Arcadian Miniature Pottery

Leslie Hammond

Over the past eight years, this author has undertaken research regarding a specific genre of ceramics, miniature vessels. Having studied, drawn, photographed, and compared hundreds of miniature vessels in Arcadia and throughout Greece, she provides in this paper a brief summary of the history of study regarding miniature vessels and defines what a miniature vessel is. An overview of those vessels found in Ancient Arcadia follows, focusing on research conducted with three specific projects: Bassai, Asea, and Tegea. While this overview of Arcadia miniatures is brief, it provides the introduction into a topic that is blooming, as are all other aspects of research in the Ancient Arcadian region, which brought us together to the seminar in Athens.

My study of miniature vessels began during my first study season at Tegea in the summer of 1995. For three consecutive seasons I labored over hundreds of not so elegant fragments. When I first began looking, I was not sure what I expected to find or how I would even distinguish a miniature vessel from any other vessel. Some seemed obvious enough, but the vast majority of the material was so fragmented that I had to learn through a process of elimination. Nevertheless, I progressed with my study by cataloguing, measuring, munselling, and drawing each piece I thought was or could possibly be a miniature vessel. At that point I did not even know for sure how I defined a miniature vessel. Since few scholars had discussed or even defined a miniature vessel, I trusted that the Tegean material would speak to me.

While miniature vessels are known from a variety of contexts – domestic, funerary, and cultic – my research focuses on those from sanctuaries. Scholars began to mention these vessels near the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries, but in general terms without individual catalogue entries.1 Dunbabin, however, was the first to highlight miniature vases giving them a chapter of their own in the second

1. Waldstein 1905, 96-101; Wace 1905-06.
volume of the Perachora publication. Dunbabin inventoried 481 miniatures, illustrating nearly all with photographs, and grouping them by shape. Unfortunately, these catalogue entries are not very comprehensive, often consisting only of one measurement, and an occasional description of the painted decoration.

Subsequent publications followed Dunbabin’s lead, noting miniatures when recovered and presenting them in increasingly informative fashion. However, these entries comprise but a few samples of the hundreds, even thousands, which are preserved, mostly from votive deposits and dumps. Analysis of these miniatures rarely extended beyond a presentation of a select few catalogued examples following an introductory paragraph.

More elaborate introductions to chapters and analysis of forms began to appear in publications such as Stillwell and Benson’s presentation of the miniatures from the Potters’ Quarter in Corinth in 1985, and Pemberton’s from the Demeter and Kore sanctuary also at Corinth in 1989. Regional studies, such as that by Foley on the Argolid and Voyatzis’ of Arcadia, have also incorporated some miniature vessels.

Defining the term ‘miniature vessel’ was not as easy as it might seem at first. The typical dictionary entry for the word “miniature” notes: “A copy on a much reduced scale; something small of its kind.” A ‘miniature vessel’ would logically seem to be any vessel that has been reduced in scale. This terminology assumes that from the set repertoire of ancient vessel shapes there is a corresponding set of shapes made on a reduced scale. However, it was immediately apparent that this definition fell short in relationship to the material I first studied at Tegea. Additionally, I found that what one scholar considered to be a miniature, another did not. Furthermore, not all ‘normal’ shapes at a given site appeared to have a ‘miniature’ parallel; and there appears to be no consistency among the shapes miniaturized from site to site.

Theoretically, any shape can be made in miniature. However, we must keep in mind that the original function of the ‘normally’ sized vessel may not equally transfer to the shape once it becomes miniaturized. While regional variations of

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5. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary 1974, 741. The definition of “mini” is given as “something small of its kind; of small dimensions” while “miniaturize” is “to design or construct in a small size”.
6. Stillwell and Benson 1984, 309. Catling 1976-77, 38 and 40. The aryballos is often a shape of contention. Corinthian aryballoi are not considered to be miniatures, while those from Laconian sites are.
miniature vessels exist, just as there are variations for the typical repertoire of ancient vessels, I have created the following definition based on the material I studied at Tegea.8 'Miniatures' are vessels that are modeled from other vessels but on a reduced scale. Additionally, other vessels which do not have corresponding larger 'models' can also considered miniatures, as a consequence of their small size, equal to or less than a 10 cm cube.

Review of Arcadian miniature vessels

From 1996 to 1997 I was fortunate to travel and study miniature vessels throughout the Peloponnese.9 Wherever I traveled, I made notes and drawings of all the miniatures I saw. Arcadia is a region that is less published than other regions of the Peloponnese, and this especially holds true as concerns the miniatures. Below, I present a brief summary of Arcadian miniature vessels.

The region of Arcadia, where Tegea is located, provides many examples of such pottery.10 Examples of miniatures exposed in the Tripolis museum come from the sites of Mavriki, Lykosoura, Hagios Elias near Asea, Gortsouli, Paleoplyrgos, Asea, Megalopolis, and Kelessi, and others.11 Recent excavations in

8. While this definition is based on the material studied at Tegea, so far, the definition holds beyond the scope of that material alone.

9. Miniatures are often unpublished and it is necessary to have that type of reference to request permission to study the material. Thus, I could not request permission to study everything I knew existed because I did not have a published reference to them. My research has to a certain extent been directed by this factor.

10. The majority of those on display are kept in the Tripolis museum, although others can be found at individual site museums – with the exception of those from Bassai, which are located in the museum at Olympia.

11. The following is primarily based upon observations in the Tripolis museum. At Lykosoura miniature kraters were exhibited while the Bronze Age cemetery of Paleokastro preserves amphoriskoi. From a bothros of an archaic sanctuary at the site of Gortsouli, ancient Mantinea, were found miniatures including shallow bowls, dishes, and other handmade vessels of coarse fabric. In a shrine at Paleoplyrgos, Arcadian Orchomenos, kotylai, kraters, mugs, kantharoi, bowls, and amphoral have been uncovered. The late archaic and classical, 6th to 4th century B.C., material from Megalopolis includes belly-handled small amphorai, kraters, bowls,
the sanctuary at Stymphalos have yielded miniature votive cups including skyphoi and kraters. Although Stymphalos was part of ancient Arcadia, the selection of miniatures published thus far are more akin to those from Corinthia.

**Material from Bassai**

Dr. Yalouris generously approved my study of the miniatures from Bassai in the Olympia museum. Bassai, in south-western Arcadia, is one of the few sites in this region from which illustrations of miniature vessels have been published. Unfortunately, there was not much original documentation about them other than that "the shapes imitate Corinthian, Laconian, and Elean wares", and include a jug or pitcher, a pedestal vase, a lakaina, a kotyle, a two-handled mug or kantharos, an arylballos, and a thurible. The Laconian influence, if not outright import, is strong among the miniature vessels at Bassai. The shapes studied in the store-room at the Olympia museum included arylballoi with strap handles and two-handled cups with globular bodies. Additional miniatures were inspected from a series of graves apparently excavated in 1975. These too were mostly cups with one or two handles. The miniatures from Bassai seem to be wheel-made, of a fine fabric, and primarily painted with a dark, probably black monochrome paint.

**Asea material**

I have analyzed the miniatures recovered during the Asea Valley survey and the Hagios Elias excavations led by Björn and Jeannette Forsén. The miniature vessels recovered during the Asea Valley Survey were concentrated in two main areas, defined as S60:35 and S60:36. While only a small sample was identified, the scope and variety of the shapes, wares, and fabric reveal much. 14 examples of miniature vessels were identified among the corpus of survey material. Both open and closed shapes were noted, although the former predominated. Open vessels included examples of kotylai, dishes, phialai, kana, and hydriai. Material of the classical and Hellenistic periods from the site 'Kelessi' near the Elisson river includes miniature amphorae with vertical handles. Lousoi is another Arcadian site where miniature ceramic finds are reported. Material from the site of Mavriki includes such miniatures as oinochoai, kalathoi, skyphoi, and cups.

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13. The mugs, lakainai, and kantharoi recovered from the ‘Northern Sector’ at Tegea are similar to those found at Bassai, both sites exhibiting Laconian influence.
14. I would like to thank both Björn and Jeannette for allowing me to include my recent analysis of that material here.
and a variety of bowls. Hydriai were the only clearly identifiable closed shapes, but other indeterminate fragments of open and closed vessels were also noted.

The shapes identified showed affinities to vessels from other areas of Arcadia as well as regions beyond. Comparisons made between the Asea Survey miniatures and those from Tegea tend to date primarily to the archaic period, while the material dating to the classical and later periods are mostly comparable to miniatures found outside Arcadia.16

The majority of the survey samples, 93%, were of fine wares while the remaining 7% were determined to be of semi-coarse fabric. Three groups of fabric color appear: reddish yellow, very pale brown, and yellow. Reddish yellow dominate the sample with 42%. While reddish yellow was more common among the open shapes, among the closed shapes yellow fabric was the most popular.

Only 28% of the miniatures preserved traces of paint. Unfortunately, given the worn and abraded surfaces, much of the original painted decoration has probably been lost. While survey material does not always provide the best preserved examples, the miniatures recorded during the Asea Valley Survey do illustrate the variety of shapes, a use of particular fabrics and wares as well as a range of time within which these miniatures date.

Just under 50 examples of miniature vessels were found during excavations conducted at the site of Hagios Elias near Asea. Only open shapes were identified, such as cups, mugs, kotyle, kraters, bowls, dishes, kana, and possible kalathoi. Over 92% of these miniatures were made of fine wares, 73% of these were painted. Only one preserved an incised decoration. The variety of the color of the fabrics was greater than among the Asea survey material: pale yellow and reddish yellow predominated with 40% and 23% respectively.

Tegea material

Miniature vessels were uncovered during the early excavations at Tegea. Ch. Dugas published 34 such vessels, but their exact provenience is unknown. In general, miniatures included in Dugas’ and Voyatzis’ publications are comparable to those discovered during the Norwegian excavation from 1990 to 94, in shape, fabric type, wear, and decoration.17

16. Discussions regarding the comparanda of Asea material follow within the specific catalogue entries. It should be noted, however, that some scholars do not consider the comparisons of miniature vessels to be very reliable: Pemberton 1989, 65. See also Renfrew 1985, 16; he states that “Religious experience can often take place in a special location ... there is likely to be specific cult equipment, and a redundancy of symbols” (or objects).

17. Gratitude is extended to the Professor R. Etienne and Dr. Th. Spyropoulos for granting permission to include previously excavated material in my study.
Excavations took place within the classical temple of Athena Alea – the ‘Temple Excavations’ – and in the area to the north of the temple, the so-called ‘Northern Sector.’ My study of the miniatures from the Norwegian excavations resulted in the establishment of three distinct phases of miniature vessel production and use at the site over time.

**Phase I** is represented by 149 miniature vessels discovered in the votive pit located below the pronaos of the classical temple. All these miniatures are similar in manufacture, material, and fabric, suggesting that these vessels had a significant and consistent role in defining their context.

Open vessels dominate among the miniatures in Phase I, although a few fragments of closed shapes were noted.18 (Fig. 1) However, the shapes of miniature footed cups and dishes, popular in Phase I, do not replicate the shapes of any ‘normal’ drinking and serving vessels, thus indicating that there is something different about them.19 These vessels are not simply scaled down versions or cheap imitations of normal shapes, rather they were made for a purpose of their own.20 Either they were offered as votives in their own right, or they may have held substances consumed or left behind in association with some activity. Phase I miniatures appear to be exclusive in all characteristic aspects as compared with the two later phases.

The production and decoration of the miniatures from Phase I is quite basic.21 The vessels were formed by hand from clay typically having various types of inclusions. That they were locally produced, is indicated by the reddish yellow fabric and handmade technique.22 Although variations appear among the fabric colors of the miniatures from Phase I, the reddish yellow fabric color predo-

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19. Voyatzis’ study of the *bothros* ceramics (other than miniatures) has shown that shapes include skyphoi, cups, shallow bowls, possibly kraters, as well as jugs, and perhaps amphorae and pyxides. She has also noted Laconian influence among the non-miniature ceramics. (Personal communication; see also her paper in this volume.)

20. In some contexts, miniatures do have a practical and useful function in everyday life.

21. While the production of these miniatures may have taken place in a workshop (as opposed to household production), this can not be substantiated at the present. Further excavations and study of the coarse wares (non-miniatures) will hopefully shed light on this question.

22. The fabric with a reddish yellow color, seen in the majority of the miniatures from Phase I, has been confirmed as a local fabric through scientific analysis (ICP-AES) undertaken by the Fitch Laboratory of the British School at Athens. The fabrics from Tegea also include a very pale brown color, in addition to the reddish yellow (varying to pink) color, as mentioned. Thanks are extended to Dr. Voyatzis for sharing this information. The handmade process in general suggests local production, at least in the case of Tegea, since none of the handmade miniature vessels found at Tegea can be identified as imports.
minates, and is consistently used throughout the history of miniature vessel production at Tegea.23

Decorative motifs are kept to a minimum during Phase I.24 Decoration includes only impressed or incised lines located almost exclusively on the rims of bowls.25 The simple character of the Phase I miniatures may suggest that most of these vessels were probably containers for offerings dedicated at the site, rather than functioning as dedications themselves.26

Miniature vessels from Phase II include material found in the pronaos surface layers and in the metal-working area, all objects excavated in the cella, as well as from the layers dated to the archaic period in the 'Northern Sector'. The continued presence and increase in numbers during Phase II confirm the importance of miniature vessels at the site.27

Phase II introduces new miniature shapes which reflect the 'normal' ceramic shapes more closely.28 (Fig. 2) Miniature shapes not previously seen include kotylai, kraters, shallow bowls, and phialai.29 While kotylai and shallow bowls are the most popular, shallow bowls are most numerous and can be related almost exclusively to the Geometric buildings suggesting that this shape can be specifically tied to some activity that took place in association with these

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23. The color of a fabric is determined by a number of factors, including the clay source and firing process. Shepard 1968, 100-12 for the causes of different clay colors, 147-55 and 213-23 for identifying firing methods. Hammond 2000, 215, n. 27, for additional discussion regarding the results of firing processes.

24. Although five Mycenaean sherds (possibly from the same vessel) preserve painted decoration, these were probably intrusive since they were found among the top and uppermost layer of the bothros, distinguished by the metalworking area just above it.

25. The exceptions include one dish with incised lines on the rim, one handle fragment with incised lines, and one bowl which has impressed rings, possibly made with a hollow reed. A total of nine cases exist where these decorative elements are noted.

26. The artisans of Tegea clearly had the skills and ability to produce fine wares with painted decorative patterns, but for some reason they chose not to do so for those of miniature size.

27. The quantity of miniatures increases from Phase I to Phase II, reflecting the regular pottery at Tegea with the expansion of shapes and external influences. Voyatzis informs me that Laconian influence/importation is much reduced at this time and the focus shifts to the Argolid with such shapes as skyphoi, one- and two-handled cups, kraters, and kantharoi, as well as oinochoai, lekythoi, amphorae, pyxides and oinochoe-lekythoi. Additionally, Corinthian style kotylai and pyxides also appear. In short, from the late LG period, the site of Tegea expands its use and production of ceramics in general, miniatures and non-miniatures alike. See the contribution by Dr. Voyatzis to this volume.


29. These are primarily open shapes, while generally among the pottery of regular size from this period, more closed shapes begin to appear. Only one closed shape can be confirmed among the miniatures of Phase II.
structures. Shallow bowls have no parallel among the vessels of ‘normal’ size. (Fig. 3)

The kotyle, first appearing in Phase II, is second in popularity only to the shallow bowl. The kotyle, however, continues into Phase III where it becomes the most popular of the miniature shapes. This shape seems to function more as a votive token or substitute for a ‘normally’ sized kotyle, since it has a corresponding shape of ‘normal’ size; it may, as an alternative explanation, actually have been used in some probably cultic activity. Both the miniature kotylai and those of ‘regular’ size first appear in Phase II. The continued importance of this shape from Phase II to Phase III suggests a certain continuity also of actions in the sanctuary. The same continuity is seen for the miniature krater, but it is not nearly as popular as the kotyle.

Changes appear in the production of miniature vessels from Phase II as well. Although handmade miniatures are still manufactured, wheelmade pieces are almost exclusively confined to kotylai and kraters, as well as a few bowls. The wheel-throwing process adds fine clays to the extant semi-coarse and coarse wares seen among the miniatures at Tegae. The colors resulting from the intro-

30. All shallow bowls belong to Phase II except four examples found among the miniatures from Phase III.

31. The shallow nature of the vessel could suggest a votive function, just as the phiale is considered a ‘votive’ shape. However, many shallow bowls, unlike phialai, have suspension holes and a slightly convex profile, suggesting that they were probably suspended, could catch the wind and rotate, their distinct painted pattern on each side being visible. This interpretation is substantiated because numerous bronze and iron pins and nails were found in association with the Geometric buildings, suggesting that the shallow bowls functioned as hanging votives, Simon 1986, 317, for vases that “may have had a ritual use during ceremonies”.

The uniqueness of the Teganean shallow bowls may have been inspired by small Argive bowls. Similar cult activities emerging at this time at both sites could result in the independent production for this shape. There are no exact parallels between the Argive vessels and the Teganean shallow bowls.

32. Kotylai are most numerous (overall a total of 40 from the temple excavations) among the surface layers of the cella as well as in association with Building 1. However, the pronao surface and occupation levels 2 and 3 provide only eight fragments of kotylai. The concentration of kotylai in the upper levels of the temple excavations may suggest that this shape was introduced somewhat later, or ‘caught on’ later, than the shallow bowl.

33. Voyatzis informs me that the kotylai from the ‘regular’ pottery are similar in shape to the Argive type and in style to the Corinthian types.

34. Like the shallow bowl, the krater is more popular during Phase II than Phase III, where only seven of the 27 examples from the site belong.

35. Since we find many similarities between the miniatures and ‘normal’ pottery during this phase and the following Phase III, we can propose that the production of the miniatures from Phase II and III occurred within a workshop environment.
duction of new fabrics among the miniature vessels include pale yellow and very pale brown. The artisans have now refined their fabrics to make them suitable for the wheel-throwing process.

In Phase II, miniature vessels are enhanced by painted linear or monochrome decoration, although a few instances of incised decoration still occur. (Fig. 4; see also Fig. 3) The added decorative motifs which now appear indicate that more attention is being given to this production.

The two most popular miniature vessel shapes seen in Phase II may be influenced by external sources. The normally sized kotylai reveal inspiration from the Argolid and the Corinthia, and a similar situation seems to occur with the miniature kotylai as well. Miniature kotylai found at Tegea are similar in

36. Light yellowish brown preserved over a dozen examples as well, while all others preserved seven or less examples each. Although the use of reddish yellow fabric was reduced almost by half, it was still more popular than the very pale brown fabric that has also been determined to be local (as early as PG among the regular pottery of the site) according to the analysis undertaken by the Fitch laboratory.

37. Coarse wares are also produced on the wheel, but when miniaturized vessels with coarse fabric are constructed on the wheel, one might expect a rougher surface, since the size of the inclusions can now be more closely related to the size of the vessel, while the greater surface area of the vessel can better handle more and larger inclusions. The process could be more harmful to the hands of the maker him/herself as well. Furthermore, during the delicate process of making a miniature vessel on the wheel, great care must be taken to avoid inclusions or other unwanted 'lumps' in the clay. There is no case among the Tegean miniatures of coarse ware objects made on the wheel. Compare Fábrega 1994, 38: a modern potter specializing in the production of porcelain miniature vessels summarizes the problem of contaminations to fine clay miniatures made on a wheel when she states: "The purity and plasticity of the porcelain are absolutely essential. A grain of sand or a piece of iron disrupts the process... A loose hair can wind around the pot, strangle it; even a cat hair is disruptive." Hammond 2000, 222, n. 49, for further discussion regarding contemporary productions of miniature vessels.

38. A few straggling vessels are found in Phase II that were part of the original corpus of shapes in Phase I. One footed cup, two dishes, and one kana (all shapes also found in Phase I) continue the undecorated style common from Phase I. There are, however, new bowl types that exhibit painted decoration, some of which are of fine fabric. Nine examples of incised decoration are noted among the miniatures of Phase II. This appears on three bowls, on five handmade shallow bowls, and on one handle fragment. These cases of incision should probably not be considered as 'leftovers' from Phase I, since those from Phase II occur on different shapes or variations created by manufacture or material.

39. A total of nine examples of the 148 objects from Phase I is hardly sufficient to establish this as a 'normal' decorative pattern for the miniatures. When an artist takes the time to decorate a vessel, it gives more importance to the vessel itself, adding support to the suggestion that miniature vessels are taking on a new or different role than previously seen in Phase I.

40. Corinthian miniature kotylai were found not only throughout the Argolid and other areas of the Peloponnese, but throughout the Mediterranean. Corinth has been cited as 'one of
shape, size, and fabric to Corinthian kotylai; but the non-Corinthian decorative patterning on the Tegean examples indicates that they were made locally and not imported.41

The quantity of miniatures from Phase III, the final phase of the sanctuary, is approximately equal to that found in Phase II, most of the pieces being recovered from the ‘Northern Sector’. The consistent quantity of miniature vessels reveals that their use in the sanctuary continued to be important.42 Overall, Phase III miniatures appear to be an extension of Phase II. Open shapes continue to dominate the miniature types, with the addition of footless cups (with flat bottoms), kantharoi, mugs, lakainai, and dinoi.43 (Fig. 5) One new closed shape appears as well, the oinochoe. Nevertheless, the kotyle continues to be the most important shape while the shallow bowls, on the contrary, have almost disappeared.44 The importance of the kotyle as a votive vessel at Tegea is further confirmed by the fact that eight of these vessels were found together, without any other manufactured objects, in a foundation trench for the classical Skopadalian temple.45 The context suggests that these kotylai constituted part of a

41. Since the fabric color types of the kotylai (as well as other shapes, such as kraters) from Tegea and those from the Corinthia are so similar, it is quite risky to base judgments of influence as against importation on fabric color alone. The Tegean miniature kotylai are most different in the decorative patterning and tend to be smaller than those from such sites as the Demeter and Kore sanctuary. However, some smaller Corinthian kotylai are known from Perachora, but their decoration is still different. The kotylai of Phase II also deviate from the Corinthian types by a tendency to be smaller than those found at Corinthian sites, but this is not always the case.

42. Phase III contained 180 pieces of miniature vessels, while Phase II had 169.

43. Hammond 2000, fig. 10.

44. This probably results from the fact that the shallow bowls are found almost exclusively in connection with the Geometric buildings and thus probably relate to activities undertaken in the sanctuary during that period alone. Only four shallow bowls were found among the miniatures from Phase III.

45. These kotylai were found along the west side of the foundation wall between the cela and pronaos of the classical temple. The only other remains noted from the related stratigra-
foundation deposit and might have been buried during a possible foundation ceremony for the construction of the classical temple. 46

Most of the new Phase III shapes may be explained by the fact that many are imports or local imitations of other regional types of miniature vessels. The newly introduced miniature vessel shapes tell us that the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea was progressively gaining more and more renown. Kantharoi, mugs, and lakainai are imported Laconian shapes. 47 It is not clear if these tiny vessels found their way to Tegea with visiting foreigners or with locals who had traveled to other areas, but it is significant that there are now miniature vessels at Tegea which have not been locally produced. 48

Phase III miniatures are almost exclusively wheelmade and of fine fabric.

phical unit (D1/7) were 15 grams of animal bones. A similar grouping of miniature cups was discovered in the 'Northern Sector', where three footless cups were found piled together in situ; but these do not constitute a foundation deposit.

46. For Iron Age foundation deposits (non-religious structures) see Wells 1988, 259-66. I would like to thank Dr. Nordquist for bringing my attention to this reference. Wells also cites foundation rituals from Mesopotamia and Egypt as well as other examples in the Greek world, some of them for temples. Although none of the objects found in the foundation deposits discussed by Wells (three, at Asine) were miniature vessels, they occur elsewhere (temple of Athena, Gortyn). Wells also cites an article by Donderer 1984, 177, where it is claimed that in the historical periods (archaic and later), the foundation deposits, buried in the ground, are related to chthonic female deities.

47. Kantharoi, mugs, lakainai, oinochoai, and possibly dinoi (in addition to a few possible jugs) are among those shapes that appear to be imports (mostly Laconian). At least half of the kraters from Phase III are also probably imported from Corinth. They are of a different type from those of Phase II. Miniature Laconian pottery has been found beyond the Peloponnesus in southern Italy, at Taranto (Taras), in Etruria, on Samos, Rhodes, and at Smyrna (in Ionia), for example.

48. Fabrega 1994, 39, discusses the convenience of traveling to exhibits with miniature pots. Furthermore, when considering the total weights calculated for each excavation area, it is easy to believe that many miniature vessels could easily be transported. The typical weight for a Tegean kotyle (with a rim diameter of 3 cm or less) is one gram. The total weight for all miniatures recovered in the cella excavations amounts to 326 grams, or 0.71 pounds. The material from the pronaos excavations, although smaller in quantity than the pots found in the cella, weighs a little more, as a result of the material used to construct the vessels: 679 grams or about 1 1/2 pounds (1.49 pounds). The miniatures from the 'Northern Sector', the largest quantity, reach still less weight: 564 grams, about 1 3/4 pounds (1.243 pounds). The total weight for all miniatures from the site amounts to 1,569 grams or 3.45 kilograms, about 3.45 pounds. These quantifications clearly show that hundreds of miniature vessels could be transported with little effort. Their insignificant weight and compact size make shipping these vessels rather convenient. Compare Rice 1987, 452: "Miniaturization...a particular advantage that both allows the artisan to transport more of the items to the selling area and lets the tourist buyer (or art dealer) fit more of them into a suitcase."
Less variety in the colors of fabrics is noted as well. The lighter colored clays continued to be used, such as pale yellow and very pale brown, even more so than they had been in Phase II.49 In addition, decorative elements found among the miniature of Phase III have been reduced to concentrate, with one exception, on the painted type, consisting entirely of linear patterns on kotylai and some kraters, or monochrome color on most other shapes. The increased use of monochrome painting may reflect the style of the time, the place from which those vessels originally came, or the quickness with which potters wished to produce these little vessels. The artisans have refined their craft of miniature vessel production, making fewer shapes and using fewer fabrics and decorative motifs, and thus quickening their processes.50 This, in turn, must reflect the need or demand for the vessels themselves, perhaps resulting in mass production.

These three phases of miniature vessel production are rather enlightening. Phase I focused on handmade, coarse, and semi-coarse shapes, without parallels among the ‘normally’ sized ceramics. Phase II initiates changes involving all characteristics of the miniatures – shapes, wares, fabrics, and decoration. For the first time these miniature vessels can actually be considered, in some cases, to be miniature versions of the ‘normal’ shapes. While shallow bowls are a hallmark shape of Phase II, the continued appearance of the kotyle, which links Phase II to Phase III, suggests a degree of continuous activity at the site that cannot be documented between Phase I and Phase II. This probably has some connection with the fact that the archaic and classical temples for Athena Alea are related to these two latter phases.

Phase III can be characterized as the almost exact opposite of Phase I. While the potters of Phase I focused on the production of semi-coarse and coarse, handmade, virtually undecorated wares, those from Phase III use the wheel and

49. Yellow as fabric color is also important during Phase III. Although it first appeared in Phase II, advantage is taken of it during this period. Likewise, pale yellow and very pale brown become more important, eclipsing reddish yellow in popularity, although the latter is still used. While very pale brown fabrics were popular in Phase II, only one example was recorded in Phase I.

50. Although reduced quality is typically associated with increased quantity and quicker production, such inferior quality is not obvious among the miniatures of the final phase at Tegea. The extent to which this ‘refinement’ has progressed to mass production may suggest that miniatures have indeed at this point become mere tokens and cheap votives to be deposited at cultic sites. This may be the explanation for the kotylai at Tegea; however, the numbers of one specific shape or another uncovered thus far at Tegea are comparable, but not as extensive as some of the massive quantities of certain shapes found at sites such as those in Laconia, the Argolid and the Corinthia. Whether this implies that miniatures at Tegea were used for specific cultic activities or ceremonies rather than as passing tokens or substitutes, or perhaps rather that miniatures were a less popular votive at the site, is a question that cannot be answered at present.
produced almost exclusively painted, fine wares, 89% of their production. Imports are also a key characteristic of this final phase. Analysis of the Tegean material clearly shows that stereotypes regarding miniatures are not always true. It is now possible to question the entire concept of miniature vessels as cheap substitutes for normally sized pots. Although it has been shown that this may be true in some cases, it is not applicable at all times. These are the humble beginnings of miniature vessel research in Arcadia. As additional sites are excavated, surveyed and explored, the opportunity to expand our knowledge about miniature vessels, not only in Arcadia or in the Peloponnese, but all over Greece, the whole of the Mediterranean, and perhaps beyond, is bound to increase. I encourage all of you, in whatever project you work, be it in Arcadia or not; take a second look at your small, unassuming vessels, you might be surprised at the stories they have to tell.

Leslie Hammond
The Appleton Museum of Art
4333 NE Silver Springs Blvd
Ocala FL 34470
USA
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Fig. 1. Miniature pottery from Tegea, Phase I: primary shapes. (Drawing: author.)
Fig. 2. Miniature pottery from Tegea, Phase II: primary shapes. (Drawing: author.)
Fig. 3. Miniature pottery from Tegea: profile drawings of shallow bowls from Phase II. (Drawing: author.)
Fig. 4. Miniature pottery from Tegea: profile drawings of kotylai and kraters from Phase II. (Drawing: author.)
Fig. 5. Miniature pottery from Tegea, Phase III: primary shapes. (Drawing: author.)