FOUR TERRACOTTA VOTIVE PLAQUES FROM MILETOS

MİLETOS'TAN DÖRT PİŞMİŞ TOPRAK ADAK LEVHASI

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ABSTRACT

During a rescue excavation at the site of ancient Miletos conducted by the staff of the Miletos Museum, four terracotta plaques belonging to one of the Anatolian heros cults were recovered. These examples are distinguished by their find spots. While similar plaques from other cities were votive offerings from around sanctuaries, in Miletos these plaques were found in a tomb context. The rituals of this cult are not completely known, but it is thought that the cult might have been influential around the Aegean coastal strip of Thrace, Troas, Aeolis and Ionia. This article presents these four new examples and aims to contextualise them in respect to previous finds and works.

ÖZET

Miletos antik kentinde Milet Müzesi Müdürlüğü tarafından yapılan bir mezar kurtarma kazısında, Anadolu'da tapınım görmüş bir heros kültüne ait pişmiş toprak adak levhaları bulunmuştur. Başka kentlerde mezar kontekstleri dışında, örneğin kutsal alanlar yakınında adak sunusu olarak bulunmuş olan pişmiş toprak levhaların benzerleri, Miletos'ta geçmiş yıllardaki kazılarda yine mezarlarda ele geçmiştir. Ritüelleri tam olarak bilinmeyen bu kültün Trakya, Troas, Aeolis ve İonia'yı kapsayacak şekilde Doğu Ege kıyıları boyunca yayılmış olduğu benzer buluntulardan anlaşılmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, dört yeni buluntu yardımıyla öncül araştırmalara katkı sağlamak amaçlanmıştır.

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Situated beyond the city walls, nearly 2 km Northwest of the ancient city of Miletos around hillsides of Kalabaktepe, Değirmentepe and Zeytintepe are the visible remains of the Miletos Necropolis. The Değirmentepe site was firstly excavated between 1901–1906 by A. Von Salis and C. Watzinger[1], both from a German excavation team, and this was continued by T. Wiegand 1906–1907[2]. Further excavations were conducted at Zeytintepe in 1977 by F. J. Henninger and A. U. Kossatz, and from 2003 to 2005 by I. A. Panteleon and R. Senff[3]. During the 1978–1979 seasons Peter Herrmann excavated the site for the corpus of tomb inscriptions[4]; while Elke Forbeck, in terms of German excavation annuals, identified those tombs that had been found in previous years at the site for her PhD research concerning the Miletos Necropolis[5].

After these Miletos excavations the site watchman found an illegal excavation hole on the 10.02.2012 on the North site on the Değirmentepe hillside and a rescue excavation was undertaken by researchers from Miletos museum, including the author. From the excavation results, it was determined that four loculi and two burial pits had been carved into the bedrock and which resembled the plan of the tombs (Pl. I, Figs.1–2) that had previously been found around the site of this necropolis[6].

During the rescue excavations, it was understood that grave robbers had attempted to enter the tomb through a hole made in the roof. This tomb is orientated on a north–south axis and its north facing door was found in the course of the excavation. Even though the door of the tomb was destroyed in antiquity, its lintels and jambs were found intact. On the marble lintel over the door there is a damaged Greek three–lined inscription (Pl. 2, Fig. 1):

ECBECEN KAI HPΩON ΨΥXHC
CΥN EICIAC TE KAI NOΥN THN AEI
[––]

Transcription :

ἔσβεσεν. ἡρῷον καὶ ψυχὴν
σὺν Εἰσιὰς τε καὶ νοῦν τὴν ἀεὶ
[––]
:

" (She) faded away. The tomb and the soul of Eisias, but also her thoughts always…"

The shape of the letters (lunar sigma, upsilon like a V, archaizing alpha), the rather coarse way the letters are carved, together with the use of the verb ἔσβεσεν lead us to date the inscription to the 3rd century A.D. The verbal form ἔσβεσεν is rather rare; it is found in Attica at the end of the 2nd century A.D. (IG, II, 8955 (l. 5–6)), in Smyrna (Ionia) (Smyrna, 549 (l. 4)), in Kyme (Aeolis) (I. Kyme, 51 (l.4)), maybe dating from the late Hellenistic period; cf. SEG, 29, 1219), in Heraclea Pontica during the 2nd–3rd cent. A.D. (I. Heraclea Pont., 9 (l. 18); SEG, 31, 1072), in Sinope (Paphlagonia) at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.[7] and in Mopsuhestia (Cilicia) around the 3rd–4th cent. A.D. (I. Cilicie, 88 (l. 2) ; SEG, 28, 1251).

The style of this funerary text from Miletos is elegiac and simple, short and quite common (I thank to Prof. Hadrien BRU for this description of the inscription). This is the herôon of a woman called Isias ("Eisias" is a current Attico–Ionian form), bearing a well–attested Greek theophoric personal name. But the limestone door fragments that formerly closed the tomb entrance, together with finds of skeletons and ceramics belonging to the votive gifts, show the tomb was plundered in antiquity when the stratigraphy was disturbed. In context, the finds show this tomb was used for burials in the period from the 2nd century B.C. to the 1st century A.D.[8]

In the space between the door jambs and the bedrock the terracotta plaques that form the subject of this article were found. One is undamaged, three are broken. These four votive plaques was restored and registered in the museum inventory (Pl. II, Fig. 2, Pl. III, Fig. 1–2).

T. Wiegand who conducted excavations in the Değirmentepe region in 1906–1907, found pieces of similar plaques inside a clay pipe within the dromos of a Hellenistic tomb. Henninger and Kossatz in 1977 excavated Zeytintepe, a closer neighbour of Değirmentepe, and found five undamaged plaques and 20 fragments belonged to the other plaques within a tomb's dromos. From these remains it was understood that these votive offerings, possibly produced from the same mould, were placed within the tomb in terracotta pipes, after the tomb had been closed[9].

[1] http://www.ruhr–uni–bochum.de/milet/in/nekropol.htm by Dr. E. Forbeck in 2002.
[2] Wiegand 1908.
[3] Henninger/Kossatz 1979: 174 ed seq.; Panteleon I. A./ Senff R. , "Die Grabung im Afroditeheiligtum auf dem Zeytintepe bei Milet in den Jahren 2003–2005", AA 2 (2008): 33–46
[4] Herrmann 1980: 92 ed seq.
[5] Forbeck 2001/2002: 55 ed seq.
[6] İslam/Aslan 2013: 379; 391, Plan: 1.
[7] A. Salac, "Note sur trois inscriptions de Sinope", BCH, 44, 1920: 354–357, a (l.4).
[8] İslam/Aslan 2013: 381.
[9] Henninger/Kossatz 1979: 184–185; Taf. 57, 1–2.

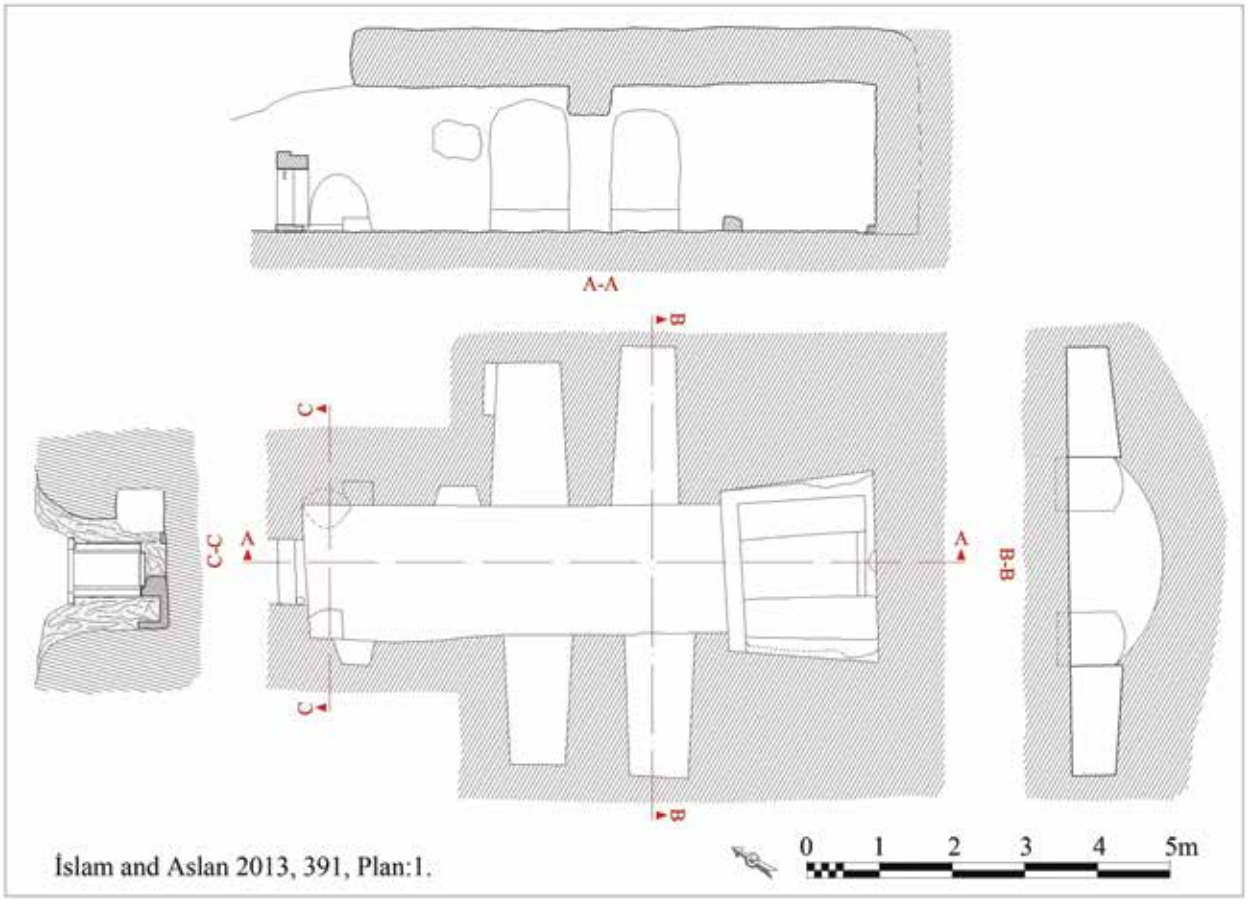


Figure 1: Plan ve Kesitler / *Plan and Sections*



Figure 2: Mezar Odası ve Loculi / *Grave Chamber and Loculi*

Terracotta plaques related to death cults and associated burial rites date back in Attica to the 6th century B.C.[10] What is surprising concerning these finds from Miletos is that these votives were not dedicated to the owner of the tomb but to a hero or a god who is unknown. In a large area of Southern Pisidia and Lycia this figure was widely depicted, in particular on outdoor rock shrines and in tombstone reliefs. The wide distribution of the depictions of the Horse Rider god Kakasbos was because he was understood to be responsible for the protection of the tomb[11]. The fact that these Miletos plaque remains were found inside the tombs, instead of in holy places or in sanctuaries can be explained in a similar way: the mounted figure on these plaques may be understood to represent a deified hero, or to depict the God himself.

Research of parallel and related finds, which began with Schliemann's excavations, showed the most important known centre is understood to have been Troy[12] where hundreds of these plaque fragments were found, to such an extent that these plaques can be understood to form a standard component of the small finds from Troy. A large number of these Troy finds came from finds in the southern part of the mound and from the eastern part of the Athena sanctuary[13]. The first detailed scientific research was made by D. B. Thompson[14] and it was also realised that there were parallel examples also from Aeolis, Kyme, Larisa and Hermos[15].

DEFINITION AND ICONOGRAPHY

All four of these plaques probably were made using the same mould. Even though they are framed examples and as such, parallel to those from Troy, they have no holes for suspension[16]. DT.2012.1M.120 (Pl. IV), was found intact, DT.2012.1M.121 (Pl. V) was found in three pieces, DT.2012.1M.122 (Pl. VI) was found in four pieces and DT.2012.1M.123 (Pl. VII) was found in twelve pieces. In order to protect their colouring, they were cleaned with a little water and were then restored. The fine clay is a light brown. In DT.2012.1M.121 and DT.2012.1M.122 there are the traces of a reddish colouring that remains on the upper part of the scene. It is known that this plaques were coloured in a variety of colours[17], but in the case of these examples from Miletos, the trace remains of the other colours is ambivalent, as unfortunately advanced scientific instruments such as a Raman Spectroscope to investigate for traces of colour were unavailable, this loss of colour other than red, possibly being a consequence of the humidity within the tomb.

On the reverse there remain the impressions of the palm of the hand and the marks left by a spatula, these marks being the traces of the method of production, in which the clay was pushed into the negative mould to form the positive relief plaque. In DT.2012.1M.121, there was not the thorough cleaning off of the excess clay and the tabula was fired with this excess attached to the plaque. Different from those that are parallel to those of Troy, the edges of the frame was set in the position in which every corner was laid over the other. This distinguishing feature is found at the end of Hellenistic period[18] and it might suggest that this type of mould-made plaques were made at this time in imitation of earlier and contemporary wooden framed examples.

Even though the material, the scene, the figurines and frame are the same; differences can be found between all of these plaques. It maybe for this reason that Henninger and Kossatz say, "they all show the same motif, but two different models can be identified"[19]. Especially in the case of DT.2012.1M.121, the crest of the helmet of the rider, the curves of the cloak, the folds of the dress, the mane of the horse and the hair of the tail were not elaborated. In addition, the whole width of the frame of this example is divided into two by a groove in the middle of the frame. This groove might be a consequence of using a second mould after the first one, but it is probable, on the other hand, that the artisan may have made some changes and variations in details while the clay was still wet from the mould[20].

These plaques are nearly 17 cm wide, 14 cm. h. and 1.5cm thick. The framed space was completely filled, the mane and tail of the horse, the helmet and cloak of the driver filling all of the empty spaces of the scene. The body of the rising snake fills the empty space beneath the feet of the horse.

[10] Richter 1942: 80.
[11] Talloen/Alp 2005: 739, 746, Res. 3.
[12] Easton 1989: 186.
[13] Barr 1996: 133.
[14] Unpublished parallel examples from Kyme were kindly shown to her by Mme. Mollard at the Louvre, Thompson: Ibid. 57, f.n. 7; Boehlau J./Schefold K. Larisa am Hermos III, (1942): 48, Pl. 8, 5.
[15] Thompson 1963: 56–57, Pl. XXVIII, No. 128.
[16] For an example snake figured and holed for hanging from Amyklai see Salapata 2014: 2, Fig. 1; for the Knossos examples; Callaghan 1978: Pl. 9.
[17] Barr 1996: 134–135; 157, Fig. 37–38.
[18] İslam/Aslan 2013: 380
[19] Henninger/Kossatz 1979:184
[20] For the moulding techniques of Hellenistic votive reliefs see: Grandjouan, C./E. Markson/S. I. Rotroff, "Hellenistic Relief Molds from The Athenian Agora", Hesperia Supplements, Vol. 23, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, New Jersey (1989).


DT.2012.1M.120-03



DT.2012.1M.121-04


DT.2012.1M.122-06


DT.2012.1M.123-05

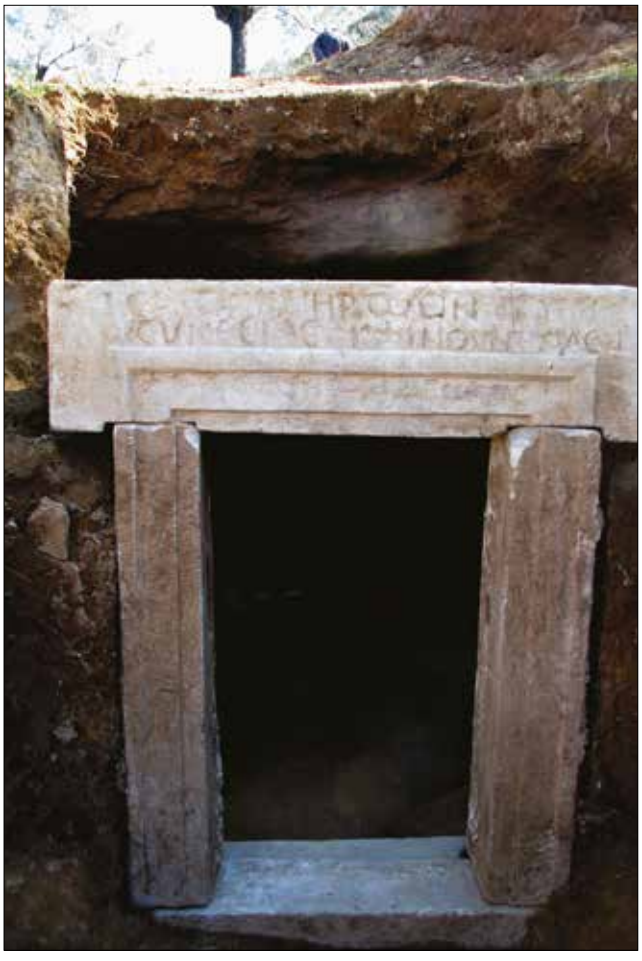


Figure 3: Yazıtlı Lento / *Lentil with Inscription*



Figure 4: Söve ve Duvar Arasındaki Levhalar / *Plaques Between the Wall and Door Jamb.*

On the left side of the scene there are two adult figures. Two of them wear a back–mantle (khiton) a garment which veils their head and reaches their feet. Under the skirt, worn by the shorter figure on the right side, the curves of a peplos can be seen. Their right hands turned level with their elbows are under their khitons and the only visible part of their bodies are their faces.

The published record concerning plaques that parallel this scene, describe the figure on the left side as being a young girl and the figure on the right side as an older woman (matron)[21]. Yet, as the figure on the left side is the taller of these figures, and as this figure is much more visible, in DT.2012.1M.122' the curls of the hair reach the neck, it might be thought that the figure on left side probably depicts a man[22].

On the right side of the two standing figures, there is a rider on the rearing horse. Ateles, tail and harness were detailed. The rider is a clean shaven young man. His whole face and head are covered by a helmet with a crest. He wears a tunica which covers his knees and arms. Above the tunica, he might wear armour with leather straps. The flying back of his cloak (khlamys) from his shoulder makes the figure appear dynamic. As is more clearly visible in DT.2012.1M.122, the pose of the horse and its control is very casual and the reigns are held in left hand, which is turned from the elbow. He wears riding boots, inferred by prints under his easily turned knee.

Under the front legs of the horse, the curling snake raising its head completes the composition of the scene, filling the space. In the metaphysics of antiquity, after death the body of a hero has the ability to be reborn and renewed, through this, a hero becomes a serpent. It may be for this reason that the figure of a snake symbolizes the ideal hero far more than the other symbols[23].

THE CULT

In certain cases votive offerings provide an insight into a cult's characteristics, in other cases the votives illustrate the interest of the worshipper[24]. For this reason, in the cases of Troy and Miletos, these standing figures are thought to be worshippers/attendants of a dead hero[25]. Some of the examples from Troy, on the pediment of a shrine facade with two Doric columns were depicted the figures of two antithetic snakes, which strengthen the thesis of the depiction of attendants on a dead hero. The finds from Troy date from between the 3rd century B.C. and the 1st century AD, and it can be thought these finds belonged to a former shrine, which had earlier been established on the site subsequently occupied by

[21] Barr 1996: 134; Henninger/Kossatz 1979: 185, İslam/Aslan 2013: 380

[22] Sometimes it's rather difficult to recognize gender from the dress depicted, as male figures also wear this long mantle, see: Roccos, L. J., Back–Mantle and Peplos: The Special Costume of Greek Maidens in 4th – Century Funerary and Votive Reliefs", Hesperia 69, 2000, 235–265

[23] Barr 1996: 136–137

[24] Flognfeldt 2009: 59

[25] Barr: Ibid. 134; Henninger/Kossatz: Ibid, 185





Figure 5-6: Söve Boşluğundan Çıkan Levhalar / *The Plaques Taken from the Door Jamb Space.*

the Roman Tewmple dedicated to Athena Ilias. Even though these plaques certainly belonged to a hero cult, they are not precisely attached to a sacred place, as the context of these finds was mixed within the Roman stratigraphy.

Lacking any definite heroon, Thompson claimed that these votive offerings are not restricted to hero worship but were also dedicated to the chthonic deities who could be regarded as watching over the dead[26]. Moreover, proposing a novel assertion, Thompson states this scene might be related to the plaques that depict the Troia Lusus games begun by Alexander the Great[27]. This proposal was not accepted by Barr who has conduct the widest research on the cult, as according to Barr, other researchers' evaluations that claim these plaques are related to a local cult defined as Dardanos, the great–grand father of Ilios, the founder of Ilion, is found to be much more convincing[28].

Due to the examples from Laconia, it is inferred that the use of terracotta plaques was widespread throughout the Greek world, which is why it is understood that this was not restricted to only particular deities and sanctuaries[29]. In the Knossos examples, according to Callaghan, the site of excavation belonged to a deified hero's shrine[30]. Taking these details into consideration, in the Miletos necropolis at least one tomb, as it can be understood from the inscription, was accepted as a heroon and it is therefore most important within the relationship between burial rituals and heroon cults.

CONCLUSIONS

Defining the hero or mentioning a deified rider, on the Parthenon Friezes[31], the Dexileos Monument in the Kerameikos that dates back to early fourth century B.C.[32], the Thracian rider reliefs of which more than 2000 examples have been found around Thrace's 350 settlements, can be counted as the beginning of this iconography[33]. The tradition begun with the Hellenistic Thracian Rider continued to maintain its iconographic presence all around the Mediterranean basin until the late Roman era[34]. Even in Parthian Mesopotamia during the Hellenistic period votive plaques with riders exhibiting local features were produced and have been found. Mentioning the deified city founder (ktisthes) and mythical subjects represented by snakes with chthonic connotations can remind[35] of the Agamemnon cult at Amyklai in Sparta which dates back to the 7th century B.C. A sitting figure of a man by whom there is a curling and extending erect snake, might have been worshipped by

[26] Thompson 1963: 56

[27] Thompson: Ibid. 57

[28] Barr: Ibid. 135; Lawall 2002: 79; Miller 1991: 48–49, Fig. 14, Cat. 13; Rose 1993: 104–105

[29] Salapata 2014: 7

[30] Callaghan 1978: 21, Pl. 9

[31] Camp 1998: 18, Fig. 28; 26, Fig. 39

[32] Lewis 1973,: Fig. 21; For detailed knowledge about Dexileos see: Hurwitt, J. M., "The Problem with Dexileos: Heroic and Other Nudities in Greek Art", AJA, Vol. 111, No.1, 2007, 35–60

[33] At this point, we need to consider the understanding of the term "hero"; seeing Herakles on his way to Olympos, riding a mule. On the Thracian reliefs, which are always of stone, there are depicted, the horseman facing a woman, an altar, and a snake–entwined around a tree. Although one third of the monuments carry inscriptions, the identity of the horseman depicted is unknown. Haselgrove says the reliefs depict a "huntsman" before, during and after a hunt: Haselgrove C., "The Divine Rider in the Art of the Western Roman Empire. M. Mackintosh, BAR International Series 607, Tempus Reparatum, Oxford, (1995)", Britannia, Vol. 28, 1997, 503—504

[34] For East Roman (Byzantine) tapestry examples see Lewis: Ibid. Fig. 1–17

[35] Salapata 2006: 541

occupational groups or by leading families and which was one of the ways of maintaining and legitimising their elite status, the forging of connections with heroes of the past, from whom they claimed descent[36].

The King of Athens, Kodros' son Neileos, the founder hero of the city of Miletos is the pre–eminent remembered name. The Neileos cult, which can be traced back to the Archaic period on a bronze vessel bearing an inscription recording the "Priest of Neileos", dedicated at the Samos' Heraion in the 6th century B.C., possibly began as a cult during the late geometric period. The location of the Heroon, in front of the city gate, beyond the fortifications, indicates its aspect as "city protector". For the image struck on Imperial period coins, the depiction of the hero ktisthes in hoplite armour and finding the snake figure curling on oversize armour[37]. On a Corinthian example a snake is depicted slithering up the shaft of a stele with carved crested helmet[38], suggesting the identification of the unidentified hero on these Miletos votive plaques might be a Hellenistic description of Neilos.

Even though there are remarkable similarities between the examples from Troy and these examples, the issue needs to be discussed within the context of Miletos–Troy relations. Between the 7th and the 5th century B.C., Miletos established approximately 40 colonies throughout the Black Sea coastal region[39]. Yet, there are no compatible remains from Miletos, this absence being not only a consequence of engulfment by the sea, but which also probably reflects the lack of excavations in the region and, in particular it seems, the absence of similar comparative examples is probably due to this reason. Another possible reason, being a lack of precision in registering finds into a museum's inventory, and locking particular finds, such as similar votive plaques, away from view, within a museum's storage depot.

[36] Salapata 2014: 8

[37] Herda 2011, 92–93, Fig. 21 (for detailed knowledge about Neileos see: Herda, A., "Der Kult des Gründerheroen Neileos und die Artemis Kithone in Milet." ÖJh 67, 1998, 1–48)

[38] Salapata 1997: Pl. 63b

[39] Emir 2011: 4

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