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Marisa Marthari

Colin Renfrew

Michael J. Boyd

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LOCAL AND IMPORTED IN ACTION: WESTERN ANATOLIAN AND CYCLADIC FIGURINES AT EARLY BRONZE AGE MILETUS

Ourania Kouka

For Barbara and Wolf Niemeier

Introduction

The production of stone figurines in Western Asia Minor goes back to the Chalcolithic (Ch) period, as finds from various sites and in particular from the marble workshop at Kulaksızlar in the Izmir Region indicate (Takaoğlu 2005). In this workshop schematic figurines of Kilia type were produced alongside marble conical beakers similar to those known from Final Neolithic sites such as Kephala on Keos (Takaoğlu 2011, 161–2, 282–5, cat. nos 174–86). During the Early Bronze Age three main types of stone or marble, flat-sculpted figurines were produced (Takaoğlu 2011, 160, 286–8 cat. nos 191–204), continuing the tradition of schematic figurines of the Anatolian Ch. These occur in both settlement and funeral contexts of coastal and inland western Anatolia. The forms are: 1) the eight-shaped (Troy type) with a distinctive division of the head from the body (e.g. Troy I–II, Liman Tepe VI, Bakla Tepe, Heraion IV–V, Miletus: Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27–8, fig. 127 Type 1–3; Takaoğlu 2011, 160, 288, cat. nos 199–204); 2) the Kusura type with a discoid head, a long neck and a short, almost rectangular body (e.g. Kusura B: Kaklik Mevkii; Takaoğlu 2011, 160, 287, cat. no. 197; Efe & Türkteki 2011, 230, 313, cat. no. 304); and

3) the violin-shaped (Beycesultan type) with a long head, small triangular arms and rounded body (e.g. Beycesultan: Takaoğlu 2011, 160, 287, cat. no. 198; Efe & Türkteki 2011, 230, 314, cat. no. 309; see also Tuncel & Şahoğlu in this volume).

Despite the intensive contacts between western Anatolia and the Cyclades since the seventh millennium BC, as indicated by the high percentages of Melian obsidian at coastal sites and at sites located along the Maeander River (Kouka 2014, 56–8, fig. 1), and in spite of the long-range trade network between western Anatolian and Cycladic peoples during EB I–III (metals, jewellery, marble vessels, pottery types; Renfrew 1972, 451–5, fig. 20.5; Broodbank 2000, 279–83, fig. 90; Kouka 2002, 299–302; Kouka 2008, 315–19), there is so far extremely limited evidence for the occurrence of Early Cycladic (EC) marble figurines in western Anatolia. Theodore Bent writes in 1888:

we found traces of other tombs which have largely been exposed to view by the washing away of the soil by a winter's flood. In these tombs have been found many small marble figurines similar to those I found at Antiparos and described in this Journal (p. 50). One represents a figure seated in a chair playing a harp similar to that at the Museum of Athens, which was found at Amorgos, another is of a female

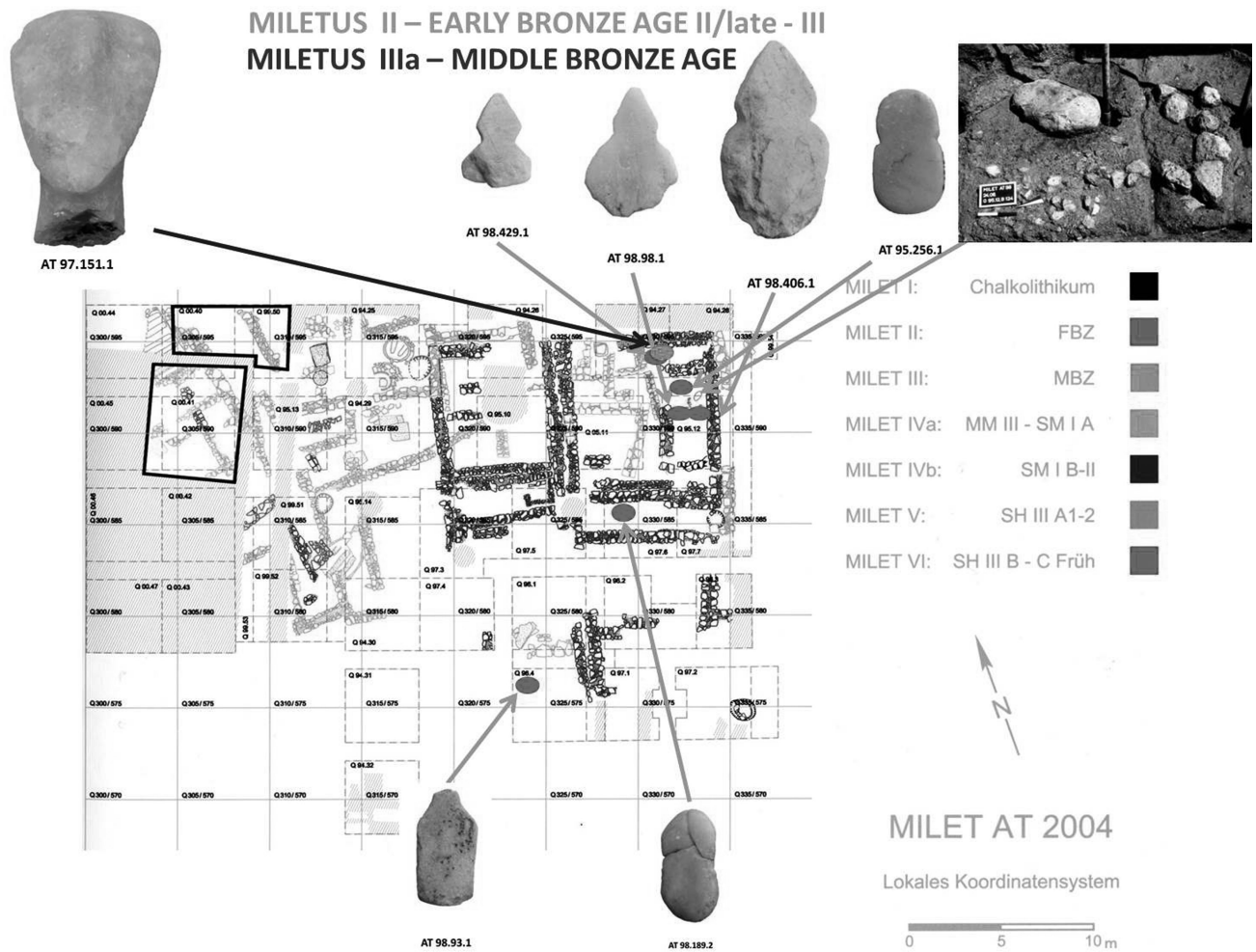


Figure 27.1 Miletus. Settlement plan showing the distribution of local figurines and the EC II figurine of Dokathismata variety.

figure with a crescent on her head similar to one which I have seen, and which was discovered in the island of Tenos (Bent 1888, 82).

The figurines mentioned by Bent have not been located in any of the museums of western Anatolia.

One century later, in 1997, the head of an EC II (early: Keros-Syros culture) marble figurine (AT 97.151.1) of a canonical type belonging to the Dokathismata variety (Renfrew 1969, 16–17.IV.B) was found by Barbara and Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier in their systematic excavations in the area of the Athena Temple of Miletus (Figs 27.1, 27.2; Niemeier 2000, 128–9, fig. 5; Niemeier 2005, 2, col. pl. 3). This EC figurine, so far unique in western Anatolia, will be presented in the catalogue and will be discussed below in its Milesian context.

Miletus, Temple of Athena – periodisation and context

Miletus is located on the western Anatolian littoral, at the delta of the Maeander River and opposite Samos. Excavations in the area of the Temple of Athena, directed by B. and W.-D. Niemeier (1994–2004), brought to light six successive architectural levels dating from the Ch through to the Late Bronze Age (Miletus I–VI, Fig. 27.1: Niemeier & Niemeier 1997; Niemeier 2000; Niemeier 2005, fig. 1; Niemeier 2007a, fig. 1; Niemeier 2007b; Kouka 2013, 574–5; Kouka 2014, 53–6). Due to the high water table excavation was possible only by using the Well-Point-System for pumping the ground water out of the trenches (Niemeier 2000, 1, fig. 1). As a result, the earliest habitation levels, namely the Ch (Miletus I) and the Early Bronze Age (Miletus II), in this part of Miletus could be

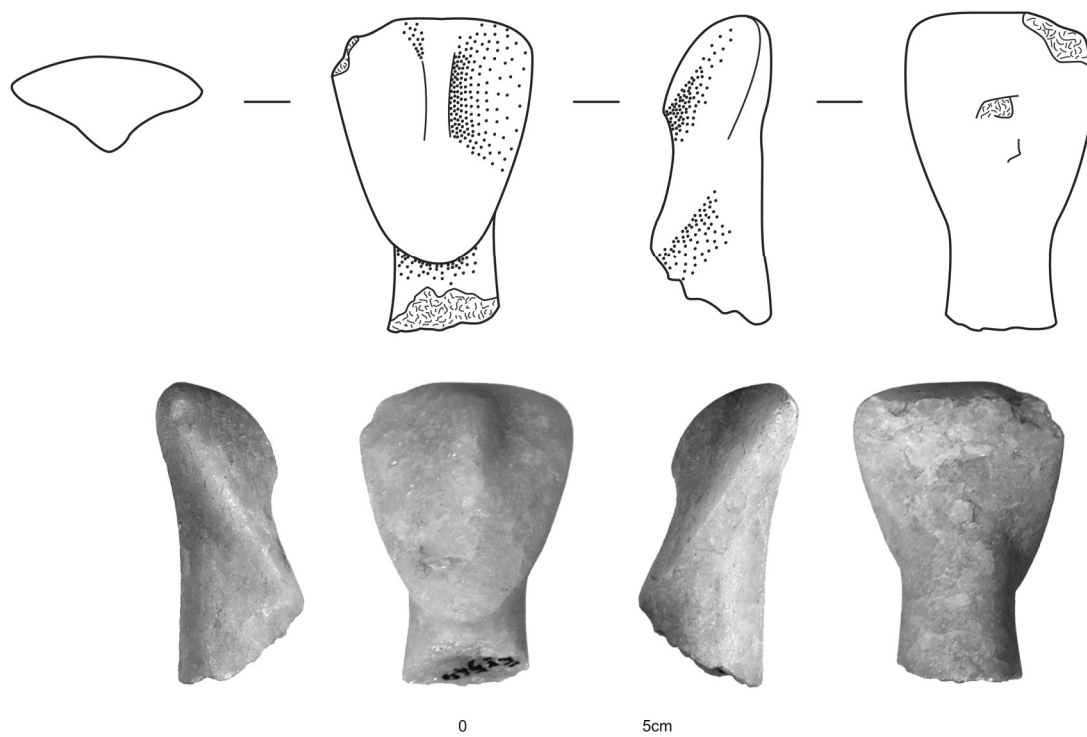


Figure 27.2 Miletus IIIa. Head and neck of the EC II figurine of Dokathismata variety. Scale 1:2.

Table 27.1 Fine chronology of the Ch and EB phases at Miletus.

Settlement Phase	Cultural Phase	Absolute dating
Miletus Ia	Middle Ch (late)	4500–4000 BC
Hiatus ?	Late Ch (early)	4000–3500 BC
Miletus Ib	Late Ch (late)	3500–3000 BC
Miletus IIa	EB I (initial)	3000–2900 BC
Miletus IIb (hiatus at Athena temple)	EB I (later part) – EB II (early)	2900–2500 BC
Miletus IIc	EB II (late)	2500–2200 BC
Miletus IId	EB III	2200–2000 BC

identified. The detailed study of the pottery from Miletus I and II by the author led to the distinction of the following sub-phases as presented in Table 27.1:

It should be noted that the Anatolian MCh and LCh correspond with the Aegean FN and date between 4500 and 3200/3000 BC (for definition of late MCh and LCh cf. Blum 2014, 132–7, fig. 3). The EBA in western Anatolia dates, according to recent excavations, between 3000–2000 BC (Şahoğlu 2011; for a relative chronology in the Aegean and western Anatolia see Kouka 2013, fig. 1).

Palaeogeographical investigations undertaken by Helmut Brückner, from the Department of Geography of the University of Marburg, in the area of the Temple of Athena showed that during the LCh (3500–3000 BC)

the site was not covered by the sea and was therefore suitable for settlement activities (Brückner *et al.* 2006, 70–1 figs 1–3, tables 1–2). Between 3000/2900 and 2500 BC the area of the Ch and the initial EB I settlement was flooded by the sea and people had to move during the EB I (later part) – EB II (early) to safer ground, probably on the main coast, which was some 300–400 m away from the islet. The islet of the Athena Temple was resettled at around 2500–2000 BC, when, during the EB II (late) and the EB III, this part turned again into an islet as a part of the archipelago-like coastal landscape of the Maeander Delta (for the topography of Miletus, see Niemeier 2007a, fig. 1).

Miletus I, where a stone-built circular storage structure (Niemeier 2000, 125, fig. 2; Niemeier 2005, 2, figs 1–2), postholes cut into the bedrock and two terrace walls have been found (Fig. 27.1), was, as indicated by the pottery production, a typical western Anatolian site (Kouka 2014, 53–6, fig. 2C, 5–6) and an important distributor of Melian obsidian along the Maeander Valley (Niemeier 2000, 125–7; Niemeier 2005, 2; Kouka 2014, 56–7, fig. 1), a fact that led Niemeier to the designation of Miletus as a ‘gateway community’ (Niemeier 2007b, 41). Stray finds indicate that the Ch habitation extended beyond the islet of the Athena Temple, in the areas of Delphinion, under Heroon III and west of the Bouleuterion (Voigtländer 1982; Parzinger 1989; Niemeier 2000, 125; Niemeier 2007a, fig. 1).



Figure 27.3 Miletus IIc–d. Local figurines of the EB II (late)–III. Left to right: AT 98.189.2; AT 95.256.1; AT 98.93.1; AT 98.429.1; AT 98.406.1; AT 98.98.1. Scale 1:2.

Habitation continued in the initial EB I over the same area as indicated by ceramic finds, such as bowls with flattened rims and incised linear decoration, and bowls with horizontal lugs, or with double pierced tubular lugs, or with lug-handles. In Miletus IIb and therefore in the period in which the EC II figurine was produced and probably also reached Milesian lands (c. 2750–2500 BC) the settlement of Miletus was located beyond the islet of the Temple of Athena, as mentioned above.

The re-habitation of the area of the Athena Temple in EB II (late) and EB III has been testified through architecture of Miletus IIc–IIId in Trench Q 95.12, which, so far excavated, includes only the stone foundation of a bipartite long-room and rectangular building oriented northeast–southwest (Niemeier 2000, 127, fig. 4; Niemeier 2005, fig. 1; Niemeier 2007a, 7–8, pls 1.3–4). The pottery distribution in the deepest levels of the entire southern sector of the excavated area, above the Ch levels, indicates its use over the later phases of the EBA (Fig. 27.1).

To the east of the rectangular building, which was an open space, a large red volcanic millstone (600 mm × 400 mm) was found placed upside down along with tankards and shallow bowls of the EB II (late) – EB III phases. Scattered around the millstone were four schematic figurines of Anatolian type (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27–8, fig. 127), typical for these periods, as well as bones of cattle and sheep or goat and sea shells found within ash (Niemeier & Niemeier 1997, 241, fig. 82;

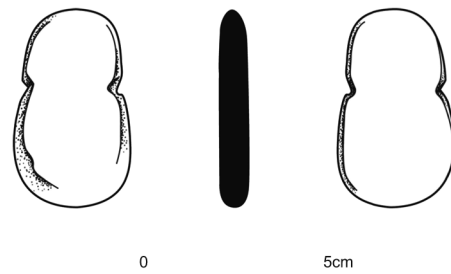


Figure 27.4 Miletus II. Eight-shaped figurine (AT 95.256.1). Scale 1:2.

Niemeier 2000, 127, fig. 127; 2007a, 7), though ‘some of them [were] displaced by Middle Bronze Age levelling activities’ (Niemeier 2005, 2), leading Niemeier to interpret this context as an offering place (Niemeier 2000, 127, figs 4–5; Niemeier 2005, 2; Figs 27.1, 27.10). Three of the figurines are flat with triangular heads and ovoid bodies (Figs 27.3, 27.6–27.8: AT 98.98.1, AT 98.406.1, AT 98.429.1; cf. Blegen *et al.* 1950, fig. 127 Type 2G–H) and one has an eight-form shape (Figs 27.3, 27.4: AT 95.256.1; cf. Blegen *et al.* 1950, fig. 127 Type 2B/2D). Both types are well known from synchronous contexts in coastal and inland western Anatolia, *e.g.* at Troy II (late)–IV, Seyitömer, Liman Tepe, Bakla Tepe, Aphrodisias, Heraion, Karataş-Semayük and Seyitömer Höyük, as well as in contemporary sites in the Cyclades (Akrotiri) and Crete (Zakros; for citations see catalogue below). Two more figurines, one eight-shaped (Fig. 27.5 : AT

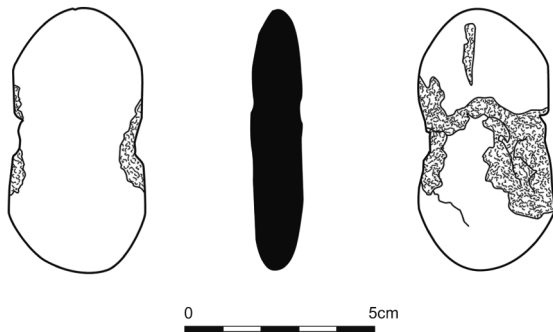


Figure 27.5 Miletus II. Eight-shaped figurine (AT 98.189.2). Scale 1:2.

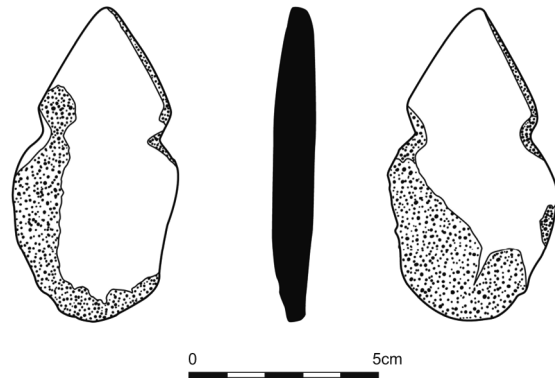


Figure 27.8 Miletus. Schematic figurine with triangular head and ovoid body (AT 98.406.1). Scale 1:2.

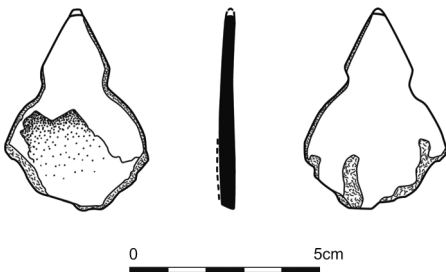


Figure 27.6 Miletus II. Schematic figurine with triangular head and ovoid body (AT 98.98.1). Scale 1:2.

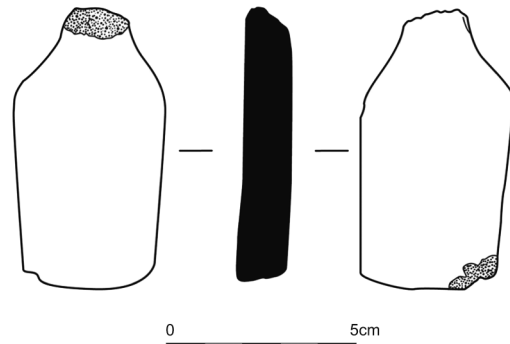


Figure 27.9 Miletus II. Schematic figurine with with plank-shaped rectangular body (AT 98.93.1). Scale 1:2.

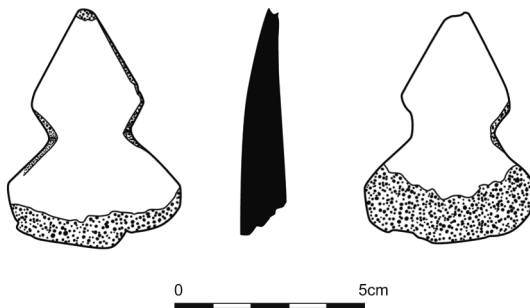


Figure 27.7 Miletus II. Schematic figurine with triangular head and ovoid body (AT 98.429.1). Scale 1:2.



Figure 27.10 Miletus II. Millstone from the open space.

98.189.2; cf. Blegen *et al.* 1950, fig. 127 Type 2B-C) and one plank-shaped with a rectangular lower part (Fig. 27.9: AT 98.93.1; cf. Blegen *et al.* 1950, fig. 127 Type 3B-C) were found further to the south of the aforementioned concentration of figurines. Only limited quantities of pottery were related with the context of the local figurines. Figurine AT 98.98.1 is associated with fragmented EC III red-brown burnished askoi with incised decoration (e.g. AT 98.98.4: Niemeier 2005, fig. 3 upper left), while ceramic finds from trench Q 95.12 include rims of red medium to highly burnished shallow bowls, reddish-brown *depas* cups and tankards of EB II (late), as well as a red-orange highly burnished hybrid *depas* of EB III (Kouka 2013, 574–5, fig. 4) and further EC III askoi with incised decoration (Niemeier 2000, 128–9, fig. 9; Niemeier 2005, 2–3, fig. 3; Niemeier 2007b, 8, pl. 1.5). These are shapes

associated with drinking by feasting activities, as attested in special settlement and funeral contexts of the Anatolian EB II (late) – EB III periods (Kouka 2011, 47–9 with further bibliography), and seen for example at Liman Tepe IV (EB IIIB). In the latter case remnants of such activities have been attested in a communal space located in the centre of the fortified peninsula, equipped with numerous pits full of ash, animal bones, marine shells, burnt cereals and similar pottery. Of importance is the occurrence in each

Table 27.2 Local and imported figurines from Miletus Ilc-d and Illa.

Miletus Inv. No.	Miletus Museum Inv. No.	Type	Variety	Material	Preserved Part	Stratigraphical Context	Dating	Reference
AT 97.151.1	E 3549	Canonical	Dokathismata	Fine-grained marble	Head and neck	Q 94.27 R Miletus Illa – (MBA)	EC II early	von Graeve 1999, 586, fig.11; Niemeier 2000, 128–9, fig. 5; 2005, 2, col. pl. 3; Niemeier 2007b, 8, pl. 1.3; Şahoğlu & Sotiropoulou 2011, 288 no. 205
AT 95.256.1	E 3158	Schematic	Eight-shaped Troy 2B/2D	Fine-grained marble	Complete	Q 95.11 Miletus Ilc-d	EB II (late) – EB III	Niemeier 1997, 532, fig. 6; Niemeier & Niemeier 1997, 160, 241, fig. 82
AT 98.93.1	E 3904	Schematic	Rectangular body Troy 3B–C	Limestone	Body and neck	Q 96.4 Miletus Ilc-d	EB II (late) – EB III	Niemeier 2005, 2; Niemeier 2007a, 7
AT 98.98.1	–	Schematic	Triangular head with ovoid body Troy 2G	Coarse-grained marble with vertical veins	Head and part of the body	Q 95.12 Miletus IId	EB III	Niemeier 2005, 2; Niemeier 2007a, 7
AT 98.189.2	E 3908	Schematic	Eight-shaped Troy 2B–C	Coarse-grained marble	Complete	Q 96.6 R Miletus Ilc-d	EB III	Niemeier 2005, 2; Niemeier 2007a, 7
AT 98.406.1	E 3903	Schematic	Triangular head with ovoid body Troy 2G–H	Limestone	Complete	Q 95.12 R Miletus Ilc-d	EB III	Niemeier 2000, 127, fig. 4
AT 98.429.1	E 3905	Schematic	Triangular head with ovoid body Troy 2G–H	Coarse-grained marble	Head and part of the body	Q 94.27 U Miletus Ilc-d	EB III	Niemeier 2005, 2; Niemeier 2007a, 7

pit of one or two tortoise shells (symbols of fertility) that most probably associate these feasting activities with life and fertility (Erkanal *et al.* 2009, 305–07, fig. 8; Kouka 2011, 48; Kouka 2013, 573–4).

In this open and therefore communal space of Miletus IIC–d (Trench Q 95.12), the head with neck of a Dokathismata figurine was found (AT 97.151.1, Keros-Syros phase), though in a slightly higher level than that of the millstone and the figurines of local tradition (Figs 27.1, 27.2). This area was subsequently levelled in the Middle Bronze Age phase of Miletus IIIa (Raymond 2005, 46–7, fig. 2.5 plan, 2.6 section of Q 95.12), and was partially laid with rounded limestones in order to retain its communal function. The head was in fact lying face-down (depth 0.39 m) among the rounded stones of this pavement-like arrangement of Miletus IIIa (Fig. 27.1), which was located beneath a Late Minoan IB (LM) destruction horizon of Miletus IVb (Raymond 2005, fig. 2.6). Very close and to the east of the head a blade of Melian obsidian was also found. The pottery of the MBA phase of Miletus IIIa found in this part of the MBA settlement (Trench Q 95.12) included typical Anatolian MBA pottery (*e.g.* red slip rolled or bead rim or ledge rim bowls, jugs and everted rim jars, carinated and semi-globular cups: Raymond 2009, 152–3), domestic pottery of Middle Minoan (MM) inspiration (handleless cups, cooking pots, scuttles: Niemeier 2005, 3, fig. 4, 5) and fragments of MM IB – MM II cup of Kamares ware (Deposit 5; Raymond 2001, 20–2, fig. 1, 3; Raymond 2005, 87, fig. 3.37; cf. Niemeier 2005, col. pl. 4; Raymond 2009, 151–3, fig. 6, 8; Kaiser & Raymond 2015, 148, fig. 6).

The EC figurine of Miletus is the only Cycladic figurine found to date in a systematic excavation which had been imported to western Asia Minor. The concentration in this specific communal area of four local figurines and an EC II example is remarkable; the latter, although found in a level of the initial MBA, is definitely much earlier than the local figurines found in the level just below it! This occurrence does not exclude that either the head or the entire EC II figurine have been previously used along with the local Anatolian figurines.

The figurines – catalogue

We have seen that in Miletus IIC–d (2500–2000 BC) six local figurines and in Miletus IIIa (2000–1750 BC) one imported EC II (early) figurine have been discovered (initially studied by Amy Raymond: Niemeier 2005, 2, note 40). These are listed in Table 27.2 and described further below in the catalogue.

AT 97.151.1 *Canonical, folded-arm figurine, Dokathismata variety* (Fig. 27.2).

E 3549, Archaeological Museum of Miletus.

Miletus, Athena Temple. Trench Q 94.27 R. Miletus IIIa (MBA). EC II early (Keros-Syros culture).

Height 40 mm; width 14 mm (neck), 26 mm (head); thickness 12–20 mm.

Fine-grained white, homogenous, well-crystalised, possibly Naxian (?) marble with high translucency. Well, but not highly polished. Preserved are the head and a part of the neck. The edge at the top right of head is missing. The triangular head is thin and flat in profile, with straight cheeks and a rounded, slightly protruding chin. The face is dominated by a smooth elaborated nose, set quite high on it and not in the middle axis of the face, giving the impression of turning to the left. The head is slightly tilted backward. The head and the neck are not clearly distinguished at the back.

Reference: von Graeve 1999, 586, fig. 11; Niemeier 2000, 128–9, fig. 5; 2005, 2, col. pl. 3; Niemeier 2007b, 8, pl. 1.3; Sotirakopoulou & Şahoğlu 2011, 288 no. 205.

Cf. Tsountas 1898, pl. 10, 1 (Dokathismata, Amorgos, tomb 14); Dumas 2000, 163 no. 233 (unknown provenance); Sotirakopoulou 2005, 236 no. 263 (Keros Hoard); Renfrew 2007, 265 figs 7.1–7.2 no. 464 (Keros, Dhaskalio Kavos); Kosma (this volume), MK1251, MK3033 (Nea Styra, Euboea); Kostanti & Christopoulou (this volume), EAM8973 (Aghios Kosmas); Papazoglou-Manioudaki (2017), EAM6174 (Syros); Sotirakopoulou & Gavalas (2017, no. 284: Tekes, Herakleion); Tsipopoulou & Simantiraki-Grimshaw (2017), no. 13532 (Petras, Siteia).

AT 95.256.1 *Schematic figurine of eight-shaped type* (Figs 27.3, 27.4).

E 3158, Archaeological Museum of Miletus.

Miletus, Athena Temple. Trench Q 95.11.

Miletus IIC–d (EB II late – EB III).

Height 52 mm; width 24–30 mm; thickness 7–9 mm.

Shape comparable with Troy 2B/2D (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27, fig. 127). Fine-grained white marble pebble with some grey oblique veins, non-translucent. Very well, but not highly polished. Entirely preserved. A few old and new scratches on both sides. Two symmetrical sharp notches above the middle height indicate the head and the body. Both views are flat. Both lines of its profile sharply shaped.

Reference: Niemeier 1997, 532, fig. 6; Niemeier & Niemeier 1997, 241, fig. 82.

Cf. Schmidt 1902, 279 no. 7436 (EB II–III); Easton 2002, fig. 155 no. 72–1052 (EB II–III); Milošević 1961, 55, pl. 34.4, 49.29 (EB III); Joukowsky 1996, 213 fig. 230 (EB IIIA–B); Warner 1994, 84, 214 KA 461, pl. 197a (Karataş V.2, EB II); Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 288 no. 199 (Bakla Tepe EB II late – IIIA), 341 no. 447 (Seyitömer, EB III).

AT 98.93.1 *Schematic figurine, plank-shaped* (Figs 27.3, 27.9).

E 3904, Archaeological Museum of Miletus.

Miletus, Athena Temple. Trench Q 96.4.

Miletus IIC–d (EB II late – EB III).

Height 55 mm; width 29 mm; thickness 10 mm.

Plank-shaped rectangular body with shoulders of type Troy 3B–C (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27–8, fig. 127).

Limestone, whitish with irregular grey and brown veins. Polishing not preserved due to erosion. Body and part of the neck preserved,

one edge of the lower part of the body is missing. Dark residues at the frontal view and scratches and notches along the sides of the body. Both the frontal and the side views are flat. The narrow and straight neck stands on two asymmetrical oblique shoulders. The trapezoidal body is narrower at its bottom and gives the figurine a spade-like form.

Cf. Schliemann 1881, 336 no. 221 (Troy IIg); Blegen *et al.* 1950, fig. 216 no. 33-324 (Troy I), fig. 360 nos 37-628, 37-258 (Troy II); Blegen *et al.* 1951, fig. 48 no. 33-436 (Troy III); Easton 2002, figs 134 no. 72-189a, 186 no. At. 166-3236 (Troy II-III); Bernabò-Brea 1976, 32-3, tav. CCLV. 1-2 (Poliochni giallo: EB II late); Warner 1994, 90, 214 KA 623, pl. 197b (Karataş V.3, EB II late); Bilgen 2015, 112 fig. 129 right (Seyitömer Höyük, EB III); Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 342 no. 458 (Seyitömer Level Va, MBA).

AT 98.98.1 Schematic figurine with triangular head and ovoid body (Figs 27.3, 27.6).

Archaeological Museum of Miletus.

Miletus, Athena Temple. Trench Q 95.12.

Miletus IId (EB III).

Height 52 mm; width 38 mm; thickness 5-18 mm (2 mm at the head, 4 mm at the lower body).

Comparable with types of Troy 2G-H (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27, fig. 127).

Coarse-grained micaceous marble with vertical veins, homogenous, well-crystallised, not translucent. Horizontal and oblique traces of polishing are visible. Head and part of the body are preserved. The top of the head and the lower part of the body are missing. Old scratches and notches on both sides and some black residues on the back. The top of the head and the lower part of the body are missing. Head and body are distinguished with sharp notches. Shoulders are smoothly elaborated and not distinguished from the body. Head and upper part of the preserved body are flat on both views. The lower part is slightly concave on both views. Both profiles have been worked quite sharp. To the same context belongs a fragment of an EC III askos with incised decoration (AT 98.98.4).

Cf. Blegen *et al.* 1951, fig. 147 nos 37-184, 37-158 (Troy IV); Lloyd & Mellaart 1962, 266, F1. 21 (Beycesultan XIII; Troy IIg).

AT 98.189.2 Schematic figurine of eight-shaped type (Figs 27.3, 27.5).

E 3908, Archaeological Museum of Miletus.

Miletus, Athena Temple. Trench Q 96.6 R.

Miletus IIc-d (EB II late - EB III). Dating: EB III

Height 68 mm; width 35 mm; thickness 14 mm.

Shape: Troy 2B-C (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27, fig. 127).

Coarse-grained white marble pebble with some grey irregular veins, non-translucent. Polishing not preserved due to erosion. Reconstructed from three pieces, giving the entire form. Many old notches and surface damage, in particular at the back. Two symmetrical smooth notches in the middle indicate the head and the body. Both sides are slightly convex.

Cf. Blegen *et al.* 1951, fig. 147 no. 36-265 (Troy IV); Easton 2002, fig. 167 no. 72-1973 (EB II-III); Lamb 1936, 23, pl. XXIV. 3183 (Thermi I-EB I); Joukowsky 1996, 212-13 fig. 225, 228 (MBA); Sotirakopoulou 1988, 118-19, fig. 5 no. 1962 (Akrotiri, Thera,

Cenotaph Square, EC III); Platon & Kyritsi 2017, HM488 (Zakros, Crete).

AT 98.406.1 Schematic figurine (Figs 27.3, 27.8).

E 3903, Archaeological Museum of Miletus.

Miletus, Athena Temple. Trench Q 95.12 R.

Miletus IIc-d (EB II late - EB III). Dating: EB III

Height 81 mm; width 45 mm; thickness 11 mm.

Triangular head and ovoid body, comparable with types of Troy 2G-H (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27, fig. 127).

Limestone, whitish with irregular brown veins. Polishing not preserved due to erosion. Head and almost the entire body are preserved. Parts of the outline of the body at its sides and on both views are missing. Head and body are distinguished with sharp notches. Shoulders are smoothly elaborated and are not distinguished from the body. Frontal slightly concave, back flat. Both profiles have been worked quite sharp.

Reference: Niemeier 2000, 127, fig. 4.

Cf. Blegen *et al.* 1951, fig. 147 nos 37-184, 37-158 (Troy IV); Easton 2002, fig. 159 no. 72-1845 (EB II-III); Joukowsky 1996, 213 fig. 232 (MBA); Lloyd & Mellaart 1962, 266, F1. 21 (Beycesultan XIII).

AT 98.429.1 Schematic figurine (Fig. 27.3, 27.7).

E 3905, Archaeological Museum of Miletus.

Miletus, Athena Temple. Trench Q 94.27 U.

Miletus IIc-d (EB II late - EB III). Dating: EB III.

Height 42 mm; width 30 mm; thickness 8 mm.

Triangular head and ovoid body, comparable with types of Troy 2G-H (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27, fig. 127).

Coarse-grained white marble, homogenous, well-crystallised, non-translucent, with grey horizontal veins visible mostly on the frontal side. Polishing not preserved. Head and part of the upper body are preserved. The top of the head and the lower part of the body are missing. Head and body are distinguished with wide sharp notches. Shoulders are sharply elaborated and are distinguished from the rather rectangular or trapezoidal body. Frontal and back are flat. Both profiles have been worked to be quite sharp.

Cf. Schmidt 1902, 279 no. 7513; Blegen *et al.* 1951, fig. 147 no. 37-158 (Troy IV); Lloyd & Mellaart 1962, 266-7, F1. 21 (Level XIII); Joukowsky 1996, 213 fig. 231 (EBA-MBA).

Discussion

The occurrence in a secondary deposition of a broken part of a quite rare variety of an EC II (early) figurine in a settlement outside the Cyclades, as in the case of Miletus IIIa, is of great importance for its economic, social and symbolic value. In evaluating these parameters, the following issues should be taken into account.

- 1) Old and new interpretations of the meaning of EC figurines as – to mention only some suggestions – divine idols, images of mortals, conveyors of the dead to the afterlife, ancestors, apotropaic

- images, and prestige objects used in rituals related with important stages of life or with the cult of the ancestors (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 71–2 with references).
- 2) The occurrence of EC figurines in funeral, settlement-domestic and ritual contexts in the Cyclades (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 63–4; Mina 2008, 75, 93, fig. 6.11; Renfrew *et al.* this volume). Some 21% of EC figurines with secure provenance in the Aegean derive from graves, while a smaller amount (8%) was found in settlements (Renfrew *et al.* this volume). Finally, at Kavos-Dhaskalio on Keros, an exceptional place associated with rituals and interpreted as a sanctuary (Renfrew *et al.* 2012), 65% of EC figurines with known provenance have been recovered within authorised archaeological fieldwork (Renfrew *et al.* this volume). Recent excavations at the settlement of Dhaskalio revealed more contextualised marble figurines, that had either ‘a domestic use in residential dwellings, or ... their apparent concentration in the buildings at the summit is associated with a special public use of those buildings’ (Renfrew 2013, 486).
 - 3) The distribution of figurines not only in a settlement phase contemporary with the time of their production, but also in distinctive contexts of post-EC habitation levels. At Ayia Irini on Kea, EC figurines were found not only in EC II levels (Wilson 2017), but also in MC–LM IB and in LC IIIC (LC, Temple) levels (Hershenson & Overbeck 2017). It should be noted that at Ayia Irini, later re-contextualised EC figurines occurred in settlement areas in which deep trenches revealed habitation in the EC period, a fact that supports an intentional re-use of these specific EC artefacts over generations. Further cases are reported from the MC–LC phases at Phylakopi II–III on Melos (Renfrew & Boyd 2017), from a Late Helladic IIIC Mansion at Koukounaries on Paros (Katsarou & Schilardi 2017), and from the LC IA Cenotaph Square at Akrotiri on Thera (Sotirakopoulou 1998; Dumas 2008; Dumas 2017).
 - 4) The distribution of figurines in Cycladic Bronze Age houses (Ayia Irini, Phylakopi, Dhaskalio, Skarkos, Koukounaries), or beneath them as foundation offerings (Ayia Irini III: Wilson 2017), in workshops (Building of the Figurines at Skarkos on Ios: Marthari 2017), in streets (Ayia Irini III), in open spaces (LC IA Akrotiri), or – in mainland Greece and on Crete – even among rubbish (Mina 2008, 73–5, 92–4, figs 6.7–13).
 - 5) The high percentage of deliberately broken figurines, as for example in the case of Keros (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 38–44, fig. 5; Renfrew *et al.* 2018), or repaired

figurines (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 67–9, table 2) in settlements, as for example in Ayia Irini (Hershenson & Overbeck 2017), and their re-use after the break recall discussions on fragmentation (Gamble 2005) based also on experiments that demonstrate intentional breakage of imitations of clay figurines from the Neolithic Balkans (Chapman & Gaydarska 2007, 7–8), more fragile than marble ones. For an investigation of an intentional fragmentation for ritual purposes the relationship between place, person and thing should first be considered. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that artefacts that become ritual may have been equally important in everyday contexts before their fragmentation, after which they may be used either in the same (domestic) or in another (communal) context (Gamble 2005, 89). Ritual killing of figurines, pottery or metal implements may occur in particular with burial gifts for symbolising death, where the killing of artefacts in settlements and the preservation and use of their fragments depends on local social codes associated with respect for the ancestors and therefore with life and fertility.

- 6) The nature of the secondary context of EC figurines found outside the Cyclades is also essential for illuminating the conditions of their acquisition and of their adoption. This requires knowledge of political, economic and social structures, as well as of the symbolic codes of a non-Cycladic community acquiring an EC figurine.

The preliminary study of the limited archaeological evidence from Miletus I and II as outlined above shows a settlement with evolved economic structures that enabled, along with its strategic location at the Delta of the Maeander River, contacts with central Anatolia and other parts of the Aegean (Niemeier 2000, 125–7). Obsidian finds from Emporio, Tigani, Heraion, Kulaksızlar, Liman Tepe, Bakla Tepe, Malkayasi Cave, Miletus, Çine-Tepecik, Beycesultan and Aphrodisias point to a well-established obsidian trade network between the Cyclades and western Anatolian littoral, in which Chios and Samos appear to have been the most important links (Kouka 2014, 57–8, fig. 1 with relevant bibliography; Kouka 2015, 226). Miletus acted as the last station of this network on the Aegean coast and controlled further distribution of obsidian inland in western Anatolia.

Despite the absence of any EB I (later) –II (early) architecture on the islet of the Athena Temple – periods of a cultural *koine* in the east Aegean and of intensive interaction with the Cyclades (Kouka 2013, 576–7) – and the limited architecture of the EB II (late) –III periods, cultural levels have been found beneath the extensively investigated

MBA and LBA levels of Miletus. Abundant pottery includes fine grey and red burnished ware, as well as red-washed pots, such as handmade or wheel-made shallow bowls and hybrid *depas* cups of samian creation (Milojčić 1961, pls 14.6–8, 15.4, 15.8, 39.22), a very special ceramic product that imitates metallic prototypes (Kouka 2013, fig. 4 right). The decorated wares include red burnished bowls with plastic decoration, and grey burnished jugs with incised decoration. The imported pottery comprises several askoi (duck vases) typical of the EC III period (Phylakopi I.2–3; Niemeier 2000, 128–9, abb. 9; 2005, 3, fig. 3; 2007, 8, pl. 1.5.) and Early Minoan IIB miniature vases, such as a pyxis with vertical lugs and a juglet with a light-brown washed surface. The ceramics of Miletus IIC–d have parallels in Troy II (late) through Troy IV (early), Poliochni Red and Yellow, Liman Tepe V–VI, Emporio III–I, Heraion II–V, and Asomatos on Rhodes (Kouka 2002, table 1). Furthermore, the imports from the Cyclades and Crete indicate an active role of Miletus IIC–d in the local and more extensive trade networks of the Aegean EB II (late) and EB III (Kouka 2002, 300–1, map 1). Moreover, the presence of the imports points to contacts with coastal south and central Anatolia, as the metal-like form of an EB III hybrid *depas* shows. The extremely thin body and handles of this *depas*, as well as the lustrous surface, point to a very special ceramic product that imitates metallic prototypes identical with the mass-produced drinking vessels found at Heraion IV–V (EB III), which via Miletus were forwarded to Aphrodisias (Joukowsky 1986, 390, fig. 323), Tarsus (Goldman 1956, fig. 266, nos 508, 511, 512), and to Beycesultan X–IX also, together with EC III askoi (EB IIIa: Lloyd & Melaart 1962, figs 50. 46–47, sheet 6 no. 23–*depas*; figs 53.1–2, sheet 6 no. 35–askos).

Within the framework of highly active trade interconnections primarily for the acquisition of obsidian from the Cyclades and metals from Anatolia (Niemeier 2000, 127–9 with relevant bibliography) the acquisition of an EC figurine does not seem so surprising at all. The dating of the figurine to EC II (early), a period of intensive interaction that led to a cultural ‘international spirit’ within the Aegean (Renfrew 1972, 451–5, fig. 20.5; Broodbank 2000, 279–87; Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011), makes the acquisition of the Dokathismata figurine during this period and its first use in another part of Milesia possible, since the area of the Athena Temple was by that time below sea-level (see above).

The macroscopic identification of the marble of the figurine as Naxian, in combination with the scientific identification of the use of marble from Naxos for the production of many of the EC figurines found on Keros (Tambakopoulos & Maniatis 2018; Maniatis *et al.* 2005, 340–1), allows a hypothesis for a provenance of the Miletus Dokathismata figurine from Naxos. Contacts between Naxos and western Anatolia can be traced in EB II (late)

through an EC II beaked jug with a two-stage neck profile and incised handle found at Heraion (Milojčić 1961, taf. 44. 2–2a) which is identical with the one from Panormos on Naxos (Angelopoulou 2014, 226, fig. 3.68–jug).

We cannot be sure whether the Dokathismata figurine reached Miletus during the Keros-Syros phase or later, either as a whole or fragmented. Important in our discussion is its deposition in an open space of Miletus IIIa (MBA), which succeeded an open space of the Miletus IIC–d (EB II late–III), in which four figurines of Anatolian types were concentrated in the same area, along with a big millstone, most probably as protagonists of specific symbolic-ritual actions accompanied by the consumption of wine in *depas* cups and bowls of high quality. As the importance of figurines lay in their frequent occurrence in a context (*e.g.* at the settlement of Dhaskalio), the conscious deposition of four figurines in the open space and of two more, also of Anatolian origin, further south of them – some also partially fragmented – signify their role for the EBA Milesian community in commensal activities. Their abandonment followed by the levelling of this area indicates a farewell from this socially and symbolically important open space of the EBA settlement. The re-contextualisation of the Dokathismata figurine among the stone-paved open space of the initial MBA phase of Miletus IIIa leads to the assumption that this *exoticum* may have been previously incorporated in local feasts together with the Anatolian figurines for its symbolic value, as a link with the ancestors. The ancestors had obtained it either as a whole or as a part and used it firstly in another part of Miletus beyond the area of the Athena Temple, before its inheritance by the next generation. The final deposition of the imported Dokathismata marble figurine in the MBA context may indicate the sealing of the vanished past of the EBA ancestors. We can only wonder whether the EC figurine was used for the latter or for another purpose just once or several times during the initial MBA. To strengthen this suggestion I recall the concentration of EC I–II (early) figurines at the ‘Cenotaph Square’ of LC IA Akrotiri on Thera for ceremonial use (Doumas 2008, 170–5, figs 17.14, 17.15, 17.17). If so, then a late use of the imported figurine in the case of Miletus for feasting in the memory of the ancestors seems more likely. However, in the case of its suggested earlier context of the EB II (late) –III with the local stone figurines, it may have been used in commensal feasts for life and fertility. The latter assumption takes into account the Minoan sanctuary with an altar court found in this part of the LBA settlement phase of Miletus used for religious actions following the Minoan rituals for fertility (Miletus IVa, squares 315/585–590: Niemeier 2007a, 11–2, taf. 3.5). The evidence for cult in the Mycenaean phase of the settlement (Miletus VI: Niemeier 2007a, 15) offers

indications for ritual action as well as the dedication of this part of Miletus to the cult of Athena.

Conclusion

The quality of finds from the Temple of Athena at Miletus points to the presence of a flourishing harbour settlement at the Maeander Delta open to both the Aegean and the Anatolian world, which was inhabited without interruption from the MCh through the Late Bronze Ages. Despite the limited architectural evidence of Miletus IIC–d, ceramics of high quality, e.g. *depas* cups used by a local elites, EM II–III and EC III imports, and a possible symbolic context with six local Anatolian schematic marble figurines and one imported of Dokathismata type from the Cyclades (EC II early) indicate a settlement with evolved social and economic structures set between the Aegean and the Anatolian world with a strong communal symbolism, in which foreign symbols could be incorporated.

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