Stable Places and Changing Perceptions: Cave Archaeology in Greece

Edited by

Fanis Mavridis
Jesper Tae Jensen

BAR International Series 2558
2013

Published by

Archaeopress
Publishers of British Archaeological Reports
Gordon House
276 Banbury Road
Oxford OX2 7ED
England
bar@archaeopress.com
www.archaeopress.com

BAR S2558

Stable Places and Changing Perceptions: Cave Archaeology in Greece

ISBN 978 1 4073 1179 1

Printed in England by Information Press, Oxford

All BAR titles are available from:

Hadrian Books Ltd
122 Banbury Road
Oxford
OX2 7BP
England
www.hadrianbooks.co.uk

The current BAR catalogue with details of all titles in print, prices and means of payment is available free from Hadrian Books or may be downloaded from www.archaeopress.com

11

Cretan Caves Sanctuaries OF The Early Iron Age To The Roman Period

Nikolaos Stampolidis and Antonis Kotsonas

Introduction*

The geomorphological properties of the Cretan landscape, including the nature of the rocks and their tectonic structure, allow water to penetrate and gradually dissolve soft stones (Faure 1964, 19-49; Platakis 1973, 9-32; Rackham and Moody 1996, 24-25; Wallace 2010, 32). This process has created innumerable karst formations, most notably caves, the number of which is estimated to range from 2,000 to over 3,500 [Rutkowski 1972, 40 (2,000 examples); Platakis 1973, 10 (3,305 examples); Rutkowski 1986, 9, (2,000 examples); Simitzis 1993, 119 (over 3,500 examples)]. Because of this plethora of karst formations, Crete has been called the land of the caves (Platakis 1973, 9). The term cave is here used to refer to horizontal caves, as well as varathra and rockshelters (for a glossary of basic speleological terms, see Wickens 1986, 247-250; Tyree 2006, 330). It is indicative that the number of 281 caves in the Mylopotamos district of Crete (Simitzis 1993, 119; Aretaki, Simitzis and Stratidakis 2006, 38) is comparable to the so-called large number of caves identified in Attika (300) (Wickens 1986, 3), even though the total area of the former district is five times smaller than that of the latter [for the size of the Mylopotamos area, see Bennet 1990, 206, table 4, for Attika, see Der neue Pauly 2 (1997), s.v. Attika, 234].

By the onset of the period discussed in this paper, around 1100 B.C., cult had been practiced in Cretan caves for one and possibly more millennia (Tyree 2001, 39-40; Wallace 2010, 42-43, 45). Cult in the Idaean Cave probably goes back to the 3rd millennium (Vasilakis 2006) or even earlier (Manteli 2006). As is often the case in the archaeology of Crete, scholarship has been preoccupied with the caves of the Bronze Age (Minoan period). Cave sanctuaries with later activity have, however, also attracted considerable attention and there are recent publications which review the island's cave sanctuaries from the Early Iron Age to the Archaic period (11th-6th century B.C.) [Prent 2005, 200-209, 554-610 (with sporadic references in catalogues A, part 2 and B, part 2)], as well as from the Classical and Hellenistic periods (5th-2nd century B.C.) [Sporn 2002, 346-348, 401 (with sporadic references in the gazetteer of the book's part A), Sporn also refers to the Roman finds from the cave sanctuaries]. On the contrary, studies on the use of the Cretan caves in the Roman period (1st century B.C.-5th century A.D.) remain limited (Sporn 2002, 346-348, 401; also, Alcock 2002, 99-131 with several insightful points on the Cretan cave sanctuaries of the Roman period). These publications make redundant any full review of Cretan sanctuaries of the historical period, which would in any case be impossible in a short paper. It is perhaps indicative that the finds from the early excavations in the Psychro Cave have warranted as many as three monographs (Boardman 1961; Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996; Watrous 1996). Instead, emphasis is here given to specific themes which have hitherto received inadequate treatment. These themes include the long history and varied problems of Cretan cave archaeology; the diverse geographical and political contexts of select cave sanctuaries from the Early Iron Age to the Roman period (11th century B.C. - 5th century A.D.); and the shifting attitudes identified in dedicatory practices.

History And Problems Of Cave Archaeology In Crete

References to Cretan caves abound in ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine literature. These references are primarily concerned with the role of these caves - mostly the Idaean and Dictaean (Platakis 1973, 165-203, the location of the Dictaean Cave mentioned by ancient sources is uncertain, see Watrous 1996, 18-19) Caves (for all Cretan locations mentioned see Fig. 11.1) - in the mythology of Zeus. Shorter notes on the Cretan caves and their mythology also occur in Venetian documents of the 14th to 17th century A.D., in a period, during a considerable part of which Crete was ruled by Venice (Platakis 1973, 351-390; Tsiknakis 2006). These documents suggest that caves were a major attraction for travelers who visited the island from the 15th century to the third quarter of the 19th century A.D. (Platakis 1973, 206-351; Sakellarakis 1987, 240-241; Palioura 2006, 238-240; Tsiknakis 2006).

The first archaeological explorations of Cretan caves commenced in the last quarter of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century A.D. (Fig. 11.2) (Platakis 1973, 390-393; Tyree 1974, 1; Watrous 1996, 17, 23-25). These explorations, which were carried out by Greek, Italian, British and French pioneers, involved intensive excavation and extensive coverage of the caves known at the time. Subsequently, international interest was directed toward other Cretan monuments, particularly the Minoan palaces of the Bronze Age, and the exploration of caves was largely left to Greek archaeologists [Tyree 1974, 2; Sakellarakis 1987, 244, only the finds from the Idaean Cave were published at the time (Halbherr and Orsi 1888)]. In the 1960s and early 1970s, Cretan cave archaeology attracted renewed international attention in the form of synthetic works (Tyree 1974, 2-3; Boardman 1961; Willetts 1962, 141-147). The production of such works dwindled thereafter (references are collected in Watrous 1996, 24-25), to recover with a series of publications which appeared in 1996 (Faure 1996; Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996; Watrous 1996, later publications include Jones 1999; Tyree 2001). Despite the ebb and flow of publications on the subject, fieldwork in Cretan caves has been very limited in the last decades.

* The authors are grateful to the late Yannis Sakellarakis for permission to reproduce Figs. 11.4, 11.5 and to Nota Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki for permission to reproduce Fig. 11.6. Thanks are also due to the British School at Athens for permission to reproduce the previously unpublished Fig. 11.2. Fig. 11.1, 11.3 are by Antonis Kotsonas. In the original format of the text all references were given in footnotes.

The archaeological exploration of Cretan caves is faced with a number of shortcomings (Boardman 1961; Faure 1964; Rutkowski 1972; Tyree 1974, see Rutkowski 1972, 41-44; Tyree 1974, 4; Rutkowski 1986, 8-11; Watrous 1996, 95; Prent 2005, 155), which also obstruct reviews like the present one. Some of these shortcomings regularly occur in cave archaeology of other regions as well; others are, however, largely peculiar to Crete. In general, the archaeological exploration of caves depends on their accessibility, including the form and size of the mouth and interior, as well as the stability of the roof and walls (see, e.g., the eloquent descriptions and illustrations in Sakellarakis 1987, 256, figs. 13, 14). Related conditions, such as the cave's permeability in water and snow are important for both the progress of fieldwork and the preservation of some classes of archaeological finds. Digging, for example, in the water pool of the lower chamber at Psychro Cave (Faure 1996; Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996; Watrous 1996, 18) or the snow covered interior of the Idaean Cave (Sakellarakis 1987, 256, 259; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2011, 77, 125) proved particularly arduous and time-consuming.

Disturbed stratigraphy is another problem that pervades the exploration of Cretan, and other, caves [Bailey and Galanidou 2009, undisturbed strata have been identified in the Idaean Cave (Sakellarakis 1987, 244, 246)]. This is mostly due to the long period of use of these sites, but also to other anthropogenic, as well as geophysical factors, which cause intrusion of archaeological material into lower layers. Animals may also disturb the stratigraphic record. This problem is most acute in the case of Crete, where caves often serve as shelters for flocks of sheep and goats. Furthermore, damage was caused on some Cretan cave sanctuaries after the establishment of Christianity (Rutkowski 1986, 51; Faure 1996, 210). The later introduction of Christian cults in caves which were also sacred in Antiquity (twenty four cases are mentioned in Faure 1996, 202) disturbed ancient remains and occasionally, as in the case of the sanctuary at Patsos Cave, brought about the erection of small chapels (Fig. 11.3). The interior of some Cretan caves was also spoiled in Medieval and later times. Inscriptions incised on the walls of the Melidoni Cave document that the site was popular with Cretan and foreign visitors in this long period (Tzifopoulos and Litinas 2009; Tzifopoulos and Litinas forthcoming). In the 19th century A.D., this cave was used by Cretans fighting for independence against the Ottoman Turks who were then ruling the island (Faure 1964, 204-208; Platakis 1973, 205, 285-287, 323). "Unexpected" guests in the turbulent years of World War II are also known to have caused damage in Cretan caves (Faure 1964, 208-210; 1996, 21-22, 176-177, 210). Lastly, plundering has been practiced in Cretan caves since the end of the 19th century A.D., [e.g.: Halbherr and Orsi 1888, 1-3 (Idaean Cave); Sakellarakis 1987, 241-242, 259; 1998, 25, 33 (Idaean Cave); Platon 2011, 16-17 (Inatos Cave); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2011, 99-104 (Idaean Cave)], if not earlier. This is the main reason why access to the interior of most sites is nowadays blocked. Nonetheless, the Psychro Cave is open to the public and has developed into a major tourist attraction drawing some 800 visitors during the summer days (Wallace 2005, 60).

No Cretan cave site has been fully excavated despite the advantages offered by a closed, protected context of fairly limited size. This also applies to the Psychro Cave, which has been explored much more thoroughly than other Cretan caves (Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996, 11; Watrous 1996, 18). Many sites have been only explored by trial trenches, while surface finds are the only source of information for others. Several Cretan caves were excavated without proper methodology or sophisticated recording systems. It is worth recalling, for example, the negative impression of Stephanos Koumanoudis, then director of the Greek Archaeological Society, of the excavation method employed by Federico Halbherr in his fieldwork in the Idaean Cave in the end of the 19th century A.D.. (Sakellarakis 1998, 51; also, Sakellarakis 1987, 243 on the selectivity in the recovery of finds from the early excavations, see Sakellarakis 1987, 246). Another case in point is provided by David Hogarth's excavation at Psychro Cave, which involved the use of dynamite, and the hasty collection of finds from that cave's lower grotto (see mostly Watrous 1996, 17-18). The eventual refinement of excavation techniques is attested by the work of the late Yannis Sakellarakis in the Idaean Cave, which involved grid plans, distribution maps and documentation of the stratigraphy (Fig. 11.4) [for Sakellarakis' excavation method, see Sakellarakis 1987, 246-247, fig. 7; 1988, 192 and figs. 4, 24, 31; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2011, 73, 119-135, for earlier, stratigraphic excavations at the Inatos Cave, see Platon 2011, 19-201].

Perhaps the greatest impediment in Cretan cave archaeology is the near absolute paucity of final publications. Most primary literature available is limited to brief excavation reports of preliminary character. Selective, but richly illustrated catalogues of objects are available for few sites [Halbherr and Orsi 1888 (Idaean Cave); Boardman 1961 (Psychro Cave); Watrous 1996 (Psychro Cave); Kourou and Karetsou 1994 (Patsos Cave); Kanta and Davaras 2011 (Inatos Cave); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2011 (Idaean Cave)], while longer studies are extremely rare (an exception being Sapouna 1998). Publication is of paramount importance not only for past research; it is equally important for the regeneration of archaeological interest in the Cretan caves and the launching of new fieldwork. It is time for new, interdisciplinary approaches to fieldwork, with state-of-the-art techniques, such as those lately applied in cave archaeology of other regions of the Mediterranean and beyond (Chamberlain et al. 2000; Bailey and Galanidou 2009, 215-216). For example, subsurface prospection can contribute to the discovery and identification of caves, which are recorded in ancient literature but remain unknown [e.g., the Dictaean Cave is known from written sources, but remains unidentified, see Watrous 1996, 18-19, the same perhaps applies to Homer's Cave of Amnissos (Cave of Eileithyia), see Betancourt and Marinatos 2000,

180, 235-236]; or lead to the detection of caves with fairly undisturbed archaeological record, suitable for the detailed study of taphonomic reconstruction and anthropogenic sedimentation.

Cretan Caves And Their Identification As Sanctuaries

The identification of a cave used in Antiquity as a sanctuary is not straightforward. Despite this, several gazetteers of Cretan cave sanctuaries have been compiled in the last five decades (see, e.g., Faure 1964, 81-197; Tyree 1974, 6-63, 216-229; Faure 1996; Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996). Paul Faure originally counted 25 certain and 21 possible cases of Cretan sacred caves of the Prehistoric to Roman period (Faure 1964, 81-189). More recently, Faure published a catalogue citing 53 certain and 17 possible cases (Faure 1996). Very different is the estimate by Loeta Tyree, who referred to 19 certain and 13 possible cases (Tyree 1974, 167). Bogdan Rutkowski originally listed 15 to 17 certain and 9 to 10 probable cases of Minoan cave sanctuaries (Rutkowski 1972, 40, 151); later 16 and 20 examples respectively (Rutkowski 1986, 9, 68-71) and more recently 12 certain and 23 probable or possible cases (Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996, for criticism, see Jones 1999, 4 n. 4). Comparable estimates referring exclusively to caves of the historical period are largely missing, but Mieke Prent refers to a minimum of 10 sacred caves used in the Early Iron Age (Prent 2005, 154-170, 311-342).

The notable range in these estimates clearly depends to the progress of fieldwork and other research over time. It is, however, also indicative of the subjectivity involved in the assessment of the primary evidence for cult and the lack of any established set of formal criteria for the identification of a cave as a sanctuary (for theoretical considerations in determining the use of a cave and the range of cave use, see Wickens 1986, 61-86, for the identification of sanctuaries in general see Prent 2005, 12-26). The Cretan sacred caves have hardly produced any definite cult images (Tyree 2001, 49; Prent 2005, 208 and for a possible exception, see 431), even if specific stalagmites have occasionally been considered as such (see mostly Faure 1964; 1996, also, Rutkowski 1972, 129-133; 1986, 50-52, against the identification of stalagmites as cult images, see Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996, 16, ns. 20, 79). Accordingly, scholars like those mentioned above have based their estimates on other, varied criteria [Rutkowski (1972, 42-43; 1986, 10; Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996, 4-5) has repeatedly made relevant points, Tyree (1974, 6) refers to architecture and cult objects, while Faure (1996, 16) mentions a set of seven criteria], hardly commenting, however, on the applicability of these criteria to each cave discussed (Watrous 1996, 20-22 is a notable exception). As a result, the identification of sacred caves often retracts to empirical assumptions, occasionally based on written testimonies of the Hellenistic and Roman periods (late 4th century B.C. - 5th century A.D.). Because of these uncertainties, we here focus on caves which are unambiguously considered to have been sacred from the Early Iron Age to the Roman period (11th century B.C. - 5th century A.D.), or for a part of this long period.

Although literature often focuses on sacred caves, other use of caves is also documented in Crete during the period in question. Some Cretan caves, located mostly in the western half of the island, show scattered habitation remains and probably served as temporary shelters (Sjögren 2003, 43-44, 48). Conversely, the use of caves for burial is commonly manifested only in east Crete (east of the Isthmus of Ierapetra) (Tsipopoulou 2005, 193-194, 221, 233-234, 239, 313, for earlier burial use of caves, see Tyree 2006, 329-331). It is perhaps no coincidence that sacred caves are extremely rare in this part of the island (Faure 1964, 97; Watrous 1996, 19, 75, see the maps in Tyree 1974, 67, 117, 119, 149, for reference to the two possible cases located east of Psychro Cave, see Tyree 1974, 229, see also the map in Faure 1996, 157 and 159-166, where the identification of caves nos. 54-58 as sanctuaries is insecure). Sacred caves are also missing from the far west of Crete (west of Kydonia) (for map, see Faure 1996, 54 and 176-190, where the identification of caves nos. 64-70 as sanctuaries is insecure), where, however, archaeological exploration has been very limited. Hence, on present evidence, cave sanctuaries of the Early Iron Age to the Roman period occur over most of Crete, but remain rare on the eastern and western ends of the island (for the narrower geographical distribution of cave sanctuaries in earlier times, see Tyree 2001, pls. IX.a, IX.b).

Geographical And Political Landscapes: Stability And Change

The Cretan caves which were used for cultic purposes during the period in question are characterized by varied geography and geomorphology. They range from large, deep caves (Fig. 11.5) with several chambers to shallow, well lit caverns and rockshelters (Fig. 11.3). Only in the Classical period is a consistent preference for complex karst formation identifiable (Tyree 1974, 169; Prent 2005, 200**)**. Some caves display impressive interiors, with many stalactites and stalagmites (Rutkowski 1972, 129-133, 146; 1986, 50-52**)** or water pools (Rutkowski 1972, 133-134; 1986, 53). A spring is located inside the Inatos Cave (Faure 1964, 90; Papasavvas 2003, 72**)** and others lie by the Idaean Cave (Prent 2005, 159**)** and at the Patsos Cave (Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 83).

The geographical setting of the Cretan sacred caves is also diverse and their locations do not conform to any consistent pattern. For example, the Inatos Cave lies only few meters off the coastline of south-central Crete, at around sea level (Faure 1964, 90; Papasavvas 2003, 72; Platon 2011, 16), while the Amnissos Cave is only slightly further inland on the opposite coast of Crete. On the contary, the Idaean and Psychro Caves are located on highland plateaus and the elevation of the former site (circa 1500 m) is taken to be one of the highest in the world for an archaeological location (Sakellarakis 1987, 239). The Nida Plateau, located by the Idaean Cave, was, and still is, largely uninhabited (Prent 2005, 159), but the Lasithi Plateau, which lies by Psychro Cave, was well populated

through much of Antiquity (Watrous 1982). Likewise, the Patsos Cave, in the west-central part of Crete, is located in a gorge traversed by a stream and lies close to a natural artery which connects the northern and southern coasts of the island (Prent 2005, 156).

All major and nearly all minor Cretan cave sanctuaries of the Early Iron Age to the Roman period were lying outside the confines of contemporary settlements [Sjögren 2003, 56-57 (8-6th century B.C.)]. Although their physical geography remained unchanged throughout the period in question (ceiling collapse is, however, thought to have stopped the cult inside the Arkalochori Cave and the lower chamber of Psychro Cave, see Prent 2005, 166, 339), the political landscape of the areas they occupied faced diverse, shifting trajectories. These trajectories often affected the development of cult in caves, as is evident in the diachronic assessment which follows.

Caves which show modest votive assemblages (e.g., the Amnissos Cave throughout the period in question (Betancourt and Marinatos 2000, especially 234) or the Phaneromeni Cave in the Early Iron Age (Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996, 35; Prent 2005, 557-559) are regularly considered to be rural cult places serving a neighboring settlement. A regional appeal is assumed for sites like the Patsos Cave (Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996, 42-44; Prent 2005, 606-608) and the Psychro Cave (Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996, 19; Watrous 1996, 100, 103; Prent 2005, 608-610), which attracted rich and more varied offerings, but did not produce any set of large bronzes, jewellery and exotic objects. Interregional functions are widely assumed for the Idaean Cave for much of the period in question on the basis of the quality and quantity of its finds, as well as written evidence of Classical to Roman date [Prent 2005, 559-604 (Early Iron Age); Sporn 2002, 218-223 (Classical-Hellenistic); Sapouna 1998 (Roman)]. This consensus is challenged by the argument of Hartmut Matthäus which involves that the large bronzes found in the cave in the Early Iron Age largely derived from Knossos (Matthäus 2000, 541-542, for iconographic correspondences between ceramic and metal finds from Knossos and the Idaean Cave, see Papalardo 2011). The present authors have elsewhere questioned this view and have argued that the distribution of similar finds in sites surrounding Mount Ida suggests that the bronzes derived from several communities (Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006, 347-349; see also Lagogianni-Georgakarakou 2003, 8-9; Kotsonas 2005, 342-343; Prent 2005, 567-568; Stampolidis 2005-2006; Stampolidis 2007; Chaniotis 2009, 62-63; Stampolidis 2011). Lately, more balanced positions have been expressed on this matter [Matthäus 2011, 125 suggests a shift of power to Gortyn or some other site in the 7th century B.C.), 129 (insisting on Knossos, but also noting that other sites had links with the cave), also, Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2011, 151, 163, 165, 168 (referring to Knossos, but also another, "secondary" site, possibly Axos], but the issue will remain unsettled as long as the pottery (the only class of early finds the specific provenance of which can be established not only on stylistic, but also on analytical grounds) from the cave remains unknown.

Changes in settlement configurations and the political landscape in general are often thought to have affected cave sanctuaries. Nonetheless, cult persisted in a number of them, including the Idaean Cave, Psychro Cave, Patsos Cave, Phaneromeni Cave and Inatos Cave, in the transition from the Bronze to the Early Iron Age (1200-1000 B.C.), despite the serious disruption which affected the island's settlement pattern at the time (Prent 2005, 311; Wallace 2010, 136-137, on Inatos see Papasavvas 2003, 72-76; Kanta and Davaras 2011, also Prent 2005, 332, for another opinion, see Tyree 1974, 146). Continuity of cult has not been confirmed for many other sacred caves, but this mostly involves sites which have attracted little fieldwork and/or publication. It therefore appears that the disruption of settlement pattern did not have any grave impact on cave sanctuaries. Some scholars even assume that the disruption perhaps brought people into closer proximity to these sites (Prent 2005, 204-205).

Major socio-political developments of later periods, particularly the expansion of the Cretan city-states, exercised a more tangible impact on cave sanctuaries. One of us has previously argued that the 7th century B.C. revival of the cult in Melidoni Cave is associated with the territorial expansion of Eleutherna (rather than that of Axos or Grivila) [Kotsonas 2005, 40, 342 (with references to the excavations, on which see mostly Tzedakis and Gavrilaki 1995)]. The identification of few Proto-Archaic figurines from Axos in Melidoni Cave (Sporn 2002, 232; Kephalidou 2006, 244) is insufficient evidence for any strong link between the two sites (for the settlement of Grivila, which lies close to Melidoni Cave and flourished in the transition from the Bronze to the Early Iron Age, but probably declined thereafter and can therefore not be convincingly credited with the revival of the cult in Melidoni Cave, see Kotsonas 2005, 39-40). Corroborating evidence for this cultic, as much as political link can perhaps be found in a recently published, Roman inscription from the cave which records that almost all inhabitants of Eleutherna did a pilgrimage at Melidoni (Tzifopoulos 2011, 81-84). In contrast, the territorial expansion of Lyktos in the Archaic period is assumed to have caused a serious population decline in the Lasithi Plateau, which is concurrent with the demise of the cult in the Psychro Cave (Watrous 1982, 21-23, 62; 1996, 103). On the whole, the rise and consolidation of power of Cretan poleis (Kotsonas 2002) in the Archaic and Classical periods is concurrent with a serious decline of extra urban sanctuaries, including cave sanctuaries [Tyree 1974, 138, 143, 147-150; Watrous 1996, 108, 111; Alcock 2002, 114; Sporn 2002, 370-371, Tyree (1974, 138, 143) identifies sufficient material of the 6th century B.C. in only three caves (Psychro Cave, Amnissos Cave and Idaean Cave). The Inatos Cave should now be added to this list (Papasavvas 2003, 72-76; Kanta and Davaras 2011), the brevity of which is to some extent due to the low visibility of the material culture of Crete in the 6th century B.C. (Kotsonas 2002)]; it is even assumed that some cults were transferred to urban centers [Faure 1964, 91-92, 139; Watrous 1996, 108, 111, note, however, that Faure's (1964, 91-92) assumption that cult at Inatos Cave stopped

in the 6th century B.C. and was transferred to an urban setting is dismissed by recent work (Papasavvas 2003, 72-76; Kanta and Davaras 2011)]. Considerable activity is confirmed to have persisted only in the Idaean Cave and Inatos Cave, the two caves which attracted the richest votive offerings in earlier times (Idaean Cave, Sporn 2002, 218-223; Inatos Cave, Sporn 2002, 94-96; Papasavvas 2003, 72-76; Kanta and Davaras 2011). The cave sanctuaries which survived this demise, as well as those which revived in the Hellenistic period (most notably Phaneromeni Cave, Melidoni Cave, and Patsos Cave) (see respectively Sporn 2002, 103, 231-232, 251-252) or were first used during the Classical and Hellenistic periods (e.g., the caves in the region of Kydonia, see Sporn 2002, 272-277), are taken to have held a localized role (Tyree 1974, 149-151; Alcock 2002, 113-121). A notable exception is the Idaean Cave, the Classical and Hellenistic finds from which are, however, considerably poorer than those of earlier or later times (Sporn 2002, 219-220, references to Early Iron Age finds are collected in Kotsonas 2005, 41, n. 209; Kotsonas 2008, 30, n. 84, add mostly Matthäus 2011, for Roman finds, see Sapouna 1998; Lagoyganni-Georgakarakou 2003; Melfi 2006, 218-221).

During the Roman period, cave cults became popular once more (Tyree 1974, 162; Alcock 2002, 114). The number of sacred caves visited multiplies and the volume of offerings increases. The revival and spread of cave cults following the Roman conquest is associated with a new pattern of commemoration, which involved a diminution in the power of the local past and a growth of pilgrimage sites distant from any single controlling community (Alcock 2002, 121-130). These sites attracted a larger, non local audience and served a more widely shared, non local sense of the past. This change is related to the interests of the Empire, manifested in the emperor's choice of appropriating symbols of Zeus Cretagenes (born on Crete). Latin literature shows a notable interest in the Cretan past, especially in the mythology of Zeus, and involves several references to Cretan caves. The island's caves were also reference points for the Pythagoreans of the Early Empire (Alcock 2002, 130-131; Di Branco 2004; Chaniotis 2006; Melfi 2006, 221-224), while the spiritual dimension of caves in general was of interest to Neo-Platonists commenting on Plato's renowned simile (for Plato's simile and its Cretan references, see Campese 2003, 435-451, for caves, Plato, and the Neo-Platonists, see Ousager 2004, 28, 46, 106, 234, 278-279, 284). To the educated citizens of the Empire, Cretan caves were associated with wisdom, law and learning, and one such citizen was proud to be initiated in the cult of the Idaean Cave as late as the time of Julian the Apostate (mid-4th century A.D.) (Chaniotis 1987).

The introduction of Christianity is largely concurrent with the demise of Cretan cave sanctuaries (Faure 1996, 210), even if no causal relation can be established between the two. Christian cults, introduced at varied date, have been identified in 265 Cretan caves, including 24 which had earlier hosted pagan cults (Faure 1996, 202, 210). Cult continuity from pagan to Christian times is generally not documented and there is often a gap of 500 years to more than one millennium which separates the two (this excludes the Amnissos Cave, on which see Betancourt and Marinatos 2000, 214-231). This is because Christian cave cult was largely inspired by the tradition of monasticism of the Middle Byzantine period, particularly of the 9th-10th centuries A.D.

In sum, the establishment and persistence of cult in Cretan caves of the Early Iron Age to the Roman period did not conform to any preference for their geomorphological properties and geographical setting. Conversely, the recurring restructuring of the political landscape around these sites often affected the popularity of cave cults and occasionally determined their survival.

Persisting And Changing Dedicatory Practices

The interior of many Cretan sacred caves is characterized by dark, thick layers of ash which are usually taken to represent the remains of sacrifice. The faunal and floral remains from these layers have generally not been studied, and discussion of cult in the caves usually focuses on the actual dedications recovered. The range of dedications found in Cretan caves provides evidence for the identification of the sites as sanctuaries and the character of the deity worshipped (particularly in the absence of cult images, on which see above), the nature of the cult, as well as the identities, concerns and aspirations of the votaries. Nonetheless, the interpretation of votive behaviour is perplexed by the variety of objects offered and the dedication of similar objects on different occasions, for different purposes and in honor of different deities (Watrous 1996, 81-82; Prent 2005, 26-33). The dedicatory practices manifested in the Cretan cave sanctuaries discussed here have received adequate treatment in two very recent publications [for the Early Iron Age, see Prent 2005 (sporadically), while for the Classical, Hellenistic and to some extent the Roman period, see Sporn 2002 (sporadically)], to which the reader is referred for many of the issues discussed. Our discussion draws from those studies, as well as from primary publications, to highlight major trends in these practices and assess their fluctuations from the Early Iron Age to the Roman period. Comparative glances on votive behaviour manifested in other Cretan sanctuaries are also introduced.

The occurrence of different classes of votives in Cretan sacred caves is often period-specific. It is therefore reviewed here in accordance with a broad chronological scheme. In contrast to the variety which dominates the cult assemblages of Late Minoan cave sanctuaries (Tyree 1974, 100-106), notable homogeneity is identified in the transition from the Bronze to the Early Iron Age. Large terracotta animal figures and - to a significantly lesser extent - bronze figurines dominate the votive record from Patsos Cave, Psychro Cave and the Idaean Cave at this time and similar assemblages are known from other extra urban sanctuaries of the period (Prent 2005, 205-207). This pattern has reasonably been taken to suggest that the votives in question reflect the concerns of the votaries

and were not related to specific deities (Prent 2005, 207-208).

For the remaining part of the Early Iron Age, including the Proto-Archaic period, the votive assemblages of Cretan cave sanctuaries are much more heterogeneous (Prent 2005, 554-610). Pottery gains in prominence and is henceforth established as the most common class of votive objects in cave sanctuaries (Tyree 1974, 171). Pottery is actually the only class of finds known from several sites [see e.g., Prent 2005, 166 (Arkalochori Cave), 320-321 (Stravomyti Cave), several more cases are included in Faure 1996], although this must be related to the general paucity of study and publication of their finds. Despite this, it can tentatively be assumed that pottery was not a much favored offering in sacred caves (cf. Tyree 1974, 125). This is particularly clear in assemblages of the Early Iron Age. Sakellarakis reports only 55 vases of this period from the Idaean Cave (Sakellarakis 1988, 191), while the relevant finds from Psychro are rather few (Boardman 1961, 56-59; Watrous 1996, 54). One suspects that fragmentary material is largely excluded from these figures. Nonetheless, it has recently been confirmed that the quantity of Early Iron Age pottery from the Idaean Cave is limited (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2011, 143). The pottery record from Inatos Cave is richer (Kanta and Kontopodi 2011a, 47, 68-79; Grigoropoulos 2011), but the impression of a limited interest in the offering of clay vessels is enhanced by the overall paucity of ceramic imports from overseas. There are only few Proto-Corinthian vessels (of the late 8th and 7th century B.C.) in the Idaean Cave (Sakellarakis 1988, 191), the Psychro Cave (Watrous 1996, 44 nos. 137-138) and the Inatos Cave (Papasavvas 2003, 74; Kotsonas 2008, 262; Kanta and Kontopodi 2011a, 76). This paucity is in marked contrast to the influx of ceramic imports in Crete of the 9th to 7th century B.C. (Kotsonas 2005, 234-266; Kotsonas 2008, 256-294) and the deposition of imported objects made in other materials in cave sanctuaries within this time-span (see below). Pottery of this date is relatively limited in quantity in extra urban, open-air sanctuaries as well (Prent 2005, 347). On the contrary, it is very common in other types of sanctuaries, such as those at Kommos (Shaw and Shaw 2000) and the Gortyn Akropolis (Johannowsky 2002).

Terracotta figurines are exceptionally numerous in Melidoni Cave in the 7th century B.C. (Tzedakis and Gavrilaki 1995, 892), while other sites have mostly yielded pottery, along with some terracottas and bronzes (Tyree 1974, 125, 133-134, 140). The Inatos Cave and mostly the Idaean Cave have produced exceptionally rich assemblage of votives of various materials and types (pottery vessels; clay and bronze figurines; bronze vessels, tripods and other utensils; gold, silver and bronze ornaments; sealstones; iron weapons, ivories and exotica in glass and faience), including finds which are otherwise unknown in such contexts (Idaean Cave, Halbherr and Orsi 1888; Sakellarakis 1987, 1988; Matthäus 2011; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2011, 143-211; Inatos Cave, Kanta and Davaras 2011). The rich collection of finds from the Inatos Cave includes a considerable number of Proto-Geometric to Archaic (10th – 7th century B.C.) figurines in different materials showing kourotrophic deities, heterosexual couples and pregnant females. On this basis, the deity worshipped in the cave is identified with Eileithyia, the Greek goddess of childbirth, the name of which is mentioned in a Roman inscription from Inatos (Prent 2005, 331-332; Kanta 2011, 29-32). This is the earliest case in which the deity worshipped in a Cretan sacred cave can be identified on exclusively archaeological grounds.

Cretan cave sanctuaries of the Early Iron Age show a concentration of images of Near Eastern deities which is unparalleled in other Cretan sanctuaries or other contexts [this excludes the "nude females", which occasionally Prent (2005, 407-411) considers as goddesses]: A bronze figurine of Reshef was deposited in the Patsos Cave in the transition from the Bronze to the Early Iron Age. Another figurine of possibly the same god and a bronze statuette of Amun Re were deposited in the Psychro Cave at a later date (for the artifacts, see Hoffman 1997, 24-27, for some discussion of the phenomenon, see Prent 2005, 207-209). A "Master of the Animals" of Near Eastern style is depicted on a bronze tympanum from the Idaean Cave (Fig. 11.6) (Prent 2005, 602; Stampolidis 2005-2006; Stampolidis 2011), while a series of Egyptian faience figurines of various deities (mostly Isis and Bes) comes from Inatos Cave (references are collected in Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006, 345, ns. 34-35, also, Papasavvas 2003, 73-75; Kanta and Kontopodi 2011b). Similar finds are not entirely unknown in other Cretan contexts, but they are much rarer than in sacred caves. The discovery of these images in deep-rooted sanctuaries may seem surprising at first glance, but Cretan caves (and other extra urban sanctuaries) have a long tradition of attracting images of foreign deities extending back to the Middle Bronze Age (Watrous 1996, 81). The images of Near Eastern deities found in Cretan caves in the Early Iron Age are often rendered on rare and exotic materials, such as ivory and faience, which are imported from the Near East and are otherwise very rarely found on the island (for the distribution of items from ivory and faience in Early Iron Age Crete, see Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006, 343-346, for exotica from the Inatos Cave, see Kanta and Kontopodi 2011b). In the case of the Idaean Cave, such imports have even been taken as evidence for the introduction of particular Near Eastern rituals (Sakellarakis 2006; Galanaki 2006; Stampolidis 2011). Nonetheless, the notable impact of the Near East in Cretan cave sanctuaries disappears after the Proto-Archaic period.

Any study of later Archaic to Roman votive offerings from Cretan caves is hampered by the relative dearth of finds (which is not always the case) and - mostly - by the overall paucity of publications (Sapouna 1998 is a notable exception). It appears, however, that investment in offerings dwindles after the Proto-Archaic period for reasons discussed above. Votive offerings of the Archaic and Classical periods are largely limited to ceramic vessels and clay figurines (Tyree 1974, 130-131, 147-155, including a few bronzes). The near exclusivity of clay finds

persisted until the abandonment of sacred caves in Late Antiquity (Tyree 1974, 159-161, 170, Note, however, that inexpensive non ceramic objects of late date often receive limited attention, see, e.g., the items in Watrous 1996, 55) and is largely paralleled in other types of Cretan sanctuaries (Sporn 2002, 350-356). More varied finds, including a considerable number of Late Hellenistic to Roman coins and a group of iron rings with inlaid gems, have been found in the Idaean Cave (Sporn 2002, 220; Lagogianni-Georgakarakou 2003; Moustaka 2004, 234; Melfi 2006, 218-221; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2011, 210). They suggest a change in dedicatory practices at approximately the time of the Roman conquest of Crete. The conquest brought about renewed interest in Cretan caves (as described above) and an increase in investment, the most notable manifestation of which is the erection of two bronzes statues before the entrance of the Idaean cave (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2011, 81). During the Roman period, cave sanctuaries cease to attract figurines, which had been dedicated for two millennia (Tyree 1974, 172), but show a notable increase in the deposition of lamps. Lamps first appear in Classical times, gain in popularity in the Hellenistic period and become ubiquitous in the Roman (Tyree 1974, 155-156, 163-164, also Betancourt and Marinatos 2000, 214-227). The role of lamps was practical, as much as ceremonial, as confirmed by their deposition in the innermost part of the Idaean Cave (Sapouna 1998, 17-20 and also 171-172; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2011, 210-211, nonetheless, most coins of similar date also turned up in the innermost part of the Idaean Cave, see Lagogianni-Georgakarakou 2003, 32-37) and Psychro Cave (Boardman 1961, 4-5, 56-57; Watrous 1996, 46, 55). Lastly, an interesting phenomenon of the Roman period, hitherto thinly documented only in the Idaean Cave, involves the rededication of much older votives (Alcock 2002, 127).

In sum, dedicatory practices in Cretan cave sanctuaries show notable fluctuations from the Early Iron Age to the Roman period. Votive assemblages largely consist of relatively few classes of finds, particularly pottery, for most of the period discussed, but a much wider range of objects occurs in several caves from the 9th to the 7th centuries B.C. The broad trends identified suggest that the dedication of votive offerings was mostly unrelated to the character of the deity worshipped and did not depend on other site-specific considerations.

Conclusions

The innumerable karst formations which dot the primordial Cretan landscape resemble wounds on a shattered, aged body. Their morphology, which is generally considered to have impressed and awed the ancient Cretans, encouraged the establishment of cults. The spiritual appeal of the caves is evidenced by the role they are credited with in ancient mythology, as well as by references of Medieval and later sources. Also, the appeal of the caves to archaeologists, which has shaped the history of research in these sites, is explicit in documents which range from reports of the 19th century A.D. (see, e.g., the quote from Taramelli cited in Watrous 1996, 23-24) to recent publications (Sakellarakis 1987).

Because of their long history and impressive archaeological record, the cave sanctuaries of Crete have received considerable attention in archaeological literature. Yet we still miss a formal set of criteria for the identification of a cave used in Antiquity as a sanctuary and cultic use is often inferred empirically. Cretan caves were regularly used for cult purposes in the Bronze Age. By the Greek and Roman period, cave sanctuaries occur over most of the island excluding its eastern and western ends. The number and distribution of these sanctuaries shows considerable fluctuation through time. Despite their stable - albeit diverse - geography and geomorphology, sacred caves were set in changing political landscapes, the transformations of which affected dedicatory practice in the caves. Votive assemblages are generally fairly homogeneous within each period, but there is a clear peak in the variety and quality of offerings during the 9th to 7th centuries B.C. The chronological patterning of dedicatory practice suggests this practice was largely shaped by the concerns of the votaries and wider socio-political developments, rather than by the identity of the gods venerated. In any case, Cretan cave sanctuaries and their gods fell into demise after the introduction of Christianity; the island's karst formations, however, never ceased to attract and inspire visitors.

Bibliography

Alcock, S.E. 2002. Archaeologies of the Greek Past. Landscape, Monuments and Memories, (WB Stanford Memorial Lectures Series), Cambridge.

Aretaki, K., V. Simitzis and C. Stratidakis. 2006. "Τα Σπήλαια του Μυλοποτάμου," in *Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την Αρχαιότητα ως Σήμερα*, (Vol. 7), Ε. Γαβριλάκη and Y.Z. Τζιφόπουλος eds., Rethymno, pp. 37-69.

Bailey, G. and N. Galanidou. 2009. "Caves, Palimpsests and Dwelling Spaces: Examples from the Upper Palaeolithic of South-east Europe," WA 41, pp. 215-241.

Bennet, J. 1990. "Knossos in Context: Comparative Perspectives on the Linear B Administration of LM II-III Crete," AJA 94, pp. 193-211.

Betancourt, PP. and N. Marinatos. eds. 2000. (in collaboration with T. Almbani, K. Palyvou, N. Poulou-Papademetriou, S. German, and S. McPherron). "Το Σπήλαιο της Αμνισού: Η Έρευνα του 1992," ArchEph 139, [2001], pp. 179-236.

Boardman, J. 1961. The Cretan Collection in Oxford. The Dictaean Cave and Iron Age Crete, Oxford.

Campese, S. 2003. "La Caverna," in Platone. La Repubblica Vol V: Libro VI-VII, M. Vegetti, ed., Napoli, pp. 435-472.

Chamberlain, A.T., W. Sellers, C. Proctor, and R. Coard. 2000. "Cave Detection in Limestone Using Ground Penetrating Radar," JAS 27, pp. 957-964.

Chaniotis, A. 1987. "Plutarchos, Praeses Insularum," ZPE 68, pp. 227-231.

———. 2006. "A Dodecahedron of Rock Crystal from the Idaean Cave and Evidence for Divination in the Sacred Cave of Zeus," in *Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την Αρχαιότητα ως Σήμερα*, (Vol. 3), Ε. Γαβριλάκη and Y.Z. Τζιφόπουλος, eds., Rethymno, pp. 205-216.

———. 2009. "Extra-urban Sanctuaries in Classical and Hellenistic Crete," in The Aegean and its Cultures, G. Deligiannakis and Y. Galanakis, eds., (BAR-IS 1975), Oxford, pp. 59-67.

Di Branco, M. 2004. "Pelegrinaggi a Creta. Tradizioni e Culti Cretesi in Epoca Tardoantica," in Creta Romana e Protobizantina, (Atti del Congresso Internazionale, Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, Iraklion 23-30 Settembre 2000), M. Livadiotti and I. Simiakaki, eds., Padova, pp. 7-15.

Faure, P. 1964. Fonctions des Cave*rnes Crétoises*, (École Française d'Athènes Travaux et Mémoires 14), Paris.

———. 1996. *Ιερά Σπήλαια της Κρήτης*, Herakleion.

Galanaki, K. 2006. "Χάλκινες Ανάγλυφες Ομφαλωτές Φιάλες της Πρώιμης Αρχαϊκής περιόδου από το Ιδαίο Άντρο," in *Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την Αρχαιότητα ως Σήμερα,* (Vol. 3), Ε. Γαβριλάκη and Y.Z. Τζιφόπουλος, eds., Rethymno, pp. 85-136.

Grigoropoulos, D. 2011. "Κεραμεική της Ρωμαϊκής Περιόδου," in *ΕΛΟΥΘΙΑ ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΙΟΝ. Το Ιερό Σπήλαιο της Ειλειθυίας στον Τσούτσουρο*, Α. Κάντα and Κ. Δαβάρας, eds., Herakleion, pp. 80-83.

Halbherr, F. and P. Orsi 1888. *Antichità dell'Antro di* Zeus Ideo in Creta, Torino and Rome.

Hoffman, G.L. 1997. Imports and Immigrants: Near Eastern Contacts with Iron Age Crete, Michigan.

Johannowsky, W. 2002. *Il Santuario sull'Acropoli di* Gortina, (Vol. 2), (Monografie della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente 16), Athens.

Jones, D.W. 1999. Peak Sanctuaries and Sacred Caves in Minoan Crete: A Comparison of Artifacts, (SIMA-PB 156), Göteborg.

Kanta, A. 2011. "Η Λατρεία της Ειλειθυίας στο Σπήλαιο του Τσούτσουρου," in *ΕΛΟΥΘΙΑ ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΙΟΝ. Το Ιερό Σπήλαιο της Ειλειθυίας στον Τσούτσουρο*, Α. Κάντα and Κ. Δαβάρας, eds., Herakleion, pp. 28-37.

Kanta, A. and K. Davaras 2011. eds. *ΕΛΟΥΘΙΑ ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΙΟΝ. Το* Ιερό *Σπήλαιο της Ειλειθυίας στον Τσούτσουρο*, Herakleion.

Kanta, A. and D. Z. Kontopodi 2011a. "Δείγματα της Κεραμεικής του Σπηλαίου," in *ΕΛΟΥΘΙΑ ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΙΟΝ. Το Ιερό Σπήλαιο της Ειλειθυίας στον Τσούτσουρο*, Α. Κάντα and Κ. Δαβάρας, eds., Herakleion, pp. 44-79.

Kanta, A. and D. Z. Kontopodi 2011b. "Αιγυπτιακού Τύπου Αναθήματα στο Σπήλαιο της Ειλειθυίας," in *ΕΛΟΥΘΙΑ ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΙΟΝ. Το Ιερό Σπήλαιο της Ειλειθυίας στον Τσούτσουρο*, Α. Κάντα and Κ. Δαβάρας, eds., Herakleion, pp. 168-170.

Kephalidou, E. 2006. "Ιερά του Ανατολικού Μυλοποτάμου: Οι μαρτυρίες των Ειδωλίων," in *Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την Αρχαιότητα ως Σήμερα,*(Vol. 4), Ε. Γαβριλάκη and Y.Z. Τζιφόπουλος, eds., Rethymno, pp. 227-273.

Kotsonas, A. 2002. "The Rise of the Polis in Central Crete," *Ευλιμένη* 3, pp. 37-74.

———. 2005. Ceramic Styles in Iron Age Crete: Production, Dissemination and Consumption. A Study of Pottery from the Iron Age Necropolis of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh.

———. 2008. The Archaeology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna: The Early Iron Age Pottery, Athens.

Kourou, N. and A. Karetsou. 1994. "Το Ιερό του Ερμού Κραναίου στην Πατσό Αμαρίου," in Sybrita. La Valle di Amari fra Bronzo e Ferro I, L. Rocchetti, ed., (Incunabula Graeca 96), Rome, pp. 81-164.

Lagogianni-Georgakarakou, M. 2003. "Τα Νομίσματα του Ιδαίου Άντρου," ArchEph 142, pp. 1-64.

Manteli, K. 2006. "Τελετουργική Χρήση του Ιδαίου Άντρου ήδη από τη Νεολιθική Εποχή," in *Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την Αρχαιότητα ως Σήμερα*, (Vol. 3), Ε. Γαβριλάκη and Υ.Ζ. Τζιφόπουλος, eds., Rethymno, pp. 11-19.

Matthäus, H. 2000. "Die idäische Zeus-Grotte auf Kreta. Griechenland und der Vordere Orient im frühen 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.," AA 115, pp. 517-547.

Matthäus, H. 2011. "The Idaean Cave of Zeus: The most Important pan-Cretan Sanctuary. Evidence of Metalwork", in *Identità Culturale, Etnicità, P*rocessi di Formazione a Creta fra Dark Age e Arcaismo, (Convegno di Studi, Athens, 9-12 November 2006), Rizza G., ed., Palermo, pp. 109-132.

Melfi, M. 2006. "The Idaean Cave in Roman Times: Cult, Politics and Propaganda," in *Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την Αρχαιότητα ως Σήμερα*, (Vol. 3), Ε. Γαβριλάκη and Υ.Ζ. Τζιφόπουλος, eds., Rethymno, pp. 217-227.

Moustaka, A. 2004. "Δακτυλιόλιθοι από το Ιδαίο Άντρο," in Creta Romana e Protobizantina, (Atti del Congresso Internazionale, Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, Iraklion 23-30 Settembre 2000), M. Livadiotti and I. Simiakaki, eds., Padova, pp. 225-242.

Ousager, A. 2004. Plotinus on Selfhood, Freedom and Politics, (Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 6), *Århus.*

Palioura, M. 2006. "Ο Μυλοπόταμος των Περιηγητών κατά το 19ο αιώνα. Απεικονίσεις του στις Έντυπες Περιηγητικές Εκδόσεις," in *Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την Αρχαιότητα ως Σήμερα*, (Vol. 6), Ε. Γαβριλάκη and Υ.Ζ. Τζιφόπουλος, eds., Rethymno, pp. 225-250.

Papasavvas, G. 2003. "A Writing Tablet from Crete," AM 118, pp. 67-89.

Papalardo, E. 2011. "Tra Cnosso a l' Andro Ideo: Iconografie e Rapporti con l' Oriente," in *Identità Culturale, Etnicità, Processi di Formazione a Creta fra* Dark Age e Arcaismo,(Convegno di Studi, Athens, 9-12 November 2006), Rizza G., ed., Palermo, pp. 193-208.

Platakis, E. 1973. *Σπήλαια της Κρήτης*, Herakleion.

Platon, E. 2011. "Η Ανασκαφή του Σπηλαίου της Ινάτου (Τσούτσουρου)," in *ΕΛΟΥΘΙΑ ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΙΟΝ. Το Ιερό Σπήλαιο της Ειλειθυίας στον Τσούτσουρο*, Α. Κάντα and Κ. Δαβάρας, eds., Herakleion, pp. 16-21.

Prent, M. 2005. Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults: Continuity and Change from the Late Minoan IIIC to the Archaic Period, (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 154), Leiden and Boston.

Rackham, O. and J. Moody. 1996. The Making of the Cretan Landscape, Manchester, New York, and Vancouver.

Rutkowski, B. 1972. Cult Places in the Aegean World (translated by K. Kozlowska), (Bibliotheca Antiqua 10), Breslau and Wroclaw.

———. 1986. The Cult Places of the Aegean, New Haven and London.

Rutkowski B. and K. Nowicki. 1996. The Psychro Cave and Other Sacred Grottoes in Crete, (Studies and Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology and Civilization 2.1), Warsaw.

Sakellarakis, Y.A. 1987. "Εκατό Χρόνια Έρευνας στο Ιδαίο Άντρο," ArchEph, pp. 239-263.

———. 1988. "Some Geometric and Archaic Votives from the Idaean Cave," in Early Greek Cult Practice, (Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June 1986), R. Hägg, N. Marinatos and G.C. Nordquist, eds., (SkrAth 4°, 38), Stockholm, pp. 173-193.

———. 1998. *Αρχαιολογικές Αγωνίες στην Κρήτη του 19ου αιώνα. 51 έγγραφα για τις Κρητικές Αρχαιότητες* (1883-1898), Herakleion.

———. 2006. "Με Αφορμή Κάποια Λείψανα Επίπλων στο Ιδαίο Άντρο," in *Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την Αρχαιότητα ως Σήμερα*, (Vol. 3), Ε. Γαβριλάκη and Υ.Ζ. Τζιφόπουλος, eds., Rethymno, pp. 137-181.

Sakellarakis, Y. and E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki. 2011. *Ιδαίο Άντρο: Το Σπήλαιο του Δία και οι Θησαυροί του*, Αθήνα.

Sapouna, P. 1998. *Die Bildlampen römischer Zeit aus der Idäischen Zeusgrotte auf Kreta*, (BAR-IS 696), Oxford.

Shaw, J.W. and M.C. Shaw. eds. 2000. Kommos IV: The Greek Sanctuary, Princeton.

Simitzis, B. 1993. "Τα Σπήλαια του Μυλοποτάμου," Kretologika Grammata 7-8, pp. 119-132.

Sjögren, L. 2003. Cretan Locations. Discerning Site Variations in Iron Age and Archaic Crete (800-500 B.C.),

(BAR-IS 1185), Oxford.

Sporn, K. 2002. *Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas in* klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit, (Studien zu Antiken Heiligtümern 31), Heidelberg.

Stampolidis, N.C. 2005-2006. "Από την Ελεύθερνα και το Ιδαίον Άντρο: Μια Απόπειρα Ερμηνείας Χαμένων Τελετουργιών," *E*ulimene 6-7, pp. 183-205.

———. 2007. "The 'Shields': An Eleuhernian View of the Idaean Cave," in Krinoi kai Limenes: Studies in *H*onor of Joseph and Maria Shaw, P.P. Betancourt, M.C. Nelson and H. Willias, eds., (INSTAP Academic Press), Philadelpheia, pp. 297-311.

———. 2011. "Eleutherna and the Idaean Cave. An attempt to Reconstruct Interactions and Rituals," in *Identità Culturale, Etnicità, Processi di Formazione a* Creta fra Dark Age e Arcaismo, (Convegno di Studi, Athens, 9-12 November 2006), Rizza G., ed., Palermo, pp. 395-420.

Stampolidis, N.C. and A. Kotsonas. 2006. "Phoenicians in Crete," in Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer, S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I.S. Lemos, eds., (Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3), Edinburgh, pp. 337-360.

Tsiknakis, K.G. 2006. "Το Σπήλαιο του Μελιδονίου και οι Επισκέπτες του το 16ο Αιώνα," in *Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την Αρχαιότητα ως Σήμερα*, (Vol. 6), Ε. Γαβριλάκη and Υ.Ζ. Τζιφόπουλος, eds., Rethymno, pp. 197-216.

Tsipopoulou, M. 2005. *Η Ανατολική Κρήτη στην Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου*, Herakleion.

Tyree, E.L. 1974. Cretan Sacred Caves: Archaeological Evidence, Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, Columbia.

———. 2001. "Diachronic Changes in Minoan Cave Cult," in Potnia. Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age, (Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference, Göteborg, Göteborg University, 12-15 April 2000), R. Laffineur and R. Hägg, eds., (Aegaeum 22), pp. 39-50.

———. 2006. "Minoan Sacred Caves: The Natural and Political Landscape," in *Πεπραγμένα του 9ου Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, (1.2), Ε. Ταμπακάκη and A. Καλουτσάκης, eds., Heraklion, pp. 329-342.

Tzedakis, I. and I. Gavrilaki 1995. "Η Ανασκαφή στο Σπήλαιο Μελιδονίου," in *Πεπραγμένα του 7ου Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* (1.2), Ν.Ε. Παπαδογιαννάκης, ed., Rethymnon, pp. 887-894.

Tzifopoulos, Y.Z. 2011. "Eleuthernean Pilgrims Inside the Melidoni cave (Tallaeum Antrum)," in Sailing to Classical Greece: Papers on Greek Art, Archaeology and Epigraphy Presented to Petros Themelis, O. Palagia and G. Ruprecht Goette, eds., Oxford, pp. 79-84.

Tzifopoulos, Y.Z. and N. Litinas 2009. "Graffiti in the Melidoni Cave in Crete, Greece," in Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Speleology, (Kerrville, Texas, 19-26 July 2009), (Vol. 1), W. B. White, ed., Kerrville, pp. 142-146.

———.[forthcoming]. *T*he Melidoni Cave Inscriptions/Graffiti (Inscriptiones Creticae Tallaei Antri).

Vasilakis, A. 2006. "Το Ιδαίο Άντρο στη Μινωική Εποχή," in *Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την Αρχαιότητα ως Σήμερα*, (Vol. 3), Ε. Γαβριλάκη and Υ.Ζ. Τζιφόπουλος, eds., Rethymno, pp. 21-30.

Wallace, S. 2005. "Bridges in the Mountains: Issues of Structure, Multi-vocality, Responsibility and Gain in Filling a Management Gap in Rural Greece," JMA 18, pp. 55-85.

———. 2010. Ancient Crete: From Successful Collapse *to Democracy's* Alternatives., Twelfth to Fifth centuries B.C., Cambridge.

Watrous, L.V. 1982. Lasithi. A History of Settlement on a Highland Plain in Crete, (Hesperia Suppl. 18), Princeton.

———. 1996. The Cave Sanctuary of Zeus at Psychro: A Study of Extra-urban Sanctuaries in Minoan and Early Iron Age Crete, (Aegaeum 15), Liège.

Wickens, J.M. 1986. The Archaeology and History of Cave Use in Attika, Greece from Prehistoric through Late Roman Times, Ph.D. diss., Indiana University.

Willetts, R.F. 1962. Cretan Cults and Festivals, London and New York.

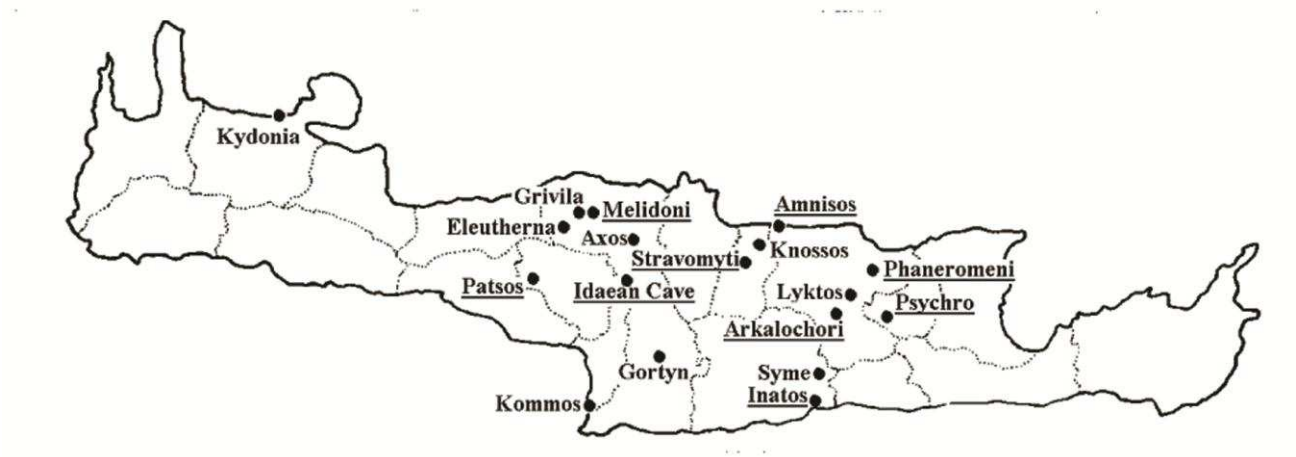

Figure 11.1. Map of Crete showing sites mentioned in the text: caves are underlined. Regional borders are modern.

Figure 11.2. Previously unpublished photograph from D.G. Hogarth's excavations in the Cave of Psychro in 1899 (Courtesy of the British School at Athens).

Figure 11.3. Photograph of the rock-shelter at Patsos, occupied by the small church of Hagios Antonios (photograph by A. Kotsonas)

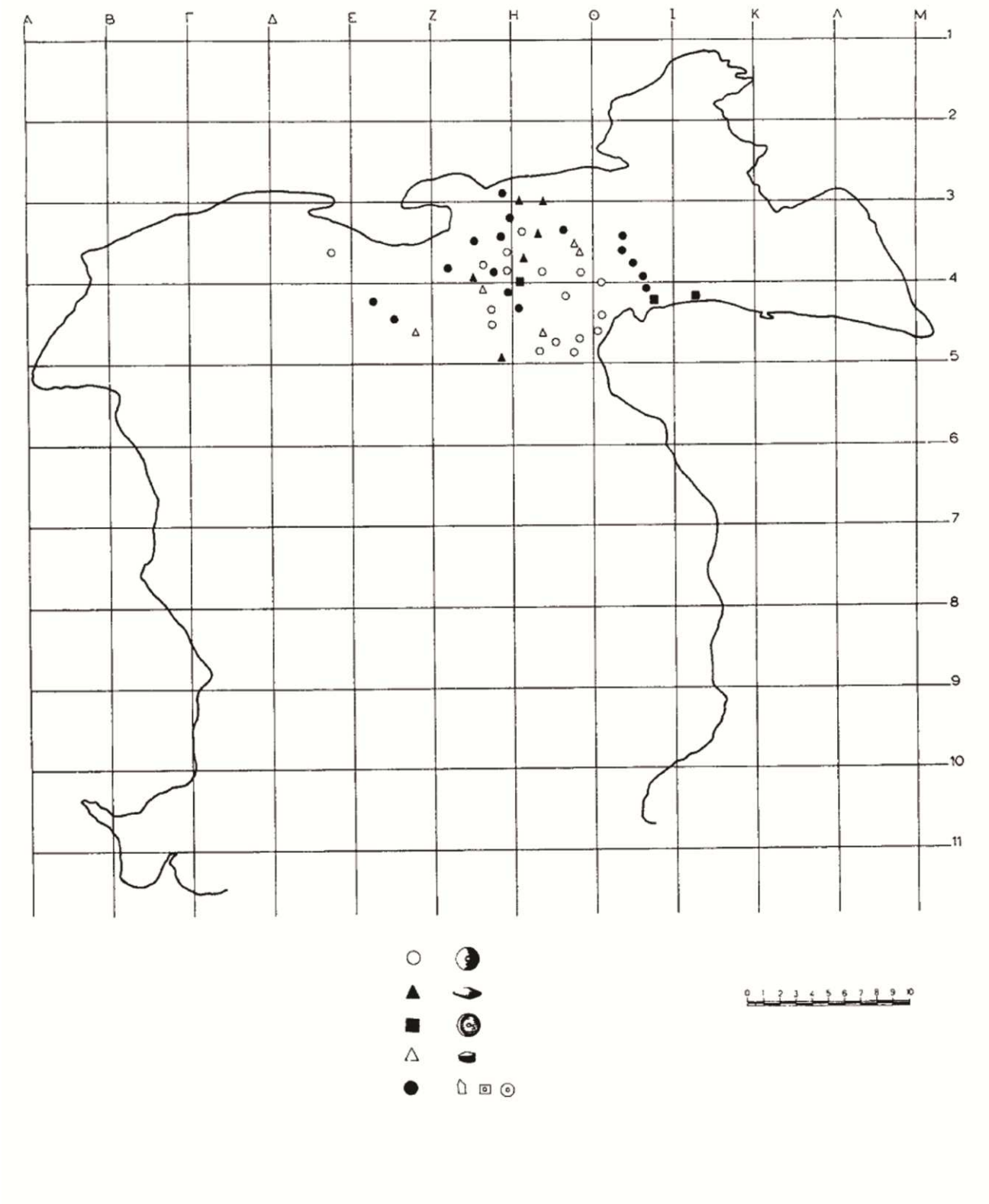

Figure11.4. Plan of the Idaean Cave showing the grid system of the excavation and the distribution of some types of finds (re-produced from Sakellarakis 1988, 186 with permission by G. Sakellarakis).

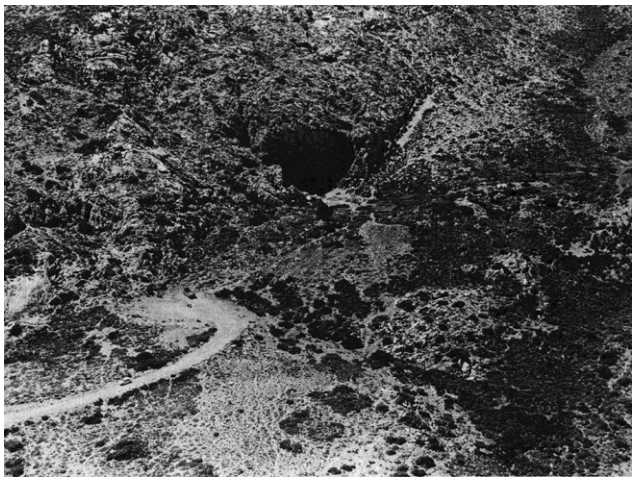

Figure 11.5. Photograph of the mouth of the Idaean Cave (reproduced from Sakellarakis 1987, 240 with permission by G. Sakellarakis).

Figure 11.6. Detail of the central part of the bronze tympanum from the Idaean Cave showing a deity of Near Eastern style; diameter 0.55m. (reproduced with permission by N. Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki).