A Preliminary Evaluation of the Spring Cult and Related Structures in Lycia

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Hasan, Ümmügülsum ve Hakan Tiryaki'ye

The ongoing excavations and surveys in Lycia have led to the accumulation of a variety of data regarding the cultural history of the region. However, data on the practices related to the spring-cults within Lycia have not, as yet, been collected. Indeed, at these cult centers, the related structures display a multi-layering of use from antiquity, as well as extensive damage from natural disasters and from the activities of mankind. For example, the oracular spring and structural remains of Apollon Thyrikos at Cyaneai are still used by the locals. As will be discussed further below, the Telephus Spring, whose location is described in detail in the ancient sources, cannot be precisely located today as it lies beneath the modern Kaş-Fethiye road, despite its parallel with the Kokar Su near Patara, which is still today used by the locals for healing purposes.

Contrary to these remaining problems, Leto and the cowherds, the spring healing the wound of Telephus, Spring Goddesses rewarding a spring to the memory of Glaucus, the spring that informed Alexander the Great that he would defeat the Persians, the Spring of Cyaneai that revealed the future, the fish in the springs of Sura and Limyra that prophesied the future, and the depiction on the Limyrian coins on which the sacred spring theme is emphasised with a cow and a dog drinking from the same spring (Fig. 9), clearly indicate the importance given by the Lycians to natural freshwater springs. Thus it can be easily understood that the Lycians had various traditions — which were possibly adapted by mythographers from local legends — related to the underground water sources and that they paid a special interest to such areas.

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2. Thomsen, Kyaneai, 43.
3. Ant.Lib., 35; see also Le Roy, 1980, 55.
8. W. Ruge, RE IV A/1 (1931) 960 ff (see under “Sura”); Ruge, RE V A/1 (1901) 655 ff (see under “Dinos”) Beun, Lycian Turkey, 130-133.
The aim of the present work is to bring together all the data related to the cult of Lycian springs within a single paper. For this purpose, in order to determine the sacred spring structures in Lycia, the archaeological evidence, as well as the phrases of *DKASKAL.KUR*\(^9\) and *Krêne*\(^10\) have been included in this study.

As is well known, the "springcult"\(^11\) includes a series of beliefs that were embodied in practices linked with these underground water sources for various purposes and are thus distinguished from the practices identified with the river or the rain cults. Here, the vital importance of water joins with the fact that it issues from underground and becomes an element of multi-layered belief; moreover, the religious foresight blessing the river beds or the mountain peaks by prayers for rain was diverted into these springs. Consequently, the vitalising, pure and purifying features found in springs became the focus for oracular practices well-rooted in Antiquity, as well as practices linked to the acquisition of abundance and health, but primarily for religious and earthly cleanliness\(^12\). Hence, this privilege of the springs, over time led to their becoming political objects, being adorned and complemented with, sometimes costly structures decorated with cultic depictions\(^13\).

From this perspective, the city of Wiianawanda\(^14\) within the Lukka topography of the Late Bronze Age provides the earliest datum with its *DKASKAL.KUR*, which also formed the territorial border\(^15\). However, the location of the cult area, its type and functions are today entirely shrouded in mystery\(^16\).  

\(^9\) This ideogram is translated as “underground water course” and it occurs nine times in the Hittite records, each time together with the god *determinative DINGIR*. Thus, the phrase *DKASKAL.KUR* is a hydrographical descriptor and designates the border between the parties in these treaty texts; stresses a protector figure in prayer texts; and designates the ceremonial ground in texts for various rituals (Gordon, *DKASKAL.KUR*, 75 ff). From this point of view, the fact that the same ideogram is used for the spring sanctuary places of Troia (*DKASKAL.KUR* Taurisa, see Korffmann, Troia VI-VIIa 404 ff. fig. 456-7), Eflatunpinar (*DKASKAL.KUR* Armita), and Diņçol 2000, 13; Karağuız, Hitt Antlar, 54-66 and Boğazköy (Neve, Hattuša 75 ff. Abb. 224) suggests this phrase may have had a content complementing the sacred areas in architectural terms (J. Börker-Klim, "Noch Einmal Eflatun Pinar", M. J. Mellink – E. Porada – T. Özgüç [eds.] Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors. Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç (1993) 346 n. 21). Since such cult areas are arranged with woods surrounding them, any damage to the trees or pollution of the area were prevented by the lawgivers through heavy punishment (Karağuız, Hitt Antlar, 55), they became the focus of religious practices, above all for prophesy, abundance, purification etc. (Gordon, *DKASKAL.KUR*, 71 ff.)

\(^10\) In Hellas, besides *pepê* (πηγή, πηγαί) designating the sources; *ενφθαῖον* (ενφθατοι) designating the public water structures, there exists another form, known as *κρηνε* (κρηνή, κρηναί) (R. E. Wycherley, "TIHT and KPHN", CR 51, 1939 ff; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, Der Begriff Krene, AA 1985, 452 ff). A spring (*πηγή, πηγαί*) has modest architectural modification becomes a *κρηνε* (κρηνή, κρηναί). The archaeological evidence for such structures in Greece (excluding Asia Minor) has been collected by F. Glaser. According to this study the *κρηνε* in question are in most cases connected with sanctuaries (Glaser, KPHNAI 176-180; cf. Tölle-Kastenbein, Der Begriff Krene, 451-470 ff; Cole, Water, 161).

\(^11\) Beltz, Quellenkult, 485; Sauer, Quellen, 695 ff.

\(^12\) Cole, Water, 162 ff.

\(^13\) P. Neve, "Regenkult Anlagen in Hattuša/Boğazköy", IstMitt Beieh 5 (1971) 34 ff.

\(^14\) Three Wiianawandas are known in Anatolia: The first in Kizzuwatna, the second on the River Kizilirmak, and the third on the border with Mira Land (Afyonkarahisar). The one mentioned in our study is that located in the Kabalis region of southwest Anatolia. For discussions of this topic see Forâlî, Geography, 218; for identification of Wiianawanda as Oinoanda see L. Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen, BNF Beieh 21 (1984) 432 (see under "Ôvovâdî").

\(^15\) For the text see Gordon, *DKASKAL.KUR*, 71; Mellink, Lukka and Lycia, 34 ff.; Karağuız, Ant. Met., 122.9

\(^16\) No archaeological evidence is available for the Lukkas, the Bronze Age predecessors of the Lycians. Yet, the Lukkas are mentioned 16 times in the Hittite, Egyptian and Ugaritic texts (Bryce, Lycians, 5 ff). According to these references, the Lukka Land was an important centre of power in southwest Anatolia from the 2nd millennium BC and
Despite the fact that the Hittite records regarding the $\textit{DKASKAL.KUR}$ Wiianawanda cannot be verified archaeologically, the excavations at the Letoon in 1972-1973 and 1977 brought the $\textit{Melite Krênê}$\textsuperscript{17} mentioned in ancient literature into the discussion. Indeed Ch. Le Roy (1980, 54 ff; 1998, 42-50), H. Metzger (1980, 24-28; 1992, 9-16), A. Balland (1998, 56 ff) and J. Des Courtils (2003, 130-166) have been able to document the aforementioned structure and the surrounding cult area, and its development down to the Roman period. Thus, a spring rising at the skirt of a hillock in the middle of the swampy estuary of Xanthus was the earliest focus of veneration of this cult area, which then became a rural cult centre\textsuperscript{18}. Yet, the $\textit{Krênê}$ (Fig. 1) and the cult centre uncovered under the Hellenistic and Akhamenidian strata to the northwest of the temples dedicated to the Letoids gained an architectural identity only in the 6\textsuperscript{th} - 5\textsuperscript{th} century BC\textsuperscript{19}. The plain form of the structure, consisting of a quadrangular collection pool and its poor state of preservation today, do not permit any restitution, nor for any comparison with the similar examples\textsuperscript{20}. On the other hand, with the construction activities undertaken in the sacred area in the Hellenistic period, a terrace wall in the north-south direction, facing west, was built to the south of the spring that flowed along the south side of the temple of Leto, and an artificial spring grotto was constructed\textsuperscript{21}. In the Roman period, a monumental apse-shaped fountain with exedras was built on the axis of the grotto and was dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian (Fig. 2)\textsuperscript{22}. The cult area retained its sacred nature until the late period, with the church built to the south of the Temple of Leto in the 6\textsuperscript{th} century\textsuperscript{23}.

Although the cult area in the sanctuary of Leto was designed as an architectural entity\textsuperscript{24}, the fact that this cult area was dedicated to a group of goddesses called $\textit{Elýâna}$ is a new datum in the religious history of Lycia\textsuperscript{25}. $\textit{Elýâna}$, whose name derived from the Luwian $\textit{ali(ya)-}$ root designating elements related to reservoirs, rivers and water, are known from the trilingual stele of Pixodaros in which the goddesses are equated with the $\textit{Nymphs}$\textsuperscript{26} and the inscription on the base of $\textit{Erbinna}$\textsuperscript{27}. In addition, they are seen as closely related to the nymph Praxidice\textsuperscript{28}, introduced as the ancestor of the Lycians in the...

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\textsuperscript{17} For “Leto and the Cowherds” and the $\textit{Melite Krênê}$ mentioned in this legend see Ant. Lib., 35; Also see Ovid. VI. 315-360.


\textsuperscript{19} Metzger, 1992, 7-16.

\textsuperscript{20} Metzger, 1992, 14 ff.

\textsuperscript{21} Balland, 1998, 56 ff; Courtils, 2003, 159 ff.

\textsuperscript{22} Balland, 1998, 57 ff.

\textsuperscript{23} Courtils, 2003, 153.

\textsuperscript{24} O. Benndorf – G. Niemann, Reisen in Lykien und Karien (1884) 118.

\textsuperscript{25} Bryce, Lycians, 179; Keen, Dynastic Lycia, 204 ff; J. Larson, Greek Nymphs. Myth, Cult, Lore (2001) 209 ff.

\textsuperscript{26} G. Neumann, Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901 (ETAM 7= Denkschr. ÖAW, phil.-hist.Kl. 135) (1979). For the Nymphs see No. 320, lines 35-36, for $\textit{Elýâna}$ see No. 320, line 40.

\textsuperscript{27} SEG 39. N.1414 line 53; see also Metzger, 1980, 27 ff.


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Sidyma inscription²⁹. Thus, according to a fragment by Panyasis that states the goddess is also known as Ὀγγία, Praxidice, which means “justful action” and is entirely Hellenic in character, it is understood as being the Hellenised form of a Lycian identity and name³⁰. This suggests a significant clue for the Lycian spring goddesses, as representing earthly cleanliness in regard to the concepts of justice and fairness. Thus, the early period connections being followed with the Ἐλυάνα identity are further clarified as well, as here arises the possibility for these goddesses to be compared with the Hittite spring goddesses, cited for their judicial functions as the goddesses of oaths³¹. Yet, the arguments necessary for this comparison are not definite enough at present³². In any case, both the “city with a ‘spring’ / spring-fed ‘pool’ / ‘well’” content in the name Ἀρνίνα (=Xanthus)³³, as well as the present evidence and the archaic elements that the sanctuary of Leto presents, in respect of Lycian religious thought, allow us to put Wiianawanda D KASKAL KUR into the frame of this discussion. Indeed, the ceremonies reported to have been held on the bank of the River Siyanti (Xanthus River) in the 2nd millennium BC³⁴, as well as the phrase “proto-Leetoon” proposed by M. Mellink³⁵ and seconded by A. G. Keen³⁶, seem to conform to these abovementioned early period connections.

Beyond the Letoon, another cult structure dedicated to the spring goddesses was found at Tumunehi / Tymnessus. A natural grotto at Tumunehi was modiﬁed to form the cult area of the goddesses (Fig. 3). This rock chamber located between the town centre and the acropolis was formerly known as a rock-cut tomb; however, along the northern and western walls there extend bench-like protrusions with 14 holes for inserts, which were re-evaluated by J. Borchhardt³⁷ (Fig. 4). The rock-cut chamber measures 6 m x 2.45 m in the front and 5.24 m x 4.14 m at the back. It was designed, together with the water outlet and connected out-ﬂow canal for a spring, which today has dried up. Both the canal

²⁹ TAM II/174.
³⁰ F. Stoessl, RE XIII.3 (1949) 891 (see under “Panyasis”).
³² Theories that there existed a special depiction tradition for the spring goddesses in Lycian art are of very recent date and have not been discussed in any detail. According to T. Robinson (“Nereid Monument at Xanthus or Eliyana Monument at Arınma?”, OJ 14, 1995, 355–359) and A. G. Keen (Dinastic Lycia, 204 ff), the intercolumnar free-standing sculpture identified as Nereids or Aura on the eastern, northern and western sides of the Temple-Tomb dedicated to the Erbinna in Xanthus; the harpy or siren on the Harpy Monument in Xanthus; the standing girls figures on Monument G in Xanthus; the dancing girls on the Sarcophagus of the Dancers in Xanthus; the dancing girls on the interior decoration of the Doric Tomb in Antiphellus; and the maidens on the Caryatids of the Pericles Monument in Limyra are all closely related to the Spring Goddesses of Lycia; cf. I. Benda, “Musik und Tanz in Lykien”, Festschrift für Jürgen Borchhardt, Band I (1996) 95-111. On the other hand, an “idol” discovered by accident on the northeast hillock where the theatre is located has only its head and shoulders worked, the rest of the body was left un-worked, which seems to be in conformity with the literary tradition stating that only the head and shoulders of Ogygia/Praksidike were depicted (cf. İsk, Eni Mahanahi, 141-153, Abb. 1–3).
³⁴ Mellink, Lukka and Lycia, 35 ff.
³⁵ Mellink, Lukka and Lycia, 37.
³⁶ Keen, Dynastic Lycia, 195.
and the bench-like protrusions suggest that this structure was designed to form the vener-ation area of a cult room. According to Borchhardt, important are the holes for inserts, for placing reliefs or sculpture of the spring goddesses who were venerated through the rituals that were conducted here. We are of the opinion that future excavations, to be con-ducted in the abovementioned structure and in the city of Tumunehi, known to us today only from archaeological surveys, will certainly uncover more evidence concerning this sacred area.

Surveys in the hills where Oinoanda is located brought to light several natural springs in connection with various sacred areas. Thus, there was one sacred spring in the Sanctuary of Leto on the western slope of the acropolis, and almost certainly there was another in the Sanctuary of the Nymphs on the eastern slope (Fig. 5). On the other hand, the physical structures of these sacred areas are today unclear as they have not as yet been excavated. Another spring in Oinoanda lies within the complex, below the Sanctuary of the Nymphs, very poorly preserved with its architrave and column fragments scattered about (Fig. 6). The structure was at first associated with Asklepios; however, as a result of the ongoing surveys, an inscription found nearby led to its possible association with an oracle temple of Apollo.

Contrary to the vagueness in Oinoanda, to the south of the acropolis of Sura in central Lycia, the temple (Fig. 7) by the ancient harbour can be understood as a temple for a spring, from its present state and from the information provided from the ancient sources. The Sura Oracular Spring (Fig. 8) was architecturally defined between the 1st century BC and 1st century AD as a temple in antis in the Doric order (measuring 13.70 m x 7.50 m) and it even retained its function during the Byzantine period with church structures built within this sacred area. Despite the existence of detailed accounts regarding this structure and its function, these structures remain sunk in the marsh today. Yet the Karabük/ Keltepe Spring Temple, contemporaneous with that at Sura and likewise converted into a church with a spring in the Byzantine period, gives us a questionable example in regard to its plan layout. Further, Apollo Surius to whom this temple was dedicated, gave prophesies here by means of the fish and this is the only known example of this from the cult of Apollo.

There is a sacred spring at Lisyra that had similar practices to that at the Sura oracular spring; however, its location is today unknown. The city coins from the reign of Emperor

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38 Ibid.
40 Stenton-Coulton, Oinoanda, 18.
41 According to Stenton-Coulton, Oinoanda, 18 fn. 5 (J. J. Coulton, PPSNS 29 [1983] 2) and N. P. Millner, “Notes and Inscriptions on the Cult of Apollo at Oinoanda”, AnatSt 50, 2000, 139 ff.
42 W. Ruge, RE IV A/1 (1931) 960 ff (see under “Sura”); Ruge, RE V A/1 (1901) 655 ff (see under “Dinos”) Bean, Lycian Turkey, 130-133; Borchhardt, Myra, 76 ff.
43 Neumann, Quellheiligtum, 26 ff Abb. 1-2.
44 For the relevant ancient literature, see n. 42 above.
45 Parke, Oracles, 197. Yet, the practices in question show parallels with the MUŞ augury introduced to the Hittite world by Hattusili III. MUŞ augury involved observing the movements of the fish in a pool divided into areas and the inquirer was answered by a “positive” or “negative”. For this augury type see B. Dönçöl, “Hittite Fal ve Kehanet”, Arkeoloji ve Sanat IV-V, 1979, 10; cf. Frei, Götterkult, 1849; J. Börker-Klähn, supra 9, 352.
Gordian III (238-244 AD) bear the legend of ΛΙΜΥΡΕΙΩΝ ΧΡΗΣΜΟΣ meaning the “Limyran Oracle”, with the depiction of a cow and a dog drinking from the same spring (Fig. 9).\footnote{Aulock, Lykien, 65 Taf. 7, 109, 115.} This oracular spring depicted in connection with a local legend is localized by J. Borchhardt (Limyra, 23) in the area to the southeast of the theatre where several springs join the central spring of Limyra, in accord with the account given by Pliny, 31.22.

A coin of Cyaneai dating from the reign of Gordian III also bear a similar legend: ΚΥΑΝΕΙΤΩΝ ΧΡΗΣΜΟΣ, meaning the “Cyaneian Oracle” (Fig. 10).\footnote{Thomsen, Kyaneai, 43-48.} During the excavation of a trench dug by the locals for an irrigation-well in the Yavu Plain where Cyaneai is located, a structure related to a spring was discovered; this is the first physical evidence for the abovementioned oracular practices (Fig. 1).\footnote{Thomsen, Kyaneai, 43 ff.} The structure is almost 5 meters below the surface and comprises a path 35 m in length, a staircase which this path leads to and the walls surrounding the spring itself on the southwest and northeast sides (Fig. 12).\footnote{Öner, Kaş-Demre, 30-51.} However, this area has not been studied to date through any systematic excavations. Although the geophysical soundings provided evidence regarding the whole of this structure, no evidence for its dating was found.\footnote{J. C. McQueen, Hititler ve Hittit Çağında Anadolu (2001) 135 fig. 107; Seeher, Hattusa, 24 fig. 24.} The layout of this structure recalls a scheme known from the Hittite period spring shrines in Anatolia.\footnote{Gabriel, Phrygie, 47 Fig. 28.} For comparison, in addition to the earliest Boğazköy/Hattusa example, there can be cited the Kybele Waterside Shrine at Midas City in Phrygia (Fig. 13)\footnote{КРΗΝΑΙ, 15 ff, Abb. 23-29.} and the Minoan krēnē in Delos (Fig. 14) presented by F. Glaser’s catalogue.\footnote{Thomsen, Kyaneai, 47 ff.} Yet, these examples seem not to be able to provide us with a verifiable chronology for this Cyaneian example. At this point, M. Thomsen’s interpretation is of importance, based on the account by Pausanias (7.21.13) and the legend ΚΥΑΝΕΙΤΩΝ ΧΡΗΣΜΟΣ on the coins, Thomsen identifies the structure as the oracular temple of Apollon Thryiskeus and claims that the rock-altar on the aforementioned coin suggests a date for the sacred area prior to the arrival of Hellenic elements in the region.\footnote{Thomsen (Kyaneai, 48) does not clarify why he sees the rock altar in question as a fire altar; also cf. Aulock, Lykien, 27. Indeed rock altars are known to have been related to various cults dependant on the type of sacred area they are found in from the Bronze Age in Anatolia. In particular, D. Ussiskin notes that such rock installations are closely related to the “water-shrine” (Cup-Marks, 100 ff). This is also stressed by R. D. Barnett (Rock Façades, 81 ff). On the other hand, the rock altars in Lycia are quite common and that these altars developed independently of Persian rule, see Işık, Kaya Tapınakları, 113-120.} Yet, the fact that the same note claims the rock-altar to be a fire altar lacks convincing arguments.\footnote{Kokkorou-Alewrás, Apollon Daphnephoros, 324.}

The oracular identity of Apollo is further stressed with his depiction as daphnēphoros on the Cyaneian coin;\footnote{Aulock, Lykien, 72 Taf. 12, 193-197.} nevertheless, similar types of the deity are also found on the Pataran coins of Apollo Patareus.\footnote{Aulock, Lykien, 65 Taf. 6, 92.} Alongside the coins from the reign of Gordian III, the
ancient sources dating from the 5th century BC through to the 6th century AD, epigraphic evidence, as well as the tradition of depicting the temple in close relation to the cult sculpture allow us to evaluate the Patara oracular centre and its practices. Although there are no extant architectural remains today, it is plausible to presume that the Patara oracular centre had developed around a sacred spring, as did those of Didyma and Clarus.

In the territorium of Patara there was another sacred area, called the Telephus Spring (Τηλέφου κρήνη), connected with the Patara oracular centre. Although its location is unknown, the information provided by Menaichmus that the Telephus Krēnē was 7 stadia (ca. 1.3 km) distant from the city of Patara provides an idea of its location. The present day Kokar Su (Smelling Water) has ethnographic importance, recorded during photographic documentation, as the locals still bless its sulphurous waters for healing purposes, in addition to the account that introduces the sacred area as a krēnē. The Kokar Su surges up from below the modern Kaş-Fethiye road, to the east of the road leading to Kışık where Patara’s city entrance is located. When the distance of 7 stadia mentioned in the ancient source is taken into consideration, the Kokar Su can be identified with the Telephus Spring.

There are three more krēnēs in Lycia, whose locations are today unknown. One of these was the Skaroi Krēnē (Σκάροι Κρήνη) reported to be at the city of Skaroi. It was noted in the ancient literature that the faithful did not throw anything into the spring when they made their vows for their desires. The other two are the Kalbios Krēnē (Κάλβιος Κρήνη) and Kabēnē Krēnē (Καβήνη Κρήνη), known only from their names.

58 Herodotus, I,182
59 Orac. Sibyll., III,349.
60 Parke, Oracle, 190 ff; Onur, Lampstand, 164 ff.
61 Işın, Patara Terrakotalanı, 64 ff.
62 Considering that the temple was in use during the 6th and 5th century BC, F. Işık (Patara, 4, 22 ff.) states that Tepecik acropolis – the earliest settlement site of Patara – and the surrounding area could be a convenient site for the practices in question. As a matter of fact, two church structures – one on the north and the other on the southwest – suggest possibilities in this respect. The spring, today called Kara Mezmet by the locals (Patara, 41 ff.), surges up in the western side of the church on the north side of Tepecik; and this further supports the hypothesis of Işık. In fact it is very well known that the sacred areas containing temples were later adorned with church buildings and even some temples were converted into churches. However, as Işık discusses, the fact that the area was converted to a necropolis in the Roman period when the oracular tradition was still alive constitutes an obstacle in this direction. Besides, the find spot of the triangular base dedicated to the Temple of Apollo by the legio officer Flavius Bassius adds a further difficulty (Onur, Lampstand, 67). Despite these questions arising from the possible location of the temple, it is important that the Orac. Sibyll. (III, 349) records: Patara resch its end under water flowing down the peaks of Kragus (Akdaglar) (Onur, Hidrografya, 65).

63 Supra 4, Ennolin, Telephou Krēne, 361. Quoting from the Hellenistic period writer Menaichmos, Herodian (III,1,119, 19-22) and Steph. Byz. (Τηλέφου δήμος και Τηλέφου κρήνη Ακόπος 620) write the following about this spring: “The People of Telephus and the Spring of Telephus in Lycia: Menaichmus reports that the Telephus Spring is shown 7 stadia away from Patara and adds that the spring's waters are not clear as Telephus had washed his wound there”. Pausanias (IX,4,1) also adds that after having washed his wound at the spring, Telephus also made a vow at the Temple of Apollo at Patara: “But, at the Temple of Apollo, the Lycians show a bronze krateros, which was handmade by Hephaistus and presented as a votive offering by Telephus...” The quote by Pausanias is considered to be a literary tradition dating back to the 4th century BC and is compared to an inscription stating that Telephus presented a golden cauldron to the Temple of Athena at Lindus, Rhodus, in conformity with the oracle given by the Lycian Apollo (Parke, Oracle, 189).

64 Işık, Patara, 4.
65 Herodian., III,1,190,3-4 presents a city called Skaroi and a sacred spring having this same name. Steph. Byz., 513, see under Σκάροι.
66 For the Kalbios sacred spring see Steph. Byz., Κάλβιος, 327; for Kabēnē sacred spring see Herodian., III,1,331,6.
What has been presented to this point sufficiently indicates that the aforementioned practices in Lycia represent “institutional” practices, accompanied by religious leaders in an architecturally arranged special area that was believed to display the divine will or power, within the framework of various legendary traditions. It must be stressed that the practices in question encompass all the elements required for the use of the term of “cult”.

On the other hand, it will only be possible to establish a reliable chronology for the cult areas after systematic excavations have been conducted at the aforementioned sites. The sacred oracular spring structure at Cyaneai provides us with some indications for the layout. However, the fact that F. Glaser’s catalogue covers only those structures in Hellas, in addition to the lack of studies covering those in Anatolia, prevent us from attempting a chronology based upon the example from Midas City. It again needs to be noted that our information regarding this sacred area is only from the soundings. Yet, the fact that the sacred area depicted on the Cyaneaian coin, functions in connection with a rock, and that similarly, ancient literature reports that the sacred area at the Letoon had an altar where the visitors left their votive offerings in the earliest phase, both suggest that such cult areas were simply arranged in the period prior to their being adorned with costly architecture. Scholars propose dates of between the 6th and 4th centuries BC for architectural activities at the Letoon, at Tumuneji and at Cyaneai. Only at the Letoon is there a new period of architectural activity dating to the Hellenistic period. The evidence to hand indicates that at Sura and Oinoanda – Limyra can also be added – a second period of architectural activity occurred in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods when the sacred areas were complemented by oracle temples. The construction activities at Sura at this time can be claimed to be in parallel to those of the acropolis. In regard to the locations of these cult areas, it can be seen that they are outside the city centres and that they are surrounded by sacred groves, as at the Letoon and at Sura, isolating them from their surroundings. In regard to the practices held within these cult areas, oracular activities are quite common and this should be a certain consequence of the influence of the worldwide fame of the Patara oracular centre. It is thought that the Patara oracular centre, which was of importance for Lycia in particular and for the Aegean in the wider sense, would have undergone a process of development similar to that observable at the Didyma open-air temple or at Clarus. Within this frame of reference, it cannot be doubted that the sacred spring influenced not only the emergence of the cult area but also brought it to its end.

67 Ovid., VI. 325.

68 It is known that Mithridates VI Eupator wanted to cut trees from this sacred grove, but he then changed his mind as he was afraid of being punished by the goddess. For the relevant text and comments see Arslan, Mithridates, 127; for the grove at Sura see Athen., 8.8; Borchhardt, Myra, 76 ff.

69 For similar interpretation that the Didyma open-air temple (A. M. Greaves, Miletos. Bir Tarih. H. Ç. Öztürk [trans.] (2002) 144 ff; Cole, Water, 163) had a similar aspect before the coming of the Ionians see Parke, Oracle, 2 ff; Greaves, Miletos, 144-167. It is known that in the earliest phase of the Didyma Apollo oracular centre, i.e. late 8th century BC, the sacred area comprised a temenos encribing a spring and this spring remained in the most sacred part of the temple for subsequent periods (K. Tuchelt, “Fragen zum Naiskos von Didyma”, AA 1986, 32-50.; Cole, Water, 163; Greaves, Miletos, 148).

70 For the Cybele cave spring identified as the oracular centre during the early courses of research at Clarus, and for the architectural and cultural development of the Clarus oracular centre, see G. E. Bean, Eskiçığda Güney Kıyılar. I. Delemen – S. Çokay (trans.) (1997) 172ff; Şahin, Klaros, 18 ff.
It is known that the sacred spring water of Cyaneai revealed the future and that at both Sura and Limyra, the answers were given by means of the fish. There is the possibility that oracular practices were held at Oinoanda and at the Letoon, while the practices of the Tumunehi cult center are presently unknown.

Ancient literature and epigraphic evidence show that the springs had their place in Lycian religious thought with the identities of Eliyâna / Nymphs, Ogygia / Praksidike and Apollo. From the point of the history of religions, recent studies have shown that the protector identities and related cult elements in the region were connected to Bronze Age Anatolia\(^71\). Thus, it is commonly agreed that the Persian rule did not leave any concrete marks upon Lycian religious life\(^72\). On the other hand, although Alexander the Great’s conquest of Anatolia accelerated the flow of Hellenic elements into the region, it is still not possible to claim that this led to any radical change in Lycian religious thought\(^73\).

From the aspect of the spring-cult, the local elements introduced by the Eliyâna identity, as well as the fact that Apollo had local epithets such as Surius, Patareus and Thryсеus and the veneration practices do not open the way for the identification of Hellenic or other secondary elements here\(^74\).

\(^71\) This continuity is mainly discussed within the framework of linguistic studies due to the extensive earth deposits concealing the cultural strata from earlier periods. For the related discussions and wide bibliography see Bryce, Lycians, 172-202; Keen, Dynastic Lycia, 193-213; Frei, Göttlerkulte, 1720-1864; Işık, Eni Mahanahi, 146 ff; Işık, Doğa Ana, 31 ff; Işık, Kaya Tapnakları, 110-123.

\(^72\) Frei, Göttlerkulte, 1847 ff; Keen, Dynastic Lycia, 61-66.

\(^73\) Işık, Doğa Ana, 31 ff; cf. Frei, Göttlerkulte, 1851 ff.

\(^74\) The connection between Lycia and Apollo can be traced back to the 8th century BC in ancient literature. In the Iliad, Apollo took on the duty of taking Sarpedon, the Lycian leader defeated by Patroklos, back home (XVI, 676-693). Thus, Homer called Apollo Lykegenes which might have signified him as being the “national god” of Lycia, the ally of Troy (IV, 103). The epithet Lykegenes assumed the meaning, “wolf-born” or “light-born” in accordance with various legends (for related discussions see Bryce, Lycians, 183; Keen, Dynastic Lycia, 197 ff) and also suggests the meaning of “Lycian born”; thus, this epithet is interpreted as the “national god of Lycia” (Işık, Doğa Ana, 31 ff). Apollo represents a “foreign” element in Hellas and as inferred from the legends, he also represents an identity that “came later/usurped” numerous cult areas, above all at Oephi (Guthrie, Greeks, 73-87; Fortenrose, Phrygon, 13-22, especially 21 ff; Işık, ibid). Furthermore, the non-Hellenic origin of his name supports these accounts (Erhat, MitSöz, 55; Guthrie, Greeks, 73). Thus, Apollo is considered closely related to the religious beliefs of the Luwians, who are of western Anatolian origin and are seen as the ancestors of the Lycians; moreover, he is interpreted as a figure connected with Apalluna, the god of Tauris/Troy mentioned in the Hittite records (Erhat, MitSöz, 55 ff; Guthrie, Greeks, 76 ff; Korfmann, Apallunas, 43). Hence, “the most Greek of all the gods” is of “the Hittite Empire origin in central Anatolia” and is “the most grand manifestation of all the ancient Anatolian gods in a single identity” (According to Korfmann, Apallunas, 43, M. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion I [1935] 62 ff); cf. Bryce, ibid; Frei, Göttlerkulte, 1850 ff.; Hutter, Luwians, 267
Abbreviations

Ancient Sources

Athen.


Ant.Lib.


Herodian.


Orac. Sybill.


Ovid.


Paus.


Pliny


Plut., Alexandros


Quint. Smyr.


Steph. Byz.

(=Stephanos Byzantios, Etbnika) Text used: Stephani Byzantii, Etbnikon, A. Westermann (ed.), Libsae 1839.

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ANWR

Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt.

Arslan, Mithridates


Aulock, Lykien


Balland, 1998


Barnett, Rock Façades


Bayburttuğlu, Lykia

C. Bayburttuğlu, Lykia (1975).

Bean, Lycian Turkey


Beltz, Quellenkult

W. Beltz, Lexicon der Antiiker (1990) 495 (see under “Quellenkult”).


DNP Der Neue Pauly


FdX Fouilles de Xanthos


İşik, Doğa Ana F. İşik, Doğa Ana Kubaba (1999).
Işık, Patara  

Işık, Eni Mahanahi  

Karasu, Büyük Deniz  

Karauğuz, Hittit Ansırlar  

Karauğuz, Ant. Met.  

Keen, Dynastic Lycia  

Kokkorou-Alewras, Apollon Daphnephoros  
G. Kokkorou-Alewras, LIMC II.1 (1984) 324, see under “Apollon Daphnephoros”

Korfmann, Troia VI-VIIa  

Korfmann, Apaliunas  

Le Roy, 1980  

Le Roy, 1998  

McMahon, Tutelary Deities  

Hutter, Luwian Religion  

Mellink, Lukka and Lycia  

Metzger, 1980  

Metzger, 1992  

Neumann, Quellheiligtum  

Neve, Hattuša  

Onur, Lampstand  

Onur, Hidrografia  

Öner, Kaş-Demre  

Özkaya, Spring-Cult  

Parke, Oracles  
H. W. Parke, Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor (1985).

RE  
Pauly-Wissowa et. al, Real Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Sauer, Quellen
E. Sauer, DNP 10 (1999) 695-696 see under “Quellen (Quellgottheiten)“.

Savaş, Hattuṣa

Seeher, Hattuṣa

SEG
Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum.

Stenton – Coulton, Oinoanda

Şahin, Klaros

TAM

Thomsen, Kyaneai

Ussishkin, Cup-Marks
Özet

Likya’da Kaynak Kültü ve Yapıları Üzerine
Bir Ön-Değerlendirme


Leeto’nun yanı sıra Oinoanda, Patara, Tumunehi/Tymnessos, Kyaneai, Sura ve Limyra’dan kaynak inancıyla bağlantılı kutsal alan ve yazılar, söz konusu etkinliklerin Lyka boyunca yaygın bir nitelik taşıdığını halihazirdaki tanıkları durumundadır. Ne var ki, yukarıda anılan kutsal alanların pek az bir kısmı sistematik kazılarla araştırılmış bulunmaktadır. Bu nedenle, ilgili mimarlık eserlerinin nasıl tasavvur edilebileceği yolundaki sorular bugün yanıtız kalmaktadır.

Leeto ve Şirg Çobanlar, Telephos’un Yarasını İşleştiren Kaynak, Kaynak Tanrıçalarının Glaukos’un hatrasına bir kaynak armağan edisi, İskender’e Persleri yeneceğini bildiren kaynak, Kyaneai’nin geçeği gösteren kaynağı, Sura ve Limyra kaynaklarında geçeği bildiren bulukları gibi ola bağlı yeryüz anlatı geleneğinden Hellen mitolojisine uyarlanmış söylencelerin yanı sıra; Limyra kent sikkelerinde bir şur ile köpeğin aynı kayıktan su
içmesiyle formüle edilmiş kutsal kaynak temaları, Likyalılının söz konusu alanları imleyen çeşitli söyleşence geleneklerine sahip oldukları yolunda iz vermektedir.

Fig. 1  Letoon, the northwest spring structure (Metzger, 1992, 8 Fig. 1).

Fig. 2  Letoon, the monumental fountain (Des Courtils, 2003, 161 Fig. 70).
Fig. 3
Tumunehi, cult place of the Spring Goddesses.

Fig. 4  Plan of Tumunehi (Borchhardt, Tumunehi, 66 Abb. 19).

Fig. 5  Oinoanda. cult areas of Leto and the Spring Goddesses. Stenton-Coulton, Oinoanda, Fig. 1.

Fig. 6  Temple of Apollo (?).
Fig. 7  Temple of Apollo Surius (Onur, Hidrografya, Fig. 46).

Fig. 8  Plan of Sura (Bayburttuğlu, Lykia, 37).

Fig. 9  Limyreian Oracle  
(Aulock, Lykien, 65 Taf. 7, 109).

Fig. 10  Cyaneaian Oracle  
(Aulock, Lykien, 64 Taf. 6, 92).
Fig. 11
Cyaneai, Sacred
Oracular Spring Structure
(Thomsen, Kyaneal, Taf. 6, 4).

Fig. 12
Section after the soundings at Cyaneai
(Öner, Kaş-Demre, 41 Fig. 12).
Fig. 13  Midascity, Waterside Shrine of Cybele (Gabriel, Phrygie, 47 Fig. 28).

Fig. 14  Delos, Minoan Krēnē (Glaser, KPHNAI, Abb. 23-29).