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An Ancient Cave Sanctuary underneath the Theatre of Miletus, Beauty, Mutilation, and Burial of Ancient Sculpture in Late Antiquity, and the History of the Seaward Defences

with contributions by Lucy Audley-Miller, Ercan Erkul, Stefan Giese, Sabine Huy, and Harald Stümpel

A cave underneath the theatre of Miletus in western Turkey has as yet received little scholarly attention. The area in front of the cave was excavated in the early 20th century, but the interior appears to have been left untouched and unexplored. A. von Gerkan published drawings and photographs of the exterior in his book on the city walls of Miletus, because the walls pass outside the cave[1]. G. Kleiner in his general overview of Miletus identifies the cave as an ancient sanctuary and notes two building phases, an earlier one and a Roman renovation[2]. In 2013 the city walls were again under investigation, now with a focus on their latest, Byzantine phase that had previously received little attention[3]. The Byzantine city walls have a gate in front of the cave, and in order to exclude the cave as a possible reason for this gate as well as to remedy the omission of previous research, it was decided to investigate the interior[4].

The cave turned out to contain a spring and can thus be identified as a healing shrine. It underwent two main building phases, both of which appear to be linked to building phases of the theatre, one Hellenistic and the other Roman; the earlier, pre-Hellenistic situation has been largely obscured by the later interventions. The cave contained terracotta figures and limbs that might have been votive offerings. 44 late antique oil lamps may also have been votives; they were buried inside the spring, when the spring was filled in at the turn of the fifth century A.D. or soon thereafter. The infill also contained marble sculptures from the stage building of the Roman theatre that had previously been mutilated, probably by Christians and possibly in order to mar their beauty. The infill hid the spring as well as burying the lamps and marbles. This appears to have had the twofold function of closing the sanctuary – probably in response to the anti-pagan laws of the Theodosian emperors – and of protecting the sacred spring, the votive offerings, as well as the marble sculptures from further abuse and destruction. In addition, findings from around the cave also shed light on the history of the seaward defences that may date back to Archaic times and, in the Byzantine period, were renovated to include a sophisticated gate with zwinger. The history of the fortifications frames that of the cave, the Hellenistic seawalls are key to a likely identification of the sanctuary as the Asclepeion of Miletus, and the Byzantine gate confirms that the healing cult was discontinued in late antiquity.

1 von Gerkan 1935, 88–96 fig. 57 f. 63–65.

2 Kleiner 1968, 73 fig. 47. Curiously, Krauss 1973 publishes the theatre without mentioning the cave.

3 S. Giese is preparing an architectural study of the Byzantine city walls. For first results, see Niewöhner 2013b, 181–186.

4 We would like to acknowledge and sincerely thank the following: The geophysical prospection served as field school for students from Kocaeli University (Ismail Kaplanvural), and it was funded by the Socrates/Erasmus Programme of the European Union. K. Thormann (Cottbus) helped S. Giese to measure and draw the plan in 2013 (Fig. 17). I. Cartwright (Oxford) took 360°-photographs of the cave's interior in 2013 (Figs. 20. 24. 27; see also

The following presentation of the findings from 2013 and the conclusions from 2014, when the finds were studied, is preliminary in character. A. Vacek started a new excavation project outside the cave in 2015, and it is to be expected that his findings will lead to revision of this paper and will further enhance our understanding of the cave. This report presents and discusses the following:

Ancient Buildings in front of the Cave, the Orthogonal Street Grid, and the Date of the Ancient Sea Walls
Arcaded Façade of the Cave
Interior of the Cave
- Architecture
- Excavation
  - Stratigraphy
  - Burial of Ancient Sculptures inside the Sacred Spring
- Finds
  - Pottery
  - Lamps
  - Terracotta Figures and Limbs
  - Sculptures, Original Context, Damage, and Defacement

Dedication of the Pagan Sanctuary
Extent and Chronological Development of the Pagan Sanctuary
Closure of the Pagan Sanctuary. Christian Mutilation of Ancient Sculptures and the Issue of Beauty
- Pagans or Christians?
- Mutilation
- Christian Beauty
- Pagan Beauty
- Pagans and Christians at Miletus

Early Byzantine Buildings in front of the Cave: Sea Walls, Gates, Zwinger, and Cross Walls
Conclusions

Ancient Buildings in front of the Cave, the Orthogonal Street Grid, and the Date of the Ancient Sea Walls

The cave is enclosed in a rock that forms a south-facing terrace in front of the theatre, above the Theatre Bay that has since filled with sediments and fallen dry (Figs. 1. 2). In the Roman period the rock was encased and partly replaced with an arcaded masonry façade (Fig. 3). Access to the cave is through a Hellenistic building and a Roman corridor that stand in front of the rock terrace (Figs. 3–5). The Hellenistic building is known only through its northwest corner (2.8 m × 2.2 m) that was excavated in the early 20th century and is aligned with the ancient street grid in the city centre[5]. One row of embossed foundation blocks and one row of finely dressed ashlars with chisel-draft that indicate a Hellenistic date[6] are preserved below Roman/Byzantine floor level. Everything above ground was probably taken down and re-used, when the Byzantine city walls were built in or soon after the seventh century A.D. (see below), as the walls cut across the southern part of the building (Fig. 4) and incorporate numerous re-used Hellenistic ashlars with bossage and chiseldraft (Fig. 6).

The Roman corridor connects the Hellenistic building with the entrance to the cave. The corridor is roughly 5 m long, 90 cm wide, 2 m high, and has

<http://www.360cities.net/image/late-antique-and-byzantine-miletus-an-ancient-cave-sanctuary> [15.07.2016]). S. Rühl and E. Baumann (Bochum) assisted S. Huy in processing and studying the small finds in 2014. I. Boyer and J. Capelle (Lyon) took reflectance transformation images in 2015 (Fig. 126). Permission was granted by the Turkish directorate of antiquities at Ankara and by Hasibe Akat Islam, director of the Miletus Museum. Funding was mainly provided by the German Archaeological Institute, president Frederike Fless, and director Felix Pirson. In addition, the Craven Fund (Oxford) financed L. Audley-Miller's participation and the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library at Washington D.C. enabled Ph. Niewöhner to complete work on the manuscript during a fellowship in 2014/2015.

5 von Gerkan 1935, 95.

6 Cf. Saner 2000.

Miletus

Fig. 1 Roman theatre and late Byzantine citadel, aerial view from south. In antiquity, the area in front of the theatre used to be a bay, and the brown fields in the background formed a gulf, but during the Byzantine period everything filled with alluvial sediments from the Maeander River and fell dry

Fig. 2 Plan of the city during late antiquity and the early Byzantine period; the east-west lane that may have connected the area in front of the cave with the city centre and the intersecting north-south street are plotted in green

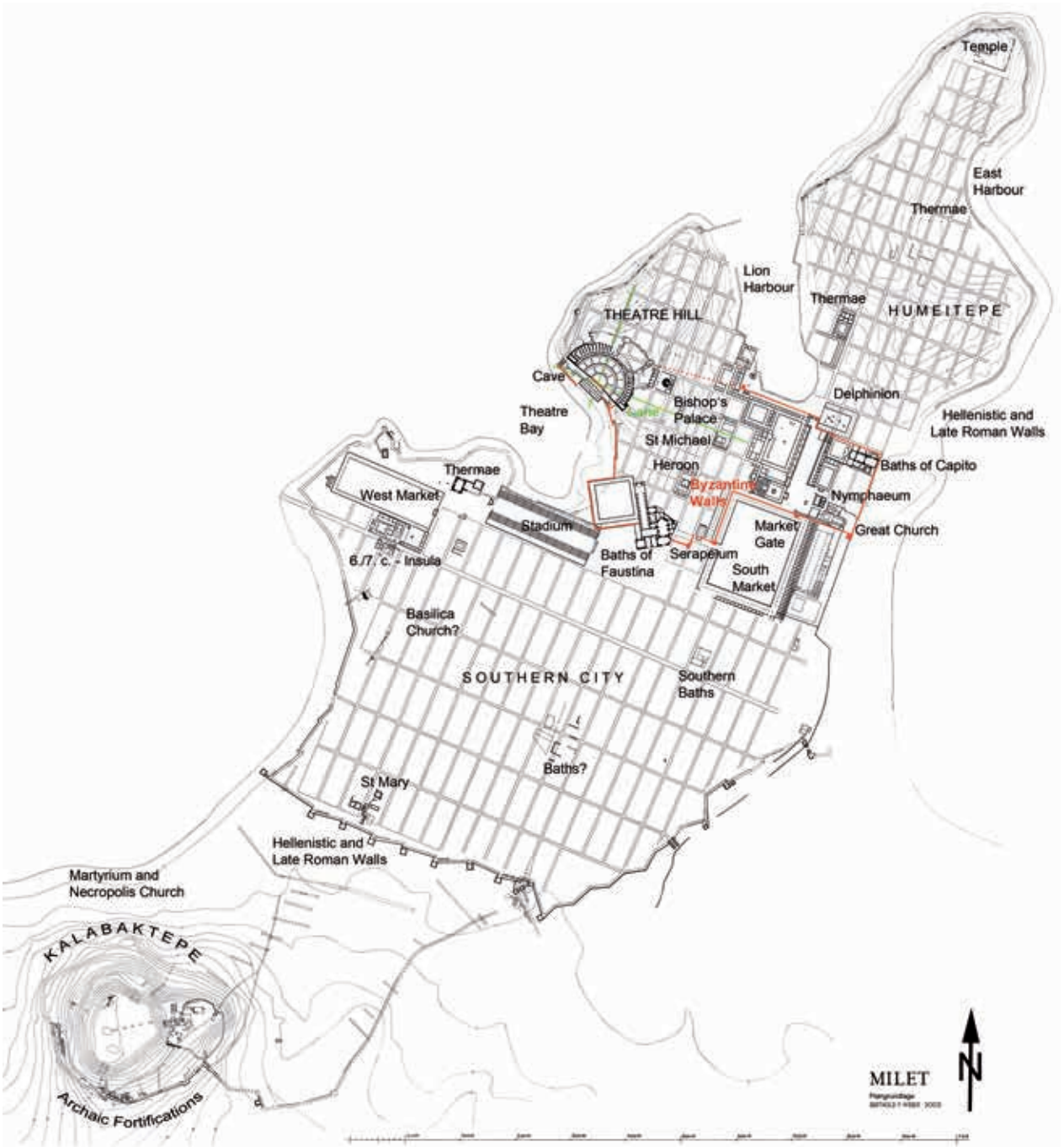


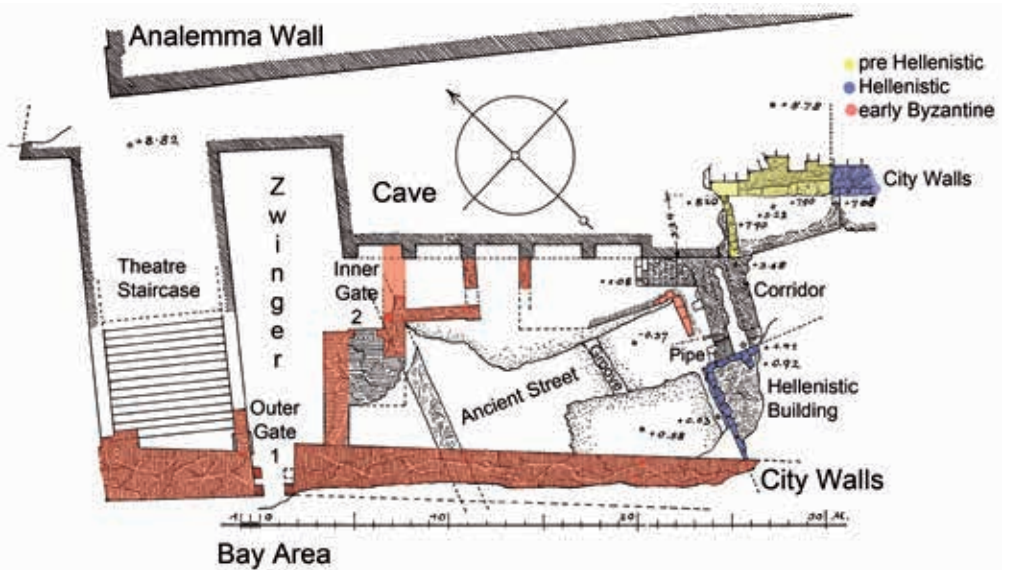
Fig. 3 Miletus, sieving in front of the arcaded façade of the cave, from south; to the right the entrance corridor to the cave, behind and above the western *analemma* wall of the Roman theatre, on the left the bay staircase of the theatre

a barrel vault (Fig. 3). The cave-end is fully preserved, the other end at the Hellenistic building completely lost. The irregular ashlar masonry with lots of cement mortar compares to the Roman façade of the cave (Fig. 7). In the interior the joints are still carefully and thickly closed with plaster (Fig. 8). The barrel vault was built with cement mortar and rubble, and the facetted underside preserves the imprint of the centring planks that held the masonry in place until the mortar had dried and hardened.

The corridor leads across and blocks an ancient west-east street (Figs. 4. 7). The street determines the alignment of the Hellenistic building and the odd angle, at which the corridor meets the façade of the cave. The western part of the street in front of the cave was unearthed in the early 20th century[7]. Cutting through the bedrock that slopes down from the Theatre Hill in the northeast towards the Theatre Bay to the southwest, the street forms a one meter deep and roughly three and a half meters wide gully. A deeper groove that traverses the gully at right angles in the direction of the bay may have been a wastewater channel. A ceramic pipe for freshwater ran along the southern edge of the street and is preserved under the shallow foundations of the Roman corridor (Figs. 4. 9). Such tubular freshwater pipes have been found in numerous streets at Miletus[8]. They were typically placed along the edge, whilst the centre of the wider main streets was often occupied by wastewater channels, which could thus be serviced without interfering with the freshwater pipes. The freshwater pipe underneath the Roman corridor indicates that the ground level had risen above the gully in the rock and marks a later phase in the history of the street. Other excavated streets at Miletus had also risen over time as would have happened easily, because most streets appear to have remained unpaved.

The eastward continuation of the ancient street to the east of the Roman corridor seems to be visible in the geophysical charts, where the southern edge of the rock-carved gully to the west of the corridor appears to continue north-eastwards (Figs. 10–12 structure A4). Structures to the south of this axis, particularly a massive structure to the southeast, seem to be aligned with the street rather than with the stage building of the theatre that today blocks the eastward continuation of the street (Figs. 10–12 structures A1 to A3). Above ground, the north side of the street is flanked by narrow rock-cut platforms (Figs. 4. 5. 13). Upon the platforms follow the remains of the ancient city walls

7 von Gerkan 1935, 95 fig. 63 f.
8 Kleiner – Müller-Wiener 1972, 65 insert 4; von Graeve 2005, 168–170 figs. 1. 2; Niewöhner 2015b, 203 f. fig. 41.



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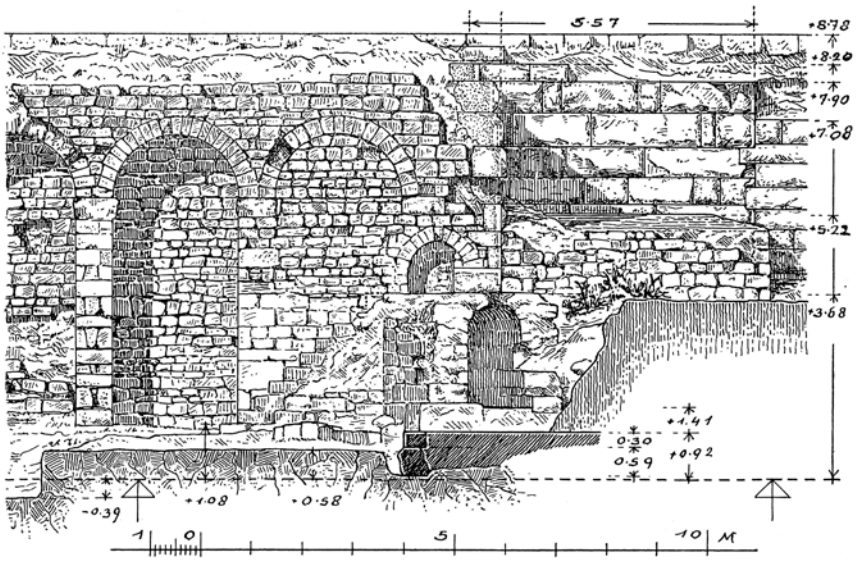

5

Miletus

Fig. 4 Area in front of the cave with ancient and Byzantine buildings (after A. von Gerkan; scale 1 : 400)

Fig. 5 Eastern half of the cave's façade (blind niche N4 to N6, cf. Fig. 17) as well as section through the Hellenistic building (bottom right) and the ancient street (bottom left) (after A. von Gerkan; scale 1 : 150)

with large embossed ashlars and with an alignment different from that of the street and the platforms (Fig. 14); the city walls have survived because they serve as terrace walls for the Roman theatre. The narrow platforms in front of the walls seem to make little sense, neither by themselves nor in relation to the ancient city walls; they appear to have come about because the bedrock was cut back in order to make space for the street.

If extended further eastwards across the ancient city walls and the theatre, the alignment of the ancient street tallies with the central axis of a row of insulae in the city centre (Figs. 2. 10). One of the insulae has been excavated and was divided along the central axis, with a temple of Dionysus – which was later replaced by the church of St Michael – on the southern half, a peristyle house – which formed the nucleus of the later Bishop's Palace – on the northern half, and a lane in the middle[9]. Other insulae in the southern part of Miletus were similarly divided[10], and the street in front of the cave may have been the western end of a dividing lane, until the connection was blocked by

9 Müller-Wiener 1988, 284 f. The lane as well as the streets to the north and to the west of the insulae were overbuilt in late antiquity: Niewöhner 2015b, 184–186.

10 The Southern Baths occupy the southern half of an insula, and the northern half appears to have been a separate plot: Niewöhner 2015a, 179. Insulae in the southeastern quarter of the city were also subdivided into smaller plots, as is plain from the results of a geomagnetic survey: Stümpel et al. 2005, 187 f. fig. 4.

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Miletus

Fig. 6 Early Byzantine city walls in front of the cave, eastern section, inner wall surface including Hellenistic ashlars with bossage and chisel-draft, as well as stadium benches, from north

Fig. 7 Old excavation area in front of the cave, on the right the ancient street, on the left the arcaded façade of the cave with blind niche N1 to N6 (cf. Fig. 17), from west

Fig. 8 Corridor and entrance into the cave, from southwest

Fig. 9 Tubular freshwater pipe that runs along the ancient street and has been preserved under the foundations of the Roman corridor, from west

the Hellenistic theatre. Lanes were side streets, which can explain why the rock-cut gully in front of the cave is relatively small in comparison to some of the main streets in the city centre[11]. However, the lane in front of the cave would have derived some importance from being the only direct connection to the bay area in front of the theatre; it may in fact have been built for that reason; the southern next main street ends on a high terrace to the south of the theatre and does not provide access to the bay (Figs. 1. 2).

The first stage building of the theatre dates from the Hellenistic period[12]. Earlier on, the pre-Hellenistic theatre had been smaller and had not extended southward beyond the axis of the lane[13]. The ancient city walls predate the first stage building and may have had a gate where they crossed the lane. The crossing was later overbuilt by the Hellenistic theatre and remains inaccessible, but an earlier gate appears likely for three reasons: (a) the gate would have provided access to the bay area that was otherwise cut off from the city (Fig. 2); (b) the gate would have been located at the intersection with a north-south oriented street, the northern continuation of which was eventually incorporated into the theatre whilst the southern end may have provided additional access to the bay area; (c) the gate would also have marked the centre of the ancient

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11 For the street system of Miletus, see Weber 2007.
12 Krauss 1973, vol. 1, 5–12.
13 Krauss 1973, vol. 1, 2.

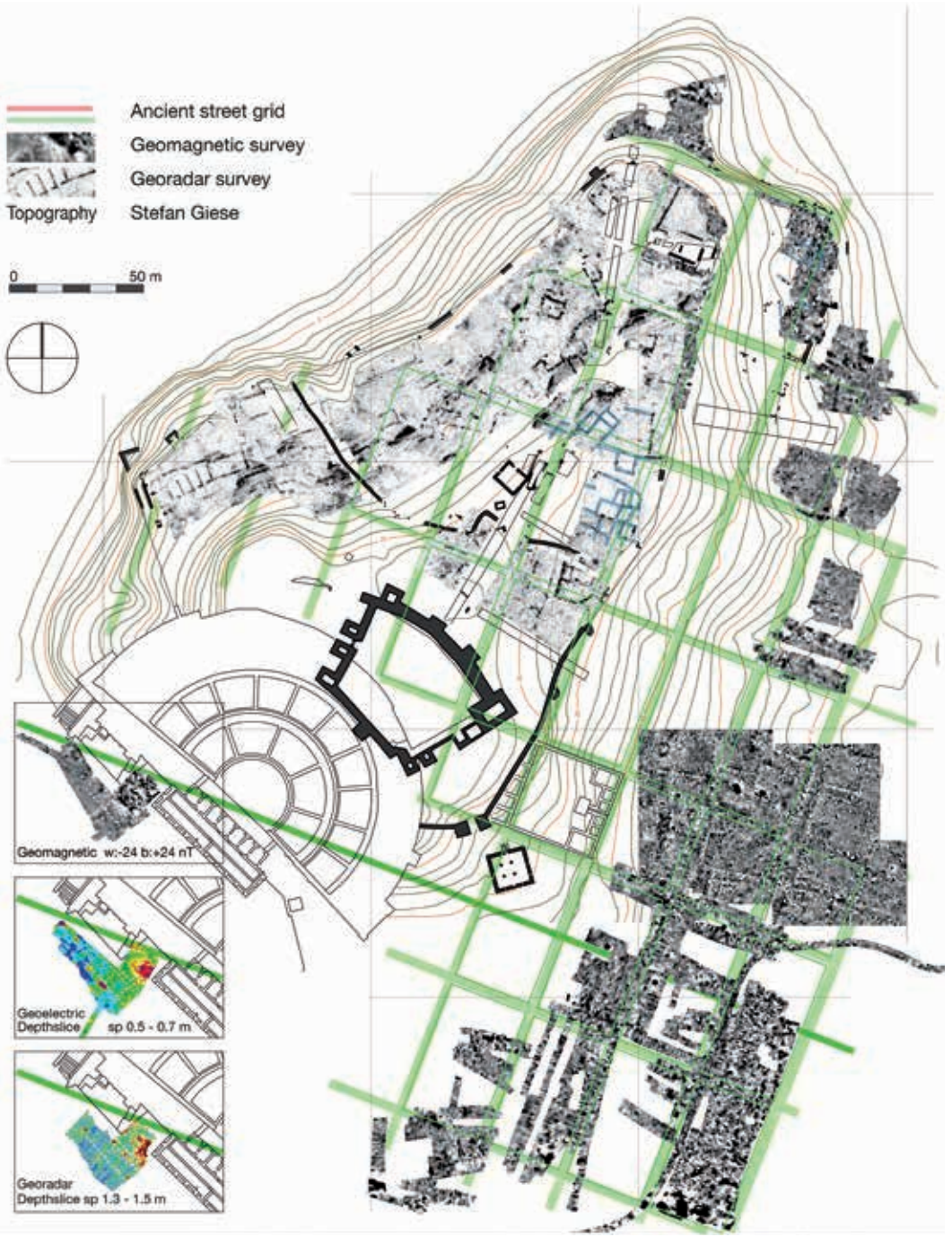


Fig. 10 Miletus, Theatre Hill with ancient street grid (green) and irregular late Byzantine occupation (geo-radar and blue) (scale 1 : 2500)

city walls, where they served as coulisse and backdrop of the pre-Hellenistic theatre[14], and this would explain why the theatre was centred on the crossing with the lane[15].

The problem of access resurfaced in the Byzantine period when the bay area was refortified in or soon after the seventh century A.D.[16], after the

14 von Gerkan 1935, 107; de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, vol. 4, 22. Similarly, the theatre at Kadyanda in Lycia was also oriented towards the city walls, which – like at Miletus – appear to have been integrated into the Hellenistic stage building: de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, vol. 2, 105–111 figs. 155–168 pl. 18; vol. 4 pl. B; Frézouls 1985, 451.

15 Krauss 1973, vol. 1, 2.

16 For a seventh-century terminus post quem for the Byzantine city walls see Niewöhner 2013b, 186–189.

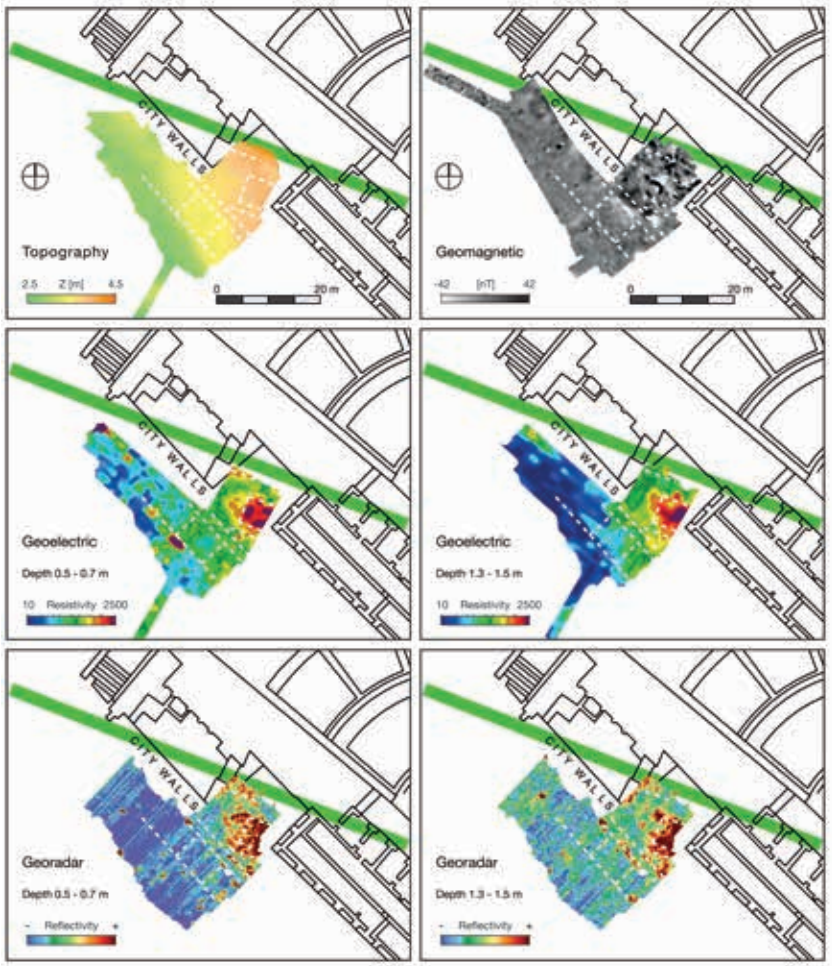


Fig. 11 Miletus, geo-physical maps of the area in front of the cave. The dotted white lines indicate suggested ancient and Byzantine structures. The green line represents the ancient street

defences had temporarily been given up under Roman rule[17]. The new Byzantine walls lie further south, include the stage building of the theatre (Figs. 2. 4. 14), and have a gate for access to the bay where they cut across the ancient lane, next to the bay staircase of the theatre (Fig. 16). The location of the gate (Fig. 14 Gate 1) suggests that the lane still determined the layout of the bay area, although the eastward connection to the city centre had long since been cut off by the Hellenistic stage building. The Roman bay staircase of the theatre seems to confirm that the lane had remained important throughout the Imperial period: The staircase ends just north of the lane and made sure not to overbuild it (Figs. 10. 11. 13). This was no small matter as the staircase would really have needed more space. Making it end before the lane meant that the steps are unusually high, 30 cm, higher than anywhere else in the theatre and uncomfortable to climb even for the tallest archaeologists, let alone for the smaller people of antiquity.

All this leaves no doubt that the bay area was once laid out in accordance with the street grid of the city centre and that the ancient city walls in front of the theatre were built later[18]. The other way round does not make sense, because the grid is not suited to the narrow strip of land that remained along the Theatre Bay, once the ancient city walls had been built (Fig. 2). The grid was obviously laid out at a time when Miletus did not yet have seaward defences. This used to imply a relatively late date for the ancient city walls, as the grid was associated with Hippodamus, the famous Classical city planner

17 See von Gerkan 1935, 126 f. for large sections of the ancient city walls that disappeared during Roman rule. Lorentzen 2014, 102–104 argues (in the case of Pergamum) that the Roman destruction of ancient city walls in western Asia Minor may initially have come about in the aftermath of the First Mithridatic War as part of punitive measures against cities that had sided with Mithridates. Miletus was such a punished city (Rehm 1939, 8. 19 f. 38), the ancient city walls had last been renovated in Mithridatic times (von Gerkan 1935, 125; Cobet 1997, 273), and they may conceivably have been (partly) razed and rendered indefensible in consequence of the Roman victory. For the late Roman refortification of Miletus see below n. 239.

18 von Gerkan 1935, 105. 121.

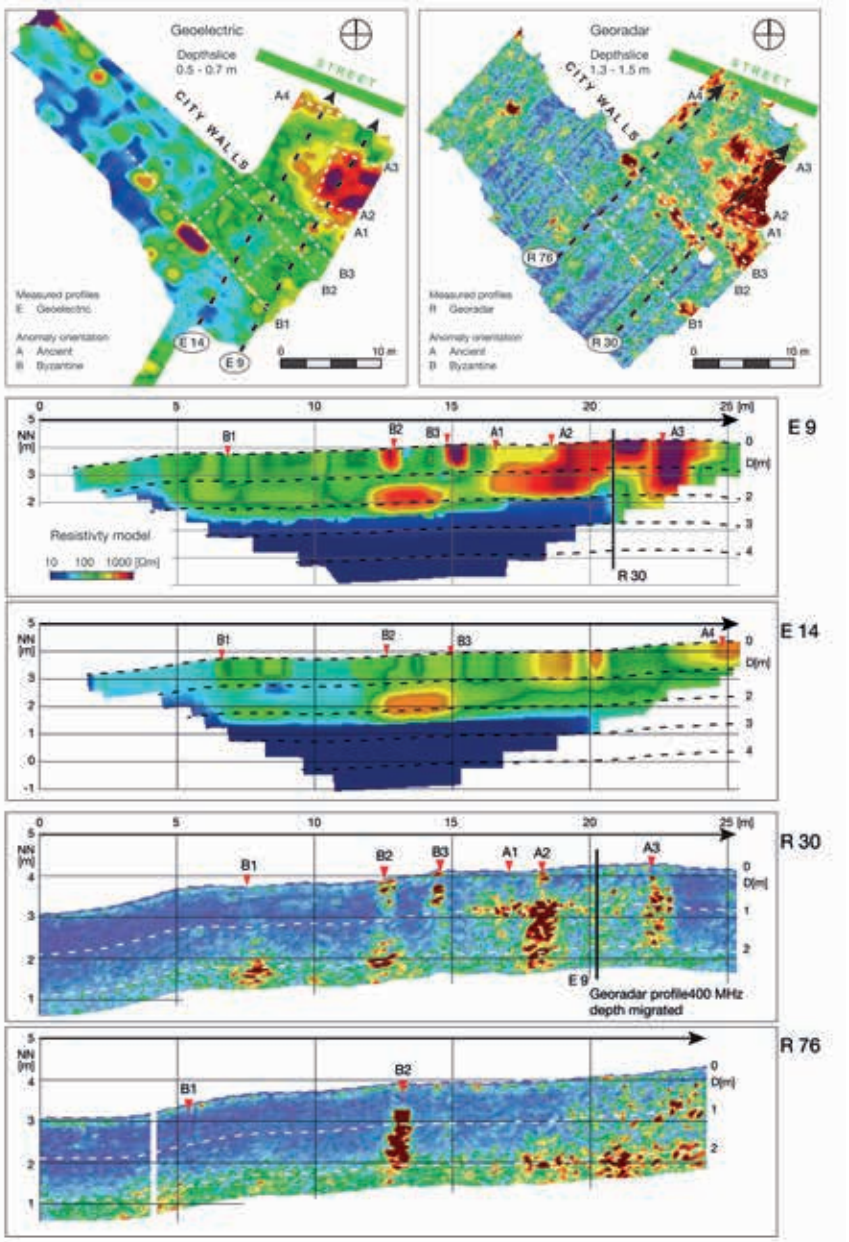
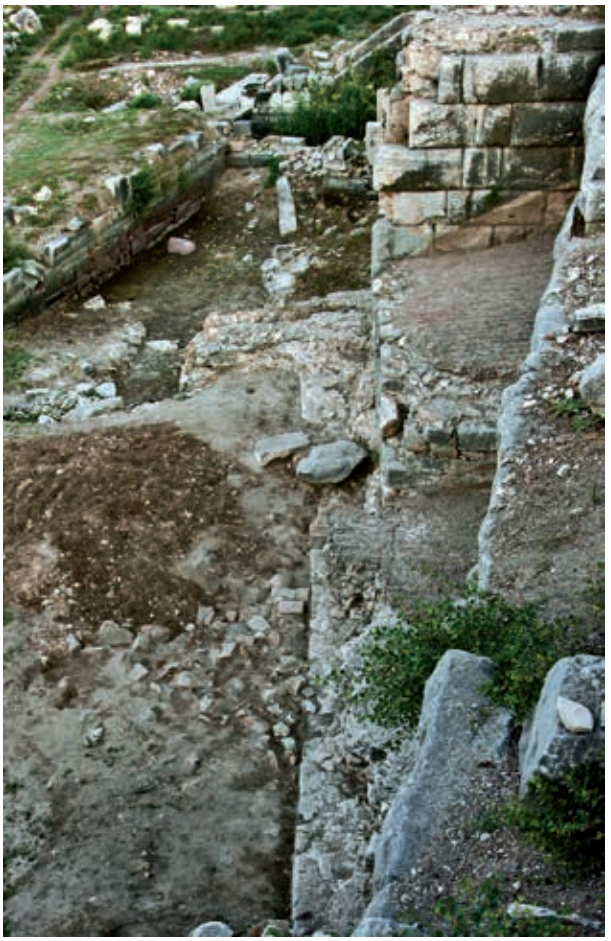


Fig. 12 Miletus, geo-physical sections of the area in front of the cave: at top maps with the locations of the geo-electric (left) and geo-radar (right) profiles; below two geo-electric (middle) and two geo-radar (bottom) profiles. Structures A1 to A4 appear to be aligned parallel to the ancient street (green), whilst structures B1 to B3 follow the orientation of the Byzantine city walls

from Miletus. Hippodamus lived in the fifth century B.C., when Miletus had to be rebuilt from scratch after the Persians had razed the Archaic city to the ground in 494 B.C.[19]. It made sense that the grid plan should have been established during systematic reconstruction work after large scale destruction, as happened in so many modern cities. A newly-built, Classical temple of Athena appeared as a monumental marker of the new grid plan[20].

However, more recent excavations have revealed an earlier, Archaic date for the temple of Athena[21], and geophysical prospection has shown that the grid plan once continued outside the core area of the later, Classic-Hellenistic-Roman city, where Archaic Miletus used to extend further south[22]. The new evidence suggests that the grid plan pre-dates the Persian destruction in 494 B.C. and was merely re-established thereafter at the time of Hippodamus[23]. This also makes sense, as streets and sewers form valuable infrastructure

19 von Graeve 1990; von Graeve 2006, 244–246.
20 von Gerkan 1925, 120.
21 Niemeier 1999.
22 von Graeve 2008, 13 f.; Weber 2007.
23 von Graeve 2006, 258–262. For a similar hypothesis on a lesser archaeological basis, see Müller-Wiener 1986.



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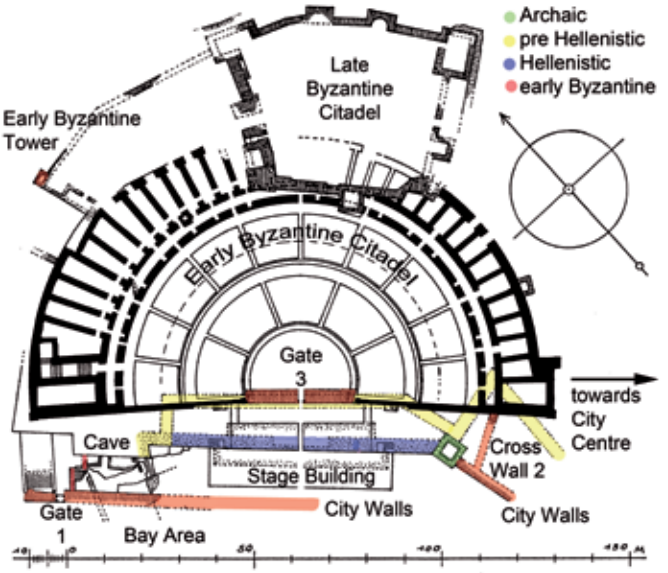

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Miletus

Fig. 13 Narrow platforms with *opus spicatum* (centre) in front of the ancient city walls (right) are aligned along the north side of the ancient street (excavated and visible in the background on the left), looking west

Fig. 14 Roman theatre and Archaic to Byzantine fortifications (after A. von Gerkan; scale 1 : 2000)

and were often retained even in modern times when carpet bombing had wiped out all superstructures.

It follows that the seaward defences, too, may date from an earlier period. Any time after the establishment of the grid plan seems possible. The central part of the ancient city walls in front of the theatre appears to have been erected in conjunction with the Hellenistic stage building (Fig. 14)[24]. However, the base of the eastern corner tower in front of the eastern *analemma* wall of the Roman theatre is undoubtedly of an earlier age (Fig. 15). It is built with elongated and roughly embossed gneiss blocks rather than smooth marble ashlars, and A. von Gerkan compared it with the Archaic fortifications of Kalabaktepe on the southern outskirts of the city[25]. Arguing on the basis of a Classical date for the grid plan and a later date for any seawalls, von Gerkan inferred that the Archaic tower in front of the theatre could not have been part of ring walls when it was first built, and should originally have served as an isolated watchtower[26]. This argument collapses with the possibility of an Archaic date for the street grid, which implies the same possibility for a complete ring of seaward defences[27]. The context, purpose, and significance of the Archaic tower in front of the theatre may have to be reconsidered. W. Müller-Wiener, who postulated Archaic seawalls already in the 1980s[28], but was rebuffed by J. Cobet for lack of definite evidence[29], may yet be proven right.

As to the cave, there is no doubt that it used to be enclosed by pre-Hellenistic city walls from before the time that the first stage building of the theatre was

24 von Gerkan 1935, 88–109; Krauss 1973, vol. 1, 5–34.
25 von Gerkan 1935, 92. Cf. a bastion of the Archaic fortifications on Kalabaktepe with equally elongated and roughly embossed gneiss blocks: von Gerkan 1925, 30 f. pls. 4. 15. Doubts as to the Archaic date of the bastion (Lang 1996, 214 f.) appear to be dispelled by more recent excavation results from inside the fortifications, where occupation was discontinued after the (Persian) destruction of the last Archaic settlement: Senff 1997; Senff 2007.
26 von Gerkan 1935, 119.
27 Müller-Wiener 1986.
28 Müller-Wiener 1986.
29 Cobet 1997, 277 f.

Miletus

Fig. 15 Archaic tower (centre), Hellenistic city walls (centre and left), and their late Roman renovation (right) in front of the eastern *analemma* wall of the Roman theatre (above), from southwest

Fig. 16 Early Byzantine city walls and gate 1 in front of the theatre staircase (left), the arcaded façade of the cave with blind niches N1 to N6 (right, cf. Fig. 17), and the western *analemma* wall of the Roman theatre (above), from southwest

built in the Hellenistic period (Fig. 14)[30]. A section of the pre-Hellenistic city walls survives to the east of the entrance corridor to the cave (Figs. 3–5. 13)[31]. It forms the east flank of the cave and the southeast corner of the façade immediately to the east of the entrance corridor. The pre-Hellenistic corner stones have intact surfaces on the east side and at the corner, but the southern surfaces were cut back in order to align them with the Roman façade of the cave. Originally, the pre-Hellenistic city walls must have formed an obtuse angle. They will have followed the natural contour of the terrain, as they used to do all along the front of the pre-Hellenistic theatre before the current straight line was brought about by the Hellenistic stage building (Fig. 14)[32].

E. E. – Ph. N. – H. S.

30 von Gerkan 1935, 88–109.
31 von Gerkan 1935, 94–96.
32 von Gerkan 1935, 88–109.

Arcaded Façade of the Cave

The cave's façade is built with ashlar masonry and subdivided into six arcades, five blind niches and a sixth closed arcade to the east, next to the entrance to the cave (Figs. 3. 7. 17). The blind niches are each 70 cm deep and 2.5 m wide. They are separated by 70 cm wide buttresses with imposts at the springing of the arcades. The westernmost arcade and blind niche N1 (on Fig. 17) stand out, because they are built with larger, more carefully dressed blocks, the imposts and the arcade are decorated with mouldings, the tympanum is set back and forms a deeper niche of its own, and the blind niche below contains yet another additional niche (Fig. 18). The larger and more carefully dressed blocks continue on the west side of the cave and tie in with the terrace wall of the Roman theatre and its bay staircase (Fig. 16). The massive construction corresponds with the thrust of the theatre above.

The additional niche in the westernmost blind arcade N1 has been hollowed out of an unusually large block, off centre close to the west side, in the third row of ashlars or about one meter above ground level (Fig. 18). The niche is about 1 m high, 1 m wide, and 45 cm deep, with a curving back wall. A moulded ledge along the base of the niche is provided by the protruding upper edge of the block below, in the second row of ashlars. The protruding ledge stands out 5 cm from the flush masonry and must have been provided for when the arcade was first built and dressed. It shows that the niche is a carefully planned part of the original façade. It is reminiscent of niches on the façades of rock sanctuaries, for example at Pergamum[33], and may have served as showcase for an idol and/or relief. The other examples are carved out of the bedrock and date from the Hellenistic period, and the masonry niche at Miletus may replace an earlier rock-cut predecessor that could have been destroyed when the rock was cut back in order to align the Roman façade of the cave with the Roman theatre above.

The central arcades of the cave's façade were built with smaller ashlars, many of which have since fallen out again and revealed the rock (Figs. 7. 16). Here, the façade was obviously not even carrying its own weight, let alone the thrust of the theatre above. Everything rests on the rock, and the ashlars served merely as a thin outer veneer. Towards the east, where the façade connects to the southeast corner of the pre-Hellenistic city walls, the masonry becomes more massive again and partly replaces the rock, which explains why arcades five and six are well preserved.

Arcade six is not only closed, but was further strengthened by a 1.45 m wide stairway in front of it (Figs. 3–5. 7). Starting from the west, ten ca. 30 cm high steps led up to a platform above the entrance corridor to the cave. The steps tie in with the masonry of the façade and the corridor, which confirms that all three were built in one go. 15 cm above the level of the platform the otherwise plain eastern end of the façade contains a 55 cm high, 115 cm wide, and 25 cm deep rectangular arched niche. The niche is centred on the entrance corridor below, which it relieves of some weight by hollowing out the masonry and by deflecting its thrust sideways. From the east a particularly long corner stone of the pre-Hellenistic city walls projects into the niche. The platform in front of the niche extends towards the east beyond the width of the corridor. The area east of the corridor has not been excavated, and it is not clear, how far the platform extends or extended; it may have provided access to the three platforms or podia that flank the cave to the east and fill the gap, where the pre-Hellenistic city walls step back to the north (Fig. 13). The core of the platforms consists of rock that has been encased in ashlar masonry (Figs. 3. 5)

33 Pirson 2011, 110–120 figs. 42. 43; 132 fig. 68; Pirson 2013, 93–97 fig. 17; Ateş 2014; Pirson et al. 2015, 285 f. fig. 4 a.

Fig. 17 Miletus, cave and area in front of it (scale 1 : 250)

Fig. 18 Miletus, small niche with moulded ledge under the western blind arcade (N1) of the cave's façade

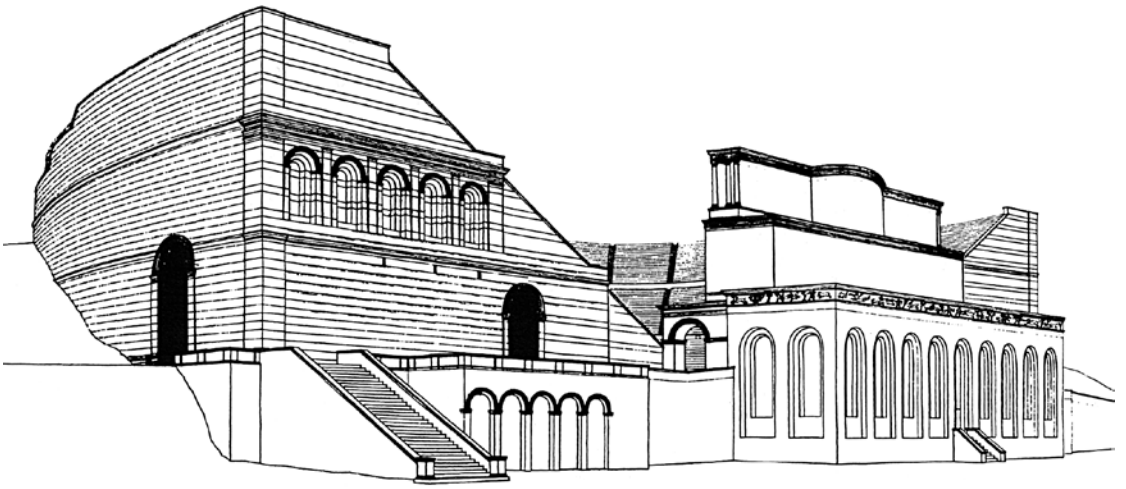

Fig. 19 Miletus, Roman theatre with second Roman stage building, reconstructed elevation as seen from the sea, from west

and covered with *opus spicatum* (Fig. 13). The rock underneath the western platform is partly hollowed out and contains the easternmost room of the cave (Fig. 17). The *opus spicatum* is tilted towards the south as if for the drainage of rainwater. The alignment of the platforms reflects the alignment of the ancient street in front of them, and the rock may originally have been cut back, when the street grid was laid out in Archaic times, whilst the encasing ashlar masonry and the *opus spicatum*-cover probably date from the Roman period, when other natural rocks and springs were also encased with artificial, built façades, for example the Asclepeion of Cos and the Peirene at Corinth[34].

The arcaded façade of the cave replaced a section of the ancient city walls and must have been built during the Pax Romana, when other parts of the city's fortifications were also replaced, for example by the palaestra of the Baths of Faustina on the opposite, southern side of the Theatre Bay (Fig. 2)[35]. The Roman intervention brought the façade of the cave in line with the ancient city walls and the theatre that had formed a straight axis since the first stage building was erected in the Hellenistic period (Fig. 14)[36]. The new façade was most likely built in conjunction with the new Roman theatre in the first and early second centuries A.D.[37], when the cave had to be integrated into the theatre's seafront. The new situation arose because the Roman theatre had more than twice the size of its Hellenistic predecessor and for the first time reached westward as far as the cave. The western *analemma* wall of the Roman theatre and a main entrance to the auditorium came to be located above the cave, and their façades overlap and blend.

The second floor of the Roman theatre's western *analemma* façade repeats the blind arcades in front of the cave, and the number and depth of the blind niches are the same (Figs. 16. 19). This makes for a strong visual correspondence, particularly because the eastern *analemma* wall on the other side of the Roman theatre remained blank (Fig. 1)[38]. The contrast between the two *analemma* walls may have come about because the eastern one was built first, before the western one and possibly also before the arcaded façade of the cave[39]. However, the arcaded decoration of the western *analemma* façade is highly unusual, and there can be little doubt that it was inspired by and referred to the cave. The arcades point to a close connection between cave and theatre; the cave must have been important for its arcaded façade to merit repetition on the second story of the *analemma* façade, where the motif was prominently displayed and visible from afar, for example from arriving ships[40].

Ph. N.

34 Cos, terrace wall II/III between lower and upper terrace: Herzog – Schatzmann 1932, 52–56 pls. 29. 30. 54; Interdonato 2013, 77–80. Corinth: Hill 1964, 70–75; Robinson 2011, 181–184. Thanks to S. Neumann for drawing my attention to the Peirene.
35 von Gerkan 1935, 126 f.
36 von Gerkan 1935, 88–109.
37 Altenhöfer 2009.
38 Krauss 1973, vol. 1, 148–173.
39 Krauss 1973, vol. 1, 189–195.
40 Altenhöfer – Bol 1989, 19 fig. 1. Additional blind arcades on the ground floor of the Roman stage building date from a second-century renovation; the first Roman stage building from the first century A.D. had not yet been decorated with blind arcades.

Miletus

Fig. 20 360°-photograph of the entrance tunnel to the cave: on the right the entrance stairway, in the centre the blocked opening into the easternmost room, and on the left the tunnel to the main room

Fig. 21 Easternmost room of the cave, looking west; in the centre the opening onto the entrance stairway, on the right the later masonry wall

Interior of the Cave

Architecture

The cave has a lower floor level than the corridor and the Hellenistic building in front of it, and access is facilitated via nine steps that are carved out of the rock (Fig. 20). The stairway starts with three steps at the northern end of the corridor and continues with six more steps inside a rock-carved passage or tunnel. The tunnel is narrower (70–90 cm) and lower than the corridor (Fig. 8), and the arched ceiling slopes downwards, following the gradient of the stairs. Six steps down and about half way along the 3.6 m long tunnel the east wall opens into the easternmost room of the cave (Fig. 17). The room is rectangular, 3 m deep and 2 m wide, with a low and flat ceiling (Fig. 21). The north wall is built in ashlar masonry, the top layer is missing, and one can see that the room used to extend further north. The extension included a second opening that gave onto the lower end of the tunnel and is now blocked by the massive ashlar masonry of the north wall (Fig. 20). The masonry wall is obviously a later addition; it may have been built in order to block the second opening to the tunnel and create a rectangular room with a straight north wall, or it may have been built for support against the thrust of the Roman theatre above.

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Miletus

Fig. 22 Rhomboid channel in blind niche N5 of the cave's façade

23

Fig. 23 Tunnel between the stairway and the main room of the cave, looking east; on the left the niche in the tunnel's inner, rock-cut wall

The way into the cave continues from the bottom of the stairs, where the tunnel takes a sharp left turn of almost 90 degrees (Fig. 17). The continuation runs parallel to the outer façade; its outer wall consists of ashlar masonry and corresponds to the easternmost arcades five and six on the façade. The masonry is up to 2.45 m thick and pierced by a 20 cm wide, rhomboid channel that begins on the outside at about one and a half meters above ground level on the east side of blind niche N5 and leads downwards into the tunnel (Fig. 22). The opposite wall, the flatly arched ceiling, and the floor of the tunnel are carved out of the rock. The rock-carved wall has two roughly 10 cm wide and almost as deep man-made holes above eye level; similar holes in the main room of the cave have counterparts in their opposite walls as if for the mounting of horizontal rods that could have held curtains or lamps (see below); in the tunnel the outer wall may have once also had corresponding holes when it was still carved out of the rock, before it was replaced by the current masonry façade. The tunnel is about one meter wide, but the floor is hollowed out to form a 1.4 m wide, 3.5 m long, and almost half a meter deep basin. The basin was filled in with earth before excavation and now constitutes a handicap on the way into the cave; it is too deep to step into it and out of it again, and if it gets flooded in winter, it will hold water well into the summer. It is not clear whether the basin was cut as part of the entrance tunnel or whether it remains from an earlier configuration that was superseded by the Roman interventions and cannot be reconstructed any more.

After the basin the tunnel continues for nearly another five meters in the same direction along and behind the façade. This section transverses several vertical fissures in the rock that result in jagged and irregular walls, ceiling, and floor (Fig. 17). Much of the outer wall consists of rock, but two gaps have been filled in with ashlar masonry. The eastern gap has a window-like opening that corresponds with blind niche N4 on the façade (Fig. 7); the contours of the opening are ragged, but a window seems likely, because the opposite wall of the tunnel contains a niche that appears to be illuminated through the window (Fig. 23). The niche is followed by a step in the wall and a bend in the tunnel, which slows down the passage and obstructs the view into the main room of

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Miletus

Fig. 24 360°-photograph of the cave's main room south of the central pier: on the right the fissured outer wall, then the entrance tunnel, in the centre the back wall with a niche, then the central pier, followed by the sacred spring and – behind and above the spring – the apsed niche in the west wall, on the left the outer wall with two windows

Fig. 25 The cave's main room before excavation, looking east: on the left the layered back wall, in the centre the central pier, on the right the entrance tunnel

Fig. 26 The cave's main room after excavation, looking east: on the left the layered back wall, in the centre the central pier, on the right the sacred spring, and behind and above it the entrance tunnel

the cave, so all attention stays focused on the illuminated niche. It could have contained an image.

After the niche and the last bend, the tunnel finally opens onto the main room of the cave. This room is about square and each side almost seven and a half meters long. The vaulted ceiling is supported by a central pier that has a slender rock-cut core of about 1.3 m × 1.5 m, but was later encased with additional ashlar masonry and is now 2.16 m × 2.08 m thick (Fig. 24). In front of the pier towards the façade and the windows a rectangular basin has been hollowed out of the rock floor. The basin is as wide as the original rock-cut pier (1.5 m) and used to be square, but now the 30 cm thick masonry encasement of the pier reaches down into the basin and reduces its length to 1.2 m. The basin is 90 cm deep, about half of which fills with spring water that trickles out of a horizontal fissure in the rock. A second horizontal fissure serves as a drain, so the basin does not fill up and overflow; when it was filled in before excavation, no water reached the surface and the cave appeared completely dry (Fig. 25). A rectangular area of about a meter square to the west of the basin as well as a narrower and longer stripe to the east have been hollowed out 10 to 15 cm below floor level (Figs. 17. 26), as if to catch spilled spring water and channel it back into the basin.

The outer wall of the main room consists of rock and has two arched windows, one in the centre opposite the spring basin and one further west. On

Fig. 27 Miletus, 360°-photograph of the cave's main room north of the central pier: on the right the central pier, then the eastern window in the outer wall, in the centre the back wall with a niche, and on the left again the central pier that throws a shadow on the back wall

the outside both windows had masonry jambs, the central one opening on the west side of blind niche N3 and the western window on the west side of blind niche N2 (Fig. 7). The central window has a monolithic sill with a notch as if for a wooden or metal inset. The western window is next to and illuminates a 2.7 m wide and 3.3 m deep, arched, and apsed niche in the northwest wall of the main room (Figs. 17. 24). The floor of the niche is raised half a meter above that of the room, no steps are provided, and the ceiling appears too low for standing upright inside the elevated niche. Two opposing holes in the vaulting of the niche, each about 10 cm wide and equally deep, are 1.8 m apart and could have held a rod and a curtain that would have closed the niche. Other, similar holes are situated above eye level on the walls and on the central pier of the main room, where any rods would have had to be at least 2 m long and could have held curtains or lamps.

The rear part of the main room to the north of the west wall-niche, the central pier, and the entrance tunnel in the east has a character of its own (Fig. 27). It is darker, and the rear wall is traversed by horizontal layers of reddish-brown and white conglomerate. Towards the front of the cave the layers tilt downwards and disappear under the floor level to the north of the west wall-niche and the entrance tunnel in the east. Much of the rear wall has collapsed, and this may in part be due to the horizontal layering of the rock, which includes a gaping horizontal fissure. The formation was further destabilized by seven rectangular niches, each ca. half a meter wide, at least as deep, and one and a half meters high, that were cut into the rear wall in regular intervals of about one meter. Thus the layered rock was subdivided into short and fragile sections, most of which have since broken out.

Three niches in the middle of the rear wall opposite the central pier contain vertical standing stones (Fig. 28); the intervals between them, where the layered rock has broken out, are filled with ashlar masonry. The standing stones consist of lime-stone that is similar to and may be identical with the lime-stone that was employed at the Roman theatre. The standing stones are square and of similar dimensions, about half a meter wide, a little deeper, and up to one and a half meters high. The front and the flanking sides as far as they protrude from the niches have finely hewn surfaces (Fig. 28). Other surfaces that would not be visible only received rough treatment (Fig. 29). This suggests that the lime-stone blocks were purpose-made for placement inside the niches.

28

29

Miletus

Fig. 28 Central section of the cave's back wall with three standing stones, masonry in the gaps, and the layered rock above, from south

Fig. 29 The cave's westernmost standing stone from west; the re-used marble on top has a finely cut left corner

The lime-stone blocks are each combined with a block of greyish-white marble of between 30 and 50 cm height (Fig. 28). In two cases the marble blocks sit above the standing lime-stones, in the third case, which is the one furthest to the east, below. The marbles are of irregular block-shape, and some of their visible surfaces are noticeably less even than those of the lime-stones. In contrast, the back corner of the western-most marble that is visible from the west, where the rear wall of the cave has collapsed, is perfectly regular and smooth (Fig. 29). This implies that the marble had originally been made for a different location, where the regular and smooth corner would have been visible. The current position above the standing lime-stone is obviously a secondary re-use, where a regular and smooth surface seems to have been of little concern. The rough rather than the smooth side of the marble may in fact have been preferred, as it blends in with the archaic character of the cave. A similar concern for a semblance of primitive authenticity has been observed at other ancient cave or rock sanctuaries in urban contexts, where this would convey a primordial aura in an otherwise artificial environment[41].

However, the standing stones and the ashlar masonry will have been added in order to strengthen the fragile back wall, when the Roman theatre was erected above and other parts of the cave were also reinforced. The lime-stone blocks could serve as piers and support a horizontal layer of rock above them that lends itself as a girder; it is stronger than the layers below and has remained in place, where the lower layers have broken away. On the left and right, where the layered rock formation slopes downwards along the sides of the cave, the niches cut through the stable layer and thus remained empty, because standing stones, i. e. piers, would have been of little use without a girder.

In the end only one niche survived intact and empty, the one to the right of the three standing stones (Fig. 27). A gap on the left, between the empty niche and the eastern most standing stone, is filled with masonry, but the niche itself was left void. This was probably done intentionally and in order to be able to continue using at least one niche for cultic purposes, as the area around that niche (Fig. 17, section 04, see below) contained numerous fragments of life size terracotta figures of obvious cultic significance.

S. G. – Ph. N.

Excavation

Stratigraphy

In 2013, the floor of the cave was mostly covered by soil that hid all but the most outstanding parts of the bedrock (Fig. 25). Small fragments of lime-stone appeared to have broken off the walls and the ceiling. Excrements attested to sheep having taken shelter inside the cave, and beer bottles were also present. The date of the assemblage was not obvious, nor was it clear – due to a lack of surviving records – whether the cave might not have been excavated at the beginning of the 20th century, when the area in front of it was unearthed. It was thus decided to excavate the interior section by section (Fig. 17), starting with the apsed niche (section 01), followed by four sections in the main room, one for each quarter (02 to 05), the western and the eastern part of the tunnel (06 and 07), the stairway (08), and the room to the east of the stairway (09).

As was to be expected on the floor, the soil was hard and compact, and it was also humid due to the humid climate in the dark cave. The sticky material had to be scraped off the bedrock and could be sieved for finds only once it

41 Sporn 2010, 565–567; Filges 2015, 103–106.

had dried in the sun. Larger accumulations of soil and finds occurred along the walls, in some fissures, in the basin of tunnel section 07, and inside the spring. In addition, the fissures also contained many small fragments of lime-stone that might have broken off during building work inside the cave. The finds were collected according to section and layer, the upper layer 01 being the soil above the bedrock, whilst the contents of any fissures, the basin of tunnel section 07, and the spring were separated as separate layers and contexts. Any layer or context got a four digit number, whereby the first two digits indicate the section and the second two digits the layer or context within that section.

The spring came to light in sections 02 and 05, beginning with a covering layer of roof tiles (0203 and 0503), after which all of the spring was referred to as section 05. The lower next context (0504) contained more roof tiles as well as numerous oil lamps and a small part of a marble head (**S2**). This was followed by more of the same material (0505), including a small fragment of a marble relief (**S6**). The remaining infill consisted of gooey mud (0506) and appeared to contain large fieldstones that turned out to be sculpted marbles, when the mud was removed (**S1**, **S3**, and **S5**). The final context (0507) comprises a few more bits and pieces from the bottom of the spring.

Burial of Ancient Sculptures inside the Sacred Spring

The spring in the centre of the cave was invisible and unknown until the excavation in 2013. The hole in the ground had been filled in and looked no different from the surrounding floor, because everything was covered with the same layer of brown sediment (Fig. 25). The spring water did not rise to the upper edge of the hole, but leaked away through a horizontal fissure of the rock. The drainage was aided by an infill of marbles and pottery that formed relatively loose packing with enough gaps for the water to seep through. This was topped by a layer of roof tiles that lent some horizontal stability and – once covered with dirt – became indistinguishable from the equally dirty rock floor.

Apart from closing the hole, providing drainage, and thereby effectively making the spring disappear, the infill also seems to have served to bury the marbles. This is suggested by the marbles themselves as well as by the pottery and oil lamps that accompanied them. The marbles are heads and busts of sculptures, five in all (**S1**–**S5**), plus a fragment of Asclepius' rod (**S6**). Other body parts or stones would have filled and drained the spring just as well, and the heads must have been chosen for a special reason. A similar purpose is evident in the accompanying finds that included numerous complete oil lamps in working order. Few lamps were found elsewhere inside the cave, and intact lamps would not have been discarded. The interment of heads and oil lamps plus a cover of roof tiles is reminiscent of graves or of votive offerings; graves often included lamps, presumably because they had been used in the burial ceremonies[42], and modest graves were sometimes covered with roof tiles[43]; votive offerings also included lamps and were typically interred in or around a sanctuary[44].

Ph. N.

42 For Roman burials with oil lamps in the necropolis of Miletus, see Niewöhner 2016, 70. Cf. Heimerl 2001, 84 f.

43 For a Byzantine grave with a cover of roof tiles inside the theatre, see Krauss 1973, 94 f. fig. 107.

44 For an early Byzantine deposition of late antique oil lamps next to the venerated grave of a martyr in the necropolis of Miletus, see Niewöhner 2016, 88. 98 fig. 251. Cf. Mastrocinque 2007 and Piranomonte 2012 for a late antique example at Rome. For some earlier, pagan examples from Anatolia, see Nohlen – Radt 1978, 33; Heimerl 2001, 85.

Finds

Pottery

Find Context

The overall number of sherds is 2941. Their findspots according to section (Fig. 17) and layer are given in Table 1. By far the highest amount was found in the main room (sections 02–05 = 2282 sherds). Approximately half of the sherds were contained in the top layer 01 (contexts 0201, 0301, 0401, 0501 = 1168 fragments). A lot of material was also found in the crevices of the bedrock (0202, 0303, 0402, 0502 = 497 sherds). The cover of the spring yielded – apart from roof tiles – 273 sherds (0203, 0503). The following contexts inside the spring also contained – next to the marble sculptures – an increasing amount of pottery, lamps, and terracotta fingers (0504, 0505, 0506). The apsed niche in the northwest wall of the cave (section 01) yielded only 39 sherds (0101, 0102), the western section of the entrance tunnel (06) only 33 pieces (0601). More pottery had accumulated inside the basin in the eastern section of the tunnel (07), where the upper layer contained 138 sherds (0701) and the lower layer 247 pieces (0702). The entrance stairway also yielded a relatively high amount of sherds (0801 = 157 pieces), whilst the room to the east of the stairway (09) contained only 45 pieces.

Beer bottle glass and other external finds clustered on the entrance stairway (08) and in the upper layers of sections 02 and 05 under the windows of the main room. Otherwise the finds are mostly ancient, and the marked difference in their distribution across the various sections of the cave appears

Tab. 1 Miletus, findspots of pottery fragments from the cave by section and layer

Section	Layer	Table ware	Amphorae	Common ware	Storage & cooking ware	Miniature vessels	not diagnostic	Amount of fragments	
01	01	14					8	22	39
	02		9	4	4			17	
02	01	9	17	1	2		182	211	615
	02	2	167	10	27	1		207	
	03	2	7	176	3	2	7	197	
03	01	100	54	25	19		404	602	709
	02		6	1		2	32	41	
	03	2	1	2	9		52	66	
04	01	13	10	32	28		48	131	174
	02	10	2	2	1	1	27	43	
05	01	9	6	23	8	1	177	224	784
	02	22	15	11	2	1	130	181	
	03	7	4	11			54	76	
	04	1	19	12	6	3	58	99	
	05			5	2		33	40	
	06	2	28	2	50	1	80	163	
	07		1					1	
06	01	2	8	4			19	33	33
07	01	9	10	9	2		108	138	385
	02	14	72	4			157	247	
08	01	9	3	20		2	123	157	157
09	01	12	1	3			29	45	45
total		239	440	357	163	14	1728	2941	2941

to be the result of ancient deposition. Room 09 to the east of the stairway has a higher floor with few fissures, which may account for the small number of finds. The same is true for the apsed niche to the northwest of the main room (01); however, a hole on the west side of the niche contained eleven fragments of the same, nearly complete mug **P24** that must have broken after it was placed inside the hole. The main room contained the greatest number of finds. Again, several vessels could be reconstructed almost completely and must have been intact or almost intact, when they entered the cave (**P47**. **P51**. **P52**). In two of these cases some parts were found buried inside the spring, whilst other parts were scattered around the cave (**P47**. **P51**), indicating that the vessels had already (a) entered the cave and (b) broken into pieces before (c) the spring was filled in.

The pottery dates predominantly from the Roman Imperial period, plus a good number of Hellenistic and late antique sherds as well as a few earlier and later finds from the Archaic and Classical as well as from the Byzantine periods. Roman pottery was found above floor level as well as inside the fissures, indicating that everything was thoroughly disturbed down to the bedrock during the Roman Imperial period. This can also explain why the Hellenistic vessels are poorly preserved and survive only in small fragments. Except for the spring and the basin inside the tunnel (section 07), late antique sherds occurred predominantly above floor level and did not invade the fissures.

Typology

In the main room, the Hellenistic finds include fragments of amphorae (**P26**), table ware (**P4**. **P7**. **P9**), and of one large kitchen bowl with a sharply bent wall (**P43**). The Roman Imperial period is attested by various amphorae (e.g. **P28**. **P29**), one fragment of an ESB cup (**P12**), some other fine ware (**P14**. **P16**), and some bowls (**P38**. **P39**. **P40**). Kitchen ware may also date from the Roman period or as late as the sixth century A.D. (**P44**. **P45**). The early Byzantine period is represented by plates (**P19**. **P20**), amphorae (**P33**. **P34**), pots (**P48**. **P50**), and some table ware with lead glaze decoration (**P21**). A fragmented plate of the Zeuxippus family IC dates from the late Byzantine period (**P22**) and the bottom of a jug with nacre-shining glaze from the 14th century A.D. (**P23**). Some Archaic table ware fragments and a foot of a Classical black-glazed kantharos (**P3**) also occur.

The spring contained a similar range of pottery (0503, 0504, 0505, 0506, 0507). It consisted mostly of bowls and amphorae from the Roman Imperial period (**P35**. **P36**. **P37**. **P30**) plus a few Archaic and Classical fragments (**P2**). In addition, context 0506 yielded almost all fragments of two cooking pots and a lekanis-style storage vessel from the third to seventh centuries A.D. (**P46**. **P47**. **P51**); most of the remaining fragments were found scattered across the main room, in the upper layer, and the vessels appear to have broken as or shortly before the spring was filled in. The older, less well preserved sherds from the Roman and earlier periods may at that point have been lying around on the floor of the main room and would thus have been swept into the spring as additional packing.

The apsed niche to the northwest (01) and the western part of the entrance tunnel (06) east of the main room yielded a similar range of pottery as the main room, including Archaic (**P1**), Hellenistic (**P25**), and Roman specimens (**P11**), but in smaller numbers and without diagnostic sherds from late antiquity and the Byzantine period. The eastern part of the entrance tunnel (07) contained again the full spectrum, including a Late Roman Amphora (**P31**), some sherds with Byzantine lead-glaze, Hellenistic plates (**P6**. **P8**),

and Roman ESB (**P15**. **P18**). In addition, numerous Attic black-glazed wall fragments stand out. The stairway (08) and the room to the east of it (09) also contained Hellenistic to Roman (**P27**. **P17**) and Byzantine sherds (**P53**. **P49**).

Overall, Hellenistic and Roman pottery is – as well as being most numerous – also most diverse, including table ware, amphorae, common ware, and kitchen ware of both periods. The Archaic and Classical periods are represented only by a few fragments of table ware. Late antique and Byzantine forms are more numerous, but also limited to table ware plus one ampulla (**P52**). Therefore, considering the quantity, the diversity of forms and wares, as well as the stratigraphy, three main phases of deposition are apparent: (a) a Hellenistic phase, (b) a Roman phase that disturbed the earlier Hellenistic contexts, and (c) the late antique infill inside the spring. The Hellenistic and Roman wares may conceivably have been used in conjunction with cultic practices[45], as can be assumed with certainty in the case of the terracottas (see below).

The late antique infill inside the spring contained the best preserved vessels that appear to have broken shortly before the spring was filled in, because other parts of the same vessels, two cooking pots and the lekanis-style storage vessel from the third to seventh centuries A.D. (**P46**. **P47**. **P51**) were found scattered around the cave. Another well-preserved vessel, the mug **P 24**, was found inside a cavity of the apsed niche, and two amphorae have also survived each in a large cluster of sherds, which suggests that they were used and broken during a late stage in the history of the cave. As in the case of the Hellenistic and Roman finds the late antique group also comprises a mixed spectrum that could have served a variety of functions.

45 However, the spectrum is more varied than in the case of the Roman Heroon III at Miletus, where the finds suggest memorial banquets: Pülz 1985; Pülz 1987.

Catalogue

TABLE WARE

P1 Cup (Fig. 30)
Inv. 0101.428.
Preservation: wall.
L 5 W 6 T 0,4.
Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4). Inclusions: mica. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous.
Decor: exterior: broad horizontal band: red (10R 5/8); interior: fully painted: light red (10R 6/8), largely flaked off.
Date: Archaic.

P2 Bowl
Inv. 0503.240.
Preservation: foot, wall.
L 2.3 W 5.3 T 0.5 Ø foot 10.
Broad, sharp bevelled ring-foot.
Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4). Inclusions: white inclusions. Grain size: fine (< 0.2 mm). Quantity: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact.
Glaze: on the ring: dull, thin, streaky: ranges from brown to black.
Date: Archaic.

P3 Kantharos
Inv. 0401.180.
L 2.1 W 5.2 T 1.2 Ø foot 8.
Moulded foot with grooved resting surface.
Fabric: pink (5YR 7/4). Inclusions: not visible. Fracture: compact.
Glaze: shiny, compact: ranges from brown to black.
Black-glaze ware.
Date: Classical – Hellenistic.
Analogy: Ladstätter 2010, 95. 129 no. K289 pl. 180.

P4 Fishplate
Inv. 0501.206.
L 1.6 W 6.9 T 0.4 Ø foot 6.4.
Low ring foot with a flat resting surface. Large, shallow depression at centre of floor.
Fabric: light brown (7.5YR 6/4). Inclusions: dominant: black and red inclusions; frequently: lime-stone. Grain size: coarse 1 (0.6–1.0 mm) – coarse 2 (1–2 mm). Quantity: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact.
Decor: depression filled with circles; ring around the depression: dull, black.
Date: Classical – Hellenistic.

P5 Fishplate
Inv. 0402.188.
Preservation: two rims, wall; three matched.
L 4.6 W 8.9 T 0.4 Ø rim 19.4.
Deep plate with short rim turned outwards and downwards.
Fabric: very pale brown (10YR 8/2). Inclusions: small black and red inclusions, rare: mica. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact.
Glaze: exterior: dull, thin: ranges from brown to black.
Comments: **P5** and **P6** have a deep corpus and a slightly projecting rim, which suggest a Hellenistic rather than a Classical date. In this respect, B. Sparkes and L. Talcott emphasise the importance of the entire profile for dating fishplates (Sparkes – Talcott 1970, 147 f. fig. 10 pl. 37), and S. Rotroff points out that the formal development of Attic and non-Attic fishplates differed (Rotroff 1997, 146).
Date: Hellenistic (3rd–2nd cent. B.C.?).
Analogy: Gassner 1997, 44–46 no. 99 pl. 6.

P6 Fishplate (Fig. 31)
Inv. 0702.309.
L 2.4 W 3.5 T 0.4 Ø rim 21.
Deep plate with short rim turned outwards, projected towards the interior.
Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4). Inclusions: mica, one large, white inclusion. Grain size: fine (< 0.2 mm). Quantity: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact.
Glaze: dull, thin: black.

Comments: see **P5** above.
Date: Hellenistic (3rd–2nd cent. B.C.?).
Analogy: Gassner 1997, 44 f. no. 97 pl. 6.

P7 Carinated Bowl
Inv. 0401.177.
L 3.2 W 4.4 T 0.6 Ø rim 10.
Deep, carinated bowl. Straight, rounded mouth.
Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6). Inclusions: red and white inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous.
Glaze: exterior: dull, thin: ranges from red through brown to black; interior: dull, thin: reddish brown.
›Knidian Cup‹.
Date: second half 2nd – mid 1st cent. B.C.
Analogies: Rotroff 1997, 233 f. nos. 1576–1579 fig. 96 pl. 124; Hayes 2008, 63 f. nos. 936–943 fig. 30; Handberg – Hjarl Petersen 2010, 223 nos. Dc 251. 252 pl. 114 (fabric and glaze seem similar).

P8 Plate (Fig. 32)
Inv. 0702.407.
L 2.7 W 2.8 T 0.3 Ø rim 15.2.
Deep plate with incurved, rounded rim.
Fabric: brown (7.5YR 5/2). Inclusions: dominant: white inclusions; rare: red inclusions. Grain size: medium (0,2–0.6 mm). Quantity: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous.
Glaze: interior: dull, compact: brown-black, slightly reddish; exterior: dull, thin: black.
Date: Hellenistic (2nd–1st cent. B.C.?).
Analogy: Handberg – Hjarl Petersen 2010, 201 f. 226 no. Dc 318 pl. 122.

P9 Mould-made bowl (Fig. 33)
Inv. 0501.213.
L 3.4 W 4.4 T 0.4.
Fabric: light red (2.5YR 6/6); core: grey. Inclusions: grey and white inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact.
Glaze: exterior: dull, compact: black.
Decor: bunch of leaves.
Hellenistic relief ware.
Date: 2nd–1st cent. B.C.

P10 Mould-made bowl
Inv. 0506.267.
L 2.7 W 2.4 T 0.4.
Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 7/6). Inclusions: mica; rare: small black inclusions. Grain size: fine (< 0.2 mm). Quantity: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact.
Glaze: dull, compact: black.
Decor: below: horizontal band with tight grid; above: figural scene.
Hellenistic relief ware.
Date: 2nd–1st cent. B.C.

P11 Bowl (Fig. 34)
Inv. 0101.1.
L 3.3 W 2.1 T 0.3 Ø rim 9.
Deep echinus bowl with straight wall and incurved rim, bevelled to inside.
Fabric: reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6). Inclusions: dominant: small white; frequently: small black; rare: red inclusions, mica. Grain size: fine (< 0.2 mm) – medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact with few larger voids.
Glaze: dull, thick: red (2.5YR 4/6).
Eastern Sigillata B.
Comments: Echinus bowls originated in the Classical period and – on the Agora at Athens – are attested until the second half of the 2nd cent. B.C. (Rotroff 1997, 146–148 pls. 50. 51. 63–65). However, **P11** has the fabric and glaze typical for ESB and probably belongs to the first series of ESB that was issued in the last quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. (Hayes 2008, 31). At Ephesus echinus bowls are still attested for the Augustan period (Ladstätter 2010, 94).
Date: last quarter 1st cent. B.C. – beginning 1st cent. A.D.
Analogies: Rotroff 1997, 163. 343 no. 1025 fig. 63 pl. 77; Ladstätter 2010, 94 f. 120 no. K192 pl. 174.

P12 Bowl (Fig. 35)
Inv. 0401.148.
L 2.4 W 3.4 T 0.3 Ø rim 13.
Deep bowl, rim curved inwards.
Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6). Inclusions: mica; lime-stone. Grain size: fine (< 0.2 mm) and coarse 1 (0.6–1.0 mm). Quantity: mica: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²); lime-stone: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous, laminated.
Glaze: dull, compact: red (10R 5/8).
Eastern Sigillata B?
Date: late Hellenistic – Roman Imperial.
Analogies: Atlante 1985, 59 form 29 pl. 12, 26. 27.

P13 Bowl
Inv. 0502.224.
L 2.3 W 2.5 T 0.3.
Deep bowl, rim turned outwards. Two deep grooves on both sides.
Fabric: fracture: pink (5YR 8/3). Inclusions: mica. Grain size: fine (< 0.2 mm). Quantity: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact, grainy.
Glaze: silky shine, interior: red (2.5YR 4/8); exterior: reddish brown (5YR 5/4).
Eastern Sigillata B.
Date: late Hellenistic – Roman Imperial.
Analogies: Atlante 1985, 59 form 29 pl. 12, 26. 27.

P14 Jug (Fig. 36)
Inv. 0401.157.
Preservation: three handles; two matched, belonging to two vessels.
L 6.7 W 2.3 T 0.4–0.7.
Vertical, double-grooved handle. Section elliptical.
Fabric: light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4). Inclusions: mica; reddish inclusions, lime-stone. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm) – coarse 1 (0.6–1.0 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: coarse porous.
Glaze: thin, dull: one handle dark brown (7.5YR 3/2), the others: red (10R 5/6).
Date: late Hellenistic – Roman Imperial.
Analogy: Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988, 173 pl. 25.388.

P15 Mug
Inv. 0702.412.
L 3.1 W 2.6 T 0.4 Ø rim 7.4.
Mug with straight rim, bevelled to inside. On the exterior three sharp-edged ridges.
Fabric: reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6). Inclusions: mica. Grain size: fine (< 0.2 mm) – medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: hackly.
Glaze: interior and exterior: dull, thin: red (2.5YR 5/6).
Eastern Sigillata B.
Date: early Roman Imperial.
Analogy: no direct analogy was found; cf. Mitspopoulos-Leon 1991, 106. 121 no. H 205a pl. 164.

P16 Jug (Fig. 37)
Inv. 0401.171.
L 2.9 W 2.7 T 0.2 Ø rim 10.
Funnel-shaped neck with roundish rim turned outwards. Two thin grooves underneath the rim.
Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6). Inclusions: dominant: mica; rare: lime-stone. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact.
Glaze: thin, dull: red (10R 5/6), flaked off.
Date: second to third quarter 1st cent. A.D.
Analogies: Pülz 1985, 83 f. form 14 nos. 30. 31 fig. 3.

P17 Jug (Fig. 38)
Inv. 0901.327.
L 3.7 W 4.4 T 0.4 Ø rim 6.4.
Jug with straight rim. On the exterior two sharp-edged ridges.
Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6). Inclusions: golden mica. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous.
Glaze: interior and exterior: dull, compact: red (2.5YR 5/6).
Date: Roman Imperial (1st–2nd cent. A.D.?).
Analogy: Krapivina 2010, 262 no. E4 pl. 153.

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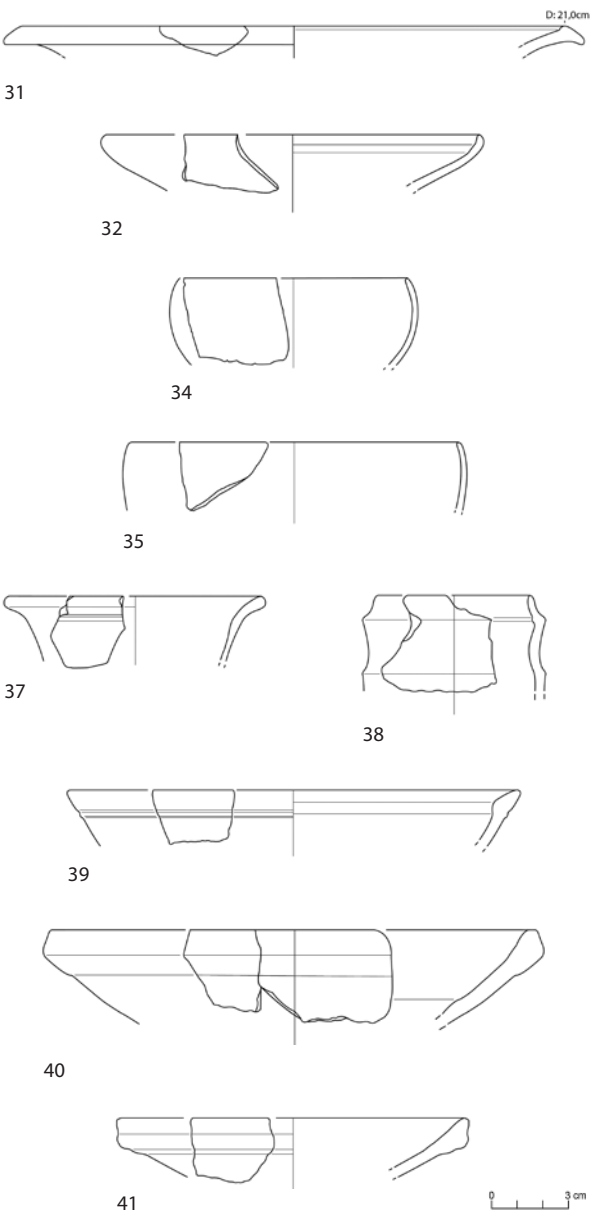


Miletus, pottery from the cave (scale 1 : 3)

Fig. 30 **P1** wall fragments of a cup, Archaic

Fig. 31 **P6** rim of a fishplate, 3rd–2nd cc. B.C.

Fig. 32 **P8** rim of a plate, 2nd–1st cc. B.C.

Fig. 33 **P9** wall fragment of a mould-made bowl, 2nd–1st cc. B.C.

Fig. 34 **P11** rim of an ESB-bowl, last quarter 1st c. B.C. – beginning 1st c. A.D.

Fig. 35 **P12** rim of an ESB(?)-bowl, late Hellenistic – Roman Imperial

Fig. 36 **P14** two handles of two jugs, late Hellenistic – Roman Imperial

Fig. 37 **P16** rim of a jug, second – third quarter 1st c. A.D.

Fig. 38 **P17** rim of a jug, Roman Imperial (1st–2nd cc. A.D.?)

Fig. 39 **P18** rim of an ESB-bowl, second half 1st – first half 3rd cc. A.D.

Fig. 40 **P19** rim of a plate, second half 5th – late 6th cc. A.D.

Fig. 41 **P20** rim of a plate, second half 5th – late 6th cc. A.D.

P18 Bowl (Fig. 39)
Inv. 0701.297.
L 2.6 W 3.5 T 0.5 Ø rim 18.
Deep bowl with rim, bevelled to interior. Two scraped grooves below rim on exterior.
Fabric: light red (2.5YR 6/6). Inclusions: dominant: mica. Grain size: very fine (< 0.06 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: hackly, few oblong voids.
Glaze: dull, compact: red (10R 5/8). Eastern Sigillata B.
Date: second half 1st – first half 3rd cent. A.D.
Analogies: Atlante 1985, 69 f. form 80 pl. 15, 15; Pülz 1985, 85 form 3 no. 42 fig. 5; about the date of the pit: ibid. 92; Gassner 1997, 127 f. no. 511 pl. 43.

P19 Plate (Fig. 40)
Inv. 0401.164.
L 4.8 W 8.3 T 0.5 Ø rim 19.6.
Deep plate with thickened rim, offset inside.
Fabric: fracture and interior: pink – light brown (7.5YR 6/4); exterior: light brown (7.5YR 6/4). Inclusions: dominant: mica; rare: white; very rare: black inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous. Group: NG 14.
Comments: **P19** and **P20** have the typical LRC form Hayes 3 f, but a different fabric. The form is characterised by the rim, thickened on the outside and with a ridge at the transition to the corpus. According to J. Hayes such rims date from the 6th cent. A.D. (Hayes 1972, 329).
Date: second half 5th – late 6th cent. A.D.
Analogies: Hayes 1972, 331–338 form 3 f fig. 69, 17; Gassner 1997, 137–139 no. 569 pl. 47; Meriç 2002, 69 no. K338 pl. 30.

P20 Plate (Fig. 41)
Inv. 0401.160.
L 2.8 W 3.2 T 0.5 Ø rim 14.
Deep plate with thickened, moulded rim.
Fabric: cf. **P19**.
Comments: see **P19** above.
Date: second half 5th – late 6th cent. A.D.
Analogies: Hayes 1972, 331–338 form 3 f fig. 69, 17; Gassner 1997, 137–139 no. 569 pl. 47; Meriç 2002, 69 no. K338 pl. 30.

P21 Cup
Inv. 0301.97.
L 7.2 W 8.9 T 0.6–1.2.
Fabric: exterior: reddish brown (5YR 5/4); interior and fracture: dark grey (5YR 4/1). Inclusions: dominant: lime-stone; rare: black and buff inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm) – coarse 1 (0.6–1.0 mm): Quantity: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact.
Glaze: thick, shiny lead glaze with small blisters on the inside: pale olive (10Y 6/4).
Date: early 6th – mid 7th cent. A.D.
Analogy: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004, 108 (»glasierte frühbyzantinische Ware«).

P22 Plate (Fig. 42)
Inv. 0501.214.
L 2.9 W 2.1 T 0.5–0.9.
Deep plate with rim, offset inside.
Fabric: red (10R 5/6). Fracture: compact.
Slip: on both sides: thick, whitish: pink (7.5YR 8/3).
Decor: interior lead glaze: dark horizontal lines and roundish ornament: very dark greyish olive (10Y 5/4); background: light olive: (10Y 3/2).
Date: 12th–14th cent. A.D.
Analogy: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004, 128–130 no. 100 pl. 62.

P23 Jug (Fig. 43)
Inv. 0301+0302.113&12.
Preservation: base; four walls; three walls matched.
L 6.3 W 13.4 T 0.5–1 Ø base 9.
Raised base, ridge on the exterior; s-curved shape of lower body. Shoulder fragment with vertical bulge below the attachment of the handle.
Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4). Inclusions: rare: lime-stone, buff inclusions. Grain size: coarse 2 (1–2 mm). Quantity: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous.
Slip: exterior: nacre shining glaze.
Decor: scraped grooves around the shoulder.
Date: 14th cent. A.D.

P24 Mug (Fig. 44)
Inv. 0101.3.
Preservation: three rims, base, seven walls; matched.
H upper part 3.5 H lower part 6.4 T 0.4 Ø rim 15 Ø base 4.6.
Flat base; body curved in the upper zone; rim turned outwards and bevelled to inside.
Fabric: reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6). Inclusions: dominant: black, greyish white (quartzite?); frequently: red inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: coarse porous.

AMPHORAE
P25 Amphora
Inv. 0601.283.
L 5.1 W 14.9 T 0.7 Ø rim 11.6.
Cylindrical neck with widely projecting mushroom-rim.
Fabric: fracture: pink (5YR 7/4); exterior and interior: very pale brown (10YR 8/3). Inclusions: dominant: black and red inclusions; frequently: lime-stone; rare: golden mica. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²) – abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact with few larger voids.
Comments: **P25** and **P26** belong to the so-called mushroom-rim type that was produced at various sites around the Mediterranean, among them Rhodes, Cos, Klazomenai, Peparethos, and Ephesus (Zeest 1960, 94 pls. 14–16; Doğer 1986, 469–471; Doulgéri-Intzessiloglou – Garlan 1990, 386–388; Vaag et al. 2002, 60–62 fig. 20; Bezeczky 2013, 62. For further discussion, see Nørskov 2004, 289 f.). **P25** and **P26** are made of a fine fabric with a relatively high amount of golden mica, which is typical for the Maeander Valley and results from the strong metamorphism of the Menderes Massive. A large amount of mushroom-rim type amphorae with the same fabric was found on Humeitepe (ongoing survey, preliminary report forthcoming) and a local Milesian production seems likely. In the Eastern Mediterranean these amphorae date from the late 5th–3rd cent. B.C.
Date: late 4th – early 3rd cent. B.C.
Analogy: Lawall 2004, 179 fig. 3.

P26 Amphora (Fig. 45)
Inv. 0301.83.
L 2.9 W 10.8 T 0.6 Ø rim 22.4.
Cylindrical neck with projecting, rounded mushroom-rim; turned-down.
Fabric: cf. **P25**.
Comments: see **P25** above.
Date: second half 3rd – mid 2nd cent. B.C.
Analogies: Lawall 2004, 180 f. figs. 5. 6.

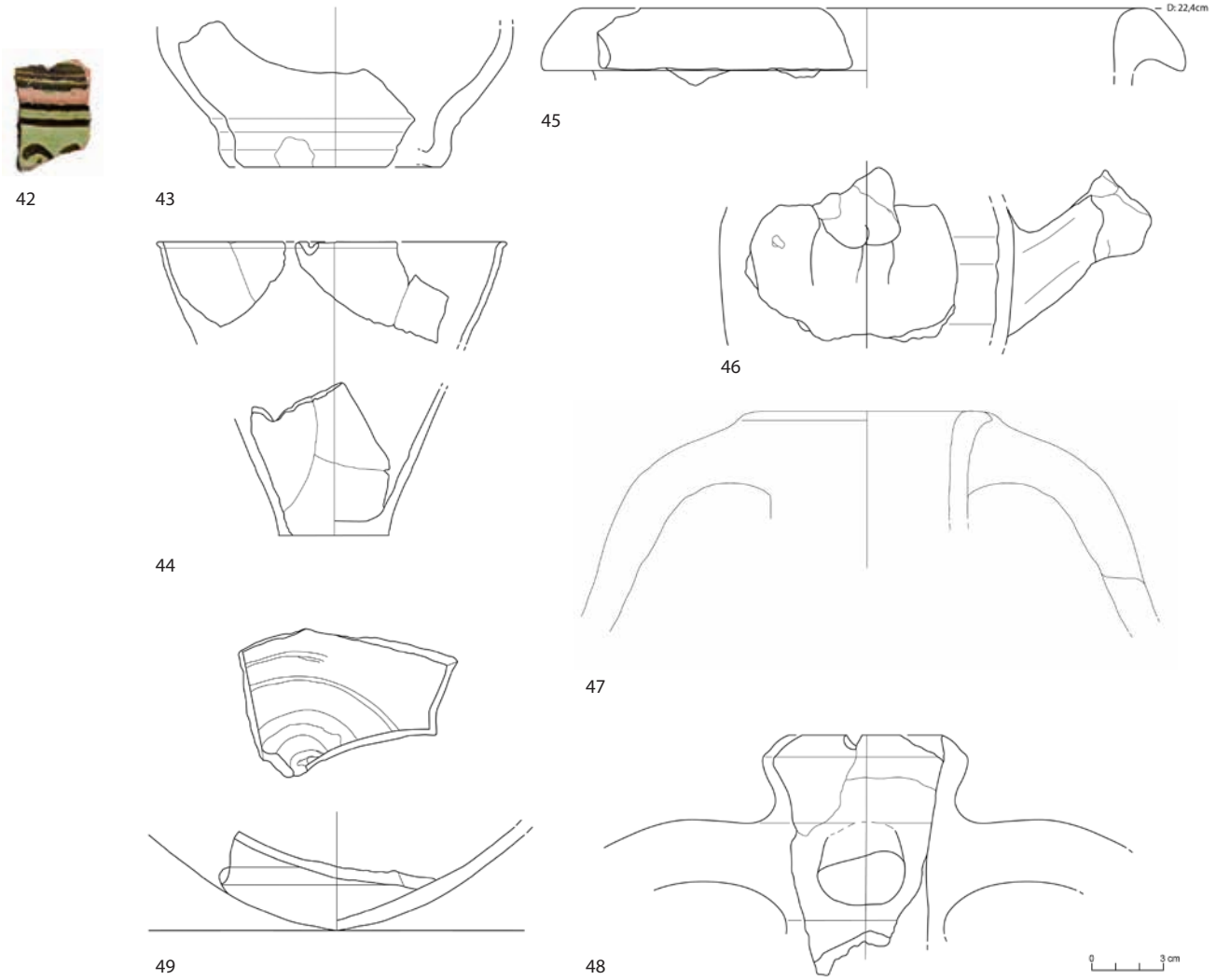
P27 Amphora
Inv. 0401.155.
L 5.3 W 8.7 T 0.7.
Cylindrical neck with upper handle attachment. Steep, horn-shaped double handle, curved; section roundish.
Fabric: fracture and interior: light brown (7.5YR 6/4); exterior: pinkish white (2.5YR 8/2). Inclusions: dominant: lime-stone; rare: black inclusions. Grain size: coarse 1 (0.6–1.0 mm) – coarse 2 (1–2 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous. Rhodian amphora(?).
Comments: **P27** and **P28** date from the 1st/2nd cent. A.D., when this kind of handle became common with Rhodian, Coan, and related amphorae types (Bezeczky 2013, 35. 56. 79. 82). Fabric, form, and slip of **P28** are comparable to Coan style amphorae (Whitbread 1995, 88. 93, fabric classes 2 and 5; Bezeczky 2013, 82 f. type 15 nos. 144. 145. 554 pls. 13. 41. 66. 88).
Date: first half 1st cent. A.D.
Analogy: Bezeczky 2013, 35.

P28 Amphora (Fig. 46)
Inv. 0801.314.
Steep, horn-shaped double handle with upper attachment; section roundish.
Fabric: light red (2.5YR 6/6). Inclusions: dominant: sand, white inclusions; rare: black inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact.
Slip: exterior: thin, dull, compact: greyish.
Comments: see **P27** above.
Date: late Hellenistic – Roman Imperial (1st cent. B.C. – 2nd cent. A.D.).
Analogies: Wintermeyer 2004, 111 f. type Am 2 no. 401 fig. 297; Bezeczky 2013, 35. 53. 76. 79.

P29 Amphora
Inv. 0501.202.
L 6.7 W 8.7 T 0.5 Ø toe 4.
Round toe; inside hollow.
Fabric: light red – red (2.5YR 7/6–5/6); core: grey. Inclusions: dominant: lime-stone, small black inclusions, mica. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm) – coarse 1 (0.6–1.0 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: coarse porous.
Group: NG 4.
Date: Roman Imperial (2nd cent. A.D. – ?).
Analogies: Peacock – Williams 1991, 169 f. fig. 87 (class 37); Berndt 2003, 49. 217 f. nos. A90–A94 pl. 27. The fabric group NG4 seems similar to so-called fabric X from Cyprus: Demesticha 2013, 171. 176 figs. 3 b. c.

P30 Amphora
Inv. 0506.263.
L 13.5 T wall 0.6 Ø toe 3.5.
Cylindrical toe.
Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 7/6–6/6). Inclusions: dominant: black and dark red inclusions, quartzite; rare: white inclusions, mica. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm) – very coarse (> 2.0 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: coarse porous. Group: NG 12.
Date: 2nd–3rd cent. A.D.
Analogies: Berndt 2003, 56 f. 232 no. A259 pl. 36 (amphora form XX); Marquié 2004, 258 fig. 11 (form 6).

P31 Amphora (Fig. 47)
Inv. 0702.404.
L 4.9 W 7.8 T 0.6 Ø rim 8.
Cylindrical neck with short rim turned outwards. Handles attached directly at the



42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49

Miletus, pottery from the cave

Fig. 42 **P22** wall fragment of a plate, 12th–14th cc. A.D. (scale 1 : 2)

Fig. 43 **P23** lower body of a jug, 14th c. A.D. (scale 1 : 3)

Fig. 44 **P24** mug (scale 1 : 3)

Fig. 45 **P26** mushroom-rim of an amphora, second half 3rd – mid 2nd cc. B.C. (scale 1 : 3)

Fig. 46 **P28** horn-shaped handle of an amphora, late Hellenistic – Roman Imperial (1st c. B.C. – 2nd c. A.D.; scale 1 : 3)

Fig. 47 **P31** upper part of an amphora, 4th–7th cc. A.D. (scale 1 : 3)

Fig. 48 **P32** upper part of a Late Roman Amphora, 6th–7th cc. A.D. (scale 1 : 3)

Fig. 49 **P34** lower part of an Late Roman 1 Amphora, 6th–7th cc. A.D. (scale 1 : 3)

rim, gently sloping downwards; section oval.
Fabric: light red (2.5YR 6/8). Inclusions: dominant: black inclusions; frequently: white and grey inclusions; rare: red inclusions. Grain size: coarse 1 (0.6–1.0 mm) – coarse 2 (1–2 mm). Quantity: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact, grainy.
Comments: The upper part of the amphora compares to late Roman specimens from the thermae at Capo d'Orlando/East Sicily, and the fabric – the published description is limited to colour and surface – seems to be similar, too. Archaeometrical analyses have established that the Sicilian amphorae are of local origin. At Rome specimens of the same type have been found in contexts of the 4th–7th cent. A.D. (Spigo et al. 2006, 455 fig. 4, 2).
Date: 4th–7th cent. A.D.
Analogy: Spigo et al. 2006, 455 fig. 4, 2.

P32 Amphora (Fig. 48)
Inv. 0202+0301+0502.30.
Preservation: 0202: two rims, handle, 13 walls; matched; 0301: wall; 0502: 2 walls. L 9.9 W 7.2 T 0.7 Ø rim 8.6.
Narrow, cylindrical neck with short, trapezoid rim. Handles attached quite far below rim; section oval.
Fabric: exterior and fracture: light brown (7.5YR 6/4); interior: light reddish brown (5YR 6/4). Inclusions: dominant: lime-stone, silver mica; small grey, red, and black inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm) – coarse 1 (0.6–1.0 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous with a small amount of larger voids.

Late Roman Amphora 1.
Date: 6th–7th cent. A.D.
Analogy: Berndt 2003, 63 f. 247 no. A410 pl. 43.

P33 Amphora
Inv. 0301.117.
L. 4.2 W 6.8 T 0.2–0.4 Ø rim 13.6.
Cylindrical neck with rounded rim. Handles attached shortly below rim; gently sloping downwards; section oval.
Fabric: very pale brown (10YR 7/4). Inclusions: sand, golden mica; rare: lime-stone, red inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²); mica: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact.
Late Roman Amphora 1.
Date: 5th–7th cent. A.D.
Analogies: Berndt 2003, 61–64. 243 f. nos. A374. A375 pl. 41.

P34 Amphora (Fig. 49)
Inv. 0501.196.
L 8.7 W 8.7 T 0.6 Ø upper bottom 8.
Roundish base; slight horizontal grooves.
Fabric: fracture and interior: reddish brown (2.5YR 5/4); exterior: light brown (7.5YR 6/4). Inclusions: sand, red and black inclusions; rare: white inclusions, mica. Grain size: coarse 1 (0.6–1.0 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: coarse porous. Group: NG 6.
Late Roman Amphora 1.
Date: 6th–7th cent. A.D.
Analogies: Bass 1982, 155–157 fig. 8, 1; Opaiț 2004, 304 fig. 30.

COMMON WARE
P35 Bowl
Inv. 0503.239.
L 1.9 W 4.1 T 0.6.
Rim turned outwards, beaked, grooved outside; inside concave.
Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4–8/3). Inclusions: dominant: mica; small black inclusions; rare: larger white inclusions; very rare: larger red inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm) and coarse 2 (1–2 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Group: NG 2.
Date: Roman Imperial.
Analogy: Meriç 2002, 113 no. K713 pl. 61.

P36 Bowl (Fig. 50)
Inv. 0504.252.
L 3.4 W 5.0 T 0.7 Ø rim 24.
Deep bowl with projecting rim, bevelled to inside. Two ridges underneath the rim on exterior.
Fabric: very pale brown (10YR 7/3). Inclusions: dominant: black inclusions; frequently: lime-stone und red inclusions, mica. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm) – coarse 1 (0.6–1.0 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: coarse porous.
Date: Roman Imperial.
Analogies: no direct analogy, cf. Pülz 1987, 37 no. 64 fig. 21; Wintermeyer 2004, fig. 905 type S 10.31.

P37 Bowl (Fig. 51)
Inv. 0504.243.
L 4.4 W 7.8 T 1 Ø base 12.
Flat base. Bulging grooves on exterior.
Fabric: interior and exterior: light reddish brown (5YR 6/4); fracture: grey (10YR 5/1). Inclusions: lime-stone, rare: mica. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm) – coarse 1 (0.6–1.0 mm). Quantity: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact with few larger voids that are also visible on the surface. Group: NG 5.
Glaze: interior: dull, compact: weak red (10R 5/4).
Date: Roman Imperial (1st–2nd cent. A.D.).
Analogies: Meriç 2002, 108 f. pl. 60; Wintermeyer 2004, 103 f. type S 7 fig. 857.

P38 Bowl
Inv. 0401.156.
L 8.9 W 10.5 T 0.6–1.2 Ø base 17.6.
Flat base.
Fabric: Group: NG 5 cf. **P37**.
Date: Roman Imperial (1st–3rd cent. A.D.).
Analogies: Pülz 1985, 90 form 24 no. 65 fig. 12; about the date of the pit: ibid. 92; Meriç 2002, 108 f. no. K703 pl. 60; Wintermeyer 2004, 103 f. type S 7 fig. 860.

P39 Bowl
Inv. 0401.159.
L 5.6 W 10.8 T 0.9 Ø base 12.
Cf. **P38**.
Fabric: Group: NG 5 cf. **P37**.
Date: Roman Imperial (1st–3rd cent. A.D.).
Analogies: Pülz 1985, 90 form 24 no. 65 fig. 12; about the date of the pit: ibid. 92; Meriç 2002, 108 f. no. K703 pl. 60; Wintermeyer 2004, 103 f. type S 7 fig. 857.

P40 Bowl
Inv. 0501.200.
L 3.3 W 6.1 T 1.8 Ø base 9.
Cf. **P38**.
Fabric: Group: NG 5 cf. **P37**.
Date: Roman Imperial (1st–3rd cent. A.D.).
Analogies: Pülz 1985, 90 form 24 no. 65 fig. 12; about the date of the pit: ibid. 92; Meriç 2002, 108 f. no. K703 pl. 60; Wintermeyer 2004, 103 f. type S 7 fig. 857.

P41 Jug (Fig. 52)
Inv. 0501+0601.286.
Preservation: rim, wall; matched.
L 3.8 W 11.3 T 0.4–0.6 Ø rim 13.
Bulbous jug with short funnel-shaped neck and roundish thickened rim. Fluent transitions. Thin groove at transition from neck to shoulder.
Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6). Inclusions: dominant: mica, lime-stone; frequently: colourless quartzite; black inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm) – coarse 1 (0.6–1.0 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous.
Glaze: dull, thin: light red (10R 6/8).

P42 Jug/Bowl (Fig. 53)
Inv. 0301.72.
L 4.5 H 2.7 W 4.1 T 0.4 Ø foot 8.6.
Low, flared ring foot with resting surface.
Fabric: interior and fracture: light red (2.5YR 6/6); exterior: very pale brown (10YR 7/4). Inclusions: dominant: black and red inclusions; frequently: mica; rare: lime-stone. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm) – coarse 1 (0.6–1.0 mm). Quantity: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact, sporadic larger voids.

STORAGE AND COOKING WARE
P43 Bowl (Fig. 54)
Inv. 0301.101.
L 2.1 W 4 T 0.7 Ø rim 24.
Carinated bowl with straight, thickened rim, bevelled to outside.
Fabric: light reddish brown – reddish brown (2.5YR 6/4–5/4). Inclusions: dominant: light red inclusions, quartzite; frequently: small greyish-brown stones, white inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm) – very coarse (> 2.0 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²) – very abundant (> 20/0.5 cm²). Fracture: coarse porous.
Comments: One of few similar specimens was deposited in a drainage channel of the Tetragonos Agora at Ephesus before the last third of the 2nd cent. B.C. (Gassner 1997, 112 f.).
Date: Hellenistic (2nd cent. B.C.?).
Analogy: Gassner 1997, 104 f. no. 383 pl. 32.

P44 Cooking pot (Fig. 55)
Inv. 0401.166.
L 5.2 W 6.3 T 0.5 Ø rim 18.
Bulbous body with flared, rounded rim, concave inside. Flange offset inside.
Fabric: fracture: reddish brown – grey (2.5YR 5/4); exterior and interior: reddish brown – red (2.5YR 5/4–5/6). Inclusions: dominant: particles of quartzite, small mica plates, white inclusions; frequently: grey inclusions,

Miletus, pottery from the cave (scale 1 : 3)

Fig. 50 **P36** rim of a bowl, Roman Imperial

Fig. 51 **P37** base of a bowl, Roman Imperial (1st–2nd cc. A.D.)

Fig. 52 **P41** rim of a jug

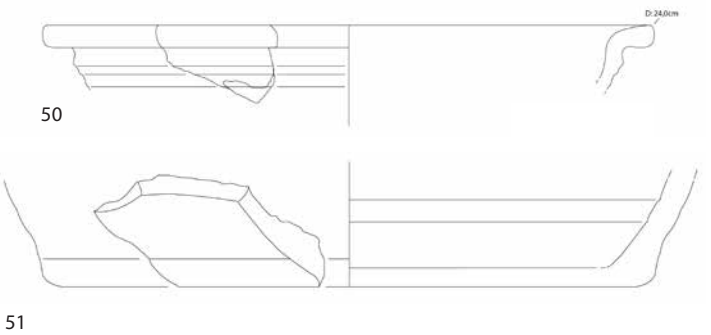
Fig. 53 **P42** ring foot of a jug or bowl

Fig. 54 **P43** bowl, Hellenistic (2nd c. B.C.?)

Fig. 55 **P44** cooking pot, Hellenistic – Roman imperial (2nd c. B.C. – 3rd c. A.D.)

Fig. 56 **P46** upper part of a cooking pot, Roman Imperial (3rd c. A.D.?)

Fig. 57 **P46** as in Fig. 56



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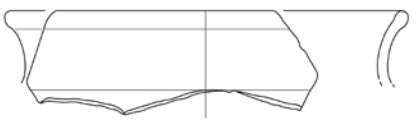

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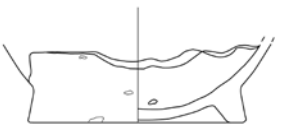

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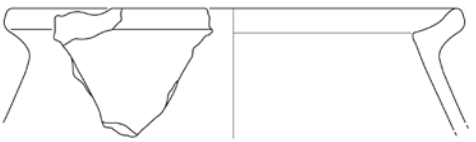

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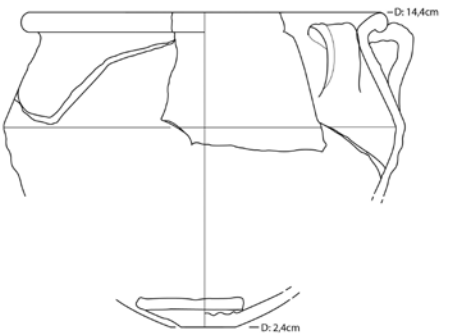

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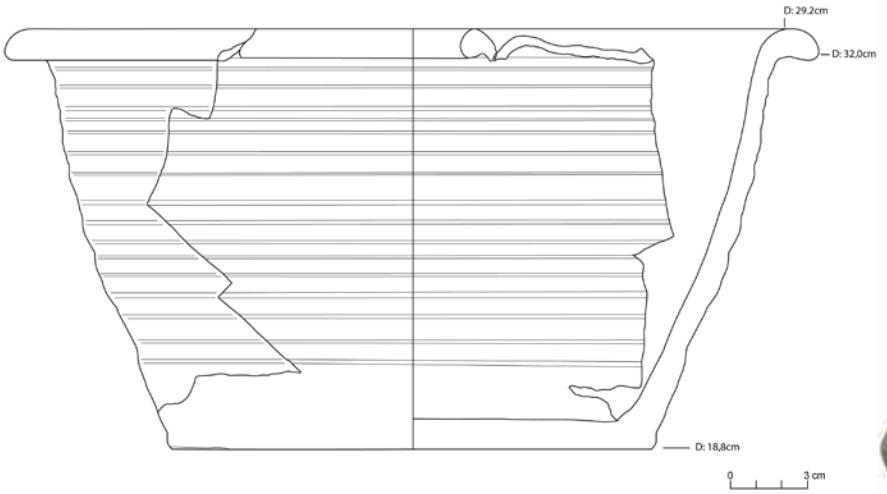
sand; rare: red inclusions. Grain size: small white and red inclusions: fine (0.063–0.2 mm); large white inclusions and quartzite: very coarse (> 2.0 mm). Quantity: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²) – abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: coarse porous. Group: Cooking ware.
Comments: The shape of the rim compares to late Hellenistic to early Imperial specimens from Didyma (2nd/1st cent. B.C. – 1st cent. A.D.; Wintermeyer 2004, 78. 85 f. fig. 476 no. T6.1; fig. 483 no. T9.12; figs. 584. 585 nos. T8.6, T8.8; fig. 600 no. T9.10 [pot types 6, 8, and 9]). Elsewhere, the same rim shape is attested as late as the 3rd cent. A.D. (Pülz 1985, 91 no. 67 fig. 14 [form 26]; cf. ibid. n. 95 with further examples).
Date: Hellenistic – Roman Imperial (2nd cent. B.C. – 3rd cent. A.D.).
Analogies: Pülz 1985, 91 no. 67 fig. 14 (form 26); Wintermeyer 2004, pots types 6, 8, and 9: 78. 85 f. fig. 476 no. T6.1; fig. 483 no. T9.12; figs. 584. 585 nos. T8.6; T8.8; fig. 600 no. T9.10.

P45 Cooking pot
Inv. 0301.112.
L 3.2 W 5.1 T 0.8 Ø rim 18.
Bulbous body with short, flared, rounded rim. Flange offset inside.
Fabric: fracture: light reddish brown – red (2.5YR 6/4–5/6); exterior and interior: light reddish brown – reddish brown (2.5YR 6/4–5/4). Inclusions: dominant: bright red, quartzite; frequently: small greyish-brown stones, white inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm) – very coarse (> 2.0 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²) – very abundant (> 20/0.5 cm²). Fracture: coarse porous. Group: Cooking ware 3.
Date: Roman Imperial (1st–2nd cent. A.D.?).
Analogies: Pülz 1985, 38 no. 55 fig. 18; Berndt 2003, 73 (form III) nos. KG 012. KG 014. KG 025 pl. 49.

P46 Cooking pot (Figs. 56. 57)
Inv. 0202+0506.432.
Preservation: 0506: six rims, base, ten walls; ten matched; 0202: two rims; matched.
L 8 T 0.4–0.6 Ø outer rim 14 Ø base 3.



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Miletus, pottery from the cave

Fig. 58 **P47** bowl, 3rd–7th cc. A.D. (scale 1 : 3)

Fig. 59 **P47** as in Fig. 58

Bi-conical body with smooth carination. Narrow, flat base. Roundish rim turned outwards. Lip with thin, revolving groove. Short looped handles attached directly below the rim; section slender, elliptical. Lightly grooved from bottom upwards.
Fabric: reddish brown (5YR 5/4).
Inclusions: dominant: sand and mica; frequently: small black inclusions; rare: larger white inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact. Group: Cooking ware 4.
Comments: **P46** is characterised by a bi-conical body with smooth carination. Parallels exist from late Hellenistic (1st cent. B.C.) to Roman times (first half 3rd cent. A.D.): Pülz 1985, 91 no. 68 fig. 16 (form 27; late 2nd/early 3rd cent. A.D.); cf. ibid. n. 96 with further examples; Pülz 1987, 38 no. 95 fig. 27 (Miletus, Heroon III, first half 3rd cent. A.D.); Wintermeyer 2004, pots type 8: 85 f. fig. 584 no. T8.6 (Didyma, 1st cent. B.C. – 1st cent. A.D.). However, none of the comparanda has the same rim shape as **P46**. The soft grooves on the outside appear to be late, i. e. 3rd cent.
Date: Roman Imperial (3rd cent. A.D.?).

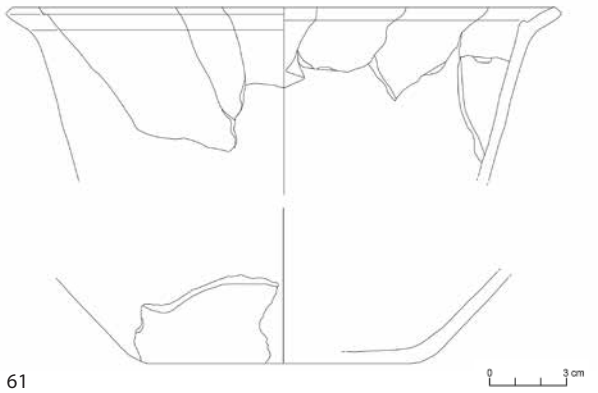
P47 Bowl (Figs. 58. 59)
Inv. 0301+0506.275.
Preservation: 0506: five rims, two bottoms, 12 walls; matched; 0301: rim.
L 16.4 W 25 T 0.6 Ø bottom 18.8 Ø rim 31.4.
Deep bowl with raised base and projecting, downturned, roundish rim. Lightly grooved horizontally from rim downwards.
Fabric: reddish yellow – very pale brown (5YR 6/6–10YR 7/3). Inclusions: dominant: mica; frequently: lime-stone and small black inclusions. Grain size: mica: very fine (< 0.06 mm); other inclusions: medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: mica: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²); other inclusions: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: coarse porous.
Date: 3rd–7th cent. A.D.
Analogy: Korosis 2014, 306 fig. 14.

P48 Cooking pot
Inv. 0501.195.
Preservation: rim, three walls; two walls matched.
L 5 W 5.4 T 0.7 Ø rim 16.
Straight body with flared, rounded rim, concave inside. Flange offset inside. Attachment of looped handle shortly below rim; section slender, elliptical.
Fabric: greyish-black. Inclusions: sand, some mica; rare: small reddish, greyish, and white stones. Grain size: fine (< 0.2 mm) and coarse 2 (1–2 mm). Quantity: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous.
Comments: The rim of **P46** is comparable. Well below the rim, the handle of **P48** was attached to the cylindrical neck. This combination was common in late antique Caria, and some finds from the Baths of Faustina at Miletus date from the 6th–7th cent. A.D. (Schwerdt 2014, 677 f. figs. 3. 4 with further examples from Ionia).
Date: 6th–7th cent. A.D.
Analogies: Ladstätter 2008, 180 no. K268; Jantzen – Kienast 2004, 241 nos. 1472. 1475. 1479.

P49 Pot
Inv. 0801.318.
L 2.5 W 7.5 T 0.4 Ø rim 13.6.
Bulbous body with flared, rounded rim, concave inside. Flange offset inside.
Fabric: Group: NG 2 cf. **P35**.
Comments: The neck and the rim compare to **P48**, and **P49** might be dated in the same period.
Date: 6th–7th cent. A.D.
Analogies: Jantzen – Kienast 2004, 241 nos. 1472. 1475. 1479; Ladstätter 2008, 180 no. K268; Schwerdt 2014, 677 f. figs. 3. 4.

P50 Cooking pot (Fig. 60)
Inv. 0401.172.
Preservation: two rims, four walls; three matched.
L 6 W 5.6 T 0.7 Ø rim 20.
Straight, roundish rim, offset inside. Wall-fr. with attachment of handle; section slender, elliptical. The fractures of two wall fr. (matched) show a drill hole due to ancient repairing.
Fabric: light reddish brown (5YR 6/4); core: grey. Inclusions: dominant: sand, mica, quartzite; frequently: red and black inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm) – very coarse (> 2.0 mm). Quantity: very abundant (> 20/0.5 cm²). Fracture: coarse porous. Group: Cooking ware 2.
Date: first quarter 7th cent. A.D.
Analogies: Revilla Calvo 2011, 135 no. 49 fig. 3.

60



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Miletus, pottery from the cave (scale 1 : 3)

Fig. 60 **P50** rim of a cooking pot, first quarter 7th c. A.D.

Fig. 61 **P51** upper part and base of a cooking pot

P51 Cooking pot (Fig. 61)
Inv. 0201+0202+0203+0301+0303+0401+0501+0504+0505+0506.1.
Preservation: 0201: wall; 0202: two rims, handle, 13 walls; 0203: two rims, wall; 0301: two walls; 0303: two walls; 0401: eleven walls; 0501: wall; 0504: rim, five walls; 0505: base, wall; 0506: base, five walls; 29 matched.
Rim (matched): L 5.4 W 20.7 T 0.5 Ø rim 21.6; base: L 3.4 W 5.5 T 0.4 Ø base 11.
Upper part of body funnel-shaped with flared rim; lip rounded; flange offset inside. Base flat.
Fabric: Group Cooking ware 1
cf. **P44**.
Analogies: no direct analogy; cf. Wintermeyer 2004, 85 no. T 7.4 fig. 577.

MINIATURE VESSELS
P52 Ampulla
Inv. 0302.56.
Preservation: toe, five walls; two matched.
L 2.3 Ø bottom 1.4.
Small toe, irregularly formed.
Fabric: weak red (10R 5/4); inclusions: very rare: lime-stone. Grain size: coarse 2 (1–2 mm). Quantity: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact.
Glaze: thin, dull: grey (GLEY1 5N).
Date: late 5th–7th cent. A.D.
Analogy: Metaxas 2005, 88. 99 figs. 3. 9.

P53 Bowl
Inv. 0801.312.
L 2.1 W 4.7 T 0.6 Ø rim 9 Ø base 6.
Preservation: entire profile.
Small bowl with flat base and rim turned outwards.
Fabric: fracture: light reddish brown (2.5YR 7/4); interior and exterior: pink (5YR 7/4). Inclusions: lime-stone and mica. Grain size: coarse 1 (0.6–1.0 mm). Quantity: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous.
Glaze: exterior lead glaze: dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/6).
Date: Roman Imperial – Byzantine(?).

Lamps

Find Context and Typology

66 fragments of 44 lamps were found in the cave. Their findspots are given in Table 2. Most lamps were found in the spring (0504, 0505, 0506), where many were well preserved and six entirely intact (**L2**. **L3**. **L4**. **L6**. **L7**. **L8**). More lamp fragments were scattered throughout the main room. Otherwise, only two fragments of one poorly preserved lamp were found in the eastern room (0901).

The lamps represent a narrow spectrum of types. The majority (25 lamps) belong to the Asia Minor group as defined by F. Miltner[46]. The group comprises a range of types from the second half of the fourth to the beginning of the seventh century A.D. All 25 specimens from the cave have an oval flat body with a bi-conical profile; the sides are steeply curved, with a rounded shoulder. The nozzle sits straight on the rim and provides a large wick hole, often with a sloping underside. The base is flat and slightly inserted. The handle takes the form of a solid, short knob. The discus is always concave. Body, handle, and nozzle form a unit that was made with one mould. The fabric[47] of all 25 lamps is similar, which points to a regional production. Three sub-groups are distinguished mainly by hardness, depending on firing temperature and surface treatment. The tempering contains lots of mica plus a few red and black inclusions. The colour ranges from light brown (7.5YR 6/4) to light reddish brown (5YR 6/4). Besides decoration in relief, most specimens had a dull, reddish glaze that has largely flaked off.

46 Miltner 1937; the second group according to Menzel 1969, 8. 82–85.
47 The term »fabric« describes the properties of a fired ceramic sherd. Cf. Orton et al. 1993, 67. The fabric of all lamps and pottery sherds was analysed in detail according to specific parameters, such as the kind of inclusions, their grain size and quantity, as well as the structure of the fracture. The colour was described by means of the Munsell Soil Color Charts. This information forms the basis for grouping and classifying the material.

Section	Layer	Amount of fragments	Cat. no.
02	02	1	
	03	5	
03	01	1	
	03	12	L5
04	01	6	L5. L13
	02	2	
05	01	3	
	02	1	
	04	18	L1. L2. L4. L7
	05	5	
	06	10	L3. L6. L8. L9. L10. L11. L12
09	01	2	

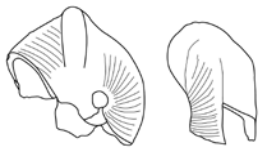
Tab. 2 Miletus, findspots of lamp fragments from the cave

The relief covers the discus and/or the shoulder with various ornaments: radial grooves as on **L1** are known from many sites in Asia Minor[48]. Twelve lamps are decorated with dots that are arranged in one or more circles around the discus (e. g. **L2**. **L3**. **L4**)[49]; normally the discus is round, but **L4** has a square discus. Three other lamps have a geometric pattern scratched onto their shoulders (e. g. **L5**)[50] and may – according to V. Gassner – date as late as the sixth century A.D.[51]. Two more lamps are decorated with floral tendrils (e. g. **L6**)[52]. A dozen more fragments also belong to the Asia Minor group, but their surface decoration is abraded. Two further lamps have no decoration at all (e. g. **L7**). All of them date from the late fourth to fifth centuries A.D.[53].

A second group of seven lamps is plain and was made on the wheel (e. g. **L8**. **L9**. **L10**. **L11**. **L12**). They share the following characteristics: an oval, protruding body with a flat, offset bottom and throwing marks on the underside. The transition to the rounded shoulder is smooth. The nozzle is straight, elongated, and has a sloping underside. The discus is concave. **L8**, **L9**, **L10**, and probably also **L11** each have a looped handle that reaches from the discus to the carination of the body. O. Broneer demonstrates that, in the Greek world, the use of wheel-made lamps continued until the second century A.D.[54]. However, a lamp similar to **L8** to **L11** and also from Miletus dates from the fourth or fifth century A.D. according to H. Menzel[55]. **L12** has two nozzles, which is uncommon and known to me only from Miletus[56] and Ephesus[57]. In the latter case V. Gassner vaguely suggests a third or fourth century-date, but firm dating remains to be established. It seems likely that a local production of wheel-made lamps survived Broneer's second century cut-off date. Local origin is suggested by the fabric of all wheel-made lamps from the cave, which is typical for the Maeander Valley: slightly porous, micaceous clay with a few black and white and sometimes reddish inclusions of medium size, often with impressions of vegetable fibre, the colour ranging from pink (7.5YR 7/4) to very pale brown (10YR 8/3).

L13 has an open, wheel-made body and a mould-made, grooved, and pierced handle, which appears to be an unusual combination without parallel. The rim was executed carelessly; many flowmarks have not been evened out and remain visible. The handle has two grooves and is pierced, as was common in the second to fifth centuries A.D.[58], the piercing more likely earlier than later within this timespan[59]. However, in comparison with the pottery, the lamps appear to have entered the cave relatively late in its history, possibly only in late antiquity. The majority of well-preserved lamps deposited inside the spring appear to date from the late fourth to fifth centuries A.D.; some of the lamps are not yet attested before the (late) fourth century (**L1**. **L2**. **L3**. **L4**. **L6**. **L7**. **L8**. **L9**. **L10**. **L11**) and some do not appear afterwards (**L12**; or after the fifth century: **L1**. **L2**. **L3**. **L4**. **L7**. **L8**. **L9**. **L10**. **L11**).

48 For example: Miltner 1937, 165 nos. 1640. 1649. 1658 pl. 9; Menzel 1969, 94. 97 f. nos. 621. 634 figs. 72, 2; 80, 14; De Luca 1984, 53 nos. 560–577 pl. 20; Fischer – Welling 1984, 389 no. 50; Gassner 1997, 203. 206 nos. 841. 842 pls. 66. 91. Beside the example given in the catalogue (**L1**), five more lamps with that decoration were found.
49 Broneer 1930, 103 fig. 8, 11; Bailey 1988, 415 no. Q 3305 PRB pl. 122; Gassner 1997, 202–204 no. 826 pl. 65.
50 Similarly, but without dots, on a lamp from the cave at Vari: Bassett 1903, pl. 12, 25.
51 Gassner 1997, 203 nos. 836–840 pls. 66. 91.
52 Cf. Gassner 1997, 203. 207 nos. 845–847 pls. 66. 92.
53 Broneer 1930, 107 fig. 50; Menzel 1969, 86.
54 Broneer 1927.
55 Menzel 1969, 82. 87 no. 572 fig. 85, 6.
56 Menzel 1969, 72 no. 482 fig. 56, 2.
57 Gassner 1997, 200 f. no. 821 pl. 64.
58 Bassett 1903, 341 f. fig. 2 c; Broneer 1930, 106; Hayes 1980, 109 nos. 431. 432 pl. 50; 119 no. 471 pl. 55.
59 Broneer 1930, 106; Menzel 1969, 86; Gassner 1997, 200.



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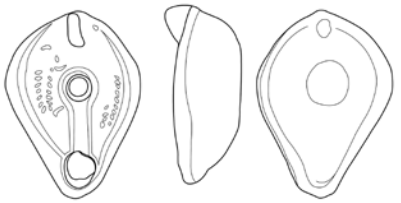

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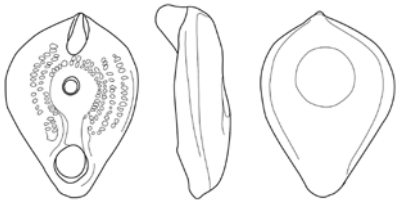

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Miletus, lamps from the cave (scale 1 : 3)

Fig. 62 **L1** lamp with radial grooves, Asia Minor Group, 4th–5th cc. A.D.

Fig. 63 **L2** lamp with two rows of dots, Asia Minor Group, 4th–5th cc. A.D.

Fig. 64 **L3** lamp with three rows of dots, Asia Minor Group, 4th–5th cc. A.D.

Fig. 65 **L4** lamp, Asia Minor Group, 4th–5th cc. A.D.

Fig. 66 **L5** lamp with scratched decor, Asia Minor Group, 5th–6th cc. A.D.

Catalogue

ASIA MINOR GROUP

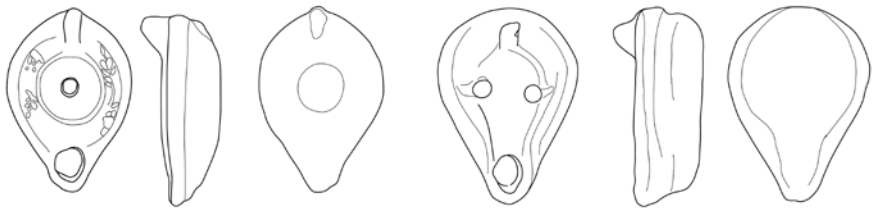
L1 Lamp (Fig. 62)
Inv. 0504.230.
L 4.7 W 5.1 T 0.2–0.4.
Squat, bi-conical lamp with sharp carination. Bottom and discus concave; hole not centred; small knob handle.
Fabric: light brown (7.5YR 6/4). Inclusions: dominant: mica; rare: quartzite. Grain size: fine – medium (< 0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: mica: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²); others: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Hard fired. Surface: sandy.
Glaze: thin, dull: red (10R 4/8).
Decor: radial grooves on the shoulder.
Date: 4th–5th cent. A.D.
Analogies: Fischer – Welling 1984, 389 no. 50; Menzel 1969, 94. 97 f. nos. 621. 634 figs. 72, 2; 80, 14.

L2 Lamp (Fig. 63)
Inv. 0504.176 Miletus Museum E.9401.
H 2.5 L 7 W 5.2 T 0.4.
Oval shaped lamp, steep curved with a rounded shoulder. Discus and bottom concave. Nozzle short and straight. Small knob handle.
Fabric: yellowish red (5YR 5/6). Inclusions: dominant: silver mica; frequent: black inclusions. Grain size: fine – medium (< 0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous. Hard fired. Surface: rough.
Glaze: thin, dull: red (10R 5/6), flaked off.
Decor: lines at the edge of the shoulder and around the central hole, leading to the wick hole in relief. Two rows of dots on the shoulder.
Date: 4th–5th cent. A.D.
Analogies: Broneer 1930, 103 fig. 8, 11; Bailey 1988, 415 no. Q 3305 PRB pl. 122; Gassner 1997, 202–204 no. 826 pl. 65.

L3 Lamp (Fig. 64)
Inv. 0506.454 Miletus Museum E.9403.
H 1.8–2.3 L 7 W 5.2 T 0.5.
Cf. **L2**.
Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6). Inclusions: dominant: silver mica; frequent: black inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: mica: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²); black inclusions: medium (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous. Hard fired. Surface: sleek.
Glaze: thin, dull: red (10R 5/6), largely flaked off.
Decor: three rows of dots around the discus.
Date: 4th–5th cent. A.D.
Analogies: Broneer 1930, 103 fig. 8, 11; Bailey 1988, 415 no. Q 3305 PRB pl. 122; Gassner 1997, 202–204 no. 826 pl. 65.

L4 Lamp (Fig. 65)
Inv. 0504.452 Miletus Museum E.9400.
H 2.5 L 6.6 W 4.9 T 0.4.
Cf. **L2**.
Fabric: reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6). Inclusions: dominant: silver mica; rare: black inclusions and quartzite. Grain size: mica: fine (< 0.2 mm); others: medium – coarse 1 (0.2–1 mm). Quantity: mica: very abundant (> 20/0.5 cm²); others: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous. Hard fired. Surface: irregular and sandy.
Glaze: thin, dull: red (10R 5/6), largely flaked off.
Date: 4th–5th cent. A.D.
Analogies: Broneer 1930, 103 fig. 8, 11; Bailey 1988, 415 no. Q 3305 PRB pl. 122; Gassner 1997, 202–204 no. 826 pl. 65.

L5 Lamp (Fig. 66)
Inv. 0303+0401.139.
L 2.3 W 4.8 T 0.5.
Deep, concave discus with flat, rounded shoulder.
Fabric: light brown (7.5YR 6/4). Inclusions: dominant: mica; rare: lime-stone; very rare: grey and reddish inclusions. Grain size: mica: fine (< 0.2 mm); others: medium – coarse 1 (0.2–1 mm). Quantity: mica: very abundant (> 20/0.5 cm²); others: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous with a few little voids. Low fired. Surface: smooth and sleek.
Glaze: thick, dull: red (2.5YR 5/8).
Decor: scratched triangle with a frame of diagonal lines on the shoulder.
Date: 5th–6th cent. A.D.
Analogies: Gassner 1997, 203 nos. 836–840 pls. 66. 91.



67 68

69 70 71

Miletus, lamps from the cave (scale 1 : 3)

Fig. 67 **L6** lamp with floral tendrils, Asia Minor Group, 4th–6th cc. A.D.

Fig. 68 **L7** lamp without decoration, Asia Minor Group, late 4th–5th cc. A.D.

Fig. 69 **L8** wheel-made lamp, 4th–5th cc. A.D.

Fig. 70 **L8** as in Fig. 69

Fig. 71 **L9** wheel-made lamp, 4th–5th cc. A.D.

L6 Lamp (Fig. 67)
Inv. 0506.453 Miletus Museum E.9402.
H 2.3 L 7 W 4.8 T 0.4.
Cf. **L2**.
Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6). Inclusions: dominant: mica; frequent: lime-stone; rare: black inclusions. Grain size: medium (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: medium (> 10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous. Hard fired. Surface: sandy.
Glaze: thin, dull: weak red – red (10R 5/3–5/6), largely flaked off.
Decor: circle-line around the discus in relief. Floral tendrils on the shoulder.
Date: 4th–6th cent. A.D.
Analogies: Gassner 1997, 203. 207 nos. 845–847 pls. 66. 92.

L7 Lamp (Fig. 68)
Inv. 0504.450 Miletus Museum E.9399.
H 2.3 L 7.2 W 5.3 T 0.5.
Cf. **L2**. Discus with two holes.
Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6). Inclusions: rare: golden mica, lime-stone, and black inclusions. Grain size: medium – coarse 1 (0.2–1 mm). Quantity: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous. Hard fired. Surface: rough.
Glaze: thick, dull: red (2.5YR 5/6).
Date: late 4th–5th cent. A.D.
Analogies: Bailey 1988, 416 Q3316 EA pl. 123; form: Broneer 1930, nos. 1465. 1493. 1499 pls. 21. 22 (1465 with monogram of Christ in the discus).

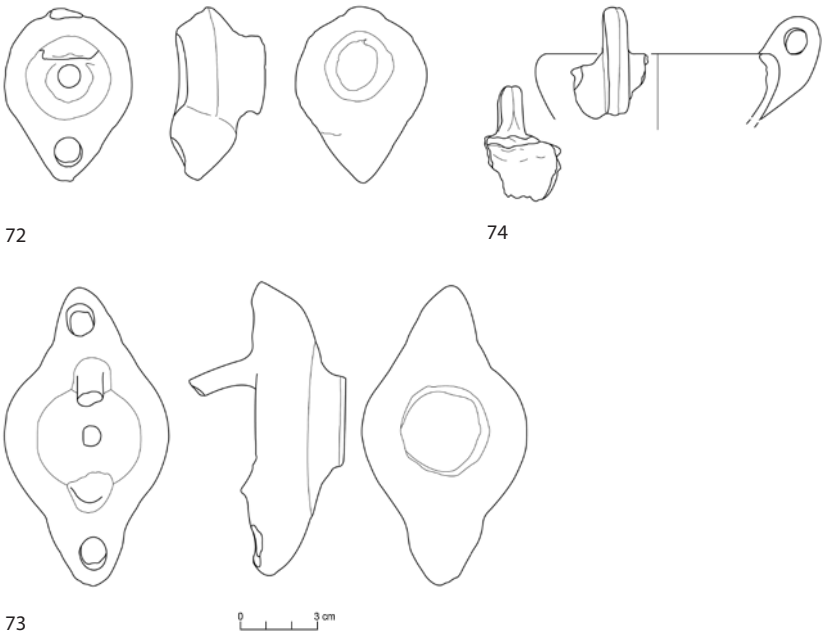
WHEEL-MADE LAMPS

L8 Lamp (Figs. 69. 70)
Inv. 0506.451 Miletus Museum E.9398.
H 3.5 L 8.7 W 6.3 T 0.6.
Squat, bi-conical body with smooth carination to the shoulder. Bottom offset. Discus concave. Nozzle straight, pulled out far. Small looped handle; section elliptical.
Fabric: very pale brown (10YR 8/3). Inclusions: frequent: silver mica; rare: greyish-black and reddish inclusions. Grain size: medium – coarse 1 (0.2–1 mm). Quantity: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous. Low fired. Surface: smooth, sandy. Traces of smoke at the nozzle.
Date: 4th–5th cent. A.D.
Analogy: Menzel 1969, 87 no. 572 fig. 85, 6.

L9 Lamp (Fig. 71)
Inv. 0506.270.
L 9.2 W 6.4 T 0.4.
Cf. **L8**. Bottom missing.
Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4). Inclusions: dominant: mica; frequent: black and red inclusions; very rare: quartzite. Grain size: medium – coarse 1 (0.2–1 mm). Quantity: abundant – very abundant (10 – > 20/0.5 cm²). Low fired. Surface: smooth and sandy. Traces of smoke at the nozzle.
Glaze: thin, dull: reddish brown – red (2.5YR 4/3–2.5YR 5/8), largely flaked off.
Date: 4th–5th cent. A.D.
Analogy: Menzel 1969, 87 no. 572 fig. 85, 6.

L10 Lamp (Fig. 72)
Inv. 0506.279.
H 3.6 L 7.6 W 4.3 T 0.4.
Cf. **L8**.
Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4). Inclusions: dominant: reddish brown inclusions; rare: lime-stone, mica. Grain size: medium – coarse 2 (0.2–2 mm). Quantity: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: slightly porous. Low fired. Surface: irregular, plenty of impressions of vegetable fibre.
Date: 4th–5th cent. A.D.
Analogy: Menzel 1969, 87 no. 572 fig. 85, 6.

L11 Lamp
Inv. 0506.456.
H 3.1 L 6.4 W 4.8 T 0.2.
Oval-shaped lamp with bi-conical body and smooth carination. Bottom offset. Discus considerably concave. Nozzle straight, pulled out far. Handle attachment at the shoulder.



Miletus, lamps from the cave (scale 1 : 3)

Fig. 72 **L10** wheel-made lamp, 4th–5th cc. A.D.

Fig. 73 **L12** wheel-made lamp with two nozzles, 4th–5th cc. A.D.

Fig. 74 **L13** lamp with wheel-made body and mould-made handle, 2nd–5th cc. A.D.(?)

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4). Inclusions: dominant: mica; frequent: black inclusions; rare: lime-stone. Grain size: medium – coarse 1 (0.2–1 mm). Quantity: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact with few little voids. Hard fired. Surface: sandy. Lots of flowmarks at the carinations and on the bottom side. Traces of smoke at the nozzle.
Analogy: Menzel 1969, 16 no. 40 fig. 7, 4 (body; the nozzle was treated differently).

L12 Lamp (Fig. 73)
Inv. 0506.54.
H 3.6 L 11.9 W 6.5 T 0.4.
Cf. **L8**, plus a second nozzle and – connecting the nozzles – a looped basket handle for suspension.
Colour: outside: pink (7.5YR 7/4); fracture: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6). Inclusions: dominant: mica; rare: black inclusions and lime-stone. Grain size: medium – coarse 1 (0.2–1 mm). Quantity: mica: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²); others: sparse (< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: compact with a few little voids. Low fired. Surface: sandy. Traces of smoke at both nozzles.
Date: 3rd–4th cent. A.D.(?)
Analogies: Menzel 1969, 72 no. 482 fig. 56, 2; Gassner 1997, 200 f. no. 821 pl. 64.

L13 Lamp (Fig. 74)
Inv. 0401.185.
L 2.3 W 2.9 T 0.2; handle: L 4.1 W 2 T 0.7.
Open Lamp with conical body. Body wheel-made. Flat, rim turned inwards. Small, looped handle, pierced, and with two longitudinal grooves. Handle mould-made.
Fabric: cf. **L5**.
Glaze: thick, dull: red (2.5YR 5/8), flaked off.
Date: 2nd–5th cent. A.D.(?)
Analogies: Bassett 1903, 341 f. fig. 2 c; Broneer 1930, 106; Hayes 1980, 109 nos. 431. 432 pl. 50; 119 no. 471 pl. 55.

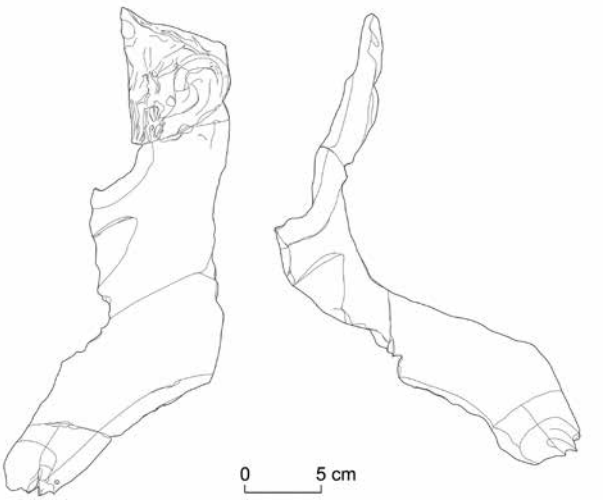
Terracotta Figures and Limbs

More than 200 fragments of terracotta figures and limbs were recovered from the main room of the cave, mostly along the eastern part of the rear wall in section 04 (Fig. 17), where some soil had accumulated above floor level (layer 01 = context 0401) and the relatively large terracotta pieces lay hidden. A few more fragments (particularly fingers) were found in the spring, some very few fragments were also discovered on the stairway (0801).

Description

The terracotta fragments belong to several figures and limbs and can be told apart by their fabrics. The two best preserved figures **TK1** and **TK2** are both life sized, made of similar fabric (group TK I as described below), and differ only slightly in colour and surface treatment. The surface of **TK2** is a little rougher, but many pieces cannot be assigned to either figure and are thus grouped as **TK3**.

75



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Miletus, terracottas from the cave

Fig. 75 **TK1** a: bust with shoulder, neck, and head; b: hair with brow bone; c: right ear; d: wrist of a hand, one finger, and a joint (scale 1 : 5)

Fig. 76 **TK1** shoulder, neck, and head (scale 1 : 5)

Fig. 77 **TK1** neck, head, and left ear

Fig. 78 **TK1** fragments of hair (scale 1 : 5)

The surviving pieces of **TK1** include part of the left shoulder, neck, and ear with some hair and beard (Figs. 75 a. 76), some more hair (Fig. 75 b), the right ear (Fig. 75 c), the wrist of a hand, a finger, and one joint, either knee or elbow (Fig. 75 d). The resulting figure had broad shoulders with a short, thick neck and small, roundish ears. The auricle is semi-circular, with a bulging earlap (Fig. 77). The beard consists of elongated, narrow, and irregular strands that are deeply scratched into the clay and give an unruly impression, but merge smoothly into the hair just above the ear. The hair, in contrast, forms a smooth, thick mass of curls that are partly arranged neatly one upon the other and partly dishevelled (Fig. 78). A fragment of the forehead shows the hair parted, with fringes above a sharply pronounced, almond-shaped brow bone. Another fragment bears a deep, horizontal groove that seems to belong to a wreath, whether formed of terracotta or applied in a different material is not clear. The lower end of the shoulder, the forehead, and the joint preserve traces of a whitish slip with a red glaze.

As to **TK2**, the largest fragment is hard to read on its own (Fig. 79 a), but starts to make sense in comparison with the largest fragment of **TK1** (Fig. 75 a): parts of the breast and shoulder and neck are preserved. **TK2** is somewhat bigger and thicker than **TK1**. Other fragments include parts of both forearms (Fig. 79 b), the left hand with thumb and index finger, parts

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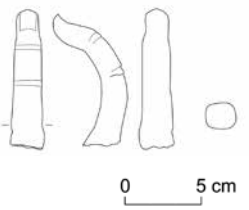


82

Miletus, terracottas from the cave (scale 1 : 5)

Fig. 79 **TK2** a: shoulder and neck; b: left lower arm and hand; c: fingers; d: curls; e: leg or upper arm, from the outside

Fig. 80 **TK2** arm fragments and left hand, from the inside

Fig. 81 **TK3** fingers

Fig. 82 **TK3** finger

of three more fingers (Fig. 79 c), parts of a leg or upper arm (Fig. 79 e), and single curls (Fig. 79 d).

The forearms are only slightly tapered towards the wrists, where the fleshy right hand continues in a straight line. The hand is open, and the base of the thumb is bulged as if the muscle was tense because the hand held an object. Forearms and hands may have been held stretched out horizontally in front of the body and presented objects. The left hand, too, seems to have held something. The elongated index finger and the thumb are joined with lead. The right forearm has a drill hole at its upper end, and another fragment with a second drill hole belongs to the same group. Arms and hands are hollow, fingers solid (Fig. 80). One rounded and hollow fragment has a larger diameter than the forearms and must be part of an upper arm or possibly a lower leg (Fig. 79 e). One arm fragment and some other parts preserve the same slip and glaze as **TK1**. Four fragments show thick, curved strands of tousled hair in relatively high relief.

Some more fragments are made of the same fabric as **TK1** and **TK2** (fabric group TK I), but cannot be assigned to either figure with certainty. Eight fingers are thus grouped as **TK3** (Figs. 81. 82), although they are similar to those of **TK2**: elongated and narrow, unnaturally curved, and with flat tips as if pressed onto a surface; the wrinkles at the joints are rendered schematically

83

84

Miletus, terracottas from the cave (scale 1 : 5)

Fig. 83 **TK4** fragments of arms, fingers, and a wrist, from the outside

Fig. 84 **TK4** fragments of arms, fingers, and a wrist, from the inside

by two parallel grooves; the nail beds are pronounced and oblong. Thumbs are distinguished by shortened proportions and a wide nail bed (Fig. 81 c). In all likelihood, the fingers belong to **TK2** and/or **TK1**. The fingers confirm that the hands were disproportionally large in relation to arms, shoulder, and neck.

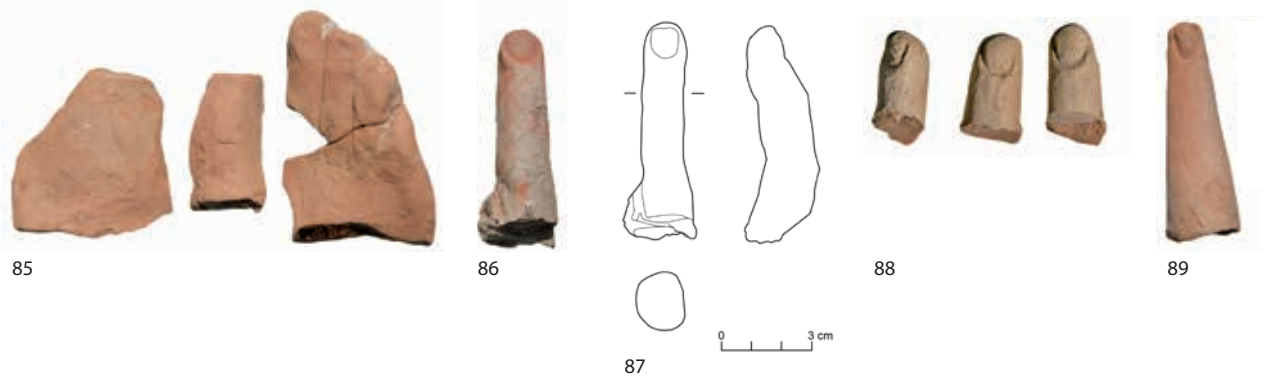
A third group of limbs (**TK4**) is distinguished by a harder fabric (TK II) and smaller dimensions (Figs. 83. 84). The surviving fragments include six fingers, the thenar of one hand, and three hollow cylinders that will have been parts of arms. The fingers are similar to **TK2** and **TK3**. The fragment of a hand reveals that the thumb was splayed. One of the cylindrical arm fragments has preserved a pinkish slip. A fourth group of limbs (**TK5**) consists of yet a different fabric (group TK III) and is even smaller in scale than **TK4** (Fig. 85). The group includes a foot and a small and narrow cylinder, possibly part of a finger. The foot has only four toes, no sandal, and is made to stand on a flat surface.

In addition, a couple of fingers or groups thereof have each a unique shape and fabric, distinct from each other and from all the before-mentioned fingers. One finger (**TK6**) is thick, curved, and shorter than the others (Figs. 86. 87). The base is broad and broken where it appears to have been affixed to a hand. The nail bed is short and oval, and the whole finger is covered with a thin, dull, red glaze. Overall, **TK6** looks more natural than the fingers of **TK1**, **TK2**, **TK3**, and **TK4**. Three identical fingertips (**TK7**) were each made with two moulds, one for the front and one for the back, and the joints are visible where the fingers are broken off (Fig. 88). The nail beds are wide, oval, and deeply carved. A reddish glaze is preserved only at a few points. Finally, **TK8** is simply conical in shape and only recognisable as a finger thanks to a pronounced, parabolic nail bed (Fig. 89). The other end is broken and may once have been affixed to a hand.

As to the manner of production, front and back were always moulded separately; the joints are visible on the arms and fingers of **TK2** (Fig. 80). In addition, the forearms and the upper arm or leg of **TK2** also end in joints, each limb appears to have been moulded separately, and the production of a whole figure must have been a complex process involving numerous moulds. As to clay, the invisible inside is no different from the outer surface, only less smooth[60]. The whitish slip and the red glaze seem to have been applied after the firing, which would explain the poor state of preservation[61].

60 In contrast, terracottas at Olympia employ two different kinds of clay, the one on the inside being tempered more coarsely with bits of argillaceous schist and small stones: Moustaka 1993, 4 pls. 24 a; 49 a; 88 c; 101 a. Larger arms and legs at the Asclepeion at Corinth were built up of as many as four layers of clay: Roebuck 1951, 115.

61 Burn – Higgins 2001, 20 with n. 18.



85 86 87 88 89

Miletus, terracottas from the cave (scale 2 : 5)

Fig. 85 **TK5** fragments of a finger and a foot

Fig. 86 **TK6** finger

Fig. 87 **TK6** finger

Fig. 88 **TK7** fingertips

Fig. 89 **TK8** finger

Reconstruction

As **TK1** and **TK2** are alike and made from the same fabric, they should be contemporaneous and possibly formed a pair of associated figures. **TK1** represents a bearded male. Both **TK1** and **TK2** appear to have been nude, as there is no trace of any costume, neither in terracotta nor in paint. The red skin colour is typical for male nudes[62]. The life sized figures may have been busts, as no part of the lower body is in evidence. The drill hole in the forearm of **TK2** (Figs. 79. 80) may have been a connecting device[63] rather than for suspension[64] as in the case of the well-known arms from the Asclepeion at Corinth[65]. Whilst the latter specimens are closed and finished with round caps above the suspension holes, the forearm of **TK2** has an open end with an unfinished surface that was probably not seen, as it was hidden by the joint. Otherwise, the cave mainly yielded individual fingers, hands, and arms (**TK4**, **TK7**, and **TK8**) that appear to have stood alone, disassociated from any body.

The arms and hands of **TK1**, **TK2**, and **TK4** appear to have held objects, perhaps in a manner similar to the widespread depiction of subjects holding sacrificial dishes (phialae) in marble statues and reliefs[66]. Terracotta figures with phialae are mostly smaller[67], rarely life sized[68]. A fragmented terracotta hand with a phiale turned up to the north of Miletus between Ephesus and Smyrna[69]. In all these cases hands and phialae were produced together with the same two moulds, one for the front and one for the back. However, at Miletus the phialae, or whatever other objects the hands may have held, were separate items and possibly of a different material.

The individual fingers or hands **TK7** and **TK8** could have been votive offerings in their own right. Votive offerings in the shape of individual fingers are known from marble and bronze as well as from terracotta[70]. Terracotta

62 Cf. Roebuck 1951, 116. 123.
63 Cf. e. g. Newhall Stillwell 1952, 145–151 pl. 31. Note, however, that in contrast to **TK2** most arms and legs of jointed dolls have flat, handmade ends. Single arms at Priene also have drill holes that may have served to fix them to a wooden stand: Filges 2015, 97.
64 Cf. Roebuck 1951, 116. 124 e. g. no. 60 pl. 36.
65 Roebuck 1951, 123–125 nos. 49–76 pls. 36–40.
66 e. g. relief from Thasos, around 470 B.C. (Archaeological Museum Istanbul): Rolley 1994, 361 fig. 382; togatus, 1st cent. B.C. (Ny Carslberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, neg. IN 706): Glyptotek 1907, no. 540 pl. 41; togatus, late 1st cent. B.C. (Rome, KLM-Bureau): Goette 1989, 22 pl. 1, 4; portrait of Claudius from Lanuvium, 42–43 A.D.: Kleiner 1992, 131 f. fig. 106; Rome, Column of Trajan, scenes 132 and 272: Goette 1989, 42 no. A a 19 pls. 14, 4. 5; togatus of Hadrianic period (Rome, Vatican): Goette 1989, 49 no. B b 69 pl. 21, 6; relief with togatus on the Arch of the Argentarii, 204 A.D. (Rome, Forum Boarium, panel B): Kleiner 1992, 334–337 fig. 303.
67 e. g. figurines of young girls and boys each with phiale in the right hand: Laumonier 1921, 153–158 nos. 716–756 pls. 71–74 (southern Italy).
68 Burn – Higgins 2001, 199 no. 2606 pl. 96 (Halicarnassus).
69 Schürmann 1989, 161 no. 571 pl. 96.
70 Bronze: Riethmüller 2005, vol. 2, 254 (Thespiai). Terracotta: Koerte 1893, 242 f. nos. 11. 12 (Athens); Roebuck 1951, 125 nos. 74–76 pl. 40 (Corinth).

hands plus forearms that appear to have stood upright have been found at a rock sanctuary in Priene, the northern neighbour of Miletus, where they were deposited in the first century B.C.[71]. Terracotta hands are particularly numerous in Italy, for example at Santa Gilla on Sardinia, where about 100 hands or fragments thereof were found and some date from the Hellenistic period[72]. The hands stood each on its own on a short cylindrical wrist; some held objects, and two wrists have drill holes, which remain to be explained[73]. An almost life-size hand from Etruria also dates from the Hellenistic period and has outstretched fingers[74], as was more common[75], also in Greece and Asia Minor[76], where marble seems to have been the preferred medium[77]. As to dedication, terracotta figures and limbs occur at a great many different sanctuaries and are not specific to any particular deity[78].

Chronology

The formal and technical similarities of **TK1**, **TK2**, **TK3**, and **TK4** indicate roughly simultaneous production. A close stylistic parallel for the fingers of **TK1**, **TK2**, and **TK3** comes from Morgantina on Sicily[79]: the fingers are similarly curved and the phalanges marked with two grooves, although the specimen from Morgantina is only about two thirds life-size. It dates from the Hellenistic period. Life-size terracotta figures were widespread between the seventh and the fourth century B.C.[80] and became significantly less common thereafter. The gesture and the nudity of **TK1** and **TK2** find a parallel in a ca. 75 cm short figure that used to be kept in the Provincial Museum of Campania at Capua[81]. A male head from Veii north of Rome is slightly larger than life size and dates from the fifth or fourth century B.C.[82]. A fragmented hand with forearm and a single surviving finger from Eretria on Euboea has similar proportions and was excavated in a context from around 300 B.C.[83]. The excavations around the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus turned up parts of a bent arm from the second or first century B.C. that was made with two moulds, one for the front and one for the back, and must have been attached to a large figure, probably a male, because the arm is not draped[84].

The arm from Halicarnassus appears to be the youngest comparandum for the terracottas from Miletus, which points to a Hellenistic date for the latter also. The terracottas would thus seem to date from the earlier, Hellenistic phase of the cave sanctuary, before the Roman enlargement of the theatre. This begs the question as to how the terracottas survived the Roman renovation of the cave, when all earlier Hellenistic contexts were disturbed. All terracotta fragments were found above floor level or inside the spring, none in the fissures under floor level, where some would probably have ended up, if they had fallen to the ground and got lost before or during the Roman renovation. Were the terracottas removed before the start of the renovation and returned after the building work was concluded? Did they merit special care, because by the Roman period they were old, special, and associated with the cultic tradition? For some of the same reasons the terracottas may conceivably have been brought to the cave for the first time only after the Roman renovation and may originally have been displayed elsewhere in the sanctuary, for example in an outbuilding in front of the cave as at Priene[85].

Fabric groups

Group TK I. Colour: surface: pink (7.5YR 7/4), fracture: grey (7.5YR 6/1). Inclusions: dominant: silver mica; very rare: black inclusions, lime-stone. Grain size: mica: very fine (< 0.06 mm); other inclusions: coarse 1 – coarse 2 (0.6–2 mm). Quantity: mica: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm^2); other inclusions: sparse

71 Filges 2015, 96–99 fig. 13.
72 Moscati 1991, nos. 86–180.
73 Moscati 1991, nos. 87. 88.
74 Schmidt 1994, 194 no. 332 pl. 61 b with further analogies. Anatomical votive offerings were common from the 4th to the 1st cent. B.C., especially in Etruria. In general see Comella 1981; ThesCRA I (2004) 359–368 s. v. Anatomical Votives (J. MacIntosh Turfa).
75 Further examples: Pensabene et al. 1980, 240–246 nos. 596–639 pls. 100. 101 (Tevere); Comella 1982, 106–111 nos. D2I–D3I pls. 72–75 (Tarquinia).
76 Forsén 1996, 71 no. 8.21 (Athens, sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos); 84 f. nos. 14.7–11 (Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Kyparissia); 85 f. nos. 15.1–4 figs. 85–87 (Messene); 86 f. no. 16.1 fig. 89 (Kalamata); 88 no. 18.1 fig. 91 (Pherai, sanctuary of Artemis Ennodia?); 92 f. no. 24.2 fig. 95 (Smyrna?); 100 f. nos. 32.1–3 figs. 107–109 (Paros).
77 Forsén 1996, passim and 112–120 on terracottas.
78 Larger figures: cf. n. 67–69. Anatomical offerings of hands in the Greek world: cf. Forsén 1996, 46 no. 1.36; 95 no. 29.1 (Asclepius); 59 no. 7.1 (Heracles); 70 nos. 8.20–21 (Zeus); 85 nos. 14.7–11; 88 no. 18.1 (Artemis). Anatomical offerings in the Italic world: cf. Recke 2013, 1073 f.: »[…] in the Etrusco-Italic region practically all the deities worshipped were offered such votives.«
79 Bell 1981, 223 no. 831 pl. 127.
80 Rolley 1994, 73 f. fig. 114 (Archaic period); Bookidis – Fischer 1972, 317 pl. 63 (Corinth); Schürmann 1989, 93 f. no. 317 pls. 54–56; Moustaka 1993, 2 f. (Olympia).
81 Now lost. Bonghi Jovino 1971, 72 no. 54 pl. 39.
82 Schmidt 1994, 194 no. 331 pl. 61 c.
83 Mekacher 2003, 56 nos. 180. 181 pls. 41. 42.
84 Burn – Higgins 2001, 198 no. 2594 pl. 95.
85 Filges 2015, 96. 101 f. fig. 15.

(< 5/0.5 cm²). Fracture: coarse porous. Surface: smooth; low – medium fired. Exterior smoothed, but not completely even – in places flowmarks; interior: coarsely finished.

Group TK II. Colour: surface: light brown (7.5YR 6/4), fracture: dark grey (GLEY1 4/N). Inclusions: dominant: silver mica; frequently: lime-stone, black inclusions; rare: quartzite, small grey stones. Grain size: coarse 1 – very coarse (0.6 – > 2 mm). Quantity: mica: abundant (> 10/0.5 cm²); other inclusions: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: coarse porous. hard – very hard fired. Exterior smoothed, but less carefully than in the case of TK I; plenty of fissures. Surface heavily abraded; interior: coarsely finished; lots of flowmarks and uneven.

Group TK III. Colour: light reddish brown (5YR 6/4); rare: fraction: light grey. Inclusions: mica; very rare: light grey inclusions. Grain size: medium – coarse 1 (0.2–0.6 mm). Quantity: medium (5–10/0.5 cm²). Fracture: laminated. Surface: smooth and velvety; low fired. Surface abraded at many places.

Catalogue

TK1 (Figs. 75–78)
Fabric group: TK I.
TK1.1 Figure (53 fragments)
Inv. 0401.151+447+448.
Shoulder and neck up to right ear with rests of beard and hair, face missing – five fr. matching; six fr. of hair: one including part of forehead and right brow bone – three fr. matching; another fr. with remains of a wreath. Fr. of ear, fr. of wrist, 34 undetermined fr.
Shoulder and neck: L 21.4 W 14.8 T 1.1; fr. of hair with brow bone: L 9.7 W 9.2 T 0.1–1.3; ear: L 4.2 W 2.1 T 1.1; wrist: L 6.7 W 4.9 T 0.7.
Traces of dull, thin light red glaze on hair (10R 6/6), largely flaked off.

TK1.2 Four fragments
Inv. 0301.130.
Largest fr.: L 8.7 W 5.9 T 1.

TK1.3 Finger
Inv. 0501.210.
Broken where it was attached to the hand.
L 5.7 W 1.5 T 1.4.
Traces of dull, thin reddish brown glaze on nail bed and grooves (2.5YR 4/4).

TK1.4 Knee or elbow
Inv. 0505.256.
Broken all-round.
L 5.6 W 4.5 T 0.8.
Fr. with strong convexity.
Traces of dull, thin reddish brown glaze on knee (2.5YR 4/4).

TK2 Figure (52 fragments) (Figs. 79. 80)
Inv. 0401.161+186+336+152+131.
Fabric group: TK I.
Two fr. of shoulder and neck, face missing – matching. Four fr. of hair strands. three fr. of right arm with hand – matching. Four fr. of left hand – matching. Fr. of left wrist. Four fr. of left arm – matching. Six fr. of fingers and hand – two matching. Nine fr. of arms or legs – partly matched. Fr. with drill hole. 20 undetermined fr.
Shoulder and neck: L 11.9 W 9.6 T 0.6–2.3; right arm with hand: L 28.5 W 6.7–7.2 T 1.1; left hand: L 17.3 W 4.9 T 1.9; left arm: L 19 W 8 T 1.1; largest strand of hair: L 4.8 W 2.2 T 1.5; fr. with drill hole: L 5.8 W 3.9 T 0.8.
Traces of whitish slip on fr. of arms with a thin, dull light red glaze (10R 6/6–6/8).

TK3 Eight fingers (Figs. 81. 82)
Inv. 0401.449.
Fabric group: TK I.
Six mostly intact fingers, broken where they were attached to the hand; two fr. of fingertips.
Intact pieces: L 8.3–10.5 W 2.1–2.4 T 2.1–2.6; fr.: L 3.2–5.8 W 1.5–1.9 T 1.2–1.3.
Few remains of a whitish slip with a thin, dull light red glaze (10R 6/6).

TK4 (Fig. 83. 84)
Fabric group: TK II.
TK4.1 Arm(?)
Inv. 0202.
Cf. **TK4.5**.

TK4.2 Fingers
Inv. 0401.236.
Five fr. of fingers; two more fr., presumably fingers, broken where they were attached to the hand. Surface heavily abraded.

TK4.3 Hand
Inv. 0502.349.
Fr. of the thenar of a hand; half the thenar and fingers broken off. Surface heavily abraded.
L 4.3 W 2.3–4.3 T 0.3–0.7.

TK4.4 Finger
Inv. 0505.278.
Broken at the attachment to the hand.
Surface heavily abraded.

TK4.5 Arms
Inv. 0506.381+382.
Three fr., two matching, broken on most sides.
Traces of a pinkish slip on the outside.

TK5 Foot (Fig. 85)
Inv. 0302.130.
Fabric group: TK III.
Two matching fr., heel broken. Two undetermined fr.

TK6 Finger (Figs. 86. 87)
Inv. 0202.28.
Broken where it was attached to the hand and to the next finger.
L 7 W 1.5 T 1.9.
The whole finger is covered with a thin and dull red glaze (2.5YR 5/6).

TK7 Three fingertips (Fig. 88)
Inv. 0401.335.
Largest fr.: L 3.9 W 1.3–1.8 T 1.3–1.7.
Three identical fr. of fingertips, made with front and back mould – joints visible in the fraction. No internal structures apart from the nail beds. Nail beds relatively wide and oval.
Traces of reddish glaze largely flaked off.

TK8 Finger (Fig. 89)
Inv. 0401.334.
Broken where it was attached to the hand.
L 7 W 1.1–2.4 T 0.9–2.1.

S. H.

Sculptures, Original Context, Damage, and Defacement

Fragments of seven different sculptures have been found in the cave sanctuary and its immediate vicinity. Six pieces were recovered from the spring inside the cave (**S1–6**) and a further two fragments were discovered as stray finds in the area immediately outside the cave, near the theatre. These two additional pieces are presented here because one of them joins precisely with a fragment found inside the spring (both treated together below under **S2**) and the other (**S7**) offers broader insights into the display of sculpture in this immediate part of the city. In order to do justice to this new material, the sculptures are each individually described and discussed below. The two following sections explore the issue of the sculptures' original context and then evidence for later responses to this material.

Catalogue

All references to right and left, unless otherwise stated, refer to the *figure*'s right and left.

S1 Caryatid head (Figs. 90–93)

DAMAGE: Overall, the piece is in good condition, though the following are broken off and missing: the right and left portions of the front of the chest so that only a small portion of the true surface of the chest is preserved; the tip of the chin; part of the lips, a small section of the upper left cheek, and the nose. There are also chips missing from both eyebrows. The principal damage across the face follows two strike lines: one that falls from the figure's left cheekbone across the mouth and down to the chin and another that runs across the nose to the lower right cheek. The lower left portion of the face (from cheek to jaw) is less weathered than the rest of the face.

DESCRIPTION: This large caryatid head was manufactured in one piece from a coarse crystalline marble. The female is shown in ideal fashion with smooth brow and the eyebrows lightly modelled to frame the rather deep-set, large eyes that have had the upper and lower lids defined with the drill. The eyes lack any surface incision, and traces of red paint show that depth would have been added to the gaze in this fashion. What remains of the nose indicates that it was straight. The mouth formed a cupid's bow with a drill channel separating the full lips. The chin was rounded with a fleshy lower jaw set on a strong, wide neck that is only slightly narrower than the face. The subject's hair is drawn back in waves from a centre parting, radiating away from the face, over the top of the ears. The hairstyle has been modelled with the chisel and light use of drill forming channels in the stone but not a full ›chiaroscuro‹ effect. The hair would appear to cover the whole head if viewed from below, but when seen in profile it is apparent that it is only a band ca. 7–10 cm in thickness on each side of the head. Dark brown-black paint is still preserved in the hair. Both ears have been worked with the hollow of the interior shown and outer channel and earlobe lightly indicated.

The posture of the head is frontal. There is no clothing worked in with the piece, and only a fraction of the shoulders are visible before the figure terminates for insertion into the body. The join surfaces at the top, neck, and back are all preserved. On the flat top of the piece there is an almost square dowel hole with a channel, for a clamp, that runs parallel to the back join surface to meet the proper right edge of the terminus. This measures 5 cm in length and ca. 1 cm in width. The back of the piece is more roughly finished with point chisel marks blocking out the flat surface of the stone. The lower portion of the back tapers in from the shoulders sloping

90 91 92 93

Figs. 90–93 Miletus, **S1** caryatid head from the cave, front, right side, left side, and back. Miletus Museum inv. E9391.
H 41.5; W 27; D 24; head H (chin to crown) 26; W (cheek to cheek) 17 cm. The rounded architectural slot at the top of the piece measured across its base is W 21; D 18; at its summit W 13.5; D 13 cm. The attaching dowel hole's dimensions 5.1 (across width of figure) by 5 (front to back) by 2.5 cm (depth). The bottom join surface W 18; D 11 cm

towards the front and to each side. This bottom join surface, like the top one, has been smoothed more than the back and retains light traces of the claw chisel.

Comparison with the other caryatid head, **S2**, shows that **S1** has been recut at some point in its history. Traces of this recutting are apparent around the top of the head where it has been shaped for insertion with a tenon join that resembles a flat-topped cone. Its tonsure-like edges encircle the head before sloping up to the original flat top surface which has a dowel hole at the centre. The sloping join surface that encircles the head retains traces of multiple small claw chisel marks from where the stone was roughed out. An incised chisel line continued the hair parting up across the slope of this surface but not onto the flat upper join surface.

On the left side of the head a small portion of unworked stone has been left below the hairline, creating an asymmetrical outline which is clearly apparent when viewed straight on and from the rear, though less visible when viewed from below. This has been cut away on the right side, and a series of three small roughly rounded holes have been added. These run diagonally along the cut back right side of the figure's roughly worked surface (the holes measure from top to bottom 6.2 and 4 mm in diameter). They perhaps mark the remains of fixtures that served to hold the head in its new place.

DISCUSSION: This head should be understood in conjunction with five caryatid bodies that have been discovered in the theatre and its immediate environs. These bodies are the right proportions for the head and are now held at the Louvre[86], at the Antikensammlung in Berlin[87], and at Izmir Archaeological Museum[88]. R. Bol observed that, like this head, the caryatid bodies had been recut for secondary installation. Based on stylistic examination of the pieces, together with the epigraphic evidence for when the *scaenae frons* of the Roman theatre was transformed from a two tier structure to a three tiered one, Bol argues that the figures originally formed a deliberately »backward looking« part of the Neronian theatre and were then recut for re-use in a grander Antonine construction[89]. While it is possible to see the recutting of the head as having taken place shortly after its creation as an amendment carried out by the sculptor on the job, it is more tempting to put this with the other evidence for recutting and to see it, as Bol suggested for the caryatid bodies, as the product of the head being reconfigured for the grander later

86 Louvre inv. 2794 (9820560AGR). 2795 (9820561AGR). 2793 (9820559AGR); Charbonneaux 1963, 104; Schmidt-Colinet 1977, 232 f. nos. W 41 a–c; Bol 2011, 124 f. nos. VII.1.1–3 (with full earlier bibliography).
87 Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. Sk 1589; Bol 2011, 125 no. VII.1.5.
88 Izmir Archaeology Museum inv. 74; Schmidt-Colinet 1977, 232 f. no. 41 d; Bol 2011, 125 no. VII.4.
89 Bol 2011, 124–127.

Antonine theatre. The ideal head, with its lack of drill work to the hair and its painted pupils, could easily have been manufactured in such a first century A.D. context, and a Neronian date is feasible.

S2 Caryatid head (Figs. 94–96)
DAMAGE: The head is preserved in two pieces. The face has been shattered by the principal line of fracture that broke this part of the sculpture in two. This break line runs through the figure's eyes and nose, over the brow, and through the hair, sloping upwards through the central dowel that originally held the piece in its architectural context. While the two fragments still meet precisely on the top join surface and through the hair, the force of the blow focused on the face and created a gap between the two fragments that runs across the eyes and nose. The nose together with the left side of the figure's head, left upper join surface, and left cheek are broken away and lost. The lower portion of the face is missing, struck off from the mouth downwards at an oblique angle so that the chin and all of the lower portion of the face and neck are missing. Both fragments are more weathered than caryatid head **S1** and have a surface which is no longer crisp. The waves of the hair are chipped, as is the surface of the skin. The principal difference in surface preservation between the two fragments is that the upper part that was found in the spring has a darker patina, but in spite of its placement in the cave, it has not faired a great deal better; it is simply less sun bleached in appearance.

DESCRIPTION: This large female head was manufactured in a coarse grained crystalline marble and shows the subject on a similar scale and ideal fashion to caryatid **S1**. While the high level of damage prohibits many secure observations relating to the physiognomy, it is clear that generally the proportions of the two faces were similar. There were, though, a number of differences. For example, this caryatid was posed with its head directed slightly to its right. More of the ear was worked on this figure than on the other caryatid, and the brow retains more traces of the claw chisel than **S1**. The eyes have deep drill marks used to distinguish the upper lid, as caryatid **S1** does, but the lid is thicker at its centre here creating a slightly different shape. It is generally a less carefully worked piece. Unlike the neat straight centre parting of **S1**, the parting here seems crescent shaped on initial viewing because one line of the parting has been more strongly defined than the other. This figure's curly coiffure has been more summarily executed than the other head, with the locks modelled as a series of clumps radiating outwards from the parting. The strands of these curls lack the high definition of **S1**; they are more shallowly rendered and less linear in form. Unlike caryatid **S1**, this figure's hair is capped by a slim hair band, which widens as it moves down from the crown, from 2 to 2.5 cm in thickness.

The join surface at the back of the piece is flat and roughly shaped with the same large point chisel marks visible as on **S1**. The upper join surface is preserved on both fragments and, as on caryatid **S1**, this surface has received a higher degree of finish than the back with fine claw chisel marks slightly visible. As with its counterpart, there is a large dowel hole set centrally at the top of the head. The slot is square and there is again a channel running from the central dowel for an additional clamp, but unlike on caryatid **S1**, this channel runs forwards from the front right corner of the dowel to the right side of the figure's head. This channel is also thicker than on **S1** (measuring 1.7 cm in width and 7 cm in length). It meets the edge of the head at the point that the band meets an unworked triangular portion of stone to the side of the figure's head. In addition, there are traces of two recessed shallow clamp holes on the

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96

Figs. 94–96 Miletus, **S2** caryatid head from the cave, ¾ profile from right, left side, and back. Miletus Museum inv. E11187. Preserved in two pieces, fragment A comprising the upper portion of the face and fragment B the lower portion of the head. Both fragments together H (preserved) 25; W 26; D 19.5 cm. The dowel hole's complete dimensions 5 by 5 by D 2.5 cm. Fragment A: H (at front) 15; W 19.5; D 12.5 cm. Fragment B: H 25; W 26; D 21; head W (cheek to cheek) 17.5 cm. Fragment A was found inside the spring, fragment B in front of the cave

upper join surface that run horizontally across the piece. These different modes of attachment were perhaps informed in part by the slightly different angles of the two heads.

This piece has not been recut in the same way as head **S1**. Comparison between the two pieces shows that the hair band present on this caryatid appears to have formed the line that was cut away to create a tonsure-like, rounded tenon fitting on caryatid **S1**. The back of the piece has also been left so that the back join surface meets the top surface at 90 degrees rather than sloping up to form a conical tenon join. On this caryatid, at the base of the hair on both sides there is a roughly worked ledge of stone. This has been cut away from the right side of caryatid **S1**. In addition, above the slim hairband there is a triangular portion of stone here, which has broad chisel marks clearly apparent at the sides of the head. This area of roughly worked stone at the side of the head measures 5 cm in depth at the edge of the piece sloping up to form a point with the channel that leads from the dowel and the hair band. This has been entirely cut away in creating the rounded upper tenon join on **S1**.

DISCUSSION: This caryatid head belongs to the same group as **S1**, sharing corresponding dimensions and ideal physiognomy, and was held in place originally with an analogous upper fitting. They also have similarly worked back join surfaces, with the same large diagonal blocking out tool marks. However, more of the ears have been worked on this head, suggesting that this body part was perhaps more visible than on head **S1** due to this head being less frontal; it also lacks the recutting to the top of the head and the sides which was done to fix the other head in place. Overall, this head seems lower in quality than **S1**. Features like the eyes seem almost designed to quote the other piece, but do not do so quite so successfully with the lid heavier in the centre. While it is possible that this head marked a later extension to the series of caryatids, it is also conceivable that it was contemporary with head **S1**, but was simply manufactured by less skilful sculptors in the workshop[90].

S3 Large ideal male head with fillet (Figs. 97–100)

DAMAGE: Overall, the preservation of this piece is good. The following parts are broken off and missing: a separately worked segment at the back of the hair, the nose, a small portion of the lower lip, and the right portion of the neck and shoulder where it joins the section roughly worked for insertion. Curls are broken off and missing across the surface of the hair, particularly on the right side of the head below the fillet, and there are also chips missing from the fillet itself. The surface of the piece has been scratched and chipped, with grazed sections and chipping particularly apparent at the eyebrows, chin, lips, left eye, left cheek, and the remnants of the nose. The main damage to the face comprises a line, directed from the left side of the fringe down the nose and

90 Although it seems likely that the tritons from the theatre were manufactured as part of an extension to this architectural figure series (Bol 2011, 122. 127 f. cat. VII.1.6–7), all the caryatid bodies have been recut and there is no further direct evidence that new examples of these figures were commissioned for the theatre's reconfiguration.

through the mouth. Multiple light scratch lines have been incised emanating from the figure's left tear duct.

DESCRIPTION: This ideal male head was manufactured in a medium to fine-grained white marble that holds a relatively crisp finish. The head was made in two pieces with the back portion of hair joined separately. This upper join surface retains traces of the claw chisel, and there is a fine crack running vertically downwards, a flaw in the stone which may account for the need to add this section of hair in a separate piece. The sculpture extends low enough to include the neck and a preserved portion of the left shoulder with the line of stone where it was inserted into its original fitting. No clothes are depicted. The head is positioned with a fractional twist to the figure's left and shows a clean shaven subject with large eyes, rounded cheeks, and full lips. The prominent eyes have a smooth surface and are framed by slim eyebrows that are modelled without surface detailing. The strong arcuated line of these brows contributes to the dominance of the eyes, as do the heavy upper lids, which are carefully modelled with a drill line that continues horizontally with a chisel incision emanating from both eyes to terminate at the hairline. The lower lids are also incised with a drill line, and the tear ducts are worked with a light drill hole. Below the eyes are pouch-like lower lids that form fleshy hammocks. What remains of the nose indicates that it took a straight line. There are light naso-labial furrows emanating widely from the flare of the nostril and a light depression either side of the mouth. The mouth has a deep cupid's bow and full bottom lip parted with the chisel. The chin is rounded with a fleshy jaw line that slopes down towards the neck. The skin has been carefully smoothed, but not worked to hold a high level of polish, and there are a few less careful rasp marks visible on the neck and below the chin.

The richly curled hair falls forwards in a ›shaggy‹ mop, covering the ears. It has been plastically rendered with a series of s-shaped and longer looping curls emanating downwards from where the crown was once worked in a separately carved piece of stone. These curls are then compressed and pulled forwards with a fillet that encircles the head so that they fall about the face. The short fringe has a parting slightly to the figure's left and a profusion of fuller curls are drawn forwards about the sides of the face. The locks have been boldly articulated with tiny bridges, drill holes, and chisel cannelations visible in places. The hair is plastically rendered across all sides showing a level of textured detail that reveals it to be of relatively high quality. The fillet runs at an almost uniform thickness (around 1 cm in width) around the head and forms a regular band with straight sides and a slightly concave profile, without the depiction of a knot to tie the cloth and without sign of the ends descending at the rear.

The head has been worked on all sides, though the back of the neck is more summarily finished than the front, which has been carefully modelled including anatomical details: a light hollow between the clavicle and a slight Adam's apple. The stone then forms a rounded tenon that slotted in to its support position to hold the head in place. The sides and front of this tenon are worked with prominent flat chisel marks. Across the back of the insertion section is a smoothed, carefully worked ledge extending across the width of the figure. The bottom of this inserted section slopes forwards at an angle of approximately 25 degrees and has broad rough point marks across the surface. There is a slight depression for a clamp still apparent on the front left of the inserted surface.

DISCUSSION: The sculpture depicts an ideal male figure. The preserved extent of the stone does not include clothes, and the presence of a plain fillet

97 98 99 100

Figs. 97–100 Miletus, **S3** large ideal male head from the cave, front, right side, left side, and back. Miletus Museum inv. E9392. H 36; W 21; D 19; head H (chin to crown) 24; W (cheek to cheek) 12.5; H of roughly worked insertion profile 6 cm

in the hair together with the youthful ideal physiognomy suggests that the subject was shown nude in a mode that conveyed the iconographically related costumes of »hero« or »victorious athlete«[91]. It was worked for insertion perhaps into a herm or statue body, with the relative brevity of the tenon making the former of these two options the more probable[92].

When seen in profile, the piece looks like an ›updated‹ version of ideal male youths such as the famous Doryphorus, but rendered with far more dominant eyes, strongly arcuated brows, a fleshier jawline, and more vividly expressed hair. The aesthetic of arched brows, heavy eyelids, and fleshier physiognomy have been picked out by L. Stirling as features that are stylistically typical of late mythological statuettes[93], although, significantly, this piece lacks the single drill dot marking the pupil which is also characteristic of a later date. Without knowledge of the original context it is impossible to be certain that these elements were not simply ›corrective‹ features that served to make the semantic thrust of the piece (youthful ideal male) more intelligible when viewed from a distance. Rigorous bridgework in the hair, together with the drilling of tear ducts, lids, etc. suggest at least a mid-second century date[94], but the pupil began to be drilled from the 130s[95], and on conventional criteria the absence of this detail suggests the head was manufactured not much later. It is not possible to propose a certain date, but it is tempting to put the piece around the late first half of the second century, at a time when the drilling of pupils, particularly in ideal sculpture, was still not ubiquitous.

S4 Small ideal male head with metal wreath (Figs. 101–104)

DAMAGE: The head is broken off from the parting of the lips, below the ears back to the nape of the neck. The following are also broken off and missing: the tip of the nose and the figure's right nostril and the tips of the figure's right and left ears (though parts of these latter breaks are unweathered). The surface is generally weathered. There are light chips and scratches across the piece, particularly about the brow and across the hair. Most of the figure's metal headwear is lost, and ferrous discolouration has seeped across the surface of the surrounding locks from the small metal section that remains on the left side of the head.

DESCRIPTION: The piece is made from a fine to medium coarse-grained white marble and is worked on all sides, though the less visible hair at the crown has received more summary attention than elsewhere. The remaining upper fragment of the under life-sized head depicts an ideal male figure with

91 Though artists were at some pains to distinguish these two subjects through attributes in contemporary portrait images, on this point see Smith 2006, esp. 132. On nudity as a statue costume see Hallett 2005; Smith 2006, 131–149.

92 On this type of join between head and herm, see Dillon 2006, 32. The size of the head does not help to establish which is more likely: larger heads than this are found not only on statues but also on herms, see for example Dillon 2006, 169 f. nos. B94–98.

93 On the stylistic attributes found in the facial features of late mythological statuettes based on pieces with a known chronology, see Stirling 2005, 98–102. Suggestions for the stylistic identification of a late antique date are also outlined in Hannestad 2007. On the problem with establishing a chronology for the late antique period, see Kiilerich 1993, 189–195; Jacobs 2010, 269 n. 14.

94 On the cultural impetus driving the development of such technical innovations (in the rendering of fashion hairstyles), see Smith 1998, 61–63.

95 An innovation introduced to portraiture around 130 A.D. (Fittschen 1992/1993, 448) and identified by Stirling as a defining feature in the style of late mythological statuettes: Stirling 2005, 98.

smooth skin, which has only a slight indentation running across the upper part of the brow and light naso-labial furrows. Below the modelled brows, the eyes have the upper lid outlined with a slim chisel line at the top and fuller cutting in below, while the lower lid is lightly indicated with a chisel line. The tear ducts have been drilled, but the eye itself has a smooth surface retaining the traces of faded black paint that was used to indicate the outside edge of the iris and the pupil. What remains of the nose indicates that it fell straight (the slight grazing at the beginning of the break gives it a misleadingly aquiline aspect in photographs) and had the nostrils lightly drilled. The cheeks are full and smooth without sideburns. The philtrum has been carefully modelled above a full, slightly protruding upper lip. The drill channel between upper and lower lip is still preserved on the stone, and the surface of the skin has been smoothed with rasps, but not to hold a high level of polish.

Viewed from the front, the figure's hair forms a full and rounded silhouette which tapers in neatly at the ears. The locks curl upwards from the forehead with only one curl falling onto the figure's right temple. The hair forms a star-like pattern at the crown with the short sickle locks brushed towards the face, descending at the back onto the nape of the neck and curling forwards about the ears. The curls have been modelled close to the head with the edges defined with drill channels, but no attempt made to create fully plastic hair. The ears have been relatively carefully modelled with the upper half covered by curling locks of hair. The hair is without fashion portrait features like sideburns or a distinctive fringe. Paint traces show that it was once a dark brown overlying a red base colour.

Three slots were cut into the side and front of the head to hold in place a metal wreath, crown, or fillet. The three slots are situated at irregular intervals around the front of the head, extending further back on the left side of the head. The slot on the figure's left is set back one lock above the ear and filled with an iron attachment that now forms an irregular lump although some linear edges are visible through the corrosion. The corroded piece of metal measures 2.2 (W) by 2.4 cm (H) and protrudes 7 mm from the head (D). The more central slot is set back three locks from the forehead and comprises three lobes positioned to the right, left, and below. Its maximum width is 1.6 by 0.7 cm front to back, and it is 1.2 cm deep. The right slot is set back three locks from the face and more roughly trapezoid in form, with a channel apparent running from the top of the rear short side across the bottom towards the front. Its maximum width is 2.2 by 1.2 cm in height, and it has a depth of 1.8 cm.

DISCUSSION: The preserved upper fragment of this head belonged to a slightly under life sized figure of a youthful male in ideal fashion. The face is classicising is style, but when seen in profile the facial features seem slightly more specific, holding a fine degree of detail and marked with light naso-labial furrows. The hair is not rendered in portrait fashion and nor do the lock patterns mirror precisely known ›master works‹. The fragmentary remains of metal headwear probably formed part of a metal fillet or wreath. The latter option is more likely partly because the metal attachment was set quite high on the head, and while this is encountered with fillets, it is more frequently seen with wreaths[96]. More persuasively, the depth and shape of the slots suggest that the metal work it supported was raised out from the head, which would better fit the fuller shape of a wreath. The slight hint of individual features on this fragmentary head, when the image is seen in profile, is too subtle for this to be assured and so the identity of the subject is elusive: it could be a portrait of a local youth, defining him in terms of his conformity to ideal and classical forms[97], or it may simply be one of the generally ideal figures used to show

96 To choose one example at random from many, the position of the wreath would have been similar to that taken by the laurel wreath worn by the victorious athlete bronze found in the Adriatic and now in the Getty inv. 77AB.30, see Moreno 1995, 71–73.

97 As is clear from the images of Julio-Claudian emperors, a range of relationships with classical ideals were possible in portraiture. For examples of highly idealized figures used to depict subjects, see Hallett 2005, 34–42 on the use of so-called Farnese Hermes statue type as tomb portraits. For examples where there is a greater degree of personalization, see a classical looking portrait of a youth from Aphrodisias, where the subject has an updated version of Polycleitan hair together with a face which has »strongly classical structure« (Smith 2006, 274 f. no. 177), or another figure from the same site, where the face has classically formed features and short classical hairstyle together with some asymmetry to the features, slight overbite, and swollen ear (Smith 2006, 275 no. 178). See also the second-century, under life-sized funerary relief of an *ephebe* in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, inv. 1662: Kaltsas 2004, 367 fig. 236; Moreno 1995, 77.

101 102 103 104

Figs. 101–104 Miletus, **S4** small ideal male head from the cave, front, back, right side, and left side. Miletus Museum inv. E9393. H (preserved) 16.5; W 16.5; D 19; head W (cheek to cheek) 12 cm

an athlete, a hero, or conceivably a youthful embodiment of a god. Wreath-wearing was not restricted to any of the classes of ideal subjects: gods, heroes, or athletes might all wear such attire, and this does not help in ascertaining which of this potential cast of subjects is most likely to be represented here.

The figure's fragmentary condition makes it equally difficult to say what this ideal head once formed a part of, whether it was a somewhat diminutive statue of a youth, a herm, or bust. All are possible. It is less likely to have belonged to a *kline* lid because there are so few sarcophagi from the site[98]. The asymmetrical arrangement of the slots, which sees one set before the figure's right ear and one behind its left ear, might indicate that the head was set in a position where it was designed to be viewed more on its left side, but this is not assured and does not in any case completely eliminate any of the possible options of statue, herm, or bust. Dating the piece is also problematic given both its condition and the notorious difficulties associated with establishing a chronology for ideal sculpture, but there is no texturing to the hair, no drilling of the pupil, and nothing about the head that suggests a date later than the first century A.D.

S5 (Headless) male herm wearing *chlamys* (Figs. 105–107)
DAMAGE: The neck is broken off at an oblique angle running from the left edge of the figure's jaw line (where the neck is 9 cm high), following the line of the jaw and hair, before descending to the rear of the figure where the preserved neck is only 2 cm high. There are chips missing from the *chlamys*,

98 Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 525.

particularly where they rose in highest relief at the top of the cloak, at the back, and at the front. There are also chips from the edges of the base of the herm, which are focused on the front two corners, indicating that the figure broke when it fell forwards. This idea is supported by the damage to the clamp holes that held the piece in place, which is also focused on the front sides.

DESCRIPTION: The piece is made of a fine to medium coarse-grained crystalline marble and comprises the neck and upper torso of a male figure that was designed to be counter sunk into a herm pillar for display in a similar fashion to herms from the Villa of the Papyri[99]. The preserved edge of the jawline shows that the head was twisted dramatically to the figure's right. The twisting musculature of the neck and the hollow between the clavicles have been modelled. Two light creases have been rendered in the surface of the neck to indicate this torsion in the flesh. The skin of the neck is otherwise smooth and youthful in appearance. There is one small fragment of a hair lock preserved at the back of the figure, on its left hand side, level with the top of the Adam's apple. What remains of the jaw indicates that the subject was clean-shaven, with a smooth firm jaw line.

The subject is represented wearing a *chlamys* that falls in rich folds from the right shoulder, forming v-shaped folds at the front and a small v-shaped pleat at the back. The cloak has been carefully drilled to create three-dimensional texture to the folds, and the remains of some of the bored holes that were used to create depth are now visible on the *chlamys* where the cloak once folded in on itself, but the upper portion has now broken off. The thickness of the marble shaped to show the fabric of the *chlamys* on the upper folds is only 0.5 cm in depth, creating a fluid sense to the drapery which is not fully carried through at the back. There are traces of brown red paint inside the folds of the *chlamys* that generally has a more matt finish with more rasp lines apparent than on the surface of the skin. The only place where a similar coarseness of finish is present on the skin is at the nape of the neck where the *chlamys* falls back slightly. The back of the piece is generally less finished: the *chlamys* is rendered summarily, with the folds only apparent in outline and with chisel marks clearly visible on the lower part of the curved profile. The *chlamys* was held in place by a *gorgoneion* brooch, which has the facial features etched with shallow chisel strokes so that the centre of the eyes, nose, and lips are set on a higher plane than the rest. The lips are then parted with one additional light chisel stroke. The centre of the Gorgon's forehead has a line dissecting it, and the outlines of the face are traced with the chisel. Further summary chisel lines are used to indicate snakes radiating from the lower part of the head.

The base of the piece has a step running across it and creating two flat join surfaces for its insertion. The front profile, across the chest, is slightly curved. The lowest join surface is flat and has claw chisel marks apparent across the entire surface, with an almost square dowel hole set back from the front of the piece (2.7 by 2.8 cm with a depth of 2.2 cm). Either side of this step are traces of two clamps that were used to hold the piece in place. Light round chisel marks are present in the dowel hole and the clamp holes. The clamp holes intersect the step and are both almost rectangular (apart from damage to each of the clamps' front short sides). The step is maximum 3.6 cm in depth and has larger chisel marks apparent on its vertical profile (with tool marks measuring 0.5 mm in width) than on either of the flat join surfaces. The upper join surface also retains clear claw chisel marks across the surface of the piece and has been worked less smoothly than the lower join surface. At the sides, the edges of the sculpted figure were separated from the more roughly worked surfaces by a narrow channel.

99 On the three ways of creating a herm portrait, see Dillon 2006, 31 f. (this type being her first method). On this type of setting, see also Stähli 1992, 161–164.


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Figs. 105–107 Miletus, **S5** male herm from the cave, front, right side, and back. Miletus Museum inv. Etd.188.
H (preserved) 17; W (across front) 22; W (across back) 20; D (of base) 19; W of neck 10; Ø of brooch 4.1 cm

DISCUSSION: The piece was designed to be countersunk into a herm pillar support. It shows the male subject with his head turned dramatically to his right and wearing the *chlamys*, which had broad masculine military/heroic connotations. What remains indicates that the subject was clean-shaven with a firm jawline. The herm would appear to have represented a youthful figure shown in a gesture and dress that connoted manly dynamism. The condition of this figure makes it impossible to be specific about the precise identity of the subject, but what remains shows someone represented in an Alexander the Great-like fashion. The turned head was famously part of Alexander's image, but this styling was emulated by later figures, like Caracalla, who wished to be seen as similarly successful military leaders[100]. The Alexander mosaic shows him with *gorgoneion* at the centre of his breastplate, but this apotropaic motif was not uncommon on armour[101]. The brooch therefore does little to help identify the subject of this figure. It has been suggested that the herm format was regarded as having generally heroizing connotations[102], which may have suited the depiction of a youthful male military figure. Such connotations perhaps informed the later representation of Alexander with the Azara herm[103]. It is most probable that this herm was originally a portrait showing a youthful male drawing on the established iconography of a military ruler, but Alexander the Great's iconography also informed representations of divine and mythological figures, and it is not possible to entirely discount this sort of subject[104].

It is also impossible to date the piece with certainty because of its fragmentary condition, but the careful plastic rendering of the *chlamys* and the contrasting texture of the skin and fabric might indicate an Antonine date when such sculptural effects were fully exploited.

S6 Black marble relief showing staff encircled by snake (Figs. 108. 109)
DAMAGE: Only the lower portion of this rounded tapering staff is preserved and it is broken off at a downwards sloping angle from the viewer's front left to the viewer's back right. Parts of the snake's coils are missing, with chips struck from the lower coil and broken off at an angle from the upper coil. The surface is scratched and chipped in places.

DESCRIPTION: The lower portion of relief showing a staff encircled by a snake was manufactured in a fine-grained, dark, grey/black marble that holds a high level of polish; a ›nero antico‹ marble like that from Göktepe. It is worked in rounded half-relief with the profile comprising a semi-circular cross-section through the staff. The staff tapers, narrowing from the bottom to the top. Two full coils of the snake are depicted on the preserved fragment: the upper one is full and thick, while the lower one is slimmer, leading down to a pointed tail that loops along the very edge of the piece (on the viewer's

100 On this later emulation and the characteristic in Alexander's portraiture, see Stewart 1993, 75 f.
101 Found in various positions see, for example, Stemmer 1978, 158. 162.
102 Dillon 2006, 31.
103 Paris Louvre inv. MA436, from Tivoli.
104 On the cross pollination of Alexander iconography and ideal sculpture, see Smith 1988, esp. 61.

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Figs. 108. 109 Miletus, **S6** staff with snake from the cave, front and back.
H (preserved) 9.8; W (at base of staff) 5. 8;
W (at top of staff, without snake) 4.8;
W (at base of roughly worked slot) 5.1; D 4.1;
slot for insertion D 2.7; W (maximum) 1.2 cm

left). The surface of the snake is polished and smooth, like the staff, without individual scales incised.

The end of the staff is worked for insertion, and the stone has been cut away to form a narrower slot that slopes to the base. This recessed collar is set back by approximately 0.4 cm around the circumference of the staff. The ledge was outlined with a light chisel incision and extends at an angle slightly further up the staff on the (viewer's) right, suggesting that the staff may have been set at a slight angle. The bottom of the piece retains wide chisel marks that are directed in a hash like arrangement across each other. The sides of the slot also show multiple smaller, fine chisel strokes. The join surface at the back of the piece is flat with two drilled holes. The first drilled hole is centrally placed and comprises a channel that runs up the centre of the staff to the level of the tip of the snake's tail. It measures 3.4 cm in height, with a (preserved) depth of 0.8 cm. The striations made by the drill bore are clearly visible within it. Slight ferrous discolouration at the base and lip of this channel indicate that it was used to attach the black grey marble to its base. The second drill hole is cut into the join surface at the back of the staff. This hole has a diameter of 1 cm and extends 0.8 cm into the stone.

DISCUSSION: The most probable identification of this small fragment is that it formed part of an image of the god Asclepius. The presence of a rod encircled by a serpent was a distinguishing attribute for this deity and served to separate him in his embodiment of elder god from depictions of Zeus or Poseidon[105]. The representation of Asclepius in black marble also finds parallels in the famous images of the god from Anzio[106], thought to have been carved in a nero antico marble from Göktepe[107]. Given the fragmentary nature of this piece, it is not possible to ascertain its date with any certainty.

S7 Fragment of over-life sized male nude (Figs. 110. 111)
DAMAGE: The piece is in poor condition and only the front and back surfaces are preserved. It has been broken on multiple planes: the largest of the breaks runs across the lower right leg from buttock towards groin, across the right hip slanting towards the groin, and across the right side of the stomach running towards the groin. The main break that cuts the piece in half runs upwards from where the right buttock once met the left. The remaining fragment therefore comprises the right side and centre of the pubic hair, much of the outline of the right testicle and part of that of the left, the lower stomach, a small portion of the top of the upper right thigh at front and back, right buttock, and a small section of the lower back. The surface of the stone is generally extremely weathered, with raised extremities like the testicles particularly chipped and battered. The testicles are almost completely broken off and missing. The preserved

105 LIMC II (1984) 865 f. s. v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann).
106 Museo Capitolino inv. 655 (restored as Zeus). 659: Jones 1912, 278 no. 5 pl. 67; 272 f. no. 1 pl. 64; LIMC II (1984) cat. 136. 137 s. v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann).
107 Bruno – Pallante 2002, 167. 174; Attanasio et al. 2009, 313. 335.

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Figs. 110. 111 Miletus, **S7** large male nude found in front of the cave, front and back. H (preserved) 39.5; W 20; D 27 cm; circular hole for insertion of penis Ø 3.5 cm. Stray find from outside the cave

right buttock has a roughly square shaped portion of stone cut away from it. The separately attached penis is broken off and missing. There is a small patch of ferrous discolouration next to the dowel pin that held the penis in place.

DESCRIPTION: This male nude was manufactured in a coarse grained crystalline marble. The poor condition of the piece makes it difficult to reconstruct the pose that the over-life sized figure adopted. The testicles appear to have rested slightly more on the preserved right thigh than the left. The alignment of the figure's back in relation to the small fragment of leg that remains (ca. 1 cm) does not permit a conclusion as to which leg was originally to the fore. The surface of the skin on the buttocks and stomach has been smoothed using rasps to achieve a good finish, but without a high level of polish. The pubic hair has a neat, flat-topped triangular outline and has been carefully rendered with a chisel used to incise the lines of sickle locks and the drill deployed at the end of the looping curls. The hair is not plastically worked; rather the pattern of the pubic locks has been carefully incised across the surface of the pubis. The penis was separately worked and attached with an iron dowel and its attachment point is the only join surface preserved on the piece. It comprises a neat, circular hole (3.5 cm in diameter) that has been cut into the surface of the stone. The penis was attached with a small iron dowel (0.4 cm in diameter), the end of which is preserved in situ. The sides of this hole show chisel marks oriented straight down into the stone and then slightly overlain by chisel strokes that run diagonally around it. Chisel marks are also apparent on the join surface at the base of the hole.

DISCUSSION: This larger than life-sized sculpture showed a male nude with artificially styled pubic hair. The fragmentary nature of this piece makes it frustratingly difficult to date. It is hard to find exact parallels for the stylised rendition of pubic hair, with its lack of three dimensional texture and its focus on incising the pattern of carefully engraved sickle locks with drilled terminus loop, but this mostly recalls sculpture of the so-called Severe style. The carefully groomed neatness of the outline of pubic hair, coupled with the emphasis on the pattern of the flat, incised curls, looks like pieces produced after the exuberant shaved pubic grooming styles of Archaic masculinity were abandoned and before a fuller and more ›natural‹ growth began to be prized[108]. This piece lacks the tight spiral curls of Severe style pieces like the Louvre torso found nearby in the theatre at Miletus[109], but if a chronological typology

108 On this transition, in ancient life and art, see Smith 2007, 112–116.
109 Paris Louvre inv. MND2792; Richter 1970, no. 192 figs. 579–581.

of pubic hair was found to be sustainable, this piece would rest between the last throws of Archaic masculine genital styling attested in the tight curls of pieces like the Louvre torso and the early depictions of pubic hair seen on figures like the Riace B bronze[110].

It is not possible to say whether the piece marks a later evocation of an earlier style[111] or whether it was actually crafted in the fifth century B.C. The Roman era saw many pieces produced that deliberately quoted older sculptures and in numerical terms the former option is therefore most probable, but in technical terms both are possible. The manufacture of the penis as a separate component inserted and joined in place with a dowel is attested from the Archaic period[112] into the Roman era[113]. It is also found in examples believed to be Roman copies of Archaic pieces[114].

Original Context

While we cannot say with certainty where all of the sculptures were originally displayed, in some cases it is possible to propose relatively specific provenances for the pieces. For example, as we have seen, it is extremely likely that the caryatid heads (**S1** and **S2**) formed part of the theatre stage building, along with five caryatid bodies now held at the Louvre[115], at the Antikensammlung in Berlin[116], and at Izmir Archaeological Museum[117]. R. Bol has argued that there were originally six of these figures, all evoking muses and rendered in a conscious evocation of an earlier Hellenistic style. Based on her examination of the preserved torsos, she observed that the five surviving caryatid bodies are probably part of a group of six that were originally displayed in three pairs[118]. Differences between the caryatid bodies make it possible to make some tentative suggestions regarding the relationship between these figures and the two new heads.

One pair of caryatid bodies, now in the Louvre, was distinguished by having a tunic with raised neckband and an emphasis on centrally arranged pleats to the drapery[119]. This pair was made with the head separately worked for insertion into the body[120]. The other three surviving bodies at the Louvre, Berlin, and Izmir have tunics depicted without this prominent neckband and a different arrangement of drapery. In the examples from the Louvre and Izmir the *apoptygma* is drawn from the right shoulder below the left breast while the one at Berlin has this fold arranged in a mirror position running the opposite

110 Between Smith's figures 16.11 and 16.12 (Smith 2007, 114). Chronological shifts in pubic hair styling have not been the subject of extensive research, but for a proposed chronological scheme in the representation of late Archaic pubic hair styles with examples divided into five principal groups (and further sub-groups), see Karouzos 1961, 72–83.

111 As seen in examples like the ›Omphalos Apollo‹, National Museum Athens inv. 45, that was found in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens: Richter 1970, no. 197 figs. 589–591.

112 e. g. Delos Museum inv. A333 (Richter 1970, no. 17 figs. 94. 95) or the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek Copenhagen inv. 2030 from Paros (Richter 1970, no. 117 figs. 347–349). A closer comparison in terms of join style are Thebes Museum inv. 7 from Eutresis (Richter 1970, no. 156 figs. 458–460); Archaeological Museum Florence, example from an unknown context probably in Greece (Richter 1970, no. 169 figs. 497–499); Museum Vathy, *kouros* from the Heraion in Samos (Richter 1970, no. 176 figs. 518–520); Museum Syracuse, from Leontinoi (Richter 1970, no. 183 figs. 550–552). In addition, a *kouros* statue from the east pediment of the temple of Apollo at Delphi has the penis attached separately: Delphi Museum inv. 1874. 4821. 4828; Richter 1970, no. 166 figs. 500. 501.

113 e. g. Maderna 1988, cat. D11 pl. 19, 2; cat. UD7 pl. 24, 2; cat. UD5 pl. 25, 2; Hallett 2005, cat. B6 pl. 58.

114 e. g. the late Archaic-style torso now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (inv. 22.593) believed to be Roman in date: Richter 1970, no. 196 figs. 582–584.

115 Louvre inv. 2794 (9820560AGR). 2795 (9820561AGR). 2793 (9820559AGR); Charbonneaux 1963, 104; Schmidt-Colinet 1977, 232 f. no. W 41 a–c; Bol 2011, 124 f. cat. VII.1.1–3 (with earlier bibliography).

116 Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. Sk 1589; Bol 2011, 125 cat. VII.1.5.

117 Izmir Archaeology Museum inv. 74; Schmidt-Colinet 1977, 232 f. no. 41 d; Bol 2011, 125 cat. VII.4.

118 Bol 2011, 125–127.

119 Louvre inv. 2794 (9820560AGR). 2795 (9820561AGR); Bol 2011, cat. VII.1.1–2.

120 My sincere thanks to Dr Ludovic Laugier at the Louvre for sharing information about the head and neck joins on these caryatids with me.

way, from the left shoulder below the right breast. The paired inverse examples at Berlin and Izmir each have the head worked integrally with the body and are similar in workmanship, while the final Louvre example was worked so that the head was separately inserted. If there were only six caryatides, it seems feasible that the only pair with the raised neckband and emphatic centrally draped folds was set in the middle[121]. These figures were probably then flanked by a slightly different pair of mirror image caryatides on either side: the Izmir and Berlin pair on one side, each reflecting the dress and pose of the other, with the remaining Louvre caryatid displayed together with its lost counterpart on the other side. All of these caryatid bodies have been re-cut for a secondary reinstallation at the theatre[122]. In their secondary position, the caryatids were displayed with figures of tritons made as an extension to this series of architectural figures[123].

Head **S1** was shaped for insertion and so could not belong with the pair of bodies now in Berlin and Izmir[124]. Unfortunately, two of the Louvre bodies have serious damage to this part of the figure, making it difficult to ascertain whether the head was related[125]. One of the raised neckband figures is sufficiently well preserved, but while the measurements could conceivably correspond to **S1**, it would not be a good fit and the presence of a small mortise, which lacks a corresponding tenon on the join surface of the head, makes this less likely[126]. If there were only ever six of these figures, it seems that this head must have either belonged with the other central raised neck band figure or to the pair set to the side currently only preserved in a single figure in the Louvre. The frontal orientation of head **S1** would fit well with a centrally placed figure, making the more probable reconstruction that the head belonged with the second raised neckband figure in the Louvre, though the damage to this part of the figure makes it impossible to be certain. Unfortunately, the lower part of head **S2** is not preserved, and we cannot establish how it joined with the body. However, the fact that this head was not frontally oriented but instead looked to its right with more of this ear worked suggests that it was probably part of one of the flanking figure pairs arranged to look slightly towards each other in mirror image. **S2** is generally less carefully worked than its counterpart and the figures in Berlin and Izmir seem also to be of slightly less careful workmanship suggesting that it may have belonged to one of these figures.

This level of detailed speculation regarding provenance is not possible for the other pieces of sculpture, but there is no reason to think that they came from much further afield than the caryatids. Given the nature of the finds from the cave, it seems possible that **S6** belonged to an image of Asclepius that had been on display in the sanctuary near where it was ultimately buried. The ideal male heads and herm would not have been out of place in the theatre. This complex had a visual programme that focused primarily on Apollo, but it also contained a rich variety of sculptures including portraits of local notables, imperial subjects, as well as representations of athletes and barbarians, a hunt frieze, and a range of other images[127].

It seems probable that **S7**, the only piece examined here which was not ultimately interred in the spring, had originally also formed part of the theatre complex. It was discovered in front of the cave, where it was probably missed and left behind by the early 20th century excavations. The piece may have been part of the debris of the Roman theatre or of the Byzantine city walls in front of the cave. Even if the nude came from the Byzantine city walls, this construction was built with re-used parts and included material from the Roman theatre, as the latter was reconfigured and, as citadel, became part of the Byzantine fortifications.

121 Louvre inv. 2794 (9820560AGR). 2795 (9820561AGR); Bol 2011, cat. VII.1.1–2.
122 Bol 2011, 127.
123 Bol 2011, 122. 127 f. cat. VII.1.6–7.
124 I am grateful to Prof. Andreas Scholl at the Antikensammlung in Berlin and to Dr Avni Selim Sağlam at the Archaeological Museum Izmir for their generous help in providing the relevant photographs and measurements of these figures.
125 L. Laugier, personal communication.
126 The caryatid with the preserved attachment point is Louvre inv. 2794 (9820560AGR). The slot measures 21 cm across, 15 cm front to back, and 15 cm in depth. The square mortise has sides of 2.5 cm and is 5 cm deep. A faintly possible, but not a probable fit for the head. L. Laugier, personal communication.
127 On the complete visual programme of the theatre, see Bol 2011, 118–152.

Recent work by I. Kowalleck has emphasised the importance of the display of Archaic sculpture in the Roman and late antique cityscape of Miletus (and other Ionian cities) as a means of competitively asserting the city's cultural capital by visually showcasing its heritage[128]. The famous Severe style Louvre torso found in the theatre at Miletus has been identified by R. Bol as an image of Apollo that was moved to this complex from the Late Archaic temple at Myus[129]. Its use in the Roman theatre can be seen as appropriate because of the complex's general visual emphasis on this god, but also potentially because it served more loosely as a means of evoking local cultural heritage. It is possible that the recently discovered fragment of a male nude (**S7**) was also a component in the same sort of cultural programme, conveying a sense of tradition and history either through re-use of an ancient piece of sculpture or the creation of new sculpture in ›Severizing‹ style. These images appear to have been displayed together with consciously »backward looking« caryatids that were carefully preserved and redeployed in the various incarnations of the theatre's architecture. The theatre would appear, then, not only to have been an image-rich area venerating the god Apollo and where local notables and imperial figures were represented, but also to have articulated an assertive statement about the city's cultural inheritance.

Damage and Defacement

As mentioned above, two marble heads have been damaged in a manner that is difficult to interpret as anything other than the product of deliberate defacement (**S1** and **S3**). In each case, the damage is relatively similar: both have a strike line incised diagonally downwards, from the viewer's top right to bottom left, across the face, targeting the nose and mouth. In the case of caryatid head **S1**, there is an additional line again running across the face which also focuses upon these areas. While protruding features like noses are often lost from ancient sculptures, in these cases the incised line also runs across less vulnerable, sheltered parts of the physiognomy. If the damage were considered in the style of an autopsy report, one would think of a right handed protagonist striking downwards with a blunt instrument. This was not careful work seeking to subtly rebrand or redefine the image. The focus of the damage on the key sensory organs of the mouth and nose finds multiple parallels elsewhere[130]. Such injury to an image, as though it were a physical body, had long precedents and was probably founded in earlier ideologies of *damnatio memoriae*[131], where statues of disgraced figures like Domitian were famously attacked »as if blood and pain would follow every single blow« (Plin. Pan. 52, 4)[132]. In the Christian era, assaults targeting the sensory organs were variously inflicted on portraits[133], representations of divinities[134], and also on other ideal statuary[135]. At Miletus, the strike lines rendered across these parts of the face were a relatively quick exercise, and one that seems aimed, in some part, at bodily disempowerment.

Head **S3** received additional and rather different attention. The multiple light lines that emanate from the left tear duct do not resemble traces left when the head was first manufactured: they are only present on one side and cut through the rasped smooth surface of the skin. The lines are weathered and so were clearly not inflicted by accident during the head's recent recovery. This suggests that at some point prior to the head's deposition in the spring these lines were scratched into the surface of the stone with a small hard point, shaped something like a modern pencil. It is hard to imagine accidental circumstances that would result in these neat but repeated striations, and their presence, etched into the stone in this position, suggests that someone deliberately sought to add a feature that made the head look as though it was

128 Kowalleck 2014, 92–94.

129 Bol 2011, 123 f. 131–134 cat. VII.1.12.

130 Kristensen 2013, 94 (with discussion of various examples of such Christian responses to the statue as body, including many of those cited below, see esp. 93–106).

131 On the connection between Christian image destruction and these earlier precedents, see Stewart 1999; Stewart 2003, 267–299; Kristensen 2013, 24–35. Such violence against imperial images mirrors the physical mistreatment that served to punish corpses and dishonour criminals: Varner 2001; Varner 2005.

132 On the violence against imperial images mirroring the mutilation of corpses and the punishment of criminals see Varner 2001; Varner 2004, esp. 2 f.; Varner 2005.

133 e. g. portraits of Livia and Augustus at Ephesus: Alföldi-Rosenbaum – Inan 1979, 57–61 no. 3. 5; basalt portrait of Germanicus in the British Museum, Kristensen 2013, 94–96.

134 e. g. a statue of Apollo at Salamis: Karageorghis 1964, 11 f. no. 3; Hannestad 2001; Kristensen 2013, esp. 94 f. A head of Hera in Sparta: Tod – Wace 1968, 190 no. 571. See also the focus on the faces and heads of many of the Olympian gods, their attendants, as well as various figures who participated in the Panathenaic procession on the Parthenon: Pollini 2007, esp. 218 f.

135 For example, at the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, an eclectic range of ideal sculptures, as well as portraits, were similarly beheaded and mutilated: White 2006, 197.

weeping. This reconfiguration of the image would have had limited visibility, and it is difficult to ascertain precisely what motived the person who did this.

I do not know of similar instances where tears were added to an ancient sculpture, but there are historical accounts of statues that wept both in pagan antiquity and in later Christian contexts. The most famous cult statue to weep was that of Apollo at Cumae, whose image was regarded as consequently potentially cursed and threatened with being hewn in pieces and thrown into the sea[136]. Later Christian sources record instances where images of the Madonna wept, and here such miraculous tears were regarded differently[137]. St Augustine provides an insight into how some contemporary Christians might regard tears on pagan images. He used the example of Apollo at Cumae as evidence for the weakness of the deity embodied in this image: powerless to do anything but sob in the face of what was to happen (Aug. Civ. 3, 11). Although there is no reason to believe that **S3** represented a deity, it does seem plausible that the incision of tear-like lines was rendered with a somewhat similar idea in mind, designed to mock the image by showing it as humbled and powerless[138].

We do not encounter chisel lines incised across faces or the addition of tears in the other sculpture deposited in the spring. The damage to the other pieces is of a different order and its interpretation is more complicated. For example, one cannot entirely rule out the possibility of accidental destruction for head **S2**: the break emanating upwards through the face could conceivably be due to movement from its architectural context, with the fracture line radiating in this direction because it follows the weak point in the stone created by the dowel attachment that had originally held the piece in place. The evidence is clouded further by the fact that one of the preserved head fragments was not deposited in the cave sanctuary and may well have suffered further damage at a later date. However, the combination of careful statue burial with the »complete pulverization of the head«, as found on caryatid **S2**, has been taken as sufficient evidence for iconoclastic activity by some scholars[139]. Given the condition of its counterpart, **S1**, it is certainly tempting to see the damage to **S2** as having been inflicted with a deliberate and substantial blow to the face, striking upwards through the eyes and nose, and fragmenting the head so that it was separated from its architectural body. If this were the case, the evidence for variance in the treatment of the two caryatid heads would be the product of different levels of force exerted in defacing them and a different line of attack upon the same sensory organs of the face.

This is an attractive hypothesis, requiring us to interpret the remains in simple terms: with just one event seeing these two pieces of sculpture from the theatre damaged. Intriguingly, both the fragments belonging to head **S2** are more abraded than **S1**. This is unlikely to be explained by any slight differences in their original context and it seems more probable that because **S2** was knocked from its architectural context this additional weathering and damage to the surface was incurred while it languished unprotected on the floor for some time. The inclusion of just one fragment from head **S2** might also suggest that the fragments had become dispersed and that the other pieces were not readily available when the sculptures were collected up for burial[140]. If the damage to heads **S1** and **S2** occurred at the same time, possibly head **S1** was protected because although defaced it remained in situ prior to being taken down for deposition in the spring.

It is again impossible to be completely certain as to how piece **S4** was broken, but it is potentially significant that the majority of the superficial damage to this sculpture falls about the nose and ears[141]. Although these areas were naturally vulnerable raised parts of the sculpture that were most liable

136 Cass. Dio 24, 84, 2; although see also Liv. 43, 13, 4; Obseq. 28. For discussion of these and other examples of weeping statues in antiquity, see ThesCRA II (2004) 466 esp. nos. 452–455; Corbeill 2009, esp. 301–305.

137 A widespread phenomenon, as noted in Poulsen's sceptical article on weeping and breathing sculptures: Poulsen 1945, esp. 192. 195. See also a collection of early Christian sculptures equipped for weeping and bleeding: Demangel 1938. For discussion of living, bleeding, and lactating images in Christian contexts, and the classical legacy of this phenomenon, see Freedberg 1989, 283–316.

138 For discussion of pagan and Christian attitudes to weeping cult statues (including rationalism ones) see Corbeill 2009. On the varying meaning of tears as a cultural construct in antiquity, see the recent contributions collected in Fögen 2009.

139 e. g. Sauer 2003, 72.

140 Although it is also possible that this was deliberate. On the potential power and resonance of such ›fragmentation‹, see Chapman 2000; Liverani 2009; Kristensen 2013, esp. 31 f. 35.

141 Indeed, some of the damage to the ears is recent and presumably incurred when the piece was lifted, suggesting how easily such fractures can occur.

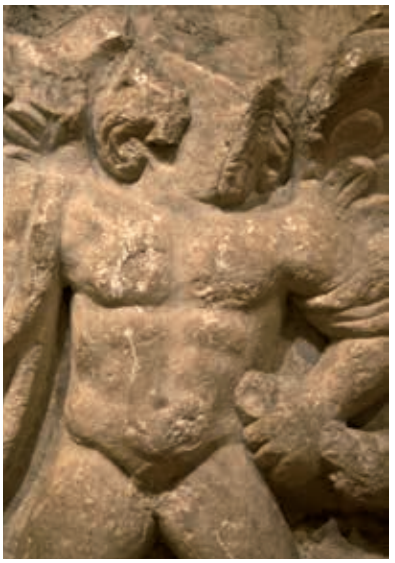
to break off, we have also seen that such sensory organs were favoured targets for attack. The principal line of fracture that runs straight through the head from the parting of the mouth to the nape of the neck is clearly the result of a significant impact which could have been delivered in a number of ways: aimed deliberately to the side of the piece while the head was set in its original context, or the result of a fall where the head hit a sharp edge and broke backwards. Alternatively, it could have been delivered if the piece was struck when it was on the ground. We cannot entirely rule out the possibility that the damage was the result of neglect and consequent accidental harm, prior to the sculpture's deposition in the spring, but it is tempting to see deliberate defacement as the most probable agent here, not least because this is not a normal line of fracture[142].

The damage to the front of the base and to the side clamp holes of herm **S5** clearly indicate that the piece toppled forwards from its setting. The head perhaps then broke off as a direct result, along the line of the jaw. The point where the head joined the neck was naturally highly vulnerable, as ancient sculptors who carved such works well knew[143]; this damage could easily, therefore, have been the result of an accidental fall. It is also possible, though, that the damage was the result of a deliberate ›beheading‹ of the sculpture. This specific embodied response to pagan images is well documented, for example a collection of late antique shield portrait images that were decapitated in this way at Aphrodisias. These shield portraits showed a range of ›cultural heroes‹ including Socrates and Aristotle together with their pupils Alcibiades and Alexander. All of the images are thought to have been deliberately beheaded and the image of Alexander, which has iconographic parallels with what remains of **S5**, was singled out for particularly vigorous treatment: it was first defaced by obliterating the nose, mouth, and brows and then a groove was chiselled around the neck in a manner that was designed »either to cut its throat symbolically or (more likely) to facilitate the process of decapitation«[144]. It is possible that the similar subject represented in the Miletus piece met a similar fate.

The black marble staff that is likely to have formed part of an image of Asclepius (**S6**) is preserved in only a small fragment which lacks diagnostic chisel marks or other clear signs of intervention. In formal terms then, the damage could have been either entirely accidental or the result of a targeted mutilation of the piece. In light of its subject matter, though, an image of a pagan deity would seem to be more vulnerable to Christian attack than the caryatid (**S1**) or hero-like subject (**S3**) that do attest marks showing that their defacement was deliberate. That said, in contemporary domestic sculpture collections the deity was a popular figure in this part of the world[145]. An image of Asclepius was included in the sculptural display of the nymphaeum at Miletus, alongside other gods and heroes, although its condition is too fragmentary for us to ascertain whether it was defaced or adjusted in any other way to suit changing cultural contexts[146]. Images in such locations served to evoke civic or personal cultural heritage, conveying the owners' paideia. This was very different to accepting representations of the god in sanctuaries, where the removal of statues that had received cult had been ordered by law from the end of the fourth century[147]. It seems feasible that fragment **S6** belonged to an image which had formed some part of cult worship. It was perhaps either destroyed or constituted a small section of relief that broke off when the whole thing was secularized through its display in another context, where it was redefined as ›art‹.

Two of the six pieces, then, were certainly deliberately defaced, and the other four had either been purposefully broken or had been destroyed by accident and neglect and then collected up later with the other pieces and

142 A parallel for this line of break is found, though, with the head of Domitian (thought to have been transformed from a head of Nero) in Vasto, Museo Civico: Bergmann – Zanker 1981, 359 f. no. 18; Varner 2004, 254 no. 2.59.
143 As shown by the practice of leaving rough stone to support the neck in the construction of statues at Aphrodisias, e. g. Smith 2006, cat. 44. 50. 61. 173. 175; Van Voorhis 2012, 45.
144 Smith 1990, 155.
145 Stirling 2005, 13. 210. 216. 223. 232. A recently discovered headless statuette from the area of the Bishop's Palace at Miletus may well also represent this god.
146 Hülsen 1919, 55–72; Jacobs 2010, 295 no. 22; Bol 2011, 52 f. cat. III.1.18.
147 Cod. Theod. 16, 10, 18. 19.



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Miletus, mythological reliefs from the second Roman stage building of the theatre; the genitals have been removed. Izmir Archaeological Museum

Fig. 112 Eros with dog

Fig. 113 Eros with dog

Fig. 114 Eros with spear (fighting a lion)

Fig. 115 Eros with dog (and rabbit)

selected for burial because they looked similarly damaged. Both interpretations are possible. To determine which is most likely, it is sensible to consider the scale of deliberate destruction at the theatre. Before this discovery, it had been suggested that pagan sculpture continued generally to be tolerated in Miletus' theatre; cited in support of this argument are reliefs which were apparently continuously left on display[148]. These sculptures show erotes engaged in hunting together with representations of Artemis and three depictions of Apollo, including a depiction of the cult statue from Didyma[149].

It is interesting to note though, that while the representation of animal genitals have remained intact, those of the humans or the erotes have consistently suffered damage, some of which resemble chisel strokes targeting this part of the body (Figs. 112–115). Furthermore, the representations of deities have fared distinctly badly (Fig. 116)[150]. This does not, of course, mean that all the fragmentary images from the theatre were deliberately damaged in a mindless orgy of statue abuse[151]. Nor does it prove that all six of the pieces were

148 Jacobs 2010, 296 no. 34.
149 Bol 2011, 148–152 cat. VII.2.1–31.
150 Both of the frontal facing representations of Apollo Kanachos have suffered serious damage, its face consistently severely damaged (see Bol 2011, cat. VII.2.2. VII.2.25), only the lower half of the Artemis figure is preserved (Bol 2011, cat. VII.2.6) and the Apollo Delphinos is in similarly fragmentary condition (Bol 2011, cat. VII.2.29).
151 On the »myth of mindless violence« and statue destruction more generally, see Stewart 2003, 283–290. For the rest of the recovered sculptures from the theatre, see Bol 2011, 118–152.

deliberately defaced, but it does indicate that such a response to these images would not be entirely anomalous here and that it was perhaps not just restricted to two pieces of ideal sculpture, which would seem relatively unprovocative in terms of their subject matter. If we imagine that all of the sculpture found in the spring was deliberately damaged, then was there a ›rationale‹ behind this destruction and if so, what was it?

Recent research has convincingly stressed the varied, plural nature of Christian responses to pagan images in Asia Minor. While sculpture could be subject to violent attacks, deliberate defacement of various forms, or conspicuous ›erasure‹, other pieces, including those with mythological content, continued to be an enduring part of ancient cityscapes for hundreds of years with little or no adjustment (see below for some examples). If fragment **S6** marked the remains of representation of Asclepius, which had been displayed in a sanctuary associated with that god, then it is likely that this was enough to lead to its fracture and burial, but to understand what motivated the defacement and destruction of the other buried images, we need to explore the commonalities within this seemingly heterogeneous collection of sculpture that was deposited together. There are three features that most obviously connect these sculptures and that perhaps therefore drove the selection of these particular images: their original context, their ›bodily‹ presence, and possibly also the idealising artistic styles they were rendered in.

In favour of context as a motivating factor, it seems likely that the pieces which were damaged and selected for burial together in the spring were probably all originally on display in the sanctuary itself or in its immediate vicinity, in the theatre. There is certainly no evidence that they come from further afield than this. At the Baths of Faustina on the opposite side of the Theatre Bay, a rather different response to images is attested. Here a range of ideal sculptures were redefined by having crosses added or having nudity ›tidied up‹, but were kept on display having been carefully relocated and restored[152]. At the cave, we appear then to be looking at a specific, localised phenomenon focused on some images connected with the sanctuary and nearby theatre complex. The type of damage, with its emphasis on destroying representations of the human head and the facial sensory organs, was, as we have seen, a relatively common form of Christian response. This target for the damage together with the incised addition of tears would certainly seem to indicate that the defacement was motivated by a desire to convey the physical powerlessness of at least some of the images.

Finally, the sculptures represent a range of different subjects, but many share in having been depicted in an elevating ›ideal‹ visual vocabulary that had long been used to represent divinities in the ancient world, alongside other superlative subjects. While ideal sculpture continued to be entirely acceptable in many contexts, its presence in close proximity to a pagan sanctuary, and in a theatre traditionally associated with the god Apollo, perhaps formed part of the selection process that incited people to deface these images. Comparison with another site indicates that, potentially, a further formal feature may have encouraged the defacement of some of these pieces. At the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, after the nudity of the figures had been pointedly ›cleaned up‹ the majority of the mythological panels were left more or less intact, except for the selective removal of particular deities and scenes centring on sacrifice. The deities that were subject to conspicuous, careful erasure were gods shown alone, seated or standing, and not engaged in the narrative of mythological scenes. It is thought that these figures, engaged in no action and with no other figures, were regarded as dangerous because they could »be taken as real, pres-

152 Schneider 1999, 8–12; Bol 2011, 79–118; Dally 2012; Dally et al. 2015, 336–338.

Fig. 116 Miletus, mythological relief from the second Roman stage building of the theatre. Apollo Kanachos flanked by two torchbearers; the genitals have been struck off and Apollo's face severely damaged. Berlin Antikensammlung SMB, Altes Museum

ent *daimones* who could do harm, especially if activated by prayer«[153]. Figures like the caryatids at Miletus would have directly looked out at the viewer and engaged with them. It is possible that, although they did not represent deities, this stylistic feature, together with their context, contributed to their being selected for defacement aimed at disempowering these images.

L. A.-M.

Dedication of the Pagan Sanctuary

The dedication of the cave sanctuary is not attested, and various features of the cave would fit a number of cults. The cave and the spring could, for example, have been associated with the nymphs that are known to have been venerated at Miletus from Archaic[154] through Roman times[155], yet votives typically associated with the cult of the nymphs are conspiciously absent[156]. The close relation of cave and theatre – their proximity, the similarity of their façades, and the burial of marbles from the stage building inside the spring – might, on the other hand, suggest Dionysus as dedicatee; however, the temple of Dionysus is believed to have stood elsewhere in the centre of Miletus[157]. The terracotta limbs could indicate a healing cult like that of Asclepius, who – among other deities[158] – often received votive offerings in the shape of body parts, for example at Corinth, Pergamum, and elsewhere[159], and this appears to be a more promising working hypothesis that can account for various features of the cave sanctuary.

Most every Asclepeion was centred on a sacred spring that played a key part in the healing cures[160], and the water source was typically a rock and often located in a cave or cavity, which sometimes had to be accessed through dark passages or tunnels, for example at the Asclepeia of Corinth and Pergamum[161]. Asclepius can also lend meaning to the close relation of cave and theatre, as his cult included theatrical performances and some Asclepeia had theatres of their own, for example Epidaurus and Pergamum[162]. The black marble relief fragment of Asclepius' rod with a snake curling around it (**S6**) may have been buried in the spring, because the cave was associated with Asclepius.

The sanctuary may be the Asclepeion πρὸ πόλεως, »in front of« or »outside the city«, that is the topic of a Roman inscription from Miletus[163]. The

153 Smith 2012, 292–303; Smith 2013, 44–49.
154 Milet 6, vol. 3, 186–188 cat. 1298–1300 with earlier bibliography.
155 Tuchelt 1969/1970, 229 f.; Tuchelt 1972, 104.
156 Cf. Larson 2001, passim and 226–257 on caves of the nymphs.
157 Müller-Wiener 1977/1978; Müller-Wiener 1979.
158 See above notes 76–78.
159 van Straten 1981, 109–112; Forsén 1996, 114. 118; Riethmüller 2005, vol. 1, 74; vol. 2, 254 (Thespiae in Boeotia).
160 Riethmüller 2005, vol. 1, 378 f.
161 Riethmüller 2011, 233 f. (with extensive earlier bibliography).
162 Riethmüller 2005, vol. 1, 364–369; Sear 2006, 45 f. Asclepieia Commodeia are attested for Smyrna: ISmyrn 659.
163 Milet 6, vol. 1, 31–33. 200 f. cat. 204. An alternative understanding of πρὸ πόλεως as indicating a commitment »for the city« rather than a location »in front of« or »outside the city« would seem to become redundant by the following.

inscription charges the *agonothetes* with the sacrifice to Asclepius and regulates how the cult was to be practised. It is engraved on several antae blocks, presumably from a public building. In the sixth century A.D. the antae blocks were re-used to build the baptistery of the ›Great Church‹ on the Agora of Miletus, where the large and heavy marbles served as corner stones for the support of the dome[164]. Other marbles that were also found in the excavation of the Great Church formed parts of a small Hellenistic temple, and the antae blocks with the Roman inscription may have belonged to the same building[165]. The temple could have stood at the same place on the Agora or elsewhere in Miletus. Alternatively, the antae blocks might have originated from a different building. The Roman inscription does not imply that the blocks were part of the Asclepeion; the regulations may have been publicized outside the sanctuary.

The inscription locates the Asclepeion »outside the city«, which corresponds with the location of the cave that could only be accessed from outside the ancient city walls. Conversely, the walls would have shielded the *temenos* area in front of the cave from the bustle and noise of the city, and the location next to the Theatre Bay may have been quiet and wholesome, as seems appropriate for healing cures. Many other Asclepeia were similarly located on the outskirts or just outside town[166], for example Epidaurus, Corinth, Cos, and Pergamum, to name only a few of the more famous sanctuaries.

At Miletus the cult of Asclepius is first attested in the third century B.C., when Theocritus wrote his seventh epigram on a wooden sculpture of the god. The epigram is dedicated to Nicias, who lived at Miletus, healed all illnesses, had the sculpture made from cedar wood, and worshiped the god on a daily basis. Two Roman statues of Asclepius decorated the Nymphaeum and the Baths of Faustina[167], and a stray votive was also dedicated to Asclepius, among other gods[168].

The seven niches along the rear wall of the cave may also relate to the cult of Asclepius. Originally, the niches would have been one of the more noticeable features of the sanctuary. When they were still intact and empty, before the insertion of the standing stones and the masonry, the vertical niches would have contrasted with the horizontal rock layers of the rear wall. There would also have been more light and space before the slender rock pillar in the middle of the cave was reinforced with masonry and turned into a huge pier. When the pier was not yet obstructing the view, the seven niches could be perceived as an ensemble, with niche one and seven facing each other at opposite sides of the main room and the others arranged in a semicircle along the rear wall. Their cultic significance appears to be confirmed by the terracottas that were found in front of the one niche that remained after the Roman intervention.

The original number of seven may conceivably have related to Asclepius, his daughter Hygeia, and five of her siblings. Hygeia was often venerated together with Asclepius[169]; the Baths of Faustina at Miletus included sculptures of both of them[170], the stray votive from Miletus was dedicated to Asclepius and Hygeia as well as Apollo[171], and a Roman altar for Hermes, Hygeia, and Tyche was found re-used in a later wall at Miletus[172]. Elsewhere the cult of Asclepius also included Hygeia's siblings[173], in which case the family could be depicted as a group, for example a group of seven standing figures in a fourth century B.C.-relief from the Peloponnese[174]. The Roman Asclepius inscription at Miletus mentions »other gods« that were venerated in the same sanctuary[175]. Their identification with Asclepius' children is of course far from certain. All evidence is circumstantial. However, as a working hypothesis the suggested reading may help to focus the discussion and highlight the need for a symbolic understanding of the seven niches.

164 Knackfuß 1924, 222 fig. 225.
165 Müller-Wiener 1982, 10 f.; Müller-Wiener 1983, 71–76.
166 Riethmüller 2005, vol. 1, 360–363.
167 Bol 2011, 52 f. 96–99 cat. III.1.18; VI.15.
168 CIG 2, 13 (Berlin 1843) 558 cat. 2864.
169 Riethmüller 2005, vol. 1, 68–72.
170 Bol 2011, 96–102 cat. VI.15. 16.
171 CIG 2, 13 (Berlin 1843) 558 cat. 2864.
172 Milet 6, vol. 1, 85 cat. 300.
173 Riethmüller 2005, vol. 1, 73.
174 From the monastery of Luku in Thyreatis, today kept at the Archaeological Museum in Athens: Schnalke 1990, 55 cat. 18.
175 Milet 6, vol. 1, 31. 201 cat. 204.

The same may be said about the attribution of the cave sanctuary as a whole. As pointed out at the beginning of this section, Asclepius is one of several possibilities. He happens to fit the cave sanctuary rather well, including the finds, and this helps to draw attention to the various aspects that may be considered in the search for an alternative dedicatee. Those aspects include the extent and chronological development of the sanctuary, in particular the area in front of the cave that became available for a *temenos* with temple and room for incubation from the Hellenistic period onwards, just in time for the proliferation of the cult of Asclepius in Asia Minor and at Miletus. Thus, the next sections shall also make reference to Asclepius, the uncertainty of this identification notwithstanding.

Extent and Chronological Development of the Pagan Sanctuary

The deep gully and lane in front of the cave suggest that the south side of the lane with the Hellenistic building did not form part of the sanctuary when the lane was first laid out according to the Archaic grid plan. Even if cave and spring should already have been considered sacred in the Archaic period, this had probably not yet resulted in any major architectural development, as other early cave and rock sanctuaries tended to retain their natural forms[176]. The lane in front of the cave appears to have been in use for a long time, as the rock-cut gully was filled in completely by a successive rise in street level; the street level should have been about flush with the upper edge of the gully when the freshwater pipe below the Roman corridor was laid, and the pipe makes most sense when the lane was still connected to the city centre, i. e. before the construction of the Hellenistic stage building. Only when the latter turned the lane in front of the cave into a dead end could it conceivably have been incorporated into the *temenos* of a larger sanctuary. The suggested dedication to Asclepius is in any case unlikely to predate the fourth century B.C. when the cult started to spread in the wider region, after it had first been established on Cos[177]. The Asclepeion of Miletus may thus have been set up in conjunction with or after the Hellenistic theatre.

A Hellenistic sanctuary would account for the large amount of Hellenistic pottery inside the cave and also for the terracotta figures and limbs. The Roman corridor suggests that the Hellenistic building on the south side of the lane was or became part of the cave sanctuary, and the Roman Asclepius inscription from Miletus mentions other gods sharing the same *temenos*[178], which seems to imply a larger sanctuary. An Asclepeion will likely have included room for incubation, possibly some room that overlooked the Theatre Bay and had a scenic quality[179]. There should also have been a temple[180], perhaps the one that may have carried the Asclepius inscription and was partly re-used when the Great Church was built in the sixth century A.D.

The arcaded façade appears to mark a second major phase in the development of the sanctuary, which can be linked to the building of the Roman theatre in the first and early second centuries A.D. The duplication of the blind arcades on the second storey of the Roman theatre's western *analemma* wall seems to advertise the sanctuary as part of the city's greatest building complex that has dominated the cityscape ever since. The corridor and the masonry reinforcements inside the cave were probably executed on the same occasion, and the building work down to the bedrock can explain the lack of any undisturbed pre-Roman context and why the Hellenistic pottery is so poorly

176 Sporn 2010, 557 f.
177 Riethmüller 2005, vol. 1, 82.
178 Milet 6, vol. 1, 31–33. 200 f. cat. 204.
179 Riethmüller 2005, vol. 1, 385 f.
180 Riethmüller 2005, vol. 1, 374–377.

preserved. In contrast, the large terracotta figures and limbs must have been carefully stowed away during the Roman building campaign and then returned to the cave, if they are indeed Hellenistic, that is, and if they had always been mounted inside the cave. If so, their preservation suggests that the Romans attached cultic significance to the terracottas.

Closure of the Pagan Sanctuary. Christian Mutilation of Ancient Sculptures and the Issue of Beauty

That the spring was filled in and blocked as well as the ancient sculptures buried there in or after the late fourth century A.D. strongly suggests that the cave remained associated with a pagan cult until that time. As the cave was centred on the spring, and as the water will have been central to the cult, the burial of the spring appears to purposefully disrupt the tradition and end the ancient cult. The oil lamps that were found inside the spring and indicate a date in the late fourth century or soon thereafter could conceivably have served as grave goods that accompanied the burial of the marbles[181]. However, as some lamps were broken and incomplete (**L1**. **L9**) and other fragments of lamps were found scattered throughout the cave (**L5**. **L15**), it seems more likely that the lamps had entered the cave as votive offerings and that the large number of 44 lamps had accumulated there over a period of time. The lamps would then have been buried together with the marbles inside the spring, because votive offerings were sacrosanct, had to remain within the sanctuary, and were commonly interred there whenever they could not be stored above ground any more[182]. A Christian martyrium in the necropolis provides another example from late antique Miletus: when it was renovated around 500 A.D., more than 50 lamps – apparently votive offerings – were buried under a new, raised floor and thus remained inside the sanctuary without requiring any space above ground[183].

The late fourth/fifth century date of the oil lamps and other finds from the spring suggests that the sanctuary was closed in response to the anti-pagan laws of the Theodosian emperors, who outlawed pagan cults and required the closure of pagan sanctuaries[184]. The sacred spring of Anna Parenna at Rome was similarly filled with amphorae sherds in order to block it up and end the pagan cult around A.D. 400[185]. Written sources inform us of a series of pagan sanctuaries that were closed in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Theodosian period[186], and archaeological evidence confirms the same in some Anatolian cases: Some shrines of the imperial cult that will have been maintained well into the fourth century[187] were in disrepair, with their parts re-used for other buildings, by the end of the Theodosian period, for example the Olympieion at Ephesus that was partly replaced by the church of Mary[188], and the sanctuary of the deified Hadrian and Antoninus Pius at Sagalassos in Pisidia[189]. A temple of Artemis at Aezani in Phrygia was dismantled and the parts re-used to build a colonnaded street around A.D. 400[190], and a temple of Dionysus at Miletus appears to have been converted into the Bishop's palace-chapel during the first half of the fifth century A.D.[191].

Asclepeia seem to have been contested more often in late antiquity. According to Eusebius, Constantine had the Asclepeion at Aigeai in Cilicia demolished, but Libanius was still able to visit the shrine in 371 and reports about Iulian's patronage[192]. Libanius protests the destruction of an Asclepeion at Beroia in Syria[193]. Archaeological evidence suggests that several Asclepeia in Greece were also destroyed[194].

181 See above n. 42.
182 See above n. 44.
183 Niewöhner 2016, 88. 98 fig. 251.
184 Trombley 1993/1994, vol. 1, 10–35; Chuvin 2009, 63–84.
185 Piranomonte 2002; Mastrocinque 2007, 87.
186 Trombley 1993/1994, vol. 1, 123–147. 188–245; Chuvin 2009, 63–84.
187 Trombley 2011, 19–54.
188 Karwiese 1999; Degasperi 2013, 19. Russo 2010, 57–98 argues unconvincingly for an early fourth century date. Cf. Peschlow 2013.
189 Talloen – Waelkens 2004, 180.
190 Rheidt 2003, 241 f.; Rheidt 2010, 14–17.
191 Niewöhner 2015b, 224–226; Niewöhner 2016, 37–57.
192 Lib. or. 1, 143; Wiemer 1994, 522 f.
193 Lib. or. 20, 21–23.
194 Platon 1958, 466 (Lisos on Crete); de Waele 1933, 435–437; somewhat qualified by Rothaus 2000, 32–63; Gregory 1986, 237–239 (at Athens).

Pagans or Christians?

It remains to be asked why the ancient sculptures were buried in the sacred spring, and who did it, pagans or Christians. One could suspect Christians, because the ancient marble heads were intentionally mutilated before their burial. This was in all likelihood done by Christians, who might then have proceeded to bury the heads, as used to be done in cases of *damnatio memoria*e at Rome, where statues of disgraced persons were first punished through mutilation and then dumped in the river Tiber[195]. However, other than at Rome, the burial at Miletus appears to have been done with care, firstly by choosing a sacred site that befitted the numinous character of the marbles, secondly by adding the oil lamps, probably sacrosanct votive offerings that required burial inside the sanctuary, and thirdly by covering everything with a protective layer of roof tiles. Why should Christians do any of this? Could it have been done by pagans, who might have wanted to bury their gods and prevent further mutilation at the same time as safeguarding the votive offerings and protecting the sacred spring from abuse? This would not have been without precedent, as some pagan sanctuaries, which for one reason or another had to be abandoned in antiquity, appear also to have been deconsecrated and their sacred images buried[196].

The two alternative scenarios could imply either a hostile and violently aggressive atmosphere or the contrary, depending on whether Christians maltreated the sanctuary or whether the pagans were able to close it down themselves in an orderly fashion that may have enabled them to save face and come to terms with the new legislation. The latter alternative would require a scenario in which Christians mutilated the marble heads but left it to the pagans to bury them in the sacred spring. Is it conceivable that the heads were mutilated and not immediately removed but left on display until the pagans buried them later on occasion of the closure of the sanctuary?

Mutilation

Archaeological evidence confirms that some sculptures continued to be displayed after mutilation, for example at Ephesus, where statues of Augustus and Livia remained on display until the later fifth century, presumably long after their noses had been broken and their foreheads carved with crosses[197]. This is at odds with the tradition of *damnatio memoriae* and also with the evidence of the written sources, where Christian interaction with ancient marbles normally leads to their removal and destruction[198]. The archaeological evidence raises the question why sculptures would be mutilated, if removal and demolition was not the ultimate purpose. The suggestion that the mutilated heads were meant to remain on display as permanent monuments of Christian triumph over paganism appears unlikely; when such triumph occurred it normally lead to destruction; otherwise, Christian victory monuments are not in evidence, and temple conversions that used to be considered in the light of Christian triumphalism are now understood to have typically occurred later, after the buildings had lost their pagan connotations[199].

The evidence of the crosses that occur on some mutilated faces is instructive. In some instances the crosses are part of the mutilation, for example a head at the archaeological museum of Sparta, where the eyes and the mouth are crossed out[200]. More often the crosses appear to have been added in a way that would not mar the beauty of the ancient sculptures. A cross on the forehead of a Basalt bust of Germanicus in the British Museum has flaring ends, and the

195 Varner 2004, 3 f.; Pollini 2006.
196 Merrifield 1987, 96–106; Donderer 1991; Anghel 2007; Anghel 2011.
197 Alföldi-Rosenbaum – Inan 1979, cat. 2. 3 pl. 2; Auinger – Aurenhammer 2010, 688 f.
198 Mango 1963, 55 f.; Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 47–50; Reynolds – White 2012, 161–165; Leone 2013, 133–144; Kristensen 2013, 85–89 (bibliography); 89 f. (archaeological evidence for total destruction, typically of cult statues); Pollini 2013. Cf. also the smashed cult images of the Serapeion at Ephesus: Auinger – Aurenhammer 2010, 690 fig. 38; the destruction of philosopher images and the erasure of pagan images at Aphrodisias: Smith 1990; Smith 2012; Smith 2013, 44–49.
199 Vaes 1984–1986, 326; Meier 1996, 369 f. 372; Bayliss 2004, 55 f.; Niewöhner 2007, 153–155; Pülz 2008, 67 f.; Talloen – Vercauteren 2011.
200 Kristensen 2013, 98 fig. 1, 20.

Fig. 117 Ravenna, San Vitale. Apse mosaic with Christ flanked by two angels, offering the martyr's crown to St Vitalis on the left and receiving the model of the church from the founding bishop Ecclesius on the right (second quarter of the sixth century)

hard stone must have been carved by a skilled craftsman with special tools[201]. Various nude torsos wear beautiful cross pendants around their necks[202]. Other nudes that were re-arranged during a fifth/sixth century renovation of the Baths of Faustina at Miletus[203], where they remained on display until the building collapsed in the seventh century or later, have small and unobtrusive crosses somewhere on their bodies, where they are hardly noticeable[204].

All these examples suggest that the beauty of the ancient marbles was appreciated by Christians, and the crosses may have served as stamps of approval that the originally pagan images could remain on display in a Christianized world[205]. Why then disfigure some of these same heads by crudely breaking their noses, for example in the case of the lovely Basalt bust of Germanicus at the British Museum? If paganism or superstition had been the issue, the sculptures should have been removed and destroyed completely, to judge by the unisonous evidence of the written sources[206]. Some of the heads with crosses and without noses do not even represent pagan deities but are private portraits[207]. However, all the marbles have in common that the mutilations compromised their physical beauty, their most outstanding quality which set them apart from the more humble material culture of the later centuries and marked them as ancient works of art. Did the people who broke the noses take issue with beauty? Were they different from and opposed to those who preserved ancient sculptures for their beauty and sanctioned them with crosses of approval?

Christian Beauty

Beauty had taken on a new meaning in the Christian world. It was mainly associated with Christ, biblical figures, and martyrs in heaven[208]. If physical beauty on earth is mentioned at all, then mostly as a devilish temptation and challenge for Christian mores[209]. Instead, Christians were focusing on asceticism with all its detrimental physical effects, because after persecution had come to an end in the fourth century, asceticism replaced martyrdom as a way of achieving sainthood[210]. Images typically distinguish between Christ, biblical figures, and martyrs on the one hand and ascetic saints from after the end of persecution as well as contemporary living people on the other (Figs. 117–121)[211]. The former are shown in ancient dress, with lively postures, outstanding bodies, voluminous garments, large, round, big-eyed, and often light-skinned faces in slight profile, and – with a few notable exceptions like St Paul, whose boldness

201 Kristensen 2013, 93 f. fig. 1, 17.
202 Kristensen 2012, 41 fig. 4. A nude torso in a private collection at London that was exhibited at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington D.C. in 2011 wears a cross pendant executed in red paint.
203 For similar arrangements in other cities, see Roueché 2002, 538 f.; Witschel 2007; Caseau 2011, 485 f.
204 Bol 2011, 11 f.; Dally 2012; Dally et al. 2015, 336–338.
205 An *interpretatio Christiana* has also been suggested, but appears highly unlikely, considering that a good number of the sculptures in question were nudes, and none of them appears to have been displayed in a religious context: Delivorrias 1991; Hjort 1993; Marinescu 1996; Krug 2008; Kristensen 2012.
206 See above n. 198.
207 See above n. 201–205.
208 Karahan 2012; Ramelli 2010.
209 Kazhdan 1990, 134 f. On denial of the body in general, see Cameron 1999; Brown 2008.
210 Markschies 2004, 204–208.
211 Niewöhner 2008a. For illustrations of most of the images under discussion, see Marsengill 2013. For the basilica of Eufrasius at Poreč (Figs. 119. 120), see H. Maguire – A. Terry, Dynamic Splendor. The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč (University Park, PA 2007). Schade 2009 claims with reference to Mary that women were exempt from the ascetic ideal, but fails to notice the principal difference between Mary as biblical figure and, for example, empress Theodora in the sixth century mosaics of San Vitale at Ravenna, who does look hollow-cheeked and age-worn: Andreescu-Treadgold – Treadgold 1997, 714 fig. 11. For a distinction between a female martyr's and a female ascetic's body, see Constantinou 2005.

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Fig. 118 Ravenna, San Vitale. Right part of the apse mosaic (cf. Fig. 117) with an angel and the contemporary bishop Ecclesius

Fig. 119 Poreč, Basilica of Euphrasius. Left part of the apse mosaic with the contemporary bishop Euphrasius (third quarter of the sixth century)

Fig. 120 Poreč, Basilica of Euphrasius. Left part of the apse mosaic with an angel (third quarter of the sixth century)

Fig. 121 Ravenna, San Vitale. Northern bema mosaic, emperor Justinian (centre), flanked by his retinue, bishop Maximianus, and one other clergy (second quarter of the sixth century)

was an essential part of his iconography – rich hair; these elements appear to have defined ›heavenly beauty‹ in late antiquity (Figs. 117. 118. 120). In contrast, whoever lived after the end of persecution – saint, bishop, monk, or lay person alike – typically appears in contemporary late antique dress, stiff frontality, with next to no body, flat or curtain-like garments, a small, v-shaped, wrinkled, haggard, and often dark-skinned face that is looking back at the viewer, and a receding hairline (Figs. 118. 119. 121)[212].

212 Niewöhner 2008a.

The different modes of representation reflect the art historical periods, during which the respective images were conceived: Christ, biblical figures, and martyrs already during antiquity, when contrapposto and a naturalistic rendering of bodily forms were standard; later saints, bishops, and monks only from the fourth century onwards, when the dress had changed and Christians were in denial of their sinful bodies and instead strived to look like emaciated ascetics. The frontality of these later figures also signalled that they were accessible to the viewers, who could address themselves to their near contemporaries (Figs. 117–119)[213], whilst Christ, biblical figures, and martyrs were looking elsewhere and were beyond anybody's reach in their heavenly beauty and perfection (Fig. 117). This Christian world-view is well attested from the fifth century onwards, when it seems to have become predominant and to have affected even the secular sculptures that were still being carved at Ephesus and Aphrodisias[214]. Clergy and laymen alike, including emperor Justinian and his retinue in the sixth century mosaics of San Vitale at Ravenna (Fig. 121)[215], were apparently all aspiring to the ascetic ideal.

Fig. 122 Late Byzantine mosaic icon of St John Chrysostom. Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington D.C.

Pagan Beauty

Against the background of this new Christian world-view the brazen beauty of the ancient sculptures must have appeared presumptuous and obscene, as such beauty as well as the ancient style had become associated with the heavens and were considered unattainable for contemporary humankind. Zealous Christians may therefore have broken the noses in order to mar the beauty of the marble heads. The ugly scars can have a similarly shocking effect as some icons, for example of John Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople at the turn of the fifth century, who looks as if he is about to die of starvation, a revolting image of suffering and distress (Fig. 122)[216]. The broken noses may thus have been part of a Christian discourse about values and authority.

Another part of the same discourse concerned itself with theatrical performances that were condemned by some Christians, most famously again by John Chrysostom[217], whilst others liked to continue the ancient tradition[218]. Like statues that appear to have lost their original pagan connotations when they were re-arranged in late antiquity, for example in the Baths of Faustina at Miletus or at Constantinople[219], the theatre also had been dissociated from its cultic pagan beginnings[220]. This did not prevent some Christians from denouncing theatre as pagan just as some continued to refer to ancient sculptures as pagan[221]. However, these denunciations were not aimed at paganism. Rather, Chrysostom is concerned that his own flock went to the theatre and bought into an alternative set of values there, instead of attending service and subscribing to his teaching and authority[222]. He is particularly worried about the strong visual effect of theatrical performances that would corrupt the spectators without their knowledge[223]. Beautiful sculpture would have had a similarly strong visual effect[224] that challenged the authority of heavenly

213 Marsengill 2013, 105–181.
214 Sande 1975, 97–105 pls. 17. 18. figs. 55–61. For colour illustrations of the heads from Ephesus, see Auinger – Aurenhammer 2010, 676–678 figs. 18–24.
215 Andreescu-Treadgold – Treadgold 1997; Angiolini Martinelli 1997, 248–258 figs. 451–461.
216 Demus 1960.
217 Jacob 2010.
218 Webb 2008.
219 For Miletus see above n. 204. For Constantinople see James 1996; Caseau 2001; Bassett 2004; Stirling 2014.
220 Webb 2008, 35–43; Jacob 2010, 104–114.
221 Webb 2008, 197–216; Caseau 2011, 480–485.
222 Webb 2008, 197–208.
223 Webb 2008, 178–196. 208–216; Jacob 2010, 160–165.
224 Cf. James 1996.

beauty, and this may have been a reason to inflict ugly scars on the marbles. Like in the case of the theatre, it made sense to do so by referencing the pagan past, as this and the similarity to *damnatio memoriae* would appear to legitimize the vandalism[225].

Pagans and Christians at Miletus

Returning to the mutilated heads at Miletus, it now seems conceivable that they were vandalized for their beauty, but left in place, for example on the stage building of the theatre, where they were not related to any pagan cult practice any more. The burial may have happened on a different occasion, and the choice of the sacred spring as grave as well as the oil lamps suggest pagan authorship. At Corinth numerous oil lamps continued to be deposited on and around the foundation walls of the Asclepeion after the sanctuary had been dismantled in the Theodosian period[226]. In the cave at Miletus the pagans may have followed the example of other shrines elsewhere that were similarly buried when the cult was discontinued[227]. The pagan emperor Julian had the Tyche of Constantinople removed and thrown into a pit, because the Christian emperor Constantine had had a cross engraved on the head of the sculpture[228]. At Miletus, to enable the pagans to close down and bury their sanctuary themselves may have been a concession to the pagan tradition that continued to play an important part in that city throughout the late antique and early Byzantine periods.

With the provincial governor residing elsewhere at Aphrodisias, Miletus continued to be run predominantly by locals, some of whom are occasionally mentioned in inscriptions[229]. Some of the more prominent citizens are also attested at Constantinople, for example Isidorus of Miletus as architect of Justinian's Hagia Sophia or his contemporary Hesychius of Miletus, who wrote about history and is credited with pagan leanings by some[230]. A man of the same name was honoured for various building projects at Miletus, including a church and the renovation of the Baths of Faustina, which included the continuous display of pagan sculptures and shows respect for the ancient tradition[231]. Similarly, numerous ancient façades were also preserved at Miletus, including decoration with ancient statues[232]. New church buildings did not invade the old centre before the middle of the sixth century[233]. Moreover, one of the new sixth-century churches was hidden behind a Roman propylon, and the other narrowly fitted into a pre-existing insula and decorated with the same old-fashioned type of fluted architrave as a neighbouring heroon. The preservation of the ancient heritage was a major concern throughout the late antique and early Byzantine periods and informed all building projects in the centre of Miletus. Even when the new and much reduced circuit of city walls was built in the seventh century or soon thereafter, various ancient façades were left standing and now decorated either the inner or the outer face of the wall, with a former temple porch forming the main city gate[234].

225 For the analogies with *damnatio memoriae*, see Stewart 1999. For bodily punishment in late antiquity and Byzantium, see Patlagean 1984; Jones 1987; Marinis 2014, 334.
226 Rothaus 2000, 32–63.
227 See above n. 196.
228 Suda, s. v. Milion.
229 Milet 6, vol. 1, 116–119. 213 f.; vol. 2, 137–146; vol. 3, 289–296.
230 Flach 1880; Martindale 1980, 555; DNP V (1998) 516 f. s. v. Hesychios Illustrius (F. Tinnefeld); Kaldellis 2005; Kaldellis 2013.
231 Milet 6, vol. 1, 116 f. 213 f. cat. 341–343; Feissel 2004, 319–321.
232 Bol 2011, 11 f.; Dally 2012; Dally et al. 2015, 336–338.
233 Niewöhner 2016.
234 Niewöhner 2013b, 181–186.

Fig. 123 Miletus, early Byzantine city walls in front of the cave, western section, inner wall surface, including numerous stadium benches, from north

Through conserving the ancient heritage, Miletus successfully retained an urban setting during a period that was otherwise characterised by ruralisation[235], when many other provincial cities lost most of their former urbanity[236]. The main problem of those other cities seems to have been the alienation or loss of their former elites[237], who appear to have looked and gone elsewhere when secular urban office and munificence ceased to yield financial and career benefits and the central administration and the church were getting ever more involved in the running of local affairs[238]. At Miletus social cohesion seems to have been maintained to an exceptional degree, as is attested by the epigraphic record and the conservative building policy that appears to reflect the traditional values of the old elites. Enabling those who were still pagan around the year 400 to bury their marbles and to close down their sanctuary themselves in a ceremonious and dignified manner appears to have been part of a general policy of compromise and reconciliation. Conversely, it makes sense that more zealous Christians would turn against sculptures, if they, like Chrysostom, wanted to see more of the ancient tradition replaced, because at Miletus that tradition was still alive and associated itself with sculptures well into the seventh century.

Early Byzantine Buildings in front of the Cave: Sea Walls, Gates, Zwinger, and Cross Walls

All other buildings in front of the cave appear to relate to the Byzantine fortifications and confirm that the healing cult was discontinued in late antiquity. The city walls must date from the early Byzantine rather than from the late Roman period, because in addition to the ashlars from the Hellenistic building (Fig. 6) they also contain bricks, and they re-use numerous marble benches from the stadium[239]. Bricks became a common building material only from the fourth century onwards, when house walls started to be built with layers of bricks[240] and brick fragments were re-used as in-fill for larger joints even where a wall like the Byzantine city walls did not contain any brick layers.

The stadium benches are visible on the inner, northern surface of the Byzantine city walls, which some are facing with their moulded fronts, either in a horizontal or in a vertical position (Fig. 123). Other benches are visible in profile and yet others have been re-used with the upper sides, on which one would have been sitting, turned towards the surface of the wall. Some seats are inscribed with letters that indicated who was to sit where[241]. At the back of the seat there is either a narrow notch that served as a foothold for the next

235 de Dappner et al. 1998, 132 fig. 10; Blanton 2000, 60; Baird 2004; Niewöhner 2007, 63–106; Coulton 2012, vol. 1, 175–181.
236 Rose 2011, 161 f.; Niewöhner 2011, 119 f.
237 Liebeschuetz 2001, 104–109; Laniado 2002, 1–129.
238 Brandes – Haldon 2000; Brandes 2002.
239 Not noticing the bricks and the stadium benches, von Gerkan 1935, 105 (cf. Niewöhner 2008b, 183 fig. 1) assigns the walls to the late Roman period when Miletus is known to have been re-fortified in the later third century A.D. The use of stadium benches appears to contradict this, as the stadium had only just been renovated in the earlier third century and does not seem to have been dismantled before the fifth or sixth century (see below). In the late Roman period the area in front of the theatre may not have received any new walls; instead, the theatre terrace, that is the pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic city walls, and the Roman stage building may have served as defence. This would comply with the overall character of the late Roman fortifications that were generally less defensive and did not include a citadel. In contrast, the main purpose of the new Byzantine walls in front of the theatre appears to have been the outer defence of the Byzantine citadel inside the theatre (see below).
240 For example the fourth century-renovation of the Bishop's Palace at Miletus: Niewöhner 2015b, 188 fig. 13 f.
241 Cf. Milet 6, vol. 2, 111 f. cat. 889. 893.

Fig. 124 Miletus, early Byzantine tower at the western corner of the late Byzantine citadel above the Roman theatre, including stadium benches – some inscribed, some in profile, and column drums, from west. The southern, right face of the tower was rebuilt in the late Byzantine period and employs smaller stones and many bricks

bench above or a wide space for the feet of the person sitting on the bench above. The first type of benches would seat only half the number of people, each of whom would occupy two rows, one with the behind and one with the feet; this had the advantage that the benches also only took half the amount of space and the tribune rose twice as steeply. Such benches were employed on the north side of the stadium, where the Theatre Bay did not allow for more space[242]. The other kind of wide benches that included a back space for feet is attested for the southern tribune of the stadium[243].

Stadium benches also occur in the section of the Byzantine city walls that connects the theatre with the Baths of Faustina[244]. In addition, stadium benches were re-used in early Byzantine renovations of the Baths of Faustina and the Southern Baths, as well as in the Great Church and in the Church of St Michael, all of which date from the fifth to seventh centuries[245]. Therefore, the stadium that was last renovated in the third century[246] appears to have been dismantled and its parts re-used elsewhere from the fifth or sixth century onwards. A tower at the western corner of the late Byzantine citadel above the Roman theatre (Fig. 14) is also built with stadium benches that are here placed next to lying column drums (Fig. 124)[247]. The tower's masonry is distinct from the late Byzantine citadel that employs smaller stones and many bricks, and the tower must originally have been part of the early Byzantine circuit[248].

The Byzantine city walls in front of the cave are 2.60–2.70 m thick. The gateway next to the bay staircase of the theatre is 2.20 m wide (Fig. 14, Gate 1)

242 von Gerkan 1921, 4–6 figs. 2 e. 4. Von Gerkan did not understand this and mistakenly assumed that three bottom rows of benches that he found in place at the foot of the northern tribune had once been dismantled, cut in half and then replaced for no good reason.

243 von Gerkan 1921, 4–7 figs. 2 d. f; 5 a. The bouleuterion and the theatre employed different benches; cf. Knackfuß 1908, 35 figs. 8. 9; Milet 6, vol. 1, 77–90 pls. 27. 28.

244 von Gerkan 1935, 86 f.

245 Niewöhner 2015a, 182 fig. 12; 207; Niewöhner 2016, 20 (Great Church). 44 (St Michael).

246 von Gerkan 1921, 32–41.

247 For the *topos*-inscription on one of the benches see Milet 6, vol. 2, 126 cat. 940 l. This bench is short, without space for the feet of the person sitting above, and must have belonged to the north side of the stadium, not to the theatre. For the column drums compare another tower of the early Byzantine circuit at the Lion Harbour: Niewöhner 2011, 108 fig. 7.

248 Müller-Wiener 1967, 280–285 fig. 1; Niewöhner 2008b, 187 f.

Fig. 125 Miletus, area in front of the cave, western section from north, in the centre the early Byzantine cross wall and inner gate 2, in the back the early Byzantine city walls, including – on the right – the outer gate 1 next to the theatre staircase, on the right the zwinger

and contains marble jambs that reduce the width of the entrance to 1.60 m. A cross wall that connects the city walls with the cave and divides the space in front of the cave into a western outer courtyard and an eastern enclosure seems to be linked to the early Byzantine city walls (Figs. 17. 125). The southern end of the cross wall is 1.3 m wide and built with facing ashlars and a rubble core. The eastern wall face appears to have been added to the pre-existing city walls, whilst the western wall face is interlocking with the northern face of the city walls, as could only have happened if the cross wall was built together with the city walls.

Instead of connecting to the cave in a straight line, the cross wall is stepped back eastwards after 6 m, half way across to the arcaded façade. The step contains a second, north facing Gate 2 (Fig. 4), its threshold and jambs still in place and consisting of re-used Roman marble entablature blocks[249]. The gateway is 1.90 m wide, and the jambs reduce it to 1.15 m. Beyond Gate 2 the wall continues for another 6 m up to the cave, its eastern face flush with the second buttress of the façade. The western face of the cross wall ends inside the western arcade next to the little niche, which it did not obstruct. One would have noticed the niche on the way in when walking northwards after passing the outer Gate 1 in the Byzantine city walls, and on the way out when stepping through the north-facing inner Gate 2 (Fig. 7).

The complicated arrangement of the stepped cross wall with north facing second gate appears to have had a fortification purpose. The outer courtyard to the west of the cross wall served as zwinger, where the enemy would be trapped even if he managed to break through the outer Gate 1 in the Byzantine city walls. The north facing inner Gate 2 prevented a straight line of attack, the enemy would lose impetus and could be shot at whilst he turned and thus exposed his back.

Both jambs of the inner Gate 2 have Christian inscriptions on their northern, outer sides at about one and a half meters above floor level. The inscriptions are inscribed on fasciae that decorate the Roman marbles, but the lettering is not in accordance with the original horizontal use of the entablature blocks; the inscriptions were added as part of the current re-use as upright

249 Two blocks of the same architrave with three fasciae, one end of each block broken. Total H 37 (H three fasciae 25, H upper profile 12), max. L preserved 265, lower W 45, upper W 60.

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Miletus

Fig. 126 Miletus, eastern jamb of the inner gate 2 in front of the cave, from north. A re-used Roman architrave with two partly erased Byzantine graffiti referring to the archangel Michael

Figs. 127. 128 Western jamb of the inner gate 2 in front of the cave, from north. A re-used Roman architrave with Byzantine graffiti referring to the archangel Michael. Fig. 128 on the right shows a detail of a + Κ(ύριε) βο(ήθη)-invocation

jambs. The eastern jamb has two regularly and deeply carved block monograms one above the other, separated by a cross with flared tips (Fig. 126)[250]. The monograms date from the early Byzantine period and are probably to be read as Μιχαήλ ἀρχιστρατήγου[251], Michael[252] the archistrategos, i. e. the general-in-chief. Most of the lower monogram and some letters of the upper monogram were later erased, possibly after the Turkish conquest, when the citadel continued in use for some time.

The western jamb has a larger cross above and a smaller cross flanked by irregularly and slightly carved letters, below (Figs. 127. 128)[253]. The letters to the upper right of the lower cross appear to read Κ(ύριε) βο(ήθη), God help, with Κ for Κύριε lying on its back, below ΒΟ for βο(ήθη). On the lower left of the cross follow four lines of letters that should give the name of the supplicant[254], but the reading of the two bottom lines is doubtful:

Μ
ΗΝ
ΟΘΑW+
ΧΘΟ

The combination of a regularly carved archangel invocation and a less well executed individual plea to God on the two jambs mirrors two inscriptions at the southwest corner of the theatre, at the head of the bay staircase and on top of the zwinger; one inscription is again a professionally cut appeal

250 Total H 49; upper monogram: H 19 W 12; central cross: H 11 W 7; lower monogram H 17 W 11.

251 Thanks to I. Boyer and J. Capelle (Lyon) for Fig. 126 and J. Glynias (Dumbarton Oaks – Princeton) for the reading.

252 Cf. Veglery – Zacos 1972, pl. 238; Walser 2013, 564. 606 fig. 16.

253 Total H smaller cross and flanking letters 17; smaller cross: H 6 W 4; letters below the cross: H 11 W 10; H letters 1.5–3.

254 Cf. a graffito at the southwest corner of the theatre, at the head of the staircase next to the cave (n. 255 below), and other, similar inscriptions at Miletus: Milet 6, vol. 2, 139 cat. 967; 142 cat. 986. 989(?); vol. 3, 296 cat. 1580.

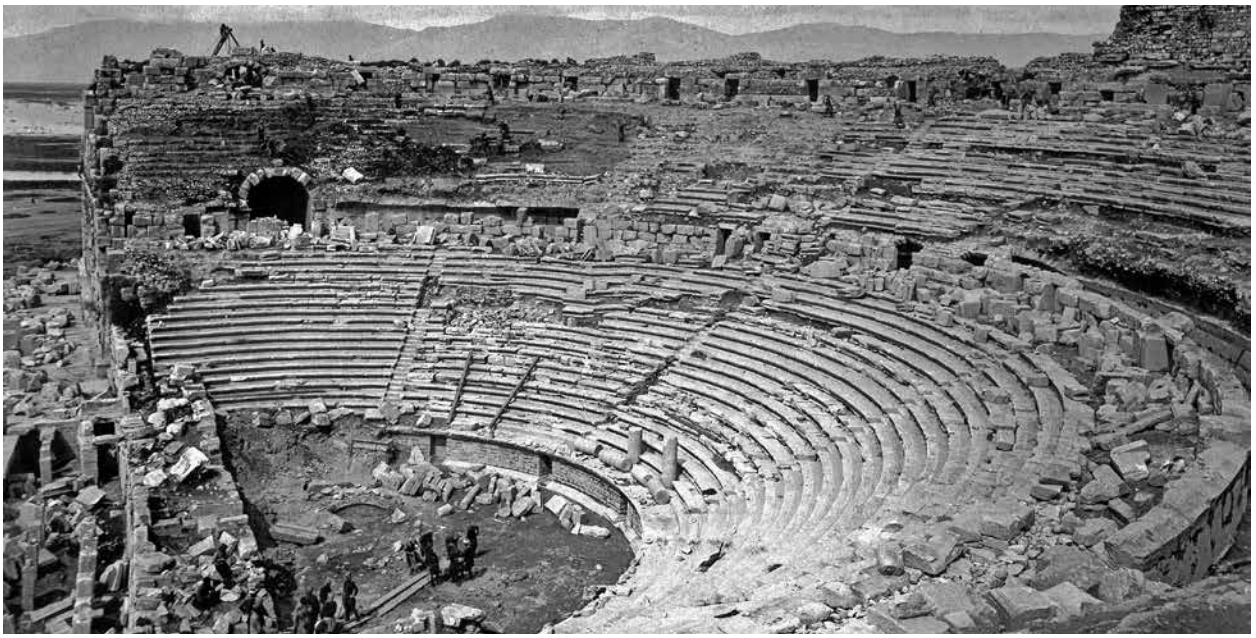


Fig. 129 Miletus, Roman theatre during excavation in the early 20th century, from east. Massive Byzantine defences that block the orchestra and connect the *analemma* walls are being dismantled

to the archangels for protection of the city and its inhabitants[255], the other a dilettantishly executed request for God's help on behalf of two individuals[256]. The archangels were popular at Byzantine Miletus: the oratory of the Bishop's Palace in the city centre was dedicated to St Michael[257], and emperor Justinian granted the right of asylum to a yet unidentified sanctuary of the archangel Gabriel[258]. At the gate, invocations of archangels in general and of Michael the archistrategos in particular make additional sense, as the archangels represented the heavenly host, with Michael as the general-in-chief[259].

The enclosure to the east of the inner Gate 2 was subdivided by narrow, only about 70 cm wide, and badly preserved walls that appear to have formed several rooms in front of the arcaded façade (Fig. 4). These rooms could have served the guards. Past them the way probably lead east through a narrow passage between the Byzantine city walls and the stage building and then turned northwards into the central entrance of the stage building, by which the theatre is still entered today (Fig. 1). During the Byzantine period the way ended in front of a third Gate 3 in the centre of a defensive wall that cut across the orchestra, connected the Roman *analemma* walls, and turned the theatre into a citadel (Fig. 14)[260]. This latter wall and gate were dismantled during the excavation of the theatre in the early 20th century (Fig. 129)[261], but surviving

255 Milet 6, vol. 2, 127 f. cat. 943 pl. 47, 287; Cline 2011.

256 Milet 6, vol. 2, 127 cat. 942 pl. 49, 301. The publication appears to be mistaken, as Michael Jeffrey Featherstone kindly informed us: The publication confuses *maistor* with *maist(o)ros*, a later borrowing from the Venetian (*maistro*), which would give a dative ΜΑΙΣΤΟΡΩ. Instead, read the last word of the second line as: ΜΑΙΣΤΟΡΙ+. That is, below μαΐστο (*maisto*) read: PI (*ri*) followed by a cross (+). Μαΐστορι is the normal dative form of μαΐστωρ (*maistor*) (genitive τοῦ μαΐστορος [*tou maistoros*]), an alternate form of μαγίστωρ (*magistor*) (genitive τοῦ μαγίστορος [*tou magistoros*]), which corresponds to the Latin *magister*, meaning schoolmaster, teacher (*epistates*, *didaskalos*). Trapp's Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität cites the form μαΐστωρ in the lexicon of Hesychius of Alexandria (end of the fifth century), in a seventh century inscription in Grégoire's Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure, and in the chronicle of Theophanes. Later the word *maistor* becomes an ecclesiastical title – for the master of a choir – and is found in the Pseudo Codinus. But the form of the letters of the inscription do not appear to be 14th century.

257 Milet 6, vol. 2, 144 f. cat. 1007 pl. 56, 343.

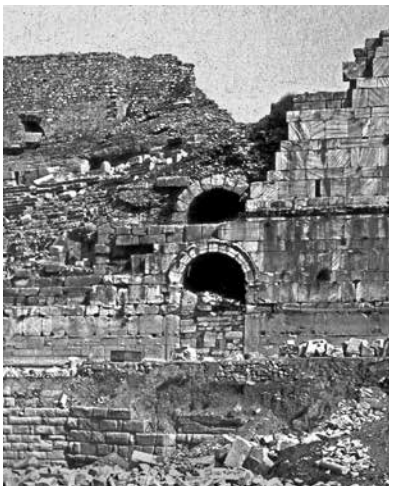
258 Milet 6, vol. 3, 290–295 cat. 1576.

259 Rohland 1977, 105–137; Gabelić 1996, 352–355.

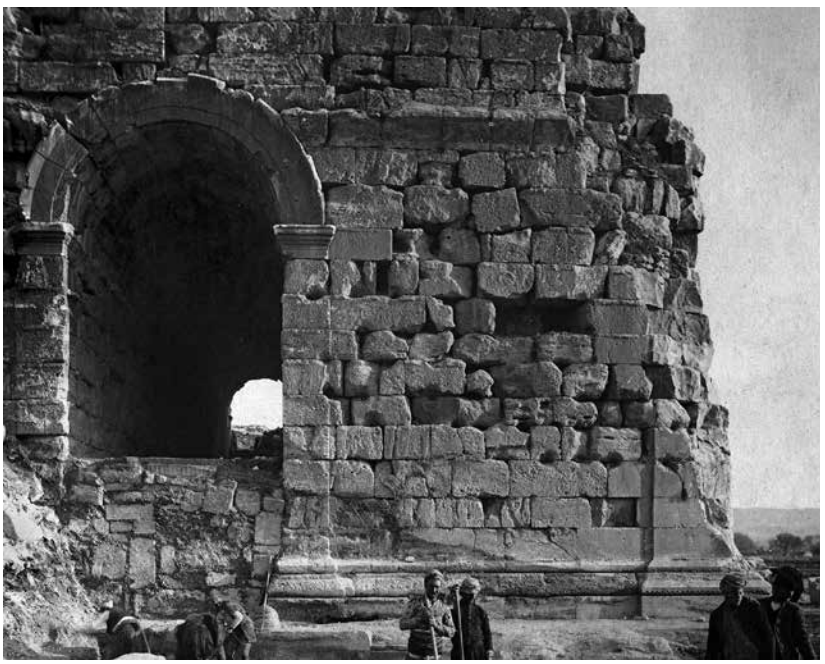
260 Wiegand 1904, 82 figs. 3. 5; von Gerkan 1935, 105; Müller-Wiener 1967.

261 Wiegand 1906, 250; von Gerkan 1935, 105.

130



131



132

Miletus, Roman theatre

Fig. 130 Central gate 3 of the Byzantine defensive wall that used to cut across the orchestra until it was dismantled in the early 20th century, interior view looking westwards

Fig. 131 Arched entrance in the eastern *analemma* wall during excavation in the early 20th century. The passage is still blocked by a massive wall of re-used blocks, including stadium benches, column drums, and a fluted frieze block from the *scaenae frons*

Fig. 132 Western entrance during excavation in the early 20th century, the arched entrance is still blocked by a massive wall of re-used blocks

photographs suggest a construction not unlike the Byzantine city walls and the first two Gates 1 and 2 in front of the cave (Fig. 130).

The three large arched entrances in the western and eastern *analemma* walls (Fig. 131) and on the west side of the Roman theatre (Figs. 19. 132) were also walled off and cleared again by the excavators[262]. The arched entrance in the eastern *analemma* wall was blocked with stadium benches, column drums, and a fluted frieze block from the *scaenae frons* or inner, columnar façade of the stage building (Fig. 131)[263]. The re-use of the frieze block suggests that the *scaenae frons* was completely ruined when the fortifications were built in or soon after the seventh century, approximately two centuries after the caryatide heads from the same façade had been buried in the cave (**S1** and **S2**; Figs. 90–96).

The Byzantine fortifications in front of the Roman theatre are completed by a second cross wall between the eastern *analemma* wall and the Hellenistic

262 von Gerkan 1935, 105.

263 Thanks to Katja Piesker for identifying the fries as part of the second Roman *scaenae frons* as reconstructed by H. Knackfuß and F. Krauss and drawn by W. Karnapp: Technische Hochschule München 1868–1968 (Munich 1968) fig. on p. 97. For a larger, more detailed reproduction of the same drawing, see the archive at the Wiegand Haus of the German Archaeological Institute at Berlin. Cf. also Köster 2014, 136 fig. 10.

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Miletus

Fig. 133 Byzantine cross wall between the Roman theatre's eastern *analemma* wall (bottom) and the Hellenistic city walls (top), including numerous stadium benches, from north. The smaller and shorter parallel wall on the left is only 1.10 m wide, is built with small stones, and seems to be part of a later annex building

Fig. 134 Byzantine cross wall between the Roman theatre's eastern *analemma* wall (right) and the Hellenistic city walls (left), including numerous stadium benches, from east. The smaller and shorter parallel wall in front is only 1.10 m wide, is built with small stones, and seems to be part of a later annex building

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city walls (Figs. 14. 133. 134)[264]. The wall is 1.90 m wide, includes stadium benches and apparently no gate. Instead, one would have to pass through the theatre citadel in order to get to the city centre on the east side of the cross wall. Both wall faces look alike, and the cross wall could have been defended either way; if, on the one hand, the enemy had breached the first two Gates 1 and 2 and stood in front of Gate 3, the cross wall would bar access to and protect the city centre; if, on the other hand, the enemy had invaded the city centre, the cross wall would serve as additional outer defence of Gate 3 and the citadel's access to the sea; in both cases the enemy would be prevented from surrounding and enclosing the theatre.

In comparison with the land walls to the south of the city centre, between the Serapeion Gate in the west and the Market Gate in the east[265], the fortifications in front of the theatre appear to have been built with less care. The land walls boast pseudo isodomic masonry, and the landward gates are flanked by imposing towers, all of which seems to be missing in front of the theatre. The land walls contained the main gates, the Serapeion Gate in particular was highly decorative, and the pseudo isodomic masonry may also have been chosen in order to show off. In addition, the land walls may have been built more carefully in order to withstand siege machines. In contrast, the bay excluded siege machines in front of the theatre, and the lack of towers was compensated for by the winding approach through the zwinger and by the towering theatre buildings themselves that offered ample opportunities for defence.

Conclusions

During the Byzantine period, the cave does not appear to have played a significant role any more. The finds that post-date the late antique burial of the spring, the plates **P19**. **P20**. **P22**, the cup **P21**, the jug **P23**, the amphorae **P32**–**P34**, the pots **P48**–**P50**, and the ampulla **P52**, may indicate little more than casual usage, similar to the beer bottles of more recent times. The burial of the spring in the late fourth or fifth century A.D. seems to have marked the end of any cult related activities inside the cave. The burial also indicates that the cave was still perceived as a pagan sanctuary at that time; the sacred spring needed to be closed as well as protected and was the right place to bury pagan marbles that had been mutilated – presumably by Christians – when they were still on display on the stage building of the theatre; the spring also served as depository (*bothros*) for a large number of late antique oil lamps that appear to represent the last votive offerings to the pagan shrine. All this suggests that the burial was carried out by the last pagans, probably in response to the Theodosian laws that required the closure of pagan sanctuaries.

During antiquity, two main phases of the sanctuary emerge, both of which seem to have been related to the theatre. The second phase was Roman, included much stonework, and seems to have come about due to the Roman enlargement of the theatre. The cave's new masonry façade with five blind arches is repeated on the western *analemma* wall of the Roman theatre and – like a modern billboard – would have advertised the cave sanctuary far and wide. An earlier, first phase, when the cave's interior was cut out of the rock, appears to date from the Hellenistic period according to pottery finds and may have been prompted by the building of the Hellenistic theatre. The theatre cut the eastward continuation of the ancient lane in front of the cave, at which point a larger *temenos* outside the cave, above and beyond the lane, became feasible. The Roman entrance corridor overbuilds the lane and connects the cave to

264 von Gerkan 1935, 94. 105.

265 For the western section with the Serapeion Gate, see Niewöhner 2013b, 181–186, for the eastern section with the Market Gate Niewöhner 2008b, 189–193; Niewöhner 2009.

a Hellenistic building on the other, southern side of the lane that must have formed part of the sanctuary. Any earlier sanctuary would have been limited to the cave alone. The lane and the grid system, to which the lane belongs, appear to pre-date the earliest, Archaic city walls of Miletus.

The dedicatee of the sanctuary is conjectural. Clues are provided by the cave and by the spring at the centre of the shrine, by the Hellenistic development, the close relationship to the theatre, the seven niches along the rear wall of the cave, and by the terracotta figures and limbs. Asclepius appears as one possibility among others and serves as a case study to elaborate the argument. Miletus had an Asclepeion »in front of« or »outside the city«, and the location of the cave sanctuary would fit this description.

Ph. N.

Abstract

Philipp Niewöhner, An Ancient Cave Sanctuary underneath the Theatre of Miletus, Beauty, Mutilation, and Burial of Ancient Sculpture in Late Antiquity, and the History of the Seaward Defences

A cave underneath the theatre of Miletus in western Turkey contains a spring and can be identified as an ancient sanctuary. It underwent two main building phases, both of which appear to be linked to building phases of the theatre, one Hellenistic and the other Roman. The cave contained terracotta figures and limbs that might have been votive offerings. 44 late antique oil lamps may also have been votives; they were buried inside the spring when the spring was filled in at the turn of the fifth century A.D. or soon thereafter. The infill also contained marble heads from the stage building of the theatre that had previously been mutilated, probably by Christians and possibly in order to mar their beauty. The infill hid the spring as well as burying the lamps and marbles. This appears to have had the twofold function of closing the sanctuary – probably in response to the anti-pagan laws of the Theodosian emperors – and of protecting the sacred spring, the votive offerings, as well as the marble heads from further abuse and destruction. In addition, findings from around the cave also shed light on the history of the seaward defences that may date back to Archaic times and, in the Byzantine period, were renovated to include a sophisticated gate with zwinger.

Keywords
sacred spring • stage building • street grid • terracottas • zwinger

Sources of illustrations
Fig. 1: Miletarchiv an der Ruhr-Universität Bochum • Fig. 2: Ph. Niewöhner after B. Weber • Figs. 3. 6–9. 13. 15. 16. 18. 21–23. 25. 26. 28. 29. 90–95. 97–109. 112–115. 123–128. 133. 134: Ph. Niewöhner • Fig. 4: Ph. Niewöhner after von Gerkan 1935, 95 fig. 63 • Fig. 5: von Gerkan 1935, 95 fig. 64 • Fig. 10: S. Giese – E. Erkul – H. Stümpel • Figs. 11. 12: E. Erkul – H. Stümpel • Fig. 14: Ph. Niewöhner after von Gerkan 1935, 90 fig. 58 • Fig. 17: S. Giese – Ph. Niewöhner • Fig. 19: E. Altenhöfer • Figs. 20. 24. 27: I. Cartwright • Figs. 30–89: S. Huy • Figs. 96. 110. 111: L. Audley-Miller • Fig. 116: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Antikensammlung (J. Laurentius) • Fig. 117: P. Milošević, Wikimedia Commons • Figs. 118–121: Wikimedia Commons • Fig. 122: Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington D.C. • Fig. 129: Wiegand 1904, 81 fig. 5 • Fig. 130: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Antikensammlung, Milet-Archiv Inv. PM 3019 • Fig. 131: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg Aufnahme Nr. 1.022.971 • Fig. 132: DAI Zentrale Berlin, Archiv im Wiegandhaus, R Milet 8

Abbreviations

In addition to AA the following abbreviations are employed throughout the paper:
Ø • diameter; D • depth; fr. • fragment; H • height; L • length; W • width; T • thickness

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