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Phrygian rock-cut cult façades: a study of the function of the so-called shaft monuments

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The aim of this paper is to discuss different possibilities for the function of the shaft found behind certain Phrygian cult façades.¹ The purpose of the shaft is unknown, but various theories exist.

In the highlands of Phrygia, between Afyon and Eskişehir, around Türkmen Dağ, which is covered by volcanic tuff, the Phrygians created their sanctuaries and other monuments from the rock itself. These monuments have been the subject of study by several scholars. Haspels (1971, 3-19) gives a thorough account of earlier travellers and scholars. The rock-cut shrines and sanctuaries to be found in this area can be divided into two basic categories. The first category comprises monuments which consist of a façade, varying in size, generally depicting the front of a house and usually with a niche as its focal point. Sometimes there is no façade, just a niche. In the niche we can assume that the cult statue of the Phrygian Mother goddess Kybele was placed, as in a few cases the cult image of Kybele² was cut straight from the rock and is still in situ.³

¹ This paper is partly based on a seminar held at the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara on the 9th of April 1996, and it is also a preliminary report of one part of my forthcoming doctoral thesis to be submitted to the University of Stockholm. I am grateful to Dr Roger J. Matthews, Prof G. Kenneth Sams, Dr Geoffrey D. Summers, Prof Birgitta Bergquist, Dr Charlotte Scheffer and Ms Penny McParlin for their valuable assistance in reading and commenting on my manuscript at different stages. I am also grateful to Mr Tom Pollard for helping me with the editing of the map and to the Deputy Director of the Archaeological Museum at Afyon, Ahmet İlslı, for researching information about Değirmen Yeri for me. All measurements mentioned in the article are derived from publications. See Appendix for references.

² I am using the name Kybele because that is usually how the Phrygian Mother goddess is named by modern scholars. In the Phrygian inscriptions she is usually just mentioned as *Matar* and in a few cases with the epithet, *kubileya* or *areyastin*. For *Matar kubileya/kubeleya*, see Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, W-04, 45-47 and B-01, 62-68; for *Materan areyastin*, see Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, W-01a, 36-39.

³ For example at Arslankaya, Büyük Kapı Kaya, Küçük Kapı Kaya, Delik Taş, Kumca Boğaz Kapı Kaya. For illustrations, see Haspels 1971, figs 159, 182-191, 205, 517.2, 522-524.

The second category includes free-standing monuments, so-called step monuments. They consist of a few steps cut out of the rock and sometimes with one or two idols on the top.

A few of these monuments have a shaft behind the façade and are therefore called shaft monuments. The shaft occurs in five known cases. Four of them are close to each other north of Afyon, while the fifth one, Delikli Taş, lies west of Kütahya. These shaft monuments all date to the Phrygian period. On the basis of stylistic comparison they are generally dated between the end of the eighth and the first half of the sixth century BC.⁴

A few scholars have briefly dealt with the shaft monuments, but no satisfactory interpretation has been reached.⁵ The latest contribution by Özkaya is so far the work where the function has been most extensively discussed. His article came to my knowledge when I had already conducted my own research into the purpose of the shaft. My investigation came, however, to another proposed function for the shaft monuments.

A full description of the shaft monuments is provided in the accompanying appendix. Before discussing the function of the shaft monuments, I will first examine certain features which they have in common.

1. Orientation

All the shaft monuments face southeast, except Bahşış which faces east. An east or southeast orientation is the most common direction for Phrygian rock-cut sanctuaries in general. An orientation towards the sunrise is not unique to Phrygian sanctuaries, but is common in other cultures as well. Greek temples, for example, usually have the same orientation.

⁴ Haspels 1971, 102-108; Naumann 1983, 56-62; Prayon 1987, 206-207, number 43; Akurgal 1961, 110; Özkaya 1997, 98-99.

⁵ Gabriel 1965, 83-90; Haspels 1971, 76-77, 81-82, 85-87, 95, 100, 253-254; Hemelrijk 1986, 4-8, 10-13; Francovich 1990, 136-143; Naumann 1983, 41-62, esp 52-55; Barnett 1953, 78-82; Işık 1995b, 59-60; Özkaya 1997, 89-103. For earlier scholars, see Haspels 1971, 100, notes 146-7. For a complete bibliography, see appendix.

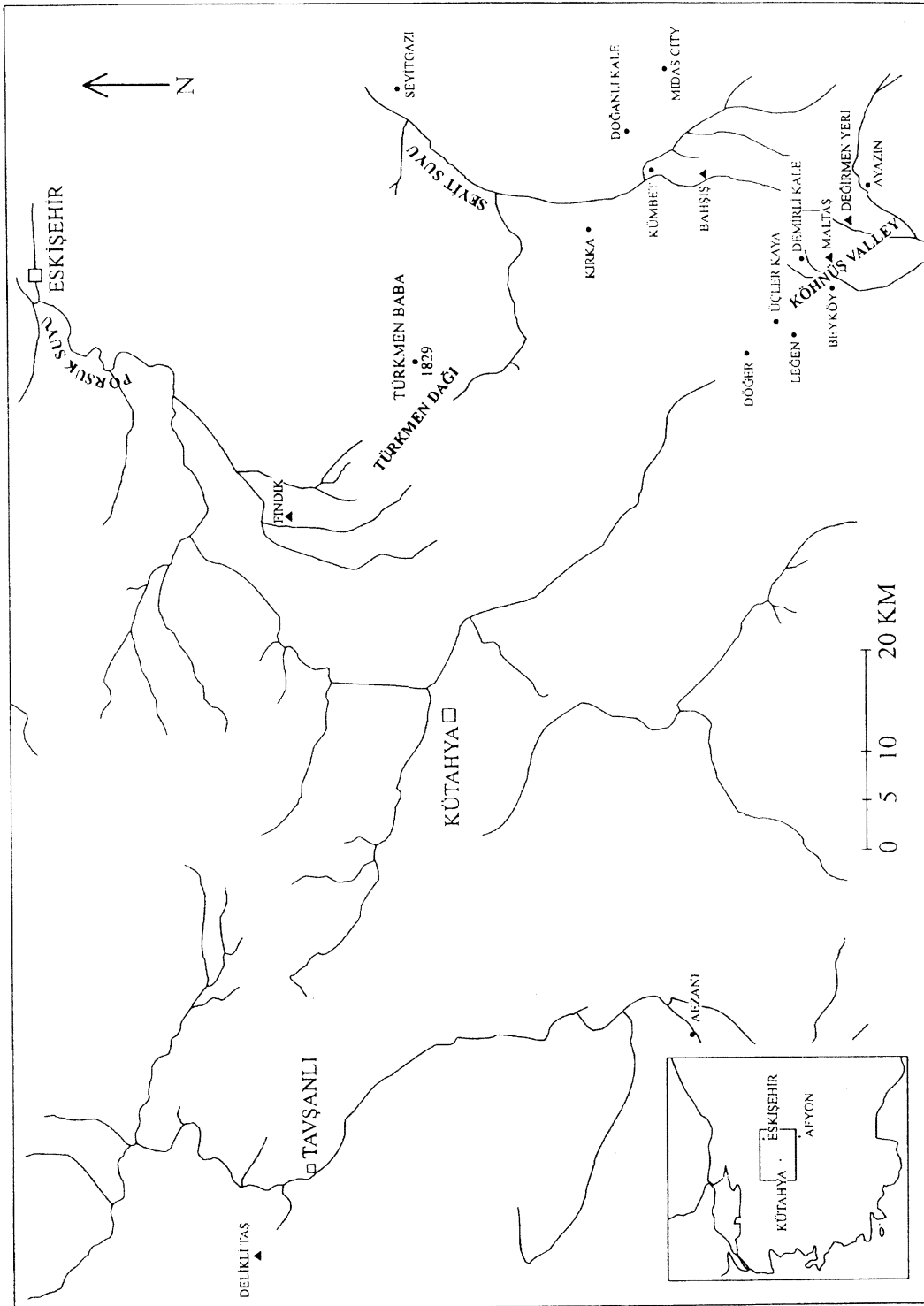


Fig 1. Map of the highlands of Phrygia showing sites mentioned in the text

2. The Shaft

The shaft itself is of course a common factor, but they also show some similar features. They are all square, and four of them have a considerable preserved or estimated depth between 3m and 9m. For four of the shafts the width varies from 0.85 x 0.86m at Değirmen Yeri to 2.2 x 1.7m at Mal Taş (see table 1). The deeper the shaft is, the wider it is. Significantly, the shafts are situated exactly behind the niches and they all reach the bottom level of the niche.

The shaft at Fındık is of quite a different character from the other four. This feature can hardly be called a shaft, as it resembles more a pit in its measurements and shape (fig 14). It is only 1m deep compared to 3-9m of the other shafts, and its area measures only 0.37 x 0.27m at the top, which is considerably less than the other shafts. The bottom is also rounded compared with the other shafts.

3. The Niche

The niche is one of the fundamental features of the rock-cut façade monuments and is generally regarded as an entrance in which the Mother goddess herself appears. At Arslankaya even the doors of the entrance are cut out from the rock (Haspels 1971, figs 188, 523). In the case of the cult façades the niche is usually situated at floor level and is to be interpreted as an imaginary door. For two of the shaft monuments, Bahşış and Değirmen Yeri, however, the niche is situated a little way up on the façade.

The niche of the cult façade at Bahşış begins 0.7m above the floor and the back wall of the niche is surrounded by a frame (figs 5-6). It seems clear that the purpose of the niche was not to resemble a door.

At Değirmen Yeri the niche should be interpreted rather as a window than a door. The niche is situated 'indoors' so that it would make more sense as a window. The appearance of the niche resembles a window, with a frame around it and it appears that the niche was divided into four sections, according to Haspels' drawings. On the photographs in her publication (Haspels 1971, figs 163-64), however, it looks as if the frame is continuing upwards in the upper right corner and the niche may have been divided into six or more sections, which would fit better with the original height of the back wall, probably around 3m (figs 11-13).

It is reasonable to question whether or not the façade at Fındık is a shrine, because it is lacking a proper niche, the usual indicator of a Phrygian rock-cut shrine. There are, however, some other facts which point to a religious function; the orientation towards southeast, the presence nearby of a step monument with a double idol on top, the shaft itself and the fact that the cult façade is situated in

the religious zone at Fındık. Because of the absent niche plus the different character and measurements of the shaft, however, it is doubtful whether the façade at Fındık belongs to the same group or served the same function as the other four shaft monuments.

4. The Cult Image

The cult image of the Mother goddess Kybele was probably placed inside the niche, since there are a few sanctuaries where the cult image of Kybele is carved from the rock itself (see note 3 above). Niches without a rock-cut cult image probably had a separate cult statue attached instead, since there are examples of holes cut out of the rock into the floor and/or the ceiling of the niche. The holes were probably used as dowel holes to fix the statue (Haspels 1971, 75, 80). The niche at Değirmen Yeri is probably an exception to this pattern because there is not enough space to have contained a statue. The niche is only 0.12m deep and the fact that the niche probably represents a window, not a door, further underlines the point that the intention was not to depict a doorway where the goddess herself appeared.

At the cult façades where there is a rock-cut relief, the relief covers the entire height of the niche, and the cult image is carved in low relief without any base.

At Delikli Taş there is no cult statue left, but most scholars believe that the cult image was once cut out from the rock at the back of the niche and has today eroded away (see Appendix). At the back of the niche there is a vertical field (c.0.5m high), which is less eroded than the rest of the niche, and this area is regarded as evidence of a rock-cut relief⁶ (figs 17-18).

In order to obtain an idea about the nature of the lost cult image, it is necessary not only to study the back wall of the niche but also to consider the base of the statue. The base is almost as wide as it is long and probably the entire surface of the base was once used for the cult statue. Because of the shape of the base it seems likely that it was intended for a round sculpture and not for a cult image in relief. There is no reason why the entire base should not have been used for the cult image, especially since the base protrudes out of the innermost section of the niche and disturbs the harmony. If it had been intended for a low relief, a shorter base adjusted to the size of the relief would have been more satisfactory. However the niche itself is not very well suited to a rock-

⁶ Vermaseren 1987, 49, number 144; Haspels 1971, 77, 253; Naumann 1983, 46; Hemelrijk 1986, 6; Özkaya 1997, 89. According to Prayon (1987, 101) the relief has been cut away. Francovich does not believe that the less eroded field is the remains of a relief, but instead he expresses the theory that libations were performed over the wall (1990, 137-138).

cut image in deep relief either, as the base suggests, because at the top the relief would have protruded outside the lintel of the innermost section of the niche, since that section is quite shallow, only 0.3m deep. In all cases where there is a rock-cut relief, the cult image is cut without any base. There is no need for a base when there is a relief, but a base would be more necessary for a free-standing sculpture.

Haspels writes that if the niche once contained a relief cut out of the rock, it has been obliterated, and there are only weathered remains left (Haspels 1971, 77, 253). An eroded relief, however, would not leave a 90 degree angle between the back wall and the base. The base has been deliberately shaped, as it looks today. It is possible that an original relief was for some reason cut away in a later period, and in that case the base may have been created from what was once the lower part of the body of the relief. In this case, a base was created probably in order to be used for a free-standing sculpture instead of the missing relief. This could have been done in the Byzantine period, but it is also possible that it was done in the Phrygian period. What could have been the purpose in erasing an already existing image to replace it with another one? If this sanctuary was re-used in the Byzantine period, there was no need to erase the Phrygian image. On the contrary, usually the Phrygian cult images of Kybele continued to be worshipped as the Virgin Mary during the Byzantine period.⁷ What actually was obtained when the relief was erased, was that it was replaced with an image *not attached to the wall*.

Considering the entire façade as one unit, the platform from where the shaft descends and the area above is not a very elegant arrangement, as the platform disrupts the façade (figs 15-16). If the entire sanctuary was originally designed, as it looks today, a more harmonious solution could have been found for the shaft and the platform. The platform, the area above and the shaft are cut in a different way. They are more crudely executed compared to the smoothly cut façade throughout. This was already noticed by Körte (1898, 100-01). It is possible that the shaft and the platform are secondary, and that is why the façade is interrupted in the middle in this crude way. The relief was cut away when the shaft was made, because it had to give free access to a connection between the shaft and the niche. The base at the bottom of the niche was constructed at the same time and used for a free-standing sculpture. Haspels (1971, 253) also expresses an alternative solution: that the back wall of the niche is less weathered because it

was once protected by a statue standing on the base. To conclude, it is likely that the base was made with the intention of being used to its full extent for a free-standing cult statue, either originally or more likely in a later Phrygian period together with the shaft.

5. A connection between the shaft and the niche

There is today a connection, that is a hole, between the niche and the shaft at all five sanctuaries. These holes are often claimed to have been made by later treasure hunters (see Appendix). At Findık there is not a circular hole, but instead the front has a deep cut along the façade. The theory was first expressed by Hamilton (1842, 97-98) and later by Perrot and Chipiez (1892, 90). Unfortunately this theory has been accepted without any further investigation.⁸ The reasons for the hole having been made by treasure hunters are not explicit, but obviously the appearance of the holes is cruder than the rest of the façades. They are circular but more or less irregular, and the hole is made in a similar way at the different façades. It is extraordinary that the hole in all cases is situated so exactly in the middle of the niche horizontally and also in three cases in the upper part of the niche (Delikli Taş, Mal Taş and Bahşış).

There is no attempt to make a hole in a cult façade without a shaft. If the hole was made by treasure hunters, they must have known that it was only these sanctuaries that had a shaft and not any other, or they were somehow guided to the shaft monuments and not to the others. If they knew that a shaft existed, it does not make much sense to cut a hole when they could simply have entered the shaft from above.

The hole at the niche of Mal Taş must, according to the excavation report, have been made at the latest in the first century BC because of the accumulated soil in front of the façade (Gabriel 1965, 86).

The circular hole cut into the shaft at Değirmen Yeri points away from the theory that the holes are Phrygian in origin, because the hole at the bottom of the niche has destroyed the original division into sections at the back of the niche.

An interesting feature at the sanctuary of Değirmen Yeri which is lacking at the other shaft monuments, is two square holes cut between the shaft and the niche measuring 0.08m in width and height. Obviously these holes date to the Phrygian period and must have been used for a specific purpose in the religious rites. One hole is completely preserved, and of the other one only the bottom line is visible, but it probably looked the

⁷ For example at Küçük Kapı Kaya (Haspels 1971, 254, figs 99, 185, 524.1).

⁸ Francovich (1990, 137-138, 140-143) expresses the theory that the holes are original and date to the Phrygian period.

same. In Haspels' drawing of the back wall, here fig 11, the holes are wrongly situated, too high up on the wall. The correct situation must be as given in Haspels' drawing number 520, here fig 10, which would place the two square holes in the middle of each section if the niche continued upwards (see fig 12).⁹

We may assume that the shaft had the same function at least at Delikli Taş, Bahşış, Mal Taş and Değirmen Yeri, where the size and depth of the shafts are similar. Hence it would be logical to find the same connection between the shaft and the niche at these shaft monuments (whether the shaft at Fındık, which should rather be called a pit, had the same function is questionable). The square holes in the niche at Değirmen Yeri are situated at a similar level as the circular holes cut at the other shaft monuments. The two square holes at Değirmen Yeri are situated 1.32m above the floor of the courtyard and 0.72m above the floor of the shaft. The holes at the other shaft monuments are situated at about the same level, from 1.15 to 1.64m above the ground in front of the façade and 0.68 to 0.95m above the floor of the shaft (see table 1). It is possible that these holes were originally more neatly cut, which would fit better with the appearance of the rest of the façade, and that they served the same function as the two square holes at Değirmen Yeri. For some reason they were later enlarged to the size they are today. The fact that the shaft in all cases is cut down to the same level as the bottom of the niche may be explained by a connection between the two of them. An original connection would also explain the similarity between the position of the holes in the upper middle part of the niche. The theory that the holes are made by treasure hunters seems less likely because of their similar position and circular shape. If they were made by treasure hunters we would expect a more or less irregular broken niche. This has also been pointed out by Francovich (1990, 142). It is likely that the present appearance of the holes at Mal Taş, Bahşış and Delikli Taş is secondarily done; i.e. a smaller original hole was later enlarged to the size and appearance it has today. In Değirmen Yeri that could not be the case with the big hole at the bottom of the niche, since there are already two connections further up in the niche, plus the fact that the hole has destroyed the original division into sections at the back of the niche. This hole was entirely made in a later period.

Why the holes have later been enlarged is not clear. Maybe the shafts could have been used for another purpose which required a bigger hole in a secondary

phase. The shafts at Delikli Taş and Bahşış are quite inaccessible but maybe the shaft at Değirmen Yeri could have been re-used, for example as a store-room, in a later period and at that time the big hole at the bottom of the shaft could have been made. There is a close parallel in silos dating to both the Phrygian and the Byzantine periods. They are also cut out from the rock and often have a channel cut into them at the bottom (see for example a silo at Demirli Kale, silos at Doğanlı Kale, a silo at Kümbet Asar Kale and a silo at Köhnüş Kale¹⁰). The silos at Doğanlı Kale are Byzantine and the one at Demirli Kale is maybe of Phrygian origin but the channel is probably a later Byzantine addition (Haspels 1971, 61, 227). Most of them are closed with a lid at the top. All over Phrygia there are numerous examples of how Phrygian settlements and monuments were re-used or transformed during the Byzantine period.

6. The correspondence between the shaft and the niche

The shafts in these five cases vary greatly in height, but the important thing is that in all cases the shaft corresponds in height to the monument: a tall façade has a deep shaft. The shaft is always situated exactly behind the niche. At Değirmen Yeri the shaft was situated c.0.15m too far to the right to be exactly behind the niche, but it was still mainly situated behind the niche (fig 11). The shaft always descends to the same level as the bottom of the niche. Clearly it was important that the bottom of the shaft corresponded to the ground level of the niche for the intended function of the shaft. If there originally was a connection between the shaft and the niche, it would explain why the shaft was cut to the same depth as the bottom of the niche.

7. Ledges in the shaft

The shafts of Delikli Taş, Mal Taş and Bahşış all have one or more ledges approximately midway. In the shaft of Bahşış there are ledges on two sides, opposite each other. Above the ledges the rock has been cut out like a quarter of a sphere. At Mal Taş and Delikli Taş the ledges are different because the rock is cut straight above the ledges. At Mal Taş there are ledges on three sides and at Delikli Taş only on one side, but the latter has more ledges and cuttings further up in the shaft (figs 3, 4, 9, 19).

According to Haspels the ledges at Bahşış were an arrangement for a lid with which to close the shaft and at Delikli Taş the shaft could be closed with two lids. The

⁹ Haspels 1971, fig 521.1, 520.4. Compare fig 521.1 with the section drawing 520.4 and also photograph 163, here fig 13.

¹⁰ Demirli Kale, Haspels 1971, 61, fig 509.2, 500.2; Doğanlı Kale, Haspels 1971, 240; Kümbet Asar Kale, Haspels 1971, 50, fig 509.4; Köhnüş Kale, Haspels 1971, 58 note 157.

main lid was at the top with another one c.0.9m down. She does not consider the purpose of the single ledge in the middle of the shaft (Haspels 1971, 77, 82). Hemelrijk states that the shaft at Değirmen Yeri could be closed with a lid c.1.4m above the bottom of the shaft (Hemelrijk 1986,12).

The ledges midway up the shafts at Bahşış and Mal Taş were probably used for lids, as Haspels also suggests, but at Delikli Taş, this would have been impossible since there is not enough support for a lid with only one ledge, plus the fact that there is already further up the shaft an arrangement for two lids. There has to be another solution for the ledge at Delikli Taş, and it is possible that it was used in entering the shaft. The ledge is 0.31m wide, enough to have functioned as a platform for a ladder. In order to climb down the shaft the ladder was in a first phase placed on the ledge situated half way down the shaft and in a second phase the ladder was removed and placed at the bottom of the shaft. In this way it was possible for a person to climb down to the bottom of the shaft. This would explain why there is only one ledge halfway down the shaft.

At Kümbet Asar Kale and Üçler Kaya there are some rock-cut silos, dated to the Phrygian period by Haspels, which have similar rectangular cuttings in the corners as the shaft at Delikli Taş (Haspels 1971, 50, 63, figs 501.1, 509.4). Most probably these ledges were used to support a lid. There are also silos which have no rectangular cuttings, but instead have four ledges around the square opening, clearly for keeping a lid in place.¹¹ These ledges are similar to the ones found at the shaft monument at Fındık. Considering these arrangements for a possible lid at the silos, it is likely that the similar arrangements found in the shafts were used for the same purpose – i.e. a lid with which to close them. It is significant that all the shafts have an arrangement probably intended for a lid, and it is usually situated not at the top but further down in the shaft.

Theories concerning the purpose of the shaft

There is little agreement on the possible function of the shaft, but some interpretations are discussed below.

Sepulchral chambers

The general idea among the first 19th century travellers was that the monuments were sepulchral and that the shaft functioned as a grave chamber (Haspels 1971, 100 note 146; Naumann 1983, 53 note 70). Körte (1898, 97ff) questioned this theory and re-interpreted them as

religious monuments. Gönçer deals with two of the shaft monuments, Bahşış and Mal Taş. The shaft at Bahşış he interprets as a tomb for an important Phrygian person but because of the dimensions of the shaft he suggests that the person was buried in a sitting position. Also Meriggi mentions Bahşış as a tomb (Gönçer 1971, 104-05; Meriggi 1969, 141).

Phrygian rock-cut tombs exist, but in these cases the tomb chamber is totally different from the shaft in design and dimensions. The tomb chambers are also equipped with rock-cut couches. The dimensions of the shafts make it difficult to interpret them as burial chambers. Other aspects of the shafts which have no obvious function connected with burial are the connecting passage between the shaft and the niche and the lid halfway down the shaft.

Sacrificial pits

That the shaft was used for sacrifice is the most generally accepted theory (Berndt 1986, 11; Naumann 1983, 53ff), but in fact the specific features connected with the shaft monuments do not fit very well with this theory. The closing/opening facilities, usually placed halfway down the shaft, do not fill any function in a sacrificial pit, nor is there any need for a connection with the niche. Sacrificial pits are usually not as deep as the shafts and not square. *Bothroi* are usually circular pits dug out from the earth (Henrichs 1969, 35).

Only five of the known Phrygian cult façades have a shaft which further points to the fact that they had a specific purpose in the religious rituals which took place at these particular places. Sacrifice is a common thing in religious practices and we may assume it was carried out at every sanctuary and shrine.

If the intention was to use the shaft as a sacrificial pit, the nature of the sacrifice could have been of three types; animals, vegetables or libations. Animals such as bulls and rams were sacrificed in the rites of Kybele, at least in later periods (Graillot 1912, 118, 153ff, 398-99). The access to some of the shafts, especially at Delikli Taş, Fındık and Bahşış, is difficult and it does not seem possible to have been able to climb up with animals to the entrance of the shaft in order to sacrifice them. In addition, the lack of remains of bones from the shaft at Mal Taş, which is the best documented excavated shaft, suggests that the shafts were not used for animal sacrifices.

If the purpose was to use the shaft as a sacrificial pit for vegetables or libations there was no need to make the shaft as deep as 9m. It is possible, however, that libations took place at the shaft-monuments, because at Delikli Taş there is a rock-cut, sloping channel next to the top of the shaft at the platform (fig 19). The channel

¹¹ For example at Kümbet Asar Kale and Demirli Kale (Haspels 1971, 50, 61, fig 509.2, 509.3).

slopes towards the north, away from the shaft, and it is possible that the channel was used for libations although the shaft itself was probably intended for another purpose.

Naumann (1983, 53-54) mentions the possibility that the shaft was a symbolic sacrificial pit, because of the often difficult access. The opening/closing facilities, and the connection between the niche and the shaft must have filled specific purposes reflecting the true function of the shaft, and it is hard therefore to see the shafts as purely symbolic sacrificial pits.

Francovich has modified the sacrifice theory to be part of an agricultural ritual. He believes that the hole between the shaft and the niche is original, and that it was used as a passage to enable sacrifices (solid or liquid) to be placed into the bottom of the shaft, and that the niche never contained any cult statue because it would have blocked the access to the passage. As he sees it, the sacrifices were two different agricultural species, corresponding to the twofold division of the shaft. The entire procedure was part of a ritual, a spring and an autumn festival. According to Francovich (1990, 142-43) this function of the shaft is only valid for four shaft monuments. For Delikli Taş Francovich has another explanation, discussed below. The agricultural ritual does not explain the purpose of the lid or the ledges, nor the two square holes which connect the shaft with the niche at Değirmen Yeri. There would have been no point in making an entire shaft if the intention was to use only the upper and the bottom part. On the contrary, it would have been enough to make a hollowed out space or clearing at the back of the niche and one at the top of the platform, and there would be no need for a shaft all the way through.

İşık (1995b, 58-60) compares the shafts with the rock hollows of the Hittites (Felsgruben), which were used as sacrificial pits for animals and libations but also for calling the gods of the underworld to this world during religious ceremonies. Özkaya (1997, 100) also discusses this matter.

Barnett interprets the cult façades, with or without a shaft, as spring or waterside shrines. The shafts, which he refers to as cells or chambers, would have been used for sacred offerings. Barnett refers to the scholia of Nicander's *Alexipharmaca* which mentions that servants of Rhea and Attis would mutilate themselves and deposit the severed genitals in underground chambers.¹² It is doubtful that this text could be applied to cult practices during the Phrygian period, but it is interesting that

underground chambers are mentioned in connection with the Kybele cult.

In fact, the sacrificial pits which most resemble the Phrygian shafts are the deep Hellenistic pits situated in front of the porch of the Teleusterion in Eleusis, identified by Clinton (1988, 69-80) as the *megara* into which piglets were sacrificed during the Eleusinian Mysteries and the *Thesmophoria*. These pits, five in number, are over 7m deep and square, and *megaron* b measures 0.77 x 0.65m in area. The other *megara* have similar measurements (Noack 1927, 117-18, fig 52; Clinton 1988, 73-76). There exists also one Hellenistic stonebuilt shaft in the sanctuary of Demeter in Priene which has been interpreted as a *megaron*. This one is not as deep and narrow as the other *megara*, being only 2m deep and measuring 1.75 x 1.88m in area (Henrichs 1969, 35; Schede 1964, 95, fig 110).

The *megara* are all situated in front of the Teleusterion and are easily accessible. The shafts in Phrygia have a totally different character as they are not built of stone blocks, they are cut out of the rock, they are difficult to reach and they are all situated behind the cult façade and, most importantly, they all have a connection with the niche in front of them. In at least one case, Değirmen Yeri, this connection is certainly of a Phrygian date. Their depths also depend on where the niche is situated, and they are always cut down to the same level as the bottom of the niche.

Worth mentioning as a comparison to the shafts are two circular Roman stone constructions at the cave sanctuary of the Mother goddess (Meter Steunene) close to Aezani in Phrygia. They measure 2.96 and 3.5m in inner diameter and c.3m in depth. They have two or three openings each in the circular walls, measuring 0.5-0.65m in width and c.1.3m in height (Naumann 1967, figs 12-13), but whether these constructions, and then consequently the openings, were originally placed under or above the earth is not clear.¹³ Different theories exist about the purpose of these stone constructions. Lambrechts (1970, 241ff) compares them with *bothroi* at the Demeter sanctuary at Agrigento and interprets them accordingly. Naumann (1967, 237-41) has interpreted them as having been used for *taurobolium* and *criobolium* (see below).

It is interesting to find these stone constructions at a sanctuary of Kybele. There are, however, no signs of similar constructions from the Phrygian period at Aezani. There are significant differences between the Phrygian shafts and the Roman constructions: the measurements

¹² Barnett 1953, 82; Nicander, *Alexiph.* 6-8, schol. 8. See also Hepding 1903, 8 ff.

¹³ Naumann 1967, 232-241, figs 12-13, pls 27-28; Lambrechts 1970 241ff, pls 4-5; Vermaseren 1987, 44, no 124.

do not agree, the shafts are deeper and narrower, the shafts are all cut in connection with a niche/cult façade. To conclude, there is no convincing evidence which points to the use of the shafts as sacrificial pits or *megara*.

Taurobolium and Criobolium

A few scholars, Körte and later Naumann, Francovich and Özkaya, discuss the possibility that the shafts may have been intended for *taurobolium* or *criobolium*. Körte (1898, 102-104) suggested that the shaft at Delikli Taş could have been used for *taurobolium*. This theory was rejected by Naumann (1983, 53), but Francovich (1990, 138) thought that the shaft may have been used not for *taurobolium* but for *criobolium* intended for Attis. Özkaya (1997, 89-103) suggests that the shafts were used for *taurobolium*, and he thinks the *taurobolium* ritual was brought to Rome from Phrygia together with the cult of Kybele.

Taurobolium went through an evolution, as proved by both Duthoy and Rutter (Duthoy 1969; Rutter 1968, 226-43). Rutter and Duthoy had independently of each other distinguished three phases, and it is the ritual of the third and last phase which has been connected with the shaft monuments. This last phase is best described by the Christian poet Prudentius (c.AD 400). The person who was to be purified descended into a pit over which a wooden platform was constructed and a bull was sacrificed on top of it. Blood dripped through the wooden planks on to the person below, perhaps as a means of spiritual purification (Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 10, 1006-50). There is no doubt that the *taurobolium* ritual as described by Prudentius is a late Roman occurrence, as clearly proved by both Duthoy and Rutter (Duthoy 1969, 87ff; Rutter 1968, 240).

The origin of *taurobolium* is probably to be sought in a ritual hunt and sacrifice of the quarry (Duthoy 1969, 126) and it probably originates from Asia Minor, as the earliest *taurobolium/criobolium* inscriptions are from Asia Minor,¹⁴ but *taurobolium* was not part of the cult of Kybele at that time. *Taurobolium* was probably taken over from another cult and became part of the Kybele cult during the reign of Antoninus Pius, c.AD 160, that is several hundreds years after the cult was imported to Rome in 204 BC (Duthoy 1969, 116; Rutter 1968, 226-30). The character of *taurobolium* was in its first phase sacrificial and the later baptism of blood was performed more or less according to the description of Prudentius,

where a shaft or deep pit is required. This form of *taurobolium* does not occur until c.AD 300. In this phase we also have a pit into which the receiver descends (Duthoy 1969, 116; Rutter 1968, 240). In the first two phases there was no need for a shaft/deep pit, maybe just a sacrificial pit or *cernos* was at hand to collect the blood (Duthoy 1969, 99-101).

The description given by Prudentius might at first seem to fit with the construction and shape of some of the Phrygian shafts, but a closer examination of the special features of the shafts points toward another function. If the shaft monuments were intended for *taurobolium*, according to the description of Prudentius we would expect a depth of c.2m for the shaft. None of the shafts originally had a depth close to 2m (see Appendix), and there would be no explanation for the ledges halfway down the shafts. The ledges probably supported a lid, but the lid could not have been used as a platform for the slaughter of the animal. For practical reasons we would expect a bull or ram to have been slaughtered on top of the shaft and not several metres down the shaft, as would have been the case in Mal Taş, Bahşiş and Değirmen Yeri. Furthermore, the connection and correspondence between the shaft and niche would not fill any purpose in this kind of ritual. Because of the difficult access to the shafts it is impossible to lead a bull to the top of the shaft. Even a ram would cause severe problems, perhaps insurmountable, to bring it to the top of the shaft. For example at Delikli Taş a ladder or similar equipment is needed in order to reach the platform at the top of the shaft. These specific features of the shafts and the difficult access to the shafts excludes the theory of a bull or ram slaughter.

There are a few examples of pits or shafts which have been interpreted as *fossa sanguinis*. There are, however, just assumptions or indications that they have been used for *taurobolium*. Duthoy (1969, 110-111) accepts only one of them, the one in Neuss/Novaesium, as a probable *fossa sanguinis*. These pits, if dated, all date to the Late Roman period,¹⁵ and they all lack the specific features of the Phrygian shafts, as mentioned above.

¹⁴ For a list of all inscriptions see Duthoy 1969, 5ff. Rutter (1968, 228 ff) suggests the earliest *taurobolia* to have been some sort of bull chase.

¹⁵ Thomas 1984, 1525; Duthoy 1969, 110-111, 110, note 1; Rutter 1968, 240-241. There are seven known examples, which have been suggested or described as *fossa sanguinis*. They are situated at Neuss/Novaesium (von Petrikovits 1960, 128-131, pl 12); Zadar/lader in Croatia (Duthoy 1968; Suic 1965); Ostia (Vermaseren 1977, 110, no 362, pls 223-224; Calza 1942); Samothrace (Lehmann 1969 Text II. 42 ff, pls 2, Ad 91, 91-92); Aezani (see above); Szombathely in Hungary (Tóth 1975; Thomas 1979) and Zecovi in Bosnia (Benac 1972).

Rite of purification

Taurobolium was, in its last phase at least, a kind of purification ritual, but water instead of blood was in Greek purification rituals the most common liquid for purification (Burkert 1985, 76). Water seems also to have been poured over the initiated in the cult of Kybele in the Roman period (Graillot 1912, 177).

Is it possible that the shafts could have been used for a kind of purification rite other than the *taurobolium*? The person who was going through the rite of lustration may have stood in the shaft and a liquid, presumably holy water, was poured onto him/her. All the shafts, except Fındık, are big enough to provide space for a person to stand in, but this function would require an outlet for the liquid, as in other known cases of lustration installations, and there is no outlet from any of the shaft monuments. Ritual installations for purifications are generally very simple, usually just an outlet from the cella, sometimes a basin with an outlet.¹⁶ Furthermore, this theory does not explain the ledges usually halfway down the shaft intended for a lid, and the connections between the shaft and the niche. The holes between the niche and the shaft can hardly be described as peep-holes to check on the person who was going through the rite, because in all cases except at DeğirmenYeri the hole would have been concealed by a cult statue.

Holy objects or relics

Hemelrijk suggests that the shafts should have contained something precious, since it was possible to close the shafts with lids. He proposes that they could have contained sacred objects, maybe parts of a meteor stone (Hemelrijk 1986, 5). This theory might explain why there is a lid, but not why it is at some places placed halfway down the shaft. The passages between the shaft and the niche could be explained as peep-holes to ascertain that the objects were in place. As we have seen, there was probably a cult statue in the niche, at least at some cult façades, which would have blocked access to the hole. Gönçer (1971, 111-13) suggests that the shaft at Mal Taş could have been used as a place to hide the cult statue of Kybele and other holy objects to prevent them from being pillaged.

Interpretation of the purpose of the shaft

The analysis above shows that so far no proposed theory has been fully satisfactory in meeting all the requirements of the features of the shaft, as here summarised:

— Ledges as support for a lid, either halfway or a little way down the shaft. Only in one case, at Fındık, is the lid situated at the top, probably because of the shortness of the shaft. It seems that the lid was used as a method for repeated access to the shaft, as indicated by the rock-cut features at Bahşış, which facilitated the closing and opening of the shaft.

— The shaft is situated exactly behind the niche, and it always descends to almost the same level as the bottom of the niche. The shaft ends a little way above the floor of the niche and the apertures are situated at a similar level, from 0.68 to 0.95m, above the bottom of the shaft.

— A connection between the niche and the shaft at Değirmen Yeri is at 1.32m and a possible connection at the others at a similar level from 1.15 to 1.64m.

— At Delikli Taş there are some carvings on the platform at the top of the shaft, for example a groove which must have served a purpose.

— There is a shaft at just five sanctuaries, suggesting that a religious ritual took place in these sanctuaries which was not necessarily performed at the others.

Given these features, we now attempt to identify the sort of function which could meet all these elements.

If there was a passage between the shaft and the niche, something must have been transferred through the hole, either from the niche to the shaft or vice versa or both ways. Either it could have been true objects, like sacrifices, votive gifts, a passage for voices, light or smoke, or simply just to look through.

There probably was a cult statue in the niche which blocked the access to the passage, so it does not seem suitable to put any object through the passage. Of course the statue was probably removable, but it is does not seem likely that a sacrifice would be made or a votive gift offered to the deity, if the statue was not in place. Considering the size of the square holes at Değirmen Yeri, 0.08m in width, they seemed more suitable for voices, light or to look through.

If all the shafts were provided with a lid, the lid must have been used to close the shaft with. It seems as if the lid functioned both as a cover and as a divider of the shaft. The lid divided the shaft into two sections. Possible purposes for the lid could have been to protect something kept in the shaft or to prevent looking into the lower part of the shaft, which may have been intended to conceal something or somebody.

Light

If the passage was used for light, the purpose could have been epiphany. If light came through the passage, especially at dusk or dawn, it would have lit up the cult image very dramatically from behind, from the mountain

¹⁶ At the sanctuary of Men at Antioch in Pisidia there is a basin with an outlet (Ramsay 1911-12, 39 ff). For other examples, see Lehmann 1969, Text II, 23ff, Text I, 126.

itself. This theory is, however, not very satisfactory, because there was probably no cult image in the niche at Değirmen Yeri, and at Findık there is no niche at all in which to place a cult image. Furthermore, this theory does not explain the presence of a lid.

To look through

There is a possibility that the holes could have served as peep-holes, either to look into the shaft or to make it possible for a person in the shaft to look outside.

It is, however, unlikely that the apertures served as peep-holes in any direction, because the cult statue would have blocked the access to the holes. At Değirmen Yeri the apertures were probably not concealed by any cult statue and could therefore have served as peep-holes, but not as the main purpose of the holes, since it is only possible for them to have functioned in this way at one of the shaft monuments.

Voices

If the passages were there to let voices or sounds through, this could of course have worked in two directions, from the shaft to the niche or vice versa. It would seem more natural for voices to pass from the shaft to the outside. If so, the shaft could have been a place for an oracle or rather for its medium. This theory best meets all requirements of the functional characteristics of the shaft.

The medium who transmitted the answers from the god would be hidden in the shaft, and it would appear that the oracle answers came from the goddess or mountain itself. The lid was used in order to conceal the medium and the division of the shaft into two sections could be explained by one section being used for the medium, the other section for the priest during the session. If a lid was used with which to close the shaft, it would also have transformed the shaft into a dark place since the only source of light would have been through the hole connecting the shaft with the niche. This would further have made it difficult to detect anyone in the shaft. The hole was probably also concealed by a cult statue.

There is evidence for oracles connected with the Kybele cult. There are several examples dating from the Roman period and one Hellenistic inscription.¹⁷ There may also be written evidence from the Phrygian period. The old Phrygian word *akenanogavos* could be interpreted as the title of an oracle priest (Lubotsky 1988, 13).

The word occurs, at least at the Areyastis cult façade, in a context together with the Mother goddess. It is interesting to note that all the occurrences of an oracle connected with Kybele, known from the Roman period, took place in Phrygia. The problem is that the written sources all deal with later periods and our knowledge about cult practices in the Phrygian period is very limited. We have to rely on the available sources to get a clue about the Phrygian conditions.

There was a tradition of oracles in central Anatolia predating the Phrygians. The Hittites had a widespread oracular activity, and there is current discussion whether they may not have been the first in the Near East to have made use of different kinds of oracles (Ünal and Kammenhuber 1974, 159). One important aspect in the early practices of oracles regarding both the Hittites and the Archaic Greeks is the use of birds, especially predatory birds (Kammenhuber 1976, 10-11, 114; Flacelière 1965, 7ff). It is significant that the most important attribute of the Phrygian Kybele is a predatory bird. Later on when the Kybele cult was hellenised, this attribute was replaced by others (Roller 1991, 128-43; 1994, 191).

Özkaya (1997, 100) suggests that Hittite cup-marks and hollows, together with the pit found in front of the back wall at chamber 2 at the Sacred Pool Complex at Südburg in Hattusa might have served as prototypes for the later Phrygian shafts. This rectangular pit measures c.1.0 x 0.5m and is 0.5m deep (Hawkins 1995, pl 11). It is a comparison worth making because the pit at chamber 2 is rectangular like the shafts and made in connection with a rock-cut cult image. The pit, however, is not situated behind the cult image as in the Phrygian shafts, but instead is situated immediately in front of it and the measurements are not in accordance. The Phrygian shafts with their greater depths give a very different effect.

This newly excavated and restored complex has been interpreted through its inscription as a KASKAL.KUR by Hawkins (1995, 44-45). KASKAL.KUR can be translated as an artificial opening or road to the underworld, literally a 'divine earth-road'.

In two out of three inscriptions where KASKAL.KUR occurs in a cultic context the monument is directly associated with the *oracle*-priest, performing libations.¹⁸ This might suggest that the activities performed at a KASKAL.KUR were of oracular character in connection with the gods of the underworld. There is, however, no connection in time between the

¹⁷ Schwenn in *RE* 11:2, coll. 2255; Roscher 1890-94, coll. 1641; Graillot 1912, 44-45, 307, 349; Polybius 21, 37,4; Plutarch, *Mar.* 17.

¹⁸ *IBoT* I 17 iii 5-9; *VBoT* 74 ['Sayce 3'], lines 1-8; *KUB* XXV 44 ii 25-26. See also Gordon 1967, 71-74.

Hittite shrine and the later Phrygian cult. When the Phrygians settled centuries later at Südburg they re-used blocks of the old Hittite shrine in order to build their city wall (Neve in Hawkins 1995, 9-10). The inscriptions and the physical remains of a plausible KASKAL.KUR indicate, however, that oracular activity might be connected with a physical construction already in pre-Phrygian times.

Oracular activities as such flourished during the Archaic era, especially during the seventh century BC, and several places connected with oracular activities are to be found in Asia Minor. Apollo is the Greek god most frequently connected with oracular activities. Apollo is considered to originate from Asia Minor, and according to Fontenrose (1988, 117) it is plausible that Apollo became an oracular god in Asia Minor. The sanctuary at Didyma had oracular activity before the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi (Fontenrose 1988, 172). Oracles connected with gods other than Apollo existed during this period in Asia Minor. There are many examples of early sanctuaries in Asia Minor connected with oracles of Apollo or other deities, for example at Patara, Klaros, Didyma, Hierapolis, Gryneion, Agai, Sura, Mopsuestia and Telmessus (Burkert 1985, 114; Parke 1985, 171ff). From the eighth century onwards sanctuaries connected with oracles started to flourish, especially in Asia Minor, and these sanctuaries accord with the shaft monuments in date.

It seems as if the oracle at Delphi was not originally connected with Apollo but with the Earth goddess Ge (Flacelière 1976, 7; Parke 1967, 27). The oracle of Ge at Olympia was superseded by that of Zeus (Parke 1967, 26-27). Also, the Demeter cult had its own oracle at certain sanctuaries, for example at Patras (Flacelière 1976, 14; Pausanias 7, 21, 11). Demeter and the Mother goddess Kybele are very intimately connected with each other during the Classical period, and they are even interchangeable (Roller 1996, 312ff). In certain ancient texts the Mother goddess is also mentioned as the Earth goddess.¹⁹ Earth goddesses connected with oracles, like Ge, Themis or Demeter, were basically the same nature deity (Dietrich 1978, 5). Important features of the Earth goddess are the close presence of a sacred stream and the cavern which was entered by the prophetess in order to be in contact with or inspired by the deity (Parke 1967, 51; Dietrich 1978, 5-8). It is worth noting the close presence of water at Bahşiş, Değirmen Yeri and Mal Taş. This has already been noticed by Barnett (1953, 80ff); but he interpreted the sanctuaries as spring- or waterside-

shrines. It is possible, however, that the water could have been used as sacred water during the oracular activities.

In Hierapolis, western Phrygia, there is a cavern and a sacred stream, which probably from an early age functioned as an oracular site. When Hierapolis was founded during the Hellenistic period, this oracle was associated with that of Apollo, but the cavern was also associated with Kybele, and had perhaps been so from an earlier date than the association with Apollo.²⁰ Ancient sources report that the only ones who could enter the cavern, from where toxic vapour evaporates, were the Galli, the priests of Kybele (Strabo 13, 4, 14; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 2, 207-08).

The Sibyl is an important prophetess connected with Asia Minor. Her origin is unclear, but she is usually regarded as being of eastern origin, perhaps Phrygia (Parke 1967, 49ff; Pollard 1965, 107). Parke suggests Marpessus in Troad as the birthplace of Sibylline prophecy (Parke 1988, 51ff). The Marpessian Sibyl is not the only Sibyl from Asia Minor. In fact, several are known. One of the best known was the Sibyl in Erythrai, another came from Sardes, and Phrygia is twice connected with the Sibyl in ancient sources. A Phrygian Sibyl is reported to have prophesied at Ancyra and the Delphic Sibyl is mentioned as a 'Phrygian called Artemis'.²¹ Parke (1988, 26-27, 111) interprets Artemis here as the goddess Artemis instead of a personal name. For the Greeks Artemis was in many ways the equivalent of Kybele. Parke (1988, 159) also notes the close resemblance between Sibylline prophecy and the prophecy of the originally Phrygian sect of Montanism (see below).

The Sibylline oracular activities are connected with rocks or caves, and some caves have also been found.²² The cavern as an oracular site was originally connected with the earlier Earth goddess and survived as a feature in the cult of Apollo (Dietrich 1978, 5). The medium of the Apollo oracle sat in a subterranean chamber inside the temple, as at Klaros, when he/she transmitted the answers from the god (Flacelière 1976, 29ff). During prophesying, both the medium of Apollo and the Sibyl were usually well hidden either in a subterranean chamber or in a cave, natural or artificial, cut out from the mountain (Parke 1967, 51-55).

²⁰ Parke 1985, 180-183; Cichorius 1898, 43. The cavern was found, next to the temple of Apollo, during the Italian excavations in 1963 (Carettoni 1963-64).

²¹ Parke 1988, 26-27, 31; Varro quoted in Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 1.6; Heraclides Ponticus quoted in Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1 139.48 (FHG 2.197).

²² Pollard 1965, 107; Parke 1967, 51ff; Parke 1988, 71ff; Maiuri 1958, 123-132; Buresch 1892; Engelmann and Merkelbach 1973, 378.

¹⁹ Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 391; Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 2, 598; Roscher 1890-94, 1641ff.

Oracles existed in Phrygia in the early Christian period. The Christian sect of Montanism, which first appeared between AD 150 and 170 in Phrygia, was originally distinguished by its oracular activity. The sect is believed to originate from the western part of Phrygia. The founder Montanus and his two female companions, the prophetesses Maximilla and Priscilla, acted as intermediaries of oracles.²³ Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 5, 16, 7-9) tells how they became ecstatic and a spirit spoke through them. Montanism is generally regarded to have been influenced by or to have its origin in the Phrygian cult of Kybele and it may be that the founder Montanus was an old priest of Kybele.²⁴ The oracles were the most important part of early Montanism and it is also worth noting the prominent position of women. Both phenomena probably had roots in Phrygian cult and culture.

If the shafts were used for oracular activities, the medium would have been concealed in the shaft, in the mountain behind the cult statue itself, at least at Mal Taş, Bahşış and Delikli Taş. Değirmen Yeri probably did not have any cult statue in the niche. The visitor or enquirer would have experienced the oracular answer as coming from the mountain itself, and since the mountain is regarded as the dwelling place of the Mother goddess this seems very suitable.

If the shaft was used for oracular activity, it would explain why there is a shaft in only a few cases and why the shaft is situated so exactly behind the niche. All shaft monuments except Findık are big enough to provide space for a person directly behind the niche in the shaft. The cuttings at the platform of Delikli Taş could have been used for sacrifices to the deity before the oracle session took place. The similar levels of the holes from 0.68 to 0.95m above the floor of the shaft would place them in front of the head of a medium in a sitting position.

Conclusions

It is not possible to reach a final conclusion about the function of the shafts, since there are too many uncertain factors. The shafts have several distinct features in common, but there are also several discrepancies. Considering the features in common as being the orientation, the ledges and the correspondence between the shaft and the niche, it is likely that all the shafts, except maybe Findık with its different character and dimen-

sions, served the same function. The pit or shaft at Findık could not have served as a space for the medium itself, but it might have been connected to oracular activity in another form.

Because of the reasons mentioned above, it is likely that the passage between the shaft and the niche were original features. If that was the case, it throws new light on the interpretation of the shaft. The possibility which best meets all the requirements stated above is that the aperture was used as a passage for voices. If it was used in this way, the most convincing interpretation for the shafts is as chambers for the medium of a Kybele oracle to hide in during the oracular session. The voice of the prophet of Kybele would come from the shaft. The thought and wishes of Kybele, the Mountain goddess, would be expressed by the mountain itself.

Appendix

Descriptions of the shaft monuments. See also table 1.

1. Mal Taş (figs 1-4, table 1)

Geographical situation: 25km northeast of Afyon in the Köhnüş valley.

Excavation: excavated in 1936 under the directorship of Gabriel and later partly measured and published by Haspels. Today Mal Taş is again covered by earth, leaving only the upper half free. Unfortunately the niche is completely buried, so it is impossible to check some of the variations between different descriptions. See note 25 below.

Orientation: southeast.

Façade: width 11m²⁵; preserved height 9.50m; estimated height 9.70m.

Resembles a house façade. The upper part of the façade consists of a tympanon. The top of the tympanon, where maybe once an acroterion was placed, is now missing. The upper left part of the tympanon is also broken off. The surface below the tympanon is covered with a geometric decoration. In the middle lower part of the façade there is a niche.

Niche: height 2.47m; width (including the door jambs) 3.52m; the niche itself is 2m²⁶; depth c.1.69m.

²⁵ All measurements are based on Haspels' drawings or measurements given in her text (1971, 85, figs 519, 520.1-3). The measurements and decoration are different in Gabriel's publication (1965, figs 41, 42). As far as I have been able to check, the drawings of Haspels are more accurate and are therefore the ones used here.

²⁶ According to the excavation report (Gabriel 1965, 86-88) there are channels cut out at the sides of the niche and there is a rectangular cavity in the floor, but according to Hemelrijk (1989, 726-727) this information is entirely wrong. In Haspels' drawing (fig 520.2) there are no channels or cavity recorded.

²³ Schepeleern 1920, 1-14; Frend 1965, 80-81; Lane Fox 1986, 405ff.

²⁴ Calder 1922-23, 328; Frend 1965, 80-81; Fear 1996, 38-39; St Jerome *Ep.* 41.4.

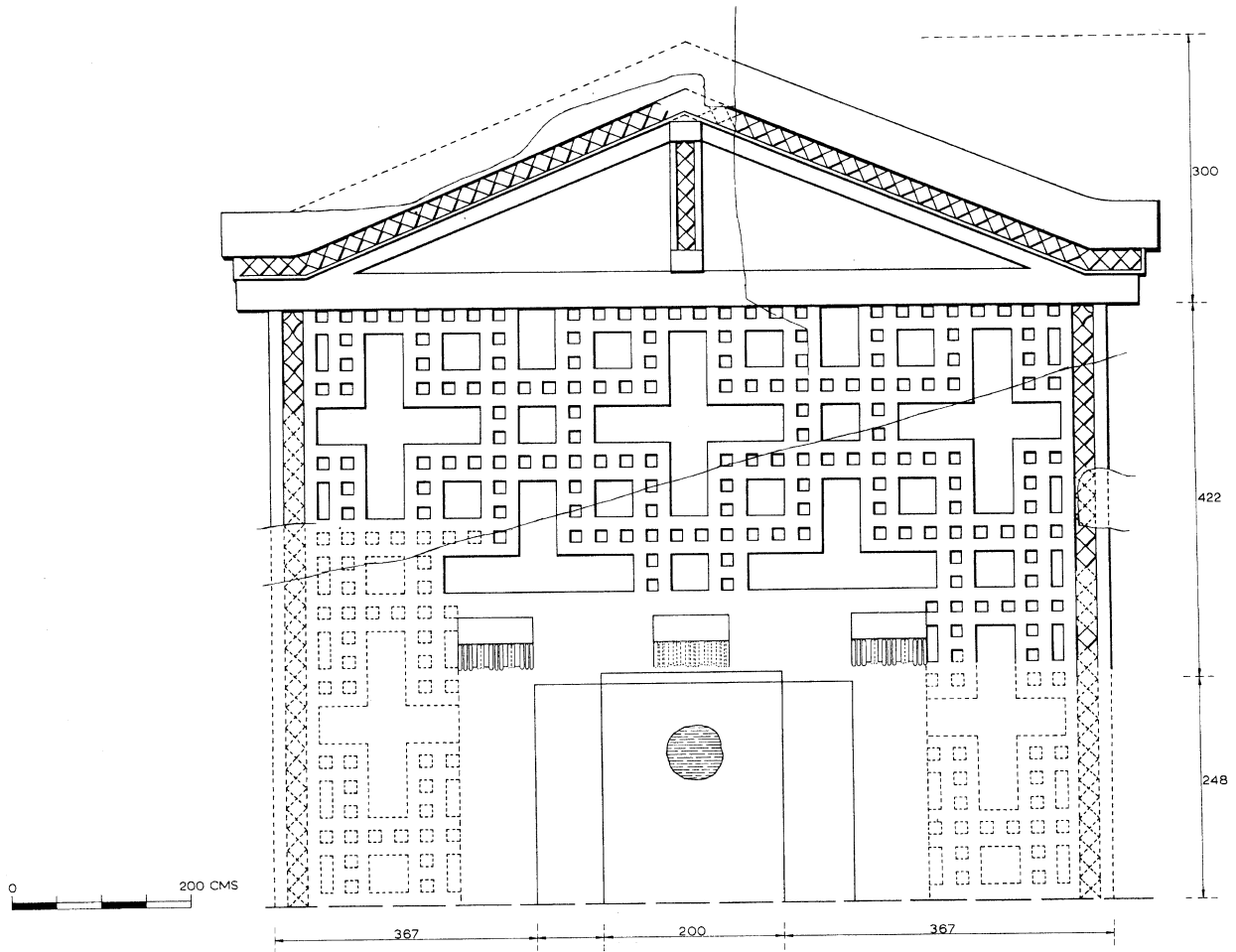


Fig 2. The cult façade of Mal Taş (after Haspels 1971, fig 519)

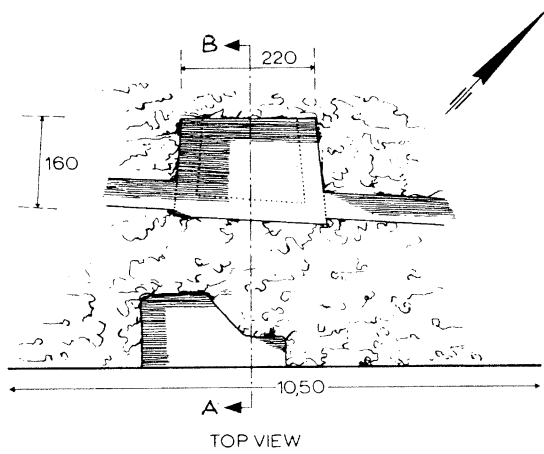


Fig 3. Mal Taş: top view of the shaft (after Haspels 1971, fig 520.1)

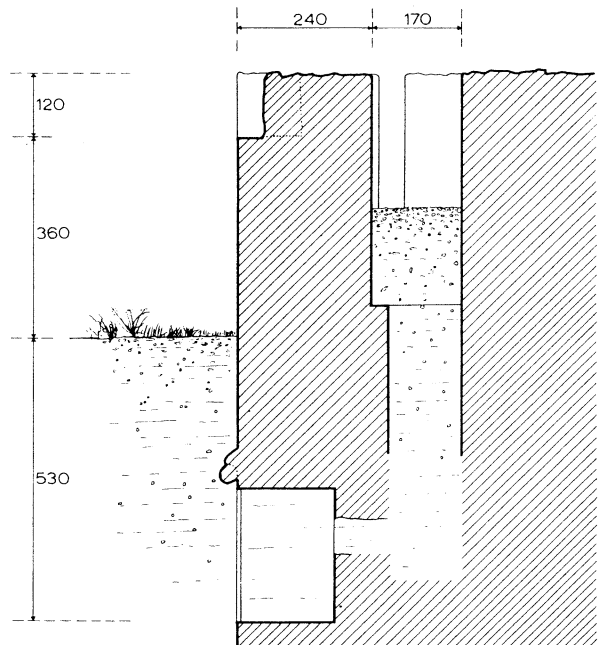


Fig 4. Mal Taş: section of the shaft and niche (after Haspels 1971, fig 520.2)



SECTION A-B

There is a hole or passage from the niche to the shaft (diameter 0.59m). The hole is situated 1.41m from the bottom of the niche, that is in the upper part of the niche, and it is centralised horizontally. The length of the passage is 0.95m. According to most scholars the hole was made by later treasure hunters (Haspels 1971, 86, note 59; Gabriel 1965, 86; Hemelrijk 1986, 7). Özkaya (1997, 93) writes that the hole might be the result of later damage. Gabriel (1965, 86) suggests that the hole was made in the first century BC because of the accumulated soil in the valley in front of the façade.

Shaft: depth at least 9.30m.²⁷

The shaft is not quite rectangular but instead is slightly trapezoid, the side closest to the façade and the southwest side being slightly longer than their counterparts. The lengths of the sides are 2.20 x 1.70 x 2.40 x 1.60m at the top of the shaft and 1.50 x 1.37 x 1.68 x 1.25m respectively halfway. Approximately 4.25m from the top of the shaft there are ledges along three sides of the shaft.

The ledge is c.0.35m wide on all three sides. The shaft is situated exactly behind the niche and is cut by a water conduit running in a northeast/southwest direction. According to Haspels this was made in modern times by the villagers (1971, 85 note 58).

Finds: at the bottom of the shaft some Archaic pot sherds were found during excavation (Gabriel 1965, 86).

Surroundings: access to the top of the shaft is today easy, since the valley in front of the façade has silted up, but access to the shaft during the Phrygian period may have been more difficult. During the excavations water was continuously bubbling up in front of the façade, probably in connection with a spring (Gabriel 1965, 86; Haspels 1971, 85 note 58).

Bibliography: Haspels 1971, 85-86, 100-101, 103-104, 293-294, figs 157, 158, 519, 520.1-3; Bittel 1942, 73; Barnett 1953, 78; Gabriel 1965, 85-90, figs 41-42, pl 45; Gönçer 1971, 111-113; Naumann 1983, 47, 52ff; Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, 47-49, no W-05, pls 25-26; Hemelrijk 1986, 7-8, figs 9-10; Berndt 1986, fig 1; Vermaseren 1987, 41, no 118; Francovich 1990, 139-143; Işık 1995b, 59; Özkaya 1997, 89-103. For earlier references, see Haspels 1971, 85, note 56.

2. Bahşış (= Bakşeyiş, Bahşayış), (figs 1, 5-9, table 1)

Geographical situation: close to the village Gökbağçe in Kümbet valley, c.40km north of Afyon.

Excavation: excavated under the directorship of Gabriel. Later measured and published by Haspels.

Orientation: east.

Façade: preserved width 3.98m; estimated width 4.16m; height 5.30m²⁸.

Bahşış is not only a façade but, to a certain extent, a complete building. The side walls are partly cut out of the rock and the shape of the rock itself is cubic to give the impression of a free-standing building. The side walls project 0.92m. The façade is covered with geometric decoration. There is a pediment but no acroterion.

Niche: height inside the niche 2.03m; width 1.55m without the outer frame, 1.82m with the outer frame. At the back wall of the niche there is a double frame c.0.18m deep. The plain back wall inside the double frame measures 1.04m in width and 1.36m in height. The depth of the niche is 0.90m. The niche is situated 0.69m above the floor level.

There is a circular hole/passage from the niche to the shaft. The hole measures c.0.37m in diameter and is situated in the upper part of the niche 1.64m from the ground floor and c.0.95m from what was once the bottom of the niche. It is situated 0.68m above the floor of the shaft. The hole is centralised horizontally, that is 0.29m from the left side and 0.30m from the right side of the niche. From inside the shaft the hole is exactly in the middle. The length of the passage is 0.5m. The hole was made by treasure hunters in later periods according to Haspels (1971, 82 note 34), Gabriel (1965, 84) and Hemelrijk (1986, 11).

Shaft: depth c.4.50m; width 1.20m x c.0.73m.

The shaft is situated exactly behind the niche and descends to the same level as the bottom of the second inner frame of the niche. The shaft has two ledges about halfway down, one on the north side and one on the south side. Both ledges are c.0.2m wide. According to Haspels (1971, 82) these are arrangements for a lid, the shape of the ledges making it possible to open and close the shaft with a lid.

Finds: there is no information about finds in the excavation report.

Surroundings: the sanctuary itself is situated on a very steep slope and in front of the façade there is a c.0.57m wide platform. Next to the monument on the south side

²⁷ Probably Haspels never reached the bottom level of the shaft and that is why her drawing is not concluded on this point. According to the drawing in the excavation report the shaft reached the same level as the bottom of the niche and thus the depth is c.10m (Gabriel 1965, fig 41).

²⁸ All measurements are based on Haspels' drawings or measurements (1971, 81, figs 516.1-2, 517.4-5). On fig 517 the given scale should probably be the same as that on fig 516.

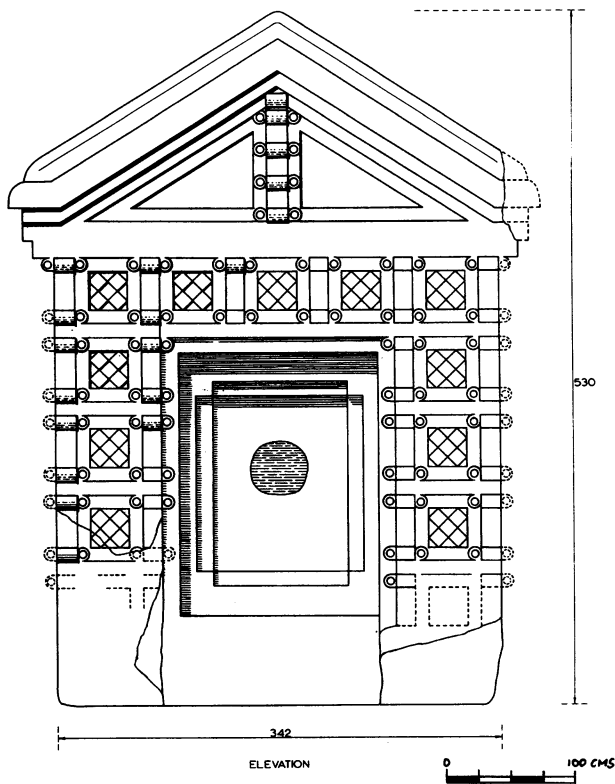


Fig 5. The cult façade of Bahşış (after Haspels 1971, fig 516.1)

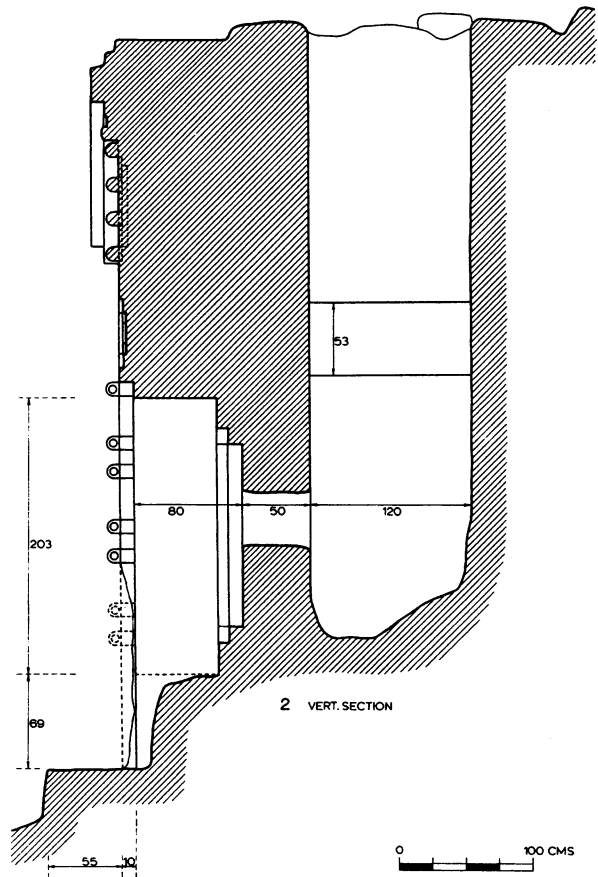


Fig 6. Bahşış: section of the shaft and niche (after Haspels 1971, fig 516.2)



Fig 7. The cult façade of Bahşış (photo S Berndt-Ersöz)

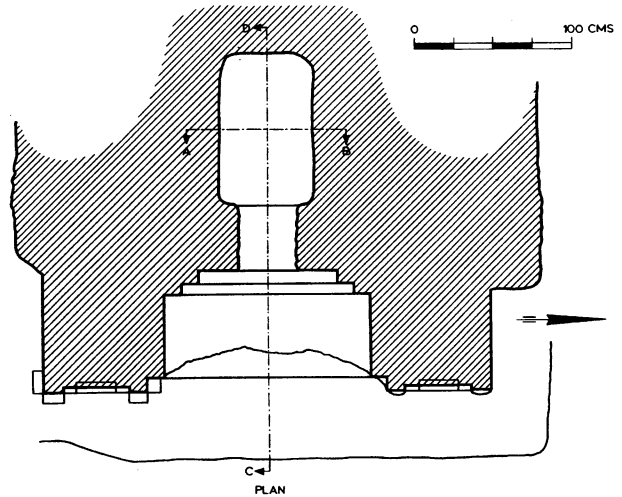


Fig 8. Plan of Bahşış (after Haspels 1971, fig 517.4)
Regarding the scale see note 28

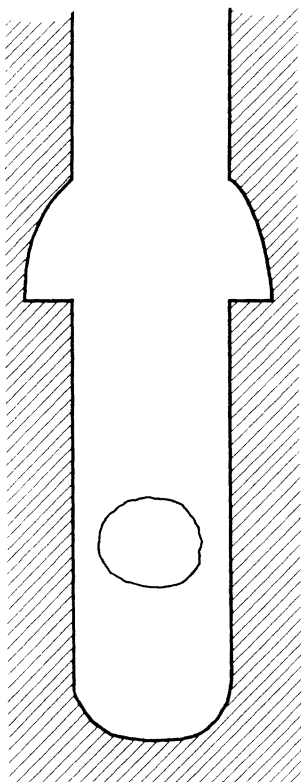


Fig 9. Bahşış: section A-B of the shaft (after Haspels 1971, fig 517.5) For measurements see table 1 and note 28

there are two similar monuments which were never completed. The access to the top of the shaft is not easy, but it is possible to reach it. There is no platform at the top of the shaft. Below the slope, in front of the cult façade, a small stream runs in the valley.

Bibliography: Haspels 1971, 81-82, 100, 104-106, figs 124, 125, 516, 517.1, 4-5; Barnett 1953, 79; Gabriel 1965, 83-84, fig 40, pl 42; Gönçer 1971, 104-105; Naumann 1983, 52ff; Hemelrijk 1986, 10-11, figs 20-21; Vermaseren 1987, 42, no 119; Francovich 1990, 139-143, figs 355-357; Işık 1995a, 114, fig 2; Işık 1995b, 59; Özkaya 1997, 89-103. For earlier references, see Haspels 1971, 81, note 32.

3. Değirmen Yeri (figs 1, 10-13, table 1)

Geographical situation: at the site of Karababa Tekke, 25km north of Afyon.

Excavation: when Haspels visited the site in 1950 there were only two huge blocks with geometric decoration visible but enough to attract her attention and unfortunately also some treasure hunters, so the Antiquities Service stepped in and completely emptied the site. When Haspels visited the site again it was completely cleaned (Haspels 1971, 86, note 61). She published the remaining rock-cut architecture but the excavation itself has not been published in any form. Unfortunately the

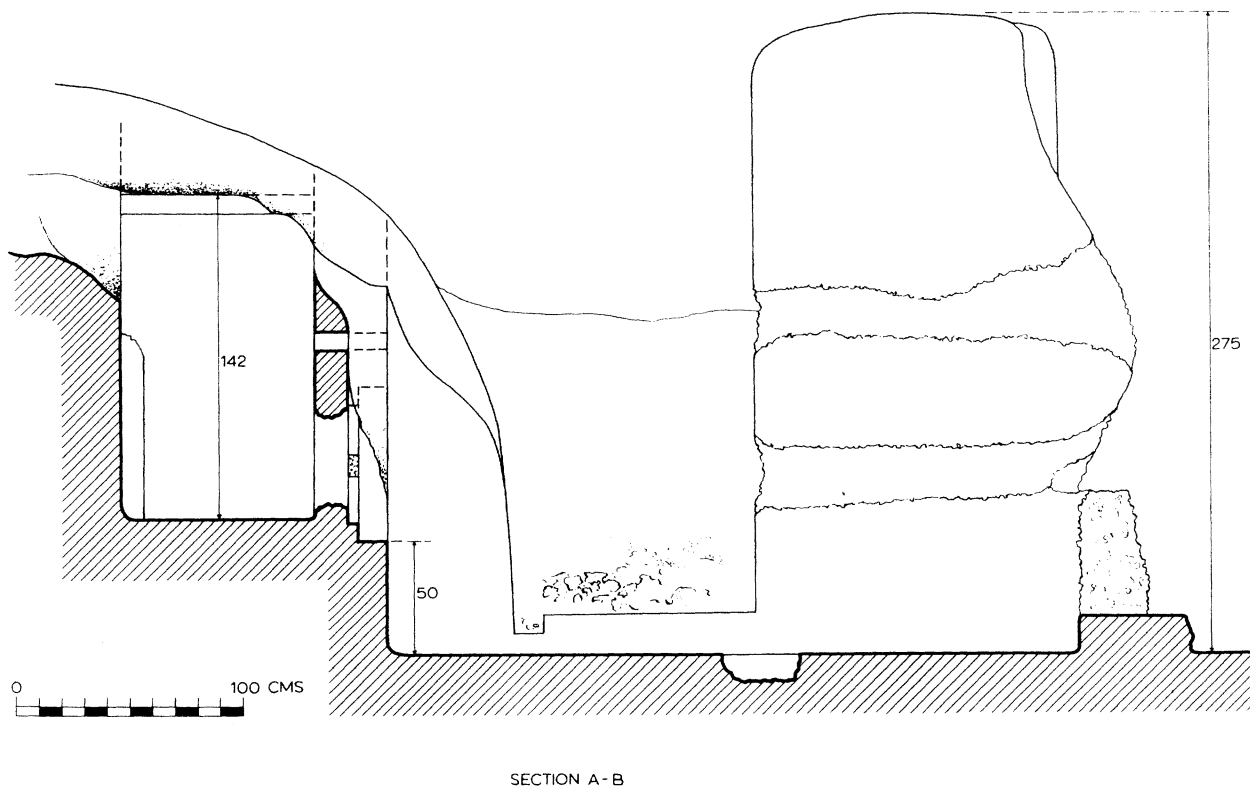


Fig 10. Section of Değirmen Yeri (after Haspels 1971, fig 520.4)

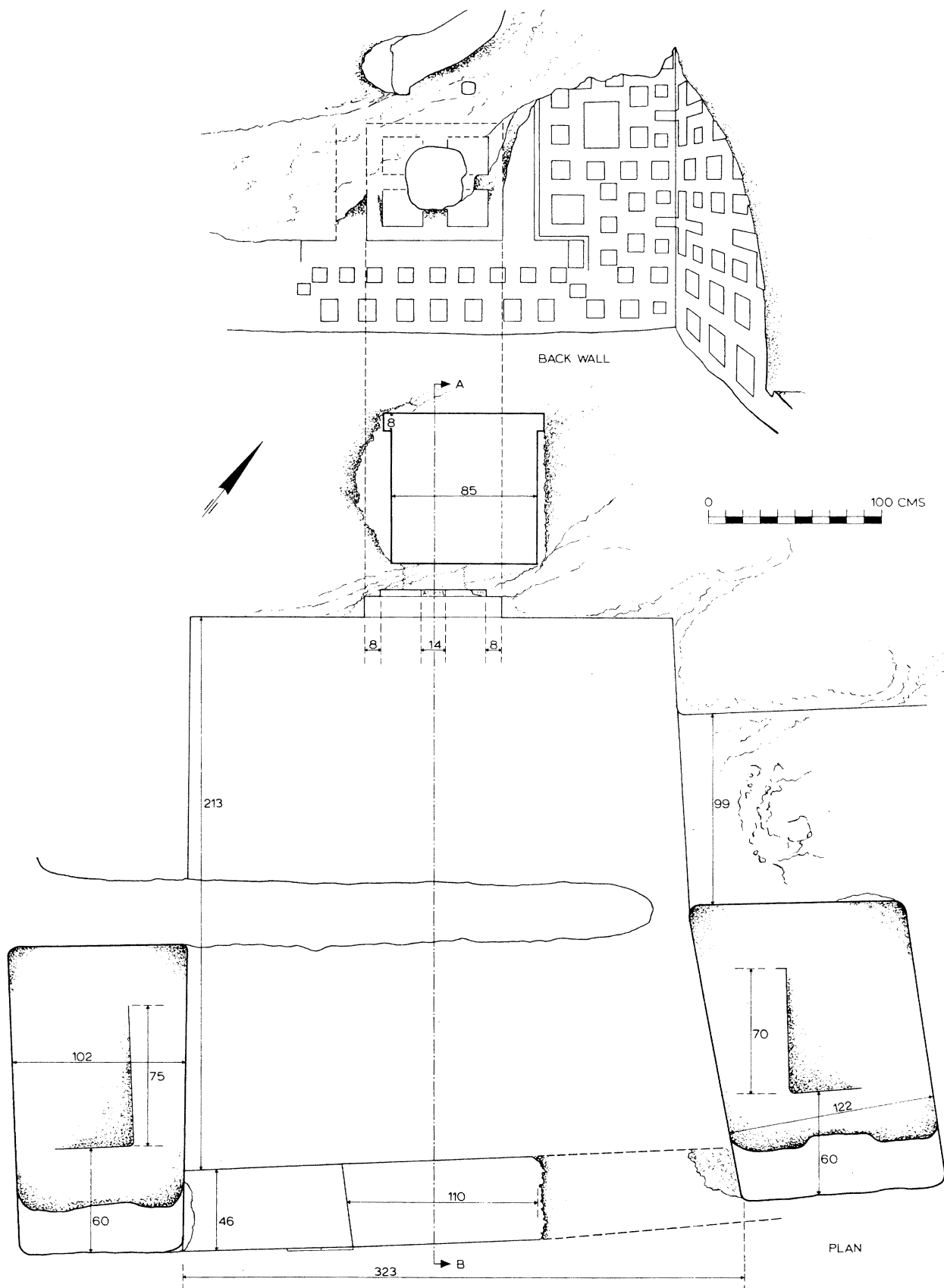


Fig 11. Değirmen Yeri: plan and back wall (after Haspels 1971, fig 521)

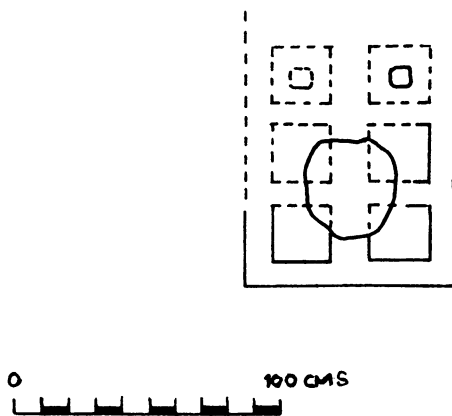


Fig 12. Değirmen Yeri: reconstruction of the niche

sanctuary was destroyed and covered by the construction of a road in the late 1950s. Nothing can be seen of the sanctuary today.

Orientation: southeast.

Description: this sanctuary was not only a façade but an entire complex: a façade with a courtyard in front. The courtyard was surrounded by four walls. Opposite the façade, on the southeast side, there was a threshold leading into the courtyard. The walls were decorated with a geometric pattern on both the side facing the courtyard and on the outside. The floor in the courtyard was cut in the middle by a groove, dated to the post-Phrygian period according to Haspels (1971, 86-87 note 64). In the court a long broken stone block, possibly the lintel of the gate, was found (Haspels 1971, 86 note 62). On each side of the threshold there was a huge stone block, both of which were 2.75m high. Each block had some shallow cuttings of unknown purpose on top and these cuttings had similar measurements. Approximately 0.60m from the front (= the southeast side) a straight line was cut c.0.40-0.45m in length, and at a 90 degree angle to this line there was another line c.0.70-0.75m in length. The stone was cut lower on the southeast side of these lines and also cut lower on the part facing the threshold, creating a platform on top of the stone blocks.

Façade: preserved height in the 1950s 1.59m²⁹; width 2.77m.

The façade was at the time of Haspels for the most part ruined and was once much taller. The façade was covered with a geometric decoration. The bottom corner on the north side was the best preserved part in the 1950s. In the middle of the façade there was a niche, not at floor level, but situated 0.5m up.

Niche: preserved height in the 1950s 0.92m; width 0.77m (without the outer frame). The niche was made in two stages. The total depth was 0.17m, whilst the first part was 0.12m deep.

At the back wall of the niche there was part of a frame (0.08m wide) which was preserved at the bottom and the right side of the niche in the 1950s. There was also enough preserved of two thin carved bars to give an impression of how the niche was once divided into sections. The vertical bar was thicker, 0.14m, compared with the horizontal one which was 0.08m. Haspels reconstructed the niche with four sections but it looks as if the frame continued upwards and maybe it was originally divided into six or more sections. (See above for discussion of the niche.) Around the whole niche there was a 0.18m wide flat frame which at Haspels time was only present at the bottom and right side of the niche. There was a passage cut between the shaft and the niche. The hole was almost circular and measured c.0.35m in diameter and was situated in the middle horizontally. The length of the passage was 0.14m. The hole was made by treasure hunters, according to Haspels (1971, 87, note 66), and Özkaya (1997, 94) suggests that it is probably due to later damage. Between the niche and the shaft, c.1.32m up from the ground, there were two square holes c.0.08m in width. They were situated 0.72m above the floor of the shaft. One was completely preserved in the 1950s, while of the other one only the bottom line was visible although probably it looked the same.

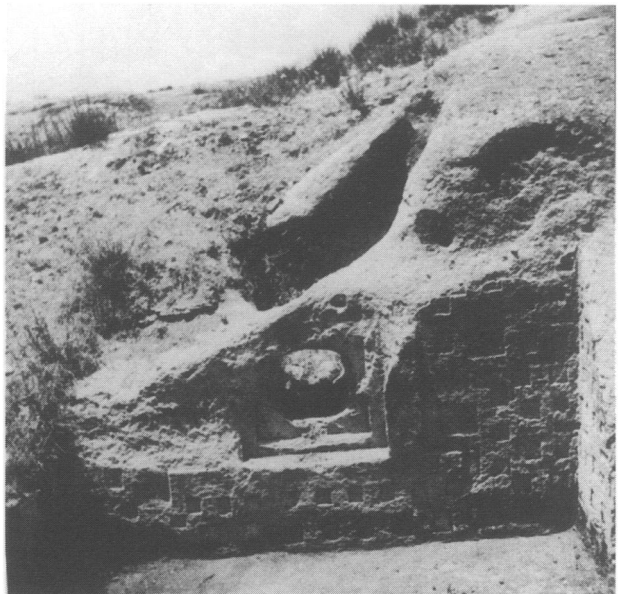


Fig 13. Değirmen Yeri: the back wall with niche (from Haspels, C. H. E., *The Highlands of Phrygia*. Copyright © 1971 by Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press)

²⁹ All measurements are based on Haspels' drawings (1971, figs 520.4 and 521).

Shaft: preserved depth in the 1950s 1.83m; estimated depth 2.80m;³⁰ width 0.85m x 0.86m. At c.1.40m from the bottom of the shaft it seems as if it would have been possible to close it with a lid.³¹

Finds: no finds have been published.

Surroundings: according to Haspels (1971, 86, note 60) the area was swampy and a groove was cut in a later period in the middle of the courtyard. Today a stream is running next to where the sanctuary once was situated. The area around is flat and consists today of fields and pasture for sheep.

Bibliography: Haspels 1971, 86 -87, 100, 105, figs 160-166, 520.4, 521; Hemelrijk 1986, 11-12, figs 22-23.1 -2; Francovich 1990, 141-143, fig 358; Işık 1995b, 59; Özkaya 1997, 89-103.

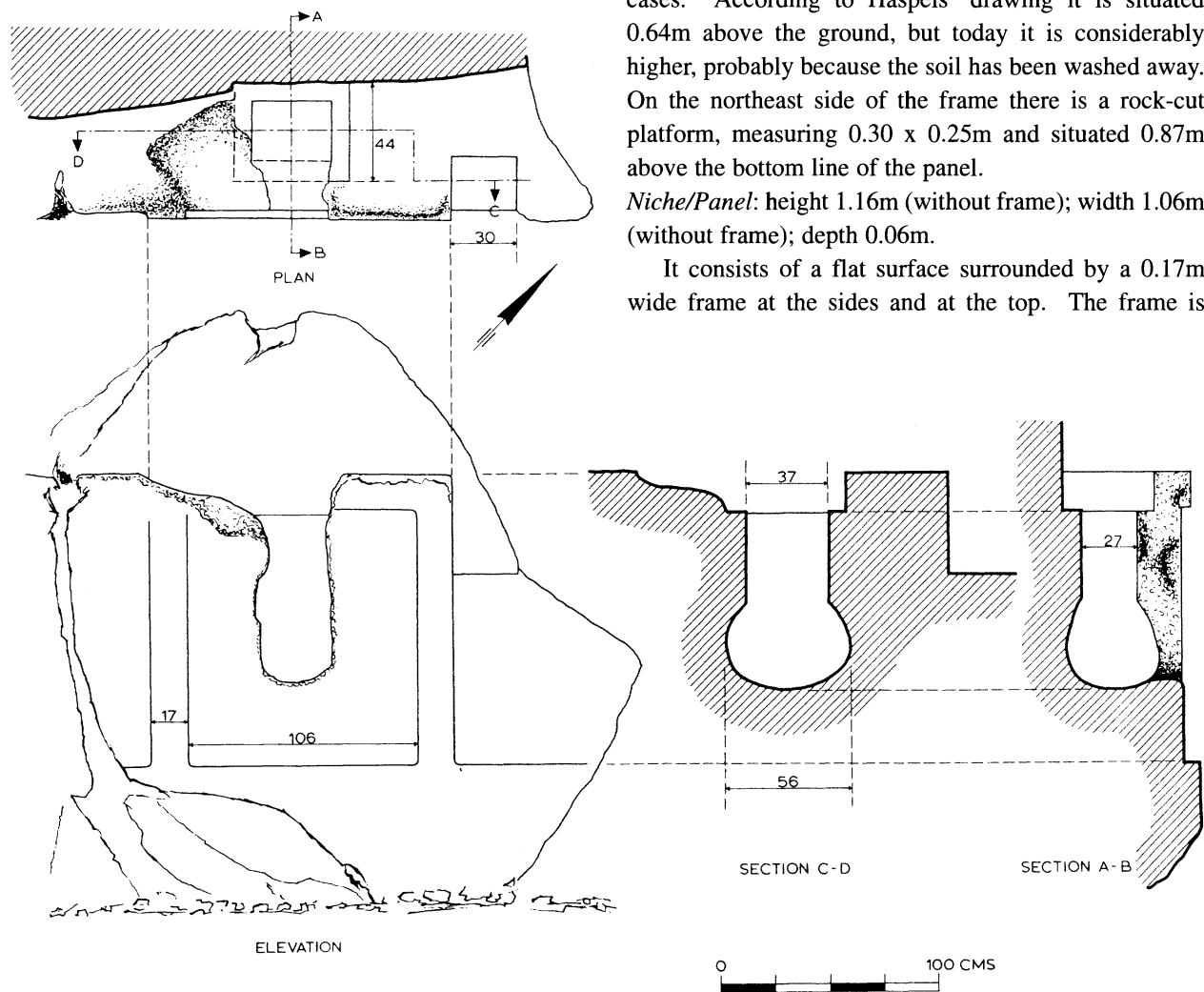


Fig 14. The shaft monument at Fındık (after Haspels 1971, 527.4)

³⁰ The rock was considerably eroded in the 1950s and the shaft would probably have been considerably deeper. Hemelrijk (1986, 12) suggests that the shaft was 3m deep.

³¹ Haspels (1971, fig 520.4) does not mention any lid in her text, but on her drawing she marked what I presume is a lid. Hemelrijk (1986, 12) mentions that the shaft could be closed with a lid.

4. Fındık (figs 1, 14, table 1)

Geographical situation: at Fındık site, c.40km southwest of Eskişehir.

Excavation: measured and published by Haspels.

Orientation: southeast.

Façade: height 1.33m (the façade itself);³² preserved width 2.64m, including the surfaces to the left and right of the central square surface.³³

This façade does not resemble a house façade, but is very simple in its appearance. It has a shallow square surface surrounded by a frame on three sides, at the sides and at the top. The frame is 0.17m wide. There is no geometric decoration and no proper niche. Instead, the niche is constituted by a sunken panel. The rock-cut façade does not start at ground level as in all the other cases. According to Haspels' drawing it is situated 0.64m above the ground, but today it is considerably higher, probably because the soil has been washed away. On the northeast side of the frame there is a rock-cut platform, measuring 0.30 x 0.25m and situated 0.87m above the bottom line of the panel.

Niche/Panel: height 1.16m (without frame); width 1.06m (without frame); depth 0.06m.

It consists of a flat surface surrounded by a 0.17m wide frame at the sides and at the top. The frame is

³² All measurements are based on Haspels' drawings (1971, fig 527.4).

³³ It seems as if the façade continues on both the left and the right side because the bottom lines of the frame continue on both sides until the point where the rock has eroded.

missing at the upper left corner probably because of erosion. Running vertically in the middle, in front of the shaft, the façade has today a break 0.95m in height and c.0.26-0.33m wide. It is situated 0.38m from the bottom line of the panel. At the bottom the cut is rounded, almost half-circle shaped. The façade in front of the shaft is missing probably because of erosion. According to Hemelrijk (1986, 12-13) the front is broken because of treasure hunters.

Shaft/Pit: depth c.1m; width 0.37m x 0.27m at the upper half. The lower part of the shaft extends into a circular opening measuring c.0.41m in height and 0.56m in width.

It resembles a pit more than a shaft because of its dimensions and appearance. The shaft/pit is situated almost behind the middle of the panel. At the top of the shaft there were probably ledges along all four sides, each c.0.08m wide. Today the ledge at the southeastern side is missing and also the left ledge is partially missing. There is a narrow platform at the top of the shaft, between 0.45 and 0.65m wide.

Surroundings: the shaft monument is situated at the bottom of a slope in a valley between rocks in the so-called sacred zone at Fındık. Approximately 5m to the north around the corner there is a step monument with a double idol at the top.

Bibliography: Haspels 1971, 100, figs 221-222, 527.4; Berndt 1986, 10 -11, fig 12; Hemelrijk 1986, 12 -13, fig 24; Francovich 1990, 141ff, Işık 1995b, 59; Özkaya 1997, 89-103.

5. Delikli Taş (figs 1, 15-19, table 1)

Geographical situation: 13km west of Tavşanlı by the Tavşanlı-Harmancık road.

Excavation: Delikli Taş was first recorded by 19th-century travellers and was later measured and published by Haspels.

Orientation: southeast

Façade: entire height 13m (excluding the two steps in front);³⁴ height from the bottom of the niche to the platform 5.1m.

The image of a house façade is to some extent missing, because there is no pediment or acroterion and there is no geometric decoration on the façade. There is a central door niche starting at ground level. Above the niche the rock has been smoothed and shaped with a pyramid-like top. It seems that the purpose was to give the impression of an entire uniform building. In the middle of the façade there is a platform from where the

shaft descends. Approximately 2.5m above the platform there is a series of square holes cut into the rock. According to Haspels (1971, 77) these may have been used to cover the middle part of the façade in order to give the illusion of a continuous façade. This theory was first presented by Körte (1898, 100-101). Francovich (1990, 138) rejected the theory because the holes are not in a straight line and not deep enough to provide support for beams. There are two steps, 0.18m high, 0.28m wide and 0.2m high, 0.4m wide respectively, along the entire façade.

Niche: the niche was made in three sections. Height of the innermost section (without lintel) 1.75m; height of the outer section (with lintel) 2.15m; width of the outer section 3.30m; width of the middle section 2.24m; width of the innermost section 1.30m; entire depth of the niche 0.65m (outer section 0.17m; the middle section 0.17m; the innermost section 0.30m).

There is a hole/passageway between the niche and the shaft. The hole is circular and measures c.0.4m in diameter. The hole is situated c.1.15m from the bottom of the niche, that is in the upper part of the niche, and it is centralised in the middle horizontally. It is situated exactly in the middle on the inside of the shaft, 0.95m above the floor of the shaft. The length of the passage is c.0.28m. According to Körte (1898, 99), Haspels (1971, 77, note 21) and Hemelrijk (1986, 6-7) the hole was made by treasure hunters in a later period. Özkaya (1997, 89) simply states that the hole is due to later damage. The floor and the back wall of the niche, except the upper third, are quite eroded. Below the aperture there is an area which is less eroded. A field, c.0.5m in height, just above the floor is better preserved and also the floor here is less eroded giving the image of a platform or base. The base and the less eroded area of the back wall are both marked on Haspels' drawing (1971, figs 511.1-2, 512.2). The base is 0.54m wide and protrudes c.0.5m from the back wall of the niche. This less eroded area could either be the weathered remains of a relief or perhaps the wall is less weathered because it has been protected by a detachable statue, as proposed by Haspels (1971, 77, 253). (See above for discussion of the cult statue.) There are traces of stucco inside the niche and around the niche and according to Haspels (1971, 253-54) this is proof that Delikli Taş was re-used in Byzantine times.

Shaft: depth 4.8m; width 1.88 x 1.36m (bottom level), 1.96 x 1.88m (top level).

The shaft is situated exactly behind the niche. The shaft has at about midway, 2.52m from the bottom of the shaft, a ledge on one side towards the façade. The ledge is 0.31m wide. 1.20m further up it has four ledges, one on each side. Both the northeastern and the southwestern

³⁴ All measurements are based on Haspels' drawings (1971, figs 511-512).

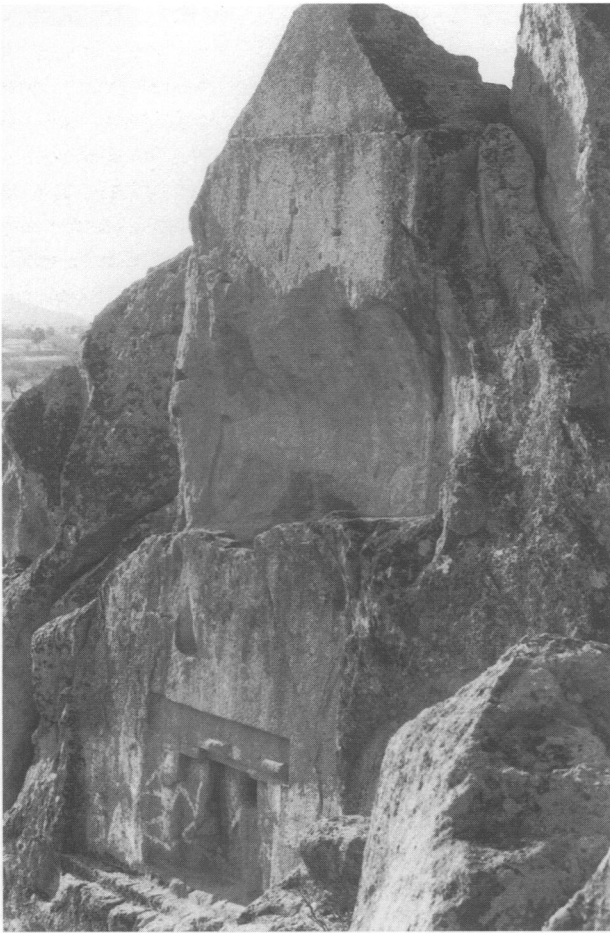


Fig 15. Delikli Taş (photo S. Berndt-Ersöz)

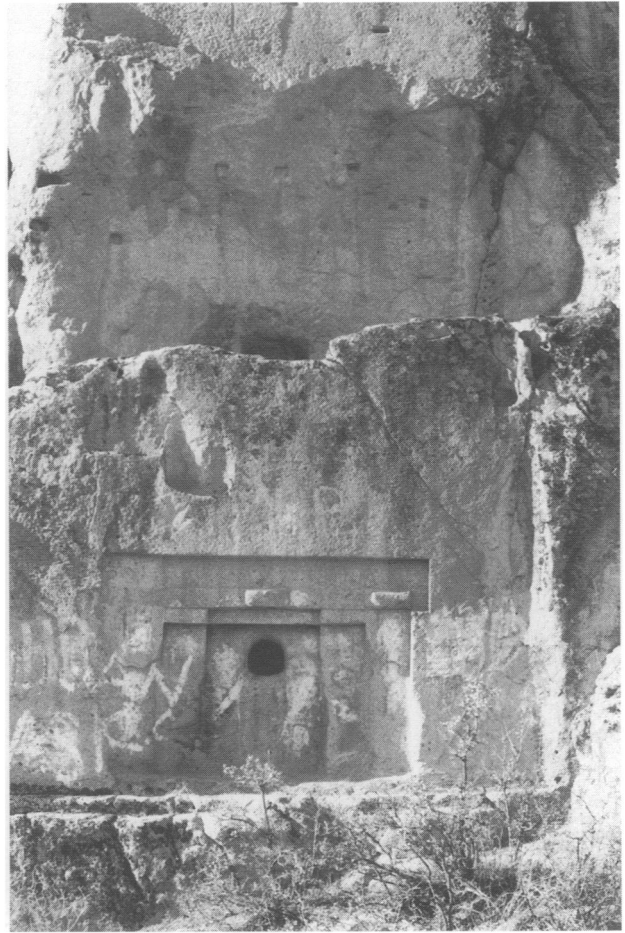


Fig 16. Delikli Taş (photo S. Berndt-Ersöz)



Fig 17. The hole of the niche at Delikli Taş (photo S. Berndt-Ersöz)

ledge are c.0.36m wide. The front ledge is 0.31m wide whilst the back ledge is slightly curved and c.0.25m wide. At this level of the shaft there are also four square cuttings, one in each corner, c.0.15 x 0.10m, which may have been used for a lid (Haspels 1971, 77). The shaft descends from a platform, which obviously served a purpose since there are some cuttings in the platform. On the left side of the shaft, there is a rock-cut channel. At the rear, behind the shaft, there is an alcove-shaped cutting which is 0.9m wide, 0.51m high and 0.36m deep. There are also a couple of rectangular cuttings.

Surroundings: the surrounding area is full of rocks. To the right of the cult façade there are a few steps cut out of the rock, but the steps do not lead anywhere. The area in front of the façade is a rocky slope. It is impossible to reach the platform from where the shaft descends without any special equipment like a ladder. There is steep rock on both the left and the right side of the façade.

Bibliography: Haspels 1971, 76-77, 100, 103-104, 253-254, figs 209-214, 511-512; Barnett 1953, 79; Naumann 1983, 46-47, 52ff, 294, no 15; Hemelrijk 1986, 6-7, figs 6-7; Prayon 1987, 101, 206-207, no 43; Vermaseren 1987, 49, no 144; Francovich 1990, 136-139, figs 345, 347-350; Işık 1995b, 59; Özkaya 1997, 89-103. For earlier references see Naumann 1983, 294, no 15.

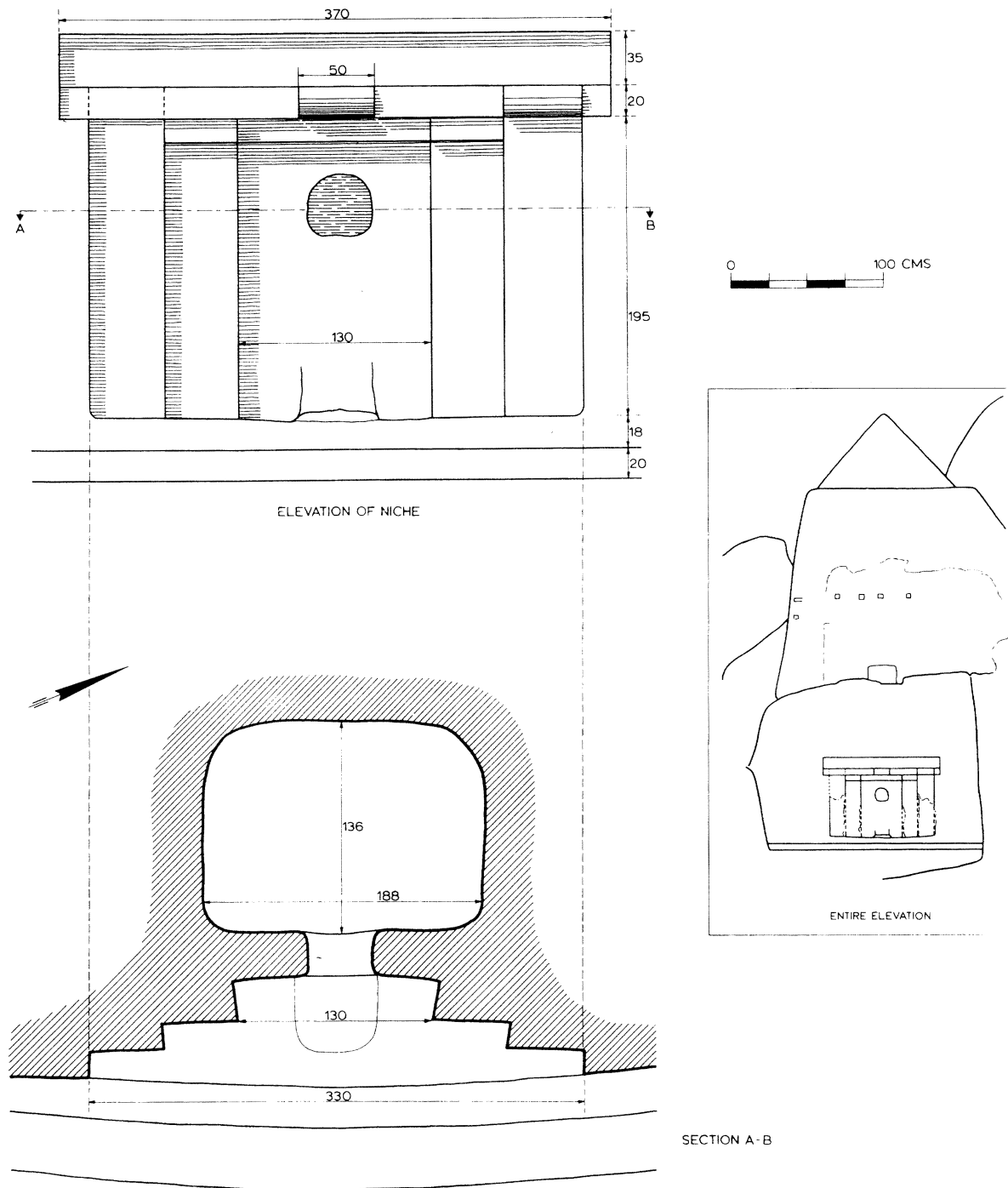


Fig 18. Delikli Taş: elevation of the niche and cult façade, plan of the shaft and niche (after Haspels 1971, fig 511)

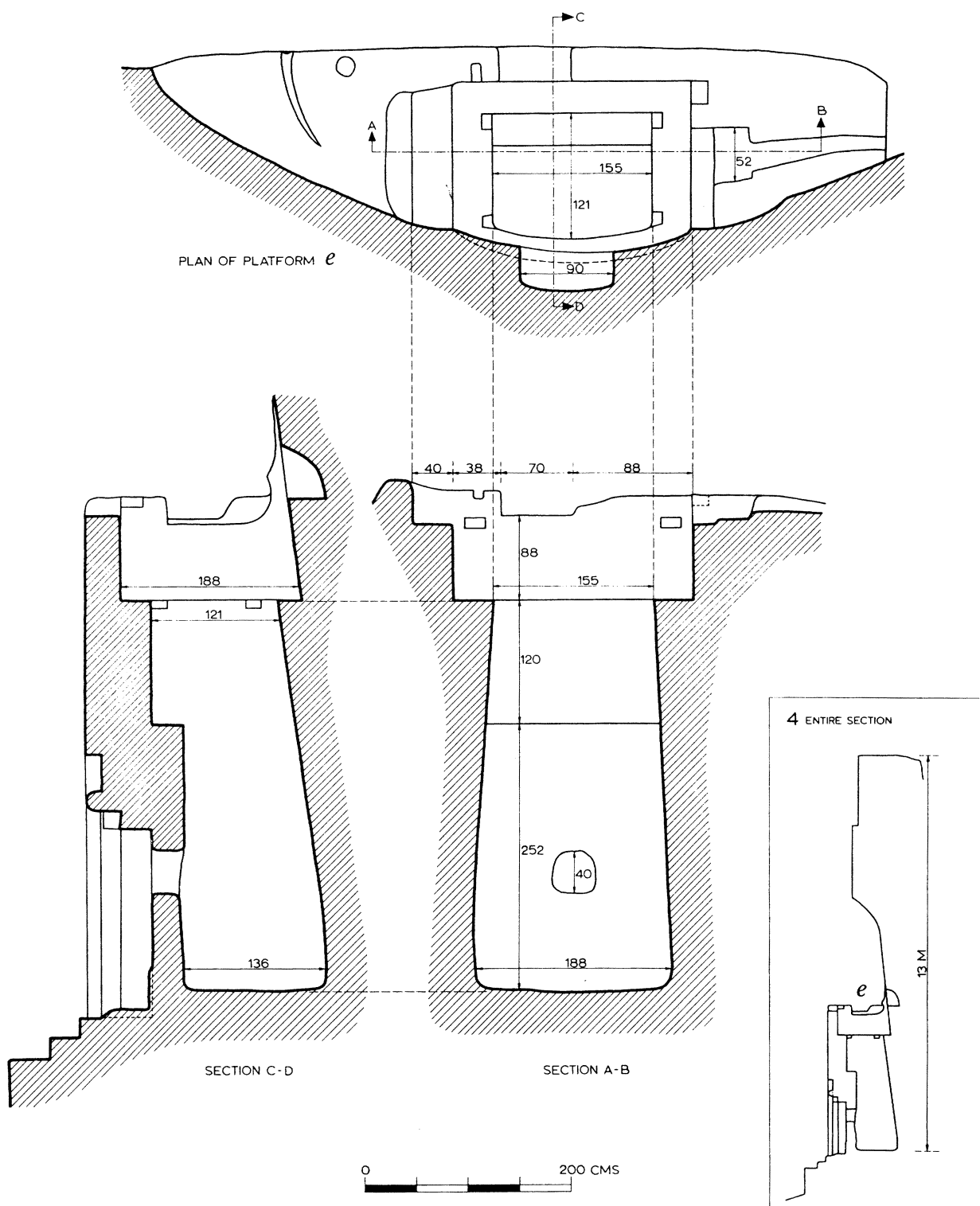


Fig 19. Delikli Taş: plan of the platform and sections of the shaft, section of the entire shaft monument (after Haspels 1971, fig 512)

Table 1. Measurements of the shaft monuments

Cult façade	Orientation	The Shaft					The Passage				The Niche/Panel		
		Depth	Width	Number of ledges at equal level	Width of ledges	Height from ledge to the top of the shaft	Diameter	Length	Height above the floor of the shaft	Height above the ground in front of the façade	Height	Width	Depth
Mal Taş	SE	9.3 or more	2.2 x 1.7 x 2.4 x 1.6	3	0.35	4.25	0.59	0.95	?	1.41	2.47	2.0	1.69
Bahşuş	E	4.5	1.2 x 0.73	2	0.20	2.59	0.37	0.5	0.68	1.64	2.03	1.55	0.9
Değirmen Yeri	SE	P 1.83 E 2.80	0.85 x 0.86	--	--	--	0.35* 0.08	0.14 0.14	0.06 0.72	0.64 1.32	P 0.92	0.77	0.17
Fındık Site	SE	1.0	Bottom 0.56 x 0.41 Top 0.37 x 0.27	4	0.08	0	0.26 - 0.33**	0.1 - 0.2	0.03	0.38***	1.16	1.06	0.06
Delikli Taş	SE	4.80	Bottom 1.88 x 1.36 Top 1.96 x 1.88	1 4	0.31 0.25-0.36	2.28 1.08	0.4	0.28	0.95	1.15	1.75	1.3	0.65

P = Preserved E = Estimated

All measurements are in metres and based on drawings by Haspels. See Appendix for references to the drawings.

* The measurement refers to the circular hole at the bottom of the niche
 ** It is not a circular hole, instead it is a cut along the entire façade. The measurements refer to the width
 *** Above the bottom line of the panel

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