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CULT IN CONTEXT

THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MINIATURE POTTERY IN  
ANCIENT GREEK SANCTUARIES FROM THE ARCHAIC TO  
THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Volume 1

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Classical and Archaeological Studies

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## ABSTRACT

Several previously overlooked questions related to ancient Greek dedicatory practices are investigated in this thesis. The main questions addressed are: how do the contexts of Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic votive miniature vessels inform us about the Greek cults in which they are used, and the transmission of such cults? What role did miniaturisation play in the sanctuaries and the rituals in ancient Greek society, and why miniaturisation? A number of supplementary questions accompany the main questions, for example, what did miniaturisation mean in the context of votive dedications in sanctuaries? This thesis aims to demonstrate that earlier explanations arguing that miniatures are simply and profoundly cheap substitutes for more expensive objects do not work well, since many of these small objects are carefully made and some are elaborately decorated, and would thus not have been cheaper, or less time consuming to produce compared to full sized objects.

The chronological time frame of the thesis is limited to the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, and its core is three case studies with different themes and different geographical locations in focus (Kalydon, Olympia, Kombothekra, various sites in South Italy, and other sites for comparison). The thesis addresses also issues relating to, for instance, miniaturisation, imitation and models, the functionality, and non-functionality of small votive objects, agency, trade, and colonization.

The study of ancient Greek dedicatory practices within the scholarship of Classical Studies tends to concentrate on votive statues, religious architecture, inscribed metal dedications, and stelai. Little attention has been paid to less extravagant dedications even though these groups of material have been found in abundant amounts in sanctuaries throughout Greece. Moreover, in those cases where this material has been published interpretation and thorough analyses are often lacking. As a result, this study makes important contributions to two large questions within Classical studies: how did the Greeks view their gods and how did the Greeks interact with the gods. Miniature pottery contributes to our understanding of ancient Greek ritual practice as well of specific rituals. The work presented in this thesis accentuates that miniature pottery's material meaning and symbolic importance can no longer be dismissed.

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- Plate 42.** Hydria, Kothon. Corinthian Production. Kanthariskos. Lakonian/Lakonian Imitation. Kombothekra. (Drawings and Photos: Author).
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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This thesis aims to contribute to our understanding of Greek ritual behaviour by analysing and contextualising miniature pottery. Miniature pottery is an omnipresent ceramic group found on sites from the Prehistoric to the Roman period in all parts of Greece. The main question is how do the contexts of Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic votive miniature vessels inform us about the Greek cults in which they are used, and additionally, the components in the transmission of such cults? Miniature votive vessels have been dismissed as a useful group of material for a long time, and it is the aim of this thesis to provide a broader contextual and coherent understanding of this material group, as well as presenting a broader picture of ancient Greek ritual behaviour; a picture which so far has been incomplete due to the general lack of including analyses of small votives such as miniature pottery. Additional questions of this thesis are concerned with the role miniaturisation played in the sanctuaries and the rituals in ancient Greek society, and consequently what miniaturisation means. The functionalist explanations that miniatures merely are cheap substitutes for more expensive objects will be proved invalid. The majority of these objects are made meticulously and some are elaborately decorated, and therefore are not cheaper to produce than full sized objects.<sup>1</sup> Miniaturisation also occurs in other more expensive materials than clay, such as bronze, lead, and even gold.<sup>2</sup> The argument will be constructed around the issue of whether miniature objects were believed to have distinct material qualities. Were they too small to be functional and would that have made them more appropriate for the realms outside everyday human life, such as sanctuaries, that is, the realm of the immortal gods? Though miniatures occur in other contexts (e.g. domestic, funerary) they are primarily and overwhelmingly found in sanctuaries, thus, those will be the focus of this study.

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<sup>1</sup> They may have been cheaper if miniatures were produced in clay for example and the full size object had to be made out of a more expensive raw material such as marble, bronze, iron, etc. *AH* II, 96.

<sup>2</sup> Dawkins 1929; Kiernan 2009; e.g. a miniature gold sauceboat dating to the Bronze Age period on display at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, Greece. Andrianou published some miniature lead furniture, Andrianou 2007.

Monumental architecture such as temples has for many years had a dominant position within the field of Classical Archaeology. Within the last 20 years or so, the focus has widened to include the neglected space between the sanctuary and the city, between the sanctuary and the countryside, and the space between the city and the countryside. The time is ripe to embrace a more contextual approach in order to achieve a better understanding of ancient Greek ritual behaviour. When attempting a more contextual approach and to understand the belief system of the ancient Greeks the setting of the sanctuary is crucial.<sup>3</sup>

The focus of this thesis will mainly be on ritual and dedicatory patterns in Greece, and for the most part, the Peloponnese, from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods with some examples from the Greek Bronze Age and early Roman period, where appropriate.<sup>4</sup> The study includes discussion of material from a variety of sanctuaries, both Pan-Hellenic (Isthmia, Olympia, Nemea), other large sanctuaries (the Argive Heraion, Argos, Corinth, Perachora), as well as more regional ones (Kombothekra, Tegea, Lousoi, the Achilleion). Parallels from elsewhere in Greece will also be applied, for instance, Boeotia, the Argolid, and Attica.<sup>5</sup> The emphasis will especially be on three different areas: Corinthia (esp. the area around Corinth); Eleia (Olympia and Kombothekra), and Aitolia in western Greece (Kalydon), but the case study on South Italy has a broader geographical focus; it focuses on how miniature pottery spread from the Greek mainland, via the Greek colonies to the indigenous communities in South Italy.

I have access and permission to study material at Kalydon, Olympia, and Kombothekra, and the different material and assemblages will provide a unique indication of the usage of miniature pottery in different regions in Greece. Olympia was chosen mainly because there are a lot of unanswered questions still to be asked regarding ritual practice and dedicatory patterns in this large Pan-Hellenic sanctuary. Despite the large amount of work done on Olympia, especially concerning the Olympic games, less emphasis has been given to questions regarding cult, for instance, exactly which cults were active in the area of the sanctuary other than Zeus and Hera, and which dedicatory patterns and rituals that deposits and other occurrences of pottery can

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<sup>3</sup> Pedley 2005, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Kiernan 2009; Marangou 1992; Tournavitou 2009; Demakopoulou et al. 1997-1998.

<sup>5</sup> Rhitsona in Boeotia: Burrows and Ure 1909; Ure 1910; Ure et al. 1927; Ure 1934; Mycenae: Cook 1953; both the Corinthia and the Argolid, see Ekroth 2003; Brauron, see Nielsen 2009; Thorikos, see Devillers 1988.

provide answers to. Most miniature pottery from Olympia remains unpublished and will be included in this thesis, which will provide new evidence for discussions of the topics mentioned.

The status of the publication record has partly influenced the election of sites, for instance, Corinth is one of the best published sites in Greece, and was also a large pottery production centre throughout the city's history. Olympia was chosen because it would be interesting to analyse in more depth such a famous sanctuary's usage of votives, and it is a relatively well published sites. Kombothekra is by comparison unknown and since I got permission to work on the miniature pottery I thought a comparison of these two very different sites in Eleia would prove interesting. A wish to explore what could be seen as the edges, or at least the periphery of Greece, Aitolia in the northwest, a rather unfamiliar area of Greece to many scholars, would be interesting to incorporate in order to spot difference and similarities in ritual behaviours in different regions of ancient Greece. Along the lines of this thought it was natural to want to explore how the colonies of Greece differed when it came to rituals and votive practices, therefore Greek colonies and indigenous settlements became a topic of one of the case studies. In all case studies the publication status has played a large part and therefore some sites will be more well-known than others. Despite this I have chosen to include sites like Satyrion, which is relatively unknown, in the hope that it could still provide interesting new aspects relating to ritual behaviour, which was useful for the overall comparisons attempted in that case-study. Morgan rightly warns us, 'ceramic studies cannot be isolated from the internal dynamics of any region.'<sup>6</sup> Therefore a wider contextual as well as topographical perspective has deliberately been chosen.

The Prehistoric periods will not be covered, even though some work has been done on miniature pottery, such as Marangou, Simandiraki-Grimshaw, and Tournavitou.<sup>7</sup> This is for two reasons, firstly there is a gap in miniature pottery votives from the Sub-Mycenaean period to the Geometric period, and one of the ideas of this thesis is to evaluate the chronological changes of dedicatory practices.<sup>8</sup> Secondly, the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC and the beginning of the Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries are generally seen as the main period of Greek ritual behaviour and religion, thus, the 8<sup>th</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> century BC will be the main period examined in this thesis. The Hellenistic period will not be

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<sup>6</sup> Morgan 1999, 244.

<sup>7</sup> Marangou 1992; Tournavitou 2009; Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2012.

<sup>8</sup> Luce 2011, 59.

treated extensively, due to the preserved evidence, publication status, and the fact that the Hellenistic period and its religion and ritual practice deserves a separate, fuller examination and analysis. This work could easily be a thesis on its own. The same is true for the Roman period; therefore it has not been incorporated into this study. The term ‘miniature pottery’ will also be discussed and defined below. It is necessary to define the term ‘miniature pottery,’ although it will prove to be problematic, since this material group mostly has been overlooked or ignored in Classical scholarship.<sup>9</sup>

Following this introductory chapter, a literary review, **Chapter 2**, will follow. Then **Chapter 3** comes after; this chapter contains sections on typology and theoretical approaches followed by a presentation of the methodological considerations contemplated in this thesis. A number of criteria for the typology are evaluated in **Chapter 3**, such as size, shape, and fabric groups. Size is important when discussing miniatures; in order to distinguish them from regular sized vessels, but more importantly when discussing their use and functions. Shapes are important in order to discuss which types of vessels were miniaturised, which will then lead to further discussions relating to symbolism, ritual function, and beliefs. Fabric is essential in order to discuss similarities and differences, and to make comparisons from different regions in Greece. Fabric is also useful in detecting imports and in exploring how and where the pottery was produced. The large amount of miniatures from contexts all over Greece attest to large scale production centres, and it probably took more or less the same amount of work to produce as regular pottery. Therefore, miniatures were just as important and deserve to be incorporated into pottery studies.

The main body of the thesis consists of three case studies chosen to exemplify the broader questions mentioned above. The first case study, **Chapter 4**, concerns miniaturisation in the region of Eleia, including discussion and analyses of both figurines and miniature pottery. I will focus on the very small amount of miniature pottery found in the Sanctuary of Zeus, and various reasons will be considered for the perhaps surprising absence. Is the deficiency related to the suitability of votives for specific deities or the Pan-Hellenic character of the sanctuary? By analysing the miniaturised objects from Kombothekra, shifts in the dedicatory practice in the Artemis sanctuary will become apparent. It will also be discussed whether sanctuary bound customs and regional differences determined what was dedicated in Greek sanctuaries.

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<sup>9</sup> Pilz 2011, 16-17.

Moving from the mainland of Greece and outwards, **Chapter 5** focuses on the less explored Aitolia region and the city of Kalydon's usage of miniature pottery. Miniature pottery and terracotta figurines were found to be of both local and Corinthian production. Some of the issues that will be discussed are, for instance, why these small vessels were imported all the way from Corinth. Was it mainly due to the practicality of carrying small votives when travelling instead of regular sized vessels? Comparisons will be made to other sanctuaries, Kerkyra, Cyrene, and roadside shrines to answer this question. Supplementary aspects of trade, import, and barter will be discussed in **Chapter 5**.

Greek miniature pottery is also found outside Greece, for instance in South Italy in both Greek colonies and indigenous sites. In the case study in **Chapter 6** I will explore whether the Greek miniature pottery reflects transference of Greek cult. The case of South Italy poses interesting questions for consideration that can be informative on important aspects of ritual practices. Did the indigenous community incorporate Greek ritual practices by adapting the miniatures, or did the community maintain their indigenous religious behaviour? Imported Greek (mainly Corinthian) and indigenous miniature pottery from a selection of sites in Magna Grecia will be used to discuss this question.

Following the case study chapters, a discussion and interpretation chapter will outline the questions presented in this thesis, **Chapter 7**, followed by the concluding chapter, **Chapter 8**.

The three case studies in this thesis are based on ideas that sprung from analyses of the ceramic material. In all three cases to narrow down the scope and to condense the material have been challenging tasks. For the chapter on Eleia there was a lack of miniature pottery in Olympia, but a large amount of figurines instead, so it took some thought to reconfigure the original idea about that chapter. The Kalydon chapter was originally intended to include pottery from the newer Theatre excavations, but since the ceramic assemblages from the theatre did not contribute with any new evidence, and the amount of miniature pottery was very small, that idea was shelved. South Italy was probably most difficult in this regard. The geographical area had to be narrowed down, but it was complicated to choose appropriate sites with suitable ceramic assemblages based on the available (limited) and disseminated publications.

The main aim of this thesis is not to merely present pieces of pottery, but rather to contextualise the usage of this specific type of ceramics. Therefore, other aspects will

also be discussed in the thesis, for instance miniaturisation, theories of imitation, agency, gender related ritual practices, the functionality and non-functionality of small objects, trade, and colonization.

A suggestion for some starting points for a typology of miniature pottery is also presented in this thesis. The typology contributes to our understanding of the importance of miniature pottery and miniaturised objects in general. Unless miniatures are presented and analysed in a thorough and methodologically sound manner, it is not possible to understand their symbolic and ritual importance in the ancient Greek rituals.

Miniature pottery was collected from the sites mentioned above (Olympia, Kombothekra and Kalydon) described, measured, drawn, and photographed. The pottery from the three sites is presented in the catalogue (**Catalogue**) and can be found in the text by the presentation of their catalogue numbers in bold (e.g. **KA12**, **OL5**, **KO23**). A fundamental reason behind the choice of the topic of this thesis is the wealth of information that can be gleaned from the investigation of how miniature pottery represents, manifests, and expresses religious belief, and because of the neglect of this type of pottery in earlier scholarship. The role this type of pottery had in religious practices and cult, as well as its ritual significance, will be in focus.

The implications of the term ‘ritual’ and its myriads of meanings in various fields, such as Anthropology, Archaeology, Classics, and Ethnology to name but a few, has been treated extensively elsewhere and will not be discussed extensively in this thesis.<sup>10</sup> It is also imperative to analyse the meaning and importance of myths, since they are so closely connected to dedicatory practices in the sanctuaries, and they are often considered the incentive for actions of ritual. Van Straten stated that votive offerings constitute a kind of permanent link between the worshipper and his god, discussing for example, an inscription from the Athenian sanctuary of the *Heros Iatros* dating to ca. 221/0 BC; the members of a committee had to decide whether or not the metal offerings inside the sanctuary could be melted and made into a new, more beautiful dedication for the god. However, in order for this to be done in an acceptable way, the members of the committee had to inscribe their names on a marble stele to put up in the sanctuary, as well as making a propitiatory sacrifice to the god worth 15 drachma.<sup>11</sup> Votive offerings could of course also be considered less permanent when

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<sup>10</sup> See e.g. Kyriakidis 2007, 1-10, 289-308; Kyriakidis 2005, 32-40, 68-74.

<sup>11</sup> Van Straten 2000, 215.

contemplating perishable offerings or offerings with a short use life, such as a candle. Are such offerings still a permanent link even though the candle has burnt out or the food offering has decayed? Or is continuous offering necessary throughout one's life as a kind of renewable contract that has to be maintained for the god/gods to be satisfied and the dedicatee to be content or her/his wishes to be fulfilled? These questions will be incorporated in the discussions that follow. Certainly, votive offerings were an extremely pertinent matter, and their importance should not be overlooked.

## 1.2. RESEARCH CONTEXT

Archaeologists have previously neglected small religious dedications, but more recently both the social and economic significance of votive objects have begun to be investigated in greater detail. Gift offering/exchange and the reciprocal relationship between humans and gods in antiquity (the so-called *do ut des* principle) are, however, yet to be fully explored.<sup>12</sup> This relationship is closely connected to the economy of the sanctuary and both figurines and miniatures were, according to Osborne, made for exactly this type of exchange.<sup>13</sup> To which extent the sanctuary was part of the economic aspects related to votives, that is, production, administration, and purchase as well as selling of votive pottery, remains to be investigated in depth, and it is still not known if votives could be bought from pottery shops in the area, or if the sanctuary administration in some way regulated the sale.

No thorough study of miniature pottery in monograph form exists to date, and miniature pottery has often been disposed of in excavations, and often not even recorded. In those cases where miniature pottery was recorded and published, as for example, in the excavations of the sites of Perachora and the Argive Heraion, it was often described as useless, non-important, and cheap.<sup>14</sup> Most scholars have accepted this interpretation, despite its simplicity.<sup>15</sup> Even in literature from the 1990s some scholars share this elementary idea of miniatures being a cheap, poorly produced product. One scholar even calls them 'decayed versions' of regular pottery or fancier

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<sup>12</sup> Morris 1986; Mikalson 2010, 24. Burkert is one scholar, who wrote an interesting chapter on the topic, see Burkert 1996, 129-55.

<sup>13</sup> Osborne 2004, 1.

<sup>14</sup> *AH* II, 96.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. Caskey and Amandry 1952, 211; *Perachora* II, 290; Dickens 1906-07, 172; Foley 1988, 76, 165.

votives.<sup>16</sup> Most frequently no interpretations or discussions are offered for miniature pottery.

Presently, within Classical studies, several gaps exist when it comes to questions regarding ritual behaviour, religious practices, and dedicatory patterns. The ‘mechanism’ of who could visit sanctuaries, when, and what could be dedicated, is still unclear. We do not know much about the movements of the dedicated object; it is certain that objects from most of the Greek world were dedicated in places like Olympia, Perachora, and the Hera Sanctuary on Samos, but much less is known of the movements from region to region, for example from one site to the other in the Peloponnese, or the movements of dedicatory items from northern Greece to the Peloponnese. There are certainly many reasons for these gaps, and as a consequence this thesis will also be limited due to the publication predicament of miniature pottery.

Methodologically, the comparison of the usage of miniature pottery in various parts of Greece, and the involvement of its contexts in questions that relate to Agency theory, Quantifications, Consumption, theories of imitation, and gender related ritual practices will provide new insight into the questions mentioned above.<sup>17</sup> This thesis aims to fill some of the gaps, which other scholars can then build on in the future. I also use a contextual approach to identify the areas of society in which miniaturisation occurs, and concepts of behavioural archaeology to understand the different usages of miniature pottery. I have studied material first hand from Olympia, Kombothekra, and Kalydon, and I chose these sites because they contain miniature pottery from the Archaic-Hellenistic period that will provide plentiful material for my study. Miniature pottery is found at most, if not all, Greek sanctuary sites, but I have chosen to focus on a few selected sites, Olympia, Kombothekra, and Kalydon, that I know for certain can provide sufficient material for the analyses I want to carry out. I will make samples by choosing the best discrete deposits available, with a suitable amount of material. Even though miniaturised objects were an important part of ancient Greek ritual practice from the Prehistoric to the Roman period, there is a sharp decline in votive pottery from the Hellenistic period throughout Greece, which forms the chronological end point of this

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<sup>16</sup> Sparkes 1991, 78; see also Hammond for an evaluation of previous scholarship and terminology, Hammond 1998, 20.

<sup>17</sup> Hodder and Hutson 2003; Dobres and Robb 2000; Dornan 2002; Hodder 2000; Appadurai 1986; Demarrais 2005; Dietler 2010a; 2010b; 1998; Tite 1999; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Jones 2007; 2002; Meskell 2005; Renfrew 2005; Shennan 1997.

thesis.<sup>18</sup> This thesis constitutes the first coherent treatment of miniature pottery's role in Greek ritual behaviour within a wider contextual framework.

### 1.3. PREVIOUS TERMINOLOGY AND THE DEFINITION OF MINIATURE POTTERY

The first mention of the term 'miniature' relating to pottery was made by Rouse in 1902, in reference to pottery finds from a Tarentine shrine.<sup>19</sup> Rouse's work was a 400-page volume on *Greek Votive Offerings* and is still a useful monograph today; however, he only used the term 'miniature' once throughout the book. The term 'miniature pottery' was not widely used at the time; and the term was not used as a definition until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Two publications presenting material from the American excavations at the Argive Heraion came out in 1902 and 1905 respectively.<sup>20</sup> The presentation of the pottery is wanting compared to publications today; many 'mistakes' can be highlighted, but the attempts to make typologies and group the different pottery were groundbreaking work at the time. Miniature pottery was not mentioned as such, but was just called 'rough and small' pottery. A brief interpretation was offered that these small vases were the 'cheapest the devotee visiting the shrine could buy.'<sup>21</sup>

In the 1930s, Blegen, who excavated and published the material from a shrine to Hera at Prosymna from 1925-28 west of the famous Argive Heraion, mentioned miniature phialai in his article. The small sizes of the mesomphalic phialai led him to conclude, 'they must be votive offerings in miniature.'<sup>22</sup> The publication on Geometric and Orientalising pottery from Corinth by Weinberg also applied the term.<sup>23</sup> It must have been around this time that the term 'miniature' became accepted, which led to greater understanding of this type of pottery, as well as an increased focus on small votives. Caskey and Amandry used the term 'miniature' throughout in the article on a votive deposit from a retaining wall at the Argive Heraion sanctuary.<sup>24</sup> The Americans who worked in the Athenian Agora also adopted the term, as seen in their first pottery publication from 1962, which focused on the late Geometric and Protoattic pottery.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, 2-3; *Corinth* XVIII.2, 61. The Roman period lies outside the scope of this thesis, but some Roman miniature pottery has recently been published from Pompeii, see Cool and Griffiths 2015. Roman miniature pottery is also found in Britain, see Graham and Graham 2009.

<sup>19</sup> Rouse 1902, 16.

<sup>20</sup> *AH* I and *AH* II.

<sup>21</sup> *AH* II, 96.

<sup>22</sup> Blegen 1939, 420.

<sup>23</sup> *Corinth* VII.1.

<sup>24</sup> Caskey and Amandry 1952.

<sup>25</sup> *Agora* 8.

The second publication in the series of publications of the finds from the sanctuary deposits from Perachora, excavated by the British School at Athens, also came out in 1962, and this is the first large publication to have a separate chapter devoted to miniature pottery.<sup>26</sup> Dunbabin described the miniature pottery as ‘the vases included in this chapter vary from small toys to small but well-made examples of the standard shapes.’<sup>27</sup> From the 1970s and onwards ‘miniature pottery’ became a fixed term and it was now natural to include this group of pottery together with other ceramic material in publications.<sup>28</sup>

All of the early publications mentioned here (pre 1970s) do not offer much interpretation or attempt of a definition of miniature pottery. Pemberton is probably the first to suggest an accurate definition in her publication of the Vrysoula deposit from Corinth from 1970. She states that miniatures are: ‘vases which reproduce a shape in reduced size without the original function, to serve as votive or funerary offerings.’<sup>29</sup> This excellent definition was, nevertheless, hiding away in a footnote. Pemberton’s definition is extremely applicable and also includes a thought about the functions of miniatures. I will build on her definition in the Typology section below (**Chapter 3**). Pemberton’s definition only has one deficiency, also noted by Hammond. Other miniatures other than scaled down models do exist; some miniatures do not have regular size equivalents whereas others do, which is also true for some of the unpublished pottery analysed in this thesis.<sup>30</sup>

Despite the many publications from the Corinth excavations, and the high number of miniature vessels found for instance in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Acrocorinth, in-depth interpretations of the miniature pottery from Corinth are still not common. A forthcoming volume on the miniature offering trays might, however, alter this trend.<sup>31</sup> Various scholars working with pottery at Corinth have applied different ‘terminologies’ for miniature pottery. It is not ‘terminologies’ as such, since miniature definitions vary from publication to publication and none of the authors explicitly attempt to provide a terminology. When the word or term ‘miniature pottery’ is used, the allocation of the term ‘miniature’ does seem subjective. In the publication

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<sup>26</sup> *Perachora II*.

<sup>27</sup> *Perachora II*, 290.

<sup>28</sup> See e.g. *Corinth XIII*; *Corinth VII.2*; *Corinth VII.4*; *Corinth XV.3*; *Corinth XVIII.1*; *Corinth VII.5*; *Agora 12*; *Agora 23*; *Agora 29*; and *Agora 33*.

<sup>29</sup> Pemberton 1970, 293 n. 49.

<sup>30</sup> Hammond 1998, 16.

<sup>31</sup> *Corinth XVIII.7 forthcoming*.

of the pottery from the Potters' Quarter from 1984 the authors operated with the terms 'miniature' and called the kotylai above the height of 4.5 cm for 'kotylai'.<sup>32</sup> Five years later, in the publication of the pottery from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, Pemberton does not mention the exact criteria for the miniature pottery, but all the miniature kotylai presented in the catalogue are below 4.6 cm (see **Chapter 2, Table 1** below).<sup>33</sup> In the most recent of the three publications mentioned here, Risser divides the kotylai into three groups based on height: miniature, regular, and large kotylai.<sup>34</sup> Risser and Pemberton's divisions provide a good objective for the Corinthian miniature kotylai. I will analyse and build on the work from Corinth when developing my typology for miniature pottery (see **Chapter 3**). The definition that I follow in this thesis is partly based on Pemberton's excellent definition from 1970. By 'miniature pottery' I mean vessels replicated at a small scale so that their original functions as containers are no longer feasible and they take on new functions in sanctuary (votive) or funerary contexts.<sup>35</sup>

#### 1.4. MINIATURE POTTERY PRODUCTION AND WORKSHOPS

Miniature pottery was produced throughout the Greek world during the period on which this thesis focuses, that is, the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. It was predominantly produced in fine ware fabrics, but also sometimes in cooking ware fabric, as seen with the miniature tripod cooking pots from Sparta (**Figure 1**).<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *Corinth* XV.3, 309.

<sup>33</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, 174-75.

<sup>34</sup> *Corinth* VII.5, 54-70.

<sup>35</sup> Pemberton 1970, 293 n. 49; Barfoed 2015, 170.

<sup>36</sup> Stibbe 2000, 92, pl. 13.6.

**Figure 1.** Miniature Cooking Pots from Lakonia.  
Stibbe 2000, pl. 13.6.

Miniature pottery was also occasionally made by hand and not on the wheel, as seen for instance in the Crucinia deposit from Metaponto (**Chapter 6**), or in the Athena Alea sanctuary in Tegea.<sup>37</sup> Miniature pottery can be plain (see e.g. the saucer from Corinth's Potters' Quarter, no. 2247), or decorated, and is mostly the latter.<sup>38</sup> Decoration can vary from having a slightly lighter slip as seen on a Corinthian powder pyxis from Nemea to being black-glazed as for instance the popular miniature hydriai from Corinth (mentioned in **Chapter 5**).<sup>39</sup> Some miniature vessels even have figure decoration, such as miniature kotylai from Corinth with running dogs (or other animals) motive, or 'horse-and-bird' decorated miniature kraters.<sup>40</sup> Figure decorated miniatures are also produced in Athens/Attica, in black-figure, for instance skyphoi with human figures, and in red-figure for instance loutrophoroi with palmettes and female heads, or the perhaps more famous red-figured chous with depictions of children, or sometimes children and their pet goat or dog (**Figure 2**).<sup>41</sup>

**Figure 2.** Attic Red-Figure Chous, 5<sup>th</sup> Century BC. Inv. No.: P 28326. Athenian Agora  
Image: 2000.02.0735.

<sup>37</sup> For Crucinia, see Lo Porto 1981, nos. 309-311, 315, fig. 26 ('vasetti d'impasto'); for Tegea, see e.g. Dugas 1921, no. 218, 397, fig. 49.

<sup>38</sup> *Corinth* XV.3, no. 2247, 356, pl. 78.

<sup>39</sup> For Nemea see Barfoed 2009, no. 215, 162, fig. 132. For Corinthian black-glazed miniature hydriai see e.g. *Corinth* XV.3, nos. 1873-1876, 324, pl. 70, and *Cyrene* 7, nos. 334-388, 89-94, pls. 55-62.

<sup>40</sup> For the kotylai, see *Corinth* XVIII.1, no. 563, 174-5, pl. 52; *Corinth* XV.3, nos. 1262-1263, 230, pl. 52, and for the krateriskos, see *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1757, 315, pls. 68, 111.

<sup>41</sup> For the skyphoi, see e.g. *Agora* 23, no. 1571, 288, pl. 104; for the loutrophoros, see *Agora* 30, no. 82, 146, pl. 15; for the red-figure chous, see e.g. *Agora* 30, nos. 748, 782, 247, 251, pls. 78, 81.

Miniature chous have been successfully related to the Chous rites for boys at the Anthesteria.<sup>42</sup> The Anthesteria festival was one of four Athenian festivals to Dionysus. The chous rites may have had something to do with pouring of wine or making libations, since the regular sized chous is a tableware jug for liquids.<sup>43</sup> Figure decorated miniatures were, however, not exclusively made in Athens or Corinth. At the Artemis Brauronia sanctuary at Brauron many examples of figure decorated miniature krateriskoi are found. They depict girls dressed up as bears for the Arkteia festival to Artemis and are probably, together with the Attic chous, the best examples of a direct link between miniature vessels and the cult the vessels were connected to.<sup>44</sup> Boeotia also produced figured pottery, a characteristic, unmistakable figured style with the addition of white, as this miniature hydria, which ended up in the Athenian Agora (**Figure 3**).<sup>45</sup>

**Figure 3.** Boeotian Miniature Decorated Hydria.  
Ure 1962, no. 18, pl. 113.

The production of black-glazed pottery began already in the Archaic period (for example, miniature hydriai from Corinth) but became increasingly popular in the Classical to the Hellenistic period. Elegant, shiny, black glazed miniature skyphoi are found in Athens, closely similar to the regular sized counterparts.<sup>46</sup> Black-glazed productions are common and are also found in for instance Lakonia, Boeotia, and Argos.<sup>47</sup> Attic plain Komast Cups are also made in miniature, but so far only seven have been published, one from Corinth, two from Tocra, and four from the Athenian Agora.

<sup>42</sup> Smith 2007, 155; Burkert 1983, 213-47.

<sup>43</sup> Ham 1999; Burkert 1983, 216-26.

<sup>44</sup> Kahil 1965; Stinton 1976; Kahil 1981; Nielsen 2009; Faraone 2003, 45-6.

<sup>45</sup> Ure 1962, no. 18, 375, pl. 113.

<sup>46</sup> *Agora* 12, nos. 1377-1380, 185, pl. 45.

<sup>47</sup> Stibbe 2000; Ure 1962; Kelly 1976, 79; Cook 1953, 42, pl. 19.

Brijder dates the Corinthian and Tocran examples to the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, whereas the Athenian Agora examples date to ca 550 BC.<sup>48</sup> Other types of decoration are also used on miniature vessels, for instance ‘banded ware’ in South Italy, or linear decoration, such as the popular ‘pattern skyphoi’ and ‘Conventionalizing’ decoration both types produced in Corinth (see **Chapters 5-6**).<sup>49</sup> Local styles are a widespread phenomenon, for example, in South Italy one encounters Messapian, Iapygian, and Oinotrian decorated pottery, which originates in different regions.<sup>50</sup> This brief overview of the various production techniques of miniature vessels show that whichever pottery style (also concerning shapes) was in vogue at a given time, the miniatures followed suit; any type of decoration, that being plain, glazed or figure decorated, can be found on miniature pottery.<sup>51</sup> One Greek style that I could not find any miniature examples of is the Classical Athenian red-figure styles with relief appliqué or Athenian gilded red-figure pottery (such as this example from the Athenian Agora, P7947), but more examples in all probability exist.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Brijder 1983, 93-4.

<sup>49</sup> Banded ware is for instance found in Metaponto, see Carter and Toxey 1998, 715-17. For conventionalizing miniature pottery from Corinth, see for instance the kotylai in *Corinth* VII.5, nos. 187-203, 68-70, pl. 13.

<sup>50</sup> For Messapian pottery, see **Chapter 6**, and *Leuca*, for Eretrian-Oinotrian pottery, see Jacobsen et al. 2009.

<sup>51</sup> Stibbe stated that this is the case with Lakonian miniatures, Stibbe 2000, 91.

<sup>52</sup> *Agora* 30, nos. 661-62, 237, pls. 70-1.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERARY REVIEW

The literary review follows a thematic structure in order to be more relevant and useful for the discussions below. Since the key focus of this thesis is miniature pottery in ritual contexts, selected literature related to the expansive topic ‘Greek Religion’ is evaluated, as well as an acknowledged shift in dedicatory practices in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. However, first various terminologies are considered. The limitations of the study and the selection criteria are also included in this chapter, and lastly, a literary review of modern scholarship relevant to the themes in this thesis follows, divided by geographical regions.

#### 2.1. TERMINOLOGIES RELATED TO ANCIENT GREEK RELIGION

Various terminologies related to ancient Greek religion and cult, as well as votive offerings and dedicatory behaviour, are discussed and evaluated in this section. The terminologies can be hard to navigate since they tend to differ from scholar to scholar, thus, a selection of the most pivotal points are presented here. In the following section various pertinent terminologies will be assessed within three different themes: myth, dedicatory practices, and the placement of votives.

##### 2.1.1. Myth and Dedicatory Practice

Within Classical Archaeology surprisingly little work has been done on dedicatory practices as a phenomenon. It is also difficult to find a definition of, for instance, ‘votive deposit.’ It is uncertain whether it is because Classical Archaeologists not are fond of terms or just prefer to stir clear of the implications that a ‘wrong’ terminology might cause. Osborne addresses this lacuna and discusses why objects given to supernatural powers have been neglected, that goes for objects described as votives, dedications, ritual deposits, ritual hoards, offerings or by some other term.<sup>53</sup> More work has been done on the topic within Prehistoric Archaeology, for example Bradley’s book from

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<sup>53</sup> Osborne 2004, 1.

1990, and Levy's book from 1982.<sup>54</sup> For instance, Levy provides criteria for identifying 'ritual' and 'non-ritual' hoards.<sup>55</sup>

'Ritual' hoards

Locations (specialized): bogs; springs; wells; groves; burial mounds; deep pits.

Range of items (restricted): high proportion of weapons and ornaments; ceremonial objects; animal bones or other food remains.

Conditions of artefacts: Mainly whole objects; formal arrangement.

'Non-ritual' hoards

Locations (unspecialized): Dry land, with marker stone.

Range of items (less stereotyped assemblage): High proportion of tools; simpler personal ornaments; simpler form of weapon; multiples of one type.

Conditions of artefacts: Often damaged and/or broken; metalworking residues; freshly made objects.

These criteria can be applied to studies in Classical Archaeology too, perhaps with minor changes (for instance change 'deep pits' to just 'pits'?). Bradley very importantly discusses the problems of interpretation, and how to use Levy's criteria.<sup>56</sup> Interesting for the considerations in this thesis are Bradley's division of disposition into two processes: 'offerings' and 'sacrifices.' The main difference between the two is that 'sacrifices' requires a living thing/victim that must pass into the religious realm; sacrifice changes the nature of the thing being sacrificed, making it sacred. Therefore, since an artefact is inert, it cannot change its nature; it is an offering and cannot be a 'sacrifice.'<sup>57</sup>

Discussions on terminology are excessive and include many overlapping aspects. The ongoing debates on the use of the terms 'religion,' 'ritual,' and even 'sacred' concerning certain Greek ideas and practices is of particular relevance to this project given the context in which the examined miniature pottery was found.<sup>58</sup> These terms reflect the observer's/our modern point of view, not that of the actor. The ancient Greeks did not have a term for 'religion.'<sup>59</sup> The term suggests self-reflection and as Pakkanen states, we must take into account tradition and its varying standpoints, which

<sup>54</sup> Bradley 1990; Levy 1982. See also Joyce and Pollard 2010.

<sup>55</sup> Bradley 1990, 14, table 1 (after Levy 1982).

<sup>56</sup> Bradley 1990, 14-31.

<sup>57</sup> Bradley 1990, 37.

<sup>58</sup> Bremmer 1994, 38-68.

<sup>59</sup> Pakkanen 2011, Bremmer 1988; Bremmer 1994, 1-2.

may then change our own models of viewing and interpreting the past.<sup>60</sup> The definition of ‘myth’ is also a debated area of study that ties into the questions in this thesis. ‘Μύθος’ (mythos) originally meant any ‘spoken word,’ belonging to the category of ‘λόγος’ (logos) meaning ‘that what is said.’<sup>61</sup> This topic as well as the relationship between myth and symbolism (a loaded term in recent years) has been the subject of many conferences. The conference discussions have made it apparent that ‘myth’ is freely used among classical scholars without always being sufficiently defined.<sup>62</sup>

Burkert described Greek myth in the following way: ‘myth is a traditional tale with secondary, partial reference to something of collective importance.’<sup>63</sup> This may be a broad definition, but the pressing question is whether it is as precise as it can be. Bremmer argues that myth meant different things to the Greeks at the different stages of their history.<sup>64</sup> Thus, myth can be seen as an organic idea in the sense that it constantly develops and evolves. This not only means that the idea of myth for the ancient Greeks was ever-changing, but also that this fluidity of the definition of what myth meant for the ancient Greeks poses serious difficulties when trying to determine its use and function in Greek religious practice. Bremmer’s example is that the popularity of myth continued into the Roman period, but the ‘mythoi’, which once helped men to understand the world, now functioned mainly as a major part of a cultural tradition whose importance increased as Greek independence diminished; for example, as various cities lost their political significance, it was their mythical past that could still furnish them with an identity and help them to distinguish themselves from other cities.<sup>65</sup> Myth consequently ties into the identity of the ancient Greeks, and identity is an important aspect when trying to understand the behaviour and worldview of the Greeks.

Myth has also been described as ‘a fluid phenomenon, multifaceted, multifarious, and multivalent.’<sup>66</sup> Narratives of Greek gods and heroes existed and they were recited, or sung, and in that way making reference to the ancient history of Greece and correspond to the ‘mythoi.’<sup>67</sup> Offerings of various kinds in ritual practice sought to

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<sup>60</sup> Pakkanen 2011, 113.

<sup>61</sup> Zaidman and Pantel 2008, 143; Dowden 1992, 39-53; for the discussion of the meaning of logos and mythos, see also Most 1999, and Calame 1999.

<sup>62</sup> Des Bouvrie 2002, 11.

<sup>63</sup> Burkert 1979, 23.

<sup>64</sup> Bremmer 1988, 6.

<sup>65</sup> Bremmer 1988, 5-6.

<sup>66</sup> Woodard 2008, 1.

<sup>67</sup> Calame 2008, 259.

influence divine intervention in the present; the *do ut des* ('I give in order that you shall give') principle was extremely important and an integrated part of the belief system of the ancient Greeks.<sup>68</sup> Considered as religious practices, the stories that are identified and placed under the rubric of 'myth' reveal themselves to exist only in particular poetic forms. These poetic forms produce an active history from narratives, and are realised through ritual.<sup>69</sup> The term 'ritual,' however, might cause even more equivocal associations than the word 'myth.'<sup>70</sup> Part of 'ritual' is, according to Burkert, at best circumstantial and superfluous, but at the same time something sacred and mysterious.<sup>71</sup> He stated that ritual and myth are close to, but not necessarily dependent upon each other, and this complex of myth and ritual, became a major force in forming ancient cultures.<sup>72</sup> Ritual is a form of communication in human communities, and so, dedicatory practice is a type of communication between the dedicatee and the god/gods. As Burkert says, communication is necessary for mutual understanding and cooperation.<sup>73</sup> Although dedicatory practice can be seen as a form of communication, it must be kept in mind that the votive offerings probably reflected the character of the recipient deity in a very limited way and was determined to a greater extent by the dedicant and his or her environment.<sup>74</sup> The individual's choice was presumably also in play when it came to the details of dedicatory practice, such as, for instance, the placement of the votives.

### 2.1.2. Placement of Votives

Van Straten discussed the placement and arrangement of votive offerings and mentioned that votive reliefs and statues often were placed up high, either on pedestals, nailed to the wall, or even hung from trees.<sup>75</sup> Evidence from iconographical representations on vase paintings supports this idea.<sup>76</sup> Van Straten also emphasizes one of the problems accounted for in this thesis, that we often do not know exactly where small votive offerings, such as metal and terracotta figurines (as well as miniature

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<sup>68</sup> Calame 2008, 260, 266; Burkert 1996, 136.

<sup>69</sup> Calame 2008, 281-82.

<sup>70</sup> For a discussion and historical overview of the term 'ritual' see Bremmer 1998, 14-24.

<sup>71</sup> Burkert 1979, 35.

<sup>72</sup> Burkert 1979, 56-8.

<sup>73</sup> Burkert 2000, 248.

<sup>74</sup> Villing 2009, 86.

<sup>75</sup> Van Straten 2000, 192; Patera and Polignac 2009, 355; White 2007, 270-71.

<sup>76</sup> Karoglou 2010, e.g. the red-figure lekythos from the British Museum dating to 480-440 BC, no. AN198651001.

pottery) were placed in the sanctuary, since we very rarely have excavated them in their original positions.<sup>77</sup> There is an exception at Kalapodi in central Greece, Phokis, where the excavators found a ‘votivbank’ (a votive bench made of stone) on which votive offerings were found *in situ* covered with ash from a ritual fire; a small bronze kouros, a terracotta mask, a terracotta cock, a Corinthian miniature kotyle, bronze pins, and other metal objects.<sup>78</sup> The situation at Kalapodi is unique, and an excellent example of the importance of miniature pottery; this example determines that miniature pottery was used in rituals, if for display only or as an active implement in the rituals at the altar. In some cases votive offerings are found close to altars within sanctuaries, for instance, as seen in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, where votives are found at, around, and in a blackish layer surrounding the Artemis Altar in the southeastern part of the sanctuary (**Chapter 4**).<sup>79</sup> Similarly, at Nemea, two miniature pots, a kotyle, and a krateriskos, were found in layers alongside the great altar of Zeus. Parallels to the Corinthian miniature kotyle provide a date at the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>80</sup> Based on these examples it seems that miniature votives were used in rituals at the altar proper in the Archaic period, unfortunately, such examples of offerings found *in situ* or in undisturbed contexts are relatively rare.

Votive deposits occur more frequently, and even though it is known that these deposits were buried within the sacred precinct of a sanctuary, most often, information on the votives’ original positions is lost to us.<sup>81</sup> At Nemea a votive deposit was excavated in 1925 outside the Sanctuary of Zeus, but no architecture or architectural remains were found in the area.<sup>82</sup> It is very likely that votive deposits in general stem from small shrines or sanctuaries without architectural structures and were buried during a clean-up operation, a closure, or a reorganisation of a sanctuary.<sup>83</sup> An interpretation of the votive deposit in Nemea was that it was a clean-up deposit from the Sanctuary of Zeus, mainly because no architectural remains were found nearby.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Van Straten 2000, 197; Scott 2010, 29 n. 2.

<sup>78</sup> Felsch et al. 1980, 89-99, figs. 71-89; Van Straten 2000, 197, n. 22; Van Straten also mentioned a terracotta bull found *in situ* at an altar at Kommos, Crete; Patera and Polignac 2009, 360.

<sup>79</sup> Heiden 2012.

<sup>80</sup> *Nemea* I, 26, fig. 35, here both miniatures, P 54 and P 55, are said to be skyphoi, but one is a typical Corinthian pattern kotyle and the other is a black-glazed miniature krater.

<sup>81</sup> Van Straten 2000, 198; Zaidman and Pantel 2008, 59.

<sup>82</sup> Barfoed 2009, 14.

<sup>83</sup> Barfoed 2009, 96-9; Van Straten 2000, 198.

<sup>84</sup> Miller 2004, 39-40; Blegen, however, rather interprets it as a carefully buried deposit, probably stemming from a shrine, and I agree, see Blegen 1926, 131-33.

However, when analysing the material from the votive deposit, contemplating the location of the deposit ca. 700 m from the sanctuary, and comparing the terracotta figurines and miniature pottery sites such as Corinth and the Argolid, it appears that the votive deposit probably originated in a small rural shrine, perhaps a spring shrine to a nymph (the naid/water nymph Nemea?) or perhaps the goddess Demeter.<sup>85</sup>

As for the ancient sources, Plato commented on the large amounts of votives (which presumably included miniatures?) in sanctuaries:

‘To establish gods and temples is not easy; it’s a job that needs to be very carefully pondered if it is to be done properly. Yet looking at what people usually do, all women in particular, invalids of every sort, men in danger or any kind of distress, or conversely when they have just won a measure of prosperity: they dedicate the first thing that comes to hand, they swear to offer sacrifice, and promise to found shrines for gods and spirits and children of gods. And the terror they feel when they see apparitions, either in dreams or awake, terror which recurs later when they recollect a whole series of visions, drives them to seek a remedy for each individually, with the result that on open spaces or any other spot where such an incident has occurred they found the altars and shrines that fill every home and village.’<sup>86</sup>

Plato wrote *Laws* in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and describes that shrines, altars, sanctuaries, and their votives were numerous to the extent of excess.<sup>87</sup> Pausanias, writing in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, paints a similar picture of the ancient Greek countryside.<sup>88</sup> This justifies the existence of such a large number of miniaturised votive offerings, to name a few examples, bronze horse figurines from Olympia, lead figurines from Sparta, and miniature pottery in large number from most sanctuaries and shrines in Greece.

## 2.2. THE STUDY OF ANCIENT GREEK RELIGION

In this section a selected amount of seminal work within the topic ‘Greek Religion’ will be accessed. Focus on landscape, locations of sanctuaries, and the sanctuaries’ relation

<sup>85</sup> Barfoed 2009, 82; Cole 1988, 164-65; Bremmer 1994, 30.

<sup>86</sup> In this context Plato is speaking about how one is not supposed to have a shrine in one’s own house, *Pl. Laws*. 909e-910a.

<sup>87</sup> Zaidman and Pantel 2008, 59.

<sup>88</sup> Pausanias’ *Periegesis* is full of examples of rural shrines, see e.g. Paus. 3.24.2 or 6.22.7.

to the poleis are important when striving to employ a contextual approach. One of the most well known works within this topic is probably Polignac's seminal book on the origins of the Greek city. It was groundbreaking mainly because his work provided a more unified and overarching approach to sanctuaries and their relation to the city; focus was shifted to a dynamic landscape and the physical construction of such a landscape went hand-in-hand with the construction of Greek polis. A sanctuary was not simply a sanctuary any longer.<sup>89</sup> Polignac showed that the sanctuary could be urban, or non-urban (for instance, 'extra-urban,' or 'peri-urban'), and the precise location chosen for the construction of the sanctuary played an important political role.<sup>90</sup> About the same time as Polignac's book was translated into English, another equally significant monograph edited by Alcock and Osborne was published. It includes various important articles that expand on issues addressed by Polignac, and takes the discussion of sanctuaries and sacred space further.<sup>91</sup> Intensive surface survey work that scholars such as Alcock has been involved in was significant, seeing that it provided a more in depth understanding of the ancient Greek landscape and its inhabitants.<sup>92</sup> Field survey is valuable because it allows us to use negative evidence to discern the areas where sanctuaries were absent, and why, as well as how and when sanctuaries declined.<sup>93</sup> For this study approaches such as Cole's of discussing the ritual landscape in relation to gender, and gender roles is a valuable addition to the field.<sup>94</sup>

When attempting to contextualize the dedicatory patterns of the ancient Greeks, it is important to take previous research on ritual space, sanctuaries, and their roles into account. Relating this to the study of miniature pottery presented here provides an insight into the origin of the dedicated objects: in this case, miniature votive pottery. From my studies at Kalydon, Olympia, and earlier, Nemea, it is clear that both imported, regionally, and locally produced pottery was dedicated in the sanctuaries; thus, we can tentatively determine where people who visited these sanctuaries came from, or suggest possible movements of votives. It seems that people brought items with them, but also bought local products to dedicate in the visited sanctuary in question. Regarding the matter of what rituals took place in a sanctuary more general

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<sup>89</sup> 1984, *La naissance de la cité grecque: cultes, espace et société VIIIe-VIIe siècles avant J.-C.*, translated into English in 1995: Polignac 1995.

<sup>90</sup> Polignac 1995, 32-88.

<sup>91</sup> Alcock and Osborne 1994.

<sup>92</sup> Alcock 1991; Alcock 1994, 248-53; Alcock et al. 1994.

<sup>93</sup> Alcock 1994.

<sup>94</sup> Cole 2004.

work such as that of Pedley and Scott will also be included; since they have both recently published on sanctuaries and the sacred.<sup>95</sup> Osborne's article on the dedicated object, discusses how to recognise the dedicated assemblage or object, and evaluates previous scholarship carried out on the dedicated object (for instance, Schiffer's *the Formation of the Archaeological Record* and Hodder's work, see **Chapter 3**).<sup>96</sup>

Votive pottery, and other votives, is often found in deposits stemming from closures or cleaning up of sanctuaries, and often the sheer presence of a deposit led to the interpretation that a shrine stood in the area. Regarding the practice of votive deposition, Bradley observed that '[w]hen I began this research, it was difficult to persuade people that there was a problem to investigate; still less that votive deposition was one of the most important transactions in prehistoric society.'<sup>97</sup> Osborne's article was part of a *World Archaeology* volume called 'The Object of Dedication' which included other articles on the objects of dedications, and dedicatory practice.<sup>98</sup> It is vital to include these discussions and reflections when attempting to provide a broader contextual view on ritual behaviour. The most important book within the field of Greek religion is probably Burkert's *Greek Religion*, which includes a discussion on the gods, but also ritual behaviour, as well as many other topics spanning the Prehistoric to Hellenistic period.<sup>99</sup> A large number of handbooks exist on Greek religion and myth, some preferable to others, for instance the relatively recent publications by Parker, Price, Kindt, Ogden, Larson, and Dowden.<sup>100</sup> Greek religion and myth is too large a subject area to be extensively treated within the limits of this thesis' scope, but the topics presented in this section provide a starting point for the discussions below.

### 2.3. THE 8<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY BC SHIFT IN DEDICATORY PATTERNS

In the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC a shift can be observed in the dedicatory practices in Greece where a growth in sanctuaries has been established.<sup>101</sup> At this time monumental altars begin to be built in the sanctuaries as seen for example at Samos.<sup>102</sup> Kilian-Dirlmeier, as well

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<sup>95</sup> Pedley 2005; Scott 2010.

<sup>96</sup> Osborne 2004, 1-4; Schiffer 1987; Hodder 2000; 1982; Hodder and Hutson 2003.

<sup>97</sup> Bradley 1990, xv.

<sup>98</sup> E.g. Adams 2004; Kleibrink et al. 2004.

<sup>99</sup> Burkert 1985.

<sup>100</sup> Parker 2011; Price 1999; Kindt 2012; Ogden 2007, Larson 2007; Dowden and Livingstone 2011.

<sup>101</sup> E.g. Osborne 2009, 55; Snodgrass 2006, 258-66; Morgan 1993; Snodgrass 1980, 33-4, 52-63; for two earlier shifts, one from the LHIIIC to the Early Protogeometric period, and the other from the Bronze to the Iron Age, see Morgan 1996.

<sup>102</sup> Whitley 2001, 138.

as Osborne, have shown how there was an increase in the number of dedications based on metal pins (personal dedications) dedicated in sanctuaries in the Peloponnese and the rest of Greece (**Figure 4**).<sup>103</sup> Albeit the picture is not a perfect reflection due to, as Osborne succinctly calls it, ‘hazards of survival and of excavation,’ the table below shows (although both the type and the timing of the changes varies from location to location) that different sanctuaries experienced increased dedicatory activity during the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>104</sup>

**Figure 4.** Dedicated Pins in Peloponnesian Sanctuaries, ca. 1050-500 BC.  
Osborne 2009, table 3.

The explanation for this shift may be that at this time dedication changed from being a merely aristocratic enterprise, to becoming an activity in which the common people could participate. Thus, the sanctuaries were now open for a larger clientele within a wide range of different social groups.<sup>105</sup> This explanation clarifies the boom in

<sup>103</sup> Osborne 2009, 56, tables 3-4; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985.

<sup>104</sup> Osborne 2009, 55; Snodgrass 2006, 259.

<sup>105</sup> Gimatzidis 2011, 86.

dedications, the focus on sanctuaries in general, and the appearance of miniature pottery used for offerings and not solely for funerary purposes.<sup>106</sup> The miniatures could be explained as an increased demand for cheaper substitutes for votives, or an increased demand for votives in general. Morris noted that the shift of valuables from the graves to sanctuaries correlates with the popularity of Orientalising art, and that these two phenomena may be related.<sup>107</sup> Aristotle in his *Ethics* described how the ‘magnificent man’ did not spend for himself, but instead for the common good, meaning that it is more honourable to spend on the gods by the means of votive offerings. He stated, ‘to spend an amount that is appropriate to the particular occasion, for the same gifts are not suitable for the gods and for men, and the same expenditure is not appropriate to a sacrifice and a funeral.’<sup>108</sup> Even though Aristotle’s work dates to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC it is interesting that he noted both that the same things could not be used for funerary offerings and dedications, but also that it was more suitable to give gifts to the gods than to spending on oneself. In this way, the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC shift can be understood as a sign of collective ideas of citizenship, and as Snodgrass said, votive activity creates a sense of community.<sup>109</sup> The effects of this shift can be spotted in the archaeological evidence from the sites of the Argive Heraion and Argos. The large amount of material from the Geometric to Classical period indicates a change in religious practice; miniature pottery begins to appear in sanctuaries during the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and peaks in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>110</sup>

A second shift, also noted in this thesis and exemplified with the material discussed below, took place in the 5<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, seen, for instance, in the decline in dedicated miniature pottery; by the Hellenistic period miniature pottery is found in remarkably smaller numbers than earlier periods (**Chapter 4**). Snodgrass explained this shift in practice as a result of a diversion away from the Olympian deities towards what has been termed ‘assisting deities.’ Examples are Pan and the Nymphs, Asklepios, the Great Gods of Samothrace, and the Kabeiroi.<sup>111</sup> This change, if accepted, cannot simply be understood as a change of ‘trends’ but, Snodgrass argues, must be seen as a more sophisticated attitude to religion. Perhaps the polis’ influence on

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<sup>106</sup> Gimatzidis 2011, 81.

<sup>107</sup> Morris 1996, 35.

<sup>108</sup> Arist. *Nic. Eth.* 1123a10.

<sup>109</sup> Snodgrass 2006, 258-68.

<sup>110</sup> Foley 1988, 69.

<sup>111</sup> Snodgrass 2006, 263-64.

dedicational practices had been diluted by the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. However, the processes are gradual and it can be hard for us to interpret these changes in the archaeological record.<sup>112</sup>

#### 2.4. LIMITS OF THE STUDY AREA

As mentioned above, part of the thesis is also dedicated to the problem of the definition of miniature pottery. Hammond carried out the most extensive work on miniature pottery to date based on material from Tegea in Arcadia.<sup>113</sup> Her discussion of miniature pottery will present a solid starting point for the questions in this thesis; however, my study will be broader contextually and geographically compared to Hammond's work. There are some shape groups that will not be included in the discussions in this thesis, for instance oil-vessels such as aryballoi, since we know of their strict functional use.<sup>114</sup> The same goes for echinus bowls, and saltcellars.

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to locate literary or iconographic references to miniature pottery, but some ancient sources do describe sacred places in nature (for example Pausanias and Plato); as mentioned above, Socrates, in *Phaedrus*, identified a shrine to some nymphs exclusively by its location and dedications.<sup>115</sup> Treasury lists inscribed on marble stele and found in sanctuaries in Athens will also be analysed regarding dedications of pottery.<sup>116</sup> Will there be examples of dedicated pottery mentioned as being 'small' or referred to in the diminutive form as is the case for miniature bronze tripods in inventories from Delphi?<sup>117</sup> An example of a dedication where pottery is mentioned comes from the Erechtheion on the Acropolis in Athens, mentioned in the treasure list of the Erechtheion, which says: 'In the Archaïos Neos, of the gold in a ceramic pot...'<sup>118</sup> Here the pot was used for storage, not as a dedication in itself, and the Greek word translated to 'pot' was χύτρα/chytra, which is a plain-ware cooking pot. We cannot know if everything that was dedicated in the Erechtheion was recorded, or if only very valuable things made of metals, and other precious materials

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<sup>112</sup> Snodgrass 2006, 265-67.

<sup>113</sup> Hammond 1998.

<sup>114</sup> I agree with Stillwell and Benson, who stated that 'Very small aryballoi intended as perfume holders were in no sense tokens and cannot be regarded as miniatures in the true sense of the word,' see *Corinth* XV.3, 309.

<sup>115</sup> Pl. *Phaedrus* 230b-c.

<sup>116</sup> Scott 2011, 240 n. 2.

<sup>117</sup> Luce 2011, 58.

<sup>118</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1445, lines 43-4, see also Harris 1995, 210.

made it on the list. Perhaps pottery, and miniature pottery, was considered too common or too numerous to add to the treasure lists, or the setting (the prestigious Acropolis sanctuary to Athena) was a more ‘civic’ setting as seen in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia discussed below. This assumption could indicate that miniature pottery indeed could have functioned as the dedications of the common person, either from the middle classes, or the lower classes in society. It is also possible that pottery was even dedicated by people from the upper classes, for example, if they just wanted to pray. This study is thus limited by the unfortunate lack of mention of miniature pottery (and other votives) in the ancient sources.

## 2.5. SELECTION CRITERIA

The main aim of this thesis is to provide a starting point for the application of miniature pottery to questions regarding the ritual behaviour, and the religious worldview of the ancient Greeks. Since the thesis naturally must be confined, I chose to focus on a few sites for the case studies. Parallels from other sites in Greece will be included in the case studies. Selection criteria for the chosen sites were the publication status, as well as the accessibility of the material. It must be stated that a comprehensive catalogue/typology including miniature pottery from all of Greece will not be attempted. The catalogues of the case studies will consist of unpublished ceramic material from the ancient region of Eleia (Olympia and Kombothekra and Kalydon in Aitolia, see the **Catalogue**). Other Archaic-Hellenistic sanctuary sites from throughout the Peloponnese will provide parallels.

I will include miniature votives from the rural sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis at Kombothekra in Eleia, a rural sanctuary. Articles on Kombothekra have appeared but the miniature pottery has not been analysed thoroughly. The pottery preserved from this site is predominantly votive or miniature. Compared to Olympia, Kombothekra is located on a hilltop, secluded, but yet the dedications speak of a well-visited, popular sanctuary in use for a long period of time. How does the evidence portray these differences from Olympia? Some objects attest to a connection between the two sanctuaries, but how do we explain this connection?

As mentioned above, there is a clear decline in the use of miniature pottery in the Hellenistic period, which is interesting since it embodies a change in religious

behaviour.<sup>119</sup> I wanted to include sites that had both published and unpublished material if possible spanning the periods from the Archaic to the Hellenistic in order to address such changes in ritual practices. The site of Kalydon in Aitolia was an important site in the region throughout antiquity, and since I had the required permission to work on the miniature pottery from the site, I thought it natural to include it in the thesis. The study will cast light on the regional use of miniature pottery in the Archaic-Hellenistic period in two rather unexplored regions of Greece, Aitolia, and Eleia. Although the production of miniature pottery was declining in the Hellenistic period, Corinth probably provides the best evidence for Hellenistic miniature pottery coming from various deposits, near the South Stoa as well as graves.<sup>120</sup> Additional aspects and parallels come from outside the Peloponnese: Attica, the Greek colonies such as sites in South Italy and Libya, as well as a couple of sites in Boeotia (Eutresis and Rhitsona). Some parallels will receive more attention due to their publication status.

## 2.6. MINIATURE POTTERY IN ATTICA AND THE CORINTHIA

Scholarly debates regarding ancient Greek religious practice, and dedicatory patterns, remain to fully address the important question of whether all pottery found in sanctuaries can be regarded as dedications. Pottery frequently constitutes the largest find group of excavations all over Greece, to the extent that there is a lack of storage and some excavations cannot keep all of their pottery. The neglect of the study of pottery and votives is also associated with the fact that scholarship has previously been more focused on, for instance, architecture and sculpture. As an example, the site of Nemea was mainly excavated in the 1970s and 1980s, and so far publications on the topography and architecture of the Xenon, the Bath, the Sacred Square (the temple area) and the Stadium have appeared, as well as a publication of the coins.<sup>121</sup> Annual preliminary reports have also been published.<sup>122</sup> Birge did include some pottery in her chapter on the Sacred Square in *Nemea* I. She mentioned, for instance, that miniature pottery was found west of the altar of Zeus.<sup>123</sup> Interpretations of the pottery are, however, lacking and it is used predominantly for dating in all of the

<sup>119</sup> E.g. in Corinth, see *Corinth* VII.3, 2.

<sup>120</sup> *Corinth* VII.3; Pemberton 1985.

<sup>121</sup> *Nemea* I; *Nemea* II; *Nemea* III.

<sup>122</sup> Miller 1975; 1976; 1977; 1978; 1979; 1980; 1981; 1982; 1983; 1984; 1988.

<sup>123</sup> *Nemea* I, 25-6.

Nemea publications, so the full publication of the pottery from the Sanctuary of Zeus, which is underway, is still keenly awaited.<sup>124</sup>

Recently, as mentioned above, it has become more common to include miniature pottery in pottery studies from archaeological sites around Greece. Rotroff has provided the most useful grouping of miniature pottery to date.<sup>125</sup> She does not name it ‘terminology’ or ‘typology,’ but her work is a very useful springboard for just that. In *Agora 29* on Hellenistic pottery from the Athenian Agora, in chapter 12 under the heading ‘Votives and Other Vessels for Religious Use’ she applies the following sub-headings for the pottery: Large Ritual Vessels, Small Ritual Vessels, Thymiaterion, and Vessels from Ritual Pyres. The best example for this study is the black-glazed skyphoi; they vary in height from 4.2-8.2 cm, and are grouped with Small Ritual Vessels.<sup>126</sup> The group Miniature Votives, a sub-group under Small Ritual Vessels, does not contain any skyphoi, but two-handled cups and krateriskoi are most common.<sup>127</sup> Rotroff also noted that miniature votives seem to be appropriate to certain deities or shrines, but stated that the reasons for these preferences are still difficult to understand. At the Agora in Athens votive miniature skyphoi are found predominantly in a shrine on the north slope of the Acropolis, whereas two-handled cups and krateriskoi are found in a shrine on the north side of the Kolonos Agoraios.<sup>128</sup>

In *Agora 12 on Black and Plain Pottery of the 6<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Centuries BC*, different shape groups are filed under the heading Miniatures. Two of the sub-headings are Votives and Midget.<sup>129</sup> The skyphoi from this volume varies from 4.4-6.2 cm. The evidence from the Athenian Agora will supply this work with a well-documented group of material providing good guidelines for my typology together with the Corinth publication.

In the next section the literary review of the sites mentioned in this thesis is presented and evaluated. Additional in depth discussion of the ceramic material will be found in the various case study chapters below. The first site is Isthmia where a selection of architecture and finds has been published; nevertheless, the site is a useful contribution to our knowledge on sanctuaries in the Corinthia area.

<sup>124</sup> Kim S. Shelton, the Director of Nemea Center for Classical Archaeology, is currently working on the chronology and pottery from the sanctuary.

<sup>125</sup> *Agora 29*, 203-17.

<sup>126</sup> See e.g. nos. 1403 and 1407, *Agora 29*, 208, pl. 107.

<sup>127</sup> *Agora 29*, 209, pl. 108.

<sup>128</sup> *Agora 29*, 207.

<sup>129</sup> *Agora 12*, xv.

### 2.6.1. Isthmia: The Sanctuary of Poseidon

Isthmia located at the Isthmus of Corinth, is a site with continuous activity from the Prehistoric to the Byzantine period.<sup>130</sup> Since the site was first discovered in 1952, nine published volumes have appeared on the preserved architecture and the recovered material, as well as numerous articles on a wide variation of topics. However, large pottery publications as seen from the Agora in Athens and Corinth are lacking. Based on the articles some observations about the miniature pottery from both the Sanctuary of Poseidon and its vicinity can be made. The two most useful articles for this thesis are by respectively Arafat and Gebhard.<sup>131</sup> Arafat treats a type of handmade plain ware ceramics, and miniature jugs of this kind are especially common in Isthmia. Gebhard discusses dedications found inside the Temple of Poseidon, where examples of the same type of miniature vessel is found, and based on the context (Deposit D) dates this type of pottery to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>132</sup> A typical miniature shape found at Isthmia is the miniature hydria, which is also found in Nemea, and the ancient Greek colony of Cyrene, as well as many other sites in the Mediterranean. This miniature shape is not the dominant miniature type in Corinth.<sup>133</sup> At the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, the most popular miniature votive vessels are the kalathiskos, the offering tray, and the liknon.<sup>134</sup> The question is, why is there such a difference in the repertoire in two sanctuaries that are situated at close proximity? Could this reflect a difference in the ritual practice, perhaps depending on the deities or nature of cults worshipped? The main deity of Isthmia is Poseidon, a male deity, compared to the female deity Demeter and her daughter Kore at Acrocorinth. I return to this below in a separate chapter (**Chapter 4**).

### 2.6.2. Corinth: A Place for Demeter and her Daughter Kore

The publications on Corinth, especially Demeter and Kore, and the Potters' Quarter, but also Necrocorinthia, and the North Cemetery publication, contain various amounts of miniature pottery.<sup>135</sup> The miniature pottery from Corinth is dated from the Geometric to the Hellenistic period, and is predominantly found in religious contexts, such as

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<sup>130</sup> Broneer 1953, 183; Gebhard and Hemans 1992; Gebhard and Hemans 1998; Gebhard et al. 1998.

<sup>131</sup> Arafat 2003; Gebhard 1998.

<sup>132</sup> Arafat 2003, 28; Gebhard 1998, 104.

<sup>133</sup> Gebhard 1998, 104, fig. 8; Arafat 2003, pl. 3.1.

<sup>134</sup> E.G. Pemberton, pers. comm.

<sup>135</sup> Payne 1931; *Corinth* XIII.

votive deposits, small shrines, and the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, mostly from various dumps.<sup>136</sup> The pottery from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore proves that the sanctuary was in use from around the 7<sup>th</sup> century to Mummius' destruction in 146 BC. The sanctuary is spread out over three terraces. The highest has a theatre and Roman buildings, the so-called Upper Terrace (UT), the Middle Terrace (MT) is dominated by a Hellenistic stoa, but also has evidence of earlier architecture, and the Lower Terrace (LT) has a large amount of foundations for dining rooms preserved. The greatest number of miniature pottery items was discovered in the deep strata of the Archaic and Classical layers on the Middle Terrace.<sup>137</sup> The boundaries of the sanctuary have not been discovered yet on all sides, only the north-south boundary.<sup>138</sup> Based on the pottery assemblages it seems that the sanctuary grew in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, a growth that continued throughout the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. By the Hellenistic period there is a decline in general and remains are scanty compared to other periods.

Below is a chart of the Corinth Excavation publications' application of miniature kotylai. It must be kept in mind that Benson, who published the pottery from the Potters' Quarter, believed (and rightly so) that general quantitative boundaries cannot be set for what constitutes the size of a miniature vessel, since 'certain krateriskoi and kantharoi though small, can exceed the size of the aforementioned aryballoi, and yet have to be called miniatures, for they are plainly tokens of the corresponding full-scale shapes and were not intended to hold anything.'<sup>139</sup> According to Benson (and Stillwell), a criterion followed in this thesis, aryballoi cannot be counted as miniatures due to their known strict function as oil-vessels.<sup>140</sup> The excavations in Corinth provide the most thorough and complete publications of miniature Corinthian pottery, but interpretations and contextualization of the Corinthian miniature pottery are still rather sparse.

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<sup>136</sup> *Corinth* VII.1; *Corinth* VII.3; *Corinth* VII.5; *Corinth* XVIII.1; *Corinth* XVIII.3; *Corinth* XVIII.4; *Corinth* XVIII.5.

<sup>137</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, 65.

<sup>138</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, 1-2.

<sup>139</sup> *Corinth* XV.3, 309; Hammond 1998, 17.

<sup>140</sup> *Corinth* XV.3, 309.

BASED ON HEIGHT	
<u>Corinth XV.3</u>	
Miniature	1.2-4.5 cm
Regular	4.6-12.8 cm
<u>Corinth XVIII.1</u>	
Miniature	2.6-4.6 cm
Regular	7.4-13.7 cm
<u>Corinth VII.5</u>	
Miniature	1.2-3.6 cm
Regular	3.7-7.9 cm
Large	8.0-16.0 cm
BASED ON BASE DIAMETER	
<u>Corinth XV.3</u>	
Miniature	-----
Regular	-----
<u>Corinth XVIII.1</u>	
Miniature	1.8-3.7 cm
Regular	2.6-9.0 cm
<u>Corinth VII.5</u>	
Miniature	2.0-4.5 cm
Regular	3.3-8.0 cm
Large	12.1 cm

**Table 1.** Corinthian Standards of Kotylai.

Based on the Kotylai in *Corinth VII.5*, *Corinth XV.3*, and *Corinth XVIII.1*.<sup>141</sup>

Regarding the rest of Corinth, most of the datable deposits from Corinth's Potters' Quarter date to the Classical period.<sup>142</sup> The material from the cemeteries found in Corinth is a very useful parallel and miniature pottery also functioned as grave offerings. Pemberton's study on ten Hellenistic graves from Corinth provide insights into the sporadic occurrence of miniature pottery from the Hellenistic period, and Lawrence also published five grave groups from the Corinth area.<sup>143</sup> Regarding the shape representative of miniature pottery in the graves many of the same shapes appear both in funerary and sacred contexts, for example, kotylai and pyxides; this is an interesting aspect, since the two types of contexts are so different: one similarity must be the relation to the gods. Furthermore, the analyses of miniature pottery in South Italy (**Chapter 6**) shows that miniature pottery was also used in indigenous rituals and sanctuary environments; this analysis will seek to cast light on aspects connected to the transfer of rituals over time, but also in very different locations and environments, that being the mainland of Greece, the Greek colonies, and South Italy.

<sup>141</sup> In *Corinth XV.3* the only measurement available is height (not all entries had bases preserved, thus, not based on as high a number as the 'height example.')

<sup>142</sup> *Corinth XV.3*, 2.

<sup>143</sup> Pemberton 1985; Lawrence 1964.

### 2.6.3. Perachora: Hera at the Cove of the Corinthian Gulf

The miniature pottery from Perachora received a full chapter in the publication of the Akraia and Limenia deposits, which was very innovative for that time.<sup>144</sup> Still, thorough interpretation or discussion of the ritual behaviour and the meaning of the large production of miniature pottery is missing. Unfortunately, stratigraphy at Perachora and the site of the Argive Heraion is generally lacking, so it is difficult to use the material from these two sites for chronological considerations.

Working with publications from the beginning of the last century where the focus was can be called a more ‘art-historical’ approach creates some difficulties. For instance, it is very difficult to use the Perachora volumes due to the fact that the individual catalogue numbers often only include a determination of the shape, a catalogue number, and the height of the vase. In rare cases there is a description of fabric, the shape, and a reference to a parallel.<sup>145</sup> However, in most cases these important pieces of information are lacking making the implementation of the publications very difficult. In the beginning of the chapter of the miniature pottery (chapter V) written by Blakeway and Dunbabin the interpretations of the miniature pottery is very similar to other contemporary interpretations of miniature pottery. It is suggested that the miniature pottery falls into the category of toys, since it is sometimes found in children’s graves. It is also suggested that it is to be understood as models or copies of standard shape pottery and following Waldstein (in the Argive Heraion publications), Dunbabin suggests that miniature pottery formed offerings by the poor, or made specifically for a special feature of the cult.<sup>146</sup> Dunbabin and Blakeway date the miniature pottery quite broadly from ‘the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, or the 5<sup>th</sup> century; some may even be as late as the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.’<sup>147</sup> Unfortunately, there is often no date with the catalogue numbers, so one has to operate with this very broad date, which is not useful for the purpose of acquiring chronological information.<sup>148</sup> It will be analysed below whether the claims made by Dunbabin and Blakeway hold true;

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<sup>144</sup> *Perachora II*; *Perachora I*.

<sup>145</sup> See e.g. *Perachora II*, 291.

<sup>146</sup> *Perachora II*, 290-91.

<sup>147</sup> *Perachora II*, 291.

<sup>148</sup> It varies among the shape groups, for example the kotylai do have dates, but the hydriai do not, see *Perachora II*, 295-97, 311-12.

for instance it is asked whether miniature pottery was especially made for a specific feature of the cult, as toys for children, or if it was the poor person's offering of choice.

Menadier evaluated and analysed the Perachora publications, and she provides an overview of a very confusing site with many unstratified deposits.<sup>149</sup> Despite decades of work at the site since its first excavation, publications pertain to two very large publication volumes and a number of articles on various subjects, mostly based on architecture, and the site's connection to Corinth.<sup>150</sup> Despite the lack of stratigraphy, Perachora is a fascinating site that begs further study. This is one of the mainland sites in Greece that received most exotic trade items, such as Egyptian scarabs, seals, ivories, beads, and vessels.<sup>151</sup> The pottery is mostly from the area of Corinth, but there is also imported pottery from Attica, the area of Argos, the Aegean islands, Laconia, eastern Greece, Boeotia, and even some Etruscan bucchero.<sup>152</sup> It is most unfortunate that the site was so disturbed when it was discovered, but it is even more unfortunate that there is no mention of what other pottery the miniature pottery was found together with. Despite these obstacles the miniature pottery from Perachora provides significant parallels especially to the Corinthian and Isthmian pottery, and questions regarding import, and export of regional pottery, and the connections with colonies and other trade partners. Work on different pottery styles relating to chronology has also come a long way since these publications; however, the site of Perachora remain one of the most important sanctuary sites of antiquity.

## 2.7. MINIATURE POTTERY IN ELEIA AND ARGOLIS

This section focuses on modern scholarship of the regions of Eleia and Argolis. Despite the fame of Olympia a relatively small amount of literature that attempts broader analyses and interpretations are lacking. The regions of both the Argolis and Eleia are still somewhat understudied, and as in the case of Olympia, most scholarship from the Argolis region is centred on Argos or the Argive Heraion.

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<sup>149</sup> Menadier 1995.

<sup>150</sup> E.g. Coulton 1964; Tomlinson 1972; for Perachora's connection to Corinth, see e.g. Hammond 1954; Salmon 1972.

<sup>151</sup> *Perachora II*, 461-516.

<sup>152</sup> *Perachora II*.

### 2.7.1. Olympia: The Dwelling Place of Zeus and Hera

Various object groups are extensively published from Olympia, while others are not, a pattern also present in other large publication volumes. In total 33 volumes in the series *Olympische Forschungen* have appeared so far, covering objects from the German excavations since 1875. The publications reflect the large and impressive amount of weaponry dedicated to Zeus found in the excavations over the years.<sup>153</sup> The space here is not sufficient to summarize the immense amount of articles written about Olympia.<sup>154</sup>

The pottery found in the Sanctuary of Zeus has been published according to chronology, and fabric, such as Archaic, Hellenistic, and Corinthian, Elean, and Lakonian.<sup>155</sup> A few miniature vessels are published, mostly Corinthian.<sup>156</sup> However, the authors do not provide a discussion or interpretation of the miniature pottery and its contexts, except Heiden, who says that the cups and oil-vessels found in Olympia were probably not dedications to a warlike Zeus.<sup>157</sup> The publication of the wells in the area of the stadium and in the southeast area also contained a large amount of pottery, some of it of local or Elean production.<sup>158</sup>

Another question that can be asked based on the miniature pottery from Olympia is whether differences associated with miniature pottery between areas outside of Eleia and the Olympian rituals can be detected. Since Olympia is such a large sanctuary, it is important to ask where the miniature pottery was found. I have studied the miniature pottery from Olympia, as well as the original excavation notebooks and plans, and despite various problems with documentation, I can place the miniature pottery quite precisely within the sanctuary. I will look at its patterns of practice, such as the use of the miniature pottery in various contexts. For example whether it is found close to the temple of Zeus, that of Hera or close to specific altars. Is there more miniature pottery found together at a certain spot, or is it diffused? So far the latter appears to be the case. Pausanias mentions a large number of shrines in the centre of

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<sup>153</sup> E.g. *OF* 33; *OF* 29; *OF* 21.

<sup>154</sup> A search done in the bibliographical database Dyabola.de on 'Olympia' came up with 932 results. Some of these are of course also monographs. See also the conference publication celebrating the 125 years of work by the Germans in the sanctuary, *Olympia 1875-2000*.

<sup>155</sup> *OF* 28; *OF* 27; *OF* 23; *OF* 18; *OF* 5.

<sup>156</sup> *OF* 28, nos. 52-56, 99-105, 187, 195-196, pls. 55, 62; only one is published of the Elean pottery, *OF* 23, 56-57, 114, no. KT1, pls. 4, 7.

<sup>157</sup> *OF* 28, 173.

<sup>158</sup> *OF* 8.

the sanctuary, the Altis. So can we connect any of them to clusters of miniature pottery? And what other material is the miniature pottery found together with?

Unfortunately, sites in Eleia are generally sparingly published. A couple of brief articles exist on the site Makryisia, and a single article on Babes published by Lang, which provides parallels to some of the unpublished pottery presented here.<sup>159</sup> Pylos in Eleia, 13 km from Elis town, has revealed evidence from the Prehistoric to the Frankish period, and a publication appeared in 1986.<sup>160</sup> Despite the large time period of activity, only two pieces of miniature pottery have been published, one Archaic cup, and a Classical bowl.<sup>161</sup> Perhaps the lack of miniature pottery is tied to contexts. The evidence from Pylos is predominantly domestic and funerary. The town of Elis has mainly been published in preliminary excavation reports and various articles, and large publications monographs as seen from other sites do not exist.<sup>162</sup> Despite Schilbach's excellent work on the Classical black-glazed Elean pottery, the Elean pottery industry is not as well known as the Corinthian or Attic.<sup>163</sup> The industry must have been substantial especially in the Classical period, seeing that Elean black-glazed and stamped lekythoi even were exported to sites such as Athens and Corinth.<sup>164</sup> Elean Geometric and Archaic pottery is left wanting more analyses, and publications.

### 2.7.2. The Argive Heraion: Hera in the Argive Plain

Some of the oldest publications that include miniature pottery are the publications of the Argive Heraion.<sup>165</sup> Although miniature pottery was not published as a group in the original publications, the site contains a large amount of miniature pottery, which did not receive flattering scrutiny. As mentioned above, Waldstein believed that the miniatures were made by and for the poor people who visited the sanctuary. The miniature pottery from the Argive Heraion consists of Corinthian, Attic, and local Argive miniature pottery, but the term 'miniature pottery' was not applied and the

<sup>159</sup> Gialoures 1956; 1958; Lang 1992.

<sup>160</sup> Coleman and Abramovitz 1986.

<sup>161</sup> Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, nos. C133, D188, 57, 109, fig. 11, pls. 33, 42.

<sup>162</sup> E.g. Leon 1960; Gialoures 1960; 1961; 1962; Mitsopoulou-Leon 1966-67. Two exceptions are the publication of the Sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric graves, see Eder 2001, and the late Classical and early Hellenistic graves, see Georgiadou 2005.

<sup>163</sup> *OF* 23. Elean black-glazed and stamped lekythoi are well published, see e.g. Sinn 1978.

<sup>164</sup> Sinn 1978, 54-5.

<sup>165</sup> *AH* I; *AH* II.

confusing method of publishing the pottery did not provide an easy overview of the miniatures. The pottery was briefly mentioned in a general chapter of the first publication and in the second publication the pottery was grouped chronologically (some of it wrongly determined).<sup>166</sup>

It is also impossible to give an exact number of items of miniature pottery, mainly due to the method of publication.<sup>167</sup> Both Argive and imported pottery comes from the site, but the majority is local. Foley strongly believes that pottery production took place close to the sanctuary site of the Argive Heraion, which is certainly a very likely scenario.<sup>168</sup> There are some problems when using the two Argive Heraion publications. Firstly, the lack of stratigraphy, 20<sup>th</sup> century measurements and quantifications, which all disfigures the chronology. Secondly, there are only brief descriptions of the fabric, no Munsell readings and descriptions of inclusions are also lacking. Some fabric groups were correctly determined (Attic and Corinthian), but some were not (there is, for example, a depiction of an 6<sup>th</sup> century BC Lakonian aryballos, which was classified under ‘The Argive Style, Type 2’).<sup>169</sup> Thirdly, there are only sparse illustrations (artistic reproductions), and only a handful of profile drawings, which is a critical tool for comparing pottery.<sup>170</sup> A large monograph on the architecture of the Classical temple at the Argive Heraion appeared in 2003, but it was solely focused on the architecture and did not include any pottery or other finds.<sup>171</sup> A re-study and re-publication of the pottery from the old excavations at the Argive Heraion with extensive drawings and photographs would be extremely useful for scholars working with pottery from the Peloponnese, and would additionally contribute to the knowledge of Argive and regional pottery production centres in the area of Argos and the Argive Heraion.

The city of Argos, about 10 km southwest from the site of the Argive Heraion, was a dominant centre in the Argolid throughout the Geometric period.<sup>172</sup> This conclusion is based on the large amount of Argive Geometric pottery determined mainly by Coldstream and Courbin and distinguishable by its characteristic decoration

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<sup>166</sup> *AH I*, 49-60; *AH II*, 57-184.

<sup>167</sup> *AH II*, 57-61; Foley 1988, 73.

<sup>168</sup> Foley 1988, 73.

<sup>169</sup> *AH II*, 155, fig. 92.

<sup>170</sup> *AH I*; *AH II*.

<sup>171</sup> Pfaff 2003.

<sup>172</sup> Foley 1988, 56. See also Baumbach’s work on Hera sanctuaries, Baumbach 2004.

and yellowish-beige fabric.<sup>173</sup> Foley stated that there was a decline in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, since much less pottery can be dated to this century (the majority dates to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC). Imports to the Argolid also increase during this period. Foley adds that a new tradition appears at this time, the miniature pottery in sanctuaries, which she suggested to be classified on its own.<sup>174</sup> It should also be clarified here that the term ‘Argive’ was used to describe pottery from Argos, but it is no longer valid, as more recent work such as Foley, Morgan and Biers does recognize the existence of local workshops in the Argolid.<sup>175</sup> Caskey and Amandry’s 1952 article on the Argive Heraion, demonstrated that certain Argive miniature pots (one-handled jugs and hydrikskoi) are similar to miniature pots from Isthmia.<sup>176</sup> Often this type of handmade plain ware is erroneously called ‘Argive Monochrome,’ however; consensus now exists that this type of plain ware was produced at many different sites in Athens, Eleusis, Megera, and the northeastern Peloponnese. The products of these centres were also widely distributed.<sup>177</sup> The investigation by Caskey and Amandry concerned a large widespread deposit dating to the Archaic period with a large number of objects, such as bronzes, pottery, and terracotta figurines.<sup>178</sup> Kelly’s book from 1976 is also useful. It is mainly a historical overview of Argos’ early history from the Prehistoric period to ca. 500 BC, but it includes interesting discussions with the inclusion of the archaeological material.<sup>179</sup> The series *Études Péloponnésiennes* include publications on material from Argos, for instance, the Argive Roman coins, the Hellenistic theatre, the Roman nymphaion, the Geometric graves, but regarding the pottery, so far, a volume has only appeared on the Roman pottery.<sup>180</sup> However, the literature presented here does improve current understanding on dedicatory patterns and rituals at the Argive Heraion, one of the most important sites in the Peloponnese in the Archaic-Hellenistic period, as well as nearby Argos.

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<sup>173</sup> Coldstream 1968; Courbin 1966; Foley 1988, 56-7.

<sup>174</sup> Foley 1988, 69.

<sup>175</sup> Foley 1988; Morgan and Whitelaw 1991; Biers 1971.

<sup>176</sup> Compare e.g. Caskey and Amandry 1952, no. 276, pl. 58, and Arafat 2003, no. 1, pl. 3.

<sup>177</sup> Morgan 1999, 215.

<sup>178</sup> The article also discusses the sporadic pre-historic material and surface deposits from the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, see Caskey and Amandry 1952, 169-210.

<sup>179</sup> Kelly 1976.

<sup>180</sup> For Roman coins, see Flament and Marchetti 2011; for the theatre and the Odeon see, Ginouvès 1972; for the Nymphaeion, see Marchetti et al. 1995; for the Geometric graves, see Courbin 1974; for the Roman pottery, see Abadie-Reynal 2007.

## 2.8. MINIATURE POTTERY IN REGIONAL AND RURAL SANCTUARIES

Miniature pottery is not solely found in large, well-known sanctuaries as the ones mentioned above, but is also located in abundant small, and perhaps less visited (famous) sanctuaries in the countryside. The focal example of such a sanctuary in this thesis is Kombothekra, but many other examples exist, for instance Tegea, Lousoi, and the possible Demeter shrine at Nemea, as well as numerous, less well attested, rural and roadside shrines.<sup>181</sup> From Pausanias we know that the countryside was scattered with sacred places and even though he wrote in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, the possibility exists that Pausanias' depiction mirrors earlier circumstances.<sup>182</sup> A selection of these examples will be discussed in greater detail below.

### 2.8.1. The Sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis at Kombothekra

About 30 km southeast of Olympia is a sanctuary to Artemis Limnatis near the village Greka (also spelled Graikas) in Eleia. The site was discovered in 1907 by the Dörpfeld and excavated the following years by Germans who worked at the excavations in Olympia.<sup>183</sup> Kombothekra is a fascinating site in many ways: for example, two bronze objects were found, a mirror and a phiale, each carrying an inscription to Artemis.<sup>184</sup> So, in this rare case the goddess of the site can be firmly determined. The material from Kombothekra is very well preserved, and by making comparisons with the material from Olympia, we can discern possible patterns of regional ritual practices, as well as common regional practices. The excavators immediately noted the similarity in the material with Olympia, for example, a large number of black-glazed lekythoi are found in both Olympia and Kombothekra; this connection is explored below (**Chapter 4**).<sup>185</sup> Sinn provides a thorough overview of Artemis Limnatis sanctuaries in the Peloponnese, and emphasises Artemis's connection to fertility, and her huntress attributes.<sup>186</sup> Based on the material evidence from Kombothekra, continuous cult practice took place from the Geometric to the early Hellenistic period.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>181</sup> For Lousoi, see e.g. Reichel and Wilhelm 1901; Sinn 1992. For other sanctuaries in Arcadia, see Voyatzis 1990, and Jost 1985; for the shrine at Nemea, see Barfoed 2009; 2013; Blegen 1926.

<sup>182</sup> See e.g. Paus. 2.17.1, or 3.24.2.

<sup>183</sup> Sinn 1978, 47.

<sup>184</sup> Sinn 1981, figs. 1-2.

<sup>185</sup> Sinn 1981, 26.

<sup>186</sup> Sinn 1981, 31-5, 37, 41.

<sup>187</sup> See the dates of the material that Sinn provides; notice the Geometric terracottas and the mould-made bowls from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, Sinn 1981, 64-71.

The pottery, terracottas, bronzes, loom-weights, and all other material from the excavation at Kombothekra are kept at the storerooms at the Olympia Archaeological Museum. Four articles have appeared on Kombothekra, the most comprehensive being that of Sinn from 1981.<sup>188</sup> He lists the different groups of material in a very convenient manner in order to gain an overview of the site. The oldest article on Kombothekra is what can be called a short preliminary report on the excavations in 1908.<sup>189</sup> Another article dating to 1978 deals with Elean black-glazed lekythoi, and an article from 1998 concerns the terracotta figurines from Kombothekra.<sup>190</sup> Sinn's 1981 article is the most thorough of all the articles written on Kombothekra, and the one that provides the most information about the context and the material from the excavation, but more discussion on the cult and its connection to Olympia is still desired.<sup>191</sup> The unpublished miniature pottery from Kombothekra will play an important part in discerning local and regional differences from two very different sites in the Eleia region: the large Olympian sanctuary to Zeus, and the rural sanctuary to Artemis Limnatis, the goddess of the marsh or lake.<sup>192</sup>

### 2.8.2. The Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea

At Tegea most work was done on the material preceding the Classical period, such as for example Voyatzis' book on the Athena Alea Sanctuary at Tegea with material dating from about 800-600 BC.<sup>193</sup> As mentioned, Hammond worked on the miniature pottery from Tegea; her material dates roughly to the Protogeometric-Byzantine period.<sup>194</sup> Hammond analyses the miniature pottery by context, so, for instance, it is possible to analyse which miniature pottery was found in the cella, the very heart of the temple, and compare it to the miniature pottery from areas outside the temple.<sup>195</sup> Another important article is by Dugas from 1921, which introduces the small objects (including pottery) from the French excavations in 1910-13 of the Archaic temple to Athena

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<sup>188</sup> Sinn 1981.

<sup>189</sup> Müller 1908.

<sup>190</sup> Sinn 1978; Gregarek 1998.

<sup>191</sup> See the dates of the material that Sinn provides; notice the Geometric terracottas and the mould-made bowls from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, Sinn 1981, 64-71.

<sup>192</sup> Λίμνη can also mean basin, pool or reservoir, *LJS*<sup>2</sup> λίμνη.

<sup>193</sup> Voyatzis 1990, iii.

<sup>194</sup> Hammond 1998, iii.

<sup>195</sup> See e.g. Hammond 1998, 91-7; and also Hammond 2005.

Alea.<sup>196</sup> Dugas, Berchmans, and Clemmensen published the architecture of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC temple in 1924, but the monograph did not include studies of the excavated pottery, metals, or other finds.<sup>197</sup>

The Norwegian team, which excavated in Tegea from 1990-94, and 2004, recently published a large monograph of their work.<sup>198</sup> Most of the pottery from the temple excavations is from the Geometric period, but there is also some Prehistoric pottery mixed with the Geometric.<sup>199</sup> Hammond wrote the chapter on Tegean miniature pottery in the new large monograph based on her unpublished PhD thesis from 1998.<sup>200</sup> She divides the miniatures into three phases: 1): Protogeometric to Late Geometric II (148 vessels); 2): Late Geometric II to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (169 vessels); 3): the Classical period (180 vessels). Phase 2 and 3 are most relevant here. Shallow bowls, kotylai, and bowls dominate the shapes in Phase 2. In Phase 3 however, the kotyle takes first place, followed by krateriskoi, and bowls.<sup>201</sup> Kotylai and krateriskoi are two very popular types of votives, as the case studies below will also show. Hammond's chapter in the Tegea publication does not differ in great detail from her thesis, and novel interpretations are regrettably unavailable. Nordquist presents the excavations from 1991-94 in the temple sector, and a concentration of votive material, including miniature pottery, dating from the late Geometric to the early Archaic period was discovered inside the apsidal temple building (the so-called 'Building 1'). This concentration in the eastern end of the structure suggests that votives were occasionally cleaned out to make room for new votive offerings.<sup>202</sup> Since 2009 the University of Oslo, Norway, has been doing fieldwork in the ancient city of Tegea, and hopefully their publications will provide more information about this ancient Arcadian city in the future.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Dugas 1921.

<sup>197</sup> Dugas et al. 1924.

<sup>198</sup> *Tegea I* and *Tegea II*.

<sup>199</sup> *Tegea I*, 197.

<sup>200</sup> Hammond 1998; *Tegea I*, 401-57.

<sup>201</sup> *Tegea I*, 403, fig. 1.

<sup>202</sup> *Tegea I*, 114-18.

<sup>203</sup> See, e.g. Ødegaard et al. 2013.

### 2.8.3. A Road Shrine near Sparta

Some parallels to the study of miniature pottery come from a possible hero shrine named ‘the Achilleion’ near the Megalopolis Road near Sparta in Lakonia. Unfortunately, the site was never fully published, and so far only a couple of articles appeared on the excavation and finds of the Achilleion.<sup>204</sup> Despite the sparse publications, some interesting observations can be made, which are useful for the discussions here. About half of the 10000 vases discovered there were miniature lakainai (two-handled cups).<sup>205</sup> At Nemea, two plain miniature lakainai were found in a votive deposit belonging to the spring sanctuary outside the Sanctuary of Zeus mentioned above.<sup>206</sup> A very distinctive type of miniature kantharos with large loop handles is also found at the Achilleion, which may indicate some specific ritual or a regional type of ritual or use; at Kombothekra in Eleia, a local miniature kantharos type is also dominant in the material from the Artemis Limnatis sanctuary mentioned above. What can these small containers tell us about ritual behaviour in these rural locations? Why were miniature two-handled cups preferred? Additionally, the locations and the accessibility of the shrines must be very important. The Artemis Limnatis sanctuary, and the spring shrine at Nemea are both placed on a hill/hillside, whereas the so-called Achilleion is situated near the road leading from Sparta to Megalopolis; this road is believed to run similarly to the ancient road.<sup>207</sup> The site was named Achilleion after Pausanias’ description of a shrine ‘on the road from Sparta to Arcadia,’ however; Pausanias also mentions an Artemis sanctuary further down the road, and no inscriptions have so far been recovered from the site, so this identification is not securely established.<sup>208</sup> Additional evidence comprises of a very fragmented votive plaque possibly of a type only found at hero-shrines, but despite its poor preservation it testifies against this interpretation; the reclining figure on the terracotta plaque could just as easily be a female.<sup>209</sup> The miniature pottery from the various rural shrines evaluated in this thesis will contribute to the study of local veneration of cult, regional

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<sup>204</sup> Dickens 1906-07; Stibbe 2002.

<sup>205</sup> *Perachora* II, 290.

<sup>206</sup> Barfoed 2009.

<sup>207</sup> Dickens 1906-07, 169; Stibbe 2002, 208.

<sup>208</sup> Paus. 3.20.8-9.

<sup>209</sup> Stibbe 2002, 209; Salapata 1993, 194.

patterns in dedication, and application of miniature pottery, import and local production of the dedications, and the ritual and the political meaning and implications thereof.

## 2.9. THE USE OF MINIATURE POTTERY IN GREEK COLONIES

In **Chapter 6** a transmission of religious practices from the Greek mainland, to the Greek colonies, and to the indigenous South Italian community is discussed. I evaluate whether the usage of miniature pottery in mainland Greece and Greek colonies such as Metaponto and Satyrion are indicative of homogenous cults and dedication practices, as well as how the use of miniature pottery in indigenous sites relates to the usage in Greek colonial sites. Based on the evidence from Corinth and the Greek colonies of Metaponto, and Satyrion, it becomes clear that the use of miniature pottery in sanctuaries related to Demeter and Kore, and chthonic cults began around the same time in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>210</sup>

### 2.9.1. South Italy

The miniature pottery from indigenous sites in South Italy, such as Timmari, Monte Papalucio, and Vaste shows that miniature pottery was used in rituals and sanctuary settings in the indigenous communities. Consequently, the practice of dedicating miniature pottery and perhaps often the cult itself was transferred from Greece. I also draw parallels to the discussions of colonies from the sites of Cyrene and Tocra in Libya, as well as parallels to other sites in South Italy.<sup>211</sup>

Large publication monographs are generally lacking from the sites in South Italy and the discussions are thus instead based on articles, which typically publish an excavation or material in an often abbreviated manner. Leuca, Oria, Timmari, and Pantanello (Metaponto) are exceptions and are one of the reasons that these sites were included.<sup>212</sup> The articles vary in character. Some are merely publications of material and are void of interpretations at any levels, whereas other articles do include some interpretations related to the topics of cult or ritual behaviour.

<sup>210</sup> Hinz 1998 is a very valuable book on Demeter and Kore cult in South Italy. For various aspects of mystery cults in Magna Grecia, see Casadio and Johnston 2009.

<sup>211</sup> For Tocra, see *Tocra I*; *Tocra II*; for Cyrene, see e.g. *Cyrene 6*; *Cyrene 7*; for South Italy and Sicily, see Hinz 1998; for Morgantina on Sicily, see Edlund-Berry 2001; for miniature pottery in domestic contexts in Lucania, see Horsnæs 2001.

<sup>212</sup> D'Andria 1978a; Mastronuzzi 2013; Lo Porto 1991; Carter et al. 1998.

To sum up, I strive to do an in-depth comparison of archaeological material from different sites in Greece. Rarely are comparisons made between sites, most often archaeological material from one site is presented separately. These are valuable approaches, but hopefully new patterns will be discovered through comparisons between several very different sites. This study emphasises miniature pottery in a more contextual and comprehensive sound way than previous scholarship. In the next chapter previous terminology and definitions of miniature pottery will briefly be examined before moving on to the chapter on theoretical and methodological approaches.

## CHAPTER 3

### THEORY AND METHOD

In this chapter the Theory and Method included in the thesis will be presented and discussed. As a starting point a suggestive typology is introduced and subsequently matters related to miniature shapes, imitations and imports are discussed.

#### 3.1. TYPOLOGY

I do not intend to make a stringent typology of all types of miniature vessels for all of Greece in all periods. Instead I will present a few suggestions for reference points when working with miniature pottery and possible starting points for a flexible typology that can be built on in the future as more material gradually will become available with new publications. First, regarding the definition of miniature pottery. I suggest the term ‘model miniatures’ for the miniatures that are scaled-down replicas of regular sized vessels. Miniature votive vessels that are smaller than model miniatures can be called ‘diminutives.’ Diminutives are smaller than ‘model miniatures’ but can still hold a portion of for instance liquid. Diminutives that are not scaled down models of regular size vessels did not previously have a common name, but could, for instance, be called ‘token’ consequently indicating that their size is smaller than both a ‘model miniature’ and a ‘diminutive.’ Since ‘token miniatures’ do not have a regular size counterpart, they may be called ‘non-functional.’<sup>213</sup> To me ‘token’ seem to imply something passive, something unfunctional, therefore I prefer to have two main terms, ‘model’ and ‘diminutive’ where ‘token’ can be seen as a sub-category of the term ‘diminutive.’ Token miniatures are the less common of the three types of miniatures. It is not always useful to attempt to make a typology. In this case it can be confusing that both ‘model’ and ‘diminutive’ can be seen as scaled down of regular sized vessels (models), and ‘token’ are not.

Some miniatures have been left out of the discussion and typology that is oil-vessels such as aryballoi, alabastra, and lekythoi even though they do exist in miniature.

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<sup>213</sup> Luce 2011, 57; Lynch 2011, 163; Hammond 2005, 422; Pemberton 1985, 288. The word ‘midget’ has also been used to describe diminutive pottery, but the term may be too loaded with negative connotations to apply to a terminology today, *Agora* 12, nos. 1435-1440, 186.

Their strict functions, as oil-vessels are the reason for the exclusion. Phialai and pyxides have also been two shape groups, which showed to be difficult to categorise: when is a small box a miniature, and where is the breaking point between small phialai and miniature phialai? The phialai from Kalydon included here have base diameters below 5 cm, but as mentioned above, how these two shape groups are treated varies from site to site (**Chapter 1**).

It is crucial to discuss size when discussing a typology of miniature pottery. As mentioned above miniatures are connected to scale where some scholars suggest using the body as reference point.<sup>214</sup> For this thesis I chose 10 cm as the maximum height for a miniature, but even though this number was not randomly chosen (it is based on two-handled drinking cups from Corinth and Athens, see **Chapter 2**) sometimes flexibility is necessary; a krateriskos, hydriskos, juglet, or an amphoriskos (model mini) can of course be 11 cm or even taller. Diameter measurements would be better parameters, but unfortunately many older publications only provided one measurement, the height. When it comes to ‘diminutives’ 5 cm and below is an indicator, but of course some 5 cm tall cups could easily have contained liquid or a bit of grain for use in rituals (**Table 2**).

Two additional terms are useful when discussing the typology of miniature vessels. They are related to the functionality of miniature vessels: ‘passive’ compared to ‘active’ use.<sup>215</sup> I suggest understanding them in the following manner: the ‘passive’ use relates to the ‘token’ and solid miniatures, they were often non-functional, certainly if they were solid they could not contain any offerings. However, even diminutives could contain pieces of grain, or a very small amount of liquid in a ‘shot-like’ libation. One may also imagine simply bringing one such miniature pot to a shrine, enter and place it on the altar, perhaps say a prayer, and then leave. This kind of dedication of, for instance, solid miniatures (see below) has a specific meaning we may not be able to decipher, but the dedication of the vessels is the important part of the ritual behaviour. The passive use is different from active use. ‘Active use’ is perhaps more obvious: the miniature could contain an offering, such as liquid for a ‘mini’ libation, or a piece of wool, and was in this way used as an implement in the rituals. Both ‘passive’ and ‘active’ uses must have had equally important significance. Miniature pottery was

<sup>214</sup> Bailey 2005, 28-9; Barfoed 2015, 183-84.

<sup>215</sup> These two terms are coined by K.M. Lynch, pers. comm.

selected in those contexts for a reason and therefore its study within the context it was found is essential in improving our understanding of past practices.

<b>Term</b>	<b>Function</b>	<b>Measurement</b>
Model Miniature	Active Use	Ca. 10 cm Height and Below
Diminutive	Active Use	Ca. 5 cm Height and Below
‘Token’	Passive Use	Ca. 3 cm Height and Below

**Table 2.** Miniature Pottery Terminology.

Another question presents itself: is it possible to distinguish between implements/cult equipment and votives?<sup>216</sup> It is feasible that a cult implement after perhaps years of use could be dedicated? An example might be the phiale, the typical Greek libation bowl, but if found in a sanctuary deposit, how should it be categorised, as a votive or as a cult implement? ‘Model miniatures’ were more suited for ‘active use’ and in this way the two definitions are also related to two different functions. These suggestions for a typology might not always be possible to apply practically when working with pottery assemblages, and as shown, and will be further demonstrated below, flexibility is called for, for instance, regarding measurements.

## 3.2. SHAPE PREFERENCES, IMITATIONS, AND IMPORTS

### 3.2.1. Model Miniatures vs. Diminutive

The theoretical branch termed miniaturisation has achieved some wider acknowledgement, compared to the study of miniature pottery, which makes sense, since this is a concrete phenomenon that exists on a broader level compared to occurrence in a confined pottery group.<sup>217</sup> In Kiernan’s work from 2009 on miniaturisation in Roman Britain he makes the distinction between ‘model’ and ‘miniature,’ but chose to focus on what he determined to be models of regular sized items.<sup>218</sup> I have chosen to include both ‘types’ in my selection of miniature vessels, since we must assume that, placing ourselves in the potter’s shoes, some pottery was made from, and by a comparison with looking at and working with regular sized

<sup>216</sup> Whitley 2001, 140.

<sup>217</sup> See for instance the special volume on Miniaturisation from *World Archaeology*, 47.1.

<sup>218</sup> Kiernan 2009, 1-2.

pottery; however, it is also important to acknowledge that pottery can also, to a certain extent, be made from using one's imagination.<sup>219</sup>

Miniature pottery is found in all shapes, most commonly scaled-down versions of regular sized shapes, which can also be called 'model miniatures.' Most popular seem to be two-handled drinking cups such as kotyle, skyphos, and kantharos, but miniature hydria is also a very popular shape.<sup>220</sup> In fact, all shapes could be scaled down although not all were.<sup>221</sup> Some 'model miniatures' are very close copies of regular sized shapes, for instance the krateriskoi from Olympia and Kombothekra, or Corinthian kotylai. It was possible to divide these krateriskoi into different type depending on which krater type they replicated. Column-, bell-, volute-, and Lakonian kraters were imitated, some to great detail (see e.g. cat. nos. **KO37-KO48**). Caution must be used when attempting to date miniatures: one cannot always rely on the fact that the 'model miniatures' can be dated similar to their regular sized counterparts, for instance the Lakonian kraters from the Archaic period, or the miniature hydria, which are found as scaled down miniatures in Olympia and Kombothekra (see e.g. cat. nos. **KO24-KO36**). Others are only partly accurate, such as a krateriskos with a solid tall foot from Kalydon.<sup>222</sup> It looks like a regular scaled down krater except for the foot, which is not just solid, but also quite tall compared to its size (**Figure 5**, and e.g. cat. no. **KA12**). This example belongs to the category 'token miniature.' Curiously, the stemmed cup (kylix), which is very popular in both black-glaze and with figured decoration, is a shape that is not made in miniature, probably because the fragility of the stemmed foot in miniature. One example exists in miniature of a kylix from the Demeter and Kore sanctuary in Cyrene, but this example has a conical base, not a stem.<sup>223</sup> Additionally, Lakonian miniature tripod cooking pots (see above, **Figure 1**) were not made in regular size.<sup>224</sup> Some scholars do not believe that it is possible to differentiate between miniatures and models, but I would argue that when, as seen with the krateriskoi, the miniatures are scaled down replicas closely resembling their 'normal' counterparts, it seems that it is a valid characteristic.<sup>225</sup>

<sup>219</sup> This notion is contradicted by Pilz who stated that, 'at least for the realm of Greek miniature objects, it is therefore impossible to discriminate between models and miniatures.' Pilz 2011, 16.

<sup>220</sup> Gimatzidis 2011, 83.

<sup>221</sup> Luce 2011, 55-9.

<sup>222</sup> *Kalydon II*, nos. 282-284, 475, fig. 256.

<sup>223</sup> *Cyrene 7*, no. 322, 85, pl. 53.

<sup>224</sup> Stibbe 2000, 91-2.

<sup>225</sup> Pilz 2011, 16.

**Figure 5.** Stemmed Krateriskoi from Kalydon.  
*Kalydon II*, nos. 282-284, fig. 256.

Miniature vessels that do not replicate a regular size vase are rarer.<sup>226</sup> The phenomenon is known from Crete, at Malia, where very shallow miniature cups, ‘cupules’ are found; as Knappett stated, they are so flat that they barely are discernable as vessels.<sup>227</sup> Since many of them were found in a room believed to be an archive, they have been tentatively interpreted as tokens used in some unknown way to represent commodities.<sup>228</sup> Another interpretation can be that they were used as stoppers for some vessels stored in the archive room. A possible ritual function could be that they were used to place a small piece of incense or a piece of fragrant wood on.<sup>229</sup> At Eutresis in Boeotia solid black-glazed miniature hydriai are found, which must indicate a specific ritual meaning, since the solidity of the shape did not allow them to contain anything.<sup>230</sup> Another miniature shape with a hard to deduce function and of which no regular sized equivalent exist, is a small odd cup, with almost no room for contents, but sometimes with a very small lug handle from Oria in South Italy, dubbed ‘fac-simili’ (**Figure 58**).<sup>231</sup> Out of the six examples, two showed signs of burning; perhaps these little shallow cups were used as thymiateria in some rituals? An additional example comes from the Artemis Sanctuary at Lousoi where locally produced miniature pyxides with lids that cannot be removed was found (so-called ‘closed pyxides’, **Figure 6**).<sup>232</sup> These examples can all be considered ‘token miniatures.’ Even though not all shapes were found in miniature, it appears that both metal and clay shapes were prone to imitation in clay miniature; a curious example is a clumsy miniature handmade situla from Vaste in the Salento peninsula (**Figure 7**).

<sup>226</sup> Hammond 1998, 16.

<sup>227</sup> Knappett 2012, 96-7.

<sup>228</sup> Knappett 2012, 97.

<sup>229</sup> Burkert 1996, 147.

<sup>230</sup> Goldman 1931, 202, fig. 319, nos. 3-4.

<sup>231</sup> Mastronuzzi published six examples, he called them ‘fac-simili,’ Mastronuzzi 2013, nos. 199-200, 414, 533, 586-587, 105-7, 160, 180, 189, figs. 70, 112, 125, 134.

<sup>232</sup> Schauer 2001, 156-58.

**Figure 6.** ‘Closed’ Pyxides from Lousoi.  
Schauer 2001, pl. 18.

Metal miniature shapes are also attested to, but are less widespread, probably due to the fact that they could have been, and were, melted down and reused already in antiquity. However, we have some evidence for metal miniatures in the treasure lists from the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>233</sup> The lists have been dated from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and list the ‘treasures’ kept on the Acropolis. The lists relevant here mention various vessel shapes in combination with the word small: krater, phiale, kylix, and a goblet in silver, gold or bronze followed by their weight (13 in total: eight phialai, three kraters, one kylix, one goblet).<sup>234</sup> Additionally, miniature or ‘small’ weaponry was listed: more than 20 shields, and an unknown number of small spears and helmets.<sup>235</sup> All of the metal miniatures, both vessels and weaponry, can be dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, except for the goblet, which dates to ca. 432 BC.<sup>236</sup> The words used here are for instance the noun *aspidia* (‘small shields’ in plural) followed by ‘small’ (*mikra*). Other times the shield is in diminutive, *aspidiskion chrysoun* (‘little golden shield’).<sup>237</sup> The same pattern is seen with regards to the miniature/small metal vessels: *krater chrysous o mikros*, ‘the small gold krater’,<sup>238</sup> or *kylix mikra*, ‘the small kylix.’<sup>239</sup> It is likely that these examples are all evidence of miniature offerings from the Classical Acropolis at Athens. Metal miniatures of weapons are better known in the Roman period, for instance in Britain.<sup>240</sup> However, Greek metal miniature vessels are rarely published, although, examples can be seen at both the Acropolis museum and the National

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<sup>233</sup> Harris 1995.

<sup>234</sup> Data extracted from Harris 1995, 81-217.

<sup>235</sup> Sometimes the exact amount is noted as in Harris 1995, no. 4, 207: ‘Against the doorpost, 12 little gold shields,’ but other times an exact count is missing as in Harris 1995, no. 3, 207, ‘against the cupboard, little silver shields.’

<sup>236</sup> Harris 1995, no. 1, 65-6.

<sup>237</sup> For the linguistic notions of miniaturisation, see Prêtre 1997; Pilz 2011, 17-18.

<sup>238</sup> Dating to the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, see Harris 1995, no. 15, 47.

<sup>239</sup> Harris 1995, no. 322, 172, dating to 394/3 BC.

<sup>240</sup> Kiernan 2009.

Archaeological Museum at Athens.<sup>241</sup> Three miniature cast bronze vessels, two jugs, and a kyathos, was found on the Antikythera shipwreck and dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, but otherwise published examples are infrequent.<sup>242</sup>

**Figure 7.** Handmade Miniature Situla.  
Ponti 1996, no. 51, 124.

Miniature vases did not necessarily keep the original function of the regular sized vessel they duplicated, but could have been used in many other ways. Miniature cups could of course have held liquid for a ‘shot-like’ or ‘mini’ dedication or libation, but miniature hydriai did not necessarily contain water (see **Chapter 4**). The small opening of the miniature hydriai made them very suitable for holding precious liquids, for instance perfumed oil.<sup>243</sup> This suggestion seems especially valid in contexts where oil vessels are absent, for instance as seen in a votive deposit from Nemea with more than 1000 vessels, but no aryballoi, alabastron or other oil-vessels were found there, instead 77 miniature hydriai were present.<sup>244</sup> Miniature jugs could similarly have served the same function, e.g. cat. no. **KO18** from Kombothekra, or the miniature oinochoe from Olympia, cat. no. **OL18**.<sup>245</sup>

The distribution of miniature shapes varied from sanctuary to sanctuary possibly depending on an uncountable number of factors. Perhaps it was sometimes due to supply and demand, for instance that the specific shape the sanctuary wanted was not available at the time. More likely is though that the present pottery reflected the rituals

<sup>241</sup> Case 20, nos. 1-2, 4-7, miniature bronze vessels, in the Acropolis Museum.

Case in the Mycenaean room, nos. 73, 83-84, gold miniature vessels from Mycenae.

<sup>242</sup> No sizes are mentioned in the publication, so it is not possible to know how large these examples are, see Bouyia 2012, 46-55, fig. 10.

<sup>243</sup> *Corinth* VII.6, 213; for a discussion of Corinth’s possible perfumed oil trade, see Parko 2001.

<sup>244</sup> Barfoed 2009, 76.

<sup>245</sup> Residue analyses on miniature pottery from Roman Britain show that the vessels contained olive oil (one vessel) and cannabis seeds (two vessels), see Graham and Graham 2009. See also Foxhall 2015, 2-3.

that took place there. However, regular cleaning often took place at the ancient shrines, which resulted in the lack of complete pottery assemblages. Regional differences, preferences, and traditions are probably also reflected in the archaeological material, but are most often difficult to interpret. In conclusion, the term ‘miniature pottery’ comprises of both ‘model’, ‘diminutive’ and ‘token’ miniatures where ‘token’ can be seen as a sub-category of the key term ‘diminutive pottery.’

### 3.2.2. Shapes

Miniature pottery was, as mentioned above, produced in all fabrics, and in most shapes, often carrying some kind of decoration (**Chapter 1**). Cups are especially popular in miniature, most common is the two-handled drinking cup, named kotyle, skyphos, or kanthariskos: they are deep cups with a low foot (sometimes a taller foot for kanthariskoi) and two handles (cat. nos. **OL1-4, OL16-17**), but one-handled miniature cups also exist (cat. no. **OL5**).<sup>246</sup> The regular sized cup was predominantly used for drinking, but could also have been used as a bowl for instance used for mixing liquids such as wine and water. In miniature cups could have been used for a small drink, but also for containing liquid used for libations in rituals. Cups in miniature often imitate their regular sized counterparts in great detail with regards to both shape and decoration, except for the kylix, a stemmed, elegant two-handled cup, which is so far not found in miniature, perhaps due to its delicate stem (see above).

Miniature water jars, hydriai, are another very popular shape in miniature. In regular size the characteristic handles, two horizontal and one vertical, were essential for carrying the jar, which became very heavy when it was filled with water. The hydria was not used as tableware, but as a utensil for holding and carrying water (see **Chapter 5, Figure 39**).<sup>247</sup> In miniature the hydria was not necessarily used in the same manner, for fetching water, but could still have contained water for ritual use, or could perhaps have been dedicated full of wine or oil. The miniature hydria also imitate their regular counterpart precisely to a certain extent. The handles on the miniature hydriai are sometimes scaled down to the extent that the horizontal handles (in regular size crucial for carrying) that they become lug handles and a finger cannot even get through the

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<sup>246</sup> Richter and Milne 1935, 25-8.

<sup>247</sup> Richter and Milne 1935, 11.

hole between the body of the hydria and the handle (compare the ‘model miniature’ hydriai cat. nos. **KO24-36** to the diminutive **KO75** and **KO81**).<sup>248</sup>

Krateriskoi (miniature kraters) imitate mixing bowls for wine and water, so-called kraters, vessels with a deep broad body and wide mouth.<sup>249</sup> Similarly to hydriai krateriskoi mostly closely imitate their regular size counterparts, but the handles become very small lug handles when miniaturised to diminutive. There are four krater types differentiated by the shape and execution of the handles: column-, volute-, calyx- and bell-kraters. In the Kombothekra assemblage three out of the four types are present in miniature: column, volute and bell-krateriskoi (cat. nos. **KO37-48**). Intriguingly, one krateriskos from Kombothekra imitates a Lakonian krater type with so-called bow handles (cat. no. **KO48**). Diminutive krateriskoi can appear very similar in shape to diminutive kotylai, especially when fragmented; compare e.g. cat. nos. **KA1-4** to **KA12-25** and **KA52-53**. In miniature the shape did not need to keep its original use of a mixing bowl, but could also be used as a container for offerings, or even be used as a cup for small libations.

Bowls are also found in miniature, in all sizes, decorated and undecorated. They are handleless and mostly have a small base, and are without a stand contrarily to some of the regular sized counterpart. The unpublished examples from Kalydon have either straight, or slightly inturned rims (cat. nos. **KA46-50**). The regular sized bowls (sometimes called lebes or dinos) were used mainly as containers; they could be used for mixing wine and water like the krater.<sup>250</sup> In miniature bowls could also have contained perishable offerings, such as grains, wool, hair and the like.<sup>251</sup>

Saucers, plates, and trays are also commonly produced in miniature, and are most often decorated. The shape in regular size can vary in the way the lip and base is executed.<sup>252</sup> Miniature saucers, plates, and trays often have flat bases as seen in the Kalydon examples, cat. nos. **KA42-45**. In regular size these shapes were predominantly used for serving. In miniature they probably either held offerings, or was used for rituals as vessels that would trigger the worshipper to relate to commemorative serving events (**Chapter 4**).

<sup>248</sup> For plain ware diminutive hydriai, see Barfoed 2009, nos. 140-66, figs. 81-3. For black-glazed Corinthian miniature hydriai, see Barfoed 2009, nos. 116-39; e.g. *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1871, pl. 70; *Cyrene* 7, no. 384, pl. 61.

<sup>249</sup> Richter and Milne 1935, 6-8.

<sup>250</sup> Richter and Milne 1935, 9-10.

<sup>251</sup> Leitao 2003.

<sup>252</sup> Richter and Milne 1935, 31-2.

Miniature jugs/juglets, also called oinochoai, are a less popular shape in miniature, but are produced in for instance Corinth and Kalydon. Variety exists in the form: the mouth is round or trefoil, the body is slender or bulbous, the neck and shoulder are either set off from, or form a continuous curve with the body, the handle is high or low.<sup>253</sup> Oinochoai are popular pouring vessels used for pouring wine in dining settings, and probably also for symposia. Jugs were presumably commonly used for ritual dining, and thus the miniature versions could be seen as representations of the functions the regular sized oinochoe had. Additionally, the small openings of the diminutive jugs/oinochoai were very suitable for containing precious oils, both for dedication, but also for use in rituals (cat. nos. **KA55-57**, **KO18**, **OL18**), a function possibly shared by the diminutive hydriai (cat. nos. **KO75**, **KO81**, **KA30**).

The phiale is the offering bowl per excellence; it is a shallow bowl without handles and generally with a central boss.<sup>254</sup> On Athenian vase paintings there are frequent representation of this shape used for both drinking and for pouring libations.<sup>255</sup> The phiale in miniature does not seem to exist in diminutive, but only as a model, a scaled-down version of its regular sized counterpart. This fact makes it hard to determine the exact point when a phiale becomes a miniature. The example from Kombothekra included here measures 11 cm in rim diameter and is 3.9 cm tall (**KO69**). I believe that the miniature phiale could be an example where the miniature kept the same function, as libation vessels, like its regular sized counterparts.

The pyxis is a box, typically cylindrical, for holding cosmetics and toilet articles.<sup>256</sup> As with the phiale, it is difficult to say exactly when a pyxis becomes a miniature. It is also not a shape seen in diminutive, but only as a scaled down model miniature. The function of the shape is determined based on written sources and Athenian vase paintings, and its appearance in sacred contexts is likely due to the pyxis being dedicated by women as a personal item. The pyxides from Kombothekra vary in shape: some have a distinct lip, and the opening varies in size compared to the body diameter of the vessels. Sometimes the body is angular, other times round, or even triangular (compare cat. nos. **KO53-55**). Some has no base, some a flat base and some an elegant ring base. Some of the pyxides from Kombothekra have paint traces

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<sup>253</sup> Richter and Milne 1935, 18-20.

<sup>254</sup> Richter and Milne 1935, 29-30.

<sup>255</sup> Richter and Milne 1935, 30.

<sup>256</sup> Richter and Milne 1935, 20-1.

preserved (e.g. cat. nos. **KO54**, **KO57**, **KO60**), but perhaps the paint has been worn off the other examples.

There are some unique shapes in miniature, for instance the exaleiptron that is common in larger size in domestic contexts in Corinth.<sup>257</sup> It is a low bowl/container typically with a ring base and with a characteristic incurving lip that would prevent spillage of the contents while carrying. As with the phiale and pyxis, it is hard to tell when it becomes a miniature. The one example from Kombothekra is 7.4 cm in diameter and 3 cm tall (cat. no. **KO77**). It could have been used in rituals for libations or as a container, and dedicated as a personal belonging like the pyxis.

Another unusual shape in miniature is the transport amphora. It is a scaled down version of a large ceramic jar for transport of wine, oil and other processed food products.<sup>258</sup> This shape is very rare in miniature; I have only encountered one example, the one presented here from Kombothekra (cat. no. **KO70**) to which parallels are found from the Athenian Agora.<sup>259</sup> It might have been used as a container for pouring oil or wine in a ritual setting, or as a personal dedication.

Another shape that had a known certain function, similar to pyxides, is the medicine bottle. It has been included here because it has been found in the Sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia, and parallels to this shape are found at Morgantina in Sicily, where it has been convincingly argued that it was used as a votive.<sup>260</sup> However, as discussed below (**Chapter 4**), this specific vessel may have first been used as a medicine bottle, but later in its use life been dedicated in some ritual where a tiny container was needed.

### 3.2.3. Imitations and Imports

Corinthian, Attic, and Lakonian pottery was imitated in the region of Eleia, and this trend rubbed off on the production of miniature vessels. From Kombothekra there are two examples: a locally made kanthariskos imitating a Lakonian kanthariskos (cat. no. **KO79**) and a Lakonian medicine bottle imitating the famous Attic types (cat. no. **KO80**). In Kalydon almost half of the miniatures found are imported from Corinth, but almost as many are locally produced imitations of Corinthian miniature kotylai and krateriskoi (see **Chapter 4**). At Sane in Chalcidice the pattern is similar, there is

<sup>257</sup> *Corinth* VII.5, 97.

<sup>258</sup> Twede 2002, 181.

<sup>259</sup> Phoenician imports, *Agora* 33, no. 535, 300-1, fig. 69, pl. 59.

<sup>260</sup> Sjöqvist 1960.

imported regular sized and miniature pottery from Corinth, but also locally produced miniatures.<sup>261</sup> The spread of these vases across a large geographical region demonstrates that this phenomenon is much more widespread than imagined, but it is difficult to come to finite conclusions when some regions' pottery productions are still sparsely published (for instance Eleia and Aitolia), and most often expensive and time consuming petrological analyses of clays and fabrics are still lacking.

Corinthian miniature pottery is the most widely imported kind of miniature. This pattern is reflected in Eleia in both Olympia and Kombothekra. However, Lakonian miniature pottery also ended up in Kombothekra (the miniature hydria cat. no. **KO81**), and a possible Elean miniature jug made it to Kalydon (cat. no. **KA62**). Attic miniature vessels do not show up at the sites examined in this thesis, albeit Attic pottery in regular size made it to both Olympia and Kalydon (see also **Chapters 4-5**).<sup>262</sup> In Phlious a particular locally produced cup was found at both Perachora and the Argive Heraion, but the scarcity of this material suggests that the cups were brought there by a smaller number of individuals instead of being an expression of direct trade. At Nemea both Argive miniature pottery and terracotta figurines were found in a spring shrine outside the main Sanctuary of Zeus.<sup>263</sup> The nature of trade and export/import of miniatures is more fully treated in the chapter on Kalydon (**Chapter 5**).

### 3.3. THEORETICAL APPROACHES

In the following section a brief selection of theoretical approaches will be discussed in relation to, and in order to contextualize, the case study chapters that follow. A comprehensive analysis of the chosen theoretical branches is not attempted, nor is a general overview of all theoretical approaches suitable to be presented here. The theoretical approaches discussed below may seem simplistically applied, but it has been a deliberate choice only to include the most necessary aspects for the studies and the material presented in this thesis. The discussions in this section will also include examples from the case studies, wherein the chosen theories are present.

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<sup>261</sup> Gimatzidis 2011, 83.

<sup>262</sup> *OF* 28, 201-303; Bentz 2009; *Kalydon I*, 316-21.

<sup>263</sup> Barfoed 2013.

### 3.3.1. Functionality

As mentioned above, Kiernan discusses the difference between a ‘model’ and a ‘miniature’ in the Roman Empire. Surprised by the lack of dispute regarding these terms, he suggests that models are more prone to have intrinsic value of their own.<sup>264</sup> Hammond summarizes the question of the definition of the term ‘miniature,’ as well as previous research of miniature vessels, but does not discuss the question of the material qualities of miniature pottery.<sup>265</sup> She does, nevertheless, underline their importance.<sup>266</sup> Tournavitou, who studied Minoan miniature pottery from peak sanctuaries on Crete, argued that miniature pottery was totally non-functional, but that size was manipulated deliberately for specific ritual purposes, and that the preference for miniature cups was important.<sup>267</sup> So, if the miniature pottery were too small to be functional would that have made it more appropriate for the realms outside everyday human life, such as sanctuaries?<sup>268</sup> Or does the small size simply indicate that its role was not functional, but merely decorative? The definition of when an object can be determined a votive is also problematic. Kyriakidis emphasises, ‘the observation made in anthropology that it is often non-utilitarian objects that are given as gifts to the supernatural does not imply that any non-utilitarian item is votive, since the exceptions are too many.’<sup>269</sup> This ties together with the idea I present that miniature pots are in a way functional although their use might not fall under the category of being ‘utilitarian.’ It is also important to keep in mind that miniature pottery can be applied and used in various ways in different contexts and locations, similarly to studies on terracotta figurines, which also belong to the category of a miniaturised object.<sup>270</sup> These issues will be treated in greater detail below.

### 3.3.2. The Senses and Commemoration

Hamilakis warns us not to focus too narrowly on the ‘thing’ because then we ‘ignore all the sensorial and life processes that take place in that space which is in-between things, humans, other beings, and all other cosmic elements.’<sup>271</sup> By taken the sensorial

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<sup>264</sup> Kiernan 2009, 1-2.

<sup>265</sup> Hammond 1998, 14-22.

<sup>266</sup> Hammond 1998, 206-37; Hammond 2005, 427.

<sup>267</sup> Tournavitou 2009, 213 n. 3, and 230.

<sup>268</sup> All kinds of offerings were suitable for the gods, see e.g. Bremmer 1994, 31-4.

<sup>269</sup> Kyriakidis 2005, 18.

<sup>270</sup> Kyriakidis 2005, 148.

<sup>271</sup> Hamilakis 2014, 115.

aspects of human nature into account a fuller understanding will be achieved. However, as Hamilakis also stated, when discussing the senses, we are dealing with a high degree of unpredictability.<sup>272</sup> We will probably never know how it felt for the average ancient Greek to make a dedication, and even with a good imagination and 3D printed replicas of votives, the sensory experience cannot be recreated. It is, nevertheless, important to think about the senses in order to understand better daily life; for instance imagine the smell and noise when participating in events such as the Panathenaic festival or the overwhelming smells, and sounds when offering animals were slaughtered.<sup>273</sup> Sensorial Archaeology is also connected to memory, and relating this to the chapters in the thesis, commemoration is an aspect touched upon below in **Chapter 4**.

The concept of commemoration is better understood in relation to the funerary sphere and is reflected in monuments commemorating loved ones or heroic warriors found in most ancient Greek cities.<sup>274</sup> Inscriptions, or epitaphs, mention names and sometimes the patronymic of warriors who fell in battle, occasionally written in a local dialect.<sup>275</sup> This kind of commemoration is a known phenomenon in the Greek world and easily comprehended; but commemoration within the sphere of ritual behaviour is rarely debated and not well understood.<sup>276</sup>

Commemoration is related both to material culture and memory.<sup>277</sup> Memory, says Jones, emerges from the relationship between person and world.<sup>278</sup> Commemoration is interesting in this case, because the miniature vessels might be seen as commemorating ritual dining events (see **Chapter 4**). Commemoration accentuates the way the individual, material culture and collective memory is intertwined.<sup>279</sup> Commemorative performances also concerns participation, but here we reach a dead end with the miniature pottery: we still do not know for certain who dedicated them, despite the persistent idea that since they were small and therefore probably cheaper than other dedications, it was the default dedication of the poor.<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> Hamilakis 2014, 116-17.

<sup>273</sup> Burkert provides a good description of animal sacrifice, Burkert 1985, 55-9. Ekroth has written extensively on animal sacrifices, see e.g. Ekroth 2007. See also Bradley 2014.

<sup>274</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1971; Morris 1989; Connelly 2007, 93; Alcock 2002, 146-52.

<sup>275</sup> E.g. Low 2003. For Britain see Tarlow 1999.

<sup>276</sup> Robertson briefly mentions that on Delos begging and chanting were regarded as commemoration of the mythical event of Leto giving birth to Artemis and Apollo, see Robertson 1983, 147-48.

<sup>277</sup> Jones 2007; Alcock 2002, 176-83.

<sup>278</sup> Jones 2007, 27.

<sup>279</sup> Jones 2007, 44.

<sup>280</sup> Jones 2007, 45.

A few additional examples of commemoration within the ritual sphere exist. At the Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia in Attic specific rituals took place. Girls between five and ten years old, the daughters of Athenian citizens, ‘played the bear’ in local maturation rituals called the Arkteia. The ritual commemorated the local myth in which a bear was killed after injuring a young girl in the Artemis sanctuary. The goddess was angered by the bear’s death and sent a plague that only could be stopped, according to the Delphic oracle, if the Athenians sent their daughters to ‘play the bear’ in the Arkteia rituals.<sup>281</sup> Decorated krateriskoi from the excavations in Brauron depict girls running with branches in their hands, which suggests that a race was part of the rites.<sup>282</sup> Similarly, the dedication of miniature jugs (*chous*) with depictions of toddlers at the Attic Anthesteria *chous* festival for boys aged 3-years old, can be seen as a commemorative dedication. The young boys participated in a banquet where they wore wreaths and were give small *chous* with which they participated in the dedication and disposal of the wreaths after the banquet. This ceremony marked the transition from a state of being under the exclusive control of the women in the household into, according to Ham, a semi-social status under the guardianship of a pedagogue.<sup>283</sup> Philostratus, writing in the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, described the *chous* maturation rituals during the Anthesteria. He mentioned that, ‘at the time in Athens are crowned in their third year with flowers during the month Anthesterion, he (Ajax) set up kraters there and made all the sacrifices according to Athenian custom, and Protesilaos said that Ajax commemorated this Dionysia as in the manner of Theseus.’<sup>284</sup> Even though Philostratus is a late source, and we cannot be sure that it reflects rituals back to the Classical period, it is interesting that the Antesterion festival is seen as commemorative of the Athenian founder hero Theseus. These *chous* and krateriskoi are rare examples of rituals, and or/participants in rituals being depicted on vases. Commemoration is here an action (a rite in which it is possible that the *chous* and the krateriskoi were used) carried out in order to remember the myth and honour, in the case of Brauron, Artemis.

In the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Messene in the Peloponnese, excavations have revealed 11 statue bases of life-size statues preserved in situ within the cella of the temple. Five of the statue bases carry inscriptions, dating to late Hellenistic period

<sup>281</sup> Connelly 2007, 32; Stinton 1976; Nielsen 2009.

<sup>282</sup> Nielsen 2009, 90-2; Connelly 2007, 32-3.

<sup>283</sup> Ham 1999, 208-9.

<sup>284</sup> Philostratus, *Heroicus* 12.2.720; Ham 1999, 202.

(1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC), and are placed in a semicircle spread out from the cult statue of the goddess. Five statues have been matched to these bases. One of the inscribed bases reveals that the statue was set up as commemoration by the parents of a girl who served the goddess Artemis, and it is probably the remaining four statues had the same meaning.<sup>285</sup> Commemoration within the religious sphere has not been extensively treated, perhaps because of its rather subtle nature, but as shown here, examples of commemoration exist. Just as a statue or a specific ritual could be commemorative, so could miniature pottery when representing regular pottery in various types of rituals.<sup>286</sup> Miniature pottery as commemorative dedications can be perceived as a similar action to the examples described above in order to remember or honour a myth, or to, in a dynamic manner, epitomize a ritual action in regular size. It is unfortunate that the ancient literary sources are so mute on the topic of private dedicatory patterns and considerations.

### 3.3.3. Theories of Imitation and Representation

Theories of imitation go back as far as Plato and Aristotle and today even exist as a pedagogical discipline.<sup>287</sup> Plato and Aristotle discussed imitation not just in connection with pedagogy, but also in relation to poetics and politics. Here it is relevant to discuss imitation in relation to representation and how imitation functions as a proxy original. For Plato, everything with the exception of ultimate reality is an imitation. This means that for Plato all human constructions, that is, the arts, language, philosophies, even institutions, are imitation.<sup>288</sup> Sullivan phrases it in the following manner, ‘the one who seeks truth moves from one imitation to another, from one mirrored image to another, until he finally escapes illusion and gazes upon the primary source, which is no imitation but reality itself.’<sup>289</sup> Aristotle said that poetry and music could be described as ‘forms of imitation or representation.’ In this way the nature of arts, and poetry, is basically to present a realistic imitation of specific things.<sup>290</sup> Imitation was an important part of classical theories of art that

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<sup>285</sup> Connelly 2007, 146-57.

<sup>286</sup> Barfoed 2015.

<sup>287</sup> Sullivan 1989.

<sup>288</sup> Sullivan 1989, 6.

<sup>289</sup> Sullivan 1989, 7.

<sup>290</sup> Sullivan 1989, 7.

helped to explain the nature of art and how one receives inspiration to create art.<sup>291</sup>

Gell theorised how art is connected to representation. Art, to him, is a result of and/or the instrument of social agency.<sup>292</sup> He stated that ‘iconic representation is based on the actual resemblance in form between depictions and the entities they depict or are believed to depict,’ and that ‘a picture of an existing thing resembles that thing in enough respect to be recognized as a depiction or model of it.’<sup>293</sup> The concept of the ‘model miniature’ presented here is following Gell’s definition; the miniature models resemble their regular sized counter part to such an extent that they can be perceived as a model of them. Based on Gell, ‘model miniatures’ can only be seen as models or representations where there is resemblance triggering recognition.<sup>294</sup> Thus, the miniatures that have no regular sized counterpart we know of cannot belong in the category of ‘model miniature.’<sup>295</sup> Unfortunately, the evidence we work with is rather fluid because new excavations or publications can reveal previously unknown pottery shapes. This is also why it is hard, or even impossible, to make a conclusive terminology of ‘model’, ‘diminutive’ and ‘token’ miniatures.

Gell also discusses Dennett’s idea on how representations are only for, or to someone, any representation thus require at least one interpreter of the representation who is external to it.<sup>296</sup> When discussing realism in art, and if we go along with the notion that archaeological objects can be perceived as such, the idea that everything resembles everything else, at least in some respect needs consideration. Everything can then, under some interpretation, be considered as depicting anything you like. For instance an uncarved stone can be seen as an iconic representation of a god as much as a minutely carved and more ‘realistic’ stone idol can.<sup>297</sup> The ‘token’ miniatures, discussed above, can be perceived as representations or imitations of functional pots, or function as symbols in particular ritual activities and mostly they do resemble something else. In rare cases there are exceptions, but that may be because we do not have the objects, which they resemble, preserved.

The concept of ‘representation’ has been related to imagery or pictures, for instance Harrison, discussed how a photograph of a beloved and absent friend, refers

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<sup>291</sup> Sullivan 1989, 9.

<sup>292</sup> Gell 1998, 15.

<sup>293</sup> Gell 1998, 25.

<sup>294</sup> Gell 1998, 26.

<sup>295</sup> Gell 1998, 100; Gimatzidis 2011, 86 n. 64.

<sup>296</sup> Dennett 1979, 119-22; Gell 1998, 130-1.

<sup>297</sup> Gell 1998, 131.

to that person and not to the picture's paper and ink.<sup>298</sup> If we continue along the line of interpreting the miniature 'token' as a representation, or image, depiction, symbol or representation, we may also believe that 'tokens', similar to an image or sculpture makes present (or real) to the beholder what they represent. For instance, a picture of a holy object becomes itself holy, or may even be granted the magical or religious power of what it represents.<sup>299</sup> In this way the miniature 'token' may 'inherit' the innate power other votives or larger miniatures ('models') contain based on their conditions as holy objects. Or as Harrison eloquently stated, 'a model is always adequately, thus inevitable selectively, isomorphic of its topic.' He added that what is depicted may be instantly recognisable or may need some puzzling out.<sup>300</sup> These two statements can both be applied to miniatures of both 'diminutive' and 'model' type. A 'model miniature' must be isomorphic of its subject that is why we call it a model, but on the other hand we have seen that sometimes what is depicted must be deciphered, as for instance with the diminutive 'tokens' without regular sized counterparts.

Regarding the function or usage of the miniatures, a parallel from the Roman world provides some possible hints. Portrait sculptures of the Roman emperors were extremely popular in all of the Roman period and Rome's empire. The invention of the portrait around the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC has been attested to by literary sources such as Pliny the Elder. Pliny described how Varro invented this 'gift,' which had the result that people could now be present everywhere just like the gods could.<sup>301</sup> Stewart explained how the portraits were not merely signs of the emperor's distant authority, but the portrait statues also stood for him and gave substance to his identity in solid representations.<sup>302</sup> In this way the portraits were not just symbols of the emperor but also acted as a reminder of his appearance and demeanour.<sup>303</sup> It went the other way as well. We know from the written sources, that if an emperor fell from grace his images were destroyed and/or removed.<sup>304</sup> However, statues or images of emperors were not merely symbols. They interacted with the people and people treated the images differently than they would the emperor himself. However, in political terms they were the extension of the ruler and acted as an extension of his presence in the Roman

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<sup>298</sup> Harrison 2006, 161.

<sup>299</sup> Harrison 2006, 164.

<sup>300</sup> Harrison 2006, 169-70.

<sup>301</sup> Stewart 2006, 243.

<sup>302</sup> Stewart 2006, 244.

<sup>303</sup> Stewart 2006, 245-46.

<sup>304</sup> Stewart 2006, 246.

communities.<sup>305</sup> Similar to this example, miniatures could, due to its size and portability, and perhaps cheaper price, be ‘present everywhere’ representing regular sized vessels, some of which would trigger commemorative thoughts, or at least be recognized either for its function in regular size, or as a votive when looked upon in a ritual setting.<sup>306</sup>

### 3.3.4. Consumption

Consumption is a huge topic especially within Anthropology but also the archaeological disciplines.<sup>307</sup> Only few selected examples of models of consumption will be mentioned here, mainly because most models are concerned with mass consumption (in modern time) and the case study examples presented here considers consumption in a smaller scale, and in a period of time where the conception of consumption was not yet coined. Consumption has to be understood as a feature of the societies’ political economy that follows the political logic of consumption in specific historical circumstances.<sup>308</sup> Consumption studies has also been described in the following manner: ‘Consumption was recognized as the social process by which people construct the symbolically laden material worlds they inhabit and which, reciprocally, act back upon them in complex ways.’<sup>309</sup> However, the difficulties of working with consumption studies is again linked to the preservation state of the archaeological record, but also the risk of basing assumptions on modern economic parallels. The evidence is often biased: literary sources describe the habits and tastes of their elite peers, houses, graves, and remains of bones inform us more about the relatively wealthy than those who died unnoticed somewhere in the countryside.<sup>310</sup> Additionally, at least in the Classical period, if not earlier, there is a distinction between public and private consumption. Consumption is based on choices and is also culturally specific, which perhaps is one of the reasons why it is difficult to pin down regional consumption patterns as attempted in the Eleia chapter below (**Chapter 4**).<sup>311</sup> Despite the similarity in the consumption of metal and terracotta figurines at Olympia and Kombothekra, the

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<sup>305</sup> Stewart 2006, 251-52.

<sup>306</sup> Pilz has also discussed the communicative aspects of miniatures, see Pilz 2012.

<sup>307</sup> E.g. Miller 1992; 1995; Dietler 2010a; 2010b; 1998.

<sup>308</sup> Appadurai 1986, 29-31. Consumption is also related to use-life and reuse of pottery, see e.g. Tite 1999; Peña 2007.

<sup>309</sup> Dietler 2010b, 207. Dietler outlines the history of consumption studies, see Dietler 2010b, 207-14.

<sup>310</sup> Von Reden 2007, 386.

<sup>311</sup> Dietler 1998, 300.

close study of the two sites' consumption below highlights several marked differences (**Chapter 4**).<sup>312</sup> Dietler warns us to decouple consumption from the traditional forms of analyses: production and exchange, which is part of the reason for the focus in **Chapter 4**.<sup>313</sup> Consumption is never simply a satisfaction of utilitarian needs, which also comes across in the chapters in this thesis.<sup>314</sup> The import of miniature pottery from Corinth and the production of local miniature pottery are recurring themes that shows that miniature pottery did not 'appear' solely because of economic speculation or practical needs, but that additional thought was behind its consumption. It might have been practical to dedicate miniatures as discussed in **Chapter 6**, so your regular pottery did not need to be used for that and needed to be replaced. Practically it was easier to carry small votives to secluded locations for dedication and it might also have been cheaper to produced since miniature pottery could be made in local and presumably easily accessible clay sources.

The question asked in **Chapter 6** about why the indigenous communities would have an interest in Greek miniature pottery, can be answered, according to Dietler, by examining carefully which things that were consumed and the ways they were consumed. He highlights that we must try to understand 'the social and cultural desire' for the objects, but also examine the counter phenomenon, what can be called the 'logic of rejection' or 'indifference.' This selective consumption is important but complex to understand. One of the reasons it is difficult is that consumption always is culturally specific and that demand is always historically changing and socially constructed.<sup>315</sup> I encountered this problematic in **Chapter 6**, and could not securely establish that miniature pottery (and the idea of the miniature votive) was brought to the indigenous communities in South Italy by the Greeks. Messapian and local model miniatures were contemporary with the imported Greek miniature votives. However, the miniature votive pottery seems to arrive with the Greeks. If there had been an indifference towards these Greek miniatures, we would probably have seen a greater gap in time between the earliest imported Greek miniature votives and the locally and regionally produced miniature votives. So, it appears that the indigenous communities in South Italy were not unfamiliar with the idea of miniaturisation, but the import of the Greek miniature

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<sup>312</sup> Osborne 2009, 56-7; Morgan 1990, 57.

<sup>313</sup> Dietler 2010b, 214-15.

<sup>314</sup> Dietler 2010b, 215.

<sup>315</sup> Dietler 2010a, 57-8.

votives seem to have started a similar miniature votive pottery production in the area of South Italy discussed below. More studies are necessary to establish this suggestion. It is not possible to see what happened in that specific time span from the beginning to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, because, unfortunately, our evidence cannot be dated precisely enough for that. Even if we could, the problem of not knowing the use life period of the object would still blur our understanding of the process in, this case, the question of the adoption of miniature pottery in South Italy.

Additionally, goods imported in small quantities have often been interpreted as ‘prestige goods’.<sup>316</sup> Regarding the question in **Chapter 6** if the Greeks were responsible for the appearance of miniature votives (diminutive miniatures) in South Italy, an argument for may be that if the indigenous people understood the miniature votives as a prestige item of foreign origin, it may explain why they would want to imitate the imported Corinthian miniature votives and produce their own.<sup>317</sup> For how long this fascination with a newly arrived ‘prestige’ object would have lasted is impossible to say, but perhaps the miniature votives in time (within a generation perhaps?) became appreciated for their small size and its practicality of being easy to carry and presumably cheaper to produce than a regular sized vessel.

However, these utilitarian advances mentioned above do not reveal a full picture of the sentiments of the dedicators of miniature pottery. If miniature pottery, and other small votives, was not considered suitable for the gods, for the realm of mighty deities, who were believed to control all aspects of life, a large production in Corinth would never have emerged, and the widespread occurrence of miniature pottery to all edges of the Greek world would not have happened. Practical and personal needs were intertwined tightly; we may assume that the ancient Greeks did not contemplate this division of our concepts ‘practical’ and ‘personal.’ This aspect is not discussed in ancient literary source, unfortunately, therefore contextual analyses such as the ones carried out in this work, are important if we want to learn about the consumption patterns of the ancient Greeks.

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<sup>316</sup> Miller 1992, 122; Friedman and Rowlands 1977.

<sup>317</sup> A similar idea was expressed by Bradley with regards to deposited metal objects in western Europe, Bradley 1988, 255.

### 3.3.5. Gender Specific Practices

Gender studies have, within Classical Studies, been mainly focused on the ancient literary evidence.<sup>318</sup> Naturally, one may think that the written sources provide a more precise picture of gender roles than for instance Archaeology can provide. Gender theory is a huge and wide spreading theoretic branch within Classical Studies, and it is thus more relevant here to focus on whether gender related practices within the ritual sphere could be determined.<sup>319</sup> As mentioned above some containers seem to have been connected to women, for instance the pyxis mainly based on iconography. Likewise, has the hydria been connected to women because a number of Attic figure decorated hydriai carries depictions of women fetching water at a fountain house (**Figure 39**). In South Italy and Sicily miniature hydriai are often found in ritual contexts related to female deities.<sup>320</sup> Hydriai were also found in excavations of wells, for instance on the North Slope of the Acropolis in Athens.<sup>321</sup> However, whether women predominantly used hydriai, and were the ones who dedicated miniature hydriai is hard to infer due to the available evidence.

Cole suggested that when women, either in groups or on their own, made dedications at the island of Delos, the gifts to the gods were always small, no matter if the deity was Artemis, Isis and Sarapis, Aphrodite or Kore.<sup>322</sup> However, she does not specify the evidence this idea is based on whether it is epigraphical evidence or archaeological finds. I have found one example of a woman who dedicated a pottery vessel, a black-glazed skyphoid krater with relief decoration from Isthmia, which carried an inscription (see **Chapter 5** below). Based on the shape and style of vessel, the krater dates to the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>323</sup> Examples such as this are unfortunately rare, and I have not been able to find other examples of female names inscribed on vases, which naturally makes it hard to firmly determine gender specific ritual practices.

However, a few additional plausible cases exist. In the Artemis Orthia

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<sup>318</sup> See e.g. the many publications in the series ‘Oxford Studies in Classical Literature and Gender Theory’, [http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/nav/p/category/academic/series/classicalstudies/oscl.do?sortby=bookTitleAscend&thumbby\\_crawl=10&thumbby=all](http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/nav/p/category/academic/series/classicalstudies/oscl.do?sortby=bookTitleAscend&thumbby_crawl=10&thumbby=all). See also Foxhall 2013, 16-19.

<sup>319</sup> For a recent and up to date monograph on the topic of gender within classical antiquity, see Foxhall 2013.

<sup>320</sup> Hinz 1998.

<sup>321</sup> Broneer 1933; 1939; Lynch 2011.

<sup>322</sup> Cole 2004, 100, 114.

<sup>323</sup> Caskey 1960, 168-72, pls. 54-5.

Sanctuary at Sparta from the Archaic to the Roman period miniature lead figurines were dedicated in large number. They represent deities, humans, animals and objects.<sup>324</sup> The lead figurines of armed hoplite soldiers have often been perceived as masculine dedications associated with Sparta's militaristic culture also documented in the literary sources. The sources describe violent rituals and contests involving young boys. However, we do not know whether men or women dedicated these objects. Model textiles and weaving equipment are also found among the lead miniatures, and given the strong association of women to weaving it seems more plausible that women dedicated these figurines.<sup>325</sup> Foxhall suggests that the dedications could have been performed in formal rites or in private worship for women, focused on feminine concerns, which paralleled the well-documented masculine rites.<sup>326</sup> She argues, and I concur, that the miniature objects could in this case have been dedicated alongside or in place of a 'real' object, or perhaps as a commemoration of a sacrifice made. Uniquely, bronze, bone dress pins and buttons were discovered in the excavations of the Artemis Orthia Sanctuary, which suggest that textiles were dedicated in the sanctuary.<sup>327</sup> Inscriptions testify to garments, and votives related to textile production, being dedicated in other Artemis cults: Thebes, Tanagra, the island of Delos and Brauron in Attica.<sup>328</sup> An example of an inscription from Brauron mentions a woman's name and lists what she dedicated, sometimes it even includes the name of the archon that year, which gives us a rather precise date of the dedication: 'In the archonship of Themistokles (347/6 BC) Thyaine and Malthake dedicated a purple spotted/decorated *chitoniskos* (short thin dress) in a box.'<sup>329</sup> Interestingly, only once a garment is described as 'new,' suggesting that most garments were worn when they were dedicated. Sometimes the garments are also described as 'ragged,' or even 'half-made'; the latter may suggest that it was dedications made by relatives of women who had died before finishing the garment.<sup>330</sup> One may ask, why dedicate clothing? The evidence seem to prove that it was a very personal form of dedication, most often dedicated by the owner and maker of the garment. Perhaps it is due to the fact that clothing was a form of property that most women owned, and which was under

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<sup>324</sup> Foxhall 2013, 151.

<sup>325</sup> Foxhall 2013, 152, fig. 7.1.

<sup>326</sup> Foxhall 2013, 151-52.

<sup>327</sup> Dawkins 1929, pls. 36-7, 87-8.

<sup>328</sup> Foxhall and Stears 2000, 4.

<sup>329</sup> Foxhall and Stears 2000, 5, figure 1.1.

<sup>330</sup> Foxhall and Stears 2000, 5.

female control. The 5<sup>th</sup> century BC law code from Gortyn (Crete) describes how divorcing women were allowed to take with them half of what they had produced in their husband's house in addition to the dowry. Therefore garments are exceptionally appropriate votives for women to dedicate, given that the garments are economically their own.<sup>331</sup>

Another example of possible gender specific practices is the dedications of anatomical body parts in terracotta found in Asklepieia around Greece. The most famous Asklepieion is the one in Epidaurus, but Asklepieia are also found in for instance Corinth, on the island of Kos, and in Athens.<sup>332</sup> Men, women, and children sought the healing god Asklepios' aid in times of sickness. Written sources and preserved inscriptions provide information on Asklepios' cult through to the Roman period.<sup>333</sup> Combining the inscription with the evidence from the Asklepieion in Athens, it shows that of the anatomical body parts, all of breasts and most of the female genitalia were dedicated by women (one by a man).<sup>334</sup> Terracotta breasts may be seen as offerings for some illness related to the breasts, or perhaps trouble with milk-flow after birth. The genitalia are harder to explain; perhaps they refer to successful conception or conclusion of pregnancy, but perhaps also related to illness.<sup>335</sup>

To sum up, there is some evidence that women dedicated small objects (such as miniature pottery) and that especially the miniature hydria was connected to female rites. However, more certain is it that women dedicated textiles and anatomical body parts because we have inscriptions and written sources to back up the archaeological evidence. In Kalapodi, a votive bench has been excavated with votive objects preserved in situ.<sup>336</sup> Here a Corinthian miniature kotyle was discovered among the other votives: a terracotta protome, a terracotta rooster, a piece of roof tile, bronze rings, a bronze tripod, a bronze pin, and a bronze kouros figurine.<sup>337</sup> However, the matter of Kalapodi is complicated because it is not certain whether the main sanctuary is for Apollo at Abai or Artemis Hyampolis.<sup>338</sup> Thus, one cannot be certain that

<sup>331</sup> Foxhall and Stears 2000, 11-12.

<sup>332</sup> For Epidaurus, see e.g. Faraklas 1971; for Corinth, see *Corinth* XIV; for Kos, see e.g. Schazmann and Herzog 1932; for Athens, see e.g. Aleshire 1989.

<sup>333</sup> Dillon 2002, 25-6.

<sup>334</sup> Dillon 2002, 28.

<sup>335</sup> Dillon 2002, 28-9.

<sup>336</sup> Felsch et al. 1980.

<sup>337</sup> Felsch et al. 1980, 89-99.

<sup>338</sup> Felsch et al. 1980, 38-40.

miniature pottery was always dedicated in rituals for female deities, or dedicated by women, since here we see a mix of objects (in this case rings, pins, figurine of a male kouros, protome depicting a female) that do not necessarily reveal the gender of the dedicators.

### 3.3.6. Agency Theory

To narrow down the definition of ‘Agency’ within archaeology, one can say that it places focus on the individual. This aspect and these theories are important when questions are asked as to ‘who made dedications in the sanctuaries.’ However, even though it might seem so at first, the category of the individual or person is not a straightforward concept. Notions of what constitutes individuality vary widely across time and space, and no commonsensical, cross-cultural definition can be suggested. Johnson reminds us that it is a misconception to confuse the search for human agency with the identification of the individual.<sup>339</sup> The stress on human agency can be traced back to reactions to New Archaeology in the 1970s and 1980s. Hodder, for example, stated that, ‘adequate explanations of social systems and social change must involve the individual’s assessment and aims.’<sup>340</sup> Agency is also undoubtedly connected to structure as Joyce and Lopiparo, among others, discussed (also called ‘structuration’).<sup>341</sup> Society is continuously created over time and the changes we can see in the archaeological records are due to Agency.<sup>342</sup> It is relatively easy to identify Agency when keeping the above in mind, but more difficult to apply what it means in, for instance, the case studies presented in this thesis. Agency can, for instance, be identified in the shift from the Classical to the Hellenistic period where the production of miniature pottery declines and other dedications become the objects of choice. Another example is the evidence from Kombothekra where Gregarek, who published some of the material, suggested that there was a shift in the Hellenistic period and mould-made bowls become the preferred offering (see **Chapter 4**). It might not be possible to find out why, or how, these shifts happened and that is why Agency theory can be difficult to work with as archaeologists.

Agency embodied is expressed for instance in what Joyce and Lopiparo called

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<sup>339</sup> Johnson 1989, 190.

<sup>340</sup> Hodder 1982, 5; Johnson 1989, 191.

<sup>341</sup> Joyce and Lopiparo 2005, 365-68; Dornan 2002.

<sup>342</sup> Joyce and Lopiparo 2005, 368-69.

‘repeated practices’ over time. Their example is a newly founded house compound at Cerro Palenque in the Ulua River valley dating to AD 800. The creation of this compound can be seen as the actions of a small group of actors. However, the survival of the settlement is based on a larger group of people, that is, the community, and their repeated practices over time.<sup>343</sup> Perhaps the two shifts discussed in this thesis, first the shift in the Archaic period and then the shift at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, is similar results of repeated practices. Miniature pottery goes from not being widely used in graves, to being preferred offerings in many sanctuaries throughout the Archaic to the Classical period, to again declining and falling out of the sphere of interest in the Hellenistic period. In conclusion, as discussed above, the shift in the Archaic period was probably due to the fact that common people now were allowed to participate more fully in rituals in the sanctuaries, the rise in population and focus on sanctuaries instead of graves for display (**Chapter 2**). The shift at the end of the Classical and the beginning of the Hellenistic period is more elusive; it seems that the preference in dedications changed, but answering why needs a closer and more thorough examination than can be done here. Agency theory’s elusiveness has been well summoned up by Ortner, who says that, ‘this is neither a theory nor a method in itself, but rather a symbol, in the name of which a variety of theories and methods are being developed.’<sup>344</sup> Hodder rightly stated that both grand synthesis of the long term and small narratives are needed, and as archaeologists we have to take human behaviour’s intentionality, uncertainty and individual creativity into account.<sup>345</sup>

### 3.3.7. Quantitative and Qualitative Analyses

Quantitative and qualitative analyses are necessary tools for the archaeologist because the archaeological assemblages do not speak for themselves; they need to be interpreted.<sup>346</sup> Both quantitative and qualitative analyses are applied in this thesis and will consist of, for instance, quantitative analyses of shape and fabric groups. The tables in the case study chapters display the distribution of shapes, fabrics, and amounts of the analysed assemblages. Often problems are encountered when dealing with quantifications, such as fragmentation of pottery, which means one cannot tell how

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<sup>343</sup> Joyce and Lopiparo 2005, 370-71.

<sup>344</sup> Ortner 1984, 127; see also Dobres and Robb 2000, 3-4.

<sup>345</sup> Hodder 2000, 31-2.

<sup>346</sup> Shennan 1997, 5.

many vessels there actually were to begin with and problems also occur when dealing with pottery assemblages of different sizes. In the material examined in this thesis, I have addressed this problem by not comparing directly between all the material, but instead by comparing discrete deposits, groupings, and other comparable contexts from the different sanctuaries.

Detailed statistics and elaborate mathematical quantification models will, however, not be applied. Quantification on that level is simply not needed to exemplify the issues encountered in this thesis, also because the body of material is not that large, and for meaningful and representative statistical analyses one needs a larger amount of entries. One may also argue that using small groups of material is not statistically viable. Basic calculations and tables are made, which leads to interpretations about declines or peaks in pottery production, or, as seen in **Chapter 4**, about the consumption of miniaturised objects used in Olympia and Kombothekra. If larger assemblages had been available from Olympia, Kombothekra, or Kalydon (fragments/pots in the thousands), a more elaborated quantitative approach would have been chosen. The limited shape repertoire and the few represented fabric groups from all three sites does not require complicated calculations, and elaborate charts to be understood. Simple pie- and column charts will prove sufficient for the analyses presented below.

### 3.3.8. Contextual Analyses

In this thesis contextual analyses will be applied and play an overarching theme. ‘Contextual’ mentioned here must be understood as the approach to understanding the (ancient) individual in a historical framework; this type of analyses is used to gain an overview of archaeological material or a situation.<sup>347</sup> Contextual comparison of archaeological assemblages is essential; one must extract value from objects not only on the basis of the contexts in which they are found, but also the object’s own intrinsic properties. The pottery of both regular and miniature size and their form groups will be compared, as well as the deposits from the different sanctuaries such as wells, closed, and sporadic deposits.<sup>348</sup>

Generally, contextual analyses within archaeology have been described as a question about the artefact’s context (for instance, its location within the site and its

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<sup>347</sup> As discussed for instance by Hodder, see Hodder and Hutson 2003, 156-205; Herring 1998, 231.

<sup>348</sup> Schiffer 1987, 265-67, 279.

associations with other artefacts), but also, more importantly, with the goal of inferring the nature of the human behaviour or activity that led to the artefact being deposited there.<sup>349</sup> Contextual archaeology is concerned, therefore, not only with single artefacts, but also with the associations among artefacts. Scholars are also interested in whether some artefacts are typically found together, or in association with features (such as near a hearth or in a deposit), and in their general frequencies across a site or a region.<sup>350</sup> The goal of this thesis is by contextualising miniature pottery, to reconstruct part of ancient Greeks' belief systems and religious practice. All three case study chapters will contribute to this with their various results. Some settings were also more suited for specific offerings for various reasons. Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries show a different consumption pattern regarding dedications than for instance smaller rural sanctuaries (**Chapter 4**). Another aspect taken from contextual archaeology, more specifically Hodder, is the search for differences and similarities that is very prominent in this thesis. Hodder discusses how, when we are trying to 'read the past,' when we are trying to read the symbols that the evidence provides, we interpret the evidence. He suggests that we compare the differences and similarities from different contexts in order to find 'true' interpretations.<sup>351</sup> Hodder stated that the historical period is 'easier' because that period also has written sources preserved, which can be compared to other contexts.<sup>352</sup> Nevertheless, it does not change the fact, that applying theory is a complicated endeavour, and as archaeologists, we must accept that facts and data are always relative to a specific historical context.<sup>353</sup>

In the next section the methodological approaches used in this thesis will be presented both with regard to working with unpublished pottery, but also with regard to implementing studies of material assemblages in a written work like a thesis.

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<sup>349</sup> Demarrais 2005, 108.

<sup>350</sup> Demarrais 2005, 108; Lynch 2011, 1-3.

<sup>351</sup> Hodder and Hutson 2003, 187-91.

<sup>352</sup> Hodder and Hutson 2003, 191.

<sup>353</sup> Hodder and Hutson 2003, 202.

### 3.4. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS: APPROACHES TO THE DATA

#### 3.4.1. Collecting and Recording the Data

In the following section the methodological approaches will be presented. The obstacles encountered in the work with the pottery will be presented as well as the approach to overcoming them.

##### 3.4.1.1. The Storerooms ('apothikes')

Two of the case studies in this thesis incorporate unpublished ceramic material, the chapters on Eleia and Kalydon (**Chapters 4 and 5**). The sites have very different excavation histories; the Acropolis in Kalydon was excavated in the early 2000s whereas both Olympia and Kombothekra were excavated much earlier. Olympia has been continuously excavated almost without break since 1875, whereas Kombothekra was excavated once in 1907, and never re-excavated. Kalydon's acropolis was not fully excavated at the time of its excavation. These different excavations thus offer completely different assemblages of material. Olympia has material from many years of excavation in a large sanctuary complex; Kombothekra is a smaller rural site on a low hill where the complete area was examined and excavated once; and Kalydon's acropolis yielded material from part of a larger structure, not fully excavated, but produced a concentration of miniature vessels and figurines which indicated a votive deposit. Naturally the ceramic material from three sites with such different excavation circumstances will be quite different from one another. However, all three sites span the period under examination in this thesis, the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, albeit all three sites revealed earlier material in lesser or greater amount. The largest amount of miniature pottery of the three sites comes from Kalydon, 213 vessels, second comes Kombothekra with 113 vessels, and third, 25 vessels from Olympia.

The Kalydon material was studied in the excavation's storeroom: an old storage facility for cotton in the town of Evinochori about 2 km from the ancient site. The pottery is kept in plastic bags, stored in plastic crates, and is easily accessible. Some material is on display in the National Archaeological Museums in Athens and the Archaeological Museum in Agrinio. The material from the excavations in Olympia and Kombothekra is kept in the basement of the Archaeological Museum in Olympia. The storerooms are in the process of being reorganised and reshelved, which made locating

the miniature pottery slightly difficult. Several months of work and returning visits were needed in order to locate and register the pottery in both cases. In the end I felt confident that most miniature pottery from Olympia and Kombothekra had been located, but of course in the future, when the reorganisation project is finished I could be proved wrong.

Missing material in storerooms, which is noted somewhere and later cannot be found, is an annoying problem, which should not be permitted, but unfortunately does. Archaeologists most often only have a very small piece of the puzzle to work with due to various factors: very seldom complete contexts are excavated, or if excavated, are not fully documented, or due to the lack of storage space, material is disposed of. We are left with two choices: to say nothing at all, because we do not have all the evidence needed for interpretation; or to try to contextualise and interpret despite the lacunae.

#### 3.4.1.2. The Databases

I used the same registration methods for the pottery from the three different sites. In 2008 I learned how to use the database software Filemaker and this is also the database used for Kalydon, Kombothekra, and Olympia. I had three separate databases, one for each site, in order to more easily have an overview of the material from each site, and it is also easier to work with the data in that way.<sup>354</sup>

The aspects recorded for each entry (pot or sherd) were: Inventory number (abbreviation: Inv. No.), box number or bag number, stratigraphical information, information on stratigraphy and other information related to the excavation, excavation date(s), dimensions, type, shape, condition of sherd/pot, description, date, Munsell for both fabric and decoration, and lastly a fabric description.

After the pot/sherd was registered in the database, I would draw and then photograph it. The drawings are technical section drawings, not artistic renderings. By measuring the pot with callipers and using a profile gauge it is possible to get a considerably accurate scale drawing (1:1) of the reconstructed section/profile of the pot.<sup>355</sup> As mentioned above, there is no existing typology of votive or miniature pottery, and publishing miniature pottery with photos and technical drawings is a new movement that only just started half a decade ago.

<sup>354</sup> Rice has made an excellent source book for working with pottery, see Rice 1987.

<sup>355</sup> For a more detailed description of how to draw pottery, see Orton et al. 1993, 89-93.

The physical drawings then need to be scanned and afterwards inked in a computer programme, for instance Adobe Illustrator or the freeware programme Inkscape. When creating a thorough catalogue or pottery publication there is also the time consuming work of finding parallels to the pots presented. In the dawn of Archaeology when fewer sites were known, and fewer publications existed, the task was not that demanding, but today when pottery has been published in articles, books, and conference proceedings since the beginning of 1900, the task can be overwhelming. It has now become more or less a consensus to provide a couple of good, contextually sound, and well-dated examples. For Corinthian and Attic pottery it is often easier to find good parallels, but as soon as one starts to work on pottery from for instance Boeotia, Eleia, or Aitolia the task becomes more challenging. Preliminary excavations reports do not often help since the pottery is mentioned in very condensed manner, and often measurements and profile drawings, even photographs are missing. This problem can be acknowledged when browsing through the catalogue presented below.

#### 3.4.2. Presentation and Interpretations of the Data

The thesis text and the catalogues have been separated, and the complete catalogue comprising the pottery from the three sites are added at the end of the thesis. Tables and charts are provided in the respective case study chapters to give an overview of the pottery, but for more in depth information and parallels to pottery from other sites, the catalogue must be consulted. Photos and drawings of the pottery are likewise moved to after the Catalogue (**Plates**). The choice of including the raw data in the first place is that the data provided a skeleton for the case study chapters as well as the body for the suggested typology in **Chapter 3**. A guide to the catalogue is provided at the beginning of the catalogue text (see the **Catalogue**).

## CHAPTER 4

### MINIATURISATION, CONSUMPTION, AND RITUAL PRACTICE IN ELEIA

#### COMPARING THE SANCTUARY OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA AND THE ARTEMIS LIMNATIS SANCTUARY AT KOMBOTHEKRA

##### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

The main focus of this chapter concerns the reasons behind the observed differences in the consumption of miniaturised objects between sanctuaries. The analyses presented here are mainly based on evidence from Olympia and Kombothekra, but will also include parallels to other Greek sanctuary sites (**Figure 8**). This chapter includes analyses of the contexts, distribution, and consumption of miniaturised objects including both figurines and miniature pottery. The Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia is an interesting example due to its general lack of miniature pottery, contrasted to an abundance of miniaturised figures of animals in both bronze and terracotta. The Sanctuary to Artemis at Kombothekra in Eleia offers a contrasting pattern of dedication to that of Olympia, since there a large portion of the excavated pottery consisting of miniatures, whereas few figurines were dedicated. Unpublished pottery from both sites is included in the discussions and can be spotted by its catalogue numbers in bold (for example, **OL1** or **KO4**).

**Figure 8.** Map of the Eleia Region. Olympia and Kombothekra Marked with Arrows.  
<https://www.google.co.uk/maps>

Olympia and Kombothekra are two very different sanctuaries. Olympia was a Pan-Hellenic sanctuary, with the most famous athletic games of antiquity. Kombothekra, on the other hand, was a rural sanctuary on a small plateau. Nevertheless, some specific types of votives occurred at both sites. But that does not necessarily mean that the two sanctuaries shared clientele. In order to discuss the possible clientele of the sanctuaries, it is essential to examine the provenance of fabrics of the miniature pots and the terracotta figurines. How much was produced locally, perhaps even in the sanctuaries, and how much was imported from large pottery production centres such as Corinth and Attica. The examination of the imported pieces may enable us to discover whether the large influx of people/pilgrims/competitors to the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia can be detected in the pottery record, or contrarily, if imported pots are missing from Kombothekra (or in general lacking from sites) that could suggest a more localised cult. One of the advantages for choosing Olympia and Kombothekra is that a comparison of their pottery assemblages will enable us to evaluate the consumption practices of miniature objects at both a Pan-Hellenic sanctuary and a smaller, rural sanctuary in the same region. Such analyses will reveal the suitability of the miniatures, and whether some objects, or some specific shapes were preferred. If so, it can inform us about the cult and its rituals that took place in these two very different sanctuaries.

The quantitative analyses will also take the difference of the scale of the two sanctuaries into account, that is, the differences and similarities between a small rural and a large Pan-Hellenic sanctuary, a scale that presumably is evident in the material record. In addition, the spatial distribution of the miniature pottery in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia is examined as a means of locating the possible cult places within the space of the sanctuary.

A central element of the discussion in this chapter is the small amount of miniature pottery in the renowned Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. Several circumstances account for the lack of miniatures at this particular site. The athletic competitions at Olympia were among the most prestigious in the ancient Greek world and a prominent setting for the display of social status, which the worshippers exhibited by dedicating grand monuments or valuable metal offerings such as weapons and tripods.<sup>356</sup> Thus, at Olympia, there appears to have been a particular local dedicatory practice orientated towards public display.<sup>357</sup> One might then likewise imagine that offerings of miniature pottery simply were not appropriate in this elitist and often civic context. Perhaps the deity, Zeus, being the recipient, a warrior and weather god, who required weaponry for dedications, can explain the absence.<sup>358</sup> Or this absence is merely due to regional preferences, differences, dedicatory customs, and traditions. In order to address the last suggestion, it is necessary to access other sanctuary sites, in terms of their dedicatory behaviour and their use of miniature votives. Additionally, the analyses of the pottery shapes from Olympia suggest that miniature pottery could be connected to commemoration of rituals related to banqueting. For instance kraters (mixing bowls), hydriai (water jars), and various drinking cups (kotylai, skyphoi, kanthariskoi, and one-handled cups) are the prominent miniaturised shapes found in Olympia and Kombothekra; in regular size they are all shapes related to banqueting. Perhaps the miniature vessels had a commemorative function in the rituals given that their shapes in regular size were related to (ritual) dining. This will be further discussed below. However, first the analysis of the miniature objects from Olympia is presented starting with the votive terracotta- and metal figurines.

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<sup>356</sup> Morgan 1990, 30-9; Morgan 1993, 22.

<sup>357</sup> Morgan 1993, 22.

<sup>358</sup> *LIMC* VIII.1, Zeus; Dowden 2006, 49.

## 4.2. THE FIGURINES FROM OLYMPIA AND KOMBOTHEKRA

In this section the figurines from Olympia and Kombothekra will be analysed and compared. Analysing the differences and similarities in the consumption of miniaturised objects in Eleia will contribute to our understanding of the two presumably very different cults. These examinations will also reveal shifts in the preferences of votive objects from one time period to another, for instance, from the Archaic to the Classical periods and at the brink of the Hellenistic period. Similarities in the execution of the terracotta figurines also inform us that some of the figurines found at both Olympia and Kombothekra were made at the same workshop, which probably meant that one workshop provided votives for both sanctuaries.

### 4.2.1. Olympia

In the 1972 publication of the terracotta figurines found at the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, Heilmeyer divided the figurines into several distinct groups: bulls and rams, horses, wagons, men, gods, and other/exceptions. He stated that their production site must be sought within the sanctuary, since they were made for dedication.<sup>359</sup> The earliest figurines are dated to the Mycenaean period. The production peaks and transforms into a mass-production in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>360</sup> A total of 1037 figurines were published in 1972. Horses in pairs or fours (from yokes of horses) are most numerous with 237 examples, followed by bulls with 205, and, then horses with 197 examples. Representations of human figures are fewer with 69 examples.<sup>361</sup> Heilmeyer tentatively estimated that this published group of figurines spanning a period of 400 years probably just represents a fraction of the actual number of votives, a cautious estimation being perhaps as little as 3-10 %.<sup>362</sup>

The occurrence of the many animal figurines sparked various interpretations. It has been suggested that since all of the animals were herd animals, that the act of dedicating them as figurines meant that the animal's image was given as a symbolic representation of a live one to the god by the proud owner, rather than one that had been sacrificed and died.<sup>363</sup> Heilmeyer added that it was only in the early period that the

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<sup>359</sup> *OF* 7, 2.

<sup>360</sup> *OF* 7, 8-19.

<sup>361</sup> *OF* 7, appendix called 'a. Zahlenübersicht zu den frühen olympischen Tonfiguren' (no plate or figure no.).

<sup>362</sup> *OF* 7, 90 n. 236. Heilmeyer gives a number of 2217 in Olympia including fragments.

<sup>363</sup> *OF* 7, 87-8; Sinn 1981, 37-8.

animal figurines represented sacrificial animals, and the large number of horse and dog figurines could be explained by the custom of sacrificing horse and dogs (**Figure 9**).<sup>364</sup> It has been established that the noblest sacrifice to the god is the ox, especially the bull, whereas sheep and goat are most common.<sup>365</sup> The popularity of the horse could be explained by the myth of Pelops' abduction of Hippodameia from her father Oinomaos, which took place in the Eleia region and led to a chariot race and Oinomaos' death.<sup>366</sup> Chariot racing became a prestigious and costly sport and the focal point of the Olympic games; thus, the importance of the horse can stem from the myth and the chariot race contests.<sup>367</sup> However, Heilmeyer in contrast argued that perhaps the animals could be related to farming.<sup>368</sup> It is possible that the preferred choice of animal figurines was connected to the sacrificial animals at first, but during the several hundred years in which these figurines were offered, the preference changed meaning, and the original meaning or reason behind why bulls, horses, and dogs were preferred are lost to us.<sup>369</sup>

**Figure 9.** Terracotta Dog Figurines.  
*OF 7, pl. 37.*

That the meaning behind the dedication of figurines changed over time can also be seen in the occurrence of a terracotta figurine type found in the northeastern part of the Peloponnese dating to the Archaic period. A seated figurine type representing a goddess was intended to be dedications to Hera, but due to the popularity of the type

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<sup>364</sup> *OF 7, 87-8.*

<sup>365</sup> Burkert 1985, 55. The bones of sheep and goats are close to indistinguishable, which results in a combined category 'sheep/goat' in publications of osteological material, see e.g. Ekroth 2007, 259 n. 33.

<sup>366</sup> Burkert 1983, 95.

<sup>367</sup> Burkert 1983, 95; Kindt 2012, 127.

<sup>368</sup> *OF 7, 88.*

<sup>369</sup> Jones 2002, 83-102; Gosden and Marshall 1999.

and its diffusion, it came to be used as a generic dedication in sanctuaries to a variety of goddesses.<sup>370</sup> The interpretation is based on finds of moulds for terracotta production in Argos, the stylistic changes of the type through time and Pausanias' and other ancient authors' description of Hera's importance in the Argive plain.<sup>371</sup> Thus, it is possible that a similar dissemination happened in Olympia with the animal figurines and they might have lost their original dedicatory meaning. Perhaps sheer quantity became more important than for instance which type of animal was dedicated. Salapata, who works predominantly with archaeological material from Lakonia, has argued that the dedications often consisted of a set of votives, not just a single one.<sup>372</sup> It seems plausible that some of the horses were meant to be dedicated in a set of two or four, since two horses were needed for a cart for two yokes (like a Roman biga) or a quadriga.<sup>373</sup> Since the horse figurines are often in a fragmented state it is not always possible to determine whether they represented a single horse or had for instance reins preserved, which indicate that they were yoked in front of a quadriga (**Figure 10**).<sup>374</sup> The figurines from Kombothekra discussed below, show quite a different distribution of figurines, which may indicate a different preference in votive objects more suitable for an Artemis sanctuary in the countryside.

**Figure 10.** Terracotta Horse Figurines.  
*OF* 7, pl. 20.

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<sup>370</sup> Barfoed 2013.

<sup>371</sup> Barfoed 2013, 97-100; Paus. 2.17.2.

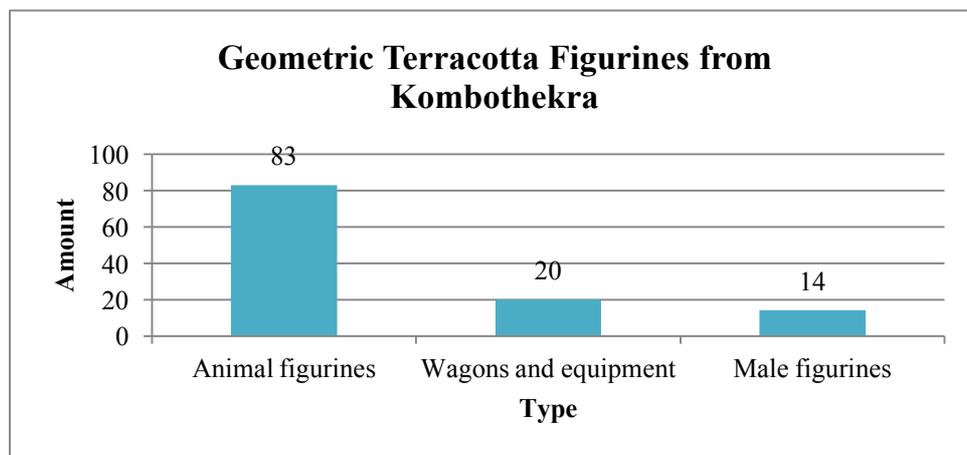
<sup>372</sup> Salapata 2011.

<sup>373</sup> *OF* 7, 20-31.

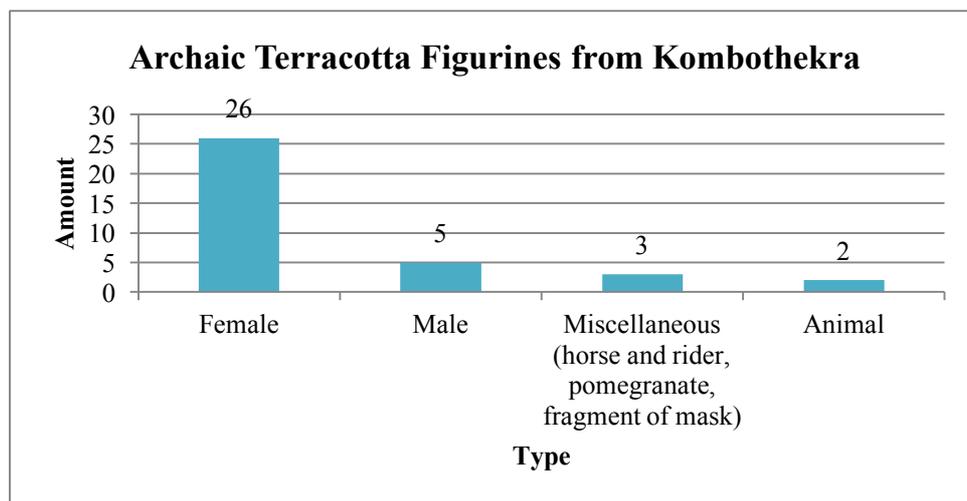
<sup>374</sup> See e.g. *OF* 7, pl. 20, nos. 108-9.

#### 4.2.2. Kombothekra

Based on Gregarek and Sinn, who both published terracotta figurines from Kombothekra, it appears that there is an emphasis on animal figurines in the Geometric period with human figures being rare, but in the Archaic period human figurines became more prominent.<sup>375</sup> There are 117 examples of Geometric figurines (**Chart 1**), and 36 Archaic terracotta figurines (**Chart 2**).<sup>376</sup> Additionally, there was a sharp decline in the numbers of human figurines that can be dated to the Classical period (only 16 examples, **Chart 3**).<sup>377</sup>



**Chart 1.** Geometric Terracotta Figurines from Kombothekra.<sup>378</sup>



**Chart 2.** Archaic Terracotta Figurines from Kombothekra.<sup>379</sup>

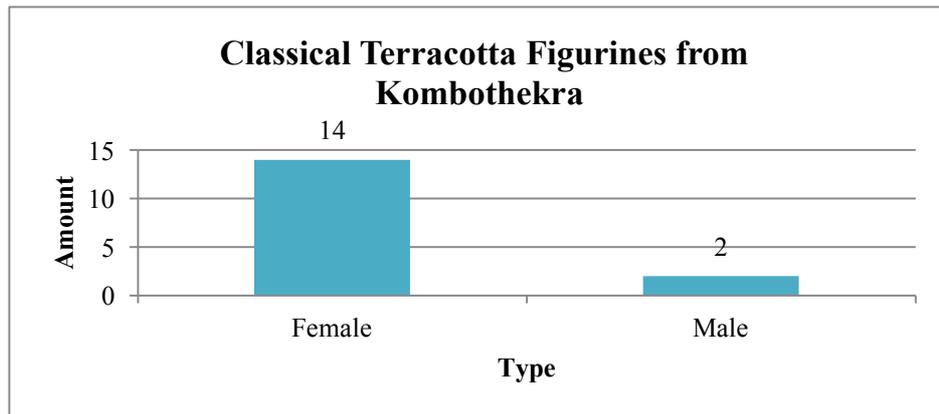
<sup>375</sup> Sinn 1981; Gregarek 1998.

<sup>376</sup> Sinn 1981, 67-9; Gregarek 1998, 76.

<sup>377</sup> Gregarek 1998, 76, 98.

<sup>378</sup> Sinn 1981, 67-71.

<sup>379</sup> Sinn 1981, 67-71; Gregarek 1998, 100-1.



**Chart 3.** Classical Terracotta Figurines from Kombothekra.<sup>380</sup>

However, in the Classical period female protomes become very popular and are found in both Olympia and Kombothekra (**Figure 11**).<sup>381</sup> According to Gregarek the dedication of terracotta figurines is replaced with dedications of mould-made bowls (also called Megarian bowls) in the Hellenistic period, and the production of traditionally terracotta figurines come to a halt.<sup>382</sup> Sinn mentioned 60 fragments of Megarian bowls dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>383</sup> Why this change happened is uncertain; the cups could have been chosen as dedication for their value or beauty, or perhaps the customs or cult changed through time. It is also possible that it became important to dedicate something perishable and the cups were used as containers for perishable offerings or libations.

**Figure 11.** Female Protomes in Terracotta from Olympia (left) and Kombothekra (right). Heiden 2012, 147, fig. 2. Gregarek 1998, pl. 16.

<sup>380</sup> Gregarek 1998, 100-1.

<sup>381</sup> Gregarek 1998, 94-5, nos. 43-8, pl. 16; Heiden 2012, 146.

<sup>382</sup> The mould-made bowls remain to be published, but are mentioned in Sinn's article on Kombothekra; there are 60 fragments from Kombothekra, see Sinn 1978, 64.

<sup>383</sup> Sinn 1981, 64.

At the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth a large amount of pottery dates to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, but then in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC there was a shift and a greater amount of terracotta figurines is found compared to pottery.<sup>384</sup> It is a possibility that this change in custom over time reflects a shift in emphasis from votive pots to terracotta figurines in ritual behaviour; perhaps votive pots were less attractive and figurines more desirable in Kombothekra from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. Even though these shifts are not exactly the same, they do accentuate that changes did occur in preferred use of ceramics and terracotta votive objects from the Archaic to the Classical period both in the regions of Eleia and Corinthia.

In the next section the different fabric types in the Eleia region is discussed in order to cast light on where the terracotta figurines and miniature pottery was made. Knowing where the workshop were located and which sanctuaries they delivered objects to can tell us how the votives travelled and whether the same workshop provided goods for several sanctuaries or just one.

#### 4.2.3. The Fabric Types in the Eleia Region

Turning to the fabric of the figurines, it can reveal if they were locally produced or imported. Imported figurines may indicate where visitors to the sanctuaries came from. The terracotta figurines from Kombothekra are made in light-orange clay, defined by Sinn and Gregarek as Elean fabric.<sup>385</sup> The terracottas from Olympia and Kombothekra are remarkably similar and Gregarek suggested that these terracotta figurines were probably produced somewhere in the town of Elis. A number of female terracotta protomes (eight examples) appeared to be from the same mould, and Sinn suggested that they were made locally.<sup>386</sup> When figurines from the same mould are uncovered in, for instance, two different places we can argue with a large degree of certainty that the figurines were brought by visitors/pilgrims to the two different sanctuaries. Thus, the local production of terracotta figurines appears to have met the demand of several sanctuaries in the region, even though the amounts of figurines do not speak of a large-scale production.<sup>387</sup> Chemical analyses of the clay of the terracotta figurines and miniature pottery from the site of Olympia and Kombothekra can reveal the validity of

<sup>384</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.4, 3.

<sup>385</sup> Gregarek 1998, 97; Sinn 1981, 64.

<sup>386</sup> Gregarek 1998, 97, nos. 17-23. Also mentioned by Sinn, see Sinn 1981, 64.

<sup>387</sup> Gregarek 1998, 97-9.

the local workshop and enable comparisons with pottery from Elis town.<sup>388</sup> Schilbach, who published the Classical black-glazed pottery from Olympia, mentions that Elean clay is brown and the black glaze is watery and applied with a broad brush. According to the same scholar, it is very rare to find red or greenish clay in the Classical period.<sup>389</sup> However, clay can vary from one time period to another, and from clay bed to clay bed within the same region.<sup>390</sup> The characteristics of the Elean fabric, kilns excavated in the city of Elis in 1968-70, as well as the discovery of terracotta moulds, indicate a terracotta production site in the city of Elis.<sup>391</sup> An example is the description of the clay of terracotta figurines from the city of Elis: it is soft, beige-reddish to reddish-yellow, powdery with some glimmer.<sup>392</sup> Georgiadou's chemical analyses confirm this as she identified Munsell colours as reddish (5 YR 7/4-7.5 YR 7/4), or reddish-yellow (7.5 YR 7/6-5 YR 7/6).<sup>393</sup> It follows then that a different type of clay was certainly used for the Classical black-glazed pottery found in Olympia and the terracotta figurines believed to be produced in the city of Elis. Perhaps the production was aimed at sanctuaries in the Eleia region in general since the same type of terracotta figurines occurs both in the city of Elis, in the area of the Artemis Altar in the Olympia sanctuary, as well as in Kombothekra and Makryisia, a sporadically published site in Eleia.<sup>394</sup> A number of scholars working in Olympia suggest, at least in the Classical period, a large workshop area was in use in the southeastern area of the Sanctuary of Zeus, perhaps near the Südhalle (the South Stoa).<sup>395</sup> This suggestion is among other finds based on the discovery of workshop debris (such as marble flakes) as well as marble figurines and statues found in the area.<sup>396</sup>

In an attempt to isolate the chemical composition of the fabric of Elean pottery, two distinct fabric groups were identified, and thus, two workshops: one that focused on larger vessels (quartz inclusions), and one on smaller vessels (silicon poor).<sup>397</sup> It must be kept in mind though, that similar clay beds may exist elsewhere in the Eleia

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<sup>388</sup> Georgiadou 2005.

<sup>389</sup> *OF* 23, 2.

<sup>390</sup> See e.g. Jones' work on Corinthian fabrics, Jones and Boardman 1986, 170-91.

<sup>391</sup> Froning and Zimmermann-Elseify 2010, 10; Georgiadou 2005, 103.

<sup>392</sup> Froning and Zimmermann-Elseify 2010, 9.

<sup>393</sup> Georgiadou 2005, 102.

<sup>394</sup> Georgiadou 2005, 100; Froning and Zimmermann-Elseify 2010, 10 n. 15-17; for Makryisia see Gialoures 1956, and Gialoures 1958.

<sup>395</sup> Froning and Zimmermann-Elseify 2010, 10 n. 21; Moustaka in *OlBer* 11, 364-66. DAI are currently planning excavations in the area of the South Stoa for commencement in 2016, R. Senff, pers. comm.

<sup>396</sup> *OlBer* 11, 357-66.

<sup>397</sup> Georgiadou 2005, 95-100.

region. Kastler's analysis of pottery from the city of Elis dating to the Hellenistic period shows an overlap with Georgiadou's work (5YR 6/6-7/6-7/8 to 7.5YR 7/4-7/6-8/6). This indicates that Munsell cannot be used for chronological markers, but mainly for tentative provenance determination.<sup>398</sup>

Some finer details on the figurines, such as features on the charioteers found at both Olympia and Kombothekra, suggest that they originate from the same workshop (**Figure 12**). Examples are the incised circles for eyes, breast, and the two incised lines for the nose. Some of the charioteers have pinched ears. A different group is the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC kouroi/standing male, and the armoured warrior, or *Zeusfiguren* as the type is called in the publication of the terracotta figurines from Olympia.<sup>399</sup> The armoured warriors wear a hat, in contrast to other, unarmed, male figurines; some clay has been flattened over the head and cut off just over the eyes. This type also has an incised circle just above the groin as well as moulded indications of male genitals. These similar figurines from Olympia and Kombothekra indicate that the figurines were produced in the same workshop, most likely somewhere in Elis. Or travelling craftsmen, who occasionally worked in the area, perhaps during the periods of the Olympic games, made them.<sup>400</sup>

**Figure 12.** Terracotta Charioteer Figurines from Olympia (left) and Kombothekra (right).  
*OF 7*, pl. 24. Sinn 1978, pl. 3.

<sup>398</sup> Kastler 2000, 406.

<sup>399</sup> *OF 7*, beilage 'a. Zahlenübersicht zu den frühen olympischen Tonfiguren.'

<sup>400</sup> Both poets and craftsmen are known to have travelled around Greece, see e.g. Hunter and Rutherford 2009, 39.

Regarding the animal figurines, the similar groups between the two sites are horses, bulls, rams, and dogs. Additionally, terracotta fragments of wagons are also found at both sites. Interestingly, the Kombothekra material yields a couple of terracotta figurines that are not found in Olympia: snakes and a ‘bakeress.’<sup>401</sup> The snake figurines amount to 45 fragments; their bodies are coiled and they have the same incised circles for eyes as the other figurines from the site and indicate that they are also made in the workshop discussed above. Some also have incised rendering of scales on their body (**Figure 13**).

**Figure 13.** Terracotta Snake Figurines from Kombothekra.  
Sinn 1981, pl. 10.

Both the bakeress and snake figurines are perhaps more suitable for dedications to Artemis compared to Zeus, and in the offering layer near the Artemis Altar in Olympia several bronze bracelets with snake heads have been excavated (see below).<sup>402</sup> Sinn mentions that it could be because Artemis had some connection to Hades and

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<sup>401</sup> *OF* 7, 90 n. 237.

<sup>402</sup> Joachim Heiden has confirmed that no snake terracotta figurines or ‘bakeress’ have been found in Olympia, Heiden per.comm. June 2013; a snake bracelet and a snake fibula in bronze have been found in the Artemis Hemera Sanctuary in Lousoi, see Mitsopoulos-Leon 2012, 152-53, nos. 134 and 143, pls. 17-18; see also Sinn 1981, 39.

Demeter.<sup>403</sup> However, Artemis is seen as the goddess and ruler of animals, a pursuer and a killer, and strongly influenced by Near Eastern aspects.<sup>404</sup> *Potnia theron* (mistress of animals) is an epithet that often is connected with Artemis and could explain the animal figurines from Kombothekra.<sup>405</sup> Artemis and Hekate are also connected in chthonic aspects in for example the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis apparent in examples of Hellenistic basin bearer statues.<sup>406</sup> Artemis and Hekate shares connections with the wild and with animals; they are believed to be first cousins. Hekate is powerful over land, sea, and heaven, and the natural realms, and the goddess had red mullets sacrificed to her in Eleusis.<sup>407</sup> This chthonic aspect of Artemis and her relation to Hekate, the goddess of the unknown, can be connected to the snake figurines. The appearances of the ‘bakeress’ figurine could be due to the fact that Artemis was also the protective goddess of bakers and millers.<sup>408</sup> The subject is especially common among Boeotian terracottas, and a parallel of a similar terracotta figurine is seen in the British Museum.<sup>409</sup>

Bronze figurines from Olympia are probably the largest group of votive objects from the Sanctuary of Zeus. The largest amount dates to the Geometric period.<sup>410</sup> The preference for animal figurines in Olympia is similar to the figurines of terracotta, but the bronzes outnumber the terracottas. Heilmeyer published 951 examples in 1979, and he mentioned that 7500 bronze items have been catalogued. Out of these, 4042 are Geometric bronze figurines (another 136 fragments of bronze wagons and 50 human figurines can be added to the count, in total 4228).<sup>411</sup> The emphasis is on bulls/cattle (1885 examples), and horses (1583 examples), but other animals such as rams, dogs, hares, deer, birds, and even scarabs are also found in lesser numbers in the sanctuary.<sup>412</sup> Human figurines are also common, such as standing males possibly representing Zeus and charioteers.<sup>413</sup> Mallwitz argues that Zeus’ divine superiority and power combined

<sup>403</sup> Sinn 1981, 39; Salapata 2006, 552.

<sup>404</sup> Marinatos 1998, 123.

<sup>405</sup> Bevan 1989; Marinatos 1998, 125; Marinatos 2000, 95-114; Jensen 2009, 56.

<sup>406</sup> Fullerton 1986.

<sup>407</sup> Marquardt 1981, 255-56.

<sup>408</sup> Sinn 1981, 40.

<sup>409</sup> Higgins 1969, no. 234, 88, pl. 39.

<sup>410</sup> According to Heilmeyer 80% of the bronze figurines can be dated to the 9<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century BC, 10% to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC and 10%, before the Geometric period, *OF* 12, 21, and graph on page 22.

<sup>411</sup> *OF* 12, 14 n. 38.

<sup>412</sup> Heilmeyer published the animal bronze figurines, not the human figurines in *OF* 12. For the birds, see cat. nos. 929-47, pls. 118-19, for the scarabs, see cat. nos. 948-50, pl. 121. See also the appendix ‘a) Zahlenübersicht’ on page 275.

<sup>413</sup> Mallwitz 1972, figs. 9-10, 41, 44-6.

with aspects of war at Olympia are apparent in dedications to him, for example bronze male figurines wearing helmets, and carrying shields and spears, as well as in dedicated equipment such as a bronze battering ram.<sup>414</sup> A large number of bronze armour, helmets, greaves, and shields, have been discovered throughout the sanctuary inscribed with Zeus' name or the name of the dedicant.<sup>415</sup> Weapons are a very common dedication to Zeus at Olympia, but no examples of weapons are found in Kombothekra.<sup>416</sup> It is interesting that in Kombothekra only five bronze figurines were found out of 70 metal objects (such as lead figurines, a bronze mirror, a bronze phiale).<sup>417</sup> So, metal dedications appear to be more suitable for Zeus, perhaps because of its prestige and value. When pottery does appear, it seems to have been related to banqueting and it was only in rare instance (as the Lakonian kylikes, see below) used for dedications. Additionally, from the analyses of the terracotta figurines from Olympia and Kombothekra, it seems that there must have been a workshop that both sanctuaries used (the similar figurines), two workshops in Elis town, and possible also a workshop in each sanctuary, or at least close by, based on a few handmade miniature vessels from Kombothekra (see below). It has now been established that both metal and terracotta figurines were popular choices of dedications in the Eleia region. The consumption of figurines differed from Olympia to Kombothekra and shifts in the dedicatory practices are evident. In the Geometric period animal figurines were popular, but by the Archaic and Classical periods human figurines had become the preferred offerings, in Kombothekra along side miniature pottery. A closer analysis of the miniature pottery from the Zeus Sanctuary at Olympia and its distribution is given in the next section.

#### 4.3. MINIATURE POTTERY IN THE SANCTUARY OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA

In comparison to other sites in the Peloponnese, the amount of miniature pottery (both model miniatures and diminutives) found in the Sanctuary of Zeus is surprisingly small. Since the beginning of the excavations at Olympia in 1875, pottery has been found, inventoried, studied and published.<sup>418</sup> The miniature pottery has, however, never been published together as a group. Instead, a few examples have been published according

<sup>414</sup> Mallwitz 1972, 20-3, 25. figs. 10-13, 15.

<sup>415</sup> On the dedications of weapons and helmets in Olympia, see *OF* 33, 120-29, 210-32; for greaves with inscriptions to Zeus, see *OF* 21, 125-30; Mallwitz 1972, 32-3, fig 24.

<sup>416</sup> Barringer 2010.

<sup>417</sup> The bronze figurines from Kombothekra are all currently missing, see Sinn 1981, 64.

<sup>418</sup> E.g. *OF* 28; *OF* 27; *OF* 23; *OF* 18; *OF* 8; *OF* 5.

to fabric type for example, together with Corinthian pottery or Elean pottery.<sup>419</sup> I carried out a number of comprehensive searches in the storerooms, which only resulted in the location of less than 50 pieces of published and unpublished miniature pottery.<sup>420</sup> Some are from small clusters in the sanctuary, but most were found scattered throughout the sanctuary area. This chapter considers and discusses both published and unpublished miniature pottery, but only unpublished pottery is incorporated in the catalogue and referred to by catalogue number in the discussion (**Catalogue**). Additionally, a number of miniature vessels mentioned in notebooks, publications or inventories, could not be located in the storerooms in the Archaeological Museum in Olympia, and consequently, they have not been included here. It must also be mentioned that all efforts to locate sherds of miniature pottery in the storerooms, as well as in the notebooks and inventories proved unsuccessful. So, although it is possible that miniature pottery sherds were excavated during the many field seasons in the Sanctuary of Zeus, it is possible that they were not kept. It is always important to keep the limitations of the material in mind, since they will affect issues such as how representative the recovered material is. As a result, this study of miniature pottery in the Sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia cannot offer as full a picture of the ritual practices as one would wish. Some conclusions can, however, be drawn from the available data, and some tentative patterns can be seen, which will become apparent in the following analysis.

A striking aspect of the dedications at Olympia is the scarcity of pottery. A large amount of Geometric dedications, large bronze items and a plethora of figurines, comes from the sanctuary, but Geometric pottery is generally sparse, and no contemporary miniature pottery has been identified.<sup>421</sup> However, large amounts of pottery are often found at sanctuary sites and in votive deposits throughout Greece. Two explanations for these occurrences are possible. Some of this pottery was used in the rituals, for instance animal sacrifices, as implements, whereas other pottery was used for ritual dining. Iconography on an Attic red figure bell-krater provides some evidence of possible ceramic implements in ritual sacrifices (**Figure 14**).<sup>422</sup> Five men are standing

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<sup>419</sup> *OF* 23; *OF* 28.

<sup>420</sup> My profound thanks go to R. Senff, U. Sinn, and K. Fuchs at the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) for allowing me to work on the material and for being very hospitable and helpful during my stays at Olympia. I also thank the various guards at the Olympia Archaeological Museum for their kind helpfulness.

<sup>421</sup> *OF* 31; Morgan 1990, 49-56, 235-47.

<sup>422</sup> The vase has inv. no. 95.25, and is kept at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston; regarding iconography being valuable for sacrificial representations, see Bremmer 1994, 40.

close to an altar: one is playing a double-flute (an *aulos*), one is holding a sheep/goat, one is dipping his hands in a pot or cauldron presumably filled with water supported by a fourth person, who is also holding a kanoun (a basket or tray possibly filled with grain), and the last man (a priest?) is leaning on a stick observing the scene.<sup>423</sup> So, from analyzing the iconography of this krater we can say with certainty that at least two vessels, a cauldron and a kanoun, were implemented in some rituals in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>424</sup> It must be remembered that more objects may have been used but may not have survived.

**Figure 14.** Attic Red-Figure Bell Krater. The Kleophon Painter or his Circle, ca. 425 BC. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Accession no. 95.25.

Another explanation, which is not discussed frequently, is that this pottery was probably used for ritual dining. Bookidis has discussed ritual dining in Corinth, where the excavations of the Demeter and Kore sanctuary have provided plentiful and compelling evidence thereof.<sup>425</sup> According to Bookidis, ritual dining took place here

<sup>423</sup> Zaidman and Pantel 2008, fig. 17.

<sup>424</sup> Another krater with a similar scene is currently in Naples, see Zaidman and Pantel 2008, fig. 18; for the implements used in sacrificial rituals, see Zaidman and Pantel 2008, 33.

<sup>425</sup> Bookidis 1987; 1993; Bookidis et al. 1999.

from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC until Mummius' destruction of Corinth in 146 BC. So what did the diners eat and what kind of pottery did they use? Bookidis suggests that both meals of meat and meatless meals were consumed in the sanctuary.<sup>426</sup> The evidence of the miniature votive *liknon* (a miniature plate or saucer with models of food inside), suggests that a variety of cakes probably formed the staple of the meal.<sup>427</sup> Drinking cups such as kotylai, skyphoi, and kantharoi are abundant shapes found in the dining rooms, as well as a variety of bowls (small and large lekanides), kraters, one-handled cups, and oinochoai.<sup>428</sup> Organic remains which attest dining were also discovered at the dining rooms; remains such as cereal, legumes, and fruit.<sup>429</sup> Bone remains indicate that animals such as pig, sheep/goat, fish, sea urchin, shells, and even small mammals, and reptiles were eaten at the dining facilities in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.<sup>430</sup> Bookidis stated that the presence of wine amphorae and mixing bowls could mean that the prohibition against wine, known from Eleusis and from some other sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore, was not pertinent here.<sup>431</sup> This example from Corinth suggests that often when we do find pottery in sanctuaries, it is possible that ritual dining in some form, and in smaller or lesser scale, took place.

The Corinthian pottery will be the main focus in this section. The earliest regular sized Corinthian pottery imported to the Zeus Sanctuary dates to ca. 675 BC about 50 years after Corinth began participating in the festival.<sup>432</sup> The earliest miniature pottery in the Zeus sanctuary in Olympia dates to around one and a half centuries after the appearance of Corinthian pottery in the sanctuary. The earliest of the published miniatures is a Corinthian kotyle with petals in the handle zone, and banded decoration that can be dated to the late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 5th century BC (**Figure 15**).<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>426</sup> Bookidis 1987, 481.

<sup>427</sup> Brumfield 1997.

<sup>428</sup> Bookidis et al. 1999, 14-16.

<sup>429</sup> Hansen has identified wheat, barley, olives, grapes, figs, lentils, bitter vetch, peas, grass peas, chickpea, and pomegranate, as well as seeds of mint, the daisy family, caper, and millet, see Bookidis et al. 1999, 19-26, 51; for the importance of the agricultural cycle in connection with women's ritual, see Foxhall 1995.

<sup>430</sup> Bookidis et al. 1999, 32-40.

<sup>431</sup> Bookidis 1987, 481.

<sup>432</sup> Morgan 1990, 53; Moretti 1957, 61.

<sup>433</sup> *OF* 28, 192 no. 83, pls. 59, 67; a parallel comes from a grave in Corinth, see *Corinth* VII.5, 60-1, no. 130, fig. 7, pl. 10.

**Figure 15.** Corinthian Miniature Kotyle from Olympia.  
*OF* 23, no. 83, pl. 59.

In total, eight Corinthian miniature vessels dating to the Archaic period have been published from the entire sanctuary, out of 107 published Corinthian fragments or vessels.<sup>434</sup> The earliest miniature among the unpublished Corinthian miniatures is an oinochoe dated to the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (cat. no. **OL18**); and four unpublished Corinthian vessels are dated within the 6<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (cat. nos. **OL16-OL20**).<sup>435</sup> The distribution, find spots, and contexts will be reviewed in detail below. There are some clusters of miniature pottery in the northern area of the Stadium ('St.N.'), in the southeastern area of the sanctuary ('SO'), and some near an Archaic altar to Artemis.<sup>436</sup> The remaining material was either found scattered across the sanctuary area or derives from unknown (precise) locations.<sup>437</sup>

#### 4.3.1. The Evidence from Wells

In the stadium area (St.N./Stadion-Nordwalls) and southeast area (SO) 43 wells were discovered and excavated; but miniature pottery was only definitively present in two (St.N. Well 9 and St.N. Well 19), and perhaps a third well.<sup>438</sup> The miniatures are fragments of an Attic pyxis and a miniature kantharos. Pyxides are containers, which

<sup>434</sup> *OF* 28, nos. 83, 99-105. Heiden, who published the Corinthian pottery from Olympia, did not count no. 83 as a miniature, but with its base being 4.3 cm in diameter I will argue that it can be included in the count of miniatures thus extending the number of published Corinthian miniature vessels to eight, *OF* 28, 170-97.

<sup>435</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, 170, no. 515, pl. 50 (not same decoration, but approximately same shape); *Cyrene* 7, 66, no. 247, pl. 40; *Perachora* II, 293, no. 2863, pl. 117.

<sup>436</sup> Out of the 15 miniature pots found in the northern Stadium area only nine were located, and out of 32 in the area 'SO' nine remain to be located.

<sup>437</sup> Limited stratigraphical information is unfortunately common in the Zeus Sanctuary.

<sup>438</sup> The 43 wells were excavated between February 1959-December 1960, except from Well 42 and 43, which were excavated in June 1961 and April 1962, *OF* 8, 1. A miniature pyxis from St.N. Well 9, K 121, *OF* 8, 11; a miniature vessel with vertical handles from St.N. Well 19, K 136, *OF* 8, 17. The third well has been referred to as 'St.N., Orient. Brunnen. G West/West'. Note that in Wells 98-129 in the southeast no miniature vessels were discovered, *OIBer* 11, 285-322.

could have been used for cosmetics, storing trinkets, for ointments or the like, and have typically been connected to female use. This conclusion stems from representations of pyxides on Attic vase painting.<sup>439</sup> In the Athenian Agora they are classified as ‘toilet vessels,’ but pyxides could also be used for incense.<sup>440</sup> Pyxides are very popular at the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary in Corinth and Pemberton has convincingly argued that the function, which the shape served, cannot be determined with certainty.<sup>441</sup> However, when found in sanctuary contexts, the function of pyxides as votives is possible. In this case it is most likely that both the pyxis and the kantharos were dropped in the well accidentally or disposed of when broken; thus, its deposition did not have a religious character. Typically refuse of various kinds is disposed of in wells, and the impressive amount of bronze weaponry from the Zeus sanctuary mostly comes from excavated wells. The weaponry, which often carried inscriptions to Zeus, must have been dedications to the war-like deity.<sup>442</sup> Water jars, jugs, kraters, amphoras, bowls, lekythoi, cups and lamps, stones, marble fragments, and bones are other examples of disposed items found in Well 9 and 19.<sup>443</sup>

#### 4.3.2. The Southeastern Part of the Sanctuary of Zeus

Heiden, who published the Corinthian pottery from the sanctuary (finds from 1875 until the 1990s) states that the southeast area (also called ‘SO,’ an abbreviation for Südost) is where most Corinthian pottery was found (**Figure 16**).<sup>444</sup> The shape repertoire of the Corinthian regular sized vessels is limited; there are 104 oil-vessels and 103 cups and small amounts of other shapes, such as jugs, plates, and kraters. Heiden suggests that this pattern reflects the daily use of pottery in the sanctuary and emphasises that pottery was not a suitable offering for Zeus; the god wanted bronze weapons, equipment and animals for consecration.<sup>445</sup> Only four published fragmentary Lakonian kylikes carry inscribed dedications to Zeus, one of which carries a representation of Zeus seated on a throne.<sup>446</sup> All four can be dated to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>447</sup> These regular sized

<sup>439</sup> *Agora* 12, 173; it has been suggested that pyxides often were used as wedding gifts, see Roberts 1978, 177-87.

<sup>440</sup> *Agora* 29, xiii; *Agora* 12, 173.

<sup>441</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, 57.

<sup>442</sup> Mallwitz 1972, 24-34; Dowden 2006, 64; Barringer 2009, 20-1.

<sup>443</sup> *OF* 8, 10-11, 16-17.

<sup>444</sup> In total 258 vessels, *OF* 28, 171.

<sup>445</sup> *OF* 28, 173.

<sup>446</sup> *OF* 28, no. 36, 63-9, pls. 17-19.

<sup>447</sup> *OF* 28, nos. 37, 40-1, 64-75.

cups could have been used in libation rituals to Zeus, or perhaps as a dedication of a devotee's personal belongings. It may also be that common offerings to Zeus were perishable, such as wine, food, and oil and perhaps the near-by Mosaic Hall was used for ritual dining. This could explain the scarcity of pottery carrying dipinti or graffiti dedicatory inscriptions, as well as the relatively small number of miniature pottery in the sanctuary. The preferences for cups could, as Heiden stated, be related to the daily use of pottery in the sanctuary, but another interpretation could be that the cups were used for making libations. Cups are also related to eating and drinking and might have been used for celebrations after the games.

**Figure 16.** Plan of the Southeast Area of the Sanctuary of Zeus, Olympia. Artemis Altar Marked with Arrow.  
*OIBer* 11, suppl. 1.

From the southeastern area (SO) of the Sanctuary of Zeus 11 miniature pots have been published.<sup>448</sup> Two of these are Corinthian miniature oinochoai, which were found near the so-called 'Mosaiksaal,' or Mosaic Hall, together with an unpublished

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<sup>448</sup> *OF* 8; *OF* 28.

squat lekythos also of Corinthian production.<sup>449</sup> These three Corinthian miniature vessels clustered in the area of the Mosaic Hall, could indicate a small votive deposit, but due to the lack of precise contextual information this remains uncertain. It has not been possible to locate the other pottery found together with these miniature pots, and consequently a contextual analysis of the assemblage is not possible.<sup>450</sup>

The four remaining unpublished miniature vessels from the SO area are found more specifically in the squares O28 (not located phiale), and O33 (miniature hydria, see cat. no. **OL12**), and during the cleaning of the foundation of the ‘SO building’ (miniature kotyle, cat. no. **OL16**). The structure around O28 and O33 can be dated to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Possibly there must have been an earlier building, obliterated by the later building activity, or the miniature hydria from O33 (which dates to the Classical period) must come from an earlier deposit, indicating that both miniatures were not found in their original use-context. Last but not least is a Lakonian medicine bottle (cat. no. **OL21**), practically identical in shape to similar ones found at the Athenian Agora. The example found in Olympia thus might date to 250-175 BC based on the Athenian counterparts.<sup>451</sup> This is the type of medicine bottle that is believed to have contained hemlock or other poison for prisoners condemned to death similarly to the case of Socrates.<sup>452</sup> These vessels have also been suggested to contain make-up, but also possibly had religious uses as for instance in Morgantina, Sicily.<sup>453</sup> Several medicine bottles were found in a room in the town of Morgantina where life-size terracotta busts of Kore, Demeter’s daughter, were also discovered.<sup>454</sup> Additionally, some of the Morgantina medicine bottles carried the stamped inscription ‘Lykion’ which is known from literary sources to refer to a well-known medicine in antiquity.<sup>455</sup> The different contexts of these vessels in Morgantina suggest that the small jars were actually used on separate occasions and may have served different purposes. It is not unlikely that both functions could be equally valid; first used as a functional vessel as a medicine container and later it was dedicated as a votive.

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<sup>449</sup> K 10117: *OF* 28, no. 54, 187; and K 10148: *OF* 28, no. 55, 187. The unpublished squat lekythos has inv. no. K 10121.

<sup>450</sup> The pottery in the storerooms in Olympia has sometimes been stored together context according to find contexts. This is however, not always the case; if a context for example included some fine Attic pottery it would be removed from the context pottery and stored together with the other Attic pottery.

<sup>451</sup> Camp and Mauzy 2010, 178, fig. 143.

<sup>452</sup> *Agora* 29, 198.

<sup>453</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, 100; Sjöqvist 1960.

<sup>454</sup> Sjöqvist 1960, 78.

<sup>455</sup> Sjöqvist 1960, 81-3.

Some of the published Corinthian miniature vessels are also found near an altar to Artemis in the plot designated P 40.<sup>456</sup> The small Artemis altar can be dated from the late 6<sup>th</sup> to the early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC and is the earliest structure in the southeastern area of the sanctuary.<sup>457</sup> The altar's period of use based on stratigraphy, architecture and the finds near the altar spans from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period.<sup>458</sup> The fragments of the limestone pillar discovered here, carried an inscription: Φρύνος ευ[...ν [... ἀ]νέθεκεν Λεο(ντίνοι)ος ἀνέθεκεν (Phrynos from Leontinoi dedicated this...). A later inscription could be discerned, but is very poorly preserved: ὁ βωμός [Ἀρτέμ]ιδος (Artemis' altar).<sup>459</sup> A thick black sacrificial layer was discovered around the altar containing objects that spanned over several centuries, for example, figurines and protomes dating from the Classical to the Hellenistic period, and several bronze bracelets with snakehead ornamentation (**Figure 17**).<sup>460</sup>

**Figure 17.** Bronze Bracelets with Snake Ornamentation.  
*OF* 13, pl. 52.

The published Corinthian miniature pottery found in P 40 supports this date mainly based on its distinctive decoration and the well-known Corinthian shapes and

<sup>456</sup> *OlBer* 9, 11-15, figs. 9, 11, 16-21.

<sup>457</sup> *OlBer* 9, 16; Mallwitz 1972, 200.

<sup>458</sup> Heiden 2012, 146.

<sup>459</sup> *OlBer* 9, 15-16 (inscription inv. no. 1127).

<sup>460</sup> *OlBer* 9, 16.

decoration schemes.<sup>461</sup> The altar is a small rectangular structure made of shell-limestone (Coquina limestone) covered with plaster and surrounded by six pillars interpreted as additional aniconic dedications.<sup>462</sup> The full publication of the altar and the finds is still in progress, but based on the bronze finds Heiden dates the beginning of the cult to the early Geometric period.<sup>463</sup> As discussed above, bronze figurines are very popular dedications in the Geometric and Archaic period, whereas in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC terracotta figurines become more prominent, to the extent that they also dominate the votive assemblages from the area of the Artemis altar in the Classical period.<sup>464</sup>

It has been suggested that the figurines were all dedications, possibly made by women, to the goddess Artemis.<sup>465</sup> However, the dedication of the four bracelets all with snakehead ornamentation could also be related to the Elean hero cult Sosipolis, also mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>466</sup> According to Burkert only women were allowed to participate in the rituals of Zeus Sosipolis and Eileithyia on the slope of the hill of Kronos, however, this interpretation is based mainly on literary sources, and is not yet supported by archaeological evidence.<sup>467</sup> Only two miniature pots were found on the altar itself. They must stem from this Artemis shrine either being dedications to the goddess or had ritual use.<sup>468</sup> The majority of the remaining pottery from the black offering layer includes regular sized Attic black-figure and red-figure vessels such as cups, jugs, and lekythoi. One can speculate about the lekythoi. It is possible they were dedicated to Artemis containing oil. The various cups and jugs could be used in ritual dining, perhaps also the lekythoi. Corinthian and Lakonian pottery was also discovered in the black layer, but only small fragments of Elean, plain, and cooking ware.<sup>469</sup>

Additional information can be discerned about the early Artemis cult by analysing the animal bones found in the black offering layer 78.1% are sheep or goat, 17.5% cattle, 3.6 % pig, and 0.3% dog.<sup>470</sup> There were also three rabbit bones. It is particularly

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<sup>461</sup> *OF* 28, 196, nos. 102-103, pl. 62.

<sup>462</sup> Heiden 2012, 146.

<sup>463</sup> Heiden 2012, 148, fig. 3.

<sup>464</sup> Heiden 2012, 146.

<sup>465</sup> *OF* 13, 19-26.

<sup>466</sup> Paus. 6.20.1-5; *OF* 13, 22, 230, nos. 837-840, pl. 52; Mallwitz 1972, 19.

<sup>467</sup> Burkert 1983, 102-3. The shrine of Eileithyia has recently been found and excavated partly by the Greek ephoria in Olympia, R. Senff, pers. comm. November 2014.

<sup>468</sup> J. Heiden, pers. comm. June 2013.

<sup>469</sup> J. Heiden, pers. comm. June 2013.

<sup>470</sup> Dog sacrifices were common in the Celtic world, see e.g. Ross 1997, 438-42.

striking that for all the animals present, almost the entire skeleton is represented, with the sole exception of the femur, which is completely absent.<sup>471</sup> This observation indicates that the thighbones with their flesh were sacrificed and burned on the altar as offering to the goddess.<sup>472</sup> Very close to the Archaic altar to Artemis a Roman Artemis altar or naiskos was found; it is likely that this is the same altar that Pausanias describes in his *Periegesis*, thus, the Artemis cult continued in the Sanctuary of Zeus well into the Roman period.<sup>473</sup>

### 4.3.3. The Area of the Prytaneion

Another area where a small group of miniature vessels were discovered is the area of the Prytaneion in the northern part of the Sanctuary of Zeus not far from the Temple of Hera.<sup>474</sup> The miniatures were found in the excavations that took place in this area from 1986-87 and 1990-91.<sup>475</sup> Only three of the five vessels' more precise location can be determined, see cat. nos. **OL1**, **OL5**, and **OL9**. It must be mentioned here that the area was flooded in antiquity by the river Kladeos and thus the stratigraphy proved difficult to decipher.<sup>476</sup> The finds in the area attest to activity from the Geometric to the Roman period.<sup>477</sup> The Prytaneion building related to these finds dates to the Archaic period, although the structure visible today dates to the early Classical period; Mallwitz suggested that there was a series of earlier buildings at this location, probably of similar purpose.<sup>478</sup> Although the function of the Prytaneion remains unclear in the lack of inscriptions preserved, it is suggested that the Elean officials of the games probably resided here and that the building was also used for celebration of Olympia victories.<sup>479</sup> Prytaneia often contained the Hestia (sacred hearth) of the city, an altar with an ever-burning fire.

In the Olympia Prytaneion a rhomboid altar foundation was discovered in un-worked sandstone. The building is almost square with an entrance to the south through a Doric tetrastyle prostyle porch and vestibule. Walking through the vestibule one

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<sup>471</sup> Heiden 2012, 147.

<sup>472</sup> Heiden 2012, 147; Ekroth 2007, 250.

<sup>473</sup> *OLBer* 9, 8-10, figs. 9-11, 15; Paus. 5.15.6; Heiden 2012, 147.

<sup>474</sup> Mallwitz 1972, 125-28.

<sup>475</sup> *OLBer* 12, 5-18, 66-205.

<sup>476</sup> *OLBer* 12, 69-72, figs. 2-3.

<sup>477</sup> *OLBer* 12, 66-154.

<sup>478</sup> Mallwitz 1972, 125-27.

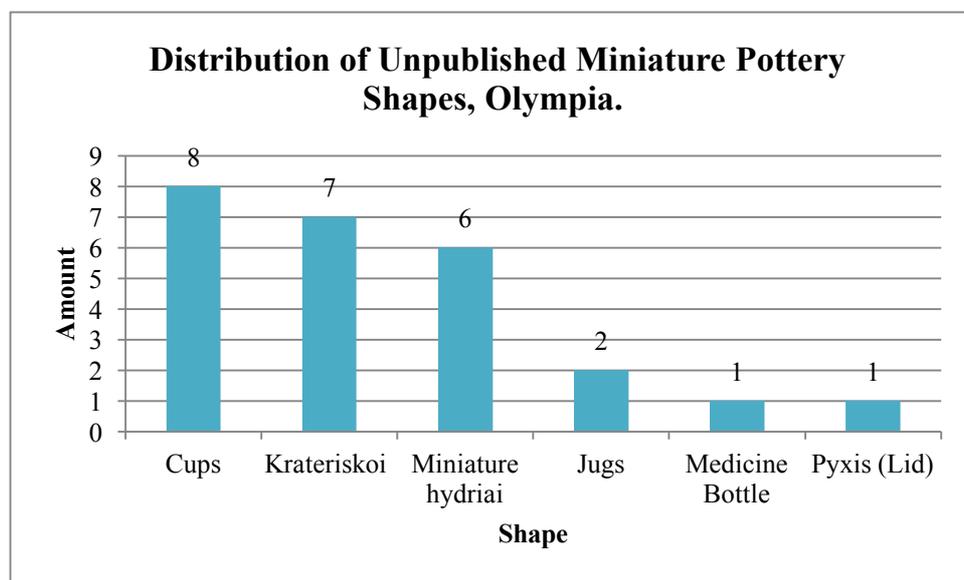
<sup>479</sup> Mallwitz 1972, 19, 126, 268.

reaches a small central chamber, which may have contained the altar of Hestia.<sup>480</sup> North of the central chamber is a large rectangular area with an inner colonnade. There are additional rooms on the north and west sides. It is possible that these miniature vessels were used either in a cult related to Hestia or were part of a foundation deposit; however, the evidence from the excavations does not add further to the interpretations, and the full publication of the material found in the Prytanaion is sought.<sup>481</sup> The next section will review the shape assemblages from Olympia and Kombothekra and discuss possible reasons for the preference in shapes. It seems that the dominant shapes can be connected to ritual dining, and the miniature pots may have served as commemorative votives.

#### 4.4. NOTES ON SHAPES

##### 4.4.1. Miniature Shapes, Olympia

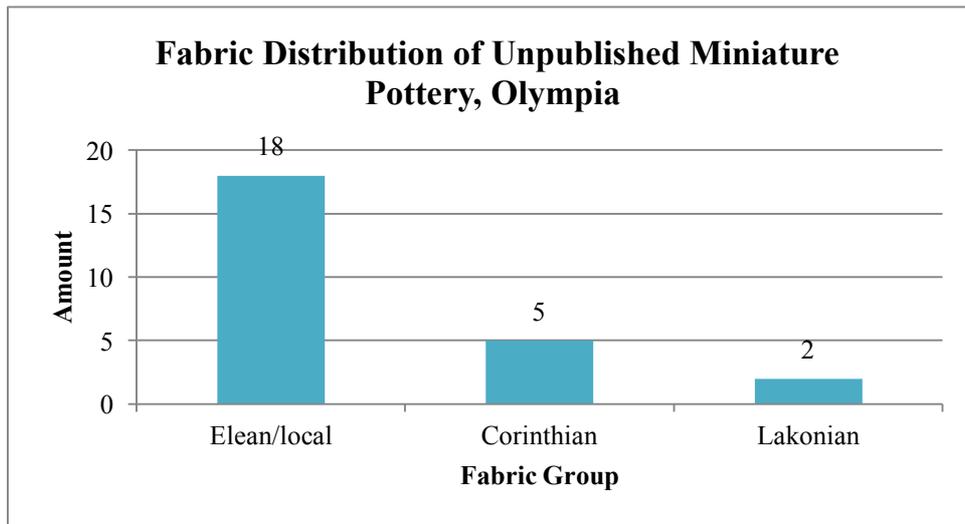
This section considers the shape repertoire that can be discerned in the miniature pottery first from Olympia, and then from Kombothekra. The largest shape group amongst the unpublished miniature pottery from both Olympia and Kombothekra are cups (**Charts 4 and 6**).



**Chart 4.** Distribution of Unpublished Miniature Pottery Shapes, Olympia.

<sup>480</sup> Mallwitz 1972, 126.

<sup>481</sup> The excavations of the Prytanaion have been partly published in *OIBer* 12.



**Chart 5.** Fabric Distribution of Unpublished Miniature Pottery, Olympia.

Most popular are kotylai which together with kantharoi and other cups amount to eight examples. The second largest shape group is krateriskoi (seven examples), and third are miniature hydriai (six examples). The remaining examples consist of jugs, a medicine bottle, and a miniature pyxis lid. Since it is not likely that the dedication of these specific vessels was completely random, the reasons behind this preference of miniature shapes and behind cups being the prominent shape must be related to function. A likely explanation is that they were chosen as miniature models of regular cups, and could thus have been used either in the ritual, as dedications representing full size cups or for commemorative rituals. A rarely discussed explanation that should however not be dismissed is that miniature vessels could have been used as small containers for various offerings in the rituals and/or on the altar, for instance, perfume or oil. A modern parallel are the small vials of holy water dedicated in Catholic churches around the world today. It is now known that miniature vessels were certainly placed on altars, as the example from Kalapodi attests too (see **Chapter 2**). Additionally, a votive deposit from Nemea from outside the Sanctuary of Zeus contained regular sized pottery, terracotta figurines and miniature pottery of both local and Corinthian production.<sup>482</sup> In this deposit, oil-vessels were absent, but since oil is such an important part of ancient Greek ritualistic behaviour perhaps they used other shapes for oil than the typical aryballos, alabastron or askos; for instance, miniature hydriai. Their small size of the miniature hydriai in Nemea (from 2.8-8.0 cm) and small opening would

<sup>482</sup> Barfoed 2013, 88-91.

certainly be suitable for slowly pouring oil for a ‘mini’ libation.<sup>483</sup> In Corinth a late Classical assemblage from a drain in the Forum yielded an interesting parallel. Some votive vessels are found in the drain assemblage, which otherwise is dominated by vessels for food and drink, as well as storage vessels. According to Pemberton the miniature oinochoai from the drain could have functioned as either miniature votives or as table oil containers for small amounts of oil.<sup>484</sup> It has been suggested that the other miniatures from the drain do not suggest much cult activity; they might have been used in the buildings on either side of the drain, if believed that the assemblage comes from these buildings.<sup>485</sup>

The shape-pattern of the imported Attic and Corinthian miniature pottery is similar. There is an over-representation of cups: the shapes are cups (kotylai), oinochoai, a krateriskos, medicine bottle, and a pyxis.<sup>486</sup> As far as the fabric provenance of the miniatures from Olympia is concerned, most artefacts seem to have originated in Elis or are of a local production (**Chart 5**). To sum up, most of the miniature votive vessels from Olympia are model miniatures, **OL1-15**, **OL22**, and the rest are diminutives, which could still have had a function in the rituals, **OL16-19**, **OL21**. No diminutives without regular sized counterparts that can be determined to be unfunctional (‘token miniatures’) are found in the miniature pottery assemblage from Olympia. Because the miniatures were found dispersed all over the sanctuary and most often not in demarked contexts, it is difficult to deduce the implications of them contextually. However, the concentration of miniatures near the Artemis Altar in the southeastern part of the sanctuary, does suggest that miniature pottery was more suitable in the rituals for Artemis. In the next section we will see how this pattern differs when comparing it to an actual Artemis sanctuary.

#### 4.4.2. Miniature Shapes, Kombothekra

The archaeological material from Kombothekra is, like the Olympia objects, also stored at the Olympia Museum. The miniature pottery assemblage is larger than the one from Olympia, but also more uniform compared to the vessels from the Zeus sanctuary. The main problems with the Kombothekra miniatures are the lack of parallels to the fabric

<sup>483</sup> Barfoed 2009, 135-48; Barfoed 2015, 174; Foxhall 2015, 2-3.

<sup>484</sup> *Corinth* VII.6, 213.

<sup>485</sup> *Corinth* VII.6, 211.

<sup>486</sup> Bowl: K12657, Skyphoi: K12725, K11076, Oinochoe: K10072, hydria: K10133, kotylai: K10146, K10140.

and shapes in order to determine where they were produced. A couple of handmade vessels indicate a local production in or near Kombothekra, which date to the late 7<sup>th</sup> century or early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (cat. nos. **KO66-KO67**).<sup>487</sup> The irregular publications of Elean pottery also mean the typology is not as well-established as is the case with, for instance, Attic pottery.<sup>488</sup> A few specific shapes were very popular and were produced in many examples, e.g. kanthariskoi, hydriskoi, and krateriskoi. Additionally, some of the miniature shapes seem unique for this site, which also indicates that there was a production site in or close to the sanctuary. An additional problem is that a number of boxes in the storerooms were mixed and it was not possible to figure out if the vessels came from Olympia or Kombothekra. These cases are noted in the catalogue.

The Sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis differs from Olympia in many ways, for example, its location is more secluded, and its fame today is of no great significance compared to Olympia (**Figure 18**). The sanctuary is nevertheless quite unique because of two circumstances: its continuity of use from the Geometric through the Hellenistic period and the fact that the goddess of the sanctuary is established based on preserved inscriptions on two bronze objects.<sup>489</sup> The site suffers from lack of clear stratigraphic information mainly due to the early excavation date, albeit some measurements of the ancient structures and the excavation area were made in 1907, and consequently contextual analyses of find deposits/spots are not possible.<sup>490</sup>

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<sup>487</sup> J. Schilbach, pers. comm. November 2014. See **KO66-KO67**.

<sup>488</sup> Schilbach published Classical Elean pottery in 1995, *OF* 23, and Sinn published Elean lekythoi from Kombothekra in 1978, see Sinn 1978. The most comprehensive publication, which contains Elean pottery, is the publication of the wells in the stadium and southeast area in Olympia, *OF* 8.

<sup>489</sup> Sinn 1981, 23-43.

<sup>490</sup> Sinn 1981, pls. 11.1, 13-15.

**Figure 18.** The Artemis Sanctuary at Kombothekra under Excavation.  
Sinn 1978, pl. 23.1.

Sinn estimates that about 1/5 of the more than 500 finds can be dated to the Geometric period based on comparisons and stylistic analyses.<sup>491</sup> As mentioned above (**Chapter 2**), the site and objects from the Artemis Limnatis Sanctuary has not appeared in the form of a complete publication, but rather as articles concerning specific material groups, for instance, the terracotta figurines from the Artemis Limnatis Sanctuary have been fully published, but not the complete pottery assemblage.<sup>492</sup> Thus, the findings in this chapter must be seen as a preliminary discussion or starting point for further studies in the area of Eleia as well as the consumption of miniaturised objects.

The shape pattern of the miniatures in Olympia is somewhat different from Kombothekra where 113 examples of unpublished miniature pots were recorded, predominantly ‘model miniatures.’<sup>493</sup> The preferred shape is also cups (43 examples)

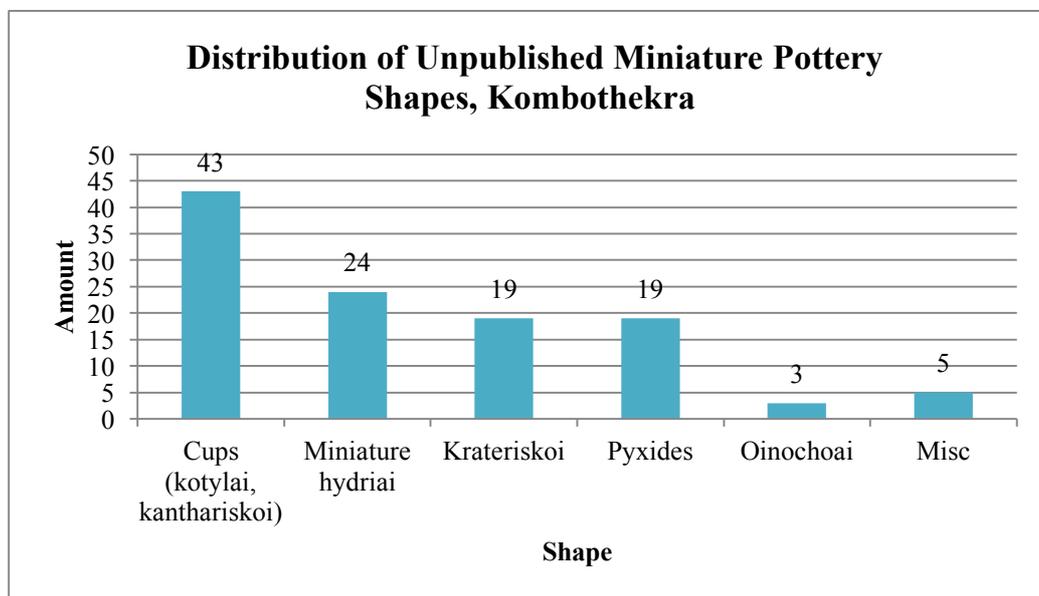
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<sup>491</sup> Sinn 1981, 27.

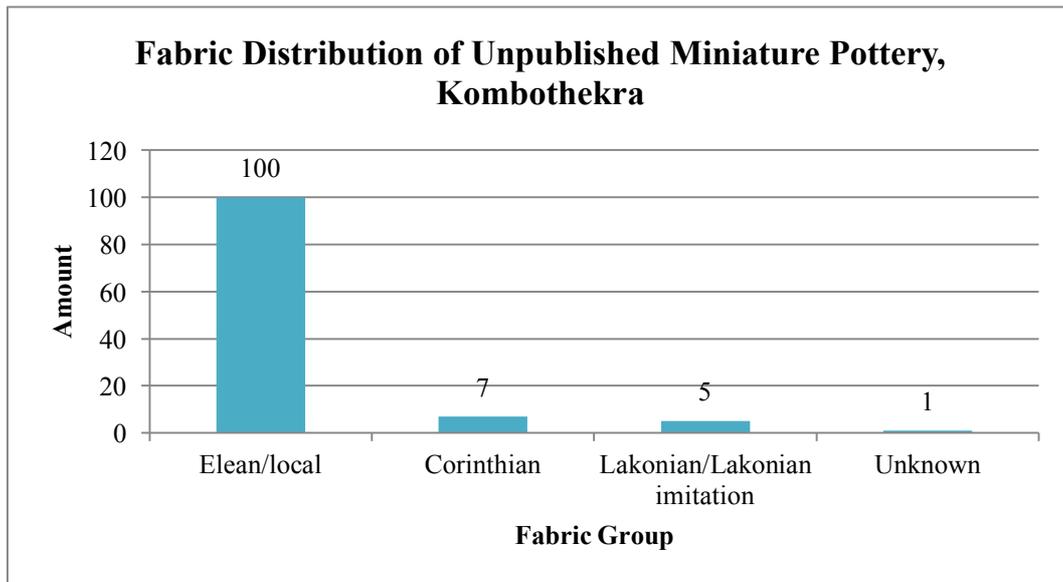
<sup>492</sup> Müller 1908; Sinn 1978; Sinn 1981; Gregarek 1998. Most of the objects from Kombothekra are in the storerooms in the Olympia Archaeological Museum, but a few examples are at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens: a Corinthian aryballos (no inv. no.), a Corinthian alabastron (inv. no. P 2490), both with black-figure decoration, and a rim and handle fragment of an Archaic relief pithos (no inv. no.).

<sup>493</sup> Some boxes containing the Kombothekra material seem to have been mixed with material from Olympia, e.g. box 655.1/294 with the label ‘Kiste 294(?) In dieser kiste waren, a) 1 fund aus Olympia grabung 1922, b) 1 fund mit inv. nr. BE67/V47, c) 2 funde aus Kombothekra. Rest?’; thus, the possibility does exist that some of the miniatures from that box were found in Olympia. The box had a number written on it in marker, 655/1, and the label with a different number, not very legible, but is possibly ‘294.’ Sinn mentioned 50 miniature vessels from Kombothekra, and 120 perfume and salt vessels, Sinn 1981, 64-5. I include pyxides with the miniatures, which can explain some of the difference in the numbers.

(see **Catalogue** and **Chart 6**). Second most common are the miniature hydriai. Pyxides and krateriskoi are third with 19 examples each. Additional shapes in smaller number are oinochoai, a phiale, a conical vessel (pyxis?), and an unusual miniature transport amphora. It is evident that the preference and thus the consumption of shapes are in some cases similar at the two sites. A preference for miniature cups is apparent, but on other points the distribution is very different; at Kombothekra a larger and more homogenous assemblage was available compared to Olympia, while also shapes such as hydriskoi, pyxides, and krateriskoi were very popular. These shapes were either found in very small numbers, or not at all at the Sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia (compare **Charts 4** and **6**).



**Chart 6.** Distribution of Unpublished Miniature Pottery Shapes, Kombothekra.



**Chart 7.** Fabric Distribution of Unpublished Miniature Pottery, Kombothekra.

Only 13 out of the 113 miniature vessels from Kombothekra were imported, a trend that is similar to Olympia (**Charts 5 and 7**). The popular votive cup type from Corinth, a diminutive kotyle with vertical bands in the handle zone, appears at both Kombothekra and Olympia (cat. nos. **OL16, KO71**). Additionally, three Corinthian kotylai are found with the distinctive Conventionalizing decoration with two bands (one red, one black); one with zigzags in the handle zone, and two with wiggly vertical lines in the handle zone. Based on parallels from Corinth, these three kotylai can be dated from the late 6<sup>th</sup> to the early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (cat. nos. **KO72-KO74**).<sup>494</sup> In shape, size, and decoration, these miniatures resemble two published Corinthian kotylai from Olympia.<sup>495</sup> Additionally, only five animal bronze figurines were found in Kombothekra compared to the 1000s unearthed in Olympia.<sup>496</sup> This indicates different consumption patterns, which may be a result of different sanctuary customs. Even though the two sanctuaries yielded the same terracotta figurines, metal figurines were not a popular dedication at Kombothekra. The explanation could be that at this rural shrine they were not as easily accessible. However, since a bronze phiale and a bronze mirror were discovered there, metal objects did find their way to the sanctuary. It is probably more likely that the cult and the custom of the sanctuary dictated the choice of dedications. The figurines and the miniature pottery from the Sanctuary of Artemis

<sup>494</sup> *Corinth* VII.5, 61-2, no. 139, pl. 11; *Corinth* XVIII.1, 175, no. 567, pl. 52.

<sup>495</sup> *OF* 28, no. 101-2, pl. 62.

<sup>496</sup> Sinn 1981, 64; *OF* 12, 14 n. 38.

Limnatis confirm that devotees there had a different demand or a different dedicatory tradition possibly due to regional dissimilarities.<sup>497</sup> It is also possible that the sanctuary was cleaned out in antiquity and metal items melted and recast or sold.

When examining the shape preferences in sanctuaries outside the Eleia region, it seems that miniature cups are generally a very popular shape. For instance, the largest shape group of miniature vases from the sanctuary at Kalapodi are Corinthian miniature *kotyloi*.<sup>498</sup> However, whether shapes can be connected to deities is a much-debated topic; Steiner has presented strong evidence that oil-vessels were dedicated in abundance to the nymph *Kotyto* at the Sacred Spring at Corinth.<sup>499</sup> Additionally, it has been suggested that votive loops in terracotta were dedications specifically related to nymphs.<sup>500</sup> These votive loops are only found at Corinth near the Peirene Fountain, a nymph shrine, the Potters' Quarter (where they probably were produced) and in the Askleion in Corinth; outside Corinth they are only attested in Troizen.<sup>501</sup> However, whether nymphs have characteristic vessels dedicated to them is still a debated topic among scholars.<sup>502</sup>

Relating the shape preferences to the finds in the offering layer near/close to the Artemis Altar in Olympia, it is noteworthy that the largest amounts of pottery vessels were oil-vessels, such as imported Corinthian and Attic oil-vessels (mainly *lekythoi*).<sup>503</sup> Interestingly, 75 black-glazed stamped Eleian *lekythoi* were discovered in the excavations of Kombothekra, which dates to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>504</sup> Since oil was associated with bathing, water played an important role in rituals where oil-vessels are found, and thus the occurrence of oil-vessels can be explained.<sup>505</sup> Furthermore, oil-vessels are connected to funerary rites, and some, if not most, *lekythoi* carry representations thereof, so what can be seen here might be a unique example of the intersection of public and private cult, public and private life. Considering *lekythoi* could be interpreted as being dedications by athletes, it seems curious that they would be dedicated to Artemis. A previously unexplored explanation is that the *lekythoi* were dedications made by young girls who participated in the *Heraia*, which according to

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<sup>497</sup> Parker 2011, 225-36.

<sup>498</sup> Felsch and Jacob-Felch 1996, 221-35.

<sup>499</sup> Steiner 1992, 387; Larson 2001, 148.

<sup>500</sup> Robinson 2011, 142.

<sup>501</sup> Robinson 2011, 142 n. 114, fig. 76.

<sup>502</sup> Diehl 1964, 206.

<sup>503</sup> J. Heiden, pers. comm. June 2013.

<sup>504</sup> Sinn 1978, 80-2.

<sup>505</sup> Steiner 1992, 402.

Pausanias took place in Olympia from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards.<sup>506</sup> The Heraia was an athletic event only for unmarried girls and, if we believe Pausanias, it was a footrace that took place every fourth year, and the girls ran with one breast bare. Pausanias mentioned that Hippodameia founded it. It is believed that the Heraia was a prenuptial rite of passage governed by Hera. It is possible that men watched the girls' footrace in order to find a eligible wife, just as a male suitor would compete to win a wife, one might imagine the women did; only virgin women were allowed to watch the games according to Pausanias.<sup>507</sup> Hera is the goddess for married women whereas Artemis is a wild, virgin huntress, and Artemis is also related to the rites of passage to adulthood, especially the ceremonies before a wedding.<sup>508</sup> Could it be that the winners at the Heraia dedicated a lekythos to Artemis after they had won the footrace? But, if following this argument, why would they dedicate lekythoi? If one assumes that it was a prize vase similar to pan-Atheniac amphorae one might buy the argument, but is there anything else that points to the lekythoi being suitable dedications to Artemis after young girls' rites of passage to womanhood? As an oil-container it is related to bathing and thus also water.<sup>509</sup> As mentioned above a large amount of oil-vessels have been found at the Sacred Spring at Corinth, possibly a shrine to the nymph Kotyto. Similarly at a shrine at the Agora at Athens, and at the Shrine to Pan and the Korkyrian Nymphs at Delphi, large amounts of oil-vessels were found.<sup>510</sup> Nymphs are creatures of nature, often connected to water, and the word 'nymph' is the Greek word for a bride.<sup>511</sup> Often nymphs are represented accompanying Artemis, and as such there is a connection. In the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite it is mentioned that Artemis was dancing with nymphs and marriageable maidens, thus, providing us with a possible connection.<sup>512</sup> The iconography on the lekythoi found near the Artemis Altar does not reveal many clues to why they were chosen for dedication. The themes are mostly Dionysian, and when women appear it seems to be grown women wearing *chitons* and mantles.<sup>513</sup> Sometimes young men are present but not young women.<sup>514</sup> This association of Artemis and the nymphs has not been explored in depth, but perhaps it is worth keeping in mind the

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<sup>506</sup> Paus. 5.16.2-4.

<sup>507</sup> Barringer 2005, 231-32.

<sup>508</sup> Larson 1997, 253.

<sup>509</sup> Steiner 1992, 402.

<sup>510</sup> Steiner 1992, 403-4.

<sup>511</sup> Larson 1997, 252; Larson 2001, 5.

<sup>512</sup> Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 5, 117-25.

<sup>513</sup> See the Attic pottery in *OF* 28, e.g. nos. 210, 293, 297, 318, 322, 336, 344, 352, 387, 388 and 292.

<sup>514</sup> *OF* 28, no. 208, 249, pl. 80.

possibility of young marriageable girls dedicating items to Artemis in both Olympia and Kombothekra.

Miniature hydriai, sometimes called hydriskoi, are the second most prevalent shape in Kombothekra, and seem to generally be a common shape in sanctuaries of female goddesses, for example at the Argive Heraion and in sanctuaries to Demeter and Kore in South Italy and Sicily.<sup>515</sup> A miniature hydria was found near the large ash-altar in Olympia not far from the Hera Temple.<sup>516</sup> Full-scale clay hydriai were used for carrying water and in Attic figured pottery women are seen fetching water from fountain houses carrying hydriai on their heads. Water jars (hydriai) could also be associated with dining, but might also, at normal size, have been associated with drawing water for the ritual bathing associated with marriage, especially in a sacred context involving Artemis.<sup>517</sup> In the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary in Corinth the pattern is different: miniature offering trays, small plates, some empty and others with small kalathiskoi inside, are the second largest shape group found in this sanctuary.<sup>518</sup> Pemberton argues convincingly that since the miniature offering tray is a shape found particularly in Demeter and Kore Sanctuaries then the shape should be connected to the goddesses Demeter and Kore.<sup>519</sup> Pemberton also suggests that this specific shape was used for commemorative offerings.<sup>520</sup> Processions of women carrying trays on figure-decorated pottery might support this interpretation.<sup>521</sup> The tray could have held grain or other foodstuffs, and the containers inside the tray, despite their sometimes very small size, could have held small amounts of liquid. However, sometimes the tray and its containers are so small that it could not have held anything, and since I do not know of any regular sized equivalents, the miniature offering tray can be defined as a ‘token miniature.’ The example seems to form a valid argument for this shape and this site, however, the extent to which it can be applied to other shapes, deities and sites, is more difficult. For instance hydriskoi are found in both sanctuaries to male (albeit in smaller scale) and female deities, for example, Kalapodi and Eutresis, which are both

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<sup>515</sup> Marer-Banasik 1997, 211; see Hinz 1998 for a discussion of Demeter and Kore cult in South Italy and Sicily.

<sup>516</sup> Diehl 1964, 180; *Olympia* IV, no. 1294, 200, pl. 69.

<sup>517</sup> Cole 2004, 193.

<sup>518</sup> *Corinth XVIII.7 forthcoming*.

<sup>519</sup> *Corinth XVIII.7 forthcoming*.

<sup>520</sup> *Corinth XVIII.7 forthcoming*; Barfoed 2015, 182.

<sup>521</sup> *Corinth XVIII.7 forthcoming*.

sanctuaries to Apollo.<sup>522</sup> Hydriskoi do seem to be found most often in sanctuaries to female deities, but in order to draw firm conclusions on specific shapes with specific deities a more recent study is needed that take into account more recent finds.<sup>523</sup>

Ekroth has discussed an interesting shape, which might also have had a commemorative function. It is a stemmed miniature kantharos/dinos decorated with female protomes dating to ca. 600-550 BC, which clearly was inspired by the famous large metal cauldrons found in many sanctuaries especially in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC (**Figure 19**). This specific shape appears in a limited range of sites at the Peloponnese, especially at and around the Argive Heraion and might have had a specific Argive meaning and function. Ekroth suggested that a single workshop produced this rare type of miniature shape.<sup>524</sup> The fact that the shape because of the protomes was difficult to drink from supports the interpretation that this specific shape served a symbolic, or commemorative function in sanctuaries during the Archaic period in the northeastern Peloponnese.<sup>525</sup>

**Figure 19.** Argive Krateriskos with Animal Protomes.  
Ekroth 2013, fig. 7.

Another aspect often overlooked in the past, which is now becoming more acknowledged, is what Alroth coined ‘visiting gods’ also mentioned below (**Chapter 5**).<sup>526</sup> It means that altars, shrines, votives, and statues dedicated to a second god is often found in large sanctuaries, such an example is found in Olympia, where there are both

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<sup>522</sup> Diehl 1964, 198; miniature pottery and terracotta figurines were found on the south slope in Eutresis and must stem from a small shrine. The assemblages suggests a female deity, perhaps Demeter or Kore based on the terracotta piglets and female figurines carrying piglets in their arms, see Goldman 1931, 245-84, esp. 245, 262-63, figs. 313-314, 319-320.

<sup>523</sup> Diehl 1964, 171-209.

<sup>524</sup> Ekroth 2013, 73-4.

<sup>525</sup> Ekroth 2013, 75.

<sup>526</sup> Alroth 1989.

a large Hera temple and a large Zeus temple and, according to Pausanias, a vast amount of subsidiary shrines, for example to Hestia, Artemis and Athena, Pan and the Nymphs.<sup>527</sup> Based on the figurines deities such as Athena, Artemis, Hermes and Silenos were worshipped at Olympia.<sup>528</sup> Recently published evidence from the Argive Heraion indicates the presence of cults to Artemis cult and an anonymous hero.<sup>529</sup> The evidence for the presence of the hero cult comes from inscriptions on vases and for Artemis from an altar with an inscription. The attested hero cult is dated to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, and that of Artemis in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>530</sup> The evidence of such subsidiary cults can blur our understanding in terms of which objects were used for which cults and/or for which deities. Therefore, one must be cautious when assigning deities to shrines and sanctuaries solely based on ceramic assemblages.<sup>531</sup>

To sum up, the three most popular shapes in Olympia and Kombothekra are miniature cups, miniature kraters and miniature hydriai. At regular size, cups and mixing bowls are associated with dining, and it is clear from the presence of dining-room facilities at other sanctuaries, such as Demeter and Kore at Acrocorinth and the Artemis Brauron in Attica, that dining was one of the activities, which might well have taken place in this ritual context.<sup>532</sup> Hydriai could also be associated with dining, but might also, at normal size, have been associated with drawing water for the ritual bathing associated with marriage, especially in a sacred context involving Artemis that could have been performed both at the Artemis Altar at Olympia and in the Artemis Limnatis sanctuary in Kombothekra.<sup>533</sup> Another Artemis Limnatis sanctuary is found on Lakonia's western boarder. Pausanias described a Lakonia legend that said that Lakonian *parthenoi* (unmarried girls) were celebrating a festival of Artemis here when they were attacked and raped by Messenians and had to kill themselves out of shame.<sup>534</sup> The description of the festival for *parthenoi* is most interested in this context, since similar rituals might have taken place in the Artemis Limnatis Sanctuary at Kombothekra. Unfortunately Pausanias is completely silent on the matter of the festival and its rituals, and concentrates on describing a dispute between Spartans and

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<sup>527</sup> Paus. 5.14.4-15.12.

<sup>528</sup> Alroth 1989, 68-73. The figurines mentioned by Alroth dates from the Archaic to the Roman period, see Alroth 1989, 69-70, nos. 1-9, table 1.

<sup>529</sup> Pfaff 2013.

<sup>530</sup> Pfaff 2013, 279-96.

<sup>531</sup> *ThesCRA* I 2 d Dedications, Gr., s. II.G.

<sup>532</sup> Nielsen 2009; Price 1999, 90.

<sup>533</sup> Cole 2004, 193.

<sup>534</sup> Paus. 4.4.2; Cole 2004, 180.

Messenians.<sup>535</sup> Hence, as at Olympia, the dedication of these shapes in miniature might have a commemorative as well as a more strictly ‘votive’ function.<sup>536</sup>

#### 4.5. OLYMPIA AND KOMBOTHEKRA IN CONTEXT

##### 4.5.1. Sanctuaries to Zeus

A straightforward answer to why miniature pottery is scarce at Olympia could be, as previously stated, the result of this type of pottery not being a suitable dedication for Zeus who was the main recipient deity in the sanctuary. Alternatively, it could be argued that the Pan-Hellenic and competitive settings of the games were dominating factors of the dedicatory behaviour. Morgan demonstrated the scarcity of pottery at Olympia arguing that pottery was a rather poor commodity compared to metal. Metal being rarer and more valuable, would have been a better indicator of status and wealth, as well as more suitable in a setting where chieftains met and made elaborate dedications.<sup>537</sup> Since display was an important element of ritual behaviour in this sanctuary, metal figurines would be the preferred choice of votives. It is also possible that the lack of cooking ware pottery, and pottery in general, is due to the fact that meat was roasted on spits instead of boiled.<sup>538</sup>

A comparison between another Pan-Hellenic sanctuary of Zeus, Nemea, and Olympia shows some interesting similarities and differences. Despite the finds from the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea still awaiting full publication, it is apparent from the preliminary publication reports published in *Hesperia* that miniature vessels were not found in vast numbers within the sanctuary. So far, only sparse evidence from the Geometric period has been discovered at Nemea, and miniature vessels earlier than the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC are absent.<sup>539</sup> Two deposits, one in the Xenon south wall and one north of the Temple of Zeus, yielded a total of 47 miniature vessels. The Xenon deposit is dated to the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC whereas the other deposit north of the temple contained regular sized pottery dating to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>540</sup> The Opheltes shrine within the Sanctuary of Zeus yielded merely eight miniature vessels

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<sup>535</sup> Paus. 4.4.1-7.

<sup>536</sup> Barfoed 2015, 177-82.

<sup>537</sup> Morgan 1990, 22-9; Morgan 1993, 26.

<sup>538</sup> Gimatzidis 2011, 82.

<sup>539</sup> For the early Sanctuary of Zeus, see Shelton 2013; 2011; Zolotnikova 2013, 116-17.

<sup>540</sup> Miller 1975, 149; Five of the miniatures are mentioned in *Nemea* I, 259, fig. 372.

from the Archaic layer.<sup>541</sup>

Dedicated weapons are found in both Olympia and Nemea, such as bronze arrowheads, iron spearheads and athletic gear, but helmets and shields are not found as abundantly in Nemea as in Olympia.<sup>542</sup> Only one helmet is on display at the Nemea Museum, which was found in an ancient water reservoir, but since the finds from Nemea are not fully published this number may not be indicative.<sup>543</sup> The comparison between Olympia and Nemea figurine assemblages reveals a contrasting picture: figurines were found in fewer numbers here, a little more than one hundred terracotta horse and rider figurines were discovered in Nemea together with other votive objects.<sup>544</sup> Only a few metal figurines were found in Nemea, a lead kouros and a small bronze figurine, probably of the local hero Opheltes.<sup>545</sup> The games at Nemea were biennial leaving the site almost abandoned during the periods between festivals. Since the archaeological record is relatively sparse, it is a possibility that victors and visitors took objects with them. Or possibly, there was a major clean up when the site went out of use. Perhaps the gear, equipment, tools, and other implements and objects were all moved to Argos after the hey-day of the Nemean games.<sup>546</sup> The dedicatory pattern is, however, similar with a preference towards weapons, athletic gear, and animal figurines in the two Zeus sanctuaries, but Nemea's small amount of miniature vessels is outnumbered by the large amount from Olympia.

In Attica a rather different cult of Zeus has been attested to. A larger amount of miniature pottery was uncovered at Mt Hymettos at the site of Zeus Ombrios ('Showery Zeus').<sup>547</sup> An altar and a few other structures were located.<sup>548</sup> Pottery was discovered in a stone-lined depression and around the altar, the life of which spanned from the Bronze Age to the Roman periods. The sanctuary flourished from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, but the majority of pottery dates in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. Sherds carrying the graffiti formula "'Name" dedicated me to Zeus' (19 sherds) confirm Zeus worship. Out

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<sup>541</sup> Four examples, see Bravo 2006, nos. 36-42, 261-65, figs. 171-78.

<sup>542</sup> The bronze arrow heads and the iron spear head was found at the eastern side of the Sanctuary of Zeus, Miller 1984, 184-85; The athletic gear consisted of an iron discus, a lead jumping weight, javelin points, iron spits, and it was found together with drinking cups and a small jug, Miller 2004, 45-6.

<sup>543</sup> Miller 2004, 62.

<sup>544</sup> Two bronze fibulas, a miniature iron double axe, and an Archaic Corinthian silver coin in a destruction layer in sections K 12/K 13, see Miller 1981, 55.

<sup>545</sup> Miller 1978, 63; Miller 2004, 36, figs. 16, 22.

<sup>546</sup> Perlman 2000, 148.

<sup>547</sup> Langdon 1976, 5, mentioned by Pausanias, Paus. 1.32.2.

<sup>548</sup> Langdon 1976, 1-8.

of the 175 pottery entries published by Langdon only three were miniatures, two of Argive production, but about 100 votive pots were kept making the total number rise.<sup>549</sup> It is not clear whether the additional 100 votive vessels mentioned were Attic or Argive and Langdon does not suggest a date either. One might presume that they date to the 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC as the three published miniatures. The miniature pottery is not Attic, like most of the pottery found in the sanctuary, but Argive or of a local plain ware production, which might indicate some preference of the dedicants when they elected/bought their votives (**Figure 20**). Drinking vessels such as cups dominate the assemblage from Hymettos, which Langdon suggested indicates some kind of drinking ritual and burned bones found near the altar indicate animal sacrifices.<sup>550</sup> The miniature cups could thus be seen as having a commemorative function and represent drinking in the sanctuary given the large number of regular sized one-handed and two-handed cups found in the sanctuary. Miniature cups served as ‘substitutes’ for regular sized functional cups in rituals, but could also have been used as containers in a ritual context in different ways than their full sized counterparts.<sup>551</sup> Antonaccio noticed a similar pattern in Sparta where most miniature pottery was drinking shapes, and together with miniature tripod cooking suggest that ritual dining and drinking took place.<sup>552</sup>

**Figure 20.** Miniature Pottery from Mt Hymettos.  
Langdon 1976, pl. 26.

Only a few metal objects, and only one ‘horse and rider’ terracotta figurine was found at Mt Hymettos, thus, the few metal objects, the lack of figurines, and the large group of dedicated pottery with inscriptions to Zeus show a different preference in dedications compared to both Nemea and Olympia, probably because this was a

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<sup>549</sup> Langdon 1976, 70.

<sup>550</sup> Langdon 1976, 78.

<sup>551</sup> Burkert 1985, 68-70; Barfoed 2015, 176-77.

<sup>552</sup> Antonaccio 2005, 103.

different kind of Zeus, and not a Pan-Hellenic shrine, consequently owing to different traditions or customs.<sup>553</sup> The epithet, and not the god as such, was the important feature in determining the character of the cult. Different epithets resulted in focusing on different articulations of cult practice and votive patterns from one Zeus sanctuary to another.<sup>554</sup>

The idea that the lack of miniature pottery had to do with Zeus *per se*, or that it was simply not a suitable dedication for a powerful weather and warrior god, the father of gods and men, can now be dismissed.<sup>555</sup> The comparatively small amounts of pottery of any kind in Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries (such as Nemea, Olympia) might be partially explained by a greater use of metal vessels in settings where elaborate public display was important. However, when miniature pottery does appear in Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, it seems to be related to cult activity that is not fully a part of the Pan-Hellenic aspect of the main deity. In both Corinth and Olympia it is linked to cults of goddesses, Artemis and Demeter.

#### 4.5.2. Poseidon at Isthmia and on Poros Island

A final example from two Poseidon sanctuaries supports the suggestion that dedications in sanctuaries are bound by local sanctuary traditions and that dedications were related to the epithets and characters of the gods, and not the god *per se*. At the Poseidon Sanctuary at Isthmia a limited amount of miniature pottery has been found (**Chapters 2 and 5**). According to Gebhard small vases were especially popular in the sanctuary; common shapes are aryballoi, black-glazed mugs, and small handmade undecorated jugs.<sup>556</sup> A concentration of 67 examples of the miniature handmade jugs is found in Deposit D from the cella, all but two have been secondary burnt; they can be dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>557</sup>

Another sanctuary to Poseidon in contrast yielded a larger number of miniature vessels. The Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia on the island of Poros was excavated under the auspice of the Swedish Institute of Athens and a final publication is now forthcoming.<sup>558</sup> Sporadic finds of miniature pottery are attested from Archaic-

<sup>553</sup> Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, 243-44; Dowden 2007, 45.

<sup>554</sup> Dowden 2007, 41-2.

<sup>555</sup> Dowden 2006; 2007, 46; Hom. *Il.*1.533.

<sup>556</sup> Gebhard 1998, 103, figs. 6-8

<sup>557</sup> Arafat 2003, 28-9.

<sup>558</sup> Alexandridou 2013, 81 n. 1; Mylonopoulos 2003, 70-80.

Hellenistic layers within the sanctuary, but most relevant here is the discovery of an Archaic votive deposit excavated in 2009 and preliminarily published by Alexandridou.<sup>559</sup> The deposit was found in conjunction with a long terrace wall (Wall 49) southeast of the very sparse remains of the Temple of Poseidon. The deposit contained pottery, figurines, metal objects and some organic material. Alexandridou presents a representative sample of the deposit, 72% is fine ware (943 sherds), 27% coarse ware and 1% cooking ware. Most of the fine ware pottery is decorated, 62%. Miniature pottery dominates the decorated pottery assemblage with 53% (311 examples), and regular sized pottery comes to 47% (272 examples). Kotylai are by far the dominant shape among the miniatures amounting to 97%.<sup>560</sup> Both Corinthian and locally produced miniature vessels appear in the deposit and Alexandridou suggest a date spanning the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (**Figure 21**).<sup>561</sup> A complete picture of the pottery consumption in the Sanctuaries of Poseidon at Isthmia and Kalaureia is currently lacking, since full publication is still forthcoming, but from the available material it has been shown that miniature pottery was dedicated in both sanctuaries, although to a lesser degree at Isthmia. At Isthmia miniatures jugs appear to be dominant compared to Kalaureia where cups (kotylai) are the preferred miniature shape.<sup>562</sup>

**Figure 21.** Miniature Pottery from the Poseidon Kalaureia Sanctuary at Poros.  
Alexandridou 2013, nos. 75, 111, fig. 9.

Kilian-Dirlmeier has examined ‘foreign’ dedications in the four sanctuaries at Pherai, Perachora, Samos and Olympia and has revealed how there are three determining factors for the occurrence of votives in sanctuaries.<sup>563</sup> 1. Cult and votive sanctuary-bound customs; 2. Geographical location, and 3. The economic-political situation of the region or the polis.<sup>564</sup> Available evidence from the sanctuaries discussed

<sup>559</sup> See e.g. Wells et al. 2003; Wells et al. 2005; Alexandridou 2013.

<sup>560</sup> Alexandridou 2013, 115-93, figs. 101-116

<sup>561</sup> Alexandridou 2013, 96-101.

<sup>562</sup> Forthcoming pottery publications from Isthmia may alter this interpretation.

<sup>563</sup> Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985.

<sup>564</sup> Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, 243-444.

above suggests that miniature pottery was simply not suited to the sanctuary at Olympia. The evidence presented above is supported by Kilian-Dirlmeier's first suggestion that cult and votives were bound to the respective sanctuaries' customs, which is a credible explanation. It is also a possibility that miniatures were more suited for rituals related to women's domain, however, answering why that may have been the case proves to be a difficult task.

It is also possible that the absence of miniature pottery at Olympia was due to the fact that dedications and placement thereof was highly controlled by the polis of Elis about 36 km from Olympia.<sup>565</sup> Based on inscriptions the city of Elis controlled Olympia by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC and perhaps even earlier.<sup>566</sup> Thucydides mentions that the Greek law was that whichever polis had ownership over a land also owned the sanctuaries, and therefore should worship according to the customary rites.<sup>567</sup> It has been convincingly argued that in the Classical period the city-state that controlled the sanctuary had the definitive control of all cults even in Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries.<sup>568</sup> According to Thucydides, the Eleans decided who was allowed to participate in the games and worship in the sanctuary. He mentions an episode where the Eleans banned Sparta from dedicating in Olympia, as well as partaking in the games.<sup>569</sup> Nevertheless, it would be wrong to think that it was only the controlling polis that determined who could dedicate, and additionally, Elis and Pisa were weak poleis that to some extent relied on the visitors and commissions of dedication, which probably meant that they remained responsive to dedicatory requests.<sup>570</sup> Even if the polis did indeed control the dedications and their placement, it seems unlikely that the city-state would be interested in controlling minor, less prestigious offerings, those might have been left for the caretakers of the sanctuary to handle. How dedications were administered before the Classical period is, however, hard to determine.

#### 4.6. CONCLUSIONS

Tentative conclusions regarding the use and consumption of figurines in the Sanctuary of Zeus suggest a preference for bronze figurines as votives in the early period of the

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<sup>565</sup> Kindt 2012, 131; Scott 2010, 30-1.

<sup>566</sup> Roy 2013, 107-8; Yalouris 1998, 167.

<sup>567</sup> Thuc. 4.98.2.

<sup>568</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 297-99; see also Dignas 2007, 175-76.

<sup>569</sup> Thuc. 5.50; Roy 2013, 114; Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 297 n. 8.

<sup>570</sup> Kindt 2012, 134.

sanctuary (9<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century BC), which shifted to clay figurines of mainly human types from the Archaic to the Classical period and declines towards the Hellenistic period. The preference shifted from a focus on animals/offerings to the god(s) to representations of human figures (the god/dedicant). The pattern is more or less the same in Kombothekra, but on a smaller scale and miniature pottery, both ‘model’ and ‘diminutive,’ is found in larger numbers. Miniature pottery is most abundant in the Archaic period, which fits with the general peak in the production of miniature pottery in ancient Greece.

Emphasis in this chapter has been on the lack of miniature pottery in the renowned Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia and several explanations have been considered. The idea that Zeus was the main recipient of dedications and since pottery seemed not be dedicated to him, therefore miniature pottery is scarce, is too simplistic an explanation. Kilian-Dirlmeier’s suggestion that a determining factor for the presence of votives was owing to sanctuary-bound customs is more convincing, but does not contribute to a profound new interpretation of miniature pottery. The area in Olympia where most miniature pottery is found was the vicinity of the Artemis Altar, a smaller shrine that was probably not part of the display element relating to the Pan-Hellenic games to the same extent as other parts of the sanctuary. Similarly, the Sanctuary to Artemis Limnatis at Kombothekra, a local (regional) sanctuary, exemplifies a sanctuary where people dedicated miniature pottery because of their local sanctuary’s customs, such as passage of rites for young people, contrasted to, for instance, the civic groups present at Olympia and its grandeur as a sanctuary and elitist setting. This idea is supported by comparison with Nemea, where a similar pattern emerges. Comparison with the more modest and quite different cult of Zeus Ombrios at Mt Hymettos in Attica reveals a different kind of votive assemblage, suggesting that the distinctive pattern seen at the Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries is not simply characteristic of Zeus as a deity *per se*, but the epithet is the determining factor.

The relative scarcity of miniatures in both Olympia and Nemea, and consideration of the specific areas in which miniature pottery does appear in these and other Peloponnesian sanctuaries, opens up the possibility that these tiny vessels served commemorative and ritual as well as votive functions. This commemorative aspect is rarely emphasised, perhaps due to its elusive nature, but based on broader contextual analysis it appears that commemoration could be another facet of the deeper significance of miniature pottery’s presence or absence in many Greek sanctuaries.

When a large amount of miniature pottery is present combined with the remains of dining rooms as seen in Corinth or Brauron in Attica, it suggests that miniatures may reflect eating and drinking, or other uses of food and drink such as libations, as part of sacred events. The traditional view of miniature pottery in sanctuaries simply as votive dedications in a relatively narrow sense needs to be explored from new points of view.<sup>571</sup>

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<sup>571</sup> Parts of the ideas presented in this chapter stem from Barfoed 2015.

## CHAPTER 5

### TRADE, BARTER, AND DEDICATORY PRACTICES

#### COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF MINIATURISED OBJECTS FROM KALYDON, KERKYRA, AND CYRENE

##### 5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses how and why miniature pottery was traded, and to what extent this trade represented, or became representative, of a transference of Greek cult, as well as the suitability of Corinthian votive objects outside Corinth. The core evidence used as a point of departure is the archaeological material from a sanctuary on the Upper Acropolis of Kalydon in Aitolia that was in use from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. More than 200 fragments and complete miniature vessels (predominantly diminutives), nearly half of Corinthian production, were found at the acropolis. The deposit also included Corinthian terracotta figurines and it has been suggested that this material, as well as the presence of wall foundations, attests to a shrine on the Upper Acropolis. The imported Corinthian votive material indicates trade, or some kind of import-export pattern between Kalydon and Corinth. The deity of this shrine has not been identified yet. Whether the shrine could be transference of a Corinthian cult will also be examined. Kerkyra (Corfu), a Corinthian colony, and Cyrene, a site that also shows extensive contact with Corinth, will be investigated and compared to Kalydon in order to consider the similarities in votive material, such as miniature pottery and figurines, and the possible transference of cult. All three sites yielded Corinthian and local material, and the occurrence of the same types of imported votive objects to all three sites indicate some shared concerns regarding ritual practices. Corinthian miniature pottery plays a key part in this chapter, and its development will be traced. It is the object of trade to Kalydon, Kerkyra, and Cyrene, but is also a very characteristic group of material that furthermore is also well dated because of the contextual information from Corinth. These traits make it useful to examine its development and will also provide the chronological timeframe for the analyses.

The occurrence of miniatures far from their place of manufacture raises important questions about their value that are of both economic and also of symbolic

value. Furthermore, it will be explored whether it is possible to discern any established patterns in trade and dedicatory practices, and whether there was a preference for objects or certain pottery shapes. The deities to whom the objects were dedicated will also be touched upon in order to deduce whether there is any correlation between a deity and a specific shape group. Additionally, since the traveller or visitor to the site, knew that (s)he would be visiting sanctuaries on the way, it is quite likely that (s)he would have known the types of votives to bring, and that the votives were suitable dedications outside Corinth. When travelling, it would have been necessary to make dedications to the gods of the people (s)he visited, including aspects of gods that might have been foreign to the traveller.<sup>572</sup> It is also a possibility that the miniature pottery was brought to Kalydon by merchants, who sold votives and perhaps also other goods, for instance other types of pottery, or perishable goods.<sup>573</sup> Dedicating in the visited sanctuaries was presumably a custom and must have been important also for keeping stable and fruitful trade connections.<sup>574</sup> So, the traveller probably knew that miniature pottery was suitable for dedications no matter where (s)he went. The symbolic value of the miniature pot may have played into the miniatures' suitability. The same type of miniature pottery shows up at many sites all over Greece, which suggests that the traveller might have known of its suitability, or of the customs of the places (s)he visited.<sup>575</sup> As mentioned above (**Chapter 2**) there was a shift of dedicatory practices in the Archaic period. Miniature pottery became an established part of rituals in sanctuaries; dedications were not just for the aristocracy anymore, but became something in which the common people could participate; so, perhaps this shift is connected to trade patterns.

The 7<sup>th</sup> century BC marks, as previously mentioned, a considerable change in the use of miniature pottery. From this period onwards miniatures were dedicated on a larger scale in Greek sanctuaries, and its introduction as votive offerings was the most substantial change in the material culture of the early Greek sanctuaries during the Archaic period.<sup>576</sup> Gimatzidis suggested that this change was caused by the fact that the rights of dedicating in the sanctuaries have been handed down from the aristocracy to

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<sup>572</sup> Snodgrass 1980, 57.

<sup>573</sup> According to Osborne, 'all kinds of things travelled with Greek pottery and vice versa,' Osborne 2007, 86.

<sup>574</sup> Burkert 1996, 142.

<sup>575</sup> Morgan 1988, 330.

<sup>576</sup> Gimatzidis 2011, 81; Foley 1988, 69.

the common people, and that the sanctuaries thus experienced a growth in clientele. He argued that the abundant miniature pottery from the Archaic period onwards reflect an immense participation in the rituals.<sup>577</sup> Can this concept of miniaturisation alone attest to the interpretation that miniature pottery was dedicated by the poor(er) people? From the analyses below it will become clear that since miniature pottery has been found as part of the imported items in the colonies, the idea of dedicating miniature pottery was possibly spread by (Corinthian) colonists and/or by transference of Corinthian cults in which miniature pottery was typically used. Thus, votive objects were not merely cheap products for the poor to dedicate, but an item worthy of being traded. First the stage is being set with an introduction of the Corinthian miniature pottery production, followed by the presentation of the three sites. Interpretation and overview of the evidence from the three sites are then offered in a separate section, followed by sections particularly concerned with trade and wayside shrines.

## 5.2. THE POPULARITY AND DIFFUSION OF CORINTHIAN MINIATURE VESSELS

In order to assess the relevance of the miniatures in Kalydon the production of Corinthian miniature pottery must be examined. The first thing to establish is that the occurrence of Corinthian miniatures at Kalydon is significant and that the Corinthian miniature pottery did not just appear in Kalydon by chance, but was either chosen specifically (commissioned for import) or brought to Kalydon by visitors, or perhaps more likely, a combination of both.<sup>578</sup>

Some of the earliest miniature pottery that can be reliably dated comes from late 8<sup>th</sup> century BC contexts in Corinth (three miniature vessels), which was to become one of the major production centres of miniature pottery throughout the Archaic period (**Figure 22**).<sup>579</sup>

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<sup>577</sup> Gimatzidis 2011, 85-6.

<sup>578</sup> Similarly, Morgan suggested that Corinthians visited Arta further north, Morgan 1988, 333.

<sup>579</sup> A kotyle, a skyphos, and an amphora or hydria, nos. 98, 108, and 130, see Pfaff 1999, 71; Pemberton published 102 miniature vessels of the Archaic and Classical periods out of thousands of miniature vessels, (not counting aryballoi), *Corinth* XVIII.1, 64-6, 168-77.

**Figure 22.** Plan of Corinth and its Environments. *Corinth XX*, plan V.

A large amount of Corinthian miniature pottery comes from the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary at Acrocorinth. The miniature shapes include kotylai, hydriai, kalathiskoi, phialai, likna, and offering trays, but most popular are kotylai and jugs.<sup>580</sup> Pemberton's recent study of more than 1000 fragments of miniature offering trays adds them to the top of the list of the most popular shapes in the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary with most examples dating from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (**Figure 23**).<sup>581</sup> Deposits from the Potters' Quarter at Corinth often contained miniature vessels;

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<sup>580</sup> *Corinth XVIII.1*, 64.

<sup>581</sup> *Corinth XVIII.7 forthcoming*.

the two earliest deposits that contain miniatures are Well 1 and the Aryballos Deposit, which dates to the late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>582</sup>

**Figure 23.** Miniature Pottery from the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary at Acrocorinth.  
*Corinth XVIII.1, pls. 50-52.*

During the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC the production of miniatures in Corinth appears to have increased substantially, and Corinthian miniatures are now found within a very large geographical area.<sup>583</sup> For instance, Corinthian miniature pottery is found in some of the Greek colonies or trading points in the west (see **Chapter 6**). Possibly, the earliest imported Greek miniature vessels in Southern Italy are typically Corinthian decorated

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<sup>582</sup> *Corinth XV.3, 309*; Graves containing miniature vessels from the Late Protogeometric period to the early Geometric period were also discovered in the Potters' Quarter. The shapes from a child's grave excavated in 1938 were miniature jugs and multiple hydriskoi combined into a composite vessel, see *Corinth VII.1, 6-8, nos. 10-11, 16-19, pls. 1-2*. Another grave contained just one miniature trefoil jug, see *Corinth VII.1, 10-16, no. 49, pl. 8*. Another child's grave in Corinth excavated in 1936 contained six handmade 'aryballoi' that are very similar to the jugs from the other graves. These probably date to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, see *Corinth VII.1, 30-2, nos. 92-7, pl. 14*.

<sup>583</sup> Regarding regular sized pottery Shanks mentions that by the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BC Corinthian pottery reached more than 100 sites around the Mediterranean, see Shanks 1995, 208. See also Morgan 1988.

miniature kotyle with bands and a zigzag pattern in the handle zone (the so-called ‘Conventionalizing style’) dating from the late 6<sup>th</sup> to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, fragments of which were found at Leuca, at the very tip of the Salento heel, a possible first stop for Greek merchants or colonists.<sup>584</sup> Corinthian miniature pottery has been imported as far as Berezan in modern day Ukraine.<sup>585</sup> Especially popular is the miniature kotyle, which may have figured decoration (running dogs), and linear decoration.<sup>586</sup> Other miniature shapes were also found in small number.<sup>587</sup> That Corinthian miniature pottery has been exported as far as the Black Sea area, the very outskirts of the ancient Greek world, attests to it being a traded item, or to it being brought by an individual. It may also speak of its importance, and suitability in rituals in the Greek colonies. Similarly, in Phlious on the Peloponnese, a locally produced miniature cup with a particular handle, travelled both to the Argive Heraion and to Perachora, which indicates that perhaps the Phliasians dedicated their pottery outside Phlious.<sup>588</sup> However, it must be kept in mind that the occurrence of Corinthian pottery does not mean that Corinthians circulated the pottery, but instead suggests activity connected with Corinthians in one way or another.<sup>589</sup> The same is of course relevant for any other traded pottery (see **Chapter 6**).

The evidence discussed here emphasises the popularity of Corinthian pottery and the peak of Corinthian pottery production in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, a date which correlates with the pinnacle of Corinthian miniature pottery found at sanctuary sites outside Corinth. As mentioned above, the evidence from the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary at Acrocorinth attest to a growth in the sanctuary in the 6<sup>th</sup> century and throughout the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>590</sup> In the next section the occurrence of Corinthian miniature pottery and figurines from three different sites, Kalydon, Kerkyra, and Cyrene, will be compared. Similar imported Corinthian votive miniatures may reveal shared ritual practices at the three locations, as well as similar trade/barter patterns.

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<sup>584</sup> Rouveret 1978, 95, no. A24, pl. 52; for the Corinthian ‘Conventionalizing Style,’ see *Corinth* VII.5.

<sup>585</sup> Bukina 2010.

<sup>586</sup> Bukina 2010, 103-12.

<sup>587</sup> For instance a miniature bowl no. 150, and miniature oinochoai nos. 207-213, Bukina 2010, 134-35.

<sup>588</sup> Ekroth 2003, 36.

<sup>589</sup> Gimatzidis 2011, 76.

<sup>590</sup> Pemberton presents the various groups of pottery from the three terraces of the sanctuary, *Corinth* XVIII.1, 79-109.

### 5.3. KALYDON IN AITOLIA

Aitolia in northwestern Greece is generally an underexplored area both historically and archaeologically and thus begs further investigations (**Figure 24**).<sup>591</sup> Kalydon is one of the best preserved and most extensively explored areas in Aitolia.<sup>592</sup> Its pottery production is, however, not thoroughly studied in comparison to other workshops, and while there is generally no systematic knowledge of the Aitolian pottery, Kalydon is a well-known site where kilns have been located, suggesting a local production in the ancient town.<sup>593</sup>

Until recently, northwestern Greece was perceived as being different from the south and Aegean islands in regards to the formation of the polis, temple construction, and burial patterns. This part of Greece was believed to have been dominated by an *ethnos* understood as tribal communities, and the people to have been living in un-walled villages with underdeveloped political and social institutions.<sup>594</sup>

**Figure 24.** Map of Aitolia.

[http://ancientcoinsforeducation.org/gallery2/d/2793-2/Aetolia\\_Aitolia.jpg](http://ancientcoinsforeducation.org/gallery2/d/2793-2/Aetolia_Aitolia.jpg)

The people were seen as predominantly pastoral, and this view was mainly based on Thucydides, who stated that the Aitolians may have been numerous and

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<sup>591</sup> Archibald 2009, 294; for a discussion of the topography of Aitolia through time, see Scholten 2010, 249-50.

<sup>592</sup> Bommeljé 1987, 14; Vroom 1987.

<sup>593</sup> So far most thoroughly published in *Kalydon* I-II.

<sup>594</sup> Archibald 2009, 295-96; Scholten 2010, 250.

warlike, but lived in scattered, un-walled villages (*komai*).<sup>595</sup> He added to this description that the largest Aitolian group, the Eurytians, spoke a barely comprehensible dialect and ate raw meat.<sup>596</sup> Recent research has demonstrated that this view of northwestern Greece owes more to a lack of investigation than to objective differences, which this chapter will also demonstrate.

One of the unique aspects of Kalydon is that the site was not reoccupied in modern times, the city simply fell out of use in the Byzantine era and was left to be overgrown in the centuries that followed. So far, ca. 4 km long fortification walls with towers and gates, two acropoleis, a theatre, foundations of houses, partly preserved kilns, a possible agora, a hero-shrine, a Roman house, and several temples/sanctuaries have been discovered (**Figure 25**).<sup>597</sup> The town within the walls comprised an area of approximately 30-35 ha. (350,000 m<sup>2</sup>) of which ten percent is occupied by the Acropolis. The total estimation of inhabitants is about 5000 people (200 inhabitants per ha.).<sup>598</sup> Archaeological evidence has thus proved that Thucydides was not correct in claiming that the Aitolians all lived in ‘unwalled villages.’

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<sup>595</sup> For a discussion as to whether the *komai* in Aitolia were always unwalled or not, see Funke 1997.

<sup>596</sup> Thuc. 3.94.4-5. Thucydides divided the population into groups: the *ethnos* consisted of three large units, the Apodotai, the Ophiones, and the Eurytians. He also names two subsections of the Ophiones: the Bomieis and Kallieis (Thuc.3.94.5, 3.96.3) All these Aitolians lived in *komai* = scattered, unwalled villages, see Scholten 2010, 250; Funke 1997, 152, and Bommeljé 1987, 13-17.

<sup>597</sup> The main publications so far are Dyggve et al. 1934; Dyggve and Poulsen 1948 and *Kalydon* I-II; Vikatou et al. 2014.

<sup>598</sup> *Kalydon* I, 79.

**Figure 25.** Kalydon Site Plan.

<http://www.diazoma.gr/200-Stuff-06-Theatres/0010-04.jpg><sup>599</sup>

Work has been carried out in Kalydon since the 1920s, initiated by the Greek archaeologist Konstantinos Rhomaios and the director of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen at the time, Frederik Poulsen. In the years 1926, 1928, 1932 and 1935 four excavation campaigns took place followed by a study season in 1938. The main focus of these early excavations was the Artemis Laphria sanctuary, which includes both a temple to Artemis and a smaller temple to her brother Apollo, or perhaps Dionysus, as well as several auxiliary buildings.<sup>600</sup> These two early temples can be dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. The first temples were presumably made of wood, and had painted terracotta roof tiles and decorated pediments.<sup>601</sup> The best preserved architectural terracotta is the famous Kalydon sphinx, now on display in the National Archaeological

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<sup>599</sup> 1: Hellenistic Theatre; 2: Heroon; 3: Stoa, Artemis Laphria Sanctuary; 4: Artemis Laphria Temple; 5: The Upper Acropolis; 6: Gate and Fortification Walls; 7: Lower Town with the Peristyle House.

<sup>600</sup> The suggestion of Dionysus is mainly based on Pausanias, see Paus. 7.21.1; a boundary stone dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC attests to the sanctuary of Apollo Laphrios, see Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, 295-97, fig. 296; Freitag et al. 2004, 384.

<sup>601</sup> Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, 138-212.

Museum in Athens (**Figure 26**).<sup>602</sup> Other remarkable examples are fragments of painted metopes with bordering dot rosettes and gorgons, and an example of a painted metope depicting a man and a wild boar probably depicting the famous myth of the Kalydonian boar hunt.<sup>603</sup>

**Figure 26.** Terracotta Sphinx from Kalydon.  
National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Photo: Author).

The metopes have been compared to the extraordinary painted metopes from the Apollo Sanctuary in Thermon (also called Thermos) (**Figure 27**), and it is interesting that the gorgon metope also finds parallels at Kerkyra (a Corinthian colony), in the Mon Repos sanctuary to Hera.<sup>604</sup> Dyggve and Poulsen, who published the archaeological report on the Artemis Laphria sanctuary and some of its finds, have called the Archaic material unmistakably Corinthian.<sup>605</sup> Temple A, the possible temple to Apollo, has been reconstructed having a central running gorgon akroterion on its roof

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<sup>602</sup> Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, 176-84, figs. 182-85, 191-93, pls. 22-3.

<sup>603</sup> Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, 152-56, 160-61, fig. 164; Barringer 2001, 147-61.

<sup>604</sup> Sapirstein 2012, 50.

<sup>605</sup> Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, 201-2; Antonetti 1990, 253.

surrounded by lions, which Dyggve and Poulsen believed was also imported Corinthian terracottas. The architectural terracottas suggest a date in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>606</sup>

**Figure 27.** Metope Fragments from Kalydon (left), Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, pl. 18.  
Metopes from Mon Repos and Thermon (right), Sapirstein 2012, fig. 12.

The 6<sup>th</sup> century BC monumental temple to Artemis (Dyggve and Poulsen's Temple B) was enlarged in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC to have 6 x 13 columns and a marble roof.<sup>607</sup> According to Pausanias, a chryselephantine statue of the huntress Artemis was on display inside the temple, but later Octavian moved the cult statue to Patras.<sup>608</sup> The goddess Artemis Laphria is attested through inscriptions, and there was an inscribed altar with Artemis' name dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>609</sup> Additionally, a Heroon (or Palaestra) dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and a stoa were discovered in the early explorations.<sup>610</sup> Unfortunately, detailed analyses of the Artemis Laphria material cannot be included here since it is kept in storerooms of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens that are not currently accessible. Nevertheless, based on some sherds dating to the Geometric period from the excavations of the Artemis altar, religious activity in the area in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC is probable.<sup>611</sup>

### 5.3.1. Miniaturised Votive Objects from Kalydon

In this section the miniature pottery and figurines from Kalydon spanning the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods are discussed. Focus is especially centred on the concentration of miniatures from the Upper Acropolis, predominantly coming from the votive deposit in the south part of Area XI (**Figure 28**). Late Archaic votive material, figurines and

<sup>606</sup> Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, 222-25.

<sup>607</sup> Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, 123-34, for the marble tiles, see fig. 145; Rathje and Lund 1991, 40.

<sup>608</sup> Paus. 7.18.9.

<sup>609</sup> See e.g. Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, 295-96, fig. 275; the altar was found in a public building inside the city walls, see Mejer 2009, 80-1.

<sup>610</sup> Dyggve et al. 1934.

<sup>611</sup> Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, 294.

miniatures, have been interpreted as stemming from an Archaic shrine located where the later Hellenistic wall foundations can be seen today.<sup>612</sup> As mentioned above, first-hand studies of the material from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary cannot be included, but the publications thereof will be consulted in order to compare the material from the Artemis sanctuary to the area of the other Acropolis.<sup>613</sup> Connections to Corinth are evident in the votive material and Corinthian miniature pottery even appears to have been imitated in or near Kalydon, which underlines the suitability of the Corinthian votives and their popularity.

**Figure 28.** Plan of the Excavated Areas on the Upper Acropolis of Kalydon.  
*Kalydon I*, fig. 146.

In total 35 miniature vessels have been published from Kalydon. Through the author's own examination of pottery stored in the apothiki in Evinochori many more

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<sup>612</sup> *Kalydon I*, 239-40.

<sup>613</sup> Dyggve and Poulsen 1948; Knell 1973.

have been identified, in total 213 unpublished examples (amounting to 249 in total). The miniatures predominantly stem from the Upper Acropolis area and only two fragments come from the Roman peristyle house (the acropolis area is designated H in the catalogue, the peristyle house D).<sup>614</sup> Examining the miniature pottery it was immediately clear that a large amount is of Corinthian production. This evidence speaks of some form of contact between the two cities, which might be surprising not so much because of the distance, but rather because of the large amount of Corinthian miniatures. The remaining miniature pottery was locally produced in either Kalydon or elsewhere in the region. However, since tile and pottery kilns have been attested to in the city of Kalydon, it is possible that the locally produced miniature pottery was made within the city.<sup>615</sup>

Cups dominate the assemblage of miniature pottery in Kalydon. 132 out of 213 registered examples see **Table 3**. Cat. nos. **KA1-KA11** are Corinthian, and **KA32-KA41** are local. This count includes kotylai, skyphoi, and kanthariskoi. The second largest shape group is krateriskoi with 39 examples, and the third largest shape group is bowls with 16 examples. Other shape groups are jugs, saucers, phialai, pyxis, and a single exaleiptron. Only one possible miniature hydria fragment has so far been registered. Most of the miniatures from Kalydon are diminutives, only a few examples can be categorised as ‘model miniatures,’ see **KA26-27, KA39, KA49-51**. As in the case with the assemblages from Olympia and Kalydon, no miniatures without regular sized counterparts can be found, except from the ‘stemmed’ krateriskoi, **KA12-13**. This preference can be due to local pottery production tradition; perhaps the presence of the Corinthian votives influenced or was a guide for inspiration for the Kalydonian votive production. This seems as the most likely interpretation given the strong presence of Corinthian votives in Kalydon, but it is also possible that the preference for diminutive miniatures was related to the rituals these miniatures were part of. Many of the Kalydonian diminutives are indeed very small, but as mentioned above, the open shapes (e.g. cups, krateriskoi and bowls) could certainly still have contained a tiny offering, that being seeds, a lock of hair, or it could have held incense. The closed shapes, for instance jugs and hydriai, could have held a tiny portion of scented oil or other liquid for a ‘mini’ libation (see also **Chapter 4**).

<sup>614</sup> For the general stratigraphy of the excavated areas of the Peristyle House (D) and the Upper Acropolis (H), see *Kalydon* I, 87-109, 213-36.

<sup>615</sup> *Kalydon* I, 157-209.

Cups (kotyle/skyphos/kanthariskos)	132	62 %
Krateriskoi	39	18 %
Bowls	14	7 %
Jugs	9	4 %
Saucers	8	4 %
Phialai	4	2 %
Hydria	1	< 1%
Pyxis	1	< 1%
Exaleiptron	1	< 1%
Open vessel	1	< 1%
Unknown	3	< 1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 3.** Shape Distribution of Miniature Vessels from Kalydon, Unpublished.

Regarding fabric 114 examples are Corinthian and 95 are locally manufactured (three unknown and one Elean, see also **Catalogue**). The Corinthian and local clays are unfortunately hard to discern from one another; especially a very light, slightly pinkish fabric is hard to distinguish from Corinthian. However, Corinthian fabrics can have small black inclusions, whereas the local “Kalydonian” fabric often has some small white inclusions and often has the Munsell 10YR 7/4 (very pale brown) or 7.5YR 7/4 (pink). Corinthian fabrics can have small black inclusions, whereas the local fabric seems to have some small white inclusions (cat. nos. **KA33-KA34**). It would be interesting to undertake petrographical analyses on this material. To sum up, despite the similar fabric, many examples stand out as certainly being Corinthian imports, which is interesting in that Corinthian regular sized pottery was not found in large amounts at Kalydon. Most regular sized pottery is locally (or regionally?) produced; Corinthian samples amount to just eight entries in the recent Kalydon publication, Attic to 11 entries, and Elean to two entries out of the 461 catalogue entries.<sup>616</sup> Overall, Corinth, however, dominates the imports compared to Attic, Lakonian, Elean, and pottery from other known production centres, which might explain the presence of the Corinthian miniatures, and no Attic miniatures have been found in Kalydon so far. It should be remembered that, for instance, Athens did not have the same extensive production of miniature pottery, a fact that might explain the absence of these vessels (**Table 4**).

<sup>616</sup> Numbers are based on the catalogue in *Kalydon I*, 313-33.

Unpublished Mini	Amount	Published Mini	Amount	Regular	Amount
Local	114	Local	11	Local	399
Corinthian	95	Corinthian	17	Corinthian	8
Attic	0	Attic	0	Attic	11
Elean	1	Elean	0	Elean	2
Unknown	3	Unknown	7	Unknown	41
<b>Total</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>461</b>

**Table 4.** Published and Unpublished Miniatures and Published Regular Sized Pottery from Kalydon by Fabric Group.

Apart from miniature pottery, fragments of terracotta figurines were also found in Kalydon. Area XI on the Upper Acropolis yielded 53 examples of females, children and animals.<sup>617</sup> Especially interesting are the several examples of the Corinthian ‘standing kore’ type, which dates to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (**Figure 29**). This type of terracotta figurine is especially common in Corinth, but most of the examples from Kalydon appear to be locally produced.<sup>618</sup>

**Figure 29.** ‘Standing Kore’ Terracotta Figurine from the Upper Acropolis at Kalydon. *Kalydon II*, fig. 264 (left). ‘Artemis’ Terracotta Figurine from the Artemis Laphria Sanctuary, Kalydon. Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, fig. 310 (right).

Merker suggested that the figurine represents either Aphrodite or Kore, and that the figurine is a lingering Archaic type, which is a convincing interpretation. Unfortunately, this does not make the dating of the Kalydon examples easier.<sup>619</sup> In

<sup>617</sup> *Kalydon II*, 531-43.

<sup>618</sup> *Kalydon II*, 531.

<sup>619</sup> *Corinth XVIII.4*, 23-37, 326.

addition to the Corinthian miniature pottery, these terracotta figurines emphasise the connection between Corinth and Kalydon. This type of figurine was a standing female wearing a *peplos* and a *polos* on her head. The goddess is typically standing on some sort of platform and holds different objects in her hands: fruits or flowers. The type is mould-made.<sup>620</sup> A similar type of standing female carrying a bow on one arm was found in the Laphria excavations, commonly interpreted as representing Artemis the huntress (**Figure 29**).<sup>621</sup> How many examples they recovered in the excavations is unclear. The excavation publication describes them simply as *zahlreiche* (translated as ‘numerous’), and Poulsen suggested them to be of Corinthian production.<sup>622</sup> Seated figurines are also found either with animals and flowers in their hands, or female figurines carrying kana or hydriai, as well as numerous terracotta apples and pomegranates.<sup>623</sup>

**Figure 30.** ‘Melon Coiffure’ Terracotta Figurine from the Upper Acropolis at Kalydon.  
*Kalydon II*, fig. 267.

Other types of figurines were also found at Kalydon, for instance the very popular type of Classical Corinthian figurine recognised by its hairstyle, called ‘melon-coiffure’ (**Figure 30**). This type is dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>624</sup> Hellenistic terracotta figurines are also found in Area XI. Dating to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, or a little later, are two female terracotta heads depicting a veiled lady.<sup>625</sup> An example of a female terracotta figurine head with the so-called ‘Knidian’ hairstyle, also dates to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>626</sup> Four fragmented pieces of terracotta figurines have been roughly dated

<sup>620</sup> *Kalydon II*, 530-35.

<sup>621</sup> Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, 342, fig. 310.

<sup>622</sup> Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, 343.

<sup>623</sup> Antonetti 1990, 253-54.

<sup>624</sup> E.g. nos. H215-H228, *Corinth XVIII.4*, 163-66, pl. 43.

<sup>625</sup> *Kalydon II*, nos. 46-7, fig. 266.

<sup>626</sup> *Kalydon II*, no. 52, fig. 267.

to the Hellenistic period.<sup>627</sup> The latest published examples of terracotta figurines from Kalydon's Area XI are thus from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

Metal votive offerings from Kalydon, such as figurines, pins, and jewellery, were not found in great numbers, and only two bronze figurines are published: a bird and the head of a wolf.<sup>628</sup> The sparse metal objects do not add much to our interpretations. Likewise, only two Corinthian coins were published, both dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. However, coins are not a good indicator of Kalydon pilgrims or guests. They could have been in circulation for a long time and obviously local Kalydonians could have owned Corinthian, as well as Thessalian, Boeotian, and other coins.<sup>629</sup>

### 5.3.2. The Late Archaic Shrine on the Upper Acropolis

The area around a deposit in Area XI on the Upper Acropolis yielded some evidence of possible ritual dining. It is likely that the structure called HS5 and the associated assemblage should be interpreted as belonging to a smaller sanctuary situated on the Upper Acropolis of Kalydon, which was enclosed by an additional fortification wall. Architectural remains from a late Archaic shrine on the Upper Acropolis are sparse, but Dietz suggested that it was similar to shrines in the Artemis Laphria sanctuary and was made of wood. Architectural terracottas were found in the area similar to the ones found at the Artemis Laphria sanctuary. Most of the regular sized pottery from Area XI in the contexts close to the structure HS5 is fine ware, and the shapes consist of cups, plates, jugs, and large bowls.<sup>630</sup> These shapes are all related to eating and drinking, and could have been used during, before, or after the rituals. However, it is intriguing that little cooking or plain ware was found here: one cooking pot, and in terms of plain ware: three kraters, a transport amphora, a thymiaterion, a pyxis lid, and a stand.<sup>631</sup> Additionally, the structure named HS5/2 excavated in 2003 has been interpreted as a fireplace.<sup>632</sup> Shells belonging to two types of edible saltwater mussels have also been

<sup>627</sup> *Kalydon* II, nos. 54, 64-6, figs. 267-68.

<sup>628</sup> *Kalydon* II, nos. 76-7, 545, fig. 269.

<sup>629</sup> *Kalydon* II, nos. 81-2, 559, pl. 56.

<sup>630</sup> It is not clear from the publication how much pottery was included compared to how much remains unpublished in the storeroom.

<sup>631</sup> *Kalydon* II, nos. 272, 298, 300, 308, 327, 341, 347-348. Some coarse ware vessels were also found: a jar no. 304, phialai nos. 289, 294, 309, and a pithos fragment no. 349. See catalogue on pages 473-87.

<sup>632</sup> *Kalydon* I, 224-25.

found in the same contexts (*Cerastoderma glaucum* and *Cerithium vulgatum*) and could attest to some kind of dining activity.<sup>633</sup>

The regular sized fine ware pottery suggests that ritual dining took place, and mirrors evidence for dining activities in other sanctuaries. A well-documented example is the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Acrocorinth, where dining rooms have been found dating from the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century to Mummius' destruction of the city in 146 BC. In 1994 the American School of Classical Studies excavated two small areas in the dining room complex in order to discover more about the ritual dining.<sup>634</sup> Both water- and dry-sieving were conducted in order to study plant, fauna remains and to make soil analyses. Wheat, barley, lentils, peas, olives, grapes, and figs were attested to, as well as one pomegranate seed. Bones from pigs were most prominent, which is not surprising since pig sacrifices are common for rituals to Demeter.<sup>635</sup> Cut-marks could not be determined on the pig bones due to their poor preservation of the bone fragments, but in one case (during the excavation of Building N:21) several iron knives were found, which can be assumed were used for sacrifice.<sup>636</sup> Ash-layers and burnt animal bones emphasise the interpretation of the dining rooms being used for ritual dining.<sup>637</sup> Unfortunately, sieving is still not an integrated part of excavation methods, so parallels to Corinth are sparse. It is possible that the regular sized pottery from Kalydon was used for ritual dining, and one iron blade probably from a knife was also discovered in Area XI.<sup>638</sup> The shrine was probably in use until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, when a new wave of building activity commenced on the Acropolis.<sup>639</sup>

### 5.3.3. Production of Local Miniature Pottery in Kalydon

As mentioned briefly above, several kiln structures have been identified in the city of Kalydon (**Figure 25**, no. 7). The kilns indicate that a local production of pottery and tiles took place in the city (**Figure 31**).<sup>640</sup> One of the kilns in the Lower Town was partly excavated and pottery sherds found under the excavated kiln structure's

<sup>633</sup> *Kalydon* II, table III and IV, and 619-26.

<sup>634</sup> Bookidis et al. 1999.

<sup>635</sup> Bookidis et al. 1999, 43-4; Burkert 1985, 242-45.

<sup>636</sup> Bookidis et al. 1999, 17.

<sup>637</sup> Bookidis et al. 1999, 17-45.

<sup>638</sup> *Kalydon* I, 230, find no. F03-1086.

<sup>639</sup> *Kalydon* I, 239-40.

<sup>640</sup> *Kalydon* I, 157-209.

foundation indicate a construction date in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>641</sup> However, the pottery found in the kiln mostly dates from the Classical-Hellenistic periods, but also includes earlier pottery, and some of Roman date.<sup>642</sup> The explanation for this mixed material is that the kiln was at a certain point filled in, possibly in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Unfortunately, Archaic kilns remain to be discovered in Kalydon and the area surrounding the kilns remains to be fully excavated, and thus a complete picture is lacking of the production of local pottery in Kalydon during this period.<sup>643</sup> Although no miniature pottery was found in the kiln itself, based on close examinations of the fabric, it is possible that some of the miniature pottery was locally produced in Kalydon. Bollen identified as many as five Archaic fabrics, one, which is Corinthian, and the remaining are local.<sup>644</sup>

**Figure 31.** The Kiln in the Lower Town, Kalydon.  
*Kalydon I*, 164, fig. 130.

To sum up, the similarity of the Corinthian miniature vessels and the examples found in Kalydon is striking, which will be further emphasised below. The immediate question that presents itself is why would such miniature pottery, and figurines, be imported given that there was likely a local production of miniature pottery and figurines at or near Kalydon. The most likely explanation is that people must have brought the votives with them from Corinth to Kalydon either as visitors to the sanctuary or as merchants. This conclusion seems plausible considering that the

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<sup>641</sup> *Kalydon I*, 208.

<sup>642</sup> E.g. no. 2, a possible Mycenaean sherd, and nos. 14-15 dating to the Geometric period, *Kalydon I*, 201-3. For the Roman sherds, see e.g. nos. 1, 13, 16, see *Kalydon I*, 201-3.

<sup>643</sup> *Kalydon I*, 208-9.

<sup>644</sup> *Kalydon I*, 337-38.

miniatures would have probably not been imported for their technical and aesthetic value, such as high profile Attic and Corinthian figured pottery of the Archaic and Classical periods. On the other hand, they were important enough to bring along on a long trip and suitable enough for dedicating outside Corinth, a custom which speaks for a high symbolic value. The next section investigates whether the Corinthian colony of Kerkyra can assist in demonstrating similar patterns in the exchange of votive objects. The presence of the Corinthian miniature objects might attest to transference of Corinthian cult in Kerkyra. It will now be seen whether this is plausible by examining two other sites with strong Corinthian connections, Kerkyra and Cyrene.

#### 5.4. 'CORINTHIAN' KERKYRA: TRANSMISSION OF CULT?

The transference of cult and ritual behaviour is difficult to prove, especially without surviving inscriptions or literary sources.<sup>645</sup> It is probable that when a cult was transferred to a new location, changes were made to the cult rather than the cult remaining exactly the same as in the mother city. The new environment and influence from the native community were likely contributing factors to the changes.<sup>646</sup> Hodos finds it difficult to imagine that a newly founded Greek cult at a new colony would have Greek rites performed by a mostly non-Greek population, as for instance in the Demeter cults which usually required the sole participation of women. Nevertheless, as Hodos emphasises that to initiate locals into the new cult would probably just require one priestess, and both Pausanias and Strabo mention priestesses joining colonists' expeditions.<sup>647</sup> Hodos also believes that since Herodotus mentions that the colonists of Miletus married Carian women rather than bringing Miletian women with them, it must have been normal practice for colonists to include local women.<sup>648</sup> The literary evidence does not provide a clear answer as to whether or not women from the motherland joined men in the colonization venture, and it is hard to deduce the extent to which Greek cult and ritual were changed after being introduced from mother city to colony. The *Odyssey* mentions exactly what an *oikist* (founder) is expected to do: he has to build the walls of the city, construct houses and temples for the gods, and delineate the land.<sup>649</sup> Graham

<sup>645</sup> Bowden discusses this problem in relation to the Eleusinian Demeter and Kore cult; evidence from the Archaic period is generally sparse, see Bowden 2007.

<sup>646</sup> Boardman 1999, 190.

<sup>647</sup> Hodos 1999, 66; Pausanias mentioned Thasos: Paus. 10.28 and Strabo mentioned Massalia: Strab. 4.1.4 (C.179).

<sup>648</sup> Hodos 1999, 66; Hdt. 1.146.2-3.

<sup>649</sup> Hom. *Od.* 6.7-11; Antonaccio 1999, 110; Graham 1964, 29-39; Malkin 1987, 135-86.

argues that it should be expected that the colony continued the cult, as well as the calendar, dialect, script, state offices, and state divisions of its mother city.<sup>650</sup> He gives an example of this: the Greek colonists of Samothrace who took over a pre-Greek cult.<sup>651</sup> Perhaps the worship was very similar in the colony during the early phase of its transfer, but subsequently it changed as a result of contact with the local cults and ideas. This syncretic development of cult is expected when different groups come into contact and start worshipping in the same sanctuaries.<sup>652</sup> Transference of cult and aspects of colonization will be further touched upon below (**Chapter 6**). In the next section, it is discussed whether there were similar dedicatory patterns in Kalydon, compared to Kerkyra, a Corinthian colony, which will help in the further illumination of this topic.

#### 5.4.1. Miniaturised Votive Objects from Kerkyra

Kerkyra, also known as Corcyra or Corfu, was a Corinthian colony founded either in 734/3 or 709 BC.<sup>653</sup> According to Plutarch, the Eretrians were the first colonists on Kerkyra, but no archaeological remains were discovered to confirm this suggestion.<sup>654</sup> Based on Plutarch's account, in 734/3 BC, a group of political refugees from Corinth founded a Corinthian colony after driving out the Eretrians. The relationship between the mother city Corinth and its colony quickly became strained; the positioning of the island made its commerce prosper, and its fleet and wealth grow.<sup>655</sup> Kerkyra started founding colonies of its own along the coast of Epirus, and the competition ended in a naval battle in 664 BC; Kerkyra wanted to be independent.<sup>656</sup> However, Thucydides avoids mentioning who won.<sup>657</sup> The tyrant of Corinth, Periander, forced domination again at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. This is supported by the increased building activity dating to this period at Kerkyra, as well as by the presence of imported objects, such as Corinthian pottery and the remarkable 'Lion of Menecrates,' a sculpture made by a highly skilled Corinthian sculptor.<sup>658</sup> Corinthian pottery was not just imported in

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<sup>650</sup> Graham 1964, 14-15.

<sup>651</sup> Graham 2002, 249-55.

<sup>652</sup> Herring 1996, 146.

<sup>653</sup> Graham 2001, 20; Osborne 2009, table 3; Spetsieri-Choremi 1991a, 6.

<sup>654</sup> Plut. *Quaes. Gr.* 11; Graham 2001, 20.

<sup>655</sup> Spetsieri-Choremi 1991a, 6-7; Hdt. 3.48-49.

<sup>656</sup> Thuc. 1.24; Spetsieri-Choremi 1991a, 7; Graham 1964, 146-49; Reboton 2008, 7-9.

<sup>657</sup> Sacks and Murray 2009, 90.

<sup>658</sup> Hdt. 3.48-53; Spetsieri-Choremi 1991a, 7, 12, fig. 12; Farnsworth et al. 1977, 455.

large numbers, but was also imitated at Kerkyra.<sup>659</sup> There were several sanctuaries at Kerkyra, the most famous of which is probably the sanctuary to Hera at Mon Repos, but shrines to Artemis have also been found on the island.<sup>660</sup>

In this section I will especially look at a late Archaic votive deposit, which was found in the southwest part of the city Palaiopoli, in the probable area of the Agora, in 1978 (**Figure 32**).<sup>661</sup> Some of the objects found in the deposit have special connection to Corinth, which I will discuss below. In a room of a house, between two walls, an assemblage including 40 objects of ritual character were found (pottery, figurines, metal objects, see **Table 5**) dating from the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Terracotta Figurines	6
Miniature Pottery	14
Regular Sized Pottery (Attic and Corinthian)	16
Metal Objects	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>

**Table 5.** The Sanctuary Deposit from Kerkyra.

The record of the deposit was published in 1991 by Spetsiéri-Chorémi, and she suggested that the deposit came from a household shrine possibly dedicated to Hera. Bones of birds and oxen, as well as shells, showed visible traces of burning probably from sacrificial rituals; traces of soot were also found on the interior and exterior of some of the vases.<sup>662</sup> A very distinct type of figurine from Corinth was found in the Palaiopoli deposit, a hand-made standing figurine with a pinched face that gives it a bird-like appearance. The figurine has extended arms and joins in a circle with four other similar figurines, which stand on a circular base. One of the figurines seems to be wearing a *polos*, and thus must be female.<sup>663</sup> This type represents a dancing group with a flutist in the middle surrounded by four dancers. This type of figurine is well-known from the Kokkinovrysi shrine at Corinth at least 127 examples of this ‘dancing group’ were found (**Figure 33**).<sup>664</sup>

<sup>659</sup> Farnsworth et al. 1977, 455; Dontas 1968. A workshop with seven kilns are attested to in the suburb of Figareto, Kerkyra, dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, see Preka-Alexandri 1992.

<sup>660</sup> Sapirstein 2012; Lechat 1891; Spetsieri-Choremi 1991a.

<sup>661</sup> Spetsiéri-Chorémi 1991b.

<sup>662</sup> Spetsiéri-Chorémi 1991b, 183-84.

<sup>663</sup> Kopestonsky 2009, 85.

<sup>664</sup> Kopestonsky 2009, 82.

**Figure 32.** Plan of the Sanctuary Deposit, Kerkyra. Deposit Marked with Arrow.  
Spetsiéri-Chorémi 1991b, 186, fig. 2.

The type was also found elsewhere in Greece, and Kopestonsky, who worked with the Kokkinovrysi material, suggests that Corinth ‘sent’ the idea of the ‘dancing group’ to their colonies, and from there onto Corinth’s daughter colonies.<sup>665</sup> It is difficult to prove this claim, but it would explain some of the Corinthian votive objects found at Kerkyra with regards to the cult. During the Classical period, the Kokkinovrysi shrine was a stele shrine next to a spring to the nymphs, and Kopestonsky suggested that women who lived in the vicinity of the shrine used the water in pre-nuptial rituals.<sup>666</sup> Perhaps the shrine at Kerkyra was dedicated to nymphs as well, or perhaps the similarities of the two locations are restricted to a similar cult associated with marriage. Another example of similar votive offerings is a very distinct type of a terracotta figurine from Corinth found in the Archaic deposit in Kerkyra in the Archaic deposit, ‘the standing kore,’ which was also found in Kalydon, as mentioned above. This type of figurine appears to be a generic type and cannot be connected to just one goddess.

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<sup>665</sup> Kopestonsky 2009, 90.

<sup>666</sup> Kopestonsky 2009, 237-39.

**Figure 33.** ‘Dancing Group’ Terracotta Figurine from Kokkinovrysi, Corinth.  
Kopestonsky 2009, cat. no. 002, 254.

The Corinthian miniature kotylai with black vertical bands in the handle zones are found at Kalydon and also in the Archaic deposit from Kerkyra (**Figure 34**). Another shape found both at Kalydon and Kerkyra is the krateriskos (incorrectly determined ‘kotyle,’ fig. 28, or ‘kyathos’ on fig. 32, by Spetsiéri, **Figure 34**). The shape repertoire is larger at Kerkyra: a miniature saucer and a kalathiskos are found in the Palaiopoli deposit. A shape that is missing from both Kalydon and Kerkyra, but is prominent in Cyrene, is the miniature hydria (see below). There is also other Corinthian pottery in the deposit, such as a Conventionalizing kotyle, which finds parallels from the Demeter and Kore sanctuary at Acrocorinth. It can be dated to the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>667</sup> The miniatures from the Kerkyra deposit exemplify well the difficulties of making a typology of miniature pottery. There are three examples of ‘model miniatures,’ all kotylai, one is the Corinthian Conventionalizing kotyle just mentioned; they measure 3.6-3.8 cm in height.<sup>668</sup> The remaining five miniature kotylai are also imitating regular sized kotyle, but are less than three centimetres tall, which is the breaking point of the heights used for the typology, which distinguish the ‘active’ miniatures from the ‘passive.’ The diminutive kotyle below three centimetres could, as mentioned above, have held very small offerings and shots of liquids for the rituals. Caution is needed when applying the suggested typology and when presuming that miniatures were non-functional. Very often, despite their small size, it was likely that they did serve a function as a receptacle in the rituals.

<sup>667</sup> *Corinth* VII.5, 60, no. 124, fig. 7, pl. 10.

<sup>668</sup> Spetsiéri-Chorémi 1991b, nos. 15-16, 22.

**Figure 34.** Corinthian Miniature Kotyle and Krateriskos from the Sanctuary Deposit, Kerkyra.  
Spetsiéri-Chorémi 1991b, 192, 195, figs. 27, 32.

Imported Attic pottery is also present in the deposit, predominantly black-figure and black glazed cups, as well as one red-figure sherd; Spetsiéri published five in total.<sup>669</sup> To sum up, both pottery and terracotta figurines of Corinthian production are found at Kerkyra; thus, the miniatures support the fact that Kerkyra imported or traded votive objects with Corinth, as did Kalydon. Miniature cups, kotylai, were especially popular in Kalydon, as mentioned above. The next section will focus on Cyrene, a Theran colony in Libya, where a large amount of imported Corinthian pottery has been discovered. Comparisons will be made with Kerkyra and Kalydon in order to discuss trade, transmission of cult, and dedicatory behaviour based on the large number of miniaturised objects found in Cyrene.

### 5.5. CYRENE: A CORINTHIAN CONNECTION IN LIBYA

The Demeter and Kore Sanctuary in Cyrene provide interesting parallels in the occurrence of imported Corinthian votive objects. It is an extramural sanctuary, outside a city complex with a sanctuary to Apollo, a temple to Zeus, a smaller unknown temple, an Agora, an Acropolis, artificial caves, and a Necropolis (**Figure 35**). There is also a sanctuary to chthonic nymphs located in the area.<sup>670</sup> Activity in Cyrene can be dated from the Archaic to the Roman period, and objects are recovered from settlement contexts, backfill contexts, dumps predating a AD 262 earthquake, and fills associated with the earthquake and its clean up.<sup>671</sup> The extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was first surveyed in 1965. The first excavation took place in 1969, and was followed by seven further campaigns, and two study seasons in 1979 and 1981.<sup>672</sup> The sanctuary

<sup>669</sup> Spetsiéri-Chorémi 1991b, nos. 29-31, 35-36, 197-99.

<sup>670</sup> Micheli et al. 2000.

<sup>671</sup> *Cyrene* 1, 77-104.

<sup>672</sup> *Cyrene* 1, 54; *Cyrene* 2, 1.

is, however, not fully excavated; excavation was halted in 1978 in response to the unexpectedly large number of finds.<sup>673</sup>

**Figure 35.** Plan of Cyrene. Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore Marked with Arrow.  
[http://www.cyrenaica.org/art/cyrene\\_site\\_plan.jpg](http://www.cyrenaica.org/art/cyrene_site_plan.jpg)

According to Herodotus, Theran colonists founded Cyrene in ca. 631 BC. This colonization is believed to have been a state act.<sup>674</sup> The Cyrene Foundation Decree, a 4<sup>th</sup> century BC re-editing of a 7<sup>th</sup> century BC inscription, supports Herodotus' account, although the issue of Cyrene's colonization continues to be discussed.<sup>675</sup> Theran pottery, as well as a local imitation of it, also attests to Thera being the colonising city. Based on occurrence of the Theran pottery, it is evident that Cyrene and Thera had continued contact in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>676</sup> A second wave of colonization took place in ca. 580 BC, in which other poleis participated, such as Sparta, Rhodes, Crete, and possibly also Samos.<sup>677</sup> The published pottery supports these dates. The dates of the pottery also indicates that it took some 30 years, so about a generation, to establish the Demeter and Kore sanctuary, and that the sanctuary thrived in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>678</sup>

<sup>673</sup> *Cyrene* 1, 56; White 1981, 13.

<sup>674</sup> Hdt. 4.159; *Cyrene* 1, 23; Osborne 2009, 8; Boardman 1966, 152; Graham 1964, 8.

<sup>675</sup> *Cyrene* 2, 96; Graham 1964, 224-26; Osborne 1998.

<sup>676</sup> *Cyrene* 2, 96-97.

<sup>677</sup> *Cyrene* 1, 21-27.

<sup>678</sup> *Cyrene* 2, 93; *Cyrene* 7, 1.

Perhaps the first settlers built an earlier sanctuary, possibly of wood and other perishable materials, which then a generation later needed to be rebuilt in stone. However, the archaeological record does not provide any evidence for this hypothesis; the traces were probably destroyed by later building activity. Cyrene's colony, Tocra, seems to have established a sanctuary to Demeter almost immediately after its colonization, in about 620 BC, and it is likely that the settlers brought the cult from Cyrene.<sup>679</sup>

### 5.5.1. Miniaturised Votive Objects from Cyrene

Most miniature pottery from the Demeter and Kore sanctuary in Cyrene is of Corinthian production. There are no Attic miniatures, and only one possible East Greek miniature bowl.<sup>680</sup> The Corinthian pottery assemblage consisted of about 5100 fragments, out of which 394 fragments of Corinthian regular sized pots have been published; it can be dated to about 600 to after 500 BC, and a broad range of shapes were found: containers for oil, pyxides, drinking cups, vessels for pouring, storage and mixing, as well as serving.<sup>681</sup> The miniatures 'copy' the standard-sized shapes, except for plates and alabstra of which no Corinthian miniature equivalents exist.<sup>682</sup> The miniature pottery consists of roughly one third of the Corinthian pottery.<sup>683</sup> As mentioned above, the miniature pottery from Kalydon amounts predominantly to cups, a trait which is also common to the Corinthian miniature pottery at Cyrene. The most popular miniature shape is the miniature kotyle with linear decoration (82%), the second largest shape group is the miniature hydria (over 12%), and the remainder of the material consists of various miniature shapes such as pyxides, bowls, kothons, oinochoai, phialai, and others (**Figure 36**). The dating range spans ca. 620-500 BC with a few of the miniature hydriai dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>684</sup> Similarly to the other sites discussed in this chapter no miniatures without regular sized counterparts are found in Cyrene. The kotylai from Cyrene are all diminutives and ranges in height from 1.5-3.9 cm, so as seen with the miniatures from Kerkyra we can debate how 'active' and 'passive' the

<sup>679</sup> *Cyrene* 2, 93; Graham 1964, 14-15.

<sup>680</sup> *Cyrene* 2, 72, no. 445, pl. 27, fig. 9.

<sup>681</sup> *Cyrene* 2, 72. There is no miniature pottery in Elrashedy's study of imported pottery to the Cyrenaica either, see Elrashedy 2002; *Cyrene* 7, 3-5.

<sup>682</sup> *Cyrene* 7, 3 n. 20.

<sup>683</sup> *Cyrene* 7, 4.

<sup>684</sup> *Cyrene* 7, 4-5. For the full catalogue see *Cyrene* 7, 13-95

Cyrenean miniatures were in the rituals.<sup>685</sup> The miniature hydriai span in height from 2.7-5.0 cm, with a large part being 4.0 cm tall, and the Classical hydriai are generally smaller than the Archaic.<sup>686</sup> Larger assemblages such as seen here from Cyrene are essential when making interpretation relating to chronology and typology, and the contexts from both Kalydon and Kerkyra are unfortunately lacking in this respect compared to the material from Cyrene. More, and better preserved examples of the same shape group are necessary in order to achieve precise results.

**Figure 36.** Miniature Kotylai and Hydriai from the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary, Cyrene.  
*Cyrene* 7, pls. 52, 55.

The terracotta figurines from the Demeter and Persephone Sanctuary at Cyrene remain to be fully published, so a full evaluation cannot be done at present.<sup>687</sup> However, a number of articles have been published which highlight several similarities to the Demeter and Kore sanctuary at Acrocorinth. According to Uhlenbrock, the majority of the ‘foreign’ figurines were imported in 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>688</sup> A large local production

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<sup>685</sup> *Cyrene* 7, 81.

<sup>686</sup> *Cyrene* 7, 88.

<sup>687</sup> Susan Kane was meant to publish the terracotta figurines, but now the rights belong to Jaimee Uhlenbrock, and the publication will appear in the series *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone: The Final Reports*, see Uhlenbrock 2012, 6, n. 17. Terracotta figurines excavated from 1969-1977 is treated in El-Harami’s PhD thesis from 1980, see El-Harami 1984.

<sup>688</sup> Uhlenbrock 1985, 297.

began at Cyrene in about the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>689</sup> In the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, Cyrene and other Greek centres produced and exported large amounts of terracotta figurines. For instance, figurines were imported/exported to Cyrene from Rhodes, Samos, Corinth and Attica.<sup>690</sup> The largest group of figurines from the Demeter and Kore sanctuary in Cyrene is an enthroned female, a type that has often been interpreted as representing Demeter (**Figure 37**).<sup>691</sup>

**Figure 37.** Enthroned Terracotta Female Figurine from the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary, Cyrene.

<http://www.cyrenaica-terracottas.org/seated1/fi/74-677.htm>

The standing, draped female holding a wreath in one hand and a fruit in the other is quite similar to a figurine from Kalydon (**Figure 38**).<sup>692</sup> A similar type is found in large numbers in the Chthonic Nymph sanctuary at Cyrene, although most examples hold a branch and a wreath/koulouri in their hands.<sup>693</sup> Another difference from the sanctuary of the Chthonic Nymph is that the majority of terracotta figurines are of a male kouros type (57%).<sup>694</sup> Also, only eight miniature cups were found in the nymph sanctuary, six handmade cups, and two fragments of miniature kotylai probably dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>695</sup> To sum up, the votive evidence from Kalydon, Kerkyra, and the Demeter and Persephone sanctuary at Cyrene, is similar in its

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<sup>689</sup> Uhlenbrock 2010, 86.

<sup>690</sup> Uhlenbrock 1985, 299.

<sup>691</sup> Uhlenbrock 2010.

<sup>692</sup> Uhlenbrock 2010, 85.

<sup>693</sup> Micheli et al. 2000, 143-58, nos. 1-273, pls. 10-24.

<sup>694</sup> Micheli et al. 2000, 129-31, fig. 19, and table 3.

<sup>695</sup> Micheli et al. 2000, 183-84, nos. 933-41, pl. 48.

preference for votive cups (*kotylai*), and *krateriskoi*, and some similar standing terracotta figurines (female with a *polos* and objects in her hands), probably representing a goddess. This may suggest similar cult practice, similar rituals, or dedications to a female goddess at all three sites. In the next section an overview and interpretations of the votive assemblages from Kalydon, Kerkyra, and Cyrene will be presented.

**Figure 38.** Standing Terracotta Female Figurine from the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary, Cyrene.

<http://www.cyrenaica-terracottas.org/standing2/fi/78-804.htm>

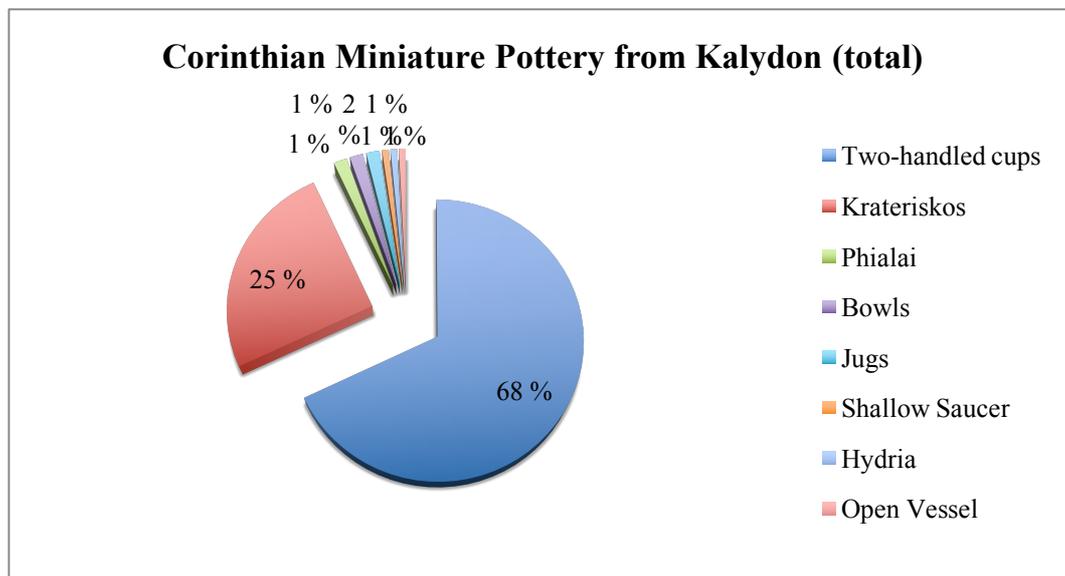
## 5.6. OVERVIEW AND INTERPRETATION OF THE MINIATURES FROM KALYDON, KERKYRA, AND CYRENE

The section serves to summarise and underline the differences and similarities, together with some tentative interpretations of the votive assemblages from the three sites treated in this chapter. Tables and graphs are used to provide a clearer image of the various patterns in the different assemblages, and Corinthian miniature and regular sized vessels will be compared.

### 5.6.1. Kalydon

In Kalydon the Corinthian miniature pottery shape repertoire differs from the regular sized Corinthian pottery. As seen in **Chart 8** the total Corinthian miniature shape distribution (both published and unpublished miniatures) are dominated by cups with 68%, secondly *krateriskoi* with 25% and a large jump down to number three, jugs, with

just 2%. The remaining shape groups (phiale, bowls, saucers, hydria, open vessel) constitute 1% each.



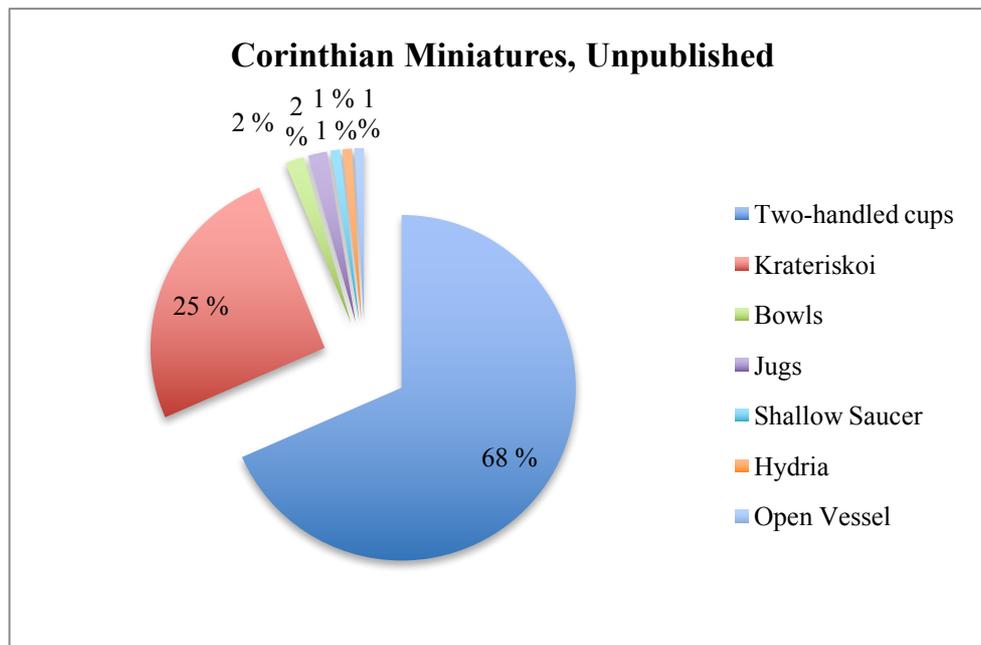
**Chart 8.** Corinthian Miniature Pottery from Kalydon (Unpublished and Published).

The shape distribution of the sparse Corinthian regular sized vessels in (all of) Kalydon, amounting to eight catalogue entries, is dominated by kotylai (two examples), and oinochoai (also two examples). Other shapes are an aryballos, an echinus bowl, a pyxis, and a fragment of an undetermined shape.<sup>696</sup> Regular and miniature pottery shapes are thus somewhat similar, cups are popular and the miniature shapes follow the regular sized vessels. However, a marked difference is that regular size kraters are not as popular as the miniature kraters.

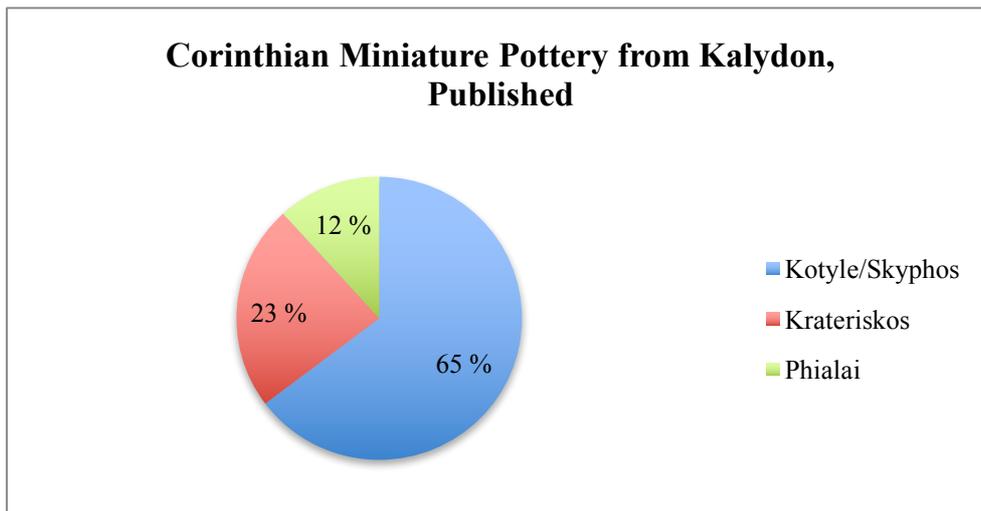
The shape distribution among the unpublished miniature pottery from Kalydon showed that cups were dominant (68%). Second came krateriskoi 25%, and third, miniature bowls sharing the spot with jugs, each amounting to 2%. The published Corinthian miniatures differ in shape distribution from the unpublished Corinthian miniature vessels studied by the author. Only three shape groups were distinguished among the 17 published Corinthian miniatures, skyphoi/kotylai (11 examples), krateriskoi (four), and phialai (two) (Compare **Charts 9-10**). The most popular miniature cup type is the kotyle. It has a flat base, two horizontal handles, and typically

<sup>696</sup> All of the Corinthian pottery has been determined to belong to the fabric group called 'AR1', *Kalydon I*, 338. The Corinthian pottery is not separated in the publication. The Corinthian regular sized fragments have the following cat. nos.: 224, 232, 234, 247, 254, 268, 318, and 437, see *Kalydon II*, 459-60, 462, 464, 470, 472, 481, 504.

carries vertical black bands in the handle zones, and broader horizontal bands on the lower body (cat. nos. **KA1-KA6**). This small votive cup was produced in Corinth and imitated in Kalydon. Miniature krateriskoi, bowls, and a miniature phiale were also discovered in Area XI.<sup>697</sup> They could have been dedicated containing small amounts of grain, wine, water, wool, and fruit as a representation of an ‘ordinary’ offering.



**Chart 9.** Corinthian Miniature Pottery from Kalydon, Unpublished.<sup>698</sup>



**Chart 10.** Corinthian Miniature Pottery from Kalydon, Published.<sup>699</sup>

<sup>697</sup> *Kalydon II*, nos. 280-284, 332, and 367.

<sup>698</sup> See the **Catalogue**.

<sup>699</sup> Based on *Kalydon I*, 357. The published Corinthian miniatures belong to the fabric group called ‘AR1’ (the krateriskos no. 324 occurs twice in the table). Three miniature kotylai have been determined to belong to the Classical period by Bollen, but the three examples are not represented in the

It is peculiar that some Corinthian shape groups are not represented at all in Kalydon, such as the miniature hydriai, but the same group is found in large numbers in Cyrene. For some unknown reason, Corinthian miniature hydriai were not part of the votive assemblage in Kalydon, perhaps because of the rituals to which the vases were related. Miniature hydriai have often been associated with water because of the function of the standard size hydriai, as seen on vase-paintings where women are fetching water at a fountain house carrying hydriai on their heads (see e.g. **Figure 39**).

**Figure 39.** Attic Black-Figure Hydria, ca. 520-500 BC.  
British Museum, London. Inv. No.: BM, GR 1837.6-9.53, AN34522001.

We do not know enough about the rituals at Kalydon to be able to decide why miniature hydriai were absent. Pausanias described a ritual to Artemis Laphria, but he was writing in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, so it must be remembered that the account he gives of the ritual may not correspond truthfully to one dating to the Archaic period. Pausanias describes how the people of Patras celebrated the festival of Laphria in honour of their Artemis, and adds that during the festival they employed a method of

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publications by neither photos nor drawings. They have catalogue nos. 277, 305 and 325, see *Kalydon* II, 474, 479, and 482.

sacrifice unique to the place (Laphria perhaps meant ‘the Devouring’).<sup>700</sup> They decorated the altar and constructed a ramp leading to the altar. There was a splendid procession where the priestess rode in a cart yoked to a deer. The following day the sacrifices took place: live animals were thrown onto the fire, wild boars, bear cubs, deer, birds, and other animals. Pausanias stated that, ‘it is not remembered that anybody has ever been wounded by the beasts.’<sup>701</sup> Pausanias probably emphasized the dramatic aspects of the cult to impress his audience, and (unfortunately) the mentioning of small (everyday?) votives and how they were dedicated did not make it to his *Periegesis*, perhaps because it was part of everyday rituals and thus not dramatically significant for his purpose. The focus of this ritual was the offering of the animals to Artemis, wild animals that is. One might suggest that the dedication of other paraphernalia was secondary in the Artemis Laphria ritual, but one cannot stretch the interpretations further than that. It is also debatable whether the cult and its rituals remained the same after its relocation from Kalydon to Patras, and if the ritual Pausanias described actually was Roman in nature.<sup>702</sup>

Returning to another group of miniaturised objects found in Kalydon, the terracotta figurines. The Corinthian ‘standing kore’ terracotta figurine type is especially popular in Kalydon and was also locally produced (imitated) as mentioned above. This type of figurine does not necessarily represent a specific goddess, but seems to be a generic type that could have been dedicated to various female deities, an idea also emphasised by Bollen, who published the pottery and figurines from Kalydon.<sup>703</sup> A characteristic seated female type figurine found throughout the northeast Peloponnese mirrors this idea. The type appears to have been a selected dedication for Hera, but during the late Archaic period began to be used in sanctuaries to other deities.<sup>704</sup> Additionally, Merker argues that by the Classical period the ‘standing kore’ type of figurine depicted mortal subjects and represented votaries carrying offerings to the goddess.<sup>705</sup> The specific type of Artemis figurine holding a bow has yet to be discovered at the Upper Acropolis. Whether this suggests that the shrine on the Upper Acropolis is not a shrine to Artemis, but a shrine to a different goddess, is still uncertain. An

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<sup>700</sup> Dowden 2007, 52.

<sup>701</sup> Paus. 7.18.11-13.

<sup>702</sup> Pirenne-Delforge 2006.

<sup>703</sup> *Kalydon* II, 530-31; Barfoed 2013.

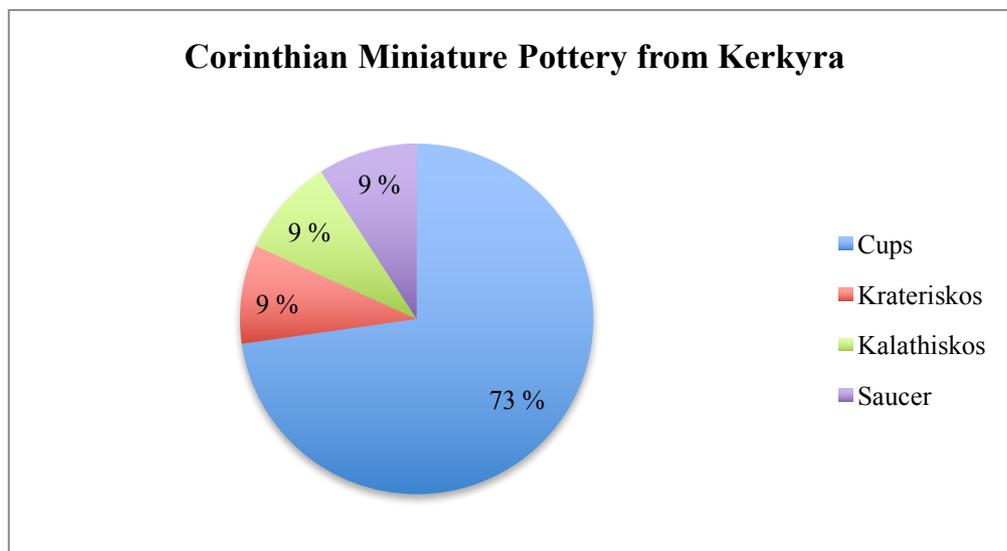
<sup>704</sup> Barfoed 2013, 97-100.

<sup>705</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.4, 24.

inscription or boundary stone would be a welcoming future find in or near Area XI, which was not fully excavated during the excavations of 2002-04.

### 5.6.2. Kerkyra

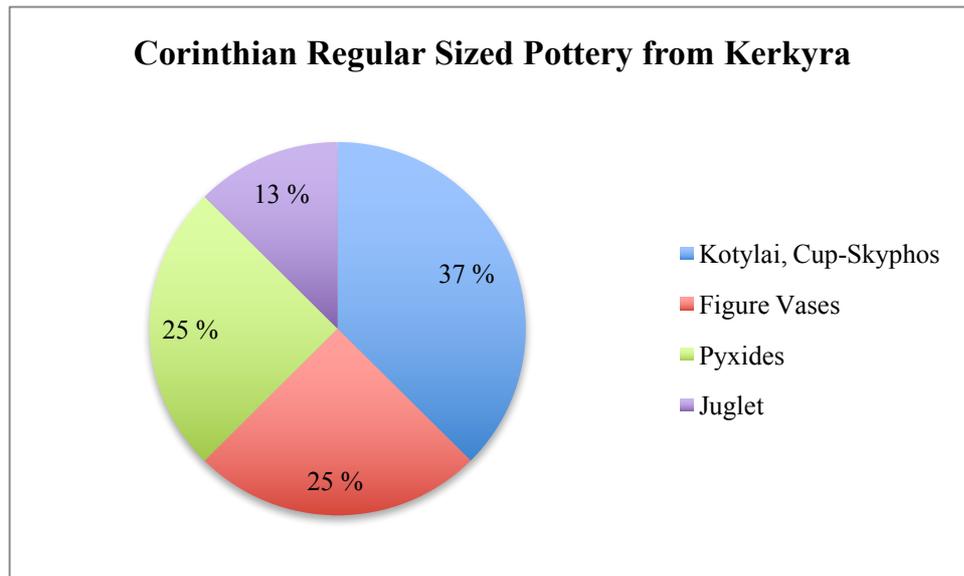
The sanctuary deposit from Kerkyra is smaller than the pottery assemblage from Kalydon's Area XI, but it is uncertain how much additional material was uncovered in the excavation, and did not make it to the article publication. 14 miniature vessels were published; three cups were possibly of a local production, and the remaining 11 were Corinthian. The Corinthian miniatures consisted of kotylai and kyathos (eight examples), krateriskos (one), kalathiskos (one), and saucer (one) (**Chart 11**).



**Chart 11.** The Corinthian Miniature Pottery from the Sanctuary Deposit at Kerkyra.

The published regular sized vessels amount to 16, eight Corinthian, five Attic, and three possible locally produced vessels.<sup>706</sup> Cups are only slightly dominant in the Corinthian regular sized assemblage (three examples), followed closely by figure vases, and pyxides (two examples each), and there is also one example of a juglet (**Chart 12**).

<sup>706</sup> Based on the catalogue in Spetsiéri-Chorémi 1991b.



**Chart 12.** Corinthian Regular Sized Pottery from Kerkyra.

A curious miniaturised object in the Archaic deposit in Kerkyra is a miniature clay throne of 12.2 cm; its clay indicates a Corinthian provenance. Spetsiéri-Chorémi dates this from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>707</sup> Miniature furniture is not among the most common finds, probably because it was not mass-produced in the same manner that miniature pottery was, or perhaps because it was not as commonly needed for dedication. Miniature furniture was produced mainly in lead, but also sometimes in clay as seen here.<sup>708</sup> Terracotta miniature furniture is found in sanctuaries to Hera such as the Argive Heraion, and at Tiryns, and according to Baumbach the objects are connected to Hera's qualities as a protectress of fertility, childbirth, and pregnancy.<sup>709</sup> Since Hera is depicted as seated on a throne in vase painting iconography and is considered a matron because she is Zeus' wife, it may be a possible interpretation. Miniature thrones are also found at the Potters' Quarter in Corinth, which may suggest the production spot for these relatively rare products.<sup>710</sup> Baumbach's suggestion of Hera's connections to thrones could be valid seeing the strong presence of Hera at Kerkyra at the Sanctuary of Mon Repos. However, Hera is not the only female deity attested to on Kerkyra; another deposit on the island from the so-called 'Small Sanctuary,' which was found in 1879, included more than 7000

<sup>707</sup> Spetsiéri-Chorémi 1991b, no. 6, 189, fig. 14.

<sup>708</sup> Andrianou 2007, 41.

<sup>709</sup> Baumbach 2004, 34, 55, 60, 80-1, 83, 91.

<sup>710</sup> *Corinth* XV.2, 204-11.

terracotta figurines that appeared to resemble the goddess Artemis.<sup>711</sup> It can be noted that no miniature furniture was found in this deposit, so the throne's connection to Hera alone remains a possibility.

Fragments of a terracotta throne were discovered in the area of the Peristyle building in the Lower Town of Kalydon and date from the late Hellenistic to the early Roman period based on its context.<sup>712</sup> The throne comes from below a tile layer in Room 1 in the Peristyle building where several marble sculpture fragments also were found.<sup>713</sup> Two stone altars were found in the same room, which carried inscriptions mentioning Artemis. Sculptural marble fragments of a herm, a complete lion, and fragments of a female statue were also found, as well as terracotta lamps and thymiateria, objects all pointing to cult activity.<sup>714</sup> The female marble statue probably represents Kybele or Meter, based on her mural crown and seated position; it dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Kybele is, like Artemis, connected to wild animals.<sup>715</sup> However, it may be that the statue represents Artemis, given the shared characteristics of the two goddesses and the stone altars with Artemis inscriptions. Stretching the interpretation even further, since Artemis is so prominent in Kalydon, we have an Artemis sanctuary on a low acropolis, and a possible Artemis cult in the Hellenistic peristyle building, perhaps the smaller shrine on the Upper Acropolis of Kalydon was also a shrine to Artemis? It seems that the shrine at the Upper Acropolis was restructured in the Hellenistic period, so perhaps the main cult moved to the Peristyle building in the Lower Town in the Hellenistic period? It is also possible that one could worship both Kybele and Artemis in the room in the Peristyle building, for instance, Kybele was the main cult exemplified by the statue, and Artemis was the visiting goddess based on the small inscribed altars. That means that at least three, possibly four, cults to female goddesses existed in Kalydon from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period: 1) the late Archaic shrine on the Upper Acropolis, which may have belonged to a female deity where ritual dining was part of the cult, for instance, Demeter and Kore, 2) the Artemis Laphria cult in the Laphria sanctuary, 3-4) and a possible Kybele cult and/or Artemis cult that was active in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC in the Lower Town of Kalydon.

<sup>711</sup> Lechat 1891; Preka-Alexandri 2010, 401.

<sup>712</sup> *Kalydon* II, no. 11, 526, fig. 263.

<sup>713</sup> *Kalydon* I, 87-91.

<sup>714</sup> *Kalydon* I, 133-36.

<sup>715</sup> *Kalydon* I, 139.

In the deposit from Kerkyra additional 180 terracotta loomweights were found in the room of the house related to the deposit, and three fragments of female protomes and figurines in terracotta were found outside of the deposit, but in the nearby area.<sup>716</sup> Spetsiéri-Chorémi suggested that the deposit comes from a Hera sanctuary based on the throne, the figurines, the metal objects and the loomweights, in her capacity as protectress of women and family life.<sup>717</sup> Another possibility can be Artemis, because of one of the metal objects. It is a bracelet similar to bronze bracelets found near the Artemis Altar in Olympia with snakehead ornaments.<sup>718</sup> Artemis is a wild, nature goddess, a huntress, and in her *potnia theron* aspect, known from as early as Homer, she is the mistress of wild animals.<sup>719</sup>

It is curious that imported Corinthian and Attic pottery featured so dominantly in the deposit, perhaps this type of pottery was considered finer and thus more suitable for dedications or as implements in the rituals (**Table 6**).

<b>Miniatures</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Regular</b>	<b>Amount</b>
Corinthian	11	Corinthian	8
Attic	0	Attic	5
Local	3	Local	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>

**Table 6.** Sanctuary Deposit, Kerkyra. Miniature and Regular Sized Pottery by Fabric Group.<sup>720</sup>

The votive deposit from a rural shrine to a female goddess, Demeter or perhaps a nymph, outside the Sanctuary of Zeus in Nemea, similarly had a large amount of imported pottery, mostly Corinthian but also Attic. Argive terracotta figurines were also found in this deposit.<sup>721</sup> At this rural shrine at Nemea Corinthian miniature offering trays were also found, a shape that is predominantly found in the Demeter and Kore sanctuary at Acrocorinth, thus, perhaps the Nemean shrine belonged to a similar aspect of Demeter as seen in Corinth.<sup>722</sup> It is, however, in both cases, difficult to deduce what the reasons were for the imported pottery, also since locally produced pottery was in the case of Nemea minimal, because part of the deposit assemblage was missing, and

<sup>716</sup> Spetsiéri-Chorémi 1991b, 206-11.

<sup>717</sup> Spetsiéri-Chorémi 1991b, 211.

<sup>718</sup> Spetsiéri-Chorémi 1991b, no. 38, 199, fig. 49.

<sup>719</sup> Jensen 2009, 56; Bevan 1989.

<sup>720</sup> Based on Spetsiéri-Chorémi 1991b.

<sup>721</sup> Barfoed 2013.

<sup>722</sup> Barfoed 2013, 90-1.

in the case of Kerkyra, it is unclear if additional pottery was found in the excavation, or if the full assemblage was published.

### 5.6.3. Cyrene

In the Demeter and Kore sanctuary at Cyrene the regular sized vessels outnumber the miniatures in the scale 2:1.<sup>723</sup> Kotylai are most ubiquitous amounting to 50% of the regular sized part of the assemblage (this is based on the 5100 fragments recovered in the excavation, and not the representative numbers in the catalogue. 3400 of the fragments are regular sized vessels).<sup>724</sup> As seen in **Table 7** the kotyle is also dominant in miniature with 82%.

<b>Miniatures</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Regular sized</b>	<b>Amount</b>
Kotylai	82%	Kotylai	50%
Hydriai	Over 12%	Pyxides	11%
Other shapes	6%	Various shapes	10%
		Aryballoi	8%
		Kothons/Exaleiptra	8%
		Pyxis lids	6%
		Oinochoe	2%
		Plates	2%
		Kylikes	1%
		Other shapes	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 7.** Corinthian Miniature and Regular Sized Pottery from Cyrene.<sup>725</sup>

It is interesting that two very dominant shapes found in the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary in Corinth are not at all present in Cyrene: the kalathiskos and the miniature offering trays. At Kerkyra only one kalathiskos was found, and at Kalydon kotylai and krateriskoi are presiding, only one fragment of a miniature hydria was found and no kalathiskoi were located. It appears that suitable dedications for the Corinthian Demeter were different for Cyrenean Demeter; it seems that specific shapes do not follow ('belong to') specific deities. On the other hand, kotylai were dominant in all of the three sanctuaries discussed here. Krateriskoi were popular in Kalydon and Kerkyra but is found in less numbers in Cyrene. One cannot help but consider how and why did the Corinthian miniature pottery arrive at places like Kalydon, Kerkyra, and Cyrene? The

<sup>723</sup> *Cyrene* 7, 3.

<sup>724</sup> *Cyrene* 7, 3-5.

<sup>725</sup> Based on *Cyrene* 7.

decorated regular sized pottery from Cyrene attest to the import of certain products from specific workshops, for instance plates by the Chimaera Group, and pyxides by the Geladakis Painter.<sup>726</sup> Perhaps orders were made for specific painters and workshops, and then perhaps they added 50 votive cups in addition to the order.<sup>727</sup> Then the workshop would make a selection of votives from their workshop based on that order. Osborne suggested that merchants were probably setting out both on the basis of orders, and also on the basis of their knowledge of the market they were of service to.<sup>728</sup> In the next sections more discussion follows on trade and barter in order to attempt to fully understand the movement and suitability of miniature votives. This is a rather unexplored topic, but seeing that for instance Corinthian votives are commonly found outside Corinth, the barter and trade of votives was part of, or integrated in the trade of regular sized items.

#### 5.7. NOTES ON TRADE AND WAYSIDE SHRINES

Cyrene was ideally placed on the circle of the Mediterranean trade communication and had an advantageous location on the land routes to North Africa, which facilitated trade throughout the city's lifespan.<sup>729</sup> Uhlenbrock has analysed 40 Archaic votive deposits from Cyrene, and argues in favour of the existence of three types of trade. Bulk-trade, basket-trade, and what she calls 'bazaar trade' or 'indirect trade.' Bulk denotes large quantities of products, whereas 'basket' indicates a small quantity (for example, a basketful) of figurines or miniature vessels, which can still be categorised as direct trade. The 'indirect' trade is believed by Uhlenbrock to have been the most common for all votive items.<sup>730</sup> That this type of trade is indirect means that it could have had little or no contact with established pottery trade routes.<sup>731</sup> This kind of trade would result in a kind of 'bazaar' where a local inhabitant might have bought one or two figurines directly from the ship in the harbour. This would have been repeated at the next harbour on the route of the ship, and would result in widespread occurrences of terracotta figurines produced in the same mould and the same production site.<sup>732</sup> In this

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<sup>726</sup> *Cyrene* 7, 10.

<sup>727</sup> Gill 1994, 101-2.

<sup>728</sup> Osborne 2007, 90-1; Gill 1994, 101-2.

<sup>729</sup> Elrashedy 1985, 205.

<sup>730</sup> Uhlenbrock 1985, 299-302.

<sup>731</sup> Uhlenbrock bases this term on Braudel's work on 16<sup>th</sup> century merchant ships, Uhlenbrock 1985, 301.

<sup>732</sup> Uhlenbrock 1985, 303.

way, both foreign and regional/local products could have made it to the sites. Another person, a merchant, could then have picked up the products in the harbour for him to sell at the sanctuary site, at his own stall. In cases where the trader came by land route, perhaps he came all the way into the city, perhaps to the marketplace (agora) where he then sold his objects, which then later became available to buy from a small stall inside the sanctuary. I imagine the latter scenario for sites such as Kalydon, which was located on a soft mountain range. Uhlenbrock's suggestion of different types of trade is based on figurines found in deposits in Cyrene, but it is very likely that her ideas of 'basket-trade' and 'bazaar trade' reflect actual commerce patterns in the ancient Greek world. More supporting evidence is, however, sought for in contribution of this idea. Regarding the practicalities of the trade to Cyrene, Cyrene exemplifies that trade of votives did not necessarily accompany the imported pottery. Both Attic and Corinthian Archaic pottery was imported to Cyrene, but contemporary Attic and Corinthian terracotta figurines were not found.<sup>733</sup> Curiously, a large part of the imported Corinthian miniature pottery dates to the Archaic period, thus, trade of figurines differed from trade of (all kinds of) pottery.

It is difficult to acknowledge consumption patterns in the archaeological record, but large assemblages of votives can be indicative of patterns as discussed in the case of Kalydon and Kombothekra above. At Cyrene a very large amount of terracotta figurines have been found, as mentioned above. Uhlenbrock, who is to publish these figurines, has preliminarily spotted a consumption trend. Athenian terracotta figurine production influenced the local production of figurines in Cyrene, for instance the so-called *peplophoros* representing a seated or standing female wearing a peplos. Local versions of this type began to appear in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore around the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>734</sup> Around this time imported Athenian pottery considerably diminished and it seems that the contact between Athens and other sites in the Cyrenaica grew weaker.<sup>735</sup> I believe that this weakened commercial tie with Athens was the main reason for the Cyrenean terracotta production to expand and become increasingly popular. Since the sanctuary could not get their votive needs covered by Athens anymore, they had to find another way, and the solution was to expand and develop their own terracotta figurine production. Unfortunately, such

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<sup>733</sup> Uhlenbrock 1985, 299.

<sup>734</sup> Uhlenbrock 1992, 19-20.

<sup>735</sup> Uhlenbrock 1992, 20.

examples of consumption patterns are rare, and require careful analyses of often large amounts of (unpublished) small votive objects. Attention has to be paid to details in the execution to spot different types of moulds, and careful analyses of the fabric are mandatory in order to determine the origin of the votive objects. According to Foxhall, the starting point with consumption is not demand but desire. Desire and the goods are thus dynamically linked each changing in relation to the other. Also, you cannot desire what you do not know directly or indirectly by seeing it in the hands of another, or have heard other talking about it.<sup>736</sup> The shift in consumption in Cyrene could be explained by the fact that the contact with Attica was ‘broken’ and the desire for foreign (Corinthian) votives had to be met with local products instead. This change in consumption might not have been what the Cyreneans wanted, but the evidence shows that for some reason they had to adapt to new circumstances and meet the demand of votives by expanding their local production centre(s).

In the Roman period, pottery vessels are regularly thought of as being traded as ‘space-fillers,’ a kind of secondary cargo, or profitable ballast, and the extent to which the same is true for the Greek period has been widely discussed.<sup>737</sup> This discussion ties into the big, much debated, topic of how valuable pottery was in antiquity, a topic too large for the scope of this chapter; thus, only few aspects will be discussed here.<sup>738</sup> Based on excavations of shipwrecks, it has become clear that some ships carried large amounts of pottery and some very little.<sup>739</sup> Shipwrecks near the Lipari Islands demonstrate that a large number of pots could be inserted in the space between a stacked amphorae cargo.<sup>740</sup> The Giglio wreck, dated to shortly after 600 BC, yielded only 50 pieces of fine pottery, whereas the Pointe Lequin 1A wreck, dating to ca. 515 BC, is thought to have carried 800 Attic cups, 1,600 ‘Ionian’ cups, and 150 further fine ware vessels, mostly Attic.<sup>741</sup> Trade in the form of batches is attested to in a graffito on a krater in Louvre mentioning seven different vessels being sold together.<sup>742</sup> Miniature pottery, unfortunately, does not carry graffito nor do ancient authors mention it, so there are many details that can only be surmised from archaeological contexts and the vessels themselves. Nevertheless, both trading in batches and at bazaars appear to be likely

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<sup>736</sup> Foxhall 1998, 297.

<sup>737</sup> McGrail 1989.

<sup>738</sup> Boardman 1988; Gill 1991; Vickers and Gill 1994.

<sup>739</sup> Osborne 2007, 86.

<sup>740</sup> Gill 1991, 37.

<sup>741</sup> Osborne 2007, 86.

<sup>742</sup> Gill 1991, 37.

methods for selling votives. Additionally, when travelling by land-routes, the small size of miniature votives would make them easy to bring along. They would fit easily in a bag or could be packed into a larger pottery vessel. This method would work with both miniature vessels and terracotta figurines. Snodgrass mentions how individuals carried small portable objects with them as a kind of private pilgrimage.<sup>743</sup> As Osborne stated, ‘for most Greek artefacts found abroad we are never going to know whether the person into whose hands, by whatever means, they came knew what they were for or what they embodied in cultural terms.’<sup>744</sup> We simply cannot know the details of all of the different sequences of consumption and trade that we know must have existed in antiquity.<sup>745</sup>

Lastly, it remains to be discussed whether the small size of the miniatures would make them more suitable for dedications when travelling or when dedicating at small roadside shrines. One must consider that shrines along main thoroughfares were not just used by travellers, but probably also by people in nearby hamlets, by herdsman, or other people working in the fields within close proximity to the shrine.

Unfortunately, ancient wayside shrines are hard to detect in the archaeological record. Firstly, one needs to know about the courses of the ancient roads, and little work has been done on this topic. Marchand published an exemplary article on the road system from Corinth to Argos, and Pikoulas has published on the road-network in Arkadia.<sup>746</sup> A few shrines close to the Corinth-Argos road have been identified. One of them, a Classical rural shrine, was discovered on the hill of Patima near the hamlet of Veliniatika, which in antiquity must have been situated along the road. The archaeological material is sparse, and further excavation would be useful, but so far Classical Corinthian roof tiles, part of a votive column, the base of a terracotta perirrhanterion, and fragments of pithoi, amphorae, and smaller fragments of fine and coarse ware pottery were found.<sup>747</sup> According to Marchand, the location of the shrine and its connection to the border between Corinth and Kleonai suggest that it was a boundary sanctuary of the type that de Polignac believes was used to mark and establish a polity's right to its territory, since it is inside Corinthian territory but overlooks the probable boundary with Kleonai.<sup>748</sup> Additionally, a fountain spring shrine close to

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<sup>743</sup> Snodgrass 1980, 57.

<sup>744</sup> Osborne 2007, 86.

<sup>745</sup> Osborne 1996; Foxhall 1998.

<sup>746</sup> Marchand 2009; Pikoulas 1999.

<sup>747</sup> Marchand 2009, 124-25.

<sup>748</sup> Marchand 2009, 134.

Kleonai yielded a possible Archaic sherd (ray-based Corinthian kotyle), some coarse ware, and some black-glazed Classical sherds.<sup>749</sup>

In Lakonia, on the Megalopolis road from Sparta to Arcadia, a varied and large group of ancient objects attests to a shrine spanning the Mycenaean to the Roman period. Based on the account of Pausanias, the shrine is believed to be the ‘Achilleion,’ a hero shrine to Achilles (**Figure 40**).<sup>750</sup> The shrine was discovered in 1906 and excavated in 1907, and only a selection of the material has so far been published.<sup>751</sup> The published reports list a large amount of material, about 12000 miniature vases, eight terracotta figurines, 48 lead figurines, bones, tiles, various pottery, a part of a Doric column, and a fragmentary terracotta hero relief.<sup>752</sup> Two wall phases have been identified, the oldest of which Stibbe dates to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, and the youngest phase is probably Hellenistic. The miniature vessels date to the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (**Figure 41**).<sup>753</sup>

**Figure 40.** Plan of the Achilleion. Dickens 1906-1907, 170, fig. 1.

Pausanias says, ‘On the road from Sparta to Arcadia there stands in the open an image of Athena surnamed Pareia, and after it is a sanctuary of Achilles. This it is not

<sup>749</sup> Marchand 2009, 150-51; a possible wayside shrine has been found near Stratos in Akarnania, see Nagel 2009.

<sup>750</sup> Dickens 1906-07, 169; Stibbe 2002, 207-8.

<sup>751</sup> Dickens 1906-07; Stibbe 2002.

<sup>752</sup> Dickens 1906-07, 173; Stibbe examined the material in 1977 and concluded that the terracotta figurines, the tiles, the Doric column, and some lead fragments were no longer to be found in the storeroom in the museum in Sparta, see Stibbe 2002, 211.

<sup>753</sup> Stibbe 2002, 208-10, fig. 1.

customary to open, but all the youths who are going to take part in the contest in Plane-tree Grove (Platanistas) are wont to sacrifice to Achilles before the fight. The Spartans say that the sanctuary was made for them by Prax, a grandson of Pergamus the son of Neoptolemus.<sup>754</sup> This short passage in Pausanias teaches us several things. There was another shrine just next to the Achilleion, a statue or stele (ἄγαλμα/agalma) in the open, to Athena Pareia. Pareia is a unique epithet for Athena, not found elsewhere.<sup>755</sup> A long discussion of the epithet and its meaning are not relevant here, but it is an interesting observation that the noun Pareia (παρείας) can mean ‘a reddish brown snake’ while keeping in mind that many Lakonian hero-reliefs show depictions of snakes.<sup>756</sup> Pausanias also tells us that the shrine is not always open, it is actually ‘not customary to open’ the shrine, and he also mentions a specific cult or ritual related to the shrine. Young men are accustomed to sacrifice to Achilles at a nearby shrine in advance of a contest that takes place in a specific grove in Sparta.

**Figure 41.** Miniature Pottery from the Achilleion. Stibbe 2002, 215, fig. 30.

Lastly, Pausanias recounts how the Spartans’ explain the origin of the sanctuary. We learn one last important thing, that it was considered a Spartan sanctuary, and thus, the rituals that took place there must certainly have been of Spartan origin. One must bear in mind that Pausanias wrote in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, and thus, his description of the cult and rituals cannot be equated to Archaic-Hellenistic cult, which is the period of interest focus here. However, the date of the objects indicates a continuous cult throughout several centuries and it is also possible that the ritual described by Pausanias was an older ritual, which in his time took place less often. This would explain why the shrine was normally closed.

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<sup>754</sup> Paus. 3.20.8.

<sup>755</sup> Pritchett 1982, 4-6.

<sup>756</sup> See e.g. Salapata 2006.

Two reasons for the large number of miniature vessels at this rural shrine seem plausible. Firstly, the shrine was placed conveniently at the side of the road, so that travellers and passersby could easily leave a dedication when travelling by, either upon entering or leaving Sparta. These dedications could also be something perishable, no longer visible in the archaeological record. At Mt Hymettos, the shrine from Zeus Ombrios, a large number of miniature cups were dedicated, as mentioned above (**Chapter 4**). The easy portability of the miniature vessels may explain their occurrence at the mountain top shrine, as well as the possibility that the altar easily became crowded and needed to be cleaned out.<sup>757</sup> Or, secondly, Pausanias is largely correct and the dedications stem from some Spartan cult which needed to take place outside the city. The large time span of the use of the sanctuary could perhaps be narrowed down since the Mycenaean and Roman fragments are so few (three Mycenaean sherds and a Roman lamp), or at least it can be suggested that a peak in the use of the sanctuary would then be around 500 BC based on the datable material.<sup>758</sup> Additionally, the evidence from the early Iron Age period is extremely scarce. The small size of the dedications (miniature vessels, figurines, small lead objects) speaks for their portability whichever interpretation is chosen. Moreover, it is also a possibility that there was more flexibility within the cult practice and that a shrine could serve multiple purposes, both as a stop for travellers and as a place for specific rituals for the nearby inhabitants throughout the year. This is a hitherto unexplored idea that can be further explored. A re-excavation of the whole area and full publication is essential for further analyses.<sup>759</sup>

## 5.8. CONCLUSIONS

Several tentative conclusions related to trade and suitability of Corinthian votive objects can be drawn from the evidence presented in this chapter. The three sites treated here bartered Corinthian miniaturised objects, and at the same time, locally produced objects have also been detected. A preference for miniature ‘models’ of cups, kotylai, most often in diminutive, have been noted at the sites, but only at Cyrene were miniature hydriai a popular votive. This shows that miniature objects were valuable and important; if not, the use of locally produced, and thus, the presumably cheaper

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<sup>757</sup> Langdon 1976, 76.

<sup>758</sup> Stibbe 2002, 210.

<sup>759</sup> The picture is far from complete, Stibbe did not publish the plain or coarse ware pottery, and only three miniature vessels, Stibbe 2002, figs. 30.

miniature objects would have sufficed given that a local clay source must have been cheaper to use. That people actually went through the trouble of bringing miniature pottery with them underlines the importance of miniature pottery and figurines. If Corinthian miniature kotylai were brought to Kalydon by a handful of Corinthian merchants and then copied in Kalydon, this would still underline the importance of these small votives. Even though miniature pots may have been cheaper than full sized pots, they were probably of no less value in dedications.<sup>760</sup> This value was symbolic, not monetary. Burkert frames it, ‘giving gifts becomes an investment, an accumulation of symbolic capital which will be used again at a later time.’<sup>761</sup> The miniature was, in this sense, just as valuable a dedication as a regular sized object, since the importance was the act of making the dedication itself, and thus the connection made with the god. This value is also confirmed by the fact that miniature pottery, and other votives, were deposited inside the temenos of the sanctuary, never outside, as we see in many other cases with regular sized pottery.<sup>762</sup> Once dedicated, offerings became the possession of the god and were not to be discarded light-heartedly.<sup>763</sup>

It appears that Corinthian votive objects were very popular. For all three sites discussed here, some objects appear to have been preferred: a generic type of terracotta figurine (the standing kore), and a miniature kotylai with black vertical bands as decoration. The period of this influence seems to have lasted from the Archaic through to the Hellenistic period, but the material does not reveal how intense or stable the contact was among the sites, albeit contact seems to have continued throughout generations. It does seem that the aforementioned objects were especially suited for dedications at all three sites, and that there is strong connection primarily with the goddess Artemis, but also Hera, Demeter, and Kore.

It seems that some aspects of the cult(s) at Corinth were passed on to the colonies, or at least initially were kept true to their origin, but subsequently were modified through time within the colony. The same could be the case with the votive and miniaturised objects; perhaps miniature hydriai were related to Demeter in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, but in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC they could be used in rituals for other deities. This may explain the lack of miniature hydriai at Kalydon discussed above. A shift has

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<sup>760</sup> Foxhall 2015, 1.

<sup>761</sup> Burkert 1996, 132-45.

<sup>762</sup> E.g. as seen in the case of the votive deposit from Nemea, see Barfoed 2013.

<sup>763</sup> Burkert 1985, 85-7; seen for instance on the slope of the Acropolis in Athens, see Broneer 1940; and also in Policoro, South Italy, see Battiloro et al. 2010.

been noted in terms of Iron Age Greece miniature pottery being mainly used in graves, but in the Archaic period dominating sacred contexts. This may be an indication that the function of miniature vessels changed from being suitable as grave goods to being more suitable for dedications and thus reflects a change in consumption pattern.<sup>764</sup> It is also a possibility that miniature pottery was used in funerary rituals and was thus included in the grave good assemblages afterwards. Exactly how cults were transferred from Corinth to its colonies and elsewhere is, however, hard to establish without preserved decrees and inscriptions. The ancient authors do not provide adequate information on this aspect.

We can only guess how the objects travelled and along with which other commodities, but it is possible that the votives were either brought in small number by a single travelling merchant who knew their suitability at the point of destination, or in large batches together with sizable cargoes, such as other pottery (Corinthian to Cyrene), perishable goods, items of craftsmanship, and additional objects of trade. Miniature votives were significant enough to have been part of these trade patterns. Their large production in Corinth and widespread diffusion attests to their high demand. The small size of the votives attests to their portability, and, to some extent, explains their popularity. Wayside shrines, such as the Achilleion hero-shrine in Lakonia, could have served multiple functions, such as, a Spartan-specific cult and a shrine for travellers to make dedications. More publication and analysis of the evidence from ancient wayside shrines are bound to cast light on this topic.

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<sup>764</sup> Luce 2011, 59.

## CHAPTER 6

### FROM MAINLAND GREECE TO SOUTH ITALY

#### MINIATURE POTTERY AS EVIDENCE FOR CONNECTIVITY

##### 6.1. INTRODUCTION

The idea for this chapter sprung from the notion that miniature pottery seems, for the most part, to be found in ritual contexts on the Greek mainland, and to a lesser degree outside Greece. Naturally, the next question to ask was to what extent the Greek colonies in South Italy adopted the idea of dedicating miniature pottery and the rituals this type of pottery was connected to. When analysing these issues it is useful to include discussions of indigenous ritual behaviour and compare it to Greek practices, if possible, and to try to discover mutual influences in the material culture. The stages of adoption of a certain ritual usage that represents a connectedness of cult practice via miniature pottery between Greece and Southern Italy will thus be discussed.

Two main subjects are focused upon: the first is whether the use of miniature pottery was initiated at the same time in Greece and South Italy, or if miniature pottery became popular in Greece after they appeared in graves from the 10<sup>th</sup> century BC, and became increasingly popular in the succeeding Archaic period. The large production of votives at Corinth, as mentioned above, may suggest that miniature votive pottery was ‘invented’ in Corinth; it was certainly later mass-produced at Corinth. It will be examined whether the Greek miniature pottery spread to the Greek colonies at a later date, which at first glance seems to be the case. This can be examined through an analysis of both imported Greek and locally produced indigenous pottery. An increasing amount of Greek pottery began to appear in South Italy from the early 8<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>765</sup> By the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC Greek objects became common and were widespread in South Italy, a period which corresponds to the peak in the production of miniature vessels at Corinth.<sup>766</sup> These analyses will show whether the production of the indigenous miniatures outnumbers the Greek pottery and thus, if Greek or indigenous miniature pottery was preferred. It is also the hope that these analyses will cast light on

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<sup>765</sup> Jacobsen 2007, 10; Morgan 1988, 313.

<sup>766</sup> Herring 1996, 158.

why the indigenous communities would adopt the practice of using miniature pottery; it is possible that the portability and price of the votives are answers to the question. Apulia, the Salento peninsula, in South Italy will be the main area examined and discussed. Miniature votive pottery (diminutives) does not seem to have been found in the area before the presence of the Greeks and thus points towards the suggestion that the Greeks introduced the phenomenon of miniature pottery votives to the indigenous community.

It has not been possible to include all the sites in South Italy where miniature pottery has been recovered due to the volume of the material, and therefore discussion is based on selected representative examples. The sites were chosen on the basis of respectively their level of publication and their locations. Below two ‘Greek’ sites will be presented (sites that have been interpreted as Greek settlements): two different places (contexts) in Metaponto, and a context from Satyrion. The indigenous sites of Leuca, Vaste, Monte Papalucio (Oria), and Timmari in the Salento Peninsula are representative examples of indigenous sites with preserved miniature pottery.<sup>767</sup> It may seem straightforward to directly compare from mother city to colony, for instance, to compare Corinth to its colonies, or Sparta and its colonies, but in practice this is not feasible. The material preserved for us to analyse is not sufficient enough and, additionally, matters are complicated in terms of matching mother cities and colonies. Corinthian Middle (MG) and Late Geometric (LG) pottery is, for instance, found all along the Ionian coastline, but Corinthian colonies do not exist in South Italy.<sup>768</sup> Thus, it can be predicted that a direct comparison between mother cities and colonies in this chapter will not be fruitful, and instead a more thematic and contextual approach will be attempted in this chapter.

To sum up, the aim of this chapter is, in a broader view, to explore the connection between the Greek mainland, Greek settlements in South Italy and the indigenous communities in the same geographical area. The narrower scope is to cast light on an aspect which is relatively unexplored: the adoption of the practice of using miniature pottery and its amalgamation into the indigenous communities, which perhaps can reveal whether cults were transferred from Greece, or whether an amalgamation happened over time.

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<sup>767</sup> Mastronuzzi 2005.

<sup>768</sup> Osborne 2009, table 5.

## 6.2. THE DAWN OF A NEW TRADITION AND ITS DIFFUSION: MINIATURE POTTERY IN CORINTH AND ISTHMIA

Miniature pottery from religious contexts in Corinth has been discussed above (**Chapter 5**), and will not be repeated here. In order to establish that the production and usage of miniature pottery was strong in the Corinthia region, the site of Isthmia and miniature pottery from various deposits as well as the main Poseidon sanctuary will be presented below.

### 6.2.1. The Poseidon Sanctuary at Isthmia

An important site ca. 13 km east of ancient Corinth is Isthmia, renowned for its sanctuary to Poseidon; here miniature pottery has been located albeit on a much smaller scale compared to Corinth (**Figure 42**). Large pottery publications are so far lacking for Isthmia, but Broneer, Gebhard, Arafat, and Morgan have all published some pottery since the first explorations of the site from 1952-67.<sup>769</sup>

**Figure 42.** Plan of the Sanctuary of Poseidon, Isthmia.  
[https://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/isthmia/files/2010/08/fig1\\_ab.jpg](https://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/isthmia/files/2010/08/fig1_ab.jpg)

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<sup>769</sup> Broneer 1953; 1955; 1958; 1959; 1962; Gebhard and Hemans 1992; 1998; Gebhard et al. 1998; Arafat 2003. Morgan gives an overview of some of the pottery in Morgan 1999. More than 18000 sherds date to between the Protogeometric period through the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, see Morgan 1999, 237-38, table 1.

The Archaic temple to Poseidon was burnt down in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, resulting in several deposits found in the debris.<sup>770</sup> The debris indicated that precious metals, coins, and gems were stored inside the temple in wooden chests. The objects indicate a date from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC with a concentration in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>771</sup> Especially interesting is an Attic red-figure mug with an inscription to Poseidon dating to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>772</sup> Small vases were especially popular in the sanctuary, such as Corinthian decorated aryballoi, black-glazed mugs, and handmade miniature undecorated jugs.<sup>773</sup> Parallels to the miniature plain jugs, which seem to be a favourite offering at Isthmia, are seen in the Iron Age graves in Corinth and Argos.<sup>774</sup> A concentration of 67 examples of the miniature handmade jugs are found in what Gebhard named ‘Deposit D’ from the cella of the temple, and all but two examples had secondary burning, which indicate that they were probably stored inside the temple at the time of the fire.<sup>775</sup> Although the deposit is not a closed context, Arafat suggests that the miniature jugs from Deposit D date to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>776</sup>

Miniature pottery in Isthmia also comes from various deposits, but in much fewer numbers than in Corinth. A deposit included 15 miniature vessels and was located on the East Terrace 7; the deposit has been dated to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>777</sup> The earliest deposit that contained a miniature vessel, a miniature jug, dates to the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>778</sup> The latest deposit in which a miniature vessel appeared was dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC from the Roman *temenos* of Poseidon.<sup>779</sup>

A well deposit revealed possible evidence for the worship of Demeter in Isthmia.<sup>780</sup> The well was found ca. 200 m southwest of the Sanctuary of Poseidon, and contained pottery, terracotta figurines, and bronze objects dating to the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. A large skyphoid krater with decoration in relief carried a dedicatory inscription on the inner surface of the rim, accurately spaced between the handles:

<sup>770</sup> Broneer 1955, 111-12; Arafat 2003, 28.

<sup>771</sup> Gebhard 1998, 91.

<sup>772</sup> Broneer 1955, 133-34, no. 19, pl. 52.

<sup>773</sup> Gebhard 1998, 103, figs. 6-8.

<sup>774</sup> Gebhard does not provide a more specific date, Gebhard 1998, 104-5; *Isthmia* 8, 288-89. The ‘handmade lekythoi’ presented may correlated to the plain ware miniature jugs, and if so, Morgan dates them to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, see *Isthmia* 8, 148-49.

<sup>775</sup> Arafat 2003, 28.

<sup>776</sup> Arafat 2003, 28-9.

<sup>777</sup> Gebhard and Hemans 1998, 45-8, inv. nos. IP 7591-7594; IP 7595; IP 7616; IP 7617; IP 7619; IP 7622; IP 8005; IP 8006; IP 8022; IP 8066; IP 8067a, b; IP 8068.

<sup>778</sup> Gebhard and Hemans 1992, 66, inv. no. IP 7618.

<sup>779</sup> Gebhard et al. 1998, 435-6, inv. no. IP 7605 (a miniature bowl).

<sup>780</sup> Caskey 1960.

ΣΟΦΑΔΑΜΑΤΡΙ and denotes a dedication by the woman Sofa to the goddess Demeter.<sup>781</sup> Miniature vessels are also found in this 4<sup>th</sup> century BC deposit: three plain ware miniature bowls of possible Corinthian production according to Caskey.<sup>782</sup> However, plain ware pottery and its clay are generally understudied, so it is possible that the plain wares could have been produced in an undiscovered potters' quarter in Isthmia.<sup>783</sup>

Another well at the early Hellenistic Rachi settlement in Isthmia appears to have contained household refuse; however, a miniature phiale, and pyxis as well as terracotta figurines may have come from a shrine. Alternatively, it is also possible that they were associated with a household cult.<sup>784</sup> Additionally, miniature hydriai, krateriskoi, jugs, a one-handed cup, a kotyle, a single miniature phiale, two regular sized kylikes, a bronze scallop shell, and a small terracotta grotesque mask from the well are on display at the Isthmia museum.<sup>785</sup> Most of the pottery in the well was Corinthian, but a few examples of Attic and Argive pottery were also discovered.<sup>786</sup> Based on the stratigraphy of the well and the style of the pottery, it can be suggested that the well was constructed in the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and was closed at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (**Figure 43**).<sup>787</sup> In sum, Isthmia has miniature pottery dedicated both to Poseidon, Demeter and household shrines at the Rachi.

**Figure 43.** Miniature Pottery from the Rachi, Isthmia.  
Broneer 1955, pl. 52.

<sup>781</sup> Caskey 1960, 168-72, fig. 1, pl. 55.

<sup>782</sup> Caskey 1960, 173, nos. 4-6, pl. 56.

<sup>783</sup> Arafat mentioned how difficult it is to date plain ware, see Arafat 2003, 27.

<sup>784</sup> Anderson-Stojanović and Reese 1993, 261, 274, 284, nos. 11, 59, figs. 3, 11, pl. 58; Broneer also mentioned a deposit at the Rachi, see Broneer 1955, 134, nos. 21-9, pl. 52c.

<sup>785</sup> Nos. 1-19 in the case 'Rachi. Sanctuary of Demeter Deposit' in the Isthmia Archaeological Museum.

<sup>786</sup> Anderson-Stojanović and Reese 1993, 263.

<sup>787</sup> Anderson-Stojanović and Reese 1993, 261-63.

### 6.3. THE ADOPTION OF MINIATURE POTTERY IN THE GREEK COLONIES

A careful selection of sites and material to be included in this thesis has been carried out in order to limit the expansion of this chapter. The sites are chosen based on their accessibility through publication and if ritual contexts were preserved. The evidence from the Greek mainland presented above will be compared to the two Greek sites of Metaponto and Satyrion. Following the section on ritual contexts from the Greek colonies, comparisons are made to four indigenous sites, Leuca, Timmari, Oria, and Vaste (**Figure 44**).<sup>788</sup> The miniature pottery items and their contextual information will thus illuminate patterns discerned in ritual behaviour. Indigenous contexts are interesting to analyse because they can reveal, for instance, Greek influence in the pottery shapes, a topic that is relevant here. How direct the influence was, however, is more difficult to prove.

**Figure 44.** Map of the Salento Peninsula, after Burgers 2005, fig. 5.

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<sup>788</sup> A good starting point on Greek colonization is Malkin 1987.

Since we will discuss Greek and especially Corinthian pottery in southern Italy, it seems appropriate to start out with Plutarch's description in 'Life of Timoleon' of how a Corinthian expedition to Sicily took place. Plutarch describes how the priestesses of Kore had a dream where they prepared to go with Timoleon to Sicily, and, therefore, ended up joining his expedition. In the middle of the night at sea a flame appeared from where a torch became visible, similar to those used in the mysteries, which pointed exactly to their destination. In this way, Plutarch explains Kore's connection to Sicily, and adds that according to 'the storytellers' this is where her rape occurred, and therefore the island was granted to her as a wedding gift.<sup>789</sup>

The foundation of colonies had religious connotations for the ancient Greeks and needed the approval of the gods and a colony also sought the blessing of the oracle in Delphi.<sup>790</sup> To what extent the transferred cult kept true to its ritual practice in its mother colony is still not clear and more work needs to be done in this subject area. Herring argues that even though the nature of the offerings may have changed over time, the essence of the practice probably remained the same. Greek aspects of the cult could have been adapted, but the end result would be a mix, and an amalgamation, which contained elements of the traditional native practice. As such, the Greek religion or cult was not supplanting the old.<sup>791</sup> It has also been suggested that the cult was not always transferred, but sometimes was coined after the foundation of a given colony.<sup>792</sup> The transference of cult ties into the much debated topic of how Greek colonization took place; if it was a forceful, violent act, or a rather a peaceful coexistence with intermarriage between the two ethnic groups.<sup>793</sup> The idea of a peaceful coexistence where the Greeks and the indigenous people found a way to live together has gained more ground within the last decade.<sup>794</sup> At Policoro, Siris, Greeks and natives were buried side by side.<sup>795</sup> Burgers suggested that it is possible that small groups of Greek migrants were allowed to exchange, settle and integrate among the indigenous communities in South Italy, because association with them or with the items they traded or produced were useful in local or intra-tribal competitive communal strategies.<sup>796</sup>

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<sup>789</sup> Plut. *Tim.* 8.

<sup>790</sup> See e.g. Parker 1994, 339; Osborne 2009, 79-93; Malkin 1987; Burgers 2004, 266.

<sup>791</sup> Herring 1996, 159.

<sup>792</sup> Hinz 1998, 223.

<sup>793</sup> Morel 1984.

<sup>794</sup> Handberg and Jacobsen 2011, 175; Attema 2008.

<sup>795</sup> Morel 1984, 125-26.

<sup>796</sup> Burgers 2004, 278.

Some caution is needed when discussing this topic: Greek colonization was of course not a uniform undertaking, it could vary from city-state to city-state and from one situation to another. Additionally, colonization took place over a number of years, which might not be discernable to us in the preserved archaeological record, and archaeological material is also often prone to subjective interpretations.<sup>797</sup> Colonial situations changed over time and could have started off in a peaceful manner, but turned into a conflicted coexistence, or vice versa.<sup>798</sup> These various situations are attested at different sites in southern Italy. The site of Broglio di Trebisacce has evidence that it was abandoned or destroyed around the time that the Greeks founded the colony at nearby Sybaris.<sup>799</sup> Contrarily, the site of Francavilla Marittima ca. 12 km north of Sybaris shows signs of peaceful coexistence.<sup>800</sup> At L'Amastuola near Taranto, a Greek take-over seems to have taken place at the indigenous site, but interestingly, the indigenous presence is still strong in the archaeological record pointing to a rather mixed Greek-indigenous population.<sup>801</sup> Alongside oval huts are found rectangular Greek house structures, and next to indigenous pottery exists Greek pottery: together this is evidence of a mixed community.<sup>802</sup> L'Amastuola is a case where the evidence is not ambiguous. It must thus be borne in mind that even though the evidence is sometimes hard to read, mixed communities did exist, probably to a larger extent than previously thought. In the following pages supporting evidence for these interpretations will be analysed starting with two different locations in the Metapontine area. Both the occurrence of Greek pottery and indigenous miniature pottery will be equally focused upon, thus avoiding focus on one culture over the other as has often been the case in previous scholarship.

### 6.3.1. The Pantanello Sanctuary, Metaponto

Two different areas of Metaponto will be discussed in this chapter, first the site of Pantanello, an Archaic spring sanctuary in the chora of Metaponto, and second a votive deposit from the city of Metaponto.<sup>803</sup> When looking at the use of miniature pottery in the Greek colonies in the west, the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC increase in the use of miniature votive

<sup>797</sup> Handberg and Jacobsen 2011, 182.

<sup>798</sup> Attema 2008, 68.

<sup>799</sup> Attema 2008, 70.

<sup>800</sup> Attema 2008, 70-89; Handberg and Jacobsen 2011, 179.

<sup>801</sup> Crielaard and Burgers 2012, 98-102; Burgers and Crielaard 2007, 107; Attema 2008, 76.

<sup>802</sup> Crielaard and Burgers 2011, 80-2.

<sup>803</sup> For Pantanello, see Carter 1994. For the Crucinia deposit, see Lo Porto 1981.

pottery mentioned above is significant, because it corresponds to the first attested use of miniature votive pottery in Greek colonies in Southern Italy.

Achaean Greek settlers from the northern Peloponnese founded the city of Metaponto in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>804</sup> Strabo explained that the Greeks expanded into the interior of the land and increased their power to such an extent that the southern regions of Italy together with Sicily were named Magna Graecia.<sup>805</sup> In early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, the sanctuary of Pantanello in the chora of Metaponto was dedicated to a female fertility deity. It was a simple spring with two channels leading from its mouth, and remained in use until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>806</sup> In the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC a pair of walls constructed in local conglomerate stone flanked the sanctuary.<sup>807</sup> Cooking ware, animal bones, large basins and a vast quantity of pottery were found, including plain miniature pottery dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>808</sup> Additionally, there was a cobbled-paved area to the east measuring 12x12 m. Votive figurines suggest that the cobbled area was already in use by the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC; when in use it would have been covered with water. Carter suggested two possible usages for this area: offerings of various kinds ended up there, and the sides of the walls acted like a collective basin for the offerings. Secondly, fragments of large vessels indicate that the basin could have functioned as a reservoir, and some of the vessels such as large basins (*perirrhantaria*), indicate that ritual bathing took place here.<sup>809</sup>

Carter argued that a major female deity was worshipped here, probably connected to purification, initiatory purification, fertility, reproduction and health, perhaps Demeter Chthonia. The terracotta figurines depicting a female wearing a high *polos* strengthen this argument.<sup>810</sup> Based on finds of perforated two-handled drinking cups, so-called ‘Ionian cups,’ the deity could also be Demeter’s daughter Kore in relation to her chthonic aspects of the Eleusinian mysteries.<sup>811</sup> The most evident use of the perforated cups at the site is for libations; the liquid would either be poured directly

<sup>804</sup> Carter 1998a, 7; Prohászka 1995, 9.

<sup>805</sup> Strab. VI.1.2.

<sup>806</sup> Carter 1994, 183-84, fig. 7.11; Carter 1998a, 11-13.

<sup>807</sup> Carter 1994, 186.

<sup>808</sup> Carter 1994, 184.

<sup>809</sup> Carter 1994, 186.

<sup>810</sup> Carter 1994, 187-88.

<sup>811</sup> Carter 1994, 188. The term ‘Ionian cups’ are loosely applied to cups similar to skyphoi with a low disk foot, horizontal handles, and outturned rim. In Italy the term can be applied to both locally produced and imported cups; it is a term describing a cup type. It can be difficult to discern the imported East Greek pottery from the locally produced pottery; the ‘colonial’ pottery draw heavily upon East Greek, Argive, and Cycladic stylistic traits, see Handberg 2010, 291.

to the ground or into the water. The well-attested power of Kore in both the upper and lower worlds, is thus enhanced through such a practice.<sup>812</sup>

**Figure 45.** Miniature Plain Ware Pottery from the Pantanello Sanctuary.  
Carter 1994, fig. 7.19.

Additionally, Carter suggested that a Dionysian cult was seated here in the first half of 5<sup>th</sup> century BC based on a plaque with a depiction of Dionysus and Hades discovered at the site, as well as on miniature pottery of various shapes, krateriskoi, cups, phialai, and juglets (**Figure 45**).<sup>813</sup> In the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC the structure acquired a roof, but the building was destroyed at some point between 475 and 425 BC.<sup>814</sup> Although the sanctuary was abandoned in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, it was revived in the late 4<sup>th</sup> to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and abundant offerings of grape and olive, testifies to a continuity of chthonic cults.<sup>815</sup>

### 6.3.2. The Crucinia Deposit, Metaponto

A similar ritual practice to that of the spring shrine at Pantanello can be suggested inside the city of Metaponto, in the so-called Crucinia area. A votive deposit (excavated in 1957) was found during agricultural work.<sup>816</sup> The deposit contained a great amount of material, such as pottery (311 published entries), terracotta figurines (76 examples),

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<sup>812</sup> Carter 1994, 188.

<sup>813</sup> Carter 1994, 193-96, figs. 7.18-7.19.

<sup>814</sup> Carter 1994, 189-93.

<sup>815</sup> Carter 1994, 196.

<sup>816</sup> Lo Porto 1981, 292-94.

loom-weights (31), and metal objects (50).<sup>817</sup> Lo Porto has suggested a Kore cult associated with Dionysus or Hades, similarly to Pantanello, which was active from ca. 600-450 BC.<sup>818</sup> The pottery dates from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, and includes Attic, Argive and locally produced wares.<sup>819</sup> The miniature pottery contains both imports and products of Metaponto and can be dated from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> to the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The miniature shapes are incredibly varied; the three largest shape groups are krateriskoi (67 examples), miniature hydriai (31 examples), and miniature skyphoi (12 examples).<sup>820</sup> Shapes like kernoi are generally very unusual in miniature, but two examples are found in the Crucinia deposit (**Figure 46**).

**Figure 46.** Miniature Pottery from the Crucinia Deposit.  
Lo Porto 1981, figs. 24-5.

The Crucinia deposit also included three rare impasto miniature pots, and additional terracotta material includes two lamps, a terracotta pomegranate, loom-weights, and terracotta figurines, most of them the so-called *xonian* type dating to the first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>821</sup> Three fragmentary terracotta figurines are interpreted by Lo Porto to represent female attendants for symposia related to a Dionysus-Hades cult.<sup>822</sup> However, one is a fragment of a female figurine with the head and *polos* preserved, a type of figurine often interpreted as depicting Kore dating to the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>823</sup> The evidence is, thus, rather sparse for Hades-Dionysus, although, the cultic connection between Kore and Hades is a possibility.

<sup>817</sup> Numbers extracted from the catalogue in Lo Porto 1981.

<sup>818</sup> Lo Porto 1981, 294.

<sup>819</sup> The Attic, Corinthian, and Argive pottery was published under the heading ‘imported ceramics, see Lo Porto 1981, 294-301. The local pottery consists of both locally produced plain ware, but also imitation of e.g. Attic pottery, see Lo Porto 1981, 301-10.

<sup>820</sup> Lo Porto 1981, 310-17.

<sup>821</sup> Lo Porto 1981, 315-32, figs. 25-27, 34-36.

<sup>822</sup> Lo Porto 1981, 332, nos. 469-471, figs. 41, 1-3.

<sup>823</sup> Lo Porto 1981, 332, no. 469, fig. 41.1.

Most interesting for our purpose is the presence of a kanthariskos, which we will also encounter elsewhere; a miniature cup with two vertical handles extending over the opening of the vessel. Sometimes this type is plain, other times black glazed, or semi black-glazed, but this example has red glaze on both the body and the handles. Lo Porto dated it to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC based on parallels from graves in Matera (**Figure 47**).<sup>824</sup> Three lebetes gamikoi in miniature are also found in the Crucinia deposit, albeit they are presented as ‘pyxides.’ The Crucinia examples are dated to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>825</sup> The material from the Crucinia deposit appear to stem from a shrine to a female goddess, possibly Demeter or Kore, with an aspect of Dionysus or Hades, perhaps serving as visiting deities.<sup>826</sup> Perhaps figurines, which we think belong to a Dionysus cult, could also be suitable dedications to Demeter or Kore, or perhaps the Crucinia shrine was a joint shrine for all of the deities. The similarities between this deposit and the Pantanello shrine are striking, and if Carter’s interpretation is correct, these two sites shared interest in a similar type of cults.

**Figure 47.** Kanthariskos and skyphos from the Crucinia Deposit.  
Lo Porto 1981, fig. 23.

### 6.3.3. Satyrion (Torre Saturo) in the Hinterland of Taranto

Satyrion, a Lakonian colony, is situated on the coast about 12 km southeast of Taranto (**Figure 48**).<sup>827</sup> The founders of Taranto are said to have settled here first, displacing the native population.<sup>828</sup> The archaeological evidence does support this interpretation: What is believed to be the native stratum, ‘stratum 5’ is separated by the ‘Greek stratum

<sup>824</sup> Lo Porto 1981, 312, no. 200, fig. 23.1.

<sup>825</sup> Lo Porto 1981, 311-12, no. 184-186, fig. 23.4.

<sup>826</sup> Alroth 1989, 65-6.

<sup>827</sup> Lo Porto 1964, 178; Yntema 2000, 21.

<sup>828</sup> Boardman 1988, 184; Strab. 6.3.3.

7 and 8' by a thick sterile sandy layer, which, according to Lo Porto, seals the native occupation.<sup>829</sup> The finds, however, modify the picture somewhat, since some of the native matt-painted pottery is contemporary, or even more recent than some of the Greek pottery from the strata 7-8.<sup>830</sup>

**Figure 48.** Miniature Pottery from Satyrion.  
Lo Porto 1964, 254, fig. 72.

On the edge of the settlement is a cult area next to a spring and a small cave, which in its earliest phase, was an open-air shrine.<sup>831</sup> The acropolis area of Satyrion was excavated from 1958-59.<sup>832</sup> The area was excavated in 8 strata dating from the Prehistoric (13<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. A partially disturbed votive deposit dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC was found and a stretch of wall about 4 m long. The wall and the votive deposit likely demarcate a sacred area dating to the Archaic period. According to Lo Porto, who published the material from the excavations, the superstructure of the possible 'temple' was probably of wood and the foundation of stone.<sup>833</sup> The deposit contained locally produced Archaic pottery, Corinthian and Lakonian imported pottery, as well as local imitations of Corinthian and Lakonian pottery.<sup>834</sup> More than 50 fragments of small skyphoi dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC are listed from the deposit, but no measurements are given, so it is uncertain whether they are miniatures at all or merely small.<sup>835</sup>

Pottery and other objects were also found outside and around the votive deposit. Traces of a pavement were found along with disturbed material, probably due to construction activity at the acropolis during the Hellenistic period. This material is certainly votive and can be dated to a little later than the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC

<sup>829</sup> Yntema 2000, 21; Lo Porto 1964, 185-91.

<sup>830</sup> Yntema 2000, 21.

<sup>831</sup> Hinz 1998, 195.

<sup>832</sup> Lo Porto 1964, 184.

<sup>833</sup> Lo Porto 1964, 190-91.

<sup>834</sup> For the catalogue of the material in the votive deposit see Lo Porto 1964, 231-55.

<sup>835</sup> Lo Porto 1964, 232-35, figs. 46, 53.

that is roughly the beginning of the Hellenistic period.<sup>836</sup> The pottery from this context outside the votive deposit contained Attic black- and red-figure pottery, ‘proto-italiota,’ Apulian red-figure, and Gnathian pottery.<sup>837</sup> Only three miniature vessels were discovered here, all locally produced: a jug, a krateriskos, and a hydria (**Figure 48**). Lo Porto mentioned that similar miniature pottery was found in a votive deposit in Metaponto and Timmari, but does not provide any further details apart from that the cult must have been to Kore.<sup>838</sup> She also stated that the terracotta figurines from the deposit could indicate a possible cult to Kore based on parallels from Taranto.<sup>839</sup> Hinz has shown that there was a great fondness for Demeter and Kore in this area due to the influence of Taranto, Herakleia, and Poseidonia. The aspects of fertility and the protection of agriculture that the goddesses provided must have had a fundamental meaning to the people in the area, also attested by the evidence from Metaponto presented above.<sup>840</sup> Nonetheless, the evidence supporting the interpretation that the Satyrion cult was to Demeter and Kore is rather sparse.

#### 6.4. RITUAL BEHAVIOUR IN INDIGENOUS ITALIC SITES

Modern Apulia from Cape Garganus to the tip of the heel was, before the influx of Greek settlers, the land of the Iapygians. Italy’s ‘heel’ is also called the Salento peninsula. The land was divided into the Daunii (around modern Foggia), the land of the Peucetii (around Bari), and the land of the Messapii on the heel (also called Calabria).<sup>841</sup> In this section we move on to indigenous sites (**Figure 44**). The sites presented below show various degrees of Greek presence and influence in their usage of miniature pottery. Leuca and Monte Papalucio are better published than the other sites presented here and thus fuller analyses of the material from these two sites are possible.

<sup>836</sup> Hinz 1998, 195; Lo Porto 1964, 239.

<sup>837</sup> Lo Porto 1964, 139-241.

<sup>838</sup> Lo Porto 1964, 241, nos. 1-3, fig. 72.

<sup>839</sup> Lo Porto 1964, 191, 243.

<sup>840</sup> Hinz 1998, 194-95.

<sup>841</sup> Prohászka 1995, 11; Burgers 1998, 23-4.

#### 6.4.1. Grotta Porcinara, Leuca

Grotta Porcinara is located at tip of Apulia's heel near the village of Santa Maria di Leuca, and the site was excavated from 1973-75.<sup>842</sup> Based on both literary sources and ceramic evidence the nearby port served as a stopover for Greeks coming from Kerkyra and mainland Greece as early as from the Iron Age period.<sup>843</sup> Activity in the cave attests to both Messapian, Greek, and later Roman cults.<sup>844</sup> It is an artificial cave placed on a rocky outcrop with three rooms accessible both by land and sea (**Figure 49**).<sup>845</sup> Leuca was chosen as an example because of the presence of early Greek imported pottery in addition to locally produced miniature pottery.

**Figure 49.** Plan of Leuca.  
Mastronuzzi 2005, fig. 14.

The archaeological remains are concentrated on what is called 'the middle terrace,' and consist of niches in the rock, a large circular *eschara* surrounded by a rectangular enclosure and the cave itself on the rock's northern part.<sup>846</sup> The stratigraphy in the cave has been damaged due to landslides, the front of the cave suffered a collapse, and the layers have also been disturbed by agricultural activities.<sup>847</sup> According to

<sup>842</sup> Nenci et al. 1978, vii; D'Andria 1978b, 48.

<sup>843</sup> Yntema 1980, 250; Burgers 1998, 27.

<sup>844</sup> Van Compernelle 1978, 1-6.

<sup>845</sup> D'Andria 1978b, 86.

<sup>846</sup> Mastronuzzi 2005, 69-70.

<sup>847</sup> D'Andria 1978b, 48.

D'Andria the cult here was similar to other promontory cults such as those at Sounion and Perachora.<sup>848</sup> Three inscriptions worthy of mention have been found. On a 5<sup>th</sup> century BC black-glazed krater, is the inscription [βα]τειος εμι, and two inscriptions on the wall of the cave dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, one in Latin and one in Greek, both believed to be made by sailors for protection for the sea naming Zeus/Jupiter with the epithet Batis or Vatius.<sup>849</sup> Pagliara argued that this suggests a continuity of cult from Zis (Zeus) Batis to the later Jupiter Vatius in the Roman period.<sup>850</sup> Additionally, a large amount of pottery, some terracotta figurines, and coins were found. A fragment of a female terracotta figurine, as well as terracotta loom-weights does, however, indicate that a female goddess was also worshipped in the cave in addition to Zeus.

The material discovered in Grotta Porcinara includes imported Corinthian pottery from the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, and miniature pottery of both Corinthian and local production.<sup>851</sup> Perhaps the Corinthian pottery arrived to Leuca via the merchants from Kerkyra, a Corinthian colony. Relating the evidence from this cave to the questions posed in this chapter, it is fascinating that Messapian miniature pottery ('model miniature') has been found here, some in layers among pottery with a date span from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The context is an *eschara* (ash altar), which contained Geometric Iapygian pottery, Messapian pottery, and four fragments of Proto-Corinthian pottery.<sup>852</sup> There are four examples of 'model' miniature pottery in this context, three of them Messapian (two juglets and a krateriskos), and one juglet of some local production (not Messapian style).<sup>853</sup>

The earliest Greek miniature votive pottery (diminutives) from Grotta Porcinara was discovered in layers in front of the cave (**Table 8**).<sup>854</sup> Fragments of a very popular decorated miniature kotyle (so-called 'pattern kotyle' or 'conventionalizing style') produced in Corinth were found. It has a distinct zigzag pattern in the handle zone, and dates from the late 6<sup>th</sup> to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>855</sup> Regarding Greek pottery of regular size, an Euboean fragment was discovered, dating to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC,

<sup>848</sup> D'Andria 1978b, 86-7.

<sup>849</sup> Herring 1996, 166.

<sup>850</sup> Pagliara 1978, 218.

<sup>851</sup> D'Andria 1978b, 49.

<sup>852</sup> D'Andria 1978b, 68-76.

<sup>853</sup> D'Andria 1978b, 76, nos. 246-49, pl. 38.

<sup>854</sup> Rouveret 1978, 91-6.

<sup>855</sup> Rouveret 1978, 95, no. A24, pl. 52.

which corresponds to the time of the first Greek contact in Southern Italy.<sup>856</sup> Where exactly the fragment was found is, however, unclear from the publication.<sup>857</sup> As mentioned above, Proto-Corinthian pottery was also found here; although according to Rouveret, only two fragments were imported, the rest is a local production of Proto-Corinthian types.<sup>858</sup> Both Messapian, local, and Greek miniature pottery are represented in the cave from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, and although activity in the cave continued, the latest firm date for a miniature vessel is the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC; those are of Messapian production (**Figure 50**).<sup>859</sup>

**Figure 50.** Miniature Pottery from Leuca.  
D'Andria 1978, pls. 28, 40, 45.<sup>860</sup>

<sup>856</sup> Van Compernelle 1978, 6; Rouveret 1978, 91, no. A1, pl. 52.

<sup>857</sup> Thorough searches through the publication were unsuccessful.

<sup>858</sup> Rouveret 1978, 91. The two fragments that are certainly imported are nos. A6 and A8, pl. 52.

<sup>859</sup> The Messapian miniatures are juglets, cups, and krateriskoi, which according to D'Andria dates from the late 6<sup>th</sup> century to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, see D'Andria 1978b, 80-5, nos. 331-343, pl. 43. The context is north of the embankment, and contained Attic pottery from the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, Corinthian pottery spanning the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, and black-glazed pottery both imported and local, dating from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, see Rouveret 1978, 92-115.

<sup>860</sup> A24 is Corinthian, 191 is probably local and the rest is Messapian.

Location	Messapian	Greek	Local	Date of Miniatures
In front of cave	10	2*	0	Late 6 <sup>th</sup> - early 5 <sup>th</sup> century
Middle Terrace	9	0	0	Archaic-Roman
Eschara	3	0	1	7 <sup>th</sup> century
Between walls	2	0	0	First half of the 6 <sup>th</sup> century
North of embankment	13	0	0	Late 6 <sup>th</sup> - early 5 <sup>th</sup> century
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	

\* One is a possible Attic black-glazed skyphos, the other the Corinthian miniature kotyle mentioned above.<sup>861</sup>

**Table 8.** Miniature Pottery from Grotta Porcinara, Leuca (all dates are BC).

Of the sites examined in this chapter, the Messapian ‘model’ miniatures are the earliest indigenous miniature vessels found; although, it must be kept in mind that they are not ‘votive’ miniature vessels, but rather scaled down models of Messapian shapes, such as kraters used for mixing wine and water, and jugs in small sizes. Similar ‘model miniatures’ are found at Francavilla Marittima in the form of small hydriai (**Figure 51**).<sup>862</sup> These kinds of miniatures are functional and may not have been used in the same way as their regular sized counterparts. Instead the small krater for example could have been used as a small bowl for containing various items used in rituals, or for containing some liquid. The small juglets could keep the function of regular sized jugs, but would just contain a smaller amount of liquid. The Messapian ‘model miniatures’ are earlier than the imported Greek miniature votive pottery (diminutives). The two examples of the miniature kanthariskos encountered above are also found at Leuca (from the front of the cave and the middle terrace); this kanthariskos may be interpreted as a votive. It can be dated to about the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. So it seems that scaled down miniatures (juglets, small kraters) were common before the peak of miniature production in Corinth, but the appearance of the votive miniature (kanthariskos) seems to be roughly contemporary with the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC peak in the votive industry in Greece.

<sup>861</sup> A 24 is the Corinthian miniature kotyle, A 125 a miniature black-glazed skyphos, see Rouveret 1978, 95, 109, pls. 52, 56.

<sup>862</sup> Kleibrink et al. 2004, nos. 10-13, 56, fig. 6.

**Figure 51.** Miniature Hydria from Francavilla Marittima.  
Kleibrink et al. 2004, fig. 6.

Even though the evidence is not abundant, the Corinthian and Attic pottery, as well as Corinthian miniature votive pottery, suggests Greek presence here from as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, or at least some Greek contact, even though it is hard to deduce the extent of contact. At the next two sites, Timmari and Oria, a different pattern becomes apparent. Further inland at Timmari the religious contexts are void of imported miniature vessels; however, a few local miniatures are found in votive deposits. Contrastingly, in Oria (Monte Papalucio) a large amount of miniature vessels (both local and imports) are found in religious contexts.

#### 6.4.2. Timmari near Matera

The site of Timmari is located 12 km west of the city of Matera, about 30 km from Metaponto. It is a prominent location with connections to the colonial cities of Taras and Metaponto. The site includes a settlement, a large necropolis and an extra-urban sanctuary.<sup>863</sup> Traces of activity date back to the prehistoric times and like other native sites, for example Oria below, Timmari shows a clear reduction of evidence of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, followed by a substantial increase during the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, when a large settlement with rich burials developed.<sup>864</sup> Roman conquest of the area took place in 272 BC. Thereafter, archaeological evidence is sparse.<sup>865</sup>

Lo Porto, who produced the largest and most comprehensive publication of Timmari, called the sacred area the ‘Sanctuary of Lamia di San Francesco.’<sup>866</sup> She

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<sup>863</sup> Lo Porto 1991, 1.

<sup>864</sup> Scalici and Mancini 2013, 372.

<sup>865</sup> Lo Porto 1991, 1-7.

<sup>866</sup> Lo Porto 1991, 62-7. The excavated zones were divided into three, A-C, see Lo Porto 1991, fig. 7.

suggested that two cults were in the sanctuary located 200 m from each other based mainly on the architectural elements in the so-called Zone A and Zone B. In Zone B Lo Porto interpreted a linear wall as a temenos wall, and in Zone A water pipes and roof tiles, in addition to the votive assemblages, attested to a cult building.<sup>867</sup> She suggested a cult to Kore/Persephone based on various evidence: an inscribed sherd: a black-glazed plate with the inscription ΠΑΙ, translated to ‘child’ or ‘daughter’, thus, perhaps the daughter of Demeter.<sup>868</sup> Female terracotta figurines and busts support this interpretation (**Figure 52**).

**Figure 52.** Terracotta Figurines from Timmari.  
Lo Porto 1991, pls. 40, 56.

The other cult could belong to Aphrodite, an interpretation supported by some terracotta busts dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, which are of a known type traditionally thought to depict Aphrodite.<sup>869</sup> Additionally, a sherd with a dipinti of the goddess’ name (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ) indicates native worship of the Greek goddess.<sup>870</sup> However, Lo Porto does not rule out that other deities were worshipped in Timmari, for example Artemis perhaps in her role as Agrotera (the huntress).<sup>871</sup> The large amount of female terracotta figurines does suggest a female deity, but they do not help in assigning a goddess; in that respect the sherds carrying the goddesses’ names are better indications. The votive deposit also contained metal objects such as coins, bronze fibula and iron spits, but no

<sup>867</sup> Lo Porto 1991, 168.

<sup>868</sup> Lo Porto 1991, 158, no. 216, pl. 76.

<sup>869</sup> Lo Porto 1991, 66-9, pl. 24.

<sup>870</sup> Lo Porto 1991, 69, 217, 259, pl. 76; Herring 1996, 163.

<sup>871</sup> Lo Porto 1991, 68.

additional inscriptions that could help determine the name of the goddess worshipped here, but the two graffiti inscriptions, female figurines and busts do point towards a female goddess. Alroth has convincingly argued that it was common to find representations of one deity dedicated to another deity, for instance in the shape of figurines. Apparently, some deities were hospitable and accepted other deities within their sanctuaries.<sup>872</sup>

Lo Porto dated the Timmari shrines from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC and more than 2000 vessels are mentioned as coming from the area.<sup>873</sup> The miniature pottery was ascribed with a narrower date range, from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>874</sup> The miniatures come in many shapes, one-handled bowls (116 examples), krateriskoi (72), hydriai (42), oinochoai (23), kalathoi (14), and two familiar types, a kanthariskos dipped in black glaze with two looped vertical handles (49 examples), and a lebes gamikos (called pyxis, one example), in total amounting to 317 miniature vessels (**Figure 53**).<sup>875</sup> No imported miniature pottery is attested in the religious contexts at Timmari.

**Figure 53.** Miniature Pottery from Timmari.  
Lo Porto 1991, pl. 69.

#### 6.4.3. Monte Papalucio, Oria

The village of Oria was founded around the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, the sanctuary in the 6<sup>th</sup>, and by the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC it was established as an important Messapian centre.<sup>876</sup> According to Herodotus the settlement of Oria was founded by Cretan Greeks, whose ship got wrecked in a storm and thus they could not go back to Crete and had to settle in Iapygia. Herodotus described a hostile take over, and stated ‘...and made this their dwelling

<sup>872</sup> Alroth 1989, 65-6.

<sup>873</sup> Lo Porto 1991, 163.

<sup>874</sup> Lo Porto 1991, 155-69. It is uncertain whether all of the pottery is published, but it appears to be just a selection, see e.g. Lo Porto 1991, 170, where a large amount of pottery, figurines and other objects are mentioned. Lo Porto also says that the material is inventoried, but does not specify if that means that it is published, Lo Porto 1991, 155.

<sup>875</sup> Lo Porto 1991, 163-69, nos. 2, 8-14, 238-51, pls. 78-79.

<sup>876</sup> Ciaraldi 2010, 75; Mastronuzzi 2013, 19-25. Activity from the Prehistoric, Bronze and Iron Age is also attested at Oria, see Mastronuzzi 2013, 17-18.

place, accordingly changing from Cretans to Messapians of Iapygia, and from islanders to dwellers on the mainland.’ However, Herodotus’ claims are hard to prove and a search for Cretan pottery in the publications was unfruitful.<sup>877</sup> The site is unique in the sense that there is a large amount of locally produced pottery found at the site, but also monumental architectural fragments in Greek style, such as a fragment of a fluted column drum and a large Doric capital dating from the late 5<sup>th</sup> century to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>878</sup> There are two main phases of the sanctuary: the so-called Archaic phase from 575 BC to ca. 490-470 BC, then a gap in activity, and then a second phase, the so-called Hellenistic phase, from 350 to ca. 200 BC. The activity pattern is similarly to Timmari above.<sup>879</sup> Additionally, Mastronuzzo divided the Archaic period into two parts, 550-490 BC (2<sup>nd</sup> period) and 490-470 BC (3<sup>rd</sup> period). A large amount of miniature pottery, most of it made locally, has been recovered from Monte Papalucio, to which we will return below. The religious complex is situated on a natural terrace on the western slope of Monte Papalucio, and an artificially made cave is dug into the hill (**Figure 54**).<sup>880</sup>

**Figure 54.** Plan of Monte Papalucio, Oria.  
Mastonuzzi 2005, fig. 20.

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<sup>877</sup> Hdt. 7.170.

<sup>878</sup> Burgers 1998, 204; D’Andria 1990, 237.

<sup>879</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 61.

<sup>880</sup> Burgers 1998, 204.

Downstream from the great terrace wall a series of rooms were built arranged in a complex plan in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and leaning against the wall. A stone bench was running along the north and west sides: a layout that resembles the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Acrocorinth mentioned above.<sup>881</sup>

The site of Monte Papalucio is generally believed to be Thesmophorion to Demeter.<sup>882</sup> Three sherds of small cups (*copetta*) with dipinti ΔΑΜΑΤΡΑΣ, which is equivalent to the Greek name Demeter, were found dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. (Figure 55).<sup>883</sup>

**Figure 55.** Messapian Fragment with a Dipinto ‘Damatras.’  
Mastronuzzi 2013, fig. 34.

This worship of Demeter, the remains of Oria’s defensive wall, and the fragments of monumental architecture may reflect a highly organized Messapic community as early as from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards.<sup>884</sup> It is possible that the Greeks introduced the cult to the indigenous community. Pomegranate was a very important fruit in the cult of Demeter and Kore because of the myth of Kore’s abduction by Hades. The earliest evidence for the use of the pomegranate from an indigenous context in southern Italy comes from Monte Papalucio and dates to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>885</sup> Remains of burnt pig bones, and other small animals, as well as traces of food preparation associated with the rituals are similar to those of the Demeter and Kore sanctuary at Corinth and of rituals related to Greek cults.<sup>886</sup> The customary sacrificial animals of the Greeks are the ox, sheep/goat, and the pig. The agrarian festival of the Thesmophoria is particularly known for the sacrifices of piglets and terracotta figurines in form of piglets; women carrying piglets are often found in Demeter sanctuaries.<sup>887</sup>

<sup>881</sup> Mastronuzzi 2005, 85-6.

<sup>882</sup> Semeraro 1997, 135; D’Andria 1990, 240; Hinz 1998, 196-97.

<sup>883</sup> D’Andria 1990, 273, nos. 129-31.

<sup>884</sup> Burgers 1998, 201-4.

<sup>885</sup> Ciaraldi 2010, 84-5, 88-9; Mastronuzzi 2013, 133, 220.

<sup>886</sup> Mastronuzzi 2008, 144; Hinz 1998, 197.

<sup>887</sup> Burkert 1985, 13; Herring 1996, 161.

Thus, the pig bones from Oria have been interpreted as evidence for Greek cult. Demeter and Kore cults are related both to agriculture and fertility, which naturally was a concern for the community at the time, and the topography and layout of Monte Papalucio seem to underline the appropriateness of the cults worshipped here.

A large amount of miniature pottery has been recovered from Monte Papalucio, most of it from a local production centre. The total amount of locally produced Archaic pottery reached nearly 15000 sherds (14761), out of which 2415 are miniature vessels (**Table 9**). The predominant shape by far among the miniatures are hydriai (1307 examples), second comes kanthariskoi (335), and third skyphoi (180). Rare are jugs, kernoi, and one-handled cups.<sup>888</sup> In total 72% of the miniature pottery is of some local production centre in the area and 28% are imitations of Greek pottery.<sup>889</sup> Additionally, 660 examples of terracotta objects have been found most of which are figurines (62%), and metal objects such as jewellery and fibulae.<sup>890</sup>

Banded Ware	4750
Plain Ware	3285
Black-Glazed ('vernice bruna')	2637
Miniature	2415
Messapian Decorated Ware	830
Impasto	587
Cooking Ware	257
<b>Total</b>	<b>14761</b>

**Table 9.** Local Archaic Pottery from Monte Papalucio, Oria.<sup>891</sup>

Semeraro has published the imported pottery separately in 1997, and among it is some miniature pottery. The largest group is the black glazed so-called 'colonial ware' (4584 examples) meaning that the production is believed to have been in either Metaponto or Taras, both Greek colonies.<sup>892</sup> The second largest group was banded ware (3364). Corinthian amounted to 240 fragments, Lakonian to 54 fragments, and the Attic amount is not specified, but is represented by 249 catalogue entries.<sup>893</sup> Most interesting for our purpose is the imported miniature pottery from Corinth, which amounts to 36

<sup>888</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 199-205.

<sup>889</sup> Mastronuzzi 2005, 86; about 80% of the complete pottery assemblage is locally produced, see Mastronuzzi 2013, 63.

<sup>890</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 205-13.

<sup>891</sup> Data extracted from Mastronuzzi 2013, 199-205, esp. 205.

<sup>892</sup> See e.g. Semeraro 1997, 158, no. 337.

<sup>893</sup> Numbers extracted from Semeraro 1997, 159-236.

fragments.<sup>894</sup> Three shapes are present, kotylai (22 examples), oinochoai (12), and exaleiptra (two). As seen here, locally produced pottery clearly dominates the pottery assemblage, but it is interesting that only three miniature shapes were imported to Monte Papalucio, and the shape preference is not the same as seen in the locally produced miniature pottery presented below.

Monte Papalucio's material evidence consists of four votive deposits, material from the various periods of the construction of the terraces and additional residual Archaic material from disturbed contexts. The votive deposits come from various sectors all in the area of Monte Papalucio.<sup>895</sup>

Votive Deposit 1 was found in Sector B, behind the terrace wall Y and dates to ca. 480-470 BC (**Table 10**).<sup>896</sup> The miniature shapes consist of hydriai, skyphoi and two-handled cups.<sup>897</sup> The largest shape groups of the regular sized pottery from the deposit are one-handled cups, kylikes, and hydriai. These shapes are all typical for dining, and if all the various cup types are added together, the cup is the dominant ware (232 examples). 44 pitchers/jugs were found, as well as six kraters, four cooking pots, a lamp, and four lekythoi.<sup>898</sup> These shapes could all stem from a domestic household context, but given that the deposit was found within the area of the sanctuary and it included terracottas and some metal vessels in addition to miniature pottery, the assemblage points to a ritual dining context.

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<sup>894</sup> Semeraro 1997, 166-70, nos. 387-397 (kotylai), nos. 408-09 (exaleiptra), nos. 417-26 (oinochoai), figs. 112, 118.

<sup>895</sup> The ceramic material from the terraces is not discussed here, but overall it mirrors the pattern of the votive deposits. The material dating to 550-490 BC is divided into 'period 2' and 'period 3'. The pottery from 'period 2' amounts to 2687 examples of which 125 are miniature vessels, 123 locally produced and 2 Corinthian vessels, see Semeraro 1997, 114, table 11. The material from 'period 3' amounts to 824 examples in total of which 30 are locally produced miniatures, see Semeraro 1997, 125, table 13. The material dating to 490-470 BC, all called 'period 3', are additionally divided into further subsections, 'activity 4' and 'activity 5'. The pottery from 'activity 4' consists of 9546 examples, of which 731 is locally produced miniatures, see Semeraro 1997, 130, table 15. The pottery from 'activity 5' consists of 1543 examples of which 130 are miniature vessels, 129 locally produced, one of Corinthian production, see Semeraro 1997, 174, table 17. Additionally, 13 vessels from a lower stratigraphy (US 752) can be dated to 575-550 BC and yielded two miniature vessels of unknown production, see Semeraro 1997, 113, table 10. Some miniature vessels were also noted among the residual material, juglets, one-handled cups, 'fac-simili,' hydriai, krateriskoi, and skyphoi, Semeraro 1997, 189-91, nos. 583-92, fig. 134.

<sup>896</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 65.

<sup>897</sup> Only a few examples of each shape are available in the catalogue, Mastronuzzi 2013, 70-2, nos. 34-42, fig. 39.

<sup>898</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 66, table III.

Locally Produced (54 miniature vessels)	428
Imported	54
<b>Total Vases</b>	<b>482</b>

**Table 10.** Local and Imported Pottery in ‘Votive Deposit 1,’ Monte Papalucio.<sup>899</sup>

Imported Lakonian, Attic, Metapontine, and Tarantine wares were found in Votive Deposit 1.<sup>900</sup> Fragments of a Messapian figure decorated hydria were also found (**Figure 56**). The decoration depicts a seated figure on a stool or throne with a stag or other animal standing behind. Another figure is handing what seems to be a bird, perhaps a cock, to the enthroned figure, which probably is a deity. It is unclear whether the figures are male or female and other details are hard to discern. Mastronuzzi suggested that the seated figure is female, that there is a winged horse to the left, and the other figure is male, dancing and holding a bird in each hand.<sup>901</sup> What the scene means is uncertain, but a common perception is that female goddesses often are depicted seated and it might represent a scene of worship. Interestingly, many seated terracotta figurines were found at the site.

**Figure 56.** Figure Decorated Messapian Sherd.  
Mastronuzzi 2013, fig. 34.

Votive Deposit 2 was discovered in Sector B, just in front of the terrace wall Y and dates to ca. 480-470 BC and is thus contemporary with Votive Deposit 1 (**Table 11**).<sup>902</sup> The miniature shapes in Votive Deposit 2 consist of hydriai, skyphoi, and two-handled cups, just as in Votive Deposit 1.<sup>903</sup> A couple of female figurine fragments

<sup>899</sup> Table based on Mastronuzzi 2013, table II and pages 66-7.

<sup>900</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 67.

<sup>901</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 67, no. 10, fig. 34.

<sup>902</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 75.

<sup>903</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 81, nos. 77-87, figs. 46-47.

were found in this deposit, one seated with the bust and part of the throne intact, and two females with *poloi*, as well as a loom weight.<sup>904</sup> The most popular shapes among the regular sized pottery are one-handled cups, hydriai, and skyphoi/kotylai, but cups of all types are predominant.<sup>905</sup>

Locally Produced (91 miniature vessels)	429
Imported	58
<b>Total Vases</b>	<b>487</b>

**Table 11.** Local and Imported Pottery in ‘Votive Deposit 2,’ Monte Papalucio.<sup>906</sup>

In Votive Deposit 2 there are 58 imported vessels, two of them Corinthian miniature kotylai. An Attic sherd of a black-figured cup-skyphos gives an indication of the deposit’s date, that is 480-470 BC.<sup>907</sup> There are also examples of imported Tarantine and Metapontine ware as well as Messapian decorated ware.<sup>908</sup>

Votive Deposit 3b was found in Sector D, and is the largest of the three votive deposits amounting to 773 vessels in total. It can be dated to ca. 480-470 BC (**Table 12**).<sup>909</sup> In this deposit the only miniature shape present is the hydria.<sup>910</sup> There are Attic, Tarentine and Metapontine fragments, and there are also examples of decorated Messapian ware in this deposit.<sup>911</sup> Only a few terracotta and metal objects are found, and the assemblage contains greater number of regular sized vessels compared to the other two deposits, that is, 25 lekanai, and 21 bowls.<sup>912</sup>

Locally Produced (63 miniature vessels)	717
Imported	56
<b>Total Vases</b>	<b>773</b>

**Table 12.** Local and imported in ‘Votive Deposit 3b,’ Monte Papalucio.<sup>913</sup>

Votive Deposit 3a is a deposit related to 3b and contained a large amount of miniature pottery, 43% (Deposit 3b contained 8% miniature vessels). It dates to ca. 470

<sup>904</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 81-2, nos. 88-90, 92, fig. 48.

<sup>905</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 76, table V.

<sup>906</sup> Table based on Mastronuzzi 2013, table IV and pages 75-7.

<sup>907</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 77, nos. 51-3, fig. 44.

<sup>908</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 77-8, nos. 55-61.

<sup>909</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 85.

<sup>910</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 96, no. 142, fig. 59.

<sup>911</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 85-7, nos. 99-110.

<sup>912</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 85-96, table VII.

<sup>913</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 85-6, table IV.

BC (**Table 13**).<sup>914</sup> Miniature hydriai dominate (4.8-9.5 cm tall), but there are also one-handled and two-handled cups (2.2-4.5 cm tall), as well as skyphoi (3.0-4.6 cm tall), and a couple of miniatures that are nearly solid (3.4 cm tall both of them).<sup>915</sup> The imported pieces consist of Lakonian, Attic, Tarantine and Metapontine wares; among them is a Corinthian miniature exaleiptron.<sup>916</sup> In Votive Deposit 3a the regular shapes are dominated by the hydria, followed by one-handled cups, and olpai (small jugs).<sup>917</sup>

Locally Produced (592 miniature vessels)	1301
Imported	70
<b>Total Vases</b>	<b>1371</b>

**Table 13.** Local and imported in 'Votive Deposit 3a,' Monte Papalucio.<sup>918</sup>

Analysing the entirety of miniature pottery from Monte Papalucio the most prominent shape is the miniature hydria, and the second most prominent various cup types.<sup>919</sup> The miniature hydria might be an especially suited type of dedication for the Demeter cult in South Italy, or perhaps the popularity of the shape has to do with its function in the rituals. Water, often carried in hydriai, is crucial for most rituals for cleansing which might explain its popularity.<sup>920</sup> Hinz mentions that Demeter and Kore cults in both Sicily and South Italy share characteristics, such as the position on the edge of town close to a water source, but also in the dedications, such as offering piglets and dedicating jewellery, tools, terracotta figurines, and miniatures vessels, and those are most often miniature hydriai.<sup>921</sup> As Mastronuzzi also stated, the terracotta figurines do not necessarily depict a certain goddess, but could represent several female deities of the Greek pantheon.<sup>922</sup>

<sup>914</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 84, 97.

<sup>915</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 105-11, nos. 198-229, figs. 70-3.

<sup>916</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 99, no. 150.

<sup>917</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 98, table IX.

<sup>918</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 97, table VIII.

<sup>919</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 205, fig. 151.

<sup>920</sup> Diehl 1964, 171.

<sup>921</sup> Hinz 1998, 236; Czysz 1996; Danninger 1996.

<sup>922</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 207.

**Figure 57.** Table of Miniature Pottery Shapes, Monte Papalucio.  
Mastronuzzi 2005, fig. 151.

The large amount of locally produced miniature pottery may have been made in Oria where kilns have been discovered.<sup>923</sup> A unique and curious miniature pottery shape has been found in relatively large number in Monte Papalucio, the so-called ‘fac-simili’ (117 examples out of the 2194 miniature shapes that could be determined; the fourth largest shape group after hydriai, kanthariskoi, and skyphoi, **Figure 57**).<sup>924</sup> It is typically around 3 cm tall, has a concave body and a flat base and very small shallow opening. It is too small to contain hardly anything at all other than a few drops of liquid or small seeds. Its function may be classed as a non-functional ‘token miniature’, compared to other miniature vessels that could often carry at least a shot of liquid.<sup>925</sup> I have not been able to find any parallels to this shape yet, and have wondered about the origin of the shape. It does not exist as a regular size pot and does not, at first glance, look as a scaled down model. However, a diminutive hydria from Monte Papalucio reveals some shared characteristics with the shape, and perhaps this is how the ‘fac-simili’ came to be; a squat hydria-like shape without handles became so small that it could not contain any liquids/items anymore, but could still be used as a votive (compare hydria (photo) on the left to ‘fac-simili’ (drawings) on the right, **Figure 58**).

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<sup>923</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 221.

<sup>924</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 205, fig. 151. The shapes of 2194 miniature vessels out of 2415 could be determined.

<sup>925</sup> See for instance Mastronuzzi 2013, 189, nos. 586-87, fig. 134.

**Figure 58.** Miniature Hydria (D'Andria 1990, nos. 219, 293) and Fac-Simili from Monte Papalucio (Mastronuzzi, nos. 586-587, 190, fig. 134).

Iacono has suggested that the position of Monte Papalucio just outside the settlement of Oria, on the border between the urban space and the countryside, suggests that the visitors of the sanctuary did not exclusively come from Oria. Iacono proposed that the nature of the dedications indicates a large level of 'public' participation in the rituals.<sup>926</sup> Profusion of food offerings indicate involvement in religious practices of a non-elite segment of the population, compared to very valuable dedications, which were also found at Monte Papalucio, thus representing the whole spectrum of native society.<sup>927</sup> The valuable items are mostly personal objects: most of the metal objects found in the excavations are some kind of ornament (72%), and second comes utensils (16%). Jewellery amounts to just 4%.<sup>928</sup> A total of 306 fibulae fragments were found, most of bronze (236), second comes iron with 54 examples, and third silver with 16 examples.<sup>929</sup> It may be that we have here an example of a large part of a society dedicating at the same location, where the miniatures could represent a specific group of worshippers. It is also interesting that locally produced miniature vessels are so prominent compared to imported Corinthian, colonial (Tarantine, and Metapontine) pottery (see tables above). Mastronuzzi also shows how there is a rise in the amount of miniature pottery from the Archaic to the late Archaic phase: 4.1% dates to 550-490 BC, and by the second phase, 490-470 BC the amount of miniature vessels has gone up to 16.9% (**Figure 59**).

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<sup>926</sup> Iacono 2010, 101.

<sup>927</sup> Iacono 2010, 108.

<sup>928</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 209-14, figs. 153-55, table XIX. The category 'utensils' is not further explained, but presumably it comprises of e.g. iron/bronze knives, and perhaps nails.

<sup>929</sup> Mastronuzzi 2013, 213, table XIX.

**Figure 59.** Amount of Miniature Pottery According to Period.  
Mastronuzzi 2013, fig. 160.

It is an interesting observation that Oria had a large local production during the Archaic period and that it included miniature pottery. It is, however, not possible to chronologically determine that the Corinthian miniature vessels arrived first and then were imitated and then almost mass produced in Oria since the Corinthian miniatures can be dated to ca. 550 BC which correlates with a large number of the locally produced miniatures (**Figure 59**). On the other hand, one may suggest that since the amount of miniature pottery rises in the second phase, it could be the case, if one considers that it took some time for the concept of miniature votives to become popular, and that eventually they preferred ‘their own’ locally produced miniature pottery.

#### 6.4.4. Vaste: A Settlement in the Salento Peninsula

Vaste is located ca. 15 km inland from Otranto; the site Piazza Dante is in focus here.<sup>930</sup> A survey provided evidence from the Bronze Age to the medieval period.<sup>931</sup> The remains from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC are mostly buried below the present city of Vaste. The evidence preserved shows traces of a craft area, an area of worship, and/or funeral, and habitation. There was a decline in the population in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, but then the construction of fortifications began in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>930</sup> D’Andria 2002, 56-7; Mastronuzzi 2005, 147-52; Mastronuzzi and Ciuchini 2011, 679-80.

<sup>931</sup> Giannotta 1998, 169; Mastronuzzi and Ciuchini 2011, 677; Belotti and Clavel-Lévêque 2000, 208.

with three construction phases spanning up to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, an activity pattern that mirrors Timmari and Oria above.<sup>932</sup>

A religious complex was identified in the area of Piazza Dante, at the centre of the ancient residential area, dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC (**Figure 60**). The complex unearthed consists of two unroofed rooms, and hearths.<sup>933</sup> Different construction techniques may suggest that the structure already existed in the Archaic period, probably with the same function of demarcating sacred spaces. The presence of an underground room, an altar and three pits, seem to suggest a chthonic cult. The two smaller pits served as containers for votive offerings, whereas the largest was used for religious rites, including libations and the sacrifice of piglets.<sup>934</sup> A goddess whose Messapian name with the name ‘Oxxo’ has been interpreted to be the Greek equivalent of Demeter based on the offerings of agricultural products and especially by the sacrifice of piglets. A limestone head of a female goddess may be seen as support for this interpretation.<sup>935</sup>

**Figure 60.** Vaste. Reconstruction of the Sacred Area.  
Mastronuzzi and Ciuchini 2011, fig. 6.

<sup>932</sup> Belotti and Clavel-Lévêque 2000, 209-11; Mastronuzzi and Ciuchini 2011, 678.

<sup>933</sup> Mastronuzzi and Ciuchini 2011, 680.

<sup>934</sup> Mastronuzzi and Ciuchini 2011, 676.

<sup>935</sup> Mastronuzzi and Ciuchini 2011, 696.

The three pits included various types of pottery, a popular shape being the ring-handled cup. One such cup bore an *Oxxo* dipinto (**Figure 61**), and an identical inscription is found on a stone basin. Although exact quantification is lacking in the available publications, it seems that among the miniature pottery, the *kanthariskos* and *hydriskos* are dominant. It could be that the three pits indicate three different kinds of rituals since Pit 2 contained a majority of vases in use for libations (for example, jugs and cups), and Pit 3 is the only one that contained *trozzelle* and dishes often related to cooking; all three pits included the *kanthariskos*, and Pit 1 included miniature pottery upside down, which could mean that they were used for chthonic rituals.<sup>936</sup> This indicates that one cannot limit the miniature pottery to a specific ritual, or a specific use, but miniature pottery was instead an omnipresent component.

**Figure 61.** Ring-Handled Cup with ‘*Oxxo*’ Dipinto.  
Mastronuzzi and Ciuchini 2011, fig. 9.

Furthermore, from the evidence discussed above, concentrations of miniature pottery and sometimes other votives such as terracotta figurines, seems to be related to a spatial preference. Concentrations of miniatures are found in various amounts in pits in both Monte Palalucio and Vaste. The actual rituals the vessels were used for can perhaps explain this concentration. Perhaps the objects were excavated more or less in situ, or the votives were cleaned up at some point and buried within the area of the sanctuary. All pits contained plant remains, more precisely vine, fig, pomegranate, olive, myrtle, and walnut, which interestingly all ripen in the autumn. The remains of those found in the pits do not show signs of parasitic attacks, which mean that they were probably offered and burnt shortly after the harvest. Similar to Greek customs, the autumn season must have been especially important in this Messapian community related to both the ritual and agricultural calendar.<sup>937</sup> According to Felton libations to

<sup>936</sup> Mastronuzzi and Ciuchini 2011, 683-93.

<sup>937</sup> Mastronuzzi and Ciuchini 2011, 697.

Demeter Chthonia were often poured into pits, on altars or directly onto the ground (into the earth). This aspect of Demeter is not just connected to fertility as such but also rebirth and burial.<sup>938</sup> As mentioned above, the cult at the Pantanello Sanctuary might also have belonged to Demeter Chthonia based on the cups with the perforated bottoms. To conclude, it appears that Demeter and/or other fertility deities were very popular in South Italy and that, at least in Corinth and South Italy, miniature pottery was often connected to this type of cult.

## 6.5. CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, it appears that imported Greek diminutive (votive) miniatures, are very sparsely found in both colonial and indigenous settings (**Table 14**). However, locally or regionally produced miniatures of both ‘model’ and ‘diminutive’ type dominate the ritual contexts from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC in Pantanello, Leuca, Timmari, and Oria. The idea that the Greeks introduced the votive miniatures to the indigenous communities, perhaps via the Greek colonies, cannot be firmly substantiated from available evidence. That Corinthian miniature pottery is found in Leuca, a probable stopping point for Greek merchants, and dates from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, and the fact that the indigenous production of (diminutive) votive miniatures does seem to start in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, however, does keep the idea alive. Evidence from more sites is a necessity to clarify the issue.

<b>Location</b>	<b>Number of Minis</b>	<b>Date</b>
Pantanello, sanctuary	Local, uncertain amount	5 <sup>th</sup> century
Metaponto, Crucinia	ca. 150? local/regional/imported	Mid-6 <sup>th</sup> to the second quarter of the 5 <sup>th</sup> century
Satyrion, acropolis	3 local	Mid 4 <sup>th</sup> century
Leuca, Grotta Porcinara	2 Corinthian, 35 Messapian/local	7 <sup>th</sup> -early 5 <sup>th</sup> century (some later disturbances)
Timmari, sanctuary	317 local	6 <sup>th</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> century
Oria, Monte P. sanct.	2415 local	550-470
Vaste, sanct. Piazza Dante	Uncertain amount	4 <sup>th</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> centuries

**Table 14.** Overview of Miniature Pottery in South Italian Sites Discussed Above (all dates are BC).

<sup>938</sup> Felton 2007, 90.

A few provisional conclusions concerning the transfer of cult and miniature vessels can be suggested. Based on the evidence from Corinth and the Greek colonies of Metaponto and Satyrion, it appears that the use of miniature pottery in sanctuaries related to Demeter and Kore and chthonic cults began around the same time in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. It is, however, hard to deduce whether the miniature vessels began to appear solely due to the popularity of Demeter and Kore in South Italy. A Greek influence is seen in the common elements which point to the worship of fertility goddesses also in the indigenous contexts discussed here. The indigenous sites Leuca, Timmari, Monte Papalucio, and Vaste are not to any extent identical, but show instead some interesting differences. Leuca is one of the earliest sites with preserved imported Greek material, as both Greek and native miniature pottery is found here, along with the worship of a female goddess and Zeus; perhaps the Zeus cult continued from its earliest phase of the site to the Roman period. Timmari, on the other hand, does not have any imported Greek miniature vessels, and locally produced miniatures appear in both sacred and funerary contexts. However, based on inscriptions the Greek goddess Demeter (and Kore?), Aphrodite and perhaps even Artemis had cults here. Monte Papalucio/Oria, show strong evidence for Demeter Thesmophoria worship, and even fragments of Greek style architecture were discovered. Vaste is somewhat later chronologically and proves that miniature vessels are still used in sacred contexts into the early Hellenistic period. The most popular miniature vessel in South Italy is probably the miniature hydria at the sites presented here; it was especially popular at Monte Papalucio. The by now familiar kanthariskos with the looped handles, which can be glazed, semi-glazed or plain, is, however, found in contexts from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

The relative rare type of miniature, the ‘token’ miniature, was found in Monte Papalucio, the so-called ‘fac-simili.’ The opening of the vessel is so shallow that it can be debated how much it could hold of anything and thus it is close to being non-functional. This token could have been dedicated as a symbol or representation of a larger sized vessel, but could also have had a meaning when being dedicated on its own, or in a set, or as part of an assemblage, which unfortunately is unclear to us now given the excavation and publication record. The publication prerogative encountered when researching the sites in this chapter unfortunately made analysing the assemblages and material difficult at times.

These analyses additionally appear to support the now more prominent consensus among scholars that colonization of South Italy was a complex affair, sometimes perhaps violent, but possibly more often without violent conflicts. Sites such as Francavilla and L'Amastuola indicate this (see above) and a site such as Monte Papalucio may be an additional example. Shared cult practices and thus familiar belief systems are most visible in the worship related to Demeter and Kore, or a native deity, 'Oxxo,' with similar functions related to fertility, reproduction and health of mankind and crops. Perhaps one of the reasons that nature of the connectivity is so intangible is because, as Herring stated, 'cultural assimilation and resistance to acculturation can co-exist simultaneously.'<sup>939</sup> In our quest to find finite answers about this transference of cult we forget how complex such situations are especially when processes, such as adoption of cults, are drawn out over decades. Adoptions and adaption of rituals might have happened within a generation, but it is difficult archaeologically to define events down to just a 25-year span. Nevertheless, contextual social studies can point towards some trends and patterns, such as the one intended in this chapter.

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<sup>939</sup> Herring 1996, 173.

## CHAPTER 7

### MINIATURE POTTERY IN CONTEXT

#### DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION

##### 7.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will discuss the result of the case study chapters in a broader setting and present possible interpretations of the comprehensive meaning of miniature pottery. Contextual settings will be touched upon since the interpretation of miniature pottery is tightly connected to their contexts that being ritual, domestic, or funerary, and context has been an overarching theme throughout the thesis. Lastly, the meaning of miniature pottery in a broader aspect will be discussed with references to the case studies in this thesis in order to gain a more coherent understanding of miniature pottery's position in the vast topic that is Greek ritual behaviour.

##### 7.2. THE CONTEXTUAL SETTINGS

As mentioned above (**Chapter 1**), miniature pottery is found in different contexts, mostly ritual, secondly funerary and more rarely in domestic contexts. 'Ritual contexts' can be understood as just within the sanctuary, scattered around the sanctuary area within the temenos boundary (if a temenos is preserved), or in votive deposits. Votive deposits, which originate from clean-outs or closures of shrines, are useful because they represent a singular event in one specific point in time. Analysing the pottery and determining the chronology of the deposit leaves one with an approximate time span for the period the deposit of the shrine was in use.<sup>940</sup> Sometimes, but rarely, miniature pottery is found on or near altars as seen in Olympia (the Artemis Altar), at Nemea, and in Kalopodi.<sup>941</sup> When miniature pottery is found in scatters outside a confined context it can be difficult to be analysed and interpreted.

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<sup>940</sup> For published votive deposits, see e.g. Barfoed 2009; 2013 in Nemea, for a votive deposit in Phlious, see Biers 1971, for a proto-Attic votive deposit, see Burr 1933, for a Lakonian votive deposit, see Catling 1992, for a votive deposit in Argos, see Guggisberg 1988, and for a votive deposit in Thorikos, see Devillers 1988. There are of course many more examples of votive deposits from Italy and the rest of the Mediterranean.

<sup>941</sup> Heiden 2012; Felsch et al. 1980.

Similar difficulties occur when miniature pottery appears in funerary contexts. It can be found deposited inside the grave presumably as a grave gift, perhaps indicating the deceased's belongings. However, miniature pottery can also be found on, near and outside the grave. It can, of course, also be found without the presence of bones in a nearby cemetery, presumably due to later disturbances in the area (for instance farming, or looting).

Rarer is miniature pottery from domestic contexts, which of course can also be due to the nature of the evidence. Houses are not always well excavated or well published in Greece: known sites are quite few, for instance Olynthos, Haleis, and the Athenian Agora. The new excavations of Kalydon's Lower Acropolis also revealed ancient house foundations in recent excavations.<sup>942</sup> The Archaic houses from Chalkis, Aitolia, are due to be published soon.<sup>943</sup> At Chalkis miniature pottery is found in a room with an altar, which is a clear and very rare indication of domestic cult.<sup>944</sup> In the Athenian Agora miniature pottery is found with figurines in a well that are thought to belong to the house, either as evidence for domestic cult, or because it was kept in the house for later dedication elsewhere.<sup>945</sup> Additionally, under the floor of commercial buildings around the Athenian Agora ritual pyres were found. The pyre assemblages, also called 'saucer pyres' or 'Agora pyres' by Rotroff, most often consisted of miniature pottery: plates, saucers, lekanides, and cooking pots, found together in a shallow pit or dug into a floor with traces of burning and often accompanied with fragmented animal bones.<sup>946</sup> Sometimes a regular sized plate, drinking cup or lamp was found in the pyre assemblages.<sup>947</sup> Recent conjecture has connected the pyres with rites attending the construction or remodelling of a building, the memorializing of the dead, or the propitiation of the spirits of the deceased.<sup>948</sup> Rotroff suggested that the miniature cooking pots, chytrai and lopades, had a funerary significance: on the third day of the Anthesteria festival, a day known as the *chytrai*, Athenian residents prepared a meal for the dead, boiling together all sorts of vegetables in a chytra; thus, the miniature cooking pots (chytridia) may have been symbolic or commemorative of an activity of this sort. The regular sized drinking cups and lamps do not differ from vessels found in regular

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<sup>942</sup> Mejer 2014.

<sup>943</sup> S. Dietz, pers. comm.

<sup>944</sup> S. Houby-Nielsen, pers. comm.; Price 1999, 89.

<sup>945</sup> Lynch 2011, 164-5.

<sup>946</sup> Rotroff 2013, 9-11.

<sup>947</sup> Jordan and Rotroff 1999, 147; Rotroff 2013, 17-35.

<sup>948</sup> Jordan and Rotroff 1999, 147; *Agora* 29, 212-14; Rotroff 2013, 55-90.

domestic contexts, which indicate that perhaps they were used practically for ritual drinks and libations and for illuminating the ceremonies.<sup>949</sup> The most compelling interpretation by Rotroff is that the pyres, since they are connected to commercial buildings, form part of what she term ‘workers ritual practice,’ a group of activities designed to protect the artisans and their industrial establishments. The pyres are thus examples of what Rotroff has coined ‘industrial religion.’<sup>950</sup> The phenomenon of the pyre has been attested to at the Athenian Agora, the Kerameikos but otherwise only under the floors of houses in Ambracia. Here the deposits are believed to have been connected with the construction of the buildings.<sup>951</sup> Hopefully as new contextually sound excavations are published, similar to the excavations at the Athenian Agora, analogous examples will be discovered elsewhere. Similarly, miniature pottery was found in a late Classical drain in Corinth in the Forum southwest, however, in this specific case the assemblage including the miniature pottery may stem from nearby public buildings.<sup>952</sup> The drain runs between two buildings (called Building I and II), and Building I is interpreted as being connected to both dining and cult activity, and Building is possibly an official or partly official building.<sup>953</sup> The few examples of cultic vessels indicate that the dump in the drain did not predominantly consist of debris from cult activities in the area.<sup>954</sup> Instead these examples probably accumulated over time seeing that the assemblage mainly covered the 5<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. How the miniature pottery relates to the public or partly official building in the Agora of Corinth is hard to deduce, but the existence of many small shrines in the area, for instance the so-called ‘Underground Shrine,’ could suggest that the miniatures were connected to the shrines instead of the nearby building.<sup>955</sup> This thesis has shown that it is certainly important to analyse the contexts of miniature pottery and that miniature pottery was used in a large variety of both public and private rituals.

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<sup>949</sup> *Agora* 29, 213.

<sup>950</sup> Rotroff 2013, 80-5.

<sup>951</sup> Rotroff 2013, 6-7.

<sup>952</sup> *Corinth* VII.6, 4.

<sup>953</sup> *Corinth* VII.6, 5-6.

<sup>954</sup> *Corinth* VII.6, 209.

<sup>955</sup> *Corinth* VII.6, 1-5, 13-14.

### 7.3. THE MEANING OF MINIATURE POTTERY

In the introduction of this thesis a number of questions were asked which have been touched upon in the chapters, but some can be developed further. The questions were: what role did miniature pottery play in the sanctuaries and the rituals? What does miniaturisation mean, why miniaturisation and what does miniaturisation signify?

In **Chapter 5** the question ‘why miniaturisation’ was discussed from a very practical point of view. The miniature vessels were suitable for transportation for an individual when travelling owing to their small size. Several, or even a large amount, could be packed into a larger vessel, or miniature kotylai could easily be stacked and wrapped in a cloth or skin to protect them from breaking. It is, however, impossible to know whether this aspect was present in the potter’s mind when he first produced a miniature pot. This idea is related to the economical aspects of votives, another area with lacunae in the scholarship: the consumption of dedicatory objects. The idea of a shift in dedicatory practices in the Archaic period must be brought forward again at this point (see **Chapter 1**). If there indeed was a shift, and dedication went from being a solely aristocratic event, to being something the ‘common man’ could participate in, then perhaps we have an explanation to the question ‘why miniaturisation.’ Morris also discusses a shift in the 8<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, and states that votive activity creates a sense of community at the expense of elite ideologies of consumption and display. Additionally, Morris said that individual decision shaped local and ritual patterns in ritual behaviour, which furthermore ties together with the appearance and increased popularity of miniature pottery.<sup>956</sup> He calls for caution though, saying that public generosity to the gods was ambiguous both being for the common good creating community, but also being for the individual (and his ancestors), which contributed to a hierarchical structure of honour.<sup>957</sup> The miniaturisation process that took place, and the increased number of miniature pottery likely initiated the development of an industry at Corinth.<sup>958</sup> This increase in dedications suggests that individuals from a wider range of social groups were spending a greater proportion of personal means. Morgan emphasizes that additionally the appearance of temples in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and many more succeeding in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, is indicative of both a want to

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<sup>956</sup> Morris 1996, 36; Antonaccio 2005, 110.

<sup>957</sup> Morris 1996, 36.

<sup>958</sup> Gimatzidis 2011, 84.

monumentalize sanctuaries but also of community investment.<sup>959</sup> After the early Iron Age period there was an increase in population and the number of religious sites, which in it self may have contributed to the increase in dedication and thus, the increased interest in miniature pottery and other small votives. In the chapter on South Italy (**Chapter 6**), it was also discussed whether there was a similar shift in colonies and indigenous communities in South Italy.

In the chapter on South Italy it is also discussed why indigenous people would adapt/adopt the idea of dedicating miniature pottery. The answer could be connected to economical aspects. Before the influx of Greeks and Greek goods, native pottery was used for dedications in natives' sacred settings. A very practical explanation of the adoption of miniature pottery in indigenous contexts in South Italy could be that miniaturised pottery was cheaper (of course also a good reason for using miniature pottery in any context in mainland Greece), but one could also keep one's regular size pottery and did not have to manage without some regular size pottery for a while or acquire new pottery; instead one simply bought/bartered the cheaper, smaller pottery that was just as suitable for dedications as regular sized pottery was. In this way it was possible to save practical belongings (pottery), it was easy and practical, and you satisfied the gods all at the same time. But how is this idea proven? One criterion is to see whether or not there is a rise in dedications at a given time, and if perhaps more people got to participate; this does seem to be the case exemplified in the chapter (**Chapter 6**) in the examination of the indigenous ritual contexts. Additionally, it may be possible to suggest that the idea of democratisation within sanctuaries also took place in South Italy at around the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. So, the main question of why miniatures were adopted, and if it was a coincidence or not, is related to price. Obviously, the presence of miniatures were also tied to supply and demand. Greek miniature pottery had to be available in South Italy in order for people to see them, want them and buy/acquire them.<sup>960</sup> This may be difficult for us to understand since in the era of globalization and technology even rare and/or imported products can be readily available. If we buy a cup we can decide whether we want Royal Danish Porcelain, a plastic tankard from Taiwan, or an army enamel metal mug. In antiquity, however, local availability was to a large extent tightly connected to consumption. Knowing how and

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<sup>959</sup> Morgan 1993, 19.

<sup>960</sup> Foxhall 1998.

why miniature pottery was adopted is difficult to comprehend, but the adoption of a new dedicatory pattern must have been an active choice.

I do believe that the boom in the Corinthian production of miniature vessels was connected to the prosperity of the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary in the Archaic period. The general popularity of Corinthian pottery at the time would have reinforced the popularity of the Corinthian miniature vessels. Perhaps everyone could now afford to own or dedicate a Corinthian cup? As shown in the Eleia chapter (**Chapter 4**) there certainly is a shift in the preference of dedications in that region: in the 9<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century BC (perhaps a little earlier) metal votives, animal figurines are most popular and found in very large number, but then there is a change to terracotta figurines, a cheaper raw material, and human figurines become more popular in the Archaic-Classical period and declines towards the Hellenistic period. So, the shift is both from animal to human figurines, but also from metal to terracotta. The shift is seen in both the large Pan-Hellenic sanctuary to Zeus, but also in the rural sanctuary to Artemis Limnatis. Metal is known to have been more expensive than clay, and this evidence could thus support the argument of a shift in the Archaic period (for more on this, see **Chapter 4**). It thus seems that the adoption of miniature pottery varied according to local factors; unfortunately these factors are often difficult to interpret in the archaeological record.

It is possible to speculate whether a private person, a poorer individual, and the common person always were the ones who dedicated miniature vessels. The presumed cheaper price compared to for instance metal votives does suggest so.<sup>961</sup> Price marks are, however, not preserved on miniature pottery and the written sources are mute on the topic, too.<sup>962</sup> What miniature pottery signifies is in my mind not exclusively related to economics, but rather to the Greeks' way of thinking about religion. I do not think that miniature pottery was simply invented because of economical reasons, but also because of the idea of its suitability. I imagine miniatures were believed to be more suited for the realms of the gods and the ancient Greeks' belief in this suitability is mainly why miniature vessels became such a widespread and popular phenomenon. How long it took before this idea took root is hard to know, but perhaps a generation or two, given the evidence from early graves and later in the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary at Acrocorinth. Miniature vessels and figurines were imported, and exported, but also

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<sup>961</sup> For the discussion of the price of pottery, see Sparkes 1991, 129-31.

<sup>962</sup> For price marks on pottery, and a discussion of pottery's value, see e.g. Gill 1994, 102-4.

imitated as seen in the material presented in this thesis (**Chapter 5**), and imitation was perhaps also the sincerest form of flattery in ancient Greece. The same is valid for figurines: moulds for terracotta figurines produced in one place showed up in another place, for example a figurine from Perachora, which was apparently made in a Corinthian mould but of Argive clay.<sup>963</sup> Why the miniatures were more suited for the gods is, however, not that easy question to answer. I have mentioned several options throughout the thesis and believe the answer is tied to the concepts of symbolism and commemoration.<sup>964</sup> Pilz expresses the same idea but calls it ‘iconic signs.’<sup>965</sup> Perhaps the Greeks believed that the deity understood the idea of a miniature as a representation of a full-scale offering. Perhaps the offering in itself was enough for the gods. In this way miniature vessels functioning as commemorative offerings make much sense (**Chapter 4**). One thing is certain: the deity would express his or her discontent if his/her needs were not fulfilled, thus, the popularity and omnipresence of miniature pottery indicate that a miniature was indeed deemed a satisfactory offering.

The analyses in **Chapter 6** on South Italy reveal some tentative ideas regarding the question of who dedicated the miniature pottery. Keeping the shift of dedications from being a task solely for the aristocracy to being possible for the common person to participate in the dedications that took place in sanctuaries is interesting since we know that it was not the aristocracy who colonized. The *oikist* could be the son of a tyrant as in the case of Rhegion, or even a leader of fugitives looking for a place to inhabit.<sup>966</sup> The use of miniature vessels (diminutives) begin in South Italy around the time of the peak in the miniature production in Corinth, and it is the time of the early contact between the Greek and indigenous that the miniatures are popular. Of course, the miniature pottery could also have arrived by regular trade by some Greek merchant. It can be difficult to know to which extent cult was transferred and impossible to know how, or if, the indigenous people were converted to Greek religion (see **Chapter 6**).

To put the idea of the votive into broader context, miniature pottery did play similar roles in the sanctuaries and shrines of Greece as other votives and dedications that being temples, inscriptions, or statues. One might be able to make some additional distinctions. Whitley divides votives into three categories: 1) Dedications of personal

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<sup>963</sup> Barfoed 2013, 96-7; *Perachora I*, 214, no. 79, pl. 93.

<sup>964</sup> Barfoed 2015, 177-84; Luce 2011, 64-5.

<sup>965</sup> Pilz 2011, 19.

<sup>966</sup> Malkin 1987, 3, 32-7.

objects; 2) Purpose-made votives; 3) Gift-exchange objects.<sup>967</sup> Whitley mentions pyxides, spindle whorls, and arms and armour as belonging to category '1'. Figurines belong to category '2' and this is where miniature pottery seems to belong, although Whitley does not mention it explicitly. Objects such as large bronze cauldrons belong to the third category.<sup>968</sup> I would say that there is some overlap between the categories; would it not be possible to own a purpose-made votive and then at some point dedicate it as a personal item?

Animal sacrifices within the Greeks' sphere of influence have achieved much more attention than dedications of, for instance, pottery.<sup>969</sup> Parker argues that libations and other gifts to the gods were part of a continuing relationship between the dedicant and the god.<sup>970</sup> As example he uses Achilles, who in the *Iliad* offers to Zeus, and who reminds Zeus of the offerings he gave him in the past.<sup>971</sup> It is possible to make specifications though. The lasting effect of sacrifices and the meal afterwards for the worshippers is shared only by those present, and is, as such, perishable. However, votives remain on display, as Antonaccio phrased it, and is thus a reminder of the event of the offering.<sup>972</sup> It thus seems that these acquired links to the gods needed to be renewed through continued offerings throughout one's life.

It is possible to expand somewhat on Whitley's definitions. I think that a votive, a dedication, could be offered to the god as a thing on its own. White mentions how imported fine ware may have been dedicated as gifts in their own rights in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone in Cyrene.<sup>973</sup> Examples are for instance the solid miniature hydriai from Eutresis mentioned above, but could also be large metal tripods. The act of giving was the important part and one dedicated whatever one could spare.<sup>974</sup> Sometimes dedications were made where the contents of the vase/container were the important part and not the vessel. Here it is important to mention that the devotee could also deliberately have dedicated a pretty container with the more important offering inside, as a 'two birds with one stone' kind of dedication, for instance an elaborately figure-decorated oil-vessels with precious scented oil inside. It is also possible that

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<sup>967</sup> Whitley 2001, 141-42.

<sup>968</sup> Morris 1996, 37.

<sup>969</sup> The bibliography on sacrifices is huge, but see for instance Ekroth 2007; Burkert 1985, 55-66; Van Straten 1995; Bremmer 2007; Mylonopoulos 2006, 71-84.

<sup>970</sup> Parker 2011, x.

<sup>971</sup> *Hom. Il.* 16.236-238.

<sup>972</sup> Antonaccio 2005, 102.

<sup>973</sup> White 2007, 269.

<sup>974</sup> Salapata 2011, 1.

dedications became symbolic representations of a belief, or were to commemorate special events.<sup>975</sup> This category is perhaps especially suited to ‘model miniatures.’ An example could be a miniature cup used for making a libation. It must be underlined here that it is possible to fit the above elaborations of dedications’ categories into all three of Whitley’s categories, or some ideas fit into two of them, whereas some belong to only one category.

An overlooked aspect within the topic of dedication is the idea that small votives could have been offered in sets; so far Salapata has done most work on this topic.<sup>976</sup> One example is iron spits, which were used as cult implements for roasting meat. Often they were dedicated in sets of six. Another example is anatomical terracottas from Asklepieia.<sup>977</sup> Since miniatures were presumably a relatively cheap offering, it is a possibility that some people dedicated them in sets in order for the dedication to have greater impact on the deity. A few examples of what can be called ‘multiple cups’ might reflect the developed idea of this type of thinking. On the island of Samos, at Naukratis and at Mt Hymettos in Attica a specific type of cup is found which represents a stack of cups, but is in fact made in one piece (**Figure 62**).<sup>978</sup> This type of cup is probably a quick and cheaper alternative to dedicating singular cups. Perhaps the multiple cup type implied that people dedicated in sets and perhaps those sets consisted of stacked cups.<sup>979</sup> It is hard to understand whether the dedication of votives in sets intensified the meaning of the dedication or request made, or whether the Greeks simply believed that more was better.<sup>980</sup> Perhaps it was also related to how much you thought you had received from the gods already; Aegistus in the *Odyssey*, made many offerings because of what he had achieved, both animal sacrifices and votive gifts.<sup>981</sup> According to Burkert this is the earliest mention of *agálmata* as votive gifts and also displaying the anxiety related to making dedications.<sup>982</sup> There must have been certain flexibility in the way, or tradition, of how and what to dedicate, which is difficult for us to understand. This flexibility can also be seen in the Achilleon on the Megalopolis road (**Chapter 5**),

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<sup>975</sup> Kindt 2012, 64-7.

<sup>976</sup> Salapata 2011.

<sup>977</sup> Salapata 2011, 3-4.

<sup>978</sup> Salapata 2011, 3; Boardman 1999, 132, fig. 153; Langdon 1976, no. 273, pl. 22.

<sup>979</sup> Salapata 2011, 3.

<sup>980</sup> Salapata 2011, 7.

<sup>981</sup> ...And many thigh-pieces he burned upon the holy altars of the gods, and many offerings he hung up, woven stuffs and gold, since he had accomplished a mighty deed beyond all his heart had hoped..., Homer. *Od.* 3.273-275.

<sup>982</sup> Burkert 1987, 47.

where the shrine seems to have been used both for a specific ritual, but also as a wayside shrine for travellers. Quantity may have mattered and was expressed either by dedicating in sets, multiple cups or by making (small) dedications in large number. Large sculpture dedications were out of reach for most individuals and greater gifts were reserved for special occasions. Therefore, one may also be able to conclude that the inequality of dedications and sacrifice in any sanctuaries reinforced hierarchy. As an example, Antonaccio mentions Zeus, who, as also seen in the chapter on Elis (**Chapter 4**), is visited by other gods and goddesses, but Zeus himself does not visit others, which reinforces this hierarchy among the gods.<sup>983</sup>

**Figure 62.** East Greek ‘Stacked’ Eye-Cup, ca. 600-575 BC.  
British Museum, London. Inv. No.: BM 1888,0601.392.

Another division that Whitley makes is the difference between a private and a public dedication; Kindt phrases it slightly differently, as dedications made by an individual or by people who represented a whole community.<sup>984</sup> Whitley mentions statues, pillars, and ships as public dedications; however, it seems that figurines and

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<sup>983</sup> Antonaccio 2005, 110-11.

<sup>984</sup> Kindt 2012, 65; Herman Hansen 2006, 118-21.

miniature pottery could belong to a different sphere. He argued that the Greeks were not interested in private devotion, but rather in public acts, a statement, which I do not support.<sup>985</sup> As the work presented here has shown, and as Salapata said, votive offerings are physical manifestations of personal piety, motivated by the need of the dedicant to establish contact with the divine.<sup>986</sup> It may have been important for the state to make public dedications, but I believe it was just as important for the individual to make personal dedications and to keep as good and balanced a relationship with the gods as possible. The gods' will and always had been unpredictable and their rage intense; one can easily think of examples in myths of Zeus' anger or Hera's wrath.<sup>987</sup> Natural phenomena such as earthquakes or draught were inexplicable and humans sought gullible explanations that the gods were in charge, for instance Herodotus insinuates that he believes that Poseidon is responsible for earthquakes, and Hesiod's *Theogony*, and the *Gigantomachy*, and *Titanomachy* are also full of such examples.<sup>988</sup> Burkert argues that religion is inescapably associated with anxiety and is always present, and I concur.<sup>989</sup> Therefore, it is likely that the 'common people' was also concerned with how and what to dedicate, and was indeed interested in private dedication. The general decline of miniature pottery in the Hellenistic period could suggest that the anxiety was less prevalent in that period, or it had changed nature, or simply that people dedicated different objects at the time, which has partly been showed in the case study chapter, but is an idea that requires further study.

#### 7.4. CONCLUSIONS

Summing up the discussion and interpretations presented in this chapter; first and foremost the idea that miniature pottery was insignificant and strictly non-functional can be laid to rest with certainty. Their role in rituals and in sanctuaries was varied and depended on whether they were 'model miniatures' or 'diminutives' or 'tokens.' Miniaturisation may have come about by the growing demand on the sanctuaries caused by the shift mentioned above. Dedications were not strictly for chieftains or the aristocracy anymore. The gods accepted miniature vessels and figurines; the suitability

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<sup>985</sup> Whitley 2001, 140.

<sup>986</sup> Salapata 2011, 1.

<sup>987</sup> Burkert 1985, 134, 247-8; Chaniotis 2011, 265-72.

<sup>988</sup> Hdt. 7.129.

<sup>989</sup> Burkert 1987, 45.

of miniatures can be deduced by its popularity and omnipresence in all of Greece and its colonies.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

#### 8.1. SUMMARY OF THE QUESTIONS

The main question of this thesis was how the contexts of Archaic to Hellenistic votive miniature vessels inform us about the Greek cults in which they are used, and the transmission of such cults. It has been the aim of this thesis to provide a broader contextual and coherent understanding of this material group, as well as presenting a broader picture of ancient Greek ritual behaviour, a picture, which so far has been deficient due to the general absence of analyses of votives such as miniature pottery. Additional research questions in this thesis were: what role did miniaturisation play in the sanctuaries and the rituals in the ancient Greek society, and what does miniaturisation mean. It was also attempted to answer the question, why miniaturisation, and what miniaturisation meant in the context of votive dedications in sanctuaries. Whether the nature of the miniatures was more suited for the realm of the immortal gods was also examined. These queries were raised because of the lacuna in the scholarship related to miniature pottery and scholars' previous dismissal of the group as a valid and useful group of archaeological material. The abundance and omnipresence of votive material can be overwhelming, and analysing large amount of material is naturally very time-consuming. In the past, it may have been such considerations that led to a neglect of this specific group of archaeological material. Many scholars do now include details on votives, many of them thorough and valuable for comparisons. In some cases still, interpretations are, however, lacking. In this thesis it has been attempted to show how important it is to analyse, publish and attempt interpretation of votive material, such as miniature pottery in its contexts, and broader frame of reference. In order to achieve this, a suggestive typology has also been proposed as a working tool for other scholars working with miniature pottery.

#### 8.2. THE STUDY

Several tentative conclusions and suggestions for further studies can be drawn from the different case study chapters. **Chapter 4** focused on the consumption of miniature objects from two sites in the Eleia region, the sites of Olympia and Kombothekra. It

became apparent that the Pan-Hellenic setting of Olympia was a prominent factor that determined which objects were part of the dedicatory practice. Comparisons to other Pan-Hellenic and local sanctuary sites showed that it was the epithet of the deity that determined the site's ritual behaviour and not the deity *per se*. It is perhaps not too surprising that the consumption of votives was different in Kombothekra, a rural sanctuary site, but it is interesting how products from the same workshop appeared at both sites. It means that the two sanctuaries used the same workshop, the workshop had a stall in each sanctuary where it sold its products, or perhaps the same clientele visited both sanctuaries. Kombothekra was also useful because it neatly showed several shifts in the ritual behaviour exemplified by the votives, for example, when looking at the ritual behaviour in the Eleia region over time. This case study showed that animal figurines in both terracotta and metal were the votive of choice in the Geometric period. In the Archaic period figurines depicting humans/gods were popular, and in the Classical period a preference for female terracotta figurines was seen. In the Hellenistic period miniature pottery stopped being dedicated and mould-made bowls took over as being the preferred dedicated objects. The most important inference, which sprung from the analyses in this chapter, is probably that miniature pottery seemed to often have had a commemorative function. The 'model miniatures' from both Olympia and Kombothekra imitated shapes that in regular size were used for feasting, and thus, it is possible that the miniatures were dedicated as commemorative symbols of ritual dining which contemporarily took place, and had taken place for a long period of time in the sanctuary.

**Chapter 5** on Kalydon, Kerkyra and Cyrene showed that miniature pottery was an established part of ancient trade and the possibilities of different kinds of trade were discussed. Miniature pottery could have been transported together with other goods, as 'add on' items, or it could have been commissioned beforehand. Votives in general could have been part of a so-called 'bazaar trade,' where individuals could have bought a couple of miniatures directly off the ship lying in the harbour. It was established in the chapter that the portability of the miniature pottery was a very important aspect, which would increase their suitability as votives, for instance, when travelling, or even when just going from one part of the town to another. Our knowledge of the various procedures in regards to trade is unfortunately in many ways still obscure. In this chapter the flexibility of ancient Greek cult was also discussed with the example of the Achilleion road-shrine near Sparta, which seemed to have been used both for specific

Spartan rituals for young men, but possibly also for people by-passing the shrine on the way either from or to Sparta.

This case study also showed that specific shapes do not necessarily follow different deities: the Demeter and Kore sanctuary at Corinth had a different distribution of Corinthian miniature pottery compared to the Demeter and Kore sanctuary in Cyrene. However, some Corinthian votives were extremely popular, the miniature kotyle and the standing kore terracotta figurine. Perhaps these votives became generic types of offerings representing libations (the cups) and any female deity or even the worshipper herself (the figurines)? Some clues to the transference of cult from Corinth to its colony Kerkyra were detected when looking at the preference of votives, for instance the terracotta figurines of a dancing group could indicate that rituals related to marriage and prenuptial rituals took place in Kerkyra, just as the rituals that has been suggested took place at the Kokkinovrysi shrine at Corinth. More comparative studies of other sanctuary sites are needed in order to firmly deduce such patterns.

In the chapter on South Italy (**Chapter 6**), the possible transfer of the concept and use of miniature votive pottery from Greece to South Italy via the Greek colonies was one of the main issues discussed. Chronologically it was difficult to prove. The ‘model miniatures,’ miniature vessels that are clearly scaled down models of regular sized vessels, were produced in South Italy before the coming of the Greeks. However, the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC peak in the Corinthian production of miniature votive pottery (‘diminutive miniatures’) roughly correlates with the appearance of votive miniatures such as for instance kanthariskoi. This case study showed that diminutives became very popular for dedications and a large amount of locally and regionally produced pottery was found at the sites examined. Whether the cults were similar in Greece, the colonies and the indigenous communities is difficult to say, but the evidence presented in this chapter does show predominance in cults related to fertility and agrarian interests. Additionally, the chapter showed that Demeter and Kore as well as chthonic cults in South Italy often made use of miniature vessels, especially hydriai and cups. It seems that there certainly was a strong connection, perhaps because of the miniature vessels specific functions in the rituals; however, which kind of rituals is hard to deduce, perhaps either as implements, or as having a commemorative function as seen elsewhere (**Chapter 4**). Scholarship in this area is to a larger extent embracing that an amalgamation of Greek, colonial, and indigenous cult must have taken place to a larger extent than previously believed.

### 8.3. THE VARIABILITY OF USE

A variability of use exists regarding miniature pottery, which the different case studies have shown. In sanctuaries, in shrines and in sacred contexts miniature pottery appears abundantly but remain difficult to interpret. Miniature pottery is found on and next to altars at Kalapodi, Nemea and Olympia, and therefore must have been used in the rituals connected to the altar. Miniature cups, krateriskoi and open shapes such as plates and bowls, despite their small size, could hold a small offering that being grain in fertility rituals to Demeter and Kore, or wool in rituals to the matron Hera, or a lock of hair in passage of rites rituals to Artemis. However, when the miniatures were very small, they could hold less, and the ‘token’ miniature, for instance the closed pyxides from Lousoi, the solid miniature hydriai from Eutresis, or the ‘fac-simili’ from Monte Papalucio, could not have held much or anything at all. Traces of burning on the fac-simili suggest that they were used for incense, but how the closed pyxides were used is uncertain. I believe that the closed pyxides and other ‘token’ miniatures were dedicated in their own right, sometimes merely to dedicate something, anything, but presumably more often these tokens had a meaning that we cannot grasp today. The motives for dedicating in sanctuary visits were more complex and varied and probably included a sense of respect, fear or duty. Leaving behind a ‘token’ miniature meant leaving behind a memento of oneself in a sacred place, or a general wish to attract goodwill from the deity.<sup>990</sup> When the ‘token’ miniatures do not represent a shape in regular size, we cannot assume that the miniature vessel acted as a symbolic dedication, neither as a commemorative dedication. In the case of the solid miniature hydriai from Eutresis, it is more likely that these token miniatures were meant to trigger certain memories, myths or traditional rituals, and the dedicants visiting the shrine would presumably have understood their meaning.

Miniature pottery was used in all kinds of sanctuaries as shown here. Miniature pottery was present in the Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries to male deities, such as in Nemea and Isthmia, but in Zeus’ sanctuary in Olympia to a lesser degree, perhaps due to Zeus’ civic function there. It seems like miniature pottery dominated in sanctuaries to female deities but more comparative studies need to be done in order to sustain this claim. It is certain that miniature pottery was especially popular in sanctuaries to Demeter and

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<sup>990</sup> Foxhall 2013, 150.

Kore, both on the Greek mainland (e.g. Corinth), but also in the Greek colonies and indigenous communities in South Italy. Rural shrines, such as Kombothekra, Mt Hymettos and the shrine outside the Zeus sanctuary at Nemea, also made use of miniature pottery; perhaps these rural shrines served a large topographical area and thus had to be flexible and offer many types of rituals to please the visitors.

Regarding contexts, one may ask whether the appearance of miniature pottery at shrine sites represents changes in the religious behaviour, or since they occur on other types of sites, mainly reflect changes in consumption patterns. Because miniature pottery appears in both funerary and domestic sites too, I believe that their suitability was broader than first expected. When miniature pottery is found in ancient houses it may attest to domestic cult, or just the fact that the votives were stored there before being brought to a shrine elsewhere. The evidence from funerary contexts is more difficult to interpret. The miniatures could have been included as precious belongings for the dead to bring to the next world; it could have been used in rituals before or after the burial; or it could even have been used before the burial and thrown into the grave afterwards. Funerary contexts and miniatures would make for an interesting future study. As mentioned above, there was a shift in votive behaviour in the Archaic period, and I believe that this change was connected to Corinth's successful pottery production. I think that it is impossible, in this case, to completely remove consumption from the equation. The large production of miniature pottery in Corinth during the Archaic and throughout the Classical period must have had economic implications for the city and the popularity of Corinthian pottery is certainly very visible in the archaeological record. Thus, religious and economic life was entangled and it is very difficult to unravel and see what happened without the aid of literary sources. Chasing the agent here is difficult but interesting. The idea that the shift in religious behaviour in the Archaic period meant that more people, also poorer people, could now participate in what happened in the sanctuaries combined with the large production of votives coming out of Corinth, may indeed indicate that smaller objects were dedicated by the everyday Greek/poorer people.

The contributions that this study attempted to make to the field of study may be equally modest and ambitious. It wants for the archaeologist and scholar to apply a more overarching contextual approach. Focus ought not to merely be on the items themselves, however pretty and nice they must be, but instead to think more broadly and critically about why the objects are there, how they were used, and the meaning of

why and how the objects were made. The suggestion for a typology presented here hopes to have brought more thought into the possible classification of miniature pottery and its different usages. It is the hope that scholars will embrace the importance of miniatures more fully in the future, and that the time of their dismissal as insignificant objects is over.

#### 8.4. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER WORK

Ideas for further work have sprung from working on all three case study chapters. One aspect that could be further developed in the discussions of Pan-Hellenic cults in the Eleia chapter (**Chapter 4**) is to include Delphi. It would be interesting to discover to what extent Olympia and the lack of miniature pottery was mirrored in Delphi. My preliminary examination shows that it was: miniature vessels are predominantly found in a cave to Pan and the Korykian Nymphs at Delphi.<sup>991</sup> Delphi's consumption of miniatures in general would also be an interesting topic. One could compare the miniatures from the sanctuary proper to the miniatures from the Korykian Nymphs cave or the Athena Proneia sanctuary not far from the main site of Apollo.

Generally, for the geographical areas discussed in this study, chemical/petrographical analyses of the fabric of the miniature pottery would be very interesting, and so would residual analyses of the traces of perishable remains from inside miniature pottery vessels. Some fabric analyses have already been done in Eleia (**Chapter 4**), so if further analyses were carried out on pottery from Olympia and Kombothekra, they would contribute to our understanding of workshops in the region. It would be especially interesting to try to establish whether there were pottery workshops in the sanctuaries, for instance, as some scholars have suggested, in the southeast area of the Sanctuary of Zeus. In Aitolia where such analyses remain to be carried out on pottery in general, it is a more daunting project, and certainly a long-term enterprise. In addition, residue analyses are similarly time consuming and costly, but it would extremely interesting to undertake especially on the diminutive miniatures from Olympia, Kombothekra and Kalydon. Presumably their small opening would mean that there is greater chance of finding preserved particles. This is certainly a topic I am very interested in and would like to undertake such a project in the future.

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<sup>991</sup> Luce 2011, 60; Amandry 1984.

In (**Chapter 5**), the mechanism of trade especially of votives and other small items is an aspect that could be developed for instance by including more sites, such as Tocra, also located in Libya. Pausanias is useful for this topic, but perhaps earlier sources can cast more light on the subject. The assemblages from shipwrecks would be interesting to incorporate into such a study. It would also be interesting to re-examine the material from the Achilleion shrine, or even re-excavate the area in the future. Generally, the ancient roadside or wayside shrine has not been thoroughly treated, which also is an idea for further studies.

Similarly, the question asked about transfer of cult and rituals asked in the South Italy chapter (**Chapter 6**) could benefit from the inclusion of more material and more sites. However, it could quickly become a very large study. The Salento region in focus here could be compared to other regions in order to discover fully if miniaturisation was introduced with the Greeks. The irregular publication records and methods of Italian sites demand patience and time in order to complete such a task. Ancient Greek colonies elsewhere could be included to a larger extent in such a study, for instance colonies in the Black Sea area, France, and Spain. Such a study would want to focus on all types of imported pottery, if possible, and then compare to the miniature pottery with the regular size, and if present, the locally produced pottery would also be included in the analyses. In that way it would become clear what kind of pottery was chosen to import. However, it is likely that such assemblages are not published or easily available for study.

To sum up, this thesis has, contextualised miniature pottery in a variety of ways. The meaning of miniature pottery has been thoroughly discussed, and the foundations for a possible typology of miniature pottery have been suggested. Last, but not least, it is the aspiration of this study that the significance, importance and symbolic value of miniature pottery and other votives will not be dismissed in the future, and will be fully incorporated into discussions related to ancient Greek ritual behaviour and dedicatory practices more extensively than previously.

CULT IN CONTEXT

THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MINIATURE POTTERY IN  
ANCIENT GREEK SANCTUARIES FROM THE ARCHAIC TO  
THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Volume 2

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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by

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# CATALOGUE

## MINIATURE POTTERY FROM KALYDON, OLYMPIA, AND KOMBOTHEKRA

### INTRODUCTION TO THE CATALOGUE

Everything in the catalogue is unpublished, self-studied, and is currently located in the storeroom of the Kalydon project in Evinochori, Aitolia, owned by the Danish Institute at Athens and the storeroom of the Archaeological Museum in Olympia. Catalogue numbers are in boldface and consist of a two-letter prefix, **KA** for Kalydon, **OL** for Olympia, and **KO** for Kombothekra followed by Arabic numerals. If the vase has an inventory number it follows after the catalogue number (in parentheses), e.g. (K 3973), if not, I have made inventory numbers based on the box the material came from, e.g. (578/1-4), which is sherd/pot number four from box 578/1. After the inventory number follows the box or bag number, e.g. Box 747/1 or Bag 6534. Then follows a shape determination, and a plate number. On the next line there is the excavation date, and stratigraphical information (if any). Then the measurements follow in centimetres. On the next line is a description of the preservation, followed by fabric description and a reading referring to the Munsell Soil Colour Chart. The first Munsell reading is the fabric and the following the colours of the decoration. Then comes a description of the shape and lastly parallels and a date. Parallels from Corinth provide both a contextual and stylistic date because the Corinthian pottery is so well-studied. The contexts from Kalydon are all unfortunately mixed, so no clear contextual information can be gathered from them relating to chronology, and unfortunately, the same can be said with Olympia. Not a lot of parallels are found to the Kombothekra material and most suggestions for dates are based on stylistic analyses of the pottery. Cross-references to other material in the catalogue are also mentioned. It is not unusual that excavation date and/or stratigraphical information is missing: it is due to the lack of an inventory number and those examples were found in the storerooms with no information at all, except from a number on the box the vessels was found in.

The catalogue is organized firstly by site, then by fabric with the largest provenance group presented first. In the Olympia section that means that first

miniature pottery of Elean/Local production is presented, then imports such as Corinthian and Lakonian vessels. Secondly, the catalogue is organized by shape; thus, the largest shape groups are presented first. As mentioned in the text above, some shapes that by first glance appear to be miniature were not included due to their well-known utilitarian functions, such as small cups, saltcellars, aryballoi, and other oil-vessels, and larger pyxides. Pyxis and phiale are two shapes that exemplify the difficulties of classifying miniature pottery.<sup>1</sup> Here only the very small examples have been included.

The chronology of the miniature pottery spans the Archaic through Hellenistic period. The earliest vessels with good parallels are a possible Lakonian kanthariskos dating to the middle of 7<sup>th</sup> to the middle of 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, **KO78**, and three examples of handmade two-handled cups/bowls represented by **KO66-67**, which dates to the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. The latest vessels are the miniature round-mouth juglets, **KO13-17**, which dates from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. The majority of the vessels are, however, anchored in the Archaic - Classical periods.

Lastly, the problem of using fabric description and Munsell to determine provenance does show here. The lack of parallels to the possible Elean and regional/local pottery is unfortunate and has resulted in the 'Elean/Local' category. Some vessels from Olympia and Kombothekra are certainly from the same workshop, for instance most of the krateriskoi, the kanthariskoi, and the miniature hydriai. Hopefully this work will contribute to the knowledge of the pottery production in the regions of both Eleia and Aitolia.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

Diam. = diameter

Great.= greatest

H. = height

Incl. = inclusions

p. = preserved (i.e., p.H. = preserved height)

SO = Südostgebiet, the southeastern part of the Sanctuary of Zeus, Olympia

St.N. = Stadion-Nordwall, the northern part of the stadium, Olympia

Th. = thickness

W. = width

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<sup>1</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, 168.



Straight rim. Flat, string-cut base. On exterior black vertical stripes below rim on handle zone.

Profile closest to *Corinth* VII.5, 60, no. 127, fig. 7. *Corinth* example is larger.

Last quarter of 6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KA4** (7037.2)      Bag 7037      Kotyle      (Plate 1)

15.07.02      H6/3

P.H. 1.95; Diam. rim 4.0; 37.5% preserved of rim; Diam. base 2.0; ca. 80% preserved; Th. 0.2-0.35; p.W. 3.7

Full profile preserved of miniature kotyle. Worn decoration. Lopsided. Small part of handle attachment preserved.

Light orange fabric. 7.5YR 8/2, pinkish white; Gley1 2.5/N, black; 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow.

Flat, string-cut base. Black-glaze on interior, vertical black lines on exterior and on underside of base. Below vertical lines, faded red band.

See **KA3**.

**KA5** (6813.1)      Bag 6813      Kotyle      (Plate 1)

09.07.02      H3, HS5/2

P.H. 2.0; Diam. rim 3.0; ca. 50% of rim preserved; Th. 0.2-0.35; p.W. 2.9

Rim fragment of miniature kotyle. Tiny part of base preserved, almost full profile preserved.

Bluish gray fabric. 10YR 7/2, light gray; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Straight rim. Black vertical bands on exterior and liquid glaze on interior.

See **KA3**.

**KA6** (7294.13)      Bag 7294      Kotyle      (Plate 1)

19.07.02      H3, HS5/2

P.H. 1.5; Diam. rim 3.0; Th. 0.15; p.W. 2.6

Rim and handle fragment of miniature kotyle. Worn brown glaze on interior and exterior.

Light yellow fabric. 10YR 8/3, very pale brown; 10YR 4/3, brown.

Small loop handle. Brown vertical lines in handle zone, brown thin band below.

Reserved then brown band.



Light yellow fabric. 10YR 8/2, very pale brown; Gley1 2.5/N, black; 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Flat base, uneven.

Probably similar to **KA1**.

*Kanthariskos (1 additional example)*

**KA11** (8420.17)      Bag 8420      Kanthariskos      (Plate 2)  
30.06.03      H14/11

P.H. 0.78; Diam. rim 3.0; ca. 15 % preserved of rim; Th. 0.15; p.W. 1.27

Very small rim fragment of miniature kanthariskos. Black-glaze throughout, worn.

Bluish gray fabric. 10YR 7/1, light gray; 10YR 4/1, dark gray.

Outturned rim.

*Corinth* XV.3, nos. 1730-31, 312-13, pl. 67.

Ca. third quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

*Krateriskoi (5 additional examples)*

**KA12** (7739.2)      Bag 7739      Krateriskos      (Plate 2)  
20.06.03      H14/3

P.H. 1.75; Diam. rim 2.0; Diam. base ca. 1.0; Th. 0.2-0.25; p.W. 1.95

Full profile preserved. Brown-red glaze throughout. Yellow/beige fabric. 7.5YR 8/2, pinkish white; 2.5YR 4/4, reddish brown.

Slightly outturned rim. Thick lug handles. Flat, string-cut base.

Closest parallel (shape) *Kalydon* II, no. 322, 482, pl. 47; (handle) *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1761, 315, pl. 68.

Archaic?

**KA13** (7315.7)      Bag 7315      Krateriskos      (Plate 2)  
23.07.02      H3, HS5/2

P.H. 1.55; Diam. rim 2.0; ca. 50% of rim preserved; Th. 0.15; p.W. 1.6

Rim and handle fragment of miniature krater. Black worn glaze.

Light yellow fabric. 2.5Y 8/2, pale yellow; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Small horizontal lug handle. Slightly outturned rim.

See **KA12**.

**KA14** (6566.2)      Bag 6566      Krateriskos      (Plate 2)

05.07.02      H6/2

P.H. 1.9; Diam. rim 3.0; 40% preserved of rim; Th. 0.2-0.4; p.W. 1.9

Rim and handle of miniature krater. Small part of base preserved. Black-glaze throughout.

Yellow fabric. 10YR 8/1, white; Gley1 3/N, very dark gray.

Small thick horizontal lug handle.

Biers 1971, no. 39, 412-13, pl. 88; *Kalydon* II, no. 371, 490, pl. 48 (Archaic).

Mid-6<sup>th</sup> century to early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KA15** (6475.1)      Bag 6475      Krateriskos      (Plate 2)

03.07.02      H8/1

P.H. 2.25; Th. 0.2; p.W. 1.85; Diam. rim ca. 4.0

Nearly full profile of miniature krater. Small part of horizontal lug handle preserved.

Broken just above base. Rim very worn.

Light yellow fabric. 2.5Y 8/2, pale yellow; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Slightly outturned rim. Horizontal lug handles.

*Corinth* XV.3, 315, nos. 1763-64, pl. 68.

Late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

**KA16** (8353.9)      Bag 8353      Krateriskos      (Plate 2)

27.06.03      H14/10

P.H. 1.6; Diam. rim 3.0; Th. 0.3; p.W. 2.1; ca 17.5 % of rim preserved

Rim and handle fragment of krateriskos.

Light almost white fabric. 2.5Y 8/3, pale yellow; Gley1 2.5N, black.

Outturned rim, thick horseshoe lug handles.

See **KA15**.

**KA17** (6520.4)      Bag 6520      Krateriskos      (Plate 2)

08.07.02      H8, HS6/2

P.H. 1.75; Diam. rim 3.0; ca. 47.5% preserved of rim; Th. 0.2; p.W. 2.65

Two joining fragments of miniature krater. Trace of black-glaze throughout.

Yellow fabric. 2.5Y 8/2, pale yellow; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Straight rim. Small horizontal lug handle.

See **KA15** and **OL19**.

**KA18** (7294.15)      Bag 7294      Krateriskos      (Plate 3)

19.07.02      H3, HS5/2

P.H. 1.6; Diam. rim 3.0; ca. 35% preserved of rim; Th. 0.15-0.2; p.W. 1.8

Rim fragment of miniature krateriskos. Small part of handle attachment preserved.

Light yellow fabric. 2.5Y 8/2, pale yellow; Misfiring 5Y 7/1, light gray.

Straight rim, rounded body.

Similar to **KA15**?

**KA19** (7201.7)      Bag 7201      Krateriskos      (Plate 3)

17.07.02      H3, HS30/2

P.H. 1.2; Diam. rim 3.0; Th. 0.2-0.25; p.W. 2.55

Rim fragment of krateriskos. Little less than half of rim preserved. Black-brown glaze preserved throughout.

Light yellow fabric. 5Y 8/2, pale yellow; 5YR 3/3, dark reddish brown.

Slightly outturned lip.

See **KA15**.

**KA20** (8424.5)      Bag 8424      Krateriskos      (Plate 3)

30.06.03      H14/11

P.H. 1.55; Diam. rim 3.0; ca. 22.5 % preserved; Th. 0.15-0.2; p.W. 2.3

Rim fragment of krateriskos. Black-glaze preserved on exterior lower body and trace on interior.

Light yellow fabric. 2.5Y 8/2, pale yellow; Gley1 3/N, very dark gray.

Slightly outturned rim.

See **KA15**.

**KA21** (8420.9)      Bag 8420      Krateriskos      (Plate 3)

30.06.03      H14/11

P.H. 1.4; Diam. rim 4.0; ca. 20% of rim preserved; Th. 0.1-0.2

Rim and handle fragment of krateriskos. Black-glaze preserved throughout.

Grey blue fabric. 10YR 6/2, light brownish grey; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Slightly outturned rim. Lug handle attached to rim.

See **OL19**.

**KA22** (7739.5)      Bag 7739      Krateriskos      (Plate 3)

20.06.03      H14/3

P.H. 1.15; Diam. rim 3.0; 15% preserved; Th. 0.1; p.W. 1.3

Rim and handle fragment of miniature krater. Worn black-glaze throughout.

Yellowish fabric. 10YR 8/2, very pale brown; Gley1 3/N, very dark grey.

Straight rim. Thick lug handle.

Similar to **KA15**.

**KA23** (7294.24)      Bag 7294      Krateriskos      (Plate 3)

19.07.02      H3, HS5/2

P.H. 0.95; Diam. ca. 3.0; Th. 0.1-0.2; p.W. 2.2

Handle fragment of miniature krater? Sporadic trace of black-glaze.

Very light, greenish fabric. 5Y 8/2, pale yellow.

Horizontal lug handle projecting above rim.

*Kalydon* II, no. 358, 488, pl. 48.

Archaic.

**KA24** (9149.1)      Bag 9149      Krateriskos?      (Plate 3)

09.07.03      H13, cleaning of baulk

P.H. 1.3; Diam. base ca. 1.0; ca. 50% of rim preserved; Th. 0.2; p.W. 2.0

Base and small part of wall of miniature krateriskos. Black-glaze preserved on interior and on exterior of base.

Light yellow fabric. 10YR 8/2, very pale brown. Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Flat base.

Similar to **KA14**?

**KA25** (8420.13)      Bag 8420      Krateriskos?      (Plate 3)

30.06.03      H14/11

P.H. 1.8; Diam. rim 4.0; ca. 12.5% of rim preserved; Th. 0.15-0.2; p.W. 1.65

Nearly full profile of krateriskos. Trace of black-glaze preserved throughout.

Yellow fabric. 10YR 8/3, very pale brown; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Straight wall. Tiny lug handle attached to rim. Very small part of base preserved.

Similar to **KA15** and **KA16**?

#### Bowls, Handleless

**KA26** (7673.2)      Bag 7673      Bowl      (Plate 4)

24.06.03      H13/2

P.H. 1.9; Diam. rim 6.0; ca. 10% preserved; Th. 0.25-0.6; p.W. 2.9

Rim and part of wall fragment of miniature bowl. Trace of brown glaze preserved throughout.

Sandy yellow fabric. 2.5Y 8/2, pale yellow.

Outturned rim. From the same vessel as **KA27**?

*Corinth* XV.3, no. 1946, 330, pl. 71.

Ca. 600 BC? Context Classical to Byzantine.<sup>2</sup>

**KA27** (7810.3)      Bag 7810      Bowl      (Plate 4)

25.06.03      H14/6

P.H. 0.7; Diam. base 3.0; Th. 0.2-0.5

Ca. 50 % of base preserved. Part of base and wall preserved of shallow miniature bowl. Trace of brown glaze on exterior and interior.

Very soft and light fabric. 2.5Y 8/3, pale yellow; 7.5YR 5/4, brown.

Very shallow bowl. False ring foot, low. From the same vessel as **KA26**?

*Corinth* XV.3, no. 1938, 329, pl. 71.

Late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. Disturbed context.<sup>3</sup>

#### Jug (*1 additional example*)

**KA28** (9277.13)      Bag 9277      Jug      (Plate 4)

11.07.03      Z10b/7

P.H. 2.3; p.W. 2.15; Th. 0.2-0.4

Fragment of upper wall of a miniature jug. Black-glaze on exterior neck, reserved below. Black-glaze interior.

Light yellow fabric. 10YR 8/3, very pale brown; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

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<sup>2</sup> *Kalydon* II, 490-91.

<sup>3</sup> *Kalydon* II, 467-68.

*Corinth* XVIII.1, no. 515, 170, pl. 50; *Kalydon* II, no. 456, 507, fig. 259, pl. 53.  
6<sup>th</sup> century BC.

### Shallow Saucer

**KA29** (6507.9)      Bag 6507      Shallow Saucer      (Plate 4)

05.07.02      H3, HS5/2

P.H. 1.1; Diam. base 3.0; ca. 35% of base preserved; Th. 0.2-0.3; p.W. 2.2.

Full profile of miniature saucer. Trace of good black-glaze throughout.

Light yellow fabric. 2.5Y 8/2, pale yellow. Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Slightly inturned rim. Flat string-cut base. Very shallow shape.

Closest parallel *Corinth* XV.3, nos. 1979, 1983, 332, pl. 72. (*not exactly the same shape and base, but close*).

Mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC?

### Hydria

**KA30** (7332.4)      Bag 7332      Hydria      (Plate 4)

19.07.02      H6/3

P.H. 2.1; Diam. 3.0; Th. 0.3-0.5; p.W. 3.2

Black-glazed bodysherd of miniature hydria. Thick walled.

Blue gray fabric. 10YR 5/1, gray; Gley1 2.5/N, very dark gray.

Narrow neck. Rounded body. Small part of handle attachment preserved.

Closest parallel *Corinth* XV.3, nos. 1873-74, 324, pl. 70.

Ca. third quarter of 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

### Open Vessel

**KA31** (8424.6)      Bag 8424      Open Vessel (kotyle/cup/bowl?)      (Plate 4)

30.06.03      H14/11

P.H. 1.3; Diam. rim 4.0; ca. 20% preserved; Th. 0.15-0.25; p.W. 2.65

Rim fragment of miniature open vessel. Very faint trace of black-glaze throughout.

Chip missing at rim.

Light yellow fabric. 2.5Y 7/3, pale yellow.

Date?

LOCAL PRODUCTION

Two-Handled Cups (*44 additional examples*)

**KA32** (8420.8)      Bag 8420      Kotyle      (Plate 5)

30.06.03      H14/11

a) P.H. 1.6; Diam. rim 3.0; ca. 10% of rim preserved; Th. 0.25-0.35; b) P.H. 1.2; Diam. rim 3.0; ca. 10% of rim preserved; Th. 0.25-0.3

Two non-joining rim and handle fragments of a miniature kotyle. Small part of wall preserved. Trace of black-glaze, probably throughout.

Light orange fabric. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; 10YR 2/1, black.

Fairly straight rim. Loop handles.

Similar in shape to *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1702, 311, pl. 67.

First half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

**KA33** (5377.7)      Bag 5377      Kotyle      (Plate 5)

17.06.02      H1/1

P.H. 1.45; Diam. rim 2.0; ca. 1/3 of rim preserved; Th. 0.1-0.25; p.W. 2.2

Rim and handle fragment of miniature kotyle. Trace of black-glaze.

Bluish fabric. 5Y 7/1, light gray.

Straight rim. Small lug handle.

See **KA32**.

**KA34** (5377.6)      Bag 5377      Kotyle      (Plate 5)

17.06.02      H1/1

P.H. 1.7; Diam. rim 4.0; 40% preserved of rim; Th. 0.2-0.25; p.W. 2.45

Rim and handle fragment of miniature kotyle. Trace of black-glaze.

Bluish fabric. 2.5Y 7/1, light gray; Gley1 3/N, very dark gray.

Fairly straight rim. Thin round (not quite loop) handle.

Similar to **KA6**.

**KA35** (8420.23)      Bag 8420      Kotyle      (Plate 5)

30.06.03      H14/11

P.H. 0.7; Diam. rim 4.0; ca. 17.5% preserved; Th. 0.2; p.W. 2.3

Rim and handle fragment of miniature kotyle. Trace of brown glaze.

Light orange fabric. 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow.

Small thick horizontal handle.

See **KA33**.

**KA36** (7747.8)      Bag 7747      Kotyle      (Plate 5)

23.06.03      H14/3

P.H. 0.7; Diam. base 3.0; Th. 0.2; p.W. 2.35

Base fragment of miniature kotyle with small part of wall preserved. Trace of orange glaze throughout.

Light orange fabric. Single large lime. 7.5YR 7/4, pink; 5YR 6/8, reddish yellow.

Flat base.

Similar in shape to *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1686, 310, pl. 67.

6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KA37** (9277.11)      Bag 9277      Kotyle      (Plate 5)

11.07.03      Z10b/7

P.H. 1.6; Diam. base 3.0; Th. 0.2 ca. 32.5% preserved

Small part of base and wall of miniature kotyle preserved. Black-glaze preserved on interior, red glaze traces on exterior.

Light orange fabric. 5YR 7/4, pink.

Very small ring base, pretty straight wall.

Similar in shape to *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1696, 310, pl. 67.

End of the 6<sup>th</sup> to first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KA38** (8424.9)      Bag 8424      Kotyle      (Plate 5)

30.06.03      H14/11

P.H. 0.85; Diam. base 2.0; ca. 75% preserved; Th. 0.25; p.W. 2.05

Base and small part of wall of miniature kotyle. Black-red glaze throughout.

Orange fabric. 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow; 2.5YR 3/3, dark reddish brown.

False ring foot with central disk on undersurface, elaborate.

See **KA9**.

**KA39** (7810.4)      Bag 7810      Kotyle      (Plate 5)

25.06.03      H14/6

P.H. 2.15; Diam. base 4.0; Th. 0.25-0.6; 37.5% of base preserved

Small base fragment with part of lower wall preserved. Black-brown-red glaze throughout.

Light orange fabric. 7.5YR 7/4, pink; 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow; 5YR 5/5, reddish brown.

Small ring foot.

Similar in shape to *Corinth* VII.5, no. 157, 63-4, fig. 8.

Ca. 480-460?

**KA40** (7710.2)      Bag 7710      Kotyle      (Plate 5)

19.06.03      H14/HS67/1

P.H. 0.7; Th. 0.4; p.W. 2.1

Handle fragment of miniature kotyle. No trace of glaze.

Light orange fabric. 7.5YR 6/4, light brown.

Loop handle.

From a Byzantine pit on the Acropolis. *Found with Byzantine pottery and a Hellenistic antefix.*<sup>4</sup>

Date?

#### Kanthariskos

**KA41** (6520.8)      Bag 6520      Kanthariskos      (Plate 5)

08.07.02      H8, HS6/2

P.H. 1.9; Diam. base 1.8; Th. 0.2; p.W. 2.75

Two joining base fragments of miniature kanthariskos. Trace of red glaze preserved.

Light orange fabric. 7.5YR 7/4, pink; 2.5YR 4/8, red.

Round body. Flat, raised base, uneven.

Similar in shape to *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1731, 313, pl. 67.

Ca. third quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

#### Shallow Saucers (*3 additional examples*)

**KA42** (5668.1)      Bag 5668      Shallow Saucer      (Plate 6)

20.06.02      H2/1

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<sup>4</sup> *Kalydon* I, 228-30.

P.H. 1.15; Diam. base 4.0; 42.5% of base preserved; Th. 0.3-0.5; p.W. 2.8

Full profile of miniature saucer. Plain.

Gray fabric. 10R 4/1, dark reddish gray.

Inturned rim. Flat raised base.

Shape closest to *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1928, 328-29, pl. 71. *Corinth* example is decorated.

4<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KA43** (8420.7)      Bag 8420      Shallow Saucer or Kanoun?      (Plate 6)  
30.06.03              H14/11

P.H. 0.88; Diam. rim 4.0; Diam. base 3.0; ca. 12.5% preserved of rim; ca. 17.5% preserved of base; Th. 0.15-0.2

Full profile preserved of miniature shallow saucer or tray. Black-glaze throughout.

Light orange fabric. 10YR 8/3, very pale brown; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Flat base, flaring wall.

*Corinth* XV.3, nos. 1902, 1905, 326, pl. 70.

About the third quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KA44** (7747.6)      Bag 7747      Saucer or Kanoun      (Plate 6)  
23.06.03              H14/3

P.H. 0.8; Diam. base 5.0; Th. 0.3; p.W. 3.4

Full profile of very shallow miniature saucer. Red (faded black?) bands preserved on exterior and interior.

Light orange fabric. 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow; 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Similar in shape and (decoration?) to *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1928, 328-29, pl. 71.

4<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KA45** (9917.3)      Bag 9917      Shallow Saucer or Kanoun?      (Plate 6)  
16.07.03              D3, DS5/4

P.H. 1.15; Diam. base 4.0; ca. 37.5% preserved; Th. 0.4-0.6; p.W. 2.5

Base and wall fragment of miniature shallow saucer or kanoun.

White fabric. 5Y 8/2, pale yellow. Corinthian?

Flat base, trace of wheel on interior.

Context contained Archaic-Hellenistic pottery.<sup>5</sup>

Bowls (5-6 additional examples)

**KA46** (8337.3)      Bag 8337      Bowl      (Plate 6)

27.06.03      H14/8

P.H. 1.25; Diam. base 4.0; ca. 37.5% preserved; Th. 0.25-0.3

Small base and wall fragment of miniature bowl. Plain.

Light orange fabric. 7.5YR 7/4, pink.

Slightly outturned rim, shallow shape.

Shape similar to *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1978, 332, pl. 72.

Ca. mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KA47** (8342.10)      Bag 8342      Bowl      (Plate 6)

27.06.03      H14/9

P.H. 2.2; Diam. 5.0; Th. 0.2-0.5; ca. 42% preserved of rim

Rim fragment of bowl. Trace of black-glaze throughout. Very chipped rim. Mottled glaze.

Light orange fabric. 7.5YR 7/4, pink; Gley1 2.5N, black.

Shallow shape, slightly incurving rim.

Shape closest to *Corinth* VII.5, no. 260, 78, fig. 11 (Phiale with plain rim).

First quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KA48** (8420.11)      Bag 8420      Bowl      (Plate 6)

30.06.03      H14/11

P.H. 1.4; Diam. rim 3.0; Th. 0.15-0.2; p.W. 2.0

Rim fragment of miniature bowl. Traces of black and red glaze on interior and exterior.

Orange fabric. 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow; 10R 5/6, red; Gley1 4/1, dark grey.

Slightly outturned rim. Ledge on mid-body.

Similar in shape to *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1977, 332, pl. 72.

6<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century BC?

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<sup>5</sup> *Kalydon* II, 424-25.

**KA49** (8353.12)      Bag 8353      Bowl      (Plate 6)

27.06.03      H14/10

P.H. 1.3; Diam. rim 8.0; ca. 11% of rim preserved; Th. 0.2-0.3; p.W. 2.4

Rim fragment of miniature bowl.

Light orange fabric. 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Slightly inturned rim (ridge). Shallow shape.

Closest parallel? *Corinth XV.3*, no. 1977, 332, pl. 72.

Late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KA50** (7709.1)      Bag 7709      Bowl      (Plate 6)

19.06.03      H14/2

P.H. 1.4; Diam. rim 7.0; 15% of rim preserved; Th. 0.3-0.35; p.W. 2.65

Rim fragment of miniature bowl. Plain.

Orange fabric. 7.5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Slightly inturned rim.

Similar to **KA49**.

**KA51** (8420.6)      Bag 8420      Bowl      (Plate 6)

30.06.03      H14/11

P.H. 1.9; Diam. 9.0; ca. 10% preserved of rim; Th. 0.2-0.3; p.W. 2.95

Rim fragment of miniature bowl. Plain ware.

Light orange fabric. 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Straight rim, shallow shape.

Similar to **KA49-50**.

Krateriskoi (*7 additional examples*)

**KA52** (F03-1067)      Bag 8494      Krateriskos      (Plate 7)

03.07.03      Z9/3

P.H. 1.95; Diam. rim 3.15; Diam. base 1.65; Th. 0.15-0.2; p.W. 3.6

Complete krateriskos except from small part of one horizontal handle and of base missing.

White fabric. 2.5Y 8/2, pale yellow. Corinthian?

Diagonal flaring rim offset from wall; rounded lip; two vertical handles pressed to rim. String-cut base. Shape based on column krater.

Shape similar to *Corinth* XVIII.1, no. 511, 169, pl. 50.

Mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KA53** (8433.1)      Bag 8433      Krateriskos      (Plate 7)

01.07.03      Z9/1

P.H. 1.75; Diam. rim 2.9; Diam. base 1.55; Th. 0.15-0.2; p.W. 3.3

Full profile of krateriskos mended from two fragments. Small chips on rim missing.

Black-glaze throughout.

Light orange fabric. 7.5YR 7/3, pink; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Standard krateriskos shape, based on column krater. Carination below rim. String-cut base.

Shape similar to *Corinth* XVIII.1, no. 509, 169, pl. 50.

Late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KA54** (7683.4)      Bag 7683      Krateriskos      (Plate 7)

26.06.03      H13/2

P.H. 1.15; Diam. rim 2.0?; Th. 0.4-0.45; p.W. 2.4

Rim and lug handle fragment of a krateriskos. Worn black-brown glaze throughout.

Light orange fabric. 7.5YR 7/4, pink.

Flaring walls.

Similar in shape to *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1764, 315, pl. 68.

5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

*Jugs (3 additional examples)*

**KA55** (8123.1)      Bag 8123      Jug      (Plate 7)

27.06.03      H15/2

P.H. 2.1; Diam. 3.0; Th. 0.3; p.W. 2.15

Body and handle fragment of miniature jug with one? handle. Brown-red glaze preserved throughout.

Light orange fabric. 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow; 10R 4/6, red.

Slightly outturned rim (rim not fully preserved). Convex body. Broad vertical handle.

Shape similar to *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1852, 332, pl. 70.

6<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KA56** (7048.2)      Bag 7048      Jug      (Plate 7)

15.07.02      H8, HS6/2

P.H. 0.95; Diam. rim 3.0; Th. 0.2-0.3; p.W. 2.9

Rim and handle attachment fragment of miniature jug. Black-red glaze throughout.

Light orange fabric. 5YR 7/4, pink; Gley1 3/N, very dark gray; 10R 5/4, weak red.

Rounded rim with attachment preserved of vertical handle.

Similar in shape to *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1853, 322, pl. 70.

Third quarter of 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

**KA57** (5655.1)      Bag 5655      Jug      (Plate 7)

19.06.02      H2/1

P.H. 1.75; Diam. base ca. 3.0; 42.5% preserved of base; Th. 0.3; p.W. 2.85

Base, wall and handle fragment of miniature jug. Plain.

Light orange fabric. 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Flat base. Thick lug handle.

Closest parallel *Corinth* XV.3, nos. 1859-60, 322-23, pl. 70.

5<sup>th</sup> century BC or later?

Phialai (2 additional example)

**KA58** (8372.1)      Bag 8372      Phiale      (Plate 8)

02.07.03      H13/3

P.H. 1.0; Diam. base 4.0; 47.5% of base preserved; Th. 0.3-0.45; p.W. 2.8

Base and part of wall of miniature phiale. Trace of red glaze at exterior.

Light orange fabric. 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow; 10R 4/6, red.

Flat base with central boss.

Similar in shape to *Corinth* XV.3, no. 2009, 335, pl. 73; *Kalydon* II, no. 367, 490, pl.

48.

Late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KA59** (9543.2)      Bag 9543      Phiale      (Plate 8)

14.07.03      DS7/2, Z11

P.H. 0.9; Diam. base 3.0; ca. 40% preserved; Th. 0.3-0.4; p.W. 2.8

Base and part of wall preserved of small phiale. Black-glaze on interior.

Orange fabric. Closest to 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow; 10R 3/2, dusky red.

Flat base. Shallow bowl. Small central knob.

Similar to **KA58**?

#### Miscellaneous Shapes

**KA60** (7667.2)      Bag 7667      Exaleiptron      (Plate 8)

23.06.03      H13/2

P.H. 1.2; Diam. base 5.0; ca. 22.5% preserved; Th. 0.3-0.4; p.W. 3.2

Small base fragment of miniature exaleiptron. Trace of brown-red glaze throughout.

Light orange fabric. 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow; 7.5YR 4/3, brown.

Slightly incurving wall. Base slightly concave.

*No parallel found.*

**KA61** (7677.2)      Bag 7677      Pyxis?      (Plate 8)

25.06.03      H13/1

P.H. 2.0; Diam. base 4.0; 40% preserved of base; Th. 0.7; p.W. 2.9

Base and wall fragment of pyxis? Plain?

Light orange fabric. 7.5YR 8/3, pink.

Flat base. Completely straight wall.

Shape similar to *Corinth* XV.3, nos. 1773-74, 316, pl. 68.

End of 7<sup>th</sup> century BC?

#### ELEAN PRODUCTION

**KA62** (6722.4)      Bag 6722      Juglet      (Plate 8)

09.07.02      H6/2

P.H. 1.6; Diam. base 2.6; 100% preserved of base; Th. 0.3-0.4; p.W. 3.55

Base and wall fragment of juglet. Black-brown glaze. Uneven glaze.

Light orange fabric. 7.5YR 7/4, pink; core 7.5YR 7/8, reddish yellow; Gley1 3/N,

very dark gray; 5YR 3/3, dark reddish brown.

Flaring wall. Flat high base.

Lang 1992, 91-2, fig. 20.5.

Mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC.

#### UNKNOWN PRODUCTION

**KA63** (6518.10)      Bag 6518      One-Handled Bowl      (Plate 8)

08.07.02      H3, HS5/2

P.H. 1.65; Diam. base 2.0; ca. 42.5% preserved of base; Th. 0.2-0.3; p.W. 2.75

Full profile preserved of one-handled bowl. Black-brown glaze throughout. Handle attachment preserved on rim.

Light brown fabric. 7.5YR 6/3, light brown; Gley1 2.5/N, black; 10R 4/4, weak red.

Straight wall. Round rim. Flat base with depression on interior. Elean or Lakonian production?

*2 additional examples*

Similar in shape to *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1947, 330, pl. 71.

Late 7<sup>th</sup>-beginning of 6<sup>th</sup> century BC?



Light orange fabric without incl. 10YR 8/2, very pale brown; Gley1 3N, very dark gray.

Small thick horizontal handle. Flat, string-cut base. Traces of wheel-marks.

Closest parallel probably *Corinth XV.3*, nos. 1972-73, 332, pl. 72 (spouted bowl).

4<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**OL4** (654/1-3)      Box 654/1      One-Handled Cup      (Plate 9)

H. 4.5; Diam. rim 4.9; Diam. base 4.7; Th. 0.3

Complete one-handed cup except from vertical handle missing.

Light brown fabric with a rose core, frequent tiny-small white incl., frequent tiny voids and single tiny-small dark gray incl. 7.5YR 5/2, brown; core 7.5YR 6/4, light brown; surface 2.5Y 8/2, pale yellow.

Thin walled, outturned rounded rim, broad neck, round barrel like body. Flat base.

Traces of black glaze on upper half of vessel. Same production/workshop as **OL8**?

Hellenistic?

**OL5** (K 3964)      Box 747/1      One-Handled Cup      (Plate 10)

19.06.1987      Step nördl. Fl. X18. F 87-827 (the Prytaneion area excavations)

H. 3.1; Diam. rim 3.1; Diam. base 2.6; Th. 0.2

Complete one-handed cup except from about half of rim missing. Restored from three fragments. Trace of reddish glaze throughout.

Yellow fabric. 10YR 8/4, very pale yellow; 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Flat handle, bulbous body and small flat string-cut base. Wheel made. Imitation of Corinthian?

*Corinth XVIII.1*, no. 518, 170, pl. 50.

5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

## Krateriskoi

Type 1. Column Krater Shape

**OL6** (666/1-2)      Box 666/1      Krateriskos      (Plate 10)

H. 5.7; Diam. rim 5.3; Diam. 5.3; Diam. base 3.3; Th. rim 0.4; Th. handle 0.6-1.0

Complete krateriskos, lopsided. Liquidly black-brown glaze on interior and exterior mid-body.

Light brown fabric, Elean, with tiny silver mica. 7.5YR 8/3, pink; 10YR 4/1, dark gray.

Thick straight rim, handle zone marked, lug horizontal handles. Flat string-cut base, sloppily cut.

Classical?

#### Type 2. Bell Krater Shape

**OL7** (666/1-4)      Box 666/1      Krateriskos      (Plate 10)

H. 6.85 (with handles, 6.6 without); Diam. rim 6.2; Diam. 5.4; Diam. base 3.5; Th. Rim 0.2-0.3; Th. handle 0.7-1.1

Complete except from chips missing at rim. Red glaze preserved on interior and exterior of rim, handles and shoulder.

Light orange/brown fabric with many tiny-small voids, tiny silver mica, single large orange incl., and single tiny red/orange incl. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; 2.5YR, 5/6, red.

Tall flaring rim, round body, flat base, string-cut. Large loopy horizontal handles.

*One additional unpublished example 666/1-5.*

Lang 1992, 90, fig. 19.15, pl. 17.8.

Second half of 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

**OL8** (654/1-2)      Box 654/1      Krateriskos      (Plate 11)

H. 4.8; Diam. rim 4.95; Diam. base 3.3; Th. 0.3

Complete except from chip missing at rim and base, and one horizontal handle restored in plaster. Blobs of black glaze preserved.

Light brown fabric with single large red/orange incl. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; Gley1 3/N, black; 2.5Y 8/3, pale yellow.

Slightly flaring thick rim, lug horizontal handles. Flat pedestal base. Traces of wheel marks. Trace of string marks on underside of base.

Closest parallel *Corinth XV.3*, no. 1772, 316, pl. 68. *Similar shape (calyx-krater) but OL8 has larger handles.*

4<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**OL9** (K 4767)      Box 669/4      Krateriskos      (Plate 11)

03.10.1990 K 90-707, Fl. 48 East (the Prytaneion area excavations)

P.H. 4.4; Diam. rim 5.7; Diam. foot 2.8; Th. 0.3-0.4

Complete krateriskos except from handles, and part of rim missing. Brownish glaze mostly flaked off/worn off.

Light brown fabric with sporadic tiny-small lime and dark incl. 10YR 7/3, very pale brown; 10YR 4/4, dark yellowish brown.

Flaring rim. Handle attachments for two horizontal handles preserved, probably lug handles. String-cut foot.

Closest parallel *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1765, 315, pl. 68.

5<sup>th</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century BC?

### Type 3. Volute Krater Shape

**OL10** (666/1-3) Box 666/1 Krateriskos (Plate 11)

H. 6.4 (with handles, 5.8-6.0 without); Diam. rim 5.8; Diam. 6.35; Diam. base 3.2;

Th. rim 0.3-0.35; Th. handle 0.6-0.8

Complete krateriskos, chip missing on rim. Glaze faded.

Light brown fabric with single large brown incl., single tiny-small white incl., frequent tiny red incl., tiny-small voids, and tiny silver mica. 10YR 6/4, light yellowish brown; Gley1 3/N, very dark grey.

Straight rim, handle zone marked, thick lug horizontal handles, overlapping rim. Flat base, string-cut. Traces of wheel-marks.

Classical?

### Miniature Hydriai

#### Type 1

**OL11** (666/1-1) Box 666/1 Hydria (Plate 12)

H. 7.2; Diam. rim 3.95; Diam. 5.6; Diam. base 3.2; Th. rim 0.3; Th. handle 1.0

Complete except from vertical handle missing, 1/3 missing of rim, and chipped base.

Black-brownish dull glaze on interior of rim/neck, and on exterior on shoulder and handles.

Light-dark orange fabric with single tiny void, single small white incl., and tiny silver mica. 7.5YR 6/4, light brown; surface 10YR 7/3, very pale brown; Gley1 3/N, very dark gray.



Lang 1992, 92, fig. 20.5 (*Babes example has a base of ca. 2.5 cm.*).

Mid-6<sup>th</sup> - beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

**OL15** (578/1-5)      Box 578/1      Jug?      (Plate 13)

Winter 1959/60      St.N.

P.H. 4.9; Diam. 6.0; Diam. base ca. 3.7; Th. 0.6; Th. handle 1.0

One-handled jug with handle, neck and rim missing. Brownish-red glaze preserved throughout. Sloppily applied.

Light orange fabric without incl? 7.5YR 7/4, pink; 5YR 5/6, yellowish red.

Very round body, flat? vertical handle, flat base, string-cut.

Date?

#### CORINTHIAN PRODUCTION

**OL16** (618/2-1)      Box 618/2      Kotyle      (Plate 13)

02.12.1968      Cleaning of Foundation I by SO-Bau (southeast building)

H 1.7; Diam. rim 2.7; Diam. base 1.5; Th. 0.2-0.3

2/3 complete. One handle and part of side missing. Reserved exterior with black vertical bands at rim. Black on tip of handle. Interior streaky black-brown glaze.

Yellowish fabric with sporadic lime. 2.5Y 8/4, pale yellow; 2.5Y 2.5/1, black.

Very small lug horizontal handle. Very small string-cut foot.

See **KA1** and **KA3**.

**OL17** (578/1-2)      Box 578/1      Kotyle      (Plate 13)

29.11.1960      St.N., B West

H. 2.1; Diam. rim 4.0; Diam. base 1.9; Th. 0.3

Full profile preserved of kotyle (little less than half the vessel).

Light, beige fabric with single small orange/red incl. and tiny-small voids. 10YR 8/1, white; 10YR 4/3, brown.

Straight rim, flat base, string-cut. Brownish glaze preserved on interior, and on exterior of base. Two? horizontal bands and traces of vertical lines on rim.

*Corinth* XV.3, no. 1713, 311, pl. 67 (Corinth example is 0.8 taller); *Cyrene* 7, no. 308, 83, pl. 51.

Mid 6<sup>th</sup>- end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

**OL18** (573/4-1)      Box 573/4      Oinochoe      (Plate 13)

P.H. 2.8; Diam. 3.55; Diam. base 3.0; Diam. opening 1.1; Th. 0.25-0.4

2/3 preserved. Neck and rim, handle, and part of body and base missing. Decoration worn. Brown-red glaze on neck. Ray/petals on shoulder, sloping. Red thin band on body. Black band on lower body. Reserved underside of base and interior.

Light orange, soft fabric. 7.5YR 8/4, pink; 7.5YR 4/2, brown; 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Diminutive broad-bottomed oinochoe with flat base.

*Corinth* XVIII.1, no. 515, 170, pl. 50 (not same decoration, but approximately same shape); *Cyrene* 7, no. 247, 66, pl. 40; *Perachora* II, no. 2863, 293, pl. 117.

Late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**OL19** (578/1-1)      Box 578/1      Krateriskos      (Plate 13)

29.11.1960      St.N., B West.

H. 1.4; Diam. rim 2.5; Diam. base 1.3; Th. 0.1-0.2

Complete krateriskos. Trace of black glaze throughout; preserved on handle, interior bottom and exterior body.

Light beige fabric with tiny-large voids, and single small red incl. 2.5Y 8/2, pale yellow; 2.5Y 2.5/1, black.

Tiny lug handles and articulated flat base, string-cut.

*Cyrene* 7, no. 391, 94, pl. 62; *Perachora* II, no. 3224, 309, pl. 119; *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1764, 315, pl. 68.

5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

**OL20** (K 10131)      Box 943/8      Pyxis Lid      (Plate 14)

20.03.1964      SO, southern P 42, -730

P.H. 1.4; Diam. 3.8

2/3 preserved of pyxis lid. Trace of black and red bands on exterior (top). Black glaze preserved on rim, around boss and on top of knob.

Very soft light yellow fabric. Incl.? 10YR 3/3, dark brown; 2.5YR 6/8, light red; 10YR 8/3, very pale brown.

String-cut?

Shape similar to Jacobsen 2010, no. A341, 121. *The Francavilla example is larger.*

Late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC?

#### LAKONIAN PRODUCTION

**OL21** (633/9-1)      Box 633/9<sup>7</sup>      Medicine Bottle      (Plate 14)

03.11.1979      SO, 1978/79 (middle Hellenistic layer)

H. 2.7; Diam. rim 2.35; Diam. 3.2; Diam. base 2.9

Complete medicine bottle except from small chips missing at rim. Worn dull black glaze throughout. Red misfired patch on one side.

Orange fabric with tiny silver specs. 7.5YR 7/4, pink; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Straight rim, round uneven body narrowing into flat base. Base look as if cut with a knife, sloppy.

*Agora* 29, no. 1310, 198, 370, fig. 83, pl. 100.

250-200 BC.

**OL22** (578/1-6)      Box 578/1      Hydria      (Plate 14)

14.11.1960      St.N., West/Ost.

P.H. 6.9; Diam. 6.4; Diam. base 3.5; Th. 0.3-0.4; Th. handle 0.7

Complete miniature hydria except from vertical handle and neck and rim missing.

Black glaze preserved on neck and handles.

Light brown fabric with tiny-small black incl. 7.5YR 7/3, pink; surface 5YR 7/3, pink; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Very round body, flat, squeezed handles, round body, flat base, string-cut.

Closest parallel Stibbe 2000, no. D7, 76-77, 169, pl. 12.3. *Shape similar except for foot.*

Third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Label on box: 'SO 1978/79. Mittelhellenistische Schicht. 1) Lampen ...(*illegible*) (23 XII 1987). 2) Verschiedenes. 3) Teller mit Bemalung. 4) Kraterfragmente.'

<sup>8</sup> I thank Jürgen Schilbach for help to determining this hydria's provenance.



Complete except from small chip missing at rim, lower wall and base. Brownish-black glaze on exterior of rim and on about half of interior. Glaze preserved on upper part of handles. Glaze worn.

Light brown fabric with very sporadic dark red incl. and tiny sporadic silver mica.

10YR 7/4, very pale brown; 10YR 2/2, very dark brown.

Flaring lip, round body, flat base, two squeezed horizontal handles.

*One additional unpublished example, 263-12*

See **KO1**.

**KO4** (263-15)          Box 657/3          Kanthariskos          (Plate 16)

H. 3.5; Diam. rim 4.6; Diam. base 3.2; Th. 0.3-0.35

Complete except from small chip missing at rim. Black glaze on exterior and interior of rim, accidentally red. Worn glaze. Near handle square red misfired patch.

Soft, light orange fabric with sporadic small lime, sporadic tiny silver mica, and sporadic small dark incl. 7.5YR 8/4, pink; slip? 2.5YR 6/6, light red; misfiring 2.5YR 4/6, red; black 2.5YR 4/2, weak red.

Squat shape, round body, flat horizontal handles. Flat string-cut base.

See **KO1**.

**KO5** (263-16)          Box 657/3          Kanthariskos          (Plate 16)

H. 5.5; Diam. rim 5.6; Diam. base 3.9; Th. 0.35

Complete. Trace of glaze preserved on exterior and interior of rim. Lopsided.

Greyish fabric with single small lime. 10YR 7/3, very pale brown; Faded glaze 5YR 7/3, pink.

Flat rim, flaring. Barrel-like shape, flat large horizontal handles. Slightly articulated flat base, string-cut. Wheel-made, trace of wheel.

See **KO1**.

**KO6** (263-32)          Box 657/3          Kanthariskos          (Plate 16)

H. 3.8; Diam. rim 4.3; Diam. base 4.2; Th. 0.4

Complete. Slight trace of glaze preserved on rim. Lopsided.

Light orange fabric with single tiny silver mica. 10YR 8/4, very pale brown.

Very squat shape. Small thick horizontal almost lug handles. Uneven flat base, string-cut.

See **KO1**.

**KO7** (263-12)      Box 657/3      Kanthariskos      (Plate 17)

H. 4.1; Diam. rim 4.2; Diam. base 3.7; Th. 0.3

Complete except from one handle missing. Worn rim. Trace of black glaze on upper part of exterior body and rim. Red glaze on interior of rim and most of handle?

Misfired red. Worn glaze.

Soft light brown fabric with sporadic tiny-small lime, sporadic tiny mica, and sporadic tiny dark incl. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; 5YR 5/6, yellowish red.

Flaring rim, rounded body, and flat slightly articulated base.

See **KO6**.

**KO8** (263-19)      Box 657/3      Kanthariskos      (Plate 17)

H. 4.5; Diam. rim 5.75; Diam. base 3.4; Th. 0.3

Complete except from missing handles and chips missing at rim. Glaze (red, black) preserved on interior of rim, and only on one side of exterior rim. Misfired red? Worn glaze.

Greyish fabric, hard burnt. Sporadic tiny silver mica, and sporadic small lime. 10YR 7/2, light gray; 2.5YR 4/4, reddish brown; 2.5YR 2.5/1, black.

Outturned, slightly flaring rim, straight walls. Flat base, string-cut.

See **KO1**.

**KO9** (263-34)      Box 657/3      Kanthariskos, coarse/cooking ware      (Plate 17)

H. 4.0; Diam. rim 5.0; Diam. base 3.0; Th. 0.3-0.5

Complete except from handles and chips on rim missing. Handle attachment preserved partly.

Dark red orange clay with many small-large dark red incl., sporadic tiny silver mica, sporadic small lime, and sporadic tiny-small black incl. 5YR 5/6, yellowish red. Is this fabric Elean, local or import?

Squat coarse kanthariskos. Flat indistinct base.

Date? Shape similar to Type 1.

Type 2

**KO10** (263-30)      Box 657/3      Kanthariskos      (Plate 18)

H. 4.8; Diam. rim 5.0; Diam. base 2.7; Th. 0.2-0.3

Complete except from half of rim missing. Worn black, brown, red glaze. Lopsided. Orange brown fabric. 10YR 7/3, very pale brown; 2.5YR 5/6, red; Gley1 2.5/N, black. Barrel shape body. Thin walled, very small flat base. Almost lug-handles. Wheel-made, trace of wheel.

Closest parallel Lang 1992, fig. 19.15, pl. 17.8 (mug).

Archaic?

**KO11** (263-21)      Box 657/3      Kanthariskos      (Plate 18)

H. 5.0; Diam. rim 5.2; Diam. base 3.5; Th. 0.3-0.4

Complete but very worn, handles missing, and rim is very chipped. Handle attachment preserved. Trace of red glaze on exterior and interior of rim. Slipped? Soft, orange fabric with sporadic tiny silver mica, and sporadic small black incl. Close to 7.5YR 6/4, light brown; Slip 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; 2.5YR 5/6, red. Straight walls, barrel shaped. Slightly flaring rim, flat base.

*One additional unpublished example 263-31.*

See **KO10**.

Archaic?

Type ?

**KO12** (263-10)      Box 657/3      Kanthariskos?      (Plate 18)

H. 4.5; Diam. rim 6.0; Diam. base 3.7; Th. 0.35-0.6

Little less than half of the vessel preserved. 1/3 of rim preserved. Two handles or one? Black mottled glaze preserved on interior of rim, and broad band on exterior of rim. Handle black glazed. Reserved part is slipped?

Rosy colour fabric with single large lime, and sporadic tiny black incl. 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown; Slip 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; Gley1 3/N, very dark gray.

Fine slightly outturned rim, profiled body, slightly articulated base, string-cut.

*One additional unpublished example 263-27.*

*Corinth XV.3, no. 1731, 313, pl. 67.*

5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

One-Handled Cup/Jug

**KO13** (263-3)      Box 657/3      Round-Mouth Juglet      (Plate 19)

H. 4.3; Diam. base 3.9; great. Diam. 6.5

Small part of rim, about half of side and all of base preserved of round-mouth juglet.

White light soft fabric, Corinthian or local? 2.5Y 8/2, pale yellow.

Squat one-handled cup with convex body. String-cut base. Back glaze preserved between rim and neck.

*Agora* 29, no. 539, 132-33, 300, fig. 39, pl. 52.

Third quarter of 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

**KO14** (263-24)      Box 657/3      Round-Mouth Juglet      (Plate 19)

H. 5.0; Diam. rim 4.7; Diam. base 3.4; great. Diam. 6.2; Th. 0.3

Complete except from chip missing at rim. Surface worn, salt contamination?

Slipped?

Light orange fabric, no incl.? 7.5YR 6/6, reddish yellow; 7.5YR 7/3, pink.

Outturned moulded? rim. Conical? body, flat base.

Closest parallel *Agora* 29, no. 544, 300, fig. 39, pl. 52.

Late 2<sup>nd</sup> -1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

**KO15** (263-6)      Box 657/3      Round-Mouth Juglet?      (Plate 19)

H. 5.0; H. without handle 4.2; Diam. rim 4.2; Diam. base 3.8

Complete juglet except from part of wall and rim missing. Red glazed preserved on interior and exterior in places, badly preserved.

Orange fabric with few black incl. Very few silver mica. 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow; 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Outturned rim, small base.

Somewhat similar to Georgiadou 2005, 187, no. 204.23, pl. 137; *Agora* 29, nos. 541 or 550, 300, fig. 39, pl. 52.

150-75 BC.

**KO16** (263-11)      Box 657/3      Round-Mouth Juglet      (Plate 20)

H. 5.4; Diam. rim 4.8; Diam. base 4.2; Th. 0.35

Complete juglet. Trace of worn black glaze, throughout? Reserved part slipped?

Heavy fabric, greyish brown with sporadic small lime. 10YR 8/2, very pale brown; Slip 5YR 7/4, pink.

Moulded rim, large loop double handle, flat and taller than rim. Barrel-like body, flat base, string-cut.

Closest parallel *Agora* 29, no. 552, 300, fig. 40, pl. 52.

150-130 BC.

**KO17** (263-33)      Box 657/3      Round-Mouth Juglet      (Plate 20)

H. 4.4; Diam. rim 4.6; Diam. base 3.3; Th. 0.35

Complete except from handle missing, and rim chipped. Part of handle attachment preserved. Glaze worn.

Light orange fabric with single tiny-small lime, and sporadic tiny black incl. 7.5YR 6/6, reddish yellow; 2.5YR 4/3, reddish brown; slip? 2.5Y 8/3, pale yellow.

Outturned rim, round body. Flattened bottom, string-cut.

*One additional unpublished example 263-17.*

Closest parallel (shape only) *Agora* 29, no. 546, 300, fig. 39, pl. 52.

Late 2<sup>nd</sup> - 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

Miniature Oinochoai/Jugs

**KO18** (658/2-3)      Box 658/2      Round-Mouth Oinochoe      (Plate 20)

H. 5.0; Diam. rim 2.6; Diam. base 3.3; Th. 0.25-0.3

Complete. Brownish glaze, worn.

Light orange fabric with sporadic tiny lime, and single tiny silver mica. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; 10YR 4/1, dark gray.

Flaring wide lip, narrow neck, bulbous body, broad flat base, string-cut. Flat horizontal handle.

Closest parallel *Corinth* XV.3, no. 1856, 322, pl. 70 (smaller than **KO18**); *Corinth* XVIII.1, no. 139, 99, fig. 1, pl. 17.

5<sup>th</sup>-third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

**KO19** (658/2-18)      Box 658/2      Juglet      (Plate 21)

H. 6.0; Diam. 5.4; Diam. base 3.7; Th. 0.35-0.5

Complete except from most of rim missing. Very worn surface. Plain.

Yellowish orange fabric with frequent small red incl., single large light red incl., sporadic tiny lime, and tiny black incl. 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow; surface 10YR 8/4, very pale brown.

Lopsided shape. Flaring rim. Triangular body, bulbous, then coming to flat base.

Thick vertical handle attached at neck. Trace of wheel.

Date?

**KO20** (658/2-19)      Box 658/2      One-Handled Juglet      (Plate 21)

H. 4.5; Diam. rim 4.4; Diam. base 4.3; Th. 0.3-0.4

Complete one-handed juglet except from chipped rim and part of handle missing.

Looks as if it was cleaned with a knife throughout. Plain.

Light orange fabric with sporadic tiny lime, single tiny silver mica, and single black tiny incl. 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow.

Outturned rim. Straight wall, bulbous body, flat base. Handle squeezed into lug handle.

Date?

### Two-Handled Juglets

**KO21** (263-9)      Box 657/3      Two-Handled Juglet      (Plate 21)

H. 4.2; Diam. rim 4.1; Diam. base 3.0; Th. 0.25

Complete except from chip missing at body and small perforations in the clay. Worn glaze. Red/dark orange glaze on interior and exterior of rim, and upper part of handles. Reserved zone, then red glaze on lower body and base, also underside.

Light brown fabric with very sporadic silver mica, and very sporadic dark incl. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Tallish shape, rounded body with large, thick horizontal handles.

*One additional unpublished example 263-14.*

Closest parallel Droop 1929, fig. 82.f-h.

Late 7<sup>th</sup>-first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC?<sup>11</sup>

**KO22** (263-13)      Box 657/3      Two-Handled Juglet      (Plate 22)

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<sup>11</sup> The chronology of the Artemis Orthia Sanctuary at Sparta has been reevaluated by Boardman, see Boardman 1963.

H. 3.6; Diam. rim 4.7; Diam. base 3.7; Th. 0.3-0.4

Complete except from small part of rim missing. Lopsided, cannot stand well. Black glaze on interior and exterior of rim and on upper part of handles.

Orange fabric with single tiny silver mica, sporadic tiny lime, and sporadic tiny black incl. 7.5YR 6/6, reddish yellow; Gley1 3/N, very dark gray.

Squat round body, large thick flat horizontal handles. Uneven flat base, string-cut.

See **KO21**.

Late 7<sup>th</sup>-first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KO23** (263-20)      Box 657/3      Two-Handled Juglet      (Plate 22)

H. 5.5; Diam. rim 5.0; Diam. base 4.7; Th. 0.3-0.35

Complete except from one handle and chips at rim missing. Black and red glaze on exterior and interior of rim and exterior neck in places. Worn glaze.

Light orange fabric with sporadic tiny black and red incl., and single lime. 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow; 7.5YR 4/2, brown.

Very round, bulbous shape. Flaring rim, horizontal flat handle, small flat foot, string-cut.

See **KO21**.

Late 7<sup>th</sup>-first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

### Miniature Hydriai

Type 1<sup>12</sup>

**KO24** (655/6-3)      Box 655/6      Hydria      (Plate 22)

H. 6.5; Diam. rim 3.5; Diam. base 3.5; Th. 0.3-0.4

One horizontal and vertical handle missing. Small parts of rim missing. Base squeezed and cut with knife or similar tool? Restored from two fragments. Black-brown glaze on rim and exterior, dipped. Base reserved. Black glaze mottled and worn.

Orange-brown fabric with single tiny silver mica, single small lime, and rosy coloured core. Core 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow; 5YR 4/1, dark gray.

Narrow neck, flaring rim. Round body, tall flat base. Small horizontal loop handle.

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<sup>12</sup> The angular shape of this type suggests a Late Classical date, J. Schilbach, pers. comm. November 2014.

*Five additional unpublished examples, 655/6-4, 655/6-5, 655/6-6, 655/6-19, and 655/6-20.*

Late Classical.

**KO25** (655/6-7)      Box 655/6      Hydria      (Plate 23)

H. 6.3; Diam. rim 4.0; Diam. base 3.7; Th. 0.4-0.5

One horizontal handle and about half of neck and rim missing. Upper part dipped in black glaze. Very worn glaze.

Light brown fabric with sporadic tiny silver mica, and single small quartz. 7.5YR 8/4, pink; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Squat, wide neck, straight slightly outturned rim. Round handles, horizontal loop handle. Flat base, cut off with knife or string.

See **KO24**.

**KO26** (655/6-8)      Box 655/6      Hydria      (Plate 23)

H. 7.5; Diam. rim 4.7; Diam. base 3.5; Th. 0.3

Complete. Horizontal handles restored in orange plaster. Mended from two fragments. Dipped in dark brown glaze, lower body and base reserved. Worn glaze.

Orange fabric with single small lime, and single tiny dark incl. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; Gley1, 3/N, very dark grey.

Broad neck, flaring rim. Round body coming to small flat foot, string-cut. Flat vertical handle.

See **KO25**.

**KO27** (655/6-9)      Box 655/6      Hydria      (Plate 24)

H. 8.7; Diam. rim 4.3; Diam. base 3.9; Th. 0.4

Complete, one horizontal handle and small part of rim and wall restored in orange plaster. Half of one horizontal handle is preserved. Mended from many fragments. Worn black-brown glaze throughout, except from lower body just above base and base.

Orange fabric with single tiny lime. 7.5YR 8/4, pink; Gley1, 3/N, very dark grey.

Narrower neck than others of this type, outturned rim. Unusual high horizontal handle, upright. Barrel-like shape coming to small flat base, string-cut.

Matt glaze indicate an Archaic date, but the shape a Classical date.<sup>13</sup>

See **KO24**.

**KO28** (655/6-10)    Box 655/6    Hydria    (Plate 24)

H. 7.2; Diam. rim ca. 4.2; Diam. base 3.5; Th. 0.5

Complete except from most of rim restored in reddish orange plaster. Dipped in red glaze, reserved lower body from handle zone, uneven. Red worn glaze.

Light brown fabric with single large dark incl. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; 10R 4/4, weak red; 2.5YR 4/8, red.

Nicely shaped. Narrow neck with outturned rim. Round squat body coming to flat base. Broad horizontal handles, vertical handle thick and flat. Trace of wheel on lower body.

See **KO24**.

**KO29** (655/6-16)    Box 655/6    Hydria    (Plate 24)

H. 6.9; Diam. 3.8; Diam. base 2.7; Th. 0.3-0.4

Complete except from one horizontal and vertical handle missing. About half of rim preserved. Dipped in black glaze, uneven. Base and lower body reserved. Worn black glaze.

Light brown fabric with single small black incl. 10YR 7/3, very pale brown; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Narrow neck, flaring rim. Round, almost bulbous body, narrows to flattened base.

Large horizontal loop handle.

See **KO24**.

**KO30** (655/6-17)    Box 655/6    Hydria    (Plate 25)

H. 5.8; Diam. 4.1; Diam. base 3.8; Th. 0.35-0.4

Complete except from vertical handle missing. Slight trace of black glaze on upper body and interior of rim, probably dipped in glaze.

Light orange fabric with sporadic tiny black incl., single large orange incl. and single small lime. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown.

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<sup>13</sup> J. Schilbach, pers. comm. November 2014.

Squat. Lopsided. Broad neck, flaring rim. Horizontal handles squeezed, flat. Flattened bottom.

See **KO25**.

**KO31** (655/6-18)    Box 655/6    Hydria    (Plate 25)

H. 6.8; Diam. 4.7; Diam. base 4.9; Th. 0.5

Complete except from one horizontal handle missing. Dipped in red glaze, reserved below handles. Worn red glaze.

Dark orange-red fabric with single large red incl., single small lime and quartz? 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow; 2.5YR 5/8, red.

Odd shape. Very squat proportions. Tall neck, flaring wide rim. Sloping shoulders, small body. Flat vertical handle. Looks like body was cut off below handles and then burned.

Shape is a combination of **KO30** and **KO34**.

Date?

Type 2

**KO32** (655/6-11)    Box 655/6    Hydria    (Plate 25)

H. 6.8; Diam. rim 4.0; Diam. base 3.5; Th. 0.6

Complete except from vertical handle and small part of rim restored in beige plaster. Part of base missing. Upper part dipped in glaze. Worn black glaze.

Beige-light orange fabric with single small lime, and sporadic tiny black incl. 7.5YR 7/4, pink; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Squat with moulded rim. Narrow neck, round body, raised flat base. Flat loop horizontal handles.

*Corinth* XVIII.1, no. 505, 169, pl. 50.

Late 4<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.?

**KO33** (655/6-12)    Box 655/6    Hydria    (Plate 26)

H. 6.7; Diam. rim 4.1; Diam. base 3.6; Th. 0.6

Complete except from vertical handle restored in plaster (broken off). Neck dipped in glaze. Worn brown glaze.

Greenish yellow fabric with sporadic tiny black incl. 2.5Y 8/4, pale yellow; 2.5Y 4/1, dark gray.

Narrow neck with moulded rim. Squat. Uneven lug handles, flat. Small flat base.

Trace of wheel.

See **KO32**.

Type 3

**KO34** (655/6-13)      Box 655/6      Hydria      (Plates 26-27)

H. 7.5; Diam. rim 5.5; Diam. base 3.6; Th. 0.3-0.6

Complete except from vertical handle restored in plaster. Small chip missing at rim.

Light yellowish-green fabric with single small lime, and single small dark red incl.

2.5Y 8/3, pale yellow.

Broad neck, outturned rim. Large round body, flattened bottom, string-cut. Very large flat horizontal handles.

Classical?

Type ?

**KO35** (655/6-2)      Box 655/6      Hydria      (Plates 27-28)

H. 3.9; Diam. rim ca. 3.7; Diam. base 2.0; Th. 0.2-0.35

Mostly complete, one horizontal and the vertical handle missing. 2/3 of neck preserved, rim very chipped if preserved at all. Plain.

Beige fabric with single large orange-red incl., sporadic tiny lime and single large dark/black incl. 7.5YR 7/4, pink.

Squat shape, outturned rim? Small loop horizontal handle, flattened bottom.

Handmade? Not burnished but maybe wiped with cloth before burning?

Date?

**KO36** (263-26)      Box 657/3      Hydria      (Plate 28)

P.H. 5.4; Diam. neck 2.9; Diam. body 5.9; Diam. foot 3.5; Th. 0.3-0.4

Hydria restored from more than 20 fragments. Neck and rim missing, chip missing at foot. Handle attachments preserved. Slipped?

Orange powdery fabric with single small quartz. 5YR 5/6, yellowish red; 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow. Same fabrics as **KO31**?

Handle set on shoulder. Small foot.

*Two additional unpublished examples 655/6-21 and 655/6-22.*

Closest parallel, *Corinth* XVIII.1, no. 47, 87, fig. 1, pl. 7.

First quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC?

### Krateriskoi

#### Type 1. Column Krater Shape

**KO37** (655/5-17)    Box 655/5    Krateriskos    (Plate 28)

H. 5.7; Diam. rim 5.4; Diam. base 2.9; Th. 0.3

Very well made. Mended from 11 fragments. Upper part (handle zone) dipped in brown-red glaze. Interior rim glazed. Worn glaze.

Light brown, very soft fabric with single tiny silver mica. 7.5YR 8/3, pink; 2.5YR 5/6, red; 7.5YR 4/1, dark gray.

Flaring rim, slightly outturned. Round shoulder. Small round foot.

*Three additional unpublished examples 655/5-4, 655/5-15 and 263-2.*

Classical?

**KO38** (655/5-14)    Box 655/5    Krateriskos    (Plate 29)

H. 8.5; Diam. rim 7.2; Diam. base 4.3; Th. 0.35-0.4

Complete except from very small chips missing at rim. Brownish-black glaze on interior or rim (edge) and on exterior of rim and on handles, worn.

Soft, a little sandy, beige/light brown fabric with single small black incl. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; Gley1 2.5/N, black; 5YR 3/1, very dark gray.

Tall shape with a large flaring rim. Round shoulder. Small round foot, string-cut.

Horizontal handles, round, attached on shoulder.

Classical?

**KO39** (655/5-9)    Box 655/5    Krateriskos    (Plate 29)

H. 6.9; Diam. rim 5.45; Diam. base 3.2; Th. 0.4

Complete except from three chips missing at rim. Lopsided. Brownish glaze on upper body, lower body and base reserved. Interior glazed throughout.

Dark orange fabric with sporadic tiny dark incl. 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow; 5YR 4/2, dark reddish gray; 5YR 5/6, yellowish red.

Tall shape. Flaring, slightly outturned rim, barrel-like body. Flat base, string-cut.

Horizontal thick lug handles attached on shoulder just below rim.

See **KO38**.

Type 2. Bell Krater Shape

**KO40** (655/5-1)      Box 655/5      Krateriskos      (Plate 30)

H. 7.1; Diam. rim 8.0; Diam. base 4.5; Th. 0.3-0.5

Complete except from handles restored in plaster. Cracked surface. Chips missing on rim. Trace of red-brown glaze on exterior rim. On interior vertical bands.

Light orange-yellow fabric with sporadic tiny silver mica, sporadic tiny-small red incl., and single tiny lime. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; 7.5YR 5/4, brown.

Slightly outturned rim. Rounded body. Flattened bottom.

*Three additional unpublished examples 655/5-10, 655/5-13 and 658/2-11.*

Closest parallel Lang 1992, 90, fig. 19.15, pl. 17.8 (*Babes example has a base of ca. 3.5 cm.*).

Second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

**KO41** (655/5-12)      Box 655/5      Krateriskos      (Plate 31)

H. 5.9; Diam. rim 6.3; Diam. base 3.0; Th. 0.25-0.3

Mended from ca. 20 fragments. Half of one handle missing. Burnt on one side.

Brown-red glaze on interior and exterior rim. Worn glaze.

Soft orange fabric with single tiny lime. 7.5YR 6/6, reddish yellow; 10R 4/6 red.

Very wide flaring rim. Round body, flat bottom. Large square horizontal handle.

Classical?

**KO42** (655/5-11)      Box 655/5      Krateriskos      (Plate 31)

H. 5.7; Diam. rim 5.5; Diam. base 3.2; Th. 0.2-0.3

Complete except from about half of rim missing. Restored from two fragments.

Secondary burnt? Brownish glaze on interior and exterior of rim. Worn glaze.

Beige, greenish fabric without incl.? 10YR 8/3, very pale brown; 10YR 3/2, very dark greyish brown.

Flaring wide rim. Round body. Flattened bottom, string-cut. Large horizontal handles, attached on mid-body below rim.

Classical?

**KO43** (655/5-5)      Box 655/5      Krateriskos      (Plate 31)

H. 5.3; Diam. rim 5.8; Diam. base 3.2; Th. 0.35-0.4

Complete except from one handle and small part of rim missing. Trace of scorching on one side? Glaze on interior rim and exterior throughout. Worn red-black glaze.

Sandy, light brown fabric with sporadic tiny silver mica, single tiny-small red incl., and single tiny lime. 10YR 7/3, very pale brown. Gley1 3/N, very dark gray; 5YR 4/2, dark reddish gray; 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Flaring wide rim, broad neck. Round body. Flat base, string-cut. Thick horizontal handle, squeezed triangular, projecting above rim.

Classical?

**KO44** (655/5-16)      Box 655/5      Krateriskos      (Plate 32)

H. 6.6; Diam. rim 6.5; Diam. base 3.5; Th. 0.3-0.4

One handle and small part of rim missing. Dipped in black-brown glaze. Lower body and base reserved. Interior rim glazed. Worn glaze.

Light orange brown, sandy with single tiny silver mica, single tiny lime, and sporadic large red incl. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; 10YR 4/2, dark greyish brown.

Broad neck, flaring rim. Round shoulder. Flattened base, string-cut. Round thick horizontal handle attached below rim at shoulder.

Classical?

**KO45** (655/5-6)      Box 655/5      Krateriskos      (Plate 32)

H. 4.3; Diam. rim 6.1; Diam. base 3.5; Th. 0.4

Complete except from small chip missing at base and rim. Red glaze throughout, dipped? Worn glaze.

Very soft, orange fabric with sporadic small-large red incl., single tiny silver mica, and single tiny black incl. Closest to 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow; 2.5YR 4/6, red.

Flaring rim, broad neck, round body, small flat base. Thick lug handles pressed onto body.

Classical?

Type 3. Volute Krater Shape

**KO46** (655/5-7)      Box 655/5      Krateriskos      (Plate 32)

H. 4.6; Diam. rim 4.7; Diam. base 2.7; Th. 0.4

Complete. Dipped in black glaze, reserved above base and base itself. Black glaze worn.

Soft orange fabric without incl.? 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Outturned rim, small broad neck, round body, small flat base. Loopy horizontal handles projecting above rim, horse-shoe like. Base concave.

*One additional unpublished example 655/5-3.*

Classical?

**KO47** (655/5-2)      Box 655/5      Krateriskos      (Plate 33)

H. 5.9; Diam. rim 7.0; Diam. base 3.6; Th. 0.3-0.5

Complete except from small part missing of base. Trace of reddish glaze on interior and exterior of rim. Worn glaze. Reserved part slipped?

Sandy, light orange-brown fabric with sporadic tiny mica, single tiny lime, sporadic tiny-large red incl., and single large dark incl. Closest to 7.5YR 6/4, light brown; Surface/slip 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Outturned rim. Carinated shoulder. Small flat foot. Horizontal thick lug handles projecting above rim.

See **KO46**.

Type 4. Lakonian Krater Shape

**KO48** (655/5-8)      Box 655/5      Krateriskos      (Plate 33)

H. 6.3; Diam. rim 5.3; Diam. base 3.3; Th. 0.3-0.35

Complete except from small part of rim missing. One handle missing. Slip. Black-brown glaze on interior and exterior of rim and on top of vertical handle.

Soft, somewhat sandy fabric with sporadic tiny-small silver mica, and sporadic tiny-small red incl. 7.5YR 7/4, pink; Slip 10YR 8/3, very pale brown; Gley1 3/N, very dark gray.

Tall shape. Wide flaring rim. Broad neck, slim shoulder. Small flat base. Weird handle-vertical flat handle attached to small thick horizontal handle, so-called bürgerhenkel (bow or clamp handle).

Parallels only found to the regular size shape, Lang 1992, 65-6, fig. 11.1, pl. 18.1-2; *OF* 8, 136, pl. 24.2.

6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

## Pyxides

### Type 1

**KO49** (657/4-14)    Box 657/4    Pyxis    (Plate 34)

H. 3.5; Diam. 6.3; Diam. rim 4.8; Diam. base 3.1; Th. rim 0.7

Complete. Plain, but burnished.

Soft light orange fabric with sporadic small gray incl. and single tiny mica. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown.

Flat moulded rim. Round, conical body. Flat bottom.

*Two additional unpublished examples 657/4-11 and 657/4-12.*

6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KO50** (657/4-13)    Box 657/4    Pyxis    (Plate 34)

H. 3.2; Diam. 6.2; Diam. rim 4.1; Diam. base 3.7; Th. rim 0.8

Complete. Plain, but burnished.

Soft, somewhat sandy, light orange fabric with single small mica, and sporadic small orange-red incl. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown.

Squat. Flat moulded rim. Roundish body. Flattened bottom.

6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KO51** (657/4-8)    Box 657/4    Pyxis    (Plate 34)

H. 4.2 Diam. 6.6; Diam. rim 4.9; Diam. base 3.2; Th. 0.2; Th. rim 0.7

Complete except from small part of rim and wall missing. Restored from four fragments. Trace of black glaze on rim, shoulder, and below rim on exterior. Very worn glaze.

Very soft, light orange fabric with sporadic small-large orange-red incl., and single tiny silver mica. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; Gley1 3/N, very dark gray.

Flat, outturned rim. Round body. Small flat base.

6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KO52** (657/4-9)    Box 657/4    Pyxis    (Plate 34)

H. 3.6; Diam. 7.1; Diam. rim 4.5; Diam. base 4.0; Th. 0.3; Th. rim 0.8

Complete. Plain. Lopsided and misfired grey. Collapsed in kiln?

Soft, somewhat sandy, gray fabric with sporadic tiny silver mica, and single small red incl. 2.5YR 6/2, light brownish gray.

Flat moulded rim. Round body. Flattened bottom.

6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KO53** (657/4-18)      Box 657/4      Pyxis      (Plate 35)

H. 3.0; Diam. 6.7; Diam. rim 3.5; Diam. base ca. 3.0; Th. rim 0.5

Complete except from very worn rim. Slipped?

Soft, dark orange fabric with frequent tiny mica. Lime? 7.5YR 7/8, reddish yellow; Slip 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Probably flat moulded rim. Very squat angular body. Flattened bottom.

*OF 8, no. 2, 149-51, fig. 14. From Well 92 in the SO area. The parallel is black-glazed and measurements are unknown.*

Mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KO54** (657/4-7)      Box 657/4      Pyxis      (Plate 35)

H. 4.0; Diam. 8.7; Diam. rim 4.7; Diam. base ca. 4.5; Th. 0.5

Complete except from 2/3 of foot missing. Rim worn. Vertical black bands on shoulder (alternating black and red). Trace of rays on lower body. Black circle and small central circle on underside of foot. Glaze very worn.

Soft, light orange fabric with single small dark gray incl. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; Gley1 3/N, very dark gray; 10R 4/4, weak red.

Angular body. Small ring foot.

*Lang 1992, 77-8, fig. 16.2, pl. 17. The example from Babes is not complete, but the decoration on the lower bodies is similar and so is the shape (Babes example has a base of ca. 5 cm).*

6<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Type 2

**KO55** (657/4-6)      Box 657/4      Pyxis      (Plate 35)

H. 3.4; Diam. 6.3; Diam. rim 3.8; Diam. base ca. 3.7; Th. 0.4

Complete. Plain, but burnished.

Very soft, light orange fabric with sporadic small-large red incl., and single tiny silver mica. 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow.

Straight slightly flaring rim. Angular body, flattened base.

*One additional unpublished example 657/4-15.*

6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KO56** (657/4-3)      Box 657/4      Pyxis      (Plate 36)

H. 3.5; Diam. 6.6; Diam. rim 4.4; Diam. base 3.0; Th. 0.4

Complete except from small part missing at rim and base. Plain, but burnished.

Very soft light orange fabric with sporadic large gray incl. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown.

Angular body, straight rim. Flattened bottom.

6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

Type ?

**KO57** (657/4-5)      Box 657/4      Pyxis      (Plate 36)

H. 3.4; Diam. rim ca. 4.0; Diam. 5.8; Th. 0.3

Complete except from most of rim restored in plaster. Traces of black vertical bands preserved. Worn glaze.

Heavy, light brown fabric with single tiny silver mica, single small black incl. 10YR 8/3, very pale brown; Gley1 4/N, dark gray.

Squat shape, straight slightly flaring rim. Round body, flattened base.

*Three additional unpublished examples 657/4-16, 657/4-17 and 657/4-19.*

6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KO58** (657/4-10)      Box 657/4      Pyxis      (Plate 36)

H. 3.5; Diam. 5.0; Diam. rim 4.7; Diam. base 3.0; Th. 0.3; Th. rim 0.8

Complete. Lopsided. Trace of red glaze on rim?

Orange fabric with single small orange-red incl. and single tiny silver mica. 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow.

Flat moulded rim. Rounded body. Flattened bottom.

6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KO59** (657/4-4)      Box 657/4      Pyxis      (Plate 37)

H. 3.8; Diam. 6.8; Diam. rim 4.6; Diam. base 3.2; Th. 0.3

Complete. Trace of black vertical bands on lower body.

Soft, light brown fabric with single black small incl., and single tiny silver mica. 2.5Y 8/3, pale yellow; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Slightly outturned flaring rim. Round body. Flattened base.

6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KO60** (657/4-20)      Box 657/4      Pyxis      (Plate 37)

P.H. 2.3; Diam. 6.9; Diam. rim 3.5; Diam. base ca. 4.1; Th. rim 0.5

Complete except from very worn rim. Trace of black glaze on lower body, probably rays.

Soft light orange fabric with tiny black incl.? 7.5YR 8/4, pink; Gley1 3/N, very dark gray.

Probably flat moulded rim. Very squat angular body. Flattened bottom.

Closest parallel (shape) *OlBer* 12, 88-9, fig. 31.

5<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KO61** (658/2-16)      Box 658/2      Ovoid Pyxis?      (Plate 37)

P.H. 6.0; Diam. rim 3.4; Diam. 5.3; Th. 0.25-0.3

Complete except from rim and some of neck missing. Restored from two fragments.

Depression on one side, something went wrong in the kiln? Interior reserved. Exterior black-brown glaze on neck and shoulder, dipped?

Light brown fabric with rosy core, single dark large incl., and single small lime.

7.5YR 7/3, pink; surface 7.5YR 8/3, pink; Gley1 3/N, very dark gray.

Conical vessel, no handles. Pointy 'base.'

Regular sized version, Corinthian, *Perachora* II, no. 2223, 226, pl. 88; Payne 1931, nos. 1333-1334, 323.

Classical?

**KO62** (657/2-1)      Box 657/2<sup>14</sup>      Pyxis Lid      (Plate 37)

H. 1.85; Diam. 4.5; Th. 0.3-0.6

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<sup>14</sup> Note on box said: 'Kiste 358, Alter Bestand, Deckelchen. In dieser Kiste waren: a) 10 Fundst. aus Olympia, b) 13 Fundst. aus Kombothekra. Unter den Reststücken mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit weitere Funde aus Kombothekra die ungenauen Beschreibungen in alle Unterlagen reichen für eine identifizierung. Vgl. auch *AM* 1908, 325.'

Worn on edges, about 1/5 missing. Trace of brownish-black glaze preserved on exterior.

Very soft, light orange fabric with single tiny white incl. 7.5YR 7/4, pink; 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Flat lid, slightly sloping, and central knob.

Date?

### Miniature Kotylai

**KO63** (658/2-6)      Box 658/2      Kotyle      (Plate 38)

H. 1.7; Diam. rim 3.1; Diam. base 1.5; Th. 0.2

Complete kotyle. Black-red glaze on interior. Black-red vertical stripes on exterior rim, thin band below handles and base dipped in glaze.

Light brown fabric without incl.? 7.5YR 8/4, pink; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Straight rim, small flat base, string-cut.

6<sup>th</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> century BC?

See **KO71**.

**KO64** (658/2-7)      Box 658/2      Kotyle      (Plate 38)

H. 2.1; Diam. rim 3.75; Diam. base 2.1; Th. 0.2

Complete kotyle. Black glazed interior, very worn. Black-brown vertical stripes on exterior of rim, bottom dipped in black glaze.

Light brown fabric with single small lime. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; 10YR 3/1, very dark gray.

Straight rim and wall, small foot. String-cut base. Larger handle, more horse-shoe.

*Cyrene* 7, no. 311, 83, fig. 2, pl. 52.

550-500 BC?

**KO65** (658/2-14)      Box 658/2      Kotyle      (Plate 38)

H. 4.7; Diam. rim 6.5; Diam. base 3.1; Th. 0.3-0.5

Full profile preserved of kotyle, ca. 1/3 of rim and wall preserved. Base and one handle preserved. Black glaze on exterior handle zone and band on interior rim.

Light brown fabric with single tiny lime? 7.5YR 7/4, pink; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Squat shape, flat base. Horse-shoe like handle.

Classical?

## Cups

**KO66** (658/2-10)      Box 658/2      Two-Handled Cup      (Plate 38)

H. 2.9; Diam. rim 4.7; Diam. base 3.0; Th. 0.3-0.5

Complete except from one handle and 1/3 of rim and wall missing. Restored from two fragments. Handmade, plain.

Light orange fabric with single small lime and single large dark red incl. 7.5YR 6/4, light brown. Possible from a local Kombothekra production site.

Tallish shape with thick lug handle. Thick moulded base. Thumb traces on exterior of base?

Date?

**KO67** (658/2-9)      Box 658/2      Two-Handled Cup/Bowl      (Plate 38)

H. 2.0; Diam. rim 4.5; Diam. base 1.7; Th. 0.6-0.7

Complete except from one handle missing. Handmade, plain.

Light orange, yellowish fabric with sporadic tiny lime. 2.5Y 8/3, pale yellow. Possible from a local Kombothekra production site.

Shallow thick walled cup/bowl with small lug handle preserved. Flattened bottom.

*One additional unpublished example 658/2-8.*

Caskey and Amandry 1952, no. 262, 204, pl. 57.

Late 7<sup>th</sup> - early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

**KO68** (658/2-15)      Box 658/2      Stemless, Rheneia Cup      (Plate 39)

H. 3.75; Diam. rim 7.2; Diam. base 3.4; Th. 0.35-0.6

Complete except for one handle missing. Interior and exterior glazed except for lower wall and base. Brownish glaze.

Orange fabric with rose-coloured core. Sporadic tiny-small lime, and single tiny silver mica. Core 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow; surface 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow; Gley1 3/N, very dark gray; 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Squat shape with horizontal loop handle. Small ring base. Outturned rim.

Lang 1992, 52, fig. 6.4, pl. 16.2; *Agora* 12, no. 460, 267, fig. 5. *Same height, but smaller diameter than Agora example.*

Ca. 450-425 BC.

### Phiale

**KO69** (657/4-1)      Box 657/4      Phiale      (Plate 39)

H. 3.9; Diam. rim 11.0; Diam. base 5.7; Diam. knob 2.3; Th. 0.5

Complete omphalos phiale. Black-brownish-red glaze throughout. Worn knob, and glaze.

Light, soft orange fabric with frequent tiny silver mica, and sporadic small-large red incl. 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; 7.5YR 4/3, brown; orange 5YR 6/8.

Two small holes below rim for suspension. Slightly inturned rim. Flattened base.

Profile closest to *Corinth* XVIII.1, no. 415, 157, fig. 9, pl. 46.

Early to mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC.

### Miscellaneous Shapes

#### Amphora

**KO70** (658/2-20)      Box 658/2      Transport Amphora      (Plate 40)

H. 13.2; Diam. rim ca. 3.0; Diam. 5.8; Th. 0.4

Complete except from one handle and most of rim restored in orange plaster. Foot broken off. Darker colour near rim, burnt?

Orange fabric with frequent tiny silver mica, sporadic tiny lime, and single large dark incl. 7.5YR 6/6, reddish yellow; near rim 5YR 5/6, yellowish red.

Narrow neck, typical transport amphora handles, triangular body.

Shape similar to Phoenician imported amphoriskoi, *Agora* 33, no. 535, 300-1, fig. 69, pl. 59. *Agora example is larger.*

Ca. 225-175 BC?

### CORINTHIAN PRODUCTION

#### Cups

**KO71** (658/2-5)      Box 658/2      Kotyle      (Plate 40)

H. 1.7; Diam. rim 3.25; Diam. base 1.7; Th. 0.2

Complete. Small chip missing on rim. Vertical black stripes on exterior rim. Thin band below handles. Lower body dipped in black glaze. Interior black glazed, scratched. Glaze worn.

Soft, yellowish fabric with single tiny lime, and sporadic tiny dark incl. 10YR 8/3, very pale brown; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Straight rim, body coming to small flat base, trace of string marks on underside. Small thick (almost lug) horizontal handles.

See **OL16**.

**KO72** (659/3-1)      Box 659/3      Kotyle      (Plate 41)

H. 3.5; Diam. rim 5.1; Diam. base 3.0; Th. 0.2-0.3

Complete except from small part missing of rim and upper wall. Surface cracked in places. Interior black glazed. Exterior vertical black stripes in handle zone. Red band. Very thin black line. Black band on lower body. Reserved just above base, base black glazed. Underside black band on resting surface, reserved, then black dot in centre. Decoration worn. Small holes on handles.

Corinthian, light yellow fabric with greenish tinge, and single small lime. 10YR 8/2, very pale brown; 2.5YR 5/6, red; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Straight wall. Thin walled. Loop handles. Small base, flat with disc.

Same workshop as **KO73** and **KO74**?

*Corinth* VII.5, no. 132, 61, fig. 7, pl. 10; Barfoed 2009, nos. 52-3, 57-8, 113, 116-18, fig. 112.

Late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.

**KO73** (659/3-2)      Box 659/3      Kotyle      (Plate 41)

H. 3.7; Diam. rim 5.0; Diam. base 2.9; Th. 0.2-0.3

About 1/3 preserved. Base complete. One handle attachment and small part of handle preserved. Glaze almost gone on interior. Very faded on exterior.

Yellowish, light fabric without incl.? 10YR 7/3, very pale brown; 5YR 5/6, yellowish red; Gley1 3/N, very dark gray.

Exact same decoration as **KO72**. Same small base.

Same workshop as **KO72** and **KO74**?

See **KO72**.

**KO74** (659/3-3)      Box 659/3      Kotyle      (Plate 41)

P.H. 3.3; Diam. rim 4.0; Diam. base 2.8; Th. 0.2-0.25

About 2/3 of base, 1/3 or rim preserved. Chipped rim. Small part of one handle attachment preserved. Restored from three fragments. Colours secondary burnt? Interior worn black glaze, reddish on upper part (stacking?). Exterior zigzag/wishbone in handle zone red or black glaze? Thin red line below. Red band. Thin black line. Black band. Reserved. Thin black band just above base. Base black glazed? Underside, disk, black band, reserved centre with central black dot. Corinthian light orange fabric without incl.? 10YR 7/4, very pale brown; 10R 5/6, red; 2.5YR 4/4, reddish brown; 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown. Quite straight wall coming to small foot like base. Same workshop as **KO72-73**? *Corinth* VII.5, no. 131, 61, fig. 7, pl. 10; Barfoed 2009, nos. 84-91, 125-26, figs. 43-4, 49. Late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.

#### Hydriai

**KO75** (655/6-1)      Box 655/6<sup>15</sup>      Hydria      (Plate 41)

H. 4.0; Diam. rim 2.8; Diam. base 2.3; Th. 0.2-0.3

Complete. Trace of black glaze throughout, some red patches.

Light orange-brown fabric with single tiny silver mica. 10YR 8/3, very pale brown; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Outturned flat rim, broad straight neck, round body, lug handles, one not pierced through, flat vertical handle, small flat base, string-cut.

*Corinth* XVIII.1, no. 1876, 324, pl. 70. (Corinth example is 0.5 cm smaller); *Cyrene* 7, no. 339, 89, fig. 3, pl. 56.

Early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

**KO76** (655/6-15)      Box 655/6      Hydria      (Plate 42)

P.H. 7.8; Diam. 5.7; Diam. base 3.3; Th. 0.4-0.5

Complete except for handles not preserved. Part of neck and all of rim missing. Trace of black glaze on exterior and interior of neck.

Soft yellowish-green fabric with single small dark incl. 2.5Y 8/3, pale yellow.

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<sup>15</sup> A note on the box 655/6 (Kiste 245) suggests that the pottery could be from Kombothekra, but it is uncertain.

Incised line on exterior where neck meets shoulder. Straight neck with outturned rim. Nicely articulated shoulder. Horizontal handles set below shoulder. Narrowing body to flattened base. Incised horizontal line above base.

Somewhat similar to Caskey and Amandry 1952, no. 304, 206, pl. 59.

Late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC?

### Kothon

**KO77** (659/3-4)      Box 659/3      Kothon      (Plate 42)

H. 3.0; Diam. rim 4.1; Diam. 7.4; Diam. base 5.7

Complete except for handle and 1/3 of base missing. Decoration very worn. Flaky surface, salt contamination? On interior of rim red and black band. On shoulder decoration with dots and three thin lines below, red, black, red. Thin black line below handle zone. Exterior of base black glazed. Underside red glaze, centre/disc reserved. Soft Corinthian, yellowish fabric without incl.? 10YR 8/3, very pale brown; 2.5YR 4/6, red; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Ring disc foot.

Closest parallel *Corinth* XV.3, no. 2036, 8-9, 337, pl. 73.

Second half of 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.

### LAKONIAN OR IMITATION OF LAKONIAN PRODUCTION

#### Cups

**KO78** (263-29)      Box 657/3      Kanthariskos      (Plate 42)

H. 4.6; Diam. rim 6.8; Diam. base 3.2; Th. 0.2-0.3

Complete except from one handle missing. Chip missing at rim. Black glaze only preserved at edge of interior rim and at upper part of handle.

Orange brown fabric with tiny black incl. 7.5YR 6/4, light brown; Gley1 3/N, very dark gray.

Thin straight wall, carinated, rounded base. Base has trace of cut or string marks on underside.

Date?

**KO79** (263-22)      Box 657/3      Kanthariskos      (Plate 43)

H. 4.4; Diam. rim 5.5; Diam. base 3.0; Th. 0.5

Complete except from chip missing at base. Slipped? Trace of red glaze in places?  
Light orange fabric with sporadic tiny dark/black incl. 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow;  
7.5YR 8/3, pink. Not Lakonian, but a Lakonian imitation.<sup>16</sup>

Wide flaring lip, carination where lip meets shoulder, round body and flat foot. Large flattened horizontal handles.

Dickens 1906/1907, 169-73, fig. 2e; Stibbe 1978, no. 16, fig. 9, pl. 15.1, n. 23 (larger example with pedestal foot and without carination).

Classical?

### Miscellaneous Shapes

**KO80** (658/2-2)      Box 658/2      Medicine Bottle      (Plate 43)

H. 2.3; Diam. rim 2.2; Diam. base 2.2; Th. 0.25-0.3

Complete medicine bottle. Glaze worn. Glaze worn off at rim and edge of base, interior scratched with something sharp. Black glazed throughout.

Light orange fabric with sporadic tiny lime. 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow; Gley1 2.5/N, black.

Thin walled. Slightly outturned rim, rounded body, small foot.

See **OL21**.

Closest parallel (shape not fabric), *Agora* 29, no. 1313, 198, 370, fig. 83, pl. 100;

*Corinth* VII.3, no. 596, 100-1, pls. 20, 58.

250-175 BC.

**KO81** (658/2-4)      Box 658/2      Hydria, Lakonian      (Plate 43)

H. 3.6; Diam. rim 2.7; Diam. base 1.9; Th. 0.2

Complete except from vertical handle missing. Hard burnt or misfired grey? Brownish glaze throughout, worn.

Gray brown fabric with single tiny lime. 10YR 6/2, light brownish gray; 10YR 4/4, dark yellowish brown; 10YR 2/1, black.

Thin walled. Flaring rim, broad neck, small lug handles, small flat base.

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<sup>16</sup> Both Corinthian and Lakonian pottery was imitated in the Elis region, J. Schilbach, pers. comm. November 2014. Alexandropoulou also notes a similar pattern in the production of terracotta figurines, Alexandropoulou 2011, 193-203. Corinthian pottery and the light tone of the clay was widely copied, often to the extent that it was difficult to distinguish actual Corinthian fabric from its copies, Arafat and Morgan 1989, 330.

*Corinth* XVIII.1, no. 1873, 324, pl. 70 (Corinth example is 1.2 cm smaller); *Cyrene* 7, no. 369, 92, pl. 60.

Early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

**KO82** (655/5-4)      Box 655/5      Krateriskos, Type 1      (Plate 43)

H. 5.9; Diam. rim ca. 7.0; Diam. base 3.2; Th. 0.3-0.35

About 1/3 preserved of rim and half of body preserved. One handle preserved. Base preserved. Brown glaze in handle zone and rim on exterior and on interior of rim.

Sandy, light brown fabric with single tiny lime, and single tiny black incl. 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown; 5YR 4/2, dark reddish gray.

Nicely shaped krateriskos. Flaring rim, articulated? shoulder. Small flat foot.

Horizontal loop handle attached to shoulder against rim. Trace of wheel.

Almost identical in shape to **KO37**.

Classical?

#### UNKNOWN PRODUCTION

**KO83** (655/6-14)      Box 655/6      Hydria      (Plate 44)

P.H. 7.2; Diam. 6.8; Diam. base 4.3; Th. 0.2-0.35

Complete except from half of horizontal handle and small part of wall restored in plaster. Chip missing of other handle. Neck and rim missing. Mended from about 15 fragments. Trace of brownish-black glaze on shoulder and interior neck.

Soft light yellow fabric with single large orange incl., and single tiny lime. 2.5Y 8/3, pale yellow. From a production centre in the Nemea/Phlious region?

Barrel-like body. Upright horizontal handles. Small ring foot.

Barfoed 2009, no. 256, 175, fig. 59; *Corinth* XVIII.1, no. 47, 87, fig. 1, pl. 7.

First quarter of 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.?

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<sup>17</sup> The abbreviations follow the standard used by the American Journal of Archaeology.

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## **PLATES**

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