

Natural Caves and Popular Sacred Sites in the Syrian Coastal Countryside

Abstract

This study looks at the popularity of natural caves in the countryside near the Syrian coast. It looks at three sites near Jableh and Baniyas in the Roman and Byzantine eras and how these caves have been remembered by locals. The study looks at how some natural caves have been made into religious shrines linked to the Virgin Mary and the seeking of blessings, pilgrimage, and popular celebration. This has happened even though there is no official religious architecture or traditional archaeological evidence linked to official religious institutions. The study also compares these cases with another natural cave that has not become a place of religious or symbolic importance. This is to try to understand what makes a place sacred in the countryside.

The study uses field observation and local stories, while also looking at ways to study popular religion and holy places in the Eastern Mediterranean. The results show that the change of a natural cave into a sacred space is not just linked to the site's geographical nature. It is also shaped by the interaction between local stories, ritual practice, and collective memory. The study also shows how important informal spaces are for understanding the religious and social history of the Syrian coast. It also shows that traditional archaeological methods need to be changed to include sites that are important in popular culture, not just sites with physical evidence.

Key words: Syrian coast; natural caves; popular religious beliefs; sacred spaces; the memories of the community; the Virgin Mary; Jableh; Baniyas; popular rituals; the Syrian countryside.

Introduction:-

The Syrian coastal countryside has many ancient religious sites from the Roman and Byzantine eras. These include churches, monasteries and shrines with unique architectural features. But the religious places in this area are not just the churches and other buildings; they also include natural spaces that have become special because of local memories and traditional rituals. These spaces don't need to have any religious buildings or be connected to any kind of organised religion. Some of the most famous of these are natural caves, which people still visit today to receive blessings, experience spiritual healing and make vows. There is no archaeological evidence to prove that these caves were used as places of worship in earlier periods of history.

These sites raise a research question that goes beyond the traditional archaeological description of religious buildings, prompting us to ask how a natural site becomes a sacred space within the collective consciousness of a rural community. Here, sacredness does not seem linked to the existence of an official religious institution or organized liturgical rituals, but rather to the accumulation of oral narratives, repeated ritual practices, and symbolic associations with the place. From this perspective, these caves offer an opportunity to study forms of rural folk religiosity that have developed outside official ecclesiastical frameworks, while simultaneously maintaining an active religious and social presence within local communities.

This study looks at three caves on the Syrian coast, near Jableh and Baniyas. Two of these caves have been made into popular religious buildings connected to the Virgin Mary, where religious activities and visits by groups and

49 individuals take place. The third cave has not been changed in this way and is still a natural space. This is one of the
50 most important ideas in the study. It helps us to understand why some places are holy and others are not, even
51 though they look very similar.

52 The study doesn't try to prove that the traditional stories about these caves are true. Instead, it looks at the ways
53 these stories have become part of people's beliefs and what they mean. In this context, the study asks a number of
54 questions about what sacred spaces in rural places are like: How does a natural cave become a religious shrine?
55 What effect do stories and rituals have in making something feel holy? Can these things be seen as a later
56 development of older beliefs about caves in the Eastern Mediterranean, or are they a local product connected to later
57 social and spiritual needs? The study also tries to understand why some natural sites are considered sacred, while
58 others are not, even though they are similar in terms of their location.

59 The study is based on real observations of the places, as well as local stories and comparisons with other studies of
60 religion and holy places in the Eastern Mediterranean region. It also looks at how sacredness is not fixed and tied to
61 the place itself, but how it is a social and symbolic process that gradually takes shape through ritual repetition,
62 collective memory, and how the place is imagined by the local people. From this point of view, these caves can be
63 seen as "popular sacred spaces" that appeared outside of the official religious institutions. However, they still played
64 an important spiritual and social role in rural communities.

65 This study helps us understand more about religion in the Syrian coast during later periods, and shows how
66 important it is to study places of worship that are not built on land, as people often remember and continue to use
67 these kinds of buildings for religious purposes, even if there is no physical archaeological evidence left. A place can
68 also become sacred if people keep on using it for religious purposes, every generation.

69 **Popular sacred spaces that are not part of a religious institution.**

70

71 For a long time, the study of sacred spaces in the Near East and the Mediterranean world has been linked to official
72 religious buildings like temples, churches, and monasteries. These buildings were the most visible signs of religious
73 organisation and ritual authority within ancient societies. However, modern approaches to the study of religion have
74 started to pay more attention to religious practices that are not connected to formal buildings or religious
75 organisations. Instead, they focus on places that have become sacred because people have used them for religious
76 activities many times.¹ In this context, the idea of "lived religion" has become a way to study everyday religious
77 experiences and local practices that happen outside traditional religious groups. This suggests that religion is
78 understood not only through official doctrines or sacred structures, but also through the relationship of individuals
79 and groups to places, symbols, and rituals within their daily lives.²

80 In this way of thinking, 'sacredness' is not seen as something that a place has in its nature, but as something that is
81 created through the relationship between the community and the place. A natural site can become a sacred space
82 when it becomes important for religious people because they visit there or tell stories about it. This can happen even
83 if the government doesn't officially recognise it. Research into religion in rural areas during the late Roman period
84 has shown that many religious practices continued outside of the control of the Church. Rituals connected with
85 people's homes, the local community and nature played a significant part in people's daily religious lives in the
86 Eastern Mediterranean region and the late Roman world. In her study of religion in rural communities in the late

¹ Albrecht, J., Degelmann, C., Gasparini, V., Gordon, R., Petridou, G., Raja, R., Rieger, A.-K., Rüpke, J., Sippel, B., & Urciuoli, E. R. (2018). *Religion in the making: The lived ancient religion approach*. *Religion*, 48(4), 568–593.

² Jörg Rüpke, Greg Woolf, and Rubina Raja (eds.), *Lived Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), pp. 3–7.

87 Roman period, Kim Bawes shows that local religious practices and informal spaces were important in shaping the
88 religion of these communities, even though they were not officially recognised by the Church.³

89 Natural caves are particularly important in this type of space because of their long history with ritual and symbolic
90 practices in the Mediterranean world. Since ancient times, caves have been used as places to escape, worship, heal,
91 and make vows. In many ancient cultures, caves were also linked to sacred waters, healing rituals, and contact with
92 supernatural forces. Research on holy caves in the Mediterranean shows that the link between caves and being holy
93 does not depend on a particular religion. Instead, it is connected to the special qualities of the cave, such as being
94 remote, dark, and connected to water or the land. Some caves were also used for healing and for rituals, and these
95 continued in different forms over time.⁴

96 This does not mean that pagan rituals and Christian folk practices are the same. This is because it is difficult to find
97 direct archaeological evidence for this. But some symbols and rituals connected to caves, like using oil and candles,
98 and thinking of caves as places of healing or blessings, can be used to talk about the idea of "nature worship" in rural
99 communities. This idea of "nature worship" was later understood in different ways by different religions. In some of
100 his works on ritual practices in the Eastern Mediterranean, David Frankfurter has noted that local communities often
101 took natural symbols and spaces and used them in new religious practices, but this does not mean that the old rituals
102 survived in their original form.⁵

103 From this point of view, the caves along the Syrian coast can be seen as special places that have become sacred over
104 time. This happened because of local stories and traditions, not because of an official religious group that said the
105 caves were holy. Stories, visits and rituals are all ways in which the local people come to understand the importance
106 of the place. What's more, the fact that these practices have continued to the present day shows that some natural
107 spaces can still have a symbolic and religious function, even when there is no building or organisation that is typical
108 of traditional religious sites.

109 **Natural caves and the feeling of being close to nature in the landscape near the coast of Syria**

110 The Syrian coastal region is characterised by a landscape that combines mountain ranges, valleys and natural
111 springs, leading to the presence of a large number of caves and rock cavities within the rural landscape stretching
112 from Jableh to Baniyas and the surrounding mountainous areas. These caves were not just random natural things in
113 the landscape; they were often used by people. People used them as places to live, to escape, to graze animals, or for
114 religious rituals. Research shows that natural environments in the Eastern Mediterranean, like caves, springs and
115 mountains, were often given religious meaning by local communities.⁶

116 The connection between caves and ritual practices does not prove that ancient practices directly led to today's folk
117 rituals. This is because there is no clear archaeological evidence to prove this. However, there are some similarities
118 in the symbols used at these sites, such as the connections to water, oil and candles, as well as the rituals of blessing
119 and healing. This suggests that there are wider cultural patterns related to the way nature is respected in rural
120 communities in the Eastern Mediterranean. Some caves were isolated and far from big cities. This meant that they
121 were a good place for people to go and pray on their own or together. This happened in the early days of

³Kim Bawes, *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 12–18.

⁴*Sacred Places: The Origin and Evolution of Cult in Caves in the Mediterranean Context* (Alexandria: Bibliotheca Alexandrina, 2011), pp. 25–31.

⁵David Frankfurter, "Magic and the Forces of Materiality," in *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 147–152.

⁶Rüpke et al., *Lived Religion*, pp. 12–14.

122 Christianity, especially in the countryside and mountains. These places were not controlled by the church as much as
123 other areas. We can't be sure if the caves under study were actually used in this way, but it's possible. This is
124 because of the early Christian relationship with isolated natural spaces. What's more, the way certain natural places
125 are talked about in local Christian stories shows how rural communities can include natural things in their religious
126 symbols and stories without turning them into formal religious buildings with a clear architectural style.⁷

127 **The Cave of the Virgin Mary in Al-Qatrubiyah: A Place of Local Memory and Ritual Significance**

128 The Cave of the Virgin Mary is found near the village of Al-Qatrubiyah, to the east of the city of Jableh, in a
129 mountainous area with lots of valleys and natural rock formations. The cave is in a remote spot at the bottom of a
130 rocky slope in a forest. It's far away from where most people live. There is no clear evidence of ancient religious
131 buildings or archaeology that would show it as a known religious site. But the cave is important to the local people
132 because of its religious significance and has become a place where people go to seek blessings and perform
133 traditional rituals.

134 Local people say that the cave was important in the life of the Virgin Mary. They believe that she stayed in the cave
135 for a short time while travelling through the mountains along the Syrian coast. This was at a time when Christianity
136 was spreading in this area. We can't be sure about the history of this story without more evidence, like written
137 documents or archaeological finds. But the story is important because it plays a part in how the local people think
138 about their religion. Here, the story is more important than facts and figures because it makes the place seem more
139 meaningful and important in the eyes of the people who come after us.⁸

140 Information from local people and from the cave itself shows that some of the traditions associated with the cave are
141 still being practised. These include lighting candles, burning incense and putting oil in the cave for blessings or
142 healing. People from nearby villages also often visit, and there is no church organisation or official religious
143 ceremony linked to the site. This shows that the cave's importance isn't linked to a religious institution. Instead, its
144 importance comes from people repeating rituals there and it being a part of the local people's shared memory.

145
146 It is worth noting that the meaning behind the site's features has not always been the same. Some local accounts say
147 that changes have been made to the symbols in the grotto, including replacing some images or symbols connected to
148 the Virgin Mary and adding other religious symbols. These changes have made some visitors and local residents
149 happy and some sad. They think that the site is very important because of its connection to the Virgin Mary. This
150 issue shows an important part of what makes popular sacred spaces special: they are always being reinterpreted and
151 their meaning is constantly changing for the people who use them. This means they are not strict and do not follow
152 rigid rules.

153 The Cave of the Virgin Mary is an example of this. It is a holy place even though there is no religious architecture or
154 an official institution overseeing the site. This is because of the interaction of stories told by people with the rituals
155 performed there and the fact that people still use the site today. This also shows how rural communities can change
156 natural spaces to make them important for religion and symbolism, even when there is no archaeological evidence
157 for these spaces being used by religious groups in the past.

158 **Al-Basiya Cave: Collective Rituals and Popular Piety**

⁷ Bowes, *Private Worship*, p. 18.

⁸ Author's fieldwork and oral testimonies collected in al-Qatrubiyah village, Jableh countryside, 2024.

159 Al-Basiya Cave is found to the south of the city of Baniyas, near the coast. In the past, this area was a natural route
160 for people to travel between the coast and inland areas. Despite being small inside and simple, the cave has become
161 important to local people in Baniyas and nearby villages because of its religious significance. Over time, it has
162 become a holy place for popular religious practices and group pilgrimages linked to the Virgin Mary. Local stories
163 tell of a cave that's been linked to the story of the Virgin Mary's journey along the Syrian coast. It's said that she
164 stopped in the cave to rest. This story is told in different ways at many popular sites related to the Virgin Mary in the
165 coastal region.

166 We can't be sure about the history of this story without proof, like old documents or finds from digs. But the fact that
167 it's been passed down through the generations shows that it has a special meaning for the local people. The most
168 important thing about this story is that it shows the site as a sacred space, not as a history. Local accounts show that
169 the cave was not just a place for individual visits or seeking blessings. It was also a place for the community to come
170 together for prayers and seasonal religious celebrations.⁹ These were for the Virgin Mary, especially in the month of
171 May, which is known as the Month of Mary. There were also popular celebrations on 8 September to mark the
172 Virgin Mary's birthday.

173 Local data shows that the site has historically hosted big religious gatherings, where prayers and masses were held
174 with visitors from Baniyas and nearby villages like al-Rawda and al-Fayha, as well as other areas in the Tartus and
175 Latakia governorates. Simple visitor amenities, such as stone tables and rest areas, were also added. These show
176 how the cave has changed from just a natural space into a place that is important for the local community. It seems
177 that the site's importance was more connected to the local people's visits and the stories they told about its sacred
178 nature, rather than to the church itself.

179 Some local people also say that there are rock formations and carved tombs near the cave. These are often thought to
180 be the work of monks or people who were religious in the past. It is difficult to know exactly what these uses were,
181 but there are caves and rock-cut tombs in the area. These are similar to those found in some coastal and mountainous
182 regions during the Roman and Byzantine periods. At that time, isolated natural environments were sometimes used
183 by monks to live alone or to pray in a less formal way.

184 The Al-Basiya Cave is different from the Cave of the Virgin Mary in Al-Qatrubiyah in some ways. People visit the
185 Al-Basiya Cave for different reasons. They go there for group activities and seasonal celebrations. This has made the
186 Al-Basiya Cave a popular religious centre in the coastal region. This case also shows that the idea of natural spaces
187 being sacred doesn't depend on them having big religious buildings or official institutions. It can be created by
188 ongoing rituals and social practices, and by local stories connecting the place to religious beliefs and the rural
189 community's shared memory.

190 **Basina Cave: A Natural Cave Between Use and the Absence of Sacredness**

191 Basina Cave is in the countryside near Jableh, in an area with lots of rock formations and old tombs from the Roman
192 and Byzantine periods. The Directorate of Antiquities thought the cave might be a rock-cut tomb, especially as there
193 are a lot of rock-cut tombs at nearby sites in the coastal and mountainous areas around Jableh.¹⁰ However, the
194 exploration and survey work conducted inside the cave revealed no clear archaeological evidence indicating its use
195 as a burial site, nor were any architectural elements, interior fittings, or material evidence found that would allow it
196 to be classified among the known rock-cut tombs in the region. So, it was seen as a natural formation that was
197 probably used as a shelter or natural cave, rather than a place for religious or funerary activities.

⁹ Author's field observations and oral testimonies collected in al-Bassiyeh area, Baniyas countryside, 2024.

¹⁰ Directorate of Antiquities of Jableh, unpublished field information and local archaeological inspection records, accessed by the author during fieldwork.

198 This case is particularly important for the present study, not because of the site's religious function, but because of
199 its absence. Although Basina Cave is similar to other caves that have become popular religious sites on the Syrian
200 coast, it has no local stories about it. There is also no evidence of rituals, religious visits, or practices related to
201 seeking blessings, healing, and remembering the past. These things were clearly seen at the Cave of the Virgin Mary
202 and the Cave of al-Basiya.

203 This comparison suggests that the change of a natural cave into a sacred space is not just linked to the geographical
204 or natural characteristics of the site. It is also not just linked to how old the site is or the presence of an
205 archaeological context around it. Instead, it depends primarily on the formation of a local narrative that gives the
206 place religious significance, and on the continuity of the practice of

207 This suggests that the change of a natural cave into a sacred space is not just linked to the geographical or natural
208 characteristics of the site, nor even to how old the site is or the presence of an archaeological context around it.
209 Instead, it depends primarily on the formation of a local narrative that gives the place religious significance, and on
210 the continuation of the social and ritual practices associated with it within the local community. The Basina Cave is
211 a good example of this. It shows that nature and sacredness are not the same thing, and that a place is not considered
212 sacred just because it is natural. A place becomes sacred when people come to think of it as special, and when they
213 act in a special way towards it.

214 **The Production of Sacredness Outside Religious Institutions**

215 The cases studied show that the change of some natural caves along the Syrian coast into religious spaces was not
216 linked to the presence of sacred buildings or direct religious control. Instead, it was mostly the result of the
217 interaction between local stories, ritual practices and the shared memory of rural communities. The caves that
218 became important for religion were not different from other caves in the area. Instead, they were connected to local
219 stories that gave the place a special meaning. This meaning was made stronger by people visiting and doing rituals
220 there, like seeking blessings, healing, and having parties.

221 A comparison between the Cave of the Virgin Mary and the Cave of al-Basiya on one side, and the Cave of Basina on
222 the other, shows that nature alone is not enough to make something holy. Even though the natural environment and
223 geographical isolation were similar, Basina Cave stayed the same, while the other caves became places where
224 religion was a big part of people's lives. This suggests that sacred spaces are not just formed because of how old they
225 are or what they look like. Instead, they are created by a social process that gives new meaning to the place and
226 makes it part of the symbolic structure of society.

227 These cases also show that religiosity in rural areas was not always linked to official religious institutions. Instead, it
228 was able to create its own sacred spaces based on traditional stories and collective practices. These sites have kept
229 up their religious presence despite having limited buildings and no central religious organisation, showing how
230 flexible local religion is and how it can include natural things in long-lasting symbolic and spiritual contexts. In this
231 case, local stories seem to be an important part of creating a sense of sacredness. They are not used as an exact
232 historical record, but as a way to give the place a symbolic importance and connect it to the community's religious
233 beliefs.

234 The data we have does not allow us to establish a direct connection between these popular practices and the
235 veneration patterns associated with caves in classical periods. However, we can discuss a broader continuity in the
236 relationship between rural communities and secluded natural spaces, based on shared symbolic elements. So, these
237 caves show how sacredness can be created outside of the official religious structure. This happens through the
238 ongoing interaction between place, memory, and ritual within the local community.

239 **Conclusion**

240 This study shows how important informal natural spaces are in understanding the religious landscape of the Syrian
241 coastal countryside during later periods. It reveals that sacredness was not always linked to religious institutions or
242 special buildings, but was sometimes shaped by the ongoing interaction between local stories, social practices, and
243 collective memory. By studying several natural caves that are linked to seeking blessings, pilgrimage, and popular
244 celebration, it becomes clear that some sites have a long-lasting religious presence in the local community, even
245 though there is not much archaeological and material evidence for this.

246 The study also shows that the usual archaeological approach is not always useful for this type of site. This is because
247 the lack of architecture or archaeological finds does not mean that the site was not used for religious purposes.
248 However, looking at the case studies shows that a natural environment on its own is not enough to make a space
249 sacred unless it is also part of a symbolic and social framework that gives the site meaning in the minds of the
250 people. So it's really important to combine field data, local stories, and anthropological approaches when studying
251 popular sacred spaces. This is part of the religious and social history of rural communities in the Syrian coast and the
252 Eastern Mediterranean in general.

253

254

255

256

257

258

259

260 **References**

261 Albrecht, J., Degelmann, C., Gasparini, V., Gordon, R., Petridou, G., Raja, R., Rieger, A.-K., Rüpke, J., Sippel, B.,
262 & Urciuoli, E. R. (2018). Religion in the making: The lived ancient religion approach. *Religion*, 48(4), 568–593.
263 [https://livrepository.liverpool.ac.uk/3026078/1/Off%20print%20Religion%20in%20the%20making%20the%20Live](https://livrepository.liverpool.ac.uk/3026078/1/Off%20print%20Religion%20in%20the%20making%20the%20Live%20Ancient%20Religion%20approach.pdf)
264 [d%20Ancient%20Religion%20approach.pdf](https://livrepository.liverpool.ac.uk/3026078/1/Off%20print%20Religion%20in%20the%20making%20the%20Live%20Ancient%20Religion%20approach.pdf)

265 Bowes, K. (2008). *Private worship, public values, and religious change in late antiquity*. Cambridge University
266 Press. https://assets.cambridge.org/97805218/85935/frontmatter/9780521885935_frontmatter.pdf

267 Directorate of Antiquities of Jableh. (n.d.). *Unpublished archaeological inspection records and field observations*
268 *related to KahfBsinna* [Unpublished archival material consulted during the author's fieldwork].

269 Frankfurter, D. (1998). *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and resistance*. Princeton University Press.
270 [https://classics.osu.edu/sites/default/files/2022-](https://classics.osu.edu/sites/default/files/2022-09/Frankfurter_Magic%20and%20the%20Forces%20of%20Materiality.pdf)
271 [09/Frankfurter_Magic%20and%20the%20Forces%20of%20Materiality.pdf](https://classics.osu.edu/sites/default/files/2022-09/Frankfurter_Magic%20and%20the%20Forces%20of%20Materiality.pdf)

272 Ismail, M. (2024). *Field observations and oral testimonies collected in al-Bassiyeh area, Baniyas countryside, Syria*
273 [Unpublished field notes].

274 Ismail, M. (2024). *Field observations and oral testimonies collected in al-Qatrubiyah village, Jableh countryside,*
275 *Syria* [Unpublished field notes].

276 Rüpke, J., Woolf, G., & Raja, R. (Eds.). (2020). *Lived religion in the ancient Mediterranean world*. De Gruyter.
277 <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/20.500.12657/37602/1/9783110557596.pdf>

278 *Sacred places: The origin and evolution of cult in caves in the Mediterranean context*. (2011). Bibliotheca
279 Alexandrina. https://www.bibalex.org/Attachments/Publications/Files/2013032016111942011_SacredPlaces.pdf

280

UNDER PEER REVIEW IN IJAR