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COASTAL CULT
THE CASE OF DRAKAINA CAVE ON KEPHALLONIA

Volume 1

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History, Classics and Archaeology

Birkbeck, University of London

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I confirm that this thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has been solely the result of my own work.

Abstract

The ancient cave sanctuary of Drakaina, close to the coastal site of Poros on the Ionian island of Kephallonia, played an important role in the religious life of the island. This thesis investigates the history and archaeology of the site. I compare the ceramic assemblage with those of other local sanctuaries in order to explore the complex network of shared religious beliefs and political and economic interests that extended beyond the island to include the other Ionian islands, the mainland to the east and Magna Grecia to the west.

I examine the figurative terracottas and pottery (fine and miniature) that was unearthed during the excavation of the site; this material is presented in a catalogue (volume 2). Having documented the material, I discuss the nature of the sanctuary's cult, by focusing first on the material itself, dedicatory practices and developments in pottery and coroplastic production across the wider region. Secondly, I attempt to place the site in its historical and religious contexts, emphasising particularly its geographical position, which was on a sea route and adjacent to a natural harbour. The nature of the cult practised in the cave is also considered, with special reference made to the many other comparable sites, caves and local sanctuaries.

The chronological time frame of the thesis is limited by the dating of the bulk of the material between the Archaic and the end of the Hellenistic period. Nonetheless, attention is given to the few examples of earlier remains, namely one figurine and a few vessels of Geometric date. Furthermore, the thesis addresses issues related to miniaturisation and the features of West Greek pottery, and re-evaluates their influence on the coroplastic production of the region. This research aims to demonstrate that the dedications were conscious choices that speak for themselves regarding their producers and consumers.

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Table of Contents

<i>Abstract</i>	ii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	iii
<i>Table of Contents</i>	v
<i>List of Figures</i>	x
<i>List of Tables</i>	xi
<i>List of Charts</i>	xii
CHAPTER 1	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Research Structure.....	2
1.3. Methodology.....	7
1.4. Geography, History and Economy	9
1.5. Geomorphology of the Island and the Cave.....	19
CHAPTER 2	25
ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF THE ISLAND	25
2.1. Caves on Kephallonia	25
2.2. Earliest Excavations	27
2.3. Recent Excavations	39
2.4. The Geometric Period on Kephallonia.....	40
CHAPTER 3	43
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CAVES	43
3.1. Forming a Sacred Landscape.....	43
3.2. Caves in Time and Space.....	44
3.3. Deities in Caves	49
3.4. Caves in Kephallonia.....	53
-Previous Research	53
CHAPTER 4	55
EXCAVATION AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES	55
4.1. Excavation Method	55
4.2. The Recording of Items	57
4.3. Excavation Problems	60
4.4. Features	63
CHAPTER 5	68
FINE WARE	68
5.1. Geometric Vases	68
5.1.1. Containers	69

5.1.2. Closed Vessels	72
5.2. Drinking Vessels	74
5.2.1. Kantharoi	74
5.2.1.1. Earlier Kantharoi	74
5.2.1.2. Achaean and Elean Kantharoi	75
5.2.1.3. Thorn Kantharoi	81
5.2.1.4. West Slope, Elean	81
5.2.2. Kotylai	82
5.2.2.1. Attic Kotylai of Corinthian Style	83
5.2.2.2. Corinthian Black-glazed Kotylai	83
5.2.2.3. Animal Kotylai	84
5.2.2.4. Lotus Kotylai	86
5.2.3. Skyphoi	87
5.2.3.1. Attic Skyphoi	87
5.2.3.2. Corinthian Skyphoi	87
5.2.4. Kylikes	88
5.2.4.1. Black-figured and Red-figured Kylikes	88
5.2.4.2. Stemmed, Black-glazed Kylikes	88
5.2.4.3. Cups with Everted Rim	89
5.2.5. Cups	91
5.2.5.1. Attic Cups	91
Stemless Cups	92
Komast Cup	93
Merrythought Cup	94
Haimon Group Cups	95
Lancut Group Cups	96
5.2.5.2. West Greek Cups	96
5.2.5.3. Lakonian Cups	98
-5.2.5.3.1. Concave Rim Cups	98
Subgroup Ea Cups	99
Subgroup Eb Cups	99
Subgroup Ec Cups	100
Miscellaneous	101
-5.2.5.3.2. Flaring Rim Cups	102
-5.2.5.3.3. Straight Rim Cup	103
-5.2.5.3.4. Lakaina	103
5.2.5.4. Local Cups of the Ionian Islands	103
-5.2.5.4.1. Flat-based Cups	104
-5.2.5.4.2. Cups with Strap Handles	105
-5.2.5.4.3. Cups with Loop Handles	105
-5.2.5.4.4. Cups with Incurving Rim	106
-5.2.5.4.5. One-handled Cups	107
-5.2.5.4.6. Spherical Kotylai	108
-Typological review of locally produced cups	109
-5.2.5.4.7. Miscellaneous	109
5.3. Serving Vessels	110
5.3.1. Kraters	110
5.3.2. Oinochoae	110
5.3.3. Phiale	111

5.3.4. Plates	111
5.3.5. Conical Bowl	114
5.4. Containers	114
5.4.1. Kalathoi	114
5.4.2. Pyxides.....	115
5.4.3. Lids.....	115
5.5. Miscellanea.....	117
5.5.1. Loom Weight and Spindle Whorls	117
5.5.2. Moulded Bases	118
5.5.3. Incense Burners	118
5.5.4. Roman Closed Vase	119
5.5.5. Lamps	119
5.6. Conclusion	121
CHAPTER 6	123
MINIATURES	123
6.1. Introduction to Miniatures	123
6.2. Drinking Vessels	124
6.2.1. Kotylai.....	125
6.2.1.1. Pattern Decoration	125
6.2.1.2. Vertical Lines, Bars and Zigzags.....	125
6.2.1.3. Teardrops	127
6.2.1.4. Grape Frieze and Stepped Triangles	127
6.2.1.5. Chevron Pattern	128
6.2.2. Miscellaneous	128
6.2.3. Handmade Cups	128
6.2.4. Floral Band Cups	129
6.2.5. Fully and Semi Glazed Cups, and Glazing by Dipping.....	129
6.2.5.1. Plain Cups.....	132
6.2.6. Kantharoi	133
6.3. Containers.....	133
6.3.1. Krateriskoi	133
6.3.2. Lid	135
6.3.3. Lekanis	135
6.3.4. Kalathiskoi.....	135
6.4. Pouring Vessels and Oil Containers	135
6.5. Open Vessels	136
6.6. Significance and Role of Miniatures.....	137
CHAPTER 7	145
TERRACOTTA DANCING GROUPS	145
7.1. Introduction	145
7.2. Excavation Data	146
7.3. Production Technique	147
7.4. History of the Motif and History of Research.....	148
7.4.1. Athens	150
7.4.2. Corinth, Corinthia, the Peloponnese and Western Greece	153

7.4.3. Ionian Islands	161
7.5. Dating Dancing Groups	163
7.6. The Origin of the Figurines	167
7.7. Local Peculiarities and their Role in Cultic Practice	169
7.8. Nymphs and the Significance of their Cult.....	174
7.9. Social Groups and Communal Cults.....	179
7.10. Dance as a Language	187
CHAPTER 8	191
FIGURATIVE TERRACOTTAS: FIGURINES, PROTOMAI, PLAQUES	191
8.1. The Archaeological Context and the Organization of the Material	191
8.2. Quantities	193
8.3. Scale	193
8.4. Introduction to Protomai	194
8.5. Coroplastic Techniques: Fabric, Slip and Paint, Moulding and Modelling	197
8.6. Figurines	199
8.6.1. Archaic Figurines	199
8.6.1.1. Nude Standing Figurines	199
8.6.1.2. Standing Figurine	208
8.6.1.3. Seated Female Figurines	209
8.6.2. Classical Figurines.....	210
8.6.2.1. Seated Female Figurines	210
8.6.3. Hellenistic Figurines	210
8.6.3.1. Children	210
8.7. Protomai	211
8.7.1. Archaic Protomai.....	211
8.7.1.1. Group 1	211
8.7.1.2. Groups 2 and 3.....	213
8.7.1.3. Group 4	214
8.7.2. Classical Protomai	215
8.7.2.1. Group 1	215
8.7.2.2. Group 2	215
8.7.2.3. Group 3	217
8.7.2.4. Group 4	218
8.7.2.5. Group 5	220
8.7.2.6. Group 6	221
8.7.2.7. Group 7	222
8.7.2.8. Group 8	223
8.7.2.9. Group 9	223
8.7.2.10. Group 10	224
8.7.2.11. Groups 11, 12, 13 and 14.....	224
8.7.2.12. Group 15	226
8.7.2.13. Group 16	226
8.7.2.14. Group 17	226
8.7.2.15. Groups 18 and 19.....	226

8.7.3. Hellenistic Protomai	227
8.7.3.1. Group 1	227
8.7.3.2. Group 2	228
8.7.3.3. Group 3	228
8.7.3.4. Group 4	229
8.7.3.5. Group 5	229
8.7.3.6. Group 6	229
8.8. Plaques	230
8.8.1. Late Archaic Plaques	230
8.8.1.1. Dionysos	230
8.8.1.2. Pan	231
8.8.2. Late Classical to Early Hellenistic Plaques	231
8.8.2.1. Nymphs and Cave Relief	232
8.8.2.2. Artemis	233
8.9. Coroplastic Production	233
CHAPTER 9	240
QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS	240
9.1. Charts	240
9.2. Pottery	240
9.3. Figurative Terracottas	254
9.4. Distribution and Profile of the Assemblage	263
CHAPTER 10	266
DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION	266
10.1. Introduction to the Cult	266
10.2. Artemis and her Veneration	267
10.2.1. Dancing and Armed Dancers	275
10.2.2. Foxes	277
10.3. Dionysos	280
10.4. Female Classes	285
10.5. Male and Female Cult	289
10.6. Maritime Religion	292
10.7. The Timber Trade on Kephallonia	295
10.8. Conclusion	306
10.9. Suggestions for Future Research	309

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1. Topographic map of Kephallonia Island and location map depicting the geodynamic setting of the broader Aegean area (geodynamic setting map is based on Gaki-Papanastasiou, Maroukian, Karymbalis, & Papanastassiou, 2011).</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Figure 2. The four poleis of Kephallonia (from Randsborg, 2002, vol. I, 16, fig. I.1).</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Figure 3. Poros and the gorge as seen from the sea (http://www.drakainacave.gr)</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>Figure 4. Kephallonia and surrounding region (from Greece Google Earth).</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>Figure 5. The south side of the Poros gorge, with the path that leads to the cave (source: Excavation photographic archive). View from the cave to the sea (from www.porosnews.blogspot.gr).</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>Figure 6. View of the roofed section a, from the north (from the excavation photographic archive).</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>Figure 7. View of the opening from the interior of the cave (from the excavation photographic archive).</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>Figure 8. Map of the sacred precincts (caves, shrines and temples) on Kephallonia (https://google.co.uk/maps). (source: Author)</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>Figure 9. The temenos at Skala, Poros (Source: LE EPKA)</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>Figure 10. Plan of Krane showing the acropolis (hill of Pezoules), the position of the temple and the stoa building (from Benton, 1931/1932, 224, fig. 10).</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>Figure 11. Site plan: excavated areas are highlighted in darker grey (drawing by T. Xatzitheodorou).</i>	<i>56</i>
<i>Figure 12. Excavating with artificial light (from the excavation photographic archive).</i>	<i>57</i>
<i>Figure 13. Sherds marked on the interior with their provenance and other find details (source: Author).</i>	<i>58</i>
<i>Figure 14. Find details of a vessel written on the plastic bag that houses it (source: Author).</i>	<i>59</i>
<i>Figure 15. Details written on various fragments at the back side of a figurine (source: Author).</i>	<i>59</i>
<i>Figure 16. Excavation of the roofed part of the rock shelter (from the excavation photographic archive).</i>	<i>63</i>
<i>Figure 17. Plan of the sheltered, southern part of the cave: the broken lines to the right mark the boundaries of the pits (drawing by T. Xatzitheodorou).</i>	<i>146</i>
<i>Figure 18. Communication network on Kephallonia (from Pharos 2013, 42, fig. 48).</i>	<i>182</i>
<i>Figure 19. Traces of colours on figurines (source: Author).</i>	<i>198</i>

List of Tables

Table 1. The numbering of sherds according to their find-spot.....	58
Table 2. Dating of the Drakaina dancing groups by type.	167

List of Charts

Chart 1. Shapes and quantities of fine and miniature pottery.....	240
Chart 2. Shapes and dates of fine pottery.	242
Chart 3. Geometric pottery.....	245
Chart 4. Archaic fine pottery.	249
Chart 5. Archaic miniature pottery.....	249
Chart 6. Classical fine pottery.....	250
Chart 7. Classical miniature pottery.	252
Chart 8. Hellenistic and Roman fine pottery.....	253
Chart 9. Hellenistic miniature pottery.....	253
Chart 10. Lamps: chronological distribution.	254
Chart 11 Dancing groups: chronological distribution.	257
Chart 12 Protomai: chronological distribution.	258
Chart 13 Iconography of figurative terracottas.	258
Chart 14 Geometric Drakaina Cave.....	259
Chart 15. Archaic Drakaina Cave.....	260
Chart 16. Classical Drakaina Cave.....	261
Chart 17. Hellenistic Drakaina cave.	262

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Drakaina Cave, which is located on the southeastern coast of the island of Kephallonia, became known to the archaeological community in 1992, when the Ephoreia of Paleoanthropology and Speleology of Southern Greece started a rescue excavation following reports of an illicit dig at the site. The attempted looting, which caused a small disturbance of the deposit within the cave, became the preamble to an archaeological investigation that, two years later when it was evident that the site was important and diachronically significant, developed into a systematic research excavation that ended in 2002.¹

The excavation was conducted under the direction of Miranda Hatziotis, who was also responsible for the deposits of the historical period; Georgia Stratouli was responsible for the prehistoric deposits. The team also included E. Kotzabopoulou, who was in charge of the osteological material up to 1996.² Hatziotis granted me official permission to study and publish the material in 2014.

The name Drakaina was provided by the local workmen. It is a common name given to elevated sites that offer a panoramic view over an area. For the first decade of excavations, the field reports refer to the site as a cave at Poros on Kephallonia, and do not use the name Drakaina. However, over the last decade, the name Drakaina became standard,

¹ Central Archaeological Committee (Κεντρικό Αρχαιολογικό Συμβούλιο): ΚΑΣ; Hatziotis et al. 1995, 31-35.

² Hatziotis 2007, 363. The excavation team also included P. Gioni (conservator), T. Vaillas (draughtsman), V. Giannopoulos (geologist), T. Kontrolozos (cave diver) and T. Hatzitheodorou (topographer).

mainly by the prehistoric team, in publications related to the site; it has also been used by local authorities in advertising about the cave.

1.2. Research Structure

In this thesis, I examine the development of the sanctuary based on the archaeological evidence. I place these findings in their historical context and situate the site in relation to the religious context of nearby settlements, paying particular attention to those on the island. The principal research question regards how a contextual approach to votive artefacts can inform us about local cult practices. This inevitably involves consideration of how were they used and what the meaning of the figurative iconography might have been. Seeking answers to such questions requires an analysis of the mythological background of the cult. Another subject is the reconstruction of mythological traditions through non-literary sources, including vase iconography, pottery shapes, inscriptions and figurative terracottas – in other words, archaeological evidence that might complement the scarce written testimonies for this area.³ Since Drakaina Cave was a local sanctuary that owed its popularity to its location, it comes as no surprise that its mythological traditions have not been transmitted in texts. They probably existed, but never acquired a concrete form.⁴

A substantial portion of the ceramic material found at the cave was manufactured locally, indicating that a proportion of the visitors to the site resided close by. However, the shapes are inspired by or imitated pottery that originated mainly from the Peloponnese, Athens and Corinth. How and why did awareness of these ceramic types develop and how was it

³ In this thesis inscriptions are considered material evidence that informs us of the past life of an excavated site in a similar way as the typology or iconography of vases, coins and figurines can do.

⁴ Margalit Finkelberg discusses how local myths circulated through various channels such as representations on vases and marble reliefs, see Finkelberg 2014, 90, 93, 98-99.

maintained throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, when the pottery recovered from the site was either imported or made on Kephallonia? To seek answers to these questions, I examine how the position of the site on a busy sea route attracted foreigners as dedicants to the deities of the cave. On the other end, from the perspective of the local community, since imported pottery is imitated locally, a dynamic relationship seems to have developed. I will examine if the community offered opportunity for significant commercial exchanges or the provision of some kind of service (such as anchorage) that may have required direct interaction between the crews of the mooring vessels and the local population or magistrates of the port. If this is the case, we could assume a direct interaction between the crews of the moored ships and the local men or women who worked at the port.

Another question of this thesis concerns the myths that were orally repeated probably in verses and the rituals that would have been performed during ceremonies at the site. The reconstruction of such rituals focuses on the possible impact that oral narrative traditions had on material culture, such as figurative iconography and inscriptions. In addition, I consider the meanings of sacrifice and feasting, evidence of which were recovered during the excavation. Furthermore, I will explore what the numerous protomai might represent, trying to determine for instance whether it is possible to distinguish dieties from humans. What was the purpose of their dedication? Did the many variants of frontal female figures convey a special meaning as dedications? Who served or controlled the cult during the lifespan of the sanctuary and what was the profile of the deity or deities that were venerated in the cave?

The focus of the thesis is, therefore, on the reconstruction of the rituals practised in the cave and the network of influences that are reflected in the dedications, based on the evidence provided by the finds of pottery and terracottas. Comparison with parallels from a wide range of published and better-stratified sites offer a fuller understanding of the cult

and how the site was related to other regions. Given the variety of pottery and terracottas, this broader geographical focus is necessary. The site belongs to a category of coastal shrines established on sea routes encompassing the Corinthian Gulf, the Ionian islands, the coast of Aetolia and Akarnania, and the shores of Italy and Sicily on the other side of the Ionian Sea, and the Adriatic. All appealed primarily to their local communities but were also known to foreigners who visited them regularly. An exploration of the votive practices employed at Drakaina provides useful observations concerning the nature of the cult. Furthermore, the investigation of the sanctuary sheds light on both the polis of Pronnoi, based inland, and the settlement at Poros, where the cave is situated, by examining the connection between the two.⁵

The status of research and publication has certainly affected current assumptions about the sanctuary's connections with other sites. It is more than possible that many links are missing and others were misinterpreted because of the fragmentary nature of the record. But I believe that the occurrence of specific types of pottery and terracotta figurines at otherwise unrelated sites points to a pattern in their distribution. This pattern reflects a possible connection such as long distance trade or an alliance among the communities that frequented the sites, which was manifested in the foundation of similar cults. Comparative work between sites should always start with specific objects, then proceed to broader inferences from the basic comprehensive material to cultural assemblages. In some cases, a connection implied by two similar objects found at two relatively remote sites may point to political interests, supply of goods, sea routes or a similarity in the function or identity of the cult. The nature of the connection becomes more tangible in the case of such a particular site as ours, a coastal shrine at a cross-Adriatic seaway. The

⁵ We are not aware of the ancient name, if there was one, for the small walled settlement above the cave. I will often refer to it as the settlement at Poros that is the modern name of the town. On the archaeology of Poros see Randsborg 2002a, 21-31, 87. Randsborg 2002b, 111-117, 262-264.

historical background of our site may be further illuminated by further expanding the scope of sites and artefact types taken into consideration. Since Kephallonia is rarely mentioned in ancient literature and there are no sites on the island that have been systematically excavated and published, I am aware that many of my conclusions may be in need of revision if more publications on the area become available in the future.

During the discussion of each object, be it a vase or terracotta, I compare it to similar material from other sites. Any mention of other settlements is always material led by the material. I will discuss other cults when they seem to be connected with the cave in its religious, ideological and material aspects.

After discussing the links and the dating of the pottery and terracottas, I present a quantitative analysis that contextualises the material in a meaningful way in time and place. In this section, I group together pottery and terracottas that were dedicated simultaneously and explain my interpretation of their coexistence.

The introductory **Chapter 1** considers the geography and geomorphology of Kephallonia and the ancient history of the island.

Chapter 2 presents an archaeological review of Kephallonia during the historical period. It starts with an exploration of excavated cave sites and proceeds to chart chronologically the history of excavations from the second half of the 19th century until very recently. **Chapter 3** expands on the significance of caves with an emphasis on western Greece.

Chapter 4 is a description of the site and the excavation. It mainly details the features of the cave such as pits, hearths, walls and other structures. This is followed by descriptions of how the items were recorded and the method of excavating the site, and consideration of the problems related to accessing the cave, the interpretation of the stratigraphy and the maintenance of a consistent recording method as the excavation proceeded.

The main body of the thesis consists of the description, dating and attribution of pottery and terracottas. **Chapter 5** considers the dating and associations of fine pottery. As I discuss in more detail in volume II, p. 10, dating of pottery and terracottas is based to comparanda from other sites as the excavation of the cave did not offer a clear stratigraphic sequence. The dating I suggest is indicated with a margin of error of 50 years to avoid as possible, misinterpretations. The meaning of fine pottery is considered further after the statistical analysis of Chapter 9. **Chapter 6** discusses miniature pottery - its dating and connections - and explains the importance of dedicating miniature vessels in the context of Drakaina Cave. **Chapter 7** and **chapter 8** describe and date figurative terracottas and dancing groups, respectively. Both categories of artefact pose questions concerning ritual practices and the belief system that informed them.

Chapter 9 presents the material in a meaningful diachronic manner. It relates the categories of artefacts to each other and details the absence of specific groups during particular periods. I demonstrate the choices of specific shapes of pottery or types of terracottas by comparison to similar material from other assemblages. **Chapter 10** is the concluding chapter, which discusses and interprets the material presented previously. Supplementary aspects, such as trade, politics, production, imports and the local community and its interests, are also discussed.

The focus of the thesis is to contextualise the use of pottery and terracottas over time, throughout the nearly five centuries of the lifespan of the sanctuary, and trace its evolution. Additionally, I aim to discuss religion, beliefs, symbolism and ritual function. My starting points are the analysis of the ceramic assemblage and the connections that result from the investigation of this material.

The **Catalogue** offers descriptions, measurements and photographs of the pottery and terracottas. References made in the discussion to specific examples of pottery or

figurative terracottas are accompanied by their catalogue number (pottery specimens are followed by the sherd registration number in bracket) or the number of the group into which they were sorted.

1.3. Methodology

In recording and discussing the pottery and terracottas, of various periods and diverse provenance, I apply the typologies used by researchers who have published material from a range of areas, such as Athens, Corinth, Achaea, Elis, Laconia, Aetolia, Akarnania, Ithaca and southern Italy. When an item evidently belongs to a specific pottery tradition but there are no close parallels, I include it in the series and discuss the particular piece's divergences from the norm. It was particularly problematic to compile a typology for local pottery and West-Greek pottery, which I discuss in **Chapter 5** under **Cups**, since most excavations that have been undertaken in this region remain under-published. Similarly, I discuss influences and similarities in order to date pottery and distinguish affiliations. I most often use descriptive terms to sort various types of pottery, such as flat-based cups, with loop handles, with strap handles, and so on. I divide fine wares into regular-sized (**chapter 5**, 'Fine Ware') and miniature (**chapter 6**) examples; the distinction is based primarily on the typology established for Corinthian material.

I have used the database software *Filemaker*, which was already used by the Ephoreia, in order to record pottery. For each entry included in the inventory, I recorded serial numbers for vessels and terracottas, and sherd numbers for terracottas and occasionally for pottery, including stratigraphical information.⁶ When stratigraphy is significant and the position

⁶ The average number of sherds for mended vases is more than 15. I only occasionally registered the inventory number for each sherd. Nonetheless, I have examined the find-spot of every sherd. However, the picture presented by this examination does not reveal

of a specimen is worth discussing, I analyse it in the catalogue or the discussion that follows. Furthermore, I recorded dimensions, the shape, the Munsell colour of the fabric, the condition of the item, a description of shape and decoration, date and parallels. Most of the drawings were prepared by Telemachos Vaillas, who worked for the Ephoreia during the excavation. A few were prepared by Denitsa Nenova. Most of the photographs were taken by me. Black and-white photographs and excavation photographs belong to the Ephoreia archive and were taken by members of the excavation team. A few of the terracottas were photographed by David Parker, who collaborated with the Ephoreia in 2016.

Finding parallels was a challenging task considering the vast volume of material that is published every year. Because of the very fragmentary state of the material from the cave, identification of the provenance or even shape was sometimes difficult. The published material from the Peloponnese and western Greece is often scanty, not well dated and lacks contextual information. In the absence of a comprehensive survey of fabrics or typologies of pottery and terracottas, western Greece remains a particularly difficult region since few items permit secure identification with an established production centre. I will describe in detail in the catalogue whether a similarity to a known parallel is only superficial, whether it seems to imitate a known shape or whether it is comparably close to the specimen from the cave. Similar issues apply to the comparison of items found in the cave that seem to derive from production on the island.

The main body of the thesis is in **Volume I**, complemented by the catalogue with photographs and drawings in **Volume II**. For the reader's convenience, I chose to integrate photographs and drawings in the catalogue rather than append them separately. The main text of the thesis consists of discussions of each group of pottery and terracottas

a meaningful pattern; the find-spots were the result of human choice, but the consequence of a random deposition affected by natural processes.

and seeks to contextualize the material by providing parallels from archaeology and literature and interpret it in terms of cult practice, regional dynamics of interaction and material expressions of belief. Charts are provided in **Chapter 9** where I offer a comprehensive discussion of the material and examine the evolution and longevity of pottery shapes and terracottas types in the course of time. Finally, in **Chapter 10** I attempt to evaluate the finds in a concluding interpretation in order to gain better insight into the sequence and significance of the activities that were taking place in the cave.

1.4. Geography, History and Economy

Kephallonia, the largest of the Ionian islands, is located near the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf, with Ithaca to the east-northeast, Zakynthos to the south and Leukas to the north-northeast.⁷ Communication between the islands and the mainland must have been relatively easy, since crossings are short. Cape Mounta, in southeastern of Kephallonia, is 27 km away from the Chelonata (Kyllini) promontory at Elis and 15 km away from Apolytarea, the northern cape of Zakynthos. Leukas and the promontory of Dukato (Cape Leukata), with the remains of the temple of Apollo Leukatas, are 8 km away from Dafnoudi, the northern cape of Kephallonia, while Ithaca is separated from Kephallonia by a long, narrow channel with a width between 2.5 and 5 km.⁸

To the west, Calabria in Italy is 400 km away from Paliki, as the crow flies, and Sicily approximately 500 km. The archaeologist, and native of Kephallonia, S. Marinatos describes this westerly route as a *tour de force* for ancient sailors, since the journey would have been considered exceedingly dangerous, given that it must have involved sailing

⁷ Meliarakis 1890 (1997), 9-10.

⁸ Ancient descriptions of the geography of Kephallonia include Homer *Od.* 4. 671; Strabo 10.456; Pliny *HN* 4.12.s.19; Agathemerios 1.5. Pseudo-Scylax briefly refers to Kephallonia (34.1.): μετὰ δέ ταῦτα νῆσος Κεφαλληνία.

across the open sea at night.⁹ J. Partsch described the route in the 19th century, and notes that a ship sailing west from Pale in the late afternoon would see the sun rising the next morning behind Mount Ainos, while, at the end of the day, it would catch sight of the shining peak of Etna.¹⁰ The island was situated on the other established route to Italy - the longer and probably the safer one. Describing this itinerary Marinatos says that ships were heading north from Same along the Ionian coast to Kerkyra, then westward at the narrowest point of the Adriatic Sea – the straits of Otranto – to the Italian coast where they turned south to sail close to the coast to Sicily.¹¹ Sailing close to the coast allowed suitable night anchorage on their route, whereas travelling overnight would have been dangerous. Finally, a characteristic related to navigation in the Ionian Sea is the absence of northerly winds (*meltemia*) that affect the Aegean Sea during summer months.¹²

Mountain ranges cover the peninsula of Erissos to the north and the eastern area to the south of Same (Fig. 1). In the central-southeastern area of Kephallonia, Mount Ainos lies on a southeast-northwest orientation. Megas Soros is the highest peak of the island, and of all the Ionian islands, at a height of 1.626 m; it is covered with a unique forest of fir trees that have been used since antiquity for the building of ships.¹³ There is another mountainous zone with lower peaks, north of Poros, called Baea (Βαία).¹⁴

⁹ Marinatos 1932, 6-7.

¹⁰ Partsch 1890, 40.

¹¹ Marinatos 1932, 6-7.

¹² Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 5.

¹³ Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 4.

¹⁴ According to Stephanus Byzantius (s.v. 'Βαία'), the mountain was named after Odysseus' pilot.

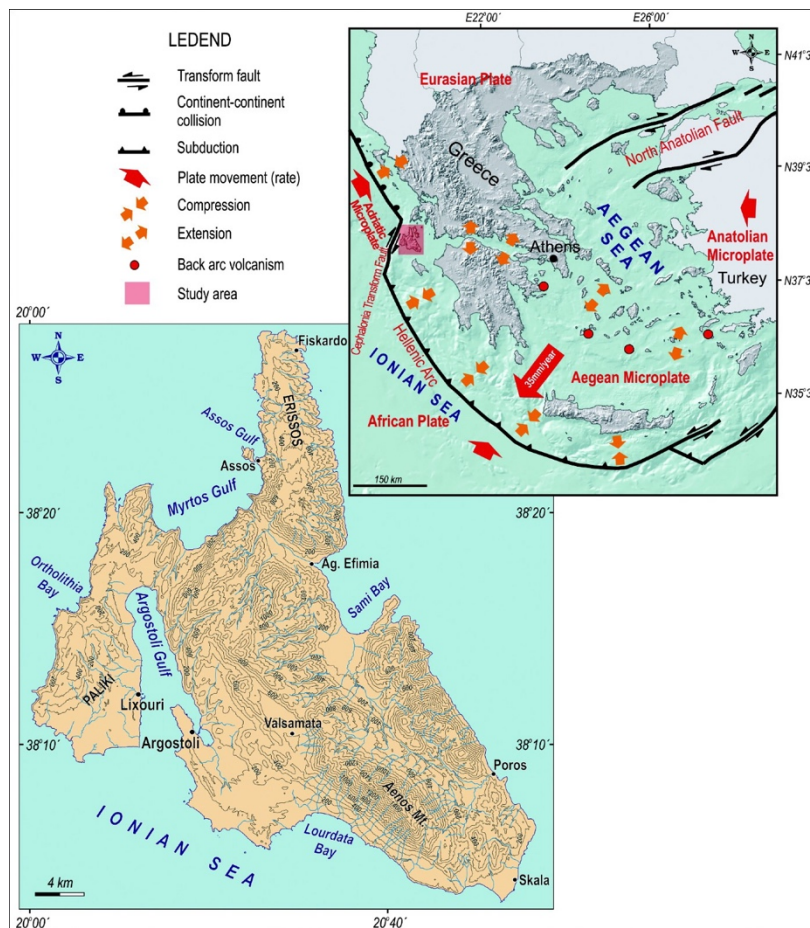


Figure 1. Topographic map of Kephallonia Island and location map depicting the geodynamic setting of the broader Aegean area (geodynamic setting map is based on Gaki-Papanastasiou, Maroukian, Karymbalis, & Papanastassiou, [2011](#)).

There are coastal plains around Argostoli (ancient Krane) and Same, while the Heracleia basin extends into the southeastern region of the island. Finally, in the mountains at the centre of the island there is the small plain of Valsamata.¹⁵ Apart from a road that links Argostoli with Same, which may have been used in antiquity, passages across valleys and mountains are difficult to reach and cross.¹⁶ The construction of roads is a very recent undertaking, beginning during the British occupation of the island in the early 19th century.¹⁷ Therefore, small coasting vessels were probably used to facilitate

¹⁵ Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 4.

¹⁶ Soteriou 2013, 42-45.

¹⁷ Bosset 1821; Napier 1825.

communication between various areas of the island in antiquity, as was the case until the end of the 18th century.

In antiquity, the geographic region to which Kephallonia belonged varied according to the observer. For the non-indigenous observer, Kephallonia was viewed most often as belonging to the same regional unit as that of Akarnania and the other Ionian islands.¹⁸ The island had four poleis (τετράπολις οὔσα, Παλής, Κράνιοι, Σαμαῖοι, Πρῶννοι: Thuc. 2.30.2). Its residents were identified indiscriminately as Kephallenians in inscriptions from outside the island (Κεφαλλήν/-ήνες), but with reference to the polis of their origin.¹⁹

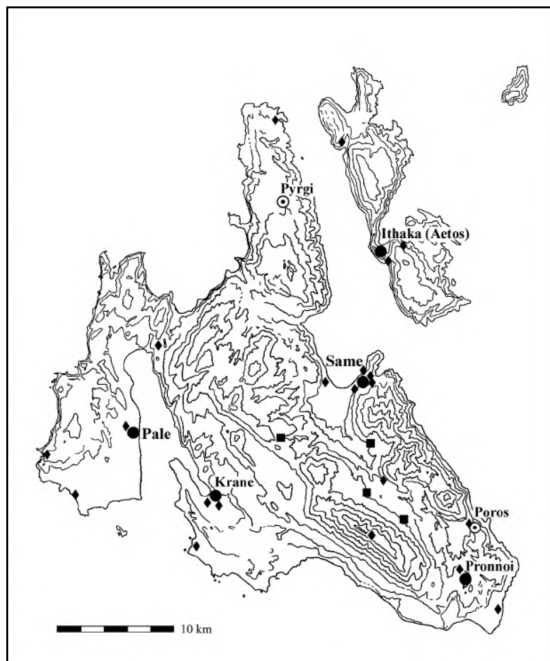


Figure 2. The four poleis of Kephallonia (from Randsborg, 2002, vol. I, 16, fig. I.1).

¹⁸Thuc. 2.7.3: Corcyra, Kephallenia, the Akarnanians and Zakynthos; cf. Thuc. 2.30.2: the position of Kephallenia κατά Ἀκαρνανίαν καὶ Λευκάδα; Strabo 8.2.2: Ἀκαρνανία καὶ αἱ προκείμεναι νῆσοι, Ζάκυνθος καὶ Κεφαλληνία καὶ Ἰθάκη καὶ [αἱ] Ἑχινάδες).

¹⁹IG II² 96 *Staatsverträge*, 262; cf. Κεφαλλάνες ἐκ Κρανίων (IG IX¹ 276.3 (Orous, C3–C2?)) or Κεφαλλήν/-ήνες ἐκ Παλέων (*F. Delphes* iii.4 376.3–4 (suppl., 358/7); *BCH* 68–69 (1944–45) 121 no. 32.4 (Delphi, C3)) or Κεφαλλᾶν ἐκ Πρόνων (IG IX².1 8.3–4 (suppl., C3). On the discus dedicated by Exoides, most probably a foreigner (now at the British Museum), the residents of the island are referred to as Κεφαλλᾶνες (IG IX¹, 1, 4, 1566 and Jeffery 1990, 234, no 5)

A few researchers have assumed that there was a Kephallenian federal state, but this is unlikely in view of the history of each polis.²⁰ They never minted common coins and there is no evidence for the existence of common institutions or a central organisation. On the contrary, each polis had a clearly defined territory, while the settlement distribution across the difficult-to-defend boundaries between the poleis indicates territorial tensions.²¹

The geographical variation of the landscape seems to have been the main reason for the partitioning of the island into four areas with distinct borders. As a result, the four poleis came into being, each with different and occasionally antagonistic interests. The western half of the island was dominated by Pale on the eastern part of the Paliki peninsula and Krane on the bay of Koutavos. On the eastern half, Same was situated in the homonymous bay and further south Pronnoi was built high in the mountains (Fig. 2), with the coastal town of Poros being the only exit to the sea (Fig. 3). All four poleis were fortified with walls, parts of which survive today.²² This feature indicates that the cities faced threats, perhaps from pirates. Furthermore, the walls were a means of protection from each other.²³

²⁰ Gehrke and Wirbelauer 2004, 351-52.

²¹ Soteriou 2013, 41-43. Soteriou concludes that, when there was not a physical boundary like a mountain or the sea, a settlement defined and protected its frontier against invasions.

²² On the fortifications of the four poleis of Kephallonia, see Randsborg 2002a, 54-55, 81, 88-104, pls XXXVI-LXXVI, 299; Soteriou 2013, 11-17, 24-27.

²³ Soteriou (2013, 41-43) convincingly argues that settlement concentrations across defenceless borders between each polis, reflect territorial tension between them.



Figure 3. Poros and the gorge as seen from the sea (<http://www.drakainacave.gr>)

The earliest testimony about the island comes from Hesiod, who mentions the worship of Zeus Ainisios, at his temple built on the highest peak of Mount Ainos.²⁴ Zeus Ainisios was a weather god, and Strabo reports on sacrifices that took place on a large altar.²⁵ S. Benton, who surveyed the site, observed dispersed fragments of bones, pottery sherds and a line of stones possibly associated with an altar.²⁶ We read in Strabo that when smoke from the sacrificial fire was rising at the top of Mount Ainos, then a further sacrifice took place at another sanctuary of Zeus nearby, on the small island of Dia, known today as Dionisi, off the southern coast of Kephallonia.²⁷

Homer refers to the island as Samos or Same (*Il.* 2.631; *Od.* 1.245, 9.21), a name found elsewhere in Greece to designate places with high, imposing mountains.²⁸ He refers to the residents of the island as subjects of Odysseus (*Il.* 2.631), as he names every island and polis that belonged to Odysseus' kingdom: Ithaca, Krokyleia, Aigilips, Zakynthos, Same, Akti Hpeirou (Leukas). Elsewhere, Homer names the poleis of the suitors (*Od.* 1.245); they come from Same, Ithaca, Doulichio and Zakynthos. Strabo (10. 2.14) records that Doulichio was Pale, which he associates with the Homeric epithet *πολύπυρον*, 'rich

²⁴ Hesiod *Catalogue of Women* 156 (West).

²⁵ Strabo 10.3 c456; Holland 1815, 35.

²⁶ Benton 1932, 225.

²⁷ Strabo 10.2 15; Napier 1825.

²⁸ Zervos-Iakovatos 1861, 25-27.

in grain'. This description fits Pale well; it was known for its agricultural activities and the depiction of a grain of wheat on a coin supports this hypothesis.²⁹ Furthermore, Philip V's decision to besiege Pale in 218 BCE may be linked to an attempt to ensure food for his army (Pol. 5.3.4). After the slaughter of the suitors, Laertes expressed his fears that the many poleis of the Kephallenians would revolt against Odysseus as an act of vengeance for their loss (*Od.* 24.352).

It is thus evident that the name Same was recognised as a regional title that described the inhabitants of the Ionian islands, including Kephallonia, and the coastal zone of Akarnania. On the other hand, the ancient references make it clear that the toponym Kephallonia indicates a geographical entity separate from Ithaca.

It seems that the polis of Same took the name that was used initially for the island as a whole, probably due to its large size or because at an early stage this polis was more powerful than the others (as confirmed by archaeological finds).³⁰ According to myth, the four sons of the Athenian hero Kephalos gave their names to the four poleis: Samos, Pronisos, Paleas and Kranios.³¹ However, this testimony is rather late, and it is more than possible that the Athenian hero Kephalos is connected with the island as a consequence of Athens' interest in Kephallonia following the Persian Wars. Thus it is possible that, in order to explain the names of the four poleis and to stress a connection between the islands and Athens, the details of the myth were created later.

Other possible explanations for the names of the poleis include the claims that Pale was named because of the abundance of clay in the area (Παλούς, Παλόεις: Thuc. 1.27.) and Krane due to it being built on rocky terrain; κραναή is an epithet used by Homer to

²⁹ SNG Cop. Akarnania 460–68.

³⁰ Strabo 10.2.10; Soteriou 2013, 4–50.

³¹ Strabo 10.2.12–14; Gehrke 1994, 110–12; Wirbelauer 1998, 269–80.

describe Ithaca.³² The rich springs providing drinking water, located outside the city walls at the northern edge of the hills that surround the fertile Krane plain, that in the Doric dialect are called Κράνα/Κράνη, could also be connected with the naming of the city. Another possibility is that the root karn- (that has survived in the wider area and is used in toponyms such as Akarnania or the small island of Karnos) is related to the passing of the Phoenicians through this area, and is thus linguistic evidence of their presence (archaeological data being scanty).³³ The meaning of the word in Phoenician is ‘horn’. Ancient Krane was built around an imposing hill with two peaks; one is a key position for the observation of ships entering the bay and approaching the city, while the other overlooks the plain.³⁴

Ancient Pronnoi is located in the vicinity of the modern village Palaiokastros, which was in earlier years also known as Koronoi.³⁵ Polybius describes it as a small fortress that was so difficult to besiege that Philip did not even try to attack but sailed directly against Pale (Pol. 5.3). The perimeter of the city wall was only one mile. Strabo (10.2.13) knew the city as Pronisos (Πρωνήσος), as did Pliny (*HN* 4.12.s.19), while Livy (38.18) writes of Nesiote, probably a later alteration of the name. Coins that were minted in the city show Heracles, a name that survived in the area until recently in association with the neighbouring plain of Rakli, Heracleion or Arakleion, in the vicinity of which ancient Heracleia should be situated. The Drakaina Cave lies in the vicinity of Pronnoi, but is very close to the modern town of Poros, which was a fortified settlement in antiquity.³⁶ Poros is the only exit to the sea from the fertile Tzanata valley, while the coastal area south of Poros leads to Skala. The ancient fortification walls are located across the top of

³² Zervos-Iakovatos 1861, 47. Hom. *Il.* 3.201.

³³ Domingo-Foraste 1988, 51; also Markoe 1996.

³⁴ Kalligas 1978, 136-37.

³⁵ Thuc. 2.30.2; Paus. 6.15, 6.7.

³⁶ Randsborg 2002, vol. I, 21-25, 87, 153-57

the southern side of the gorge where the cave is situated.³⁷ The excavator of the site considered the possibility that some of the archaeological material had fallen from higher ground into the cave.³⁸

According to the ancient sources, the island maintained a significant navy during the late Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, which participated in military activities. We can assume that a commercial fleet was also in operation.³⁹ The only testimony about Kephallonia during the Persian Wars comes from Herodotus (9.28.5, 31.4), who mentions that Pale sent 200 of its citizens to fight at the Battle of Plataea. During the Peloponnesian War, Kephallonia joined the Athenian fleet (Thuc. 2.7.30). Initially, the four poleis had diverse political programs and different alliances. As a result, at the start of the war, Pale joined Corinth in its expedition against Kerkyra, while Krane allied with Athens. However, the presence of the Athenian fleet in the Ionian Sea led the other three poleis to join the Athenian side.⁴⁰ The relocation of Messenian helots from Pylos to Krane, as a means to avert a Kephallenian alliance with the Spartans, reveals the mistrust the Athenians felt towards their new allies.⁴¹ During the Second Athenian Confederacy, only Pronnoi initially joined Athens, in 375 BCE.⁴²

During the wars of Alexander's successors against the Aetolians and Achaeans, Kephallonia was a member of the Aetolian League.⁴³ During the Hellenistic period, Kephallonia developed one of the most powerful naval fleets and, owing to this, the island had held equal rights in the League from 220 BCE.⁴⁴ What exactly this meant for the

³⁷ Randsborg 2002, vol. I, 30-31.

³⁸ Personal communication with the excavator M. Hatziotis.

³⁹ Pol. 4. 6.2, 8, 5.3.-5.4.

⁴⁰ Thuc. 2.7.3; Diod. 12.43.5.

⁴¹ Thuc. 5.35.7.; Diod. 14.34.2.

⁴² Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.62.; RO 22.

⁴³ Pol. 5.3.3-5.4.

⁴⁴ Pol. 4.6.2, 8.

island is not yet understood, but Krane minted a coin depicting the national name of the Aetolians on one side.⁴⁵ During the Roman conquest, all four poleis were opposed to the Romans until the siege of Aetolia (Liv. 38.9). After this event, in 187 BCE, all but Same surrendered. The latter capitulated four months later and the city was destroyed.⁴⁶ During the Roman occupation, the island faced a decline, partly as a consequence of the Roman tactic to deprive the island of its wealth and resources, and partly because it was easy prey for the pirates who were raiding the area. Gaius Antonius founded a new city named Panormos, at the location of modern Fiskardo.⁴⁷ In the second century CE, the emperor Hadrian gave Kephallonia to Athens, as a gift.⁴⁸

Agriculture and animal husbandry seem to have been important for the economy of ancient Kephallonia.⁴⁹ It is not surprising that deities who functioned as protectors of crops, animals and fertility in general, were worshipped on the island: Demeter and Kore, Dionysos and Artemis, Apollo, Athena and Kephalos.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the pine forest on Mount Ainos may have been exploited for the building of ships.⁵¹

Pottery production is another activity that is attested archaeologically. In the area of Krane, outside the fortification walls, pottery kilns dated to the sixth century BCE have been found, while a second pottery workshop dated to the Hellenistic era has been located in the vicinity of the city.⁵² In the area of Same, a pottery workshop with kilns was found

⁴⁵ Postolakas et al 1868, 93, no. 924.

⁴⁶ Pol. 4.6.3; 22.13, 23.

⁴⁷ The identification of modern Fiskardo with ancient Panormos was made by the British colonel and ancient scholar W.M. Leake: Leake 1835, vol. III, 247; Freely 2008, 173-74.

⁴⁸ Cass. Dio 69.16.2.

⁴⁹ Soteriou 2013, 8.

⁵⁰ Soteriou 2013, 19; Samartzidou-Orkopoulou 2015, 465-72.

⁵¹ I will explore further this possibility in **chapter 10.7**. Furthermore, Randsborg 2002, vol 1, 30-31, 87 and 2002, vol 2, 262-264; Soteriou 2013, 7, 30.

⁵² Soteriou 2013, 28-29.

close to a large farmhouse in the modern village of Koulourata. The workshop produced locally traded domestic pottery.⁵³

Close to Krane, salt mines located towards the coast, to the southwest of the city and close to modern town Svoronata, were exploited.⁵⁴ Many fishing hooks have been discovered, along with loom weights and needles for weaving; both fishing and weaving were probably standard activities of every household, and could also offer a small profit.⁵⁵

Apart from Athens, Corinth was another supraregional power interested in the island after the second half of the 5th century BCE. This comes as no surprise considering Corinthian interest in the markets and products in the West, and the location of the Kephallonia on this route.

1.5. Geomorphology of the Island and the Cave

As already mentioned, Kephallonia, along with Leukas, Ithaca, Zakynthos and the smaller islands of Kalamos, Kastos, Arkoudi, Provata Atokos and Echinades (Fig. 4), has an intensely mountainous character. It lies on a subduction zone where the African lithosphere plate, located on the western shore of the island, moves beneath the Eurasian plate, and it is, therefore, an extremely active tectonic area. Earthquakes are frequent and strong, and this constant movement has left its imprint on the landscape of the island, gradually lifting up its shores, shaping the rocky and mountainous bulks of the interior and forming planation surfaces.⁵⁶

⁵³ Soteriou 2013, 22.

⁵⁴ Large rock-cut pools are associated with salt quarries. Soteriou 2013, 29.

⁵⁵ Soteriou 2013, 22.

⁵⁶ Papazachos et al. 1997, 135-38. Over the course of the last century, nine earthquakes with a magnitude greater than 6.5 have been recorded; these have changed the landscape of the island significantly.



Figure 4. Kephallonia and surrounding region (from Greece Google Earth).

Furthermore, the island is a (limestone and dolomite) karst environment. Thus the extremely soluble rocks of the landscape have been eroded by dissolution to form caves, dolines, sinkholes and poljes, etc.⁵⁷ Another geomorphic characteristic of Kephallonia is that two-thirds of the island's coastline consists of steep slopes with gradients ranging from 21% to 96%.⁵⁸ As a result, ships can be moored at only a handful of harbours.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Karymbalis et al. 2013, 8-9.

⁵⁸ Karymbalis et al. 2013, 10.

⁵⁹ Sailing Directions 2005, 87-88. This is a modern sailing directory, and provides an index of the dangers and conditions concerning navigation in the area. Apart from Argostoli, where large vessels can dock, all other bays and coves can really be used by small and medium vessels only, crewed by sailors with knowledge of the coastline.



Figure 5. The south side of the Poros gorge, with the path that leads to the cave (source: Excavation photographic archive). View from the cave to the sea (from [www. porosnews.blogspot.gr](http://www.porosnews.blogspot.gr)).

The Ionian islands, along with Aetoloakarnania on the facing coast of the mainland and Epirus to the north, share the same geomorphology.

Drakaina Cave was formed by the dissolution of the bedrock as acidic rainwater invaded through the porous limestone.⁶⁰ At the same time, intense tectonic activity also affected the creation of the cavern. Although in the recent past the site has been used as a sheepfold, it was almost completely unknown to the local community.⁶¹ The main reason for this is its secluded location. Sitting at an altitude of 70m on the southern side of the Poros gorge and hidden amongst vegetation, it is invisible from the main road and can only be reached after a challenging climb of 20-30 minutes (Fig. 5). Today it has acquired the form of a rock-shelter, extending over an area of 200m², of which approximately 100m² are still roofed (Fig. 6) and subdivided by a limestone bulk, projecting from the southern wall of the cave, into two spaces (a and b). The height of the roof ranges from

⁶⁰ Karymbalis et al 2013, 127-128.

⁶¹ This information was provided by the local workmen, and the cave's use for animal husbandry was confirmed by the abundant goat and sheep faeces, and remains of recent hearths found on its floor.

2m to 2.80m in the southeastern compartment (a) and up to 5m in the southwestern (b).⁶² The remaining section, with a north-northeast orientation, forms an open area. The floor of the cave has an extreme declivity from north to south and a shallower one from west to east.⁶³



Figure 6. View of the roofed section a, from the north (from the excavation photographic archive).

At some point in its geological past, the site was a closed cavern with a narrow entrance, probably to the northwest, as is evident from the characteristic lithomatic formations - stalactites and stalagmites – that are visible on the surface of limestone rocks that have fallen from the collapsed roof and which indicate variations in environmental pressure. In the past, the cave would have occupied a much larger area. However, probably due to karstic and tectonic activities - the two major geological processes of the region - a section of the cave fell into the gorge.⁶⁴ Part of this process happened recently, sometime in the first millennium BC, since fallen rocks overlie the archaeological fill, but it is impossible to define accurately the dates of the various stages of the collapse. Only occasionally is it

⁶² Hatziotis et al. 1989, 34.

⁶³ Hatziotis et al. 1995, 34.

⁶⁴ Hatziotis et al. 1995, 33.

possible to locate material from the different phases of the geological transformation of the site. It seems certain, though, that the process is ongoing.



Figure 7. View of the opening from the interior of the cave (from the excavation photographic archive).

Because of the gradient and orientation of the large mouth of the cave (Fig. 7), the archaeological fill has been affected by the weather. This has caused significant stratigraphic confusion in the historical period layers, and some disturbance in the prehistoric fill. The open area at the entrance of the cave is dominated by a cone (10m in diameter at its base and 4.5m high) formed of huge boulders and smaller rocks that got here from the fallen roof and the overhanging limestone masses of the gorge.⁶⁵ In addition, limestone flakes from continual rock erosion and other materials of various sizes have been carried constantly towards the back of the cave by wind and water. As a result, the massive cone and the limestone pieces from the vertical walls of the gorge supply an archaeologically sterile layer and have also seriously disturbed the stratigraphy, mainly of the last period of occupation.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Hatziotis et al. 1995, 34.

⁶⁶ Hatziotis et al. 1994.

The same geological development is in evidence after the end of the first phase of human presence at the site. As a result, the prehistoric and historic deposits are largely, but not always, clearly demarcated in the archaeological fill by a distinct, thick layer (occasionally measuring up to 35 cm deep) of red angular stones that was formed by the natural depositional process that interrupted human presence at the site.⁶⁷ The absolute dates of this event, identified through radiocarbon analyses of stratified charcoal remains of the prehistoric period, range from ca. 5500 to 2400 BCE (Late to Final Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, PH I-II).⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Stratouli et al. 1998, 275.

⁶⁸ Stratouli et al. 1998, 273-78

CHAPTER 2

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF THE ISLAND

2.1. Caves on Kephallonia

In addition to Drakaina, other caves with evidence of cultic use during the historic period have been discovered on Kephallonia. The most well known is the Melissani lake-cave, southwest of Same. The area is occupied by a system of 17 underground caves. Many of them are linked by channels that cross the island from south to north; these carry seawater which, when mixed with fresh water from springs, creates lakes in the caverns. Melissani is an underground lake with a high domed roof, the highest part of which has collapsed, allowing daylight to enter the cave.⁶⁹ In the middle of the lake there is a small hillock, created by debris from the fallen roof. It was here that, in 1963, Marinatos conducted a small-scale excavation. Today, a corridor dug in 1963 to one side of the rock makes access to and exploration of the cave possible by boat. In antiquity though, access must have been possible only through the opening created by the collapsed roof.⁷⁰

It is also possible that the objects were thrown into the cave through the opening in the roof without anyone having to descend all the way into the cave. This is a practice known from other caves where the surface was rough and almost impossible to reach.⁷¹ However, since the finds include lamps there is a possibility that visitors entered the cave. The finds consist of sherds from a wine amphora, four lamps, and a relief clay disc depicting the Nymphs dancing around Pan, who plays the syrinx. In addition, the excavation yielded a relief disc with Pan, a goat and figures holding hydriae, a large clay disc, an intact figurine of a seated Pan holding a kantharos in his right hand and an Amalthea horn in the left, a

⁶⁹ The collapse is dated sometime before the deposition of the findings as they were found in the debris of the fallen roof.

⁷⁰ Marinatos 1964, 17-22.

⁷¹ Katsarou 2007, 36.

square relief tile with a female head in profile and a sherd from a second relief plaque that preserves part of a female face and bust.⁷²

Almost 500 m to the east of Melissani is the cave lake of Zervati. At this site, most of the roof has collapsed and has filled the central part of the lake. Investigations have shown that the lake communicates with a second one with an intact roof. It was impossible to excavate the site to a sufficient depth since the water from the lake flooded the trenches. However, after removing the surface layer the area investigated produced numerous sherds ranging in date from the Late Geometric to the Roman periods, with a sherd from a Corinthian kotyle initiating the chronological sequence. Marinatos decided to stop the excavation for practical reasons, and he concluded that the pottery he found was intentional refuse, not in situ votive material.⁷³

Benton mentions a large cave at Gravaris, to the east of Krane, with Roman pottery (an Arretine bowl rim) disintegrating in the mud. Her published map also features an mention to an otherwise unknown site called Drakospelia.⁷⁴

A cave known as Drakospilia or Drakontospilo, is first mentioned as a site of archaeological importance in the geographical descriptions of the island by Tsitselis (1877) Meliarakis and Partsch (1890).⁷⁵ The cave overlooks the sea from the westernmost shore of Paliki. Although the site has been known for a long time, official excavations were conducted only in 2006 and 2007. Numerous clay images and pottery were found, dated from the Archaic through to the Hellenistic era. The deities worshipped in the cave, according to the preliminary reports, were the Nymphs and Pan, Artemis as a hunter

⁷² Dontas 1964, 28-34.

⁷³ Marinatos 1964, 28.

⁷⁴ Benton 1931-1932, 225, it is possible that the name Drakospelia and the cave mentioned by Benton are not the same site.

⁷⁵ Tsitselis 1877. Meliarakis 1890. Meliarakis talks about the numerous terracottas (πλαγγόνας) from the cave.

(Bendis) and as a maiden, companion to the Nymphs, Apollo and, lastly, Demeter. The typology of the votives reveals contacts with the other Ionian islands, Akarnania, the Peloponnese, Magna Grecia (Tarentum and Locri), western Crete and even Cyrenaica.⁷⁶

This overview of the cave shrines on the island indicates that their location was significant; certainly, this was the case for Drakospelia in Paliki and Drakaina in Poros. Both overlook the sea, and Drakaina is situated on the only passage from the port at Poros to the interior of the island. The convergence of activity at these sites highlights the belief that this landscape feature was an appropriate space to venerate a deity and that gods naturally inhabited caves. Protomai and plaques that depict women and gods may convey the nature of the cult activity taking place at the cave sites.⁷⁷ The study of Drakaina will therefore contribute to the study of local modes of veneration and regional patterns of dedication in caves.

2.2. Earliest Excavations

One of the earliest testimonies concerning antiquities on Kephallonia is that of the Venetian senator Andrea Morosini, which was published in 1628 with the title *Corsi di penna e catena di materie sopra l'isola della Ceffalonia*.⁷⁸

The Ionian Islands began to attract the interest of European travellers and antiquarians from the early 19th century. The discovery of Homeric sites was the object of these initial explorations. Between 1810 and 1813, the British Governor of Kephallonia, Colonel de Bosset, excavated a few of the Mycenaean chamber tombs at Mazarakata, but he kept no record of his excavations and the finds (mainly Mycenaean pottery) were given to the

⁷⁶ Samartzidou-Orkopoulou 2015, 465-72.

⁷⁷ For an overview see Yioutsos 2012.

⁷⁸ Morosini 1628.

local museum of his home town Neuchâtel.⁷⁹ This first phase of exploration was followed by the activities of distinguished European archaeologists who sponsored work, or conducted excavations in person, at various places on the islands. In the hope of making notable discoveries, W. Dörpfeld excavated on Leukas, H. Schliemann on Ithaca and A.E.H. Goekoop (with the Archaïologiki Etaireia) on Kephallonia.⁸⁰

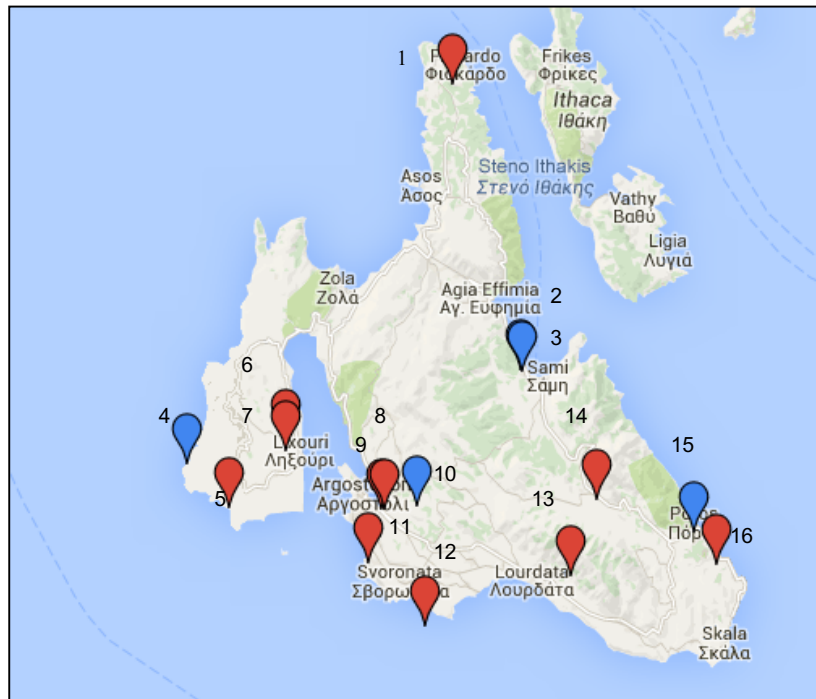


Figure 8. Map of the sacred precincts (caves, shrines and temples) on Kephallonia (<https://google.co.uk/maps>). (source: Author)

1. Temple with a niche; 2. Melissani Cave; 3. Zervati Cave; 4. Drakontospilia or Drakospilia Cave; 5. temple at Valtsa; 6. temple (location unknown); 7. temple (precise location unknown); 8. temple of Demeter and Kore (Kastelli); 9. temple in antis (Pezoules); 10. Gravaris Cave (perhaps Benton's Drakospelia); 11. temple at Minies

⁷⁹ Brodbeck-Jucker 1986.

⁸⁰ Dörpfeld 1865; for Schliemann see Lehrer et al 1989; for Goekoop see Marinatos 1932 and 1933.

(now lost); 12. *temple of Zeus (Dionisi)*; 13. *Open-air shrine of Zeus (Mount Ainos)*; 14. *tholos at Digaletio*; 15. *Drakaina Cave*; 16. *temple at Skala*.

Excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service and the Archaeological Society (Archaeologiki Etaireia) on the Ionian Islands started at the end of the 19th century and became more regular after the turn of the century, rather late in comparison to the Greek mainland, and the Aegean islands. It was, of course, the interest in Homeric topography that fed the first explorations: attempts to discover and investigate the palace of Odysseus along with other locations mentioned in the *Odyssey*. Among the Greek archaeologists who excavated on the island were P. Kavvadias, N. Kiparissis and A. Filadelfeus at the beginning of the 20th century.⁸¹ They were followed by S. Marinatos, V. Kallipolitis, P. Kalligas and G. Dontas in the 1950s and 1960s.⁸² Over the course of the last two decades, A. Soteriou and L. Kolonas have been the most active archaeologists in the area.⁸³ The archaeological importance of the region was emphasised by the founding in 1996 of a separate Ephoreia (35th EPKA), located on Kephallonia.⁸⁴

P. Kavvadias, sponsored by Goekoop, excavated in 1899 on Kephallonia with the intention of discovering Homeric sites and whether Mycenaean culture had spread on the island. He first excavated on the acropolis of Same where a previous investigation in 1883 had revealed a gate. He opened several trenches on the oldest part of the well-fortified acropolis, where he discovered another gate and various structures. The pottery he found ranged in date from the Classical to the Roman period.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Kavvadias 1900; Kiparissis 1919; Kiparissis and Filadelfeus 1912.

⁸² Marinatos 1932, 1933, 1964; Kallipolitis 1959; Kalligas 1969, 1978; Dontas 1964.

⁸³ Soteriou 1989, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2009, 2013; Kolonas 2007.

⁸⁴ Until then, archaeological work on the islands was carried out by the Ephoriai of Patras, Olympia and Ioannina.

⁸⁵ Kavvadias 1899, 17.

In 1909, the Archaeologiki Etaireia donated money for the construction of an archaeological museum at Argostoli.⁸⁶ In 1912, with the sponsorship of Goekoop, a large-scale excavation programme started on Kephallonia with the aim of discovering the Homeric palace of Odysseus. Goekoop had already travelled around the island, and had identified various positions that looked promising as possible sites of Mycenaean settlements; those were the first sites that were excavated. Following several unsuccessful explorations, the first important discovery came from Minies, where, on a hill overlooking a small bay, the foundation of a Doric temple, measuring 15m × 9m, was discovered beneath the remains of a Christian church. Sections of Doric columns were uncovered, along with architectural terracottas from the decoration of the temple.⁸⁷ Furthermore, kilns and large quantities of pottery were found at the gulf of Minies, close to the sea. The excavators assumed that pottery workshops were established there due to the good-quality clay in the area.⁸⁸ Today the remains of the temple at Minies is inaccessible, as it is located under the runway of the local airport.

Early in the 20th century, many tombs were investigated in various cemeteries, but only brief summaries were offered by the excavators. At Kagelissa, close to a partly excavated Mycenaean cemetery, several undisturbed pit graves were discovered, dating from the fourth to the second century BCE. Among the important finds was a small (0.03m), gold Nike holding a wreath, a golden ring and a bronze mirror.⁸⁹ Tombs at Graves and Kampana produced coins (one showing Pegasus and the second an armed female figure⁹⁰)

⁸⁶ Evaggelidis and Evgenios 1909, 65.

⁸⁷ Kiparissis and Filadelfeus 1912, 78, 105-07.

⁸⁸ Kiparissis and Filadelfeus 1912, 107-08.

⁸⁹ Kiparissis and Filadelfeus 1912, 110.

⁹⁰ Similar coins from Leukas are interpreted as Athena and Artemis on the obverse and Pegasus is depicted on reverse; see Postolakas et al 1868, 61-62, nos 632-644, pls 2-3, 88-89, nos 883-889, pl 5. Some of the coins were minted after Leukas allied with various poleis (Dyracheion, Kerkyra, Thyron, Stratos).

and measuring weights. A previously identified cemetery was excavated at Kokolatta (Late Hellenistic). The most significant discoveries were two iron scissors, a 'Homeric' relief bowl showing the sacrifice of Polyxena and two Tanagra figurines.⁹¹ Close to Keramies, 15 graves were excavated; these yielded red-slip pottery, coins and jewellery.⁹²

At Palaiokastros, the acropolis of Krane, large Mycenaean tombs that had been dug into the natural rock were discovered at a location known as Diakata. The man-made caverns (two of which were excavated) were up to 2m high and many typical Mycenaean vessels (amphoriskoi, tall kylikes, kyathoi, etc) were recovered from the archaeological fill which was comprised of a layer of ashes and bones. In addition, the fill of the second cave produced, from underneath a layer of ashes and animal bones, many fragments of terracotta figurines depicting Pan and the Nymphs, suggesting that the grotto had served as a cult site in their honour.⁹³

In 1913 the Archaeologiki Etaireia continued excavations at important sites that had been located during previous surveys and at a few newly identified ones. In particular, excavations were conducted at Minies, Chrysostomos, Rachi, Kastri, Prokopata, Vigla and Dolichio-Spilaiovouni. Remains of buildings at Chrysostomos, probably belonging to an aqueduct system, were dated to the historical period.⁹⁴ A site in front of a series of caves at Spilaiovouni (close to modern Fiskardo), revealed remains of a two-storey dwelling; the upper floor had wall paintings, whereas the ground floor had served as a storeroom, as indicated by three large pithoi found in situ.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Kiparissis and Filadelfeus 1912, 110-12.

⁹² Kiparissis and Filadelfeus 1912, 110-12.

⁹³ Kiparissis and Filadelfeus 1912, 113-18.

⁹⁴ Kavvadias 1913, 74. The report is very vague concerning the dating of the finds.

⁹⁵ Kavvadias 1913, 75-76.

Close to the modern cemetery of Vigla (to the west of Fiskardo), the large base of a tomb monument along with marble fragments of an over-life-size male statue were uncovered. Next to the base, but at a much deeper level, the remains of two plundered graves came to light.⁹⁶ Upon further excavation, the area of Vigla produced a structure partly carved in the natural rock. The excavator interpreted it as a very old temple, but made no reference to any finds that could help dating the structure. The report describes it as having an open front, while the cella was approached by several steps, some carved into the rock and others built. A niche was found carved into the rock at the end of the building where we would expect the cella to be located. Furthermore, a large water-pool was discovered close to the temple.⁹⁷ Today, the location of this hypothetical temple is unknown and no further information about it exists.

According to the wishes of her late husband, Mrs Goekoop, sponsored a new series of excavations on the island in 1930, 1931 and 1932, again with the brief that special attention should be paid to Mycenaean remains. On the acropolis of Krane, Marinatos excavated sections of the fortification walls, an operation that was never completed. He concluded that they were constructed during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and commented on the obvious differences in construction techniques that indicated different building phases for the city walls.⁹⁸ He also located the cemetery of the Classical period that extends from the southern slope of the acropolis down onto the lower area of the plain. Most of the tombs had been looted; the most impressive find was an artificial square grotto of Roman or Hellenistic date that seems to have contained the grave of a significant individual.⁹⁹ The cemetery was not excavated, since it did not appear to belong to the

⁹⁶ Kavvadias 1913, 77.

⁹⁷ Kavvadias 1915, 37.

⁹⁸ Marinatos 1932, 1-2.

⁹⁹ Marinatos 1932, 3.

Mycenaean era, apart from a few graves that were dated to the period between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century.

On the western side of the island, where the Paliki peninsula is located, Marinatos discovered (but did not excavate systematically) what he believed to be a temple of Poseidon. On the southern coast of the area, in an area known as Valtsa Katogis, at a sandy natural harbour near the mouth of a small river that is even today navigable for small boats, he found remains of walls (Hellenistic period) along with a small mosaic floor (1.60m × 1.10m). The mosaic floor depicts four dolphins surrounding a trident, and is now housed in the Argostoli museum.¹⁰⁰

In 1933, on the plain of Livatho (Liostasakia), a cemetery was partially excavated. Ceramic finds date it to the Classical and Hellenistic periods on the basis of pottery finds.¹⁰¹ Further to the north, traces of an ancient quarry and architectural remains identified as a temple came to light. Marinatos also found a Doric column drum and other architectural members dispersed across a field. Among the finds, he reported a small altar with two stars cut into the base. Yet since the site did not meet his expectations, he abandoned its exploration.¹⁰² In the same year he excavated Mycenaean tombs at Metaxata and Kontogenada. Significantly, he noticed the presence of later pottery in Submycenaean tholos tombs, along with evidence of animal sacrifices that he believed had taken place close to the entrance of the tombs in a later phase.¹⁰³ As a possible explanation for these later finds, he suggested that the Mycenaean tombs had been the focus of a hero cult during the Classical period.¹⁰⁴ He further observed a connection with the

¹⁰⁰ Marinatos 1932, 5-8.

¹⁰¹ Marinatos 1933, 68-70.

¹⁰² Marinatos 1933, 74-75.

¹⁰³ Marinatos 1933, 98.

¹⁰⁴ Marinatos 1933, 97-98; further on this cult, see Antonaccio 1995; Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 2020 (forth.).

contemporary traditions of mainland Greece and especially Attica and Thebes. He suggested that the myths of Kephalos and Amphitryon were employed after the Persian Wars to stress the connection between Athens and Kephallonia as a consequence of Athenian interest in the island.¹⁰⁵

The destructive earthquake of 1953 resulted in the loss of the finds and records from many of these early excavations. This created a considerable lacuna, especially since much of the material was unpublished.

In 1959, V. Kallipolitis excavated the Roman baths at Same, which had been well preserved. From the discovery of a cylindrical pipe with remains of bronze he identified workshops in the area manufacturing bronze artefacts.¹⁰⁶

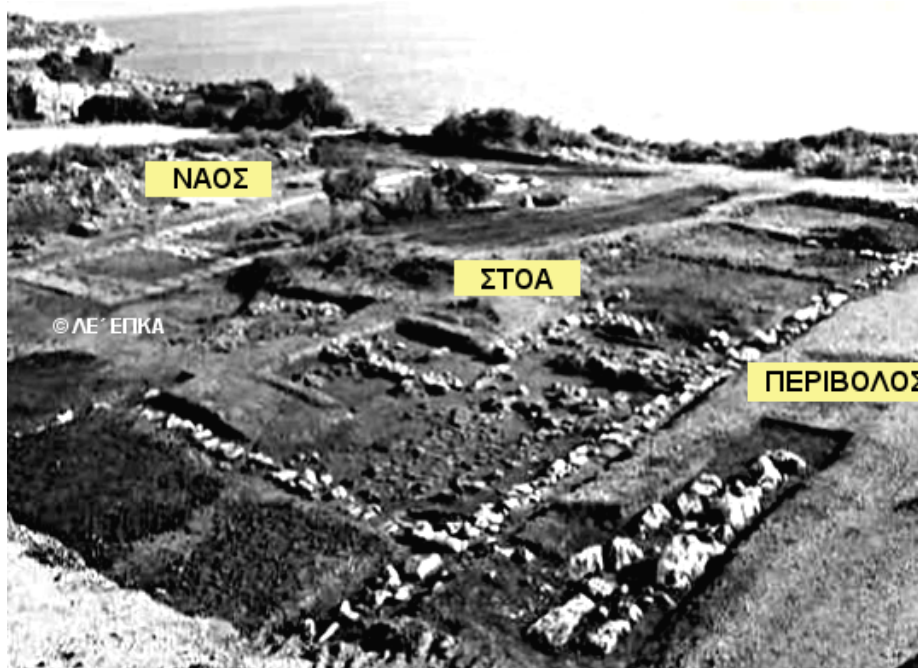


Figure 9. The temenos at Skala, Poros (Source: LE EPKA)

In 1960, Marinatos commenced excavation of an Archaic temple at the site of Gradou - Ag. Georgios (Fig. 9) close to Poros, at the country road that connects Poros with Skala.

¹⁰⁵ Marinatos 1933, 100

¹⁰⁶ Kallipolitis 1959, 120-25.

Kalligas resumed excavations in 1969 and partly revealed a stoa building running parallel to the temple and the peribolos wall.¹⁰⁷ Finally, and fairly recently, Soteriou located the colonnade that surrounded the temple.¹⁰⁸ This was probably a temenos, with a temple and a stoa building enclosed by its walls. The temple is Archaic Doric with a pronaos, an elongated cella and an opisthodomos surrounded by a pteron measuring 21.40m × 6.50m. Architectural elements from the roof and the substructure were found, along with other building material reused in the construction of the Christian church of Ag. Georgios. The attribution of the temple cult to a specific divinity is not yet possible (the excavation is ongoing), although the first excavators suggested Poseidon on account of the temple's position close to the sea.

This temple at Skala was located and initially excavated by Colonel de Bosset. He left no written records of his operations, although we know of his interest in the archaeological remains of the island from his contemporary Henry Holland, who travelled in Greece and produced a thorough description of his explorations.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, de Bosset's correspondence with the British Museum (Add MS 20188) includes an indirect reference that might attest to a possible transaction, but no further details are known. Additionally, a letter from the citizens of Kephallonia on the occasion of his honouring by the local demos refers to his excavation of the temple at Skala, among others.¹¹⁰ In an article written in 1812 for one of Zante's newspapers, Holland offers a short account of what de Bosset found while excavating the temple at Skala. Apparently, the foundation of the temple was located; it is described as Doric and divided into five parts and surrounded by a colonnade. The measurements offered correspond to those given by Soteriou. Furthermore, de Bosset is reported to have found Doric columns and the marble base of

¹⁰⁷ Kalligas 1969, 270-71.

¹⁰⁸ Soteriou 2013, 30-31.

¹⁰⁹ Holland 1815, 39.

¹¹⁰ Cosmetatos 1995.

a cult statue, along with broken marble fragments of the feet and hands from a life-sized statue. He also apparently found fragments of a small female statue, some marble heads of lions, architrave fragments and decorative elements from the roof.¹¹¹

In 1969, Kalligas excavated a small temple dedicated to Demeter and Kore that was known from previous reports. The temple remains are situated on the northernmost of the two hills known as Kastelli, at the foot of which are the springs that supplied Krane with fresh water. There, on a supporting plateau close to fortification remains that Kalligas describes as Cyclopean, are the ruins of a 16th-17th-century Christian church dedicated to Ag. Triada.¹¹² In the limestone setts used for the construction of the church, Kalligas recognised Archaic material that had initially belonged to the late Archaic temple.¹¹³ In addition, ancient poros stone blocks had rolled down the hill.¹¹⁴ Previously, Kiparissis had noted that, in the remains of the church, a Doric capital was found, alongside various column drums and stone pieces from the roof, but he did not provide further details.¹¹⁵ A. Filadelfeus, in referring to the temple at Krane, reports that Kiparissis found part of the crepidoma. Kalligas also found a Doric capital, but no column drums and no signs of the crepidoma.¹¹⁶

The 1953 earthquakes destroyed much of the Demeter and Kore temple remains and it was only possible to date the building by analysing the initial reports and a few sketches by L. Shoe.¹¹⁷ They indicated a date to the second half of the sixth century BCE, with a

¹¹¹ Holland 1815, 533-34.

¹¹² The position of the church is marked in the topographic map by Partsch 1890 and in the one by Kiparissis 1915, fig. 60.

¹¹³ Kiparissis was the first to survey the area in 1914, but he never published the results of this initial exploration. However, an indirect reference to his discoveries is made by A. Filadelfeus in an article published in the *Politeia* newspaper (5-18 January 1920).

¹¹⁴ Kalligas 1969, 270.

¹¹⁵ Kiparissis 1915; 1919, 85-87.

¹¹⁶ Kalligas 1978, 138-40. Kiparissis and Filadelfeus 2012, 106-107.

¹¹⁷ Shoe 1952, 70, 111, 145, 166.

possible reconstruction of the roof at the end of the fourth century BCE. From Kiparissis' 1919 exploration, the three-stepped base of a votive with the inscription TP.... ΔAMATPI KAI KOPAI had survived, naming the divinities related to the temple. Kiparissis' exploration also revealed a pit beneath a thick layer of ash located somewhere between the church and the spring on the hill of the acropolis. It contained many female protomai and terracotta figurines, miniature vases, bronze and iron rings and bronze earrings, the latter dating to the Hellenistic period. Another object related to this temple is a headless marble statue of a seated female figure which was in all probability accompanied by a standing figure. After its discovery close to the church, it was sent to the National Museum in Athens in 1892. Dating to the 460s BC, the piece was probably made by a Peloponnesian workshop. Kalligas believed that it depicted Demeter, accompanied by a missing statue of Kore.¹¹⁸

A further temple was located on the top of the second peak of the Krane acropolis, known as Pezoules. Benton was the first to mention it (Fig. 10), and describes it as a Hellenic temple in-antis, providing also a schematic plan.¹¹⁹ Kalligas later explored the foundations. Measuring 8.20 by 5.85 m, they were considered of late Archaic date.¹²⁰ To the north a rectangular Roman Stoa building was found.¹²¹ No further information is provided for this site.

¹¹⁸ Kalligas 1978, 144-45.

¹¹⁹ Benton 1931-1932, 224-25.

¹²⁰ Kalligas 1969, 271.

¹²¹ Soteriou 2013, 23 and Kalligas 1969, 270.

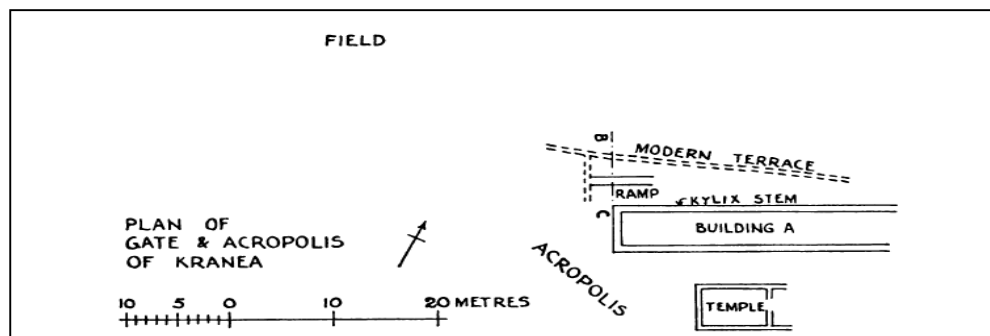


Figure 10. Plan of Krane showing the acropolis (hill of Pezoules), the position of the temple and the stoa building (from Benton, 1931/1932, 224, fig. 10).

Another monument was found at Digaletto, where the Danish team found a tholos dated to the Hellenistic period.¹²²

In the city of Same, on a hill opposite the eastern gate of the acropolis, A. Soteriou explored the remains of foundations that have been interpreted as a temple.¹²³ Indications of cult are indirect and come from local coin types showing Athena, Apollo, Zeus, Demeter, Heracles and Kephalos.¹²⁴ A high-quality marble votive relief depicting three female figures, one performing a sacrifice in front of an altar and the other two being in all probability Demeter and Persephone, was found in a well in the centre of Same.¹²⁵

Data concerning cultic activity in the city of Pale are obscure. Pale is the only site that has been deprived of its ancient remains since the material from the fortification walls and other available buildings was used as building materials for the construction of roads

¹²² Randsborg 2002a, 79.

¹²³ Soteriou 2013, 19.

¹²⁴ Postolakas et al 1868, 97-98; Kraay 1976, 96; Randsborg 2002, 49-50; SNG Cop. Akarnania 452-77.

¹²⁵ Soteriou 2013, 19.

at the beginning of the 19th century.¹²⁶ Soteriou offers some vague information about two temples that were situated to the southwest of the acropolis.¹²⁷

For an overview of the excavated caves, shrines and temples on Kephallonia see fig. 8.

2.3. Recent Excavations

Until the 1990s, our knowledge of the antiquities of the island was based exclusively on rescue or small-scale excavations. From then onwards, things started to change. A series of collaborations between the local authorities and foreign universities and institutions has resulted in important publications that enhanced our knowledge of the island's history in antiquity.

Most important for our knowledge of the island is the 1990s surface survey conducted by the University of Copenhagen and directed by K. Randsborg in cooperation with the local ephoreia (35th EPKA). The survey took place from 1992 to 1995 across eastern Kephallonia, the area from the gulf of Myrtos to the gulf of Lourdas. Because the area was enormous, the actual survey was limited to select transects. But material from previous surveys conducted by the Ephoreia was finally published in the two 2002 volumes of *Acta Archaeologica* devoted to the project, *Kephallenia, Archaeology and History*. The important feature of this research was that for first time the survey and mapping of large architectural ensembles was conducted for the Kephallenian poleis of Same, Pronnoi, Poros, Digaletto and others.

A few years later the 35th EPKA collaborated with the Italian Archaeological School of Athens in another surface survey, this time with a focus on the peninsula of Palliki. Their

¹²⁶ Soteriou 2013, 31.

¹²⁷ Soteriou 2013, 31; also Cosmetatos 1995. Soteriou probably took the information from a 17th-century document written by the citizens of Pale and addressed to the Venetian authorities regarding sponsorship of the repair of the fortifications on the acropolis, which were necessary for the protection of the city against pirate raids.

research concentrated on the Neolithic settlements of the area. The survey was never finished but an important outcome was the location of the Geometric phase of Pale. It should be noted that a few months earlier, in 1996, Geometric pottery had been found at Same, during the excavation of two trial trenches - the first Geometric remains identified on the island.¹²⁸

Since 2003, surface survey has been undertaken on Kephallonia in the area of Livatho under the direction of the 35th EPKA and the Irish Institute of Hellenic Studies at Athens. This collaboration seeks to establish the settlement pattern from the Mycenaean until the Roman era and is relating the already known positions of cemeteries to building remains and pottery identified during the field survey. The results, which are expected to be published shortly, show sparse settlement across time and space; this is unexpected, considering that the Livatho valley is one of the most productive and fertile areas on Kephallonia.¹²⁹ The programme has more recently been expanded to include a petrographic analysis of potsherds recovered during the field survey (Irish Institute) and rescue excavations (by 35th EPKA); the main objective is to identify local pottery workshops.

2.4. The Geometric Period on Kephallonia

Finally, in this chapter, I consider the evidence of the Geometric period, since remains from this era have come to light fairly recently. For Kephallonia, the period following the destruction of Mycenaean culture through to the end of the eighth century BCE, has been described as a time of abandonment.¹³⁰ However, archaeological evidence from Ithaca indicated that the island continued to be prosperous. This was perhaps due to the presence of abundant natural water sources supplying the comparatively busy commercial route

¹²⁸ D'Agostino and Soteriou 1996, 356-360.

¹²⁹ Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 2003.

¹³⁰ Choremi-Spetsieri 2011, 15.

running along the island. Since Kephallonia had similar sources to offer to passing ships the theory of abandonment seems improbable.¹³¹ Instead, we should attribute the lack of archaeological data to the nature of the archaeological research that has been conducted on the island, which has mostly been focused on the Mycenaean period and lacked systematic excavation.

This picture should now be reconsidered, following relatively recent excavations that revealed Geometric material close to the settlements at Krane, Pale and Same. Geometric activity revealed to the south of Same, is related to a row of Early Geometric cist tombs.¹³² At the foot of the acropolis of Same two trenches opened in 1996, revealed almost at surface level sherds from kraters, oinochoae, amphorae, hydriae and kotylai dated from the Protogeometric to the Late Geometric period.¹³³

At Pale, trenches that were opened in 1996 brought to light pottery fragments from kotylai, kraters, amphorae and hydriae dated from the second half of the eighth century to the third quarter of the seventh.¹³⁴ In 2010, excavation revealed domestic remains and a few Late Geometric sherds, similar to those found in 2008 and 2009 in an *apothetes* discovered in Krane.¹³⁵

It is now evident that the assumption that Kephallonia was deserted during the Geometric period is incorrect. It is true, however, that more evidence is required before we can reach any firm conclusions about the situation on the island at this time, especially regarding the sizes of settlements. Equally important is the investigation of the island's role in the settlement movements to the west. However, pottery styles and the distribution of the

¹³¹ Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 108-117.

¹³² Soteriou 2013, 5, 10.

¹³³ Soteriou and D'Agostino 1996, 356-59.

¹³⁴ Soteriou and D'Agostino 1996, 356-59; D'Agostino and Gastaldi 2000, 123.

¹³⁵ Soteriou 2013, 5.

domestic and burial remains testify that the island followed the regional trends of the period. Furthermore, is confirmed the hypothesis that there was Geometric occupation and that the sites of all four later poleis were already inhabited.¹³⁶

This brief overview of the state of archaeological exploration of the island of Kephallonia reveals that the island has produced a rich and continuous record, with significant finds from the Mycenaean, Geometric, Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods. Despite the focus of the early excavators on the Mycenaean period, due to the influence of the Homeric tradition, finds of later periods came to light too. Drakaina cave, therefore, is situated in a landscape with archaeological material that attests to continuity in habitation on the island throughout the first millennium BC which is the period that this research will focus.

¹³⁶ Pronnoi is the least excavated of these sites, and the only Geometric material comes from Drakaina Cave in the vicinity of the city.

CHAPTER 3

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CAVES

3.1. Forming a Sacred Landscape

Over the course of the earlier chapters, I have attempted to describe Kephallonia in a comprehensive manner, in order to set the ground for a wide-ranging interpretation of the activities that took place in Drakaina Cave. There are indications that Kephallonia, as an island, was a frequent stopover for travellers with various interests (commercial, military or political) and that its inhabitants were concentrated around four urban centres. I will examine this hypothesis further below. The land- and seascapes formed the defining parameters of the history of the island, shaping individual and community choices, and influencing cultural and regional interconnections. Moreover, although it is a rather large island, Kephallonia's mountainous character led the population to form small communities dispersed on the island. Given its terrain, it is possible that for the first millennium BC it was easier for the inhabitants of the coastal area of Poros to reach, for example, Achaea than neighbouring Krane.

In this chapter, I shall first discuss the landscape, in order to explain why caves are important as sacred natural features. According to the geographer Donald Meinig, 'landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes, but what lies within our heads'.¹³⁷ Cultural contexts define how we interpret a place. Furthermore, certain elements acquire meaning through correlation.¹³⁸ In order to understand the importance of the cave as a place in a religious context, it is necessary to examine the evolution of this environment-human system in historical terms and to recognise its organising

¹³⁷ Meinig 1979, 33-48.

¹³⁸ Meinig 1979, 34.

principles, so that we can appreciate fully the interplay between place and religious significance.

The religious significance of caves was particularly prevalent during the first millennium BCE, and many retain the natural features of antiquity. In what follows, I shall examine the practices and mind-sets that have attributed sacredness to the cavernous openings of the earth.

3.2. Caves in Time and Space

In terms of recent scholarly works on caves, Holly Moyens, in her volume *Sacred Darkness*, evaluates the ritual use of caves from prehistory through to modern times across the world.¹³⁹ Her study compiles archaeological, ethnographic and cognitive data in order to illuminate the importance of the dark spaces of caves for humans as civilisation has evolved. Yulia Ustinova has examined what ideas, beliefs and symbolism led the Greeks to descend into caves in their search for divine wisdom.¹⁴⁰ Finally, *The Mind in the Cave* by David Lewis-Williams is an insightful study of the appearance of Palaeolithic art in caves and the development of consciousness.¹⁴¹

Two recent publications from the Ephoreia of Paleoanthropology and Speleology are a welcome contribution on the archaeology of caves. The first volume, edited by F. Mavridis and J.T. Jensen, offers, in addition to contextual analyses of cave excavations, an overview and evaluation of caves in terms of features, sources and cults (in particular the contributions by K. Sporn, W. Frieze and J.M. Wickens). Furthermore, the volume includes chapters on sedimentary studies, while a designated section deals with Cretan caves.¹⁴² The second publication applies an interregional research policy, in accordance

¹³⁹ Moyes 2012.

¹⁴⁰ Ustinova 2009.

¹⁴¹ Lewis-Williams 2004.

¹⁴² Mavridis and Jensen 2013.

with EU guidelines, concerning cave research and dissemination practices and their preservation.¹⁴³

In order to explore the significance of caves, I shall examine those natural features that set them apart from other natural or man-made spaces. The first point to consider is the light – or, rather, the absence of it. On entering a cave, every observer will notice immediately, even close to the entrance where there is natural light, the existence of zones where the light obtains varying qualities or degrees of visibility: light, twilight, dark.¹⁴⁴ Another fundamental realisation for the visitor is that that they are entering into the earth. Thus, for humans, being in a cave creates a mental experience characterised by exceptional sensory intensity, where feelings of awe, fear and amazement are caused by the interplay of light and dark, in their various qualities, as well as by the very sight of the interior of the earth - the smell of moist earth and the sensation of humidity. All these factors bring about a strong reaction. Since the Greeks attributed every excess of feeling and reaction to divine intervention, caves were consequently considered to be sites inhabited by gods.¹⁴⁵

Across the world, caves are considered important landmarks with uses varying periodically from, for example, shelter to storage; due to the fairly stable environmental conditions they offer, they are ideal spaces for storing cheese or for keeping beehives. Furthermore, they are frequently regarded as reserved spaces where rituals can establish a connection with the supernatural.¹⁴⁶ Neolithic and Bronze Age caves served as habitation sites offering shelter close to important resources.¹⁴⁷ As mentioned just previously and discussed further below, the cavernous openings of the earth and their

¹⁴³ Evelpidou et al. 2007.

¹⁴⁴ Moyes 2012, 6-7; Geva and Mukherji 2007.

¹⁴⁵ Ustinova 2009.

¹⁴⁶ Moyes 2012, 6.

¹⁴⁷ Tomkins 2012, 61-63.

dark zones have often been treated by people as the realm of the supernatural. However, we should bear in mind that for many periods of human history such dichotomies between secular and divine, or the natural and the spiritual worlds, did not exist, and the same spaces were used interchangeably for both types of activities.

Many prehistoric caves were used as burial sites, and it is reasonable to assume that the act of burying a deceased member of a group must have been one of the very earliest human actions to be invested with religious significance. Dating to the Palaeolithic period, the Tabun Cave in Israel, with a burial that is considered to be 180,000 years old, is certainly one of the oldest known sites with human remains.¹⁴⁸ During the last Ice Age, the Neanderthals used deep caves only rarely, mainly for purposes other than burial. They were seen as another type of terrain – a special place reserved for painted rock art and ritual performance.¹⁴⁹

In various cultures, caves have similarly been understood as entrances to another world. In ancient Egypt and Greece they were seen as the entrances and exits to and from the world of the afterlife.¹⁵⁰ Alepotrypa Cave in the bay of Diros (Greece) is a unique burial site with evidence that spans Neolithic, from 6000 BCE to approximately 3000 BCE. More than 170 individuals have been discovered in the huge underground chambers of the cave. Other finds from the same period, like flint and copper tools, broken pottery and other artefacts, provide concrete evidence for ritual activity.¹⁵¹ Remains of megalithic structures in a large settlement from the same period have been found outside the cave.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Drew 2004, 167; for Tabun Cave, see Coppa et al. 2005; Grun and Stringer 1991, 231-48.

¹⁴⁹ For the phenomenology of caves, see Tilley 1994.

¹⁵⁰ Moyes 2012, 110.

¹⁵¹ Papathanasopoulos 1971, 149-54.

¹⁵² Papathanasopoulos 1996, 176-77.

The same site was used shortly after, during the Mycenaean period (1600-1100 BCE), as an ossuary. Bones seem to have been secondarily deposited in the cave along with elaborate offerings such as bronze daggers and other exotic objects, including stone and ivory beads from the Levantine coast. Furthermore, a large pile of ash, from burnt sheep dung, at the entrance of one of the chambers testifies to rituals connected with the burials.¹⁵³ Since the nearest known Mycenaean settlement is far from the cave, it has been suggested by the excavator, G. Papathanasopoulos, that the place had an otherworldly significance for the people living in the area.¹⁵⁴ In the same area to this cave, at the Tainaron cape, a Nekyomanteion, an oracle of the dead, is situated inside a much smaller cave, almost opposite a sanctuary of Poseidon, dated between the Archaic and Hellenistic periods.¹⁵⁵ It is possible then that a tradition survived in the memory of the residents of the area, possibly influenced by the material remnants of previous periods.

In Ireland and Mesoamerica, caves have been viewed as dangerous spaces. They were thought to be the dwellings of powerful and magical creatures, and so should either be avoided or approached cautiously.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, they were regarded as sites of the emergence or origin of ancestral people (Mesoamerica).¹⁵⁷ In ancient Egypt and Greece they were often related to the ascent (*anodos*) of a deity from earth, symbolising the potential of rebirth.¹⁵⁸ As a consequence, they were considered liminal spaces, at the border between two worlds or different dimensions. Odysseus descends to the underworld, where two rivers meet, through a cave-like chasm, in order to ask for advice

¹⁵³ Papathanasiou considers the invocation of the ancestors a key strategy to maintain access and control over resources and the area they were interested to live, during the transition to a farming economy. Papathanasiou 2009, 21-28.

¹⁵⁴ Papathanasiou 2009, 27.

¹⁵⁵ See below **chapter 3.3**.

¹⁵⁶ Moyes 2012, 153-54.

¹⁵⁷ Moyes 2012, 154.

¹⁵⁸ Berard 1974.

from Teiresias. This spot does not belong clearly to either world, as the souls of the dead ascend whilst Odysseus descends (*Odyssey* 11, 93-159). Caves were often oracular sites, as exemplified by the Delphic oracle, which was allegedly built on a chasm that connected with the underworld. The same function has been noted in northern American caves.¹⁵⁹ Thus, caves have been viewed widely as appropriate spaces for phenomena that are beyond the human norm.

Another activity connected with caves is mining. It has been argued that in Mesoamerica cave mining had a prominent ritual significance and offered a small economic benefit. Items made from cave rocks were thought to have magical powers, while the raw materials extracted from caves were used for the building of temples and other ritual structures.¹⁶⁰

In Egypt, in the Sinai valley, the goddess Hathor was worshipped in temples that were built in caves or rock shelters and was connected with the mining of copper and turquoise.¹⁶¹ Lastly, the Phoenicians, in the period between the 11th and 8th centuries, established shrines in caves (in modern Huelva, Spain).¹⁶² When it was not possible to find a cave, they made use of cave-like sanctuaries (such as the well sanctuaries of Sardinia and megalithic structures known as *nuraghe* on Malta). In these spaces they deposited sacred artefacts such as metal figurines and other metal objects.¹⁶³ These shrines were often located in the immediate vicinity of metalliferous areas, and have been interpreted as signs of gratitude toward the god who had helped the dedicants succeed in their goals.¹⁶⁴ At the same time, the shrine would indicate the importance of the cave as

¹⁵⁹ Moyes 2012, 155.

¹⁶⁰ Brady and Risssolo 2006.

¹⁶¹ Moyes 2012, 120-21.

¹⁶² Neville 2007 offers an overview of every Phoenician settlement in Iberia; many of them feature caves.

¹⁶³ Dommelen 1998, 71-75.

¹⁶⁴ Dommelen 1998, 75, 79, 86-87, 105,

a sacred place for Phoenicians. Back in their homeland, the Phoenicians venerated the goddess Astarte in caves.¹⁶⁵ In the west, the goddess Tanit was worshipped on the island of Ibiza in the Es Cuyram Cave and also in Gorham Cave on the rock of Gibraltar.¹⁶⁶

3.3. Deities in Caves

K. Sporn recently summarised the use of caves and the cult performed in them during the historical period in Greece. The Nymphs are very often indicated, either through epigraphy or by the iconography of vessels or clay images.¹⁶⁷

Dedicatory inscriptions in ancient Greek caves almost always ascertain that the Nymphs are the recipients of the visitors' piety.¹⁶⁸ However, the Nymphs are rarely the only divine figures found in caves. In myth, Nymphs coexist with other divine figures related to them, such as Pan, Satyrs, Silenoi, Hermes, river gods (Acheloos), Iachos, Dionysos, Demeter and Persephone, Aphrodite, Cybele, Pluto, Apollo, Heracles and Artemis.¹⁶⁹ In addition, many local and deified heroes are connected to cult practised in caves. However, attributing the veneration of a particular god to a specific sacred space is a difficult and complicated task. Below I include discussion of all these deities and demigods, as there is some form of evidence to link them to caves coming either from archaeology, epigraphy or iconography.

The common characteristic of these deities is their connection in myth with the realm of the underworld, on one hand, and the earth, fertility and nature, on the other: as a result they are called chthonian when this is the most prominent feature of their veneration.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ For the cult of Astarte, see Bonnet 1996.

¹⁶⁶ Moscati 1988, 302-04.

¹⁶⁷ Sporn 2013, 216.

¹⁶⁸ Archedemos and Pantalkes are dedicating to the Nymphs in caves at Hymettos and Pharsalus; *IG* I³ 977-980, *IG* I³ 980, *SEG* 1, 247-248; 2, 357; 3, 476; 16, 377-378.

¹⁶⁹ For an overview, see Larson 2001.

¹⁷⁰ Clinton 1992.

This association between fertility and the underworld may be seen at first as contradictory and problematic. Certainly problematic is the term chthonian, as is argued in recent scholarship.¹⁷¹ S. Deacy concludes that the label is much more fluid than has been implied in various analyses and that for the Greeks it had a variety of specific meanings in particular contexts, such as the Dionysiac. Certainly, rigid distinctions between the gods in terms of them being chthonian or Olympian does little justice to the variability of the Greek pantheon. In ancient thought, life and death were conceptually associated. As I discuss in detail in **chapter 10.3-5**, one aspect of the cult that justifies its characterisation as chthonian is that its worshippers were in a state of crisis or uncertainty. In this sense, participation in such a cult afforded men and women a way to release negative emotions in a controlled way and an appropriate manner.

Although the deities mentioned above can be traced in caves, the Nymphs are often mentioned as the principal recipients of the cult performed in caves. An inscription engraved on the rock close to the entrance of the cave of Ag. Triada, on the northeastern slope of Mount Helikon, reads “Nymph Koroneia”.¹⁷² Many of the approximately 2,500 figurines found there depict Demeter, Persephone, Aphrodite, Cybele and Pan.¹⁷³ A similar situation can be found in many other caves;

Another example of the way that Nymphs are depicted in a cult is a marble relief that has been discussed by M. Gaiffman. The Attic fourth-century relief was found in a small cave on Mount Penteli. It depicts on the right three men in veneration, in the middle Pan and Hermes, and on the left three imposing female figures. The dedicatory inscription that accompanies the relief clearly states the names of the three male dedicators and the phrase

¹⁷¹ Deacy 2015 summarises the history of the term. The two principal opposing opinions are Schlesier 1991 and Scullion 1994.

¹⁷² Vasilopoulou 1994.

¹⁷³ Vasilopoulou 1994; 2000.

TAIS NYNΦAIΣ ANEΘEΣAN. There is no mention of Pan or Hermes.¹⁷⁴ The exclusion of their names does not imply that Pan and Hermes are less important, since they are already there on the relief. Similarly, inscribing the name of the Nymph Koroneia over the entrance of the Boeotian cave should not be taken to indicate that she was the exclusive or even the most prominent figure of the cult. It is possible that the inscription was the result of a particular incident in which an individual or a group of people paid tribute to this specific deity in this particular space. Of course, it should be borne in mind that inscriptions may have held a completely different significance for the ancient audience – whether literate or illiterate - than they do for us.

The iconography of the votives found in caves usually includes Nymphs dancing or standing while Pan stands aside, usually close to a cave or playing the syrinx.¹⁷⁵ So far the link between Nymphs and caves is understood through their connection with nature, springs and the raising of gods and heroes (Hermes, Zeus, Dionysos and Adonis).¹⁷⁶ Additionally, Satyrs and Silenoi are intertwined with the Nymphs, and river figures too are often found in the same context. Hermes may be depicted leading a dance of Nymphs or stood close to them, holding the kerykeion. His chthonian status is derived from his role as the guide of souls to the underworld.¹⁷⁷

There are various accounts of the birth of Dionysos linked to various places. A common element is that Zeus gave Dionysos to Nymphs to raise him after he was born from his

¹⁷⁴ Gaiffman 2008, 94-95. Museum number, Athens NM 4465.

¹⁷⁵ Otto 1965, 191-92. Aeschylus refers to him as the son of Hades: Aeschylus F 228.

¹⁷⁶ Larson 2001, 30, 98, 153, 185-86.

¹⁷⁷ Isler-Kerenyi 2007.

thigh.¹⁷⁸ The cult of Dionysos Zagreus is linked to his status as the son of Persephone.¹⁷⁹ He was born without being aware of his divine nature.¹⁸⁰ While Dionysos was a baby and being raised by the Nymphs, the Titans, who felt threatened by his supremacy, tricked, killed and dismembered him.¹⁸¹ He was born again with the help of Zeus. His chthonian nature is thus connected with the fact that he died, went to the Underworld and was reborn. Another myth refers to the god's descent to the underworld in order to bring back his mother Semele (rather than Persephone, in this myth) or his wife Ariadne.¹⁸² In connection to the aforementioned myth, the theme of his *anodos* is shown on vases by his appearance from inside the earth. The epithet Zagreus attributed to Dionysos is also attributed to Hades.¹⁸³ A. Mazarakis-Ainian has noted the possibility that the early cult of Dionysos started in caves.¹⁸⁴ The cult of Dionysos is discussed further in **chapter 10.3**.

Thus, at first sight, it appears difficult to distinguish any prominence of a single deity in a cave, since we often have material evidence for coexistence of two, three or more divine figures. However, in order to be able to describe diachronically the character of a cult, it is necessary for every interpretation to be related to specific cults, the variations of local myths and the political and economic history of the area where the cave is located.

¹⁷⁸ Nymph Makris raised baby Dionysos in a cave at Kerkyra, (*Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica* 4. 1128.) Nymphs living in a cave on the Mount Nysa somewhere between Phoinicia and Aegypt reared Dionysos, (Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 4. 2. 3.). Brasiai near Sparta mention Nymph Ino who raised the god in a cave, (Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3. 24. 3 – 4). Nonnus describes in detail the birth of Dionysos, (Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 9. 28, 14. 143). The god is related to Thetis and the sea (Homer *Il.* 6, 129), while Mount Nysa as his birthplace is identified to various places like Boeotia (Plutarch, *Life of Lysander* 28. 4), Naxos (Homer *Hymn* 1 to Dionysus) and India (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 6. 78.) among others.

¹⁷⁹ On Zagreus, see Hamilton 1955, 478-96.

¹⁸⁰ Callimachus F 171 (Pfeiffer); Kerenyi 1976, 80-89.

¹⁸¹ Abel 1922, 110, 227.

¹⁸² Kerenyi 1976; Sourvinou-Inwood 1981; 2005.

¹⁸³ This detail is mentioned in preserved fragments from the lost play *Sisyphus* by Aeschylus: F 228 (Hermann). Nonnus *Dion.* 6.155-78.

¹⁸⁴ Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 308-09, 318, 321, 330, 399.

3.4. Caves in Kephallonia

-Previous Research

In addition to the aforementioned excavation reports and surveys there are several scholarly works that mention Kephallonia in discussions of the material culture of the Ionian islands and western Greece or other subjects related to the island. In her paper ‘Corinth, the Corinthian Gulf and western Greece during the eighth century BC’, Catherine Morgan discusses the significance of Corinthian contacts with the region, emphasising connectivity and trade.¹⁸⁵ In ‘From Odysseus to Augustus’ she assesses how Ithaca fits and evolves diachronically in the western context that includes the Ionian islands and settlements in southern Italy and the western regions of the Greek mainland.¹⁸⁶ Morgan concludes that this area acquired a separate dynamic due to its position within a contact zone. Although Ithaca is the focus of this research, the pattern is noticeably similar to the contemporary situation on Kephallonia. The scale may be different as Kephallonia is a much larger island, but identity formation was affected by similar economic and political developments and was heavily dependent on the trajectories that operated on an important transport route where the islands are situated. The work of Gerasimos Livitsanis is a useful recent contribution to the study of local pottery.¹⁸⁷ The publication of the Cave of Nymphs at Pharsalus and the Cave of Eileithyia on Crete offers valuable comparanda for cult in caves.¹⁸⁸ Another important work for our understanding of how island communities were interrelated is the work of Christy Constantakopoulou on the formation of island networks, regional systems and religious activities.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ Morgan 1988.

¹⁸⁶ Morgan 2007.

¹⁸⁷ Livitsanis 2013.

¹⁸⁸ For the cave in Pharsalus, see Wagman 2015; for the Cave of Eileithyia, see Kanta 2011.

¹⁸⁹ Constantakopoulou 2007; 2015.

As I shall show in this thesis, a careful analysis of the material from Drakaina reveals that the island had close connections with other regional cults and attracted visitors from the surrounding areas, such as the Ionian islands, the Peloponnese, Aetolia and Akarnania. These connections are demonstrated through similar types of offerings, which in a religious context may imply similar features of cults. Moreover, the sanctuary was a stopover for ships that transported pottery from Corinth and Athens, which had been produced for markets in the west. I understand the material remains found in the Drakaina Cave as expressions of the concerns of the communities and the individuals who visited the site and contributed to the development and maintenance of the cult.

CHAPTER 4

EXCAVATION AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

4.1. Excavation Method

In 1992 the cave was divided into a grid of squares each measuring $2\text{m} \times 2\text{m}$. The horizontal axis was oriented approximately east-west and each square was labelled alphabetically (A, B, Γ, Δ, E, Z, H, Θ, I, K); the vertical axis was oriented approximately south-north and each square was labelled numerically (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10). Thus each square can be identified and located within the grid by a letter and a number (e.g. square Γ3) (Fig. 11). Excavation was limited to the roofed part (a and b) of the rock shelter.

The excavation of trenches was carried out by removing a thin horizontal layer of a few centimetres of soil; this was taken to an area at the entrance of the cave and sieved before it was discarded. Some soil samples were later taken to the store building at Poros for flotation analysis. When it was evident that there was an artificial pit, it was excavated to its full depth, following its boundaries. Large rocks and stone fragments that seemed to belong to a structure were drawn and photographed, and, where possible, removed in order to gain access to deeper strata. When the excavation of a square reached a considerable depth, one of the adjoining squares was left unexcavated as a guide, so that it was possible to follow the stratigraphy of the surrounding squares. The reserved square was excavated at a later stage (Fig. 11). For a number of reasons, no squares were excavated down to the natural bedrock. The principal reason was the concern for safety; excavating too deeply might well have caused the collapse of the trench or pit walls. Second, if the fill was very deep it was meaningless to dig down simply for the sake of reaching bedrock, as the excavators did not know how deep they would have to go.

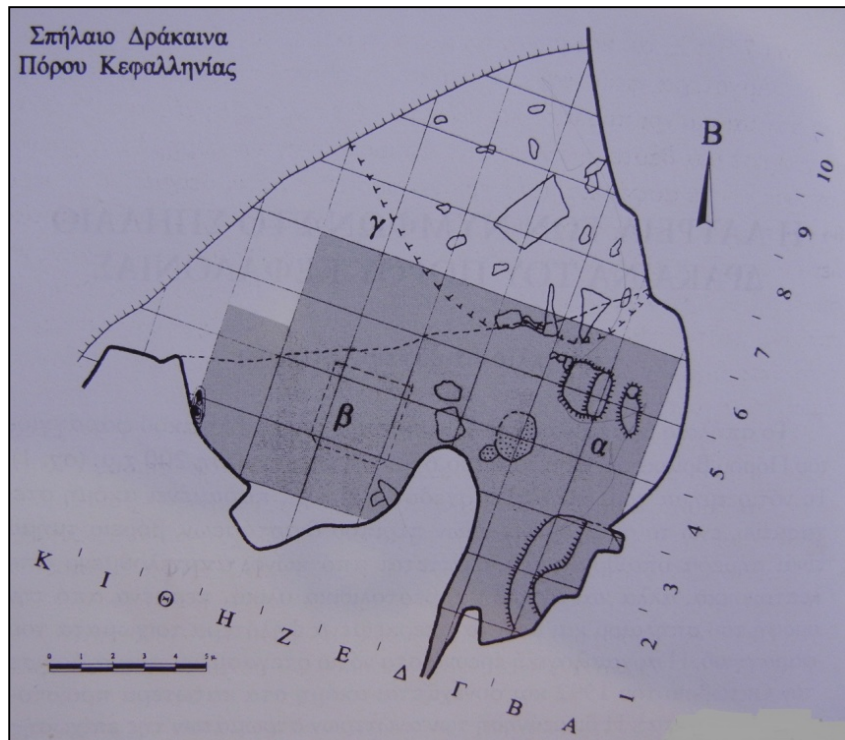


Figure 11. Site plan: excavated areas are highlighted in darker grey (drawing by T. Xatzitheodorou).

The excavated material includes the archaeological finds that are now stored at the Ephoreia of Speleology and Paleoanthropology in Athens; approximately 30 artefacts (pots and figurines) were given to the Archaeological Museum of Argostoli, on Kephallonia, and are now included in a permanent exhibition. In addition to objects, the excavation archive includes printed photographs, field records, object registers, drawings and site plans.¹⁹⁰ The field notebooks contain references to many sketches made by the archaeologists, to drawings and site plans prepared by the draughtsman and to photographs taken at the end of each excavation phase. The bones were sent to E.

¹⁹⁰ The archive belongs to the Ephoreia of Speleology and Paleoanthropology. Not all the photographs that were taken were subsequently printed or remained accessible until today. Although the notebooks record that photography took place after the end of every phase of excavation, only a small proportion (approximately 20%) of the photographs taken were available to me. It is possible that some have been lost and that others were not printed or not kept because of their quality; others may be with some of the other researchers who are working on the material from Drakaina Cave.

Kotzabopoulou for study. Samples of soil and ash were sent for analyses at the National Centre for Scientific Research, ‘Demokritos’.

A number of practical measures had to be undertaken each year. At the start of every new season the excavation team had to clear the path to the cave and to tie ropes in order to make access to the site as safe as possible. In addition, because of the orientation of the cave, the roofed part, where the excavation was focused, was poorly lit. Consequently, the team had to transport lights and a generator to the cave, in order to be able to see small objects, the colour of the soil, the details of the stratigraphy and other details (Fig. 12).



Figure 12. Excavating with artificial light (from the excavation photographic archive).

4.2. The Recording of Items

Each item of archaeological material that was found was uniquely numbered before it was removed from the site. Table 1 lists the identification number for each square.

		Δ1 14			
B2 3	Γ2 17	Δ2 30			
B3 5	Γ3 21	Δ3 31		Z3 ¹⁹¹ 51	

¹⁹¹ There is no information in the notebooks regarding when this square was excavated, but there are sherds marked with the number 51.

B4 7	Γ4 24	Δ4 32	E4 42	Z4 52	H4 ¹⁹² 62
B5 9	Γ5 25	Δ5 33	E5 43	Z5 53	
B6 11	Γ6 26	Δ6 34			

Table 1. The numbering of sherds according to their find-spot.

Thus, throughout the duration of the excavation, all sherds recovered from, for example, square E4 were identified by the number 42 (Table 1).

The various depths are indicated on the finds by a serial number (starting with 01) following the square number. So, for instance, 5201 includes material that came from the first ‘layer’ that was excavated in square Z4 (Fig 13). The sequence can go on until e.g. 80, in which case it would have been labelled 5280.



Figure 13. Sherds marked on the interior with their provenance and other find details (source: Author).

In addition, a further identifier (AA) was allocated to vessels that were found intact or to sherds that were joined later (Fig. 14). Four hundred and sixty vessels are recorded in this manner.

¹⁹² Square H4 was certainly excavated and sherds from it are mentioned in the records. However, there are no details in the notebooks about the specific number allocated to material from this square. Nonetheless, since there are sherds marked with the number 62, I assume they must come from square H4.

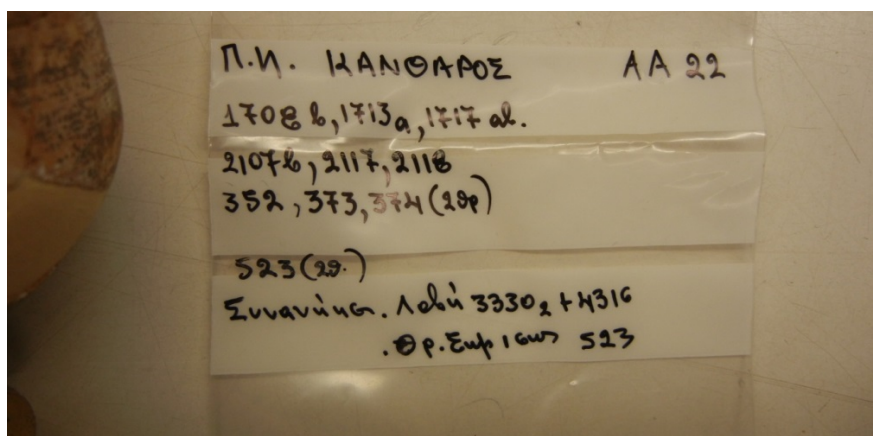


Figure 14. Find details of a vessel written on the plastic bag that houses it (source: Author).

Figurative terracottas were recorded according to the year they were found and allocated a serial number. Thus 15/94 records a terracotta was found in 1994 and that it was the 15th inventoried object in this artefact category for this specific year. Such serial numbers were used not only for intact or almost intact terracottas but also for simple fragments. The square and stratigraphic numbers were also written on the terracotta artefacts according to the format set out above (Fig. 15).



Figure 15. Details written on various fragments at the back side of a figurine (source: Author).

However, many terracotta fragments that were difficult to distinguish and group, such as busts, hair, arms, etc., were only allocated the first two numbers recording the excavation details but they were not added in the sequence of the annual catalogue of terracottas. In 1993 eight terracottas were found, in 1994 ninety-four; in 1995 sixty-seven; in 1996 only

two, five in 1999; none in 2000, in 2001 two and finally two more in 2002. The serial numbers of the figurative terracottas were added to the objects at the site and it was included in the notebooks, while only a few were catalogued later during the recording of the items.

4.3. Excavation Problems

In 1992, the team excavated for five days, in 1993 for eight, in 1994 for 15 days, in 1995 for 19 days, in 1996 for 13 days and in 1999 they returned for 16 days. For the years 2000, 2001 and 2002 the records of excavation particulars are less detailed since the prehistoric layer had been reached and the few artefacts dated to the historical period were recorded hastily. So, despite the absence of details from the field notebooks, it is clear that a few pieces of pottery and figurines were recovered. However, these may not have been the only pieces found during these excavation periods.

Very often, at a later stage, items were removed from their initial bag whilst being transferred for conservation or were grouped in a different way, for instance according to type (e.g. fragments from Corinthian skyphoi with animal decoration) or according to their provenance (Attic pottery). In such cases, only the initial number that was given to each piece of pottery on the site is preserved.

In addition to the three permanent archaeologists of the Archaeological Service, G. Stratouli, M. Chatzioti and E. Kotzabopoulou, many other field archaeologists and students of archaeology participated for one or more seasons. Notes were taken by all of them, but the official notebooks were written by the three permanent archaeologists based on notes that were taken during the excavation. As I understand it, decisions about how to distinguish differences in stratigraphy and how to number items were taken *ad hoc* and subsequently no later changes were possible.

Furthermore, the particular interests of individual team members affected the way the material was recorded. For instance, during the early seasons the two specialist archaeologists (prehistoric and historic) were in charge of different squares and, as a result, material dated to a period beyond the archaeologist's specialisation was sketchily recorded. Thus, many assumptions have to be made about undocumented pottery and about references to historical period material made in the notebooks that lack information about how it was identified. For the last two seasons during which notebooks were kept, the days were divided between the two archaeologists since the two periods were distinct within the archaeological fill.

In general, however, the method of recording allows location of the context of every artefact, and even sherd, regardless of inconsistencies in the excavation notebooks.

Problems related to the stratigraphic sequence are also connected with inconsistencies in the description of the excavation. It should be noted that there is significant variability in the recording of the stratigraphy, due to the fact that the excavators were trying to describe every variance in the archaeological record and that there was more than one person recording the excavation; the result is very often difficult to interpret with accuracy.

At this point, I should clarify that 'layer' refers to a homogenous soil substance or feature, not a horizontal section of soil. So more than one number is usually applied to the same depth. These numbers determine stratigraphic variations such as differences in soil density, colour, substance or solidity, the existence of ash, larger or smaller stones, plant roots and other organic material, and disturbances caused by animals or humans. All these variations may exist in a portion recognised as forming a homogenous deposit, which is clearly described and named each time it varies. The variations in the archaeological layers as described above, are very common in the excavation of caves at the Ionian

Islands.¹⁹³ The reason may be the continuous use of caves and the seismic activity that very often causes the collapse of walls and roofs inside the cave. It is less often caused by human activity.

As noted above, the principal reason for not always excavating to bedrock was that there was a danger that the trench walls might collapse. Furthermore, there were fears that large rocks that were lying on the surface from earlier collapses might cause the sides of the excavated squares to collapse. As a result, many parts of the excavation that were potentially dangerous to excavate were never completed, including the exploration of large pits or possible side openings that seemed to be leading to adjoining spaces. In addition, considerable time and effort were committed to breaking and moving some of these huge rocks since it was not possible to operate heavy machinery within the cave.

From day one of the excavation, pottery sherds dating from the Neolithic, Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods were uncovered from the same trench and the same filling. As a consequence, the distributions of sherds from the same vessel have confusing patterns. There are examples of vessels that were recovered in pieces from just one or two trenches but from depths that vary up to 0.80 m, while fragments from others were scattered over many areas of the site.

The state of preservation of the pottery from the cave is very poor. Apart from a few miniature vessels that survived intact, the rest of the ceramic material was broken into small pieces. Sherds were joined when possible, but a large proportion of the assemblage remains fragmented. As a consequence, in many cases sherds that obviously belonged to the same vessel could not be joined.

¹⁹³ This information comes from the archaeologists of the Ephoreia of Paleoanthropology and Speleology.

The archaeological fill mainly consisted of disintegrated limestone materials and the remains of human activity. The preservation of the ceramic artefacts has been affected by their coexistence over hundreds of years with limestone fragments in a very humid environment (Fig. 16). All this, in combination with the inferior quality of some of the pottery, has resulted in an assemblage that is extremely difficult to examine and organise.



Figure 16. Excavation of the roofed part of the rock shelter (from the excavation photographic archive).

4.4. Features

A practice known from almost every sanctuary with a long lifespan is that of deliberately discarding material - votives, ashes, bones. Excavated pits or natural cavities were filled with the remains of activities that took place in the sacred space.¹⁹⁴ In Drakaina Cave, pits were in general used over long periods of time, on each occasion that people gathered at the site to sacrifice and celebrate or in order to declutter the shrine after a lengthy period of use. The participants would dig a trench and fill it with votives; in some cases, those would be broken deliberately, in order to avoid reuse. Such pits – either artificial or natural - are known as votive pits, ritual deposits or apothetes and are usually found annexed to temples or sanctuaries, or other sites connected with a religious structure. They were filled with offerings or the by-products of ritual activities (bones, broken coarse ware, organic material and ashes). Even if objects were damaged and no longer

¹⁹⁴ Schiffer 1987, 218-20; Papadaki 2014.

useful, if they were offered or used at the sanctuary they were consequently connected to the deity. Therefore, they were considered consecrated as objects of veneration or because they had served the god within a sanctified territory. A bothros, on the other hand, is a pit of some depth, where the surplus votives from ritual activities have clearly been deliberately buried. Unlike a ritual deposit, this is usually a one-phase construction and the location of a bothros is not necessarily easily connected with the sanctuary from which its contents came.¹⁹⁵

The fragmentary condition of the ceramic assemblage from Drakaina Cave and the weathering of the sherds attest to specific processes of pit formation. As M.B. Schiffer explains, the degree of deterioration of the archaeological material is directly related to its immediate environment.¹⁹⁶ The filling of larger pits at Drakaina, such as Apothetes 1 (described in detail below) or the ash pit, was in all probability a slow process, the result of various stages of deposition. This practice of gradually discarding material was very popular at Drakaina, and this seems to be the only firm setting in which we can talk about contextually related material, since the stratigraphy is only occasionally able to provide tools for dating the material and, accordingly, the various periods of use of the sanctuary.¹⁹⁷

Excavation in squares Δ4, Δ5, Γ4 and Γ5 uncovered the remains of two subsequent hearths dated to the sixth century BCE on the basis of pottery (mainly sherds from drinking vessels found in the ashes and at the perimeter). The ashes from the hearths lay on top of a thin layer of small stones that was archaeologically sterile and measured only a few centimetres in depth. In the middle of the four squares there was a large rock that

¹⁹⁵ Loulloupis 1989, 69.

¹⁹⁶ Schiffer 1987, 220.

¹⁹⁷ Hatziotis 2007, 366-68. There were no photographs of the rock found in the excavation archive. Presumably there is a stratigraphic sequence in the pits but not on the remainder of the surface.

seems to have rested on the surface in antiquity, at least during the sixth century BCE, and possibly used as a table (on which visitors could place their cups) or as a sacrificial altar, as suggested by the flattened surface of the rock.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, from among the ashes and the sherds found in the hearths a few intact vessels were recovered and restored, while near the wall of the cave, in square Δ4 directly behind the rock, four vessels (a kantharos, a skyphos and two kotylai) were found neatly placed, one inside another. Their position between the two rocks had obviously prevented their destruction.¹⁹⁹

At the northwestern corner of Γ4 and in B4 and B5 heaps of small rocks were found, in some cases placed in circles. It is possible that there was a fireplace here, as signs of burning in the lower layers indicate, and that the stones formed its boundary.²⁰⁰ At the end of their feasts, visitors to the cave collected the ashes and discarded them close to the rock, where thicker ash layers - but no signs of burning - were uncovered.

Animal bones and pottery sherds were found at various depths and locations across the site. However, in square Z4 a large pit was found, measuring 2.20m × 2.10m; this was filled with ashes, charcoal, soil, a few pottery sherds and numerous animal bones. These were undoubtedly the remains of several banquets conducted around a fireplace, which were put away in order to leave the sanctuary tidy for the next group of worshippers. The various gradients of the layers found in the deposit, along with the lack of any signs of burning on the walls or the bottom of the pit, reveal that the actual fireplace was elsewhere and that this spot was used exclusively for discarding the remains of feasts. Although it was not possible to follow the gradient of every ash layer in the pit (it was excavated gradually through three layers), it is clear from the dating of the pottery recovered from the lower levels that the pit was used from the early sixth century until the first half of the

¹⁹⁸ Hatziotis 2007, 367.

¹⁹⁹ Hatziotis et al. 1997, 64-65.

²⁰⁰ Hatziotis et al. 1995, 38-41.

fifth.²⁰¹ Many but not all of the bones display signs of burning. Finally, in square B6 a small circular pit was found; this had a diameter of almost half a metre and a depth of 0.30 m, and contained bones and pottery sherds.²⁰²

The surface on which the large rock (in squares Γ4, Γ5, Δ4 and Δ5) and the stones that outlined the hearths (to the northwest of squares Γ4, B4 and B5) sat was the actual floor in use during the Archaic period.²⁰³ From this layer, a considerable quantity of fragmented pottery of the Archaic period was recovered.²⁰⁴

In area α (squares B2, B3, Γ2 and Γ3) a large semi-circular pit (Apothetes 1) was uncovered; it was dug 1.60m deep into the prehistoric deposits.²⁰⁵ The fact that no sign of stratification was visible in the pit argues in favour of its contents being the result of a large-scale cleaning. However, the most significant characteristic of the fill was that it contained almost all of the figurative terracottas, apart from a few fragmented and two intact specimens (protome 1/2001-2002 and figurine 2/2001, found close to a wall; discussed below). Many fragments of tiles were also found, most of them at the bottom of the trench. It is possible that the figurines and protomai were placed together under some kind of small construction, the debris of which was later discarded into the pit.²⁰⁶ Two smaller and shallower pits were excavated to the north of this deposit. Of particular note, two more pits with pottery were revealed close to the northern wall of the cave, in squares Γ5, B5 and B6.

²⁰¹ Hatziotis et al. 1995, 43-43; Hatziotis 2007, 367.

²⁰² Hatziotis 2007, 367.

²⁰³ Hatziotis 2007, 367. According to the excavator the archaic pottery that was found on this layer, including 4 complete vases placed between the large rock and the wall at the rear of the cave, are a safe indication for the dating of the layer.

²⁰⁴ Hatziotis et al. 1995, 44.

²⁰⁵ I will refer to this pit from now on as Apothetes 1.

²⁰⁶ Hatziotis et al. 1997, 65-67.

Finally, in square Γ6 the foundation of what looked like a small wall was revealed. This feature was made from stones and measured almost 1m in length. No evidence of any type of construction that could be related to this wall was preserved, and this absence of other material evidence makes it difficult to draw any conclusions about the wall's function. It is noteworthy that terracotta figurine 2/2001 and protome 1/2001-2002 were found in front of the wall, inside a baulk of soil, as they seem to be two of the earliest terracottas recovered from the cave (see below, **chapter 8.6.1.1.** and **8.8.1.**).

To summarise, the excavation of the upper layers that included the historical period material has revealed that, initially, care was taken to deposit material such as ashes from hearths and bones from feasts that took place inside the cave. During a later phase, when the space was probably becoming crowded, older dedications were discarded in excavated pits. The only artefacts that were undoubtedly found in situ are four cups that were placed one inside the other and deposited behind a rock, where they were protected until they were brought to light once more. In view of the challenging excavation conditions, an especially difficult task is the distinction between primary and secondary depositions, particularly in relation to a few dedications that seem to have been treated differently from the majority of the assemblage.

CHAPTER 5

FINE WARE

I have so far discussed the importance of caves (**chapter 3**) and contextualised the site within the geographic parameters of the island and the region (**chapter 1**). I have also offered a brief overview of the state of archaeological research at the site (**chapter 4**) and the history of archaeological research on Kephallonia (**chapter 2**). I will now turn my attention to the material found in the cave. I have ordered my discussion in the following manner: first I discuss the material evidence of the first occupation on the site during the Geometric period. This earlier material (containers) is mostly appropriate for a domestic establishment and it might be related to the walled settlement above the cave. A few singular specimens dated to this period are also included in this early group (matte-painted bowl, oil containers). When for a shape there is a chronological evolution, even if it is dated to the Geometric period, I include the analysis in the discussion of each shape.

The period of great growth in the cave sanctuary when the character becomes clearly religious, starts to the end of 7th - beginning of the 6th century. Then, mainly drinking vessels and other dedications reach the cave in growing numbers. I have recorded this material by shape development, according to type and place of origin (**chapter 5**), then miniature pottery (**chapter 6**), dancing groups (**chapter 7**) and, finally, other figurative terracottas (**chapter 8**). Dancing groups are part of the figurative terracottas group but I have discussed the assemblage first, since they form a distinct group and were the preferred dedication for the 6th and 5th centuries. Items are identified by their catalogue number; the Catalogue can be found at the end of the thesis.

5.1. Geometric Vases

5.1.1. Containers

More than 20 sherds from vessels that preserve geometric ornaments on an unpainted surface have been recovered from Drakaina. All the sherds were grouped under number **1** and were given a separate letter. Almost all come from closed vases. The sherds have a similar thickness; all are hard-fired with a soft surface and could be from one or more vases. Other than two pairs of sherds, they do not join. They were found distributed across six trenches. However, five were located in the niche of area a, inside the bothros; two sherds were found particularly deep and outside the bothros, in squares $\Delta 1$ and $\Delta 2$. A further 14 sherds were found in surface layers. Three more fragments were recovered from deep in trench Z3, which is in area b. The stratigraphy is not helpful in determining their use in the cave. I describe and group them according to recognisable motifs, as far as is possible given their fragmentary state of preservation.

Two joining sherds (**d**) from the neck of an oinochoe most probably bear lines that depict a large circle in a metope or else wavy lines. Similar curvilinear motifs are also seen on the bodies, but not the necks, of a group of Ithacan oinochoae that imitate vases from the Cumae group.²⁰⁷ Vase 446 from Aetos is a trefoil Geometric oinochoe that bears a similar but more ornamented pattern on its neck.²⁰⁸ Two body sherds from kraters found at Xeropolis have the same motif.²⁰⁹

Fragments **a**, **b** and **c** come either from the shoulder of the same vase or from different but similar vases. Sherd **a** bears two parallel lines and a curving line; **b** has two parallel curving lines that could be parts of concentric circles or semicircles. Fragment **c** bears a

²⁰⁷ Robertson 1948, 83, pl. 35, nos 499, 500, 505, 506, 511.

²⁰⁸ Robertson 1948, 77, pl. 28, no. 446.

²⁰⁹ Catling et al 1990, pl. 26, nos 423-24.

motif of three concentric triangles.²¹⁰ Parallels from Corinth and Ithaca date the motif to the first half of the eighth century; it was probably influenced by Cycladic, Euboean and eastern Greek vases.

Sherds **f**, **g** and **h** depict cross-hatched triangles or lozenges in triple outlines of thicker lines.²¹¹ A trefoil oinochoe with a similar motif from grave 652 of Pithekoussai is considered an Euboean import.²¹² Furthermore, examples from Lefkandi also have the same motif.²¹³ Body fragments **l**, **m** and **n** depict parallel lines. Another vase recovered from a grave at Pithekoussai has a motif of clusters of parallel lines on its body.²¹⁴ Fragments **i** and **j** could be from the same vase, as indicated by the thinner walls and the same interior treatment. Notably, **j** has remains of brown glaze all over and two parallel lines on a reserved panel. The motif is similar to that on a Corinthian Late Geometric skyphos, found in Ithaca (vase 288), or a Middle Geometric skyphos from Achaea.²¹⁵ Finally, fragment **k** depicts four parallel lines and an angular line with a fringed motif; the latter is employed on oinochoae, from Aetos, Medeon and Derveni, dating to the late Protogeometric period.²¹⁶

Two joining sherds (**2**) come from the body of a Geometric oinochoe with parallel lines.²¹⁷

According to Coldstream, the fringed pattern and interlinked cross-hatched triangles seem

²¹⁰ Robertson 1948, 63, pl. 19, nos 311, 324; Stillwell et al 1984, pl. 1; Catling et al 1990, pl. 24, no. 377, pl. 37, no. 691, pl. 36, no. 634.

²¹¹ Courbin 1966, pls 23, 77; Coldstream 1968, pl. 55, j; Stillwell et al 1984, pl. 1, 2.

²¹² Buchner 1993, 631, grave 652, pl. 183, no. 1.

²¹³ Catling et al 1990.

²¹⁴ Buchner 1993, 621, grave 643, pl. 182, no. 1.

²¹⁵ Robertson 1948, 60, pl. 16, 288; Gadolou 2008, 141, fig. 121, no. 143.

²¹⁶ Robertson 1948, 309, figs 1, 2; Morricone 1982, 913, 28 a-b; *AD Chronika* 1964, pl. 264a; Coldstream 1968, 222, pl. 48j, f; Gadolou 2008, 152-55, fig. 136, 0.

²¹⁷ Benton 1953, 323, 327, fig. 23, no. 928; Coldstream 1968, 98, pl. 19b-c.

to be typical motifs of western Greek Protogeometric.²¹⁸ A. Gadolou, who discusses material from Achaea and Derveni, notes that the treatment of Geometric motifs in these assemblages signifies the transition to Early Geometric for the region of Achaea. The coexistence of a decorative zone on the mid-body and on the shoulder is the first step towards a full Geometric style that prefers decoration on the belly only.²¹⁹ A round-mouthed oinochoe from Aetos, dated to the early seventh century by M. Robertson, is a close parallel for the combination of parallel lines and concentric triangles.²²⁰

Matte-Painted Bowl

The very idiosyncratic bowl **3** (a and b from the same bowl or a separate similar one), with a wide body and horizontal outturning rim, may be an import from southern Italy. The matt-painted decoration and the organisation of the decorative scheme show similarities with material from Messapian sites. More specifically, there are similarities in terms of the decoration with Geometric local pottery from Salento and an oinochoe from Otranto of the Early Iron Age;²²¹ they demonstrate large geometric motifs and the use of dots on the border motifs. It is possible that the paint was originally red, as it is preserved on a single sherd, and that the dark-brown appearance of the motif, along with the green-grey appearance of the fabric are due to post-depositional factors. The shape must have been similar to that of the bowls with linear decoration that were locally produced in Valle Oscura, a central Sicilian site. Three bowls were found in the native cemetery in a collective grave which was richly furnished.²²² Two of the three bowls

²¹⁸ Coldstream 1968, 222.

²¹⁹ Gadolou 2008, 153.

²²⁰ Robertson 1948, 100, nos 590-91, pl. 44.

²²¹ Anderson and Benton 1953, 269-70, fig. 6, P.136; D'Andria 1976, 20-22, pls 8, 17-18; 1990, 13-14, 29-30, no. 45; Vallet 1996, 300, pl. V, 2-3; Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 139, pl. 39, no. 440, 141, pl. 40, no. 454.

²²² Pugliese Carratelli 1996, 693-95, nos 35-37, inv. nos 959-60.

contained numerous amber beads and bones.²²³ There are also similarities to local material from the necropolis of Gioia del Colle close to ancient Taranto, where indigenous pottery developed an abstract style in which the exterior surfaces of vessels were divided by dark parallel lines in panels which were decorated in most cases with geometric motifs.²²⁴

5.1.2. Closed Vessels

Oil Containers

-Askos

A single sherd from vessel 7 is probably part of the shoulder of an askos. It derives from the Submycenaean and Geometric traditions of globular aryballoi and askoi with Geometric decoration. It is without doubt one of the earliest specimens from the shrine, dating to the first half of the 8th century or early in the 7th.²²⁵ Similar examples have been excavated at many sites, such as Perachora, Knossos, and Corinth; they are primarily Corinthian, but it is not possible to exclude the possibility that some of those found beyond Corinth were locally produced.²²⁶

-Lekythoi

A small body fragment from the junction with the shoulder is preserved from lekythos 4. The meander motif high on the wall seems neater than and slightly different in style from the typical conventionalising motif. Other characteristics of the vessel, such as the fabric,

²²³ Fiorentini 1985.

²²⁴ Gervasio 1921, particularly pl. 11, no. 6, pl. 15, no. 11.

²²⁵ Stillwell et al 1984, 19, grave 5, no. 24, pl. 2, with more parallels cited; Neeft 1987, 24-25, pl. 1, fig. 1; Catling 1996, pl. 43, no. 43, pl. 141, g; a specimen in the Thebes Museum is dated to the end of the eighth or the early seventh century (unpublished).

²²⁶ A vase from Knossos is assumed to have been a local imitation of a Corinthian aryballos: Brock 1957, 63, nos. 407, 668, pl. 45.

the thickness of the walls and the quality of the glaze, most probably indicate a tradition and origin other than Corinth. A local krater from Megara Hyblaia has a very similar decoration. It belongs to a group of vessels with a preference for curvilinear and floral motifs (160-61). They are dated to the Geometric/Subgeometric period, which is a possible date for example **4**.²²⁷

Lekythoi **5** and **6** are products of the Subgeometric period. Their style is characterised by added white lines on a glazed surface. In Corinth, it is mainly the kotylai and oinochoae found in a late Geometric bothros that are decorated in this style.²²⁸ A small olpe that was excavated in Megara Hyblaia has added white bands on brown glaze;²²⁹ it is considered local and dated to the Subgeometric period. The style seems to be popular in western Greece.²³⁰ Kotylai **137** and **138** (**chapter 5.2.5.2.**) belong to this group, although they are possibly later. Their shape indicates influence from Elis and Laconia, and added white is also a style favoured by Lakonian pottery in the third quarter of the seventh century.²³¹

Even though the material is very scant, it is evident that Protogeometric and Geometric examples were present in the cave. Other early specimens, like kantharos **8** (Subgeometric), lekythoi **4**, **5** and **6**, aryballos **7**, plate **203**, West Greek cups **137** and **138**, kalathoi **212** and **213**, and imported bowl **3**, signify the beginning of the cult and the transition to the large flow of pottery in the early Archaic period.

Lekythoi and askoi were used as containers for scented oils and are considered

²²⁷ Benton 1938-1939, 27, pl. 13, a; Villard and Vallet 1964, 160-61, pl. 174; Risser 2001, 24, pl. 43, 665; Morgan 2004, 190-91, no. 57, pl. 5.

²²⁸ Williams 1981, 140.

²²⁹ Villard and Vallet 1964, 153-54, pl. 160, no. 1; Buchner 1993, Grave 85, 95-96, 99, pl. 97, no. 16.

²³⁰ Villard, Vallet 1964, 153-154, pl 160, no 1; Buchner 1993, Grave 85, 95-96, 99, no 16, pl 97, no 16.

²³¹ Stibbe 1994, 58-59, no. B28, pl. 10.

appropriate as female dedications.²³² The Drakaina examples date to the earliest period of the cult. Their function may be connected to the trade of scented oils. Consequently, another possibility for their offering to the cave is that they may have been dedications made by travellers on their way to markets in the west.²³³

5.2. Drinking Vessels

5.2.1. Kantharoi

5.2.1.1. Earlier Kantharoi

The kantharoi found in the cave are mostly Archaic and Hellenistic, with one notable exception. I believe that kantharos **8** has close parallels in shape among the Mycenaean and Geometric pottery from Ithaca. Its shape is very similar to two Early Geometric cups from Ithaca and also vessels 25 and 26 from Polis Cave.²³⁴ Benton notes that it is difficult to attribute them to the Mycenaean or Geometric tradition with certainty. She describes a large quantity of this type of kantharoi in the assemblage; she mentions 150 handles, 20 high bases and 100 rims of this type, which she describes as kantharoi with high feet. The shape, with its high conical foot and one vertical handle (which technically makes this a cup and not a kantharos), is a Protogeometric standard shape from Euboean Kyme among other places.²³⁵ Chequered bands are popular throughout the sub-Geometric period.²³⁶ The chequerboard frieze is popular also in Attica during the Geometric period.²³⁷ In Ithaca we see the same motif on several vessels, including a Transitional to Early Geometric

²³² Baumbach 2004, 116, 139.

²³³ Neeft 1987, 12; Concannon and Mazurek 2016, 109.

²³⁴ Benton 1938-1939, 11, pl. 6, nos 25, 26.

²³⁵ Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1998, 74, fig. 34.3.

²³⁶ Weinberg 1943, 54.

²³⁷ Kubler 1943, pl. 22, no. 903.

kantharos/mug (44), an Ithacan pyxis (394) and an oinochoe (456) from Aetos.²³⁸ I believe that the vessel is probably imported from Ithaca and should be dated to the Late Geometric period. Vessels 25 and 26 from Ithaca are of the same height, but both seem to be slightly wider than vessel **8** from Drakaina; furthermore, the join of the base and body is much narrower than the published examples from Polis Cave. Some Mycenaean cups are really close in shape, apart from the handles, which are horizontal.²³⁹

5.2.1.2. Achaean and Elean Kantharoi

Kantharoi from western Greece can be divided into two main groups, with each having a separate evolution pattern: vessels with a broad body and tall vessels with a narrower profile.²⁴⁰ Common characteristics are a triangular body shape, a triangular handle and carination. As argued below, there is a possible connection with metalworking.²⁴¹

I classify the Archaic kantharoi from Drakaina into three main categories, although a few singular examples stand apart (**8**, **47**, **48**, **49**). The first group consists of broad, shallow vessels with a low ring foot and vertical strap handles; it has a single specimen - vessel **9**.²⁴² Coulson attributes this type to a western Greek koine tradition.²⁴³ The second type is deeper with more upright sides and a low disc foot (**392**, **393**, **394** are miniatures and **10** a regular sized vase). The third is the most common and has a tall body, a conical or splayed foot and an upright rim; the full-size vessels bear a decoration of red bands

²³⁸ Heurtley, Robertson 1948, 18-20, pl. 4, no. 44, 71-72, pl. 26, no. 394, pls 30-31, no. 456.

²³⁹ Heurtley, Robertson 1948, 18-20, pl. 4, no. 44. Further on this, Coulson considers the type with the conical foot a local development deriving from the Mycenaean tradition, see Coulson 1991, 45-47, fig 1, type d. Also Marinatos 1933, 82, fig 26, no A3.

²⁴⁰ Coldstream 1968, 220.

²⁴¹ For a summary of the evolution of the shape, see Gadolou 2008, 254-59.

²⁴² Although vase **9** is a singular example in the Drakaina assemblage I consider this singleton as part of a wider group with many more specimens in other assemblages; see Gadolou, 2008, 99, fig 48, no 22, 102, fig 52, no 28, 113, no 73, 145.

²⁴³ Coulson 1991, 47, fig 1, type B, no 3-4.

framed by two white lines (e.g. **12, 34, 35**). Each full-size type has its miniature counterpart. They are part of the Achaean-style tradition that has a long history in the region.²⁴⁴ John Papadopoulos has provided an overview of the distribution of the Achaean-type kantharos in the Peloponnese, Aetolia, Akarnania, Epirus, Ithaca, Sicily, southern Italy and North Africa.²⁴⁵ C. Stibbe examines the development of the style in Laconia and its distribution in the Peloponnese and southern Italy.²⁴⁶ The earliest vessels with a low base appear to the early Geometric period.²⁴⁷ The type persists until the early seventh century, while the banded type is dated to the period between the end of seventh and the first decades of the sixth century; this is supported by comparable kantharoi that were found in Tocra and Olympia and come from stratified contexts.²⁴⁸ The style is described as Achaean by virtue of the Achaean colonisation of Italy, which explains the distribution of the shape. However, it has not yet been possible to assign the fabric or the manufacture to a specific Achaean workshop. The synchronic appearance of this type of kantharos at various sites and its many local variants reflect an open circulation of artefacts and potters, and support the hypothesis of the existence of a ceramic koine as a meaningful way to explain the phenomenon. After all, the kantharos is a shape widely known in the Mycenaean Peloponnese and western Greece.²⁴⁹ Also in Etruria the kantharos is very frequent in various contexts.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁴ Classification according to Papadopoulos 2001. Coldstream 1968 (2008), 220-32, describes the style as West Greek Geometric, with its main characteristics being angular strap handles, a broad or tall body and a conical to flat foot. Stibbe distinguishes five groups of Lakonian kantharoi: 1994, 37-40.

²⁴⁵ Papadopoulos 2001, 373-460.

²⁴⁶ Stibbe 1994, 37-40.

²⁴⁷ Gadoulou, 2008, 99, fig 48, no 22, 102, fig 52, no 28, 113, no 73, 145; Coulson 1991, 45-47.

²⁴⁸ Gauer 1975, 169 dates the Elean series from the middle of the seventh to the middle of the sixth century.

²⁴⁹ For the Mycenaean shape, see Furumark 1972, 62, fig. 16.

²⁵⁰ Ramage 1970.

The banded type of kantharos is already known on the Ionian Islands, as it has been found in Polis Cave on Ithaca.²⁵¹ In Olympia, where the series has a long history, this specific shape and style appears at the end of the eighth century and remains until the sixth century.²⁵² However, it clearly originates from the area of southwestern Greece and the Peloponnese, evolving from a deep vessel with a flat bottom and usually monochrome or banded decoration in the late eighth and seventh centuries.

The banded type in Drakaina has three distinct fabrics. The first ranges from 2.5YR 6/6 to 5YR 7/4-6/6 (e.g. **16**), is hard fired with thin walls and a clean fabric that often preserves a dark-grey metallic sheen; it is very similar to specimens from Laconia and Olympia. The second fabric is lighter, 7.5YR 7/4 (e.g. **341**), being more a pink to light brown; it too is hard fired with thin walls. Sometimes the glaze is a very dark-grey matte with neatly added thick white lines. The third ranges from 10YR 8/3 to 2.5Y 8/3-8/4 (e.g. **19**) and has thicker walls; it is medium fired and the glaze is poorly preserved. So there were potentially three different workshops involved in the production of this vessel.

An important question is the lifespan of the vessel at the site. There are no considerable differences in terms of size or decoration and there is very limited decoration added in white, as we see at Olympia, Elean Pylos and other Achaean sites (one handle fragment bears traces of a motif in added white). The time span could be two or three generation even with so similar a style. It is likely that the choice of this vessel shape is linked with the specific character of the cult. Therefore, it is probable that the style of the vessel remained unchanged as it expressed the same, unchanging cultic concerns.

²⁵¹ Benton 1932, 20, pl. 10, nos 20-21.

²⁵² Gauer 1975, 165-72, pls 33-34 presents in detail the series that was found in the wells of Olympia and establishes their chronology.

Benton describes the fabric of the two vessels from Ithaca as dark red.²⁵³ A similar vessel was recovered from the Archaic layers of Tocra. J. Hayes recognises it as Lakonian and generally describes the Lakonian fabric in the assemblage, which includes many vessels, as ranging from light brown to tan, brick red, purplish, maroon to deep brown; but he does not specifically describe the fabric of the banded kantharos.²⁵⁴ Another site that has yielded a large corpus of banded kantharoi is Elean Pylos.²⁵⁵ The excavator assigns the vessels to three categories, with the banded series being the most popular. In northern Greece and Thessaloniki, a larger vessel, otherwise identical to the broad type of Achaean kantharos, was distributed widely around the Thermaic Gulf.²⁵⁶ Kantharoi from Elean Pylos and Olympia bear figural decoration in added white and red on the rim and strap handles.

The shape has close parallels in metal vessels. The very fragmentary vessel **11**, which preserves most of its profile, is very similar to a bronze kantharos from Olympia that is dated to the early sixth century.²⁵⁷

The form of type 3 Elean kantharoi reveals a close relation with metalworking. The parts of the vessel, the angular strap handles, the curvature of the body and the band decoration seem to replicate corresponding elements of the metal counterparts. Even the shiny dark glaze, usually grey for the regular-sized kantharoi, reddish or brown in some cases, conveys the lustrous quality of metal.

²⁵³ Benton 1932, 20.

²⁵⁴ Boardman and Hayes 1966, 87-89, pl. 68, no. 993.

²⁵⁵ Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 53-57, fig. 12, C110, C111.

²⁵⁶ See Tsougaris 1998 for a summary of the shape, which is known locally as a kantharoid kotyle, and its distribution in the area.

²⁵⁷ Furtwangler 1890, 96, nos 670, 671, pl. 35.

The miniature version of type 3, the most popular at the site, is not an exact replica of the full-sized vessel, as it appears without the banded decoration (400, 401, 402, 403, 405). Furthermore, there are 17 miniature kantharoi bases.

Olympia and Elean Pylos, the two sites that have a series of this type of kantharos, do not offer any indication regarding the type of cult that the vessels were associated with. In both cases, kantharoi were found in wells; they were found close to the stadium in Olympia and close to a local settlement in the area of ancient Pylos.²⁵⁸ We know that the cult in Tocra was of Demeter and Kore, but the identity of the Pylos cult remains unknown.²⁵⁹ The type travelled to Italy and has been found in the vicinity of Taras, the Spartan colony but there are no excavation details for the southern Italian kantharoi.²⁶⁰ Their connection to Sparta is the only plausible explanation for their presence there. The kantharos as a shape is associated with the cult of Dionysos and the drinking of wine.²⁶¹

I describe the type 3 kantharoi as Elean because the other two sites that have produced this type are on Elis. However, the main decorative motif, the red band framed by white lines, is Lakonian, and first appeared around 630 BCE, at the end of Lakonian I. Furthermore, it is rather difficult to distinguish between the local and imported specimens. Studying the fabric and the overall appearance of the vessels, I relate the kantharoi with 2.5YR and 5YR fabric to a Peloponnesian workshop which could be Lakonian, as the main motif, the black polychrome banding, is generally associated with a Lakonian workshop. The other two fabrics could be local as they are similar to other fabrics from the site. I describe the type 2 as Achaean because of its affinities with material from Achaea and western Greece in general. Again, many of the specimens were probably

²⁵⁸ Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 64-65.

²⁵⁹ Boardman and Hayes 1966, 15.

²⁶⁰ Stibbe 1994, 39-40, 131, pl. 6.1, E10, fig. 46 E11. Tomay 2002, offers an overview of Achaean kantharoi in Timpone della Motta and elsewhere.

²⁶¹ Isler-Kerenyi 2007, 36-37, 55. Lissarague 1987, 112-116.

produced locally. The banded type seems a reduced-scale version of Lakonian kraters. The functionality of the shape as a drinking cup made it a staple in the Lakonian repertoire. Consequently, it is not possible to attribute styles and shapes from the Peloponnese to specific geographical units within the area. It is likely that vessels and other artistic artefacts circulated widely and easily; therefore, copying and adapting shapes and motifs was the norm among potters and painters.

Similarly, vessel **9** has many parallels among kantharoi from the Achaean region. Particularly close is a kantharos from Starohori found in a pithos burial dated to the Middle Geometric period.²⁶² The evolution of the shape is based on the relation of the vertical and horizontal axes; shorter vessels that have their widest diameter low on the body tend to be earlier, while later examples are taller and have their widest diameter below the handles.²⁶³ Our kantharos is probably earlier than the Starohori example, as the widest diameter is lower on the body.

Miniature vessels that fall in the type 2 category are **391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397** and **398** (Catalogue **chapter 2.1.2.1**). Comparanda come mainly from Achaean, Epirus, Aetolia, Akarnania and Elis.²⁶⁴

Type 3 vessels, although numerous, exhibit remarkable homogeneity compared to the Olympia and Elean Pylos series. As mentioned earlier, there are three distinct fabrics. However, there is limited variety in the figural decoration in added white on the handle zone and on the strap handles. Among the many sherds of this type of kantharos, there is a broken strap handle with lines in added white. I assume that this is an imported vessel

²⁶² Gadoulou 2008, 138-39, 173, K155.

²⁶³ Gadoulou 2008, 173-75, for the evolution of the shape during the Early Iron Age, see 254-59.

²⁶⁴ Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 54, fig 11, no c108; Gauer 1975, 164-167; Gadoulou 2008, 146, fig 128, no 153-154. Villard, Vallet 1964, 181, 185, pl 207, no 5.

from Elis. Among the intact or nearly intact vessels, **43** has an added red band on the interior of the rim and there are a few more sherds with this feature.

The unmendable sherds belonging to this type of kantharos weigh 2.5kg. In total, there is a considerable quantity of this shape at the site, establishing its popularity among the drinking cups for the earliest part of the sixth century.

5.2.1.3. Thorn Kantharoi

There are two groups of sherds that belong to the type known as thorn kantharoi: **47** and **48**.²⁶⁵ Several sherds, which cannot be joined, from the vertical walls of a vessel are also preserved. This could be a kantharos or a cup with horizontal handles. The two groups are distinguished by the size of the closely spaced conical globes, resembling thorns. So I assume that we have two vessels, one with smaller thorns. This type of kantharoi is dated to the period between the third quarter of the third century and the middle of the second century.

5.2.1.4. West Slope, Elean

Vessel **49** is Elean, as two very close parallels from Olympia demonstrate; kantharoi FB20 and FB23 date from 340 to 300 BCE.²⁶⁶ The main characteristic that distinguishes this kantharos from many black-glazed Hellenistic kantharoi is its cylindrical foot with a reserved band at the junction with the lower body - a trait of the Elean workshop. The decoration consists of an incised pattern that in all probability depicts waves below the handles. Above the decorative motif a word is inscribed: ΑΠΑΝΑΔΑΣΕΝ (I discuss the inscription below in **chapter 10.2**). Another Elean kantharos is the very fragmentary **50**.

²⁶⁵ Edwards 1975, 87-88, pl. 54, no. 524; Pliakou 2009, 195-96.

²⁶⁶ Schilbach 1995, 63, 122, pl. 5 nos 8 FB21, 7 FB20, 11 FB23a.

A very close parallel comes from Olympia. Of particular interest is the ship painted in added white below the rim. The paint has vanished but its traces reveal the motif. It is dated to the middle of the third century.²⁶⁷

It has been suggested that this class of kantharoi, which are somewhat larger than average-sized drinking cups, may have been used as replacements for kraters, similar to very large kotylai.²⁶⁸ It is also not uncommon for them to have dedicatory inscriptions to the recipient deities.²⁶⁹ Ian McPhee assumes that they were used for libations, in addition to mixing wine and drinking.²⁷⁰ Athena Tsingarida argues that their existence in a sanctuary was suggesting the presence of a god or hero. The larger than normal size is a manifestation of the presence of the divine during religious celebrations.²⁷¹

5.2.2. Kotylai

There have been contradictory opinions regarding the naming and distinguishing of kotylai and skyphoi over the years.²⁷² I class kotylai based only on the shape of the foot, which is usually a ring and tapering, with a diameter half that of the rim. When the base is torus or very wide, I class the vessel as a skyphos, regardless of its origin.

As a shape, kotylai with horizontal handles and offset rim were invented during the Protogeometric period.²⁷³ In total, the Drakaina Cave assemblage includes 41 vessels and numerous fragments of bases.

²⁶⁷ A motif of a wave or ship is depicted on a cup from Gravina dated to the third century; Small 1992, 55, pl. 10, no. 503.

²⁶⁸ McPhee 1997, 126-27.

²⁶⁹ Edwards 1975, pls 52-53.

²⁷⁰ McPhee 1997, 126, n. 25.

²⁷¹ Tsingarida 2011, 59-78.

²⁷² Neeft 1975, 105; Amyx 1988, 457. Malagardis 2017, 16-25.

²⁷³ Payne 1931, 8; Amyx 1988, 457-59.

As has been suggested by D. Amyx, figured decoration, the section of the ring foot and the undersurface decoration are dating elements that can be taken into consideration for dating when the context is not adequate to establish a chronology.²⁷⁴ Among the small kotylai, polychrome banded decoration is popular in the Middle Corinthian period during the first quarter of the sixth century.²⁷⁵ The second popular version, again squat in the body with a wide base, has an added red band above the black glaze on the exterior face of the foot; this characteristic has been dated by P. Lawrence to the second quarter of the sixth century.²⁷⁶ However, as pointed by J. Bentz, this characteristic is very common after the middle of the century and lasts until the middle of the fifth century.²⁷⁷ This type is particularly common at Drakaina. I believe that this rather small-sized vessel with a wide base was a convenient shape to carry and use in such a rough terrain with few flat surfaces on which visitors might place their cups.

5.2.2.1. Attic Kotylai of Corinthian Style

Two nearly intact and several fragmentary Attic kotylai of Corinthian style, **51**, **52** and **53**, represent a type known from Attica and many sites in Italy. They are dated to the early sixth century.²⁷⁸ This type was produced in Athens but clearly imitate the Corinthian style and shape.

5.2.2.2. Corinthian Black-glazed Kotylai

²⁷⁴ Amyx and Lawrence 1975, 73-78.

²⁷⁵ Bentz 1982, 16-17.

²⁷⁶ Blegen 1964, 78; Amyx and Lawrence 1975, 75.

²⁷⁷ Bentz 1982, 17-18.

²⁷⁸ Broneer 1937, 181, fig. 18, no. 985, 401, no. 37; Blegen 1964, 153, pl. 22, 155 nos 7, 8; Boardman and Hayes 1966, 106, 109, pl. 86, no. 1153.

Vessel **54** is one of the earliest examples of Corinthian black-glazed kotylai from Drakaina Cave. The proportion of the body to the foot, the polychrome banding and the tall rays place this kotyle in the middle of the Early Corinthian period.

Vessels **56**, **57**, **58** and **60** have a decoration of white and red thin bands merging to a single band, which is a typical decoration of small Early Corinthian kotylai.²⁷⁹

Vessels **60**, **61**, **62**, **63**, **64**, **65**, **66**, **67**, **68**, **69** and **72** share a similar squat body and wide, high and spreading ring-foot. The reserved zone at the base is short and the rays have are formed of thin careless brushstrokes. The outer surface of the foot is black and painted over with a red band. They are all Late Corinthian.²⁸⁰ Similarly dated are kotylai **59**, **70** and **55**, which have the same decoration on their lower parts.

The very large kotylai **73** and **74** were probably used as kraters.²⁸¹

Vessel **71** is dated to the middle of the 5th century, as it is comparable to a similar kotyle from the North cemetery of Corinth.²⁸²

5.2.2.3. Animal Kotylai

Among the animal kotylai with incision and added colour, vessels **75**, **76** and **77** are Middle Corinthian and could be assigned to the KP 14 Painter, like similar vessels that have been excavated in Toca, Catania and Bitalemi.²⁸³ Vessel **78** is identical to vessels attributed to the Quarter Moon Painter that are scattered among many collections (Late

²⁷⁹ Amyx and Lawrence 1975, 75.

²⁸⁰ Amyx and Lawrence 1975, 73-75, Blegen et al 1964, 204, 208, graves 240/2, grave 221/2; Amyx and Lawrence 1975, 77, pl 67, 107, and 31 for the shape

²⁸¹ Tsingarida 2011, 60-64, fig. 5.

²⁸² Blegen et al 1964, 245, grave 341, no 1, pl 51.

²⁸³ Boardman and Hayes 1966, 25, pl. 23, no. 314; Ingollia 1999, 59, pl. 24, no. 207, 101, pl. 59, no. 698.

Corinthian).²⁸⁴

For the silhouette-style group, the potting and decoration is of a very high quality for almost all examples. The style of **84** and **85** is close to kotyle 1286 from the Corinthian Potters' Quarter (Well 1).²⁸⁵ They were most likely produced in the same workshop, if not by the same hand. The shape is closer to kotyle 1285, which is deeper and more slender.²⁸⁶ However, the very narrow space left on the frieze and the limitations presented by the technique restricted the painter to depicting the animal in any recognisable manner with only a few regular strokes. Kotyle **83** is dated to Middle Corinthian and is closer to the shape and decoration of 1279.²⁸⁷ The band of rays is omitted and parallel lines replace it, but there are no dots as space fillers, which is a characteristic of the Silhouette Goat Painter II and the advanced years of Middle Corinthian.²⁸⁸ The same occurs on vessels **86** and **87**. The scene on **86** is depicted carelessly, as the animals lack recognisable shapes. Similar though are the dogs in the Fortetsa Type (Subgroup B) of ovoid aryballoi.²⁸⁹ The degenerate body forms of **86** and **82** place these vessels in the Late Corinthian period.²⁹⁰ The body frieze on vessel **82** is filled with at least seven dogs and four small children, as mere space fillers. The figures are very small and depicted with neat simple lines.

Most of the examples from Drakaina have close parallels with the vessels from Tocra and the sanctuary of Demeter at Catania.²⁹¹

The animals depicted on these vessels are generally identified by modern researchers as

²⁸⁴ Identical kotyle in the collection of the British School at Athens: A31 from Boiotia; Benson 1983, 314, 322, pl. 67, c.

²⁸⁵ Stillwell et al 1984, 283-84, pl. 53, nos 1281, 1284, 1286.

²⁸⁶ Stillwell et al 1984, pl. 53.

²⁸⁷ Stillwell et al 1984, pl. 53, no. 1279.

²⁸⁸ Benson 1983, 322.

²⁸⁹ Neeft 1987, 251-52, fig. 149.

²⁹⁰ Boardman and Hayes 1966, 25-26.

²⁹¹ Grasso 1998, 91-107.

dogs and goats.²⁹² However, it is possible that many of the figures identified as dogs could be foxes, weasels, wolves or other canine-like animals. Moreover, many of the animals identified as goats could be deer. As the figures are depicted on such a small scale and only in profile, it is difficult to distinguish them. The exceptions are the red and fallow deer that are easily recognised by their long antlers; of course female deer, fawns, juveniles and roe deer are represented without these characteristic antlers.²⁹³ Indeed the animal depicted on vessel **84** could be a young or female deer.

In any case, goats are a very common sacrificial victims in sanctuaries, especially those connected with Artemis.²⁹⁴ Furthermore, deer and foxes were used in sacrifices known as holocausts, in which the whole animal, not just a part of it, was burnt as a sacrifice to the god.²⁹⁵

5.2.2.4. Lotus Kotylai

Six kotylai could be assigned to the conventionalising lotus kotylai group due to their decorative motifs. All are substantially larger than the conventionalising miniatures. In particular, kotylai **91**, **92** and **96** are so large that they could have functioned as containers rather than drinking cups. All apart from **92** carry motifs of lotuses. Numbers **91**, **94**, **95** and **96** are ray-based, with alternating black and purple linked buds on the main body zone, below the handles. A kotyle with a similar motif from Tocra is considered by J.W. Hayes to be Late Corinthian, as are kotylai from Bitalemi.²⁹⁶ Example **93** has coloured

²⁹² Neeft 1987 discusses Protocorinthian aryballoi and recognises all the running animals as dogs, but some could be badgers, weasels, foxes, wild cats or wolves (188, fig. 105, 189, fig. 106, 190, fig. 109, fig. 136, 254, fig. 155).

²⁹³ Trantalidou and Masseti 2014.

²⁹⁴ Van Straten 1995, 80-86 for sacrifices to Artemis.

²⁹⁵ Van Straten 1995, 157-58.

²⁹⁶ Boardman and Hayes 1973, 13, no. 1895-6, pl. 7.

bands on the body and alternating lotus buds in the handle zone. The position of the lotus buds high on the handle zone dates the vessel to late in the sixth to early in the fifth century. Vessel **92** has outlined tongues in black and purple with scalloped edges, and is dated to the third quarter of the sixth century. The depiction of lotuses is considered to symbolise rebirth and fertility.²⁹⁷

5.2.3. Skyphoi

5.2.3.1. Attic Skyphoi

Skyphos **97** is a type A skyphos dated from the late sixth to early fifth century. Vessel **98** is dated to the end of the fifth century and preserves only the lower part of the decorative motif. It is probably a floral or abstract red-figured motif.

5.2.3.2. Corinthian Skyphoi

Vessels **99** and **101** are Middle Corinthian. The shape is similar to kotyle 940 from the Potters' Quarter of Corinth but with a narrower foot. Nearly identical is skyphos 4 from the Corinthian North Cemetery, grave 155. The red on this example is described as bluish-purple, which matches the colour of the Drakaina vessel.²⁹⁸ Example **100** is very similar in shape and decoration, though much larger, to skyphos 2 from grave 240 of the North Cemetery, which is dated to the middle of the first half of the sixth century.²⁹⁹ Vessels **102** and **103** are similar to 1004 and 941 from the Potters' Quarter, which are dated to the

²⁹⁷ On the complex symbolism of lotus see Turner 2003, 144-145.

²⁹⁸ Blegen et al. 1964, 124-27, 178, pl. 22, no. 155/4; Stillwell et al 1984, 179, no. 940, pl. 43.

²⁹⁹ Blegen et al. 1964, 124-27, 187, pl. 20, no. 161/2, 190, grave 171/2, pl. 26; Stillwell et al 1984, 179, no. 940, pl. 43.

early fifth century. The same chronology applies to vessels **104** and **105**. The low ring foot is the only distinct difference between the two groups (**102**, **103** and **104**, **105**) but parallels for both are contemporary in the Potters' Quarter assemblage.

5.2.4. Kylikes

5.2.4.1. Black-figured and Red-figured Kylikes

Kylix **106** is only partially preserved, and, subsequently, is difficult to identify. It is not possible to date it.

Kylix **107** is the only red-figured example recovered from the cave. The only preserved sections are the meander border and a few segments from the tondo scene. It is dated to the second quarter of the fifth century.

5.2.4.2. Stemmed, Black-glazed Kylikes

Kylikes **108**, **109**, **110** and **113** are of Type C with concave lip. They are the commonest Attic black-glazed cups of the late sixth and early fifth centuries. Their main characteristic is functionality, as their thick lips and sturdy, low, stemmed feet indicate. The cup developed over time from a low, thick stem to a taller and thinner one, with the flat top of the foot rising to the stem. Vessel **108** must be one of the earliest Type C examples, as indicated by the low torus foot that is glazed at the outer surface and the very low and wide stem. Similarly, the added red at the junction of the rim and body is not a typical decoration of any other known Attic cups of this type. As far as we know, the use of added red is restricted to the sixth century; so this specimen seemingly belongs to the

earliest phase of development of this series, and should be dated to around 525.³⁰⁰ The same date applies to **109**, which similarly has a line in added red at the junction of the rim and body. Example **110** has a flat torus foot but its thin, taller stem indicates a date around 500.³⁰¹ The latest of the group must be **113**. The swelling upper surface of the foot, the very schematic fillet and the long handle that thins before the arch place it late in the series, around or after 480.

5.2.4.3. Cups with Everted Rim

Along with kantharoi and kotylai, Ionian cups, or ‘cups with everted rim’, as they have been described recently by U. Schlotzhauer, are the next most numerous group of drinking cups recovered from the sanctuary.³⁰² They had a wide distribution around the Archaic Mediterranean, and were produced locally in many Greek colonies in southern Italy and in eastern and mainland Greece.³⁰³ Ionian cups are, in most cases, black-glazed cups with an everted rim and either reserved or glazed band(s) on the body and/or rim and a stemmed conical foot. New types that have been added to this group in recent years have enriched the classification made by F. Villard and G. Vallet.³⁰⁴ B.B. Shefton, discussing the Ionian cups found at Perachora, claims that most of them are Attic, an opinion shared by T.J. Dunbabin.³⁰⁵ Indeed, most of the Ionian cups found in the Drakaina Cave seem to be Attic and most have counterparts within the assemblage from

³⁰⁰ For the use of added red on black-glazed pottery, see Sparkes 1970, 18-19.

³⁰¹ Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 91.

³⁰² Schlotzhauer 2000.

³⁰³ Tocra and Megara Hyblaea both have large assemblages of Ionian cups: Boardman, Hayes 1966, 111-34; Villard, Vallet 1955, 14-34. For Ionian cups from Italian sites, see Van Compernele 1994; 2001; also Handberg and Jacobsen and Handberg 2010, 319-23; Despoini 2016, 37-39, 483, nos 10-13, 90-92, 501, no. 165.

³⁰⁴ For a classification of Ionian cups, see Schlotzhauer 2000.

³⁰⁵ Payne and Dunbabin 1962; Shefton 1962, 376-78; also Brann 1956, 370.

Perachora.³⁰⁶ The Attic vessels from Perachora are not older than the late seventh century. The same date is assigned to most of the Attic vessels found in the west, and they thus apparently featured within the same commercial network. The Ionian cups recovered from Drakaina clearly belong to the same group of exported pottery, which was carried through the Corinthian Gulf. The numerous sanctuaries located close to convenient ports on both sides of the Corinthian Gulf and on the Ionian islands were the recipients of these cups from grateful travellers or merchants or even locals who purchased them in order to dedicate them.

Several different types of this cup, were found in Drakaina. Cups **115**, **116** and **117** are similar in shape. They are Attic and belong to the class of Athens 1104. They derive from the Komast group and are dated to the second quarter of the sixth century and later.³⁰⁷ Specimens **116** and **117** are dated to the earliest phase of the group, as they are thin walled and carefully decorated. Cup **115** is carelessly decorated and the glaze is inconsistent. This lower quality might indicate a later date.

Cups **118**, **120** and the very fragmentary **121** are most likely Siana cups. They are dated to the middle of the sixth century.³⁰⁸ Their shape differentiates them from the class of Athens 1104 as the rim is higher and wider. Their provenance is most probably Attica. The heavier fabric and the use of red lines – on the tondo of **118** and the rim of **120** – as well as a red slip on the reserved band of **120** may be considered problematic. Hayes suggests an eastern Greek origin on the basis of the aforementioned characteristics for a similar cup that was excavated in Tocra.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ Payne and Dunbabin 1962, 334-35, 377.

³⁰⁷ Sparkes, Talcott 1970, 88-89, 262, pl. 18, nos 378, 379.

³⁰⁸ Sparkes, Talcott 1970, 88-90, 262, pl. 18, no. 387.

³⁰⁹ Boardman, Hayes 1966, 116, pl. 88, 1306.

Cup **119** finds its closest parallel in the type VI Attic group of band cups.³¹⁰ They are dating around or after 550 BCE, and rather poorly made, with uneven walls and inconsistent glaze.

Cup **114** has a thick, matte glaze and a flaring outturning rim. It is decorated on its reserved zones with added red lines. It could be Lakonian, but I have not been able to locate a really close parallel; the closest is a cup found in Tocra that has a similar shape, but the arrangement of the reserved bands on the exterior of the rim is completely different.³¹¹ This cup stands out from the rest in this class in terms of shape and style.

This group of cups was mostly Attic or local. The local production is the result of the influence of a very popular and thus widely distributed vessel. As with many other categories of pottery, it is difficult to assign this influence to the political sphere, it may simply have been the result of commercial activities, prompted by the general demand of this type of cup.

5.2.5. Cups

I chose to describe generally as cups, low-walled shapes which consisted of small groups or singletons and could not be classified always clearly in a category like the aforementioned four groups (kantharoi, kotylai, skyphoi, kylikes) of drinking cups. They are not as deep as kantharoi or skyphoi and they always have horizontal handles.

5.2.5.1. Attic Cups

³¹⁰ Boardman, Hayes 1966, 118-20, 134, pl. 89, no. 1397; Sparkes, Talcott 1970, 88-89, 262, pl. 18, 389.

³¹¹ Boardman, Hayes 1966, pl. 88, 1306.

Stemless Cups

Example **122** is dated to the first quarter of the fifth century, around 490-480 BCE. It belongs to the earliest generation of cup-skyphoi. It is a deep, sturdy vessel with a reserved outer face of the foot.

Cup **123** is probably a transitional example between inset lip and plain rim in the category of Athenian stemless cups. The lip is only slightly concave, almost invisible. This type is also known as a Castulo cup in Sicily and other sites in the west where it was mostly exported.³¹²

Vessel **124** is the stemless, plain-rim type of the Sparkes and Talcott 1970 Agora volume; it is dated to the end of the second quarter of the fifth century.³¹³

Vase **126** may belong to the Coral Red group, a category classified by B.A. Sparkes as the group of Agora P 10359.³¹⁴ The red glaze is consistent and of good quality apart from few places (exterior of foot and mid body zone) with signs of irregular misfiring. Shefton concludes that coral red vessels imitate gilded items influenced by Achaemenid metalwork and that their distribution, at the extremities of the Mediterranean, indicates that they were intended for a clientele that traded metal, as a cheaper substitute for more valuable metal vessels.³¹⁵ Examples of the Coral Red type have been found in Israel (Ashqelon, Tell Jemmeh) and southern France (Marseille) and Spain (Ampurias), as well as in the northern Pontic region and Argilos in northern Greece.³¹⁶ In addition to these

³¹² Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 101-02, 268, pl. 22, nos 469-70; Shefton 1996.

³¹³ Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 102, 268, pl. 22, no. 474.

³¹⁴ Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 19, 267, no. 453; also Shefton 1998, 466-67, fig. 5a-b, on the distribution of the group in the Mediterranean.

³¹⁵ Shefton 1999, 466, n. 35.

³¹⁶ For a recent summary of the distribution of vessels in Coral Red, see Tsingarida 2008, 193-99; also Shefton 1999, n. 36, nn. 40 and 41 for the Pontic region, nn. 42 and 43 for mainland and northern Greece, n. 45 for Spain.

liminal areas, Coral Red vessels have also been found, as would be expected, on the maritime routes that connected these areas, such as Cyprus, Rhodes, Italy, Aegina and Perachora, but in small concentrations only. It is not surprising then that a Coral Red cup could be included in the assemblage of Drakaina Cave. It should be noted that it is notoriously difficult to distinguish between misfired and intentional red.³¹⁷ There are more red sherds that could belong to this type, but none is diagnostic. Accordingly, it is difficult to estimate how many more examples there were. The production of the red-gloss effect is harder than that of the black, and more time consuming. The type is dated to the early fifth century.

Stemless cups **125**, **146** and **147** have similar disc feet. They are described by Sparkes as Rheneia cups, descended from the class of Agora 10359.³¹⁸ The Drakaina cups are in all probability dated to the end of the series, down to the 450s.³¹⁹

Komast Cup

Vessel **127** is a Komast cup. The low lip indicates the KY Painter, who preferred this shape for his large early period cups.³²⁰ Another detail that favours the KY Painter is the double line between the frieze and the lip. Unlike most Attic painters of komast cups, who drew a single dividing line, he used this Corinthianising characteristic on some of his cups.³²¹ Presuming that the position of the two fragmentary figures that are preserved is correct, the figured scene on the Drakaina cup apparently depicts his standard arrangement of three dancing komasts; the one to the left would dance to the right, while

³¹⁷ Cohen 2006, 43-53 on the red-gloss technique; also Walton et al 2008. On the difficulty of distinguishing misfired and intentional colour, see Walton et al 2008, 392-93. It is possible that vase **126** was a misfired coral red. Due to this irregularity its selling price might have fallen, and it was subsequently dedicated to the cave sanctuary.

³¹⁸ Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 100, 267, pl. 21, nos 457, 459, 461.

³¹⁹ Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 100, 267, pl. 21, nos 457, 459, 461

³²⁰ Brijder 1983, 74, pls 3b, 64, 1.

³²¹ Brijder 1983, 51.

the other two figures would dance to the left. However, evidence of other critical details, like the shape of the foot and more of the painting, are required in order make a reliable attribution to a specific painter. The work of the KY Painter overlaps with that of the Falmouth Painter, among others. The sherds from Drakaina are not sufficient to attribute the vessel to the one or the other. In favour of the Falmouth Painter is the nudity of the preserved figure, as all his figures are nude; the KY Painter alternated between nude and padded dancers in his komos representations.³²² Ultimately, the identity of the painter is not so important, as both painters probably worked in the same workshop as teacher and pupil. Their work is nearly contemporary, perhaps ten years' apart, ca. 565-555, and their cups are found mainly beyond Greece: in Etruria, Taranto and Sicily to the west, Thasos and Histria in the north and Rhodes, Smyrna and Naucratis in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. In mainland Greece, they are found in Athens, Perachora, Isthmia and Delphi.³²³ The distribution of Komast cups in Greece indicates a westward transport of pottery to local markets in Italy, among other places.³²⁴

Merrythought Cup

The distinct characteristic of vessel **129** is its wishbone handles. Parallels from Corinth date it to the first half of the sixth century.³²⁵ It is probably, however, a Boeotian import, as indicated by the bright-brown fabric, the shape and the decoration. A very close parallel comes from grave E15 at Tanagra dating to the middle of the sixth century.³²⁶ A. Andreiomenou classifies it, in terms of the shape, with the miniature kylikes of class I.³²⁷

³²² Brijder 1983, 78. Of course, since only one figure is preserved to any great degree, it is not possible to conclude in favour of one painter or the other.

³²³ Beazley 1956; Payne and Dunbabin 1962, pl. 136, nos 3605-13; Brijder 1983, pls 3b-d, 4a-d, 5a, b.

³²⁴ Brijder 1983, 75, 79; Smith 2010.

³²⁵ Brann 1956, 361, pl. 56, nos 35-36; also Pemberton et al 1989, 30-31, 157, no. 314, pl. 46, fig. 8; also Payne et al 1940, 164-65, pl. 67 for wishbone handles in metal.

³²⁶ Ure 1928; Andreiomenou 2007, 73, 207, 212, pl. 100, no. 6.

³²⁷ Andreiomenou 2015, 109-13.

The purple bands in the interior reveal a connection with a kantharos from grave 15 at Akraiphia, which is a product of a Boeotian workshop.³²⁸

Haimon Group Cups

A large number of Attic black-figured skyphoi from Drakaina are dated to the first quarter of the fifth century. They come from the workshop of the Haimon Painter and his associates. Like most of the Haimonian skyphoi, they belong to P. Ure's class K 2 and group R.³²⁹ They are shallow, squat vessels with torus or low, stemmed feet and glazed offset rims; they are decorated on the handle zone with incised scenes; painters connected to the late members of the Haimon group, but closer to the Lancut group, preferred decoration in silhouette.

Vessel **131** is a Haimonian skyphos; it is very fragmentary and unmendable. It is dated to around 490-480 and depicts a chariot and three figures, one ascending the chariot and two accompanying it on foot; one figure holds a lyre. The scene is usually interpreted as Dionysos ascending the chariot, accompanied by his comrades. E. Manakidou considers the theme of departure on a chariot as a reference to a god.³³⁰ T.H. Carpenter interprets scenes of Dionysos and a chariot as referring to his trip to the underworld to recover Semele.³³¹ On vessel P8541 from the Athenian Agora, Moore identifies the two figures as Dionysos and Apollo.³³² I believe that the Drakaina scene is Dionysiac. If indeed it is, this would have been an appropriate dedication in the context of the cult at Drakaina, as discussed below (**chapter 10.3**). Four sherds grouped under **130** bear incised decoration

³²⁸ Andreiomenou 2015, 181, 187, pl. 75, 15.34, no. 1791.

³²⁹ Ure 1928, 68, 71-72.

³³⁰ Manakidou 1994, 128-29.

³³¹ Carpenter 1997, 64, pl. 18b

³³² Moore et al. 1986, 60-61, 282, no. 1505, pl. 105.

of a crowned youth, a bearded female, parts of the torso and the left arm of a man and part of the leg of another man. They could belong to one or more vases produced in the Haimon workshop.

Lancut Group Cups

Vessels **132** and **133** belong to class K 2. They are decorated in silhouette style, the first with a group of palmettes and the second with a seated figure that in all probability holds a drinking horn. A similar figure on vessel P24580 from the Athenian Agora is interpreted as Dionysos.³³³

Example **134** belongs to group R, as do **135** and **136**. The former preserves only palmettes while the latter two carry the same figurative scene: a kneeling warrior carrying a spear and a shield. The decoration in silhouette and the pinch base indicate that the painter was a member of the Lancut group. They are dated to the first quarter of the fifth century, but roughly a decade later than the Haimon group examples.

The quantity of vessels of this class of pottery must have been higher, considering the number of fragments in the assemblage that represent palmettes and single figures. B.B. Shefton has discussed the distribution of this class of pottery that is found at the extremities of the Mediterranean (Israel, Cyprus, Northern Black Sea, Northern Aegean, southern and mid Adriatic, Carthage, Sardignia, sites close to Ampurias, various Iberian settlements).³³⁴

5.2.5.2. West Greek Cups

³³³ Moore et al. 1986, 60-61, 288, no. 1564, pl. 104.

³³⁴ For a summary of the distribution of this class of cup-skyphoi see Shefton 1999, 263-275, map 1.

The West Greek group of cups has a distinct fabric (usually pale brown but in some cases reddish-brown) and glaze (brownish). Few examples display similar decoration - either banded polychrome or added white bands. This group is close to Lakonian and Ithacan pottery. However, its production area is uncertain. This may be due to examples having been produced in more than one place in the wider area of western Greece. In which case, their circulation indicates the intense mobility that takes place in this area, which is associated with foreign trade. Alternatively, it may be that we do not know the main region of their origin due to the limited number of excavated and published sites in this area. Thus, they may have originated in a specific centre or workshop and then been imitated locally as a result of their popularity. Although it is not possible to confirm their place of production, in view of what we know to date it is possible to draw some conclusions about this type of cup with relative safety.

Based on close parallels from datable contexts at Olympia and Ithaca, vessel **138** should be dated to the last quarter of the seventh century.³³⁵ This group's decoration consists of black-polychrome banding (on **138**) and bands in white with applied colour (**138** and **137**). Both motifs are used on Archaic Lakonian pottery starting from the late seventh century onwards.³³⁶ Added white bands and motifs are also used on Ithacan pottery. Furthermore, Late Geometric and Protocorinthian pottery often displays supplementary motifs in added white.³³⁷ C.K. Williams has traced the introduction of added white during the Late Geometric era, as a transitional stage between the multilinear Geometric style

³³⁵ Mallwitz 1981, 384-85, Abb. 123d, 124b. For the same shape but with different decoration see kotyle 99; Livitsanis 2014, 335.

³³⁶ Stibbe 1994, 59, pl. 10.1. This type of decoration is most often dated to the end of Lakonian II, ca. 630. The brownish glaze decorated with added white lines is also found on several vessels from Megara Hyblaia. They are classified as Subgeometric: Villard, Vallet 1964, 153-55, pls 158, 160.

³³⁷ Livitsanis 2015, 76-77, vases 36-43 (all belong to the Red-Ithacan group, which is the most popular class of Ithacan pottery). For Lakonian decoration in added white, see Stibbe 1994, 31.

and the more figurative and less abstract style of the Archaic period.³³⁸

The shape evolved from shorter vessels to deeper ones with more upright walls.³³⁹ Examples **138**, **139** and **140** have the same profile, a narrow heavy foot and a hemispherical body, while **137** has a heavy but much wider foot and straighter walls. Bettina von Freytag concludes that a very similar vessel from Olympia came from an Elean workshop.³⁴⁰ Vase **138** is identical in shape to the Elean specimen. Her rather later dating is in accord with the lack of added white on the surface. The shape of the aforementioned vessels is close to that of a kotyle (29) from Corinth.³⁴¹ Vessels **137** and **138** have a similar reddish fabric, while **139** and **140** could be products of a local workshop as their fabric is paler and lacks any decoration in added colour; their decoration is limited to the brown glaze and perhaps a reserved area on the upper body. Cup **137** could be the earliest in the series, as added white bands appear in Lakonian II around 630.³⁴² It may be that **139** and **140** were influenced by Corinthian pottery and that they are a local version of the early hemispherical kotylai dating from the end of the eighth to the early seventh century. Furthermore, since the underside of the base of vessel 41 is glazed, this must still be early Protocorinthian in date.³⁴³ The closer affinities with Elean pottery place this group, most likely, within Elis' sphere of influence.

5.2.5.3. Lakonian Cups

-5.2.5.3.1. Concave Rim Cups

³³⁸ Williams 1981, 140, fig. 1, 8.

³³⁹ Williams 1981, 144, fig. 3, 29.

³⁴⁰ Mallwitz 1981, 385-86, skyphos 4.

³⁴¹ Williams 1981, 144, fig. 3, 29.

³⁴² Coldstream 1968, 107, pls 20f, 21d; Stibbe 1994, 31, 59, 167, no. B28, pl. 10.1.

³⁴³ Coldstream 1968, 225-26.

The Drakaina Cave assemblage includes a series of low-walled cups, some of which are Lakonian, while a number could be local imitations. I have used the typology established by Stibbe in order to categorise them when it is clear that examples can be assigned to one of his subgroups; otherwise, I refer only to close parallels. I have roughly distinguished two categories: concave rim and flaring rim (as the rim is frequently preserved). These cups are shallow and wide vessels. They are either fully glazed or bear a simple decoration on the handle zone. More often than not there is a reserved band (**144**, **145**); this was initially decorated with a floral motif that evolved into a row of dots (**151**, **152** and **153**), black, polychrome or plain. They are mostly dated to the sixth and fifth centuries. Based on the shape of the foot, the Lakonian series evolved from a low moulding and disc foot to conical and, finally, to high stemmed.³⁴⁴

Subgroup Ea Cups

Vessel **141** is a variant of subgroup Ea. There are close parallels from Olympia, dated to the last quarter of the sixth century.³⁴⁵ A characteristic feature is the high concave rim and the higher and rounder midwall. Example **143** is of questionable origin. The shape could be assigned to Ea group. The surface though is completely peeled and it could be another local variant of the Ea group. **142** has a distinct metallic black-grey glaze. It is similar to a cup 7 from Olympia and is most probably dated to the end of the sixth century.³⁴⁶

Subgroup Eb Cups

Vessel **144** has a similar shape to examples in the previous group, but does not have dots

³⁴⁴ Stibbe 1994, 57.

³⁴⁵ Gauer 1975, 187-88, pl. 38, nos 5-8; Stibbe 1994, 66, figs 227-28.

³⁴⁶ The black metallic glaze is similar to the glaze of a Lakonian kothon from Tocra: Boardman and Hayes 1966, 95, no. 1019, pl. 69. It is comparable though to vase B35 from Olympia that is considered a local imitation of the Lakonian cup with a low disc foot. Gauer 1975, 184, pl. 37, 7.

on the handle zone. A comparable vessel from Tocra is, according to Boardman, a Lakonian type II form, dating to the middle of the sixth century.³⁴⁷

Cup **145** could be Lakonian; it is another variant of the Eb subgroup, displaying notable Attic influence of the group of skyphoi that preserves geometric features and is continually produced from the early 7th until the end of the 5th century.³⁴⁸

Subgroup Ec Cups

Cups **151**, **152** and **153** can probably be dated to the third quarter of the sixth century, as they bear similarities to cups from Olympia. They belong to Stibbe's subgroup Ec.³⁴⁹ They share the same beige fabric and probably come from the same workshop. W. Gauer considered the narrowing base-moulding as a sign of lateness. Vessel **151** preserves the excellent quality of the glaze, unlike the other two examples. This type of shallow cup is ubiquitous, having been found at the major excavated sites on mainland Greece and beyond, including Athens, Olympia, Delphi, Perachora, Tocra, Lipari and Megara Hyblaia.³⁵⁰ Examples **148**, **149** and **150** also have a row of dots on the handle zone and share the same dull brownish fabric. They could be placed at the very end of the Lakonian series, probably being originally Lakonian, and dated to the early seventh century.³⁵¹

The decorative motif of a row of dots is found on more cups from Drakaina; these were probably made locally. Cups **154** and **155** indicate a date at the end of the sixth century. On **154**, the handle decoration has transformed from a floral motif to a single row of dots,

³⁴⁷ Coudin 2009, 67-68, 194.

³⁴⁸ Sparkes, Talcott 1970, 87, 261, pl. 17, nos 367-69.

³⁴⁹ Stibbe 1994, 68-69.

³⁵⁰ Boardman and Hayes 1966, 89-90, 94, pl 68, n0 1008, 1010. Boardman and Hayes 1973, 39-41, no 2117-2122, Stibbe 1994, 66, 68, pl 13.1, E20. Payne and Dunbabin 1962, 382, no 4097, 4098, pl 159.

³⁵¹ A similar sherd from Perachora is dated by H. Payne to the early seventh century but he suggests that, due to its heavy appearance, it might from the late eighth century: Payne and Dunbabin 1962, 78, no. 680, pl. 29.

and this points towards a date at the end of the century, before production stopped entirely. Similarly, vessel **155** informs us about the evolution of the shape, if indeed the handle motif evolved from naturalistic to schematic. The rim remains tall, slightly concave but nearly straight. The body is shallow and wide, while the profile is rounder; this produces a more under slung look to the vessel.

Miscellaneous

158 and **159** have parallels among the assemblages from Tocra, Elean Pylos and Olympia.³⁵² Comparable cups from Olympia are dated by Gauer to the early sixth century. Vessels **158** and **159** are very similar in decoration to the Lakonian/Elean series of kantharoi. The fabric is in accord with the reddish-brown clay that is one of the distinctive fabrics that was used for the production of such set of cups in Drakaina. On the assumption that they are contemporary, they too should be dated to the early sixth century.³⁵³ Our examples do not fit precisely into one of the categories determined by Gauer, as they are somewhat shorter and have a concave, only slightly flaring rim. A sherd from a cup from Ithaca may belong to a similar vessel, but the excavator considers it to be a West Greek cup.³⁵⁴

Vessels **156** and **157** have a similarly thick wall and brownish glaze. Neither base is preserved. Example **156** bears a similarity to cup 3 from Olympia, which is dated to the end of the fifth century.³⁵⁵ Cup **157** preserves signs of a row of dots on its wall; so it could be dated to the end of the sixth.³⁵⁶

Below, I generally discuss the two categories of flaring-rim and straight-rim cups by

³⁵² Boardman and Hayes 1966, 89, pl. 68, nos 993, 991, 995, 996; Gauer 1975, 181, pl. 37, 2, 3; Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 57, pl. 33, no. C132.

³⁵³ Gauer 1975, 181, pl. 37, 2, 3; Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 57, pl. 33, no. C132.

³⁵⁴ Livitsanis 2015, 235, 313, pl. ii, 12, cup 30.

³⁵⁵ Gauer 1975, 190-91, pl. 39, 3.

³⁵⁶ Gauer 1975, 188, pl. 38, 7.

utilising parallels from Lakonian and Elean sites. Again, it is not clear whether the material is Elean, Lakonian or local imitation.

-5.2.5.3.2. Flaring Rim Cups

Vessels **160**, **161** and **162** are classified between Stibbe's groups D and E. They have the deep conical profile of the lower body associated with group E, but the flaring rim of group D cups. They are closer to the De subgroup, which is dated to the end of the sixth century.³⁵⁷ Gauer dates a similar vessel from Olympia to the fifth century.³⁵⁸ Flat-based cups are produced intermittently until the early fourth century in coarser and thicker forms.³⁵⁹ Accordingly, **162** could be the latest in the series, as the walls are thicker and the rim is unusually thickened at the edge and outturned.

Cup **163** has a shorter flaring rim and parallels date it to the end of the sixth century.³⁶⁰ Cups **164** and **165** have round and low walls; the rim of **164** is slightly outturned, whilst that of **165** is straight with incision. They could be variants of the De subgroup, the earliest examples of which date to the last quarter of the sixth century.³⁶¹ A close parallel from Sparta places vessel **164** in the middle of the fifth century, although it is not clear how the shape evolved in the fifth and fourth centuries.³⁶² A vessel from Olympia is considered a Lakonian import.³⁶³ Vessel **166** has a close parallel, at least in terms of its upper half, in vessel 1004, a piece from Tocra and one from Olympia (lower half).³⁶⁴ It

³⁵⁷ Stibbe 1994, 64-66; Coudin 2009, 193.

³⁵⁸ Gauer 1975, 184, pl. 37, 9.

³⁵⁹ Stibbe 1994, 66.

³⁶⁰ Boardman and Hayes 1966, 89-90, pl. 68-69, no 998, 999, 1014, 1016. Gauer 1975, 184-185, pl. 37, no 6. Mallwitz 1999, 303, K2688, pl. 64, 10.

³⁶¹ Stibbe 1994, 67.

³⁶² Stibbe 1994, 65-66, fig. 222, D27.

³⁶³ Mallwitz 1981, 391-92, 13, 126e.

³⁶⁴ Gauer 1975, 184-85, pl. 37, 9.

is semi-painted, and so I assume that, whilst it imitates the Lakonian shape, it was produced locally and decorated by semi-dipping in brown pigment. Semi-painting started in the Ionian islands as early as the beginning of the fifth century.³⁶⁵ However there is a chronological gap of a century between the appearance of this shape in Lakonia and the decorative technique employed here. Consequently, a date in the early fifth century is possible.³⁶⁶ Generally, a late Archaic/early Classical date is acceptable for most of the Lakonian vessels in the assemblage.

-5.2.5.3.3. Straight Rim Cup

Vessel **140** has close parallels in Olympia and Morgantina, which have been dated to the beginning of the Classical period.³⁶⁷

-5.2.5.3.4. Lakaina

The rim that is preserved from vessel **168** probably belonged to a lakaina. The fabric is similar to many Lakonian cups. It is dated to the third quarter of the sixth century.³⁶⁸

5.2.5.4. Local Cups of the Ionian Islands

In this category I include material that has similarities with vessels mainly from Ithaca and Olympia. They demonstrate a homogeneity in terms of fabric and decoration, and it

³⁶⁵ Livitsanis 2015, 77-78.

³⁶⁶ Stibbe considers the thickening of the rim as evidence of lateness: Gauer 1975, 184, pl 37, 7.

³⁶⁷ Gauer 1975, 194-96, pl. 41, 1-4; Mallwitz 1999, K2709, pl. 64, 8a-b.

³⁶⁸ Lane 1933, pl. 20, e; for a similar shape, see Stibbe 1991, pl. 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, fig. 25, A8.

is evident that they are copies of vessels from, mainly, Laconia and Elis, although they have been executed in a less skilled manner. There are also affinities in style with the type of pottery described as West Greek, which has not yet been attributed to a specific production centre. In addition to the aforementioned regions, this pottery is also found at Aetolia and Akarnania. I would also include Kephallonia in the list of possible production centres, since it was exposed to the same influences that travelled across this region along with trade interests.³⁶⁹

In terms of their shapes, they are mainly hemispherical bowls; they are mostly plain, but often semi-painted. One-handlers can be considered as a subdivision of this shape. Boardman attributes any preference for hemispherical cups to a Near Eastern presence, as Greeks preferred their cups footed and with handles, concluding that their presence indicates a non-Greek user.³⁷⁰ This idea is discussed further below. All the hemispherical shapes are either semi-painted or fully painted by dipping. As has been determined from Ithacan dated assemblages, this technique was popular on Ithaca in the early fifth century.³⁷¹

-5.2.5.4.1. Flat-based Cups

Several cups, **169**, **170**, **171**, **172** and **173**, share the same shape and a similar fabric. They have a flat base, a conical lower part, a maximum diameter rather high, below the handles, and loop handles attached to the rim, slightly canted. All have a brownish surface. A

³⁶⁹ J.N. Coldstream uses the term West Greek to describe Geometric pottery in the regions of Achaea, Elis, Messine, Aetoloakarnania and Ithaca. He recognises the particular connection with Lakonian pottery: Coldstream 2008, 220-32. Livitsanis sometimes has difficulties distinguishing Ithacan from the so-called West Greek pottery: Livitsanis 2015, 73-76.

³⁷⁰ Boardman 2004, 153-54.

³⁷¹ Livitsanis 2015, 77-78.

rather close parallel to this shape is a cup from Well 108 at Olympia that is dated to the late second century.³⁷² Apart from one vessel that is misfired, the rest preserve only the lower half. They were probably products of a local workshop; the flat base is certainly a local preference along with plain monochrome glaze.

-5.2.5.4.2. Cups with Strap Handles

Examples **174**, **175**, **176** and **177** have close parallels among the material from Olympia and Elis. Cups with a strap handle are dated to the third quarter of the sixth century.³⁷³ Most of the comparanda are one-handlers, but it is difficult to say if this is the case for the Drakaina cups due to their poor state of preservation. Vessel **176** has a semi-glazed lower half. This is an indication of a later date, probably early in the fifth century.

-5.2.5.4.3. Cups with Loop Handles

A further variation is cups with loop handles. Vessels **178** and **179** could be one handled, dating to the first half of the fourth century. This shape is very popular until the end of the third century in Corinth, probably due to its practicality as a multifunctional vessel; it could be used for either drinking or serving.³⁷⁴ E.G. Pemberton notes that type 1 is often one handled, has thin walls and a slightly inturning, rounded lip. It appears in the second quarter of the fifth century and continues into the fourth, until the end of the first quarter.³⁷⁵

³⁷² Mallwitz 1999, 144, pl. 37.9.

³⁷³ Gauer 1975, pl. 41, nos 5-6.

³⁷⁴ Pemberton et al 1989, 36-38; James 2018.

³⁷⁵ Pemberton et al 1989, 37, 160, no. 439, pl. 47, fig. 11.

-5.2.5.4.4. Cups with Incurving Rim

Small cups with a hemispherical body, a rounded lip and flat base are very common within the Drakaina assemblage. We know that in Corinth the shape is found in the fifth and fourth centuries, as noted above.³⁷⁶ The shape evolved into cups with thicker walls and a more vertical upper half, which was most often fully glazed. Type 2 appeared early in the fourth century and continued into the third. However, there are many variants of each type, and so a more precise chronology is not possible.

Vessels **180** and **181** are the earliest in the series, and belong to type 1.

Examples **182** and **183** are echinus bowls, which range chronologically from the early to late Hellenistic period.³⁷⁷ They are rather wide and deep.

Bowls **184** and **185** are smaller, with incurving rims but thicker walls, and seem rougher in their potting. They are probably transitional to type 2 and should be dated to the late fourth century. Vessel **186** has a similar production, but it preserves part of the base which is flat and has a straight rim; it is dated to the third century. Closest parallels come from late Classical and early Hellenistic Elean cemeteries, where the shape evolved from shallow cups with a straight, thickened rim to vessels with a conical body with an incurving rim.³⁷⁸

Vase **187**, with its grittier fabric, is much later. A similar example ended up in the Drain of the Roman Forum in Corinth, and is dated early in the second century.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁶ McPhee and Pemberton 2012, 116-17, pl. 18.

³⁷⁷ In Corinth, the shape was particularly popular in the second century BCE: Edwards 1975, 30-31. For the shape in Athens, see Rotroff 1997, 161.

³⁷⁸ Georgiadou 2005, 103.

³⁷⁹ McPhee and Pemberton 2012, 38, no. III-64, 91-92, 101, pl. 15.

-5.2.5.4.5. One-handled Cups

The number of one-handled cups is uncertain and more examples could be assigned to this category, but very cautiously, as the vessels are not intact. Consequently, it is assumed, based on comparanda, that most of the vessels discussed above with strap or loop handles could be one-handlers. Here I discuss those that are clearly one-handled cups.

There are three one-handlers or *kanastra*, **188**, **189** and **190**, that could be imports from Ithaca, considering their fabric, shape and decoration.³⁸⁰ Published material from Ithaca demonstrates that hemispherical flat-based, laterally semi-dipped cups are of local Ithacan production, which started early in the fifth century.³⁸¹ The very similar cups from Drakaina Cave might be imports from Ithaca or local productions. A particular feature is the semi-dipping of many vessels in a rather idiosyncratic way; this is usually lateral or even vertical dipping in paint, a technique that contrasts with horizontal Hellenistic semi-glazing. The vessels on which the technique is applied are rather early; of these are early Classical and even Archaic shapes, such as **166**. Vessel **191** is another laterally dipped example and has close parallels among material from Pithekoussai and Olympia. Further comparanda can be identified within the votive deposit 1 from Monte Papalucio.³⁸² Examples **189** and **190** represent a type that is common at many Messapian sites.³⁸³ The excavator of Monte Papalucio believes that both an indigenous form and a Greek form of the cult were practised at the same site. Contextual analysis of the material suggests that one-handlers were used as bowls for the sharing of cooked food during festivals, mainly

³⁸⁰ Livitsanis 2015, 76-77.

³⁸¹ Livitsanis 2015, 239-240, no 36, 37, pl II, 18, 19.

³⁸² Mastronuzzi 2013, 65-67, 69, fig. 35, no. 14.

³⁸³ Mastronuzzi and Ciuchini 2011, 681-85, fig. 3, one-handler, fig. 10,1; Monte Papaluzio: Mastronuzzi 2013, 65-67, fig. 36, nos 21-23.

semi-liquids such as soups made from cereals and legumes.³⁸⁴ They are always dated to the first quarter of the fifth century, and the excavator describes them as imports without clarifying their region of origin, unlike the rest of the imported material.³⁸⁵ Examples **188** and **189** have also parallels among the material from Stavros on Ithaca and are probably dated to the first quarter of the fifth century.

Vessel **192** is a very large one-handler of sturdy manufacture. Based on parallels of the shape, it can be dated early, to the second half of the sixth century.³⁸⁶ However, the dribbling glaze suggests dipping, and glazing by dipping, either fully or half, was employed in Corinth from the late sixth century.³⁸⁷ On Ithaca, the earliest evidence so far suggests a date in the early fifth century.³⁸⁸ Thus I suggest this as a possible date for this fully glazed cup.

-5.2.5.4.6. Spherical Kotylai

Another local shape is the spherical kotyle without decoration (**193**) or with West Slope decoration on the handle zone (**194**). Both examples have a greenish glaze. Similar decorations have also been found on Ithaca and the western Greek mainland.³⁸⁹ They are dated to the third quarter of the fourth century. They are a popular late Classical to Hellenistic shape in Corinth and elsewhere. According to Livitsanis, they evolved from Archaic Corinthianising kotylai. He distinguishes two varieties among Ithacan assemblages that belong to type II of the late Classical spherical kotylai. Vessel **193**, with a plain rim, belongs to the first group, while **194**, with West Slope decoration, belongs to

³⁸⁴ Mastronuzzi and Ciuchini 2011, 685-87.

³⁸⁵ Mastronuzzi 2013, 67, 77, 85, 99, 104-06, 150-51, 189-90.

³⁸⁶ Mallwitz 1964, 159, pl. 61, no. 6; Sparkes 1970, 185, 334, pl. 45, no. 1392; similar shape, Shaw 1986, 233-34, pl. 47, f. C7746; Zabiti 2012, 430, no. 564, pl. 76.4.

³⁸⁷ McPhee and Pemberton 2012, 30-31.

³⁸⁸ Livitsanis 2015, 78.

³⁸⁹ Heurtley 1935, 2, fig. 1; Morgan 2007, 83, figs 58-59; Livitsanis 2014, 125, 278-79, pl. II, 55.

group II.³⁹⁰

-Typological review of locally produced cups

I will summarize at this point the evolution of locally produced cups. At the end of 6th century belong a group of flat based, low walled cups with wide strap handles; their decoration consists of a dark brown slip on the exterior and interior with close parallels in Olympia (**174, 175, 176, 177**). Early in the 5th century appeared one handlers with low semi-globular body, laterally dipped in dark-brown paint (**188, 189, 190, 191**). Parallels are found in a votive deposit at Monte Papaluzzio (Italy). Two specimens of spherical kotylai (**193, 194**) are dated to the end of the 4th century. Characteristic is the greenish clay and west slope decoration on the handle zone. They are also common on Ithaka apart from Corinth and are considered an evolution of Archaic Corinthian kotylai. Early in the 3rd century is dated a group of cups with a flat base, convex walls, loop handles and a brown or black slip carelessly applied on the exterior surface (**178, 179, 184, 185, 186**). The same type evolves in the 2nd century with deeper walls and unpainted interior surface (**169, 170, 171, 172, 173**), while at the end of the century the bowl becomes lower and wider while the exterior is covered in dark brown or black slip (**180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187**).

-5.2.5.4.7. Miscellaneous

Vessel **195** is unique in its own way; the two non-joining sherds from the vase reveal that they come from a rather large vessel with thick walls. A decorative effect of lines in different shades of brown was achieved by applying the paint with a brush. This technique is seen on vessels of various periods. The rather soft feeling of the surface could place these two pieces rather early. A cup from Ithaca seems a plausible parallel, but is not the

³⁹⁰ Livitsanis 2014, 85-86, 125, 278-79, pl. II, 55.

only possibility.³⁹¹

5.3. Serving Vessels

5.3.1. Kraters

The fabric and glaze of vessel **196** is very similar to specimens from Ithaca.³⁹² The prototypes must be Lakonian and Elean. A very similar krater was found at Elean Pylos and is classified in the third category of the local variants.³⁹³ It is a variation of a column krater, but much smaller. The excavator refers to it as a cup-krater, as it resembles a small cup or a large krater.³⁹⁴ It recalls the very large kotylai that could have been used as kraters/wine containers.

Example **197** imitates the Corinthian bell-krater of the fourth and third centuries. Considering the general tendencies of the fourth century, it should probably be dated to the early third century.³⁹⁵

Kraters **198** and **199** are dated to the first half of the third century. On the neck of krater **199** is inscribed the word ΝΥΝΦΑΙΣ (see chapter 7.8. and 3.3. for a discussion on the cult of the Nymphs). There are remains of floral decoration in added white below the inscription while krater **198** depicts decoration in added white and incision. A similar pattern on Hellenistic cup depicts dolphins jumping above waves.³⁹⁶

5.3.2. Oinochoae

Vessel **200** is a conventionalising, cylindrical, broad-bottomed oinochoe dated to the

³⁹¹ Anderson and Benton 1953, 275-76, pl. 46, no. 621.

³⁹² Livitsanis 2015, 335, pl. II, 56, cup 100.

³⁹³ Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 36-38, fig. 6, C3, pl. 25, C3.

³⁹⁴ Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 36.

³⁹⁵ McPhee 1997, 124-26.

³⁹⁶ Similar motif on bowl, Rotroff 1997, 346, pl. 34, no 315, pl. 32.

earlier part of the fifth century, as indicated by the straight walls. The convex-walled, broad-bottomed oinochoe **201** is a rather early example of the type dated to the middle of the fifth century, as the very squat body, indicates.

5.3.3. Phiale

There is only one full-sized conventionalising phiale (**202**); it is dated after the middle of the fifth century. The dotted rim is a typical decoration of conventionalising phiale of this period.³⁹⁷ Phialae were libation vessels, used exclusively in rituals in a principal step before the sacrifice. For example, J.Baumbach relates the use of phialae to post-natal rituals in Perachora, with childbirth considered a form of pollution that required a purification sacrifice.³⁹⁸ At the Argive Heraion, phialae are connected with the chthonian nature of the cult, used as libation vessels or even as banqueting equipment.³⁹⁹

5.3.4. Plates

There are eight plates from Drakaina Cave. None have handles or signs of stubs, although plates **206**, **209** and **210** might better be termed shallow bowls. They all seem to be dedications; two have a suspension hole (**204** and **207**).

The motif of a purple band with added white lines that frames the rim on plate **203** is reminiscent of the black-polychrome Lakonian style on kantharoi and cup-skyphoi. The unpainted surface is unusual though, as this motif is more often applied on dark metallic glaze, at least among the known Achaean, Lakonian or Lakonian-influenced examples.⁴⁰⁰ However, a small lakaina from Sparta has the polychrome motif on a reserved surface.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁷ Risser 2001, 77.

³⁹⁸ Baumbach 2004, 42.

³⁹⁹ Baumbach 2004, 99-100.

⁴⁰⁰ Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, pl 26, no C3, pl 29, nos C59, C60.

⁴⁰¹ Stibbe 1994, 31, G3

Linear decoration on the rim is found on transitional Lakonian plates.⁴⁰² The pattern on the rim (vertical bands alternating with a set of s-shaped lines floating in the otherwise empty space of a metope) is evident on Late Geometric Lakonian pottery.⁴⁰³ Then again, metopes are a loan from the Protocorinthian style.⁴⁰⁴ Polychrome banded decoration on black glaze appears around 630.⁴⁰⁵ Thus this plate could be dated to the middle of the seventh century or, more likely, to between 650 and 630, at the end of the Transitional Lakonian period. The transition from a purely Geometric to an orientalising/Archaic style for Lakonian pottery, without an intermediate phase has been noted, so the use of patterns from both periods on a single vessel is not surprising.⁴⁰⁶ The central motif is difficult to reconstruct. It could be a ship or a bird.⁴⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the nearly horizontal rim is also found on plates from Elean Pylos, where the red band is very popular. It is thus possible that the plate is Elean or influenced by Elean decoration. The reserved surface and the decoration with linear and figural motifs, and the detail with added white dots at the perimeter are also found on plates from Elean Pylos.⁴⁰⁸ Finally, the rim decoration (motifs in panels) is evident on the banded type of kantharoi from Pylos.⁴⁰⁹

Plate **204** is very similar to an Elean plate from Olympia, belonging to the variant 1 group of type 1, which is dated to the second quarter of the fifth century.⁴¹⁰ Furthermore, black-glazed plates from Elean Pylos are almost identical in shape and very similar in their

⁴⁰² Lane 1933, 106.

⁴⁰³ Lane 1933, 106.

⁴⁰⁴ Lane 1933, 106.

⁴⁰⁵ Stibbe 1994, 30.

⁴⁰⁶ Boardman and Hayes 1966, 3; Stibbe 1994, 24.

⁴⁰⁷ An apparently similar bird is depicted on an oinochoae from Grave A at Mycenae, dated to the 15th century. Another possibility is that the sails of a ship are depicted. The central purple band with two sticks could represent a warrior with a shield.

⁴⁰⁸ Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, pl. 29, no. C55.

⁴⁰⁹ Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 56, pl. 22, nos C110-12.

⁴¹⁰ Schilbach 1995, 31-32, 67, pl. 1, 1, T7.

arrangement of decorative zones.⁴¹¹ As far as their chronology is concerned, similar plates from the wells of Olympia are considered late Archaic by Gauer,⁴¹² whilst J. Coleman considers Elean plates from the assemblage of Elean Pylos to be no later than the middle of the sixth century.⁴¹³

Plate **205** is an Attic import with incised and impressed decoration dated to the first half of the fourth century.⁴¹⁴

Plate **206** is an early Hellenistic example (late fourth to early third century).⁴¹⁵ On the interior it preserves two letters from an inscription (ΔI), the beginning of a word. This could be Dionysos, Zeus (in Greek $\Delta\text{ΙΟΣ}$) or a personal name.

Plate **207** is also an early Hellenistic example. The shape originated in the Classical period and evolved in the fourth century.

Examples **208**, **209** and **210** are deep plates with projecting rims. There are many sherds of this type of rim in the Drakaina assemblage. They belong to the most common Hellenistic type of plate, which is not surprising considering its simplicity.⁴¹⁶ The glaze is of poor quality. The overhanging rim of **208** is common during the third quarter of the third to the first quarter of the second century.⁴¹⁷ The narrow and nearly horizontal rim of plate **210** is typical of earlier plates, but it appears again at the end of the Hellenistic

⁴¹¹ Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 46-47, 64, pl. 29, nos C59-60.

⁴¹² Gauer 1975, 163.

⁴¹³ Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 46, 64.

⁴¹⁴ Hatziotis 2007, 368-369, fig. 3.

Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 282, pl. 28, 56, no 561, 295, pl. 33, no 830. For the motif Stillwell et al 1984, 366, no 2330, pl. 126. Pemberton et al 1989, 41, 161, no 446, pl. 47, fig. 12.

⁴¹⁵ Rotroff 1997, 145, pl. 62, nos 702, 704, 705.

⁴¹⁶ Edwards 1975, 35-36, 40-41, pl. 46, no. 131; Hausmann 1996, 32, pl. 10, nos 55-56; Rotroff 1997, 145, pl. 62, nos 702, 704, 705.

⁴¹⁷ Rotroff 1997, 150, pl. 66, no. 747.

period.⁴¹⁸

To conclude, it is not easy to date Hellenistic plates with accuracy, unless they come from a well-stratified context.

5.3.5. Conical Bowl

A conical bowl (**211**) is dated to the period between the third quarter of the third and the middle of the second century. It depicts garlands and dolphins in added white.⁴¹⁹ It is one of several examples from Drakaina that represent a marine theme. For a discussion of this aspect of the cult, see **chapter 10.5**.

5.4. Containers

5.4.1. Kalathoi

Fragments from two kalathoi were found during the excavation of Drakaina Cave, plus those from seven miniature vessels. The shape appears in Attica early in the Geometric period⁴²⁰ and is popular in Corinth in the Archaic period.⁴²¹ An example of a perforated kalathos similar to **212** was recovered from the votive deposit of the Geometric temple of Hera Akraia at Perachora.⁴²² Its decoration too consists of vertical bands, and the description of it having thin, non-lustrous paint fits well that found on vessel **212**.⁴²³ Grooves are incised close to the base, while the decoration of bands and triangular openings is Geometric in style. The closest parallel to vessel **213** (second half of the

⁴¹⁸ Rotroff 1997, 145, pl. 62, nos 702, 704, 705.

⁴¹⁹ For a recent discussion of conical bowls, see James 2018, 110-12.

⁴²⁰ *CVA Greece*, I, iii H d, pls 6, 8, 10-11.

⁴²¹ Cut-out kalathoi are known from Crete (Payne 1928, 257-58), Thera (Dragendorff 1903, 308, fig. 495) and Perachora (Payne et al 1940, 61-62, pl. 13, nos 10-12, 17).

⁴²² Payne et al 1940, 61, pl. 13, nos 10-12, 17 (the closest parallel is no. 17); see also Payne and Dunbabin 1962, 87-99, pl. 35 nos 782, 901, pl. 36, nos 880, 881, 892, 897.

⁴²³ Perachora II 54.

seventh century) was recovered from the same deposit of Hera Akraia.⁴²⁴

Kalathoi were used as storage vessels for yarn. A particular detail is that many kalathoi have some kind of opening in the walls to allow the thread to be pulled out for sewing or knitting by hand.⁴²⁵ They were used in the manufacture of clothing as part of the female set of domestic equipment for textile and clothing production. Consequently, it is reasonable to assume that they were dedicated by women and are related to concerns about the well-being of the household and family.⁴²⁶

5.4.2. Pyxides

Pyxis **215** is of a concave conventionalising shape. It dates to the middle of the sixth century, as it is rather deeper than earlier examples and lacks the band of rays low on the body that is common in the seventh and early sixth centuries.⁴²⁷ Another conventionalising example is **214**, which is dated to the middle of the fifth century. This shape evolved from the concave pyxis, which, by the fifth century, had lost its concavity and had straightened walls, as in the Drakaina example.⁴²⁸

5.4.3. Lids

There are only three pieces that can be clearly identified as lids (**216**, **218** and **219**); there are five more that could possibly be lids, but this is not certain (**221**, **220**, **415**, **222** and **217**).

Lid **216** probably belongs to tripod pyxis no. 7, although there is not a close correspondence between the body and lid decoration (alternating bands on the body and

⁴²⁴ Payne et al 1940, 61-62, pl 13, no 11-12, 17, 98-101, pl 33, no 9, 98-101, pl 23, no 9.

⁴²⁵ For similar examples, see Andreiomenou 2015, pl. 166, no. 5; also Jacobsen and Handberg 2010, 171-79.

⁴²⁶ For a similar function of kalathoi in Hera sanctuaries, see Baumbach 2004.

⁴²⁷ Risser 2001, 36-37, pls 1, 5.

⁴²⁸ Risser 2001, 36, pls 1, 11, 16.

alternating bands and friezes of dots on the lid). A similar discrepancy has been observed, however, at the sanctuary of Timpone della Motta, where large numbers of lids and pyxides were dedicated.⁴²⁹ The closest parallel for this lid comes from Corinth.⁴³⁰ This type with a low flange dates to the first half of the sixth century.

The most straightforward function of pyxides was as jewellery and cosmetic boxes, but, since no items of jewellery were dedicated at Drakaina, the examples from the cave must have had a different purpose. M. Kleibrink suggests that the many pyxides dedicated at the sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta were used as containers for unspun wool.⁴³¹ This may have been the case at Drakaina too, since other dedications related to textile production have been revealed: votive kalathoi and kalathiskoi, a loom weight (**223**) and what could be a handmade spindle whorl (**224**).

Examples **220** and **221** have the same hemispherical shape. The shape and the flat resting surface of the flange are similar to ‘saucers’ from the Argive Heraion.⁴³² Three lids of powder pyxides with a similar decoration from Francavilla Marittima are dated as Transitional to Early Corinthian.⁴³³ Furthermore, a miniature kalathos from the corpus of local pottery of Megara Hyblaea, with similar banded decoration, imitates Corinthian and is dated to the Geometric to Subgeometric period.⁴³⁴ Similar lids excavated from Tocra belong to globular pyxides and are later. A. Stillwell describes a lid with a similar shape.⁴³⁵

⁴²⁹ Jacobsen and Handberg 2010, 91, 93.

⁴³⁰ Risser 2001, 52, pl. 8, 91; for similar but earlier examples from Francavilla Marittima, see Jacobsen and Handberg 2010, 136-37, A440, A443.

⁴³¹ Kleibrink 2005, 766.

⁴³² Waldstein et al 1905, 96-97, fig. 32.

⁴³³ Jacobsen and Handberg 2010, 160-62, A584, A585.

⁴³⁴ Villard, Vallet 1964, 147, pl 130, no 9.

⁴³⁵ Stillwell et al 1984, 319, no. 1820; see also 352, pl. 77, nos 2193, 2197, 2200; in addition, no. 1190 belongs to an oenochoe; for the low hemispherical body, see, *CVA*: Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum 3, 31, pl. (893) 108.8.

Example **415** is a smaller version of **220** and **221**. They could all be miniaturised shields.⁴³⁶ Votive shields functioned as lids on burial vessels from Cretan cemeteries.⁴³⁷ Similar miniatures were found at the Argive Heraeum.⁴³⁸

Specimen **222** could be the bowl of a thymiaterion, if the small projection on the lower part of the wall is the beginning of a stem. However, it could be the beginning of a knob.⁴³⁹ It is dated to the second half of the fifth century.

5.5. Miscellanea

5.5.1. Loom Weight and Spindle Whorls

The sole loom weight from Drakaina Cave (**223**) is pyramidal in shape; this is the preferred shape of Greek loom weights. G.R. Davidson distinguishes four types from the Pnyx.⁴⁴⁰ The example from the cave is closest to Davidson's type 2, but with small differences like the pointy top (the Athenian examples have a flattened top).⁴⁴¹ With regard to dating, it is generally accepted that ancient loom weights were durable objects used over long periods of time. It has been proposed that the Classical loom weights that have been found on the Pnyx increase in size over time.⁴⁴² Based on this assumption, I date the Drakaina loom weight, approximately, to the transition from the Archaic to the Classical period, as it is rather small compared to the published examples.⁴⁴³

The remains of two spindle whorls are catalogued as number **224**. Both are worn and

⁴³⁶ For similar miniature shields, see Fortetsa, Brock 1957, 63, 164-165.

⁴³⁷ Brock 1957, 164-165; Coldstream 2004, 271-72.

⁴³⁸ Waldstein et al 1905, 96, fig. 32.

⁴³⁹ Despoini 2016, 85, 86, 499, fig. 158, lid 99.

⁴⁴⁰ Davidson 1975, 65-94, 80.

⁴⁴¹ Conical loom weights are common in Corinth see Davidson 1952, 147-55. Pyramidal loom weights have also been found at various sites in south Italy; Borromeo 2004, 25, 28.

⁴⁴² Davidson 1975, 65-94.

⁴⁴³ Davidson 1975, 73.

fragmentary. One is a rounded conical hollow spindle that is pierced vertically and the other is a cylindrical example with concave sides and a flat top and base. The different types of spindle whorls are related to the spinning of different thicknesses of yarn.⁴⁴⁴

Loom weights and spindle whorls are textile tools and along with kalathoi are appropriate female dedications to various deities.⁴⁴⁵

5.5.2. Moulded Bases

Foot **225** is mould-made and the fabric is unusual: grey and clean (visible small voids). It probably comes from a large, black-glazed Hellenistic kantharos or even a Hellenistic krater.⁴⁴⁶ The stepped base **226** is similarly Hellenistic in date. Comparanda indicate it comes from a large vessel, probably a krater (a bolster krater or a mould-made type). Both possible specimens are dated to the end of the third and into the first half of the second century.⁴⁴⁷

5.5.3. Incense Burners

There are two fragmentary lids (**227** and **230**) from incense burners and one very fragmented bowl (**229**). They are all dated to the second half of the fifth century. Vessel **228** is the bowl of a thymiaterion with close parallels from the Athenian Agora and Boeotia dated to the first half of the fifth century.⁴⁴⁸ Thymiateria were used in religious ceremonies for the burning of incense. The Drakaina examples should be considered complementary to the offerings of oil containers.

⁴⁴⁴ Kleibrink 2016, 37-40, 41, no. 1, 58, no. 45.

⁴⁴⁵ Baumbach 2004, 34-91. Gleba 2009, on textile tools and their dedication in Italian votive deposits.

⁴⁴⁶ Karamba 2018, 843, no 1551 (type Iß), 839-840, 846, ill 4268, ill 5224.

⁴⁴⁷ Rotroff 1997, 137, 305, pl. 57, no 598-560.

⁴⁴⁸ Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 331, pl. 44, 1351; Zabiti 2012, 232-33, pl. 84, no. 583.

5.5.4. Roman Closed Vase

The very thin walls of vessel **231** point to Roman production, and the preference for thin-walled, unglazed ware during the Augustan period. It probably belongs to the earliest phase of this period, as it demonstrates the late Republican preference for gritty, dark-coloured delicate ware.

5.5.5. Lamps

As O. Broneer notes, because of their short life span and common use, lamps are significant for dating archaeologically related artefacts.⁴⁴⁹ Their identifiable commercial circulation is important in answering questions regarding trade and origin.

Fragments of 11 lamps and one intact specimen have been discovered in Drakaina Cave. One is handmade, eight are wheel-made and three are mould-made.

Lamp **235** seems to be earliest by far. Similar lamps from Corinth are dated to the early sixth century. It belongs to Broneer's type I classification.⁴⁵⁰ Lamp **234** is Broneer's type V, dated to the end of the sixth century.⁴⁵¹ Lamp **233** has close parallels with Broneer's type IV; the lack of any foot and the wheel marks on the bottom reveal that it belongs amongst the earliest examples of the series, dating to before 500 BCE.⁴⁵²

Lamps **236** and **237** belong to Howlands's 16B or 17A types. The lamps are dating early in the 5th century.⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁹ Broneer 1930, 3-4.

⁴⁵⁰ Broneer 1930, 5-6, 129, pl. 1, no. 1, 23.

⁴⁵¹ Broneer 1930, 137-38, pl. II, no. 93; Bookidis and Pemberton 2015, 61, pl. 9, L83.

⁴⁵² Broneer 1930, 40-41, 134-37, pl. II, no. 90.

⁴⁵³ Howland 1958, 33-37, pl 32, nos 102, 107, 110.

Lamp **238** display similarities with Howland type 33A⁴⁵⁴ and Broneer type XII.⁴⁵⁵ In the wider region, similar lamps have been discovered at Koulourata on Kephallonia,⁴⁵⁶ on Ithaca⁴⁵⁷ and in Akarnania.⁴⁵⁸ Generally, this type appeared in the third and second centuries. The specific lamp is dated late in the series, as the spiral on the floor is a characteristic of careless manufacture that is mostly observed for examples dating to the second and first centuries.⁴⁵⁹ No handle is preserved on the Drakaina lamp, but it would probably have had high, vertical band handle, like most examples of this type. The glaze ranges from brown to reddish. The fabric is dark red. Given their popularity and distribution in the area, it could have been produced locally, perhaps in a single workshop, although no such source is known from excavations in the region.

Lamps **239** and **242** form another group. They are identified with types 30 B and 30 C of the Athenian Agora series.⁴⁶⁰ They are dated to between the end of the fifth century and the first quarter of the third century. These two lamps from Drakaina are so fragmentary that it is difficult to identify them with confidence.

Lamp **232** displays similarities with Howland type 27A and is dated to the fourth century.

Lamps **239** and **240** are identified with Broneer's type XII and chronologically the type ranges from the late 3rd - late 2nd century.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁴ Howland 1958, 101-02, pl. 42, nos 433, 442.

⁴⁵⁵ Broneer 1930, 52-53, pl. 4, nos 185, 188.

⁴⁵⁶ Soteriou 2009, 223, fig. 15.

⁴⁵⁷ Waterhouse 1952, 232, 236, pl. 47, c, d.

⁴⁵⁸ Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2009, 232-33, nos 51, 52, 54.

⁴⁵⁹ Howland 1958, 102.

⁴⁶⁰ Howland 1958, 97-99, pl. 41, nos 418, 421-23.

⁴⁶¹ Broneer 1930, 52-53, pl 4, no 185, 188; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2009, 232-233, no 51, 52, 54; Waterhouse 1937, 232, 236, pl 47, c, d.

Isolated handles of the vertical band type are classified under Howland type 49A⁴⁶² and Corinth type XIX.⁴⁶³ They are otherwise known as Ephesos lamps, because of the large quantities of this type that have been found there. Their relation with bronze lamps is evident, mostly in terms of the handles. Broader or narrower vertical rings - two, three or four - make up the handle and were added to the lamps on top of the decorated body. They are generically dated to the period between the late second century BCE and early first century CE.

Moulded lamp fragment **243**, (two more pieces of moulded lamps are **353a**, and **1401**, which are not shown in the catalogue) have plain sides but floral relief decoration on their upper and bottom parts. Close parallels come from Olympia and are Hellenistic.⁴⁶⁴

5.6. Conclusion

Fine pottery is the most common material preserved in Drakaina Cave. These items are both dedications and, at the same time, functional objects. Drinking cups seem to have been the preferred vessels of worshippers, although we should keep in mind that the use of plates is a modern habit and that many of the Drakaina cups could have served as containers for food. Whilst noting the preponderance of kylikes, kotylai and skyphoi during the Archaic period, the particularly high number of kantharoi of the same period implies that the shape was significant for the people who dedicated these vessels (**chapter 9, chart 4**). During the Classical period, kylikes and Lakonian and local cups dominate in terms of the preference of the dedicants (**chapter 9, chart 6**). Finally, for the Hellenistic period the number of dedications is very low; only 20 vessels have been recovered. The most common shapes are simple cups, kantharoi and a plate (**chapter 9**,

⁴⁶² Howland 1958, 166-69, pl. 49, nos 649, 653.

⁴⁶³ Broneer 1930, 66-70.

⁴⁶⁴ Mallwitz and Schiering 1964, 268, pl. 93, nos 5-6; Hausmann 1996, 14, pl. 5, no. 23.

chart 8).

CHAPTER 6

MINIATURES

6.1. Introduction to Miniatures

Miniatures (the best preserved specimens) make up a little less than half of the pottery assemblage from Drakaina cave (199 miniatures amongst 443 vessels); these are the best-preserved examples that are included in the catalogue. There is a large quantity of sherds that clearly come from miniatures. Since most cannot be joined to form recognizable vessels, they are not included in the catalogue unless they are unique in terms of shape or decoration.⁴⁶⁵ Drinking vessels are prevalent among the miniatures recovered from the cave (**chapter 9, chart 1**). This proportion of votive miniature pottery is common for both the richest and the most humble of known sanctuaries.⁴⁶⁶ The understanding that miniatures served as children's toys or that they were a cheap substitute for regular-sized – and consequently more expensive – vessels does not fully explain their presence and function.⁴⁶⁷ Although they are prevalent at numerous sanctuaries, they are absent from others; this seems to attest to a link between miniatures and specific ceremonies, related to particular occasions.⁴⁶⁸ Authors have different views on what is a miniature and as a result each assemblage has its own definition of a miniature in terms of size. Miniatures from Drakaina include vessels from 1.5cm in height, with pattern kotylai being up to 6cm tall. Common regular-sized vessels, such as kotylai and kantharoi, stand, on average, 7-10cm high. The point of difference is when a vessel is too small to be a functional object,

⁴⁶⁵ The total number of miniatures in the catalogue could easily double if these numerous sherds (which clearly belong to miniatures) were included.

⁴⁶⁶ For a summary of Corinthian and Peloponnesian sites with miniatures, see Payne and Dunbabin 1962, 290-91. On the significance of miniaturisation, see Barfoed 2016; on Arcadian miniatures, Hammond 1998; on their function, see Eckroth 2003.

⁴⁶⁷ Blegen 1964, 127.

⁴⁶⁸ Barfoed 2015 examines what the absence of miniatures signifies in Zeus cults in the Peloponnese and Attica.

when the reduction in scale signifies a different use of the item. According to Pemberton, the miniatures replicate in terms of type the regular-sized ceramics; they are simply reduced in scale.⁴⁶⁹ Nevertheless, since their functionality as vessels is lost, they acquire a new role in the life of the sanctuary. They are still vessels, but what they contained had a different value for the visitors to the site. We cannot define a vessel as functional based only on its size. For example, a miniaturised krater of 10cm in height is no longer functional, but a 10cm-high kantharos could still be used as a normal drinking vessel. Thus, a vessel can be functional, maintaining its normal use, even if it is smaller than most examples of its type. In such instances, the reduction in size signifies the importance of a gesture - drinking or dedicating - in the context of a sanctuary.

In many cases, the miniatures could be used as containers for very small quantities of food or liquid; but this shift in scale holds a different value from the use of regular-sized vessels. Miniatures may have had a symbolic use, and, through their reduced size, they may have represented or contained something different from regular-sized vessels.⁴⁷⁰ In the context of specific sanctuaries, they can be connected to a particular function of a certain god: for example krateriskoi for Artemis, hydriae for Demeter or Athena, kantharoi for Dionysos.⁴⁷¹ Each of these deities had a particular connection with water or wine, and, therefore, the vessels that usually contained such liquids can be seen as a direct reference to that god's main realm of interest. Any derogation from what is considered normal in size is in most cases an indication of significance.⁴⁷²

6.2. Drinking Vessels

⁴⁶⁹ Pemberton 1970, 293.

⁴⁷⁰ For example, pyxides from Timpone della Motta that might have been containers for wool: see Kleibrink 2005, 766.

⁴⁷¹ On miniature hydriae as containers of oil, see McPhee and Pemberton 2012, 213. For krateriskoi, see below **chapter 6.3.1.**

⁴⁷² For a review on the history of research on miniatures, see Barfoed 2015, 9-11.

6.2.1. Kotylai

6.2.1.1. Pattern Decoration

Small cups with pattern decoration are typical products of Corinth. They appear early in the sixth century and are produced continually until the end of the fifth century,⁴⁷³ while examples dated to the fourth century are not unknown.⁴⁷⁴ The cups have flaring to tapering walls, small feet and bright alternating bands on their exteriors. The handle zone is decorated with various motifs: vertical lines and bands, vertical and horizontal zigzags, grapes, ivy leaves, chevrons, teardrops and buds. Their size ranges from 1.5cm to 5.5cm. They seem to have developed from the earlier orientalising and black-glazed kotylai, but the reduction in scale probably signifies a change in functional requirement connected to their employment as votives. Pattern or conventionalising kotylai appear early in the sixth century. They have a low, wide shape, rounded convex body, small base and slightly inturning lip. Progressively over the course of the second half of the century, the body became straighter and less rounded.⁴⁷⁵ In the fifth century, the walls of the vessels became very straight, but, by the middle of the fifth century, the walls flared out again. By the end of the century, the profile had a triangular appearance.⁴⁷⁶

6.2.1.2. Vertical Lines, Bars and Zigzags

Vertical lines as a decorative motif on the handle zone of miniature kotylai have a life as long as the type itself. Miniature pattern kotylai with vertical lines should, according to

⁴⁷³ Blegen 1964, 105, 123.

⁴⁷⁴ Risser 2001, 54-55, 66, pl. 12, no. 180.

⁴⁷⁵ Risser 2001, 54.

⁴⁷⁶ Blegen et al. 1964, 105-08, 123-29; Amyx 1988, 73-78; Risser 2001, 54-55 describes how the shape evolved; see also Stillwell et al 1984, 310.

C. Blegen, be dated between the Middle Corinthian and the end of the sixth century.⁴⁷⁷

However, some of the smallest kotylai with just a few strokes on the handle zone and one or two thick horizontal lines on the body as their only decoration appear in the third quarter of the fifth century. The amount of decoration progressively reduced, until, by the end of the century, just a few bars on the handle zone remained.⁴⁷⁸

Many of the kotylai from Drakaina Cave with a small disc foot and rounded body have a string-cut base (for example **246**, **247**, **248**), while a few appear to have been potted carefully and the undersurface has a central glazed boss (for example **263**, **266**, **268**). The latter usually have a better-quality glaze and consistency in their manufacture, while the former reveal careless manufacture and poor-quality decoration. These differences are an indication of either two different workshops operating on Kephallonia or production in different areas.⁴⁷⁹ Some of the vertical-line kotylai (**250**, **251**, **256**) have the same deep body, wide foot and similar alternating bands on the body as the zigzag kotylai (**281**, **282**, **301**); this is probably a sign that for a short period the two decorative motifs coexisted. Two other sites that have revealed examples with a similar type of pattern kotylai are Delos, where there is a considerable number of round-bodied kotylai with vertical lines on the rim (but none with the narrow disc foot),⁴⁸⁰ and Tocra, which has similar specimens with wire-drawn bases that are generically dated to the end of the Archaic period.⁴⁸¹

Zigzags appear in the third quarter of the sixth century. Examples with zig-zags on the handle zone and dated to the early fifth century appear denser and netlike, and have

⁴⁷⁷ Blegen et al. 1964, 106.

⁴⁷⁸ Stillwell et al 1984, pl. 67, nos 1703-14; Risser 2001, 68.

⁴⁷⁹ Miniature kotylai with a narrow foot have also been found in the Potters' Quarter (trench J): Dugas 1935, 87-88, 103-05, pl. lviii/C/97, B; Roebuck 1951, 131, 134, pl. 49, no. 41; Blegen et al. 1964, grave 160-5, pl. 24, T3201; Stillwell et al 1984, 297-98, pl. 65, no. 1626; Pemberton et al 1989, 174, pl. 52, no. 561.

⁴⁸⁰ Dugas 1935, 87-88, 103-05, pl. lviii/C/97, B; Blegen et al. 1964, grave 160-5, pl. 24, T3201.

⁴⁸¹ Boardman and Hayes 1973, 10, 14, nos 1911-13, 1914-16, pl. 7, 15, nos 1922-25, 1941-43, pl. 8.

acquired an S-curve. In the second quarter of the century, the zigzags had developed to be so thick and dense that it appears a horizontal line runs through the middle of the zone resulting from the careless application of the line.⁴⁸² None of the zigzag kotylai has the small disc foot of the kotylai with vertical lines. Again, the shape progressed from a slightly convex wall and wide, deep body to a triangular profile with straight, flaring walls. The foot started with a flaring outer profile, bearing similarities to the black-glazed kotylai of the sixth century, and progressed to be a disk foot in the fifth century. The profile of the body developed from convex (for example **289, 290**) to triangular (**307**).

6.2.1.3. Teardrops

Unlinked teardrops or buds appeared at the end of the third quarter of the sixth century but were no longer produced after the early fifth century (**310** and many uninventoried sherds with this motif).⁴⁸³

6.2.1.4. Grape Frieze and Stepped Triangles

Grape friezes, alternating stepped triangles and ivy friezes appeared on the handle zone of kotylai during the second half of the sixth century and continued into the first half of the fifth. They evolved into longer and narrower shapes in the fifth century.⁴⁸⁴ Although they are often described as a single type of decoration, in many cases, when they are neatly painted, the different motifs can be distinguished clearly as grapes and ivy leaves (**311, 312** and uninventoried sherds).

⁴⁸² This is how Risser 2001, 55 describes the evolution of the zig-zag motif.

⁴⁸³ Risser 2001, 23-24, 60-61, pl. 10, no. 130, pl. 14, nos 209, 210.

⁴⁸⁴ Blegen 1964, 123; Risser 2001, 55, pl. 9, no. 118, 61, pl. 11, no. 138.

6.2.1.5. Chevron Pattern

The chevron is not a common pattern in Corinth; the only example I am aware of comes from Aidone or Serra Orlando and is dated to the end of the fourth century.⁴⁸⁵ The motif, though, had appeared already in Corinth in the fifth century on other shapes. It is possible then that this decorative motif may not have been very popular, but is not necessarily very late. A possible date is in the fourth century, if not earlier (**313**, **314**).

6.2.2. Miscellaneous

Although fragmentary, kotyle **317** is included here. Its heavy fabric and shape are reminiscent of the group iii semi-glazed skyphoi that are dated to the second half of the fourth century.⁴⁸⁶ In addition, the fragments of vessel **315** probably belong to a cup. The poorly preserved decoration depicts a floral design; palmettes with thin radiating leaves. Most comparanda date to the mid-fourth century.⁴⁸⁷ Kotyle **316** has an unusual pinkish fabric and signs of red glaze on its exterior and interior. Vessel **318** could be a stamnoid pyxis, as indicated by the vertical rim and the globular beginning of the body. It is probably Archaic.

6.2.3. Handmade Cups

⁴⁸⁵ Bell 1981, 258-260, pl 142. fig 2. Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, pl 139, 2a.

⁴⁸⁶ Stillwell et al 1984, 212, pl. 48, no. 1128; Risser 2001, 55, 66, pl. 12, no. 174, 180; also Blegen et al. 1964, 126, pl. 75, nos 457/2, 462/3.

⁴⁸⁷ Pemberton et al 1989, 127, no. 278, pl. 29; Risser 2001, no. 506, pl. 31.

The two small handmade cups (**319** and **320**) seem to replicate the mid-fifth century kotylai with vertical bands on the handle zone that are discussed above (Catalogue, **chapter 2.1.1.1.1**)

6.2.4. Floral Band Cups

A small group of 16 cups bears floral decoration on the handle zone; these are known as floral band cups or palmette cups.⁴⁸⁸ They are considered to have originated from miniature band cups of the mid-sixth century; they are a degenerate form, as is evident from the careless, nearly schematic depiction of the floral motifs.⁴⁸⁹ The floral band cups are dated to the end of the sixth century⁴⁹⁰ and continue into the first half of the fifth century. They are found in, among other places, Athens, northern Greece, the Black Sea region, Asia Minor and Sicily.⁴⁹¹ In each assemblage there are usually a few imported Attic examples that coexist with the local version of the cup. Vessels **334** and **335** are clearly Attic; the rest could have been made locally.

6.2.5. Fully and Semi Glazed Cups, and Glazing by Dipping

The group of miniature glazed and semi-glazed ceramics is the most numerous in the assemblage, with 57 nearly complete examples. Semi-glazed vessels are the most common, followed by fully glazed examples and then a few plain ones that might have

⁴⁸⁸ I use the term ‘floral band cups’ because it is not only palmettes that are depicted but various floral motifs.

⁴⁸⁹ Beazley 1932, 167-68, 187-90.

⁴⁹⁰ Despoini 2016, 101, no. 117, fig. 187, 504, for an early example dated to the decade 535-525.

⁴⁹¹ Villard and Vallet 1964, 111, pl. 99, nos 10, 12; Shear 1993, 395, pl. 82, g-h; Lyons 1996, 61-63, pl. 19.4-18; Schaeffer et al. 1997, 89, pl. 40, Att. 101, Att. 98; Morgan 2004, 90-93, pl. 18, nos 219a-29; Despoini 2016, 103-04, no. 120, p 504, fig. 190.

been glazed originally. The miniature semi-glazed vessels were decorated on the interior and exterior of the rim by holding the lower half and dipping the rim into paint. The rest of each vessels is plain. Regular-sized examples were also dipped in this manner. Alternatively, some vessels were dipped vertically, rather than horizontally, so that one half of the vessel was glazed and the remainder was left plain. The dipping technique was also used to glaze a vessel fully; certain signs are marks of dripping on the walls. A brush was often used to deal with the extra paint that was spilt out.⁴⁹²

Partial glazing was known in Corinth from the end of the sixth century.⁴⁹³ It appeared much later in Attica, at the end of the third century,⁴⁹⁴ whilst on Ithaca glazing by means of dipping appeared in the early fifth century.⁴⁹⁵ In Corinthian territories, namely western Greece and southern Italy, the technique appeared early in the fifth century.⁴⁹⁶

It is a challenge to date this group of ceramics from Drakaina. I have not been able to identify very close parallels from other sites in Greece, but there are parallels from southern Italy. Thus each chronological placement should be treated as an estimate that may require adjustment in the future. I place them early in the series, as it is possible that they are close to Corinthian and Ithacan material, rather than the result of Attic influence. After all, if glazing by means of dipping started in Corinth as early as the late sixth/early fifth century, then it is more than possible that such material reached the area of Drakaina early and that similar vessels were produced locally. I believe that they were made locally as there is homogeneity in the fabric. Accordingly, they are dated to the fifth and fourth centuries. Comparanda for the kotyle type place them more likely in the fourth century.

⁴⁹² Signs of brushing are evident on the surface of half glazed cups.

⁴⁹³ McPhee and Pemberton 2012, 30-31.

⁴⁹⁴ Rotroff 1997, 11, 106, 145-49.

⁴⁹⁵ Livitsanis 2015, 77-78.

⁴⁹⁶ Lyons 1996, 173-74, nos 9-205, 9-207, 9-208, pl. 41, 175, nos 11-1, 11-3, pl. 41; Mastronuzzi 2013 presents an abundance of semi-dipped one-handlers in both miniature and full-sized forms.

The wide and shallow bowl type (**345, 346, 347**) has parallels from Morgantina, where they are dated to the first half of the fifth century.⁴⁹⁷

The vessels, all of which are fragmented, were recovered from the southeastern half of the cave (squares Δ1, Δ2, Δ3, Δ4, Γ2, Γ3, Γ4, Γ6, B2, B3, B5, B6, E4, E5, E6, Z6) in and around the large bothros that contained mainly figurative terracottas and fine pottery. The *terminus ante quem* for the material from the bothros is the middle of the fourth century. Most of the sherds are recorded as having come from surface layers, but some (those that were close to the innermost end of the cave) were found much deeper. The stratigraphy, however, is not a reliable index for dating the material, especially since this fill is clearly the result of secondary deposition.

In terms of the typology, there are two types of fully glazed cups. The first has a flat base, convex low walls and horizontal handles that are slightly canted (**342, 340, 345, 346, 349**). The second also has a flat base, but a deeper body, convex walls curving more in the lower half, a slightly inturning rim and canted handles (**351, 352, 353, 350**). The base is almost never clearly articulated; exceptions are vessels **339** and **344**. Only **339** has an outturned lip. The semi-glazed vessels have a slightly different shape. A distinct category is examples with a disc foot with a vertical external profile, a round, shallow body, a slightly incurving or vertical rim and evident wheel marks on the exterior surface (**361, 371, 354, 374, 375, 377, 381, 384**). I assume that they progressed into deeper bowls with straighter walls and a more triangular profile (**357, 362, 364, 365, 370, 372**). Another group comprises small cups with a wide, flat base and low, slightly flaring walls (**360, 363, 368**). Finally, vessels with flat bases and low convex walls are similar to the first fully glazed group mentioned above (**355, 366, 367, 369, 356, 373, 382, 379, 380**).

⁴⁹⁷ Lyons 1996, 138, 144, pl. 19, no. 4-82, 162-63, pl. 32, no. 9-32. The vessels that are close in shape or decoration to the pottery from Drakaina are most often local sikeliote ceramics.

6.2.5.1. Plain Cups

As is the case for the glazed vessels, it is similarly difficult to date the plain, unpainted wares from Drakaina Cave. Here I compare them with published vessels from other sites.

Flat-based kotylai with flaring walls from Tocra are dated to the sixth century.⁴⁹⁸ Stillwell notes that undecorated kotylai did not change much during the sixth and early fifth centuries. However, as the Corinthian Potters' Quarter material was excavated from four different deposits, the four plain kotylai that were unearthed from Corinth, are dated differently: late sixth century (2174), second quarter of the fifth (2175) and third quarter of the fourth century (2176 and 2177).⁴⁹⁹ It is acknowledged, though, that unpainted miniatures in particular are not easily datable and that deterioration in form and decoration points to a late dating.⁵⁰⁰

Seven plain kotylai were found in a sacrificial pit at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth.⁵⁰¹ The *terminus ante quem* for the pit is the first quarter of the third century, and this is a possible date for kotyle 114. Since it is not possible to establish the evolution of the type, dating is possible only through comparisons of profiles and/or decorations and/or contexts. Thus it is not possible to draw firm conclusions about the dates.

In terms of shape, the plain kotylai are similar to the two main groups described above for fully glazed wares; they are either shallow vessels with convex walls (**387, 388**) or deeper vessels with flaring walls (**385, 386, 389, 390**). The dates of the six unpainted cups from Drakaina cave probably range from the early fourth to the end of the third century.

⁴⁹⁸ Boardman and Hayes 1966, 142-43, pl. 93, nos 1577-78.

⁴⁹⁹ Stillwell et al 1984, 186, 211, 350, pl. 77, nos 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177.

⁵⁰⁰ Stillwell et al 1984, 211.

⁵⁰¹ Pemberton et al 1989, 96-97, pl. 15, nos 113, 114.

6.2.6. Kantharoi

Here, I follow the dating of the full-sized counterparts for this small group of miniatures, placing them from the seventh to the sixth century.

There are no miniature specimens of type 1.

There are 8 type 2 kantharoi (**391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398**). Vessels **392** and **393** are very similar and are dated to the first half of the seventh century. Very fragmentary kantharoi **396** and **397** seem to belong to this series and are probably dating to the end of the seventh century.

Kantharoi **392** and **395** are dated to the earliest part of the sixth century.

There are eight type 3 examples (**399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406**). The miniature version of the Elean type of kantharos, which is the most common at Drakaina, is not an exact replica of the full-sized vessel, as it appears without banded decoration (e.g. **400, 401, 402, 403, 405**). They are dated to the sixth century.

6.3. Containers

6.3.1. Krateriskoi

Two types of krateriskoi have been recovered from Drakaina. The first is already known from Corinth, and the very popular miniature version dates to the late sixth century (**407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412**). The second is a slightly deeper vessel with signs of red paint on the surface and is dated early in the fifth century (**413, 414**).

Krateriskoi were a commonly used votive in Artemis cults in Attica. Evidence of black-figured krateriskoi depicting scenes related to rituals linked to the celebration of Arkteia,

a festival of maturation for young girls, was crucial in establishing this association.⁵⁰² The peak period for their dedication was the late sixth century to the first half of the fifth.⁵⁰³ The regular-sized version was used as a container for mixing wine and water. The function of the miniature version cannot be established with certainty. Some krateriskoi show signs of burning on the interior, which is an indication that they were used as thymiateria.⁵⁰⁴ A krateriskos from Brauron depicts a scene of a krateriskos lying in front of an altar between a seated and a standing figure,⁵⁰⁵ and has been interpreted as a libation vessel, and thus had a ritual function.⁵⁰⁶ A relation between the cult of Artemis and bees is stressed by M. Giuman in his discussion of krateriskoi, and he suggests the possibility that they were used to hold an offering of honey.⁵⁰⁷ Archaeological evidence for the offering of honey comes from Grotta della Poesia, a cave in southeastern Italy where inscriptions in Messapian and Greek promise an offering of honey in exchange for favours from the gods.⁵⁰⁸ Another link for the use of kraters in some type of ritual is presented by the offering of a figurine at Olympia, which depicts a woman in labour drinking from a krater (or a kantharos).⁵⁰⁹

Krateriskoi from Drakaina are placed in the same period, that is the early sixth century to the early fifth. It is plausible to interpret the presence of krateriskoi as an aspect of a shared cult practice that indicates a connection with a specific deity, such as Artemis or a local goddess with similar attributes. Whilst the actual use of krateriskoi was clearly a

⁵⁰² Kahil 1963; 1965; for an overview of the use of krateriskoi as dedications to Artemis, see Beaumont 2013, 185-87.

⁵⁰³ Nielsen 2009, 83, 87-89.

⁵⁰⁴ Beaumont 2008, 182-86.

⁵⁰⁵ Kahil 1963, pl. 14, 3.

⁵⁰⁶ Nielsen 2009, 96-98.

⁵⁰⁷ Giuman 2008, 185-98.

⁵⁰⁸ Lombardo 1992; Giuman 2008, 185-98.

⁵⁰⁹ Sinn 2000, 79-80, fig. 14.

meaningful local practice for participants, no solid archaeological evidence has been recovered that might contextualise their use in the cave.

6.3.2. Lid

All of the lids are small but almost none has the appearance of most known lids, and so they could also have functioned as something different. Therefore, I have included them in the catalogue of fine ware. Single exception is number **415** that is really small, and looks like the miniaturized version of the **220** and **221** domed lids. As I discussed above in **chapter 5.4.3**, it is similar to small shields that were dedicated in Cretan sanctuaries and cemeteries.

6.3.3. Lekanis

The remains of vase **416** could be the miniature version of a lekanis. It could be a set with lid **219**. A possible date is the middle of the sixth century.

6.3.4. Kalathiskoi

Miniature kalathoi from Drakaina have convex and slightly flaring walls. There are no close similarities amongst the early Corinthian material, which has a striking preference for convex, outturned rims.⁵¹⁰ The Drakaina miniatures date to the sixth (**420**, **421**, **422** and **423**) and fifth centuries (**417**, **418**, **419** and **424**).⁵¹¹ These handmade vessels could also be krateriskoi.

6.4. Pouring Vessels and Oil Containers

⁵¹⁰ Pemberton et al 1989, 19-25.

⁵¹¹ Pemberton et al 1989, 19-25, 89-90, pls 4, 6, 9.

The small group of miniature closed vessels includes four oinochoae (**425**, **428**, **429**, **430**), dated from the late fourth to the early third century, and lekythoi **426** and **427**, dated to the end of the fifth century.

Oinochoae were libation vessels and so had a clear ritual function, along with phialae. Pemberton claims that miniature oinochoae from the assemblage of the drain in the Forum (Corinth) were used as oil containers for libations of small amounts of oil.⁵¹² Lekythoi are included amongst the group of miniatures, as containers of perfumed oil. However, vases **426** and **427** are differentiated from the lekythoi discussed in **section 5.1.2**. as they are typical miniatures having a votive role and not a functional one. Oils were sold in small quantities in purpose-made vessels.⁵¹³ The miniature version of lekythoi could have a cultic role for the pouring of oil for libations.

6.5. Open Vessels

Phialae, Plates, Saucers, Offering Trays and Bowls

Four phialae, three miniatures and one regular sized, have been found at Drakaina. They are all round-bottomed, and, on the three of them that have been preserved adequately, a rounded omphalos can be seen at the centre of the floor. The earliest seems to be the miniature **436**, which preserves the vertical rim and thin lip of the sixth century.⁵¹⁴ Thickened rims are standard in the sixth century. The dotted rim of **437** is typical decoration of fifth-century phialae and was particularly popular in the second half of the century.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹² McPhee and Pemberton 2012, 213.

⁵¹³ Rasmussen et al 1991, 63; Papadopoulos and Morris 1998, 252-53.

⁵¹⁴ Amyx and Lawrence 1975, 464-65.

⁵¹⁵ Boardman and Hayes 1973, 26, 41, pl. 27, nos 574-77; Risser 2001, 77.

Saucers **431** and **433** seem to be miniature versions of kothons dated to the fifth century.⁵¹⁶ Miniature plates **434**, **439**, **440** and **441** have their closest parallels in the Hellenistic period.⁵¹⁷ Fragmentary vessels **434**, **438** and **435** seem to be closer in shape and decoration to offering trays dated to the fourth century.⁵¹⁸

6.6. Significance and Role of Miniatures

Miniatures are very roughly equal in number (199) to regular-sized vessels (244). In order to understand why miniatures ended up in the votive assemblage from Drakaina Cave in such large numbers, two issues need to be addressed. It is necessary to consider the significance of miniaturisation and how these vessels should be contextualised amongst the rest of the dedications and in terms of their role in cult practice.

The large quantity of these vessels is an initial sign of their popularity and their importance, and an indication that they were not reusable.⁵¹⁹ We certainly should not equate their small size with a lack of significance. Furthermore, we should not assume that they were the choice of poorer people, who could not afford larger and more expensive vessels.⁵²⁰ Very often miniatures were considered by researchers unworthy of significance simply because they were hastily made, mass-produced, unsophisticated and unskilful or regarded them as mere children's toys.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁶ Pemberton et al 1989, 177, pl 52, 593. Waldstein et al 1905, 97, fig 32e. Stillwell et al 1984, 330, no 1950, 1957, pl 71-72.

⁵¹⁷ Zabiti 2012, pl. 57, no. 387.

⁵¹⁸ Bookidis and Pemberton 2015, 133-34, pl. 40, T15, T16.

⁵¹⁹ Published deposits with miniature pottery include: Perachora (Dunbabin 1962), Tegea (Hammond 1998), the Potters' Quarter (Stillwell et al 1984), the North Cemetery of Corinth (Blegen 1964) and Morgantina (Lyons 1996).

⁵²⁰ Eckroth 2003, 36.

⁵²¹ Foxhall, Stears 2000, 8; Boehringer 2001, 92.

Some recent publications that discuss the significance of miniatures focus on their find and use contexts rather than on their value as wares or commodities. G. Eckroth notes the desirability of small-sized items as suitable for creating a personal bond between giver and receiver. The dedicant could carry them in the hand from wherever they came, while the small size facilitated a one-to-one close inspection (but was unsuitable for making an impression or for use in elite competition).⁵²² Crucial to this relationship is the shift in the way of seeing the object; because of their diminutive size, these votives could be scrutinised by the viewer in a manner that was different from the observation of regular-sized or large-scale dedications.

Recent research emphasises the defunctionalisation inherent in the use of miniatures; this is the process of investing a recognisable object with new meaning by changing the familiar scale (reducing or increasing it) and rendering the item no longer utilitarian.⁵²³ For example, a cup may become a votive by being reduced in scale and not used as a drinking cup, but, rather, kept unmoved for display in a sanctuary.

The profile of the cult and the function of the recipient deity at a specific site may define the choice to bring a miniature terracotta vessel rather than a large-scale gold one; thus the choice may not be purely economic or related to prestige. Of course, certain sanctuaries functioned as arenas for the display of wealth for very specific reasons.⁵²⁴ The same people who dedicated valuable vessels at Delphi may have brought miniatures to a cave. It was meaningful to bring a miniature kantharos to a sanctuary of Dionysos. The offering of miniatures was not appropriate, however, for every cult. S. Barfoed has examined the absence of miniatures from certain sanctuaries, and conclude that

⁵²² Eckroth 2003, 36.

⁵²³ Luce 2011; Smith and Bergeron 2011 is a collection of papers dedicated to small-sized votives, and is a rare publication on miniatures and their significance.

⁵²⁴ Some examples are Polis Cave (Benton 1934-35, Benton 1938-39), Corycian cave (Delphi), and Olympia (Morgan 1990). Also Dodona, (Zolotnikova 2019).

miniatures were not judged appropriate for display in Panhellenic sanctuaries.⁵²⁵ The identity of a Panhellenic site usually excluded engagement with a deity regarding personal matters such as health, fertility, the raising of children and the well-being of the household; these are, however, all recognisable elements in any cult that is linked archaeologically with votive miniatures.⁵²⁶ At the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, for example, only eight Archaic miniatures have been identified.⁵²⁷ They were related with an altar of Artemis within the boundaries of the temenos.⁵²⁸ The coexistence of various shapes and sizes of wares in the same space should not be taken to signify similar reasons for their presence or similar types of use. The only well-published cave that has very few miniatures in its dedicatory assemblage is the Polis Cave. It is one of the few sites at which expensive dedications and a large corpus of imported pottery delineate the profile of the cult in the Geometric period as both a meeting point for local elites and a popular trading port for commercial journeys. A figurine that has been identified with Heracles or Odysseus reveals the existence of a hero cult of special interest to settlers and sailors. Furthermore, the veneration of Artemis and a connection with races and a local festival may perhaps indicate some sort of initiation cult for young people or worship focused on more personal, family matters.⁵²⁹

It is important to keep in mind that the choice of a dedication implies a certain reasoning that connects the dedication with a myth or a narrative, which resonates with performances such as dances, races, hunting, feasting and sacrificing. Choosing a specific iconography and a specific type of vessel was certainly not arbitrary. In terms of miniatures, their choice obliges the dedicant and viewer to engage in an intensely personal

⁵²⁵ Barfoed 2015.

⁵²⁶ For studies that adopt a contextual analysis of the votive material, see Baumbach 2004 (on Hera) and Leger 2017 (on Artemis).

⁵²⁷ Kunze-Götte et al. 2000, 99-105.

⁵²⁸ Barfoed 2015, 172-73.

⁵²⁹ Benton 1934-1935, 52-56; Benton 1938-1939.

manner with the object. It is revealing that many miniatures were executed with great care and decorated in detail (for example 437), while many were handmade. If a potter invests time and effort in producing such a delicate object, which is carefully decorated, then, first, we should conclude that there is a demand for such objects and, second, we should expect it to be relatively expensive. Handmade objects would hold a particularly special value for the dedicant if they were both the producer and the consumer. Oliver Pilz argues that miniature objects communicate shared conceptions and beliefs that have been agreed among a specific group of people through a signification system.⁵³⁰ Symbols that constitute the system create meaning within the specific group. It is likely, though, that these symbols changed, especially in long-lived cults as the members of the group, their needs and their cultural environment shifted. The same would apply to the transmission of a cult that adjusted to the needs and cultural setting of a new group and acquired a specific meaning – whether it was similar or different compared with that of the initial cult.

Miniature drinking vessels (the majority of miniatures recovered from Drakaina) and the few small-scale vessels of other types must have had a very specific function in the cult. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine precisely what they held (perhaps food, wool, metals, wine, oils or grains). There are no inscriptions that refer to the dedicated objects and their contents. Nonetheless, an indirect reference is the type of vessel itself; for example, drinking vessels are a direct reference to consuming liquids. However, pattern decorated kotylai do not have a regular-sized counterpart with which to compare their function. They may follow the very generic shape of Archaic kotylai, but they are not small-scale replicas of them. They have a history and life of their own as votives. Therefore, our interpretation of them as a drinking vessel is arbitrary. The intention might

⁵³⁰ Pilz 2011, 18-19.

had been to create a vessel that could be used as a container occasionally but was mainly used for votive purposes.

In her thesis on the significance of miniature pottery, Barfoed argues that the use of miniatures might be explained in relation to commemoration rituals.⁵³¹ Commemoration is familiar to us today in connection with the funerary realm, where monuments are set up in order to maintain a memory of the dead. Miniatures might stand as another type of ‘monument’, a surviving memorial of a past event.⁵³² Thus, an initial visit to a sanctuary site might have involved hunting, sacrifice, feasting and/or dancing, and perhaps the dedication of a vessel that might have been used in the dining event. Once these activities were finished they would have left almost no meaningful trace in the landscape; they would have been remembered by the participants, but nothing in the archaeological record remains to attest this experience. It is possible, therefore, that the initial cause of the gathering was maintained and enhanced by embedding a connotative meaning to an object. Leaving a small vessel after the end of the occasion might have been a means for the visitor to perpetuate it in their memory and the vessel would also have acted as constant reminder to the deity that they had to fulfil their part of the reciprocal relationship. ‘Commemoration’ is probably not the right word here, as it implies an action directed only towards the past while these small votives were possibly perceived as having a ritual function that persisted after their deposition.

A clear indication that miniatures operated in connection with the event after which they had been offered is the realisation that miniature krateriskoi, mainly from the cult of Artemis Brauronia, depict scenes of the actual rituals linked with the coming of age of

⁵³¹ Barfoed 2015, 57-59.

⁵³² Foxhall and Salmon 2013, 151-52 refers to the concept of ritual commemoration through miniatures.

young females.⁵³³ Although literary sources for such rituals are scarce, the scenes on the vessels speak of very specific performances. The gesture of the dedicant in offering the small vessel might be proof to the goddess that the dedicant had gone through the ritual. Similarly, scenes of sacrifice might have aimed at creating the same effect - duplicating the actual episode and ensuring divine recognition and gratitude. Miniatures assimilate the performance as a whole, not just an episode. One view of the meaning of rituals is that they are re-enactments of myths, and it is in accordance with this worldview to encapsulate the performance, the experience and the expectations of the users in a small vessel. It is possible that it was common knowledge that miniatures were employed as offerings at the final stage of communal events concerning more sensitive and personal matters.

A production detail of the dancing groups from Drakaina cave (discussed in the following chapter) makes sense if we see it in this light. They seem to reconstruct in terracotta a specific event - women dancing in a circle. Although the artisan took great care to create details such as bent knees, garments and hair, these are limited to the front view. The backside is always crude: a convex surface with visible fingerprints created by the craftsman pushing the clay into the mould. Less often, there are signs of a cloth having been used to smooth it or added clay to flatten it. Since the rear of the dancers is equally as visible as the front, we would expect to see some details, particularly given that this is the easier aspect with fewer features required. Since this is an attribute that is found on all of the groups, it is possible that it was not random. The aim seems to have been to direct focus onto the interior of the circle, as if to freeze the moment of the dance in time and perpetuate it, and so ensure ongoing divine protection.

⁵³³ Kahil 1965; 1981.

Susan Cole associates small-sized offerings with females, and the absence of miniatures from Panhellenic sites might be the consequence of women's exclusion from 'the contexts of politics, war and athletics'.⁵³⁴ However, this exclusion was limited to the physical presence of women in places where male prestige and authority was at stake. Women did dedicate gender corresponding artefacts such as shields for their male family members, while female deities had military functions, such as Hera as protectress of warriors.⁵³⁵ This view, though, may concern only athletic events or older specific aspects of the cult. As has been argued by Constantakopoulou regarding Delos, we do not see gendered dedications.⁵³⁶

The function of another group of votives might be similar: small female protomai with a wide typological variation, dating mainly to the fifth century. They might have had a commemorative function and were dedicated by women before and after their marriage. I discuss miniature protomai in more details in **chapter 8**.

I note above that the nature of religious concerns related to miniatures were personal. Female involvement with religion was often directed towards the well-being of the family.⁵³⁷ When women performed rituals, feasted or dedicated, it was often for the sake of the family. The quantity of miniatures might, then, mirror the presence or exclusion of women from a cult. Their presence certainly does not mean that men were not included and it should be remembered that 'male' concerns, like war or the outcome of a journey, were subjects of female anxiety and distress too. As the dedications to female deities

⁵³⁴ Cole 2004, 100-14. At Olympia, (married) women were excluded from the athletic event, but not from the sanctuary. As we learn from Pausanias (5.6.7, 6.20.8.), maidens were allowed to watch the games along with priestesses.

⁵³⁵ Baumbach 2004 discusses the role of Hera in various sanctuaries.

⁵³⁶ Constantakopoulou 2017.

⁵³⁷ Cole 2004, 98.

suggest, in ritual situations males and females often coexisted, but occasionally they had distinct roles, as they did in everyday life.

CHAPTER 7

TERRACOTTA DANCING GROUPS

7.1. Introduction

Among the figurative representations included in the ceramic assemblage of Drakaina Cave, a prominent group of figurines depicts women dancing. The state of preservation of the clay figurines is poor; they are fragmented and have been very badly affected by the humidity of the cave. Mostly carelessly produced and deposited, their remains offer a glimpse rather than a full picture of what these votives would have looked like. The figurines were attached to flat clay bases, usually handmade, which represented the dance floor. This type of dancing group is well known in Corinth and is also found in the Peloponnese, Athens, Boeotia, Thessaly, Magna Graecia, Cyprus, Crete and, par excellence, in Aetoloakarnania, Epirus, Albania and the Ionian islands as discussed below.

Their development and technical characteristics are the basis of my classification and description of the figurines. Although the majority clearly represent dancing groups, I also include other compositions that follow a similar pattern, having a base with a clay image placed on it. I also examine what their find-spots and production techniques reveal about the groups. Most of the figurines are mould-made. This is certainly a local peculiarity, since the regular type of dancing group found elsewhere is usually handmade. The Drakaina dancing groups are also compared to examples from other sites, in order to establish dates for the Drakaina assemblage. Finally, I offer an interpretation of the origin of the dancing group and the significance of the representation of dance in a circle for the ancient producers and consumers of this type of votive.

7.2. Excavation Data

With one exception, all the figurines of dancing groups, were found discarded in the large Apothetes 1 that occupied squares B2, B3 and Γ2 (fig. 17). They were recovered from layer 2; this was a rather homogenous and loose layer, which contained medium-sized stones and soil along with the broken figurative terracottas and extended to a depth of almost 1.5m. Since the pit penetrated the prehistoric deposit, much earlier material was found with the figurines. Some of the figurines had traces of burning on their surface. Figurine **5/99** was found outside the pit in square Δ3, close to the surface.⁵³⁸ Figurine **87/94**, which belongs to the same type as **5/99**, was found in square B3 in the rubbish pit.

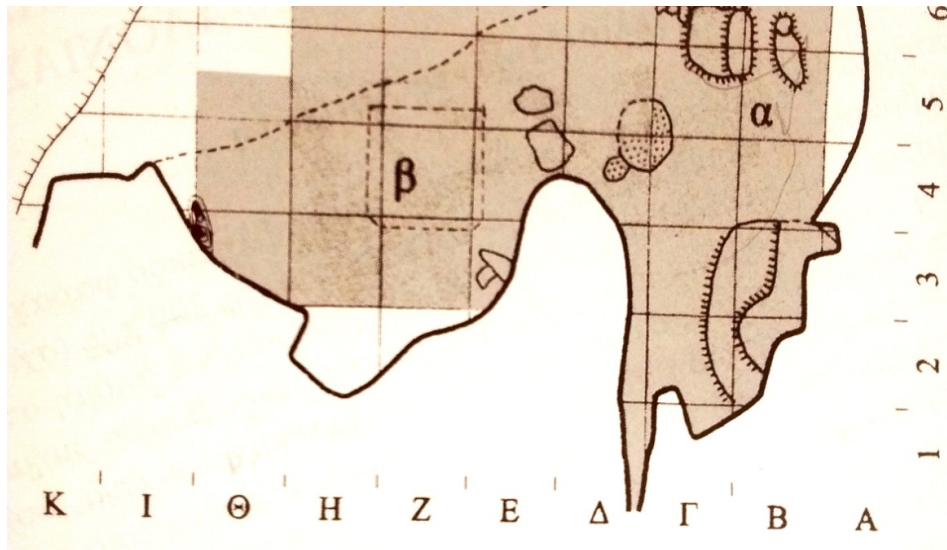


Figure 17. Plan of the sheltered, southern part of the cave: the broken lines to the right mark the boundaries of the pits (drawing by T. Xatzitheodorou).

The case is slightly different for the base sherds. Although the majority were found in the same rubbish pit, a few were discovered elsewhere. The first example is an intact clay disc of type 14 (**1/93**) from the northwestern part of square Z4; this consisted of a thick

⁵³⁸ In order to identify individual figurines, I use the number allocated during post-excavation processing (for example 5/99), along with the number of the type I have allocated them to (from 1 to 23) and the page number where they can be found in the catalogue (volume 2).

layer of ash, surrounded by stones with traces of burning. The disc shows traces of burning too. Sherds of burnt miniature skyphoi and a few bones were also recovered from the ash layer. Since figurine 71/94, which was connected to the disc during conservation, was not burnt, it appears that, during its life cycle, this dancing group was broken and the figurines were separated from the disc and disposed of in the rubbish pit, while the disc was exposed to fire. Two more base sherds were found in square Z4, but at a much deeper level, while a few more sherds came from square H3. Finally, base fragments were recovered from the surface layer of square Δ1.

The figurines are poorly preserved; they were found broken into very small worn pieces. As is evident from the excavation data recovered from Drakaina Cave, redeposition was a very frequent practice with ritual significance. Since the space in the cave was limited and at the same time exposed to natural phenomena, routine clearances of the site were necessary. This is demonstrated by the many small and large pits and recesses that were found filled with material such as ash, bones, pottery and terracottas. However, the material relics of celebrations were treated with consideration. The pattern of deposition suggests that different types of remains were grouped and disposed of in the many natural or man-made pits.⁵³⁹ During the massive clearance that took place during the Hellenistic period, a large pit was dug at the eastern end of the still-sheltered compartment (fig. 17), but only figurative representations were discarded there.

7.3. Production Technique

The majority of the figurines were mould-made. The only exceptions are the beak-face (types 2 and 3) figurines, which are handmade. The only example of type 11 is extremely

⁵³⁹ For the deposition pits and a description of the finds, see **chapter 4**.

chipped, and, as a result, it is very difficult to say with certainty how it was modelled. The type 4 figurine is also difficult to interpret, since it is very plank-like, but neither very crude nor very elaborate in its details. It is therefore difficult to classify it within one category or another.

Only a front half-mould was used to mould the figurines. A thin layer of clay was pressed into the mould, using fingers, to fill the hollows and impress the details. In some cases, the coroplast used a second layer of clay or filled the solid head and neck by adding successive layers of clay, in order to enhance the stability of the figurine.

Most of the figurines are curved at the rear. There are differences in the degree of the curve, even for figurines from the same mould, and these differences can be used as a means to identify separate groups of dancers.⁵⁴⁰ Even when the figurine is very solid, with a circular or semi-circular section, the back is carelessly flattened with fingers, a sharp tool or a cloth, and a slight hollow is formed. No special care is afforded to refine the surface or to depict details like costumes or movements. The only figurines that are formed from two half-moulded pieces are type 10 specimens. As the break in figurine **81/94** clearly shows, successive layers of clay were added before the two halves were joined.

7.4. History of the Motif and History of Research

Terracotta representations of women dancing in a circle appear early in Greek art. Here I examine only the terracotta groups and not the history of the motif's representation in other media, such as vase painting. By the 1990s, such terracotta groups had been

⁵⁴⁰ Type 14 is an example of this practice. Another means of distinction would be to examine the fingerprints that are very often visible on the rear.

recovered from a variety of sites and were treated as an artefactual sub-category and published incidentally, usually as a single group within the whole assemblage. There were, however, no attempts to include in-depth examinations within larger corpora of excavated remains. Stillwell was the first to present dancing groups as a distinct category.⁵⁴¹ She records 16 figurines from the Potters' Quarter at Corinth that represented circular dances, all of which were handmade. Since the 1980s, the excavations of various caves on the Ionian islands, in Corinthia and Aetoloakarnania have brought to light numerous dancing groups, and I briefly discuss these below.

The earliest known example of this type of dedication is the model of - probably - men dancing in a close circle found in the tholos tomb of Kamilari, close to Phaistos, and dated to the Middle Minoan III period (1700-1580 BCE).⁵⁴² Another example, again from Crete, is the depiction of a circular dance from Palaikastro dated to the Late Minoan IIIA period (1420-1380 BCE); this shows three women dancing around a lyre player and holding each other's shoulders.⁵⁴³ This is most likely the earliest known depiction of women performing a ritual dance to honour a deity.⁵⁴⁴

Five Geometric (eighth century BCE) bronze dancing groups, depicting five, seven or four figures dancing in the round, have been recovered from Olympia. A notable feature is that the dancing figures are nude women, as recognised by their bare breasts and legs.⁵⁴⁵ Their faces are bird-like. According to the excavators, the figurines depict a ritual dance to honour a nature deity, probably Artemis.⁵⁴⁶ Another bronze group from Arcadia, dated

⁵⁴¹ Stillwell 1952, 42-43; Merker 2000, 9-18.

⁵⁴² Levi 1923, 39-40; 1961-1962, 139-45, pl. 174a-b; Branigan 1993, 130, figs 6, 7.

⁵⁴³ Bosanquet and Dawkins 1923, 88-91; Warren 1984, 318-19, pl. 35a.

⁵⁴⁴ Warren 1984, 319.

⁵⁴⁵ Furtwangler 1890, 263, pl. XVI.

⁵⁴⁶ Andrikou et al. 2004, 277, pl. 147.

to the same period, shows four goat-like dancers. Their faces strongly resemble those of rams or stags, but it is possible that the figures depict humans wearing masks.⁵⁴⁷

The dancing group type of terracotta figurine attached to a clay base is very common on Cyprus, from where we have numerous examples from sanctuaries (Lapithos, Kourion, Aghia Eirini, Aghios Iakovos), as a form of ritual celebration related to various deities.⁵⁴⁸

The Cypriot dancers can be identified as male or female and appear to dance around a musician (playing either a lyre, a flute or a tambourine) or an object, such as a tree.⁵⁴⁹

Chronologically they belong to the Archaic and Classical periods, but almost none come from a datable context. Both handmade and mould-made figurines have been found on Cyprus.⁵⁵⁰

An Archaic dancing group found at Lindos seems to provide a connection between Cyprus and the Greek mainland, although this tradition never flourished on the Aegean islands. The Lindos group is handmade and represents two females dancing and one playing the double pipes. More figurines from this assemblage could belong to dancing groups, but, although their technique is the same, examples that form part of the base or of a head with a flute are classified simply as dancers.⁵⁵¹

7.4.1. Athens

In Athens, handmade dancing groups appeared at the end of the eighth century BCE.⁵⁵²

They have been recovered from the Agora and from various spots on the Acropolis. A

⁵⁴⁷ Brommer 1940, fig. 1,2; Schweitzer 1971, 155.

⁵⁴⁸ Cesnola 1885, 279; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 123, 279; Karageorghis 1995, 132-37.

⁵⁴⁹ Karageorghis 1995, 132; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 279.

⁵⁵⁰ Mould-made: Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. CXXVII, 5; handmade: Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pls XVII, 5, CXXVII, 6, CXXVII, 4.

⁵⁵¹ Blinkenberg and Kinch 1931, 478-79, pl. 87, nos 1955, 1956, 1961, 1958.

⁵⁵² Andrikou et al. 2004, 195, pl. 84; Georgaka 2008, 62-63.

few standing figurines, some of which were attached to a round base, were found in a rock-cut pit (deposit S 17:2) next to the Panathenaic Way close to the Eleusinion in the Athenian Agora.⁵⁵³ Among the numerous handmade cylindrical figurines found on the Acropolis, only four seem to belong to dancing groups. They were excavated from various locations on the Acropolis and in the Nymph sanctuary on the southern slope during work conducted in the 19th and 20th centuries.⁵⁵⁴

Stylistically, the figurines from the Acropolis, which are always handmade, may belong to a tradition that originated in the Mycenaean period.⁵⁵⁵ Various types are included: standing or seated figures, with cylindrical or plank-like bodies and pinched or a mould-made heads with or without a polos. They bear an obvious resemblance to the Phi, Psi and Tau figurines in terms of style, types and technique.⁵⁵⁶ They have more in common with Mycenaean figurines than with Archaic coroplastic production.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵³ Papadopoulos 2003, 143, 175-86, fig. 2.110. It is believed that the deposit was not ritual but consisted of refuse from a nearby workshop, since it included, in addition to votive-type artefacts (figurines and ceramics), trial pieces, many burnt sherds and ochre. The figurines were discovered close to the surface of the pit, so, although the pit is dated to the second half of the seventh century BCE, a later date is considered possible for the figurines: Kopestonsky 2009, 87-88.

⁵⁵⁴ Georgaka 2008 is a study of the Archaic handmade figurines that were found on Acropolis. She attempts a thorough investigation of the history of the excavations in the Acropolis area (15-30), starting with the 1836 excavation conducted by K. Pittakis and covering the period up to 2007 when the last figurine was discovered close to the Propylaia. The material from the Shrine of the nymphs on the southern slope of the Acropolis was found inside the peribolos wall that enclosed the sanctuary and in its immediate vicinity (29-30). For the rest of the figurines, several find-spots have been identified, including the area east of the Archaic poros Propylaia temple (28-29), the Athena Nike temple and the base of the cult statue (25-27), and, finally the debris from the first excavations conducted on the Acropolis.

⁵⁵⁵ Further details on the possible connection between Archaic and Mycenaean figurines are offered below in section 7.6.

⁵⁵⁶ Szabo 1994, 85-86.

⁵⁵⁷ Stillwell 1952, 31; Georgaka 2008, 79-80, 117-19 with a detailed bibliography.

The deposit Agora S 17:2 included a figurine attached to a ring foot with a pinched face and an elongated columnar body.⁵⁵⁸ Based on their morphological characteristics, more figurines from this pit could belong to dancing groups. The collection of P. and A. Kanellopoulos includes the only almost intact handmade dancing group found in Athens. It preserves three dancers attached to a clay disc; a fourth dancing figure and the one in the middle are missing. The bodies of the figurines are plank-like, as the previous examples; one figure is taller and thus holds a prominent position within the group. It is dated to the middle of the sixth century BCE. A second figurine in the same collection, which preserves part of the base and wears in all probability a polos-like headdress, clearly once formed part of a dancing group.⁵⁵⁹

Part of the ring base of a dancing group was found on the Hill of the Nymphs, in a pit containing many figurines; it has not been possible to restore any of the figurines to the base. Following the date of contextually related material, the base is regarded to date to the sixth century.⁵⁶⁰ Two plank-like figurines and a ring foot that formed part of a dancing group were found in the area of the Nymph sanctuary. The heads are missing from both figurines. The Acropolis excavations brought to light two more figurines that represent dancing figures. Both have a cylindrical lower body that gradually becomes wider towards the top. For each, the head is pinched and a polos-like headdress has been added on top, while two tiny discs indicate the eyes. Finally, a handmade figurine that depicts an aulos player could also have been part of a circular dancing group.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁸ Papadopoulos 2003, 175-77.

⁵⁵⁹ Georgaka 2008, 63-64.

⁵⁶⁰ Georgaka 2008, 63, unpublished assemblage.

⁵⁶¹ Georgaka 2008, 62.

There is a fragmentary figurine in the Louvre Museum with a plank body, a pinched head with a polos and extended arms. Its provenance is Megara, and S. Mollard Besques dates it to the first half of the sixth century.⁵⁶²

The Athenian handmade figurines that belong to dancing groups come from sanctuaries dedicated to female deities: the Nymphs, Athena, Artemis and Aphrodite.⁵⁶³ Their production starts in the middle of the seventh century BCE and lasts until the fifth. They are interpreted either as representations of the Nymphs dancing or as women dancing in honour of the Nymphs.⁵⁶⁴

7.4.2. Corinth, Corinthia, the Peloponnese and Western Greece

Stillwell notes 16 figures and fragments that belong to dancing groups and were recovered from a deposit at the northern edge of the Potters' Quarter in Corinth; they are dated to the first half of the fourth century BCE.⁵⁶⁵ All are handmade and have a tall, cylindrical body, a broad face with a polos on top of the head, wide flat arms and no decoration preserved on the surface. Two isolated figures from Corinth probably once belonged to dancing groups and have the same characteristics as the figurines from the Potters' Quarter.⁵⁶⁶ Three more fragments were excavated from the Shrine of the Double Stele and these are also dated to the first half of the fourth century. Two figurines found at Perachora probably once belonged to dancing groups. They seem to be of Corinthian origin to judge by their fabric. From the same site a fragmentary flat base was recovered that bears traces of at least four figures that were once attached to its surface. The dating

⁵⁶² Mollard Besques 1954, pl. III, B12.

⁵⁶³ Georgaka 2008, 127-29.

⁵⁶⁴ Georgaka 2008, 65.

⁵⁶⁵ Stillwell 1952, 42; the only exception is one of figures that might be of a later date.

⁵⁶⁶ Blegen et al 1964, no. 7.

seems to be earlier than the Corinthian assemblage, roughly the Archaic period perhaps even earlier.⁵⁶⁷

The excavation of the Kokkinovrysi site in 1962 and 1963 brought to light numerous figurines from dancing groups, mainly from a ritual deposit. The site is located outside the western wall of Corinth, next to a road running westwards from the city. A spring and an open-air stele shrine were the focus of cultic activity that spanned the seventh to the late fourth century BCE. The most common votive type is the terracotta dancing group, with each consisting of four or five dancers around, usually, a flute player. In total, there are an estimated 175 groups of four dancers and 135 of five. Their style and production technique are similar to those of the examples from the Potters' Quarter: the dancers are handmade figures wearing a polos and are usually shown around a flute player. The shrine at the Kokkinovrysi site was connected with the Nymphs and was probably visited by women before their marriage.⁵⁶⁸

From ancient Solygeia (modern Galataki), southeast of Corinth and to the south of Kenchreai, at the foot of Mount Solygeios lofos (hill), three almost intact dancing groups and numerous fragmented figurines that once belonged to such groups have been recovered.⁵⁶⁹ The sanctuary here, which was dedicated either to Hera or to Demeter, operated from the last quarter of the eighth century until the fifth. The dancing groups are handmade and two of the intact dances are identical. The latter depict women wearing long garments and, occasionally, a polos, holding each other's arms and dancing around a musician. The faces of the dancers are conventionally described as bird-like; whilst they are certainly non-anthropomorphic, to my mind, they are not particularly bird-like. The particular characteristics of the two identical groups include short foreheads, triangular

⁵⁶⁷ Payne et al 1940, 225-26, pl. 99, nos 142, 149.

⁵⁶⁸ Kopestonsky 2009, 218-20.

⁵⁶⁹ Daux 1958, 701-02, figs 17-19; Williams and Bookidis 2003, 236, 250.

noses, added clay discs for eyes and incisions for mouths. The bodies are thick and short, while the heads are fashioned on a disproportionately large scale. The hair frames the foreheads and falls back in long bulky masses.⁵⁷⁰ They are dated from the end of the seventh to the beginning of the sixth century BCE.⁵⁷¹ The second type consists of four dancers holding each other's shoulders. The figures are taller and slenderer than those of the previous examples, with cylindrical bodies. The heads are smaller and have a polos-like headdress on top. Signs of added dark colour are preserved on the polos, the hair and the long garments. The facial features are worked without much attention to naturalistic details. The faces are described as bird-shaped, but they look more like cynocephalic; if the coroplast intended to present the features of an animal, he chose those of dog or a fox or perhaps even a wolf, rather than a bird.⁵⁷² The group is dated to the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century BCE. This sanctuary was a rural one, located on a hillside, and served initially as an open-air shrine, with an altar surrounded by a temenos wall, before the building of the first temple in the sixth century.⁵⁷³

The cave of Lechova is 17km southwest of ancient Sikyon. A cult of the Nymphs, Pan and Apollo appears to have developed at the site from the sixth until the fourth century BCE. Among the finds from here are several fragments from dancing groups.⁵⁷⁴

Three more sites from the Peloponnese have yielded fragments of votive dancing groups. The mountainous town of Lousoi with its sanctuary of Artemis Hemerasia, situated on a hillside overlooking a plain, is famous for its good pasturage. Among the finds from the sanctuary is a single handmade figure with part of the base of a dancing group. The figure is very schematic, with a short body, extended arms and a rounded columnar head; the

⁵⁷⁰ Lorandou-Papantoniou 1999, 78-80.

⁵⁷¹ Lorandou-Papantoniou 1999, 87-88.

⁵⁷² Lorandou-Papantoniou 1999, 78, 'πτηνόμορφα'.

⁵⁷³ Verdelis and Broneer 1962, 182.

⁵⁷⁴ Kormazopoulou and Zigouri 1997, 1178; Lolos 2011, 595.

only distinctive characteristic is the open mouth, which is shown as if the figure were singing whilst dancing.⁵⁷⁵ Other figures follow the same iconographic pattern, with raised arms and an open mouth. Religious activity at the site started in the eighth century BCE, and the votive terracottas recovered include handmade and mould-made figurines, seated and standing females, female riders, animals, female protomes, satyrs, comic figures, masks and small boys.

A group of approximately 120 handmade figurines from the Argive Heraeum could once have formed dancing groups. A few seem to preserve part of the base. One type is similar to the figurines from Lousoi: short bodies, extended arms and a pinched face with an added strip of clay for the polos. A second variation has a slightly more plank-like body, a pinched face, two clay discs added for eyes, a strip of clay that represents a stephane or polos and three vertical strips at the back of the head that represent hair. In some cases, special care was taken to show the gender of the figures: breasts or beards were added to otherwise similar figures. White slip and red and black paint is occasionally preserved on the surface of the figures.⁵⁷⁶ The Heraeum assemblage comprises more than 2,500 figurines, and many of these could once have belonged to dancing groups, especially those among the handmade pre-Achaic group of figurines. The large number of musicians is noticeable. All of them came from deposits around the temple, from within a black layer that probably constituted burnt sacrificial remains.⁵⁷⁷ The excavator, lacking relevant comparanda, considers them pre-Achaic based on their resemblance to Mycenaean and even earlier examples. Nevertheless, more recent excavation data, from

⁵⁷⁵ Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, 40, fig. 33. Figures of a similar style from dancing groups are now included in the collection of the Agrinio Museum.

⁵⁷⁶ Waldstein et al. 1905, 16, 18 nos 3-4, 21-23.

⁵⁷⁷ Waldstein et al. 1905, 3.

stratified sites, place the production of this type of handmade figurine in the Archaic and Classical periods.⁵⁷⁸

Two more handmade dancing groups of three dancers surrounding a musician, with similar characteristics, have been discovered in Argos. The figures have short columnar bodies and details are formed by balls of clay added to the head.⁵⁷⁹ The context, however, is unusual; they were placed in a vessel with other figurines and are associated with Geometric graves nearby.⁵⁸⁰

Two handmade fragmentary groups were discovered, still attached to their bases, in Tiryns and the Heraeum. The figures have pinched faces and preserve signs of white slip and paint on the surface. The first group probably represents an unusual dance, since the two figures stand one behind the other.⁵⁸¹

In Boeotia, several handmade dancing groups have been recovered. One group, now in Budapest, depicts four dancers with cylindrical bodies and extended hands. The heads were modelled in a peculiar schematic way: pinched and ending in a heart-shaped projection at the top and back of the head. This group is dated no earlier than the first quarter of the sixth century.⁵⁸² A second example is now housed at the Kestner Museum (Hannover, Germany). It is dated to the second half of the sixth century and includes six figurines (one of them is the musician) with mould-made heads and handmade bodies.⁵⁸³

Several dancing groups have been excavated from Mount Helikon and the cave of the

⁵⁷⁸ Stillwell 1952, 25-32.

⁵⁷⁹ Courbin 1954, 180-81, fig 41.

⁵⁸⁰ Courbin 1954, 178.

⁵⁸¹ Schliemann 1886, 152- 153, nos 82, 83.

⁵⁸² Szabo 1994, 70-71, fig. 72.

⁵⁸³ Liepmann 1975, 52; Pasquier 1977, 377-78; the latter lowers the date to the fifth century.

Nymph Koroneia, close to the modern village of Aghia Triada, but, since the assemblage has not yet been published, not many details are known.⁵⁸⁴

In the Corycian Cave on Parnassos, several handmade circle dances have been excavated. The cave, situated high above Delphi, has a stone altar outside its entrance and a short wall inside.⁵⁸⁵ The assemblage includes a marble statue of Pan (among others), pottery (with perfume containers being the most popular shape), thousands of animal astragali, standing and seated figurines, and figures of gorgons and sphinxes, cocks and dolls. Unsurprisingly, for objects from the first half of the fifth century the most evident artistic influence comes from Corinth and Boeotia, while Athens is the most prevalent influence in the fourth.⁵⁸⁶

The excavation revealed two types of dancing groups. The first is formed of the typical handmade figures with cylindrical bodies and pinched heads. Several examples belong to this category. Th. Kopestonsky attributes the production to a Corinthian workshop, since a technique similar to that employed for the Kokkinovrysi material was used to secure the figure to the base (the addition of a strip of clay).⁵⁸⁷ The second type consists of 12 mould-made female figures attached to a base that resembles a wheel. Since a figure of Pan playing the syrinx, made with the same technique was found and though not joining the base, it was probably once part of the group.⁵⁸⁸ The women wear long peploi and mostly have their hands resting at their sides; a few exceptions have their hands extended.⁵⁸⁹ The heads are austere in style and the hair is depicted as being worn up so as to frame the face, without a headdress or other ornaments. The height of the figurines is

⁵⁸⁴ Vasilopoulou 1987; Vasilopoulou 1994, Vasilopoulou 1995.

⁵⁸⁵ Amandry 1972, 257; 1981, 90.

⁵⁸⁶ Jacquemin 1984, 153-54.

⁵⁸⁷ Kopestonsky 2009, 96-97; Pasquier characterises them Corinthian as well: Pasquier 1977, 371.

⁵⁸⁸ Pasquier 1977, 372.

⁵⁸⁹ Pasquier 1977, 370.

17.5cm and the diameter of the base is 29.6cm, making this the largest known dancing group. A. Pasquier dates it to the middle of the fifth century, citing the peplophoroi statues as parallels.⁵⁹⁰ This group provides the closest parallel in terms of production technique and style to several examples from Drakaina Cave.

Figurines from dancing groups of unknown provenance (from an illicit excavation) have come to light in Aetoloakarnania, specifically Palairos. They have pinched heads and cylindrical bodies, with the exception of five figures that have columnar bodies. The arms are extended and one figure wears a polos. According to C. Tzouvara-Soule, they should be dated to the Archaic period.⁵⁹¹ A large assemblage has been recovered from a cave close to Vonitsa, at the southern side of the Ambracian Gulf. It is in some ways comparable with the Kokkinovrysi material, including more than 600 figurines belonging to dancing groups. However, in contrast to the Kokkinovrysi examples, the wide stylistic diversity of the Vonitsa assemblage suggests the shrine was visited by many. Among others, there are handmade figures with cylindrical or columnar bodies, with pinched heads with pointed or disc faces, wearing a polos or stephane, and with open mouths as if singing. There are groups with between three and 11 participants.⁵⁹² Additionally, the assemblage includes female protomes, pinakes, relief plaques, standing and seated figures, fruits and lamps. The iconography includes references to Aphrodite, Demeter, Kore and Dionysos.

In Koudounotrypa Cave, the cult of the Nymphs was introduced immediately after the foundation of the nearby city of Ambrakia by Corinth in the eighth century. Fragments

⁵⁹⁰ Pasquier 1977, 373-75.

⁵⁹¹ Tzouvara-Soule 1999, 379, fig. 101.

⁵⁹² Hatziotis 1989, 51; Tzouvara-Soule 1999, 376, pl. 96; Gioutsos 2012, 201-05.

of figurines with cylindrical bodies and pinched heads belonging to dancing groups have been discovered in the cave and dated to the Archaic period.⁵⁹³

Two isolated finds with no precise provenance are exhibited at the Agrinio Museum; one is known to have come from the area of Mastros.⁵⁹⁴ Both have a cylindrical body and a pinched and pointed head, and preserve part of the base. They are dated to the Archaic period.⁵⁹⁵

During the 1989-1990 excavations in Konispol Cave (Albania), 18 fragmented figurines from dancing groups were recovered; they belong to three distinct types. There are, firstly, figurines with a cylindrical body, arms extended at the sides and a polos on the head that ends in a projection at the back of the head. Secondly, there are figurines with a column-shaped body, hands extended and a low polos or stephane on the head. Finally, there are figurines with a columnar body, extended arms and a pinched head. They are all dated between the Classical and Hellenistic periods.⁵⁹⁶

The further dancing group comes from Apollonia. It consists of four figures with extended but not interlocking arms and pinched heads. One of the figures preserves a low polos and all are fixed on a fragmentary base. A peculiarity of the group is that the figures are modelled with their mouths open, as if they were singing. N. Ceka believes that they represent men, while Tzouvara-Soule believes they are women dancing. The group is dated to between the sixth and fourth centuries BCE.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹³ Romaïos 1916, 52-54; Tzouvara-Soule 1999, 380, figs 109-10.

⁵⁹⁴ A cave with historical period material was recently excavated close to the village of Mastros by the Ephoreia of Paleoanthropology and Speleology.

⁵⁹⁵ Tzouvara-Soule 1991-1992, 77-93; 1999.

⁵⁹⁶ Amore 2006, 107-17, fig. 1.

⁵⁹⁷ Ceka 1982, 114-15; Tzouvara-Soule 1988-1989, 32-33.

7.4.3. Ionian Islands

Various dancing groups have been found in deposits and within a cave on Kerkyra. The cave has been identified as that of the Nymph Makris and, later, Jason and Medea, as the location where they celebrated their marriage. To commemorate this event, the Kercyreans made sacrifices annually at the nearby temple and inside the cave for the Nereid Nymphs.⁵⁹⁸ The entrance of the cave lies immediately below the remains of a temple of an unknown deity. Figurines from at least two dancing groups have been discovered in an Archaic deposit at the Vlachopoulos plot, in the city of Kerkyra. They have bodies with a cylindrical lower part and flattened upper part; the arms are extended but not interlocked and the heads are pinched and pointed. The excavator dates them to the end of the sixth century.⁵⁹⁹

Abundant material, including dancing groups, has been recovered from various caves on Leukas. Handmade figurines were excavated from the Aghia Kyriaki Cave at Nydri.⁶⁰⁰ They have cylindrical, flattened bodies, pointed heads with pinched faces and a strip of clay added on top that ends in a projection at the back of the head (depicting probably a polos). The arms are extended slightly at the sides of the body, but without touching the arms of other figures. These figurines are dated to the Archaic period.⁶⁰¹ They are similar to types 2 and 3 from Drakaina.

From the Asvotrypa Cave (3km southwest of the town of Leukas), 57 figurines have been recovered, including intact and fragmented examples. They depict women dancing around a double-flute player. There are three types: 20 figures have a very plank-like body which is almost aniconic; 26 are manufactured with the same technique but have

⁵⁹⁸ Romaios 1925, 203; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.1153-60.

⁵⁹⁹ Spetsieri-Choremi 1991, 188-89; Preka-Alexandri 2010, 32-34.

⁶⁰⁰ Tzouvara-Soule 1999, pl. 100, nos 1,2,3,5.

⁶⁰¹ Dorpfeld 1965, 323-24.

modelled details, such as legs and breasts, while the heads sport a stephane; and 11 examples have bodies similar to the latter group but a polos like those on the figures from Nydri. Eight of the figurines depict musicians. They are dated between the Archaic and Hellenistic periods.⁶⁰²

Four plank-like figurines attached to a base were found in the Choirospilia Cave, close to the ancient city of Leukas. They have pinched faces and the characteristic polos headdress. They date to the end of the sixth century BCE.⁶⁰³ An early sixth-century dancing group of four plank-like female figurines was discovered in the Charalavi-Trypa Cave. Each figure has a pinched face and a polos on top of the head.⁶⁰⁴ Their arms are extended at the side as they dance around a double-flute player. The terracotta figurines preserve traces of white slip and painted decoration.⁶⁰⁵

Large groups of dancing figures have been recovered from two further caves, but the material has not yet been published. The first, from Meganisi east of Leukas, contains many figurines of the typical style of Leukas: an almost aniconic figure sporting the characteristic flaring polos headdress.⁶⁰⁶ A much larger assemblage of the same type of figurines was excavated at Boliatso Cave (Kavallos). Much of the colour details remain on the surface of the clay, and the heights of the figurines range from 8cm to 15cm.⁶⁰⁷

Cave situated on the Paliki peninsula of Kephallonia, has also produced evidence of dancing groups, although only fragments of the bodies are preserved. The figures were handmade with a flat surface. The recipients of the cult were Artemis Bendis and probably

⁶⁰² Tzouvara-Soule 1999, fig. 7-95; Yioutsos 2012, 188-89.

⁶⁰³ Zahos Douzougli 2003, 84.

⁶⁰⁴ Andrikou et al 2004, fig 127.

⁶⁰⁵ Zahos and Douzougli 2003, 98; Yioutsos 2012, 188.

⁶⁰⁶ Meganisi was first excavated by Benton (1931-1932, 230-31); the material mentioned above was discovered during the second phase of excavations at the site conducted by the Ephoreia of Paleoanthropology and Speleology, Athens: Hatziotis 1994, 842.

⁶⁰⁷ Hatziotis 1994, 842; 1995, 836; 1997, 1176.

Dionysos.⁶⁰⁸ Drakospilia and Drakaina are the only systematically excavated caves on the island, so it is possible that they are not the only sites where this type of votive was used on Kephallonia in antiquity.

A dancing group was discovered in Magna Grecia, at Paestum (Posidonia), in a deposit at the Campanian Heraeum and was dated to the sixth century BCE.⁶⁰⁹ The four figurines attached to a base are similar in style to the example now in the Kestner Museum. They have plank-like handmade bodies and mould-made heads, and wear a high polos.

7.5. Dating Dancing Groups

The dating of the Drakaina figurines by means of any stratigraphic sequence is very difficult since the many redepositions during the life of the sanctuary have disturbed the stratigraphy. Therefore, their dates have to be established on the basis of style and close parallels from other published sites. To complicate matters further, as we have seen, the published material from other caves and sanctuaries is difficult to date with accuracy, due to redepositions and the lack of any clear stratigraphy. All these issues, together with the fact that most of the dancing groups are handmade and, consequently, difficult to date on the basis of style, result in broad time spans being offered rather than more precise dates. Given the well-documented material from Corinth, I use the evolution of the style of figurative representations principally from there, and secondly from Attica, in order to date the figurines from Drakaina.

Most of the figurines from the cave are mould-made, and this makes them relatively rare. The only other known mould-made examples of terracotta dancing groups are those from

⁶⁰⁸ Samartzidou-Orkopoulou 2015, 465-72.

⁶⁰⁹ Zanotti Bianco and von Matt 1961, 48, fig. 28 Ammerman 2002.

Cyprus, one example from Delphi, the group of uncertain provenance housed at the Kestner Museum and the example from Paestum.⁶¹⁰ The latter two are composites – the heads are mould-made and the bodies are handmade - and the Delphi group is hollow and made from two joining moulds. The production of mould-made dancing groups seems to have been a local preference. After examining the local production trends of terracotta dancing groups from various sites across Greece, it is evident that all types from different places exhibit individuality, as there is not a common type for e.g. the Ionian Islands and another for the Peloponnese.

The preponderance of this type of mouldmade votive on Cyprus, in western Greece and particularly on the Ionian islands (mainly in caves for the latter area) raises specific questions concerning their interpretation and their function as part of a cult. I assume that their dedication reveals an accepted characteristic of the cult, concerning either a particular deity or a specific ritual significance. The silence of ancient writers on this matter, and cave shrines in general, leaves us with only the archaeological data with which to address these questions. Information concerning their foundation, the way they were related to the city-states, their myths and local panthea, the communities they served and the place they occupied within local religious systems is decidedly scarce.

Since this wider area of Western Greece is considered to have been within the zone of influence of Corinth, one of the most important colonial and commercial powers of the ancient world, most researchers attribute this type of cult to the influence of Corinth.⁶¹¹ However, the distribution pattern of sanctuaries that have revealed dancing groups reveals a concentration in Corinthia and to the north and west of Corinth. In particular, most of the cultic centres are located on the Ionian islands and the facing western coast of the mainland, Epirus and Aetoloakarnania. Nonetheless, it is possible that Corinth adapted

⁶¹⁰ Young and Young 1955, 39-40.

⁶¹¹ Tzouvara-Soule 1999, 372; Kopestonsky 2009; Yioutsos 2012.

and disseminated a cult that was widespread in this area during its exploration and settlement of this region.

Mould-made figurines appeared in the seventh century and continued to be produced until the second century BCE. Handmade figurines were also produced in this period. For both types of manufacture, production evolved, but never to the same degree as that of pottery; types that appeared at the end of the seventh century were still produced in the Hellenistic period.⁶¹² From the third quarter of the seventh until the third quarter of the sixth century, the composite type seems to have dominated figurine production. However, from the end of the sixth century onwards mould-made figurines produced from a single mould dominated.⁶¹³ As far as decoration is concerned, black, red and brown were used in the Archaic period; from the second half of the fifth century until the end of the Hellenistic period the same colours were still used on figurines, but in a manner similar to the style of conventionalising pottery.⁶¹⁴ Yellow was often used as an underpaint for gilding on hair and drapery.⁶¹⁵ White diluted wash and a thicker slip began to be used as a base for the paint or on its own after the second half of the fifth and during the fourth century.⁶¹⁶ Stone sculpture was a source of influence for the coroplasts. Some of the types found in Drakaina cave (9, 14, 17, 18, 19, 10 and 21) demonstrate a consciousness of the sculptural trends of their era, although, as with pottery, figurine types are produced for long periods following their first appearance.

Based on these observations, the figurines from Drakaina can generally be dated to the period between the Archaic and the Hellenistic eras. However, particular characteristics

⁶¹² Stillwell 1952, 4-7, 9-12. Nicholls 1969, 3-7.

⁶¹³ Roebuck 1951, 10.

⁶¹⁴ Vlassopoulou 2003, 28-32.

⁶¹⁵ For the use of color in the Classical and Hellenistic periods see Merker 2000, 12-14.

⁶¹⁶ Roebuck 1951, 5-6; Merker 2000, 13-14.

and similarities in terms of style with other published material can narrow the time span for at least some of the Drakaina dancing groups.

Figurines of types 5, 7, 8, 9, 14 and heads 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 are modelled in a similar way.⁶¹⁷ There are differences in scale; in particular, heads 20 and 21 are larger and consequently indicate that the figurines from which they came were bigger. Type 7 has parallel folds on the skirt and projects the right knee instead of the left (the rule for the rest). These figurines bear an obvious resemblance to the Corycian Cave mould-made dancing group. The garment and the style of the hair along with the facial features are similar, and it is tempting to assume that the coroplast had some such group in his mind as a model when manufacturing the Drakaina groups. The Delphi group is dated to the middle of the fifth century,⁶¹⁸ and this seems a possible date for these Drakaina examples.

Catalogue numbers 1, 4 and 6 have the common characteristic of a plank-like torso.⁶¹⁹ Although they are mould-made, they are reminiscent of the sixth-century Corinthian composite figurines. Furthermore, the fabric accords with such a date. The marks left by the coroplast's tools on the rear, indicating an attempt to achieve an equal thickness across the height of the body, suggest the sixth-century Corinthian workshop.⁶²⁰

Types 2 and 3, pinched-faced figurines, bear a certain resemblance to figurines from Leukas.⁶²¹ This type remained unchanged from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. The examples from Drakaina seem Archaic, though a later date might be possible.

⁶¹⁷ Type 14: Hatziotis 1995, 836-37, pl. 256a.

⁶¹⁸ Pasquier 1977, 371.

⁶¹⁹ Type 1: Hatziotis 1995, 836-37, pl. 256a.

⁶²⁰ Stillwell 1952, 10; Lorandou-Papantoniou 1999, pl. 15, 47.

⁶²¹ Zahos and Douzougli 2003, 84-85, 98, AE 3365.

Type 10 figurines, wearing a high-belted chiton, suggest a later date, probably in the early third century.⁶²²

Finally, types 11, 12 and 13 are very worn and the heads are missing. Nonetheless, their rears are very similar to those of the popular fifth-century types, and so they were probably made during this period.

Types 1, 4, 6	Second half of the sixth century
Types 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20,	Second half of the fifth century
Types 2, 3	Fifth century
Type 10	Third century

Table 2. Dating of the Drakaina dancing groups by type.

7.6. The Origin of the Figurines

Within Well V on the North Slope of the Acropolis in Athens, Broneer located a Mycenaean figurine next to seven handmade Archaic figurines.⁶²³ Considering this discovery, it is possible to assume that some people of the Archaic period had seen Mycenaean figurines and were aware of their style and production techniques. These figurines would presumably have been esteemed for their symbolic value, antiquity and sacredness. As objects created and used by respected ancestors, the figurines would have held a special value to the claimants of this ancestry.⁶²⁴ As C. Antonaccio rightly observes, ancestor cult, hero cult, tomb cult and the cult of relics all ‘fabricated links with the past’.⁶²⁵ The reasons for this are still debatable and the regional variations of this form of cult do not allow for the establishment of a single explanation.⁶²⁶ What matters though

⁶²² Stillwell 1952, 18-19.

⁶²³ Broneer 1938, 200, fig. 35 a-d, A.F. 624, A.F. 653, A.F. 608. Georgaka 2014, 73-77.

⁶²⁴ Antonaccio 1995, 5-9.

⁶²⁵ Antonaccio 1994, 404.

⁶²⁶ Antonaccio 1995, 6-7.

is that the similarity between the Mycenaean and later figurines is no mere coincidence, but, in all probability, resulted from the observation of actual Mycenaean figurines.

Ancient coroplastic production was very conservative. The establishment of a specific figurine style was often preserved for centuries and as a result the use of new pottery styles did not entail the creation of new figurine types. Thus figurines, as artefacts connected with religious customs and not produced solely for market needs or consumption, remain unchanged for centuries or else change was very subtle and usually connected with local variations of ritual behaviour.⁶²⁷ Figurines were certainly marketable products, but they were produced and sold close to the cult they were made for. Non-Greek figurines that have been found in Greek sanctuaries (and vice versa) were initially produced for the religious needs of local communities and they ended up in faraway places because occasionally they were carried by individuals or groups of people who travelled for commercial or other reasons.⁶²⁸ There is no such indication offered by the archaeological data, that they were traded for profit in faraway markets, as were, for example, the highly esteemed vases produced in Athens and used as funerary gifts by the Etruscan elite or the oriental goods found in Greek graves of the Geometric period.⁶²⁹

Another aspect connected with their dedication is that they are not luxurious or prestige goods, but were easily produced and acquired by anyone; so the act of dedicating them would have been a common, immediate and easy way to approach a deity and show piety. This does not exclude more or less wealthy individuals, or the existence of an organised

⁶²⁷ Georgakaki 2008 refers to seventh-century material with obvious Mycenaean associations.

⁶²⁸ The distinction between Greek and non-Greek figurines is based mainly on the comparison of production techniques, fabrics and styles with well-known Greek types and close parallels.

⁶²⁹ I refer to isolated finds that cannot be associated with a known settlement, trade network or tradition. An example is the 'pre-colonial' Phoenician objects found in the west: Dommelen 1998, 71-74.

cult, but relates rather to the nature of the dedicatory occasion, which would have been a more personal act but not necessarily a solitary one or an act limited to just a few. In fact, the material remains indicate that sacrifice and dining had integral roles within the ritual customs practised at sanctuary sites. So, ultimately, the dedication of these clay artefacts was part of a series of customs i.e. *nomizomena*, that involved the participation of a social group. The members of the group were related by common interests and concerns, and through the adoption of a common ritual behaviour.

7.7. Local Peculiarities and their Role in Cultic Practice

Examination of all the figurative representations from every sanctuary would reveal many common elements within each assemblage, like a preference for a particular hairstyle or headdress that is repeated on the protomes and figurines, and indicates a meaning for the ancient visitor that escapes our understanding. A good example is the helmet that appears on many of the figurines from Lousoi. The excavators argue that two fifth-century BCE votives, a bronze statuette and a terracotta figurine, might be reflections of the seventh-century cult statue; in particular, the bronze figure may have been a small-scale copy of the statue.⁶³⁰ The characteristic helmet was modelled on many of the small figurines. One explanation for this is that Artemis may have been depicted in various moments from the local myth that ties her to the sanctuary (a myth known to every visitor to the site). Another explanation is that it was a local trend that demonstrated the bond with the goddess, as she was known through the cult image. The same applies to the cult at Solygeia; the coroplast repeatedly used a specific type of representation that is found only in this assemblage.⁶³¹

⁶³⁰ Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, 34-37.

⁶³¹ Lorandou-Papantoniou 1999, 78-80.

The clay images from Drakaina repeat some characteristics found in various other groups of votives. I refer here only to those that are evident on the dancing groups. The first is the characteristic triangular headdress; this seems to have appeared rather early and is modelled on protomes and figurines. The second is the disproportionately large heads, which seem to indicate the depiction of a mask on some of the dancers (some of the heads are modelled to scale while others are out of scale). The depiction of masks is sometimes revealed and sometimes implied by the material. However, in order to understand this particular feature, it is necessary first to examine the rest of the figurative terracottas.

It can be observed that female figures clearly dominate, as evidenced by the garments and details like the headwear (the polos and stephane), breasts and hairstyles. Regardless of their small size, the persistence of precise details in their manufacture signifies that these were intentional and might have had a symbolic value for the dedicators and participants in the rituals.⁶³² Even if their appearance is not refined and their manufacture sometimes crude and careless, the repetition of the general schema - a dance in a circle - seems to be a representation of a very specific activity, that a dance in a circle was the actual performance that took place at the sanctuary. Dancing is an activity that regularly involves the participation of more than one individual - the most common composition comprises four or five dancers and a musician - and it is primarily a social occurrence. Therefore, we can assume that social bonds would have tied the groups of dancers.

The way that the coroplast modelled and arranged the figurines on the base is another detail that seems to have held significance for the participants in cave rituals. As noted above, the figurines represent women dancing in a circle. The base accurately defines the field of the dance; the figures are placed on the perimeter of the disc 'looking' inwards, towards either the dancers on the other side of the circle or the musician in the middle.

⁶³² Stillwell 1952, 12.

Actually, since movement is almost always implied by a slight turn of the torso and a projecting knee, in real life the dancers would probably not see anything apart from a blur of faces. Their hands are interlocked, and, as a consequence, no one individual is marked out as the leader of the dance or the focal point of the scene; all the dancers seem to hold the same level of importance within the performance. This is also indicated by the height of the figures, which seems to be the same for all participants, at least as far it is possible to conclude from the evidence of the reconstructed groups, where the average height is close to 9cm.

Those small votives recreate a sense of performance and three-dimensional space which is constructed by the depiction of the dancers moving in the round, in a close circle surrounding the source of the music, namely the double-flute player. In real life, the dancers would have moved, slower or faster, following the rhythm provided by the musician, in a dimly lit space during the day or a much darker one if rituals took place at night; it must have been an intense and emotional experience shared by all the participants. Recent research has focused on the importance of shared experiences during interaction at collective events for members of a group.⁶³³ Examining the possible representation of such experiences can reveal a lot about the nature of such groups in the past.

Each figurine was modelled in a single mould; the details were impressed on one surface only as if the intention was for the figure to be viewed from the front, like a relief, and almost two-dimensionally. The back of the figurines is more often curved than not, and in some cases is filled with an extra layer of clay. The rear is never polished or properly finished, and fingerprints and the marks from the coroplast's tools are always visible on the crude surface. The intention of the dedicator is made explicit by this odd choice; it is

⁶³³ Chaniotis 2011, 265; De Marais 2011, 165-66.

odd because, once the figurines have been fixed to the base, forming a closed inward-looking circle, the 'front' of the figurine, the side that one would presume was intended to be viewed, could not be seen easily. Therefore, the groups were not created and dedicated with the intention of offering a faithful representation of a real event in small-scale. They did not exist just for the sake of the viewing pleasure that they offered the god or the pious visitor to the sanctuary, which is certainly one of the roles of votives and in some cases of cult statues. As Pausanias records, the cult statues made by Phidias were pleasing to the gods to whom they were dedicated and certainly to visitors to the temples too.⁶³⁴

Another significant detail is that the ground, defined by the clay bases, limits the perimeter of the dancing figures and so bounds the space occupied by the dancers. The inner focus of the figures created a three-dimensional space, but this space is created through the base and is firmly fused to the ground. Almost all the protomai and reliefs that were found in the cave have a hole for suspension high up, so viewing of one particular side is ensured. The dancing groups, on the other hand, recreate in detail an event as seen from the perspective of the dancers who actively participated. By the way they are modelled and placed, they exclude any external viewer and place the significance of the event in the interior of the circle.

The representation of the dancing groups is not typical of a votive. Their creation and existence is not fully explained by them being just 'on show'. It is much more likely that they had a more active role during rituals. As artefacts worthy of ritual deposition, they demonstrate or presuppose an active engagement on behalf of the participants at the performances and are revealing or descriptive of what took place during the ritual. This, however, was not in the form of a linear narrative. They could have had a functional role

⁶³⁴ Paus. 5.11.9.

during rituals, as is indicated by their manufacture; a characteristic of the type 8 and 9 dancing groups (described in detail in the catalogue) is that they were actually assembled in the cave, or, more accurately, their manufacture allowed manipulation of the group, by setting the figures on the base that represents the dancing floor. This feature is informative about the life history of these objects, as actors in the staging of a performance that took place among real co-worshippers.

So the dancing groups stood as an actual representation of a very specific performance: the material evidence of an otherwise invisible act of piety. Joseph Day argues that Archaic epigrams on dedicated objects were meant to interact with the viewers by means of actively engaging them in a performance that resulted from reading aloud the epigram that referred to the initial act of dedication.⁶³⁵ In the case of the dancing groups, the self-referential nature of the votive as a representation of an actual ritual event triggers the enactment of the gesture and operates in the same way as the formulaic language of epigrams.⁶³⁶

If indeed some of the dancing groups were produced or finished at the site, then this feature reveals at least two potential aspects with regard to their possible function. Firstly, someone presumably reassembled the figurines on the base every time people gathered at the site. As a result, they were used more than once. This presupposes that someone knew that they were there and were available to be used. So the maintenance of the cult was presumably the responsibility of one or more people who regularly visited the shrine. Second, this manipulation could be ritually significant. Another telling detail is that the type 8 figurines were modelled from the same mould as type 14, which is the most common of the dancing groups.

⁶³⁵ Day 1994, 38-41.

⁶³⁶ Day 1994, 42.

The next set of questions that emerges concerns who controlled the production of the votives, who decided and selected the subject and the details of the representation (for example, which of the god's symbols should be included for a specific cult), who deposited them and on what occasion.⁶³⁷ It is highly improbable and rather simplistic to conclude that a coroplast designed and modelled the groups, and then someone bought them on their way to the sanctuary. A congruence of efforts was needed in order to produce these specific figurines that were used in such a particular way. Therefore, I will now turn my attention to how a local cult and any regulations that ensured its continuity might have been introduced. I focus on cult in caves and those sanctuaries that include in the iconography of their material record dancing groups and representations of dances, along with literary references to dancing being an element of rituals.

7.8. Nymphs and the Significance of their Cult

In antiquity, Nymphs were considered deities of nature, usually daughters of rivers, who inhabited springs and groves, where they spent their time dancing.⁶³⁸ In the sacred realm, dance was exclusively connected with Nymphs, both when they were on their own and when they accompanied other deities, such as Artemis, Aphrodite and Hera.⁶³⁹ Very often, they assisted in the raising of gods and heroes: Zeus was raised by the Geraistiades Nymphs after he hid in a cave to escape from his father Kronos; Hermes' mother was a Nymph called Maia (midwife) who lived in a cave in Kyllini, where Hermes was born; Dionysos was given by Hermes to Nymphs who raised him.⁶⁴⁰ The iconography of the cult of the Nymphs includes Pan, Silenoi and Satyrs, Hermes, Dionysos and river gods.

⁶³⁷ Antonaccio 2005, 109.

⁶³⁸ Bonnechere 2001 on sacred groves; Larson 2001, 8-11.

⁶³⁹ Naerebout 1997 with bibliography.

⁶⁴⁰ Larson 2001, 64-65.

According to both written testimonies and the archaeological record, open-air shrines and caves were the geographical focus of the cult.⁶⁴¹ Archaeological remains from caves are connected with the Nymphs by figurative iconography and epigraphic records. Kokkinovrysi and Vonitsa, where there are no inscriptions that mention the Nymphs, the connection is determined by the large numbers of dancing groups and the iconography on relief pinakes with mythological representations of deities (such as Hermes, Pan, Dionysos) and scenes of women - who are interpreted as Nymphs - dancing.⁶⁴²

As daughters of rivers and inhabitants of groves and caves, the Nymphs had a special connection with many locations within the Greek landscape. In local myths they are connected with eponymous heroes as either their wives or their mothers. They are important in the construction of genealogies that connected local groups, through their ancestry, with a particular place, and to reflect through this lore divine consent and authorisation. The ultimate ancestor for these groups was normally some god.⁶⁴³ Nymphs were mediators between gods and humans, and between a specific place, in the sense of a geographic area, a territory that included the land, rivers and mountains, and the people who inhabited the area; thus, they created bonds. These links were maintained and demonstrated with material practices that were repeated and endured through time.⁶⁴⁴ Nymphs are described as minor deities and companions of gods, although they have a divine nature as well. The cult of the Nymphs evolved as an inseparable cult of civic religion, as it demonstrated the tie between a place and a polis. This is exhibited by the

⁶⁴¹ Hom. *Od.* 13.102-12: 'At the head of the harbour is a long leafed olive tree, and near it a pleasant, shadowy cave sacred to the Nymphs called Naiads'; Paus. 6.22.7; Hom. *Hymn. Aphr.* 5.97-99; Dion. Alic. I.38.1; Lucian *On Dance* 272; Strabo *Geography* 8.3.12; Men. *Dys.* 433-34, 950-53.

⁶⁴² Kopestonsky 2009, 99-100.

⁶⁴³ Nilsson 1949, 125, 243.

⁶⁴⁴ Larson 2001, 65; De Marais 2011, 167.

depiction of the eponym Nymph on many coins minted by colonies in Magna Grecia and western Greece.⁶⁴⁵

The cult of the Nymphs demonstrates a connection with social groups, organised settlements and poleis. In addition, the votives seem to be associated with women. The open shrine at Kokkinovrysi is believed to be the place where new brides dedicated the loutrophoroi used for the bridal bath. This aquatic aspect seems to facilitate transitions between various life stages. The spring itself and the numerous miniature loutrophoroi attest to this conclusion.⁶⁴⁶ The name Nymph means ‘bride’ in Greek; it is a term that was applied to a young woman from a little before until a little after her actual wedding.⁶⁴⁷

Rituals connected with the Nymphs were associated with every phase of the female life cycle: during pregnancy and childbirth, and, as kourotrophoi, during the raising of children.⁶⁴⁸ A notable detail is that Nymphs are referred to mostly in the plural, impersonally; thus they were recognised as divinities who act as a group and as a divine personification of a young woman. Whilst their name identifies them as brides (Νύμφαι), in myths they are mostly maidens, accompanying the maiden goddess Artemis. When their virginity is put at risk, voluntarily or involuntarily, Artemis punishes them cruelly.

The very high mortality rate during pregnancy, childbirth and childhood contributed to the formation and spread of the belief that divinities who were wild and difficult to propitiate were responsible for the difficulties of these stages of life.⁶⁴⁹ Their anger caused the deaths of pregnant women and babies. In order to reduce and soothe this anger, women practised specific rituals - making sacrifices and offerings of cakes and honey -

⁶⁴⁵ Seltman 1960, 75, pl. IX, 6, 8; Sear 1978, nos 737, 741, 785, 789, 794, 813; Tzouvara-Soule 1999, 376.

⁶⁴⁶ Kopestonsky 2009.

⁶⁴⁷ LSJ s.v. ‘νύμφη’ 282.

⁶⁴⁸ Larson 2001, 100.

⁶⁴⁹ Parkin 2013, 40-58.

well before they were due to give birth.⁶⁵⁰ In many cases, a pregnant animal was sacrificed, as a substitute. In this way, women hoped to please the goddess and save their own lives.⁶⁵¹ If the delivery was successful and the child survived infancy, the parents would send it, before pubescence, to serve the goddess in return for this favour. The names of these divinities or the epithets that accompany childbirth and kourotrophoi deities are reminiscent of their ferocious nature. In Boeotia they were called Pharmakides (those who poison), and they were sent, according to myth, by Hera to prevent Alcmena from giving birth to Heracles.⁶⁵² Galinthias, the birth assistant to the goddess Eileithyia, out of pity for Alcmena tricked them, they released their hands and Heracles was born. As a punishment for deceiving Hera, Galinthias was turned into a weasel.⁶⁵³ During the festival for Heracles in Thebes, Galinthias had her own sanctuary, founded according to tradition by Heracles, close to the peribolos wall that was a monument to the Pharmakides.

Another name found elsewhere in Greece for birth deities is the Erinyes (in Argolis and Aigeira, Achaea); these were euphemistically known as Eumenides, Semnes (Kolonos, Athens) or Epitelides (Argos).⁶⁵⁴ Series of votives, including both epigraphic and

⁶⁵⁰ For the offering of cakes in childbirth, see Papaikonomou and Huysecom-Haxhi 2009.

⁶⁵¹ In Sikyon pregnant women sacrificed a pregnant sheep in order to lessen the anger of the Eumenidai: Paus. 9.11.3.

⁶⁵² Paus. 9.11.3. The three Pharmakides stood outside Alcmena's room with their arms crossed, thus preventing the birth of Heracles. Their name and the intertwining of their arms evoke magical practices and the belief that knots held a magical power and were therefore not allowed during birth. For knots during birth, see Bettini 2013, 69-82. Antoninus Liberalis calls them Eileithyiai and Moirai: *Metam.* 29.

⁶⁵³ For weasels as birth assistants, see Bettini 2013. Very often weasel bones are found in sacrificial contexts, especially in caves, but their significance and meaning are not understood.

⁶⁵⁴ Aeschylus, *Eu.* 834-836; describes in detail how the anger of the Erinyes is soothed and how the Athenians, through establishing a cult, ensured their favour.

sculptural material, have been found in numerous places around Greece.⁶⁵⁵ They usually reference the grateful dedicant and the identity of the goddess or depict three female figures holding snakes.⁶⁵⁶ At the Argive Kriterion, they are named Epitelides, who fulfil wishes; they are depicted as three imposing female figures seated on thrones.⁶⁵⁷ The main characteristic of the aforementioned deities, who are known through a diverse range of names and are very often related with local heroes and heroines, is their ferocity and the need to expiate them. As a consequence, the rituals often had the character of an endeavour or the deities themselves were presented as judges, a role they acquired after suffering an injustice. The Nymphs had roles related to fertility, childbirth and child-nursing,⁶⁵⁸ and their cult included animal sacrifices, as we know from both textual and archaeological evidence.⁶⁵⁹ The Pitsa Cave in Corinthia is one of the earliest examples attesting to this function of the cult. Among the votives are figurines that depict pregnant women.⁶⁶⁰ Deities related to childbirth were referenced with the epithets Geraistai and Genethliai.⁶⁶¹ A small altar found in Athens inscribed with the names of kourotrophoi divinities includes 'Geraistai Nymphai Genethliai'.⁶⁶² Callimachus refers to a cult of the Amnisides Nymphs in his discussion of the cult of Eileithyia on Cretan Amnisos.⁶⁶³ Another example that connects childbirth with Eileithyia comes from the Cave of

⁶⁵⁵ Papahatzis 1978 offers a synopsis of the sanctuaries and the names of birth divinities; Wise 2007 provides a detailed analysis of votives, divinities and sanctuaries.

⁶⁵⁶ Papachristodoulou 1968, identifies a series of rock reliefs in Argolis with three women holding snakes and a further figure holding flowers as depicting the Eumenides and a dedicant. Also on inscriptions: Κάλλεον Ἑυμενίσι, Ἑυκράτεια Ἑυμενίσι ἐυχάν; Milchhoefer 1879, 152, 174, and pls. IX and X. Also Pingiatoglou 1981, 144-152.

⁶⁵⁷ Vollgraff 1958, 530.

⁶⁵⁸ On conception, childbirth and marriage (Nymphs are included in the long list of divinities concerned with these aspects), see Parker 2015, 439-43.

⁶⁵⁹ Eur. *El.* 625.

⁶⁶⁰ Orlandos 1935, 197; 1964.

⁶⁶¹ These divinities are appeased in order to prevent them from polluting the land: Parker 2005, 218.

⁶⁶² *IG II²* 4547.

⁶⁶³ Callim. *Hymm* 3.15

Eileithyia on Crete (Heracleion), where among the dedications there were figurines depicting pregnant women, birth scenes and votive terracotta boats carrying foetuses.⁶⁶⁴

7.9. Social Groups and Communal Cults

Important questions concerning cult in caves include who maintained them, what social needs were served by the cult and who visited the sanctuary on a regular basis. As recent research has established, many states had a hierarchical social structure comprising subdivided groups. Groups generally claimed that their authority derived from ancestry and connections with a god or hero. Such structures were likely a 'pseudo-kinship' system of administration and every polis, group or family constantly evolved, changing their regulations, alliances, myths and festivals.⁶⁶⁵

The discovery of moulds at the Pitsa and Drakospelia caves, along with styluses used to inscribe dedications on vessels in the Cave of the Nymph Koroneia, indicates another activity that took place in caves.⁶⁶⁶ A visitor's piety may have been demonstrated by the creating some of the figurines and inscribing and dedicating vessels that had been used earlier during a feast. In practice, this means that those who were responsible for organising the meetings would bring the mould - or it was already stored at the site - and prepare the clay. This would explain the slight variations in the modelling of the figurines and the way they were placed on the base, even when they were manufactured from the same mould.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁴ Kanta et al. 2011, 34-35, fig 18, 108-109, nos 108-109, 111-118, nos 110-115.

⁶⁶⁵ Van Wees and Fisher 2015, 4-5.

⁶⁶⁶ Orlandos 1964; Samartzidou and Orkopoulou 2015, 465-71.

⁶⁶⁷ This seems to be the case in Vonitsa, but not in Kokkinovrysi. The latter cult obtained its dancing groups from the Potters' Quarter of Corinth; this is clearly indicated by the homogeneity of the whole assemblage despite its long time span: Kopestonsky 2009, 235-37.

The character of cult in caves seems to have had a connection with the polis or other large settlements in the vicinity of the cave. However, large-scale and expensive dedications are absent, as are stelae inscribed with political and judicial decisions along with information about the running of the sanctuaries. Other than some rare exceptions, where the quality of the votives and monumental investment reveal the involvement of a polis or wealthy individuals (Cave of Nymph Koroneia, Corykian Cave), the archaeological record tends to reveal a similar pattern. From the early Archaic until the end of the Hellenistic period, groups of people gathered in caves, where they sacrificed animals and shared a common meal that was prepared and cooked in the cave.⁶⁶⁸ This would indicate that preparation was required and that these events were not spontaneous gatherings and celebrations. They were probably scheduled events, like every other public festival. Sporn concludes that rituals in caves were related to private issues, but without specific reference to the nature of these concerns. In addition, Sporn assumes that only small groups visited caves, since celebrations in caves were not included in official calendars; implying that poleis did not have an interest in cave cult.⁶⁶⁹

As A. Purvis argues, it is often difficult to discern the degree of control exercised by a polis on religious matters, as many cults were organised by deme, clans, groups or other subdivisions of a state because they were deemed necessary and important for the interests of the polis.⁶⁷⁰ We should consider though that the array of control that a polis could exercise was beyond the dichotomy of public and private or state and personal. R. Parker includes Pan and the Nymphs amongst the wealth-giving gods that a polis might

⁶⁶⁸ In many cases, cultic activity appeared much earlier and continued after the Hellenistic period. However, the point to note here is that cultic practice changed substantially during the Roman era: the production of figurines and miniatures, and the dedication of fine ware stopped or at least decreased; dining became the focus of the gatherings.

⁶⁶⁹ Sporn 2013, 202.

⁶⁷⁰ Purvis 2003, 1-3.

venerate for its own prosperity.⁶⁷¹ If rituals and celebrations in caves were related to moments of transition in the lives of males and females or moments of crisis (fear of death), then it is rather unlikely that a polis remained uninterested in exercising control over formalised expressions of crucial rites of passage. The patterns of these rituals are, at their core, similar and found everywhere across Greece, although they are always related with a different variation of a local myth; this supports the hypothesis that this type of cult served a public purpose.

In Drakaina, there seem to have been two coexisting layers of influence. One is related with the city of Pronnoi, at the outer limits of which the cave was situated, above the only passage that linked the port of Poros with the interior of the island. The cave and the acropolis of Pronnoi had visual contact, while the whole island had an established, since the early fourth century, network of towers (including the Poros acropolis) that communicated visually (Fig. 18).⁶⁷² It thus seems that the site was significant for Pronnoi. Furthermore, since the site was primarily a dining cave, it is reasonable to assume that people came from Pronnoi and other nearby settlements. If the representation of dancing is related to some kind of transition ritual, then this, again, would have been connected with the interests of the polis. In Athens, Sparta and Crete, armed dances were employed in ephebic initiation rites.⁶⁷³ During their training, which lasted two years, Athenian ephebes formed groups (*lochoi*) that were guided by two older citizens on regular circuits of the city's temples and garrisons, which marked its boundaries.⁶⁷⁴ The act of circling repetitively was considered protective, and can be seen as reflected in dance.⁶⁷⁵ The

⁶⁷¹ Parker 2005, 418-19, 431-32 (as *kourotrophoi*).

⁶⁷² Randsborg 2002a, 19.

⁶⁷³ Lonsdale 1993, 162-68.

⁶⁷⁴ Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42. On patrolling of the borders by ephebes, see Vidal-Naquet 1981. In their second year, ephebes were known as *peripoloi*: Pollux 8.105; also Thuc. 8.92.2; Lys. 13.71.

⁶⁷⁵ Lonsdale 1993, 163.

pyrrhic dance, as an armed dance, was initially connected to the rite of giving armour to new citizens in order to denote their entry to full Athenian citizenship; this marked the participants' exit from childhood under the protection of gods and their new role as protectors of the city.⁶⁷⁶ Paola Ceccarelli concludes that the Pyrrhic dance was performed in cult, in festivals and in funerary rituals. The military character of the dance was gradually forgotten, but one of the purposes of the dance remained the integration of individuals into society.⁶⁷⁷ Dancing at various festivals was an essential element in the lives of younger and older citizens, and dancing in communal gatherings was essential for the construction of a collective identity.⁶⁷⁸

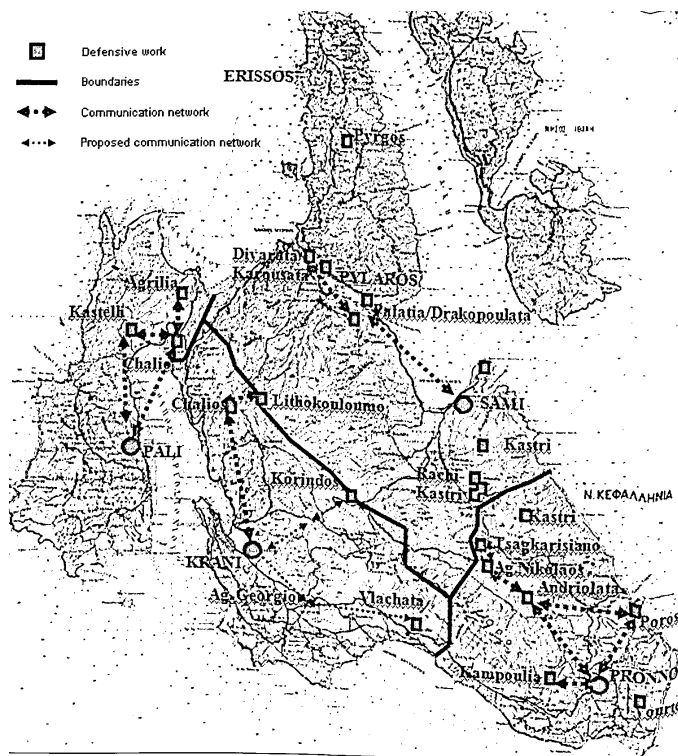


Figure 18. Communication network on Kephallonia (from Pharos 2013, 42, fig. 48).

⁶⁷⁶ Lonsdale 1993, 164-65. For an extended discussion of the pyrrhic dance, including material evidence and the contexts in which it was performed, see Ceccarelli 2004, 91-117.

⁶⁷⁷ Ceccarelli 2004, 115-17.

⁶⁷⁸ Cole 2004, 228.

If the position of the sanctuary was of interest to the city of Pronnoi, how can we classify the concerns of individual groups as they are reflected through the votives? If the gender of the protomes and figurines can be considered as an index of the gender of the dedicants, then certainly women formed a large proportion of the visitors. However, the variety and number of drinking vases attests to male presence in the sanctuary. In terms of dancing, we have equally as much information for male dances as we have for female. Additionally, it is more likely that it was men who travelled through the port as traders and other travellers. The variety in terms of the geographic range of origin of the drinking cups supports the presence of the latter group, but we should not exclude the possibility that locals imported and dedicated this pottery. It is possible that the sanctuary functioned as a meeting place for regional and interregional groups or individuals, and that it had multiple roles as a religious, social and political centre - a picture seen at many other sites.⁶⁷⁹ I determine the gender of the dedicants on the basis of the nature of the pottery. Thus, if we presume the pottery was brought by sailors and/or merchants, since women did not travel as much as men, then it would have been dedicated by men.

C. Calame explicitly links women dancing in a circle with age-class initiation. He understands female dances within society as fundamental links between the stages of a woman's life, from childhood to marriage and mature age.⁶⁸⁰ In ancient Greece, the gods and goddesses who facilitated such female transitions were Artemis, Aphrodite, Hera, Athena, Dionysos, Demeter and Kore. For male transitions, they were Apollo, Artemis, Dionysos, Hermes and Zeus.

The role of dancing as a ritual is thus of special interest to the life of the polis and society, since it related to the education and integration of citizens. The choice of remote and wild caves as locations in which to educate and introduce the civic rules of conduct seems, to

⁶⁷⁹ Funke and Haake 2013, 9-12.

⁶⁸⁰ Calame 1997, 114-16.

the modern mind, rather peculiar. Such a choice may be explained by the fact that caves were a convenient type of sanctuary in distant and inaccessible areas that marked the boundaries of a community. It was essential for new citizens were aware of the city's land limits so as to be able to defend it. This is reflected in the usual character of initiation rites which commonly included a period of seclusion in the wild and hunting with an older member of the community for males and the motifs of pursuit and escape for females. This stage was followed by the assumption of an animal form for the initiate or the god who helped in the transition. Specifically, for women, most of the scenes that refer to initiation are located in nature, where the abduction of a Nymph or a mortal, often a heroine and sometimes even a goddess (Artemis, Persephone), occurs. One of the objectives of such rites of passage was to mark the transition from an uncivilised to a civilised stage as clearly as possible. The intensity of these experiences was necessary in order to secure the creation of a bond between the participants and the landscape.

Another link that brings together the political and the natural environments, and the religious sphere and the territory of a polis is the relationship of gods and of the local pantheon. A sacred area is created, extending the protection and authorisation of gods to the actual limits of a polis or to the boundaries of a community.⁶⁸¹ This relation is usually manifested in local myths or rituals, such as processions from one sanctuary to another. It was common for Apollo to have his sanctuary in the centre, usually the agora, of a city, whilst that of his twin sister Artemis was located at the margins of the same unit.⁶⁸² Ritual acts performed on a regular basis that connected regional and interregional sanctuaries had the power to form and maintain political and territorial alliances.

For the pantheon of the ancient city of Pronnoi, in the territory of which Drakaina is located, we have only indirect evidence from numismatics: Zeus, Apollo, Heracles and

⁶⁸¹ Cole 1984; 2004, 3-6.

⁶⁸² Calame 1997, 91-138; Cole 2004, 17, 50-51, 30.

Kephalos are depicted on coins.⁶⁸³ In the coastal area of Skala, south of Poros, are the remains of a temple that has been interpreted as dedicated to either Apollo or Poseidon.⁶⁸⁴ Finally, on the top of Mount Ainos are the remnants of an open-air shrine where the weather god Zeus Ainisios was worshipped.⁶⁸⁵

At Drakaina, dancing and singing belonged mainly to the sphere of female rituals, since most of the dancing figurines can be identified as women, as noted above. Maidens, on the threshold of marriage, usually performed dances.⁶⁸⁶ Maidens of marriageable status danced; if seen as a stage of the initiation ritual, dance represented a process of ‘domestication’ after a symbolic attempt to run away.⁶⁸⁷ Rituals including fleeing and pursuit were certainly popular, and are reflected in myth.⁶⁸⁸ The *Metamorphoses* of Antoninus Liberalis (40) narrates, among others, the story of Britomartis. She was born in Phoenicia and travelled first to Argos and then to Kephallonia, where the locals established a cult and worshipped her as Laphria. She then ran away to Crete, where she took the name Diktyнна, after being hidden among nets in order to take cover from Minos, who chased her for nine months. As a local Cretan goddess, she was sometimes known as Nymph, nurse of Zeus, keen on hunting, and as the alter-ego of Artemis, who fled from place to place and had several sites of worship on the island. Her next destination was the island of Aegina, where she disappeared in the sacred grove of Artemis, again running away from her previous rescuer, and took the name Aphaia.⁶⁸⁹ Further sources mention the myth, but this version includes Kephallonia as one of the places where a cult of the

⁶⁸³ Kraay 1976, 96; Postolakas et al 1868, 91-98; Randsborg 2002, 49-50; *SNG Cop. Akarnania* 452-77.

⁶⁸⁴ Soteriou 2013.

⁶⁸⁵ Benton 1931-1932, 225; West 1985, 167.

⁶⁸⁶ Calame 1997, 2, 141-69.

⁶⁸⁷ Kowalzig 2007, 281.

⁶⁸⁸ Lonsdale 1993, 181-85.

⁶⁸⁹ Celoria 1992, 100.

wandering goddess was established, generally identified with Artemis either as Diktynna, Aphaia, Britomartis or Laphria.⁶⁹⁰ I return to the myth below, in order to discuss in detail the origin and relations of the Kephallenian cult (**chapter 10.2, 10.6**).

The pattern of choral dance has the effect of purifying and cleansing. As Barbara Kowalzig argues, the dance itself is an offering to the goddess (usually in the context of the cult of Artemis). This concerns the wild self of the now-tamed dancers, who assume a new civilised role.⁶⁹¹ Taking the form of an animal is common in the previous stage of the initiation.⁶⁹² The performances (chasing, dancing) re-enact the actual myth through rituals and achieve the social integration of the participants within the community. Victor and Edith Turner refer to such phases during rituals as liminal, because of their potential 'to purify, revitalize and redefine a social structure'.⁶⁹³ During this phase, various body parts are represented as disproportionately large or small, while animal features appear on human bodies. Thus, social cohesion is achieved and a new community of worshippers is created through this common religious manifestation.

Dance is one of the rituals related with the initiation of prepubescent girls. The most renowned festival for this age-group is the Arkteia at Brauron, but the same pattern of initiation is attested at many other sanctuaries.⁶⁹⁴ As Calame argues, the foundation myth for the cults of Artemis includes a sacred animal, a gift of the goddess – in this case a bear - that is unlawfully killed, prompting the anger of the divinity. Artemis is expiated with a sacrifice repeated on a regular basis that substitutes the human victim that the goddess asked for initially as a sacrifice.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹⁰ Callim. *Hymn* 3.188; Diod. Sic. 5.76.3; Paus. 2.30.3.

⁶⁹¹ Kowalzig 2007, 283-84.

⁶⁹² Lawler 1964, 50-73, 102-06; Gundersen 2005, 66-67.

⁶⁹³ Turner and Turner 1982, 202-06.

⁶⁹⁴ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988; Cole 1984; Marinatos 2002.

⁶⁹⁵ Calame 1997, 189-90.

The city of Pronnoi, as the nearest settlement, had a special interest in the cave, mainly because of its important position close to the port of Poros and overlooking the only passage from the interior to the sea. At least one literary testimony links Kephallonia with a cult of Artemis. Cult in caves seems to have been private in the sense that it may not have been central to the position of the polis that controlled it. As a result, it is the preferred option for groups that wished to perform their religious duties in a more private manner. Nonetheless, such cult is not different in terms of the ways it expressed piety and worship.⁶⁹⁶

7.10. Dance as a Language

F.G. Naerebout describes dance as ‘communal human behaviour, consisting of intentional, rhythmic, structured, mostly stereotyped bodily movement, coordinated by sound, which behaviour is recognized by those partaking in it or viewing it as a special category of behaviour.’⁶⁹⁷ Dance is indeed mainly a form of behaviour. Engaging in action and performance is a means of experiencing and expressing through the body: understanding the world, communicating and forming one’s own identity as an individual or/and participating in a larger group. These two dimensions – as a personal experience and as a communal event with specific socio-political perspectives within a community - are present in any analysis of dance.⁶⁹⁸ Y. Garfinkel has shown that the depiction of dancing figures is universally one of the earliest artistic human expressions, from Greece and Rome to the Americas, China, Europe and the Near East.⁶⁹⁹ His main contribution is the distinction of certain criteria in archaeological assemblages that imply the performance of dance; as he admits, it is difficult to ascertain the visibility of dance within

⁶⁹⁶ Purvis 2003, 2-5.

⁶⁹⁷ Naerebout 1997, 165-66; 2006, 39.

⁶⁹⁸ Soar 2014, 1.

⁶⁹⁹ Garfinkel 2003.

material remains. A further observation is that dance is invisible in the archaeological record because of the dominance of the Western Christian worldview, where dance does not have the same significance as it had in antiquity or continues to have in other cultures. As a consequence, the material evidence of dancing is misinterpreted or neglected as insignificant, or overlooked as insufficient to lead to important conclusions.

Recent approaches to religion, which emphasise embeddedness, perhaps allow us to understand more fully the role of dance in religious ceremonies.⁷⁰⁰ However, as Naerebout rightly observes, the terms ‘celebrate’ and ‘worship’ are referred to in modern scholarship without any description of what each entails.⁷⁰¹ It seems that dance, music and song were inseparable elements of public life during festive events.⁷⁰² As a result, dance may have been a prerequisite to the rites that were performed in those sacred spaces from which dancing groups have been recovered.

The basis of the comparative invisibility of circular dancing groups as votives probably lies in the poor publication of excavated sites, where prominence is usually given to other categories of material, such as sculpture, pottery and larger figurines. As a rule, dancing figures are only partially published, usually just the best-preserved specimens. Thus, false impressions are presented concerning how common they were, the considerable stylistic variability of their production and their significance as cultic objects.

Consequently, to accept that dancing performances took place in sacred spaces and to explore and delineate their religious, social and even political significance is as far as we can go. In terms of the actual dance, and the music and singing, that took place at these sites, we cannot rely on eyewitnesses or the scanty testimonies that attempt to reconstruct them. As a dynamic performance that can be executed again, dance is destined to live in

⁷⁰⁰ On embeddedness of religion in society, see Bremmer 1994, 1; Eidinow 2015.

⁷⁰¹ Naerebout 2006, 41.

⁷⁰² West 1992, 13.

the historical present, i.e. in the course of the life of the generation that performs it and will remember the song and the music along with the movements, in order to repeat or teach it. This is an optimistic conclusion, as every performance is destined to be different from those that have come before. It is also reasonable to argue that dancing in a specific place may trigger particular emotions and experiences, based on the natural characteristics of the site (located in a cave or an open-air sanctuary, performed at night or by day). The similarities and differences of the figurines' body positions may indicate similar or different types of dance. The masks should be considered as paraphernalia of dance. Yet, the reconstruction, experience and comprehension of a dance that took place in a specific place at a given historical time are impossible endeavours, since the dance's structural elements, movement, music and tempo, are unknowable.⁷⁰³

Any attempted analysis of dance draws on current archaeological theory on embodiment and the exploration of emotions.⁷⁰⁴ As a result, it leads to interpretations of the lived experience as they are perceived through the body as a medium to communicate ideas, feelings and an identity that unites or separates the performer and the spectators. Modern notions concerning dance fail to conceive its religious dimension as a ritual and, consequently, an event inseparable from other religious rites. Experiencing dance performances along with other rites and celebrations, such as sacrifices, communal meals, drinking, participating in games and contests, creates an emotional bond between participants. The memory of this experience is an element that creates a link that will ensure unity. Emotions transform rituals into dynamic processes, prone to constant change.⁷⁰⁵ As such, a dance is likely to change every time the dancers and viewers change. The emotional impact of dance changes with each performance, depending on the

⁷⁰³ Naerebout 2006.

⁷⁰⁴ Soar 2014, 1-4.

⁷⁰⁵ Chaniotis 2006, 226, 230, 234.

experiences, the emotions and the dynamic of each specific group as they interact. As A. Chaniotis has argued, the emotional power of rituals was consciously manipulated as a formative medium in releasing tensions, creating bonds and ensuring cohesion, while setting up new social groupings in ancient societies.⁷⁰⁶

In this chapter I have examined terracottas that represent women dancing in a circle around a flute player. Their date ranges from the sixth to the third century. These dedications seem to replicate actual dances that took place in sanctuaries. Dancing had in all probability a higher status in Greek society than we have come to assume. It is possible that it was equally important to sacrificing, feasting and performing other rites. Dancing in caves seems to have held an additional layer of importance. Cave cult was strongly connected to anxiety and fear,⁷⁰⁷ and dance as a stage in a ritual is assumed to have offered at least a step towards a resolution.

⁷⁰⁶ Chaniotis 2006, 230.

⁷⁰⁷ Aston 2011, 156-60.

CHAPTER 8

FIGURATIVE TERRACOTTAS: FIGURINES, PROTOMAI, PLAQUES

8.1. The Archaeological Context and the Organization of the Material

The collection of figurative terracottas comprises the material that was excavated from Drakaina Cave between 1992 and 2002. They date mainly to the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods. Across all periods, the quantity of clay images found in the cave is much smaller in terms of countable items than that of pottery vessels. In total, there are 120 figurative terracottas and numerous fragments. This number includes a range of different types: mainly protomes and a few specimens of standing and seated figurines, relief plaques and a singular plastic vase.

As described in the introductory chapter, all figurative terracottas and fragments were inventoried as they were excavated. The majority were discovered in area α (squares B2, B3, C2 and C3), in a large semicircular bothros designated Apothetes 1 in the catalogue. Reaching a depth of 1.6m, the bothros cuts into the prehistoric deposits. It is not evident from the excavation data what prompted this large-scale clearing of the site and the burying of the terracottas. Owing to the disturbance caused by the digging of the bothros, there are no stratigraphic correspondences that would allow us to date or relate the terracottas with reference to pottery within the limited area of the shrine. The comparanda cited come mainly from other published sites.

However, the few terracottas that were excavated from outside this deposit indicate that the clearing did not result from a natural phenomenon, such as an earthquake, but was a deliberate choice made by the community that worshipped at the site, probably in order to declutter it after a long period of use or after a period of abandonment. The worshippers appear to have dug a pit where they broke and discarded all the figurative terracottas apart from two significant pieces: a large protome and a terracotta statuette. These were kept

most likely for display, as is indicated by their find-spot close to the foundation of a wall that could be connected to an unidentified structure inside the cave. These two clay images stand out from the rest of the assemblage as they belong to the earliest phase of the cult. If their context is indicative of their use - rather than related to the method of excavation or other unknown factors - then it is perhaps possible to see them as representations of the images of the deities that were important to the audience of the shrine.

Figurines from a specific site can further our understanding of the nature of the cult and the cultic profile of the god or deities who were worshipped there. In the absence of literary sources that explicitly inform us about the nature of the cult, we may be able to understand aspects of the cult by examining all the available material remains. In additions to figurative terracottas, vessel iconography, inscriptions, the preference for specific ceramic shapes and decorative themes are equally informative, along with the known history of the region and the position of the shrine. In addition, it is important to study the different categories of evidence in combination with other sources of the material, including any information that might be available from myths and other cults. All these data can be used to contribute to an understanding of the story of a specific site; yet the reconstruction of the history of the cult or site depends ultimately on the available archaeological material.

In order to take into consideration, the variability of types, styles and differences in scale of many otherwise similar protomai, I consider the artefacts, intact and fragmented, according to their typology, iconography and chronology, starting from the earliest material and proceeding to the latest. The terracottas have been sorted primarily into thematic groups, as their small number and fragmentary state of preservation does not allow for a systematic survey of stylistic development or influences from major centres of production. Furthermore, comprehensive study of regional terracotta styles is impeded

by the lack of studies of Kephallenian terracottas from systematic excavations on the island. To judge from the available evidence, Artemis appears to be one of the recipients of cult at Drakaina, since the assemblage comprises various representations of the goddess as Potnia Theron, protector of wild newborn animals and hunter. The choice of iconography sheds light on the relation between the cult of Artemis (and the other deities venerated in the cave) and the effect cult activity had on coroplastic production.

8.2. Quantities

An Archaic group consisting of six figurines, 15 protomai and three plaques can be distinguished. Three figurines and 58 protomai can be dated to the Classical period. Of Hellenistic date are two figurines, 21 protomai and two relief plaques. The bulk of the artefacts from the Classical and Hellenistic corpus, though, are dated to the transition between the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, from the end of the fourth to the early third century. Protomai account for three-quarters of the entire corpus of votive terracottas. The dancing groups have been discussed separately in **chapter 7**.

8.3. Scale

The majority of the terracottas are small in size, measuring as little as 5cm high, which is the estimated height of item **37/94** (P.H. 4cm), while the average height of the terracottas is less than 8cm. Based on the classification created by G. Merker for the terracottas from the Acrocorinth sanctuary, they should be considered miniatures (size 1).⁷⁰⁸ The largest protome from the cave measures 17cm (**1/2001-2002**), which corresponds to Merker's

⁷⁰⁸ Merker 2000, 9-10. She considers as miniatures those figurines that are well preserved and detailed. She believes that the archetypes are miniatures coming from metal figurines. However, she distinguishes another category of small figurines, namely those that result from the shrinkage of moulds. Another factor which distinguishes the former from the latter is the presence of details. Merker 2000, 14-15.

size 3. In general, they fall mostly into sizes 1 (3-8cm in height) and 2 (up to 15cm in height), meaning that they can be carried easily in one hand.

It is worth highlighting here that the majority of the vessels are miniatures or of small size – a choice discussed in detail above (**chapter 6**).

8.4. Introduction to Protomai

The term ‘protome’ refers normally to a female terracotta type consisting of a head, neck and often the upper half of the torso.⁷⁰⁹ While the absence of a back is a shared feature, in other respects the range of variation is very broad. In some cases, the modelling is very flat or with side panels that facilitate the artefact being placed upright, having either a slight or a more prominent curve. They are often pierced for suspension. In archaeological literature, protomai are often described as ‘masks’, ‘busts’ or ‘mask protomai’.⁷¹⁰ However, the term ‘mask’ creates confusion, as actual masks showing the features of deities or actors are modelled in the same way. The function of the Greek protome was to portray a figure, not to represent a mask. However, the earliest specimens of protomai are found in Phoenician and Cypriot contexts and do have mask-like openings at the mouth and eyes.⁷¹¹ Therefore, they could initially have been dedicated as objects recalling actual masks that were used in rituals. In contrast to protomai, busts were modelled in the round and normally have no suspension hole. Busts were often modelled to function as anthropomorphic thymiateria.⁷¹²

⁷⁰⁹ Croissant 1983, 13; Uhlenbrock 1988, 19-20; Merker 2000, 73-74. Male protomai are also common, but confined to certain types such as representations of Dionysos (Boeotia, Delphi), reclining figures (*ArchDelt* XXIII 1968, chron. Pl. 250) and Pan with Nymphs (Uhlenbrock 1988, 141).

⁷¹⁰ Merker 2000, 73.

⁷¹¹ Culican 1975, 64-65.

⁷¹² For southern Italian incense burners supported by a human figure, see Stoop 1960.

Thus, the protomai from the cave are defined as representing the head with part of the neck and, in some cases, the upper part of the torso. All of them are backless, even when they include the upper half of the body and all are pierced for suspension but none is modelled in the round.

The idea for the protome type and their origin seem to be Phoenician.⁷¹³ Although protomai became very popular around the middle of the sixth century at Greek sites in Ionia, mainland Greece and Magna Graecia, the earliest-known examples come from Phoenician tombs dating to the early seventh century.⁷¹⁴ The protomai from Brauron, which have been identified as the earliest examples from Greece, are clearly influenced by Near Eastern material.⁷¹⁵ In later periods, they are most common across the western Greek mainland, the Ionian islands and the Italian sites.⁷¹⁶ They are not as popular in Corinth as elsewhere in Greece, with only a few specimens reported from Corinthian sanctuaries; this contrasts with the abundance of Corinthian votive terracottas of other types.⁷¹⁷ Compared to the imported examples, locally produced protomai tend to be smaller in size.⁷¹⁸ This is the case with regards to the material from the cave. Most of the protomai seem to be products of local workshops and are very small compared to their Italian and eastern Greek counterparts.

⁷¹³ Culican 1975, 74-79 explores their Phoenician provenance and their assimilation in Greek votive production; Bell 1981, 86-88.

⁷¹⁴ For the origin of the protome type as a Phoenician invention, see Higgins 1969, 44; Culican 1975, 47-87; Bell 1981, 86-87; Uhlenbrock 1988, 139-46. Phoenician protomai have been discovered at the necropolis of Achzib, dated to the seventh century: Katz 1968, pl. 59.

⁷¹⁵ Protomai from Brauron considered by researchers to display Phoenician influence are dated to the early sixth century: Papadimitriou 1949, 89, fig. 20.

⁷¹⁶ Bell 1981; Croissant 1983, 13.

⁷¹⁷ Merker 2009, 73.

⁷¹⁸ Merker 2009, 74.

Few researchers have explored the significance of the protome as a votive. A relation to masks seems likely, as this would explain the object's incomplete-body format. Nevertheless, the Greek protomai do not exhibit the qualities of a mask. While Phoenician and Greek protomai generally occur in sanctuaries and tombs, they are especially abundant in sanctuaries where deities of a chthonian nature were venerated, whether the Phoenician Tanit, Astarte or demons, or the Greek Persephone, Artemis, Hera, Aphrodite and the Nymphs.⁷¹⁹

As a representation, the type is reminiscent of the vases that show a head in profile or frontal view.⁷²⁰ The depictions are interpreted as deities who return to life, such as Aphrodite, Semele and Dionysos. In mythology they ascend from the world of the dead literally, by emerging from the ground. There is a large series of this type of representation on red-figured vases from southern Italy and western Greece.⁷²¹ Heads of gods who ascend from inside the earth are differentiated from masks in their iconography as they convey a different meaning. Their representation includes the neck or the shoulders and sometimes part of the bust as well, arising from the ground, while masks are modelled without a neck and are often depicted on vases as floating.⁷²² As a result, the identification – protome or mask - of frontal representations can depend on the meaning that is conveyed in their initial use in mythological narratives. As masks, they are votives that function as references to actual masks that were used as ritual paraphernalia during gatherings and festivals. More specifically, some vessel images show masks hung on a robed pole which acquired the status of a temporary cult image of

⁷¹⁹ Culican 1975-1976, 71; Culican 1976.

⁷²⁰ Mayo 1982, 143-44, 161, 246-47.

⁷²¹ On the iconography of heads that arise from inside the earth, see Berard 1974, 43-45, 167-71. On the dispersal of the head in Etruscan iconography, see Ambrosini 1998. For similar heads in western Greece, see Tzouvara-Soule 1991

⁷²² Kefalidou 2005-2006, 23-24.

Dionysos or Artemis.⁷²³ As *protomai*, they are related to the chthonian nature of the recipient god.

8.5. Coroplastic Techniques: Fabric, Slip and Paint, Moulding and Modelling

The coroplastic technique for the production of mould-made terracottas is described in detail elsewhere.⁷²⁴ In brief, from an initial model that may have been formed by hand or taken from a metal or terracotta prototype, the coroplast would have created variations of the archetype, followed by the master mould and then produced the terracottas. The alteration of a basic type to create variants is a technique that was employed for the production of the *protomai* recovered from Drakaina. Hence, we have mould series (*protomai* that were created from the same mould but over several generations) and iconographic series (*protomai* that were created from a group of moulds produced from the same archetype, which was modified in various ways).⁷²⁵

All the *protomai* found in the cave are mould-made and were produced from a frontal mould. The back is always left unfinished, nearly flat or concave with a deep or shallow curve. Signs of a white chalky coating or white wash are in some cases visible on the front and less often on the back. On the rear, there may be marks made by the coroplast's fingers or traces of tooling, probably from a metal blade, a spatula, or impressions left by a cloth used to wipe the surface. While the burying of the *protomai* and the environmental conditions were hardly conducive to the preservation of paint, occasionally, paint applied on top of the white slip covering the surface of many *protomai* and other terracottas is partially preserved. Yellow, orange and brown were applied on the hair of the *protomai*,

⁷²³ For masks of Dionysos on vase iconography, see Carpenter 1997, pls 25b, 31, 32b.

⁷²⁴ Nicholls 1952 defines the type as 'consisting of a number of pieces bearing a strong resemblance to one another in no more than general external appearance and shape' (218); Higgins 1969, 1; Uhlenbrock 1990, 16-17.

⁷²⁵ Uhlenbrock 1990, 16-17; Merker 2000, 14.

red and pink on the skin, red, black and brown on garments and headpieces, and black and brown was used to accentuate details such as jewellery and facial features (Fig. 19).



Figure 19. Traces of colours on figurines (source: Author).

A series of protomai which belong to the same group can commonly be distinguished by differences in size. These variations indicate individual pieces from different mould generations. Coroplasts often used finished terracottas as positives for new moulds. The

shrinkage is the result of eliminating the moisture in the clay during drying and firing.⁷²⁶

The coroplasts who created the local protomai generated moulds by utilising figurines and protomai that they had on hand, but always created a frontal mould only, without an equivalent back. Generally, back moulds are rare in the western part of Greece and Italy; they appeared at the end of the fourth century, mainly in Italy.⁷²⁷

8.6. Figurines

8.6.1. Archaic Figurines

8.6.1.1. Nude Standing Figurines

Figure **2/2001** was discovered in the upper level of the sterile layer that stratigraphically separated the prehistoric from the historical period layers. The details of its discovery are not clearly recorded. However, the figurine could derive from the earlier period of use of the historical period shrine, provided that the interpretation of the stratigraphy is correct and its position corresponds to the initial cultural formation of the deposit. It was found in close proximity - but in a different trench - to the large protome **1/2001-2002**. Both terracottas were nearly intact and all the breaks occurred during their excavation.

The figurine has three distinct attributes that distinguish it from the rest of the terracottas.

(1) Its conception is unusual in that it represents a standing naked female figure. (2) The burnishing of the surface along with the colour attest that the coroplast may have attempted to imitate the appearance of ivory. (3) The figure type seems to derive from a distinct cultural tradition.

Rebecca Ammerman presents a summary of the history, meaning and archaeology of the type of the naked standing goddess, in a study based on examples mainly from Paestum

⁷²⁶ Nicholls 1952, 220, n. 23.

⁷²⁷ Bell 1981, 119.

and Italy with comparanda from around the Mediterranean. She observes that figurines of this type appear rather early in the assemblages of these sites.⁷²⁸ As Pilz observes, soon after the appearance of the naked type at a site (usually just one or a few specimens), a dressed version follows.⁷²⁹

Here, I refer only to those examples that can help us understand the type's origin, imagery and relation with other cults. The selection is on the basis of the distance to Drakaina and to similarity with the material itself. The series from Paestum is dated to the early sixth century. However, the figurines are clearly made locally, and do not present any effort to imitate ivory or metal.⁷³⁰ Series of dressed figurines of the orientalising type have been recovered from Cosso Micheliccio and Timpone della Motta, two rural sanctuaries at the northeastern and southwestern limits of the territory of Sybaris. Their burnished surfaces create the same shiny, warm effect as the figurine from Drakaina. A variation of this type dating to the sixth century from Timpone della Motta holds a fawn as an attribute.⁷³¹ At Cozzo Micheliccio, this type is dated to the third quarter of the seventh century.⁷³² All were dedications to female deities; Demeter, Athena and Artemis. It is possible that a naked version preceded the dressed one, although examples of the type have not been found yet. Similarly, at the Thesmophorion of St Francesco Bisconti at Morgantina (Sicily), figurines of women holding a dove and exhibiting a similarly shiny surface have been recovered from in and around the sanctuary.⁷³³ They are associated with a throne to

⁷²⁸ Ammerman 1991, 204-05.

⁷²⁹ Pilz 2011, 100.

⁷³⁰ Ammerman 1991, 204-05.

⁷³¹ Croissant 1996, 192-93, fig. 3.18; on the religion of Phoenician seafarers, see Brody 1998; Christian 2013. A Syro-Palestinian figurine of a goddess from the Late Bronze Age Uluburun shipwreck provides physical evidence of deities on board a vessel. The location of the figurine among the scatter of artefacts indicates that it was housed in the prow of the ship; Bass 1987, 718; Bass et al. 1989, 4, fig. 3.

⁷³² Guzzo 1982, 247-48, figs 18-20; 1987, 166-68; Luppino 1996, 221-22.

⁷³³ Raffiotta 2007.

which they were attached as decorative elements.⁷³⁴ The throne formed part of a group of statues most probably representing Persephone and Kore. The intention of producing a shiny surface was to create the impression of a valuable material instead of plain terracotta. In this example, an ivory effect was achieved by manipulating the clay surface with paint and a layer of a shiny slip. The terracottas that are presumed to have been associated with the throne are of much higher quality than the rest of the votive assemblage. It is possible that they were made by a different workshop that specialised in imitating valuable materials in order to create statues of the cult patrons. Accordingly, such a figurine must have been a pricier commission, funded by the community or a wealthy individual.

Much closer to Kephallonia is Ambrakia, where burnished figurines and alabaster perfume containers of the late seventh and early sixth centuries were discovered in tombs.⁷³⁵ Owing to their orientalising features, the excavators infer that they were either imported from Ionia or that craftsmen from Ionia produced them locally.⁷³⁶ The figurines and the perfume containers are stylistically related with Archaic kouroi and korai.⁷³⁷ Furthermore, the facial features are similar to those on a plastic vase in the Sindos cemetery that is described as orientalising.⁷³⁸

The production technique, especially the burnished surface with its warm sheen effect, suggests that the coroplast intended to imitate a material other than terracotta, most likely ivory as mentioned above. Various ivory figurines found in Athens and the Near East

⁷³⁴ Maniscalco 2018, 11.

⁷³⁵ Papadopoulou 2017, 62, no. 107, 63, no. 110, 65, no. 118.

⁷³⁶ The figurines were exhibited for a short period at the Arta Museum. The exhibition catalogue describes the terracottas as imports from Ionia. However, in personal communications, the excavator, S. Raptopoulos, mentions the possibility that they might had been produced locally by itinerant craftsmen. A petrographic analysis is expected to shed light on this hypothesis.

⁷³⁷ For kouroi that resemble to figurines see Ammerman 1991, 210-212.

⁷³⁸ Vokotopoulou et al. 1985, 160, no. 252.

offer the same effect.⁷³⁹ This type of surface on the figurines is reproduced in the early fifth century, in a period of revival of the Archaic style, in Gela, during the reign of the Deinomenids. The tyrant's intention was to advance their popularity through major commissions like the building of temples. In the part of the city where the emporium was placed, three altars with decoration of exceptional quality were discovered in a workshop that was abandoned, probably following a natural disaster. All imitate a style of the early Archaic period. Specifically, one depicts a triad of women in a hieratic pose holding phialae and wreaths.⁷⁴⁰ The surface is shiny and very similar to the aforementioned examples. It should be emphasised that it was not just the orientalising typology that was imitated, but also the look of the material through the specialised treatment of the clay surface. The fact that there is more than one example that exhibits this peculiarity indicates that they could be grouped as a short-lived fashion that appeared in western Greece and Italy, and attempted to express a distinct identity through the imitation of orientalising features and a valuable material. This identity might have emerged after interactions with traders or as a result of political upheaval, but what evidently connects the find-spots of this group of terracottas (naked standing figures) is their liminality in terms of their connection with the main settlement and their nature as coming from sites where the recipient deity assisted with rites of passage.

Figurines with similar posture were excavated at Metaponto (Posidonia) but the Archaic figures were in this case dressed.⁷⁴¹ At Artemis Orthia in Sparta and Gortyn on Crete,

⁷³⁹ Lines 1955; Pilz 2011 also supports this hypothesis.

⁷⁴⁰ Panvini and Sole 2001, 22-26.

⁷⁴¹ Olbrich 1979, 114-16, pl. 7, A29-A30, pl. 8, A31; Adamesteanu et al. 1980, 186-87, 189, fig. 197, g-l.

there are long series of naked standing figurines in the manner of Venus Pudica that are succeeded by dressed versions shown in the same pose.⁷⁴²

An important difference between the sanctuaries at Gortyn and Paestun and that of Drakaina on Kephallonia is that the latter has yielded only a singular example of this type of figurine, as opposed to the extended series recovered from the other sites. It is therefore not plausible to link the Drakaina figurine to a specific group of worshippers who visited the site regularly. The figurine from Drakaina belongs to Type II according to H. Cassimatis' classification.⁷⁴³ The excavator of Gortyna sees Assyrian influence in the construction of the architectural types of the Late Bronze Age palaces and Geometric temples, which he attributes to a Hurrian Hittite inheritance.⁷⁴⁴ Figurines of this type belong to the first construction phase of the Geometric temple, and the excavator believes that they were made locally by Near Eastern craftsmen.⁷⁴⁵ The type derives from the standing naked female goddess, which has a long history in Near Eastern art, but the proportions and figural rendering are different, with leaner bodies, a frontal pose and Egyptianising facial features.

In sum, the closest parallels to the Drakaina terracotta figurine are those that are very frontal in the pose of the body, with moulding in a shallow form. However, none of the comparanda shows the twisting of the body and three-dimensional conception of the

⁷⁴² For Artemis Orthia, see Dawkins 1929, 154, fig. 109; on the ivories found at Orthia and their connection to the Orient, see Kopanias 2009; for Gortyna, see Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 162, 166, 177, pl. 12, no. 61a, pl. 15, nos 94a, 95, pl. 28, nos 174-76.

⁷⁴³ Cassimatis 1982, 454-56.

⁷⁴⁴ Hoffman 1997, 53-54. However, the association of an artistic style with an ethnic group or a cultural tradition, such as Phoenician or Assyrian, is problematic.

⁷⁴⁵ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 55-56; for orientalising imports in Crete, see Pappalardo 2012; for the hypothesis that Near Eastern craftsmen carved ivory ornaments for the Idean Cave cult, see Hoffman 1997, 147-48, 56-160; Sakellarakis 1992, 113-40 concludes (like Barnett 1948, 1-25) that ivory carvers from the East settled close to the cave and produced figurative ivories on commission. An issue is the distinction between imported and locally made ivory objects.

Drakaina figurine, although the rear side is solid and flat. The hieratic pose is certainly not evident on the cave figurine. The ample proportions of the body differ from both the leaner Geometric tradition and the athletic Classical ideal for the representation of the bodies of males and females, an ideal that preoccupied Greek art.

Francis Croissant argues that such figures, with orientalising attributes, which are dated early (Geometric to early Archaic) in the history of the sites, were dispersed along or close to Achaean colonies in southern Italy and Sicily, and participated in the formation of the Achaean western identity in the post-colonisation era.⁷⁴⁶

The Drakaina figurine was discovered in front of the small wall in square G6, like the large protome (1/2001-2002) that is discussed in detail below (**chapter 8.7.1.1.**). It clearly does not belong to the Geometric style, but is closer to the orientalising tradition, with its curvy figure and the burnished surface. Nude female terracottas were initially thought to signify fertility, and S. Bohm argued that the representation was associated with fertility, pregnancy and motherhood.⁷⁴⁷ Subsequently, this hypothesis was superseded by interpretations invoking rites of initiation. M. Prent and H. Cassimatis associate the gesture of placing the hands on the breasts or the pubic area with young women transitioning from childhood to maturity.⁷⁴⁸ This interpretation could apply to the nude standing figurine in the context of the Drakaina Cave sanctuary. I believe that it is essential to distinguish between the purpose of its initial manufacture and dedication and the meaning that it acquired subsequently - in a different period and on a different occasion - among the sanctuary clientele.

Ammerman points out that relations with the Near East are attested by finds from Posidonia as early as the foundation of the colony, increasing the likelihood that a broader

⁷⁴⁶ Croissant 2002.

⁷⁴⁷ Bohm 1990, 136-37.

⁷⁴⁸ Cassimatis 1982, 467-68; Prent 2005, 480-81, 635-36.

range of objects made of perishable materials had circulated at the site, including ivory, wood and metal. Furthermore, the coexistence in the early Archaic period of Phoenicians and the presence of Greeks in the area facilitated mutual recognition and assimilation of the iconography and identity of Greek and oriental deities.⁷⁴⁹

Nudity in Near Eastern iconography is thought to have had protective and apotropaic properties.⁷⁵⁰ It is possible that the figurine served as an amulet or talisman that was dedicated after a difficult sea trip sometime early in the seventh century. Testimony for such a function derives from a gold-plated bronze figurine found in the bow area of the Late Bronze Age Uluburun shipwreck.⁷⁵¹ The excavator believes that the extended and open hands form a gesture denoting divine blessings for the ship and its crew.⁷⁵² A dedication from the coastal sanctuary of Carambolo on the gulf of Tartessos may have had a similar function.⁷⁵³ The bronze seated female figurine in a benediction gesture shows Egyptianising features in the rendering of her hairstyle, eyes and breasts, while her nudity and stocky body proportions indicate a Levantine influence.⁷⁵⁴ A Phoenician inscription testifies that the figurine was a dedication made by two brothers to Hurrian Astarte. The rendering of the body is very similar to that of the Drakaina Cave figurine.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁴⁹ Ammerman 1991, 210-12.

⁷⁵⁰ Marinatos 2002, 18-24, 27-31.

⁷⁵¹ Bass 1987, 718; Bass et al. 1989, 4, fig. 3; on the religion of Phoenician seafarers, see Brody 1998; see also Christian 2013.

⁷⁵² Pulak 1997, 246, fig. 15.

⁷⁵³ De Carriazo 1970.

⁷⁵⁴ For the excavation that established a connection with a sanctuary, see Fernandez Florez and Rodriguez Azogue 2007, 125, 154; Perez and Lopez-Ruiz 2016, 238-44; on the transformations of Astarte, see Bloch-Smith 2014, 189-90; for the initial discovery, see De Carriazo 1970.

⁷⁵⁵ It is worth extending the comparison to the figures of nude females that decorated horse equipment dedicated in Samos and Eretria. These pieces, of northern Syrian manufacture, are dated to the ninth century and display the same structure of the body as the aforementioned figurines: Morris 1992, 134; Kyrieleis 1993, 146-47, figs 7-15; Marinatos 2002, 21-25.

The Carambolo figurine is dated to the late eighth or early seventh century.⁷⁵⁶ The head of the Drakaina figurine seems distorted, disproportionately large and unusually elongated at the upper cranium. The eyes though are set in a similar manner to those of the Carambolo figurine, in a manner typical of Egyptian art.⁷⁵⁷ Carambolo was a coastal settlement in antiquity, probably a transshipment port towards the metalliferous interior of the Spes (ancient Seville) region.

In his study of naked and dressed female figures that depend typologically on imported Near Eastern ivory figures, Pilz suggests that their meaning was not transmitted through cultures in space and time.⁷⁵⁸ Regarding the meaning of the naked female figurines from Gortyn, Cassimatis and Prent agree that the gesture denoted general sexual attractiveness appropriate for nubile unmarried women.⁷⁵⁹ It is possible that the festival or rituals at the sanctuary of Athena at Gortyn involved a type of initiation for young women before their marriage. An important addition made by Pilz to the debate is the replacement of the term 'initiation' with that of 'socialisation'.⁷⁶⁰ He sees the latter as a complex integration procedure that involved more than just religious rites.

The series of protomai of various types within the assemblage indicate relationships with various age groups, and this points to a different type of correlation (explained further below 10.4.). If the figurine did indeed survive as long after its dedication as indicated by its find-spot and was exhibited over an extended period of time, it is possible that, in its later life, it was recognised as an ancient representation of Artemis or another tutelary

⁷⁵⁶ Gibson 1982, 65 (early eighth century); Bonnet 1996, 127-31 (late eighth to early seventh century).

⁷⁵⁷ For a connection between Egyptian and Canaanite gods and materials, and their links with ritual, myth and trade, see Pappa 2015, 46-56. A conflation of Egyptian elements in Near Eastern gods is also observed on a group of bronze statuettes in Cadiz (Iberia): Pappa 2015, 47-48.

⁷⁵⁸ Pilz 2011, 103-04.

⁷⁵⁹ Prent 1990, 487.

⁷⁶⁰ Pilz 2011, 98; on new perspectives on initiation, see Graf 2013.

deity of nature.

We can identify the dedicators as Phoenicians on the basis of the typology of the site. Caves, apart from ancient Greek, seem to be related to Phoenician religion in the Near East.⁷⁶¹ However, equating stylistic groupings of a specific cultural origin, such as Near Eastern or oriental, to a specific ethnic group is at the very least controversial. The study of ivories has demonstrated that it is safer to use less specific designations, at least until various schools can be located confidently, instead of attributing a certain style to an ethnic group.⁷⁶² A secure first conclusion for the figurine is that it is closer stylistically to the representation of nude females on various orientalia, such as the seated figurine that was found in Carambolo and the figures depicted on the horse equipment that was found in Samos and Eretria. Nude females on horse ornaments of Syrian manufacture are interpreted as protectress of male warriors.⁷⁶³ Nanno Marinatos concludes that naked figurines produced in the Geometric period in Greece had a similar function, i.e. one that was principally protective and apotropaic.⁷⁶⁴ Horse frontlets have inscriptions that associate the dedicants with the Near East.

It is possible that the figurine was dedicated at Drakaina by men following a sea journey and later acquired a new meaning among local women. Put differently, it may have been produced in accordance with non-Greek figural symbolism and ritual expectations, but was subsequently incorporated into a Greek cult, acquiring a new meaning in the process. The maritime associations of the cult may be further supported by the representation of marine themes on a few, mainly Hellenistic, vessels, such as kantharos **49** and the conical

⁷⁶¹ See Bonnet 1996 for the cult of Astarte; for an extended discussion, see above, **chapter 3.2.**

⁷⁶² Herrmann 1986, 6; Hoffman 1997, 147-48.

⁷⁶³ Marinatos 2000, 18-24

⁷⁶⁴ Marinatos 2000, 27-31.

bowl **211**.

A second nude figurine, **37/94**, has close parallels to terracottas from a small rural shrine in Laconia dated to the seventh century.⁷⁶⁵ The recipient deity in the Lakonian shrine was Artemis, and the excavator hypothesises a connection with Sparta. Very similar small plaques from Egypt depicting nude standing females have been interpreted as fertility votives.⁷⁶⁶

In summary, the orientalising figurine belongs to a group of representations that includes figurines, vessels and plaques. All appeared early in the Archaic period in the western Greek region, including southern Italy. This group is certainly a subcategory of the naked goddess figurines and plaques that appeared in Greece during the eighth and seventh centuries (principally the latter).⁷⁶⁷ They have in common the evident effort of the coroplast to imitate ivory. Pilz believes that all the figurines of naked goddesses were imitations of figures on imported ivory handles.⁷⁶⁸ It is possible that figurine **2/2001** from Drakaina Cave had a special role in the life cycle of the Archaic and Classical cult. As a cultic artefact, it sits well with the aspect of worship that concerns rites of passage for young men and women.

8.6.1.2. Standing Figurine

This type of standing figurine (94/94) dressed in a peplos with a mantle around its shoulders, is widespread in the Corinthia and even more so in the Ionian islands. A figurine from the same mould was found in Polis Cave on Ithaca.⁷⁶⁹ The wide red bands

⁷⁶⁵ Bonias 1998, 69-71, 160, 162, pl. 33, no. 236, pl. 34, no. 241.

⁷⁶⁶ Török 1995, 137-39, pls cviii-cix, nos 202-09.

⁷⁶⁷ Bohm 1990; Burkert 1992; Morris 1992.

⁷⁶⁸ Pilz 2011.

⁷⁶⁹ Benton 1932, 39-40, nos 14-24, pl. 18, nos 14, 24.

on the skirt and the offering or attribute which the woman holds are key features. In better-preserved examples, it is clear that she holds a fawn, suggesting that the image may show Artemis as a protectress of newborn animals. Its tutelary symbolism may extend to newborn infants: that is, the figurine is a kourotrophic image of the deity. Sonia Klinger, who studied the distribution of this type of figurine, concludes that it is found mainly in sanctuaries of Artemis and that it had a symbolic role: to trigger the fertility of adolescent girls before marriage.⁷⁷⁰ Furthermore, she considers the figurines as appropriate gifts to Artemis, as the patroness of young women prior to marriage and childbirth.⁷⁷¹

8.6.1.3. Seated Female Figurines

Figurines **4/94**, **1/95** and **44/95** were made from the same mould. A seated female is depicted. She wears polos and veil and holds a dove on right hand in front of the chest. This is a well-known Corinthian version of the seated type that is found at many sites in late Archaic contexts.⁷⁷² Some versions have the figure holding a child instead of the dove seen here. While doves are normally considered an attribute of Aphrodite, M. Bell observes that the bird should be understood as a symbol of her role rather than an inherent iconographic attribute.⁷⁷³ For the figurines from Morgantina, the bird has been taken to denote marriage, with Aphrodite - or another deity - holding the dove and offering blessings. In the context of Drakaina, the function of the bird should first and foremost be considered in the context of its kourotrophic associations. Additionally, it has an erotic meaning appropriate to the occasion of a wedding. After all, deities such as Aphrodite

⁷⁷⁰ Klinger 2001, 219-20.

⁷⁷¹ Klinger 2001, 222.

⁷⁷² Stillwell 1952, 94-97, pl. 17, XI 1-3; for Perachora, see Payne et al 1940, 219-20, pl. 96, no. 102.

⁷⁷³ Bell 1981, 85.

and Artemis can have similar roles, and what defines a cult locally is the specific needs and functions it fulfils. Similar figurines of seated women holding doves include dedications to Hera at Tiryns, Perachora and Argos, where it was considered a symbol of fertility; all were dedications related to Hera's role as protectress of pregnancy, childbirth and growing up.⁷⁷⁴

8.6.2. Classical Figurines

8.6.2.1. Seated Female Figurines

Two more fragmentary seated figurines belong to the seated type, discussed above, that appeared in the Archaic period. Parallels date them to the end of the fifth century (**56/95**) and the middle of the fourth century (**55/95**). The long ribbons or wreaths, which the latter figurine holds, may have a nuptial significance, alluding to the preparation of the bride before marriage.⁷⁷⁵

8.6.3. Hellenistic Figurines

8.6.3.1. Children

I have not been able to identify close parallels for **3/95**. The body form suggests that the figurine depicts a child, although the head is missing. Even though figurines of comic actors wear short chitons similar to the one in this example, they are clearly distinguishable since their genitals are exposed. Small children are normally represented nude. Eros is shown as a small child, nude or wrapped in a chiton. The handmade, attached legs are unusual. They were not part of the original mould and do not give the impression of providing steady support. This modification suggests that we are looking

⁷⁷⁴ Baumbach 2004, 54, 79, 136.

⁷⁷⁵ Carter 1988, 94-95; Salapata 2014, 184-86.

at a toy or that the piece originally rested on a base of the kind we have seen in the dancing groups. Representations of small nude children are common in the fourth and third centuries.

The fragmentary **67/94** may be of the well-known type of a crawling baby or toddler. While early examples are Hellenistic, the type continued for more than four centuries.⁷⁷⁶ Votive offerings of children were dedicated by parents as thankful offerings to a kourotrophic deity, in this case Artemis.⁷⁷⁷ Merker believes that baby-boy figurines offered at the Demeter sanctuary in Corinth on the occasion of marriage may have been related to the wish bear a male offspring.⁷⁷⁸ Another possibility, if this is actually a toy, is that it was a dedication related to a rite of passage, in which a girl close to marriage gave away her toys as she left her childhood behind to become a wife.⁷⁷⁹

In chthonic sanctuaries, such figures may have been representations of children who had died.⁷⁸⁰ The most plausible explanation for the Drakaina figurines is to assume that they were dedications related to the bearing and raising of children. This is a function related to the kourotrophic character of Artemis.

8.7. Protomai

8.7.1. Archaic Protomai

8.7.1.1. Group 1

⁷⁷⁶ Török 1995, 148, pl. clxxii, no. 221bis.

⁷⁷⁷ For Hera as a protectress of children, see Baunbach 2004, 17, 54, 79, 110, 138, 153, for Artemis as a kourotrophos, see Klinger 2001, 217-18; Neils 2003, 145; Nielsen 2009, 95-96.

⁷⁷⁸ Merker 2000, 69-70.

⁷⁷⁹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988; Harris-Kline 2003, 2.

⁷⁸⁰ Merker 2000, 71.

Protome **1/2001-2002** is a typical Late Archaic protome, with an Archaic 'smile', full lips, heavy chin, angular nose and prominent eyelids. A very close parallel from a first-generation mould of this protome was found in the centre of the Archaic fourth terrace of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Cyrene. The excavator describes it as Rhodian.⁷⁸¹ A group of protomai from Delphi with acknowledged influence from Northern Peloponnese also reveals similarity.⁷⁸² A firm resemblance is evident at two protomai that briefly attained prominence in the press after their discovery among other items of the Schinoussa antiquities, which had been stolen by traffickers. Research conducted by the authorities in Italy came to the conclusion that they were illicitly excavated from a cemetery in Sicily.⁷⁸³ An earlier example of the type was excavated at Olynthus.⁷⁸⁴ Further examples similar to this protome have come to light in Sicily, Rhodes and Boeotia.⁷⁸⁵

The find-spot of the protome was not inside the large pit where the assemblage of figurative terracottas was found but close to the remains of a small wall, very close to the nude female figurine (**2/2002**). Taking into account the superior quality of the protome compared to the rest of the figurative representations, it can be reasonably assumed that visitors to the cave and those who maintained the cult treated this artefact differently due to its superior aesthetic value. It was not discarded in a bothros but was probably displayed along with the nude figurine.

⁷⁸¹ White 1975, 208-09, inv. 73-1120, pl. 103, e.

⁷⁸² Croissant 1983, 282, pl 125, groups N, N5 and N6.

⁷⁸³ They were found in the possession of antiquities dealer Robin Symes and reappeared later at a Sotheby's auction in a restored state. Photographs of them appeared in the press and on the internet for a short period: <https://lootingmatters.blogspot.com/2011/10/schinoussa-archive-and-italian.html> (accessed October 2019).

⁷⁸⁴ Robinson 1931, 2-4, pl. 1, no. 1.

⁷⁸⁵ Winter 1903, 236-37.

8.7.1.2. Groups 2 and 3

Groups 2 and 3 comprise protomai (group 2: **2/94**, **42/94**, **50/94**, **73/94**, **84/94**, **27/95**, **37/95**; group 3: **74/94**), which seem to represent women wearing animal masks. They are all small, ranging in height from 5.5cm to 6.3cm. Only one has a suspension hole. They all display signs of manual reworking and there are remains of red colour on the front surfaces. The mould was worn, and there are signs that the surface was wiped with a cloth, resulting in a slightly curved chin and mouth. Protomai **42/94**, **50/94** and **73/94** are of similar size (ca 6.5cm, judging from the size of the head of the broken specimens). They are very shallow and the faces are triangular in shape. Protomai **2/94**, **84/94**, **27/95** and **37/95** measure 5.6cm in height. The latter has a more prominent curve, and is thus nearly three-dimensional. The facial features are once more blurred. The difference between this group of worn protomai and the rest of the material with poorly preserved surfaces is that the rendering of the facial features is schematic and indistinct, making it difficult to make out what is represented. The chins are rounded and shallow, the nose wide and protruding, and the temples of the forehead are particularly wide and prominent.

The size and style of protome **74/94** are similar to those of group 2. It clearly represents a female, and the mould used for this artefact could be the same as that used to produce the group 2 protomai, but manually reworked in order to achieve the desired form. In other words, they all clearly represent a female face but, unlike group 2, this protome was not reworked.

The shape of the face of group 2 may in fact be intentionally zoomorphic, and a plausible assumption is that the coroplast intended to represent women wearing animal masks. The mask could have represented either a fox or a weasel, but the shape was perhaps intentionally ambiguous so that it could be perceived easily as either one or both of them.

The symbolism of both animals in the context of the cult is discussed below in **chapter 10**. Faunal remains of foxes and especially weasels have been found in other cave assemblages.⁷⁸⁶

Similar protomai have been found in Kalydon and Ithaca. Kalydon features a cult similar to that of Drakaina and is geographically situated in the wider regional koine of western Greek sites with many affinities in terms of religious customs. The Kalydonian material – consisting of terracottas found together with miniature pottery – comes from clearing deposits of the Archaic temple set within the enclosure wall of the acropolis. The material is dated to the early fifth century, with reference to the standing kore type. The excavators consider head 26 to be the prototype of all six fragments of korai heads found in the Kalydonian assemblage.⁷⁸⁷

Similar masked figurines have been found in a cave in Lechova, representing figures at ritual events.⁷⁸⁸

8.7.1.3. Group 4

Protome **32/95** is an early specimen of a good-quality, which evokes sculpture. Close parallels indicate an early fifth-century date for this protome, or it might be a later revival of an early Classical type. It was not uncommon for coroplasts to revive earlier mould series. In view of the extent to which local production was influenced by Sicilian prototypes, it is possible that this protome could be dated to the fourth century, imitating a Geloan or Syracusan bust. Fourth-century Sicilian coroplastic production went through

⁷⁸⁶ Van Kampen et al. 2005, 747-48, 751. The faunal remains from pit III, which is dated between 730 and the fifth century, include bones of cattle, sheep, goats, fish, birds and pigs, and also dogs, deer and foxes.

⁷⁸⁷ Dietz vol. I, 2001, 239-40; vol. II, 530-33, nos 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33; head 29 is identical to the Drakaina masked protomai.

⁷⁸⁸ Spathi 2017.

several archaising phases, possibly as a result of intentional stylistic retrospection.⁷⁸⁹

8.7.2. Classical Protomai

8.7.2.1. Group 1

This single nearly intact protome (**39/94**) and a few fragments that seem to belong to this type have a close parallel in a bust from Kamarina dated to the third quarter of the fifth century.⁷⁹⁰ Sicilian comparanda are plentiful for the terracottas from Drakaina, indicating some kind of relation, either direct or indirect, between the two islands. This connection is demonstrated by the reproduction of this type, but on a smaller scale and usually with simplified adornment (i.e. without detailed depictions of jewellery or garments).

8.7.2.2. Group 2

Group 2: **27/94, 76/94, 23/95, 30/95, 67/95, 1/99**.

Three female protomai wear an animal-skin cap (**23/95, 27/94, 30/95**). The ears are covered by round projections, in all probability the front paws of the animal. Above the forehead, the animal's jaw or nostrils can be seen jutting out.⁷⁹¹ A long curled lock or braid is visible on the left side of the head, apparently the tail of the animal. This detail allows us to identify the animal as a fox.

Fragment **1/99** depicts the upper part of a bust where a knot from an animal-skin cap is preserved. D. Tsiafakis argues that attributes such as the fox-skin cap and high boots are

⁷⁸⁹ Bell 1981, 22-36.

⁷⁹⁰ Pisani 2008, 70-71, pl. 9 e, f.

crucial in identifying representations of Artemis and Bendis.⁷⁹² The detail of the knot from an animal-skin cap on the Drakaina example is further support for this hypothesis.

On a skyphos attributed to the Phiale Painter and now in Tübingen, Bendis is shown with Artemis; both are labelled.⁷⁹³ Bendis wears all her familiar attributes: a short chiton, an animal skin (*nebris*), high boots (*embades*) and a fox-skin cap (*alopekis*). On the other side of the vessel, again labelled, Kephalos is depicted sitting on a rock and offering an oinochoe to Artemis. The scene with Artemis and Kephalos represents an unknown mythological episode that associates the two goddesses, Bendis and Artemis, with Kephalos, a hero who is often found in divine genealogies. Since all four poleis minted coins depicting him, we know that Kephalos was an important heroic figure on Kephallonia.⁷⁹⁴

The same iconographical attributes on figurines noted at Dyrrhachion, led the excavators to identify the figures as Artemis Bendis.⁷⁹⁵

Figurines wearing a lion-skin cap from a Hellenistic indigenous Sikan site close to Gela have been interpreted as representations of Heracles.⁷⁹⁶ Lion skin seems to be a variation of the animal-skin cap motif, which is also used to depict the hunter. The identity of the figurines and the cult is questionable though. They could well be representations of

⁷⁹² Tsiafakis 2000.

⁷⁹³ Burow 1985, 49-52, pls 21, 22.1-6, fig. 22 (with bibliography); Tübingen S./10 1347.

⁷⁹⁴ Harden 1927, 94-95. Figurines excavated in Taranto that are depicted wearing a lion-skin mantle or a pointed cap (known as a Phrygian cap) have been interpreted as Artemis: Dufkova 1971, 101-07. Lion-skin cap is an iconographic variation. On the depiction of Kephalos on coins from Kephallonia see Postolakas 1868, 94-95, nos 929, 936.

⁷⁹⁵ Muller et al. 2006, 72, 82, fig. 18, 84-86. In particular, the earliest of the figurines wearing a lion-skin cap (dating to the fourth century) are described as Artemis Bendis (p. 85). Drakospelia cave on Kephallonia has a cult of Artemis which the excavator has associated with Bendis, but the god's iconographical attribute in this case is the crescent moon: Samartzidou 2016.

⁷⁹⁶ Navarra 1964, 126-29.

Artemis or Bendis.⁷⁹⁷ Both deities are attested in the area and seem to provide a more plausible connection.⁷⁹⁸ Figurines from Taranto wearing a lion-skin mantle and a pointed cap (known as a Phrygian cap) have been interpreted as Artemis.⁷⁹⁹

To conclude, it is plausible to identify this series of small protomai depicting a female head wearing an animal-skin cap as representations of Artemis Bendis. It is not clear whether Artemis or Bendis was the deity that was venerated in the cave. Since Bendis is considered a deity that was introduced to Greece following the rise of Athenian interest in Phrygia, the introduction of her cult is always dated to the second half of the fifth century, and so this period is considered possible as the date of the introduction of her cult at various sites.⁸⁰⁰ However, this specific type stylistically derives from early fifth-century moulds. If indeed a cult that involved the veneration of a deity who wore an animal-skin cap started early in the fifth century, it could then have been a local deity. The guise of Artemis is a convenient interpretation to apply now or even during later use of the cave, but it is possible that this was not the name the deity was known as at an early date. The cult of Artemis Bendis is discussed further in **chapter 10.2.2**.

8.7.2.3. Group 3

Group 3 comprises **9/94**, **33/94**, **66/95** and two bust fragments from Apothetes 1. All three fragmentary protomai depict the upper part of the bust; the heads are missing. They have in common a strap that crosses the body on top of a garment; it crosses diagonally from

⁷⁹⁷ Most of them look like females; the connection with Heracles is due to information from Herodotus regarding a foundation myth (5.43).

⁷⁹⁸ Dufkova 1971; Harden 1927.

⁷⁹⁹ Harden 1927, 94-95, figs 1-3.

⁸⁰⁰ For the cult of Bendis in Athens, see Planeaux 2000; Parker 2005, 144, 170; Janouchova 2013. For Athenian interest in supplies originating in Macedonia and their connection with cults, see Garland 1992, 112-14.

the left shoulder to the right side of the waist and is always prominent at the neckline. Iconographical parallels indicate that this was a quiver strap usually shown on representations of Artemis and identifying the deity as a huntress, although another possibility is that it is a cross-band that I will discuss further in **chapter 10.2**.

In general, little can be said about the cult of Artemis on Kephallonia. Local numismatics offer no evidence for a cult of Artemis. A late reference in Antoninus Liberalis (40) narrates the story of a wandering deity who assumes various identities (including Laphria) as she travels to a number of maritime locations – including Kephallonia - across Greece and is identified with Artemis. A cult of Artemis is known at many of the locations mentioned in this myth of transformation, and Laphria was a chthonian deity that we know was worshipped in Kalydon, Naupactus and (during Augustan times) Patrai.⁸⁰¹ Perhaps this is the only literary reference to the cult of Artemis on Kephallonia, which could be the cult in the cave (discussed elsewhere in **chapters 7.9**. and **10.6**).

In brief, the depiction of a female wearing a quiver strap implies that she holds a bow, and this in turn implies that she is shown hunting or is associated with the hunt. Such representations are usually associated with Artemis, but they could depict an actual role that the dedicant needed to undertake as a participant in a festival. Hunting could be an essential activity that young men were expected to take part in during a festival to honour the deity.

8.7.2.4. Group 4

Group 4 consists of **7/93**, **29/94**, **68/94**, **56/94**, **57/94**, **75/94** (type 1) **63/94** (type 2) and

⁸⁰¹ For a discussion of this rite, see Piccaluga 1981; also Paus.7.18.11-13; *Schol. ad Eurip. Orest.* 1087.

plastic vase **18/95**.

This group includes six small protomai that represent females wearing their hair high, wrapped in a knot over the forehead. This type of female head is further represented in the material from Drakaina Cave by a plastic vase and two examples among the dancing groups (**62/94**, **13/95**). This type of coiffure appeared on a few examples of fifth-century dolls and was reproduced until the end of the fourth century.⁸⁰² There are many variations in the arrangement of the hair and the wrapping of the knot over the forehead.⁸⁰³ The triangular shape gives to the head a characteristic overall composition.⁸⁰⁴

The mould used in the production of these specific protomai was very worn and the firing was not very high. Fingerprints are still visible on the rear. The protomai date to the fourth century, when this hairstyle was particularly popular. Six protomai (**7/93**, **29/94**, **68/94**, **56/94**, **57/94**, **75/94**) were modelled with the same mould and, as far as I can tell from their fragmentary state, they seem to belong to the same generation. Protome **63/94** seems to be an iconographic variation of the initial composition, with an added polos and the suspension hole placed in the middle of the headdress rather than vertically on the top of the head. The modelling of the moulded vase and the protomai seems to indicate that the artisans, if more than one, were familiar with each other's work. Since both products are dated to the fourth century, it is not possible to conclude which came first.

The hairstyle seen on this group of terracottas seems to communicate a specific role for the woman wearing it. After examining the appearance of women on krateriskoi from Brauron, Piraeus and the Agora, R. Hamilton argues that hair bound high, in a bun or a

⁸⁰² Stillwell et al 1984, 99; Merker 2000, 53, 55.

⁸⁰³ Stillwell et al 1984, 99-101, pls 33-35; Merker 2000, 44, pl. 9 C83 C86, 57, C162, C164-66.

⁸⁰⁴ Figurines from Smyrna represent all three hairstyles: two elaborate hairstyles and a triangular headdress: Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, pl. 69, nos 430, 440, pl. 70, nos 447-48, pl. 72.

topknot, is equated with mature women, not girls or very young women.⁸⁰⁵ Nonetheless, as Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood rightly observes, different hairstyles signify differences in status, either in ritual or in life, and not necessarily age.⁸⁰⁶ Even so it seems to me that this group of terracottas comprises votives related with mature women, but it is not possible to discern the nature of their dedication and what it concerned based only on the appearance of the protomai. I assume that the reasons for these offerings were similar, since the dedicant would have chosen a protome depicting this specific hairstyle in order to identify themselves in some way with this particular representation.

8.7.2.5. Group 5

Group 5 includes **30/94**, **2/95**, **2/99**, which have close parallels from sanctuaries in Morgantina. The comparable busts from Morgantina were discovered in sanctuary contexts of the late fourth century.⁸⁰⁷ However, since the style is dated by Malcolm Bell to the early fourth century, aforementioned protomai appear to have been produced from an earlier mould series that was revived towards the end of the century and remained in use into the third century. The Morgantina protomai were found in sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore, and Artemis, in their chthonian aspect. The archaising effect contrasts with contemporary late Classical production, but this was a time when a semblance of continuity and tradition in art was called upon to strengthen the legitimacy of new political authorities and alliances.⁸⁰⁸ It thus seems that this artistic movement can be seen in the circulation of terracottas; the oldest terracottas that were still on display were

⁸⁰⁵ Hamilton 1989, 454-58.

⁸⁰⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 102.

⁸⁰⁷ Bell 1981, 138-39, pl. 23, no. 96a, pl. 24, no. 97a; Raffiotta 2007, 86-87, pl. 19, nos 100-03.

⁸⁰⁸ Bell 1981, 23-26.

consciously copied or adapted by partnered cults.

As argued for group 4, I consider this group of protomai to be dedications made by mature women. They were probably women who were already married and mothers. We know that Artemis was linked to matters related to young girls, women before their marriage, *nymphai* (women before they had children), pregnant women and the raising of babies and young children; but different deities were relevant for matters that concerned older women. Among them is Dionysos, who coexisted with Artemis at Halae Araphenides and with Demeter and Kore at Corinth,⁸⁰⁹ and, of course, Dionysiac cult had mainly (but not exclusively) female followers.⁸¹⁰ The character of the worship of Dionysos and his function in cult is discussed in **chapter 10.3**.

8.7.2.6. Group 6

Group 6 comprises **10/94+10/95, 59/95, 60/95 and 52/95, 46/94**. Bust **10/94, 10/95** in this group has close parallels amongst examples found in a stratified context at ancient Ambrakia. In a bothros that included the debris from a coroplastic workshop, a mould was found that produced this type of protome in identical dimensions. It is dated to the end of the fourth century and was located close to the cemetery of the polis. The excavator believes that the protome had a funerary function.⁸¹¹ In terms of its style, similar protomai from Morgantina are characterised as archaising due to the early fifth-century coiffure and the stiff and lifeless features. Bell claims that the return to a conservative style was motivated by the rapid political changes that affected coroplastic production during the

⁸⁰⁹ Bron 1996, 77; Bookidis 2013; on rituals that concerned mature women in the cults of Demeter and Dionysos, see Zeitlin 1982.

⁸¹⁰ On the character of the cult of Dionysos, see Kraemer 1979; for the participation of men, see Kraemer 1979, 72-74; see also Zeitlin 1982.

⁸¹¹ Dakaris 1964, 311-12, pl. 351, b.

early Hellenistic period and the need of the local coroplast to connect with traditional and familiar forms.⁸¹² The result can be recognised in the severe faces and old-fashioned hairstyles. But this was more than a local reaction confined to Sicily. Archaising busts were produced in the same period throughout much of western mainland Greece and the Ionian islands.⁸¹³ The motivation for this stylistic retrospection might have been the same in these regions, allied to a need to fabricate connections with myths in order to legitimise the new state of affairs in the political sphere. The resulting revival of myths and their connection with cults may have imposed the need for archaising votives.

The rest of the protomai in this group (**46/94**, **60/95-52/95**, **59/95**) are very fragmentary, but replicate the same type; **52/95** and **46/94** were produced from a very worn mould.

8.7.2.7. Group 7

The heads of this type (**93/94** and **15/95**) depict a mature female wearing a polos. A similar face from Morgantina with Classical characteristics is dated to the end of the fifth century on the basis of its stylistic rendering. The Morgantina example is believed to be a representation of Persephone.⁸¹⁴ It is a seated figurine of a local Sicilian type from a series dating to the last quarter of the sixth century, although, on stylistic grounds, this specific example is considered late in the series. A closer comparable figurine comes from the Thesmophorion of St Francesco Bisconti at Morgantina.⁸¹⁵ It is thought to depict a dedicant holding a piglet for a sacrifice. The dating is similar to that of the aforementioned parallel. I believe that in the context of Drakaina this type represents dedicants of mature

⁸¹² Bell 1981, 29-30.

⁸¹³ Dakaris 1964, 311-312, pl 351, b. Bell 1981, 29-30, 141-142, pl 30, 110, pl 31, 112. Laumonier 1921, 130, no 610. pl lx

⁸¹⁴ Bell 1981, 125, no. 15, pl. 6. Its good state of preservation led Bell to conclude that the figurine was found in a grave.

⁸¹⁵ Raffiotta 2007, 61, pl. 12 no. 53.

age who left the protomai after visiting the cave, in order to commemorate the occasion.

8.7.2.8. Group 8

Protome **21/95** is unique as a type and unusual in style. The flaring appearance of the headdress is probably meant to indicate a polos worn above a veil or crown. A head with similar headgear from Italy is dated to the late Archaic, while another from Myrina is dated to the end of the first century.⁸¹⁶ Another related parallel is the crown worn by Cybele on a fourth-century classicising mould from Olynthus.⁸¹⁷ A similar protome from Morgantina wears a veil and a broad, low polos, with the himation pulled over it at the sides.⁸¹⁸ This type has a long history in Morgantina and Gela, probably going back to a fifth-century tradition, to judge from the rendering of the face.

A figurine with a similar crown may have been the prototype for protome **21/95**. Considering the lack of plastic details in the anatomy of the bust, which may have been painted, it too seems rather early.

8.7.2.9. Group 9

There is only one specimen of this type (**4/95**): a miniature bust protome wearing a tall polos. Parallels from Morgantina date it to the second half of the fourth century. It was probably a revival of an earlier type, as the classicising style suggests.⁸¹⁹

The meaning of the polos on female protomai, or its absence, is discussed below (**chapter**

⁸¹⁶ Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, no. 151, pl. 26, 298, no. 781, pl. 112.

⁸¹⁷ Robinson 1931, 92-94, no. 410, pls 51-54.

⁸¹⁸ Bell 1981, 34, 45, 153, no. 189, pl. 49.

⁸¹⁹ On the classical qualities of late Classical to early Hellenistic terracottas see Bell 1981, 24-25.

10.4). In short, where I argue that the presence of a polos signifies that the dedicant was married.

8.7.2.10. Group 10

Group 10 comprises **3/93, 8/93, 17/94, 21/94, 23/94, 69/94, 45/95, 46/95, 365**. Of the examples in this group, only three preserve the face. Stylistically, the type is a variant of group 9, with a smaller bust and no polos. The face is once more classicising. Parallels are from the eastern Ionian coast and Troy.⁸²⁰ I believe that the focus here is on the representation of status: the figure does not wear a polos (see **chapter 10.4.** for discussion of the significance of this). In Sicily, the polos is considered an attribute of the mythological figure Persephone.⁸²¹ However, it may be equally important in terms of the Drakaina examples to consider the significance of the symbolism in the dedicant's ritual life, rather than simply in association with a recipient deity. Of significance for different cults was the meaning that could be attached to the attribute, regardless of the identity of the goddess that was venerated at a given site. Here, the lack of a polos points to the unmarried status of the women represented and possibly of the dedicants.⁸²² The very short bust and the wide neck have parallels in the material from the Es Cuiam Cave on Ibiza, where the goddess Tanit was worshipped.⁸²³

8.7.2.11. Groups 11, 12, 13 and 14

⁸²⁰ Burr-Thompson 1963, 83, pl. 9, no. 41.1.

⁸²¹ Bell 1981, 28-29.

⁸²² Simon 1972, 213-214. Müller 1915, 84, 102-103.

⁸²³ Almagro Gorbea 1980, 80-83, 103-04, pl. lxix, nos 121-22.

Protome **53/95-33/95** has parallels in Sicilian coroplastic art and Attic sculpture. The transparent garment is reminiscent of Artemis 203 from Morgantina.⁸²⁴ Other parallels can be found among the dancers recovered from Scornavacche.⁸²⁵ The Drakaina example is dated to the first half of the fourth century.

Two large busts (**40/94**, **16/95**, **25/95**), both exceptionally preserved, offer an example of what the rest of the protomai would have looked like if they were intact. Close parallels from Timmari date them to the second half of the fourth century. Added colour indicates jewellery and garment decoration, while the anatomy and garments are moulded. On stylistic grounds, inspiration may have come from fifth-century sculpture. They belong to the same classicising tradition that commenced in the fourth century but gained momentum especially in the third.⁸²⁶

Close parallels for two busts (**52/94**, **17/95**) have been found at Kamarina, Timmari and Locri Epizefiri. All are most likely dated to the early Classical period; they either derive from much earlier moulds or actually constitute late Archaic specimens. Identification of the missing head would facilitate more accurate sorting.⁸²⁷

Seven fragmentary busts (**8/94**, **14/94**, **18/94**, **25/94**, **31/94**, **10/95**, **372**) form a disparate group. They most likely possessed different types of head. The garment is depicted with various types of folds. Parallels come from Timmari and Locri Epizefiri for those specimens with uneven folds, which most likely depict the chiton at the side of sleeves. However, the heavy folded garment of the kind seen on **372**, **8/94** and **31/94** has parallels among the material related to the cult of Tanit from the Es Cuiram Cave on Ibiza, where

⁸²⁴ Bell 1981, 35, 154-55, pls 52-53, no. 203.

⁸²⁵ Higgins 1969, 128, pl. 95, nos 730, 884-85.

⁸²⁶ Bell 1981, 22-27.

⁸²⁷ Lo Porto 1991, 92-93, pl. 32, nos 35-36; Pisani 2008, 30-33, pl. 6, b cat 9; for examples from Locri Epizefiri, see Barra Bagnasco 2009, 361, pl. 22, no. 124.

local protomai of a similar type were dedicated.⁸²⁸

8.7.2.12. Group 15

Like previous examples (**52/94**, **17/95**), the items in this group (**12/94**, **64/94**, **79/94**, **80/94**) demonstrate the influence of the classicising style. Their categorisation is based on the rendering of the hairstyle. Specimens **64/94** and **80/94** are probably of local production, as indicated by the strictly frontal conception and the suspension hole visible on the polos. Both features suggest that the coroplast copied the first mould from another protome. Examples **79/94** and **12/94** are modelled with greater attention to detail.

8.7.2.13. Group 16

For the two specimens in this group (**51/94**, **89/94**) there are parallels from Locri Epizefiri dated from the end of the fifth until the the first half of the fourth century.

8.7.2.14. Group 17

Fragment **44/94** from a large protome preserves the right hand holding something, probably a flower or a fruit, that is not preserved.

8.7.2.15. Groups 18 and 19

The protomai of this group (**35/94**, **61/94**, **70/94**, **19/95**, **49/95**) have close parallels from

⁸²⁸ Almagro Gorbea 1980, 80-83, pl. xlv, no. 72.

Kamarina.⁸²⁹ Example **35/94**, in particular, seems to come from a mould of the same generation as that of the Kamarina examples. They are dated to the second half of the fifth century, a period when Kamarina was under Geloan influence. Whether similar external conditions can be invoked to explain the examples from the eastern Ionian Sea and Kephallonia in particular is not yet clear. It is plausible to surmise that the circulation of iconography through votive terracottas was easily achieved at well-connected sites on Kephallonia and particularly Poros. Its position as a station port on various routes to Magna Graecia created manifold opportunities for the local population to come into contact with artefacts from a wide range of origins.

8.7.3. Hellenistic Protomai

8.7.3.1. Group 1

Hair fragments from the two protomai of this group (**95/94**, **36/95**) probably come from representations of female heads with the early Hellenistic melon-type coiffure. This type appears in Attic art during the third quarter of the fourth century. However, it was probably only in the third century that the type became established in coroplastic art.⁸³⁰ Early examples from this period appear to date to the first quarter of the third century, as indicated by datable large busts from Gela and Morgantina.⁸³¹ The type evolved to depict tighter strands of hair, with a prominent linear treatment of the surface. The rather fluffy appearance of the locks in the Drakaina examples may suggest an early date, perhaps as early as the fourth century.⁸³²

⁸²⁹ Pisani 2008, 70-72 and pl XI, c.

⁸³⁰ Thompson 1952, 138.

⁸³¹ Orlandini 1957, pl. 58, no. 1, pl. 69, no. 2; Bell 1981, 48-50, nos 146-47, pls 40, 41, no. 145, pl. 39, no. 147.

⁸³² Bell 1981, 66.

8.7.3.2. Group 2

This small fragment of a bust (**1/96**), depicting the hair and a small section of the face, features a hairstyle with braided hair over the forehead, tied in a knot known as knot of Herakles, favoured for representations of Eros, Aphrodite, Apollo and Artemis. What remains of the fragment is not particularly helpful in determining the sex or age of the figure. Nonetheless, I believe it is more plausible to conclude that we are looking at the representation of a young woman, rather than of a child (Eros) or a man. Two parallels from Sicily and Morgantina - of an Eros - show this hairstyle.⁸³³ Furthermore, a statue of Aphrodite now at the National Museum in Athens sports the same coiffure. It was found at Baiai, and is probably a Roman copy of a fourth-century prototype.⁸³⁴ This type has been identified as a variant of the Venus Pudica type, known as the Aphrodite of Syracuse.

8.7.3.3. Group 3

The two fragments of group 3 protomai (**58/94**, **57/95**) can be argued to be late third-century productions. Since they are very fragmentary, it is difficult to identify details of the face and garment. Examples of this hairstyle are known from Morgantina and Capua, although the shallow short hair curls are unusual.⁸³⁵ A closely related figurine with similar treatment of the head and face comes from Egypt.⁸³⁶ Its provenance is unknown, but the fabric is described as local (Nile silt). The rendering of the face recalls the portrait

⁸³³ Bell 2001, pl. 72, 343; Ferruzza 2016, 201, no. 57.

⁸³⁴ Kaltsas 2002, 256; Ferruzza 2016, 201, no 57.

⁸³⁵ Bell 1981, 33-34, 152-53, pl. 49, nos 187, 189; Török 1995, 28, pl. 2, no. 3.

⁸³⁶ Bonghi Jovino 1965, 60-61, pl. 21 no. 4.

tradition of Queen Arsinoe II and Arsinoe III, indicating a date in the late third or early second century.

8.7.3.4. Group 4

The two figurines of this group (**2/93**, **65/94**) have similar hair, but come from different generations of a mould. Figurines with a similar hair arrangement from the Potters Quarter of Corinth are considered to be Peloponnesian imports by Stillwell, perhaps Argive in view of the facial type and coiffure.⁸³⁷ As the fabric looks local, it is possible that the moulds for these pieces were taken from figurines imported from Argos. The first has a smaller face and a slightly flaring polos, while the second has tighter hair and a wider face. They are most probably early Hellenistic.

8.7.3.5. Group 5

This group of miniature protomai (**47/94**, **9/95**, **25a/95**, **2/96** and fragments **3202** and **6121**) is very fragmentary and worn. The facial features, including their small proportions and a triangular forehead, and the moulded garment suggest that they are Hellenistic. Related examples have been discovered in Morgantina and are dated to the middle of the third century.⁸³⁸

8.7.3.6. Group 6

Among the five miniature protomai of this group (**4/93**, **5/94**, **90/94**, **91/94**, **2/2002**), example **91/94** is the only relatively intact specimen with little sign of wear. The melon

⁸³⁷ Stillwell 1952, 169, 231, pl. 44, H246; Lo Porto 1991, pl. 40, nos 59-60.

⁸³⁸ Bell 1981, 149-50, pls 46-47, nos 162-66.

coiffure with a polos on top is the main characteristic of the female type that is depicted in this group. A very close parallel for this hair arrangement has been found in Morgantina: an early Hellenistic figurine of a cult attendant holding a piglet.⁸³⁹ The archetype goes back to a fourth-century mould that was revived in the third. The finish of this protome suggests that it was modelled after an imported original, since its rendering is three-sided, with the back left plain.

8.8. Plaques

8.8.1. Late Archaic Plaques

8.8.1.1. Dionysos

Two plaques (**20/94**, **40/95**) depict a male head with unruly hair, a beard and its mouth half open; the figures wear an ivy or vine wreath and a himation. They are representations of Dionysos or masks of the god. Such images appeared in the middle of the sixth century in Boeotia, Corinth and Athens, among other places.⁸⁴⁰ They mostly take the form of protomai; this choice of format was perhaps motivated by the preferred portrayal of the cult statue of Dionysos as a head on a pole.⁸⁴¹ There are remains of red color to indicate the face of the god. According to ancient writers, the red face was a suggestion of drinking wine, an activity associated with Dionysos.⁸⁴²

⁸³⁹ Bell 1981, pl 17, 48, 134, no 66, pl 37, no 132, pl 47, no 166, pl 50, no 192.

⁸⁴⁰ Hatziotis 2007, 372-373, fig 9. Merker 2000, 76, 113, pl 22, C273, pl 23, C269, C270. On Boeotian Dionysos terracottas, Szabo 1994, 126, fig 147, that links the group with the genre figures.

⁸⁴¹ The Lenaia vases that depict the ecstatic worship of Dionysos in fifth-century Attica show his cult statue as an apparatus consisting of a mask hung on top of a column: Casadio 1984; Frontisi-Ducroux 1991.

⁸⁴² Csapo 1997; Balch 2015, 244.

The small scale of the plaque may signal that the representation of Dionysos replicated a larger object. This supposition may be supported by the ivy or vine wreath and a grape that hangs behind the left ear of the figure. On stylistic grounds the rendering of the locks suggests a date in the second half of the 5th century.⁸⁴³

A figurine of Pan playing the syrinx (**39/95, chapter 8.8.1.2**) offers further testimony for veneration of the god at Drakaina cave.

8.8.1.2. Pan

The type of Pan found at Drakaina (**39/95**) is well known. It depicts him seated on a rock with his legs crossed and playing the syrinx. This would have been an appropriate dedication for a cave shrine associated with the Nymphs.⁸⁴⁴ Pan is introduced to the cult of the Nymphs in Attica early in the early fifth century, but remained a peripheral figure.⁸⁴⁵ Usually, the cult of the Nymphs with which he was paired pre-existed his appearance.⁸⁴⁶ Nymph cults may have appeared in the sixth century in western Greece. Evidence for this is the appearance of the dancing groups in the second half of the sixth century. In western Greece, Pan is a very popular figure. This may have been a dedication connected with the pastoral economy or with hunting.⁸⁴⁷

8.8.2. Late Classical to Early Hellenistic Plaques

⁸⁴³ Croissant 1983, 341, type R6.

⁸⁴⁴ Winter 1903, vol. I, 216, 11, 221, 5; Romaios 1906, 109; Zoridis 1977, 9, pls ζ, δ; Larson 2001, 96-98 for Pan as a pastoral god.

⁸⁴⁵ Fuchs 1962, 244.

⁸⁴⁶ Larson 2001, 224, 238, 245.

⁸⁴⁷ On Pan as a dedication made by huntsmen, see Constantakopoulou 2018; as an offering made by herdsman, see Katsarou 2007, 36.

8.8.2.1. Nymphs and Cave Relief

This section considers **42/95** and sherds from **354** and **529** for the cave relief.

A disc in relief (**42/95**) showing women dancing is interpreted as a dance of the Nymphs. Many similar examples have been recovered from the Ionian islands: on Kephallonia (Melissani Cave, Dracospelia Cave), Ithaca (Polis Cave) and Leukas (Cave of Aghia Kyriaki).⁸⁴⁸ The theme of women dancing in a circle is represented in other media as well, including vase painting and marble reliefs. The association of Drakaina Cave with the Nymphs is corroborated by other finds, such as a dedicatory inscription on a Hellenistic krater (NYNΦAΙΣ: **199**, **chapter 5.3.1.**).⁸⁴⁹

Rituals connected with the Nymphs covered every phase in the female life cycle: pregnancy, childbirth and the raising of children. They were referred to collectively in the plural and recognised as divinities who acted as a group, as divine personifications of a young woman. The very high mortality during pregnancy, childbirth and childhood in antiquity contributed to the formation and spread of the belief that unpredictable divinities had to be propitiated (see **chapter 7.8.**).⁸⁵⁰

The cave relief is very fragmentary, but a similar one from Ithaca reflects the popularity of the representation of women dancing in a cave. This may be a representation of a ritual act that was actually conducted inside a cave, involving sacrifice, dedication or just a visit by a group of women. In some examples, Pan is also present, playing a musical

⁸⁴⁸ For a summary of the representation of dance, see Yioutsos 2012; on the Melissani lake-cave, see Dontas 1964, 28-30, pl. 6a; on Ithaca, see Benton 1931-1932, 230; on Nydri, the Cave of Aghia Kyriaki, see Dorpfeld 1927, 180, 323-24, pl. 76 C4; Benton 1938-1939, 45, no. 66, pl. 20; Samartzidou-Orkopoulou 2015, 469, 472, fig. 9.

⁸⁴⁹ Hatziotis 2007, 365-66, pl. 2.

⁸⁵⁰ Parkin 2013, 40-58.

instrument.⁸⁵¹

8.8.2.2. Artemis

The small plaque **64/95** depicts a female with coiled locks of hair falling forward over her shoulder. Similar plaques have been found in Ithaca representing Artemis with a quiver, bow and, in some cases, a half-moon on her head and were produced in the Hellenistic period. Benton describes them as Artemis masks, as two of the variants wear a crescent in their hair.⁸⁵² Benton notes that she recovered another protome of this type from a cave on Kephallonia, but without any further details.⁸⁵³ Large busts from Morgantina represent this type, which was produced from the end of the fourth century until the end of the third.⁸⁵⁴ Moreover, the type is known from a Hellenistic coin issue of Leukas depicting Artemis Leukadia, a xoanon of a known Artemis cult bearing the half-moon on her head.⁸⁵⁵ It is therefore more than plausible to assume that our example is another representation of Artemis.

8.9. Coroplastic Production

The fabric of most of the terracottas is in Munsell 7.5YR 8/3, 8/4, 7/4, 7/6. The clay is rather clean clay, with very little mica and fine to very fine inclusions. It is very similar to terracotta fabric from Leukas and Ithaca. Terracottas with this fabric are considered to

⁸⁵¹ Benton 1932, 44-45, fig. 20, no. 65; Yioutsos 2012, pl. 2, no. 5, pl. 6, no. 21, pl. 7, no. 26, pl. 13, no. 52.

⁸⁵² Benton 1932, 43-45, pl. 21, nos 62, 63, 64. Benton 1932, 43 notes that she recovered a similar example from a cave on Kephallonia, but provides no further details.

⁸⁵³ Benton 1932, 43.

⁸⁵⁴ Bell 1981, 140-43, pl. 28, no. 106c, pl. 34, no. 116.

⁸⁵⁵ Postolakas et al 1868; further mention of the cult in Callim. *Aet.* (Dieg. fr. 31 b-e [Addend. II Pf.]).

be local products by researchers who work in the area.⁸⁵⁶

Examples with a distinctively different fabric, such as protome **1/2001-2002**, figurine **2/2002**, seated figurine **56/95** and protomai **10/94+10/95**, **94/94**, **2/95**, **18/95** and **23/95**, are regarded here as imports. It is not easy to distinguish the sources of these, for example whether they were imported from another of the Ionian islands. Types 2 and 3 of the dancing group figurines (58/95, 87/94, 5/99), for which close parallels have been identified from six different caves on Leukas, are regarded as imports from Leukas. However, for the Nymphs relief (42/95), with parallels from various caves on Ithaca and Kephallonia, or the Hellenistic plaque depicting the crescent moon figure (**chapter 8.8.2.2**, **64/95**), an identical example of which was found in the Polis Cave, it is not possible to say who first used the type or if one or more workshop produced them.

Since the majority of the parallels for the Drakaina votive terracottas come from Sicily, it is sensible to examine the nature of the relationship that existed between the two islands. Greek coroplastic art and Sicilian production were reciprocally influenced, from the Archaic until the Hellenistic period, which ended with the fall of Syracuse in 212 BCE.

The terracotta assemblage principally comprises miniature protomai made with frontal moulds; there are just a few exceptions, such as **1/2001-2002**. This is a major difference from the Sicilian sites, where large-scale protomai and busts were clearly favoured.⁸⁵⁷ Nevertheless, at Drakaina the same types as the Sicilian busts are represented; they are simply produced on a much smaller scale and without many of the details and much of the ornamentation that we see on their Sicilian counterparts. I assume that, the large-scale types would have been bought in Sicily and were used by coroplasts to create moulds that were subsequently used for the local production. An example of this practice is the group

⁸⁵⁶ Personal communication with Miranda Hatziotis, Andreas Sotiriou, Varvara Giza.

⁸⁵⁷ Bell, while discussing Morgantina, busts refers to their smaller size compared to the protomai produced in Akragas; Bell 1981, 23. Ferruzza 2016, 155.

2 Classical protomai; one example, 23/95 has a distinctly different fabric from the others and a classicising face. Examples **30/95** and **27/94** are poor copies that omit details like the tail of the animal and have a stiff, blank face.

During the Archaic period a local coroplast (i.e. someone active on Ithaca or Leukas) copied the seated female Corinthian type of figurines **4/94**, **1/95** and **44/95**. Two further examples of seated korai were dedicated; **56/95** was clearly imported from Corinth, as the fabric is distinctively Corinthian. The majority of the dancing groups were created in the late Archaic and Classical periods. Nude standing figurines **2/2002** and **37/94** were imported. Consequently, for the earlier period I deduce that there was not a coroplast active close to the cave. The production of the dancing groups looks more like a communal production, sustained by the requirements of the cult. During this earliest phase, it is possible that a potter or a coroplast was involved and some or all were produced as a sideline. Another possibility is that a professional created the moulds and then the dancing figurines were moulded in situ during or before the festivities. The remaining (apart from those mentioned above) Archaic protomai from Drakaina are remarkably similar; their closest parallels are found in the city of Kamarina and at the western Greek sites of Ithaca and Kalydon. The local series was manually reworked in order to resemble animals. I assume, therefore, that the production satisfied a function of the cult and was thus purpose-made.

The chronological distribution of terracotta protomai reveals that, during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, Kephallonia and Sicily had some sort of continuous contact, direct or indirect; the Kephallenian material demonstrates an awareness of Sicilian styles in coroplastic production and consistently includes copies of them. On Sicily, the majority of the imitated protomai were used as dedications to the cult of Persephone, with a minority dedicated to the cult of Artemis.

Relating Kephallonia to Sicily, geographically and historically, is not difficult. A straight line drawn from Kephallonia to the west leads to southern Italy and northern Sicily. According to Thucydides (3.94), Kephallonia was an ally of the Athenians during the military operations of summer 426. Diodorus (14.34) refers to a fortress in Krane that was occupied by Messenian helots who, after the Peloponnesian War, and fearing a Spartan onslaught, left the island and moved to Sicily.⁸⁵⁸ Kephallonia seems to have been an ally of the Athenians during the war, and was a crucial base for their ships, whilst surrounded by Spartan allies. Along with Naupactus, the island offered valuable support to the Athenian navy. Such facts, however, have only a limited use in the attempt to understand and contextualise the material evidence from Drakaina Cave.

Sicilian production, as noted above, developed initially under Greek influence but soon the styles of the colonies diverged, as each assumed independent choices in terms of iconographies and types that served the needs of their local cults.

The classicising movement in Sicilian coroplastic production involved the copying of older moulds or the reproduction of an earlier image with the intention of emphasising connections with the earlier tradition. During Timoleon's time, in the second half of the fourth century, Sicilian cities flourished, and during the late fourth century coroplasts revived earlier mould series.⁸⁵⁹ Since there is no clear stratification at Drakaina and the comparanda from Sicilian and southern Italian sites come largely from unstratified contexts, I have relied heavily on the frequency of certain types as they appear and coexist with others in order to date the classicising terracottas recovered from Drakaina. The repertoire of iconography and types is proportionate to that of many Italian shrines. A basic difference is, as noted previously, a reduction in scale or a preference for copying small protomai. So, at least until we are able to distinguish terracottas based on their fabric

⁸⁵⁸ Luraghi 2008, 190; this incident is also mentioned by Thucydides (5.35).

⁸⁵⁹ Bell 1981, 26.

or until more straightforward relationships between workshops, coroplasts and local production in the early and late Classical era is established, it is not possible, in most cases, to date the terracottas accurately. This is why my dating of the terracottas from the cave has a range of at least 50 years. Thus, I have dated most of the post-Archaic terracottas to the period ranging from the late Classical until the early Hellenistic period, from 350 to 250 BCE.

I will now turn my attention to how Sicilian cults evolved and how their influence was manifested in sites in western Greece. The newly founded Sicilian poleis longed for a connection with tradition, and this was offered with the adoption of cults and an iconography that connected them to the mother cities in Greece.⁸⁶⁰ The lack of deep-rooted connections with the past was satisfied by consciously adopting an archaising style in material culture, which had such a connection embedded within it. A common system of governance of the Sicilian poleis, namely tyranny, was by its very nature disruptive, and change often caused periods of violence and tension. In such moments of crisis, tradition could be exploited in order to assist both the tyrants and the people to adapt to the new situation.

The cult of Persephone had a significant influence on the coroplastic production of Sicily.⁸⁶¹ It emerged in the seventh century, when the first representations of a woman holding a piglet and wearing a polos appeared.⁸⁶² The polos headdress was considered an emblem of divine status on Sicily, but elsewhere it was considered symbolic of a priestly position.⁸⁶³ Italian scholars have concluded that, on Sicily, only Persephone was depicted with a polos; meanwhile, Demeter was represented wearing a polos in Greece.⁸⁶⁴ There

⁸⁶⁰ Berger 1991, 129-30.

⁸⁶¹ Bell 1981, 81-103.

⁸⁶² Zuntz 1971, 92, 95-97, no. 5.

⁸⁶³ Muller 1915, 84.

⁸⁶⁴ Mylonas 1961, 67; Bell 1981, 82.

are more differences between the Italian and Greek versions of the cult of Demeter and Kore.⁸⁶⁵ These differences express the localisation and transformation of each cult in response to different environments, cult audiences and audience needs. There is no clear indication that Demeter and Kore should be included among the cult recipients of the Drakaina Cave shrine. I believe that the crowned female figures symbolise female status: married women. The headgear indicates their status and not the identity of a deity.

Early representations of Artemis show her as mistress of animals, *Potnia Theron*.⁸⁶⁶ Dating from the fifth century, a series of terracottas from Kerkyra are the first representations of the goddess as a huntress.⁸⁶⁷ This iconography continues and becomes particularly popular in the Hellenistic period.⁸⁶⁸ In southern Italy and Sicily, the Artemis type of the huntress appears in the late Classical period, corresponding to the emergence of a new religious function of the deity. New narratives supplied new images for the iconography that was now invented. Attic influence is evident in the iconography of this group, which most likely first appeared in Syracuse and then Gela.⁸⁶⁹ In some cases, heads familiar from the cult of Persephone were used as foundations for the new types.⁸⁷⁰ In the Roman period, young women were represented in the guise of Artemis as the huntress.

The Artemis group from Drakaina (group 2, Classical) also represents the deity as the huntress.⁸⁷¹ In this role, the goddess can be recognised by her appearance as she actively engages in the hunting or killing of an animal. In terms of the identification of the deity

⁸⁶⁵ Bell 1981, 101.

⁸⁶⁶ Marinatos 1998.

⁸⁶⁷ Lechat 1891, 1, 82-83, pl. 2, nos 2, 4, pl. 5, no 2; on a pelike dated to the early fourth century and now in London, see Simon 1969, 157, fig. 143.

⁸⁶⁸ For the latest review of the cult of Artemis in southern Italy and Sicily, see Fischer-Hansen 2009.

⁸⁶⁹ Bell 1981, 34-35. Rich drapery and the lampadion knot were in fashion in the early fourth century; Thompson 1963, 41.

⁸⁷⁰ Bell 1981, 35, 138, 144, nos 96, 121.

⁸⁷¹ Harden 1927, 97.

as Bendis, there is evidence that, in the second half of the fifth century, Athens spread the originally Thracian cult in its allied poleis.⁸⁷²

Thus, the figurative terracottas from Drakaina Cave demonstrate affinities with coroplastic production in southern Italy and Sicily, and, as expected, the other Ionian islands, the western Greek mainland and Corinth. The deities represented are Artemis/Bendis and Dionysos, Pan and the Nymphs. The terracottas also demonstrate that dance was significant; it is represented in the dedications of the dancing groups and the relief plaque.

⁸⁷² Parker 2005, 106, 170, 182,

CHAPTER 9

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

9.1. Charts

In this chapter I interpret the data using quantitative analysis. I employ charts to show shape preferences within the miniature and fine pottery assemblages. I then examine each of these two assemblages in terms of the various periods of the sanctuary's life span. Although specific numbers of specimens for each shape are offered, precise quantification is not possible as there are numerous sherds that cannot be joined.

For figurative terracottas, I initially examine their distribution across time, in order to then present the chronological distribution of each type and, separately, the dancing groups. Finally, I attempt to examine how the preferences of the worshippers evolved over time by examining the iconography. The data are quantified in columns charts.

9.2. Pottery

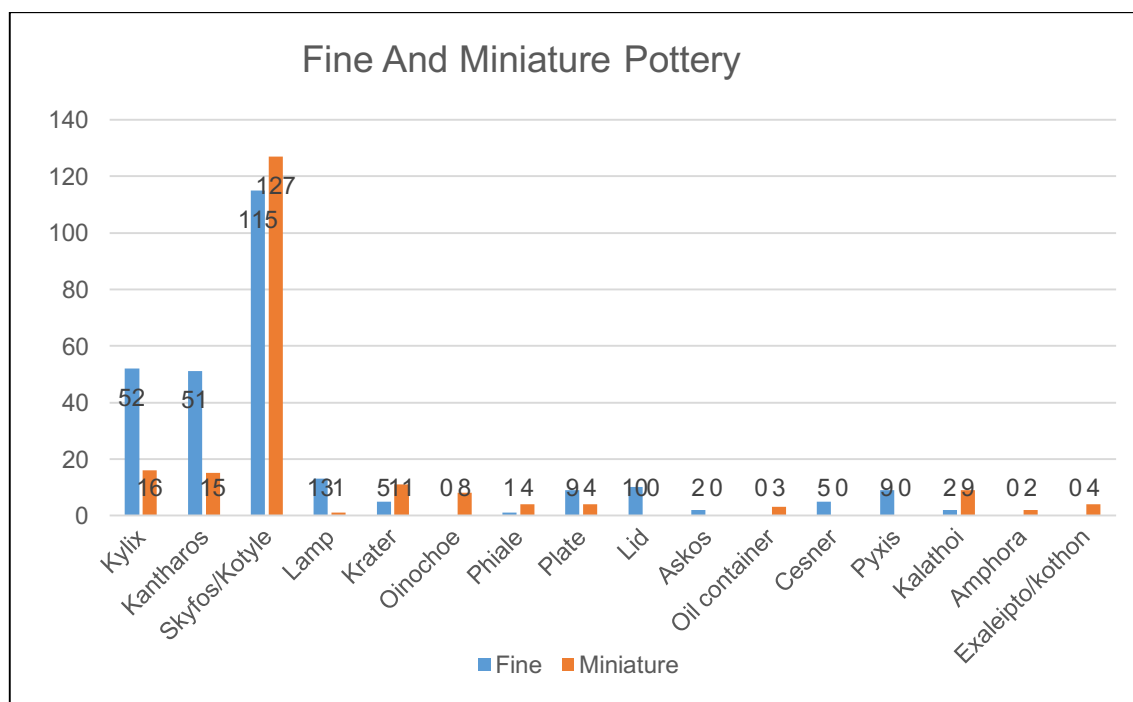


Chart 1 Shapes and quantities of fine and miniature pottery.

With regard to the shapes found in the fine pottery assemblage, drinking cups form the majority; kantharoi, kotylai, kylikes and cups are very common across all periods of the site. These statistics take into consideration all material that was datable and measurable. In detail, there are 51 kantharoi, 115 skyphoi, cups and kotylai, and 52 kylikes in the assemblage. The picture is the same for miniatures. Thus drinking cups form the bulk of the miniaturised vessels, with a preference leaning towards kotyliskai and cups with one, two or no handles (127 examples) rather than kylikes (16), kantharoi (15) or krateriskoi (16).

For the remainder of the vessels, the analogies between fine and miniature are more or less consistent. All 14 lamps are functional and some have signs of burning, even the one that looks more like a miniature. For shapes like the pyxis, all the examples are rather small. We know that larger jewellery boxes were not uncommon, but those from Drakaina fall into the average size range, with a tendency to be smaller. Similarly, of the ten potential lids, only one looks like a miniature (415); however, it is likely that this was not a lid (it is not possible to identify its function). None of the lids, except one that was probably a set with a pyxis, match a vessel.

Oil containers are, by their very nature, small, and so we can only discuss their basic functional use and any symbolic (miniaturised) one. For the drinking cups, there is a relation and analogy between standard-sized cups and miniatures, which, even as miniature vessels, may still function as containers of small quantities of liquids or solids. For kraters and krateriskoi, in contrast, it is difficult to associate a similar function for both scales of the types. Miniature krateriskoi could function as receptacles, like the miniature cups, but not as mixing bowls. Kalathiskoi were employed at Drakaina during a specific period, and could have functioned as containers for small quantities of wool. Incense burners and lamps had a functional purpose, apart from a possible symbolic one; they were used to light the dim space, especially if visitations took place at night, as

indicated by the material itself. The five thymiateria were ritual vessels for the burning of scents before and after a sacrifice.

The fine pottery assemblage is dominated by kantharoi, specifically the Elean type; kotylai and local cups follow, while Lakonian cups are a noteworthy presence. As noted in the discussion of the pottery (**chapters 5.2.5.3. and 5.2.5.4.**), it is not always straightforward to establish a distinction between Lakonian and local pottery that imitates Lakonian shapes. Almost every shape is represented, even if by just one specimen. The clustering of specific shapes during a specific time allows us to draw correlations with other locations in the region where similar cult practices were undertaken.

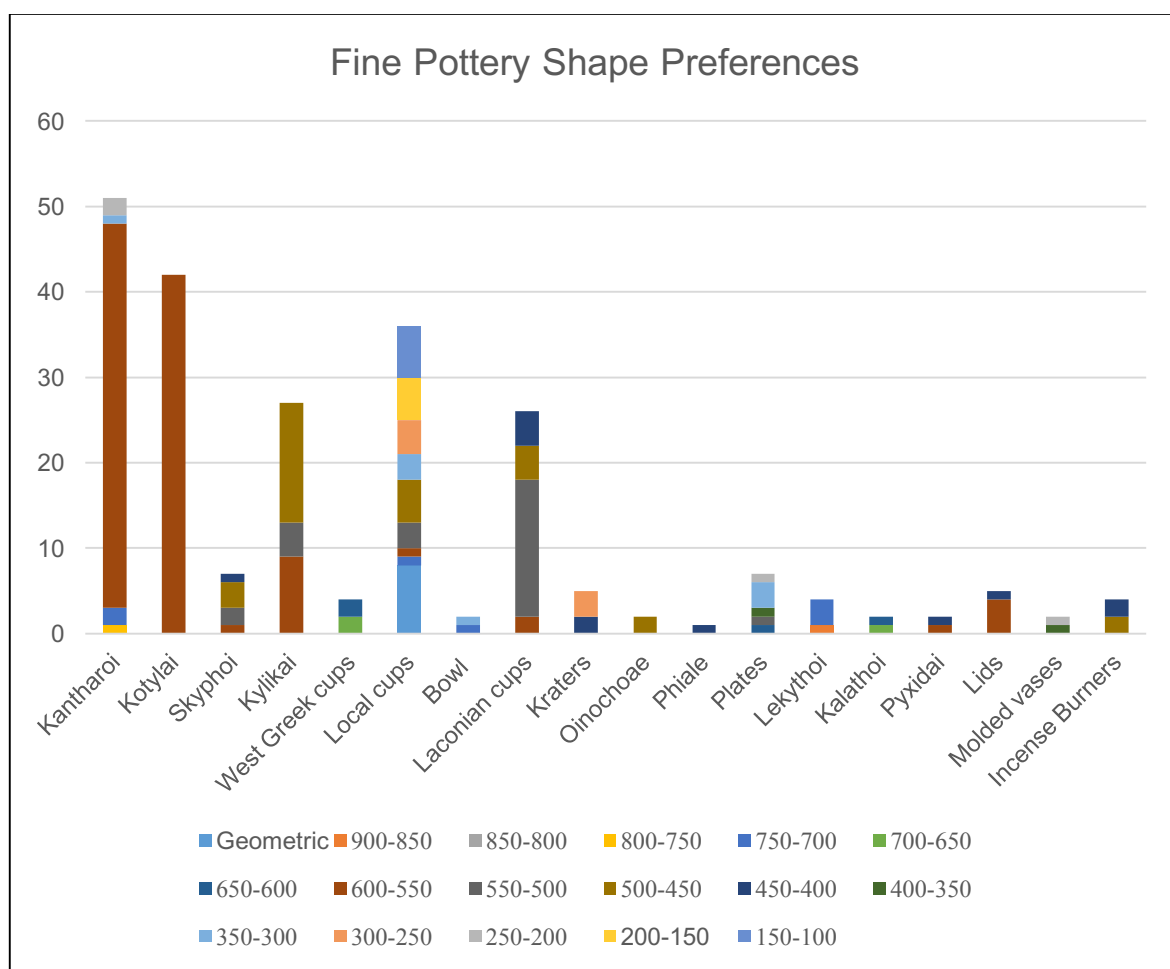


Chart 2. Shapes and dates of fine pottery.

In the following sections, I examine the popularity of each shape during the various periods of the sanctuary's life.

There are 17 vessels that can be attributed to the earliest period of the sanctuary.

The first vessels to arrive at the cave were in all probability large closed vessels that are partially preserved (grouped in **1**). Their most distinct characteristic is geometric decoration. Most of the motifs are common to what Coldstream describes as West Greek Geometric.⁸⁷³ It is not possible to say how many of these Geometric vessels are represented by the fragmentary assemblage; eight is an approximation. Their dates range throughout the Geometric period. What is important here is the fact that some of the earliest vessels found in the cave were large containers or storage vessels. This clearly points to activity, as use of the site commenced and people brought these vessels to the cave in order to store or consume something. We are now well aware of the Early Iron Age feasting events that were focused around the communal consumption of food and wine.⁸⁷⁴ These remains indicate a repeated relation with the site, as the large vessels were clearly functional and not employed as dedications. The people that maintained the cult, left the large containers at the cave in order to use them again in the future.

Askos **7** is dated between the end of 8th and early 7th century: parallels have been found in Perachora, Crete, Aegina and elsewhere.⁸⁷⁵ Its function indicates the use of some type of oil, either in a ritual or as a dedication. Smaller vessels appeared in the second half of the eighth century. The imported bowl from Italy (**3**) is such an example. Parallels have been located in central Sicily and Salento, near Otranto, the site of landfall for travellers

⁸⁷³ Coldstream 1968, 222.

⁸⁷⁴ Fox 2009; Dietler 2001; Alexandridou 2018.

⁸⁷⁵ Stillwell et al 1984, 19, grave 5, no. 24, pl. 2, with more parallels cited. In Thebes Museum an askos with similar decoration is dated to the end of 8th – early 7th century. Catling 1996, pl 43, no 43, pl 141, g

from Greece, as they were sailing south, on their way south from the north Adriatic.⁸⁷⁶ Kantharos 8 is Subgeometric with a Mycenaean-influenced shape. Three lekythoi (4, 5, 6) are dated to the end of the Geometric period, but are still pre-colonial. This is considered by Williams to be a type that appeared after the pure Geometric linear motifs but before the introduction of the more figurative style of the Archaic period.⁸⁷⁷

None of the figurative terracottas is dated this early.

All in all, this small group of material reflects a flow of travellers and goods. The small quantity indicates that Kephallonia was not the end destination or even an important node within the trade network. They seem to be simply dedications made by sailors or merchants. The cult probably started from an abstract idea concerning the sacred nature of the cave; this was a convenient location, close to the port, to stop and make a wish for a fruitful journey by dedicating what was at hand, such as an oil flask or the bowl that was brought from Italy. Oil containers are a standard imported shape found in Subgeometric contexts of Italian cemeteries.⁸⁷⁸ The large vessels point to a different function, as they were brought to satisfy a different need. The large closed Geometric vessels decorated with geometric motifs were probably used to store wine or grains. This in turn implies that the site was a safe place to store goods and was being used either by the community or by a family. Alternatively, they might point to the preparation of a meal that was consumed at the cave site.

This picture is consistent with material found in contemporary contexts at other coastal sites located on colonial routes in Greece, Italy and even further afield. Cults that flourished in this period demonstrate a similar distribution of imported material which

⁸⁷⁶ D'Andria 1979, 20-22, pls 8, 17-18; 1990, 13-14, 29-30, no. 45; Pugliese Carratelli 1996, 693-95, nos 35-37, inv. nos 959-60.

⁸⁷⁷ Williams 1981, 140, fig. 1, 8.

⁸⁷⁸ Neef 1987.

only make sense if it is interpreted in a similar way: dedications that were related to the outcome of a traveller's trip or commodities that were sold at a stopover location to a local population and ended up at the local sanctuary. However, since most of the vessels are not local imitations, I lean towards concluding that the former option is the most plausible. Certainly, the material mirrors the trade of various Greek states with the west.

To summarise, the smaller vessels were imported and the large vessels seem to be of local manufacture. The former point to an act of offering and the latter, being functional items, point to them having a storage or exchange purpose.

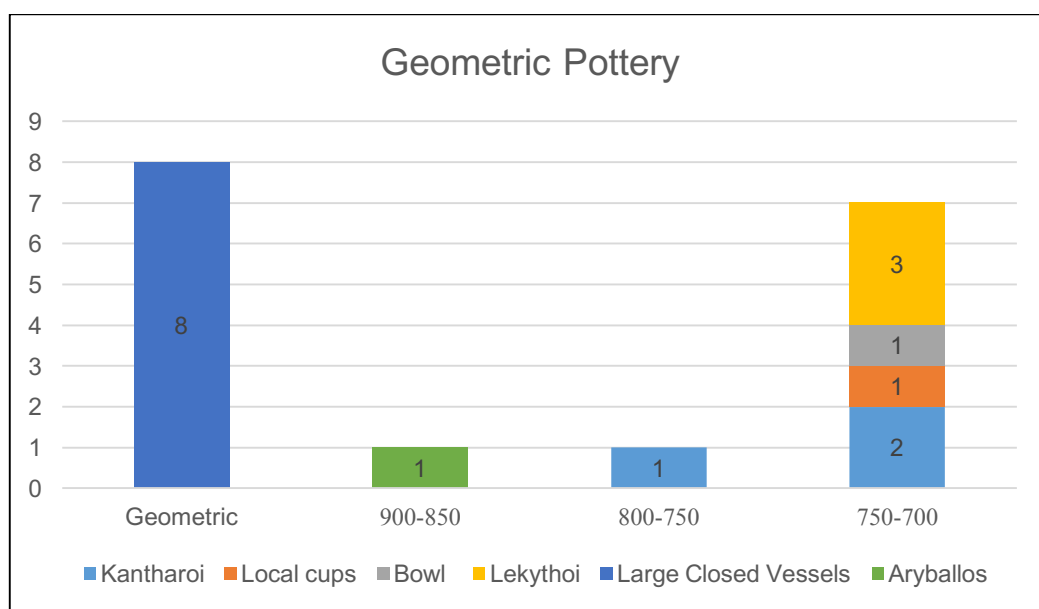


Chart 3. Geometric pottery.

During the Archaic period the cave gradually saw a vast increase in the number of visitors, as is suggested by the number of vessels and figurines that date to this phase. There is material evidence of a local pottery production at this time. Dedications start from the first half of the seventh century, to when a kalathos (212) with close parallels in Perachora (Hera Akraia) is dated. There are three drinking cups from Laconia (148, 149, 150), and two cups of the West Greek group (137, 138). Among the miniatures are two kantharoi of the Achaeian type (392, 393) that are found elsewhere in western Greece and Italy and

a lid (**221**). The total Archaic assemblage is an illustration of the contemporary trends for this era, and as such strongly indicates a flow of goods from the Peloponnese and western mainland Greece to the west.⁸⁷⁹ The main areas of origin of the Drakaina vessels are Achaea, Laconia and Aetolia. This pattern is a continuation of that seen in the earliest phase. The principal change is that lekythoi were replaced by drinking cups. The origins of the ceramics point to a significant absence of Corinthian influence at least as it is manifested through pottery. Corinth was never a decisive presence on Kephallonia, and, after the mid-fifth century, Athens was the principal influence on the island.⁸⁸⁰ Nonetheless, during the earliest part of the Archaic period Corinth must have played a role in the foundation of early cults on Kephallonia.⁸⁸¹ However, this is not suggested for the cult in Drakaina cave.

Kantharos **8** is dated to the early seventh century, or even at the end of the eighth, and is a unique specimen with a clear connection to the Submycenaean and early Geometric styles.⁸⁸² An open-work kalathos with parallels in Perachora (**213**), two West Greek cups (**139, 140**), and an Achaean or West Greek plate (**203**) are dated to the second half of the seventh century.⁸⁸³ A large number of vessels are attributed to the turn of the century: the series of Elean kantharoi, many Early Corinthian ray kotylai and a few miniature kalathiskoi, Lakonian cups, a lamp, a pyxis lid, miniature kotylai and kantharoi. Their origins are Elis, Athens and Corinth. This flow continued and increased during the first half of the sixth century. Drinking cups increased disproportionately, as 45 kantharoi, 42 kotylai and nine kylikes arrived in the cave from Achaea and perhaps Aetolia, Elis, Corinth and Athens; while many of the kantharoi were probably produced locally,

⁸⁷⁹ On a summary of this trend see Papadopoulos 2001.

⁸⁸⁰ Randsborg 2002, vol. II, 321.

⁸⁸¹ Randsborg 2002, vol. II

⁸⁸² Weinberg 1943, 3-4; Morgan 1999, 86, no. 216.

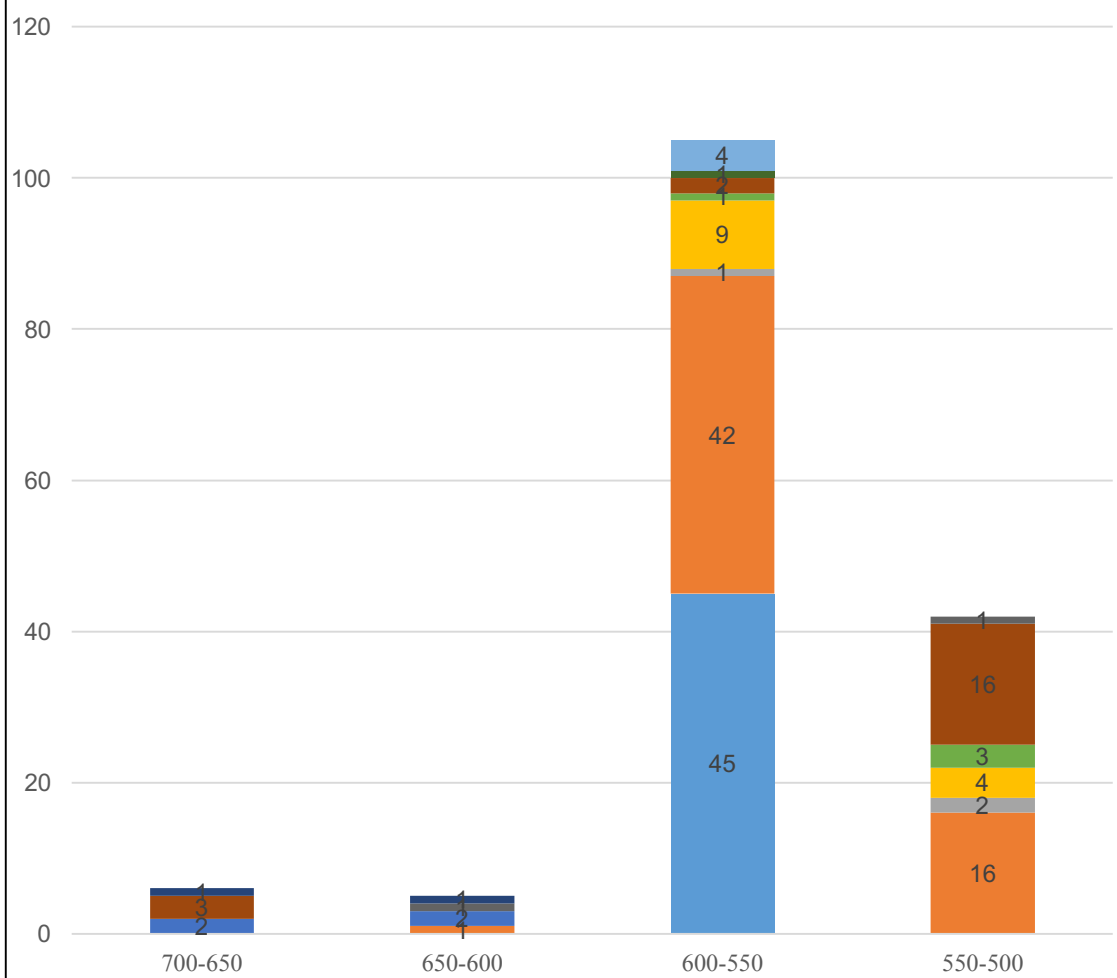
⁸⁸³ Similar plates of various sizes, smaller and larger, have been discovered in a cave situated in the modern Aetolian village of Mastro; Karadima, forthcoming.

imitating Elean vessels. Similarly, during the second half of the sixth century miniature vessels increased in number: ten kantharoi and 12 kotylai. Finally, eight kalathiskoi are generically dated to the sixth to fifth century. This material testifies to the function of the area as a stopover location on a maritime route used by many ships as they made their way to the west or mainland Greece. The use and thus importance of the site clearly increased at this time, and this may be linked to the trade in ship timber from Ainos.⁸⁸⁴

The flow of pots continued in the first half of the fifth century, but the proportion was reversed; the quantity of fine ware reduced and that of miniatures increased. In detail, 16 kotylai, 16 Lakonian-type cups and seven kylikes, local and imported, dated to this period have been recovered from Drakaina Cave. Among the miniatures there are 26 kotylai, seven krateriskoi, four floral band cups, five lamps and three phialae. In terms of the origin of the pottery, the quantity of local material increased, but vessels continued to be imported from Athens, Corinth and Elis or Laconia.

⁸⁸⁴ This possibility is discussed in **chapter 10**.

Archaic Fine Pottery



- Kantharoi
- Kotylai
- Skyphoi
- Kylikai
- West Greek cups
- Local cups
- Bowl
- Laconian cups
- Plates
- Lekythoi
- Kalathoi
- Pyxidai
- Lids

Chart 4. Archaic fine pottery.

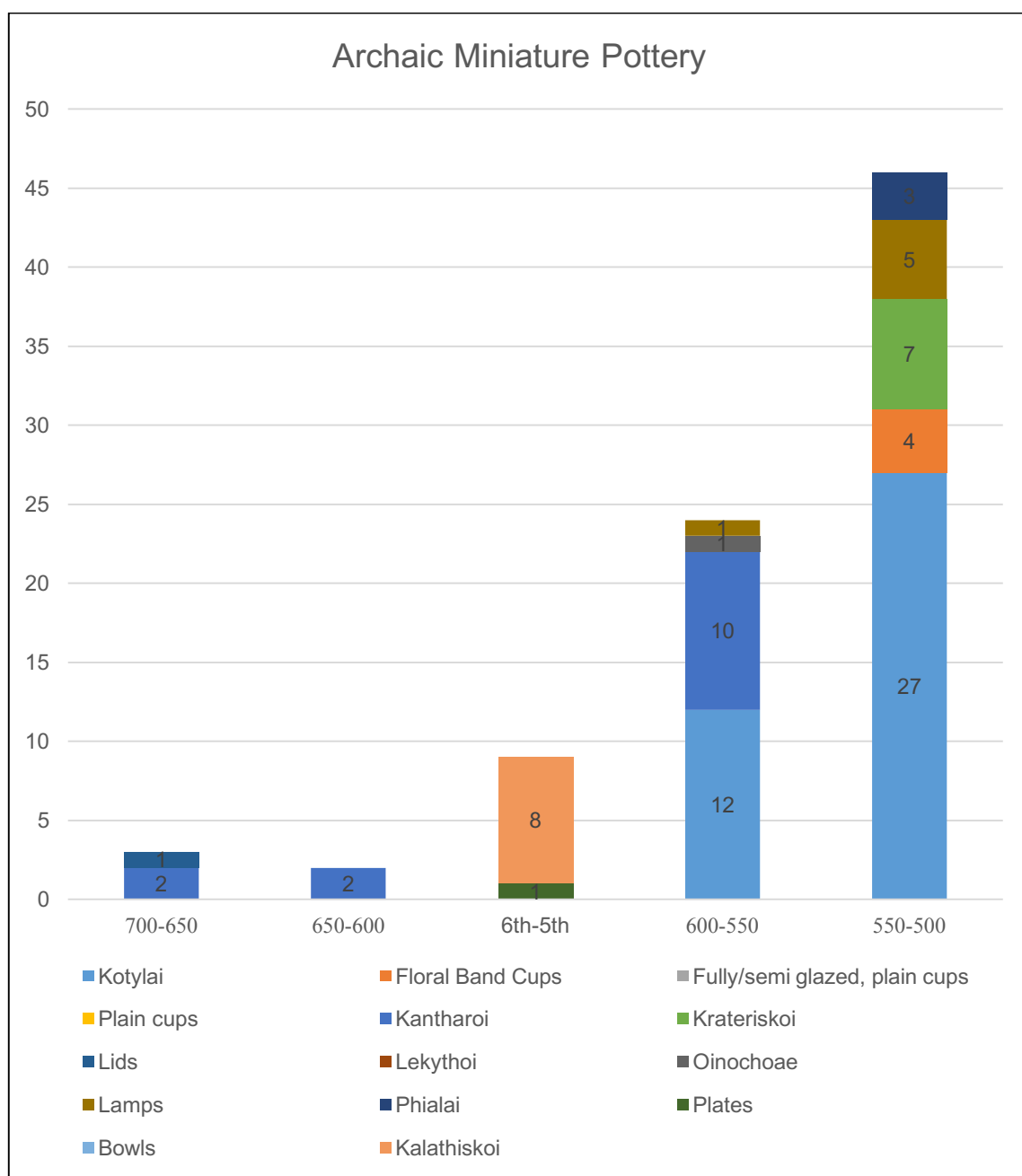


Chart 5. Archaic miniature pottery.

Dating to the end of the Archaic and the beginning of the Classical period are four Lakonian-type cups, 14 kylikes, three skyphoi, five local cups, two incense burners and

two oinochoai. Among the miniatures are 23 kotylai, 12 floral bands cups, one phiale, one lekythos and two krateriskoi. Their provenance is predominantly Attic, followed by the Peloponnese and then locally produced pottery; the miniature pattern kotylai were probably all produced locally. It can be observed that the numbers of fine and miniature pottery are steadily declining. This trend continued over the next 50 years. Of the 12 fine vessels dated to this period there are four Lakonian cups, one phiale, two incense burners, two kraters, one pyxis and one lid.

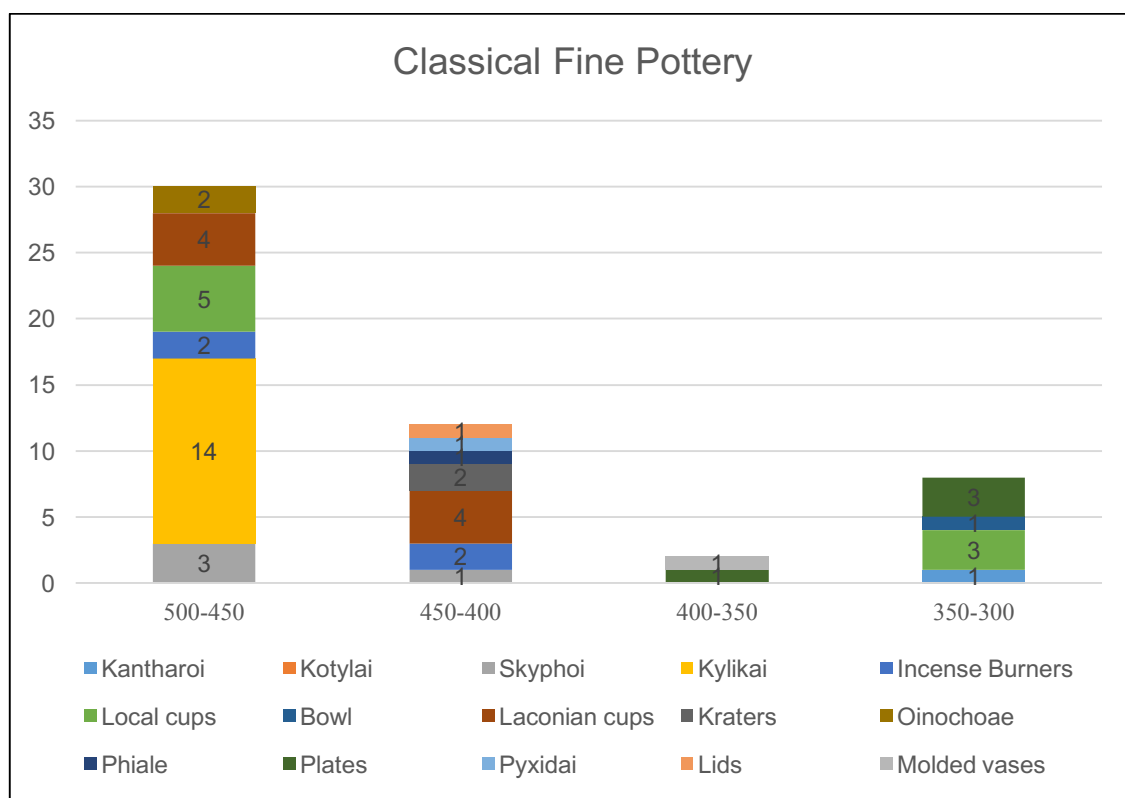


Chart 6. Classical fine pottery.

Among the miniatures there are six kotylai, two phialae, two plates and one lekythos. Small cups, fully glazed, semi-glazed or plain, form a numerous group of vessels that appeared in the fifth century and probably endured in the fourth century. They seem

gradually to replace kotyliskai as dedications and were made locally. One plate and one skyphos were dedicated in the first half of the fourth century. From the second half, are one kantharos and a conic bowl, three plates and three local cups. The few miniatures are dated to the second half of the fourth century; among them are six kotylai, three plain cups, two fully glazed cups, one lekythos, one oinochoe, one lamp and one phiale.

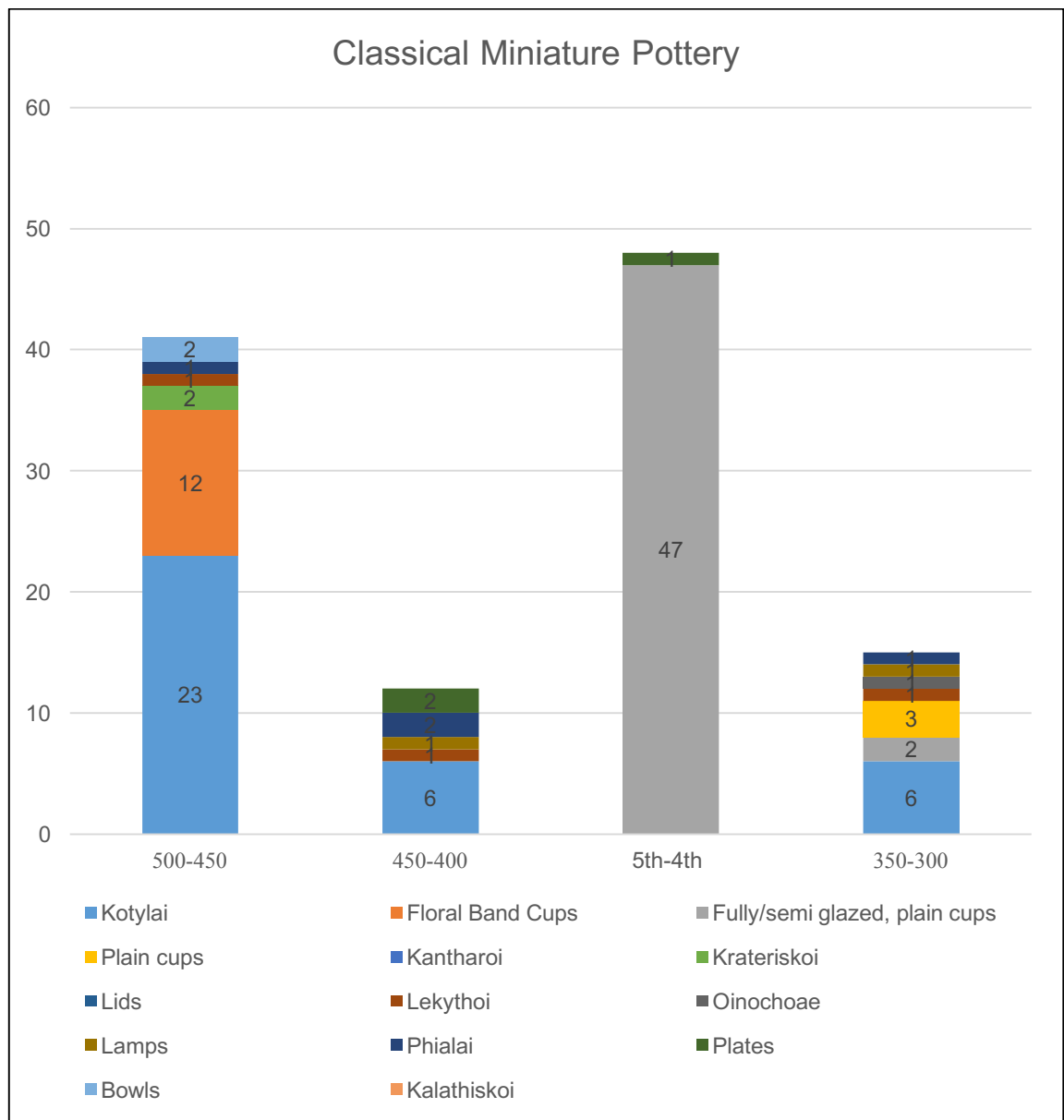


Chart 7. Classical miniature pottery.

The amount of fine pottery and miniatures was further reduced in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. From the first half of the third century there are three local cups, three kraters and a miniature oinochoe; from the second half are two kantharoi, a moulded bowl and a plate. From the first half of the second century come three miniature plain cups and five standard-sized; all were made locally. A further six local cups are dated to the second half of the century.

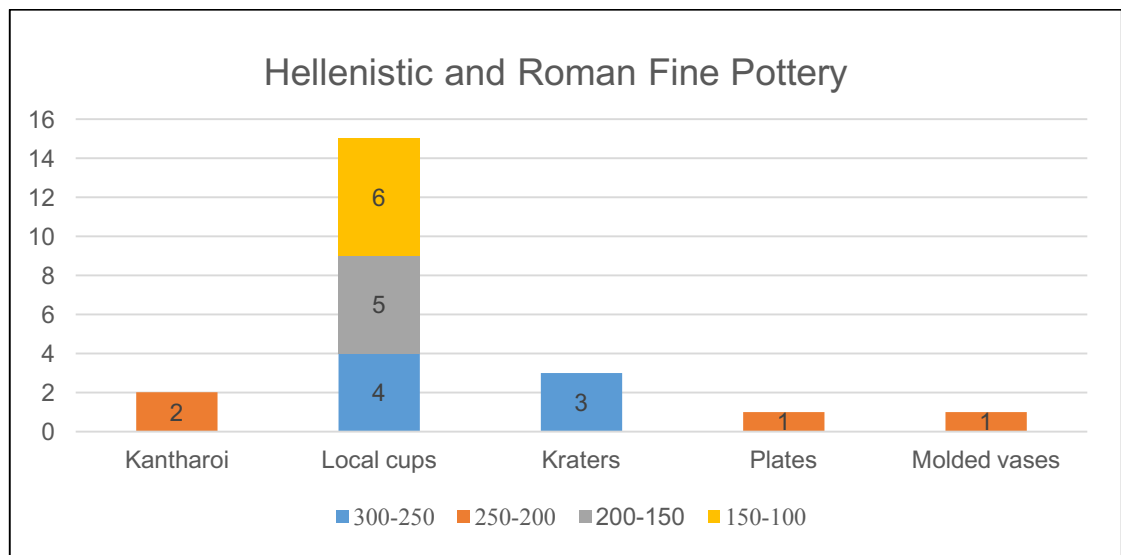


Chart 8. Hellenistic and Roman fine pottery.

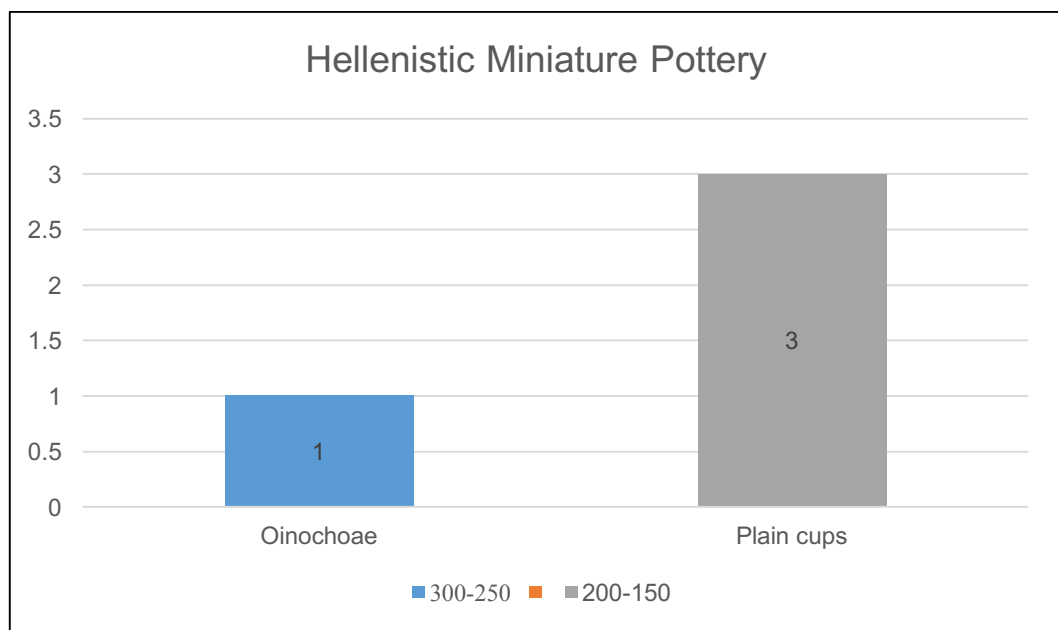


Chart 9. Hellenistic miniature pottery

The limited number of lamps (12) indicates a dedicatory rather than a functional role. The site is dimly lit but does not completely lack natural light, and it is more likely that the cave was illuminated by torches on those occasions when artificial light was necessary.

There is evidence of lamps being employed as dedications for various deities, having a ritual role and being used functionally, as lightning devices.⁸⁸⁵

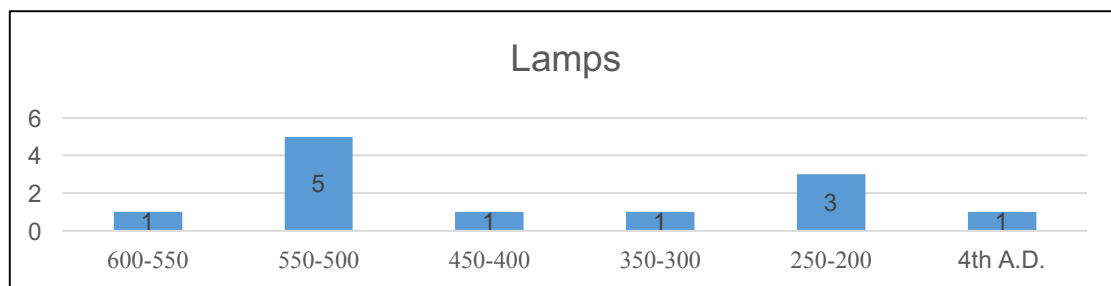


Chart 10. Lamps: chronological distribution.

9.3. Figurative Terracottas

From the second half of the sixth century there are eight dancing group figurines, one standing female figurine and four reliefs depicting Pan and Dionysos.

From the first half of the fifth century there are 13 more figurines from dancing groups, three seated female figurines, the large late Archaic imported protome and ten smaller masked female protomai. Fifty-nine dancing group figurines, one seated female figure and 17 protomai can be dated to the second half of the fifth century. Quantitative analysis of the terracottas reveals two periods when there was an increased flow of artefacts: the middle of the sixth to the end of the fifth century and the second half of the fourth to the first half of the second century.

⁸⁸⁵ For the ritual use of lightning equipment in the cult of Demeter, see Patera 2010; for the use of lamps as illuminating devices in temples and sanctuaries, see Parisinou 2000, 136-61.

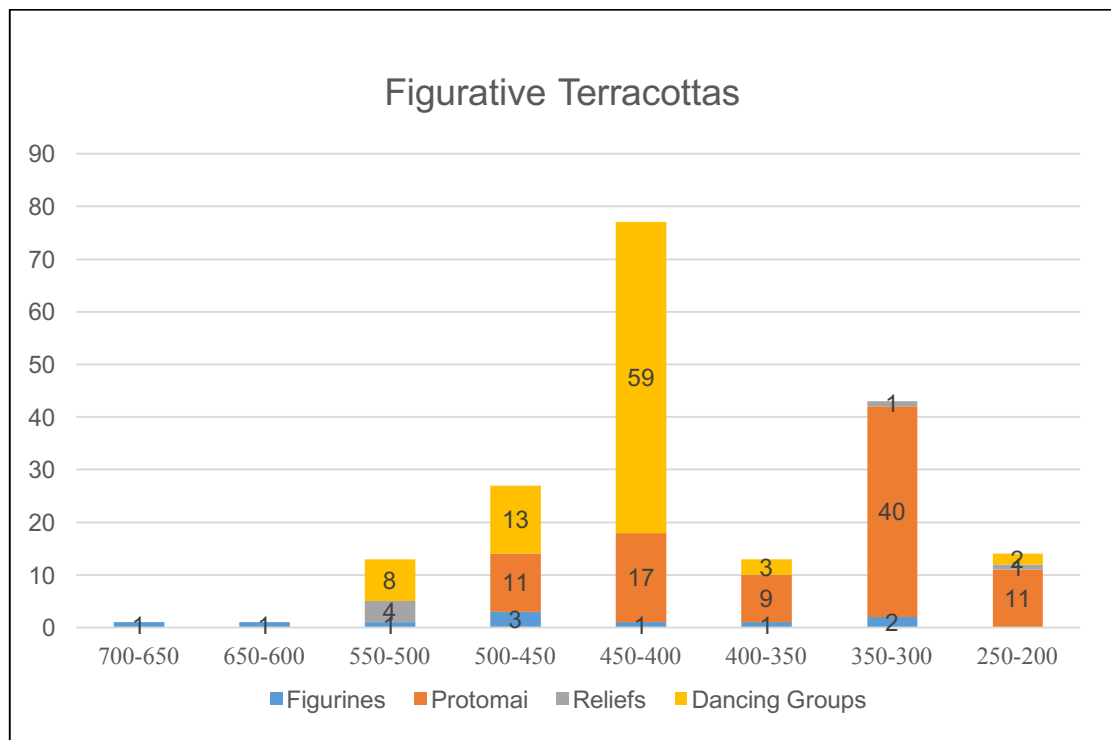


Chart 12. Figurative terracottas: chronological distribution.

The earliest figurine is the plaque-like nude female that dates to the earliest part of the seventh century (**2/2002**). The second nude figurine (**37/94**) is dated to the second half of the seventh century, when the dedication of the dancing groups also commenced (if indeed the round disc **213** does represent a dancing group and not a kalathos).⁸⁸⁶

Dated to the first half of the fourth century are just three dancing group figurines, nine protomai and one seated kore type. The number of protomai increases to 40 examples in the second half of the fourth century; additionally, from this period come one relief depicting a dancing group and two figurines depicting children.

⁸⁸⁶ For its description as a kalathos, see **213** in **chapter 5.4.1**. I have included it in the catalogue of dancing groups as well and M. Hatziotis believes that it was part of a dancing group (personal communication). This is a possibility, since, although it is close to, it is not very similar to the kalathos that was found in Perachora, which has closely placed stelae instead of walls. I do not count this as a terracotta in the quantitative analysis though, as I lean towards it being an awkwardly made kalathos and not a dancing group.

Eleven protomai, two dancing group figurines and a relief representing women in a cave are dated to early in the third century. These are the latest figurative terracotta dedications found in the cave. This trend follows a general development in the region, where, after a pronounced early Hellenistic period, there was a decline during the late Hellenistic, when Rome started to rise in power.⁸⁸⁷

Diachronically, the iconographies of the terracottas appeared in the following order. Sometime in the seventh century the nude female figurine was dedicated at the site; this was followed in the sixth century by the first dancing groups, three relief plaques depicting Dionysos, a figurine of a seated Pan and a standing female that holds birds or a fawn and is interpreted as a Potnia Theron type of deity. At the turn of the century the large late Archaic protome, more dancing groups, seated females holding birds that are often correlated with kourotrophoi and the series of masked protomai were left in the cave. During the second half of the century the material added to the site was dominated by the theme of dance, as offerings of dancing groups reached a peak; furthermore, dedications of protomai depicting women of various age-classes steadily increased.⁸⁸⁸ During the first half of the fourth century three figurines from dancing groups, nine protomai and a seated kore holding a wreath, an allusion to marriage, were added. In the second half of the century the highest quantity of female protomai, a depiction of a dance in relief and two child figures found their way to the cave. The last dancing group figurines were deposited early in the third century, along with 11 female protomai and a locally made cave relief.

⁸⁸⁷ Randsborg 2002, vol. II, 320-21.

⁸⁸⁸ On age-classes, see Bernardi and Kertzer 1985; on whether Greek poleis were age-class societies, see Kennell 2013. I use the term only in order to distinguish the various categories of terracottas; what seems to differentiate them is variations in age or status. The designation is discussed further in **chapter 10.4.** and **10.5.**

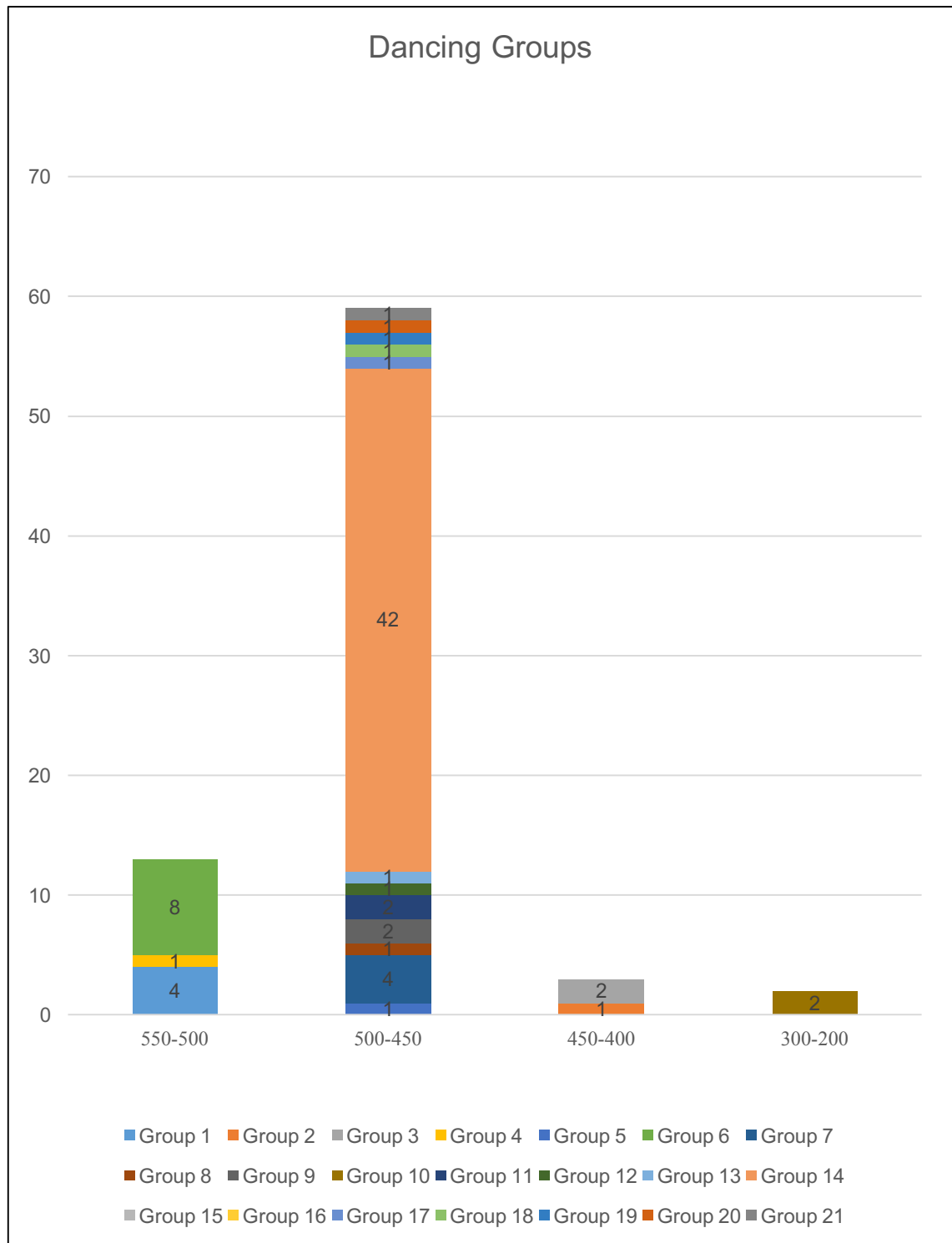


Chart 11 Dancing groups: chronological distribution.

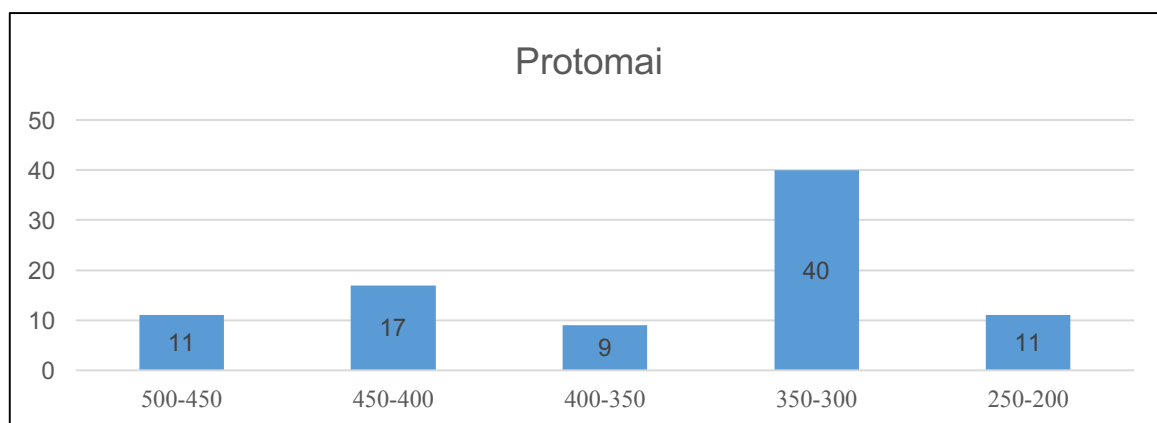


Chart 12 Protomai: chronological distribution.

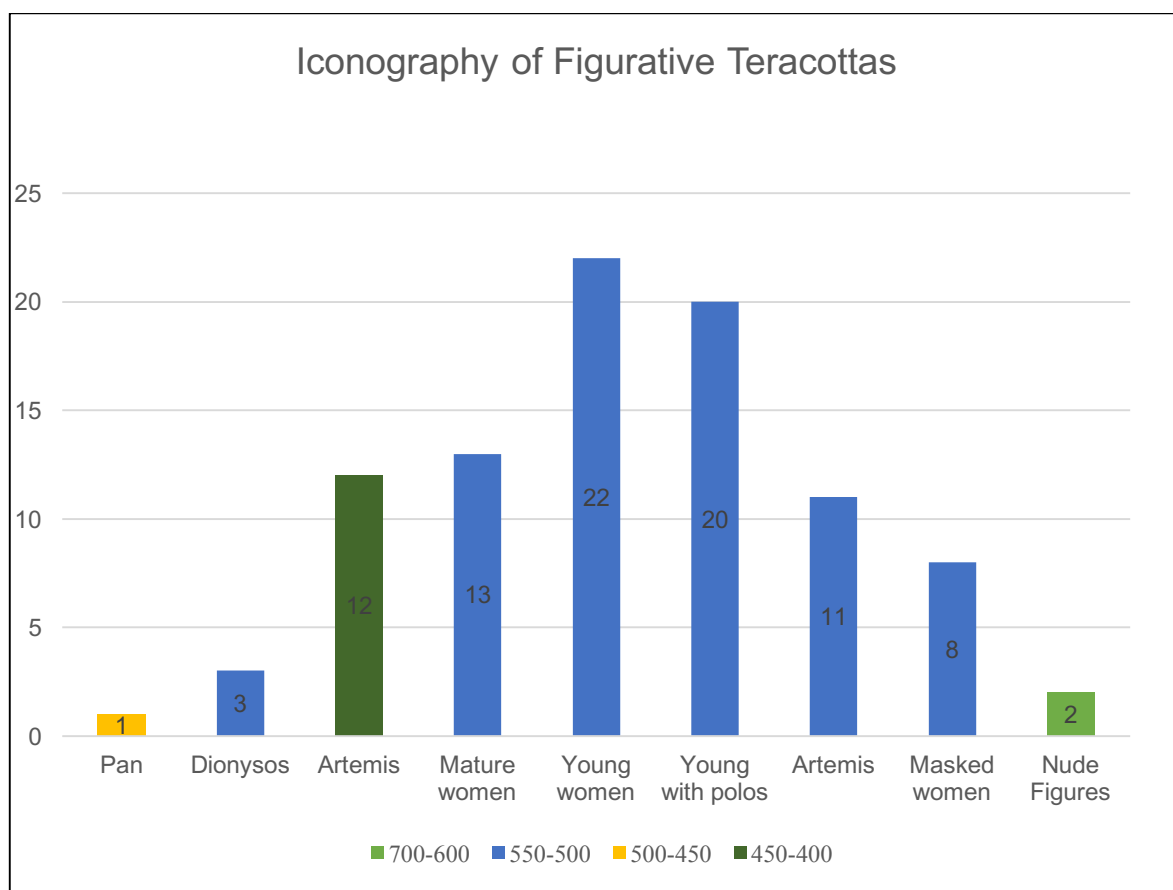


Chart 13 Iconography of figurative terracottas.

Chart 15 sorts terracottas according to their iconography. I have not included dance as a theme, although it is very popular, since all the dancing group figurines could be attributed to this category but it is not easy to attribute all the fragmentary protomai to a

category. So, since the protomai and dancing group figurines are equal in number, the quantitative analysis would be inaccurate.

It is necessary to note that most of the dancing group figurines do not preserve their heads. As described in **chapter 7**, the dancing groups display many details showing movement and garments and head features, as can be see on the few intact specimens. An evaluation of these few preserved heads reveals several telling details. First, none of the figurines seems to wear a polos. Secondly, the heads of some figurines are disproportionately larger than the body, and this possibly indicates that they may represent a masked dancer.

To conclude, I believe that the iconography I recognise in the protomai is probably repeated in the dancing figurines. Since the dancing groups started to arrive in the cave during the sixth century and the majority were dedicated in the second half of the fifth century, it emerges that, diachronically, the choice of iconography remained the same; it was simply replicated on a different type of terracotta and on a larger scale on protomai. It seems that the habit of dedicating images of women dancing was gradually replaced by the dedication of female protomai, as can be observed in charts 13 and 14.

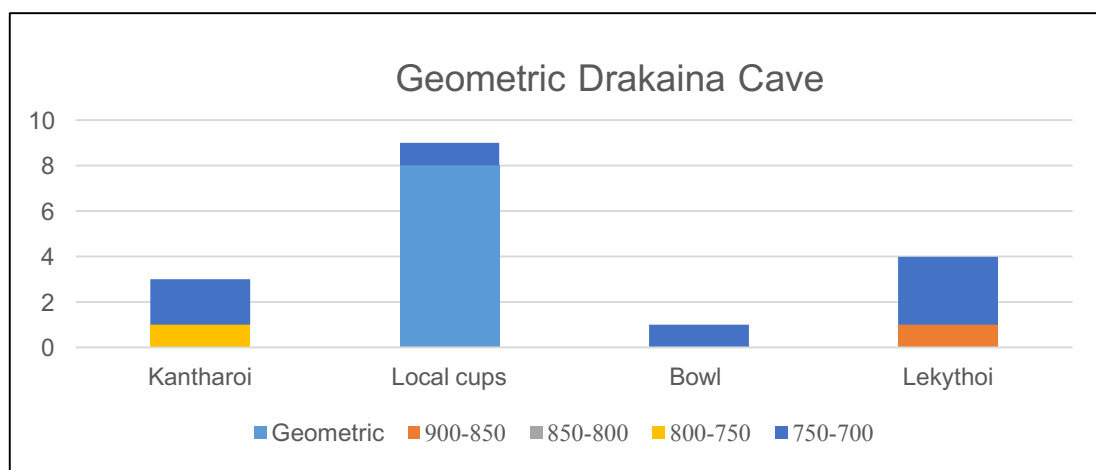


Chart 14 Geometric Drakaina Cave.

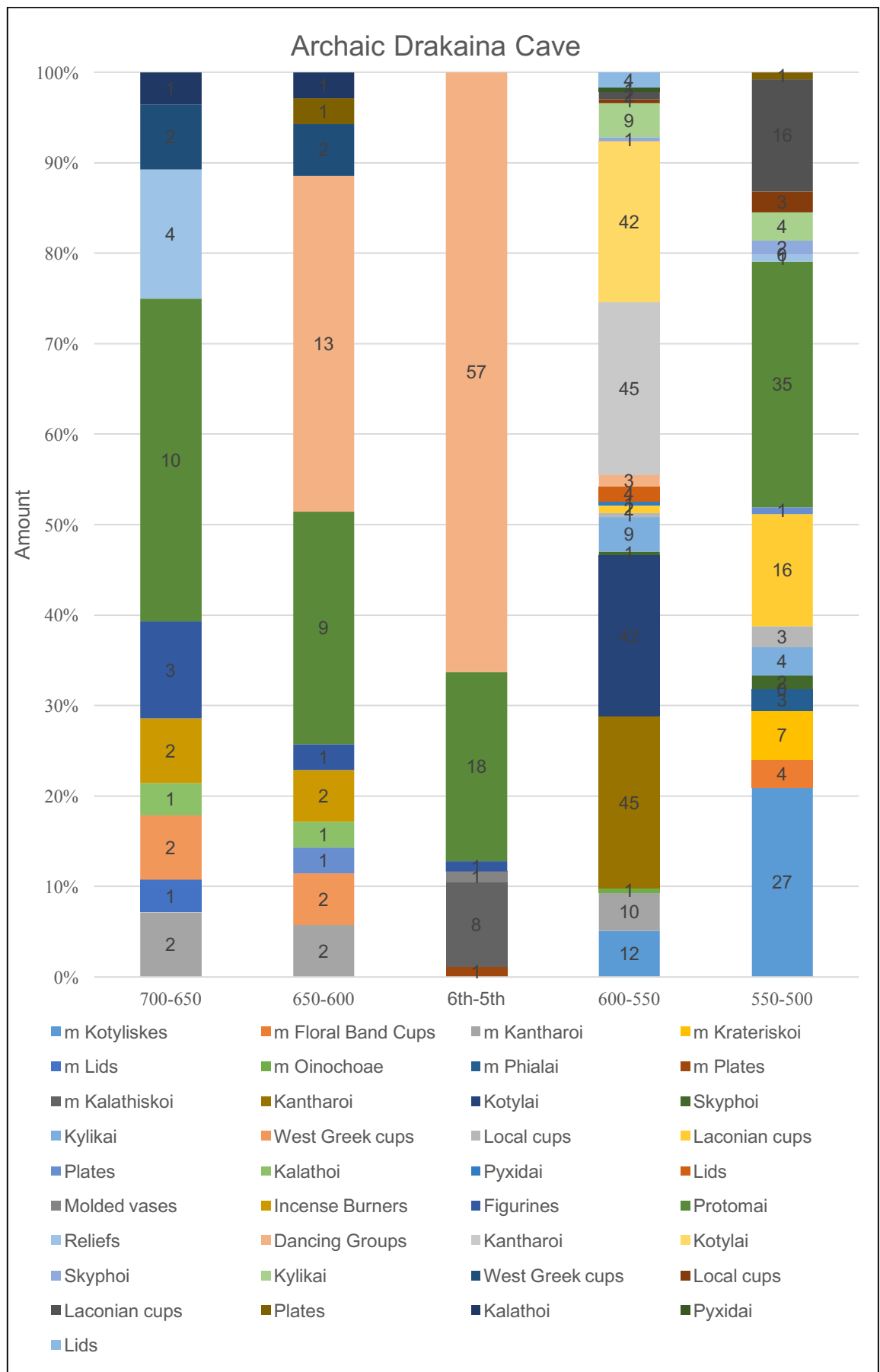


Chart 15. Archaic Drakaina Cave.

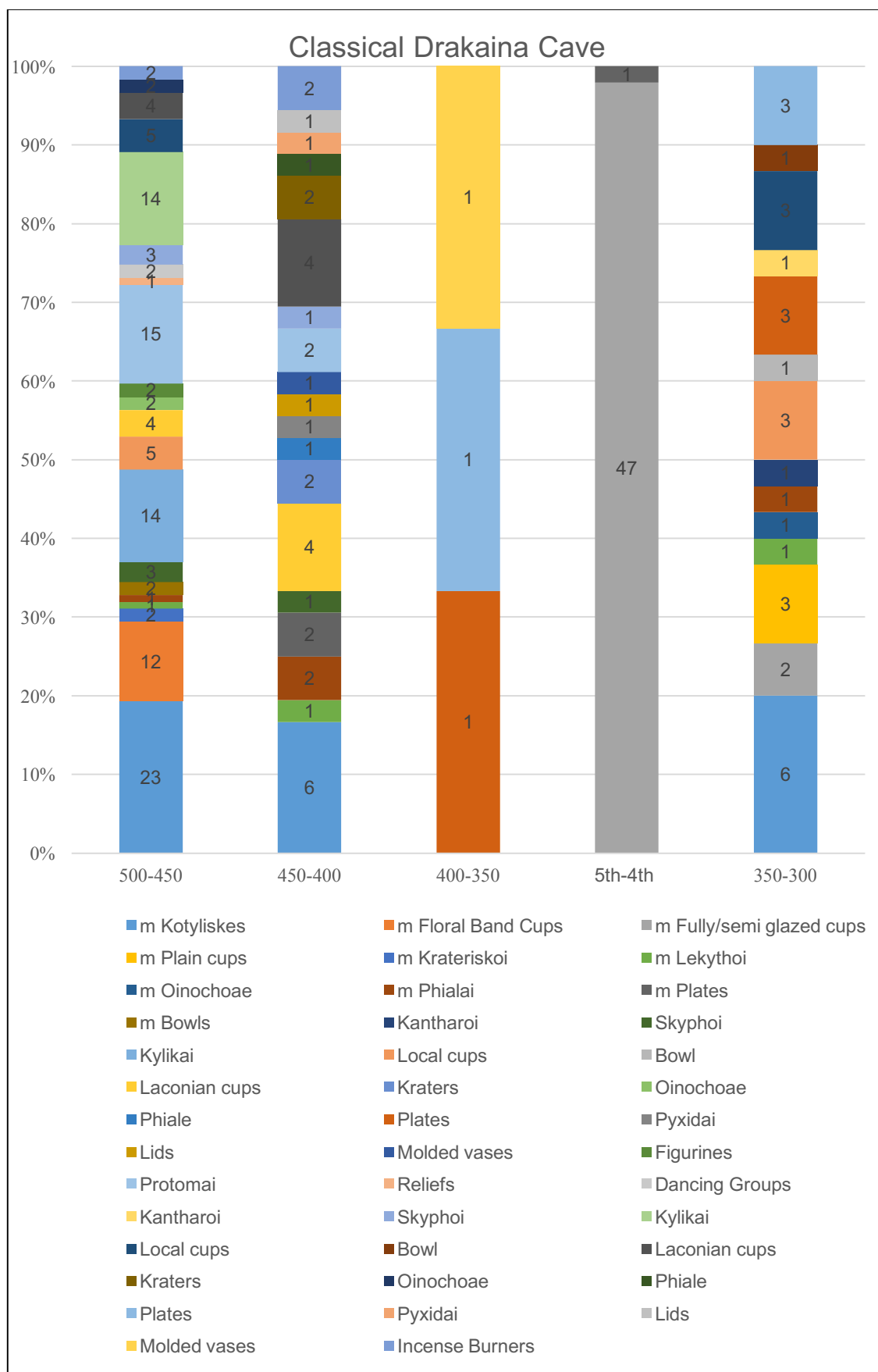


Chart 16. Classical Drakaina Cave.

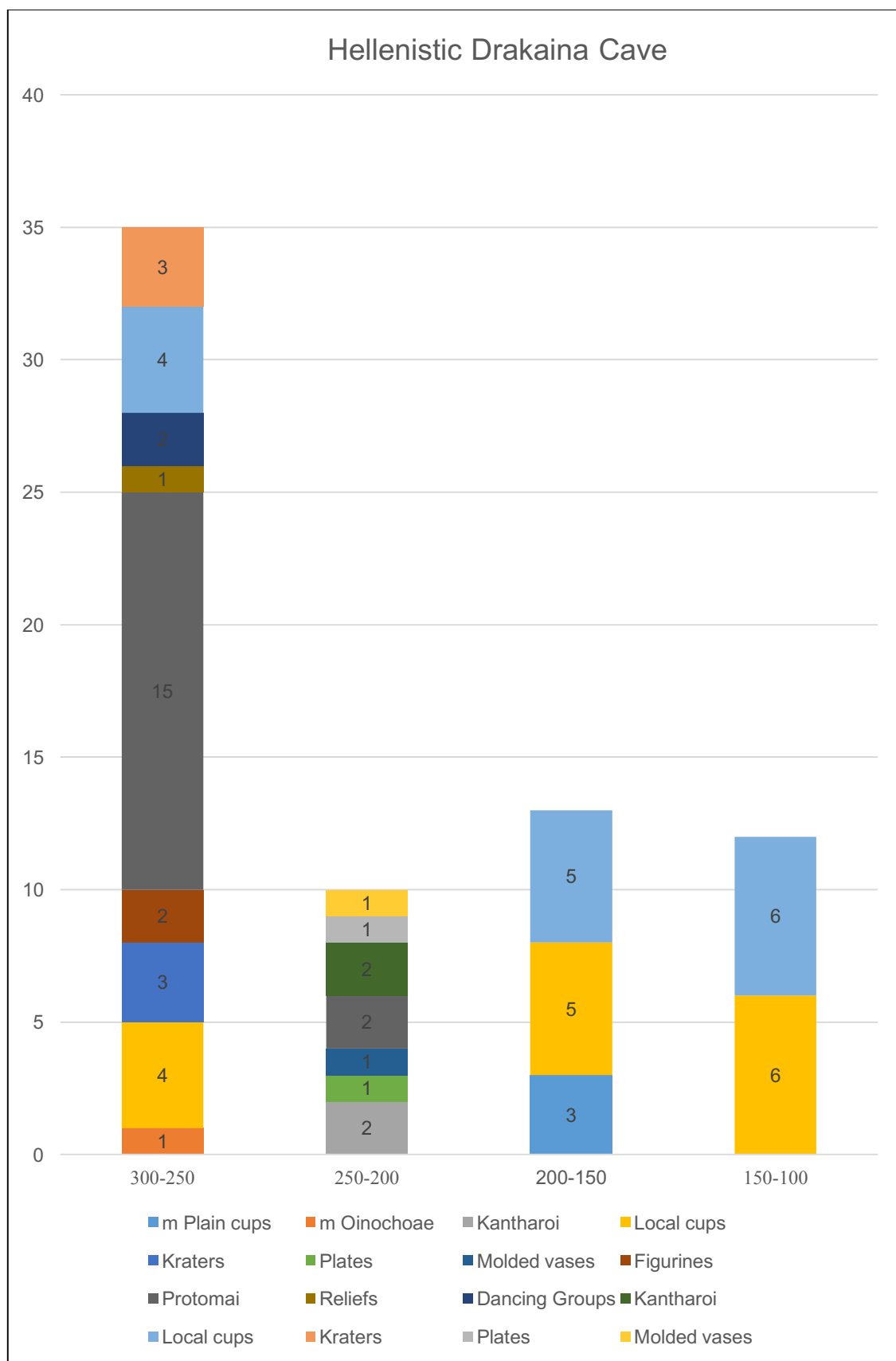


Chart 17. Hellenistic Drakaina cave.

9.4. Distribution and Profile of the Assemblage

Benson notes that the evidence from Corinth, especially that from well I, indicates that several of the kotylai workshop painters had a preference for the Italian market, and particularly that of Taranto among published material. Among them are painters whose products were found in Drakaina Cave: the KP 14 Painter, the Silhouette Goat Painter I and the Silhouette Goat Painter II.⁸⁸⁹

Turning to Attic pottery, Shefton observes that specific classes of late Archaic and early Classical Attic pottery are not found in mainland Greece, but, rather, at the extremities of the Mediterranean: in Israel, Cyrenaica and Sicily, along the Adriatic and at Spanish and southern French sites with a noticeable Greek presence. Among them are the Lancut Group, vessels of Silhouette technique, Coral Red cups and Castulo cups, which are also present in the cave assemblage.⁸⁹⁰ It is true that there are only a few specimens, or only one of each type of imports. This fact stresses that they are occasional finds and not indicator of direct trade.

The miniatures from the cave, specifically the pattern kotylai, which are the most common, and particularly the type with a narrow base, have close parallels among the material from Tocra and a few Italian sites. Similar examples have been found in Kalydon, which had a cult analogous to that at Drakaina in many respects, but they are not common in mainland Greece. Furthermore, vessel **406**, which was most probably imported from Magna Grecia, shows how dedicatory material travelled from Italian to Greek sites.

The earliest terracottas from the cave, the nude standing figurine (**2/2002**) and the large late Archaic protome (**1/2001 and 1/2002**), have close parallels in Italy and Cyrene. Most

⁸⁸⁹ Benson 1983, 317-18.

⁸⁹⁰ Shefton 1996 with bibliography.

of the small-sized protomai have close parallels in material from southern Italy and Sicily.

A point that requires clarification is the proportion of ‘Corinthian’ and ‘Lakonian’ material that actually came from Elis. Elean pottery is not well studied, but, nonetheless, the extent of its influence on the material recovered from Drakaina cave is evident. It is possible that what I recognise as Lakonian and Corinthian imitations might not be local products but imports from Elis.⁸⁹¹

In the 5th and most prominently in the 4th century there is a shift in the dedicatory practises observed in the cave; vessels are replaced gradually by protomai. This trend is also observable at other sites.⁸⁹² Snodgrass explains the change as a move from the Olympian deities towards assisting deities like the Nymphs and Pan.⁸⁹³ This in turn is probably a manifestation of individuality as opposed to the polis influence as demonstrated in the dedication of vessels.⁸⁹⁴

This picture demonstrates that the ancient Poros settlement was a port of trade.⁸⁹⁵ During the Archaic and early Classical periods the cave site received material that had been produced for markets in the west. At the same time, there was a significant local production that was clearly influenced by trends in ceramic production observed across the wider area: Attica, the Peloponnese (Corinthia, Laconia, Achaëa), Sicily and the region around the gulf of Taranto. As Randsborg observed following his thorough survey of the island, Kephallenians were well aware of contemporary regional developments in material culture (pottery, masonry, cults). Diachronically changing norms and practices can be identified on the island which follow evolutions in mainland Greece and the west,

⁸⁹¹ On Classical black-glazed Elean pottery, see Schilbach 1995; on the clay from Elis, see Georgiadou 2005, 102.

⁸⁹² For a detailed analysis of the phenomenon see Barfoed 2015.

⁸⁹³ Snodgrass 2006, 263-264.

⁸⁹⁴ Snodgrass 2006, 265-266.

⁸⁹⁵ Polanyi 1963; Aubet and Turton 2001, 101-03.

and the need to develop a unique Kephallenian identity is not evident.⁸⁹⁶ Kephallonia and its inhabitants never stood out; they were, rather, consistently eager to demonstrate its affinity with various regions through material culture.⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹⁶ Randsborg 2002, vol. II, 308.

⁸⁹⁷ Gehrke and Wirbelauer 2004, 351-52.

CHAPTER 10

DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION

10.1. Introduction to the Cult

The female deity who appeared as early as the beginning of the seventh century at Drakaina Cave, in the form of the dedication of the nude standing figurine (2/2002), has many parallels at Italian and western Greek sites.⁸⁹⁸ This type of representation, as Bohm argues, was a suitable dedication that concerned female fertility, pregnancy, and motherhood. She points to a relation in terms of meaning and function between the Near Eastern plaques and their counterparts in Greek contexts.⁸⁹⁹ Bohm suggests that nude figures depicted on plaques were used during initiation rites for young girls.⁹⁰⁰

As V. Pirenne-Delforge indicates, an important aspect that points to the function of such plaques is the gesture presented.⁹⁰¹ A figure holding a spear or a shield emphasises warlike qualities and, consequently, the ability to fight. A figure holding or pointing to the breasts or pubic area indicates matters concerning sexual maturity, fertility and childbirth. It is often assumed that the donors would have identified themselves with the dedication.⁹⁰² Nonetheless, it cannot be excluded that there was actually a different relationship between the donor and the item dedicated, and that, for example, not only women but also men would have dedicated female nude figurines.⁹⁰³ Nanno Marinatos explicitly concludes that the early Archaic dedications of nude females were dedications made by men.⁹⁰⁴ The figurine discovered in the prow of the Uluburun shipwreck, as

⁸⁹⁸ For parallels, see the discussion in **chapter 8.6.1**.

⁸⁹⁹ Bohm 1990, 136-37.

⁹⁰⁰ Bohm 2003, 367-68.

⁹⁰¹ Pirenne-Delforge 2001, 179.

⁹⁰² Pirenne-Delforge 2004, 869.

⁹⁰³ Pilz 2001, 25.

⁹⁰⁴ Marinatos 2000, 28-31, 128-29.

discussed above (8.6.1.1.), is a good example of the perceived protective power of nude female figurines.⁹⁰⁵ Furthermore, in Cretan contexts, nudity and the changing of garments seem to have been related to male initiation.⁹⁰⁶

For the Drakaina Cave example, it is plausible that the figurine reached the site as a dedication related to a sea trip. Subsequently, it was maintained at the site as women or men invested a special meaning in the representation. The idea that they identified themselves with the figurine, as a mirror to their own anxieties and concerns, constitutes a plausible explanation for the preservation of the image. With our current state of knowledge, it is not possible to consider a name for the deity. However, the distribution of this type of image, especially in Italy and western Greece, coincides with evidence of cults that eventually evolved to be related with a deity who protected women and young children and supervised the training of young men and women for their respective roles. The deity at such sites is identifiable from later material as Artemis, Bendis, Demeter, Athena, Aphrodite or Hera. The functions of these deities often overlap, depending on the popularity of specific cults in specific regions for specific periods.

I will argue below that after the dedication of the figurine, Artemis and Dionysos were worshipped side by side in Archaic times. This is discussed in detail below in the subsequent sections.

10.2. Artemis and her Veneration

In order to discuss the worship of Artemis in the cave, it is first necessary to establish

⁹⁰⁵ On the apotropaic and protective functions of nudity, see Marinatos 2000, 27-31. The figurine found in the Uluburun shipwreck offers physical evidence of figurines being on board vessels. The location of the figurine among the scatter of artefacts indicates that it was housed in the prow of the ship: Brody 1998.

⁹⁰⁶ Prent 2005, 483-84.

which of the dedicated objects were intended for her cult and which for the other deity, Dionysos. Further groups of dedications were addressed to the Nymphs and Pan.⁹⁰⁷

A series of protomai wearing an animal-skin cap (**8.7.2.2. Group 2**) is dated to the end of the fifth century. The representation is distinctly related to Artemis or Bendis. In the same group, some remains of protomai wearing an animal skin as a garment (**76/94, 67/95, 1/99**) point further to the representation of the deity as a huntress. The iconography of hunting has more than one variant and the representation is in accord with archaeological and philological sources for the cults of Artemis in Patrai, Kalydon, Sparta, Naupaktos and sites in Italy, among other places. Specifically in western Greece, the veneration of Artemis was fulfilled with chthonian sacrifices, holocausts and the burning of live animals.⁹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, images of hunting and specifically representations of Artemis as the huntress point to the margins of civilized life and to notions of the wilderness and domestication.⁹⁰⁹ The singular standing figurine **94/94** depicts a deity holding a fawn or birds, a form often identified with Artemis.⁹¹⁰ The depiction of a newborn animal is connected with the nurturing and protective side of the deity, as patroness of babies and children; she was a kourotrophos who oversaw their upbringing. As a dedication, it might be connected to the initiation of young girls.⁹¹¹

The subsequent group of protomai in the catalogue (Catalogue, **chapter 5.2.3**), which are partially preserved, show a detail of the bust that might be either a quiver strap or a cross-band. Among female deities, it is usually Artemis who is represented with arrows and Artemis and Athena who wear a cross-band while driving a chariot.⁹¹² A mortal female

⁹⁰⁷ For the idea that the Nymphs and Pan replace in the 4th century Olympian deities see Snodgrass 2006, 263-264.

⁹⁰⁸ Paus. 4.31.7-8; Osborne 2015, 82-83.

⁹⁰⁹ Vernant 1984.

⁹¹⁰ Klinger 2001.

⁹¹¹ Kahil and Icard 1984, 2, nos 595, 600a, 648.

⁹¹² For cross-bands, see Fischer-Hansen 2009, 211-12; Lee 2015, 137-39.

might also be depicted wearing a cross-band. If this accessory had a functional role it could have been to secure a garment on the body. However, various representations indicate that it might have been used only during rituals or other important occasions.⁹¹³ It has also been suggested that cross-bands confirmed the maturity of young women and thus indicated their marriageability.⁹¹⁴ The central disc of a cross-band often served as an amulet, and the decorative elements had an apotropaic role.⁹¹⁵ Furthermore, cross-bands had erotic connotations, as they are identified with the *kestos*⁹¹⁶, a type of adornment Hera borrowed from Aphrodite in order to seduce Zeus.⁹¹⁷ It was considered appropriate to be worn by maidens only, but it may also have been a status symbol. Their representation on young women starts in the fourth century, but there are earlier representations of cross-bands attested on non-Greek males.⁹¹⁸ I assume that, in the context of the cult of Drakaina, they indicate young unmarried women.

Those protomai were possibly offerings made by young women, probably before their marriage. The imagery, as discussed above, expresses notions that are the product of social interactions.⁹¹⁹ Specifically, images of hunting were used to express dominance and subordination.⁹²⁰ Hunting was a way for young men to develop courage, learn to use weapons, gather food and, in effect, promote a model of manhood. The invocation of Artemis by adults aimed to make them stronger and brave.⁹²¹

⁹¹³ Roccos 2000, 246 suggests that cross-bands and *zonai* were offered before marriage to Artemis.

⁹¹⁴ Lee 2015, 138.

⁹¹⁵ The main element was usually a knot that on its own was considered a protective symbol: Lee 2015, 138-39.

⁹¹⁶ Lather 2016, 72-75.

⁹¹⁷ Hom. *Il.* 14.214-17.

⁹¹⁸ Roccos 2000, 245-247.

⁹¹⁹ Douglas 2013, 5-7.

⁹²⁰ Fernandez et al. 1974, 121.

⁹²¹ Des Bouvrie 2009, 173.

The group of seated figurines holding a dove (**4/94**, **1/95** and **44/95**) demonstrates Artemis' concern with female fertility,⁹²² since the dove is often replaced with a child, making it a dedication to kourotrophic goddesses.⁹²³

Among the earliest pottery specimens are kalathoi. Examples **212** and **213** are dated to the first and the second half of the seventh century respectively. The remainder of the corpus of kalathiskoi are miniatures and are dated to the sixth and fifth centuries. Kalathoi had a function as containers of yarn and wool, and were thus connected with textile production, which was considered a female undertaking.⁹²⁴ From this early stage of activity at Drakaina Cave there are dedications that reflect a female involvement in the cult. Another site with a vast number of kalathoi is Perachora, where there was a cult of Hera.⁹²⁵ The dedication of equipment for the production of clothing is considered an allusion to clothing itself.⁹²⁶ Whilst clothes are not preserved in the archaeological record, they clearly often accompanied the dedication of kalathoi. At Perachora, the many pins and fibulae, along with ornaments for the decoration of clothes, indicate that clothes were also dedicated by women.⁹²⁷ The dedication of clothing was particularly common during rituals related to moments of transition, such as marriage. Clothes were offered before marriage to delineate the transition to adulthood and A. Pekridou-Gorecki argues that clothing offerings were common in relation to childbirth.⁹²⁸ The loosening of belts and the offering of garments to Eileithyia, Artemis and Hera reflected the concern for a successful delivery. Garments were thus given as grateful offerings or to appease the deity

⁹²² Baumbach 2004, 136.

⁹²³ Baumbach 2004, 54, 79, 136.

⁹²⁴ Pantelia 1993 on spinning and weaving.

⁹²⁵ Dunbabin and Payne 1962, 162-90, pls 40-42.

⁹²⁶ Cole 2004, 214-18.

⁹²⁷ Payne et al 1940, 69-77, pls 72-77.

⁹²⁸ Pekridou-Gorecki 1989, 101.

who might cause death with her anger during delivery.⁹²⁹

With regard to kantharoi, there is an association that points to the banded type of kantharos (type 3, **chapter 5.2.1.2.**) having a very specific function in the cult, at least in the region of western Greece. I refer to those sites that have large series of the type and which are related with a deity (Artemis, Eileithyia, Demeter) who functioned as a protectress of birth and child rearing. Since the Olympian series was found in a well, it is not easy to associate it with a specific cult. However, the cult of Eileithyia is known at Olympia; she had a small Archaic temple, where she was co-worshipped with Sosipolis.⁹³⁰ The temple was located in Altis either on the northern side of the sanctuary of Zeus or at the western end of the Treasury Terrace, between the Nymphaion and the Treasury of the Sikyonians;⁹³¹ a further possibility is that it was built west of the Heraion.⁹³² Eileithyia was worshipped, like Artemis with whom she is often assimilated, on the outskirts of poleis and settlements because childbirth, like death, was considered a form of pollution. Springs with running water located close to sanctuaries of Eileithyia were believed to have the power to offer an easy delivery. We hear from Photios that pregnant women visited a cave on Mount Hymettus in order to drink from the spring. The cave was sacred to Aphrodite Kolias, a name that literally means easy birth.⁹³³

A figurine representing a pregnant woman drinking from a Lakonian kantharos with vertical handles, similar to the type from Elis, is known from the temple at Olympia.⁹³⁴ It is likely then that drinking from a kantharos in the context of a sanctuary was a common

⁹²⁹ On a relief found at ancient Echinon (Phthiotis), a woman with a baby is represented approaching Artemis and dedicating garments and shoes, either to thank or to appease the deity; Dakoronia and Gounaropoulou 1992, 217-27, pls 57-60

⁹³⁰ Paus. 6.20.2-5.

⁹³¹ Mallwitz 1972, 156-59.

⁹³² Treu 1897, 242, pl. LIX, no. 10.

⁹³³ Phot. *Lex.* 185.21

⁹³⁴ Sinn 2000, 79-80, fig. 14.

practice among pregnant women as part of a ritual designed to ensure an easy delivery. Therefore, it is plausible to explain the preference of dedicating krateriskoi to Artemis as being related to the consumption of a potion or water that would enable a safe birth. Furthermore, if the Elean archaic kantharos is a vessel that as a shape results from the reduction in scale of a krater, then two conclusions may be drawn from these observations. First, krateriskoi, were significant for the cult of Artemis because they were connected with the consumption by a pregnant women of a liquid that was believed to enable an easy delivery; and second, kantharoi can be perceived as the same as the miniature vessels that we recognise as krateriskoi, in the context of specific cults, and thus had the same function. They were not exclusively used for the consumption of wine, which is more often associated with male festivities, and, in this instance, were employed in relation to a female religious practice.

This conclusion is strengthened by an inscription on **49**, a kantharos dated to the end of the fourth century. The fragmentary inscription reads ΑΠΑΝΑΔΑΣΝ[.⁹³⁵ If this was a name, it is not known from other sources. Analysis of the word in its components reveals that it consists of the preposition ἀπό and the verb ἀναδέω.⁹³⁶ The first part of the word, ἀπό, when used in a composition to create a new word, means, among other things, cease to function/stop. The verb ἀναδέω means bind up and we know that *anadema* (ἀναδέσμη) was a ribbon-like band that was used to keep female hair tied high. An inscription from Andania, detailing regulations for the sanctuary and festival management, connects religious practice and sacred law by providing very specific instructions to the festival attendants. These include references to *anademata* and braided hair as inappropriate ways for women to style their hair in the sanctuary. This was a restriction on the way women

⁹³⁵ The beginning of the word has survived, but the ending is lost from the point where the sherd is broken.

⁹³⁶ The verb itself consists of the preposition ἀνά- and the root δέω; it literally means ‘bind up’.

should present themselves while participating in the festival.⁹³⁷ Of the nine inscribed stelae found in sanctuaries around the Greek world that include regulations referring to hair and the need for it to be unplaited and without a hair band, five come from the Peloponnese. We know that the way women presented their hair was a means to communicate their age, individual status (married or not) and place in society.⁹³⁸ It could also demonstrate mourning or express an erotic meaning.⁹³⁹

In the context of the Andania festival, the regulations concerning hair are interpreted as an attempt to avoid the unwanted power of binding as a magical gesture.⁹⁴⁰ In the cult of Juno Lucina in Rome, pregnant women could enter and pray with unbound hair only.⁹⁴¹ We know that Hera, in order to obstruct and delay the delivery of Heracles, sent Eileithyia and Moirai to stand outside Alcmene's door while she was in labour with their arms and legs crossed. Baby Heracles was born only by means of a trick by the birth assistant Galinthias, who caught Eileithyia and Moirai by surprise and deceptively announced the delivery of the baby, making them unbind their arms.⁹⁴² We should keep in mind that knots had a very broad significance in the ancient world and were prohibited from many places, such as sanctuaries, public assemblies and the sickroom. They had a symbolic meaning and, in most cases, were perceived as allegories of unexpected difficulties caused by magic.⁹⁴³

The suffix of the inscription in -ΑΣ, seems to identify the recipient as a female; so the

⁹³⁷ Gawlinski 2012, 127-28. Binding is mentioned in prohibitions related to the cult of Despoina at Lykosoura that refer to women: Osborne 1993, 398.

⁹³⁸ Merker 2000, 117-18.

⁹³⁹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 70-71.

⁹⁴⁰ Gawlinski 2012, 128.

⁹⁴¹ Fast. 3.257-58.

⁹⁴² Ant. Lib. *Met.* 29; Ael. *NH* 10.47; Ov. *Met.* 9.281. Galinthias is punished for deceiving Hera and is turned into a weasel. For the significance of weasels as birth assistants, see Bettini 2013.

⁹⁴³ On knots in particular, see Bettini 2013, 69-82.

subject was presumably a female or something that in Greek is referred to as female. The word, as the past-participle form of the word ἀπό+ἀναδέω, seems to be an adjective. In this case its meaning could be ‘she who frees from’, or ‘she who stops the binding’, or ‘she who ends the binding’.⁹⁴⁴ It could then be perceived as an adjective referring to the goddess who facilitated childbirth. It is not possible to determine whether this deity was Artemis, Bendis, the main recipient deity or a secondary deity, who was worshipped with the main deity, as was often the case. Artemis and Eileithyia are also known with the epithet Lysizonos; this refers to the unbinding of a girdle, a gesture that is often associated with (among other things) the beginning of labour.⁹⁴⁵ Another common dedicatory practice after successful childbirth was for the mother and/or the father to offer their sandals, without their straps, the ribbon the woman wore in her hair, the sash she wore on her chest, her girdle and her chiton to Artemis or Eileithyia as offerings of gratitude.⁹⁴⁶ If the birth ended with the death of the mother, the offering was a means to propitiate the deity.⁹⁴⁷

Thus, one aspect of the cult at Drakaina was probably linked to childbirth, and the anxieties that accompany it. In connection with this aspect of the cult, it is possible that kantharoi could have been used not only for the consumption of wine, but also as emblematic vessels in childbirth rituals. The specific type of kantharos with white and red-on-black decoration, which is so easily recognisable, was possibly used only at sites with a similar cultic profile and similar function. Their find-spots at Olympia and Elean Pylos are not conclusive as to the type of cult the material was related to, but both sites have a well-known presence of deities who oversaw childbirth. Artefacts from both sites

⁹⁴⁴ I did not find any parallels to support this hypothesis.

⁹⁴⁵ For references to ancient sources, see Bettini 2013, 71, nn. 15, 16, 17.

⁹⁴⁶ For belts as offerings to Artemis, see Simon 1986, 204-05. Also for childbirth offerings see Wise 2005, 219-222, 226-227.

⁹⁴⁷ Pingiatoglou 1981, 50; Bettini 2013, n. 21, chapter 5.

(Olympia and Elean Pylos) display links with material from Drakaina Cave. The distribution of similar types of pottery at all three sites suggests a connection that was created by people who travelled from one place to another for specific reasons. Similar cults at these sites facilitated the use of similar objects that were perceived to have a significance for the audiences at these sanctuaries.

To summarise, the deity who was worshipped in the cave was most likely responsible for birth and the safety and rearing of children, in addition to the safe passage of women from childhood to adulthood, culminating in a successful marriage. The representation of another age-class, of more mature women, indicates another milestone in the female life cycle. It is possible that for this group of women the recipient deity was Dionysos and not Artemis, as seen in other sanctuaries; and I now turn to this aspect of the cult that is discussed below (**chapter 10.3**).

10.2.1. Dancing and Armed Dancers

Here, I summarise the function of dance, since dancing and its significance in relation to Drakaina Cave are discussed in **chapter 7**, with reference to the dancing groups.

Choruses to honour Artemis were made up of young women, who, like Artemis and her chorus of Nymphs, were adolescent girls; they are often referred to as virgins and daughters. Thus they can be identified with young unmarried women.⁹⁴⁸ The myths that accompany various cults of Artemis were often enacted through rituals. The choral aspect of the ritual, which was often accompanied by abduction, symbolic or real, in myth, represented the stage in puberty when young women are desirable but not yet married.

⁹⁴⁸ Calame 1997, 91-101; for *parthenoi* as women of marriageable age, see Parker 2005, 218, ref. 2.

The purpose of such rituals was to control the sexuality of young women and the choice of their future husband; this, in turn, would lead to acceptable unions for the polis between its male citizens and women of Athens.⁹⁴⁹

The kneeling warriors on vessels **135** and **136** seems to be the only such representations of kneeling warriors in the Drakaina assemblage. The black-figured cups depict kneeling figures who hold a shield and a long spear. They seem to be naked, although it is difficult to say so with certainty, since they are depicted in silhouette. There are three figures preserved: one looks forward and two turn their heads back. One holds his spear with a raised arm, ready to attack, and the other two hold a spear, but seem to be waiting. One wears a bulky object on his head (most likely a helmet) and the other two are shown with headgear, in all probability a *sakkos*. The positions of the bodies seem very awkward and the full armoury is uncommon and odd.

A possible explanation for the representation of a warrior in the context of this cult might be in connection with Artemis or Dionysos. Male, and less often female, armed dances are depicted elsewhere and with greater clarity than the silhouette style of the Drakaina vessels. pyrrhic dancers are shown holding spears and shields on a black-figured skyphos in Berlin.⁹⁵⁰ However, most such scenes depict standing dancing figures, not kneeling or seated figures. Plato refers to pyrrhic dancers who imitate the movements of battle by jumping, crouching and repeating various postures of action.⁹⁵¹ The crouching figures on our vessels might then depict dancing pyrrhichistai. Weapon dances were performed at various festivals, such as that at Halae Araphenides, to honour Artemis.⁹⁵² The cult at Halae seems to have been the male equivalent of Brauronia. In addition, pyrrhic dances

⁹⁴⁹ Calame 1997, 93, 99-101.

⁹⁵⁰ Bron 1996, 75-76, fig. 7a-b, ref. 36;

⁹⁵¹ Pl. *Leg.* 7.796bc; Lonsdale 1993, 21-43.

⁹⁵² For the dancing of pyrrhichistai held at Tauropolia, see Ceccarelli 2000, 202207; for Halae, see *SEG* 34.103.

appear in Dionysiac contexts starting from the sixth century and accompanying burials.⁹⁵³

Lastly, a number of vessels depict weapon dances performed at symposia.⁹⁵⁴

To sum up, a weapon dance appears to be linked with either Artemis or Dionysos in the context of the Drakaina cult and in connection with rites of passage and feasting. It is not possible to say if it was performed by men or women, as both possibilities are plausible.⁹⁵⁵

The hypothesis described above is a possible interpretation of a type of mass-produced and widely distributed cups (Lancut Group) in the context of the cult of Drakaina cave and not a general interpretation of their use as votives.

10.2.2. Foxes

Two groups of protomai are discussed above in this section in relation to Artemis and her veneration as Bendis.⁹⁵⁶ The groups have a common element: the representation of an animal, most likely a fox. It is, however, rather difficult to determine with certainty what animal is depicted on the female masked protomai (**chapter 8.7.1.2.**), since, aside from foxes, they could be bears or weasels. However, the animal cap of the Classical protomai (**chapter 8.7.2.2**) is more easily associated with a fox as there are parallels for similar images of Artemis. A third representation of a fox, on kotyle **85**, is rather ambiguous, as it could equally be that of a dog (see **chapter 5.2.2.3.**).⁹⁵⁷ If this is a fox, as hinted at by the furry tail, then it clearly indicates hunting and consequently refers to a male activity. The cap, on the other hand, is a trait that distinguishes a specific type of Artemis: the huntress who is identified with Bendis.

⁹⁵³ Ceccarelli 1998, pl. VI, no. 62, pl. VII, no. 58; ABV 346/7, AV 347/8.

⁹⁵⁴ Ceccarelli 1998, 60-67, 70-72.

⁹⁵⁵ For female weapon dances, see Poursat 1968, 54-55; Kahil and Icard 1984, *LIMC*, s.v. Artemis no. 113.

⁹⁵⁶ For an extended discussion of the rite, see Ducat 2006, 185, 186, 192-93, 254-55.

⁹⁵⁷ Representations of foxes can be distinguished from those of dogs by the shape of the tail.

A search of the Beazley pottery database reveals 56 examples of representations of foxes.⁹⁵⁸ The iconography revolves around hunting. Foxes are shown chased by dogs, caught in traps, suspended from poles, trees or walls, carried by huntsmen on staffs and shoulders, and as hunted game, along with hares, cocks and boars. A common motif is dead foxes shown hanging from poles between two courting men, one young and the other older. Foxes are also depicted as shield devices, possibly as an allusion to swiftness and canniness, two skills that are necessary for a warrior. Furthermore, foxes often coexist with Dionysiac scenes. Also to be mentioned here is the skyphos by the Phiale Painter which shows Kephalos along with Artemis and Bendis; the latter wears a fox-skin cap (for a full description, see **chapter 8.7.2.2.**). Within the repertoire of ceramic iconography, this is the only known connection between Artemis, or Bendis in this case, and a fox. Artemis/Bendis is more commonly represented wearing a cap that is identified as a lion-skin cap⁹⁵⁹ The coexistence of Kephalos with Artemis and Bendis on the Phiale Painter's skyphos has been interpreted as a narration of the introduction of the Bendis cult to Athens.⁹⁶⁰ Nonetheless, the presence of Kephalos reminds us of the only myth I am aware of that includes a fox. The myth of the Teumessian fox (Alopex Teumesios) is the tale of a heroic deed undertaken by Kephalos in Theban territory.⁹⁶¹

The majority of the parallels for the aforementioned type of protome with the animal skin cap were discovered in the area of Taras, a Spartan colony where the veneration of

⁹⁵⁸ <https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/index.htm>.

⁹⁵⁹ There is a visually clear distinction between a lion and a fox. A lion-skin cap is much larger and a fox skin can be identified by the tail that falls on one shoulder of the wearer and the nostrils of the animal above the wearer's forehead; for an example of a lion-skin cap, see Dufkova 1971. A summary of this type of representation in western Greece is offered by Harden 1927.

⁹⁶⁰ Planeaux 2000; Parker 2005, 144, 170.

⁹⁶¹ Paus. 9.19.1; Ant. Lib. *Met.* 40. The giant fox that was sent by Dionysos to destroy the Thebans was eventually caught by Kephalos and his dog Lelaps. The dog was a gift to Prokris from Artemis, and subsequently it was given to Kephalos.

Artemis was important.⁹⁶² A Spartan ritual connected with the local hero Alopekos (Greek = fox) signified the beginning of the Orthia cult known as *phouaxir* (φουαξίρ); this means ‘playing the fox’ or ‘fox-time’ and refers to a period of separation from society.⁹⁶³ Marinatos believes that fox was a codename for an age group within the Spartan educational system, in the same way that young girls in the service of Artemis were called bears.⁹⁶⁴ In the cult of Brauron, girls played the bear.⁹⁶⁵ A few representations on dedicated krateriskoi related to the cult of Artemis in Brauron depict girls being chased by a bear or an individual masked as a bear, if what is shown is a scene of the actual ritual.⁹⁶⁶ The small protomai from Drakaina that resemble foxes (**chapter 8.7.1.2.**) also possibly show figures wearing masks, rather than the actual animals, and it is plausible to imagine a similar function. Thus, they either show masked individuals who chased the initiates or the initiates themselves, in a symbolic way, assuming an animal form before becoming human again.⁹⁶⁷ They could be offerings made after individuals had passed the stage of learning to hunt. Based on the known parallels, images of foxes probably refer to male initiation, whilst bears reference female.⁹⁶⁸

These animal forms symbolise a state in young lives before adulthood, when, by repeating the initial event, the aition of the myth, they offered themselves to Artemis as a gift to appease her hostility. Subsequently, they were introduced into adult life under the

⁹⁶² For an overview of the Artemis cult in Italy and Sicily, see Fischer-Hansen 2009, 207-60, for Taras in particular, see 233-38.

⁹⁶³ Ducat 2006, 185, 192: discusses the ritual extensively; Marinatos sees the ritual as an initiation to violence: Marinatos 2000, 105-09; further on the rite, see Kennell 1995, 74.

⁹⁶⁴ Marinatos 2000, 107.

⁹⁶⁵ Calame 1997, 98-99.

⁹⁶⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988; Perlman 1989.

⁹⁶⁷ Turner 1969, 172-77, 183-85.

⁹⁶⁸ Sourvinou-Inwood notes that the theme of pursuit and capture is associated with the completion of the *arkteia*, as a connotation with marriage: 1988, 65-66, n. 315; on hunting and sexuality, see Burkert 1983, 58-72.

patronage of Artemis.⁹⁶⁹

10.3. Dionysos

The only rather certain association of the god Dionysos with the material from Drakaina are two relief plaques that depict a head of the god wreathed in ivy and vines (**chapter 8.8.1.1.**), and which are difficult to misinterpret for another deity. There is also the fragmentary inscription on plate **206** with initial ΔΙ, which might be the beginning of the name Dionysos. Moreover, the vast number of kantharoi recovered from the cave could point to Dionysos.⁹⁷⁰ Of course it is not possible to assume a cult of Dionysos only because kantharoi were the chosen votives at a site. Among the Haimon and Lancut groups of cups, vessels **131**, **132** and **133** have been identified elsewhere as representing scenes from the Dionysiac cycle.⁹⁷¹

The Archaic iconography of Dionysos represents him bearded and respectful, as a family man who was an inspiring and familiar figure to the rural community of Attica.⁹⁷² The god is shown as an impassive figure and nearly always sober, even if his thiasos, Satyrs and Maenads are depicted in revelry around him.⁹⁷³ This early iconography with the full beard remains consistent throughout the Archaic, early and high Classical periods, although depictions of young Dionysos becomes more common. As Carpenter argues, the conservative image of Dionysos is related to the bearded mask fixed on a pole that was a

⁹⁶⁹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 123-24, 128; on the notion of girls serving a period in Artemis' sanctuary as an offering to the deity to placate her, see Parker 2005, 241.

⁹⁷⁰ Though a possible connection of kantharoi with Artemis and childbirth is discussed above, **chapter 10.2.**

⁹⁷¹ Moore 1986, 60-61, 288, no 1564, pl 104. Panvini 2004, 460, pl 64, 77.

⁹⁷² Shapiro 1989, 92-95; on the early cults of Dionysos in Attica, see Shapiro 1989, 84-88.

⁹⁷³ Shapiro 2015, 295-96.

cultic apparatus of his worship during this time.⁹⁷⁴ The so-called Lenaia stamnoi depict women worshipping the bearded mask of the god on a pole.⁹⁷⁵ A. Shapiro concludes that the older Archaic and early Classical representations of Dionysos are not much distanced, in terms of meaning, from the later one.⁹⁷⁶

In the last quarter of the fifth century a new iconography of the god was introduced; he is shown beardless, often with long flowing hair, nude or semi-nude, clearly youthful and in a pose that is often described by modern scholarship as effeminate.⁹⁷⁷ However, Shapiro disputes this view and claims that in these representations Dionysos crosses the boundary between appropriate male and female appearance and manner in a positive sense, as a way to redefine masculinity. The visual traits of his youthfulness emphasise his sexuality, which, in turn, links him with Ariadne in a nuptial relationship.⁹⁷⁸ Together, this new beardless god and his spouse Ariadne, according to Robert Parker, form a role model for a married couple.⁹⁷⁹ In terms of cultic practices, the marriage of Dionysos to Bassilinna, the real wife of an Athenian archon, during the annual festival of Anthesteria celebrated the marital relationship.⁹⁸⁰ As Shapiro emphasises, one aspect of the ritual was to celebrate the importance of marriage between two Athenian citizens.⁹⁸¹ He concludes that the Dionysos of the late fifth to the middle of the fourth century embodies marital happiness and stability in an idealised manner, as the representations refer to the beginning of the union. The iconography of this image is inconsistent with contemporary practice, as citizen men were married around the age of 30, and so had a beard. It thus

⁹⁷⁴ Carpenter 1997, 92-94.

⁹⁷⁵ Simon 1983, 100-101; for a summary of the bibliography; see Frontisi-Ducroux 1991; Peirce 1998.

⁹⁷⁶ Shapiro 2015, 307-308.

⁹⁷⁷ Jameson 1993; Carpenter 1997, 85-103.

⁹⁷⁸ Shapiro 2015,

⁹⁷⁹ Parker 2005, 442.

⁹⁸⁰ Parker 2005, 149-51.

⁹⁸¹ Shapiro 2015, 305-306.

symbolises Dionysos as a patron of marriage, and the cult was probably celebrated by men and women with full citizen rights.

In terms of the evidence of the Drakaina cave and its cult, it is not uncommon to find Dionysos coexisting with Artemis. Among the finds related to the cult of Artemis Tauropolos at Halae Araphenides are many krateriskoi similar to those from Brauron. Thus this cult, like the Brauronian, presumably referred to girls or maidens. The site has not yet been published, but there are literary references to it in the *Epitrepontes* of Menander and Euripides' play *Iphigenia in Tauris*.⁹⁸² The Brauronian and Halae Artemisia were concerned with female and male initiation, but the cult at Halae had both Artemis and Dionysos as the patron gods of married women.⁹⁸³ Furthermore, the two deities coexisted in Kalydon.⁹⁸⁴

In discussing the function of Dionysos as the recipient deity, P. Brulé argues that Dionysiac and Bacchic celebrations that accompanied the cult, offered some sort of compensation to women for the repressed life they lived at home.⁹⁸⁵ This periodic escape, with male permission to act inappropriately, was an outlet for their confinement and suppressed desires.⁹⁸⁶ The exaggerated expressions of ritual Maenadism, which at least orally described the acts of Maenads as violent, wild, ecstatic, sexualised and coarse, were behaviours that were not allowed to women. With permission from men to act in this way, they channelled female anxieties into a harmless performance. It seems that women maintained male interest until they were married, and that afterwards their participation in cult offered a rare outlet for engagement in communal activity, as they were not allowed to fight in wars or to participate in citizen life or to take serious decisions

⁹⁸² Men. *Epit.* 451-52; Eur. *IT* 975-985, 1450-1470.

⁹⁸³ Brulé 1987, 310-14.

⁹⁸⁴ Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, 344-45.

⁹⁸⁵ Brulé 2003, 29-31.

⁹⁸⁶ On the relation of the cult of Dionysos to women, see Kraemer 1979.

concerning their city or even their families. It is only through cults like those of Dionysos or Demeter that mature women could play an important role in communal events.⁹⁸⁷ It was only married women who were Bacchantes, sacrificing to Dionysos, dancing and honouring the coming of the god, holding thyrsos.⁹⁸⁸

In the rural festivals of Dionysos, which emphasised his aspect as a god who ensured the prosperity of the earth, the animals and humans were not divided by gender, and men celebrated along with women, side by side.⁹⁸⁹ In contrast, those rites that made allusion to the ecstatic worship of Dionysos seem to have attracted only women. The high visibility of women in the cult of Dionysos was not an expression of their concern for family life or marriage itself, but rather an outlet for suppressed anger and stress resulting from the little control they had over their own lives. R.S. Kraemer notes how the main motifs of female worship of the god extend across the subjects of insanity and the reversal of socio-biological roles.⁹⁹⁰ This madness takes the form of a ritualised act as a way to release and control negative energy through a planned activity. Women abandoned their roles as wives and mothers, wandered in the wild, danced and got drunk. This is the version of the female gatherings as transferred to us through Euripides' play *Bacchae*.⁹⁹¹ V. Turner argues that the reversal of traditional gender roles is a way to affirm the value of what has been reversed.⁹⁹² It is possible that the female gatherings were in reality opportunities for female dining parties, where dancing, eating and drinking offered a rare opportunity for women to relax and enjoy commensality.⁹⁹³ Kraemer argues that the cult

⁹⁸⁷ Brulé 2003, 29.

⁹⁸⁸ Diodorus 4.3.3.

⁹⁸⁹ On male participation in Dionysiac cult, see Kraemer 1979, 68-72.

⁹⁹⁰ Kraemer 1979, 66-68.

⁹⁹¹ Dodds 1960.

⁹⁹² The context is different, but the function is ultimately the same in Turner's research; furthermore, he examines the function of masks: Turner 1969, 172-77, 183-85.

⁹⁹³ Burton 1998, 153-54.

concerned marginalised women who did not fulfil successfully their roles as mothers and wives. He acknowledges though that women's position in ancient Greece was very low on its own and that the disparity compared to male privileges is obvious to us.⁹⁹⁴ Thus the Dionysiac cult functioned as a mechanism to regulate the aggression and hostility of the powerless towards the powerful.⁹⁹⁵ Another key point is that it concerned women whose socio-sexual status was about to change.⁹⁹⁶ The group of Bacchantes could include women who had just transitioned from childhood to adulthood, new parents, widows and women before and after menopause. I should add that the stages and conditions in the life of women described above are certainly a description from the stand point of the modern viewer and it is not possible to conclude how women really felt in ancient society.

If kantharoi were dedications to Dionysos then the cult of Dionysos seems to have started at Drakaina at the same time as the Artemis cult. The dedications of the dancing groups, starting in the second half of the sixth century and continuing in the fifth (mainly clustered in the second half), could have been intended for both deities. Kantharoi are among the earliest dedications, starting from the first half of the eighth century with one specimen and with two more vessels dedicated in the second half of the century. Soon the earliest specimens were followed by the series of Elean type, the dedication of which probably continued for at least 50 years, starting early in the sixth century. Since kantharoi are the most emblematic vessels for Dionysos, a similar function in his cult must have been played by the rest of the drinking cups of this period, such as kotylai and skyphoi, which were found in vast numbers at Drakaina. Kantharoi continued to be deposited in the cave during the Hellenistic period, and two of the finest examples within the assemblage,

⁹⁹⁴ For the status of women in rural communities, see Schidel 1995.

⁹⁹⁵ Kraemer 1979; 1975. This idea derives from the analysis of the anthropologist I.M. Lewis: 1971, 72-75.

⁹⁹⁶ Kraemer 1979, 78-79.

vessels **49** and **50**, are imports from Elis dating to the second half of the fourth century.

It is possible that the cult started with social gatherings at a site that was important to the community and which offered a panoramic view to the sea. Dionysos is not mentioned on the coins of any of the four poleis of Kephallonia. The cult in the cave was probably the first worship of the god on the island. Dionysian imagery is also known on finds from Drakospelia, a cave on the Paliki peninsula of Kephallonia with a cult of Artemis Bendis.⁹⁹⁷

It is possible that in Drakaina cave, the worship of Dionysos offered mature women from nearby communities the opportunity to gather and eat, drink and dance during some kind of festival that took place in the cave.

10.4. Female Classes

Female protomai demonstrate diverse types of women through subtle differences; various hair styles and headgear arguably identify the women as belonging to different ages or stages of life. The representations can be categorised as female heads with: a low, wide polos; a tall polos; a polos and veil; a knot; a knot and polos; a melon coiffure; snail-curls; locks on the shoulder; a hair roll, a lampadion. A few are dated to the fifth century, but most of them were produced in the fourth and third centuries. These are displays of women at various age-classes or have varying social status, as indicated through the different headgear and hairstyles.⁹⁹⁸

In her recent analysis of ancient Greek hairstyles, Mary Gkikaki notes that there were

⁹⁹⁷ Samartzidou-Orkopoulou 2015, 465-72. In the absence of literary and epigraphic references, the identity of the recipient deity is an ambiguous matter.

⁹⁹⁸ Wobst 1977, 332-33.

four basic ways that women styled their hair, plus many variants.⁹⁹⁹ The Drakaina Cave assemblage includes examples of three of these, or at least variations of each style: the hair roll, the bow knot and the melon style. The hair roll is the most persistent hairstyle across all periods of Greek art, and is evident on protomai and a few of the dancing group figurines of the Drakaina assemblage.

As Sourvinou-Inwood argues, ‘when hair is significant it is relevant to symbolic/ritual classification, not to age’.¹⁰⁰⁰ It is worth keeping this statement in mind, when considering the hairstyle of the Drakaina protomai. Sourvinou-Inwood, in discussing the iconography of krateriskoi from Brauron, concludes that girls wore their hair loose or short during various stages of the initiation and certainly before their integration into the new group. Loose or short hair signifies abnormality; hair tied up in a chignon or a knot indicates normality and adult status.¹⁰⁰¹ If iconography has a value as a descriptive medium, we can conclude that rituals for young women were performed at Drakaina that culminated in them acquiring a new status as adults. These rituals might have required the cutting of hair or wearing it loose, even though such a depiction has not survived. I do not intend to imply here, based on typological affinities of figurative terracottas and iconography on pottery, that there was an identical role for every female cult. In my view, the Drakaina protomai were dedicated after the completion of the rite and were offerings that reinforced the integration of the young woman into a new class: she was now of marriageable age, having left childhood, or was newly married. The representations of women on the protomai are of typical female adults. The protomai were given as tokens to the deity who oversaw the transition or socialisation process, to ensure the successful completion of the milestone and as a proof that the participants attended all the appropriate rites.

⁹⁹⁹ Gkikaki 2014.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 102.

¹⁰⁰¹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 103.

The distinction between adults before and after marriage is probably visually signified on the protomai from Drakaina Cave by the presence of a polos.¹⁰⁰² As described above in detail (**chapter 8.7.2.4.** and **8.9.**) moulds could be adapted to produce two different types of protomai, by adding a low, wide polos over the hair to the initial representation. The meaning of this addition seems to be connected with the significance of the polos as a bridal crown.¹⁰⁰³ Furthermore, use of the terms *στέφανος* and *στεφάνη* (a circular low headgear) in literature refer to women involved in ritual acts.¹⁰⁰⁴ Given these points, it is possible to identify the figures that wear a polos or stephane (crown) with either brides or dedicants engaged in rituals in the context of a celebration before or after marriage. The variability of the types and the slight variations in the creation of the protomai support the hypothesis that they depict mortals and not deities.¹⁰⁰⁵ In the same way, another group of protomai can be identified with mature and even middle-aged women (groups of protomai **2.2.7**, **2.2.18** and **2.2.19**). They could be dedications made by older women in the context of the cult of Dionysos (see **chapter 10.3.**).

Sourvinou-Inwood warns against the danger of correlating data for the upbringing of girls and boys and consequently for their maturation, since ancient Greek society had a different stand-point, age classification, education system and set of ritual undertakings for each gender.¹⁰⁰⁶ One of the problems presented throughout this thesis is the difficulty of distinguishing the gender of the dedicants; a further problem relates to the analysis of material that in all probability was not considered by ancient writers, because its nature, in this case female concerns, had no interest for the male authors. Literary interest is limited to female maturation that was achieved with marriage and the raising of children.

¹⁰⁰² Bremmer 1992, 193.

¹⁰⁰³ Simon 1972, 205-20.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Muller 1915, 84, 102-03.

¹⁰⁰⁵ For a different view, see Bell 1981, 81-83.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, chapter 1, n. 84. On age-classes see Kennell 2013 with bibliography.

For boys though, their maturation was linked to their acquisition of the status of citizen and their military obligations; these processes extended over longer periods of their lifetimes and had less of an initiatory character.¹⁰⁰⁷ As Sourvinou-Inwood argues, for women, marriage seems to have marked the achievement of full maturity, while success in marriage and the production of legitimate citizen offspring defined female value.¹⁰⁰⁸ Within this framework, the cult of Dionysos offered to women who were outside the group that held male attention, an appropriate outlet for the expression of otherwise inappropriate concerns. It is plausible that the cult life of mature women was equally rich to that of men, but a whole range of rituals and the symbolism of the dedicated objects eludes our understanding.

All in all, the Drakaina imagery comprises an almost complete life cycle by reflecting females ranging from teenage girls to mature women. The cult in the cave functioned under the patronage of two deities: Artemis and Dionysos. The cult of Artemis encompassed wider aspects of education and the protection of young women as *parthenoi* and *nymphai* to enable them to fulfil their destined roles as wives and mothers.¹⁰⁰⁹ It probably extended to the maturation of boys; the physical aspects of the site support this hypothesis. Hunting in the rural environment and getting to know the borders of the polis were essential skills for young men to acquire before they become citizens. The cult of Dionysos offered an outlet for those women who seem to have been excluded from a meaningful life, either because of their age or because of a difficulty in their life. This aspect also served the interests of the polis by maintaining the emotional equilibrium of women and, consequently, the stability of the polis, which would have been disrupted without the labour of women.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Parker 2005, 249-52.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Parker 2005, 218, ref. 2.

10.5. Male and Female Cult

Although politics may have been the sphere of action for men, recent research on ritual agency has revealed that this was the realm of women.¹⁰¹⁰ As noted immediately above, for women this may have been regarded as a form of compensation for their exclusion from exercising any type of power –apart from roles in ritual- in the societies in which they lived. Modern scholars have interpreted this as indicative of male tolerance towards women who held priestly roles and had their own festivals and religious celebrations.¹⁰¹¹ And, if men as citizens had rights and obligations with regards to the polis, women claimed citizenship through cult.¹⁰¹² We know that there were exclusively female celebrations and that men were not invited to or involved in certain festivals, such as the Stenia festival that took place two days before Thesmophoria, another exclusively female celebration that lasted for three days.¹⁰¹³ Furthermore, Haloa, Skira and Tauropolia had female only festivities.¹⁰¹⁴ The main deities involved in these festivals were Demeter, Kore, Hera, Dionysos and Artemis. We are also aware of athletic competitions between women, beginning with the Olympian Heraia and including later festivals such as Isthmia, Pythia at Delphi and Athenian and Epidaureian races.¹⁰¹⁵ All were initiatory or celebratory in nature and involved young women on the occasion of their coming of age.

¹⁰¹⁰ Dillon 2003.

¹⁰¹¹ A historiographical summary of women studies is provided by Zaidman and Pantel 2007, 27-48.

¹⁰¹² Parker 2005, 218-19.

¹⁰¹³ Dillon 2003, 109-38 presents an overview of festivals at which only females were allowed.

¹⁰¹⁴ Burton 1998, 150-53.

¹⁰¹⁵ For Olympic Hera see Clark 1998, 20-22. For women's races at the Olympic Games see Des Bouvrie 1995. A second century AD inscription records victories for parthenoi at the Pythian, Isthmian, Sikyonian, Nemean, Athenian (Sebasteia) and Epidaurian festivals. SIG³ 802.

In particular, the participants at the Heraia races were young women of marriageable age.¹⁰¹⁶ However, there was a male version of the cult for each such festival, and these were occasions when women were not allowed to participate.

The circumstances of the activities undertaken in Drakaina Cave could have been similar. On certain occasions the space might have been used by women only for strictly female celebrations; at other times it is possible that men used the space for religious purposes, economic activities or feasting. Since the cave is small, it was an ideal space for families, nuclear or extended, and small groups that shared a kinship through blood, gender or status to gather and celebrate. These would have been occasions for men and women to coexist in the cave. We know that women were allowed to feast and celebrate with a close circle of family and peers, in Dionysiac rites and at women-only parties.¹⁰¹⁷ Furthermore, the offerings at Drakaina of masked protomai that could be related to young men and hunting were possibly associated with men and present clear initiatory features. At Athens, we know that young girls went through a period of seclusion, which Parker argues can be seen as a type of initiation.¹⁰¹⁸ The cave is not spacious enough to suggest a similar function, but another building in the close vicinity of the cave, such as the settlement on the acropolis, may have housed such an activity.

Given these points, two conclusions can be reached. First, the major proportion of the dedications at Drakaina and especially the figurative terracottas point to women having been the dedicants. Second, another part of the assemblage, including the regular-sized drinking cups and especially the kantharoi, points to drinking and, consequently, to the possible involvement of men.¹⁰¹⁹ This corpus of offerings might indicate that men and

¹⁰¹⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood discusses three age groups that raced at the Heraia. Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 26.

¹⁰¹⁷ Burton 1998.

¹⁰¹⁸ Parker 2005, 218-219, 227-230, 232-233.

¹⁰¹⁹ On the context of drinking see Osborne 2014.

women could participate and celebrate together. As noted above, women could feast alongside men on some occasions and alone on others.

Moreover, even with regards to apparently female-linked dedications, like garments or spinning and weaving equipment, the gender associations we tend to make in terms of the dedicant might be false. Cole argues that widowed men who wished to have a family after losing a wife in childbirth or a child at a young age had an interest in appeasing the angered deity or, if they wished to marry again, the anger of the dead wife.¹⁰²⁰ So such offerings might equally have been dedications made by men.

Another key point to consider in order to get a better understanding of the cult, is how the mechanism of gender construction served the needs of the polis. Synnove Des Bouvrie, who has studied the Ortheia cult, points out that cults that involve rites of initiation were concerned with the organisation of a power hierarchy within society.¹⁰²¹ This clearly excluded from power those who were not allowed to participate, while simultaneously arranging succession of power. This is the essential reason for the existence for such cults: to strengthen the ties of the community by the exclusion of groups that will never be admitted to the polis ranks. The employment of imagery and symbolism may allow associations with nature, myths and religious activities, but the intention of the polis was clearly to maintain the existing state of affairs. At Sparta, it was important to divide the Spartans from the perioikoi and helots.¹⁰²² For Kephallonia, we lack direct references to the local society, but can still clearly see the necessity of the community to assign specific roles to men and women.

The need of the local Kephallenian population to maintain trade and bring wealth to their poleis, required an open disposition towards foreigners. It also increased the need to

¹⁰²⁰ Cole 2004, 219.

¹⁰²¹ Des Bouvrie 2009, 158.

¹⁰²² Talbert 1989.

ascribe specific roles to the local community who controlled and organised it, in order to protect the identity and the boundaries of the polis from unwanted external influences and threats. The position of the sanctuary is telling, since the polis chose a spot that was at the only entrance and exit for foreigners in which to educate their future citizens in their prospective roles as citizens. This probably indicates that they felt vulnerable and needed to strengthen those who would protect the polis. The conservatism evident in the material culture of Kephallonia has already been observed by Randsborg as a consequence of his survey.¹⁰²³ This conservatism that may be interpreted as an effort to be part of common Greek identity, conveys the Kephallenian effort to be aware of and follow trends in the common Greek style going hand in hand with the preference of each polis for political independence and neutrality.¹⁰²⁴ This disposition, of simultaneous conservatism and openness, is justified, since there was profit at stake; it was the same time a liability that needed to be countered in order for the polis to maintain its unity.

10.6. Maritime Religion

If there was an aspect of the cult that attracted men to the cave, it is possible that it was related to the port of Poros. These men could have been foreign travellers or perhaps they were locals who worked at the port and visited the sanctuary. Their principal concern was probably safety during their travels, or profitable trade. Possible offerings related to this aspect of the cult are the various imported drinking cups. I believe that they were offered by foreigners and not by locals, since we do not have a local development of a relevant iconography, such as sea themes on pottery (exceptions are the representation of: waves

¹⁰²³ Randsborg 2002, vol. II, 308.

¹⁰²⁴ This is reflected in the changing alliances of the poleis in an effort to avoid involvement in large-scale conflicts (**chapter 1.4, 5.**). On the poleis of Kephallonia, see Gehrke and Wirbelauer 2004, 351-52.

on **198** and **49**, dolphins on **211**, ship on **50**). For this group of visitors, the imported drinking cups were easily available offerings, as part of the cargo of their ships.

Recent research has focused on the way that religious links interacted with maritime networks.¹⁰²⁵ Many of the maritime destinations with cults of Artemis functioned as clusters, with shared practises and myths, on the one hand, and as nodes on maritime networks that offered information on navigation and opportunities for trade, on the other.¹⁰²⁶ The site of Drakaina Cave is part of a dual maritime religious network: one had both a local and regional radius, and facilitated both short- and medium-distance travel; the second concerned long-distance trade and included smaller networks that merged myths and rituals, and shared goods and ideas. The myth recorded by Antoninus Liberalis (40) with the rare reference to Kephallonia includes a web of localities central to maritime commercial and religious mobility.¹⁰²⁷ Various places in the web acquired their importance due to their position within the network. If they were directly linked with long-distance trade, as I argue was the case for Drakaina, they would have had access to a different set of circulating goods and ideas concerning myths and ritual practices. Religion constituted the common ground that institutionalised the interaction between individuals who were otherwise strangers to each other.

The adoption of a local hero of Athens by the poleis of Kephallonia in the fifth century emphatically points to some kind of connectivity. The testimony of myths and narratives places Kephelos on the island and there is also material evidence of this connection, including his depiction on coins and Attic imports that, as is expected for this period, outstrip any other imported artefacts in the Drakaina Cave assemblage. What was

¹⁰²⁵ Kowalzig 2018; on the Mediterranean as a network of interconnected routes, see Horden and Purcell 2000; Broodbank 2013; for the application of network theory to archaeology, see Knappet 2011.

¹⁰²⁶ On a thread of Artemis cults around the Euboean Gulf, see Kowalzig 2018, 102-03.

¹⁰²⁷ Kowalzig 2018, 93-94.

significant for Drakaina, and consequently the settlement of Poros, was not just the Kephallenian relation with Athens for a specific period of time but that its central location in the long-distance network was maintained for as long as the sanctuary was in use. Material ties for the earliest period of use of the cave are manifested by the flow of a few, but significant, cult terracottas (**1/2001-2002** and **2/2001**, vessel **3**). For the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, the affiliation with cults in southern Italy is reflected in the typology and iconography of the locally produced terracottas (see **vol. 2, sections 5.2.11. Group 11 - 5.2.19. Group 19 and 5.3.1. Group 1 - 5.3.6. Group 6**).

The participation in local and regional networks is manifested by the actual material and the influence of material culture derived from sites in the northwestern part of the Peloponnese. The pottery koine that is conventionally named West Greek is, I believe, the product of interaction within long- and short-distance trade networks. The difficulty in pinning it down to a specific area lies in its inherent merging of local and regional features to form a style that is found all over an area that includes the southeastern part of Italy and the western regions of Greece.

The role of the local communities was crucial in such networks. As Kowalzig argues, participating communities supported maritime networks by offering navigation knowledge and a trust network for the travelling ships.¹⁰²⁸ Artemis in maritime networks is seen as enabling favourable sailing.¹⁰²⁹ To conclude, the settlement at Poros and the Drakaina Cave seem to have participated in maritime networks that served short- and long-distance trade, and brought together larger and smaller sanctuaries and the communities that supported them into an interdependent relationship.

¹⁰²⁸ Kowalzig 2018, 108.

¹⁰²⁹ On Artemis' role as patroness of navigation with bibliography, see Kowalzig 2018, 106, 109-10, 114.

10.7. The Timber Trade on Kephallonia

Here I examine the possibility that the pine forest on Mount Ainos was systematically exploited as a ship-building commodity by the poleis that surrounded the mountain range and especially by Pronnoi. Since there is not yet sound evidence to support the validity of this suggestion, I examine my hypothesis through analogy with the situation in Athens. Only recently has research on this aspect of the Kephallenian economy commenced, with underwater surveys in the area of Poros and the analysis of aerial data related to the harbour at Krane (modern Argostoli), but the results have not yet been published.

This is a matter of concern since the explanation for the flow and abundance of imported pottery and terracottas in the cave - a central concern of this thesis - is not explained convincingly simply by the position of the port on a commercial route, since there were many other stopover stations for passing ships in the area. A sounder explanation is that there was a particular service offered or trading activity that attracted traffic.

It is likely that principally Pronnoi and Same and also Krane benefit from a considerable profit made from the trade of timber, since the largest portions of Ainos were included in the territories of these three poleis.¹⁰³⁰ The cone of the fir tree is depicted on one side of the coins from Pronnoi, while the other side pictures Zeus Ainisios.¹⁰³¹

The island, as described in detail in **chapter 1**, was a convenient stopover station for ships exiting the Corinthian Gulf, and Poros was the first natural port that could host these

¹⁰³⁰ Soteriou 2013, 33-41 on the boundaries of the four cities.

¹⁰³¹ Strabo 10.2.15.456. On the coins are depictions of the prow of a galley (BMC 43), a stingray (RPC 1359) and a dolphin (BMC 35). For a discussion of the representation of the fir cone on coins, see Postolakas et al 1868, 97-98, 120-21.

passing ships. But in addition to accessible harbours and ports, Kephallonia also offered the timber of *Abies cephalonica*, the fir endemic to Mount Ainos.¹⁰³²

There are only scarce literary references to the exploitation of Kephallenian timber and even less research has been conducted on the matter. Archaeologically, logging is not visible through the remains of infrastructure, since just a ramp for the transportation of logs and/or a river to carry them to the coast are all that were needed; clearly, a simple ramp will not necessarily leave a lasting imprint on the environment.

It is possible that all three poleis that surrounded the mountain, Pronnoi, Same and Krane, shared the benefits of the timber trade, but Pronnoi certainly had a vital role in the process. Evidence for this is offered by the position of the polis on the southeastern edge of the summit of Ainos and the city's control of the port of Poros, as the only exit to the sea on the southeastern side of the island. The settlement at coastal Poros had already been built and fortified by the end of the Classical period, if not earlier.¹⁰³³ Remains of towers on the acropolis of Poros (5th - 4th century) suggest that this spot was in use as an observation post to inspect an area that extended from Leukas to the Corinthian Gulf and the coast of the Peloponnese.¹⁰³⁴ Pronnoi could naturally benefit from its location, which would have assisted in the practicality of transporting timber from the interior of the island to a port. The representation of a fir cone on coins minted for Pronnoi is evidence of the importance of the timber market for the city.¹⁰³⁵

¹⁰³² The high plant diversity and the endemic nature of flora in Greece are due to its position (at the southeastern edge of Europe, in contact with Africa and Asia) and its landscape of high mountains and islands, which functioned as refuges for taxa coming from adjacent regions, isolating them and creating new ecosystems. For Greek endemic plants, see Georgiou and Delipetrou 2010, 130; for Kephallenian flora and phytogeography, see Phitos and Damboldt 1985.

¹⁰³³ Randsborg 2002, vol. II, 262-64.

¹⁰³⁴ Soteriou 2013, 30. Randsborg 2002, 30-31, 87.

¹⁰³⁵ Postolakas et al 1868, 97-98.

The connection of Poros with the inland city of Pronnoi is supported by the testimony of Polybios for the Macedonian Philip V. When Philip passed Kephallonia with his fleet he decided to avoid Pronnoi because he was discouraged by the strong enclosure walls.¹⁰³⁶ What he actually saw, however, was Poros and not Pronnoi, as Pronnoi was situated inland and high on the mountain.¹⁰³⁷ Modern research has established a harbour enclosure at Poros.¹⁰³⁸ The fortification of Poros is explained by its link with activities of economic importance for the polis.

Mount Ainos reaches 1,628m above sea level and the fir forest occupies the area above 800m. Of various trees suitable for the construction of ships, fir was the first choice for warships, whilst pine, cedar and even cypress were preferred for merchant vessels.¹⁰³⁹ The qualities of fir that make it particularly suitable as a shipbuilding timber are its lightness compared to other trees and, when grown at altitude, its longer and straighter trunks. Furthermore, in high forests the trees grow free of knots, and are thus more durable.¹⁰⁴⁰ The qualities of the Kephallenian trees made them suitable for masts and oars.¹⁰⁴¹

Theophrastus commends the suitability of fir in a summary of all the known timbers used in shipbuilding.¹⁰⁴² References to ναυπηγήσιμος ὕλη (ship timber) are also found in Strabo, including the story of a cedar forest in Cilicia that was given as a gift to Cleopatra by Antonius, along with the surrounding area, in order to facilitate the building of a fleet

¹⁰³⁶ Pol. 5.3.4.

¹⁰³⁷ It is possible to view Pronnoi from Poros, but as a distant mark in the mountainous landscape.

¹⁰³⁸ Randsborg 2002, vol. II, 259, 261-64, fig. IX, 73.

¹⁰³⁹ Theophrastus *HP* 5.7.1-2.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Meiggs 1982, 119.

¹⁰⁴¹ The qualities of the trees from Ainos are not fully understood in terms of their trading importance. The possible meaning of the fir forest was brought to my attention by C. Morgan.

¹⁰⁴² Theophrastus *HP* 7.1-3.

for Egypt.¹⁰⁴³ Herodotus describes how Megabazus, a general of the Persian king Darius, questioned Darius' decision to reward a Greek tyrant who had helped him against the Skythians by offering him an area in Thrace that was rich in mines and timber. He suspected that, as a result, Histiaeus would obtain too much power and revolt against his king, a prediction that later came true.¹⁰⁴⁴

Access to shipbuilding timber and, more particularly, to appropriate timber for warships, was central to naval superiority. The Athenians were quite aware of the resources that various areas had to offer and shaped their alliances and influences according to the benefits offered to them. Thucydides explicitly mentions that the Athenians were greatly alarmed when, in 423, the Spartan general Brasidas captured Amphipolis in the area of Strymon in Macedonia and thus blockaded their access to shipbuilding timber. Brasidas also took over all their allies, with the help of the Thessalians, and so demolished the Athenian trade network.¹⁰⁴⁵ Furthermore, during the expedition to Sicily, according to Thucydides, the Syracusans destroyed supplies laden on merchant ships that were sailing to the Athenian fleet, which was already in the area, and burnt a forest in Kaulonian territory in order to deprive the Athenians of a timber supply that they could have used to repair or build more ships.¹⁰⁴⁶

To put these observations into perspective, despite the silence of the ancient writers on the matter it is plausible that the Kephallenian fir forest was harvested systematically for its timber, since it was such a valuable resource. The poleis that were involved in this process were in a position of power, being able to negotiate the provision of this commodity. Logging is a complex process, and on ancient Kephallonia would have

¹⁰⁴³ Strabo 14. 3.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Herodotus 5. 23.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Thuc. 5.108.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Thuc. 7.25.2.

involved felling the trees, on-site processing and transporting the trees either to a port, in order to load them on a ship, or to a shipyard (if shipbuilding or ship repairs were offered at Poros or elsewhere on the island). In any case, the logistics of exploiting timber presupposes an organised administration, and the settlement at Poros attests the usefulness of the site as a harbour for ships that either carried timber or stopped for repairs. The evidence for this from Drakaina comprises the range of pottery finds analogous to other sites of trading importance and the coroplastic production that seems to follow closely Italian cults and thus attest to interregional connections. Kephallonia would have needed to offer something more than just its harbours in order to attract passing ships, since there were many other options for mooring in the vicinity. The harbour at Poros was not large and in modern times it is conspicuously shallow.¹⁰⁴⁷

During the Archaic period, we know that Corinth was the first polis to build triremes.¹⁰⁴⁸ When Athens needed ships during the conflict with Aegina in the 480s, the city bought 20 pentekonteres from Corinth. However, the Corinthian source of timber is still unknown.

With the end of the Persian Wars and the naval programme of Themistocles, Athenian interests in commerce and warfare changed the political orientation of the city. For Athens in the Classical period, the supply of timber from Kephallonia probably supplemented resources from Italy and Macedonia. Perdikkas, the Macedonian king, made an arrangement to sell Macedonian oars exclusively to Athens;¹⁰⁴⁹ the timber trade was a royal monopoly in Macedonia.¹⁰⁵⁰ The treaty with the Athenians refers solely to oars and nothing else. This story is indicative of particular timbers being preferred for specific parts of ships. It is possible that there were similar treaties with Kephallonia for the

¹⁰⁴⁷ Denham 1982, 47.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Thuc. 1.13.2; Diod. 14.42.3.

¹⁰⁴⁹ *IG* I³ 89.31 = *SEG* 10.86.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Faraguna 1998, 349-95.

acquisition of timber; alternatively, it is equally likely that there were various agreements concerning the purchase of manufactured oars or masts.

Theophrastus stresses the importance of specialist labour for the on-site processing of timber for oar making; this involved shaving the surface and removing the rings that had grown each year, one by one. Poorly shaved timber, wood infected by worms or timber with knots were all unsuitable for oars or masts.¹⁰⁵¹ One of the ways to disarm triremes during warfare was to break the oars, and so a large and stable supply was required, in order for replacements to be made immediately. Furthermore, timber for shipbuilding should first be seasoned, in order to acquire the qualities of lightness, strength, flexibility and durability. All these factors support the hypothesis that it was not merely the cutting and selling of trees that was offered on Kephallonia, but also the specialised skills of woodworkers who must have operated on site.¹⁰⁵² Furthermore, a ship with a heavy cargo of timber would have been a much easier target for pirates or a rival navy than a trireme. Most telling though is the cost of sea transport of heavy freight; this must have been very high, and would have added considerably to the cost of export and exploitation rights.¹⁰⁵³

Thus the Athenians preferred to send shipbuilders to the timber and pay for shipbuilding rights in foreign shipyards.¹⁰⁵⁴ Although the research undertaken to date has not revealed shipsheds on Kephallonia, we should bear in mind how much the coastline of the island

¹⁰⁵¹ The term *κόπαις ἀδόκιμοι* refers to faulty oars: Meiggs 1982, 119; Theoph. *HP* 5.1.7.

¹⁰⁵² Costiew 2017, 113-14.

¹⁰⁵³ ‘The rule of transport cost is that the unit of transport cost is inversely proportionate to the value per unit of weight and volume’: Bresson 2015, 80. Thus the scarcity of a commodity increases its freight cost.

¹⁰⁵⁴ For example, *IG I* ³ 117.

has changed over time due to seismic activity and that the remains of shipyards could now be submerged.¹⁰⁵⁵

Athens and its efforts to safeguard a steady supply of timber for its navy is a case study that has been examined extensively. Its politics were shaped by the need to maintain a considerable navy whilst being dependent on timber imports. R. Meiggs has argued that Athenian alliances with Macedonia, Cyprus and even southern Italian cities were made in order to exploit their resources.¹⁰⁵⁶ As realised by Meiggs and supported by the most recent research, the Athenian requirement of a specialised timber supply from beyond its own territory necessitated a constant negotiation of the commodity. The Athenians needed more than one source of timber and many alliances in order to maintain the functioning of such a sizable navy.¹⁰⁵⁷ The solution implied by fragmentary inscriptions is that many places rich in timber and many allied *naupegia* outside Athenian territory offered shipbuilding and maintenance services.¹⁰⁵⁸

This hypothesis is supported by an examination of the names of *architektones* and *naupegoi* in the shipbuilding sector of mid-fourth-century Athens, which reveals that 61% of them were probably metics.¹⁰⁵⁹ If, after one and a half centuries of intense warfare at sea, Athens did not have resident builders of triremes there must have been a good reason for this. E. Bissa argues that a considerable proportion of ship construction took place outside Athens in foreign shipyards and that this was the standard Athenian policy of the Classical period.¹⁰⁶⁰ The Athenians dominated resource areas and captured and resettled

¹⁰⁵⁵ I assume that any shipyards are now submerged because there are no remains still visible close to the coast. It is also possible that remains are not visible because they are buried and an excavation is needed to reveal them.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Meiggs 1982.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Meiggs 1982, 131; Kostiew 2017, 116.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Bissa 2009, 136.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Bissa 2009, 137.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Bissa 2009, 139.

sites in order to maintain access to timber and exclusive use of shipyards. This further contextualises the treaty with Perdikkas for the exclusive sale of oars to Athens. Furthermore, the various Athenian decrees of 420 with Methone, an outlet for timber from Pieria, should be considered as an effort to maintain an alternative source of timber during the Peloponnesian War.¹⁰⁶¹

The foundation of Amphipolis as an Athenian outpost in Macedonia was facilitated by an alliance of Thracians who had a strong presence in the area. Thracian tribes controlled the area and barred the foundation of permanent Greek settlements. Around this time, Athens adopted a Thracian subculture in Athens, concluding with the establishment of the cult of Bendis and the foundation of an annual festival in her honour. Furthermore, a considerable Thracian and Phrygian population resided in Athens, while a separate body of Scythians served as a police force.¹⁰⁶² E.N. Borza refers to this political and cultural affiliation with Thracian tribes as part of the effort made by Athens to establish control over the area, which soon led to the foundation of Amphipolis.¹⁰⁶³ According to Borza this would not have been permitted by the Macedonian monarchs alone.¹⁰⁶⁴ Changing the power balance in the area was essential in order to initiate alliances and timber commissions. It is possible that the introduction of the cult of Bendis at various sites in Greece and Italy, mainly by Athens in the fifth century, was related to the timber trade. Each cult site accommodated the needs of the local communities and, in later times, was taken over by the cult of Artemis.

Returning to Kephallonia, a speech by Demosthenes against Zenothemis mentions the island and its indirect involvement in assisting Athenian interests.¹⁰⁶⁵ Demosthenes

¹⁰⁶¹ Borza 1987, 44. IG I³ 61.

¹⁰⁶² Bähler 2005.

¹⁰⁶³ Borza 1987, 36.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Borza 1987, 36.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Demosthenes 32.

narrates events concerning the plotting of Zenothemis and Hegestratus, who borrowed money in Syracuse by falsely claiming that they owned a cargo of grain as insurance. Hegestratus was the ship-owner and Zenothemis the alleged cargo owner, and the agreement was that the money would be repaid if the ship returned safely to Athens. Their plot involved a plan to sink the ship close to Kephallonia and to appear on the island as if shipwrecked. When this plan failed (Hegestratus was killed and the ship was damaged, but not sunk), Zenothemis tried to prevent the ship returning to Athens in order to conceal the plot and avoid paying the creditors. However, the port authorities on Kephallonia, where the ship had moored, did not allow it to go to Marseille as Zenothemis wished, but ordered it to return to Athens. There the case was brought to court by Demosthenes, representing the lender of the money for the grain that was owned by Protos, against Zenothemis, who now claimed to be the sole owner of the grain.

This type of exchange involved a lot of risk for the lender, but was not unusual because interest rates were high; so it was generally a profitable endeavour. But what this case ultimately reveals, is an organised and systematic role undertaken by port authorities between allied cities. Port officials seem to have been in a position to determine the route of a ship in accordance with commercial or other regulations, thus protecting the commercial interests of their associates.

That Kephallonia had a fleet is known from several references to Kephallenian ships in various circumstances; I will mention just a few here. Homer refers to the 40 black ships that the Kephallenians contributed to the expedition to Troy.¹⁰⁶⁶ It is possible that the blackness of the ships implies that their timber came from Mount Ainos.¹⁰⁶⁷ Polybius narrates that Philip wished to conquer the Kephallenian poleis in order to capture their

¹⁰⁶⁶ Hom. *Il.* 2.625.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Mount Aenos is called Black Mountain (Monte Nero) referring to its dense and dark-cloured forest of firs that cover the summit; see Bessi 2014, 248-249.

ships, which were used by the Aitolians in order to raid the Epirote and Akarnanian coast. By taking control of the island he would also occupy a convenient position from which he could travel quickly to the Peloponnese and the opposite coast.¹⁰⁶⁸ Thucydides, among various references to the Kephallenian fleet, mentions a joint expedition of Athens and her allies in 427-426; ships from Kephallonia moved to attack Leukas.¹⁰⁶⁹

A final comment concerns the mechanisms of the trade in timber. Again using Athens as an example, we know that dealings within the ancient timber trade took various forms. There were treaties like that with Macedonian Perdikkas and the granting of rights for a specific commission for the building of ships through a controlled leasing system. An example of such a benefaction decree that paid for timber to construct a specific number of ships is the case of Timotheus in 390 in Macedonia.¹⁰⁷⁰ On the Italian peninsula, similar permissions were necessary for the exploitation and export of timber and pitch. Dionysius of Syracuse was granted permission to exploit timber from the Sila Massif, north of the Isthmus of Catanzaro, by one of the cities at the boundary of the mountain.¹⁰⁷¹ His naval prowess was dependent on the procurement of a substantial amount of timber. Similarly, the institutions of *xenia* and *proxenia* must have been used as means to establish long-term relations that would extend to the granting of exploitation rights. *Xenia* and *proxenia* are informal and formal types of relationship, respectively, between individuals and poleis, and were used in timber-related deals.¹⁰⁷² This ritualised type of relationship, which was extended through generations, had clear limits and rules, and served as a social institution. It was more than just a commercial deal, since it encompassed the

¹⁰⁶⁸ Pol. 5.3.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Thuc. 3.94.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Borza 1987, 45-46.

¹⁰⁷¹ Diod. Sic. 14.42.4. On the exploitation of Italian timber, see Chiranky 1982, 214-19.

¹⁰⁷² Bissa 2009, 112-14. Such was the case of Andocides, who, due to his royal *xenia*, was granted permission to exploit as well as export timber, although he was not a Macedonian.

responsibility to reciprocate and was based on trust. The moral criterion is the base that ties any type of *xenia* relationship and arrangement between partners of high social status.¹⁰⁷³

It is possible that an analogous system was operated on Kephallonia. The fir forest might have been owned by the three poleis that surrounded Mount Ainos and each polis might have had the right to exploit a specific part of the mountain. This proposition would make credible the alleged enmity among the Kephallenians, since a very real commercial profit was at stake. In support of the aforementioned enmity are the different alliances attested for the Kephallenian poleis; they make more sense if we view them in the context of a timber monopoly. Similarly, the adoption of systems to guard their inner borders against each other by the poleis on the island can be explained as necessary to control the exploitation of the forest. In this scenario, the cave sanctuary at the exit from Poros, the port city of Pronnoi, would have had a value that was tied to the flow of timber through the gorge. The local communities that played a vital role in and received benefits from this transaction maintained a cult that was also meaningful to foreigners, if indeed the recipient deity was indirectly related to alliances concerned with the provision of timber.

Those foreigners would have been aware of this aspect of the cult because they visited the port as a result of the timber trade. Whilst there is no specific evidence for a feature of the deity related to this commodity, there is an aspect connected with the sea that is evident in the iconography of the pottery (depiction of waves, dolphins, ships). However, it is not necessarily the case that the identification of the deity with the donor was the initial reason for the introduction of the cult in the recent or distant past. The function of deities was related to ideas that changed over time according to people's needs. The introduction of the cult might have been prompted by the exploitation of timber, but the

¹⁰⁷³ Herman 2002, 7, 34-35; Engen 2010, 37-41, 47-50.

clientele of the site, were mainly concerned with the health and wellbeing of women, children and younger members of the community.

How this binary character was accommodated is not yet clear, since materially the cult points to the concerns listed immediately above. But consideration of different types of celebrations, like feasting, that are not included in this study might shed light on different functions of the site and the deity. Cooking wares and bones were also discovered during the excavation and the study of this material may reveal what was consumed during which periods of the sanctuary's life and how often people held ceremonial dinners at the site. In order to understand how the people of Pronnoi constructed their identity and understood themselves collectively as a community, it is essential to understand what types of cults they maintained and how religion was related with the socioeconomic aspect of their lives.

10.8. Conclusion

The variety of the votives that relate to different aspects of the cult practised in Drakaina Cave allow us to reconstruct the profile of the deities that were involved. To summarise, Artemis was concerned with young women before their marriage and, also with pregnancy and childbirth. Figurines of children reflect Artemis' concern with infants and their upbringing. A central feature of the cult seems to have been overseeing the passage of young men from childhood to adulthood. It is possible that there was a connection with the local hero Kephalos, since elements of his myth appear in the iconography of the cult. Dedications to the Nymphs were, I believe, made within the context of the Artemis cult, and, as such, they should be seen as visiting or secondary deities. The dedication of the Pan figurine, an example of which is found in almost every cave of the Ionian islands, may have been related with hunting at the borders of the polis and the dedicant may have

been a hunter.¹⁰⁷⁴ Dionysos was a patron of marriage and married women. A common theme that is evident in the worship of Artemis and Dionysos is an aspect of crisis and the overcoming of this stage through rituals. A further function of the cult was concerned with protection at sea or during sea travel and was connected with the nearby port of Poros.

The main question of this thesis concerns the connection of the votives with the cult practised in the cave. Additional research issues include contextualising in a broader frame and understanding how this material group was incorporated in a common Greek idiom for this area. As the research was being conducted, it became evident that affinities included cults and production centres in the Peloponnese, especially the northwestern part of the region, the western Greek mainland, the Ionian islands and the southeastern districts of the Italian peninsula.

The sanctuary had a local character in the sense that the function of the cult related to local people and their concerns and needs. Locally produced pottery and terracottas served local religious needs. For the earliest part of the cult there is evident contact and influence from the Peloponnese and particularly the northwestern part of the region. The bulk of the imported pottery points to a somewhat different relation. The port of Poros seems to have attracted vessels that transported pottery from Corinth, Elis, Achaea and Athens especially, made for markets beyond Greece (**chapter 9.3.**). The presence of ships may also be linked particularly with the trade in timber. Poros may have served as a landing place and port of embarkation for ship-building timber coming from Mount Ainos. It may have been in the context of this activity that the nude female figurine reached the site of Drakaina, and later Bendis was venerated, probably introduced from Athens. The range of the sanctuary's clientele during its earliest use, regardless of the

¹⁰⁷⁴ Constantakopoulou 2018, 3-4, 12.

reason, was wider than local. It seems to have been regional, including Kephallonia, regions in the Peloponnese (Achaia and Elis) and areas north of the Corinthian Gulf.¹⁰⁷⁵

During the course of studying the ceramics from the Drakaina Cave and writing this thesis, I have attempted to interpret the material in its context and in a broader frame. The factors that determined the identity of the deities were diverse and linked to commercial interests and sociopolitical and ideological circumstances. People's anxieties and needs were rather similar all over the ancient Greek world, but the development of local preferences and alliances defined whether the deity who, for example, protected the young was Athena in one place or Artemis in another. The cult of Artemis was set to delimit the territory; it brought together the community of the polis of Pronnoi and enhanced its sense of identity. The location of the cave was of strategic importance for Pronnoi; so, by taking place in the cave, events that modelled the character and behaviour of a social group, such as the young, acquired a significance that tied them to the interests of the polis. The female cult practised at Drakaina that had a rather Dionysiac character was a mechanism used to release tensions in a controlled way; this self-regulated the system and thus protected social order.¹⁰⁷⁶

In conclusion, after examining the offerings and comparing them to cult material found across the wider region, it is evident that the identity of the deities was of secondary importance to people's concerns, in terms of shaping the character of the cult. Various deities assumed similar roles and were offered similar presents. In Drakaina Cave it was Artemis and Dionysos, but other deities had similar roles at different sites. The underlying structure of the cults was similar and its *raison d'être* was to allow the polis to control the construction of social hierarchies and to intervene before a crisis emerged or to resolve it

¹⁰⁷⁵ For a summary of terms that concern locality and religion, see Constantakopoulou 2015.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Des Bouvrie 2009, 175-76.

before it escalated. In talking about the polis and its interests, I refer to the people who participated and maintained the cult. It was in their best interests to maintain the status quo and transmit it to the next generation.

Ultimately, what cults at the borders of communities demonstrate was the ability of the polis to protect its citizens.¹⁰⁷⁷ The women who danced in the cave reaffirmed the polis' ability to guarantee the safety of its most vulnerable groups. The same applies to hunting at the borders.¹⁰⁷⁸

The festivals, rituals or gatherings that took place in Drakaina Cave linked a strategic port in a border territory with the city of Pronnoi which was located further away. The veneration of a deity that connected foreigners and travellers appealed to the recognition and acceptance of the political reality that was set under divine protection and primarily concerned the polis of Pronnoi and the interregional network of sanctuaries and poleis that shared ritual practices and economic benefits derived from trade.

10.9. Suggestions for Future Research

Further work is necessary in order to clarify various aspects of the cult practised in Drakaina Cave and issues related to it. The possible exploitation of trees on Mount Ainos is an important parameter; if confirmed by new discoveries like shipyards or the location of the port of Poros, this will change our understanding of the island's social, political and economic standing in the region.¹⁰⁷⁹ This study is supplementary to the study of religious networks in the Ionian islands and adjacent regions as these are connected to

¹⁰⁷⁷ Cole 2004, 228.

¹⁰⁷⁸ For the importance of hunting in Eschatia, see Constantakopoulou 2018.

¹⁰⁷⁹ There is ongoing archaeological underwater research at the area of Poros by the University of Peloponnesos (E. Giannouli) and an aerial study at the area of Argostoli for locating the shipyards.

and reflect maritime mobility.

An analysis of the fabric of the nude standing figurine (**chapter 8.6.1.1.**) and similar research on figurines from Arta and southern Italy will confirm whether or not there was more than one production centre and, if there was more than one, how they were linked. Residual analyses of remains on drinking and votive materials will contribute to our understanding of consumption and dedication practices. Similarly, a study of the cookware will offer a better understanding of feasting, cooking and storage in the cave. Study of the osteological material will complement this research.

A careful assessment of the cult of Bendis in the region is essential in order to perceive how the transfer of this cult was interwoven with political interests and economic factors.¹⁰⁸⁰ Similarly, the cult of Kephalos on the island should be studied in connection with specific sites; so far all links to the island are literary and no archaeological connection with a cult place has been determined.

Summarising this study, the fine pottery, miniatures and figurative terracottas from Drakaina Cave on Kephallonia have been contextualised in relation to the island itself, adjacent regions and more distant areas. A central understanding of the thesis is that an extensive study of a peripheral cult can offer a wider understanding of matters such as ritual, dedication, trade and politics that extends beyond the narrow focus of a small site such as the cave above Poros. The Drakaina Cave site is key to understanding religious, political and economic aspects of the area of the ancient Ionian islands and adjacent regions.

¹⁰⁸⁰ A further link for the cult of Bendis is attested in Phokean region; Raptopoulos 2006.