "frying pan" but apparently not one, to judge from the drawing, is also similar: Fossey 1969: fig. 6, lower right, no. 1.

**119.** Fossey, *BSA* 64 (1969) 68 fig. 7, right. From a deposit of Phases Y-Z. Fragment of rim. Radiating strokes at edge, surrounding a band of linked spirals, presumably stamped. Bands of vertical strokes on outer surface of walls near bottom and top.

#### TIRYNS

**120.** K. Müller (supra n. 45) 35, 36 and pl. 14.1-3. EH settlement. Socket-like handle with two vertical extensions connecting it to the vessel wall, which turns outward to form a flat surface above the handle. Large oval perforation in lower surface of handle. Similar to the handle of **89**; **99** is probably also similar. Bottom perhaps undecorated.

#### CRETE

**121.** (pl. 37, fig. 30). C. Davaras, *Guide to Cretan Antiquities* (Park Ridge 1976), fig. 77; and *Deltion* 27 (1972) pl. 603, lower right. From a tomb at Ayia Photia of EM I/II date. The handle, which is not restored, is rectangular, projects only slightly, and is pierced near the center. Simple decoration in a concentric pattern. Radiating strokes in center surrounded in turn by: a circle; a band of zigzag; a circle; radiating strokes; a circle; radiating strokes; a band of zigzag. For the decoration, cf. **116** and, for the zigzag as a border pattern, **93** and the marble example **36**. For the inner band of zigzag, cf. also **73**, from Manika.

**122.** S. Marinatos and M. Hirmer, *Crete and Mycenae* (New York n.d.) pl. 5, below. In the Giamalakis Collection. Small vessel with large barred handle. Pronounced knobs at either end of the bar. A group of stamped concentric circles at center and four others symmetrically organized. Lines extend outward from the central concentric circles to make 4 ray-like shapes; the apices are not completely closed, however, and the lines continue to form bracket-like shapes. Herringbone pattern on bars of handle. For the organization of the decoration and its quadrilateral symmetry, cf. **37**.

#### ANATOLIA

##### ALACA HÜYÜK

Two examples of copper or bronze dating to the Anatolian Early Bronze Age.

**123.** (ill. 3). H.Z. Koşay, *Ausgrabungen von Alaca Hüyük*

<sup>80</sup> J.M. Fossey, "The Prehistoric Settlement by Lake Vouliagmeni, Perachora," *BSA* 64 (1969) 53-69.

(Ankara 1944) pl. 83.60; Mellink 1956: 52, pl. 4, fig. 6, left and pl. 5. From T. A. Slightly oval in outline. Rectangular handle; the convex end has spur-like projections at either side. Low walls, set well back from the edge. No decoration. For the shape in general cf. the marble vessels **35** and **36**; the handle of **36** is particularly close. The lack of decoration is also suggestive of marble exemplars like **35**.

**124.** (ill. 3). Koşay (supra **123**) pl. 89.27; Mellink 1956: 52, pl. 4, fig. 6, right and pl. 6. From T. A'. Smaller than **123**. Rectangular handle like **123** but shorter, so that impossible to grip properly. No decoration. Ancient patch at one edge. For the short handle, cf. the stone vessel **58**.

#### OTHER VESSELS OR LIDS SIMILAR TO "FRYING PANS"

Nos. **137–143** probably date early in the Middle Bronze Age and are included here only for comparative purposes. The other examples date to the Early Bronze Age and some may have been true "frying pans," although there is reason to doubt it in each case.

**125.** Athens, Goulandris Collection. Doumas, *Goulandris Collection* (supra **60**) no. 329; and *Cycladic Art* (supra **60**) no. 164. Probably EC II. Marble. Large, shallow pan, generally like a "frying pan" but without handle. Maximum D. ca. 0.415 m. A row of 16 birds is carved on a raised strip on the inside of the vessel. Fragments of at least two similar vessels are known from Keros: Zapheiroupolou, *AAA* 1 (1968) 100 fig. 6; cf. Preziosi in Thimme 1977: 100 and Doumas, *Cycladic Art* 134.

**126.** Markopoulo. Theochares, *Neon Athenaion* 1 (1955) pl. I. Probably EH II or EC II. Object of terracotta, missing parts of edge. Described by Theochares (285) as a lid, but possibly a "frying pan." Found in a tomb at Kovatsi near Markopoulo. Near edge a band of crude hand-drawn spirals, linked by many lines. Toward center 4 large hand-drawn concentric circles, each embellished toward the outside with short radiating lines. Although the decoration may have been inspired by that on "frying pans," such as the two decorated examples from Manika (**70**, **73**), it is cruder than and differs in its arrangement from all the other Attic examples yet known. Cf. also **40**, **60** and, for the circle with the short radiating lines, **101**.

**127.** Eutresis. Goldman 1931: fig. 143.1. Flat pan with upright rim. D. 0.23 m. Horizontal handle attached opposite bottom. For other similar pans, see Goldman 1931: figs. 142 and 143.2, 3.

**128.** Eutresis. Goldman 1931: fig. 145.1. Fragment described by Goldman (110) as of "small flat stand." Decoration of stippling and concentric arches.

**129.** Eutresis. Goldman 1931: fig. 145.2. Fragment like no. **128**. Toward the center the decoration includes stippled lines in the form of rays.

**130.** Lerna, L.1386. Caskey, *Hesperia* 27 (1958) pl. 35d. Settlement, earliest levels of EH II. Similar to no. **128**.

**131.** Lerna, L.23 (pl. 37, fig. 33). Caskey, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) pl. 69e; Bossert 1960: fig. 10, nos. 1, 7 (drawings of stamps). Settlement, Lerna III, EH II. About one-half pre-

served. Projecting flange and upright walls. D. ca. 0.15 m. Probably a lid. Raised decoration, which must have been produced by a mould or matrix; cf. Wiencke, *AJA* 84 (1980) 240. From center to edge: stamped concentric circles; a band of 7 smaller unlinked stamped concentric circles (two circles in each group); a band of linked stamped concentric circles like that at center; a band of oblique strokes; another band of linked stamped concentric circles like preceding one; a band of oblique strokes at edge. This particular scheme of decoration is unique, but cf. **115**.

**132.** Lerna, Lot HTS 10. Unpublished and mentioned here through the courtesy of Martha H. Wiencke. Settlement, EH II. Small flat fragment with no edge or rim preserved. Decoration raised like that of no. **131** and therefore produced by a mould or matrix: network of concentric circles, linked by double lines.

**133.** Thebes. Demakopoulou-Papantoniou, *Deltion* 31 (1976) pl. 95δ, ζ. From an apsidal house of late EH II date excavated on the property of St. and N. Manisali. Handleless pan with shallow, flaring walls, set off at an angle from the base; cf. no. **99**. Rings of *Kerbschnitt* on bottom surrounding two parallel rows of *Kerbschnitt* at center.

**134.** Corinth, C-75-262. Unpublished and mentioned here through the courtesy of John C. Lavezzi and Henry S. Robinson. Fragment of edge of pan with profile like that of no. **133**. The walls are shallow (H. ca. 0.021 m.) and set off at an angle from the base; they flare at an angle of ca. 35° from the horizontal. The angle of the walls becomes steeper on the inside toward the bottom of the vessel; perhaps this inner surface was concave rather than flat. Oblique short strokes as a border, inside which one stamped motif is preserved, probably concentric circles rather than a spiral.

**135.** Tiryns. Weisshaar, *AA* 1982, 450 fig. 67.6. EH II settlement, "Fundkomplex Nr. 8." Lid or stand with flaring walls. A horizontal handle is attached at the junction of flat surface and walls; it projects upward from the flat surface at an angle of ca. 25°. Decoration on flat surface: radiating strokes near edge, large herringbone-like pattern in center. As Weisshaar notes (452), the position of the handle makes this object impossible to use as a container, although it might still be a stand rather than a lid, as he proposes.

**136.** Tiryns, Weisshaar, *AA* 1982, 449 fig. 66.1. EH II settlement. Pan or lid with flaring walls, apparently undecorated.

**137.** Athens, Acropolis. O. Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (Berlin 1909) pl. 1.2. Fragment probably of a lid. Border pattern of oblique short strokes. Unlinked stamped concentric circles, irregularly arranged. Cf. a fragment probably also of a lid from the Athenian Agora: S.A. Immerwahr, *Athenian Agora* 13 (Princeton 1971) no. 255.

**138.** Athens, Acropolis. Graef (supra **137**) pl. 1.3. Like no. **137** but with border of multiple chevron.

**139.** Athens, North Slope of Acropolis. Hansen, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 545 fig. 4d. Fragment similar to no. **138** but without border pattern.

**140.** Thorikos. Graef (supra **137**) 1 (sketch). Similar to **137**.

**141.** Asea. Holmberg (supra n. 34) fig. 86. Fragments probably of a flanged lid. Maximum D. 0.223 m. Irregular rows of impressed circles on flat side.

**142.** Eutresis. Goldman 1931: fig. 254.1. Lid like **137–141**. Single ring of stamped concentric circles.

**143.** Krisa. Jannoray and Van Effenterre, *BCH* 62 (1938) 119 fig. 9; L. Dor et al., *Kirrho* (Paris 1960) pl. 28d (one fragment, apparently represented in the drawing in mirror image). Settlement, probably MH. Fragment of lid or plate. Incised decoration from center outward: small circular area with punctations; hand-drawn concentric circles or spiral; a star with 5 rays interspersed by areas of punctations; four incised concentric circles; a band of ray-like running zigzag interspersed with areas of punctations. Dor et al. imply (65 n. 1) that similar sherds were found at Kirrho but no further information is given about their context. The settlement at Krisa is usually thought to date no earlier than MH; the concentric organization of the decoration, however, as well as the individual motifs are remarkably similar to other vessels included in the catalogue of true “frying pans.” Cf. **5, 60** and, to a lesser extent, **73**.

**144.** Troy. C.W. Blegen et al., *Troy* 1 (Princeton 1950) fig. 404, no. 35.553. From Troy II, room 206. Flanged lid. Maximum D. 0.193 m. Hand-drawn grooves on upper surface making three concentric circles.

**145.** Troy. C.W. Blegen et al., *Troy* 2 (Princeton 1951) fig. 169, upper left (no. 37.900). From Troy IV, room 401. Flanged lid. Maximum D. 0.172 m. Incised decoration on upper surface: crossed bands decorated with zigzag; swastikas and a horned animal in quadrants.

**146.** Horoztepe. T. Özgüç and M. Akok, *Horoztepe* (Ankara 1958) fig. 19, pl. 7.1; P.S. de Jesus, *The Development of Prehistoric Mining and Metallurgy in Anatolia 2* (*BAR International Series* 74, Oxford 1980) fig. 23.5. Copper. Pan with flange at lower edge and slightly flaring walls. Projections extend horizontally opposite one another from the top of the walls. One is pierced several times and was evidently the tang for a handle of wood or some other material. The second, although evidently broken, is described as the same as the first; see Özgüç and Akok 44 (where the object is called a mirror). This vessel may have been a true pan for cooking.

#### APPENDIX

##### STAMPED CONCENTRIC CIRCLES AND SPIRALS IN THE CYCLADES AND ON THE MAINLAND

In an important article about stamped decoration on Aegean Early Bronze Age pottery, Bossert maintained that the use of stamped decoration on the mainland was significantly different from that in the Cyclades and that the mainland began to use such decoration earlier.<sup>81</sup> These views may be

<sup>81</sup> Bossert 1960.

<sup>82</sup> This discussion focuses on the stamped concentric circles and spirals of the sort that appear on “frying pans.” Other, more complex stamped decoration on fine pottery (e.g., Bossert 1960, figs. 11, 12; *CMS* 5, no. 478; Bossert, “Zu einigen Figurgefässen von den Kykladen und aus Westkleinasien,” *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde*

reexamined in the light of the greater body of evidence now available.<sup>82</sup>

Bossert identified the following differences between mainland and Cycladic usage: on the mainland, spirals are more frequent than concentric circles, whereas in the Cyclades the reverse is true; mainland spirals are always single-lined, whereas in the Cyclades most are double-lined; in the Cyclades, the outer line of the spiral tends to draw in somewhat toward the center, giving the visual impression of a circle, whereas this was not the practice on the mainland; on the mainland, stamped motifs and the tangential lines which link them are more randomly arranged than in the Cyclades, where spirals and tangents tend to be organized in a clockwise direction (from the outside toward the center); on the mainland, stamped decoration is always arranged in zones, whereas in the Cyclades continuous rapport patterns (“network”) are common.

In general, the additional evidence tends to confirm Bossert’s views about the differences between vessels found on the mainland and those from the Cyclades. For the mainland we may probably add at least 11 examples to the list of spirals given in her fig. 9: **81, 82, 96, 98** and the fragments there mentioned, **99, 115, 118, 119**; Goldman 1931: fig. 97.2, 7; Fossey, *BSA* 64 (1969) 66 fig. 6, lower right, no. 1. I know of only three examples in addition to those she gives (fig. 10) of concentric circles: **83, 86** and Theochaes, *ArchEph* 1953–1954, 75, fig. 26. In the Cyclades we may add three to the list of spirals in Bossert’s fig. 7 (**28, 34, 45**) and 13 to the list of concentric circles in her fig. 8 (**5, 7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 28, 29, 31, 49**). Contrary to her claim, stamped double-line spirals are known on the mainland (e.g., **96, 99** and her fig. 9, nos. 1–4), although they are apparently less common than in the Cyclades. The stamped decoration of the mainland does tend to be less consistently organized and no true “network” patterns have yet turned up. No. **132** and that mentioned in the Addendum are the only probable examples known to me. Although Bossert also notes **95** as a possible example of a “network” pattern,<sup>83</sup> it seems more likely to me to be part of an area of unlinked spirals like **115**.

The view that these features accurately reflect differences between mainland and Cycladic usage rests on the assumption that most, if not all of the pieces found on the mainland were made there. As discussed above, I believe this assumption to be true. We should be somewhat cautious in asserting it as fact, however, since many excavators on the mainland have noted that the stamped pieces from their excavations were considerably different from the other pottery and suggested that they were imported. One should also mention that since roughly 80% of the Cycladic vessels with stamped decoration come from Syros, the figures may not be

*Kleinasiens* [*Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, Mainz 1983] 127 fig. 2, no. 3) and the stamps on hearths and other coarse pottery and terracotta objects (e.g., J.C. Lavezzi, “Early Helladic Hearth Rims at Corinth,” *Hesperia* 48 [1979] 342–47) are beyond the scope of this article.

<sup>83</sup> Bossert 1960: 14 and 10 n. 16.

truly representative of the Cyclades as a whole. If we had more stamped decoration from other islands, for instance, we might find a higher proportion of stamped spirals, to judge by the popularity of hand-drawn ones in islands other than Syros.

The only means now known by which the assumption about place of manufacture might be proved or disproved would be microscopic and chemical analyses of a large sample of vessels from the Cyclades and the mainland. To date, no such analyses have been carried out. Until further work of this sort has been completed, therefore, we should probably regard the view that the use of stamped decoration was significantly different on the mainland from that in the Cyclades as a working hypothesis rather than an established fact.

Bossert's point that stamped decoration began earlier on the mainland than in the Cyclades seems to me open to doubt. The mainland has not provided evidence for forms or stages in the development of stamped decoration earlier than the Cyclades. On the contrary, it is the islands that have produced hand-drawn concentric circles and spirals which might have been prototypes for the stamps, whereas these motifs are almost never hand-drawn on the mainland. Bossert's view, which is followed also by Renfrew,<sup>84</sup> seems here to be based primarily on the fact that some of the examples of stamped decoration from the mainland come from EH I contexts,<sup>85</sup> whereas such decoration is known in the islands only in EC II. That EH I came to an end before EC II began, however, is an *a priori* assumption, since it lacks independent support.

In my view, new ideas such as the use of stamps to decorate pottery are likely to have spread quickly in the Early

Bronze Age Aegean and the differences so admirably pointed out by Bossert are better explained in terms of local variation than chronological separation. Stamped decoration is extremely rare on any pottery found on the mainland, and, when it occurs there, it is almost exclusively limited to shapes with prototypes or close parallels in the Cyclades, such as "frying pans," pyxides and jars with suspension lugs. I therefore think it possible that the use of simple stamped decoration on pottery originated in the Cyclades and spread from there to the mainland along with the use of such shapes. In any case, I doubt that stamped decoration began much earlier in one area than the other. If this position is correct, the present evidence would suggest that the argument of Weinberg<sup>86</sup> in favor of some chronological overlap between EH I and EC II is sound.

#### ADDENDUM

Since this article was written, more information has become available to me about the terracotta "frying pans" on display in the museum at Apeiranthos in Naxos (cf. supra p. 195 and n. 10). They number four, two of which are very fragmentary. The only handle preserved is a rectangular one. It is decorated with *Kerbschnitt* and stamped spirals; short incised lines parallel to the axis divide the end into ten sections, which might have been intended to represent toes.

Martha H. Wiencke has also sent me information about another stamped sherd from Lerna (J 835, photo MHW 79.1.9) from an EH II or III context. It is decorated with stamped concentric circles (2), apparently linked in a network pattern by lines of impressed dots. For the network pattern cf. 132.

<sup>84</sup> Renfrew 1972: 536-37.

<sup>85</sup> E.g., 101, 102, 114 and Goldman 1931: fig. 97.1, 2, 6, 7 and pl. III.2; probably 84, 85, 99, 118, 119; possibly C.W. Blegen, *Kora-*

*kou* (Boston and New York 1921) fig. 5, nos. 3, 5 and *Zygouries* (Cambridge 1928) pl. 4.9, 10.

<sup>86</sup> Supra n. 38.



FIG. 1. Cat. no. 2. Syros. (Courtesy National Museum, Athens)



FIG. 2. Cat. no. 4. Syros. (Courtesy National Museum, Athens)

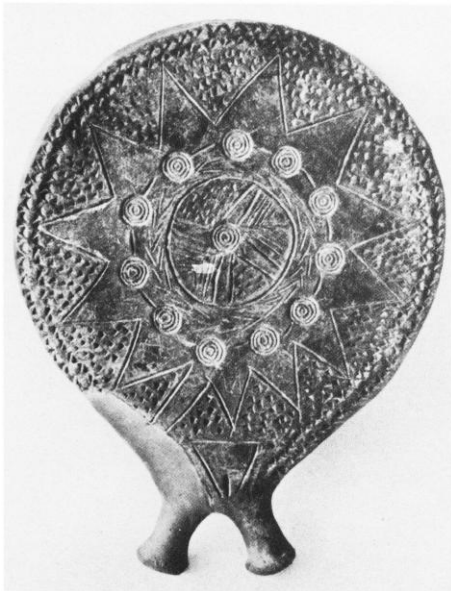


FIG. 3. Cat. no. 6. Syros. (Courtesy National Museum, Athens)



FIG. 4. Cat. no. 9. Syros. (Courtesy National Museum, Athens)

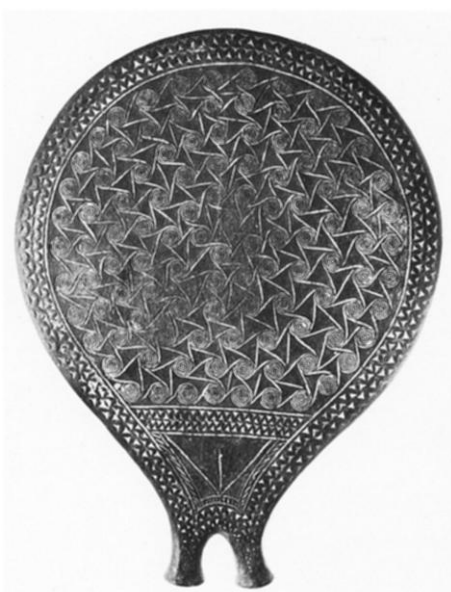


FIG. 5. Cat. no. 7. Syros. (Courtesy National Museum, Athens)



FIG. 6. Cat. no. 17. Syros. (Courtesy National Museum, Athens)

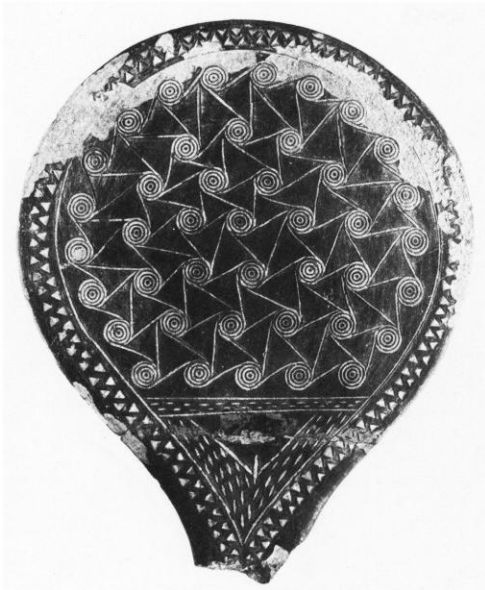


FIG. 7. Cat. no. 21.  
Syros. (Courtesy  
National Museum,  
Athens)

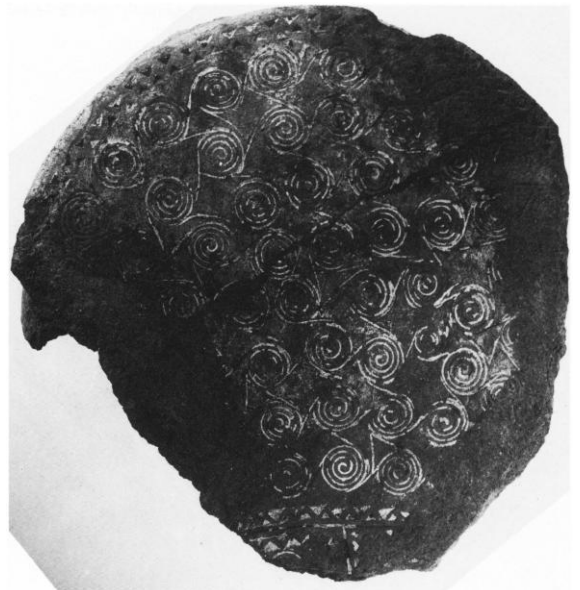


FIG. 8. Cat. no.  
23. Syros.  
(Courtesy  
National  
Museum,  
Athens)



FIG. 9. Cat. no. 24.  
Syros. (Courtesy  
National Museum,  
Athens)

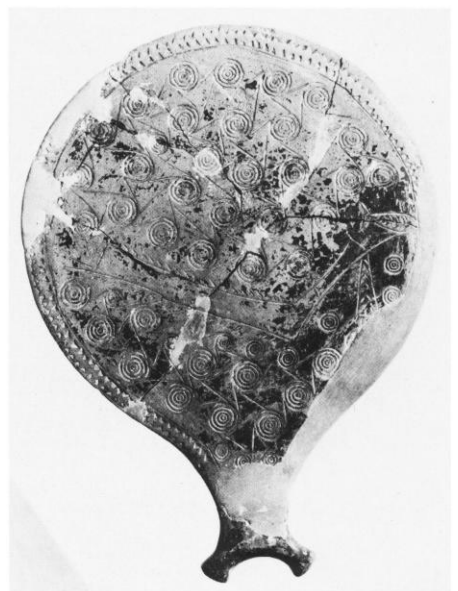


FIG. 10. Cat.  
no. 13. Syros.  
(Courtesy  
National  
Museum,  
Athens)

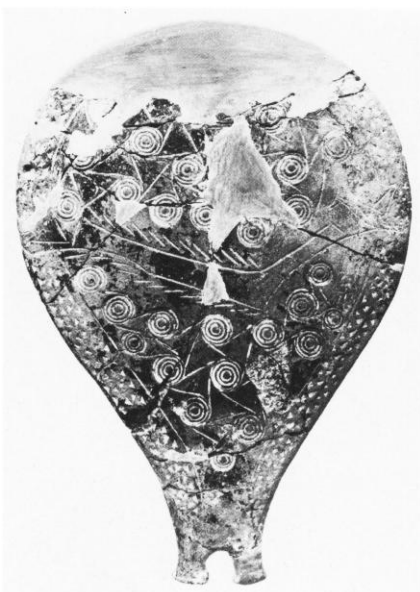


FIG. 11. Cat. no. 14.  
Syros



FIG. 12. Cat.  
no. 25. Syros.  
(Courtesy  
National  
Museum,  
Athens)





FIG. 13. Cat. no. 16. Syros. (Courtesy National Museum, Athens)

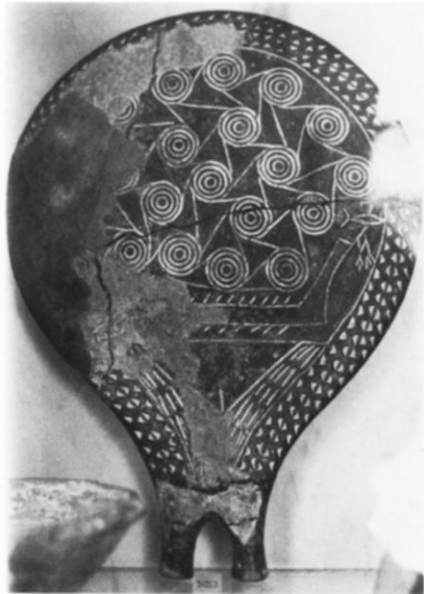


FIG. 14. Cat. no. 15. Syros. (Courtesy National Museum, Athens)



FIG. 15. Cat. no. 18. Syros. (Courtesy National Museum, Athens)



FIG. 16. Cat. no. 19. Syros. (Courtesy National Museum, Athens)



FIG. 17. Cat. no. 26. Syros. (Courtesy National Museum, Athens)



FIG. 18. Cat. no. 27. Syros.

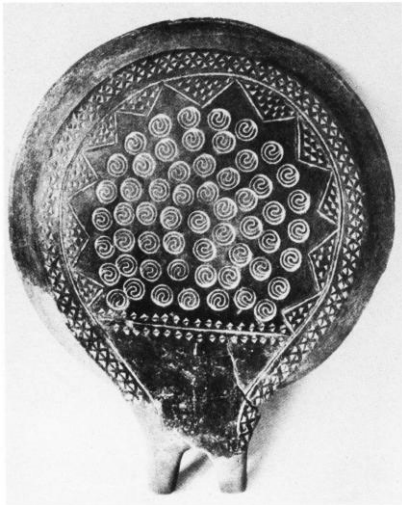


FIG. 19. Cat. no. 12. Syros

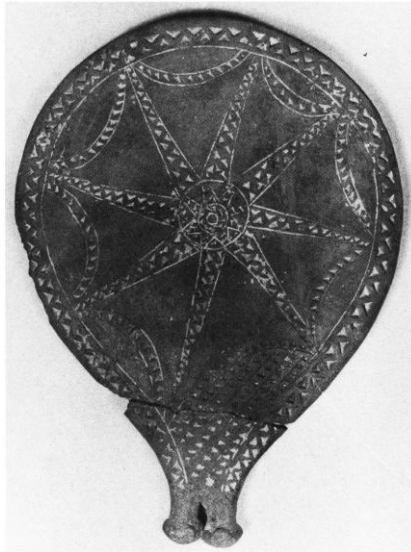


FIG. 20. Cat. no. 30. Probably from Syros.  
(Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum,  
Karlsruhe)

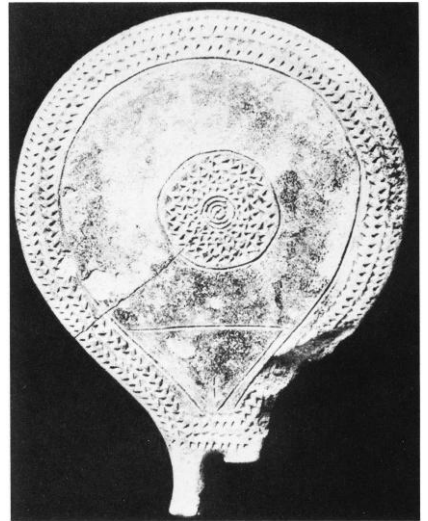


FIG. 21. Cat. no. 50. Mykonos

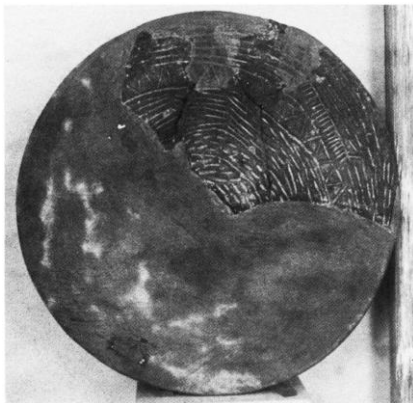


FIG. 22. Cat. no. 40. Naxos



FIG. 23. Cat. no. 37. Naxos



FIG. 24. Cat. no. 59. Probably from the  
Cyclades. (Courtesy Badisches  
Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe)



FIG. 25. Cat. no. 57. Probably from the  
Cyclades. (Courtesy Badisches  
Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe)



FIG. 26. Cat. no. 55. Probably from the  
Cyclades. (Courtesy Badisches  
Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe)



FIG. 27. Cat. no. 76. Unknown  
provenance. (Courtesy Benaki Museum,  
Athens)



FIG. 28. Cat. no. 70. Manika



FIG. 29. Cat. no. 79. Kosmas



FIG. 30. Cat. no. 121. Ayia Photia, Crete

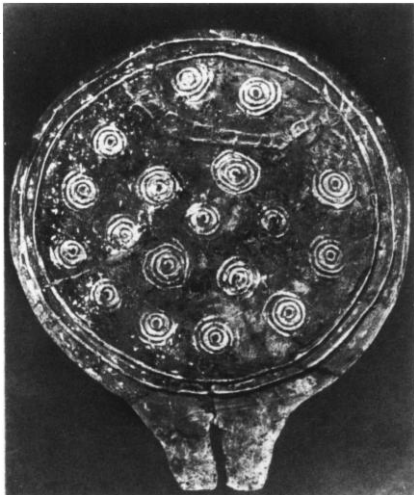


FIG. 31. Cat. no. 54. Probably from the Cyclades. (Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe)



FIG. 32. Cat. no. 58. Probably from the Cyclades. (Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe)



FIG. 34. Cat. no. 61. Probably from the Cyclades

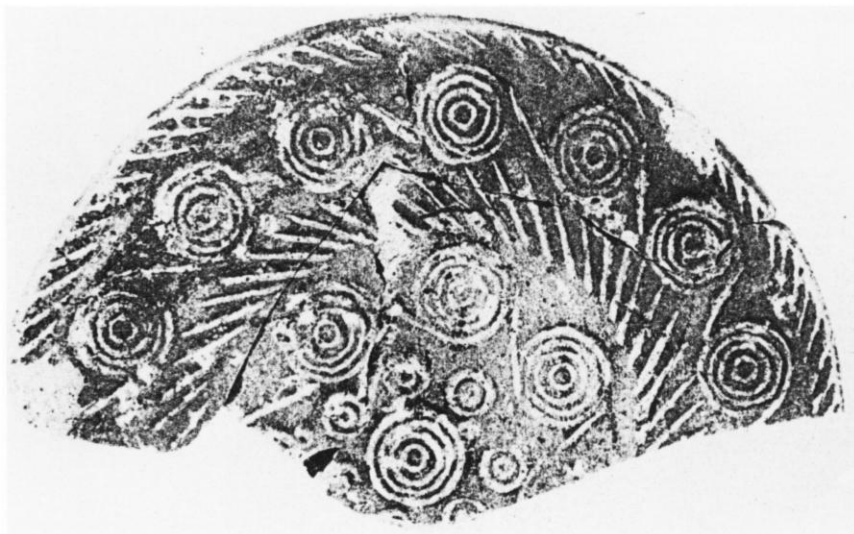


FIG. 33. Cat. no. 131. Lerna