

this adjective only at *Or.* 809 παρά Σιμουντίοις ὀχετοῖς, an expression imitated by the composer of *Iphigenia at Aulis*' second stasimon at *IA* 767.<sup>41</sup> I venture that the epode's interpolator was once again using Helen's prologue speech as prospecting ground for suitable themes and expressions. Reading ψυχὰὶ δὲ πολλὰ δι' ἔμ' ἐπὶ Σκαμανδρίοις | ῥοαῖσιν ἔθανον· ἡ δὲ πάντα τλᾶσ' ἐγὼ | κατάρατος εἶμι καὶ δοκῶ προδοῦσ' ἐμόν | πόσιν συνάσαι πόλεμον "Ἐλλησιν μέγαν (52–5), he may have opted for Σιμουντίοις instead of Σκαμανδρίοις with ῥοαῖσι not only because παρά Σκαμανδρίοις would be unmetrical but also because he was well acquainted with *Iphigenia at Aulis* (whence he had taken ἔριν ἔριν in the previous line). Perhaps κατάρατος εἶμι καὶ δοκῶ προδοῦσ' ἐμόν πόσιν prompted the infelicitous τὸ δ' ἐμόν ὄνομα... μαψίδιον ἔχει φάτιν. This staggeringly anti-climactic conclusion (a damp squib comparable to the one with which *Iphigenia* ends her monody: μεγάλα πάθεα, μεγάλα δ' ἄχρα, | Δαναΐδαις τιθείσα Τυνδαρίς κόρα *IA* 1354–5 (not Euripidean?))—one has only to compare the exuberant pyrotechnics with which the Phrygian finishes *his* aria) is in no way enhanced by the oddity of the adjective μαψίδιος which, although the adverb μαψιδίως appears in Homer, is quite unknown in classical Greek (in fact, other than here, we find it only in the Hellenistic poet Theocritus and the Byzantine historian-poet Agathias).<sup>42</sup> In any case, the topography of Helen's terrible reputation is incorrectly placed παρά Σιμουντίοις ῥοαῖσι, i.e. Troy, now a smoking ruin so non-existent ὥστ' οὐδ' ἴχνος γε τειχέων εἶναι σαφές (108, cf. also 195–6). Elsewhere in the play (as in *Orestes*), Helen's name is 'mud' in Greece: 66, 81, 223–5, 1147–8. What Helen cares about is what the Greeks think of her (cf. 262–6); the hurtful, repeated 'cry' she refers to at 370–1 (βοᾶν βοᾶν δ' Ἐλλάς <αἶ' > | ἐκελάδησεν ἀνοτότυξεν) is probably 'adulteress!' For the motif of Helen hated in Greece and by the Greeks, cf. the overwhelming evidence provided by *Or.* 56–60, 98–103, 118–19, 249–50, 520–2, 1132–6, 1305–6, 1585. We may add that, traditionally, Priam's male relations and subjects always found a soft spot for Helen: cf. *Il.* 3. 154–8 οὐ δ' ὡς οὖν εἶδουθ' Ἐλένην ἐπὶ πύργον ἰούσαν, | ἦκα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευον· | Οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ εὐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοῦς | τοιῆδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν· | αἰνῶς ἀθανάτησι θεῆσι εἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν.

The conclusion I draw from the evidence presented is that the poet of *Helen* 229–52 may not have been Euripides. He knew the technique of lyric composition in syncopated trochaic which became fashionable at the end of the fifth century; but two metrical features invite suspicion: the unwarranted *brevis in longo* at 230; and

the colon 'cretic + trochaic metron' at 231a, for which the only parallels in extant tragedy are to be found in non-Euripidean sections of *Iphigenia at Aulis* and in *Rhesus*. He used suitably Euripidean ingredients from *Helen* itself as well as from *Ion* (Creusa's monody, from which he may have taken the 'abduction motif'), *Phoenissae* (the 'polar disjunction' from Antigone's aria) and *Iphigenia at Aulis*. But he was not consistently successful in his use of these ingredients, in that he misjudged the extent to which Euripides himself strove after ποικιλία by deliberately eschewing expressions made 'formulaic' by repeated use. This is particularly true of βαρβάρωι πλάται and ἔριν ἔριν. Two further expressions go against Euripidean usage by revealing some degree of insensitivity as to the difference between tragic and epic vocabulary: (i) Μαϊάδος, and (ii) μαψίδιος.

FREDERICO LOURENÇO  
Centro de Estudos Clássicos,  
Universidade de Lisboa

#### New Light on Thracian Thasos: A Reinterpretation of the 'Cave of Pan'\*

This short article concentrates upon a very small part of the material culture of Thasos in an attempt to show how knowledge and discussion of the local archaeology can not only elucidate the study of Greek 'colonization', but also is vital to a clear understanding of the process. The Greek colonization of Thasos, and indeed of Thrace, is currently written from a wholly Hellenocentric and text-based perspective, behind which lies an unspoken and pervasive comparison with Western European colonialism. Behind my discussion lies the opposing conviction that Greek colonization must be considered at the local level, and in the context of an understanding of social developments within the area settled. This discussion of the cave of Pan thus indicates both how an archaeology that concentrates only upon Greek material culture can miss important features, and how an awareness of the archaeology of local populations can elucidate the processes of Greek 'colonization'.

#### The 'cave of Pan'

The cave of Pan is situated on the rock slope of the third and highest peak of the Thasian acropolis, just west-south-west of the Sanctuary of Athena (FIG. 1). Much attention was paid to it by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century travellers and scholars,<sup>1</sup> but relatively

\* I am grateful to Diana Gergova and Alexei Gotsev for useful discussions on and around the subject matter of this article. I also thank Anthony Snodgrass, John Graham and Sofia Voutsaki for their insightful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> For example, J. Baker-Penoyre, *JHS* 29 (1909) 215–18, fig. 7, pl. XX; W. Déonna, *RA* 13 (1909) 11ff.; A. Conze, *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres* (Hannover 1860) 10, pl. VII, 2. For further bibliography, see P. Devambez, 'La "grotte de Pan" à Thasos', in *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offerts à Paul Collart* (Lausanne 1976) 117–23 at p. 117.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Diggle, *Euripidea* 505.

<sup>42</sup> Professor Diggle draws my attention to the following attestations provided by *TLG CD ROM*: Hesiod, *fr.* 10(a) 87; *AP* 7. 589.4; 7. 602.4; Nonnus 15.80, 33.204, 36.335; Oppian, *Hal.* 4. 626, 5.192; *Cyn.* 4.192; Greg. Naz., *Carm. mor.* p. 762.5, *Carm. de se ipso* p. 1314.15, *Carm... ad alios* p. 1553.4 (Migne); Qu. Smyrn. 1. 357, 1.385, 8.11, 14.78.

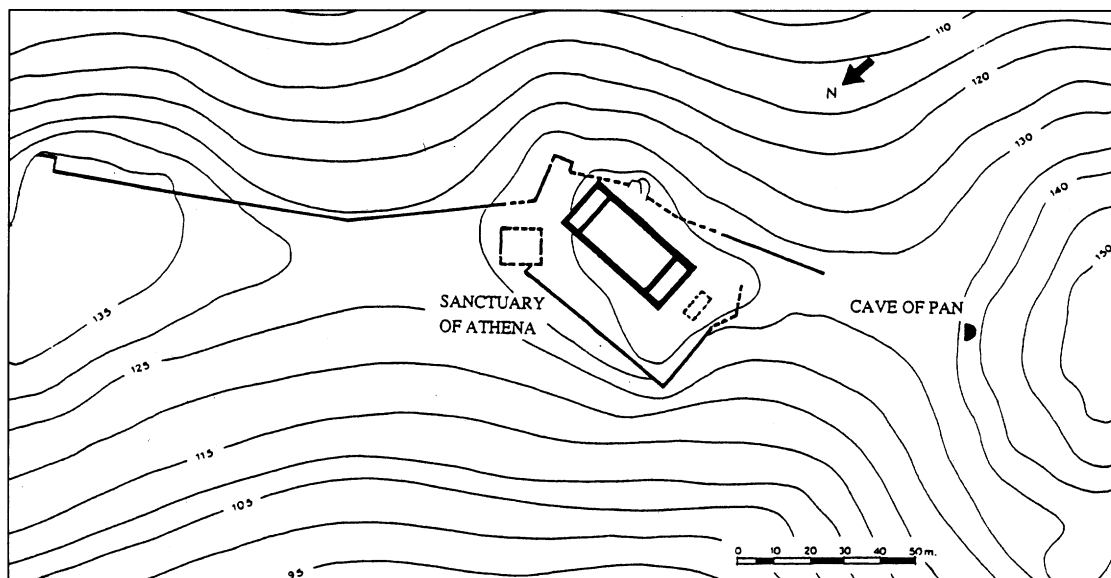


Fig. 1. The acropolis of Thasos (own drawing after specifications in *Guide de Thasos*).

little interest has been shown in it of late. The only real exception, apart from the discussions in guides of the island, may be found in Pierre Devambez's playful article, which appeared in a *Festschrift*.<sup>2</sup>

Interest in this small cave of Pan has mainly been from a stylistic perspective. The frieze which lines its back wall (of Pan playing the syrinx and of some nymphs) has been noted for the unusual centrality of the figure of Pan,<sup>3</sup> but is otherwise comparable with other friezes of the area, such as the relief from the cave of Pan at Ainos.<sup>4</sup> It has been dated (on stylistic grounds) to the fourth century BC.<sup>5</sup> No ceramic or other finds date the construction of the cave, and thus no confirmation of this assumed construction date is available to us.

This 'curieux monument' (so Devambez<sup>6</sup>) is thus unremarkable in every way apart from the fact that it is completely artificial (PLATE 2a). It is this fact which should have given scholars pause. For Pan's caves are elaborated *natural* features. Whilst a cult of Pan may appear in a crack in the rock of the Athenian acropolis, the liminality of this location is clear by the very fact of it being a cave, 'a space where culture is refused or for those refused by culture' (Borgeaud).<sup>7</sup> Although Borgeaud attempts to explain the artificial cave on Thasos with the idea that it was probably hewn in imitation of Athens' cave, this is far from convincing. I know of no other artificially constructed cave of Pan. The very point of elaborating a cave as a cult site for

Dionysus, the Nymphs and Pan is to bring the wild within control, whilst emphasizing the liminal status of these gods.

The archaeology of Thasos town has long been interpreted with primary reference to Greek material culture, and little interest has been shown in Thracian material. Two sondages which were opened up in the 1960s in order to gain evidence of the earliest Greek settlement showed evidence of Thracian habitation of the site.<sup>8</sup> However, even these levels were initially interpreted by some members of the French School as Greek.<sup>9</sup> My intention in this note is to offer an alternative possible origin for this cave, one which suggests that the 'cave' already existed when the Greeks arrived, and which pushes the burial record of Thasos town back by at least a century.<sup>10</sup> I argue that in this case the later (Greek) use of the cave has blinded scholars to its previous function, and that the form of the cave of Pan indicates that it was originally carved as a rock-cut Thracian tomb<sup>11</sup> of a type which occurs in the Rhodope and the North Aegean coast, and which dates to the eighth and seventh centuries BC (see FIG. 2, PLATE 2b).

<sup>2</sup> Devambez (n.1); *Guide de Thasos* (Athens and Paris 1967).

<sup>3</sup> See Devambez (n.1) 119.

<sup>4</sup> S. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria: Their Relations to Greece from the Earliest Times down to the Time of Philip Son of Amyntas* (Oxford 1926) 257–8. The relief was found in secondary use: fig. 88.

<sup>5</sup> Devambez (n.1); *Guide de Thasos* 58

<sup>6</sup> Devambez (n.1) 117.

<sup>7</sup> P. Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece* (Chicago 1988 [1979]) 49.

<sup>8</sup> The Champ Heralis and Champ Dimitriadis sondages (1960–1). In the former was found an apsidal or oval house with Thracian, Macedonian and Aeolian ceramic. These sondages have been fully published by P. Bernard, 'Céramiques de la première moitié du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle à Thasos', *BCH* 88 (1964) 77–146. Similar ceramic was also found in the lowest levels of the Artemision, see N. Weill *La plastique archaïque de Thasos I* (*Et. Thas.* XI, Athens and Paris 1985). See also Graham's analysis of this material: A. J. Graham, 'The foundation of Thasos', *ABSA* 73 (1978) 61–98.

<sup>9</sup> Bernard (n.8) 80–3; Weill (n.8).

<sup>10</sup> The early burial record of Thasos town is not well known. The location of the Hellenistic and Roman cemetery is known, the fourth century is well represented, but only a few stray Late Archaic and fifth-century BC graves have come to light. Graham (n.8) 61. For a full discussion of Greek cemeteries on Thasos, see *AEMTH* 10, 769–78.

<sup>11</sup> Hodinott has suggested before that this cave could have something to do with Thracian cult, but did not suggest that it

*The 'megalithic culture' of Southern Thrace*

Rock-cut tombs belong to the so-called megalithic culture of Southern Thrace, which spans the mountain ranges of the Strandja, Sakar and the Rhodope, the North Aegean coast and the island of Samothrace<sup>12</sup> (FIG. 3). This 'culture' comprises dolmens, rock-cut tombs and rock-cut niches, which are connected with various worked rocks ('sacrificial' stones, basins and rock art). The numbers of monuments recorded is very large—seven hundred and fifty dolmens have been recorded in Bulgaria alone, six hundred of these on Sakar mountain. The excavated material is, however, sparse and our knowledge of the existence of many of the monuments (long since destroyed) is dependent upon the published 'surveys' of much earlier scholars.<sup>13</sup>

Within this 'megalithic culture' there are two main forms of tomb: the dolmens, which consist of single—or sometimes multiple—chambers formed from large slabs of schist, and which were originally under mounds; and rock-cut tombs, which were carved into the living rock, appear in a variety of shapes, were not covered, and sometimes contain multiple chambers.<sup>14</sup> These two forms of tomb have often been treated as contemporary, dating (as a unit) from the twelfth to the sixth centuries BC. Indeed, most recently, Archibald has suggested that the dolmens should be seen as 'one variant amongst a range of options, which included cists and rock cut tombs'.<sup>15</sup> The two types of grave appear in adjacent, but overlapping areas (see FIG. 3), and it is thus difficult to explain the different forms simply in terms of the rock available, as many scholars have done.<sup>16</sup>

New discoveries in the past decade have, however, thrown doubt upon this interpretation. For instance, dolmens have been found in the central Rhodope, an area previously thought to contain only rock-cut tombs.<sup>17</sup> More strikingly, the excavated material indicates that the label 'megalithic culture' is shielding not

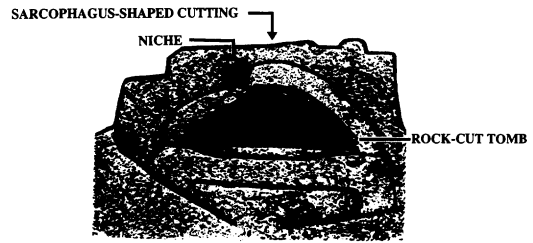


Fig. 2. Sketch of the rock-cut tomb at Tatoul (own drawing)

cultural divides between dolmen and rock-cut tomb regions, but a *chronological* divide. To my knowledge, no simple burial dolmen has been demonstrated to have been constructed after the ninth century BC, although continued reuse of the dolmens (probably as loci of ritual feasting) is common. Equally, the few intact burials which have been found in the rock-cut tombs all date to about the eighth century BC.<sup>18</sup> This fact has alerted at least Stoyanov to the problems of assuming rock-cut tombs to be contemporary with the dolmens, but has in general been ignored.<sup>19</sup>

This chronological confusion may have stemmed from the conflation in the archaeological literature of two completely different types of dolmen on the Sakar, a mountain which, due to the lack of settlement and proliferation of dolmens, rock-cut tombs and rock art, has rightly been designated a 'sacred mountain' by Gotsev.<sup>20</sup> Gotsev has drawn attention to the peculiarities of this second type of dolmen.<sup>21</sup> Rather than being in groups, as the burial dolmens are, these are isolated, are more elaborate, with façades and multiple chambers, and stand on high ridges, often within sight of each other. The alternative locations, structural differences, often including built walls and the appearance of megalithic façades, have convincingly been shown to

was in fact a rock-cut tomb: R. Hodinot, *The Thracians* (London 1981) 79.

<sup>12</sup> P. Delev, 'Problemi na Trakiyskite megalitni pametnitsi', in *Megalitite v Trakiya II, Trakiiski Pametnitsi 3* (Sofia 1982) 398–423; A. Fol (ed.), *Megalitite v Trakiya I, Trakiiski Pametnitsi I* (Sofia 1976).

<sup>13</sup> E.g. K. Skorpil, 'Arheologicheski belezhki ot Strandja planina', *Izvestia na Bulgarskoto Arheologicheskoto Druzhestvo 3* (1912/13) 235–62; K. Skorpil, 'Megalitni pametnitsi i mogilishta', *Starini v Chernomorskata oblast I* (Sofia 1925); cf. Fol (n.12).

<sup>14</sup> See Fol (n.12); P. Delev, 'Megalithic Thracian tombs in south-eastern Bulgaria', *Anatolica 11* (1984) 17–45.

<sup>15</sup> Z. Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace: Orpheus Unmasked* (Oxford 1998) 65.

<sup>16</sup> So Skorpil 1912/13 (n.13); I. Venedikov, 'L'architecture sépulcrale en Thrace', *Pulpudeva 1* (1976) 56–62; cf. Archibald (n.15) 65. It should also be noted that Thasos' built tombs at Kastri, although different from dolmens, have some striking features in common with them: e.g. the occasional use of a large plate of schist as a roof for the grave chamber. See Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *Protoistorike Thasos* (Athens 1996).

<sup>17</sup> Z. Zdravkova, 'Some newly discovered megalithic monuments in the Rhodope mountains', *Pulpudeva 5* (1986) 195–203.

<sup>18</sup> The recent discovery of a cemetery of three rock-cut tombs near the village of Pchelari (Stambol region) has given us a set of burials which were undisturbed and could be excavated properly. All three can be dated, by both fibulae and ceramic evidence, to the ninth/eighth century BC (G. Nekhrizov, 'Prinos kum prouchvaneto na skalnite grobnitsi v iztochnite Rodopi', *Minalo 2* (1994) 5–11). Cf. Fol (n.12); Delev (n.12); Delev (n.14); V. Mikov, 'Proizhodat na kupolnite grobnitsi v Trakia', *Izvestia na Bulgarskia Arheologicheski Institut 19* (1955) 15–48 at p. 29 for rock-cut tombs at Shiroko Pole (eighth/seventh centuries BC).

<sup>19</sup> P. Stoyanov, *Mogilen Nekropol ot Rannozhelyznata Epokha: Sboryanovo I. Early Iron Age Tumular Necropolis: Sboryanovo I* (Sofia 1997) 123.

<sup>20</sup> A. Gotsev, 'Characteristics of the settlement system during the Early Iron Age in Ancient Thrace', in H. Damgaard Andersen, H.W. Horsnaes, S. Honby and A. Rathje (eds.), *Urbanization in the Mediterranean in the Ninth to Sixth Centuries BC* (Acta Hyperborea 7, Copenhagen 1997) 407–21 at p. 411.

<sup>21</sup> See A. Gotsev, 'Contacts and interactions across the Eastern Balkan Range during the Early Iron Age', *Helis 3* (1994) 53; A. Gotsev (n.20). These megalithic forms have been divorced too far from other modes of burial in the Southern Thracian area, and it is only through a thorough study of all the forms—a study yet to be undertaken—that one might obtain a greater understanding of the ritual landscape of EIA Thrace.

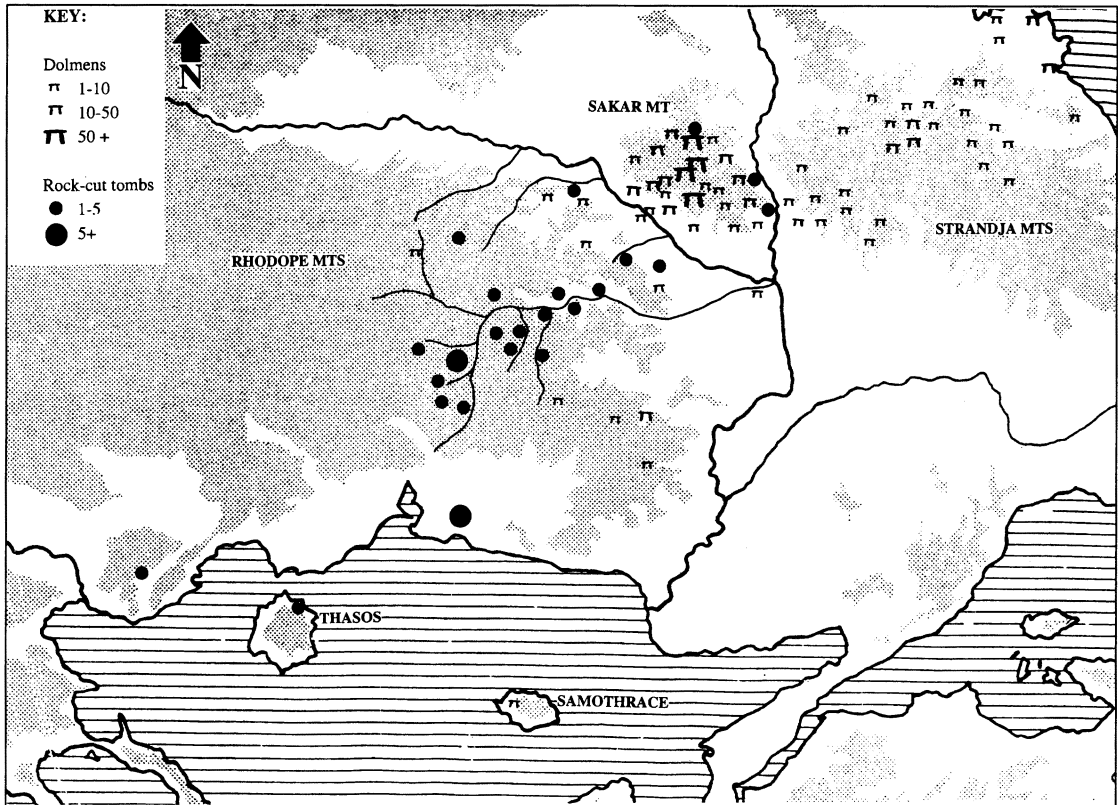


Fig. 3. Sketch map showing the distribution of dolmens and rock-cut tombs (own drawing).

be associated with a 'change and diversification of their functions' in the transition between EIA I and EIA II, i.e. the ninth to eighth century BC.<sup>22</sup> Gotsev has suggested that this change be linked to the development of a hero or ancestor cult, which involved ritual feasting.<sup>23</sup> The erection of these new elaborate dolmens is a clear indication of the redefinition of this form for different ends. As Edmonds notes, 'the assertion of new values often goes hand in hand with an evocation of continuity, of an unbroken line between present and past'.<sup>24</sup> This redefinition of the dolmen form for ritual feasting and hero-cult is contemporary with, and linked to, the introduction of the alternative burial form: the rock-cut tomb.

#### *The significance of rock-cut tombs*

The rock-cut tombs differ in several ways from the communal, probably family tombs of the simple dolmens. These are that they seem to have been for single 'burial'; they are not covered by a tumulus and are therefore open; they are scattered over a wider area, and often appear singly rather than in groups; lastly, they are often associated with rock art and rock complexes. Another striking feature of these rock-cut tombs is their distribution, which seems to chart paths

through the landscape from the south-west towards the Sakar. It is at least possible that the Sakar complex, a 'sacred mountain', formed a locus of integration for populations from throughout the area of Southern and North Aegean Thrace (see FIG. 3).<sup>25</sup>

My analysis elsewhere of this material has concluded that this change from the use of dolmens to that of rock-cut tombs, and the contemporary change in the structure, positioning and use of the dolmens, must be seen in the context of a massive reorientation of Thracian society.<sup>26</sup> The single interment and the open

<sup>25</sup> See my PhD thesis: 'A theory of Greek colonisation: EIA Thrace and initial Greek contacts' (University of Cambridge 1999). I argue there that the pathways through the landscape are charted by both rock-cut tombs and rock art such as cupules (which often appear within rock-cut tombs), 'sacrificial stones', and other elaborations such as niches. The distribution of rock-cut tombs along the pathways towards the Sakar mountain, and the degree of elaboration of that mountain indicates, I argue, the existence of a high level of communication across Southern Thrace. This is also indicated by the initiation of contacts with others, evidenced by the appearance of Greek, Phoenician and Balkan objects in graves.

<sup>26</sup> See n.25. This thesis suggests a new theoretically informed approach to Greek colonization which highlights the entanglement of even recent approaches with concepts developed for the discussion or justification of modern imperialism. I suggest an approach which places emphasis upon the local context, discussing changes within local societies prior to and during contact with Greeks and others, with particular attention to how local populations not only adopt, but adapt the meanings of imported objects.

<sup>22</sup> See Gotsev (n.21) 53. I am indebted to Alexei Gotsev for discussing this material with me.

<sup>23</sup> See A. Gotsev (n.20) 412 and (n.21) 53.

<sup>24</sup> M. Edmonds, *Ancestral Geographies of the Neolithic: Landscapes, Monuments and Memory* (London and New York 1999) 134.

nature of the burial indicate a restructuring of burial practice, based upon the individual. The first sign of this restructuring is given by the earliest examples of elaborate dolmens, which occur in the ninth century BC, and in which burials took place, but which also served as *fora* for ritual feasting. This development—which I argue constitutes a development of an élite—is associated with the appropriation of iron from ritual contexts for individual display. This in turn is linked to the first contact with the Greeks, as a subsequent widening accessibility of iron led this emergent élite to use other prestige materials and objects: precious metals and (crucially) imports.

#### *Thasos in context*

Recent discoveries indicate that a rock-cut tomb would not be out of place in Thasos. These include the report of rock-cut tombs in the Pangaeus mountain on the coast opposite Thasos<sup>27</sup> and of a cemetery of rock-cut tombs of varying shapes, but including a semi-circular one like the proposed tomb on Thasos, at Asketes<sup>28</sup> in the (later) hinterland of Maroneia. Many more, although rather more distant, examples of similar tombs may be cited from the territory of Bulgaria, the most famous, and a close parallel in form, being that of Tatoul (FIG. 2, PLATE 2b).

Rock-cut tombs in Bulgaria are often double-chambered. However, single-chambered tombs, such as that on Thasos, are common, and tend to have a characteristic niche above the opening instead of an antechamber, presumably for offerings.<sup>29</sup> This fact, incidentally, removes all need to explain the niche above the cave of Pan at Thasos with reference to this cult. The explanation that it was carved to hold up an awning has even been proposed in the past.<sup>30</sup>

This interpretation of the cave of Pan does not only involve the prehistory of the island of Thasos. The question of how the Greeks found the tomb is one that is impossible to answer. Indeed, whatever the condition in which the tomb was found, it is not necessarily the case that the Greek conversion of the tomb into a cave of Pan was a hostile act, or evidence of discontinuity. I end this paper with a suggestion that the conversion of such a tomb to a ritual site was not without precedent on the Thracian mainland. Whilst megalithic burial is not attested after the seventh/sixth century BC, the reuse of tombs and the continued elaboration of such sites for ritual purposes is well attested in the Bulgarian examples. Tatoul (FIG. 2) provides a good example of a rock-cut tomb which developed into a ritual complex.<sup>31</sup> Bulgarian archaeologists have suggested that this complex became some kind of sanctuary in the Classical period.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> N. Moutsopoulos, 'Les sgraffites du Pangaion', in *In Memoriam Panayotis A. Michelis* (Athens 1971) 482–9.

<sup>28</sup> 5 km north-east of Maroneia: see *ADelt* 33 Chr 306–7; *AR* 1985–6, 71.

<sup>29</sup> See e.g. Delev (n.14) 28.

<sup>30</sup> Baker-Penoyre (n.1) 218; cf. Devambez's (n.1) discussion (118–19), which suggests that such a structure would not be stable!

<sup>31</sup> I. Balkanski, *Krumovgrad, arheologicheski pametnitsi* (Krumovgrad 1978) 10. Cf. also the large rock-cut complexes at Malko Gradishte and Gluhite Kameni: Fol (n.12).

#### *Conclusion*

I wish to argue that the Greek settlers appropriated and elaborated, by *at least* the fourth century BC,<sup>33</sup> an existing Thracian rock-cut tomb. This suggestion has two interlinked implications for the study of the Greeks on Thasos. First, the existence of a rock-cut tomb on Thasos indicates that Early Iron Age Thasos must be discussed in the context of developments in Southern Thrace—developments which led finally to contact and interaction with Greeks. This has implications for the study of Greek colonization in all areas, as it suggests that studies which concentrate only upon the Greek side of the equation are missing a crucial part of the process. I argue that ignorance of the material culture of native populations has led to a convenient generalized model of conquest and acculturation. This small study shows that the local context is more significant than generalized models of Greek colonization have allowed for. The native context can no longer be seen as *tabula rasa* for the imposition of Greek culture. Second, the evidence and parallel cited here indicate that Thracian cult may have been respected, adapted and adopted by the Parian Greek newcomers. The conversion to a cave of Pan may be due to the need to control a wild and liminal place. A burial would be out of place on a Greek acropolis. However, given the ritualization of these tombs and their surroundings in Thrace in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, I also offer an additional insight: that the appropriation of this site as a cave of Pan may be viewed as a Greek re-interpretation of a local practice.

SARA OWEN

*Magdalene College, Cambridge*

<sup>32</sup> Some have even gone so far as to assume that the whole complex should be dated to the late fifth/early fourth century. For example, N. Nikolov, S. Zlatev and K. Vasileva, 'Astronomicheskiyat smisl na trakiiskiyat pametnik Tatoul', *Arheologiya* 30.2 (1988) 28–31, in their archaeoastronomical analysis, claim that the whole complex apart from the sarcophagus-shaped 'tomb' on the top dates from the fifth/fourth century. However, this idea is based upon the fact that the sarcophagus tomb on the top of the rock seems more eroded than the rest. Against this is the fact that the 'sarcophagus' is simply in a more exposed position and that sarcophagus-type rock cuttings are often found in association with rock-cut tombs. At Gluhite Kameni, for example, the sarcophagus cutting appears also on the flat rocky surface above a rock-cut tomb: Fol (n.12). Excavations around Tatoul rock-cut tomb have uncovered EIA II pottery (eighth–sixth centuries BC) and some Classical material: Balkanski (n.31) 10; Delev 1984 (n.14). For Tatoul, see Fol (n.12) 94–5. Similar examples are found at Ovchevo and Raven (see Fol (n.12) 90–4).

<sup>33</sup> The cult of Pan is not, however, known outside the Peloponnese before the fifth century BC: Borgeaud (n.7) 48.



(a) The 'cave of Pan' on Thasos (author's photograph)



(b) Rock-cut tomb at Tatoul (Nikolov et al. (n.32) fig. 1)