



Does Size Matter? Miniature Pottery Vessels in Minoan Peak Sanctuaries

Author(s): Iphiyenia Tournavitou

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 42, Essays on Ritual and Cult in Crete in Honor of Geraldine C. Gesell (2009), pp. 213-230

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](http://www.jstor.org/stable/27759943)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27759943>

Accessed: 14/11/2014 08:54

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



The American School of Classical Studies at Athens is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Hesperia Supplements*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

DOES SIZE MATTER? MINIATURE POTTERY VESSELS IN MINOAN PEAK SANCTUARIES

by *Iphiyenia Tournavitou*

In the Bronze Aegean, miniatures as a class encompass a wide range of votive objects including, apart from pottery, other types of artifacts such as offering tables, altars, lamps, double axes, human and animal figurines, and human limbs, all of which seem to have had specific roles in ritual practices at cult sites.¹ The role of miniature pottery vessels in ritual contexts in general is usually taken for granted and therefore their role in specific cult sites, such as Minoan peak sanctuaries, has been mostly left out of the, albeit general, discussions on peak sanctuaries.

The term “miniature” in the archaeological jargon is often considered self-explanatory, and has therefore been loosely applied to both small and minuscule versions of normal-sized artifacts. The difficulties associated with laying out strict specifications for the definition of ceramic “miniatures” are related to the inherent relativity of the criteria applied both to optimal dimensions, i.e., the degree of the miniaturization,² and to the degree of variation as regards technical aspects, i.e., whether the miniature pottery is handmade or wheelmade, local or imported. Miniature versions of ceramic vessel forms will therefore be defined here in more general terms as any vessels of which the size and, occasionally, the form dictate a primarily nonutilitarian function. The term “utilitarian” in this context implies the fullest possible exploitation of the functional potential or properties of the corresponding nonminiature forms.³

Assuming that the basics of function and form, both primary and modified, have been more or less established by research and common sense,⁴ we will concentrate on the potential use, the importance, and the

1. The term “ritual,” whether religious or secular, will be used here with reference to artifacts and practices relating more to symbolic values than to practical utility (Whitehouse 1996, p. 11).

2. Knappett, forthcoming.

3. It is by no means suggested here that the miniaturization process necessarily renders a vessel totally nonfunctional. The emphasis in this definition lies rather in the comparative evalua-

tion of the exploitability of the two ceramic classes, always using the regular-sized version as the ultimate reference point. The most significant factor in this equation is the relation between the miniature and the canonical. I fully agree with Knappett (forthcoming) in his claim that miniaturization implicitly emphasizes form over function (miniaturization as a distillation process minimizing functionality and increasing the intensity of form).

The possibility that miniatures were used as toys, i.e., that they were in fact utilitarian objects, is in this sense irrelevant, because it only illustrates an alternative, parallel use that does not cancel the original definition—even as toys, they were not fulfilling their original potential. For the connection between children's toys and ritual practices, see n. 69.

4. Rice 1987, pp. 207–243; Tournavitou 1992.

symbolic value of miniature pottery vessels in a specific type of cult context, the Minoan peak sanctuaries, with special reference to the peak sanctuary of Ayios Yeoryios sto Vouno, on Kythera.⁵

THE PEAK SANCTUARY AT AYIOS YEORYIOS STO VOUNO

The site of Ayios Yeoryios sto Vouno,⁶ located on the top of a mountain ca. 4 km north of the Minoan settlement of Kastri,⁷ is the only Aegean peak sanctuary excavated outside of Crete.⁸ The absence of Bronze Age architectural remains, as well as evidence for a chasm, after three successive seasons of excavation (1992–1994) could be partly attributed to post-Minoan activities in the area, especially during and after the Byzantine period. The well-known topographical conditions prevailing in the vast majority of peak sanctuary sites, along with intensive post-abandonment disturbance of the area, have contributed considerably to the fragmentary state of the finds and to the disturbed state of a significant percentage of the original strata, many of which tumbled or were thrown down the hill in stages. Evidence of Minoan cult activities at the sanctuary, mostly connected with Primary Deposition Locations (PDLs),⁹ was attested on seven successive terraces, five of which are located on the southern slope facing the Minoan settlement, below the more or less flat area at the top.¹⁰

Portable finds from the sanctuary were abundant, and although they seem to conform to the general specifications applicable to those of the main body of Cretan peak sanctuaries,¹¹ they do include a number of deviations from the norm, which emphasize not only the significance of the site itself, possibly related to the local economy and the strategic position of the island, but also the idiosyncratic character of peak sanctuary cults in general. The unusually high number of bronze finds in the Kythera peak sanctuary, for example, and their uncommon preponderance over clay votive offerings, seems to openly contradict the data obtained from the main corpus of finds in Cretan peak sanctuaries.¹²

The ceramic material from the sanctuary at Ayios Yeoryios sto Vouno, which is perhaps somewhat less unorthodox than the corpus of non-ceramic finds, helps us to trace the history of the site, from the modest

5. I would like to thank J. Sakellarakis, the director of the Ayios Yeoryios sto Vouno excavations, for granting me permission to study and publish the entire Bronze Age ceramic material from the Minoan peak sanctuary.

6. Sakellarakis 1996; Tournavitou 2000, 2006; Bevan 2002.

7. Sakellarakis 1996, fig. 1. For the Minoan colony at Kastri, see Coldstream and Huxley 1972, 1984; Coldstream 1978.

8. A map of the site and details about the estimated size of the peak sanctuary and the percentage of the

excavated area will be supplied by J. Sakellarakis in the forthcoming publication of Ayios Yeoryios sto Vouno.

9. Twenty-seven different primary deposition locations were identified all over the site, the vast majority (13 of 27, or 48%) in terrace 7, the lowest excavated terrace of the south slope. The numbering of the terraces begins from the top of the hill, where terraces 1 and 2 are located. Evidence for pyres and burnt material from pyres is extremely limited (see below).

10. Terraces 3 to 7.

11. Stone ladles (one inscribed with Linear A), miniature libation tables in stone and clay, part of a stone lamp, clay anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, human limbs, objects/plaques with plastic decoration, bronze anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines (including a scorpion) and cutouts, bronze human limbs, bronze votive weapons, jewelry, and other items, including a pair of miniature clay horns of consecration, and a bronze votive double axe (Sakellarakis 1996, pp. 83–86).

12. Sakellarakis 1996, p. 88.

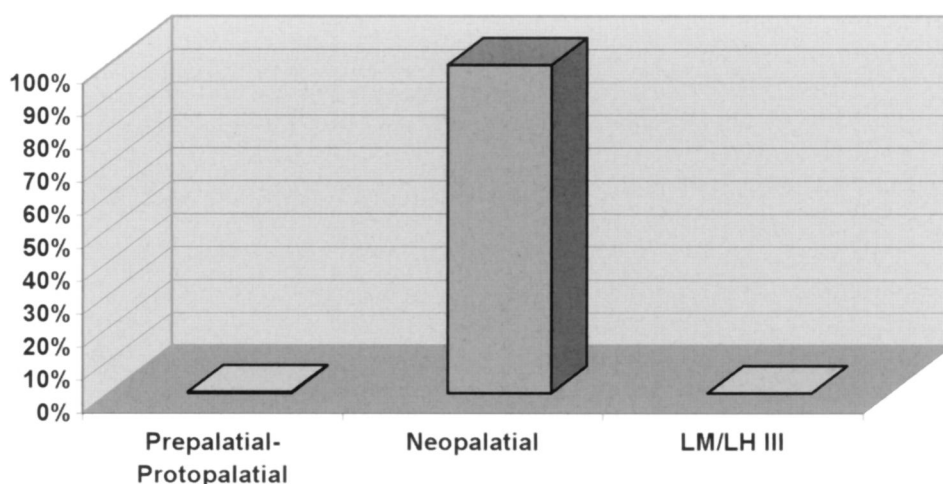


Figure 18.1. Ceramic corpus, Ayios Yeoryios sto Vouno. I. Tournavitou

early remains dating to the Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods (Middle Minoan [MM] IA–MM II), through its peak in the Neopalatial era (MM IIIB–Late Minoan [LM] I), until its abandonment at the end of this period (LM IB). The vast majority of the ceramic material, 99.5% of a total of 196,010 items, is fragmentary; the complete vases, an otherwise sizable group of 994 specimens, constitute a mere 0.5% of the total.¹³ The Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods are represented by an extremely low number of specimens (620 out of 196,010, or 0.31% of the total), while the vast majority of the material (195,372 out of 196,010, or 99.67%) belongs to the Neopalatial era (MM IIIB–LM IB) (Fig. 18.1).¹⁴

MINIATURE POTTERY AT AYIOS YEORYIOS STO VOUNO

The total number of truly miniature specimens recorded in the sanctuary, both intact and fragmentary, represents a mere 0.77% of the extant ceramic material, an apparently insignificant quantity in terms of relative numbers.¹⁵ This low percentage definitely makes a statement concerning the overall frequency of use of miniature vessels in the peak sanctuary ritual.¹⁶ The vast majority of the material belongs to the Neopalatial period

13. The vast majority of the complete specimens, i.e., 90.84% of the total, belongs to handleless conical cups, followed by dishes/trays, miniature juglets, and isolated cases of bird's-nest bowls, miniature rhyta, semiglobular cups, and braziers.

14. A further 18 specimens belong to the LM/Late Helladic (LH) IIIA–B period.

15. 1,511 out of 196,010 examples. Of these, 1,484 examples belong to recognizable vessel types; the remaining 27 sherds derive from indeterminate open and closed shapes.

16. Frequency of occurrence or de-

position reflects the degree of popularity, and to a certain extent the frequency of use of a vessel form, a significant pointer to its indispensability or importance in cult (see interpretations of statistical data offered below). At the same time, it is implicitly related to the intrinsic character of the specimens involved, i.e., their use as cult equipment or votives. The inherent uncertainty that plagues all assessments of pottery assemblages in ritual contexts—the distinction between their use as ritual equipment or as simple votives (Whitehouse 1996, p. 22)—is even more pertinent in the case of the

specific site. Various adverse circumstances, such as primary and secondary exposure to the elements and secondary displacement or breakage, render the detection of use wear almost impossible. Moreover, even though the better-preserved specimens do not exhibit any signs of repeated use, this does not preclude their role as cult equipment employed on a single occasion. The final interpretation of the original function of the individual specimens, however tentative, will have to rely more on their form (form defines function) and on their context (deposition location) than on the presence of use wear.

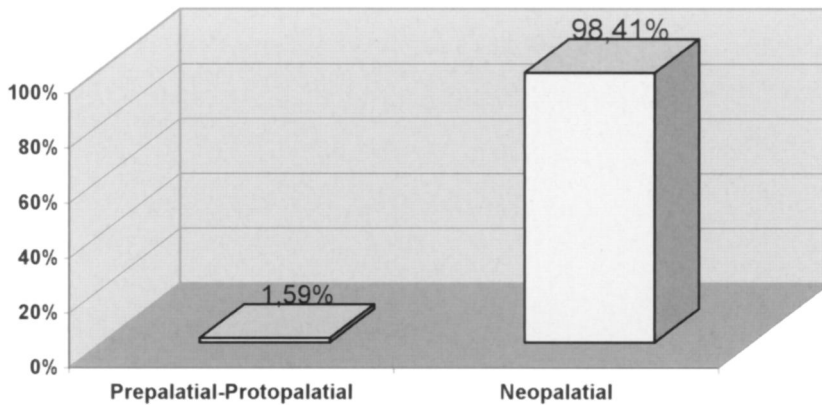


Figure 18.2. Miniature corpus, Ayios Yeoryios sto Vouno. I. Tournavitou

(MM IIIB–LM I), the Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods being represented by a mere 1.59% of the total (Fig. 18.2).¹⁷ The dimensions of the miniature versions in the sanctuary vary considerably according to shape,¹⁸ and the vast majority are local wheelmade products.¹⁹

The miniature specimens comprise 23 different vessel types (Table 18.1), i.e., no less than 85.18% of the 27 extant Minoan shapes in the sanctuary. This statistic demonstrates that, irrespective of numbers, almost the entire range of extant vessel types at the sanctuary was deliberately produced or reproduced in miniature form.²⁰

The most popular specimens in the miniature corpus are first and foremost the miniature juglets (67.57%) (Fig. 18.3:a), followed by the handleless conical cups (19.25%) (Fig. 18.3:b). Two rather unexpected, but under the circumstances highly appropriate, vessel types, the rhyta and cup-rhyta, together occupy the third place with an unremarkable percentage (3.83%) (Fig. 18.3:c, d). The only other vessel types with what could be described as a respectable frequency of just above or just below 1% are jugs/amphoras (1.65%), semiglobular cups (1.58%) (Fig. 18.3:e), and bridge-spouted jars (0.99%) (Fig. 18.3:f). Although the remaining 16 specimens constitute the vast majority of the extant vessel types, they are attested in remarkably low quantities (see Table 18.1).

It is quite remarkable that only two of the extant vessel types in the miniature corpus, the juglets and the miniature bird's-nest bowls, were produced exclusively in miniature form,²¹ while the miniature versions in three of the remaining vessel types, the cup-rhyta (85.71%), the regular rhyta (83.63%), and the multiple vessels (75%), constitute the vast majority

17. Miniatures account for 24 out of 1,511 Prepalatial and Protopalatial specimens, a slightly higher percentage than that recorded for the overall corpus. They include carinated cups (three examples), vessels with plastic decoration (one example), handleless conical cups (19 out of 66, or 28.78% of the total MM II intact miniature specimens), and straight-sided cups (one out of three extant miniature versions).

18. Judging by the complete speci-

mens, their height does not exceed 10 cm (rhyton: 9.8 cm; semiglobular cups: 3.5 cm; braziers: 2.1 cm; juglets: 6.2–8.7 cm; handleless conical cups: 2.0–3.7 cm).

19. Only two or possibly three fragmentary rhyta of the miniature class could be described as imports (K815, K836, K849), and only one other specimen (a bird's-nest bowl K1031) as handmade.

20. The four vessel types not pro-

duced in miniature form are pithoi, kalathoi, fruitstands, and other stands. Despite the wide range of vessel shapes represented, it should be pointed out that the vast majority of the miniatures belong to only a handful of shapes (see below).

21. This despite the fact that both shapes have larger reference versions, either here (jugs) or in the general Minoan corpus.

TABLE 18.1. FREQUENCY OF SHAPES IN THE MINIATURE CORPUS, AYIOS YEORYIOS STO VOUNO

<i>Shapes</i>	<i>Number of Items</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Juglets	1,021	67.57
Handleless conical cups	291	19.25
Rhyta	46	3.04
Jugs/amphoras	25	1.65
Semiglobular cups	24	1.58
Bridge-spouted jars	15	0.99
Cup-rhyta	12	0.79
Pithoid vessels	9	0.59
Braziers	5	0.33
Footed semiglobular cups	4	0.26
Miniature tripod vessels	4	0.26
Basins	3	0.19
Carinated cups	3	0.19
Straight-sided cups	3	0.19
Lids	3	0.19
Multiple vessels	3	0.19
Tripod cooking pots	3	0.19
Dishes/trays	3	0.19
Bowls	2	0.13
Bird's-nest bowls	2	0.13
Pithoid jars	1	0.06
Vessels with plastic decoration	1	0.06
Vessels with perforations	1	0.06
Miscellaneous sherds	27	1.78
Total	1,511	100.00

in their respective shape categories, exceeding 70% of the extant specimens produced (Fig. 18.4). The significance of these statistics relates not only to the ultimate function of the particular specimens, in this case mostly libation equipment, but could also be directly linked to the preference of miniature forms for the performance of specific ritual practices at Ayios Yeoryios sto Vouno.²²

Two further classes of miniature pottery, the tripod vessels and the footed semiglobular cups, constitute an impressive 50%–60% of their respective shape populations (see Fig. 18.4). Here again, the scale tips toward a deliberate choice in favor of the symbolic with regard to intrinsic votive practices and possibly ritual offerings. Finally, the remaining miniature vessel types, constituting the majority of the ceramic corpus, fall into two groups of identical size, in both of which the miniature versions constitute a small minority in their respective shape populations (see Fig. 18.4).²³ It seems that the preferred choice for the specific ritual practices implied by extant vessel types is reversed in this case, the scale weighing in favor of the nonminiature versions.

The ritual activities implied by this corpus, in descending order of popularity, involve the pouring and/or dedication of liquid substances (juglets, jugs/amphoras, bridge-spouted jars), independently or in conjunction

22. For example, the pouring of libations with specialized equipment (see final section on rhyta and cup-rhyta).

23. In the first group (semiglobular cups, bowls, basins, vessels with perforations, lids, jugs/amphoras, braziers, carinated cups), the miniature vessels constitute 10%–22% of the total, while in the second group (bridge-spouted jars, pithoid jars, pithoid vessels, dishes/trays, vessels with plastic decoration, handleless conical cups, straight-sided cups, tripod cooking pots) they constitute only 0.02%–7.35% of their respective shape populations.



Figure 18.3. Selection of most common miniature shapes at Ayios Yeoryios sto Vouno: (a) juglet (K885); (b) handleless conical cup (K45); (c) rhyton (K803); (d) cup-rhyton (K859); (e) semiglobular cup (K258); (f) bridge-spouted jar (K706). Scale: 1:1. Drawing V. Zefki

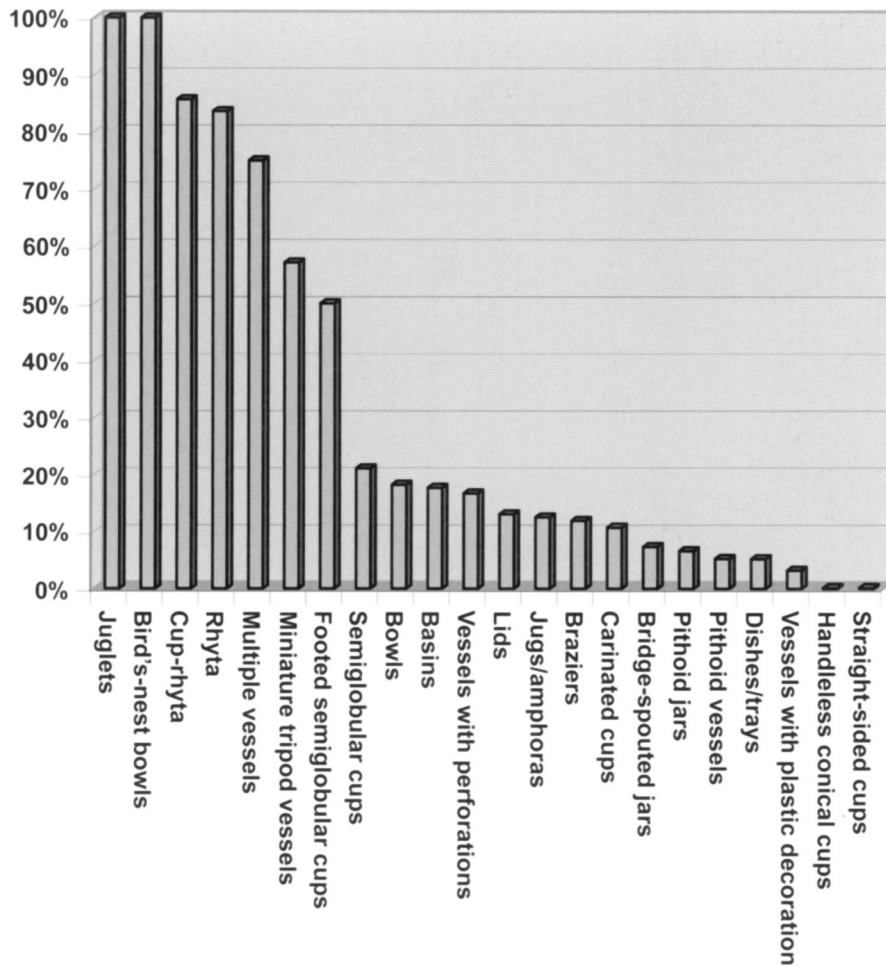


Figure 18.4. Percentage of vessel shapes that are miniatures at Ayios Yeoryios sto Vouno. I. Tournavitou

with at least two different types of drinking vessel (handleless conical and semiglobular cups). The last two vessel types could also have been used as simple votives or even as containers for symbolic dedications of offerings, edible or not. More specialized libational activities, as implied by the rhyta and the cup-rhyta, presumably occurring in conjunction with the two previous categories of vessels (pouring vessels and/or cups), rank third. The remaining vessel types should perhaps be considered as auxiliary to the previously mentioned activities, with the exception of braziers and vessels with perforations, which may represent different and exceptional practices.

A simple comparison of the miniature class with the respective set of data from the entire corpus of ceramic material from the sanctuary attests to significant differences in the use and, perhaps to a certain extent, in the function of the two groups of material. The overall corpus of vessel shapes (Table 18.2) is dominated by the handleless conical cup, represented by an overwhelming 90.75%, while the second place is occupied by the tripod cooking pots (7.16%), which represent an insignificant category of vessels in the miniature corpus (0.19%). In addition, the remaining 25 vessel types comprise a meager 2.09% of the assemblage, none of them exceeding 0.94% of the total. On the whole, the identity and relative popularity of the chief categories in the ceramic material appears to

TABLE 18.2. FREQUENCY OF SHAPES IN THE OVERALL POTTERY CORPUS, AYIOS YEORYIOS STO VOUNO

<i>Shapes</i>	<i>Number of Items</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Handleless conical cups	165,217	90.75
Tripod cooking pots	13,034	7.16
Straight-sided cups	1,711	0.94
Juglets	1,021	0.56
Bridge-spouted jars	204	0.112
Jugs/amphoras	200	0.110
Pithoid vessels	170	0.093
Semiglobular cups	114	0.063
Rhyta/cup-rhyta	69	0.038
Dishes/trays	57	0.031
Pithoi	46	0.025
Braziers	42	0.023
Vessels with plastic decoration	31	0.017
Carinated cups	28	0.015
Lids	24	0.013
Basins	17	0.009
Pithoid jars	15	0.008
Kalathoi	13	0.007
Bowls	11	0.006
Footed semiglobular cups	8	0.004
Miniature tripod vessels	7	0.004
Vessels with perforations	6	0.003
Fruitstands	5	0.003
Total	182,050	100.00

conflict, to a greater or lesser extent, with the data from the miniature corpus (see Tables 18.1, 18.2).²⁴ Clearly, the overall distribution of types has only superficial affinities to the miniature class, and exhibits a totally different logic, which intimates completely different priorities.

STRATIGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MINIATURE VESSELS

The study of contexts at Ayios Yeoryios sto Vouno involves the stratigraphical distribution of the extant vessel types in relation to the Primary Deposition Locations (PDLs) and in association with layers preserving traces of pyres or material derived from pyres. PDLs are fortunately well attested at the sanctuary, but evidence for pyres is much scantier and on occasion elusive, to say the least.²⁵

24. The juglets, the semiglobular cups, and even more so the rhyta and the cup-rhyta are obviously demoted in the grand scheme of things in this set of data.

25. The identification of the 27

PDLs was made on the basis of a combination of factors, such as the position of a deposit on the bedrock—especially in areas where the rock formation constituted a suitable depositional locus (niches, hollows, or fissures)—and the

overall synthesis of the deposit, i.e., the presence of intact vases and other associated votive objects, as well as the absence or a very low percentage of post-Minoan elements. Material not recorded in these locations or deposits

An analytical survey of the find contexts has revealed that a considerable majority (66.18%) of the extant miniature vessels at the site was attested in PDLs,²⁶ in direct contrast to the overall corpus of material, in which only 11.52% of the total finds occurred in PDLs.²⁷ This fact suggests that although the absolute numbers of miniature vessels in the sanctuary were quite meager compared to the grand total of the extant material, the actual use of these miniatures was definitely specialized and more focused on symbolic dedication and/or ritual use in areas of primary deposition of material. Their corresponding significance in cult activities may thus be inferred.

The vast majority of the miniature specimens (717 of 1,000 specimens, or 71.70%) were recorded at a single terrace, terrace 7, the lowest excavated area and perhaps one of the most important locations in regards to ritual practices, as it had the greatest number of PDLs (Table 18.3). The remaining specimens were almost equally divided among three other areas, terrace 5 (9.80%), terrace 2 (8.80%), conveniently located at the top of the hill, and terrace 3 (7.40%).²⁸

Of the 1,000 specimens in PDLs, only 8.6% were recorded in layers associated with pyres or associated material; these were all situated on terrace 2, at the top of the hill. On terrace 7, the terrace with the greatest concentration of PDLs, there were no traces of pyres or even material from pyres.²⁹ On the whole, the total amount of miniature material attested in layers associated with pyres or transported material from pyres, in primary deposition locations and other contexts, barely exceeds 7%, a fact that suggests that throwing miniatures—or nonminiatures for that matter—into pyres was not a popular ritual practice at the peak sanctuary of Ayios Yeoryios sto Vouno.³⁰

was not considered *in situ*, but rather the result of successive displacements and landslides, often due to post-Minoan disturbance.

The archaeological evidence for the existence of pyres or material from pyres at the sanctuary is extraordinarily poor. Only one instance of a possible pyre can be securely assigned to the Bronze Age. It was found on terrace 2, in the south part of the area between the two churches, located at the top of the hill, with minimal disturbance and traces of burning in patches. Even in this case though, none of the associated material (pottery, bronze idols, a bronze tool, clay objects) preserved traces of burning, and no animal bones or seashells were recorded.

The content of the pottery assemblage, which was Neopalatial in date, is nevertheless very pertinent to the miniature corpus, as it includes juglets, two miniature rhyta, and small or miniature cups. The significance of the

ceramic material in layers with remains of material from pyres, however, is not really representative of activities in the Minoan period, mostly due to the very disturbed state of the layers involved, many of which were surface layers. Only four out of the 18 extant layers with traces of pyres or material thereof can be associated with PDLs. That and the scarcity or near absence of clear evidence for activities involving the use of fire in Minoan times rather devalues the connection between ritual pyres and PDLs or even with regular cult activities at the site.

26. The miniatures in PDLs number 1,000 of a total of 1,511 examples, or 985 of 1,484 (66.37%) of the recognizable vessel types (minus the sherds of indeterminate shape).

27. Overall, 22,595 specimens out of 196,010 occurred in PDLs; these amount to 12.41% of the 182,059 vessels of recognizable types.

28. The recorded percentages in

two of the other terraces, terrace 4 and terrace 6, are by comparison truly insignificant (terrace 4: 1.8%, terrace 6: 0.5%). The miniatures, both intact and fragmentary, represent a truly minuscule percentage of the ceramic material in the above locations.

29. Of the remaining specimens, i.e., those not attested in PDLs, only 4.69% of the total (24 of 511 specimens), were recorded in layers associated with pyres or material thereof. Fourteen of 24 specimens, or 58.33%, were recorded in layers associated with material from pyres, while 10 of 24 specimens, or 41.66% of the material, were recorded in the single, purely Minoan layer with concrete traces of a pyre (terrace 2, layer 2; see n. 25).

30. Only 110 of 1,511 (7.27%) miniatures were found in such layers; of these, 86 specimens come from primary deposition locations and 24 from other layers.

TABLE 18.3. CONTEXTUAL DISTRIBUTION OF MINIATURES IN PDLs AT AYIOS YEORYIOS STO VOUNO

<i>Terraces</i> <i>Shapes</i>	2 I	2 II	2 III	2 IV	2 V	2 VI	3	4	5 I	5 II	5 III	5 IV	5 V	6	7 I	7 II	7 III	7 IV	7 V	7 VI	7 VII	7 VIII	7 IX	<i>Totals</i> <i>per Shape</i>
Handleless conical cups		2			4		8				4	2	2		128	2				6	3		2	17.3% (173/1,000)
Straight-sided cups					1		2														1			0.3% (3/1,000)
Semiglobular cups	1						5						1		6			1						1.5% (15/1,000)
Footed semiglobular cups															2									0.2% (2/1,000)
Carinated cups	1			1													1							0.2% (2/1,000)
Bowls					1		1								1									0.2% (2/1,000)
Basins				1													1							0.2% (2/1,000)
Dishes/trays				1														1						0.3% (3/1,000)
Tripod cooking pots																		2	1					69.6% (696/1,000)
Juglets	1	3		46	15	39	12		2	56	1	5	282	7	97	10	11	75	11			23		0.3% (3/1,000)
Multiple vessels										1					2									2.0% (20/1,000)
Jugs/amphoras		1				1	3	3		4					6	1	1							0.9% (9/1,000)
Bridge-spouted jars							5	1		2					1									0.6% (6/1,000)
Pithoid vessels						1				1		1			2						1			
Pithoid jars																								
Rhyta				1	1	4					7	3	6						2	1				2.5% (25/1,000)
Cup-rhyta						1	2				2	1					1	1	1	1				1.0% (10/1,000)
Braziers				1				1					1									1		0.4% (4/1,000)
Lids												1								1				0.2% (2/1,000)
Miniature tripod vessels		1		1	1																			0.3% (3/1,000)
Miniature bowls							1																	0.1% (1/1,000)
Vessels with plastic decoration				1																				0.1% (1/1,000)
Vessels with perforations										1														0.1% (1/1,000)
Sherds						5				3	1	1			1		1				2	1		1.5% (15/1,000)
Total:	2	8		58	20	74	18		3	80	6	9	5	437	10	102	21	16	84	20			27	

The Roman numerals appearing with the terrace numbers refer to the individual layers/deposits as they appear in the final excavation report (Terrace 2.I: area between the churches, layer 4; 2.II: MM deposit; 2.III: LM deposit; 2.IV: Minoan deposit; 2.V: MM-LM I deposit; 2.VI: east sector, Minoan deposit. Terrace 5.I: trench 1, layer 3; 5.II: trench 1, layer 4; 5.III: trench 2, layer 1; 5.IV: trench 4, layer 1; 5.V: trench 4, layer 2. Terrace 7.I: grid 1, layer 2, niche, south of niche, south sector, east/southeast sector, west/southwest sector; 7.II: grid 1, layer 3; 7.III: grid 2, layer 2; 7.IV: grid 3, layer 2; 7.V: grid 3, layer 3; 7.VI: grid 4, layer 2; 7.VII: grid 5, layer 1; 7.VIII: grid 5, layer 2; 7.IX: grid 5, layer 3).

Lastly, the number of extant miniature specimens preserving visible traces of burning are extremely few (9 out of 1,511, or 0.59%).³¹ Four vessel types (juglets, handleless conical cups, dishes or trays, and bird's-nest bowls) are represented.³² These were recorded in two different PDLs,³³ only one of which contained even a few charcoal fragments.³⁴ This suggests that the vessels were probably deposited there after they had come into contact with fire at some other location in the sanctuary.³⁵

The overall picture of the miniature corpus attested in PDLs (see Table 18.3) is, perhaps not surprisingly, remarkably similar to the general picture of the miniature vessel type frequency tables for the whole sanctuary (see Table 18.1), and implies similar priorities of ritual use.³⁶ The miniature juglets³⁷ and the handleless conical cups³⁸ constitute the vast majority of the miniature specimens in PDLs (869 of 1,000 finds, or 86.9%) (Table 18.3). This probably illustrates the popularity of pouring for symbolic drinking/offering ceremonies and/or libations. The 21 remaining miniature vessel types make up a mere 13.1% of the overall total.

The corresponding data of the entire ceramic corpus from PDLs feature a wider range of shapes, different shape categories, and the presence of two preeminent vessel types: the handleless conical cup and the tripod cooking pot, representing 44.73% and 43.98% of the overall material, respectively (Table 18.4). As in the miniature corpus, these two vessel types constitute a staggering 88.71% of the extant ceramic material, whereas the remaining 25 vessel types constitute only 11.29% of the material. Most shapes, including rhyta, cup-rhyta, and semiglobular cups, represent almost invisible minorities (0.004%–0.57%).

Four out of the 27 extant PDLs (or 14.81%) contain no miniature vessels whatsoever (see Table 18.3). As regards shape frequencies, miniature juglets—in contrast to other vessel types whose frequency varies greatly—represent the only shape attested in almost all PDLs (in 22 of 27, or 81.48%), coming closest to what we might call a standard type (Table 18.3). The next most common vessel type is the handleless conical cup, occurring in 17 out of 27 PDLs (62.96%). It was found in very modest quantities in nearly all PDLs, except on terrace 7, in an area including five PDLs.³⁹ Both its frequency and its population ratio per location contrast with the data from the nonminiature corpus. All of the remaining vessel types occur in fewer than 45% of the extant PDLs, nine of them, rather irregularly, in fewer than 8% of the locations.⁴⁰ In two locations, handleless conical cups, rhyta, and semiglobular cups are not attested at all.⁴¹

31. The frequencies of vessels with traces of burning in the entire ceramic corpus from the sanctuary are even lower: 290 of 196,010 (0.14%). These include juglets (6 of 1,021, or 0.58%), handleless conical cups (10 of 13,191, or 0.006%), dishes/trays (1 of 56, or 1.78%), bird's-nest bowls (1 of 2), braziers (2 of 42, or 4.76%), and tripod cooking pots (270 of 13,034, or 2.07%).

32. Miniature juglets: 6 of 1,021 (0.58%); handleless conical cups: 1 of 291 (0.34%); dishes/trays: 1 of 3; bird's-nest bowls: 1 of 2.

33. Terrace 2, LM I layer; terrace 5, trench 1, layer 2.

34. Terrace 2.

35. The nature of the burning marks on the various specimens suggests that in at least two of the cases (juglets, handleless conical cups), the pottery had been thrown into the fire, whereas in the other two cases it looks as if the vessels had been placed on burning charcoals instead.

36. The only exception is pithoid jars, which do not feature in PDLs.

37. At a more detailed level of analysis, miniature juglets comprise 28 of

29 intact vases (96.55%) and 668 of 1,000 fragmentary items (67.33%).

38. Handleless conical cups comprise 55 of 66 intact miniature vases (83.33%), 18 of 37 intact bases (48.64%), and 100 of 188 fragmentary items (53.19%).

39. Terrace 7, grid 1, layer 2: 128 examples.

40. These are straight-sided cups, carinated cups, bowls, basins, dishes, trays, multiple vessels, lids, vessels with plastic decoration, and vessels with perforations.

41. Terraces 4 and 7.

TABLE 18.4—Continued

	Terraces												Shapes												Totals per Shape											
	2 I	2 II	2 III	2 IV	2 V	2 VI	3	4	5 I	5 II	5 III	5 IV	5 V	6	7 I	7 II	7 III	7 IV	7 V	7 VI	7 VII	7 VIII	7 IX													
Rhyta					1	1	6				7	1	4		7					4	1			0.14% (32/22,595)												
Cup-rhyta						1	2				2	1			1		2	1	1	1				0.05% (12/22,595)												
Braziers		2			3	4	3	6			6	2	2				4				1	1	1	0.15% (35/22,595)												
Lids					2	1	3						1		1					3				0.04% (11/22,595)												
Miniature tripod vessels		1			1	1		1										1		1				0.02% (6/22,595)												
Miniature bowls								1																0.004% (1/22,595)												
Vessels with plastic decoration					3		5	1			1	3	1		3					2	1	1		0.09% (21/22,595)												
Vessels with perforations					1						1													0.008% (2/22,595)												
Stands					1										1									0.008% (2/22,595)												
Fruitstands							2										1				1			0.01% (4/22,595)												

The Roman numerals appearing with the terrace numbers refer to the individual layers/deposits as they appear in the final excavation report (Terrace 2.I: area between the churches, layer 4; 2.II: MIM deposit; 2.III: LJM deposit; 2.IV: Minoan deposit; 2.V: MM–LM I deposit; 2.VI: east sector, Minoan deposit. Terrace 5.I: trench 1, layer 3; 5.II: trench 1, layer 4; 5.III: trench 2, layer 1; 5.IV: trench 4, layer 1; 5.V: trench 4, layer 2. Terrace 7.I: grid 1, layer 2, niche, south of niche, south sector, east/southeast sector, west/southwest sector; 7.II: grid 1, layer 3; 7.III: grid 2, layer 2; 7.IV: grid 3, layer 2; 7.V: grid 3, layer 3; 7.VI: grid 4, layer 2; 7.VII: grid 5, layer 1; 7.VIII: grid 5, layer 2; 7.IX: grid 5, layer 3).

The numbers appearing under each shape category and PDL in this table refer to the number of individual specimens attested. Although this was manageable for the majority of the shape categories, the masses of material associated with a small number of vessel types (handleless conical cups, straight-sided cups, tripod cooking pots, juglets) dictated a deviation from the normal presentation strategy. Therefore, the freestanding numbers in the category of the handleless conical cups represent the intact vessels, while those in parentheses represent the number of intact bases. The freestanding numbers in the category of the juglets also represent the intact vessels, while the numbers in parentheses represent the number of fragmentary specimens attested. Finally, X, multiplied accordingly, is used in exceptionally large shape categories, such as the handleless conical cups, the straight-sided cups, and the tripod cooking pots, to indicate the masses of fragmentary material attested in each location. For handleless conical cups, X = up to 3,000 sherds; XX = 3,000–5,000 sherds; XXX = more than 5,000 sherds. For tripod cooking pots, X = up to 500 sherds; XX = 500–1,000 sherds; XXX = more than 1,000 sherds. For straight-sided cups, X = up to 100 sherds; XX = 100–500 sherds; XXX = more than 500 sherds.

Intact vases: 81.06% (732/903); complete bases: 73.12% (642/878).

The relevant data from the overall corpus of vessel types, as observed on most occasions, reflects different functional priorities, with different vessel types in different quantities and in different locations (see Table 18.4). The standard shapes, occurring in all PDLs, include three vessel types: handleless conical cups, tripod cooking pots, and straight-sided cups; the last two types are almost nonexistent in the miniature class. The juglets are in second place, occurring in 22 out of 27 PDLs (or 81.48%), just ahead of bridge-spouted jars, found in 19 out of 27 PDLs (or 70.37%).⁴²

As regards combinations of associated miniatures (Table 18.3), only a few PDLs (8 out of 27, or 29.62%) contain a notable variety of miniature vessel types (between 9 and 11). The rest (19 out of 27, or 70.37%) include combinations of seven different vessel types or fewer, the majority (10 out of 19, or 52.63%) include between 4 and 6 vessel types each.

The 8 PDLs with the greatest variety of vessel types, containing a total of 9 to 11 different forms, always include miniature juglets, handleless conical cups, and rhyta, whereas jugs/amphoras and bridge-spouted jars occur in 7 out of the 8 locations (Table 18.3). These basic shapes coexist with multiple vessels, semiglobular cups and basins as well as cup-rhyta (in 6 out of 8 locations); pithoid vessels and footed semiglobular cups (in 5 out of 8 locations); straight-sided cups (2 out of 8 locations); the remaining vessel types are not attested in more than one location.⁴³

In the 11 PDLs containing only basic combinations of one to five different vessel types, the only standard form is the juglet, followed by handleless conical cups (in 7 out of 11 locations), cup-rhyta (in 4 out of 11 locations), and the jugs/amphoras (in 3 out of 11 locations). When the juglet is accompanied by two or three other miniatures, they consist of open drinking vessels (handleless conical cups, semiglobular cups) and a closed vessel (jug/amphora, pithoid vessel). All the remaining combinations are elaborations of this pattern (Table 18.3).

In contrast to the data from the miniature class, the majority of the PDLs in the overall corpus (17 out of 27, or 62.96%) yielded combinations of 10 to 21 different vessel types (Table 18.4).⁴⁴ In PDLs with 3 to 5 different vessel types, the three standard shapes (handleless conical cups, tripod cooking pots, and straight-sided cups) are accompanied by juglets and isolated cases of braziers and kalathoi. In PDLs with an intermediate number of types, the three standard forms are attested alongside semiglobular cups, rhyta, bridge-spouted jars, vessels with plastic decoration, and isolated occurrences of cup-rhyta, jugs/amphoras, dishes/trays, and pithoi. Finally, in the PDLs with the largest variety of vessel types, the standard trio of drinking cups, tripod cooking pots, and miniature juglets seems to have been associated with a greater number of storage or pouring vessels⁴⁵ and specialized libational⁴⁶ or dedicatory specimens.⁴⁷

42. Other significant groups include the semiglobular cups (occurring in 66.66% of the PDLs); jugs/amphoras (in 59.25% of the PDLs); pithoid vessels (in 55.55% of the PDLs); and pithoi (in 51.85% of the PDLs). The remaining vessel types occur in less than 45% of the PDLs (Table 18.4).

43. The largest concentration of miniature vessels, a total of 437 miniatures, comprising 43.70% of the total miniatures in PDLs, was encountered in a single area of terrace 7 (grid 1, layer 2), which includes five different PDLs.

44. The higher range, including more than 11 vessel types, is not really

paralleled in the miniature class.

45. Jugs/amphoras, bridge-spouted jars, pithoid vessels, and pithoi.

46. Braziers, rhyta, and cup-rhyta.

47. Multiple vessels, miniature tripod vessels, and vessels with plastic decoration.

CONCLUSIONS

The analytical data from the overall corpus of ceramic material in PDLs implies ritual priorities not attested in the miniature corpus. It appears that the most popular and persistent activities in the overall corpus are not pouring and symbolic drinking and/or offering ceremonies, as was the case in the miniature corpus, but ritual drinking and/or symbolic dedication of offerings (cups), the consumption or offering of food (tripod cooking pots)—perhaps in conjunction with accessory vessels (kalathoi, dishes/trays, lids)—and finally pouring and/or symbolic dedication of liquid substances (juglets), in that order.⁴⁸ The presence of rhyta and cup-rhyta only in PDLs with a medium or high number of vessel types is perhaps indicative of the relatively optional role of these ceramic forms in ritual practices more pertinent to the miniature class. The short-term storage/pouring vessels illustrate an as yet unknown parameter of primary depositional practices, perhaps related to drinking and the consumption of food.

The small proportional representation of the miniature class in the overall ceramic material from the sanctuary does not attest to an intensive use of miniatures by the local population of worshipers. The extremely varied repertoire of shapes reproduced in miniature form, on the other hand, even if its vast majority occurs in minuscule quantities, suggests that the practice of making and using miniatures was fairly commonplace but thinly spread across the board, and in most cases was not as specialized or directed as we would perhaps like it to be. The repertoire of Prepalatial and Protopalatial specimens reflects simpler needs/practices at the miniature level, mostly involving symbolic drinking and/or offering, in contrast to the Neopalatial repertoire, which is much more specialized and diversified.

The resulting corpus, reflecting the nature and relative popularity of activities performed with miniature vessels, does in fact fingerprint a number of rituals, such as pouring for symbolic drinking/offering ceremonies and/or for libations, as well as straightforward dedication of vessels. The only miniature vessel type attested often enough and in large enough quantities to justify the title votive, even if its value was probably also based on its contents when full, is the miniature juglet (Fig. 18.3:a).

The miniature handleless conical cups (Fig. 18.3:b), the vessel type second in popularity, appear not to have been as indispensable as one would expect considering the data from the nonminiature corpus. Local preference as regards this otherwise ubiquitous form evidently leaned toward nonminiature versions, i.e., toward actual—as opposed to symbolic—activities, whatever these may have been.⁴⁹ This suggests that either their symbolic, nonutilitarian aspect was undervalued, or that regular handleless

48. The presence of braziers in these contexts, although pertinent to the ritual aspect, cannot be directly connected to burnt material.

49. Massive depositions of handleless conical cups inside buildings or in open-air contexts such as chasms or rock fissures, often in association with burnt layers and food remains, are one

of the commonest features of peak sanctuaries in Crete, especially at Juktas (Karetou 1976, pp. 234, 238; 1977, p. 334; 1980, pp. 223–238, 241, 245–246, 249, 252; 1982, p. 340), but also at Atsipades (Peatfield 1992, pp. 68, 70; Morris and Peatfield 1995, pp. 644–645), Petsophas (Myres 1902–1903, p. 378; Rutkowski 1988, p. 86), Vry-

sinas (Davaras 1974, p. 210), Kophinas, and Spili Voritsi (Rutkowski 1988, pp. 83, 88). Nowhere are miniature specimens mentioned per se, except in the case of the Atsipades sanctuary, where it is clearly stated that no miniature versions were attested (Peatfield 1992, p. 69; Morris and Peatfield 1995, p. 645).

conical cups were considered sufficiently symbolic. The term “disposable mass-produced vessels” does not seem to apply to the miniature version of the form. Although the assumption that miniature handleless conical cups were often used in conjunction with juglets and other miniature vessels is absolutely justified by their archaeological context, the association of both shapes with a much larger number of regular-sized vessels in PDL contexts suggests that this relationship was not exclusive.⁵⁰

Finally, the rhyton class (Fig. 18.3:c, d), although represented by a relatively small number of specimens, constitutes a special case. The rhyta, which in this context belong to a class of specialized and/or ritual equipment,⁵¹ not expected to be used either as votives⁵² or as containers of substances, should for this reason be considered as over-represented.⁵³ A further idiosyncrasy is the unusually high percentage of miniature or small versions in the overall shape population of the rhyton class.⁵⁴ Their overall presence, as well as their occurrence in 44.44% of extant PDLs, indicates a preference for the use of miniatures and therefore for symbolic action in libational activities at the site, presumably in conjunction with juglets and miniature cups.

The minuscule quantities of the remaining miniatures, which constitute the majority of the extant vessel types in the corpus, and include both closed and open vessels, suggest that they probably served in an accessorial capacity to the three main functional classes (juglets, handleless conical cups, rhyta), i.e., that their use was basically optional. It is conceivable that the extant nonminiature specimens in the corresponding categories were considered more pertinent and perhaps more necessary to the specific ritual practices involved.

The statistics from the overall corpus once more confirm the striking differences in the use and/or manipulation of miniature and nonminiature vessels, and that the ritual priorities at the sanctuary were associated with a set of basic activities (ritual drinking, dedication of offerings, and consumption of food) not related to miniatures. The high concentration

50. Clustering of miniatures is nowhere exclusive enough to justify such a conclusion.

51. Although the vast majority of the Bronze Age rhyta were in fact recorded in storage contexts, and despite the relative scarcity of corroborating iconographic evidence, their use as ritual equipment in specific cult contexts is widely accepted (Boyd-Hawes et al. 1908, p. 40a; Bosanquet and Dawkins 1923, p. 22; Warren 1969, pp. 166–167; Koehl 1981; 1990, pp. 350–361; 2000; 2006, pp. 353–361; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, pp. 20–22; Rutkowski 1986, p. 85; Peatfield 1990, pp. 127–128; Sackett 1996, p. 54; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, p. 588. Only Nilsson (1950, pp. 144–146) rejects the religious

significance of human- and animal-shaped rhyta. The analysis of the organic residue in a LH III rhyton from Midea suggests that this particular vessel at least was used in conjunction with wine and beer (Tzedakis and Martlew 1999, p. 171; Betancourt 2001, p. 147).

52. The fact that rhyta as a class, and especially miniature versions of this class, may be over-represented at the peak sanctuary is only a relative statement, and it should not blind us to the fact that they represent a very small percentage of the miniature corpus (3.83%), let alone the overall corpus. Their infrequency, in conjunction with their form, suggests that their role as votives is rather unlikely. Their dimensions do not render them dysfunctional,

especially if used in conjunction with miniature juglets and cups.

53. Rhyta, let alone miniature specimens, seem to be a rarity in peak sanctuaries. Small groups (one to five examples) of normal-sized specimens have been reported from the peak sanctuary at Atsipades (Peatfield 1992, p. 68; Morris and Peatfield 1995, pp. 645–646), Prinias (Rutkowski 1988, p. 87), Kophinas (Rutkowski 1988, p. 83), and Juktas (A. Karetsou, pers. comm.). None of these was apparently miniature. Miniature imitations of Minoan rhyta in a ritual context were only recorded at Avaris, in Egypt, mostly in tombs (Koehl 2000, p. 99).

54. Among the 55 rhyta found, 46 were miniature, 6 were small, and 3 were normal-sized specimens.

of miniature specimens in PDLs, in contrast to the spatial distribution of the overall ceramic corpus, could infer a more specialized use of miniatures in cult activities. Their association with ritual pyres or direct burning is unfortunately as elusive as that established for the entire ceramic material at the sanctuary.

MINIATURE POTTERY IN MINOAN PEAK SANCTUARIES

In the Aegean Bronze Age, miniatures, especially pottery and figurines, are mostly associated with ritual locations, and especially with peak sanctuaries.⁵⁵ Depositions of miniature votive vessels of various types, interpreted as intrinsic elements of the cult, have been reported from a significant number of peak sanctuaries in Crete, mostly in association with rock fissures and primary depositions.⁵⁶ The published specimens, in contrast to the variety encountered at Ayios Yeoryios sto Vouno, include mostly examples of juglets,⁵⁷ and isolated cases of multiple vessels,⁵⁸ cups,⁵⁹ amphoras,⁶⁰ pithoi,⁶¹ and miniature tripod cooking pots.⁶²

The presence of miniatures in ritual contexts constitutes an almost universal and, more importantly, a diachronic votive practice in the Aegean.⁶³ On the level of symbolic values, their use illustrates a deliberate attempt at expressing ideas or gestures as opposed to carrying out practical functions. Miniatures, as a class, have been variously interpreted as toys, as burial offerings, or as ritual objects, depending on context. The ritual aspect is often traced back to the association of miniatures with children and play.⁶⁴

The published views on the meaning of the phenomenon of miniaturization (i.e., of the scaling down of canonical, functional forms), especially among Aegean prehistorians, tend to reflect a rather materialistic perspective, in which miniatures are viewed as substitutes or tokens for the

55. Knappett, forthcoming.

56. Myres 1902–1903, pp. 379, 381 (Petsophas); Platon 1951, pp. 112–113 (Petsophas), pp. 142, 144 (Karphi): miniature votive vessels, cups, amphoras, pithoi; Davaras 1974, p. 210 (Vrysinas); Karetso 1976, p. 238 (Juktas, some in fissures); Rutkowski 1988, pp. 83, 86, 88 (Karphi, Petsophas, Tapes Mirabellou); Chrysosoulaki 2001, p. 62 (Traostalos). The dedication of kernoi/multiple vessels, and miniature vessels in general, is interpreted as an indication of the offering of first fruits, a symbolic invocation of the fertility of the earth, and possibly more (Watrous 1995, p. 395; 1996, p. 90).

57. Large numbers of juglets are reported from Juktas, some in rock fissures (Karetso 1976, p. 238; 1980, pp. 245, 255, fig. 13:6, 7, table 167:β, δ;

1982, p. 343), at Petsophas (Myres 1902–1903, p. 378, pl. XII:68, one example), and at Atsipades Korakias (Peatfield 1992, p. 71, fig. 15). Nowhere were they associated with pyres.

58. Mazas (Platon 1951, pp. 112–113, part of a multiple vessel/kernos in a rock fissure); Petsophas (Myres 1902–1903, pp. 378–379, pl. XIII:68, 71).

59. Petsophas (Myres 1902–1903, pp. 378–379, pl. XIII).

60. Platon 1951, pp. 112–113 (Petsophas), pp. 142, 144 (Karphi).

61. Miniature pithoi were found only at Traostalos, where, in complete contrast to the situation at Ayios Yeoryios sto Vouno, the majority of the extant miniatures were pithoi (Chrysosoulaki 2001, p. 62).

62. Although miniature tripod

vessels, mostly cups, are attested in a number of settlement contexts in Crete (Knossos, Kommos, Nerokourou) and the Cyclades (Ayia Irini), the only reported specimen from a peak sanctuary is a miniature tripod cooking pot from Traostalos (Chrysosoulaki 2001, p. 62). An indeterminate number of votive incense burners was also reported from Traostalos, but no real information was offered about their size (Chrysosoulaki 2001, p. 63).

63. Apart from the Bronze Age, the use of miniatures in cult is attested throughout the Geometric, Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods, as well as in current Christian practice (Watrous 1996, pp. 81–96; Ekroth 2003).

64. Knappett, forthcoming.

real thing, i.e., for the normal-sized objects. It is assumed that they were dedicated mostly for economic and/or practical reasons, i.e., their lower relative cost and transportability. A prime example of this is the dedication of miniature animal models instead of real animals for sacrifice; the same would apply to the dedication of miniature models of first fruits or foodstuffs.⁶⁵

On a more conceptual level, in the “parts for the whole” theory,⁶⁶ miniatures represent a more personal mode of dedication or communication with the deity involved,⁶⁷ not a mere substitute. Finally, the association of miniatures with activities somehow related to children, either directly as dedicators or indirectly by virtue of their relationship to the deity involved, although pertinent to a wider chronological and geographical range,⁶⁸ is rather doubtful in Bronze Age ritual contexts.⁶⁹

In the Kythera peak sanctuary, the numbers of miniatures compared to the numbers of extant nonminiature specimens contradict their use as cheap, mass-produced alternatives to large vessels. The small numbers attested and the wide variety of vessel forms produced suggest that the most critical factor might have been personal choice. The scaling down of canonical pottery vessels, despite the concomitant loss of function, could also be perceived as a multiplier of the ideological properties of these vessels, whatever these properties may have been.⁷⁰ The detailed analysis of the data from the peak sanctuary at Kythera, if nothing else, has in fact confirmed, beyond reasonable doubt, that size did make a difference and was deliberately manipulated for specific ritual purposes.

65. Gesell 1985, pp. 2–3 and *passim*; Peatfield 1990, p. 127. For the Archaic period, Ekroth (2003, p. 36) also suggested the possibility that mass dedications of pottery that were only feasible with miniature forms.

66. Marinatos 1986, p. 71; 1993, p. 117; Chryssoulaki 2001, p. 62.

67. Ekroth 2003, p. 36.

68. The use of miniature pottery vessels by children in cult is confirmed

for later periods (the Anthesteria: Parke 1977, pp. 107–108) and elsewhere in the world (in the Andes: Sillar 1994, pp. 52–55, 58), while the dedication of large quantities of jewelry at the Amyklaion, as an archaeological proof of the important role of women in the cult (Watrous 1996, p. 82), illustrates a similar principle.

69. In the Aegean Bronze Age, miniatures in ritual contexts are mostly

interpreted as votive offerings, while their use as toys is understandably underplayed, considering their scarcity in settlement contexts (Knappett, forthcoming). Also in this case, the preference for the use of miniatures in the pouring of libations with specialized equipment would imply that libations were the prerogative of children.

70. Stewart 1993, p. 48.