THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SACRED CAVES IN ATTICA

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SACRED CAVES IN ATTICA, GREECE

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Abstract

The goal of this study was to examine the group of sacred caves located within the geographical area of Attica and in use during the historical period of antiquity for patterns in their locations and how they related to the polis of Classical Athens. These features of the caves revealed that there were patterns in their placement according to the dedication of the cave. Each of the groups of Attic caves has revealed a distinct pattern for their locations and each pattern is directly related to the functions of the cults and nature of the deities.

The first pattern to emerge from the sacred caved in Attica was the physical features and locations of caves dedicated to the Nymphs. These features are high elevation, previous use by ancient peoples, water sources and a closed-type entrance. Secondly, the appearance of cave cults in the city of Athens is explored in connection with the ideals of the polis. Both urban caves and the cult of Pan carry connotations of chaos, savagery and the wilderness all of which are elements that are in conflict with the civilized area of polis. Thirdly, the connection between the urban and rural is seen through the mirroring of the rural cults on the slopes of the Athenian Acropolis. This type mirroring of sanctuaries is unique to Attica and it is used for sanctuaries other than cave cults. In the cases where this mirroring is used, the primacy of the polis is symbolically asserted. Finally, the last aspect of caves that became apparent through this study is the chthonic connection. The placement of caves connected to chthonic deities is largely based on the pre-existing landscape and the legends and mythology concerning each figure and their association with death or the Underworld.

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Table of Contents

List of Illustrations.....p. vi
Introduction.....p. 1
Chapter One: Nymphs and the Sacred Landscape.....p. 7
Chapter Two: Pan and the City.....p. 33
Chapter Three: Urban and Rural: Two Places, One Polis.... p. 51
Chapter Four: The Descent to the Underworld.....p. 73
Conclusion.....p. 93
Catalogue of Caves.....p. 101
Figures.....p. 120
Bibliography.....p. 131

List of Illustrations

Figure 1. Map of Attica with location of caves indicated by catalogue numbers.
Figure 2. View of the Klepsydra (cat. 23).
Figure 3. Plan and section of the Klepsydra (cat. 23).
Figure 4. Archaic panel from Saftulis Cave. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.
Figure 5. Votive Relief from Eleusis. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.
Figure 6. Plan of the Acropolis, caves indicated by +.
Figure 7. Plan of the north slope of the Acropolis, Cave S (cat. 22).
Figure 8. Photo of the area surrouding Cave S (cat. 22).
Figure 9. Plan of the northwest corner terrace of Acropolis.
Figure 10. View of northwest corner of the Acropolis.
Figure 11. The shrine of Apollo Hersus at Vari (cat. 7).
Figure 12. View of Acropolis East Cave.
Figure 13. Plan of the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, Tomb of Iphigeneia (cat.5) located bottom- left.
Figure 14. Plan and section of Paraskeva (cat. 17).
Figure 15. Plan of the Asklepieion (cat. 19)
Figure 16. View of the Ploutoneion.
Figure 17. Plan of Eleusis.
Figure 18. Plan of the Ploutoneion Cave.

Introduction

Caves became an integral part of the inhabitants' survival and of their culture in the limestone karst landscape of Attica. There are over three hundred caves within the region of Attica of which seventy-three have preserved evidence of ancient use.[1] Caves served multiple functions: as shelters for both long and short term use, as burial chambers, and as access points to fresh water, to name only a few. In Attica, there are twenty-eight known cave sanctuaries that were in use at various times between the Archaic period and the end of the Roman period. The goal of this study is to analyse this group of caves for patterns and interpret the placement patterns found. Literary sources and pictorial representations of caves will allow us to situate the material evidence from the caves within Athenian culture.

In the Archaic period, and possibly as early as the Late Geometric period, the first caves to become sacred were dedicated to the Nymphs. The remains of this early period are few and very modest, suggesting that the first worshippers at sacred caves were rural people who left mainly organic goods as offerings. In the Classical period, Pan was introduced to Attica from Arcadia and he was jointly worshipped with the Nymphs in caves. Olympian and chthonic gods as well as heroes soon found new homes in caves throughout Attica. The popularity of cave sanctuaries reached its peak in the Classical period when they became an important part of the religious landscape, both in the countryside and in the city of Athens itself. In the Hellenistic period, the evidence for the

[1] Wickens 1986, pp. 88-91; Blackman 1999-2000, p. 15.

use of cave sanctuaries declines dramatically and no caves preserve evidence of use during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. However, in the first century BCE and the third century CE, there were periods of renewed interest in the cults and visitation of caves in Attica.

Even the best known caves in Attica generally contain only a modest number of finds which are of fairly poor quality. Pottery for feasting and vessels which held organic offerings are the most common finds in the caves. Additionally, crude terracotta figurines of male and female figures have been found in many of the sacred caves. Most of these figurines are fragmentary and cannot be identified apart from their sex. Many of the female figurines are assumed to be Nymphs. Only one cave has evidence of a stone altar, the cave of Apollo Hypoakraios (cat. 25), in the northwest corner of the Acropolis. Ash pits at the entrance to the cave were a more common means of performing a sacrifice at a cave but even these are rare. Most caves have rectangular niches carved into the interior and exterior walls of the cave, usually at the back, for offerings to be placed. In the fourth century BCE, votive plaques to Pan and the Nymphs were a popular, although not universal, form of offering in caves sacred to these deities. Inscriptions are rare and conspicuous displays of wealth beyond painted pottery and carved plaques are entirely absent.

The following study will examine the twenty-eight caves securely identified as sacred and provide interpretation based on the placement patterns found within this group of caves. Twenty-seven caves have been presented in a survey of cave use in Attica by J. Wickens that have features consistent with cult sites: material remains, such as pottery,

figurines and votives, purposely placed in or outside of a cave in combination with inscriptions and/or literary sources.[2] One additional cave was discovered and partially excavated in 1994 as part of rescue excavations.[3] This study will examine these twenty-eight caves for patterns in their placement, both in terms of their natural surrounding and the human environment, and the implications of these strategic placements for the territory of Attica and the city of Athens (see figure 1 for map of caves). As we will see, cave sanctuaries originated as local cult places for the rural people of Attica but they were incorporated into the city and they became a symbolic link between the urban and rural areas of the polis.

The first chapter will discuss the selection of cave sites based upon the natural characteristics and landscape, with particular emphasis on sanctuaries of Nymphs and the cult practiced therein. While certain characteristics are common for all sacred caves, the caves of the Nymphs demonstrate a particular pattern of cave selection. These sites seem to have been chosen based only on the geographical location and pre-existing contents of the caves. By comparing caves of the Nymphs with the other sacred caves, it will be shown that previous occupation, elevation, the plan of the cave and water sources are among the determining factors for site selection of Nymphs caves. Cave sanctuaries of the Nymphs are more likely to be located at higher elevations and in a closed cave with a complex series of chambers and passageways. The caves of the Nymphs are often associated with evidence of previous use either in the form of habitation or burials. In addition to examining these patterns, two caves, Kitsos (cat. 1) and Keratea (cat. 2), will

[2] Wickens 1986.
[3] Blackman 1999-2000, p. 15.

be examined which have not been associated with a particular deity. These caves conform to the patterns shown in this chapter and there is no evidence to determine the deity worshipped at either site. Through a study of these caves, it will be suggested that these patterns can be used to propose, although not confirm, a connection to the Nymphs.

Following the examination of caves of the Nymphs, the cult of Pan in the caves of Attica and the implication of urban cave sanctuaries will be addressed in Chapter Two. The worship of Pan and the establishment of sacred caves within the city of Athens began simultaneously in the Classical period. It has not been previously noted that caves within the setting of the city are unique in Greece to Athens. The connection between Pan and caves was first made in Attica when he was imported from Arcadia where worshippers dedicated large sanctuaries to Pan rather than caves.[4] Borgeaud has previously shown that the cult of Pan in Attica took on new meaning from its origins in Arcadia, where he was worshipped as a god of shepherds and the flocks.[5] The Attic view of Pan will be utilized to examine the implications of the placement of caves within the physical space of the city, namely on the slopes of the Athenian Acropolis. Both urban caves and the cult of Pan carry connotations of chaos, savagery and the wilderness all of which are elements that are incongruous within the civilized area of polis. This chapter will examine a unique aspect of Attic cave sanctuaries: their placement within the city of Athens is directly linked to the cult of Pan.

Chapter Three will investigate the worship of Olympian deities in caves and their relation to the politics of Classical Athens. The previous chapters have examined the role

[4] Borgeaud 1988, pp. 48-50.
[5] Borgeaud 1988, p. 60.

of rural and urban caves separately, while at this point in this work, it will become clear that urban and rural caves did not exist independently, rather they are interconnected. The cults present in caves on the slopes of the Acropolis each have a corresponding cult site in the rural area of Attica. The importance of extra-urban sanctuaries has been brought to the forefront by De Polignac in his work, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*.[6] De Polignac created a paradigm for extra-urban sanctuaries, assigning them equal importance to urban sanctuaries in the formation of the polis. The role of extra-urban sanctuaries was to define limits of the territory and caves are generally placed in locations that represent the furthest limit of a city's control.[7] Athens is the only city in Greece that does not fit this paradigm; instead, de Polignac viewed it as a religiously monocentric city.[8] Rather than looking to the periphery, the sanctuaries which define and formed the polis of Attica are placed at the centre: the Acropolis. However, the mirroring of cave sanctuaries on the Acropolis does not fit de Polignac's model; rather, it fits more closely with a model developed by Osborne for the sanctuaries of Artemis Brauronia.[9] This pattern will be shown and discussed in relation to the rural people of Attica.

The final chapter of this study will examine the caves that have funerary or chthonic associations. The caves in this group are dedicated to three heroes/ heroines and three deities, all of which have direct ideological links to their location. The heroes/ heroines in this group have been buried in locations connected with their roles in life and

[6] de Polignac 1995.
[7] de Polignac 1995, p. 36.
[8] de Polignac 1995, p. 83.
[9] Osborne 1985.

the site of their burial or death. Two of the deities in this group were viewed to have lived in the Underworld, while the third, Asklepios, has funerary links through his mortal past and the imagery of snakes. Caves are connected to the chthonic aspect of Greek religion in two ways: first, they can be viewed as openings in the earth which lead to the Underworld. Secondly, they were often used as an early form of burial chamber. The nature of the caves used as sanctuaries for these chthonic figures as well as the mythology associated with each will be examined in this chapter.

A catalogue is included to present a clear, succinct description of each cave and the material remains found at each site. For each cave, the catalogue establishes the location, dimensions and the physical features of the cave, such as water sources, geological formations and the layout of the cave. Next, the periods of use and the functions are outlined, since some caves were used for different purposes at different times. Throughout this work, when specific caves are mentioned, their catalogue numbers will be provided. Each cave has unique features and different uses and the catalogue will allow the reader to consider each cave individually.

The distinct nature of caves and the cults contained within them will be shown in the following study through examining the different types of cults and the ideological associations of each. The deities worshipped in caves range from fertility goddesses to the divinized dead, from the lofty Olympian deities to those who lived in the Underworld. This group of sanctuaries which began as early rural cults and grew into cults with importance to the whole polis illustrates many facets of Greek religion.

Chapter One

Nymphs and the Sacred Landscape

Sacred caves dedicated to the Nymphs were the most numerous and the earliest of the cave sanctuaries to be found in Attica. Of particular importance to caves of the Nymphs, caves naturally have a different atmosphere and environment than the exterior landscape. They are dark and they have less extreme temperatures; also, sound would echo in a different way in the interior. The selection criteria for Nymph cave sites were influenced by the natural surroundings. The connection between the Nymphs and nature is suggestive of the Greek conception of the Nymphs as part of the landscape. Water sources, previous ancient remains, a closed cave entrance and a location at a high elevation are distinctive features of Nymph caves.

The concept of inherent sacred space draws from the work of Mircea Eliade, a religious scholar who wrote extensively in the 1960's on the history of comparative religion. In his book, *The Sacred and the Profane*, Eliade argues that holy places exist naturally in the world and they are not created but rather they are discovered by humans. Holy places are revealed as qualitatively different from the surrounding areas by signs; sometimes men can call upon signs to reveal such places but it is never humankind that determines the location of holy places.[1] The result of this distinction from other areas is that communication with the gods becomes possible. When these areas are discovered,

[1] Eliade 1958, p. 26-27.

they are delineated by the creation of *temenoi*.[2] There is little tension between this theory and the religious beliefs of the Greeks.

Edlund, in her study of sanctuaries in Etruria and Magna Graecia, has defined three types of sanctuaries that are found in the countryside. Caves of the Nymphs in Attica seem to fit two of these categories: sacred places in nature and rural sanctuaries.[3] Sacred places in nature are defined by an inherent holiness that was recognized by the local population and they fulfill a necessary role for that community. In Greece, the need for fresh, potable water was a primary concern and most of the fresh water in the eastern section of mainland Greece was provided through springs in the karst limestone landscape, while the western half of mainland Greece had plentiful rivers.[4] As will be seen later, water sources are one of the criteria for the selection of cult sites for the Nymphs. Rural sanctuaries, by Edlund's definition, are limited to the cult places that are used and governed by the rural people rather than by city dwellers. Caves of the Nymphs fit this category in their early use, prior to the incorporation of Pan into the worship at these sanctuaries after the Battle of Marathon.[5] Caves of the Nymphs are not mentioned in any of the religious calendars of the demes and there are no official inscriptions that pertain to the worship of Nymphs at any of the caves.[6] An official presence in these caves in relation to the cult of Pan is evidenced by an inscription (*SEG* XXXVI. 267) by the ephebes found at the Marathon Cave (cat. 11). The material in the caves of the Nymphs, which is scant at best, includes a few fragments of Archaic pottery and has led

[2] Turner 1979, p. 15.
[3] See Edlund 1987, p. 141-142 for definitions for each type of cult place.
[4] Higgins and Higgins 1996, p. 13.
[5] The cult of Pan in Attica will be discussed in Chapter Two.
[6] Wickens 1986, vol. 1, p. 175.

to the general opinion that the caves were in use in the Archaic period and possibly even the Late Geometric period. The lack of cultural material recovered from the caves dating to the Archaic period suggests that primarily rural people made use of the cave. The poorer, organic goods would have been readily available to rural people and would not have survived to be studied in modernity.

The connection between the Nymphs and nature can be clearly seen in the literature that surrounds their creation. There are two passages in Hesiod's *Theogony* that describe the birth of the Nymphs in connection with the formation of the natural landscape. The first passage tells of Gaia's creation of the hills which are described as the homes of the Nymphs at the moment they first appear (*Theog.* 126-130). The second passage relates the birth of more than three thousand Nymphs who live on the Earth and in the water (*Theog.* 362-368). In this passage, the number of daughters of Oceanos and Tethys is directly related to the number of rivers and they are described as "chattering as they flow," (*Theog.* 386) thus giving characteristics of the Nymphs to the rivers themselves. This kind of parallel between the birth of Nymphs and the physical landscape is also seen in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (5.256-275). In this passage, it is the trees that become analogous with Nymphs as the "pines or high-topped oaks spring up with [the Nymphs] upon the fruitful earth" (5.274-275). In literature, Nymphs were identified with the hills, water and trees and this association to the natural world was carried over into the cult of the Nymphs as will be seen below.

The association between the Nymphs and the landscape is also seen in Homer. The human perception of the Nymphs is given more directly through the character of

Odysseus rather than Hesiod's account of divine actions which produced Nymphs. When Odysseus arrives at Ithaka, the first feature of the land to be described is the cave of the Nymphs of the Wellsprings (*Odyssey* 13.102-112) and the first deities to be thanked for his safe return are the Naiad Nymphs

> "Long-suffering great Odysseus was gladdened then, rejoicing
> in the sight of his country, and kissed the grain-giving ground, then
> raised his hands in the air and spoke to the nymphs, praying:
> 'Naiad nymphs, O daughters of Zeus, I never suspected
> that I would see you again. Be welcome now to my gentle
> prayers, but I will also give you gifts, as I used to
> before, if Athene the Spoiler, Zeus' daughter, freely grants me
> to go on living here myself, and sustains my dear son.' " (*Odyssey* 13. 353-360)

In these passages, the way in which Odysseus refers to the land and the Nymphs is the same; this is indicative of the Greek perspective that the Nymphs could not be separated from the land.

Nymphs are attached to the physical landscape of Greece because they are elements of nature. Nymphs are believed to live in locations that are cool and shady with vegetation and water, a *locus amoenus*. Caves were popular choices for Nymph shrines because of their attributes as natural havens from the climate; they provide shelter from the elements and they are moderate in temperature (cooler in the summer and warmer in the winter in comparison to the outdoor temperature). There are certain physical characteristics that can be shown to be among the selection criteria of Nymph shrines as distinct from other cave sanctuaries; these are a closed cave, high elevation, a history of prior use and water sources.[7] These factors influence the perception of a cave by humans

[7] Larson identifies potable water, interesting features, a large mouth, and the size and comfort to be determining factors in cave selection for Nymph shrines (Larson 2001, p. 227) but she is looking only at

and can inspire the recognition of a holy place.

Attic Nymph Caves

The patterns listed above were observed through a compilation of data and tested with a chi-square test for each individual pattern.[8] All twenty-eight known cave sanctuaries in Attica, twenty-seven of which were located through a survey by J. Wickens and one that was discovered in 1994, were used to compare the physical attributes and the material culture of the caves dedicated to the Nymphs and caves dedicated to other deities (see figure 1 for map of caves). Twelve of the known sacred caves in Attica were dedicated to the Nymphs while fourteen were dedicated to other deities, either Olympian gods or heroes. There are two additional caves which are known to have been used as cult sites in the Classical period but it is unknown to whom they were dedicated. These two caves have much in common with other Nymph caves and their identification will be discussed below. It is important to bear in mind that this collection of caves must be viewed as only a sample of the number of sacred caves that were used in antiquity. Quarrying, rockfalls, and artifact preservation are factors that would prevent the preservation and identification of a cave sanctuary. As such, it is impossible to predict the number of cave sanctuaries that have been destroyed or contain no material evidence of their use as shrines.

Nymph caves rather than comparing Nymph caves with other types of cave sanctuaries found in Attica. The size and comfort of the cave as well as interesting features contained within are factors that influence the selection of all cave sanctuaries.

[8] The chi-square test is used to test the significance of an observed pattern in random samples. A low significance means that there is a high probability that the observed pattern is real and not artificially produced by the sample. See Appendix 1 for a chart of the data used in the following comparisons.

A closed cave is defined by the formation of the entrance. In a closed cave, the entrance is significantly smaller than the interior dimensions of width or height of the cave. This type of entrance prevents light from entering the cave and insulates the interior from the outside temperature. Of the twelve known caves of the Nymphs, two have entrances with unknown dimensions: the Klepsydra (cat. 23) because the original formation of the cave was altered in antiquity and Spelia tou Davele (cat. 3) because it was published only as a rescue excavation and it is lacking many details. Nine caves of the Nymphs have closed openings while only one has an open entrance. Of the fourteen caves that were dedicated to deities other than the Nymphs, only two are found in closed caves: the Asklepieion Spring Cave (cat. 20) and Paraskeva (cat. 17). It can be stated with relative confidence that this observed pattern between the closed caves and Nymphs is real.[9] The affinity for closed caves as Nymph shrines is further demonstrated by the Cave of the Nymphs at Pendeli (cat. 9). A closed cave entrance was artificially created at this site in antiquity by the construction of a wall with a doorway as entrance to the cave. The width of the doorway is 1.87 m, including the width of the doorjambs, with the opening into the cave being 1.13 m. The threshold was finished with marble.

The preference for closed caves and enclosed shelters as Nymph sanctuaries is related to the cult activity at these caves. Many of the niches for offerings are located inside the cave, on the back wall, and there is no evidence for sacrifice at the known Nymph caves. Offerings left at Nymph caves consisted of pottery (vessels used for

[9] When this pattern was tested for significance, using a chi-square test, it was revealed that there is only a 1% chance that the observed pattern is not real and due to the vagaries of sampling. See Appendix 2 for calculations.

dining and others thought to have contained a liquid offering), figurines, plaques and garlands, as evidenced by Menander's *Dyskolos* (51). In Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, vessels of milk, reeds and pipes are also mentioned as offerings left at a Nymph cave (I. 4). Offerings were left for the Nymphs as firstfruit offerings, in order to express gratitude for the year's harvest and hope for future crops.[10] Ritual feasting did occur in the caves, based on the pottery left in the caves, but there are no reported animal remains in any of the Nymph caves. It is important to note that the only lamps that have been found in caves of the Nymphs date to the Roman period. The rituals portrayed in Menander's *Dyskolos* took place late in the day and continued long into the night; such visitors must have brought light sources with them to a cave but they were not left at the site.

One of the few recognizable elements of material culture present at shrines of the Nymphs with specific functions are *loutrophoroi*, which have been found in four Nymph caves. This type of vessel was a common prenuptial dedication (προτέλεια) in Attica that symbolized the transition from child to adult for women.[11] The Nymphs were not the only shrines where this dedication could be made; the shrines of other goddesses, such as Artemis and Athena, could also be visited but Nymphs were a popular choice in rural areas where their shrines were located. Bathing prior to the wedding was a necessary purification ritual and an act that helped ensure fertility since the water used in the bath came directly from the Nymphs who were believed to help ensure conception.[12] This vessel type was used to collect water for the prenuptial bath from a spring dedicated to the

[10] Rouse [1902] 1976, pp. 41-43.
[11] Oakley and Sinos 1993, p. 15.
[12] On purification: Oakley and Sinos 1993, p. 15; on fertility: Larson 2001, p. 111.

Nymphs. In Athens, the only spring that is known from literary sources to have been used for this purpose is the Kallirrhoe spring but *loutrophoroi* have been found at many sites.[13] The prenuptial dedication at Nymph shrines took place on the eve of the wedding, thus the vessels that were dedicated were never used in this manner.[14] *Loutrophoroi* are usually decorated with scenes of the wedding procession on black-figure vases or wedding preparations on red-figure vases.

In the identification of caves of the Nymphs, Larson considered *loutrophoroi* to be an indicative feature of caves of the Nymphs.[15] However, they have been found at only four caves in Attica: Vari (cat. 7), Lychnospilia (cat. 13), Daphni (cat. 16), and Eleusis (cat. 14). Since there are eight caves that are known to have been dedicated to the Nymphs that did not contain *loutrophoroi*, this vessel cannot be used as a diagnostic feature of Nymphs caves. This type of vessel may be useful as corroborating evidence when the identification of a cave has already been made.

The Vari cave (cat. 7) is the best example of a rare type of usage for caves of the Nymphs: as homes for nympholepts. Nympholepsy is a condition that is related to prophecy and it is directly associated with proximity to shrines of the Nymphs. Larson defines nympholepsy as a state of "heightening of awareness and elevated verbal skills believed to result from the nymphs' influence on a susceptible oracle."[16] Simply put, a nympholept is a person who is thought to be possessed by the Nymphs. In the Classical period, nympholepsy was thought to be a form of divine madness. However, it differed

[13] Thucydides (2.15.5).
[14] Larson 2001, p. 228.
[15] Larson 2001, p. 228.
[16] Larson 2001, p. 13.

from other forms of madness because it did not necessarily display symptoms other than increased eloquence. In modern terms, a nympholept would likely be considered a dissociated personality.[17] In Attica, the cave at Vari (cat. 7) was home to a nympholept named Archedamos for a time in the fifth century. Archedamos is one of only three known nympholepts who lived in caves; the others are Pantalkes who lived in a cave near Pharsalos and Onesagoras on Cyprus. Archedamos' presence at Vari is attested by numerous inscriptions in which he is named and that he produced himself (*IG* I^2 784-788). He identifies himself as a metic from Thera (*IG* I^2 786) who planted a garden for the Nymphs (*IG* I^2 784) and who carved the entrance to the cave (*IG* I^2 788). The connection between Archedamos and the Nymphs is unknown but there are allusions to an intimate relationship which parallels Odysseus' captivity on Kalypso's island.[18] The garden and the cave at Vari are analogous to the landscape of Kalypso's island. Also, the self-portrait of Archedamos is comparable to the self-portrait made by Onesagoras who describes himself as the lover of the Nymphs in his inscriptions, again this relates to Odysseus' role during his stay with Kalypso.

The elevation of caves of the Nymphs is generally quite high. Caves dedicated to the Nymphs are often located near the peak of a mountain or hill. Proximity to the peak is an important consideration for those caves not located at high elevation. Even though it is the relative elevation that appears to be the most important factor and one that would have been easily recognizable to the Greeks, it is the absolute elevation that best allows us to compare the caves to one another. One hundred fifty meters above sea level was

[17] Connor 1988, p. 157.
[18] Larson 2001, p. 16.

chosen as an arbitrary level because it seems to represent a division in the caves; most of the caves dedicated to Nymphs are located at an elevation higher than 150 meters above sea level and most of the caves dedicated to other types of deities are located below this elevation.[19] The only anomaly is the shrine of Zeus at Karabola (cat. 12), located at 1400 meters above sea level. This sanctuary is located just 6 meters below the peak of Mt. Parnes. This high location can be explained by Zeus' association with peak sanctuaries.

There are four Nymph caves that are located below 150 meters above sea level; these are Marathon Cave (cat. 11), Eleusis Pan Cave (cat. 14), Asklepieion 1 (cat. 19) and the Klepsydra (cat. 23). Both the Marathon Cave and Asklepieion 1 are located near the peaks of their respective hills. The location of the Klepsydra, at the base of the Athenian Acropolis was determined by the important water source that was located at the northwest corner. Only the Eleusis Pan Cave is located at a lower elevation with no obvious reason.[20]

The previous occupation in caves of the Nymphs appears as the strongest pattern in the corpus of caves. There are no incidents of previous occupation in caves other than caves dedicated to Nymphs in the historic period in Attica.[21] Of the positively identified Nymph caves, six appear with previous occupation while six have no traces of previous use. The occupation of most of the caves occurred during the late Neolithic period or in Late Helladic III. The Marathon Cave (cat. 11) is the only one which has evidence of

[19] There is only a 1% to 2% chance that the pattern appears in the corpus of caves but it is not a real pattern. See Appendix 3 for calculations.
[20] It is possible that this cave was not used as a sanctuary but that it was the depository of material from a cave sanctuary in the immediate area which was destroyed earlier. See the catalogue entry for more information.
[21] The results of the chi-square test show that this pattern is real with confidence between 99% and 99.9%. See Appendix 4 for calculations.

continued use from the Neolithic period to the end of the Bronze Age. The nature of the occupation in these caves was as a seasonal or temporary shelter in most cases. Kitsos Cave (cat. 1) is the only cave with evidence of a permanent settlement with hearths and huts built within the cave itself.[22]

The pattern of previous occupation in sacred caves is paralleled in another group of caves in Greece: the Minoan cave sanctuaries. The Cretan caves have been studied much more than any other group of caves in Greece. It was M.P. Nilsson who first suggested that the development of Minoan cave sanctuaries was directly linked to their earlier use as dwellings, followed by their use as burial sites.[23] Nilsson uses the idea that the Greeks sought to provide their gods with dwelling places as the basis of this theory. Caves were used as habitation sites for humans in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age and, through religious conservatism, they remained the ideal homes which were given to the gods centuries later. The caves at Amnissos and Psychro contained evidence of habitation in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. Both caves contain evidence of cult use beginning in the Middle Minoan I period, the earliest phase of sacred caves on Crete.[24] Nilsson argues that even though habitation was not present at all sacred caves on Crete, there was a common association made of caves as the homes of the gods. Even though both areas exhibit the pattern of previous occupation, this interpretation is difficult to apply to Attica because the time span between the use of caves as habitation sites and as cult places is, in most cases, over a thousand years. However, the possibility that

[22] The identification of this cave will be discussed later in this section.
[23] Nilsson 1968, p. 56.
[24] Tyree 1974, p. 66.

visible remains of previous use influenced the identification of caves sacred to the Nymphs cannot be excluded.

Previous occupation of a cult site is not exclusive to cave sanctuaries; other early sanctuaries in Greece were placed on sites where there was evidence of ancient use. The earliest Greek sanctuaries were built in the Late Geometric period, at the same time as the Attic Nymph caves were being founded. Some sanctuaries were built on sites that were previously used as holy places but the majority of sanctuaries were built on locations with visible remains from the Mycenaean period, usually domestic in nature. In Athens, the Acropolis was home to the Bronze Age palace but it became home to Athena Polias in the Iron Age. Also, at Sparta, a hero shrine was constructed at the site of Therapne which was once a major Bronze Age settlement.[25] There are at least two possible reasons for caves to be reused as sanctuaries. Firstly, the older remains were visible to the first visitors in Geometric and Archaic periods and they viewed this as a means of legitimizing the cult site.[26] Secondly, it is also possible that the caves were reused because the same features that made them suitable habitation sites were also conducive for sanctuary sites and the older remains were undetectable to the ancient Greeks. The remains of past use in a cave would not be completely covered after long periods of abandonment because the soil does not accumulate in a cave at the same rate as other areas. Many caves have different floor levels than the exterior ground level; in the case of the Lion Cave (cat. 8), the floor inside the cave is 1.5 m lower than at the entrance and it required a rubble retaining wall to be built in antiquity.

[25] Antonaccio 1994, p. 93.
[26] Antonaccio 1994, p. 89.

The earliest evidence for caves dedicated to Nymphs, though scanty at best, begins in the Late Geometric period, simultaneously with the foundation of other types of sanctuaries. Dating the earliest use of a cave sanctuary is particularly difficult because very little of the votive material deposited in a cave survives. It is likely that the most frequent visitors were the people who lived in rural areas and they brought organic, impermanent material as votive offerings. It is only after 480 BCE that the offerings left at cave sanctuaries increase in wealth. This increase corresponds to the introduction of Pan cults into Attica and the establishment of cave cults within the urban landscape which will be discussed in the following chapter.[27]

Water sources are important at most sanctuaries but they seem to have particular significance at caves of Nymphs.[28] There are six known Nymph caves that are near or contain water sources. Most contain pools of water that collect in the natural rock basins in the formation of the cave. The Marathon Cave (cat. 11) contains the outlet of a katavothra that is now filled with debris. Only the Klepsydra (cat. 23) and Lychnospilia (cat. 13) contain a natural outlet of a spring. Springs are particularly important to the people of Attica because potable water is very limited and springs are the most reliable water source in this area because of the limestone karst landscape. The only cave sanctuary that was dedicated to a specific Nymph was located at the base of the Athenian Acropolis because of the regular flow of water from the Klepsydra spring (cat. 23) (figures 2 and 3 for photo and plan). This sanctuary was dedicated to the Nymph

[27] Larson 2001, p. 137.
[28] The confidence test produced a confidence between 80% and 85% that this pattern was not due to the sample of preserved caves. See Appendix 5 for calculations.

Empedo, as related by Hesychius.[29] It was used as a water source in the Late Helladic III period and provided an ample supply of water, supplying 1.1 L of water per minute in the dry season, as measured in 1976.[30] The name Empedo was derived from ἔμπεδος, meaning continual, with specific reference to the reliability of the spring. In the Classical period, a spring house was built to collect the water and to provide better access.

The importance of water in caves of the Nymphs may be linked to the practice of prophecy. Water had a close association with the divine and prophetic powers and this power was thought to be increased when it was contained within a cave.[31] The conceptual link between water and Nymphs is a central part of the Nymphs' identity: springs are associated with nymphs while rivers are thought to be gods. Proximity to water was equated with closeness to the gods where communication between human and the divine was possible. At the Corycian Cave, near Delphi, the excavators found 23, 000 astragaloi ('knuckle bones') which have been interpreted as tools for divination. This is a very attractive interpretation of the bones found that have no other apparent purpose, especially because of the proximity to the oracle at Delphi. People from all areas of Greece travelled to Delphi to visit the oracle located in the Temple of Apollo and it is possible that people who could not afford to visit the oracle travelled to the cave. It is probable that any divination that occurred in the Corycian Cave was for the benefit of rural people who had a greater connection to the Nymphs as a nature deity, just as they were tied to the land to a greater extent than urban people. The Corycian Cave is not the

[29] Parsons 1943, p. 201.
[30] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 355
[31] Cole 2004, p.35; on water in caves Connor 1988, p.184

only instance of known divination through the Nymphs: Pausanias (9.3.9) and Plutarch (*Aristides* 11) relate that a nympholept at the cave sanctuary of the Sphragitic Nymphs on Mt. Cithaeron was visited to receive prophecies. This cave has not been identified and there is no indication of how divinations were made. In Attica, it has been conjectured that the Vari Cave (cat. 7) and the Cave of the Nymphs at Pendeli (cat. 9) were visited to receive prophecies, although, this cannot be proven in either case.[32]

There are two sanctuaries whose deities have not been identified: Kitsos (cat. 1) and Thimari (cat. 2). Both of these sanctuaries are located near the southern tip of Attica and they have many similarities to the caves that are known to be dedicated to the Nymphs. They are located at high elevations, in closed caves and have evidence of previous occupation. Both caves come into use as sanctuaries in the late Archaic period, when most of the cave sanctuaries in Attica were dedicated to the Nymphs. The few offering that are present in these caves do not display great wealth. The remains from Kitsos from the Classical period consist of two broken figurines, two lekythoi painted with non-figural patterns, black-glaze cups, and skyphoi.[33] Based on these similarities, it is a possibility that these caves were dedicated to the Nymphs.

The selection of sacred cave sites for the Nymphs is greatly influenced by the surrounding environment, which is related to the Nymphs' character as nature deities. A closed cave entrance, previous occupation, water sources and a high elevation are the factors which have been identified in this chapter. Each of these factors relates to the various uses of these caves: a place of offerings, ritual dining, pre-wedding dedications,

[32] For Vari: Connor 1988; For Pendeli: Zoridis 1977, p. 8.
[33] Vandenabeele 1981.

homes to nympholepts and possibly as a place for receiving prophecies. The identification of Nymph caves cannot be conclusively established on the basis of these factors, yet they may help to make suggestions in cases where no identification is possible.

Caves Outside of Attica

Caves dedicated to the Nymphs are known from Thessaly to Crete, from Cyprus to Magna Graecia. The majority of the known cave sanctuaries on mainland Greece are dedicated to the Nymphs. Nymph caves in areas beyond Attica show that they were frequented more often and by wealthier people in the Archaic period than the Attic caves. The most well known of these caves are the Saftulis Cave near Sikyon and the Corycian Cave near Delphi.

The Saftulis Cave at Pitsa is important because of the discovery of four painted wooden panels, of which two are well preserved, that date to the mid-sixth century BCE. These panels were preserved because this particular cave had a dry environment thus ruling out its use as a water source. One of the panels depicts a sacrificial procession of women bringing a sheep to be sacrificed at a low altar in front of the cave (see figure 4). The second panel shows three standing Nymphs. The pottery in the cave ranges from the seventh century to the Hellenistic period.[34] The offerings in this cave were much richer at an earlier period than the caves in Attica. It should also be noted that there were no altars found outside of the caves in Attica to receive blood sacrifice such as the one depicted on

[34] Larson 2001, p. 232-233.

the first wooden panel. The only indication of a sacrifice at the caves dedicated to deities other than the Olympian gods in Attica comes from Kitsos, where there is a pit of ash containing pottery that is Classical in date.[35] Saftulis is the only Nymph cave shrine that has no evidence that Pan was worshipped there as well.

The Corycian Cave has many similarities with the Attic caves of the Nymphs. It is located at a high elevation on Mount Parnassos, and it has a small mouth in relation to the height of the interior of the cave. The water source at this cave was described by Pausanias as plentiful (10.32.5), even though it is does not exist in modern times. The excavations have produced evidence that the cave was frequented beginning in the Palaeolithic period and into the Neolithic period. It is possible that this cave began to function as a cult site in the Late Helladic period but the main period of cult use began in the sixth century BCE.[36] In the Late Helladic period, the finds from the Corycian Cave shifted from domestic goods to pottery that was used to hold liquids.[37] There are few remains from the seventh and eighth centuries but this pattern changes in the sixth century when the number and variety of objects recovered from the cave increase. Beginning at this time and continuing until the third century BCE, painted pottery, terracotta figurines and even bronze and iron rings and other pieces of jewelry were deposited in the cave.[38] In the third century BCE, use of the Corycian Cave diminished but it was visited frequently in the Roman period, a pattern also visible in Attica.

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[35] Lambert 1981, p. 693.
[36] Amandry 1984, p. 395-397.
[37] Amandry 1984, p. 396.
[38] Amandry 1984, p. 397.

The Corycian Cave was used at an early period and it was unique in that it contained offerings from a variety of areas of mainland Greece, rather than just the local area. Figurines can be traced to Corinth, Attica and Boiotia and the pottery is from Corinth and Attica. Objects come from as far away as Illyria, in the case of a second century fibula.[39] This is likely because of its proximity to the major Panhellenic sanctuary at Delphi. The major difference between this Nymph sanctuary and those in Attica is the wealth, in terms of both number and value, of material that was found.

The Depiction of Nymphs on Votives

In the late 5th century BCE and into the 4th century, marble relief plaques became a popular form of votive offerings. These plaques were often dedicated to Nymphs as well as other minor local deities. The Nymph depictions on marble plaques were most popular from 340 BCE until about 300 BCE. Between 317 BCE and 300 BCE, there was a gradual decline in the production of reliefs as the artists moved away from Greece.[40] After 300 BCE, there was also a dramatic decrease in the popularity of cave sanctuaries, or at least much less material was dedicated at the shrines.

Nymphs appear in groups of three on all pictorial representations. Most commonly Nymphs are standing or sitting in a cave, although they are also shown dancing in a line with Hermes.[41] Dancing seems to be an important cult practice for the Nymphs; at Vari (cat. 7), Archedamos refers to himself as a dancer and he took pride in

[39] Amandry 1984, p. 397.
[40] Larson 2001, p. 264.
[41] Larson 2001, p. 259.

creating a place to dance for the Nymphs (*IG* I^2 785). They can be easily differentiated from heroines who are generally shown feasting. Nymphs are most easily identified when they are represented within the frame of a cave. Artists attempted to give the illusion of natural rock with rough, irregular edges in order to frame the scene with a cave but the cave quickly became an artistic convention.[42] The size of the figures in the scene was reduced because the artists' field was smaller after allowing for the cave frame on the plaque and this had the effect of giving prominence to the landscape and the characteristics of the cave.[43] This feature of votive plaques again reinforces the connection between Nymphs and the landscape, with particular emphasis on the cave as their home. On occasion Pan is represented with the Nymphs but he is usually not central to the composition of the scene.[44] A votive relief found at Eleusis, probably from the Eleusis Pan Cave (cat. 14) but its exact provenience is unknown, depicts three Nymphs dancing in a line (see figure 5).[45] They are holding each other's draperies as an indication that they are dancing. The Nymphs face an altar which separates them from Hermes. The connection between Hermes and the Nymphs was believed to promote fertility and Hermes was one of their many sexual partners.[46] Acheloös, the river god who was the father of the Nymphs, is shown as part of the cave frame in the lower left corner.

Other iconographic elements associated with Nymphs are trees, bees, honey, satyrs and silens and these images are often used to identify Nymphs in representations. Because bees were kept in caves by the ancient Greeks, they shared space with the

[42] Carroll-Spillecke 1985, p. 59.
[43] Carroll-Spillecke 1985, p. 58.
[44] Larson 2001, p. 264.
[45] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 278.
[46] Larson 2001, p. 27.

Nymphs in reality as well as on votives.[47] Satyrs and silens, like the Nymphs, were among the revellers of Dionysos. In mythology, the first appearance of Silens occurs in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (5. 262-263), where they are described as having relations with the Nymphs in the depths of caves. The cave as the home of the Nymphs is the most important factor in their mode of representation and the association of other images.

On votive reliefs, the clothing and hairstyles of the Nymphs was influenced by the depiction of other female deities on monumental sculpture rather than the earlier representations of Nymphs in vase painting.[48] The multi-faceted character of Nymphs as nature deities, as well as their link to the prenuptial rituals and their promiscuous reputation, allowed artists to use certain aspects of other female deities as models. Nymphs could take on the guise of motherhood in their role as nurturing growth. As nature goddesses, Nymphs could appear as a youthful, active girl with her hair pulled back, similar to Artemis, or she could wear a veil, indicating that she is of marriageable age and appear similar to Aphrodite.[49] Nymphs did not appear identical to other deities but rather they were given certain aspects of representations of other female deities which were incorporated into their depiction. The artists in the late fifth century and fourth century grouped these different types of representations together in order to indicate the varied nature of the Nymphs.[50]

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[47] Larson 2001, p. 6, 9.
[48] Edwards 1985, p. 43.
[49] Edwards 1985, p. 43.
[50] Edwards 1985, p. 44.

Nymphs have been presented as inseparable from nature in the literature, votive representations and archaeology of their sacred caves. The Nymphs embodied the landscape of Greece and they were worshipped within the setting of nature. Caves of the Nymphs were among the earliest sanctuaries although they have left little material remains to be studied. The rural people of Attica made offerings and participated in rituals at the shrines that were viewed to ensure the water supply in a semi-arid country and the productivity of the land. The features which made caves of the Nymphs appear distinctive were water sources, previous ancient remains, a closed cave entrance and a location at a high elevation. Caves of the Nymphs were seen as areas that were qualitatively different from other caves and from the exterior, profane landscape.

Appendix 1: Table of Attic Caves

#	Cave	Deities	Elevation (masl)	Previous Use	Water Source	Open Cave	Closed Cave
1	Kitsos	?	290	X			X
2	Thimari	?	200	X			X
3	Spelia tou Davele	Nymphs and Pan	?			?	?
4	Keratea	Nymphs and Pan	548	X	X		X
5	Tomb of Iphigeneia	Iphigeneia	5			X	
6	Vouliagmeni	Aphrodite	20		X	X	
7	Vari	Nymphs, Pan and Apollo	275		X		X
8	Lion Cave	Nymphs and Pan	540	X			X
9	Pendeli	Nymphs, Pan, Hermes	800		X		X
10	Ikarion	Nymphs (Pan?))	375	X			X
11	Oinoi 2	Nymphs and Pan	120	X	X		X
12	Karabola	Zeus	1400			X	
13	Lychnospilia	Nymphs and Pan	650	X	X		X
14	Eleusis Pan Cave	Nymphs and Pan	45				X
15	Eleusis Ploutoneion	Plouton	63			X	
16	Daphni Pan Cave	Nymphs and Pan	150			X	
17	Paraskeva	Serangion	2				X
18	Ay. Photeini	Pan	?			X	
19	Asklepieion 1	Nymphs and Pan	125	X			X
20	Asklepieion Spring Cave	Asklepios	108		X		X
21	Acropolis East Cave	Aglauros	120			X	
22	Cave S	Aphrodite, Eros	127		X	X	
23	Klepsydra	Nymph (Empedo)	110		X	?	?
24	Cave A	? (stone seat)	125			X	
25	Cave B	Apollo Hypoakraios	125			X	
26	Cave C	Zeus	125			X	
27	Cave D	Pan	120			X	
28	Areopagus	Semnai Theai / Erinyes	100			X	

Appendix 2: Cave Type of Caves of Nymphs

Observed Values:

Type of Cave/Deity	Nymphs		Others		Unknown		Total
Closed (dark)	9	69.2%	2	15.4%	2	15.4%	13
Open (lit)	1	7.7%	12	92.3%	0	0.0%	13
Unknown	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2
Total	12	42.9%	14	50.0%	2	7.1%	28

Expected Values:

Type of Cave/Deity	Nymphs	Others	Unknown	Total
Closed (dark)	5.6	6.5	0.9	13
Open (lit)	5.6	6.5	0.9	13
Unknown	0.9	1	0.1	2
Total	12.1	14	1.9	28

Significance: $\chi^2 = \Sigma \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(9-5.6)^2}{5.6} + \frac{(1-5.6)^2}{5.6} + \frac{(2-0.9)^2}{0.9} + \frac{(2-6.5)^2}{6.5} + \frac{(12-6.5)^2}{6.5} + \frac{(0-1)^2}{1} + \frac{(2-0.9)^2}{0.9} + \frac{(0-0.9)^2}{0.9} + \frac{(0-0.1)^2}{0.1}$$

$\chi^2 = 18.30098$

significance = $0.01 > p < 0.001$ degree of freedom = 4

Strength: $V = \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{n(S-1)}}$

$V = \sqrt{\frac{18.30}{28(3-1)}}$

$V = 0.57$

The significance test has shown that the difference between caves of Nymphs and caves to other deities is not due to the vagaries of sampling, with between 99% and 99.9% confidence. The strength of the sample measures the degree of difference between the samples, on a 0 to 1 scale. Here the strength is fairly good.

Appendix 3: The Elevation of Caves of Nymphs

Observed Values:

Elevation/Deity	Nymphs		Others		Unknown		Total
150 masl or above	7	70.0%	1	10.0%	2	20.0%	10
149 masl or below	4	25.0%	12	75.0%	0	0.0%	16
Unknown	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	2
Total	12	42.9%	14	50.0%	2	7.1%	28

Expected Values:

Elevation/Deity	Nymphs	Others	Unknown	Total
150 masl or above	4.3	5	0.7	10
149 masl or below	6.9	8	1.1	16
Unknown	0.9	1	0.1	2
Total	12.1	14	1.9	28

Significance: $\chi^2 = \Sigma \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(7-4.3)^2}{4.3} + \frac{(4-6.9)^2}{6.9} + \frac{(1-0.9)^2}{0.9} + \frac{(1-5)^2}{5} + \frac{(12-8)^2}{8} + \frac{(1-1)^2}{1} + \frac{(2-0.7)^2}{0.7} + \frac{(0-1.1)^2}{1.1} + \frac{(0-0.1)^2}{0.1}$$

$\chi^2 = 11.73959$

significance = $0.02 > p < 0.01$ degree of freedom = 4

Strength: $V = \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{n(S-1)}}$

$V = \sqrt{\frac{11.74}{28(3-1)}}$

$V = 0.46$

The significance test has shown that the difference between caves of Nymphs and caves to other deities is not due to the vagaries of sampling, with between 98% and 99% confidence. Here the strength is fairly good.

Appendix 4: Previous Occupation in Caves of Nymphs

Observed Values:

Previous Occupation/Deity	Nymphs		Others		Unknown		Total
Yes	6	75.0%	0	0.0%	2	25.0%	8
No	6	30.0%	14	70.0%	0	0.0%	20
Total	12	42.9%	14	50.0%	2	7.1%	28

Expected Values:

Previous Occupation/Deity	Nymphs	Others	Unknown	Total
Yes	3.4	4	0.6	8
No	8.6	10	1.4	20
Total	12	14	2	28

Significance:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(6-3.4)^2}{3.4} + \frac{(6-8.6)^2}{8.6} + \frac{(0-4)^2}{4} + \frac{(14-10)^2}{10} + \frac{(2-0.6)^2}{0.6} + \frac{(0-1.4)^2}{1.4}$$

$$\chi^2 = 13.04095$$

significance = $0.01 > p < 0.001$ degree of freedom = 2

Strength:

$$V = \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{n(S-1)}}$$

$$V = \sqrt{\frac{13.04}{28(2-1)}}$$

$$V = 0.68$$

The significance test has shown that the difference between caves of Nymphs and caves to other deities is not due to the vagaries of sampling, with between 99% and 99.9% confidence. Here the strength is quite good.

Appendix 5: Water Sources in Caves of Nymphs

Observed Values:

Water Source/Deity	Nymphs		Others		Unknown		Total
Yes	6	66.7%	3	33.3%	0	0.0%	9
No	6	31.6%	11	57.9%	2	10.5%	19
Total	12	42.9%	14	50.0%	2	7.1%	28

Expected Values:

Water Source/Deity	Nymphs	Others	Unknown	Total
Yes	3.9	4.5	0.6	9
No	8.1	9.5	1.4	19
Total	12	14	2	28

Significance:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(6-3.9)^2}{3.9} + \frac{(6-8.1)^2}{8.1} + \frac{(3-4.5)^2}{4.5} + \frac{(11-9.5)^2}{9.5} + \frac{(0-0.6)^2}{0.6} + \frac{(2-1.4)^2}{1.4}$$

$$\chi^2 = 3.269199$$

significance = $0.2 > p < 0.15$ degree of freedom = 2

Strength:

$$V = \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{n(S-1)}}$$

$$V = \sqrt{\frac{3.27}{28(2-1)}}$$

$$V = 0.34$$

The significance test has shown that the difference between caves of Nymphs and caves to other deities is not due to the vagaries of sampling, with between 80% and 85% confidence. Here the strength is not very great.

Chapter Two

Pan and the City

In Attica, cave sanctuaries were placed in both urban and rural areas. The cave cults of the Nymphs, as examined in the previous chapter, existed throughout Attica, although most of the caves were situated in rural landscapes. The urban landscape of Athens contained eight sacred caves dedicated to various deities, all except one located on the slopes of the Acropolis. This situation is unique to this area of Greece and the cult of Pan played a key role in the establishment of urban cave sanctuaries. The connection between Pan and caves was first made in Attica of the fifth century BCE, after the Battle of Marathon, when the worship of Pan first spread beyond its origins in Arcadia. In Attica, Pan represents an uncivilized and savage nature which is contrary to the order of the polis. The cult of Pan will be examined to show the changes in the cult and cave sanctuaries which took place when the cult was introduced into Attica and how such changes were affected by the view of caves of this area of Greece.

Arcadian Pan

The origins of Pan must be considered prior to an examination of the nature of Pan in both Arcadia and Attica. Pan's genealogy had multiple variants in the ancient world, with each story bearing relevance for the character of Pan, and a consensus among ancient authors was not reached until the early first century CE. One popular belief, told

by the scholiast of Aeschylus, traced Pan's origins to Zeus and the Nymph, Kallisto.[1] This myth made Pan the brother of Arcas, the first autochthonic inhabitant of Arcadia, which gives Pan a familial connection to the people of Arcadia. Alternatively, the *Homeric Hymn to Pan* recounts that Hermes and the daughter of Dryops, a shepherd, were the parents of Pan and he was abandoned by his mother at birth (19.30-40). This account both connects Pan with Arcadia through Hermes, whose place of birth was Mount Cyllene in Arcadia, and also first associates him with shepherds. A third account of Pan's birth is given by Herodotus, who recounts that Pan is the son of Penelope but no other information is given (2.146). Penelope might be the name of the daughter of Dryops, who is unnamed in the poem, as authors believed in the time of Tiberius.[2] Other interpretations of Herodotus' Penelope were that she was a Nymph or the Homeric character that was later divinized by Circe at Mantinea.[3] It was also a common misconception that Pan was the son of Penelope, the wife of Odysseus, and all of the suitors. This belief arose from the name Πάν and its similarity to πᾶν, neuter form of "all."[4] Alternately, the name of Pan was given to this figure because he pleased all of the gods.[5]

The figure and cult of Pan originate in the region of Arcadia, in the central Peloponnese. It was here that the primary aspect of Pan, as a pastoral deity, was developed. Pan provided divine protection for shepherds and goatherds and was responsible for the fertility of animals. The votive material and iconography of Pan from

[1] A. fr. 65 b-c Mette (=schol. E. *Rh.* 36)
[2] Borgeaud 1988, p. 54.
[3] Shewan 1915, p. 38.
[4] Boardman 1997, p. 26.
[5] Boardman 1997, p. 27.

Arcadia is entirely related to his cult function. Votive material dedicated to Pan was more popularly representations of shepherds rather than the god himself. This would imply that the worshippers of Pan's cult were shepherds or, at least, had great concern for the flocks. Dedications to Pan from his sanctuary at Mount Lykaion include two groups of figurines, old men and youths, which are both wearing the conical hat of shepherds and hunters.[6] Iconography of Pan is very rare prior to the fifth century BCE but the earliest representation of the god is as an upright goat. The Arcadians had a particular interest in the well-being of their animals because of their very developed herding economy. Because of the mountainous terrain of the region, Arcadia relied heavily on pastoralism rather than agriculture to provide their food supply.

The cult sites of Pan in Arcadia are known primarily through literary sources rather than excavations; only the sanctuary at Mt. Lykaion has been excavated. There are nineteen sanctuaries of Pan which are placed throughout the mountainous landscape of Arcadia, from Mt. Cyllene in the northeast to Mt. Kotilion in the southwest. Most of the sanctuaries are known through the writings of Pausanias. The sanctuaries are not specifically described as caves in the text but rather as whole mountains or *naoi*.[7] The pattern of sanctuary placement in Arcadia is based largely upon the type of terrain present in certain locations and the use of the land. For example, the plains and valleys of Arcadia contain sanctuaries dedicated to deities such as Demeter in her role as a fertility goddess. The mountains of Arcadia are dotted with sanctuaries dedicated to Artemis,

[6] Hübinger 1992, p. 198-204.
[7] Borgeaud 1988, p. 50.

Hermes and Pan because they are responsible for shepherding and hunting, the activities which took place within that terrain.[8]

Pan in Attica

The cult of Pan was introduced into Attica in 490 BCE, following the Battle of Marathon; this was the first time his cult spread beyond his origins in Arcadia. In Attica, Pan's character as a military god was emphasized over his pastoral nature because of the role he played in the victory at Marathon. The legend of Phidippides' encounter with Pan, as recorded by Herodotus (6.105), serves to explain the transference and importance of Pan's cult to Attica, both for the ancient Athenians and modern scholars. The Athenians sent Phidippides, a long distance runner, with a message concerning the Persians to Sparta. Phidippides' role as a runner connects him to Pan since Pan was the son of Hermes, the patron god of running.[9] There is little doubt that Phidippides did act as a messenger to Sparta and is responsible for carrying Pan's message to the Athenians, although the origin of this message has been a source of speculation for scholars. It is quite likely that the physical reason behind Phidippides' vision was a state of altered consciousness due to the prolonged physical exertion of running to Sparta.[10] Pan spoke to Phidippides, "[he] called him by name and told him to ask the Athenians why they paid him no attention, in spite of his friendliness towards them and the fact that he had so often been useful to them in the past, and would be so again in the future" (6.105.2). The

[8] Jost 1994, p. 220.
[9] Borgeaud 1988, p. 134.
[10] Boardman 1997, p. 28.

encounter between Pan and Phidippides took place on Mount Parthenius, according to Herodotus, and the location near Tegea is described by Pausanias (8.54.6). There is a sanctuary to Pan located on this mountain and he relates that it is the home of tortoises whose shells are appropriate for making harps, however the tortoises cannot be harmed because they are sacred to Pan (Pausanias 8.54.7). It was Phidippides' vision, in connection with the victory at Marathon, that motivated the Athenians to introduce the cult of Pan to Attica, in recognition of his aid, at that time and in the future.

With the importation of the cult of Pan into Attica, new cult sites were dedicated to Pan. In Attica, caves became the accepted form of sanctuary for the god of the flocks because of his mythological connection to the Nymphs. The cave beneath the Acropolis (cat. 27) was dedicated to Pan, in specific connection to the Battle of Marathon (Herodotus 6.105) and others soon followed. In the fifth century, all of the caves previously dedicated to the Nymphs were also dedicated to Pan, with the exception of the Klepsydra. The Klepsydra was not dedicated to Pan because it was dedicated to the Nymph Empedo, who had no connection with Pan. Nymphs and Pan were closely connected in myth especially in stories of Pan's sexual adventures. Echo and Syrinx are the most well known recipients of Pan sexual advances, which led to the Nymphs' deaths. Pan had two caves which he did not share with the Nymphs: cave D-D_1 (cat. 27) and Ay. Photeini (cat 18) in the Illios area, outside of the walls of Athens. Pan must have had special relevance to the population of Attica to found two sanctuaries completely unrelated to the Nymphs with whom he is usually associated. Only Athens has Pan caves

in or near the urban limits of the city pointing towards Attica's special relationship with Pan.

Herodotus' account of the cult of Pan in Attica includes some details of the activities related to his worship. The specific cult customs that Herodotus describes are yearly sacrifices at the 'ιερόν of Pan beneath the Acropolis and torch races (6.105). That Herodotus mentions the specific practices associated with the cult gives added credibility to the statement that the cult was imported directly after the Battle of Marathon. This is because, as Mikalson notes, Herodotus does not mention the recipient of a sacrifice unless the cult is new.[11] In cases where Herodotus does not include this information, the cult practice was not instituted recently but it was a long established tradition. The location mentioned by Herodotus has been identified as Cave D-D_1 and Area D_2 (cat. 27) beneath the Acropolis (see figure 9 for plan). Through Herodotus, it is known that the cave is located below the Acropolis (6.105.3). Euripides' *Ion* places the cave near the long cliffs of the northwest corner (11-13, 494). Scholars have deduced that Cave D-D_1 and Area D_2 was dedicated to Pan based the description of the cave in the Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and ruling out the other three caves in the area. In the *Lysistrata*, the cave is used as a suitable location for sex; Cave D-D_1 has been seen to fulfill this description because it is the only cave on the northwest corner of the Acropolis that is not an open, shallow shelter.

This cave contains little evidence of use as a shrine of Pan because it was converted into a Christian chapel in the fifth or sixth century CE. In the area below the terrace on the northwest corner of the Acropolis, fragments of three reliefs were found.

[11] Mikalson 2003, p. 28.

The first relief fragment depicts Pan holding a *lagobolon*, the second relief fragment shows Pan and Hermes within the frame of a cave, and the third fragment illustrates Pan seated with a female figure. These relief fragments date from the early fourth century BCE to the third century BCE. A fragment of a twice life-size statue of Pan, dated to the second century CE, was also found below the cave of Pan. In the area of Cave D-D_1,[12] there is no evidence of an altar in or at the front of this cave but there are eleven niches cut into the back of the south wall of Area D_2 that may have been used prior the cave's conversion.[13] The use of niches for offerings at Pan shrines is consistent with the practices that are known from other sites dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs in Attica and those described in the literary sources.

Herodotus' account also recounts the main form of cult practice which was instituted at the time Pan was imported to Attica: the torch races. The races were organized by the demes and the ephebes participated in the running of the race. The race was run in honour of Prometheus, Hephaestus and Pan. The object of this relay race was to reach the Cave of Pan on the northwest slope of the Acropolis.[14] The race was part of the rite of *gamelia*, which was intended to ensure the happiness of the couples who married in that year.

The figure of Pan never married, yet he had an overtly sexual nature, which made him appropriate for marriage rituals. Pan's association with fertility originates in his responsibility for the flocks. Callimachus calls Pan the "the *trupanon* of the goatherd"

[12] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 374.
[13] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 371.
[14] Borgeaud 1988, p. 154.

(fr. 689 Pfeiffer), the symbolism of the *trupanon* is that of the phallos, as the active member in intercourse. A *trupanon* is a wooden drill used to make fire which was invented by Hermes, Pan's father.[15] Pan's interests in the realm of human fertility are shown by his interaction with Aphrodite, who was commonly portrayed with Pan in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The cult sites of these two deities also occur close proximity: at the Acropolis in Athens Cave S (cat. 22) is located to the east of Cave D-D_1, and at the site of Daphni, there is a temple to Aphrodite west of the Cave of Pan (cat. 16), on the opposite side of the road which passes both sanctuaries.

Pan represents the violent and lustful characteristics of human sexuality, rather than the sensuality of Aphrodite. It is the unsuccessful love affairs of Pan that have survived in myth, of which Echo, Syrinx and Pitys are examples. In each of these cases, Pan pursues the Nymph while she flees from him until she is transformed into an element of nature, parallel to death. Borgeaud characterizes Pan's love affairs as panic marriages because they are sudden, violent and his lusts are unfulfilled.[16] Pan's excessive desire for the female figure never leads to a productive relationship. This idea of Pan's attempts at sex is recalled in Ovid's *Fasti* (2.304-356) where he attempts to rape the Lydian queen, Omphale, while she sleeps in a cave. However, Omphale has traded clothes with Heracles and Pan is forced to flee from the hero.[17] Pan's sexuality and love affairs offer a contrasting view to the human marriage, just as it will be seen that he represents savagery within the sphere of civilization.

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[15] Borgeaud 1988, p. 75.
[16] Borgeaud 1988, p. 85.
[17] Borgeaud 1988, p. 76.

In Attica, the pastoral aspect of Pan was de-emphasized in favour of his military character. This facet of Pan's nature is characterized by his ability to cause panic and chaos among soldiers. As a shepherd god, Pan was responsible maintaining the calm of naturally skittish animals and when the calm was removed, the animals under Pan's protection scattered in fear. Pan's military aspect was based on his control of animals but extended to apply to soldiers. The change of focus of Pan's cult was directly related to the help that Pan provided at the Battle of Marathon, as the Athenians believed. Pan was never an active participant in battle but he could affect the outcome of the battle from afar by influencing the state of mind of the soldiers. There was a great concern in ancient armies to prevent the disorder caused by a panic. The ancient writers on panic emphasize that there is no visible cause to panic but that those afflicted are at the mercy of their worst fears.[18] There are two times at which panics are likely to afflict an army: in the night and immediately after a losing battle.

Pan's actions at Marathon were his most famous intervention in Greek warfare although the exact details were never known. Borgeaud suggest that a panic likely occurred among the Persian soldiers after the battle, while they were retreating, which prevented them from reforming the organization of their military. The Persians attempted to take Athens before the Greek forces could return to the city after their defeat at Marathon. However, the Greek forces reached the city before the Persians, which Borgeaud attributes to disorganization among the Persians.[19] The Athenians believed that Pan was not actually present at the battle but he affected the outcome of the historic battle

[18] Borgeaud 1988, p. 89.
[19] Borgeaud 1988, p. 95.

through the use of panic.[20] This belief is substantiated by the transference of the cult of Pan to Attica, which is connected directly to the Battle of Marathon.[21]

The Athenians believed that Pan's influence over panic was not restricted to one occasion but could occur at any time. Pan's military aspect was attributed to a second victory in Attica at the end of the fifth century BCE. At the time of the Thirty Tyrants, Thrasybulus led a band of about seventy rebels to a fortress near Phyle (Xenophon, *Hellenica 2.4.2*). The Thirty Tyrants set out to meet Thrasybulus with three thousand and the cavalry. However, chaos erupted among the Athenian forces when they reached Phyle. Some of their troops attacked the fortress held by Thrasybulus without orders and, during the night, a snow storm forced the Athenians to move their camp. Confusion among the soldiers caused them to return to Athens rather than forming a new encampment. Diodoros Siculus attributes the confusion to the "uproar which men call Panic" (*Diodoros Siculus 14.32.3*), which originates from Pan. The historical accounts of military panic in Attica are both located near cave sanctuaries dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs and they both occur at times when the order of the polis was threatened.

The foundation of Marathon Cave (cat. 11) is most likely directly related to Pan's influence over the victory at the historic battle. The cave was dedicated to both the Nymphs and Pan but there is no evidence that this occurred prior to the Battle of Marathon. As a cave dedicated to the Nymphs, it has many of the features discussed in the previous chapter: a closed entrance, evidence of use in the Bronze Age and a water

[20] Borgeaud 1988, p. 94.
[21] Pausanias 1.28.4, 8.54.6.

source at one time.[22] One interesting feature of this cave is the stalactites which Pausanias calls Pan's herd of goats (1.32.7). The material evidence recovered from this cave includes pottery ranging from the Classical period to the Roman period, twenty-five figurines of which at least three represent Pan and an inscribed stele. The inscription links the ephebes to the regulations concerning the cult sites of Pan (*SEG* XXXVI. 267). Three ephebes, named Pythagoras, Sosikrates and Lysandros, dedicated the stele in 61/0 BCE which bears a regulation for entry to the cave of Pan at Marathon. Although incomplete, the inscription presumably restricts the wearing of coloured or dyed garments in the sanctuary.[23] The sanctuary regulation is presented as coming directly from Pan himself and the ephebes set up in stone in his honour. The location of this cave, the cult of Pan and the presence of the ephebes are likely related to the ephebic curriculum in which commemoration of the Persian wars was very important.[24]

Pan's original setting was the wilderness and when he was taken out of that setting, he retained his original characteristics which were relevant to the new participants in his cult in a different way. Pan is a god of disorder and excessive desires who lives in the primitive dwelling of humans. Pan shows his immoderate desires in his lusts for Nymphs, whom he chases and causes to be transformed into inanimate objects. He embodies the values that do not belong within the polis of democratic Athens, yet, it was in the period of Athens' highest level of democracy that Pan was imported into Attica. This point is seen in the works of Artemidoros who interprets dreams of Pan as a city

[22] The cave contains a katavothran in the western part of the cave which is now filled by sediment. There is also evidence of water abrasion which has created natural hollows on the walls (Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 225)
[23] Lupu 2001, p. 122.
[24] Lupu 2001, p. 122; Mikalson 1998, p. 248-249 on ephebic curriculum.

dweller as a sign of catastrophe but dreams of Pan in the wilderness as a sign of success.[25] The democracy of Classical Athens was based upon the principle of equality, which required citizens to practice moderation in all things. The figure of Pan represents the antithesis of these ideals, a god who is constantly acting on his desires. Pan does not help the polis by supporting the ideals of the polis but representing the reverse ideals, those to be avoided. The polarity of Pan and the polis work together to strengthen the perceived need of order, moderation and the polis.

Caves and the Polis

Pan made his home in the caves of Attica since the beginning of the fifth century BCE and, like the Nymphs before him, he became inseparable from the setting and ideology of the cave. The concepts which Pan represents are also applicable to the cave and are part of the reason Pan was relocated to this setting when he was imported to Attica. Pan was first introduced to Attica as a manifestation of chaos, as shown through the Battle of Marathon, and the cult in Attica was more concerned with his power over humans than his control of the flocks. The perception of caves in Attica was influential to the placement of caves within the urban setting and the transfer of Pan to the cave from the Arcadian sanctuaries. It has already been noted that Athens is the only city which allowed cave sanctuaries within the limits of the urban area and Attica was the first region to view Pan as anything other than a goat-god. The cave will be shown to represent chaos, savagery and wilderness, just as the cult of Pan did.

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[25] Borgeaud 1988, p. 61; Artem. 4.72.

In the Greek literature, caves are primarily symbolic of savagery. The connection between caves and a lack of civilization is vividly portrayed in Odysseus' encounter with Polyphemos, the Cyclops. The Cyclopes are described in *The Odyssey* as "these people have no institutions, no meetings for counsels; rather they make their habitation in caverns hollowed among the peaks of the high mountains, and each one is the law for his own wives and children, and cares nothing about the others" (9.112-115). The distinction between the cave dwellers and the Greeks continues in more depth when Odysseus and his companions meet Polyphemos. Polyphemos does not recognize the power of Zeus (9.275), he eats human flesh (9.297) and he shows no moderation when presented with unmixed wine (9.355-362). This last fault of Polyphemos proved to be his undoing because it allowed Odysseus to blind him. Polyphemos is representative of the anti-thesis of Greek ideals to the readers of the epic.

To the ancient writers, the earliest humankind lived in a state without civilization and their first homes were caves. Using ancient sources, T. Cole has defined eight stages that the ancients recognized in the development of civilization. The use of caves is the second stage, along with gathering food, in prehistory described by Lucretius (5. 946-949), Vitruvius (2.1.1) and Diodorus (1.8.7). The original state of humankind is defined by the lack of fire, shelter, clothing, and a secure food supply. The second stage of cave dwelling is not viewed as a technological development but rather a change in state.[26] Early cave dwellers are very distant from the beginning of civilization which is marked by the introduction of written records. In the ancient world, caves continued to be viewed

[26] Cole 1967, p. 29.

as a primitive location and those who lived in such places were considered to lack civilization.

The connection of caves and savagery has implications for the reading of a passage in Herodotus (8.36), when the Delphians took shelter in the Corycian Cave in preparation for the Persian invasion. The Delphians sent their women and children to Achaia and most of the men carried their belongings up to the Corycian Cave and hid from the Persians. The significance of the movement into a cave is that the men of Delphi regressed from a civilized people to the original state of savage humankind. In moving from their homes to the cave, the men of Delphi are turning away from the accomplishments of civilized society and choosing to live in the same state as their prehistoric predecessors. Their choice to make such a regression should be viewed as the Delphians admitting defeat at the hands of the Persians and this was the state of civilization that they felt would be present under the control of the foreign king.[27] Pan's home in caves must be viewed as connected to the uncivilized and chaotic aspect of caves. Unlike the Nymphs, who were part of the natural landscape and always lived in caves, Pan did not always live in caves. His new home reflected the nature of the god who did not belong within the city.

Violence and disorder are other aspects connected with the state of original savagery that are associated with caves in the Classical period. In the context of Euripides' *Ion*, sexual misbehaviour and violence are strongly tied to the specific settings of caves. The story of Ion's conception and birth is told by his mother Kreousa, a young

[27] Borgeaud 1988, p. 49.

Athenian woman who had been raped by Apollo. Ion's conception took place in a cave on the north-western slope of the Acropolis (cat. 25) that would became sacred in the Classical period and continue to visited into the Roman period. The location of the rape is significant for two reasons. The first is that it is an act of violence that is not appropriate behaviour at sanctuaries or within the city. For Euripides, the rocky, dark location of a cave must have been viewed as an appropriate and emphatic setting that reinforced the violence of the play. Second, the location of the cave connects Apollo with behaviour that is reminiscent of Pan.[28] Pan is notorious in myth for his attempts to rape Nymphs; Echo and Syrinx are the most famous examples of such attempts. The setting of the cave and Pan's proximity are the most emphasized aspects of the location of Kreousa's rape. The chorus describes the location of Kreousa's rape by its association to the cave of Pan and describes Pan playing his pipes from the shade of his sanctuary (492-501). The location of Kreousa's rape is further emphasized when she tells the Old Man that she was raped in the cave at the Long Rocks and the Old Man replies that he knows the site well because the shrine and altar of Pan are nearby (936-938). The behaviour of Apollo in this story is more suited to Pan and his animal-like sexuality which belonged in the wilderness rather than the city.

The cave of Apollo was also the location where Kreousa exposed the baby Ion to die in Euripides' version of the story. Kreousa reveals to the Old Man that she carried her baby to be exposed at the very cave where she had been raped (949). This cave is located near the entrance to the Acropolis and within the city of Athens and yet Kreousa assumes

[28] Zacharia 2003, p. 89.

that wild beasts killed the child. The violence and wildness of the scene of the cave is first introduced by the chorus in an earlier passage (492-509). The chorus describes the exposure of Ion as a child "cast out for the birds and wild beasts as a bloody feast, the violent fruit of her bitter union" (504-506). In this passage, it is also significant that the cave of Apollo is not identified by the presence of Apollo but by the sound of piping and the proximity of Pan's cave. The characteristics of Apollo are inconsistent with the actions that have been committed and the site at which they take place. The act of rape was a particular threat to the polis because it threatened the acknowledgment of paternity and the security of the citizenship. It also represented a lack of self-control and moderation, both of which are connected to the realm of Pan. The mention of wild animals near the cave also reminds the reader of Pan who was originally master of animals. The connection between the ideas presented in the story of Ion's conception and exposure and Pan are based upon the setting of these actions, both location within the cave and the proximity to Pan's first sanctuary in Attica. The cave, as presented in the context of this tragedy, is a location connected to Pan and the ideas which he represents.

Many sanctuaries have specific regulations for the length of time that must pass before a person who has had sexual intercourse may enter yet the cave of Pan has strong connotations of the erotic.[29] The most common sacred law permits entry to a sanctuary on the same day as having sex as long as the person washes themselves. This type of regulation has appeared on several inscriptions, including a stele found at the Temple of Isis, Sarapis and Anoubis at Megalopolis (*SEG* XXVIII. 421). Concern for impurity

[29] Henderson 1987, p. 179.

related to sex is also expressed in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* by the character of Myrrhine whose husband tries to convince her to break her oath of withholding sex. The cave of Pan is shown to be a place where impurity related to sex is not a concern; not only are Myrrhine and Cinesias able to enter to the cave of Pan on the slopes of the Acropolis but it is thought to be an acceptable location for such activities. The cave of Pan is contrasted with the top of the Acropolis where such impurity would not be tolerated. If Cinesias was able to convince his wife to have sex with him in the cave, she would have to bath, in this case at the Klepsydra spring, before returning to the Acropolis (910-913).

The cave has been shown to symbolize savagery and the wilderness and to be the site of acts not normally allowed within the polis. The cave was used in literature as a setting of uncivilized groups and actions which are befitting of Pan. Caves and Pan represent concepts which were considered to be opposed to the polis and its order. The democracy which developed in Classical Athens was dependent upon its citizens and their adherence to the principle of moderation. The contrast between Athenian values and the ideas present in the cave and the cult of Pan serve to highlight the need for the rules of civilized life.

Non-urban sanctuaries are usually used to mark a spatial distinction between civilization and the wilderness.[30] Sacred caves are generally located in remote settings, where the rural people could worship the deities whom they were dependent upon, mostly significantly the Nymphs and other gods responsible for the natural world. Pan

[30] de Polignac 1995, p. 35.

sanctuaries are particularly good markers of the borders of the wilderness and savagery that surrounds the Greek city-states because many of the attributes of Pan are the definitions of the characteristics excluded from the polis. The border of the polis was thought to mark the transition between civilization, with all of its laws and conventions, and the wilderness. Caves are a good example of non-urban sanctuaries that are used in such a way in all Greek cities except Athens, which is unique to include cave sanctuaries within the urban space of city. By allowing this type of sanctuary within the limits of the city, the concepts the cave represents are acknowledged as dangers to the fabric of the polis.

Chapter Three

Urban and Rural: Two Places, One Polis

The political nature of religion has been one of the most studied aspects of ancient Greek sanctuaries in the last thirty years of scholarship. All facets of Greek religion were tied in some way to the civic life of the polis and naturally cave sanctuaries are no different. It has become clear that cave sanctuaries existed in both the urban and rural landscapes of Attica. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the relationship between the caves of the countryside and those of the city and to explore how the cave sanctuaries contributed to the religion of the Athenian polis as a whole. The rural and urban caves collaborate to provide for the needs of the both the urban and rural people and the polis which brings them together into a single population.

Although there has been very little scholarship on Greek cave sanctuaries in the past fifty years, there has been one model put forward for the placement of sacred caves and their contribution to the formation of city-states. Watrous has identified a relationship between the boundaries of the city's territory and the position and direction of the entrance to a cave sanctuary in the caves located in Central Crete in both the Late Minoan period and the Iron Age.[1] The caves in Central Crete are located at the edge of a city's territory, overlooking the territory which the city claimed; the sites chosen also had been previously occupied, a pattern used to legitimize their entitlement to the land. The caves chosen for sanctuaries had to fulfill two criteria: to be able to see the whole of the

[1] Watrous 1996, chapter 4.

territory claimed by a city and a location which formed a border of the region. The cave sanctuaries in Central Crete sit at high elevations to ensure that the deities of the cave can protect the territory which they overlook and they are often placed on opposite side of mountain peaks, with each cave forming the border of a region which is adjacent to its neighbour.[2] The use and selection of cave sanctuaries in Central Crete was very much deliberately linked to the fierce competition for land between densely distributed settlements, rather than a natural dispersion of religious ideas.[3]

While Watrous' interpretation of the Cretan caves is compelling, there are too few similarities in the selection of Attic caves to allow for comparable conclusions. The elevations of the Attic caves range from five metres above sea level to 1400 metres above sea level with various viewpoints of the surrounding territory, where the Cretan caves are uniformly placed at high elevations. Rather than being placed near the edges of the territory, caves in Attica are dispersed throughout the region and there is a preference for central rather than extreme locations. In fact, even within the demes, there is a preference to place cave sanctuaries on the slopes of the acropolis, such as at Eleusis (cat. 14) and Marathon (cat. 11). The model for the Central Crete caves is not applicable to the caves of Attica since they have more dissimilarities than similarities.

The caves of mainland Greece, outside of Attica, are not well known; only a few have been fully explored and many are known through literary sources but cannot even be identified in the landscape. The few known caves are always placed far from the urban area of each polis and most are dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs. These realities reflect

[2] Watrous 1996, p. 77.
[3] Watrous 1996, p. 74.

the common perception of caves and their use. The boundary between the polis and the savage wilderness beyond the polis is a conceptual border as well as a physical limit to the control of the city. The wilderness was a dangerous place in the ancient world, a place where the laws of the city could not be enforced, home to monsters and brigands. Caves acted as suitable locations for the transition between the civilized and savage worlds in that they represent elements of both ideologies. Caves are homes to the Nymphs and other productive fertility deities beneficial to the area's residents and as well as Pan who represents many aspects of savage life: primitiveness, disorder and chaos. Through the worship of Pan, the Greek cities were able to harness these powers and use them for their own benefit. The transition between the territory of the polis and the outlying wilderness is well represented in the deities of these caves. However, the locations of cave sanctuaries in Attica show that there was another, more important, reasoning for the placement of cave sanctuaries. One would expect sacred caves to be located along the borders of the polis to fit this scheme of political demarcation of the territory claimed by the polis and in which the citizens exert control, however, this is not the case in Attica. The cave sanctuaries are dotted throughout the landscape from the southern tip of the Attic peninsula to the north-eastern frontier, with a particular concentration of sacred caves located at the very heart of the city of Athens, on the slopes of the Acropolis.

Caves on the Acropolis

There are nine sacred caves located along the slopes of the Acropolis: caves dedicated to Aphrodite, Apollo, Zeus, Pan and the Nymphs, among others (see figure 6 for map of caves on Acropolis slopes).[4] On the north slope of the Acropolis lies the first of the urban caves to be discussed. Known as Cave S (cat. 22), the cave of Aphrodite is placed in a narrow chasm in the limestone of the Acropolis (see figures 7 and 8 for plan and photo of area). The formation of this cave provided a logical point to cut a well shaft into the side of the Acropolis and a staircase that connected the water source with the top of the Acropolis, near the House of the Arrephoroi. Because of this location, the sanctuary plays a role in the *Arrhephoria*, as it is described by Pausanias (1.27.3). Each year, two young girls were selected to live near the temple of Athena Polias as priestesses of Athena and, at the end of their term, they perform the ritual of this festival. The priestesses were given baskets to carry on their heads and they descend the staircase at the top of the chasm which forms Cave S (cat. 22). At the bottom of the chasm, the priestesses deposit the baskets and they are given another object to be taken to the top of the Acropolis. The girls were strictly forbidden to see either of the objects which they carried. In the myth, Aglauros and Herse were tempted to open the containers which they carried and this was the cause of their deaths (Pausanias 1.18.2).

The sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros on the north slope of the Acropolis consisted of the cave, as well as the terrace at the cave entrance. The sanctuary was approached from the east by means of a ramp and steps cut into the slope of the Acropolis; above the

[4] The caves dedicated to Aglauros (cat. 21) and Asklepios (cat. 20) will be considered in Chapter Four.

sanctuary the slope becomes a sheer cliff on both sides of the cave. At this cave, the majority of evidence for cult activity comes from the terrace outside of Cave S and the surrounding cliffs where twenty-two niches were carved and two dedicatory inscriptions, which name Aphrodite and Eros as the deities of the sanctuary, were placed.[5] Phallic stones, as well as fragments of figurines and black-figure and red-figure, were recovered from the niches in the cliff. The interior of the cave contained evidence of its previous use as a well and a dump site in the Late Helladic period but only scattered remains from the Archaic and Classical periods. The first exploration of the cave by Kavvadias in the late nineteenth century produced fragments of black-figure pottery and a headless female figurine. Broneer also found fragments of terracotta figurines which he believed to have fallen from the top of the Acropolis.[6]

The worship of Aphrodite and Eros in a cave is generally unexpected since the cave is usually reserved for pastoral deities in other areas of Greece.[7] While Aphrodite and Eros are not associated with the pastoral aspects of agriculture, they are important fertility deities. The larger of the two inscriptions found at Cave S dates to the mid-fifth century BCE and mentions the month of Mounychion and a festival of Eros. This inscription is the only evidence to support a festival of Eros which took place on the fourth day of this month.[8] Aphrodite is also associated with magistrates which is a connection that is particularly relevant given that this sanctuary is visible from the Agora.

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[5] Broneer 1932, p. 43ff.
[6] Broneer 1939, p. 322; Wickens 1986, vol. 2, pp. 349-350.
[7] Of the deities to be discussed in this chapter, Aphrodite and Apollo are not worshipped in any caves outside of Attica.
[8] Parke 1977, p. 143.

The north-west corner of the Acropolis slopes has a terrace at 125 metres above sea level which provides access to four caves, three of which were the sites of cults (see figure 9 and 10 for plan and photo). The first cave from the west, known as Cave A (cat. 24), contains a rock-cut throne but there is no other evidence of the use of this cave. This cave was part of the sacred area of the terrace but, because of the paucity of remains, the function can not be determined.[9] The cave of Apollo, Cave B (cat. 25), is located to the west of Cave A, on the opposite side of the rock spur in which Cave A is located. Cave B is a shallow rock shelter with an arched opening and the floor level of the cave is 1.5 m above the terrace level. The first excavation of this area of the Acropolis took place in 1896-1897, under the direction of Kavvadias. Kavvadias recorded a rectangular cutting in the bedrock, 2 m north of the mouth of Cave B, which he believed to be the bedding of an altar. This cutting measures 2.45 m in length, 2.0 m in width and 0.1- 0.15 m in depth and it appears to be aligned with the area of the northwest terrace rather than one particular cave.[10]

The walls of the cave and the exterior cliff are covered with niches, both rectangular and semi-circular in shape, some of which have preserved nail holes from dedicatory inscriptions.[11] The largest of the niches is placed centrally on the back wall of the cave and there is a rectangular socket on the shelf of this niche in which a statue may have been placed. Approximately forty dedicatory inscriptions on plaques have been found either in the area surrounding the cave, the Acropolis or in the agora. Many of

[9] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 363.
[10] Kavvadias 1897, p. 15.
[11] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 365.

these plaques fit in the niches of the caves and were obviously attached to the rock wall using either nails or adhesive. The surviving dedicatory inscriptions have been studied by Nulton and he has dated the inscriptions to the mid first century CE to the third century CE.[12] All of the plaques were dedicated to Apollo Hypoakraios and the names of the dedicators were inscribed in the centre of the plaque and surrounded by a laurel wreath connected by two snakes. The dedicators of all the plaques were the Archons or the *grammateus*, either individually or as a group.[13] Other than the dedicatory plaques and the cutting for the altar, no material has been found in this cave to provide evidence of use. The entrance to the cave was walled off no earlier than the medieval period and later removed at an uncertain date.[14]

The literary tradition of the cave of Apollo Hypoakraios (Apollo of the Long Cliffs) began in the Classical period in Euripides' *Ion*. The major themes of this play were the autochthony of Athenians and justification of Athenian colonialism, both very important to the worldview of Athenian citizens of the fifth century.[15] The description of the cave in this tragedy is clearly identified with Cave B (cat. 25) and the connection between this cave and Apollo is made explicitly clear. It is in this place that Kreousa was raped by Apollo and her child, Ion, was exposed. The description of the cave is given in three sections of the play, first in the opening speech by Hermes (10-19), in a chorus section (492-509) and in the dialogue between Kreousa and an Old Man (936-939). Each of these passages mention the Long Cliffs of the Athenian Acropolis; Hermes tells us that

[12] Nulton 2003, pp. 29-30.
[13] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, pp. 366-367.
[14] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 367.
[15] Zacharia 2003, p. 44.

the cave is located on the northern slope (10-13), the chorus mentions that the site of the rape was in an area with many caves (492-495) and Kreousa specifies that the rape occurred in the north-facing cave of the Acropolis (936-937). The chorus and the Old Man also mention the proximity of the cave with the shrine of Pan, Cave D-D_1 (cat. 27); these details have led scholars to believe that Cave B, and not Cave A (cat. 24) or C (cat. 26), is the Cave of Apollo. This association between the cave and Apollo was present in the Classical period as evidenced by Euripides' *Ion*, even though there is no evidence of cult practice at this site prior to the Roman period.

Cave C (cat. 26) is the central cave on the terrace on the north-west corner of the Acropolis and it was dedicated to Zeus. Similarly to Cave B which is located only 4 m to the west, Cave C is a shallow rock shelter with a high roof which is more pointed than arched. The wall of the Acropolis lies directly above the back of this cave. There are no niches carved into the walls of this cave or the immediately surrounding cliff. Kavvadias excavated this cave at the same time as Cave B and he records finding nothing "worthy of mention."[16] The deposit in front of this cave was made up of soil from the Acropolis excavations. The only feature directly related to this cave is a circular pit found directly in front the entrance to Cave C which measures 2 m in diameter and 1.9-2.65 m in depth. It has been suggested that this pit was originally a rectangular cutting in the bedrock measuring approximately 1.5 m by 2 m.[17]

[16] Kavvadias 1897a, p. 7.
[17] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 369.

The accepted identification of Cave C was put forward in 1929 by Keramopoullos.[18] The identification of Cave C is based on an account by Strabo (9.2.11) concerning how the Pythaistae determined when they should bring an offering to Delphi. The Pythaistae watched for lightening from the altar of Zeus Astrapaeus, which was situated within the walls of Athens and faced towards Harma, a place near Phyle, to the northwest of the city. This account is combined with a minor mention in Euripides' *Ion* (285) which states that the Apollo honours a place called the Makrai with Pythian lightening. Kreusa responds to this statement (288) that she knows this place as the site of a shameful deed in a cave, her rape. The information provided by these texts place the altar of Zeus Astrapaeus in the cave beside the Cave of Apollo Hypoakraios, Cave C.

The worship of Pan and the Nymphs occurred on the slopes of the Acropolis both together and separately. The cave of Pan (cat. 27) on the terrace at northwest corner of the Acropolis and the cave of Empedo (cat. 23) have been discussed in previous chapters, but there is also the smaller cave known as Asklepieion 1 (cat. 19) where Pan and the Nymphs were worshipped together just as they were in their rural caves. This cave is located above the Asklepieion on the south slope of the Acropolis. Access to this cave made extremely difficult when the Asklepieion was built in the fourth century; the terracing created the sheer vertical cliff on the south slope, below the entrance to this cave. This cave was used as a shelter in the Early Helladic period and it contained pottery shards, animal bones and obsidian tools dating to this period. The evidence of later use consists of several shards dating to the Geometric, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman

[18] Keramopoullos 1929, pp. 98-101.

periods. The identification of this cave is based on its comparable material to other minor caves dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs and the proximity to the find site of the relief dedicated to the Nymphs by Archandros in 410-400 BCE (*IG*. II^2 4545). This relief was found in the Asklepieion and, although there are other caves in the area, this cave is a likely site for its original position.

Was Athens a Monocentric City?

The central position of these cave sanctuaries seems to represent the situation unique to Attica of religious mono-centricity. The work of de Polignac has created a useful structural model for the relationship between urban and extra-urban sanctuaries. De Polignac has also demonstrated that Attica is unique among the Greek poleis in that there is only one sacred area that is meaningful in terms of the political conception of the polis. When compared to other areas of Greece, the focus of the religious conception of the city in Attica is more centralized on the city centre rather than equally distributed among the urban and extra-urban religious sites. This feature of the religious landscape of Athens lends greater meaning to the sacred caves within the urban region of the polis.

De Polignac's model for Greek cities, with Athens as the exception, is primarily based on two aspects of Greek religion: the location of sanctuaries which were part of the formation and retention of polis territory and the processions which occur to such sanctuaries. The example of a typical Greek city is Argos with the Argive Heraion as its extra-urban sanctuary, which held equal status to any sanctuary within the city walls. De Polignac has successfully shown that in most Greek cities, equal importance was placed

upon urban and extra-urban sanctuaries, rather than on only the urban sanctuary. The extra-urban sanctuary was generally founded at an earlier date than the urban sanctuary and occupation of the extra-urban sanctuary would indicate the control of the whole territory.[19] However, applying this model to Athens is problematic and as such, de Polignac reasoned that Athens was religiously different from the other Greek poleis, giving rise to the religiously monocentric explanation. The prevalence of centripetal procession, those aimed at the religious and civic centre of the city, and the absence of a sanctuary outside of the city walls of Athens which represented a symbolic victory over the polis are the major complications of the de Polignac model when applied to Athens.[20]

The Panathenaia procession is the major *pompe* which is used to show that Athens is different from other Greek poleis. At the beginning of the year, this *pompe* began from the gates of the city and ended at the altar of Athena on the Acropolis, passing through the Agora. This type of procession was used as a political tool of the polis to show both foreigners and citizens how the polis was structured and who belonged to the polis.[21] The importance of this *pompe* is underscored by the artistic representation of this procession on the frieze of the Parthenon. The Dionysiac procession is another example of a centripetal *pompe* in the Athenian polis; it proceeds towards the interior of the city, although in this case, it is focussed on the Limnaion rather than the Acropolis.

De Polignac distinguishes extramural sanctuaries important to the formation of the polis through centrifugal processions which tie the sanctuary to the city. The sanctuary at

[19] de Polignac 1995, p. 23, 82.
[20] de Polignac 1995, pp. 83-84.
[21] Graf 1996, p. 58.

Eleusis is linked to the centre of the polis by means of procession. The current hypothesis concerning the series of events at the Eleusinian Mysteries put forward by Clinton suggests that two separate processions left Athens. The first procession is the 'procession with the *hiera*' began at the City Eleusinion, above the Agora and it merged with the second procession, that of Iacchus, at the city gates. The Iacchus procession is a typical centrifugal procession but the 'procession of the *hiera*' represents an official tie between the city centre and an extramural sanctuary.[22] This satisfies one condition of the model outlined by de Polignac but it does not satisfy all of the roles played by extra-urban sanctuaries in the formation and definition of the polis. One of de Polignac's criteria for a sanctuary which is key to the definition of the polis is that political control of the sanctuary is crucial to preservation of the polis. The occupation of Eleusis during the Peloponnesian War did not represent a symbolic defeat to the Athenians, whereas a similar situation in another city would have had greater impact on the polis. De Polignac's model is very persuasive; however, his schematic view of the evidence often ignores the complexities of the ancient world.

Outside of Attica, the cave sanctuaries of mainland Greece confirm de Polignac's model for extra-urban sanctuaries. They are placed far from urban areas, at the edge of the territory claimed by the polis, as indicators of the borders: the role assigned to such sanctuaries by de Polignac. The view of Attica as a religiously monocentric polis would place the central focus of cult on the Athenian Acropolis and this should apply to all types of cults. The sacred caves on the slopes of the Acropolis have been examined but they

[22] Graf 1996, pp. 62-63.

were clearly connected to the caves spread throughout the territory of the polis. As will be seen below, the caves of the Acropolis are a reflection of the rural caves which, in most cases, pre-date those of the Acropolis.

The Rural Counterparts

The caves that appear on the slopes of the Acropolis have been given more attention than most of the caves in Attica because of their greater accessibility and a higher likelihood of finding material which archaeologists can study. However, the great majority of caves are in fact located in remote areas of rural Attica. At first glance, the urban and rural caves appear to be independent of each other, however, this is not the case. They are linked through the cults practiced in the caves; each of the deities worshipped in caves throughout the countryside of Attica were represented in caves on the slopes of Attica.

A rural cave of Aphrodite has been located on the west side of the Cape Zoster, on the coast of Vouliagmeni Bay. The Vouliagmeni Cave (cat. 6) is a large single chamber cave with the height of the roof ranging from 20 m to 50 m. The floor of the cave descends as one reaches the back wall of the cave, some 200 m from the entrance, and the bottom of the cave is filled with a salt water swamp, due to the cave's location near sea level and close to the water's edge. The ancient material from this cave has not survived due to use of the cave in the modern period; the swamp has been used for mud baths and the cave has served as the head office of the Greek Polar Bear Club. The

connection between this cave and Aphrodite has survived in the tradition of the local people.[23]

The cave of Zeus is known as Karabola (cat. 12) and it is located near the peak of Mt. Parnes. This cave was explored by Mastrokostas in 1959 and a deposit of ash was excavated at this time but no further excavation of this cave has been possible because it is now located within a restricted military zone.[24] The large deposit of ash contained animal bones, iron and bronze knives and pottery dating from the Early Geometric period to the Classical period. The cave was at least visited in the Roman period as a lamp dating to the Roman period was found inside the cave.[25] The ash deposit and offerings seem to suggest cult activity involving sacrifice and the connection to Zeus is suggested through the writing of Pausanias who states that, on Mt. Parnes, there "is a bronze Zeus Parnethius, and an altar to Zeus Semaleus. There is on Parnes another altar, and on it they make sacrifice, calling Zeus sometimes Rain-God (Ὄμβριον), sometimes Averter of Ills (Ἀπήμιον)" (1.32.2). Unfortunately, the relationship between the ash deposit and the cave has not been published, although it obviously lies outside of the cave since the dimensions of the ash deposit are recorded as 100 m^2 and the cave is described as small.[26]

The worship of Apollo in rural caves took place in the Cave at Vari (cat. 7) which was dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs; additionally, a small shrine was carved out of the living rock at the east end of room 1 which was set aside for the worship of Apollo

[23] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 88-89.
[24] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 244.
[25] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 244.
[26] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 244.

Hersus, as evidenced by an inscription which names the god (*IG.* I^2 783) (see figure 11).[27] This inscription was recorded by nineteenth century visitors to the Vari Cave but it had already vanished by the time the cave was excavated by Weller. The cause of the inscription's destruction was its location: near the entrance and exposed to the elements. This shrine consisted of two niches placed vertically in the wall of the cave, directly beside the carved relief of Archedamos and the omphalos. The upper niche has two concave hollows which Weller suggests may have received libation or other offerings.[28] There is some indication that this shrine was framed by two fluted columns which fit into two small holes on each side of the upper niche. This shrine was the only evidence of the worship of Apollo found in the cave and it cannot be dated.

Pan and the Nymphs were the most common deities worshipped in caves in Attica, as well as mainland Greece, and they were represented on the Athenian Acropolis as an indication of their importance. There are thirteen cave sanctuaries in Attica dedicated to Pan, the Nymphs or both. An example of a cave of Pan and the Nymphs is the Lion Cave (cat. 8), located on the eastern slope of Mt. Hymettos and named after a local legend of a lion which lived in the cave and turned into a marble statue near the church of St. Nicholas at Kanza.[29] This cave has a low retaining wall inside the mouth of the cave which is necessary because the level of the floor in the cave is 1.5 m lower than the exterior ground level. The interior of this cave is divided into several sections by stalagmites and rubble walls.[30] This site was certainly used as a habitation site in the

[27] The close proximity of Pan and Apollo at the urban cave has been discussed in the previous chapter.
[28] Weller 1903, p. 270.
[29] Vanderpool 1967, p. 209.
[30] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 175.

prehistoric period as evidenced by the numerous Late Neolithic period shards found inside the cave. Black-figure, red-figure and black-glazed pottery shards, dating to the Classical and Roman periods, were found outside the cave. This cave is also the most likely candidate to be the cave of Pan described in Menander's *Dyskolos*.

There is a direct relationship between the deities worshipped in caves on the slopes of the Acropolis and those worshipped throughout the territory of Attica. All of the deities which were worshipped in the rural caves were mirrored in the caves of the Acropolis, the symbolic and religious centre of Athens. The rural caves do not show any evidence that worship ceased at these sites but they have preserved similar types of cult activity. The caves of Aphrodite both contain water in the cave but no further comparison can be made due to the lack of preservation of the Vouliagmeni Cave (cat. 6). Both caves of Zeus have evidence of a sacrifice pit in front of the mouth of the cave and little to no material found within the cave. Dedications made to Apollo were made on the Acropolis and in the cave near Vari (cat. 7). Pan and the Nymphs were worshipped in caves that are more enclosed and evidence of offerings has been left at both the urban and rural caves. In each case, there is more votive material found at the urban site than the rural site, but each cult remains similar in both locations.

Artemis Brauronia: A Mirror Image

There is precedent for the mirroring of sanctuaries in the rural landscape of Attica on the slopes of the Acropolis in Athens: the sanctuaries of Artemis Brauronia. In this case, the sanctuary located at Brauron was a major site for the ritual of *arkteia* performed

by Athenian girls prior to marriage. This ritual calls for the girls to become bears, creatures of the wild under divine control. In this context, it is appropriate for the girls to be in the wilderness, outside of human control, and to act in ways that are contrary to her traditional role in the *oikos*.[31] This ritual marks the transition between girlhood and maturity which indicated their ability to bear children and maintain a household. The rural sanctuary has produced evidence of use dating to the Post-Geometric period, although the first temple at the site was not built until the sixth century, under Peisistratus.[32] Dedications to Artemis Brauronia are known to have been made only at the rural site and objects of greater value were usually transferred to the sanctuary on the Acropolis.

On the south side of the Athenian Acropolis, there is a stoa dedicated to Artemis Brauronia which is referred to as a *hieron* by Pausanias (1.23.7). There are three phases of construction evident in the remains of the stoa, the earliest of which may not have been built until the fourth century BCE. The date has been established based on the relationship between the stoa and the walls of the Acropolis; the stoa was not incorporated into the Kimonian or Periklean walls, giving the stoa a later date.[33] The sanctuary on the Acropolis functioned primarily as a treasury for the Brauronian sanctuary and it contained treasury records of the items to be found at the rural temple, the earliest treasury list dates to ca. 416 BCE, as well as storing the more precious

[31] Cole 1984, p. 242.
[32] Parker 1996, p. 74.
[33] Osborne 1985, p. 155.

items.[34] There is no doubt that both sanctuaries served the community in different ways and the urban sanctuary was never viewed as more important than the rural sanctuary.

Robin Osborne has studied the connection between the urban and rural sanctuaries of Artemis Brauronia and he has posited that the role of these sanctuaries was to integrate the women who participated at the rituals at these locations into the religious sphere of the polis.[35] It is generally accepted that women were typically excluded from the civic life of the polis but they did perform necessary roles both in life and in Athenian religion. It was these essential roles that required that women, in particular citizen wives, were included in the polis. Citizen wives produced the next generation of citizens and their lineage needed to be secure, especially after Perikles restricted citizenship only to those who could prove that both of their parents were of Athenian origin. The women belonging to citizen families in Athens also performed many religious rites as part of festivals that were thought to ensure the fertility of the land and the coming year. As such, women may have performed the most imported functions in the Athenian polis and the state could not afford to alienate women from their roles in the continuation of the polis. The sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis did not affect the rituals and cult practices that took place at the rural sanctuary, aside from the movements of dedications; it did however bring the cult to a central position of Athenian thought.[36] The Acropolis sanctuary served as a public reminder of the rural sanctuary and allowed the

[34] Linders 1972, pp. 72-73.
[35] In Osborne's work *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika*, he states that the sanctuaries of Artemis Brauronia are the only Attic cult sites that are mirrored on the Acropolis and at another location within Attica. At the time of this work, the thorough survey and catalogue of caves in Attica by J. Wickens had not been completed and the rural caves in question were relatively unknown.
[36] Osborne 1985, p. 174.

polis to exercise a limited amount of control over only the Acropolis sanctuary, and symbolically over women, but it was used as a treasury rather than a private sanctuary for a women's festival. The sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Athenian Acropolis was a symbolic representation and a physical reminder of the role which women played in Athenian religion.

The cult sites of Artemis Brauronia in Attica have a distinct pattern in their locations that has been interpreted as integrating a marginalized segment of the population of the Athenian public. The same pattern of mirroring a rural cult site on the Athenian Acropolis has been shown to exist among the major cave cults existing in Attica from the Classical period through to the Roman period. Watrous' model for the Cretan caves is the only current model for the placement of cave sanctuaries and their relationship to the city which has been shown to be incompatible with the Attic caves. De Polignac's concept of Athens as a religiously monocentric city also does not fit all of the information concerning the pattern of sacred caves in Attica. The pattern of the Artemis Brauronia sanctuaries is the model which best fits the urban and rural caves of Attica.

Cult was used by the polis to create the community of citizens, to bring together people who would otherwise form separate communities. Prior to the Classical period, cave sanctuaries were extremely modest in the terms of offerings left and this has led to the view that sacred caves were frequented mostly by rural people.[37] The main function of the early rural cave sanctuaries was to provide sites for the rural population to worship

[37] See Chapter One for discussion of the evidence for caves prior to 480 BCE.

nature deities. The rural community had the chance to bond at cave sanctuaries through communal meals and dancing at sanctuaries which began to form in the Geometric period. The polis of Attica was formed through the conglomeration of rural communities into the political institution of a polis and it is accepted that the use of cult allowed the polis to be formed in such a way.[38]

The reforms of Kleisthenes recognized the demes as units in both the political and religious sphere and this organization was once thought to assist in the amalgamation of Attica into a polis. However, Nicholas Jones has recently argued that the demes were never fully integrated into the urban administration of the polis. According to Jones, the Kleisthenic organization was primarily intended for military purposes and did not fully succeed in the social and cultural blending of the population of Attica.[39] In 508/7 BCE, the demes were recognized as religious units for the first time by the administration in Athens. Most of the cults in the demes, which became known for the first time ca. 508 BCE, had previously existed and had been incorporated into the "new local institutional frameworks" at this time.[40]

The circumstances of rural citizens in the Classical period is most clearly distinguished during the Peloponnesian War, when the rural people were forced to take refuge within the city walls of Athens. The unusual circumstances of the Peloponnesian War forced the evacuation of the rural territory of Attica, thus the rural people left their homes and moved into the city, bringing with them most of their possessions.

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[38] Osborne 1994, p. 159.
[39] Jones 2004, p. 15.
[40] Whitehead 1986, p. 177.

Thucydides relates the reaction of the rural people to these circumstances: "deep was their trouble and discontent at abandoning their houses and the hereditary temples of the ancient constitution, and at having to change their habits of life and to bid farewell to what each regarded as his native city" (2.16.2). Thucydides also explains that most of the residents of Attica still lived in the countryside and that, even after Theseus had centralized the area, they still regarded their towns as their homes, not the whole of Attica (2.16.1). Thus, even during the height of Athenian democracy, the rural people were more closely connected with their own towns and their own religion.

The mirroring of cult sites, in the case of Artemis Brauronia, was used to integrate women, a marginalized segment of the population, into the religion of the polis. In the case of rural caves, the mirroring of cults occurred in the same manner: a duplication of the rural caves on the slopes of the Acropolis. The purpose of the mirroring of cave cults on the Acropolis is similar to that of Artemis Brauronia in that it created a symbolic representation of the rural caves within the religious centre of the polis. However, unlike the women who attended the *arkteia*, rural people were full citizens of the polis. The rural citizens placed greater importance on their demes and their own cults rather than the city; therefore it was the efforts of the urban administration that brought the rural cave cults into the city as a form of recognition and legitimization.

By introducing rural cults into the centre of the polis, the communities which have formed at cave sanctuaries are each tied to the heart of the polis. The mirroring of rural caves in the urban context began at the beginning of the Classical period, with the cult of Pan, the Nymphs and Aphrodite, and continued until the Roman period, with the cave of

Apollo. The role of the urban caves was to receive the numerous dedications from city officials, such as the Archons' dedicatory plaques at Cave B (cat. 25), and to provide a familiar religious setting for rural people when they are in the city. The introduction of cave sanctuaries into the urban landscape did little to change the rural sanctuaries but brought recognition and legitimization to the rural cults.

Caves sanctuaries do not exist in just the city or the countryside, but the urban and rural caves were in use at the same time and they are equal in importance. The political nature of religious sanctuaries has been regarded as one of the contributing factors to the rise of the polis and caves have been shown to be used in a similar fashion to other sanctuaries in Attica. The rural communities which were joined together to form the polis continued to view their own towns as their primary homeland rather than recognizing the preeminence of the polis. The rural cave cults have been brought into the city and integrated into the religion of the polis, just as the rural population has been brought together through the formation of the polis.

Chapter Four

The Descent to the Underworld

Caves are idyllic, chaotic or chthonic. Up to this point, caves have been considered as the homes of Nymphs, Pan and the lofty Olympian deities but the darker area of the chthonic world has not been examined. There are six further caves which can be grouped together because of their chthonic nature. These caves belong to three heroes: Aglauros, Iphigeneia and Serangos, and three groups of chthonic deities: Asklepios, Plouton and the Semnai Theai. Each of these figures has strong associations with death and the Underworld and their places within caves are directly tied to the cave as a place of death, burial or an entrance to the Underworld.

Caves were among the first burial sites used on mainland Greece dating back to the Neolithic period. Among the twenty-eight caves examined in this study, three contain evidence of prehistoric burials and one, the Tomb of Iphigeneia (cat. 5), was a burial site in the historic period. As early as the Late Neolithic period, it was a common occurrence for burials to be placed in or near main habitation sites, which was also a frequent use of caves at this time.[1] Crete provides a useful comparison, since, on the island there is a strong pattern of caves existing as burial sites and then sanctuaries. Nilsson noted that the use of caves as burial sites was the second phase in his model for the origins of sacred caves. In this model, caves began as habitation sites, as discussed in Chapter 1, then progressed to burial sites and finally to sacred caves. According to Nilsson, the caves are

[1] Wickens 1986, vol. 1, p. 125.

representative of the first home of humankind and the resting place of their ancestors which becomes the conceptual home of the gods.[2] The sacred nature of caves may have origins in their use as burial sites, because they were previously viewed as the resting places of ancestors and, at one time, they were visited for the yearly rituals for the dead. If this is the case, some of the caves have retained a residual connection to the Underworld.

Aglauros

The figure of Aglauros is the daughter of Kekrops, the second king of Athens, and the sister of Herse and Pandrosos. Insight into the cult of this heroine is given by the various stories of her life and death. When she was a young woman, Aglauros took part in the festival of Arrephoria as a basket-bearer prior to her death. She and her sisters were given a chest from Athena, which contained Erichthonios, with the instructions not to open the chest. Pandrosos obeyed Athena but Aglauros and Herse looked into the chest and were driven mad by the sight of Erichthonios. Aglauros and Herse threw themselves off the Acropolis, from the steepest, eastern slope (Pausanias 1.18.2). However, Philochorus (*FGr* III, 328 F 105) tells a different story of Aglauros' death; in this account, Aglauros voluntarily threw herself from the Acropolis as a self-sacrifice in fulfillment of an oracle in order to save the city during the Eleusinian War.[3] In either case, the location of her death became the site of her future cult. Aglauros was also the

[2] Nilsson 1968, p. 56.
[3] Larson 1995, p. 40.

first priestess of Athena at Athens, thus her sanctuary is appropriately placed on the slopes of the Acropolis.

The ancient sources for the Aglaurion, the cult place of Aglauros, are Herodotus (8. 52-53) and Pausanias (1.18.2). Neither author mentions any more about the location of the sanctuary other than that it was located high on the slopes of the Acropolis and that the Persian forces passed the sanctuary as they climbed the steepest slope of the Acropolis in their invasion. Pinpointing the cave's location has been difficult. There are at least twelve caves on the slopes of the Athenian Acropolis, seven of which have been identified as sacred caves. The identification of sacred caves on the Acropolis is largely based upon literary sources, particularly the writings of Pausanias, and epigraphic evidence. However, such evidence is not available for each cave and scholars must speculate based on the meagre evidence available. Formerly, scholars had placed the sanctuary of Aglauros in a cave located on the north slope of the Acropolis, based on the hypothesis of C. Wordsworth.[4]

More recently, a stele relating to the Acropolis East Cave (cat. 21) came to light through the excavation of the Peripatos, the path which follows the base of the Acropolis, in the area beneath this cave. Excavation of the eastern section of the Peripatos took place in 1980 under the direction of the Acropolis Ephoreia. As part of these excavations, an inscribed stele measuring 0.96 m in height and approximately 0.40 m in width was found in situ, still attached to its base.[5] The inscription concerns sacrifices made at the

[4] Dontas 1983, p. 58; Wordsworth 1837, pp. 86-89.
[5] Dontas 1983, p. 50.

end of the civil year to Aglauros and her husband, Ares, as well as many other deities.[6] The discovery of this inscription firmly secured the location of the sanctuary of Aglauros, as the inscription itself states that it was placed in the sanctuary of Aglauros. Dontas notes that the eastern slope is the steepest slope of the Acropolis and thus it fits the description of the sanctuary of Aglauros by Herodotus.[7] This cave had been labelled "La Grotte d'Apollon, Panagia" in the seventeenth century which represents a retention of the cult aspect of this cave but it was confused with the cave of Apollo on the northwest corner of the Acropolis (cat. 25) and the Panagia Spiliotissa, a cave above the Theatre of Dionysos.[8]

Located just below the walls of the Acropolis on the east slope, the Acropolis East Cave (cat. 21) has a large, round mouth measuring 14 m in width and ca. 10 m in height (see figure 12). The cave itself is 22 m in length and it slopes down towards the rear of the cave. The limestone walls are jagged and there is evidence of deterioration of the walls and roof of the cave.[9] Excavation of the Acropolis East Cave was conducted by Broneer in 1936 and he determined that the excavated deposit was disturbed and filled with dump from the Acropolis excavations. All of the finds from this excavation have been attributed to the Acropolis rather than to this cave. The floor of the cave was leveled at some point after the Classical period and there is a sloping path where the rock has been blasted away, possibly by Venetian besiegers in the seventeenth century, near the

[6] Dontas 1983, p. 52.
[7] Dontas 1983, p. 59.
[8] Broneer 1936, p. 252.
[9] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 341.

southern wall of the cave.[10] Broneer also uncovered rock-cut steps leading to a leveled area 6 m north of the cave entrance from the Peripatos. In this leveled area, Broneer found the bedding of a stele which led to his belief that this cave was used for cult purposes.[11]

The use of the Aglauros sanctuary and the attributes given to the heroine relate to the stories of her death. Aglauros is associated with child-rearing through her connection with Erichthonios; by carrying the child, Aglauros and Pandrosos are seen as nurses to the child.[12] E. Kearns sees the connection between Aglauros and the ephebes, the young men of the city, as an association related to her role in child-rearing. The story told by Philochorus, of Aglauros' self-sacrifice, is also reflected in her cult by the ephebic oath, given at the sanctuary of Aglauros before the youths were sent to battle. The text of the ephebic oath has been preserved in an inscription and many references to the oath have been made in literary sources.[13] The text of the inscription names Aglauros first among the gods as witnesses to the oath. This practice relates to Aglauros' act of civic duty that is present in her self-sacrifice; the ephebes are preparing for the possibility of dying for the sake of the polis and Aglauros is the model for this selfless act.[14] The name of Aglauros is also related to ἄγραυλος, 'living in the field,' which is most commonly used to describe military service.[15]

[10] Broneer 1936, p. 252.
[11] Broneer 1936, p. 252.
[12] Kearns 1989, p. 24.
[13] For the text of the inscription see Siewert 1977.
[14] Larson 1995, p. 40.
[15] Larson 1995, p. 40.

Iphigeneia

Iphigeneia is a chthonic figure who exists in all areas of Greece, yet there are many different views of her: as a sacrificial heroine, a model priestess, an aspect of Artemis' character and even an individual deity. The most commonly known myth of this figure is her sacrifice at Aulis. In this myth, Iphigeneia is the daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra and her sacrifice was required in order to allow the fleet to depart for the Trojan War. However, in some versions of the myth, Iphigeneia was replaced with a stag by Artemis at the moment she would have been killed. However, this myth is not the most important story concerning Iphigeneia in Attica; here, the Attic myths are given precedence. At Brauron, Iphigeneia is known as the first priestess of Artemis as well as a sacrificial virgin. When a sacred bear is killed, Artemis sent a plague as retribution and demanded propitiatory rites to remove the plague.[16] In most tellings of this myth, the sacrifice is averted, or an animal is substituted, although Iphigeneia acts as the sacrifice when it is not averted.[17] This myth represents the beginning of the rites of *arkteia*, when Iphigeneia's act of sacrifice is honoured. The participants of the *arkteia* experience a form of ritual sacrifice to mark the transition from childhood to maturity. In an alternate Attic tradition, based in Mounychia (Piraeus), the sacrifice of a daughter was demanded, as retribution for the death of the sacred bear, and was only averted through trickery.[18] In other mythologies, Iphigeneia is the daughter of Helen, rather than of her sister Clytemnestra, who was originally a deity connected with

[16] Larson 1995, p. 105.
[17] Sale 1975, pp. 265-284.
[18] Larson 1995, p. 105.

vegetation and fertility.[19] Iphigeneia is sometimes used as an epithet of Artemis which indicates that Iphigeneia represents chthonic elements of Artemis' character. Such facets of her character would be viewed as inauspicious for a goddess of childbirth, as she was worshipped at Brauron.[20] Iphigeneia is also presented as chthonic goddess at times, given her possible divine lineage and Pausanias' account that she became Hekate according to Artemis' will (Pausanias 1.43.1). Iphigeneia, as a heroine or a deity, is at all times inseparable from the chthonic.[21]

The Tomb of Iphigeneia (cat. 5) is located within the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron (see figure 1 for map of Attica). The cave is located at the base of the northern slope of the acropolis, near the Doric temple and the chapel of Ay. Yeoryios (see figure 13 for plan). The cave, facing the northwest, measures approximately 27 m in length and 6 m in width but the roof of the cave has now fallen and it now exists as a cleft in the rock.[22] Within the cave, there are the remains of two structures: the Small Shrine at the northwest corner of the entrance and rubble walls to the southeast of the shrine. At the mouth of the cleft, the foundations of a rectangular building, measuring 4.5 m in width and 7.5 m in length, were discovered by the excavator. The building was divided into two rooms, the inner being early double the length of the outer chamber. Only the foundation of squared limestone blocks remains of this building, the superstructure having been most likely built of mudbrick.[23] This building has become known as the Small Shrine. The remains of the second building begin at the rear of the Small Shrine

[19] Lloyd-Jones 1983, p. 95.
[20] Lloyd-Jones 1983, p. 95.
[21] Kahil 1991, p. 185.
[22] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 63.
[23] Papadimitriou 1949, p. 83.

and extend to the back wall of the cave and they consist of rubble and mortar walls which form five rooms and a corridor on the south side of the building. Within these rubble walls, there was found evidence of fires and ash pits, as well as shards of pottery and terracotta figurines. The construction of this building took place in the seventh or sixth century BCE and it appears to have been destroyed in the fifth century by rock fall. It was at this point that the Small Shrine was built to replace this earlier building. At the mouth of the cleft, there are the remains of a third building, now known as the Priestess' House. This building measures 8.5 m in length and 6.4 m in width and it is divided into two rooms. The entrance to the Priestess' House is located on the north. Near the Priestess' House, three graves were found, two of which are undatable while the third dates to the 2nd century CE. Papadimitriou speculates that these graves belong to later priestesses of Artemis who were buried in the tradition of Iphigeneia.[24]

The role of Iphigeneia at Brauron is elucidated by Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. In this play, Iphigeneia is told by Athena that she will become the priestess of Artemis at Brauron and she will die and be buried in that place (1462-1467). As for the cult practices at this site, Athena also tells Iphigeneia in this passage that the garments of women who have died in childbirth would be dedicated to her as offerings. Inscriptions found at both Brauron and the Athenian Acropolis (*IG*^{2} 1517-1531) specifically mention such dedications but they do not name the recipient or the circumstances of the dedication.[25] This does not contradict the literary sources concerning dedications to Iphigeneia, but it also does not provide proof of the distinction between Artemis and the

[24] Papadimitriou 1956, p. 76; 1955, p. 118.
[25] Kearns 1989, p. 28.

heroine. In the scholion on Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (645) and Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (13. 186), the cenotaph of Iphigeneia at Brauron is mentioned. This site would provide a suitable location for dedications to Iphigeneia to be placed because the site of a heroine's tomb is the most likely setting for cult activity in her honour.

The most important ritual to take place at Brauron was the festival of *arkteia*, which has its origins in the myth of the death of a sacred bear at Brauron. Iphigeneia, as the first priestess at Brauron, acted as the prime example for the *arktoi*, the girls participating in the ritual sacrifice.[26] The importance of Iphigeneia and her cult site is evidenced by a particular type of vessel, krateriskoi, found at Brauron with a particular concentration near the Tomb of Iphigeneia.[27] This concentration, together with the mythological association with Iphigeneia, suggests that the cave in question was one of the prime sites for ritual activity. This type of vessel was used in the rituals of the *arkteia* and depicts the actions of the participants in its iconography. The shape of this vessel is described as a chalice with double handles and the vessel was used for sprinkling water with twigs, as shown in a fragment of a red-figure vessel.[28] The scenes on the krateriskoi show adolescent girls, either naked or wearing a short skirt, dancing or running while holding torches or twigs. Iphigeneia was an important heroine for the girls of the *arkteia*, who regarded her as their predecessor.

Heroes are commonly worshipped at the site of their tombs and heroines are usually placed with a male counterpart, most commonly a husband. The lack of

[26] Kearns 1989, p. 57.
[27] Simon 1983, p. 83.
[28] Kahil, 1965, pp. 24-25.

independence given to female heroines is a reflection of the way of life for women in Greece. However, both heroines examined in this chapter are among the few exceptions to this pattern because they do not have husbands. The heroines which can be excluded from the familial context are sacrificial virgins, because they have been abruptly displaced from their families, and Amazons, because they are without genealogies.[29] Both Aglauros and Iphigeneia have acted as the role of sacrificial virgin and both cults were given high level of importance, as they were each individually named and the cult was administered at the polis level. In both cases, the heroine's self-sacrifice acts as a model for the younger residents of Attica; Aglauros to the ephebes and Iphigeneia to young women.[30]

Serangos

The cave site of Paraskeva (cat.17) is located in the Mounychia area of Piraeus, 50 m from the modern shoreline. Dragatsis investigated this cave in the 1890's. The natural form of this cave's entrance cannot be determined as the walls were cut back in antiquity to form a public bath house. The entrance to the cave is currently 1 m wide and is located at the southeast end of a straight underground passage which leads to a number of chambers (see figure 14 for plan).[31] The first chamber is nearly circular and 5.9 m in diameter with an immersion pool with rock-cut benches on the northern side of the chamber. A central shaft for light pierced the roof of this chamber. A tunnel, 13 m in

[29] Larson 1995, p. 8.
[30] Larson 1995, p. 41 .
[31] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, pp. 301-305.

length, leads towards the sea from the south end of this room which likely acted as a drainage channel. Five meters beyond the entrance of the first chamber, there is a well 5 m deep located in the central passageway. At this point in the passageway, there are two entrances into two nearly identical rectangular chambers. Both chambers are 3.25 m in length, 1.55 m in height and 1.5 m in width. It has been suggested that these chambers acted as reservoirs. The last chamber in this complex is a large tholos-shaped room on the north side of the main passageway. This room measures 6.6 m in diameter and 9 m in height with a shaft in the centre of the roof acting as a light-well. A partially preserved mosaic covered the floor of this room; the preserved portions depict images of Skylla and a young man driving a quadriga with a dolphin below the legs of the horses. The construction of the *balaneion* and the mosaics has been dated to the fourth century BCE.[32] Near the Skylla mosaic, a monolithic altar, bearing an inscription which has been restored to read [Apo]llo[nos] A[p]ot[ropaiou], was one of the few finds recorded from this cave.[33] There was likely a second tholos-shaped room to the southwest of the entrance of the first room but it has not been preserved.

The identification of this *balaneion* as the cult site of the hero Serangos is based on a number of literary sources. The Serangeion is referred to by Isaios (6.33) where he mentions that the area contained a *balaneion* and that it was sold to Aristolochos by Euktimon for 3,000 drachmas after 376 BCE. A second source, Photion, places the Serangeion in Piraeus and says that it was built by Serangos or that it contained his heröon. If this site contained the heröon of Serangos, the location was most likely the site

[32] Donaldson 1965, p. 88.
[33] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 303.

of his tomb, since few heröons are built in other locations. The hero Serangos is one of the more obscure heroes known to have been worshipped in Attica. He is connected with healing and he is cited as a founder of Piraeus.[34]

Asklepios

The Asklepieion Spring Cave (cat. 20) was greatly altered from its original form in the fourth century BCE when the Asklepieion was built. This cave is now part of the sanctuary of Asklepios and it is entered through the northern wall of the Doric Stoa (see figure 15 for plan). This cave now has a small entrance, measuring only 1.15 m in width and 2.1 m in height, in the shape of an arch.[35] The original entrance to the cave was destroyed when the southern slope of the Acropolis was trimmed to a vertical cliff. From the entrance, a passage, 2.5 m in length, leads to the single chamber of the cave: a circular room, 5 m in diameter. The lower wall of the cave was worked to form the circular shape of the cave but the roof of the cave was left in its original form, 5 m above the floor, which is composed of an artificial pebble terrazzo. A spring emerges from the northern wall of the cave which has a flow 0.5 L of water per minute.[36] The spring likely functioned as the main water source for the Asklepieion which, according to Xenophon (*Memorabilia* 3.13.3), was used for purification and as part of the cure provided to visitors. There is a second spring located 75 m to the west of the cave whose position within the sanctuary has been debated by scholars.

[34] Kearns 1989, p. 197.
[35] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 329.
[36] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 330.

The Asklepieion was founded in 420/19 BCE by Telemachos which required the transfer of an image of the god from the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros. The officials from Epidauros arrived at Athens with the symbols of the new cult on the seventeenth of Boedromion, the third day of the Eleusinian Mysteries. This day was commemorated yearly by the creation of the festival of Epidauria for which officials from Epidauros would travel to Athens to participate.[37] The popularity of the cult of Asklepios and its spread throughout Greece is attributed to the god's role as healer. The Doric stoa of the Asklepieion functioned as the abaton of the sanctuary, a necessary structure for the healing process as prescribed by the cult.[38] Beginning in the fourth century, visitors to the sanctuary would give sacrifices prior to sleeping in the abaton in order to receive dreams sent by the god. While sleeping in the abaton among non-poisonous snakes, visitors hoped to have an encounter with Asklepios to receive healing. The proximity of the spring is thought to have aided in this ritual because water was a medium for interaction with the divine, similar to the case of nympholepsy discussed in Chapter One.

The cult of Asklepios is very similar to that of heroes, in fact, Pindar (*Pyth* 3.7) calls him a ἥρως. He is the son of Apollo and a mortal woman and he himself lived a mortal life. Rather than a cult that is centered upon the grave of a hero, the image of the god as a snake bears much more importance.[39] Because the cult is not directly related to the tomb site, it does not follow the pattern for the placement of hero cults. When the cult of a hero extends beyond the tomb, it is an indication that he has been elevated to divine

[37] Clinton 1994, p. 20.
[38] Aleshire 1989, p. 29.
[39] Burkert 1985, p. 214.

status.[40] However, Asklepios' status as a deity is connected to his origin as a chthonic figure. The snake itself is commonly representative of the dead; it was a general belief among the Greeks that the dead may appear in the form of a snake.[41] The snake is an important image of Asklepios and a symbol of the chthonic nature of the cult.

The earlier use of the Asklepieion Spring Cave has left little evidence due to the substantial changes made in the fourth century BCE. It has been suggested that a votive plaque with the mention of Pan, the Nymphs, Hermes, Aphrodite and Isis (*IG*^{2} 4994) belongs to the earlier phase of this cave. This plaque was found on the middle terrace of the northern slope of the Acropolis and it suggests that there was a shrine to these deities in the area. In the sixth century CE, the cave became a chapel as part of the basilica of Ay. Anargyroi for which the spring continued to provide water for ritual use.

Plouton

The Ploutoneion (cat. 15) is located within the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis and the use of this cave is directly related to his relationship to the goddess through the myth of the rape of Persephone (see figure 16 for photo, figure 17 for plan of sanctuary). The name Plouton was applied to Hades in Attic drama and it was also used for a separate deity, Ploutos, to refer to the bounty which he could produce as an agricultural deity.[42] Hades' role in the Underworld as king of the realm and ruler of the souls of the deceased is the most basic aspect of his identity. Persephone's place in the Underworld and

[40] Larson 1995, p. 9.
[41] Burkert 1985, p. 195.
[42] Fairbanks, 1900, p. 247.

Demeter's mourning are important myths to the Greek worldview. The site of Persephone's rape is situated in the plain of Nysa according to the Homeric Hymn of Demeter, but Pausanias places this event at Erineos, by the Eleusinian Kephisos based on a local legend (1.38.5). Plouton's presence at Eleusis is of great importance to the sanctuary of Demeter and the Eleusinian Mysteries because of the connection through myth.

The festival of the Eleusinian Mysteries established a symbolic link between the Acropolis and the sanctuary at Eleusis and between the two most important goddesses in Attica. The purpose of the Mysteries for the initiates was to ensure both the prosperity of the land, Demeter and Ploutos' sphere of influence, and preference in the Underworld upon death, Plouton's realm.[43] The sequence of events of the Mysteries began on the fifteenth of Boedromion with the officials from the Eleusis sanctuary travelling to Athens, where they made sacrifices. After three days in Athens, the Eleusinian officials, accompanied by the ephebes, took part in the *pompe* to Eleusis on the nineteenth of Boedromion. The following day, the initiates of the Mysteries processed to Eleusis, bringing with them the image of Iakchos. Upon their arrival at Eleusis, the initiates made sacrifices to Plouton, Iakchos, Demeter and Kore, as Persephone was known at Eleusis. The final day of the Mysteries was the twenty-first of Boedromion, when the initiation of new members took place within the Telesterion.[44] The initiation rites are a great source of conjecture and some have argued that the cave in question was used as part of the events.

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[43] Clinton 1993, p. 115.
[44] Clinton 1988, pp. 69-71 for sequence of events.

The Ploutoneion at Eleusis (cat. 15) is located at the base of the northeast corner of the acropolis within the sanctuary of Demeter (see figure 18 for plan of cave). The cave is an open shelter measuring 15 m in width, 5 m in height and 5 m in length. The cave is divided into two sections by a limestone partition. The southern section of the cave is the larger of the two sections in both length and width. At the rear of the south section, there are several niches and fissures one of which is the opening to a narrow passage, 4 m in length, with a natural cavity at the end.[45] The remains of oxen and sheep were found in this cavity indicating that it was a site of sacrifice. The south section of the cave is dominated by the remains of two building phases of a shrine: the first was built in the Peisistratean period and consists of the foundation blocks of a one room structure with an open portico in antis, while the second was built in the Hellenistic period was of a similar plan but twice the length of the first building. At the same time the Hellenistic shrine was constructed, a retaining wall was built to form a triangular court before the entrance to the cave.[46] The northern section of the cave has a rounded window in the northern wall which looks out onto the triangular court and has six steps on the exterior wall leading down to the level of the court. The site was damaged in the fourth century CE by Alaric and completely ruined by Christians in the fifth century CE.

The fissure at the rear of the southern section of the cave has been interpreted by Faure to represent the location where Persephone went down and emerged from the Underworld according to the Orphic Hymn to Plouton (*Orphic Hymn* 18. 11-15). Mylonas, on the other hand, interprets the whole cave as the location of Persephone's

[45] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 279.
[46] Mylonas 1961, p. 99, 146-148.

descent and ascent, as portrayed in the Hymn. Mylonas has suggested that this area was used during the Eleusinian Mysteries for recreating Persephone's ascent from Hades and that a person would emerge from the window in the northern wall of the cave and be seen by passers-by on the Sacred Way.[47] The six steps beneath this window and its size make it an ideal location for theatrical re-enactments of the myth.

K. Clinton has suggested a different interpretation of the cave and the rituals which took place there. Rather than identifying it as the Ploutoneion, he refers to the cave formation as the Mirthless Rock, where Demeter mourns for her daughter. This feature of the Eleusinian landscape is not mentioned in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter or Pausanias' description of the site; however the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus (1.5.1) explains that Demeter sat on this rock, near the Callichoron Well, when she arrived at Eleusis. The epigraphic evidence for the Ploutoneion does not contradict this view; in fact, Clinton places the Ploutoneion in Athens near the City Eleusinion rather than at Eleusis based on the evidence for the sanctuary.[48] A natural seat on the southern cliff within the cave serves as the specific location of Demeter's mourning, although the whole precinct of the cave should be considered the Mirthless Rock.[49] This seat is directly in line with the entrance to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, the Greater Propylaea, and can be viewed through the window in the north wall of the cave. This interpretation of the cave does not change its status as sacred and this status is still based on its connection to the Underworld. The *Orphic Hymn* (18.14-15) calls this cave the gates of Hades and,

[47] Mylonas 1961, p. 148.
[48] Clinton 1992, p. 20.
[49] Clinton 1992, p. 22.

according to a scholion to Aristophanes' *Knights*,[50] Theseus sat on the seat in question before his descent to the Underworld. According to Clinton, the cave functions as a pathway from the Underworld which Kore passes through in re-creations of the myth every year during the Eleusinian Mysteries.

The Semnai Theai

The cult of the Semnai Theai is based on the role which these goddesses play in the Underworld, where they are responsible for vengeance and the protection of rights. Pausanias (1.28.6) describes the location of the sanctuary of the Semnai Theai as adjacent to the Areopagus and notes that the sanctuary contained images of the Semnai Theai, Plouton, Hermes, Ge and a memorial to Oedipus. The Semnai Theai are mentioned in several Athenian tragedies which have provided some additional evidence concerning the cult and their cave. In Aescyhlus' *Eumenides*, the sanctuary is described as κατά γῆς (1007) and κατά χθονός (1023) from the Areopagus. In Euripides' *Elektra*, a χάσμα χθονός (1271) near the Areopagus is described as the path taken by the goddesses after the trial of Orestes for the murder of Clytemnestra.

The final cave to be discussed in this chapter is known as the Areopagus Northeast Cave (cat. 28) and it was dedicated to the Semnai Theai, otherwise known as the Erinyes or the Furies. On the northeast slope of the Areopagus, a mass of limestone has fallen away from the hill forming a narrow cleft facing the north-northeast. The cleft is approximately 20 m in length and it can be entered from either end. There is an

[50] Ar. *Eq.* 785a Koster = Suda.

overhanging roof immediately to the west of the northeast entrance and a number of fissures in the rock in this area.[51] There has been no archaeological evidence recovered from this site, thus the identification and interpretation of the site is based solely upon literary sources.

The importance of this cult in Athens is illustrated by Aescyhlus' *Eumenides*, in which the Semnai Theai threatened the city. In this last play of the Oresteia, Orestes flees to Athens and upon his arrival the Semnai Theai petition Athena to bring him to trial (433). However, the jurors in this trial, chosen from among the Athenian citizens, acquit Orestes of his mother's murder, with equal votes. This situation causes the Semnai Theai to threaten the city with plague and blight (778-792). Athena immediately comes to the aid of Athens and offers the Dread Goddesses a hidden place within the city where they will receive special honours (793-806). The Semnai Theai originated as the vengeful spirits of the deceased and they came to represent a hostile form of justice. At their sanctuary in Athens, oaths were taken prior to murder trials in the name of the Semnai Theai; they were called upon to punish the participants in the event of perjury.[52] Among their other duties, the Semnai Theai guarded the rights of the first-born and protected strangers.[53]

The division of the gods between Olympian and chthonic is determined by where the gods reside as well as their sphere of influence. Both Plouton and the Semnai Theai

[51] Wickens 1986, vol. 2, p. 392.
[52] Lloyd-Jones 1990, p. 208.
[53] Fairbanks 1900, p. 242.

were believed to have lived in the Underworld and have control over the souls of the dead.[54] The sanctuaries of Plouton and the Semnai Theai are located in specific locations which were thought to lead directly to the realm of the Underworld. Both caves contain narrow chasms which are difficult for humans to pass through but they were believed to be passageways to the Underworld. This connection to the dead is present also in the caves of the heroines which have been examined in this chapter. The site of burial or death of the heroines was the site chosen for her cult, as was the pattern for most hero cults. The cult of Serangos was placed near the city which he was said to have founded but so little is known about this figure that a connection between the site and his death/burial is impossible to make. In the case of Asklepios, the element of the chthonic is present in his image as a snake, a symbol that was thought to represent the deceased. The snake forever wanders the earth, able to disappear into the smallest cracks and holes in the ground, including libation channels at grave sites, such cracks were thought to lead to the world below the earth, namely the Underworld. Caves provide suitable locations for these deities because of their nature as openings to the Underworld and their connection to tombs.

[54] Fairbanks 1900, p. 242, 246.

Conclusion

The study of cave sanctuaries is an area of Greek archaeology which has not received a great deal of attention. This investigation has been the first to focus on the group of twenty-eight known sacred caves within the region of Attica. The placement of cave sanctuaries, in terms of the natural and human environments, has been the basis of this study by examining the various different types of deities individually. The cult of the Nymphs is related with the natural world as has been shown through both their origins in literature and the cult practices. The introduction of the cult of Pan into Attica changed the focus of cave cults and Pan from pastoralism to their impact upon civilization. The interaction with the polis and the role played by cave sanctuaries was made evident through an examination of the caves on the slopes of the Athenian Acropolis. Local legend and myths have also played a role in the placement of caves; this aspect of cave selection has been illustrated through the study of hero and chthonic deity caves.

Sanctuaries of the Nymphs were the first caves to be used as sanctuaries in the historical period. The early view of Nymphs as representations of the natural landscape can be found in the texts of Homer, Hesiod and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*. Nymphs were the personification of the hills, trees and springs, and they lived on the earth, rather than among the deities of Olympus, in caves as shelter. The natural properties of caves provide shelter from the weather and offer a resting place that is at all times more moderate in temperature. These conditions made caves ideal homes for nature deities; the presence of water sources, evidence of previous use, closed entrances

and high altitude made caves particularly attractive as homes and sanctuaries of the Nymphs. A cave does not need to possess all four of these properties in order to provide a suitable location for a sanctuary of the Nymphs. Each of these factors are influential in the selection process, although the combination of multiple factors is likely to increase the probability of a cave's selection for a Nymph sanctuary.

The cults of the Nymphs ensured the fertility of the land through firstfruit offerings. In the early phase of their use, the visitors to the remote sanctuaries of the Nymphs were predominately rural people. The fertility of the land and the security of the water supply were among the main concerns for those whose survival depends solely on the production of food and the Nymphs represented these aspects of nature. The Nymphs were viewed as the embodiment of springs, the most consistent and vital water supply in Attica. The fourteen caves dedicated to the Nymphs are evenly distributed throughout Attica and many are located far from urban areas. The greater relationship between rural people and the Nymphs based on their role as fertility deities encouraged the use of these caves for other purposes including premarital rituals.

The practices of rural cave cults came into the urban area of Athens in the Classical period as the city grew and democracy reached its peak. The rural caves are linked to the city through the caves on the slopes of the Acropolis. The presence of sacred caves and the cult of Pan at the centre of the city are connected by their ties to common ideas. In the transference of the cult of Pan from Arcadia to Attica, Pan took on new characteristics which are very much related to his new home in caves. In Arcadia, Pan was a god of shepherds who received a great deal of importance in this largely

pastoral society. Pan's importance in Attica, however, was not based upon this aspect of the deity but his military ability. In Arcadia, Pan wandered the landscape in the form of a goat, whereas in Attica, Pan gradually took on a more human appearance and found shelter in caves. In Attica, Pan represented an element of chaos which, through his worship, could benefit the Athenians in military situations, and the savagery of an animal. These aspects of Pan also belong to caves as is evident through the portrayal of caves in literature.

The polis is based upon the concepts of order and σωφροσύνη, and is a place where the ideas represented by Pan must be kept at bay. Outside of Athens, Pan is seen as a figure that brings disaster when he is within the city and he represents disorder, excessive desire and chaos. Cave sanctuaries of these kind fall into the category of non-urban sanctuaries in de Polignac's model for the formation of the polis. Such sanctuaries mark the borders of a polis' territory and mark the transition between civilization and the wilderness. To find caves and Pan within the physical limits of the polis, specifically on the slopes of the Acropolis, is surprising. The Athenians witnessed the power which Pan wields firsthand at the Battle of Marathon, and it was deemed necessary to worship him so that he would use his power to benefit Athens. Rather than keeping Pan as far as possible from the centre of the polis, Athens acknowledges Pan's area of influence and he is worshipped because of his great power. By bringing Pan into the city, Athenians acknowledge Pan's power and the threat of disorder and excess within the polis.

The nature of caves in Attica has been presented in two ways thus far: the idyllic home of peaceful nature deities and a symbol of savagery and chaos. In Greek literature,

more often than not, caves were the homes of a primitive being or the setting of an act of savagery. Both of these views of caves originate in the first occupation of caves, as a place of shelter and refuge in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. Among the seventy-six caves with evidence of ancient use in Attica, the most common function in the prehistoric period was as a shelter for small groups of humans; most were only temporary, although a few caves were of suitable size and layout to allow for a permanent settlement. Kitsos Cave (cat. 1) is the only cave studied in this study which was certainly employed as a permanent settlement for a small group of several families. This cave was used as such at least twice for short periods of time, no more than fifty years. The Greeks viewed links to the past as a means of legitimization of sacred spaces, in this aspect, sacred caves are comparable to contemporary sanctuaries, regardless of setting.

Temple buildings are, in essence, homes for images of the gods and sacred caves function in the same way. Men, as the founders of temple buildings, have used their own homes as the basic template for temples. Caves are part of this template because of their role as the first homes to the early Greeks. However, the later Greeks viewed their predecessors as primitive human beings and those who lived in caves were the earliest inhabitants of Greece, according to their own anthropology. The Greeks who lived in caves existed without writing, laws and religion: the definition of savages to the Classical Greeks.

Caves became homes to all types of deities in the Classical period, including the lofty Olympian gods, in spite of the association of caves with Pan. Zeus, Aphrodite and Apollo were worshipped at sacred caves in Attica, rather than the expected pastoral gods,

such as Artemis and Hermes. Of these deities, only Zeus is worshipped in sacred caves outside of Attica. Zeus is easily connected with caves, given that according to one myth, he was born and cared for as an infant in the Dictaean Cave of Central Crete. The caves of Aphrodite and Apollo on the slopes of the Acropolis have political significance. The only remains recovered from the cave of Apollo were dedications made by government officials, either archons or *grammateus*, as a group or individually. The cave of Aphrodite, on the other hand, did not contain remains pertaining to government officials; however, one of the aspects of Aphrodite's character is the patron goddess of magistrates. The caves on the slopes of the Acropolis were established by the administration of the polis to provide a symbolic representation of the religion of the rural inhabitants within the centre of the polis.

The character of the deities in the caves need not correspond to the nature of caves; their presence within caves ties the gods to the landscape. The gods are linked to the landscape because they found shelter in the land, just as nature deities, in the primitive homes of the first inhabitants of Attica. The mirroring of sanctuaries of the slopes of the Acropolis and the rural areas reinforces this link between the gods and the land. The mirroring of sanctuaries is most evident with the cave cults of Olympian deities, as there is only one rural site and one urban site for each, however, with the exception of the chthonic deities, all of the gods worshipped in rural caves were represented in caves on the slopes of the Acropolis, the religious centre of Attica.

The interconnection of the urban and rural caves is important to the study of sacred caves of Attica, especially in the context of the polis of the Classical period. The

sanctuaries of Artemis Brauronia, as discussed in Chapter Three, are parallel to the mirroring of sacred caves. The Acropolis sanctuary to Artemis Brauronia represents a connection to the Brauronian sanctuary and a symbolic means of control over the rural sanctuary. Cave sanctuaries function as a significant cult place for the rural people of Attica because they were bound more closely to their local deme rather than the city of Athens as the centre of the polis. However, it was important to bring together the separate communities of Attica and focus the attention of their citizens on the centre of the polis. By placing sacred caves which were familiar to the rural people in locations symbolically important to the whole polis, an attempt was made to integrate the cultural and social customs of the rural inhabitants into the polis. The rural and urban caves are clearly linked just as the rural people were bound to the centre of the polis.

The last aspect of caves that is of interest to this study is the chthonic connection. All of the caves dedicated to chthonic deities, both heroes and gods, have been found to be directly connected to the local legends and myths attached to the character to which the cave was dedicated. The association of cave to the chthonic aspect of Greek religion is partially related to the early use of caves by the early Greeks. The use of caves as burial sites was not as prevalent as habitation sites in Attica, yet they occurred mostly at the same time, the Neolithic and Bronze Age. A total of four caves which were later utilized as cave sanctuaries contained evidence of evidence of burials. Three of these caves were employed as burial sites in either the Neolithic or Late Bronze Age and these caves were also used as habitation sites. The prototype of the home and the revered

resting places of ancestors developed into sites of a sacred nature which retained some of the aspects of their earlier function.

The placement of caves connected to chthonic deities is largely based on the pre-existing landscape and the legends and mythology concerning each figure. The Ploutoneion (cat. 15) is located within the sacred precinct of the temple of Demeter at Eleusis. Plouton is connected to this particular location through the myth of Persephone's abduction and a local legend concerning the site of this event. The cave of the Semnai Theai (cat. 28) is located on the slopes of the Areopagus, where criminal trials took place. The founding of this cave is directly tied to the myth of Orestes and his trial on the Areopagus. Both Plouton and the Semnai Theai were believed to have lived in the Underworld and have control over the souls of the dead. The sanctuaries of Plouton and the Semnai Theai both contain narrow chasms at the rear of their caves and these chasms were believed to be entrances to the Underworld. Such locations would be necessary for these deities to allow mediation between realm of the living and the dead. For heroes, the site of burial is the most likely place for a cult place to develop. The Tomb of Iphigeneia (cat. 5) follows this pattern while Aglauros' cave is placed at the site of her death. Both of these figures are well-known through mythology and their cult sites were selected largely because they correspond to the known legends. The caves of both Serangos and Asklepios are not situated in locations which correspond to stories of death, although both figures are connected to their respective sites either through legend or symbolically. In the case of Serangos, it is only known that he was thought to be a founder of Peiraeus, thus the cave is located there, although it is not known where he died. Asklepios was

brought to Athens by means of the transfer of the sacred snake from Asklepios' home at Epidauros.

The selection of sacred cave sites has been influenced by a number of factors, varying according to the nature of the deity to whom the cave is to be dedicated and the time at which the cave is founded. The earliest sacred caves belonged to the rural people of Attica and were dedicated to the Nymphs. Many of these sanctuaries were founded as early as the Late Geometric period, before the polis was fully formed. The highest priority to the visitors of these early caves was their own survival which was directly tied to the worship of the Nymphs. At the beginning of the Classical period, the victory at Marathon precipitated the transfer of Pan from Arcadia to Attica. With the arrival of Pan, a contrasting element of the nature of caves was brought to light and the use of caves widened to include urban, as well as rural, people. The integration of the urban and rural caves took a familiar pattern as a model, that of the sanctuaries of Artemis Brauronia, which helped to unify the visitors of cave sanctuaries. The final aspect of cave selection that has been shown is the relation between chthonic deities and myth, which directly corresponds to the site chosen as sacred caves. In all cases, caves are chosen for sanctuaries for their particular properties and character traits which contribute to the whole of Attic religion.

Catalogue of Caves

1. Kitsos..... p. 102
2. Thimari..... p. 102
3. Spelia tou Davele..... p. 103
4. Keratea..... p. 103
5. Tomb of Iphigeneia..... p. 104
6. Vouliagmeni..... p. 105
7. Vari ..... p. 106
8. Lion Cave..... p. 106
9. Cave of Nymphs..... p. 107
10. Ikarion..... p. 108
11. Marathon..... p. 108
12. Karabola..... p. 109
13. Lychnospilia..... p. 109
14. Eleusis Pan Cave..... p. 111
15. Ploutoneion..... p. 111
16. Daphni Pan Cave..... p. 112
17. Paraskeva/Serangeion..... p. 112
18. Ay. Photeini Pan/Ilios..... p. 113
19. Asklepieion 1..... p. 114
20. Asklepieion Spring Cave..... p. 114
21. Acropolis East Cave..... p. 115
22. Cave S..... p. 115
23. Klepsydra..... p. 116
24. Cave A..... p. 117
25. Cave B..... p. 117
26. Cave C..... p. 118
27. Cave D..... p. 118
28. Areopagus ..... p. 119

1. Kitsos

Location: Laurion; north of modern Kamariza, on the east slope of Mikro Rimbari

Dimensions: Entrance-Width: ca. 0.9 m Height: ca. 1.1 m
Cave- Length: ca. 35 m Height: ca. 4.6 m
Width: ca. 12 m Depth: ca. -3 m

Orientation of Entrance: East **Elevation:** 290 masl

Physical Features: There are sources of water in the cave but dripping water is likely present during the rainy season. The walls and roof of the cave are covered with calcite formations. The entrance to the cave is located just 8 m below the summit of Mikro Rimbari.

Type of Plan: The plan of this cave is composed of three main chambers. The first chamber is the largest and it is accessed by a 9 m tunnel leading from the entrance. There are three smaller rooms that branch off of the tunnel. At the northwest and southwest end of the first chamber, there are tunnels that lead to the second and third chambers respectively.

Periods of Use: Paleolithic, Late Neolithic, LH IIIA1-IIIB, Classical- Hellenistic, Roman

Functions: The earliest phase of use of the Kitsos Cave occurred ca. 40,000 BCE, when it was used as a hunting camp. The remains of this phase consist of a hearth at the entrance to the cave and bones of bears and deer, as well as shells. The bones were broken and burnt indicating cooking. The cave was next in use ca. 5000 BCE as a habitation site. At this time, the ceramics found at the site were from the Cyclades, as shown by the forms of the vessels and the composition of the clay. The main phase of occupation in the cave occurred after a 500 year abandonment ca. 4500 BCE. The remains of this period include worked bone and shell, obsidian from Melos, pottery and human remains. The human remains were left in the cave but they were not buried. Fragments of pottery from the Late Helladic period (an alabastron, a footed bowl, a stirrup jar and a skyphos) suggest that the cave was visited during this period, although the function is unknown. After another period of abandonment, the phase of cult use in the cave began in the 5th century BCE and continued into the beginning of the Hellenistic period. The majority of the pottery of this phase consisted of black-ground and black-figure wares with simple decoration. In the first chamber of the cave, an ash pit, measuring 3 m by 2 m, was found with fragments of terracotta vessels and figurines, as well as the remains of birds. The cave continued to be visited until the end of the 5th century CE.

Ancient Sources: -

Bibliography: Lambert 1981; Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 4-15.

2. Thimari

Location: Anaphlystos; southeast of Palaia Phokaia

Dimensions: Entrance- Width: ca. 11 m Height: ca. 8 m
Cave- Length: 25 m Height: 8 m
Width: 20 m Depth:-

Orientation of Entrance: West **Elevation:** ca. 200 masl

Physical Features: The walls of the caves are made up of a combination of limestone and schist. There is dripping water in the caves but no recorded pools or springs. There are also some calcite formations in the rear chamber. There is another cave to the southwest and 10-15 m higher on the slope of the cliff in which no cultural material was found.
Type of Plan: This cave has three sections: the first area is 10 m long and the roof slopes from 8 m in height at the entrance to 2 m in height, the second and third area are a combined length of 15 m and they are darker and lower in height.
Periods of Use: Late Neolithic(?), Archaic- Classical
Functions: Use in the Neolithic period is evidenced by some shards of coarse, handmade pottery. The conditions of this cave make it unsuitable for long-term habitation but would make a good short-term shelter for men or animals. The phase of cult use of the site begins in the 6th century BCE and continues to the end of the 5th century BCE. Fragments of vessels and figurines, including one of a female head, were found within the cave. This cave is a possible location for the "Paneion by Anaphlystos" mentioned by Strabo (IX. 398).
Ancient Sources: Strabo IX, 398.
Bibliography: Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 15-20).

3. Spelia tou Davele
Location: Anaphlystos
Dimensions: Length:? Height: 5.5 m
Width: ? Depth: 8-15 m
Entrance- width: 1.2 m
Orientation of Entrance: southwest **Elevation:** ?
Physical Features: There are stalagmite formations in the cave.
Type of Plan: The shape and layout of the cave are unpublished. However, it is known that a wall of unworked stones blocked the natural entrance to the cave and created a small opening. At the back of the cave, there are the remains of two walls at right angles to each other, as well as rectangular cuttings on the back wall.
Periods of Use: Late Geometric-Classical
Functions: Evidence of cult use is provided by in the eastern section of the cave which contained a large area of burnt earth and fragments of vessels, figurines and relief plaques. Most of the finds date to the first half of the 5th century BCE. The finds are consistent with other sanctuaries dedicated to the Nymphs and this location is a second possibility for the "Paneion by Anaphlystos" mentioned by Strabo (IX. 398).
Ancient Sources: Strabo IX, 398.
Bibliography: Blackman 1999-2000 (p. 15).

4. Keratea
Location: Keratea; on the southeast peak of the Mt. Paneion ridge
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: 2.8 m Height: 1.9 m

Cave- Length: 60 m Height: 10.5 m
Width: 35 m Depth: -28 m
Orientation of Entrance: South-southwest **Elevation:** 548 masl
Physical Features: There are numerous stalagmites, stalactites and other concretions in this cave. There are no water sources in the cave but there are numerous collection pools for drip water.
Type of Plan: The plan of this cave is composed of four main chambers. The first chamber measures 35 m by 12.5 m and has a ridge in the middle of the room. The second chamber measures 45 m by 12.5 m and it has a large calcite column in the centre of the room which subdivides the room. There are also depressions in the floor of this chamber which collect water. The third chamber is 5 m higher than the previous room and it measures 35 m by 15 m. It has a row of small columns that separate the room and the floor slopes to the west side where there is a large water collection pool. The fourth chamber is divided into five areas by calcite formations and the largest collection pool is located in this chamber. No light is able to enter even the first chamber of the cave.
Periods of Use: Late Neolithic, Archaic(?), Classical, Late Roman
Functions: In the Late Neolithic period, the cave was likely used as a water source, given the large amount of pottery shards from this period and because the cave had pools of water on the floor most of the year. The cave has not in use again until the 6th or 5th century BCE, as evidenced by the remains of pottery from this period. This cave is a third possible location for the "Paneion by Anaphlystos" mentioned by Strabo (IX. 398).
Ancient Sources: Strabo IX, 398.
Bibliography: Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 26-34).

5. Tomb of Iphigeneia
Location: Brauron; within the sanctuary of Artemis, at the north foot of the acropolis
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: - Height: -
Cave- Length: ca. 27 m Height: -
Width: ca. 6 m Depth: -
Orientation of Entrance: Northwest **Elevation:** ca. 5 masl
Physical Features: There are no water sources present near this area and, because the roof of the cave has collapsed, it cannot be determined if there were any rock formations within the cave.
Type of Plan: The original shape of this cave was a narrow, rectangular chamber, open at both ends, with an orientation from the northwest to the southeast. At the rear of the original cave, the remains of a rubble structure in use in the 7th, 6th and 5th century BCE were found. The rubble walls of the structure formed five rooms and a corridor on the south side of the building. The roof of this cave collapsed in the 5th century BCE and the Small Shrine to the west was built as its replacement. The foundation of squared limestone blocks of the rectangular building measured 4.5 m in width and 7.5 m in length. The building was divided into two rooms, the inner being nearly double the length of the outer chamber. The superstructure was most likely built of mudbrick.
Periods of Use: Late Geometric-Late Roman

Functions: The earliest remains from the sanctuary were found beneath the collapsed roof of the cave. Pottery dating to the 7th through 5th century BCE, copper or bronze mirrors, rings and other personal ornaments were found in this area. Within the rubble walls of the first building at the site, ash pits, as well as shards of pottery and terracotta figurines were found. This indicates that sacrifices were deposited within the building and sacrificial fires took place as well. The finds from within the Small Shrine have not been published. In the area outside of the Small Shrine, in front of the cave, a large concentration of *krateriskoi* were found. This concentration, together with the mythological association with Iphigeneia, suggests that the cave in question was one of the primary sites for ritual activity during the *arkteia* and the vessels depict the actions of the participants in its iconography. The shape of this vessel is described as a chalice with double handles and the vessel was used for sprinkling water with twigs, as shown in a fragment of a red-figure vessel. The scenes on the krateriskoi show adolescent girls, either naked or wearing a short skirt, dancing or running while holding torches or twigs. Three graves were also found within the sacred area of the Tomb of Iphigeneia; only one can be dated and it belongs to the 2nd century CE. It has been suggested that these graves belong to later priestesses of Artemis, following Iphigeneia's example.
Ancient Sources: *IG* II^2 1517-1531; Euripides (*Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1462-1467); Nonnus (*Dionysiaca* 13, 186); Pausanias (1.33.1).
Bibliography: Goette 2001 (p.221); Kahil 1991; Kearns 1989; Montepaone 2002; Papadimitriou 1949, 1956; Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 63-72).

6. Vouliagmeni
Location: Vouliagmeni; on the west side of Cape Zoster
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: - Height: -
Cave- Length: ca. 200 m Height: 50 m
Width: ca. 100 m Depth: 20 m
Orientation of Entrance: North **Elevation:** ca. 20 masl
Physical Features: The lower part of this cave is partially filled with a salt water swamp.
Type of Plan: The plan of this cave has not been published. The floor slopes steeply towards the rear of the cave and the walls on the east side of the cave reach 50 m in height.
Periods of Use: cannot be determined
Functions: Modern usage of the cave has prevented any archaeological evidence from being recovered, thus the specific functions of the cave cannot be determined. The cave itself has been associated with Aphrodite and it is located on a narrow peninsula known as Aphrodite's Girdle.
Ancient Sources: -
Bibliography: Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 88-90).

7. Vari

Location: Vari; 3 km north of Vari, on an eastern spur of the Krevati ridge at the south end of Mt. Hymettos

Dimensions: Entrance- Width: - Height: -
Cave- Length: ca. 21 m Height: ca. 2.5 m
Width: ca. 23.75 m Depth: ca. 15 m

Orientation of Entrance: South **Elevation:** ca. 275 masl

Physical Features: A pool of water was recorded by Weller in room 2 which is no longer present. There are many stalactites and stalagmites in the cave, many of which have been damaged by visitors.

Type of Plan: Twelve steps lead down from the cave entrance to a landing which allows access to the two main chambers of the cave. The two chambers run the length of the cave and they are separated by a natural rock wall and a stalagmite partition. The larger room is room 1, located on the south side of the cave. Room 1 measures 17.5 m in length and 11.5 m in width. Room 2, on the north side of the cave, measures 18.5 m in length and 8 m in width. A third room is located at the southwest corner of room 1 measuring 5.5 m in length and 4.5 m in width. This room is completely filled with debris. Some light is able to enter room 1 but very little light enters the other chambers.

Periods of Use: Classical-Hellenistic, Late Roman

Functions: Niches, along with votive relief plaques, were found in the eastern section of the cave. A small shrine was carved out of the living rock at the east end of room 1, near the entrance, which was set aside for the worship of Apollo Hersus, as evidenced by an inscription which names the god (*IG* I^2 783). Directly beside the shrine to Apollo Hersus is the carved relief of Archedamos, the nympholept who lived at the cave and produced a number of inscriptions and the self-portrait. At the centre of the east end of this room, there is a rock-cut female figure, now headless, seated on a throne and directly beside this is an omphalos-shaped sculpture on a raised base. Animal bones and fragments of goat horns were found scattered within the cave; because there is no concentration of the bones, it has been suggested that they represent the remains of meals served in the cave. The pottery recovered from the cave includes fragments of kraters, lekythoi, loutrophoroi, various cups, plates and bowls and ca. 100 Late Roman lamps.

Ancient Sources: *IG* I^2 782-1008, II^2 4650-4654.

Bibliography: Camp 2001 (p.50, 229); Connor 1988; Goette 2001 (p.195); Goette and Schörner 2004; Larson 2001; Parker 1996 (p.164 n.38); Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 90-121).

8. Lion Cave

Location: Korakovouni; on the east slope of a peak at the north end of Mt. Hymettos

Dimensions: Entrance- Width: 6 m Height: 1.4 m
Cave- Length: ca. 50 m Height: ca. 11 m
Width: ca. 20 m Depth: -6 m

Orientation of Entrance: Southeast **Elevation:** ca. 540 masl

Physical Features: The only notable physical features of this cave are the stalagmite and stalactite formations; one of which resembles a mushroom, another group resemble a camel.
Type of Plan: This cave consists of a single chamber that is partitioned into a number of different areas by rubble walls or stalagmites. Just inside the entrance to the cave a rubble wall restricts access and acts as a retaining wall since the floor level of the cave is 1.5 m lower than the floor at the entrance. Another wall runs perpendicular to the entrance, to the left of the entrance, enclosing an area with a higher floor level. At the midpoint of the cave, 25 m from the entrance, the floor level suddenly drops by at least 1 m. Light is able to enter 20 m into the cave but the deepest section of the cave is completely dark.
Periods of Use: Late Neolithic, Classical, Roman
Functions: The prehistoric pottery shards were found entirely within the cave and they included both coarse and fine wares, some handmade and some wheelmade. There is no indication of why the cave was visited in this period. In contrast to the evidence of cult use at most caves, the visitors to the cave in the Classical and Roman periods left all offerings outside of the cave. The shards of pottery found at the site consist of black-ground, ref-figure and black-figure styles.
Ancient Sources: Meander (*Dyskolos* 407ff.).
Bibliography: Larson 2001; Vanderpool 1967; Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 175-90).

9. Cave of the Nymphs
Location: Pendeli; on the south slope of Mt. Pendeli, North-northeast of Palaia Pendeli
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: 1.87 m Height: 1.4 m
Cave- Length: 6.1 m Height: 2.75 m
Width: 6.5 m Depth: 0 m
Orientation of Entrance: West-southwest **Elevation:** ca. 800 masl
Physical Features: There are numerous stalagmites, particularly in the northwest corner and a pool of water in the north corner.
Type of Plan: This cave consists of a single chamber that is roughly square in shape. The entrance to the cave was partitioned by a wall in antiquity, allowing a space of 1.13 m in between the jambs of the doorway.
Periods of Use: Classical-Hellenistic, Early Roman
Functions: The only use of this cave that can be attested is that of a cult place. To the east of the entrance, a shallow marble basin was found; this was likely used for libations or its use was connected to the pool in the north corner of the cave. In the southeast corner of the cave, an offering table was placed in a small recess in the natural rock, as an alternative to the carved niches found in many caves. The finds from the cave include five figurines (two of Pan, two herms, and a seated female), a glass perfume bottle, an oinochoe decorated with a winged Nike and thirty lamps, most dating to the first century BCE or CE. The cave was abandoned and the roof collapsed in the 2nd century CE.
Ancient Sources: -

Bibliography: Camp 2001 (p.50); Larson 2001; Parker 1996 (p.164 n.38); Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 202-211); Zoridis 1977.

10. Ikarion
Location: Ikarion/ Rapendosa; ca. 500 m East-northeast of the sanctuary of Dionysos at Ikarion
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: 6 m Height: ca. 8 m
Cave- Length: 9 m Height: ca. 8 m
Width: ca. 12 m Depth: -0.3 m in rear room, +1.75 m in NE corner
Orientation of Entrance: Southeast **Elevation:** ca. 375 masl
Physical Features: There are no physical features within the cave but a small waterfall is located 40 m to the northeast of the entrance.
Type of Plan: This cave has a central area, measuring 5 m in length and 3-6 m in width, inside the entrance from which three small chambers can be accessed. The first chamber is located on the left of the central area. It is semi-circular and measures 5 m in width and 2.5 m in length. At the back of the central area, there is an opening 2 m wide that leads to a circular chamber 4 m in diameter. To the right of the entrance, the third chamber is 5 m by 4 m and has square niches on the walls. This cave is well-lit and dry.
Periods of Use: EH, Archaic(?), Classical
Functions: In the Early Helladic period, the cave likely functioned as a small, temporary camp. A few shards of coarse pottery from this period and pieces of obsidian found directly in front of the caves entrance were found. Shards of pottery dating to the Classical period confirm that the cave was visited at this time and the niches carved into the walls of the third chamber suggest similarities to other Nymph caves. A votive relief found at the neighbouring sanctuary of Dionysos depicts three Nymphs led by Hermes and accompanied by Pan within a cave frame. This relief confirms that the cave was dedicated to the Nymphs and Pan.
Ancient Sources: -
Bibliography: Larson 2001; Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 212-218).

11. Marathon Pan Cave
Location: Oinoi/ modern Marathon; on the North-northeast slope of Tamburi Gura
Dimensions: Eastern Entrance- Width: ca. 2.5 m Height: ca. 1.5 m
Western Entrance- Width: ca. 2 m Height: ca. 1.5 m
Cave- Length: 75 m Height: 6 m
Width: 15 m Depth: ca. -3 m
Orientation of Entrance: North-northeast **Elevation:** ca. 120 masl
Physical Features: There is an outlet to a katavothra in the western section of the cave and there are stalactites and stalagmites, which according to Pausanias' description of the cave resemble Pan' herd of goats.

Type of Plan: This cave has two entrances, both open into narrow passages which lead to the main chamber of the cave. The main chamber of the cave is ca 30 m in length and it is roughly peanut-shaped. At the rear of the main chamber, two passageways branch off to the southwest and northeast. The northeast passageway is ca. 20 m in length and the southwest passageway is ca. 30 m in length and it turns to the east at the end.
Periods of Use: Neolithic, Classical-Roman
Functions: The Neolithic remains indicate that the cave was used as a habitation site, although probably only seasonally because of the damp conditions in the cave. Stone celts, a copper axe head, pottery and a necklace of blue glass-paste beads were found. The cave was dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs in the 5th century BCE. At the east entrance to the cave, carved niches and an inscribed stele was found. The finds within the cave include vessels (skyphoi and kylikes have been identified), figurines (mostly female, with at least three of Pan) and a pair of gold earrings.
Ancient Sources: *SEG* XXXVI. 267; Pausanias (1.32.7).
Bibliography: Camp 2001 (p.11, 50); Goette 2001 (p.242); Larson 2001; Lupu 2001; Parker 1996 (p.164 n.38); Petrakos 1996; Rutkowski 1986 (p.200); Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 223-234).

12. Karabola
Location: Karabola; to the south of the highest peak of Mt. Parnes, within a restricted military zone

Dimensions:	Entrance- Width: -		Height: -
	Cave- Length: -		Height: -
		Width: -	Depth: -
Orientation of Entrance: South ?			**Elevation:** ca. 1400 masl

Physical Features: Water is present outside of the cave.
Type of Plan: The published accounts of this cave mention very little about it. The cave is reported to be quite small but no dimensions are known.
Periods of Use: Late Geometric-Classical, Roman
Functions: The majority of the finds from this site were found in an ash pit outside of the cave. The ash pit covered ca. 100 m^2 and it was 2.2 m in depth. The finds from the pit include animal bones, iron and bronze knives, metal pins, fragments of bronze shields and pottery. This pit and its contents indicate the site of frequent sacrifice. Inside the cave, black-figure pottery and Roman lamps were found.
Ancient Sources: -
Bibliography: Goette 2001 (p.266); Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 243-245).

13. Lychnospilia
Location: Phyle; on the east bank of the Gkouras Ravine

Dimensions:	Entrance- Width: 1.05 m		Height: ca. 3 m
	Cave- Length: ca. 70 m		Height: ca. 7 m
		Width: ca. 15 m	Depth: +2.5 m

Orientation of Entrance: West **Elevation:** ca. 650 masl
Physical Features: There are three sources of running water in the cave which exit through the main entrance. There are stalactites in both chambers; in the main chamber they are dark in colour while they are white in the north chamber. It has been suggested that the dark colour of the stalactites was produced by soot from fires within the cave.
Type of Plan: This cave has one main chamber and a smaller chamber that is not very accessible. The main chamber is 70 m in length and it gradually widens from the entrance to a point 10 m from the rear wall, where the chamber narrows to just 3 m in width. The smaller chamber is located to the north of the main chamber and it accessed through a tunnel 12 m in length. This room is 20 m in length and is parallel to the main chamber. Little light enters the cave and it is well insulated from the elements.
Periods of Use: LH III- Submycenaean, Classical-Roman
Functions: The excavators of this cave have identified two layers of Mycenaean use and of the cave and one continuous layer of finds from the 5th century BCE to the Late Roman period. Early in the Mycenaean period, the cave was first visited and possibly used as temporary camp or water source. A few shards of coarse, handmade pottery were found in the lowest level of stratification. In the second level of Mycenaean use of the cave, pottery dating to the late Mycenaean and Submycenaean periods, animal bones, bronze and bone needles, and stone and clay spindle whorls were found. The pottery of this phase consisted of coarse wares but some finer wares were also found. Because of the finer pottery, it has been suggested that the cave was considered sacred at this time. Within this group of caves, this is the only cave which may have been sacred prior to the Geometric period. Sometime after the Mycenaean use of the cave, there is evidence that two human died within the cave and their remains were left unburied. They were covered by the natural deposits of the cave prior to its use in the Classical period. The earliest finds of the Classical period include figurines of a seated woman, Silenos, Pan playing a syrinx and a male youth wearing a himation. Black-figure pottery from the cave consist of lekythoi and a kylix fragment dated to the 5th century. The red-figure pottery found within the cave dates to the late 5th century and belong to several kraters, a loutrophoros, a skyphos, a lekythos and rhyton. The images on these pieces of pottery are of Pan, satyrs, goats and women. Eight marble votive reliefs with images of the Nymphs were also found within the cave. These finds securely identify this cave as dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs. Over 2000 lamps were found in the cave; most have not been dated, however, most of the dated lamps belong to the 4th century CE or later. Twelve inscriptions were placed on the cliffs outside of the cave and the southern wall of the cave; these are also Late Roman in date and cannot be read.
Ancient Sources: *IG* II^2 4826-4830, 4834-4840, 4933, 13236a-b, 13241; Menander (*Dyskolos* 1.4); Aelian (*Rust. Epist.* 15).
Bibliography: Camp 2001 (p.50, 229); Larson 2001; Parker 1996 (p.164 n.38); Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 245-269).

14. Eleusis Pan Cave
Location: Eleusis; west of Eleusinian acropolis, partially under Tower A of the Hellenistic fort; destroyed in 1955
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: 0.8 m Height: -
Cave- Length: ca. 15 m Height: 3 m
Width: 0.9 m Depth: -
Orientation of Entrance: Southwest **Elevation:** ca. 45 masl
Physical Features: None
Type of Plan: The entrance was a natural chasm that led to a steep, narrow passage to the single chamber of the cave. The passage was 0.7 m in width and 10 m long. Access to the cave was very difficult and very little light would have penetrated into the main chamber. The main chamber of the cave was 5 m in length and 0.9 m in width. The east side of this chamber was destroyed by quarrying prior to its discovery. This cave was destroyed in 1955.
Periods of Use: Classical- Late Roman
Functions: The finds from this cave include a large number of terracotta figurines, loutrophoroi, lamps, small vessels and two votive reliefs. The finds were completely mixed and this site was likely a disposal site for another cave on the southern slope of the same hill which was converted to a Christian chapel.
Ancient Sources: -
Bibliography: Camp 2001 (p.50); Goette 2001 (p.279); Larson 2001; Parker 1996 (p.164 n.38); Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 275-279).

15. Eleusis Ploutoneion
Location: Eleusis; within the sanctuary of Demeter, on the west side of the Sacred Way
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: ca. 15 m Height: ca. 5 m
Cave- Length: ca. 5 m Height: ca. 5 m
Width: ca. 15 m Depth: -
Orientation of Entrance: Northeast **Elevation:** ca. 63 masl
Physical Features: There are some stalactites in the rear passageway of the south section of the cave.
Type of Plan: This an open cave that is divided into two sections by a natural limestone wall. The south section is the larger room of the cave and a shrine building was built in the front part of the south room. In the Peisistratid period, the first phase of the shrine was built; it was a single room with a portico *in antis*. In the 4th century BCE, a small distyle *in antis* shrine building was built; these are the remains that are now visible. This shrine measures ca. 3 m in width and ca. 6.6 m in length. At the rear of the south chamber, there is a bench following the curve of the cave and a narrow passageway 4 m in length. A stone retaining wall was also built outside the cave to create a level, triangular forecourt. This court extends to the exterior of the north wall of the cave. The north room has an elliptical hole in the north wall; the hole is probably natural but it was enlarged. On the exterior wall, six steps lead from this hole to the level of the forecourt.
Periods of Use: Archaic-Classical, Roman

Functions: Two votive reliefs were found within the area of the cave: both depict Demeter, Kore and Plouton, who is labelled as *Theos*. At the back of the passageway in the southern chamber, the remains of oxen and sheep, as well as Classical and Roman pottery were found indicating that it was a site of sacrifice. The stone seat on the southern cliff and the window in the northern wall may have played a key role in the Eleusinian Mysteries, as discussed in Chapter 4.
Ancient Sources: *IG* II^2 1672, 2047-2048; *Orphic Hymn* 18. 11-15; *Orphic Hymn* 41
Bibliography: Clinton 1992; Mylonas 1961; Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 279-287).

16. Daphni Pan Cave
Location: Daphni; on the north slope of Mt. Koridhallos, approximately 500 m west-southwest of the Daphni monastery
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: 7.65 m Height: 3.4 m
Cave- Length: 11.5 m Height: 3.4 m
Width: 7.8 m Depth: +0.5 m
Orientation of Entrance: North **Elevation:** ca. 150 masl
Physical Features: There are no water sources at this cave and only little calcite concretions on the cave walls.
Type of Plan: This cave consists of one chamber that is subdivided into four areas by natural projections from the walls of the cave. Each of the four areas are approximately equal in length but they decrease in width. The division between the first and second areas was very distinct in ancient times as there was a stone wall built from the west wall of the cave, opposite a natural projection on the east wall. This wall would have left only a small opening into the second area of the cave, blocking both access and light to the rear areas of the cave. The natural stone walls were covered with plaster in some areas. The roof height in the cave decreases from the entrance to the rear of the cave; one can only stand in the first two areas.
Periods of Use: Archaic(?), Classical
Functions: There is evidence of fire within the second room of the cave and to the west of the entrance, which contained animal bones, pieces of goat horns and fragments of coarse pottery and figurines. In other areas of the cave, fragments of black-figure, red-figure and black-ground lekythoi, loutrophoroi and some smaller vessels, one of which dates to 540 BCE, were found. The figurines found in the cave included two Silenoi, a head of Pan and several female figurines. The material culture found in this cave leaves little doubt that it was dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs.
Ancient Sources: -
Bibliography: Camp 2001 (p.50); Goette 2001 (p.150-151); Larson 2001; Parker 1996 (p.164 n.38); Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 287-298).

17. Paraskeva /Serangeion
Location: Piraeus; at the southwest foot of Mounychia, 50 m from the shoreline
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: ca. 3.5 m Height: ca. 3 m

Cave- Length: 14.65 m Height: 9 m
Width: 6.6 m Depth: -
Orientation of Entrance: Southeast **Elevation:** ca. 1-2 masl
Physical Features: There is a well, 5 m deep, in the central passageway of the cave.
Type of Plan: The entrance to the cave is currently 1 m wide and is located at the southeast end of a straight underground passage which leads to a number of chambers. The first chamber is nearly circular and 5.9 m in diameter with an immersion pool with rock-cut benches on the northern side of the chamber. A central shaft for light pierced the roof of this chamber. A tunnel, 13 m in length, which likely acted as a drainage channel, leads towards the sea from the south end of this room. At this point in the passageway, there are two entrances into two nearly identical rectangular chambers. Both chambers are 3.25 m in length, 1.55 m in height and 1.5 m in width. It has been suggested that these chambers acted as reservoirs. The last chamber in this complex is a large tholos-shaped room on the north side of the main passageway. This room measures 6.6 m in diameter and 9 m in height with a shaft in the centre of the roof acting as a light-well. There was likely a second tholos-shaped room to the southwest of the entrance of the first room but it has not been preserved.
Periods of Use: 4th century BCE
Functions: A partially preserved mosaic covered the floor of this room; the preserved portions depict images of Skylla and a young man driving a quadriga with a dolphin below the legs of the horses. The construction of the *balaneion* and the mosaics has been dated to the fourth century BCE. Near the Skylla mosaic, a monolithic altar, bearing an inscription which has been restored to read [Apo]llo[nos] A[p]ot[ropaiou], was one of the few finds recorded from this cave. The identification of the cave as the Serangeion is based on the literary sources.
Ancient Sources: *IG* I^2 855; *SEG* I.26; Isaios (6.33); Alciphron (3.7); Photion.
Bibliography: Donaldson 1965; Kearns 1989 (p.197); Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 301-308).

18. Ay. Photeini Pan
Location: Athens; on the south bank of the Ilissos area
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: ca. 2 m Height: ca. 1 m
Cave- Length: ca. 4 m Height: ca. 1m
Width: ca. 2 m Depth: -
Orientation of Entrance: North-northwest **Elevation:** ca. ?
Physical Features: None
Type of Plan: This cave is a small single chamber with a floor that rises towards the rear of the cave. The cave is placed within a larger rock shelter measuring 9 m in length and 6 m in width. The south and east walls of this rock shelter have been trimmed in order to form a right angle. The entrance to the cave is located in the southeast corner, at the base of the trimmed corner.
Periods of Use: Classical

Functions: Above the entrance to this cave, there is a carved image of Pan. He is shown in profile to the right, with his head and shoulders turned frontally. He holds a syrinx and a lagobolon in his hands. It has been suggested that this site should be identified with the Nymph shrine visited by Socrates in the *Phaedrus*. However, there is no spring present and no evidence that the Nymphs were worshipped here.
Ancient Sources: -
Bibliography: Goette 2001 (p.101); Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 313-319).

19. Asklepieion 1
Location: Athens; south slope of the Acropolis, 20 m above the Doric stoa of the Asklepieion.
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: 1.5 m Height: 1 m
Cave- Length: ca. 8 m Height: 1.4 m
Width: 3 m Depth: -
Orientation of Entrance: South **Elevation:** ca. 125 masl
Physical Features: None
Type of Plan: This cave has a small single chamber that is entered from a roughly rectangular entrance. The floor slopes towards the back of the cave. There is a passageway, 4 m in length, on the east side of the cave that leads to a triangular window in the wall of the cave. There is little light that enters the cave.
Periods of Use: Final Neolithic-EH II, Classical
Functions: In the Final Neolithic and Early Helladic periods, the cave likely acted as a somewhat permanent shelter for a single family. Most of the pottery was found in a deposit outside the window on the east wall and in crevices around the cave. Besides pottery, obsidian tools, local stone implements, animal bones and shells were found in and around the cave. The relief dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs by Archandros was found below the cave in the Asklepieion and suggests that there was sacred cave to these deities in this area. This relief depicts Pan looking through a window similar to the opening in the cave wall.
Ancient Sources: *IG* II^2 4545, 4994.
Bibliography: Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 324-329).

20. Asklepieion Spring Cave
Location: Athens; south slope of the Acropolis, the entrance has been integrated into the north wall of the Doric stoa of the Asklepieion
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: ca. 1.15 m Height: 2.1 m
Cave- Length: ca. 5 m Height: 4.5 m
Width: ca. 5 m Depth: -
Orientation of Entrance: South-southeast **Elevation:** ca. 108 masl
Physical Features: A spring flows from the north end of the chamber.
Type of Plan: This cave was greatly modified in the 4th century BCE and incorporated into the Doric stoa of the Asklepieion. The cave is entered through an arched doorway

and a passageway, 2.5 m in length. The lower walls of the single chamber cave have been trimmed to form a perfect circle. The floor is covered with a pebble terrazzo. Only the roof of the cave has been left in its original state.
Periods of Use: Classical- Roman
Functions: This cave is within the structure of the Doric stoa of the Asklepieion and water from the spring was channelled along the northern wall of the stoa. The main function of this cave was to provide water for the rituals of incubation performed in the stoa. The cave was converted into a chapel in the 6th century CE and significantly remodelled.
Ancient Sources: Pausanias (1.21.4-7); Pliny (*NH* II.225?).
Bibliography: Aleshire 1989; Clinton 1994; Goette 2001 (p.49); Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 329-340).

21. Acropolis East Cave
Location: Athens; on the east slope of the Acropolis, just below the Acropolis walls
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: 14 m Height: ca. 10 m
Cave- Length: 22 m Height: -
Width: 14 m Depth: -
Orientation of Entrance: Southeast **Elevation:** ca. 120 masl
Physical Features: None
Type of Plan: This cave is entered through a large, rounded mouth. The cave is oval in plan with three narrow recesses at the back. Much of the cave has been altered in modern times and parts of it have fallen in.
Periods of Use: Archaic- Roman(?)
Functions: The cave has been cleared of ancient material and it is identified as the Aglaurion through the inscription found below the cave on the Peripatos, published by Dontas. The inscription records that sacrifices were made to Aglauros, Ares and several other gods at the cave. The ephebes took oaths of loyalty at this site as well.
Ancient Sources: Herodotus (8.53); Pausanias (1.18.2).
Bibliography: Broneer 1936; Camp 2001 (p.119); Dontas 1983; Goette 2001 (p.54); Hurwitt 1999; Kearns 1989; Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 340-346).

22. Cave S
Location: Athens; at the midpoint of the north slope of the Acropolis, at the base of the cliff
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: 6.75 m Height: ca. 4 m
Cave- Length: ca. 35 m Height: 18 m
Width: ca. 3 m Depth: -
Orientation of Entrance: Northeast **Elevation:** ca. 127 masl
Physical Features: A spring is located at the rear of the chasm and is accessed by a stairwell from the top of the Acropolis.

Type of Plan: This cave is a narrow, vertical chasm in the Acropolis rock that was formed when part of the limestone shifted to the north. There are three openings to the chasm; below the stairs at the northwest corner of the Acropolis, on the east end of the south slope, within the walls of the Kimonian Acropolis, and at the base of the south slope, the main entrance of the cave.
Periods of Use: Neolithic, LH, Archaic- Classical, Roman
Functions: The earliest use of this cave was as a water supply. Cuttings in the rock indicate that a stairwell was constructed in the Mycenaean period to access the water from the top of the Acropolis. The two upper flights of stairs were built of wood and the lower eight flights were schist slabs supported by wooden beams. The stairs collapsed not long after they were built and the well was used as a dump until the 12th century BCE. The stairs were later repaired and used in the rituals of the Arrephoria. Twenty-two niches were carved into the cliffs outside of the cave and two dedicatory inscriptions which name Aphrodite and Eros as the deities of the sanctuary were placed near the entrance. Phallic stones, as well as fragments of figurines and black-figure and red-figure pottery, were recovered from the niches in the cliff.
Ancient Sources: Pausanias (1.27.3).
Bibliography: Broneer 1932, 1933, 1939; Camp 2001 (p.120); Goette 2001 (p.54); Travlos 1971 (p.228); Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 346-354); Wycherley 1978 (p.176).

23. Klepsydra
Location: Athens; at base of the cliff at the northwest corner of the Acropolis
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: - Height: -
Cave- Length: 7.8 m Height: -
Width: 6.7 m Depth: 6.25 m
Orientation of Entrance: Northwest **Elevation:** 110 masl
Physical Features: A spring house was constructed here to draw water from under the Acropolis but it is not the natural outlet of the spring.
Type of Plan: This cave is considered a large rock shelter which housed a spring house in the Classical period. The floor of the cave descends 6.25 m to a spring that was fitted with a drawbasin. The original form of the cave cannot be determined because of rock falls.
Periods of Use: LH IIIC, Classical-Roman
Functions: The spring located within this cave has been its most important feature and it has been used as a water source during the Late Helladic period and for the duration of its use in the historical period. The sacred nature of the cave is directly related to the spring and the Nymph, Empedo, who embodied the spring. The roof of the cave collapsed in the 2nd century CE.
Ancient Sources: Aristophanes (*Lysistrata* 910-913, *Wasps* 857); Hesychios.
Bibliography: Camp 2001 (p.11, 119); Parsons 1943; Travlos 1971 (p.323); Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 354-361); Wycherley 1978 (p.177).

24. Cave A
Location: Athens; at the northwest corner of the Acropolis above the Klepsydra
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: ca. 6 m Height: ca. 6 m
Cave- Length: ca. 3 m Height: ca. 6 m
Width: ca. 6 m Depth: -
Orientation of Entrance: North-northwest **Elevation:** ca. 125 masl
Physical Features: None
Type of Plan: This is a shallow rock shelter that has a projection from the rear wall of the cave that almost divides it into two separate areas. The cave is roughly rectangular in shape. In front of the cave, there are 6-8 steps cut into the bedrock that follow the contours of the rock.
Periods of Use: Classical-Roman
Functions: The function of this cave is unclear. Besides the steps, there is no evidence of use. However, the cave is part of the sacred area of the northwest corner of the Acropolis.
Ancient Sources: *IG* II^2 4672 (*SEG* XVII.88); Euripides (*Ion* 10-19, 492-509, 936-939, 1494).
Bibliography: Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 361-363, 372-392.

25. Cave B
Location: Athens; at the northwest corner of the Acropolis, just east of Cave A
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: 4.3 m Height: 7.3 m
Cave- Length: ca. 3 m Height: ca. 8 m
Width: ca. 4.8 m Depth: -
Orientation of Entrance: North-northeast **Elevation:** ca. 125 masl
Physical Features: None
Type of Plan: This cave is a shallow rock shelter with an overhanging, arched roof. The shape of the cave is rectangular with rounded corners. The floor level of the cave is 1.5 m above the ground level outside of the cave, but it likely would have only been 0.1 m higher in ancient times. On the terrace, 2 m north of the cave entrance, there is a rectangular cutting in the bedrock, likely for an altar. This altar was probably used for sacrifices made at Cave B, C and D.
Periods of Use: Roman
Functions: Approximately forty dedicatory inscriptions on plaques have been found either in the area surrounding the cave, the Acropolis or in the Agora. Many of these plaques fit in the niches of the caves and were obviously attached to the rock wall using either nails or adhesive. The surviving dedicatory inscriptions have been dated to the mid first century CE to the third century CE. All of the plaques were dedicated to Apollo Hypoakraios and the names of the dedicators were inscribed in the centre of the plaque and surrounded by a laurel wreath connected by two snakes. The dedicators of all the plaques were the Archons or the *grammateus*, either individually or as a group. Other than the dedicatory plaques and the cutting for the altar, no material has been found in this cave to provide evidence of use

Ancient Sources: *IG* II^2 2891-2931, 4672 (*SEG* XVII.88); Euripides (*Ion* 10-19, 492-509, 936-939, 1494); Pausanias (1.28.4); Strabo (9.2.11).
Bibliography: Camp 2001 (p.119-120); Goette 2001 (p.55); Hurwitt 1999; Nulton 2003; Travlos 1971 (p.910); Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 364-367, 372-392); Wycherley 1978 (p.177).

26. Cave C
Location: Athens; at the northwest corner of the Acropolis, 4 m east of Cave B
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: 4.5 m Height: 11.2 m
Cave- Length: ca. 5 m Height: 11.2 m
Width: 4.5 m Depth: -
Orientation of Entrance: North-northwest **Elevation:** ca. 125 masl
Physical Features: None
Type of Plan: This cave is a shallow rock shelter with a small roof. It is roughly rectangular in shape and the floor level is slightly elevated above that of the terrace. Directly in front of the cave, a circular pit was found measuring 2 m in diameter and ca. 2-2.6 m in depth.
Periods of Use: Classical- Roman
Functions: Other than the pit mentioned above, no material was found in the cave. The identification of this cave is based entirely upon literary sources.
Ancient Sources: *IG* II^2 4672 (*SEG* XVII.88); Euripides (*Ion* 10-19, 492-509, 936-939, 1494); Strabo (9.2.11).
Bibliography: Goette 2001 (p.55); Travlos 1971 (p.91); Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 367-369, 372-392).

27. Cave D-D_1, Area D_2
Location: Athens;
Dimensions: Cave D- Length: ca. 8 m Height: ca. 3 m
Width: ca. 3 m Depth: -
Cave D_1- Length: ca. 4.5 m Height: ca. 4 m
Width: ca. 2 m Depth: -
Orientation of Entrance: Northeast **Elevation:** ca. 120-125 masl
Physical Features: None
Type of Plan: Cave D-D_1 is an enclosed cave with two chambers that are connected by a passageway through the rock. Each chamber has its own entrance onto the terrace at the northwest corner of the Acropolis. Area D_2 was originally part of Cave D_1 but it has been separated by rock falls.
Periods of Use: Classical- Roman
Functions: The southern wall of D_2 has several square and semi-circular niches which were reused when the cave was converted to a chapel in the 5th or 6th century CE. There was no other cultural material found within this cave.

Ancient Sources: *IG* II^2 4672 (SEG XVII.88); Aristophanes (*Lysistrata* 721, 910-913); Euripides (*Ion* 10-19, 492-509, 936-939, 1494); Herodotus (6.105); Pausanias (1.28.4).
Bibliography: Camp 2001 (p.119-120); Goette 2001 (p.54); Hurwitt 1999; Travlos 1971 (p.417); Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 369-392).

28. Areopagus
Location: Athens; at bottom of the northeast slope of the Areopagus
Dimensions: Entrance- Width: - Height: -
Cave- Length: - Height: -
Width: - Depth: -
Orientation of Entrance: North-northeast **Elevation:** ca. 100 masl
Physical Features: There may be a spring located in this cave that is believed to have medicinal properties.
Type of Plan: At the northeast end of the Areopagus, there is a narrow chasm that extends 20-25 m from the southeast to the northwest and it is approximately 15 m in depth. It was formed when a mass of limestone broke away from the Areopagus proper. On the west side of this chasm, at the base of the hill, there is a low rock shelter with a fissure at the back which continues under the Areopagus.
Periods of Use: Archaic-Classical(?)
Functions: As there is no archaeological evidence from this site, its identification is based on the literary sources surrounding the Semnai Theai.
Ancient Sources: Aescyhlus (*Eumenides* 794-end); Euripides (*Electra* 1271); Pausanias (1.28.6); Thucydides (I.126.11).
Bibliography: Harris-Cline 1999; Wickens 1986 (vol 2, pp. 392-397).

Figures

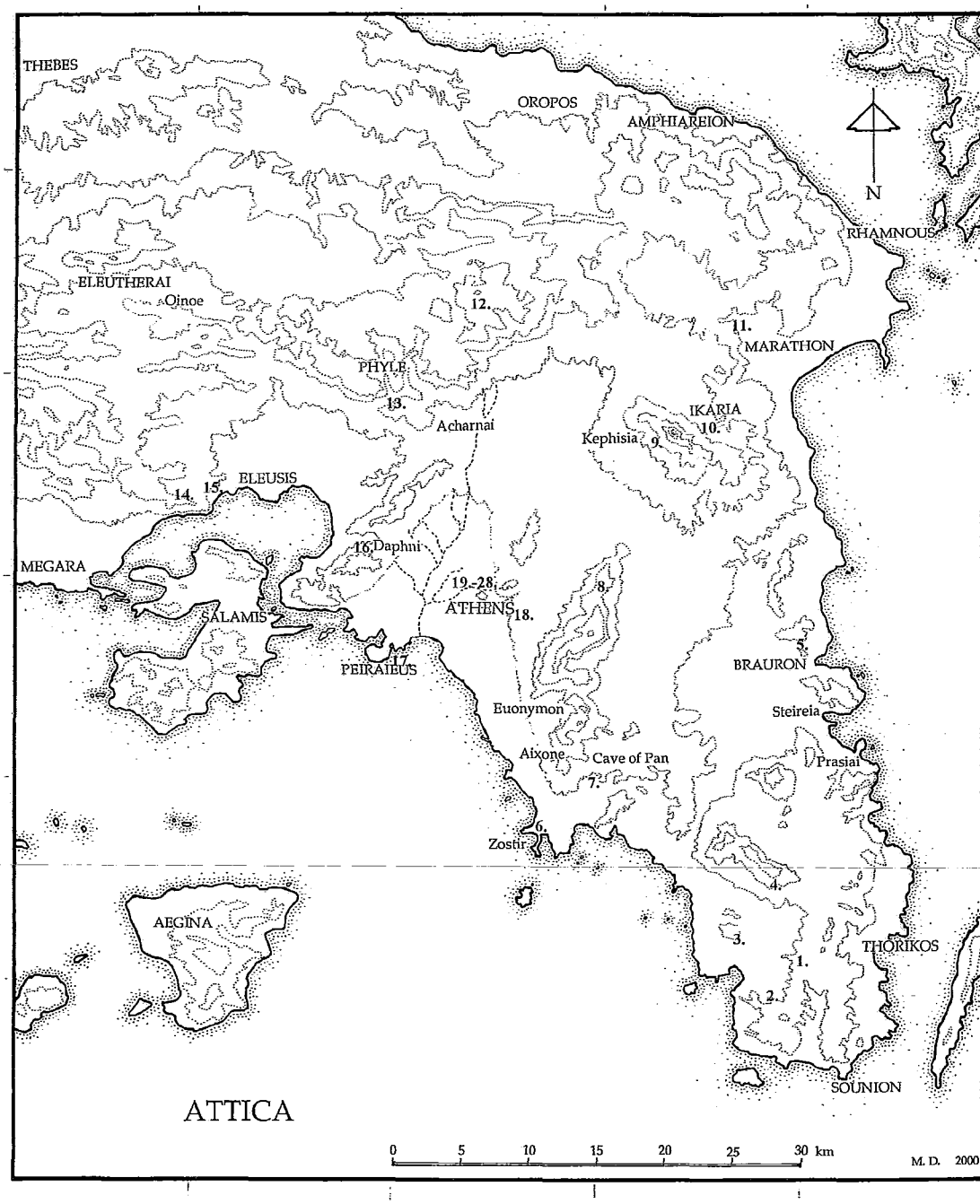


Figure 1. Map of Attica with location of caves indicated by catalogue numbers. (after Camp 2001, p. 272, numbers added by author)

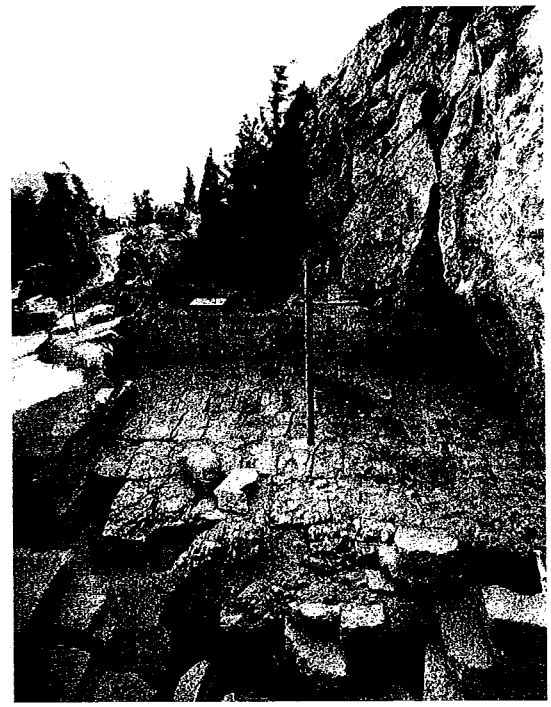


Figure 2. View of the Klepsydra (cat. 23). (Travlos 1971, p. 327)

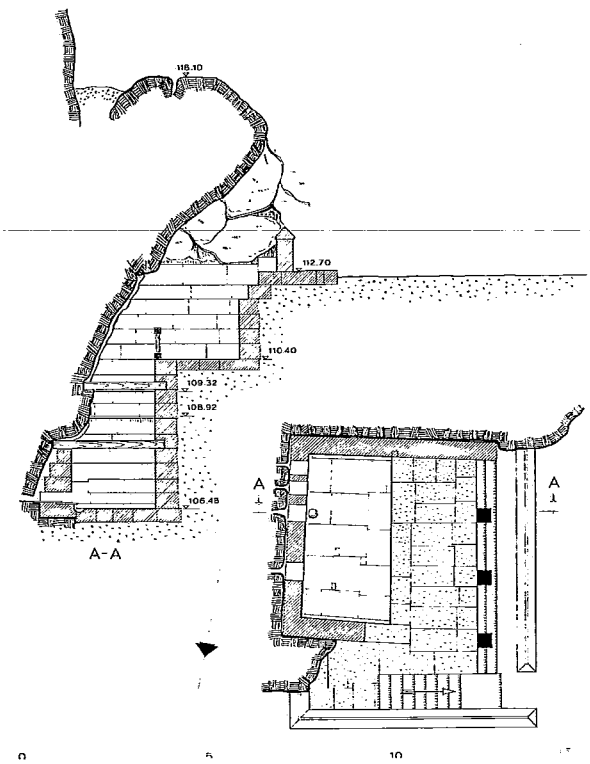


Figure 3. Plan and section of the Klepsydra (cat. 23). (Travlos 1971, p. 328)

Figure 4. Archaic panel from Saftulis Cave. National Archaeological Musuem, Athens. (Larson 2001, p. 233)

Figure 5. Votive Relief from Eleusis. National Archaeological Musuem, Athens. (Larson 2001, p. 249)

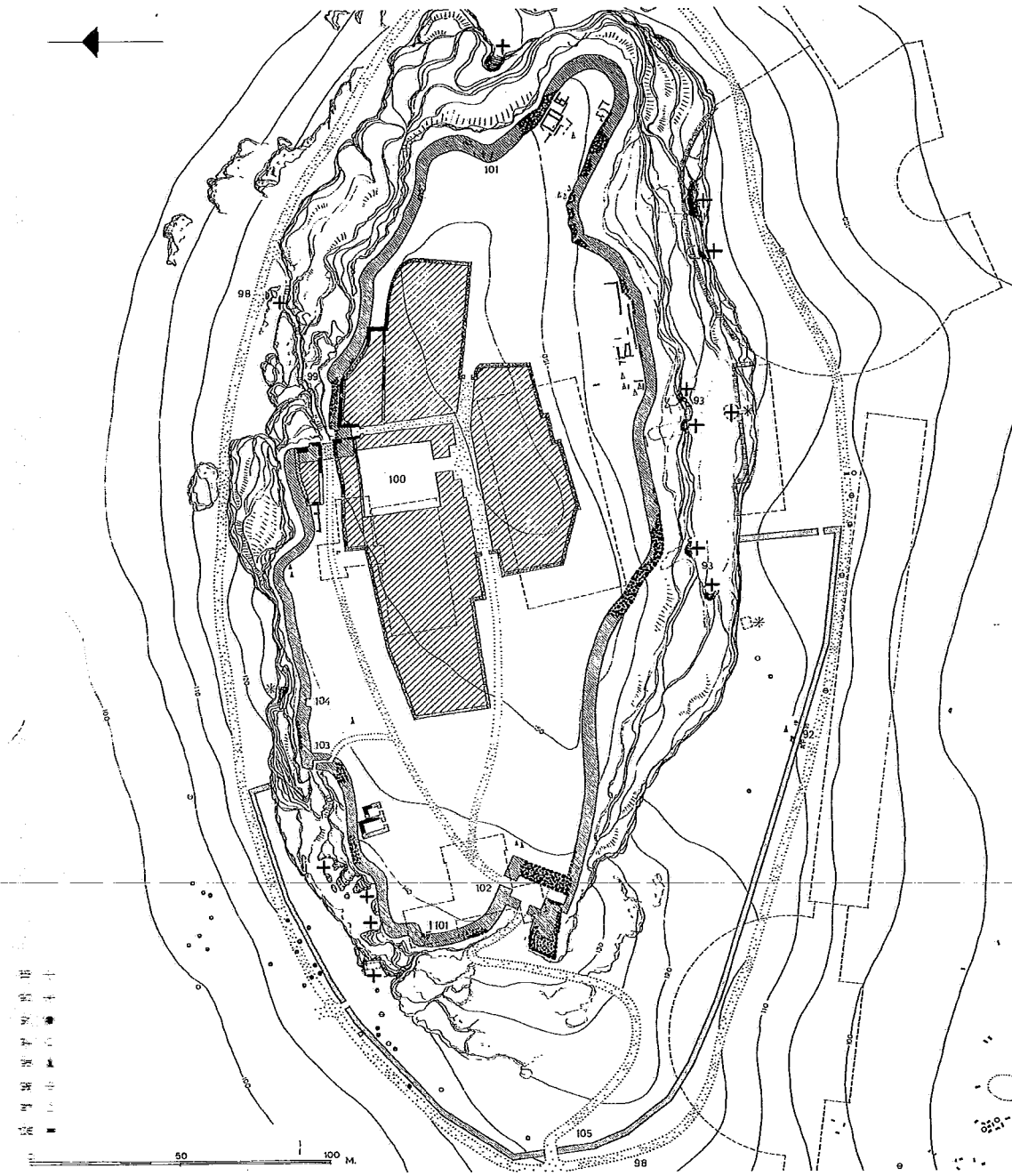


Figure 6. Plan of the Acropolis, caves indicated by +. (Travlos 1971, p. 57)

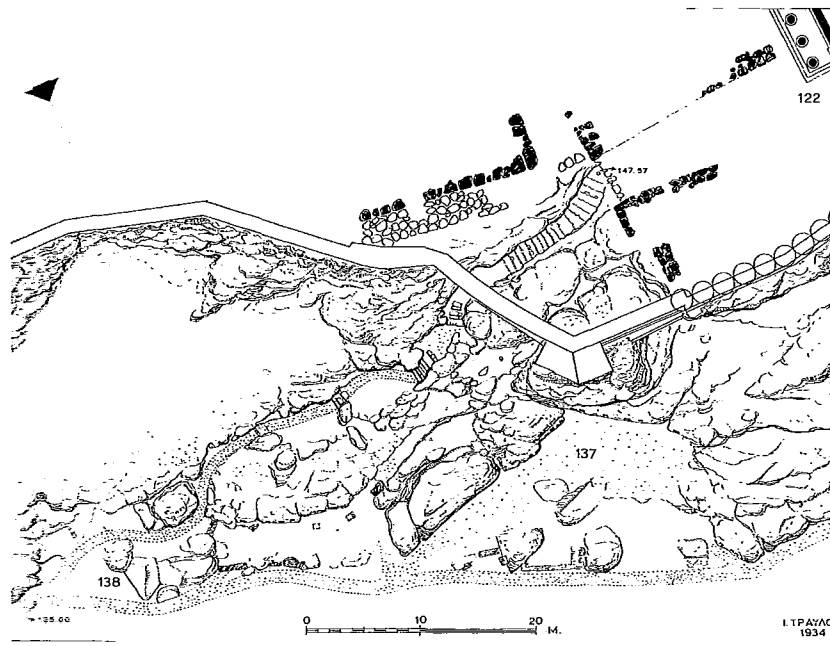


Figure 7. Plan of the North slope of the Acropolis, Cave S (cat. 22). (Travlos 1971, p.229)

Figure 8. Photo of the area surrounding Cave S (cat. 22). (Hurwit 1999, p. 42)

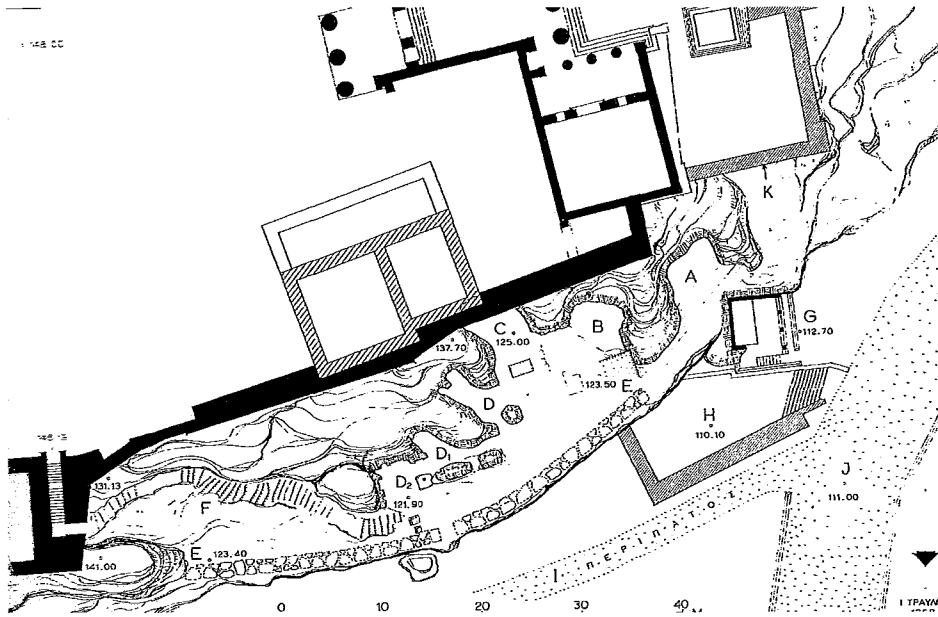


Figure 9. Plan of the northwest corner terrace of Acropolis. (Travlos 1971, p.93)

Figure 10. View of Northwest corner of the Acropolis. (Travlos 1971, p. 92)

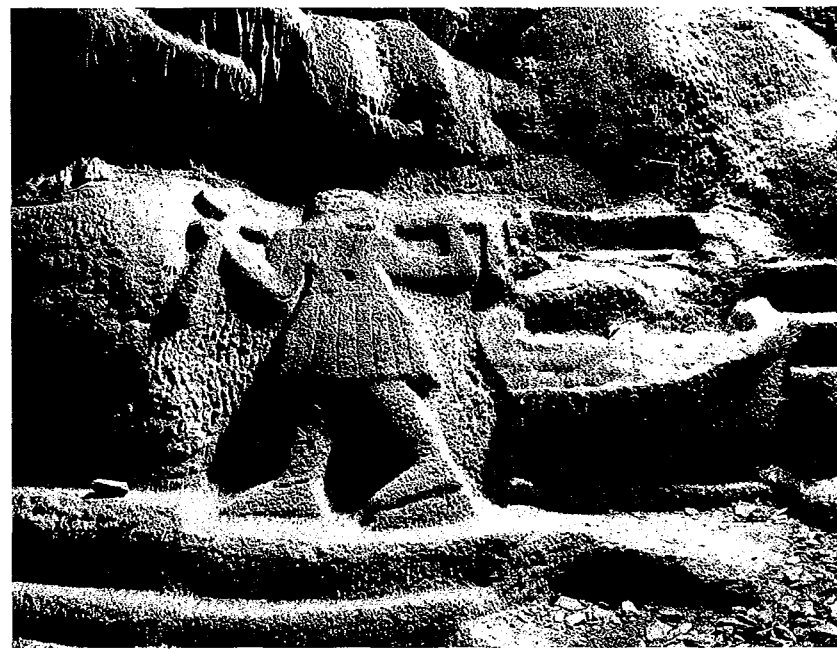


Figure 11. The shrine of Apollo Hersus at Vari (cat. 7), beside the relief of Archedamos. (Goette 2004, p.11)

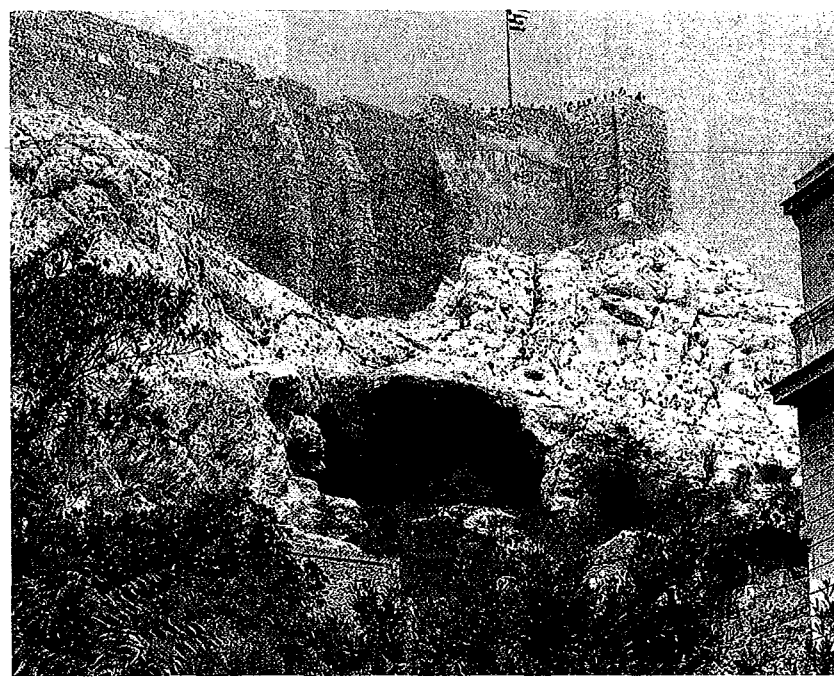


Figure 12. View of Acropolis East Cave (cat. 21) (Hurwitt 1999, p. 10)

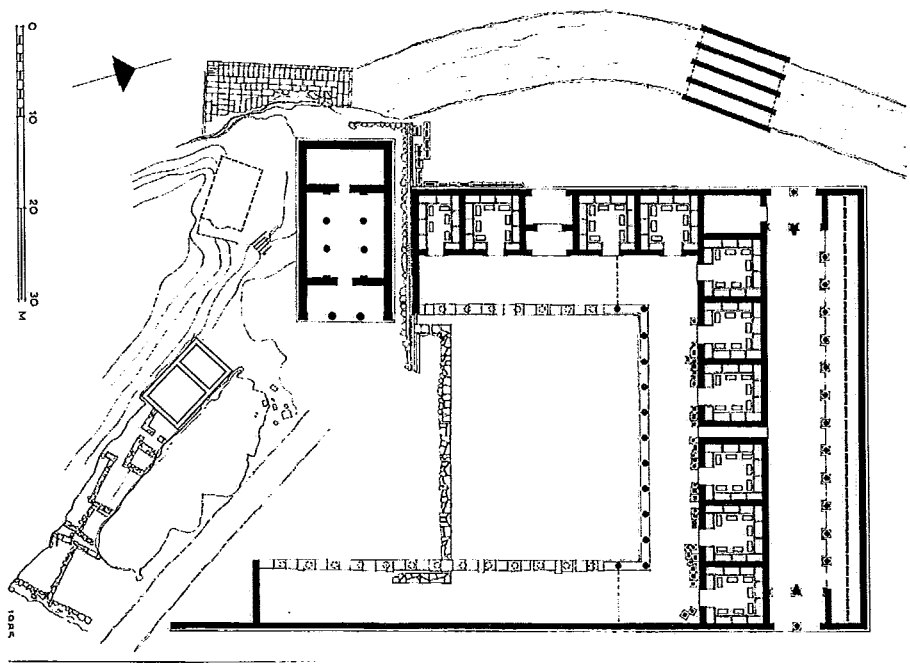


Figure 13. Plan of sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron,
Tomb of Iphigeneia (cat. 5) located bottom- left (Travlos 1988, p. 61)

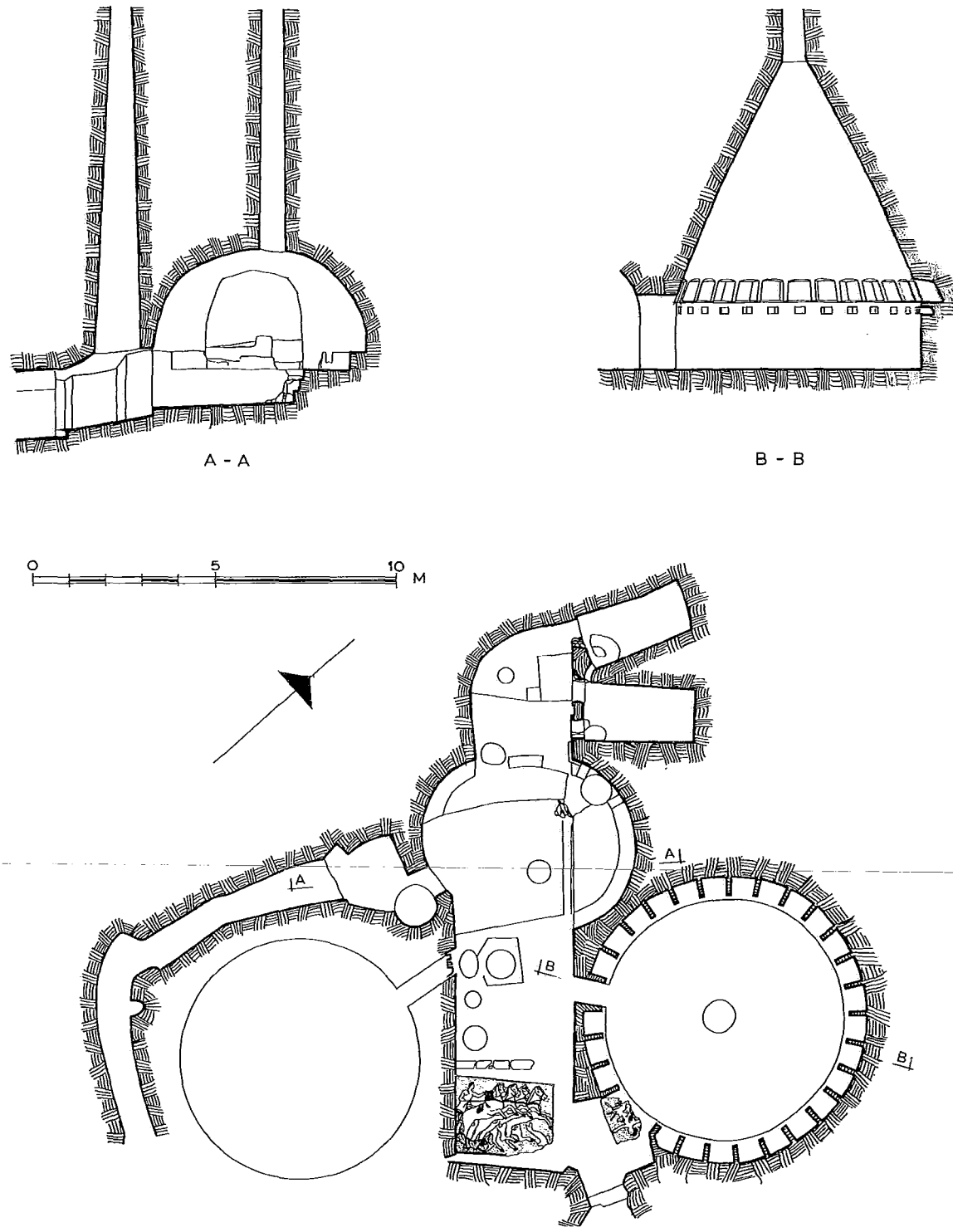


Figure 14. Plan and section of Paraskeva (cat. 17) (Travlos 1988, p. 354)

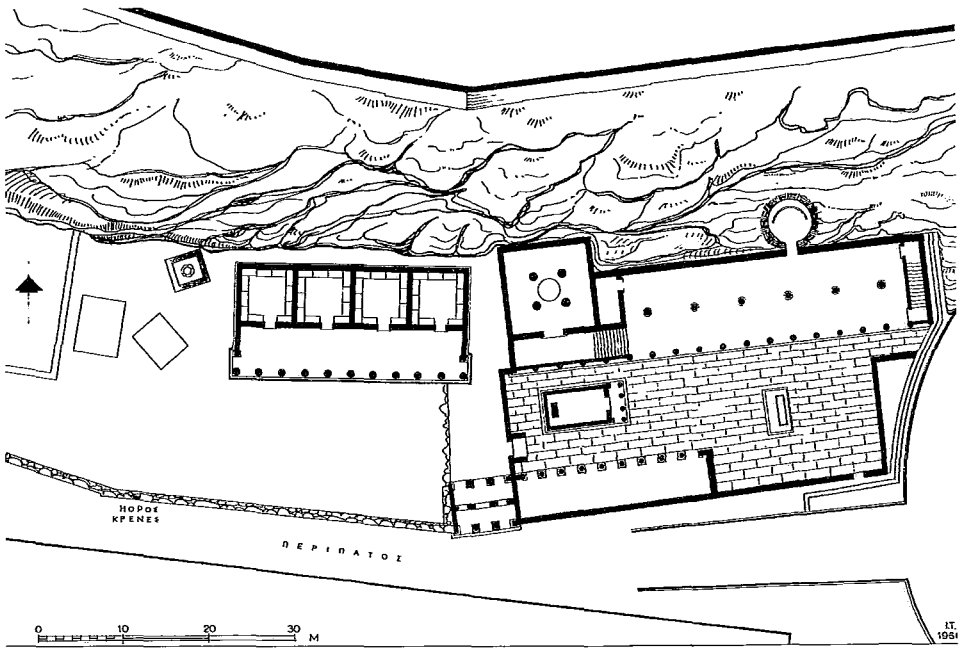


Figure 15. Plan of the Asklepieion (cat. 19) (Hurwitt 1999, p. 220)

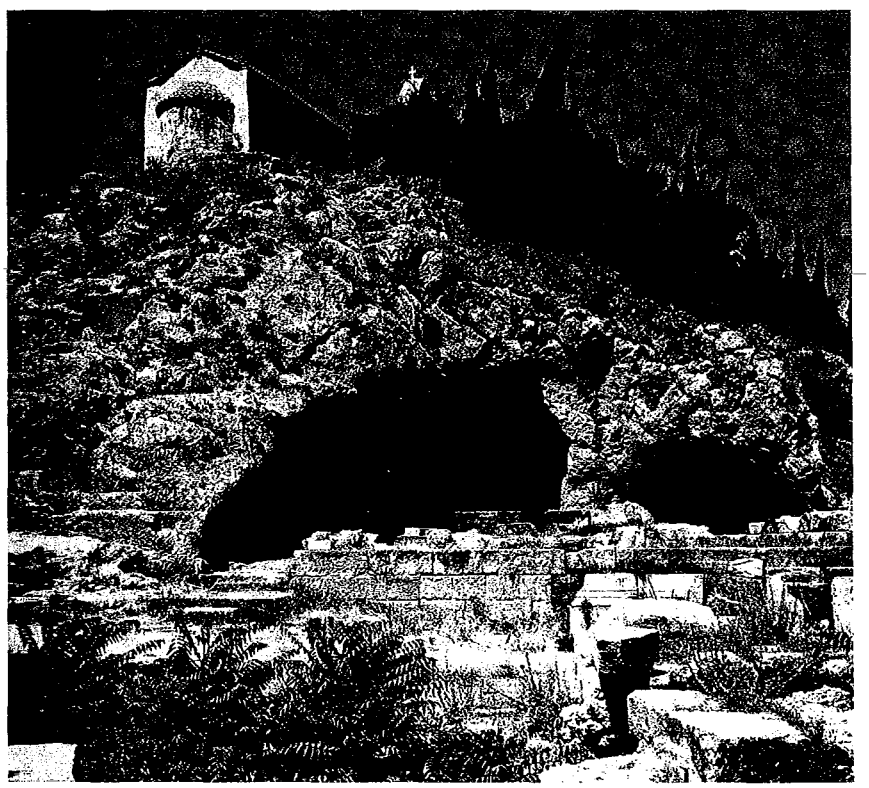
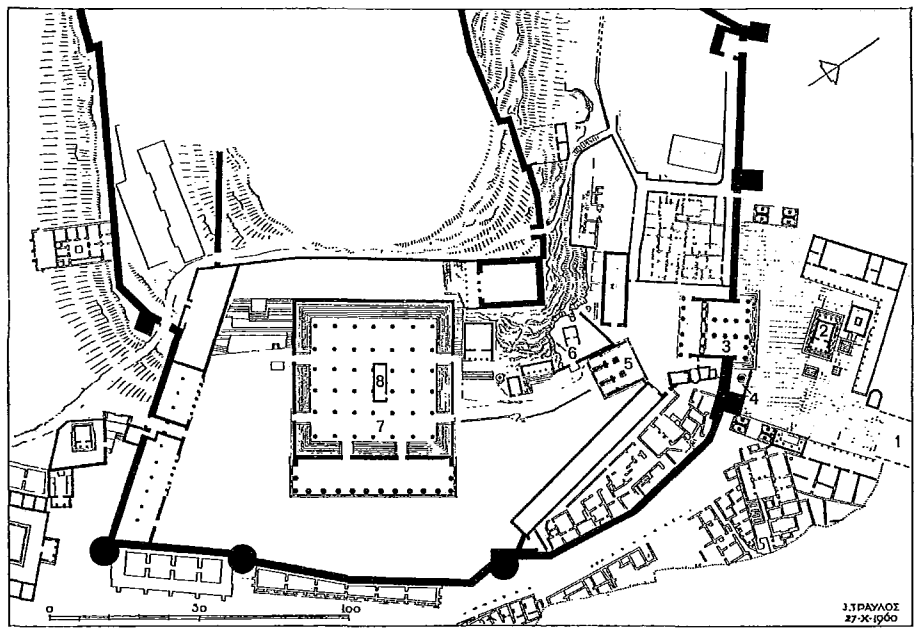


Figure 16. View of the Ploutoneion (cat. 15) (Travlos 1988, p. 149)



Ill. 1. The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis.
1. Sacred Way. 2. Temple of Artemis and Poseidon. 3. Greater Propylaea. 4. Callichoron Well.
5. Lesser Propylaea. 6. Mirthless Rock. 7. Periclean Anaktoron. 8. Interior structure.

Figure 17. Plan of Eleusis (Clinton 1992, p. 15)

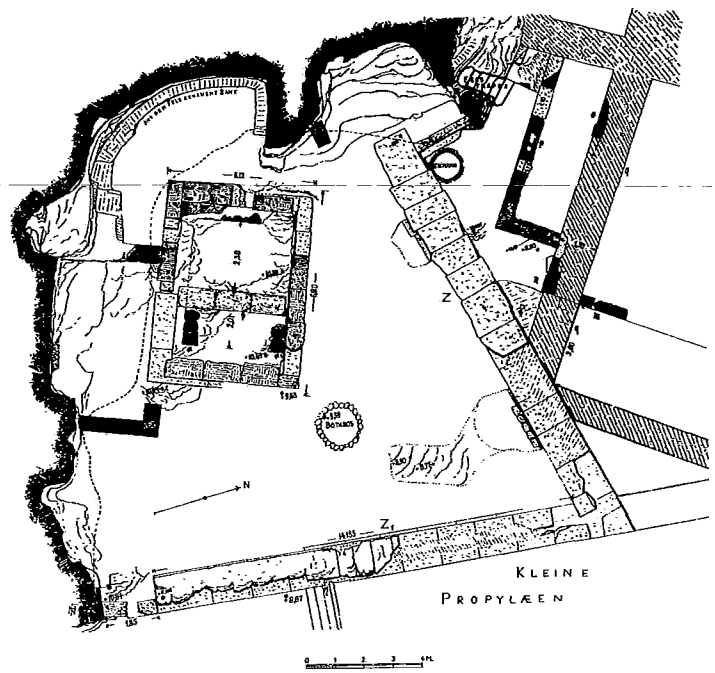


Figure 18. Plan of the Ploutoneion Cave (Clinton 1992, p. 22)

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