

The Artemis Sanctuary of İnarası Cave (Burdur/Bucak)

Salih SOSLU – Mustafa ÇİDEM – Mücella ALBAYRAK – Ayşegül SOSLU*

Abstract: İnarası is located within the borders of Taşayla village in Bucak district of Burdur province. This place was discovered in 2008 by F. Gülşen from Burdur Museum, who went with the court committee to investigate the illegal excavation incident in İnarası; the registration efforts were completed in 2009, and the boundaries of the area were determined and added to the cultural inventory in 2014. The data obtained during the rescue excavations carried out in the cave, which was determined to be used as a sacred area and naos in 2016-2017, belong to the Late Neolithic Age and the Ottoman Period. One of the most striking issues in this study is the inscriptions. The first of the inscriptions is the one that documents that the sanctuary was dedicated to the goddess Artemis. The second inscription, it is learned that it is not the name of the person who had votived, but the name of his father. In addition, it is suggested that a fragmentary inscription containing the letters MHTPI<O may have been associated with Meter Oreia or Demeter. Another important subject of the study is the architectural elements that provide important clues regarding the restitution of the two facade arrangements of the sanctuary. It is known that in the Anatolian theological tradition, the continuity of the cult was ensured by the identification of the Mother Goddess with the belief in Ephesian Artemis. For this reason, the presence of worship areas related to the Mother Goddess on the main rock surrounding the sacred area in İnarası and on the hill to the north, and the construction of the Artemis sacred area in the same region later, are important evidence of the continuity of the cult.

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Introduction


İnarası is located within the borders of Taşayla village in Bucak district of Burdur province. It can be reached from the path just behind the location called Ormançılar Fountain on the Taşayla-Çamlık road. The Sanctuary of Artemis is at the end of the path, overlooking the surroundings. Geomorphologically, the sanctuary is surrounded by water resources, bedrock and a steep-slope mountainous geography. The city of Cremna is located southeast of the sanctuary, while Ceraitai is located to the west (Fig. 1).

During the Burdur Museum's excavations in the cave and sanctuary in 2016-2017, a variety of tiny finds have been found, including ceramics, inscriptions, and architectural findings.¹ The most striking of these is the inscription showing that the sanctuary was dedicated to Artemis. The

* **Asst. Prof. Salih Soslu**, Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy University, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Department of Archeology, Istiklal Campus, Burdur / Türkiye (ssoslu@mehmetakif.edu.tr;  0000-0003-2045-116X).

Mustafa Çidem, Archaeologist, Independent Researcher, Denizli / Türkiye (cidem89@gmail.com;  0000-0002-0974-2428).

Mücella Albayrak, Archaeologist, Independent Researcher, Isparta / Türkiye (mucella.albayrak@gmail.com;  0000-0003-4206-8946).

Dr. Ayşegül Soslu, Archaeologist, Independent Researcher, Burdur / Türkiye (atemel203a@gmail.com;  0000-0002-1104-1145).

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¹ Ekinçi – Zenger 2018, 131-142; Zenger et al. 2019, 295-308.

second inscription, it is learned that it is not the name of the person who had votived, but the name of his father. The third is a fragmentary inscription with the surviving letters MHTPI<O, which we believe is associated with Meter Oreia or Demeter. Also, the architectural elements unearthed during the excavations and which constitute the subject of this article give important clues about the restitution of the two facade (south-east) arrangements in the sanctuary. In this regard, the architecture of the sanctuary was tried to be created in accordance with the structural elements and regulations that would allow restitution.

The aim of this study is to determine the historical process of the cave and the sanctuary according to the archaeological and historical data obtained during the rescue excavations carried out in 2016-2017; to examine the inscription documenting that it was dedicated to the goddess Artemis; to discuss whether there was a cult belonging to Meter Oreia or Demeter; to complete the restitution study according to the architectural elements unearthed during the rescue excavation and to question the connection between the data belonging to the goddess in Cremna and İnarası.

Rescue Excavations (2016-2017)

Two rescue excavations were carried out in the İnarası sanctuary. The studies in 2016 focused on the architectural structure of the sanctuary. In the studies carried out in 2017, emphasis was placed on drilling excavations in order to learn the stratigraphy of the sanctuary chronologically (Fig. 2)

The main reason for the 2016 season rescue excavation is that illegal excavations have reached a level that will destroy the cave, which we think was used as the naos of the sanctuary. Therefore, excavations were carried out in the temenos of the sanctuary and in the cave.²

The during the work in the temenos, architectural elements that make up the architecture of the sanctuary were revealed. These are the geison-sima, geisopodes and architrave, as well as parapet, column piece and blocks. The architectural restitution of the sanctuary, which is the main subject of this study, was made according to the horizontal and vertical supporting architectural elements unearthed during this excavation season. The excavations revealed ceramic artifacts from the Late Neolithic-Early Chalcolithic (a), Bronze Age (b), Archaic-Classical (c), Hellenistic (d), Roman Imperial (e), Byzantine (f), and Ottoman (g) periods (Fig. 3). In addition, two bronze coins (a), nail (b), many bone needle fragments and objects (c), glass (d), red plaster (e), broken lion head (f), marble statuette fragments (leg) (g), a headless bust (h) and lamp fragments (i) were found (Fig. 4); many broken tile pieces (stroter and calipter) were found.

During the 2017 season, excavations and arrangement works were carried out in the cave, while drilling digs were conducted in the sanctuary to understand the stratigraphy.³

There is a natural rift opening into the cave from the rocky hill above the cave. This place is filled with soil and is quite narrow and deep. During the studies carried out in this area, ceramics from the Hellenistic (d), Roman Imperial (e), Byzantine (f) and Ottoman (g) periods were unearthed (Fig. 3). The seashells, astragalus, glass (h), roof tiles, nails (g) and animal bones (horn, skull, lower jaw, ribs and spine) were found in the same area. Excavations were carried out in 4 areas in the cave. Especially in area No. 4, two layers were identified and important data were obtained. Ceramic pieces (Fig. 3, a) and small stone tools (Fig. 6, c) dating back to the Late Neolithic-Chalcolithic

² Ekinci – Zenger 2018, 131-142.

³ Zenger et al. 2019, 295-308. For an evaluation of the Chalcolithic Age ceramics of İnarası, see Becks 2014, 179-193.

periods were found (Fig. 6, c). At the same time, chip fragments and a core with negative impact marks on it, showing that these tools were produced here, are also among the finds (Fig. 6, a-b). In order to determine the chronology, sounding excavations were carried out in various parts of the sanctuary. A sounding measuring 1.50 x 1.50 m was opened on the southern inner side of the peribolos wall surrounding the area. During the studies carried out here, ceramics from the Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial periods were unearthed. A drilling excavation measuring 1.50 x 1.50 m was carried out in the south of the mosaic area, where the block with traces and hole indicating that a column was placed was located. The ceramics from the Roman Imperial Period were discovered immediately below the floor blocks. A wall built with rubble stones and plastered with clay was identified below the level. This wall extends in the east-west direction and was found approximately 0.90 m below the ground. Stone filling was found at the same level as the wall; here, a fragment of a vessel with an idol (d) and ceramic pieces from the Chalcolithic Age, a fragment of a vessel with an idol from the Bronze Age II (e), a small number of ceramics from the Classical Period (c) and terracotta female protome fragments (f) and ceramics from the Hellenistic (d) and Early Imperial (e) periods were found (Fig. 6); also, many burnt animal bones (horns, jaws and ribs) were found.

Architectural Findings and Restitution Study

The east and south of the sanctuary are on the main rock and this part is surrounded by peribolos walls (Fig. 7). This wall is the outermost wall surrounding the sanctuary and has an shape "L". While it follows the bedrock and steep slopes in the east and south, it ends by leaning on the bedrock in the north and west. The wall in the east direction is approximately 39 m long; preserved wall heights vary between approximately 1.5 m and 5 m; the thickness of the wall is 0.90 m. The masonry technique is pseudo-isodomic. The blocks are right-angled and voluminous, with a slightly convex front.⁴ The southern wall progresses towards the west and ends at the bedrock. The wall is approximately 10 m long; the preserved wall height is 1.5 m; the thickness of the wall is 0.90 m. The masonry technique is isodomic. The blocks are right-angled and voluminous like the eastern wall, and the front part is slightly convex. While the blocks in the first row are large in size,⁵ the rows of blocks above them are structurally smaller.⁶ Although the heights of the blocks vary, they are not designed to disrupt the masonry technique. The entrance gate is located near the southeast corner of the peribolos wall (Fig. 8). The jamb blocks placed opposite each other on both sides of the door are solid. The height of the blocks is 1 m on the left, 1.5 m on the right, and the width is 0.50 m; the door opening is 1.80 m. At the back of the jamb block on the right, there is a rectangular horizontal wooden bolt slot measuring 0.25 x 0.30 m, which is used to close the door from behind. Therefore, it can be said that solid wooden door parts are used. The steps created to enter the sanctuary can be partially seen on the main rock in front of the door.

After the peribolos wall surrounding the area, a second massive wall was built 3.50 m east of the temenos wall on which the sanctuary is located. The remains of the wall can be seen from the surface. This wall is a retaining wall created to strengthen the temenos wall of the sanctuary (Fig. 9). The wall extending in the north-south direction is approximately 29 m long. While the southern extension of the wall integrates with the temenos wall by making a corner in the west

⁴ 0,35 x 0,90, 0,35 x 1, 0,35 x 1,20, 0,35 x 1,30, 0,65 x 0,50, 0,65 x 0,90, 0,65 x 1, 0,65 x 1,10, 0,65 x 1,20, 0,65 x 1,30 m.

⁵ 0,70 x 1,10, 0,70 x 1,20, 0,80 x 1,15, 0,80 x 1,30, 0,85 x 1,35 m.

⁶ 0,50 x 0,80, 0,50 x 0,90, 0,50 x 1,30, 0,60 x 1,50, 0,90 x 0,90 m.

direction, the northern extension leans on the bedrock. The wall thickness is 0.70 m. The masonry technique is isodomic; the blocks are right-angled and rectangular in forms.⁷

There is a temenos to the west of the retaining wall (Fig. 10). The architectural structure of the sanctuary is located on this temenos. The east side of the temenos, which extends in the north-south direction, is 27 m long and the south side is 22 m long. The walls in both directions end with the bedrock that limits the sanctuary from the west and north. It has a rectangular plan. The southern wall of the temenos is better preserved than the eastern wall. Its preserved height varies between approximately 1.20, 1.60 and 2.35 m. Wall thickness varies; while its width from the starting point in the east to the gate is 0.95 m, it narrows from 0.70 m to 0.30 m until the bedrock where the gate and wall end. It was determined that they used a second wall to eliminate the difference here. The starting point of the area where the wall thickness narrows corresponds to the narrow angle of the bedrock on which the south façade rests. The blocks are right-angled and rectangular in shape.⁸

The door of the sanctuary is on the south temenos wall; the door width is 1.10 m. The location of the entrance door is precisely determined by the floor block (threshold) of the door, the doorway mark created by processing the bedrock in the ground section that provides entry to the area after passing through the door, and the five steps⁹ carved into the bedrock (Fig. 11). Just west of the door is a square block measuring 0.53 x 0.52 m and 0.04 m deep, with a hole in the middle. During the excavations carried out here, parts of the lion head were unearthed. The lion statue may have been placed here, but it is not possible to say anything for sure. (Fig. 4, Fig. 5).

The height of the southern temenos, preserved from the gate floor block, is 1.60 m, and the wall consisting of five blocks is *in situ* (Fig. 10). Depending on the height achieved, there must be a stepped section consisting of at least four blocks with a height of 0.40 m to reach the entrance door. In our work in this area, three-fascia architrave blocks (1.25 m), pseudo-column fragments and blocks were identified (Fig. 12). These architectural elements are proof that the gate has a monumental entrance and show that it made a significant contribution to the restitution works.

To the west of the gate, there are five *in situ* blocks with framed edges and facades processed in the *anathyrosis* technique, which form the wall row in the south. A mortared wall structure consisting of polygonal stones was identified right behind the blocks. The dimensions of the wall are 1.10 x 5.80 m and its thickness is 0.40 m. A coin belonging to Constantius II was found in front of this wall. In front of the gate, the remains of two walls built from polygonal stones, some of which can be seen underground, were identified (Fig. 13).

In the work on the front and back of the door, the geison-sima (0.27 x 0.60 m), (Fig. 14, I), the geisopodes (0.25 x 0.70 m), (Fig. 15, Ia) and two-fascia architrave blocks (0, 25 x 1 m), (Fig. 15, Ib) were detected. These are the horizontal load-bearing elements of the superstructure. There are also blocks in widths of 0.33 x 0.70, 0.33 x 0.90 m, 0.53 x 0.90, 0.53 x 1 m and 0.26 m (Fig. 16, I-IIb). It is worth noting that there are many blocks with a height of 0.53 m. The height of the blocks

⁷ 0,45 x 0,75, 0,45 x 0,80, 0,45 x 0,90, 0,50 x 0,80, 0,50 x 0,85, 0,50 x 0,90, 0,50 x 1 m.

⁸ 0,45 x 0,80, 0,45 x 0,90, 0,45 x 1, 0,50 x 0,70, 0,50 x 0,75, 0,50 x 0,80, 0,50 x 0,90, 0,50 x 1 m.

⁹ The podium structure created from the bedrock measures 5.90 x 6.80 m. The dimensions of the steps are as follows; the first step is 0.65 x 2.50 m, depth is 0.14 m; second step 0.50 x 2.20 m, depth 0.14 m; the third step is 0.36 x 1.90 m, depth 0.09 m; the fourth step is 0.50 x 1.90 m and 0.09 m deep; the fifth step is 1 x 2.30 m and its depth is 0.15 m.

here is 0.33 m and 0.53 m, which may suggest that the southern façade wall of the sanctuary was created in pseudo-isodomic type. However, it can be stated that 0.33 m high blocks are not enough to create a row of blocks, and it can be said that these types of blocks are used to eliminate the height difference of some blocks that make up the arrangement in various parts of the wall.

Some details are noteworthy particularly where the southern wall ends at the bedrock in the west (Fig. 17). It was determined that four block beds were created to place the blocks forming the wall into the bedrock. Additionally, it was determined that the upper part of the first block bed and the slots where the wooden beams of the roof were placed were in the same alignment. According to this design, the height between the beam slots where the wooden beams are placed and the door floor block is approximately 4.20 m. Determining the height here is very important in terms of revealing the architectural sequence of the south façade. The height of the first bed section in the bedrock is approximately 0.53 m. This place is also suitable for placing the 0.27 m high geison-sima block and 0.25 m high geisopodes block, which are the horizontal load-bearing blocks that make up the superstructure. The height of the second section is 0.27 m. This place is also suitable for placing the 0.25 m high architrave block. The third and fourth bed sections are 0.53 m. The height between the fourth bed section and the 0.73 m high *in situ* blocks on the south wall is approximately 1.63 m. This corresponds to 3 blocks with a height of 0.53 m. In this context, it is understood that the facade with five rows of 0.53 m density blocks on the south facade is located in the isodomic technique.

Accordingly, the architectural elements that make up the south facade can be classified from bottom to top as follows; 0.73 m high *in situ* blocks, 0.53 m high blocks (five rows), 0.25 m high two-fascia architrave block, 0.25 m high geisopodes block and 0.27 m high geison-sima block. The mathematical data of the architectural elements here roughly correspond to a facade height of 4.20 m, with some minor deviations (Fig. 18-18a).

The eastern wall of the temenos is 27 m long. It ends by leaning on the main rock in the north. The wall thickness is approximately 0.70 m. This section is not well preserved compared to the southern wall of the temenos. In the studies carried out in the southeastern part, a wall row consisting of 11 blocks extending to the north and an "L" shaped corner point connected to the south wall were uncovered (Fig. 9). It was seen that there was another block sequence below the block sequence. The height of the blocks is approximately 0.40 m. In this respect, the height difference between the *in situ* block belonging to the door on the southern temenos wall and the row of blocks on the eastern temenos wall is 2.40 m. In order to align these two facades, there must be 6 wall rows consisting of 0.40 m high blocks. The height of this facade varies between 0.10 m and 0.15 m, with minor deviations compared to the south facade due to the slope of the roof. In our research, we detected the geison-sima (0.27 x 0.60 m), (Fig. 14, II), the geisopodes (0.30 x 1 m), (Fig. 15, IIa), and two-fascias architrave blocks (0.25 x 1 m), (Fig. 15, IIb). These are the horizontal load-bearing elements of the east façade's superstructure, similar to those of the south facade. However, it was determined that the geisopodes block was larger in size than the geisopodes block on the south facade (0.25 x 0.70 m). In addition, it was observed that the 0.73 m high *in situ* blocks on the south façade were replaced by profiled parapet blocks (0.60 x 0.50 m), (Fig. 16, Ia). As seen on the south façade, there are many blocks with widths of 0.53 x 0.90, 0.53 x 0.95, 0.53 x 1 m and 0.30 m (Fig. 16, I-IIb).

The architectural elements on the south facade are as follows; 0.60 m high parapet blocks, 0.53 m high blocks (five rows), 0.25 m high two-fascia architrave blocks, 0.30 m high geisopodes block

and 0.27 m high geison-sima block. The mathematical data of the architectural elements here are roughly equivalent to a facade height of 4.20 m, with some deviations (Fig. 19).

The stylobate of the sanctuary, up to the cave in the north, is regularly covered with rectangular blocks of various sizes (Fig. 2, 20). Although there are deteriorations in places, it is very well preserved. In the north and south of the area, there are plinthe / pedestal blocks that extending in the east-west direction and on which columns are placed. In this context, it can be said that the area was designed with a two-column gallery structure.

The first columned gallery structure is located immediately north of the stepped section created to enter the sanctuary (Fig. 21-22). During the work, broken fragments of the columns were discovered, and their diameter was 0.70 m. The regularly processed blocks in three rows, with indications of column and tenon holes, were discovered. It should have been a continuation of this architectural order, but it could not be found due to destruction. The distance between blocks is approximately 1 m. The two blocks located in the west direction are the continuation of each other. The first block measures 0.70 x 1.20 m, and the second block measures 0.70 x 1.58 m. The third block in the east direction measures 0.70 x 1.07 m. The depth of the blocks is 0.20 m. The diameter of the columns with traces on the blocks is approximately 0.70 m. It should be said that the blocks form the foundations of the columned gallery structure. When the blocks were examined, it was determined that the columns were placed directly on the block. Likewise, considering the diameters of the columns, it will be understood that the blocks were used as bases (Fig. 23).

At the northwest point where the blocks and the podium stepped structure at the entrance intersect, an area with a beige floor structure and a façade covered with red plaster was identified; It measures 1.20 x 1.70 m and has a depth of 0.20 m.

There are architectural elements showing that there is a second columned gallery structure to the north of the first columned gallery structure and in front of the cave (Fig. 21-22). The blocks extend in the east-west direction and are processed regularly, and traces and tenon holes created by the column base can be seen. This area contained fragments of fractured columns with a diameter of 0.73 m. Although it should have been a continuation of this architectural order, as in the first columned gallery structure, it could not be detected due to destruction. The distances of the blocks to each other are not equal and are 2.00 m and 2.50 m. The three blocks located in the west direction are the continuation of each other. The first block measures 0.73 x 0.64 m, the second block measures 0.73 x 1.74 m, the third block measures 0.73 x 1.30 m and the fourth block measures 0.73 x 1.55 m. The diameter of the column visible on the blocks is approximately 0.73 m (Fig. 23).

It can be seen that both columned gallery structures are at a parallel angle to the wooden beam slots supporting the roof. In this respect, it can be clearly said that the priority in the design of columned galleries is to support the roof. This also enabled the space to gain dynamism and richness in terms of aesthetics. In addition, in the middle of the columned gallery structures, that is, at the middle point of the sanctuary, a square-planned section consisting of blocks placed slightly higher than the blocks on the ground attracts attention (Fig. 22, 24). Traces were found showing that a column was placed on the block in the middle of this section. It was seen that this corresponded to the wooden beam slot placed on the bedrock in the west to support the roof. For this reason, it is thought that there is a column or wooden pole used as a vertical load-bearing element to carry the roof, such as a two-column gallery structure. Perhaps this was part of a monumental episode.

There is a mosaic and mortared wall structure to the north of the second columned gallery structure. The mosaic extends in an east-west direction. It has a rectangular plan; It measures 3.70 x 12 m. Especially the south and various parts of the mosaic have been destroyed. The mosaic, created using white and blue tesserae of different sizes on a hard surface, was made with white mortar. There are three rectangular panels surrounded by red border decoration. The red border consists of terracotta tesserae. The length of the rectangular panels is 2.70 meters, but their exact width is not known due to the destruction. However, considering the distance of 0.60 m between the second columned gallery structure and the mosaic, it can be said that their width is 2.50 m. The curb widths are 0.10 m. There are geometric decorations with rhombus-shaped borders on the first and third panels. There is no geometric decorations or shape in the second panel. There is border-shaped strip decoration between the panels in the north-south direction (Fig. 25).

In the north of the mosaic, there is a wall structure plastered with mortar, as in the west of the entrance gate of the sanctuary. The dimensions of the wall are 1.45 x 7.20 m and its thickness is 0.60 m. Another coin belonging to Constantius II was seized during the work carried out in front of the wall. When the place where the wall is built is examined, it will be seen that it is designed to support the roof. Because the eastern wing of the cave, that is, the northeast of the sanctuary, consists of a bedrock with carefully cut wooden beam slots to support the roof. An entrance section was identified at the intersection of the wall and the bedrock. It is also possible to find traces of red paint on the plastered parts of the wall and where the bedrock intersects with the ground structure (Fig. 26).

Since there are wooden beam slots connected to the roof in the bedrock to the west of the sanctuary, information about the superstructure is also included while the internal structural features of the area are explained. The western facade of the area consists of a bedrock extending from northwest to southeast. The main rock here is indented until the front of the cave and ends at the entrance of the cave. It has been observed that the bedrock was used by flattening it in both directions, north and south. Likewise, there are wooden beam slots made to support the roof in both directions. When the traces were followed, it was determined that the southern part of the bedrock was high, the protruding middle section and the section up to the cave entrance in the north were arranged with wooden beam slots opened at a low level. The wooden beam slots here, especially in the middle section, may have been created for the design of another building after the sanctuary lost its function. Particularly, the beam slots opened side by side in the south of the bedrock and the channel of the sloping roof are clearly visible. Apart from these, there are beam slots of different codes on the entire surface of the bedrock. In this context, it was understood that the superstructure was built sloping towards the east, and wooden beam slots were created to support the roof by arranging appropriate sections of the bedrock in the west and north. There are many broken roof tiles (*stroter* and *calipter*)¹⁰ in the surrounding area. These are tiles used to cover the roof (Fig. 24, 27). The channel showing the water coming out of the bedrock forming the western facade, the water channel connecting to it, and the ruins of a pool created from the bedrock in the sanctuary to collect the water flowing from here attract attention. This place must have been created to meet the water needs in the sanctuary.

There are votive niches and a statue niche (?) on the right and left sides of the cave entrance in the northwest corner of the sanctuary. There are three niches on the flattened bedrock on the left.

¹⁰ Arlı 2022, 4-5.

There are inscriptions just below two of these niches (Fig. 31, I-III). Right next to the niche on the left, four dowel holes measuring 0.60 x 0.40 m designed for hanging plates or panels were found. Traces of red paint were found on the burnt plaster on the same facade. There is a large niche on the right side of the cave entrance. The niche is 2.22 m high, 2.17 m wide and 1.80 m deep. This is a suitable section for cult sculpture (Fig. 28). As we mentioned in our previous statement, a broken lion head was found during our work. Since a votive inscription found in the sanctuary proves that the sanctuary was built in honor of the goddess Artemis, it is thought that there should be a statue of the goddess in the niche here. Since it is known that the lion (potnia theron)¹¹ is among the important attributes of the goddess, it is possible that there is also a lion statue next to the goddess statue.

After the section where the inscription and niche are located, comes the cave section created by processing the main rock. The cave is approximately 14 m long and 4 m wide. It consists of a single space in the form of a naos. Its interior has been processed and transformed into a space. The entrance is from the south and is provided by steps made of smoothly processed blocks. The ground was formed by flattening the main rock in places and is covered with rectangular cut blocks made of quality marble. It was designed as a superstructure with an arched ceiling. There are cracks and destruction in a large part of the main rock in the superstructure. A pit with a diameter of 0.20 m and a depth of 0.20 m was found in the ground blocks at the entrance. This is not a suitable location for the beam slot in the door assembly. However, the stele could have been used as a votive pit or place for votive items. The bedrock on the east side of the cave was shaved and processed, the ground was arranged in the form of a slightly raised bench, and a pseudo-column was built on the bedrock. There is a niche near the floor. Likewise, the western side of the cave is arranged with pseudo-columns and niches, like the eastern side. It can be said that niches were used as places where oil lamps, religious ritual offerings and souvenirs were placed. Another part that connects to the area is located just behind the columned section. Its ceiling was treated like a cave ceiling, while the rest was left natural. The bedrock surrounding this area has a profiled surface, and a rectangular framed area designed for hanging panels or plates has been designated on its facade. This area has suffered great damage due to collapses and illegal excavations. There are naturally occurring stalactites and stalagmites on the ceiling; the mortar residue was detected in some sections (Fig. 29-30).

Inscriptions in the Sanctuary

There are three niches on the flattened bedrock on the left side of the cave entrance (Fig. 31). These niches are classified as I, II and III, starting from the left. The niches I and III are inscribed and large, while niche II is uninscribed and small, inscriptions nos. I and III are dated to the 3rd century AD due to their letter characters.

The votive inscription below the niche I:

Ἀρτεμισιασταὶ εὐχίην.

“The worshippers of Artemis (fulfilled their) vow”

In this inscription describes the votive fulfilment of those who are associated to the Artemis worship guild. From this information it is understood that the sanctuary was dedicated to the goddess Artemis and was worshiped here by the local people.

¹¹ Rogers 2012, 181; Léger 2015, 92.

The votive inscription below the niche III:

]ρ Μεγ[ν]έου εὐχήν.

([- - -]r, son of Menneas (fulfilled) his vow).

The name of the goddess is not included in this inscription, and since the inscription has been destroyed, it is not known who votived it. However, from the existing inscription, it is learned that it is not the name of the person who had votived, but the name of his father (Menneas). The name Menneas is a name of epicoric (local) origin. It is found in inscriptions from the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the Pisidia and Phrygia regions.¹² It was stated that it was a name specific to Phrygia.¹³ This name was identified in inscriptions in the cities of Apollonia, Tymandos and Konane in Pisidia.¹⁴ The name Menneas was frequently encountered in agonistic celebrations held during the imperial period in the region. In the inscriptions found in Apollonia Mordiaion, Ariassos,¹⁵ Termessos¹⁶ and İlyas village,¹⁷ it is seen that the name Menneas is mentioned in wrestling competitions.

During the excavation to the north of the second columned gallery structure, a shattered architectural piece with an inscription was found (Fig. 32).

Inscription fragment:

--- OP ---
MHTPI < O

Several options can be suggested for the remaining letters in the second line, such as Δήμητρι Ο... , μητρι Ο... , or Μητρι Ὀρεία, which is most probable amongst them. The name of the goddess, whose name was also expressed as Μητρι Ὀρεία, Μητρι Ὀρήα, τῇ θεῶν Μητρι Θεῶν Ὀρεία (to Oreia Mother of the Gods) in *dativus casus* in epigraphic documents means “Mountain Mother” or “Goddess sitting on the mountains”.¹⁸ The name of the person who fulfilled his vow is probably written on the first line. Although the letters MHTPI, the pause sign and an O immediately afterwards are clearly visible, the inscription is broken on all sides and the part after the O is also lost; however, it most likely refers to Oreia¹⁹, the epithet of the goddess. The first line probably contains the name of the person who fulfilled the vow. When we look at the letter characters, it is understood that it dates back to the 2nd century AD. The inscription was not found as *in situ* in the excavations. Also, a broken lion head was found during excavations at the sanctuary (Fig. 5). When the archaeological data belonging to Meter Oreia is examined, it is seen that she is depicted with lions like Cybele. Examples of the goddess being depicted with lions on either side can be

¹² Hürmüzlü Korholt – Tanrıver 2016, 34.

¹³ Coşkun Abuagla 2012, 348-349.

¹⁴ Buckler et al. 1933, 209-265, fig. 310.

¹⁵ Horsley – Mitchell 2000, 135-136, fig. 48.

¹⁶ Cousin 1899, 293, no. 7, 296, no. 15.

¹⁷ Sterrett 1888b, 422, no. 619.

¹⁸ Akın 2016, 144-145.

¹⁹ There is very little data on the goddess in Pisidia, see Moretti 1926a, 509-546; 1926b, 547-554; Karayaka 2007, 22, 26; Oliver 1994, 229-231; Akın 2016, 155, Cat. No. 24-25.

found in Lydia, Ephesus, Kula and Burdur.²⁰ In two inscriptions found in the Zindan cave, we learn that the sanctuary was dedicated to Meter Theôn Veginos, that there was a close relationship between the cult of the goddess and the cult of Meter Oreia, and that these were cults closely linked to Cybele.²¹ In this context, it is also possible that the lion head found in the excavations is the identifying symbol of the goddess. The geographical features of İnarası, where the sanctuary is located, namely the main rock, caves, mountains and water sources, are suitable for the worship of the goddess. There are also Mother Goddess worship areas to the north of the sanctuary (Fig. 33). Considering the theological connection between Cybele and Meter Oreia, as well as their iconographic and physical features²², it can be thought that the continuity of the cult was ensured by the name of the goddess Meter Oreia, the local goddess of Anatolia. The cult area of the goddess is usually mountains or caves. With the belief that the Mother Goddess lives in mountains and caves, many caves or mountains were used as places of worship for the goddess.²³ In this context, the existence of a Meter Oreia cult and worship in the sanctuary also seems possible. However, considering the possibility that the inscribed block fragment found in the excavations at the sacred site was brought here from somewhere else due to its portability, the fact that the lion's head is also the symbol of Artemis, and the lack of other data on this subject, it is thought that much stronger data is needed to make a definitive statement that the sacred site was first dedicated to Meter Oreia or that she was worshipped here. In this context, the data to be obtained from the studies to be carried out in the cities of Cremna and Ceraitai near İnarası will be very important. Also, the inscriptions related to Meter Oreia have been found in the regions of Phrygia, Ionia, Lydia, Lykia, Pamphylia and Pisidia in Anatolia.²⁴ The fact that the inscriptions belong to different regions also gives an idea about the belief in the goddess. In Pisidia, there is a votive stele belonging to the goddess in the village of Bağilli, southwest of Pisidian Antioch.²⁵ According to the inscription on an altar in the Burdur Museum, it is stated that Termilas dedicated it to the goddess.²⁶ On one of the two silver conical cups, the location of which is still unknown, is written that someone named Kotes vow a cup to Meter Oreia. It is claimed that the person named Kotes was the priest of the goddess and that he was from Pisidia.²⁷ It has been determined that Meter Oreia was also worshipped in the caves near Ariassos (Yuvacı and İndağ).²⁸ There are also depictions of the goddess on the imperial coins of the city of Timbriada.²⁹

²⁰ Akın 2016, Cat. No. 1, 5, 8, 24.

²¹ Takmer – Gökalp 2005, 105-107; Alp 2013, 119.

²² Theodossiev 2002, 327.

²³ Schwenn 1922; Oster 1990, 1687-1688; Roller 2004, 314 et al.; Karakaya 2007, 21.

²⁴ Akın 2016, 161-188, Cat. No. 1-25.

²⁵ Akın 2016, 155, Cat. No. 25.

²⁶ Akın 2016, 178, Cat. No. 24.

²⁷ Oliver 1994, 229-231.

²⁸ Moretti 1926a, 509-546; 1926b, 547-554; Karayaka 2007, 22, 26.

²⁹ Imhoof-Blumer 1902, 413-4 nos. 2, 4-5; von Aulock 1979, n° 2108-2132, 2135-2140, 2165-2169, 2187-2191.

Since the letters MHTPI in the second line can also be read as [Δή]μητρι,³⁰ these letters can also be thought to represent the goddess Demeter. It is known that there is a closeness of character³¹ between Artemis and Demeter and her daughter Persephone (Despoina), that they use some common epithets,³² and that this closeness is also connected in terms of cults and temples.³³ There are common worship areas that show this closeness. At the entrance to the Temple of Despoina in Akakesion-Lykosura in the Arkadia region of Hellas, there is a temple belonging to Artemis Hegemone (Guide Artemis) and a bronze cult statue of the goddess in the temple.³⁴ There are Artemis reliefs at the entrance to the temple of Demeter and Soteira-Kore in Megalopolis in Arkadia.³⁵ It is learned that the sacred sites of Demeter and Artemis were very close to each other in Zoitia in Arkadia.³⁶ An inscription found on the Isthmos at Corinth proves that the temples of Artemis, Demeter, Kore and Dionysus were located within the same peribolos.³⁷ At Plakia near Cyzicus in Anatolia, a priestess of Meter Plakiane, Kore, Meter and Artemis Munikhia, is documented.³⁸ Demeter, Sozon and Artemis are depicted together on a Julia Domna coin from Herakleia Salbake.³⁹ It has been emphasized that there may have been a joint cult between Artemis and Demeter in Termessos.⁴⁰ These examples show that the goddess was very close to Demeter, that the two were found side by side in sacred places, that they were worshipped in the same temple, and that there may have been a cult partnership between them. Considering the closeness of Artemis and Demeter, it can be thought that a similar development may have occurred in İnarasi, but since it is understood that more archaeological and historical data is needed to reach a definitive judgment, we can say that our opinion about Meter Oreia is also valid for Demeter.

Artemis and Her Cult in Pisidia

Although research on the origin of the name Artemis has not yet reached a definitive conclusion, the generally accepted view is that it is not of Hellenic origin and that its origin should be sought here due to its connection with Anatolia.⁴¹ The goddess is described as “beautiful” and “the most beautiful of virgins”. In addition to her beauty, she is a virgin and chaste.⁴² She is the protector of cities, roads and ports;⁴³ she is a goddess widely worshiped by the local people in Pisidia. It is

³⁰ There are numerous dedications to Demeter together with Kore throughout the Greco-Roman world in antiquity. Perhaps the letters OP can be read as K]όρ[η in the first line, although Demeter is usually given before Kore. However, an inscription from Ephesus contains a dedication to Pluto, Kore and Demeter with the epithet karpophoros in the order given, see IEph 1228: [Πλούτω]νι καὶ Κόρη καὶ Δή[[μητρι] καρποφόρῳ εὐχὴν [Αἰχμ]οκλῆς Εὐβιότου.

³¹ Hdt. II.156; Paus. VIII.37.6.

³² Wernicke 1895.

³³ Çelgin 2001-2002, 129.

³⁴ Paus. VIII.37.1.

³⁵ Paus. VIII.37.3.

³⁶ Paus. VIII.35.7.

³⁷ Wernicke 1895.

³⁸ Wernicke 1895.

³⁹ SNG Aulock, no. 2552.

⁴⁰ Çelgin 2001-2002, 130-131.

⁴¹ Burkert 1985, 149; Işık 2012, 363-365.

⁴² Hom. *Hym.* 9, 2; *Od.* 5, 123, 18, 202, 20, 71.

⁴³ Çelgin 1986, 34; Karayaka 2007, 92.

understood from the inscriptions in Termessos that the goddess was “the protector of young people, engaged and married women and the goddess of birth”.⁴⁴ In the Isinda coins dating back to the 1st century BC and the reign of Emperor Augustus, the goddess is mentioned as the “goddess of fertility”.⁴⁵ The hunter is the goddess. She is depicted with deers on the coins of Baris, Cremna, Selge, Pogla and Verbe. Since the goddess is the “goddess of light and moon”, she is shown with a torch in her hand on the Comama and Selge coins.⁴⁶ The star and crescent depictions seen on Andeda, Adada, Ariassos and Pogla coins, where the Artemis Pergaia statue is found, are also related to this aspect of the goddess. The goddess was also worshiped under the name Artemis Tauropolos, which means “protector of the bulls”. The sacrifice scene of Iphigeneia in the temple of Artemis in Termessos was inspired by the legend of Artemis Tauropolos.⁴⁷

We encounter data about Artemis in inscriptions, coins, sculptures and architectural finds in Pisidia. Inscriptions about Artemis in the region are dated between the 2nd century BC and the 3rd century AD. It was seen together with the epithethons of Artemis Ephesia,⁴⁸ Agrotera,⁴⁹ Epekoos,⁵⁰ Kelbessis,⁵¹ Koure,⁵² Kuria,⁵³ Pergaia⁵⁴ and Tirgosalleon.⁵⁵ In some of them, the epithethon of the goddess is not found. Most of these inscriptions were found in Termessos.⁵⁶ There are inscriptions about the goddess in Kotenna,⁵⁷ Kesbelion,⁵⁸ Apollonia,⁵⁹ Andeda,⁶⁰ Korkuteli,⁶¹ Verbe (Yelten),⁶² Kağılcık to the west of Olbasa,⁶³ Kumdanlı to the north of Yalvaç,⁶⁴ and Sağır to the

⁴⁴ Çelgin 1986, 16.

⁴⁵ von Aulock 1977, 498-500, 515, 689-707; SNG Aulock 5031.

⁴⁶ Comama, see von Aulock 1970, 154, no. 1. Selge, SNG Aulock 5285, 5322.

⁴⁷ Karayaka 2007, 92.

⁴⁸ Cremna, see Horsley 1992, 119-150, Pl. XXXI (a-b); Horsley – Mitchell 2000, 64-66, Pl. 32-33; 2007, 24-25, Pl. 24; Mitchell 1997, 320. Termessos, see TAM III/1 390 830.

⁴⁹ Termessos, see TAM III/1 909.

⁵⁰ Yalvaç (Sağır), see Ramsay 1912, 166. Moatra (Bereket), see Bean 1960, 82, no. 135.

⁵¹ Termessos, Kelbessos (Ağırtas), see TAM III/1 892 893.

⁵² Termessos, see IGR III 784; TAM III/1 907 908.

⁵³ Termessos, see TAM III/1 1.

⁵⁴ Ariassos, see Pace 1921, 35, no. 19.

⁵⁵ The offering to the goddess from a blacksmith from Pogla, see French 1994, 67, no. 17.

⁵⁶ Inscription in the northwest of the G propylon, see IGR III 430 = TAM III/1 10; Inscription on the upper jamb of the door of temple N4, see TAM III/1 17; Inscription showing the donation made to the goddess in temple N 5, see Abbasoğlu – İplikçioğlu 1991, 220; inscriptions on sarcophagi, see CIG III 4366 f = IGR III 451; TAM III/1 5 and 899 901; TAM III/1 904; Heberdey 1934; inscription on the pedestal, see CIG III 4362; TAM III/1 59.

⁵⁷ Bean – Mitford, *Rough Cilicia* II 13.

⁵⁸ IGR III 378.

⁵⁹ MAMA IV no. 165.

⁶⁰ Woodward – Ormerod 1910, 122, no. 16; Levick 1970, 79.

⁶¹ Hill 1895, 125, no. 19.

⁶² Woodward – Ormerod 1910, 115, no. 7.

⁶³ Sterrett 1888a, 113, no. 82; Ramsay 1895, no. 119.

⁶⁴ Ramsay 1883, 25-29.

north of Kumdanlı.⁶⁵ Additionally, as understood from the inscriptions, there were cult officials of the goddess in Cremna, Kotenna, Termessos and Sağır. There were mysteri society and cult statues in Cremna, and cult statues in Termessos and Selge.⁶⁶

The depictions of goddesses can be found on the coins of the cities in the region. These cities are Ceraitai,⁶⁷ Cremna,⁶⁸ Sagalassos,⁶⁹ Ariassos,⁷⁰ Andeda,⁷¹ Baris,⁷² Isinda,⁷³ Comama,⁷⁴ Parlais,⁷⁵ Seleukeia Sidera,⁷⁶ Pogle,⁷⁷ Sibidunda,⁷⁸ Selge,⁷⁹ Verbe,⁸⁰ Termessos,⁸¹ Adada,⁸² Olbasa⁸³ and Pednelissos.⁸⁴ Depictions of goddesses were featured on city coins from the 2nd century BC to the 3rd century AD; often depicted as Artemis Ephesia and Artemis Pergaia.⁸⁵

The few sculptural works of the goddess in the region are remarkable. The first two of these are Artemis Ephesia type and were found in Hacılar⁸⁶ and Yalvaç (Sağır),⁸⁷ and the third one is Artemis Pergaia type and were found in Bucak district.⁸⁸

Temples of the goddess were built in some cities and settlements in the region.⁸⁹ Especially according to archaeological data, the most places of worship for the goddess are in Termessos (three temples).⁹⁰ According to an inscription on the acropolis to the south of the Zeus temple in Selge

⁶⁵ Sterrett 1888, 370; Ramsay 1906, 319, no. 2, 343-344, no. 13, no. 22, no. 24.

⁶⁶ Karayaka 2007, 106.

⁶⁷ Imhoof-Blumer 1977, 375; von Aulock 1979, 690-691; SNG Aulock 5055.

⁶⁸ Imhoof-Blumer 1977, 382; SNG Cop. Pisidia 133.

⁶⁹ Fleischer 1973, 384, Taf. 170b.

⁷⁰ Imhoof-Blumer 1977, 365; von Aulock 1977, 423-425, 459-465.

⁷¹ von Aulock 1977, 226-228; SNG Aulock 4907, 4913.

⁷² Imhoof-Blumer 1977, 367, 5; von Aulock 1979, 216, 245-252, 260, 343.

⁷³ von Aulock 1977, 498-500, 515, 577-579, 689-723, 743-744; SNG Aulock 5030-5031.

⁷⁴ von Aulock 1970, 154, no. 1.

⁷⁵ Imhoof-Blumer 1977, 420, 3; von Aulock 1973, 12, no. 6-7.

⁷⁶ Imhoof-Blumer 1977, 398, 4a; von Aulock 1979, 2026.

⁷⁷ Imhoof-Blumer 1977, 389, 1-2; von Aulock 1977, 1265-1275, 1315-1324, 1334-1335.

⁷⁸ von Aulock 1977, 1354-1361, 1398.

⁷⁹ SNG Aulock 5285, 5322; SNG Cop. Pisidia 282; Hill 1964, 260, 35-36.

⁸⁰ Imhoof-Blumer 1977, 415, 2; von Aulock 1977, 1409, 1415-1416, 1420-1424, 1426.

⁸¹ Imhoof-Blumer 1977, 409, 2; SNG Aulock 5229; Hill 1964, 268.

⁸² von Aulock 1977, 65, 83-84.

⁸³ von Aulock 1971, 18, no. 4, 8.

⁸⁴ von Aulock 1977, 1205.

⁸⁵ Karayaka 2007, 99-102.

⁸⁶ Burdur Museum Inv. No. 2164.

⁸⁷ Yalvaç Museum Inv. No. 2169.

⁸⁸ Burdur Museum Inv. No. 9300.

⁸⁹ Talloen 2015.

⁹⁰ Lanckoronski 1892, 44; Cousin 1899, 289; Akurgal 1987, 539; İplikçioğlu 1994, 399; Abbasoğlu – İplikçioğlu 1991, 210.

states that there was a temple belonging to the goddess in the city.⁹¹ A temple was dedicated to the goddess in a location overlooking the surroundings in Sağır locality of Yalvaç.⁹²

Evaluation and Conclusion

The architectural elements, inscriptions and ceramics unearthed during İnarası rescue excavations provided important information in the evaluation of the historical process of the sanctuary site, the goddess to whom it was dedicated, its architecture and restitution works. This study did not include some architectural building elements whose exact location and function were unknown. According to the restitution works initiated after examining the architectural elements, it was revealed that the sanctuary had a simple and modest appearance. The sanctuary does not have temple architecture, but due to the placement of the superstructure elements on the column-free walls, it is necessary to compare it with the architectural arrangement of the temples in Pisidia, since the cella walls of the temples in Pisidia were built without columns. The superstructure elements that make up the architecture of the sanctuary are architrave, geisopodes and geison-sima and are designed simply. The superstructure elements of Termessos N3 in the region and B and C temples in Adada, except for the column capitals, were designed simply and this feature was interpreted as the architectural fashion of the period.⁹³ No frieze blocks were found during the excavations in the sanctuary. Likewise, frieze blocks were not used on the cella walls of the temples of Zeus in Selge and N7 in Termessos.⁹⁴ However, if it had been documented that this block was used in the sanctuary, we could compare the architecture of the sanctuary much more closely with the architecture of the temples in Pisidia. Because the walls of some temples in the region ended with a superstructure consisting of an architrave, ornate frieze and cornice. Although this practice was common in temples in the region, it did not attract much attention throughout Anatolia.⁹⁵

The most important issue of this study, besides the architectural restitution, is to clarify to whom exactly the sanctuary was dedicated. The inscriptions (nos. I and III) are dated to the 3rd century AD due to their letter forms. It is documented that the sanctuary was dedicated to the goddess from the phrase “The worshippers of Artemis (fulfilled their) vow” in the votive inscription no. I. From this information, it is understood that the sanctuary was built for the goddess Artemis and the local people worshiped her here. In the votive inscription no. III, there is the expression “[- - -]r, son of Menneas (fulfilled) his vow”. The name of the goddess is not included in the inscription, and since the inscription has been damaged, it is not known who dedicated it. Given that Menneas is an epicoric (local) name, it is understood that the goddess was revered by the locals both during the Roman and Hellenistic periods.⁹⁶ Also noteworthy is the broken lion head (potnia theron) showing the presence of the goddess outside the inscription.⁹⁷ The dedication of wild

⁹¹ Lanckoronski 1892, 178, 232, no. 241; Machatschek – Schwartz 1981, 91.

⁹² Ramsay 1883, 41.

⁹³ Büyükkolancı 1996, 162.

⁹⁴ Büyükkolancı 1996, 159.

⁹⁵ The use of friezes on the temple cella wall has been interpreted as a feature specific to the region, and is seen in the sanctuary of Meter Theón Veginos in the Zindan Cave, the Temple of Augustus in Pisidian Antioch, Basilica E1 (Dionysus) in Sagalassos, the Antonine Temple in Cremna and the imperial temples in Adada, see Büyükkolancı 1996, 170.

⁹⁶ It is known that a local family group worshiped the goddess in the Hellenistic Period on the inscribed stele named Artemis Ephesia, dated to the first half of the 1st century AD. Horsley, 2007, 24-26, Pl. 24.21.

⁹⁷ Rogers 2012, 181.

animals to the goddess in the Mother Goddess worship, as well as the goddess' dominance over wild nature and hunting, may help to explain the placement of the lion head in the epithet position here. Another data is a fragmentary inscription which may have referred to Meter Oreia. The inscription fragment is dated to the 2nd century AD due to the letter characters. Considering this inscription fragment and the broken lion head found in the excavations, it can be interpreted at first glance that the goddess Meter Oreia⁹⁸ was worshipped in the sanctuary. Also, considering the theological closeness between Artemis and Demeter,⁹⁹ it is thought that the name in the inscription fragment can also be interpreted as Demeter. However, considering the possibility that the inscribed block piece was brought here from somewhere else due to its portable nature and the fact that the lion's head is also the symbol of Artemis, it is thought that much stronger archaeological and historical data is needed before it can be said that the sacred area was dedicated or worshipped to Meter Oreia or Demeter.

Important findings regarding the usage phase of the sanctuary and the cave were obtained. The 2017 rescue excavation data, which provide information about the historical process up to the area's first use, are extremely essential. The ceramic and stone tools from the Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic periods, as well as chipping and core fragments indicating that stone tools were manufactured in area no 4, where excavations were conducted in the cave, demonstrate that the cave was used from an early period; during the work, ceramics from the Late Neolithic-Early Chalcolithic, Bronze Age, Archaic-Classical, Hellenistic, Roman Imperial, Byzantine and Ottoman periods were unearthed. A sounding excavation measuring 1.50 x 1.50 m was made in the middle of the stylobate of the sanctuary. Ceramics from the Early Imperial Period (1st-2nd century AD) were discovered directly beneath the floor blocks. These data are important historical evidence about the construction process of the sanctuary. Approximately 0.90 m below the layer where the ceramics are found (second layer), there is a fragment of a vessel with an idol from the Bronze Age II, a small number of ceramics and terracotta female protome fragments from the Classical Period, and ceramics from the Hellenistic Period. In the third layer, a clay plastered wall built of polygonal stones and extending in the east-west direction was identified. Idol vessel fragments and ceramic pieces from the Chalcolithic Age were found in this area. It was observed that the gap in the front part of the wall was filled with rubble stones. The wall here strengthens the idea that a terrace was created at the front of the cave and that the cave was used in the Chalcolithic Age. However, it is not known exactly what it was used for. It is understood that rubble stones were used to organize the substructure of the floor of the sanctuary, which we think was built in a later period. Early Imperial Period ceramics also prove this idea. The construction technique of the peribolos wall surrounding the sanctuary area is pseudo-isodomic. The blocks are right-angled and voluminous, with a slightly convex front. These features are similar to the stone workmanship of the Hellenistic Period architecture. The Hellenistic Period ceramics unearthed in the soundings made in the southern interior of the wall are the most important evidence of this. Archaeological data obtained during the 2016 rescue excavations provide important information about the situation of the sanctuary in Late Antiquity. The first of these is the mosaic flooring in the sanctuary. The mosaic, created on a hard surface using white and blue tesserae, is designed with geometric ornaments. The decorations consist of terracotta tesserae. Two wall structures were identified in the north and south of the sanctuary. These are made of polygonal stones and

⁹⁸ For the goddess cult and inscriptions, see Akın 2016, 143-203.

⁹⁹ For the relationship between Artemis and Demeter, see Hdt. II.156; Paus. VIII.37.6; Çelgin 2002, 129.

have dense mortar. Two bronze coins from the reign of Constantius II (337-361 AD) were found near these two walls. The remnants of red painted plaster were found in the wall ruins, near the inscribed niches and in the north of the stepped area at the entrance of the sanctuary. This finding shows that the interior of the sanctuary was covered with red paint. Remnants of unpainted plaster can still be seen in the interior of the cave. Therefore, according to the 2016 rescue excavation data, it is understood that the use of the sanctuary continued in the Late Imperial Period.

When the architectural features of the sanctuary are examined, it is seen that Hellenistic Period features dominate in terms of stonework of the peribolos wall. The discovery of ceramics from this period in the soundings made in the southern inner part of the peribolos wall confirmed our determination. Likewise, in the drilling excavation carried out in the middle of the stylobate of the sanctuary, ceramics from the Early Imperial Period (1st-2nd century AD) and the Hellenistic Period were found just below the floor blocks. The retaining wall built to strengthen the temenos wall of the sanctuary is also an important indicator of the stonemasonry of the Hellenistic Period. The architectural superstructure elements (architrave, geisopodes, geison-sima) located in the central structure of the sanctuary have pre-imperial architectural features. Therefore, although we cannot make a definitive statement about the existence of another god or goddess other than the Artemis cult, it is possible to say that this area was designed as a cult center before the empire. The Artemis priest family associated with the goddess on the Artemis Ephesia stele in Cremna may provide important information on this subject.

The dedication of the sanctuary to the goddess Artemis and the discovery of data related to the goddess in Cremna in the southeast have strengthened the connection between the two places and the evaluation of archaeological data. Because it is a matter of serious debate whether the data regarding the goddess found in Cremna belongs to the city or not. While the inscription in İnarası shows that the sanctuary was dedicated to the goddess, could the controversial data regarding the goddess in Cremna have been moved from İnarası to the city? It brings to mind the question. In this respect, the goddess sanctuary in İnarası is important both for questioning the data in the city and for showing that the goddess belief in the region is sufficient to create a place. The inscribed stele bearing the name of Artemis Ephesia, dated to the first half of the 1st century AD, which is said to have been brought to the Burdur Museum from Cremna, is noteworthy.¹⁰⁰ The inscription states that a local person named Hermaios founded a cult (both temple and goddess statue) dedicated to Artemis in Pisidia, most likely in Cremna or its surroundings, and that his family members (Osaeis, Trokondas and Artemeis) continued this.¹⁰¹ According to this information, it can be said that the family was rich, they made great efforts to have Artemis blessed and respected, and they raised their family members in the same way. And also, it is understood that a non-Roman family was a missionary of the Artemis cult during the Hellenistic Period. When we look at the historical process, starting from Artemeis, the daughter of family member Hermaios and the third generation priest Trokondas, it has been determined that this period has a historical period of approximately 150 years. This indicates that the goddess cult may have been established by Hermaios at least in the early 2nd century BC. It is an important indicator that this process dates back to before the colonization period of Cremna and that goddess worship also took place outside

¹⁰⁰ Horsley 2007, 24-26, Pl. 24.21.

¹⁰¹ In the inscriptions mentioning Artemis in the Termessos territory, the names Trokondas, Artemeis and Hermaios are also encountered. Paribeni – Romanelli 1914, 196, no. 141; TAM III/I no. 899. The name Trokondas is also mentioned in an inscription found in Alaonda in Lycia. Onur – Kılıç-Aslan 2021, 227.

Ephesus. The peribolos wall surrounding the sanctuary and the Hellenistic Period ceramics unearthed in the soundings made to the south of this wall also support this historical process. An inscribed pedestal dating to the mid-2nd century AD was found in the bath structure in Cremna. It is written in the inscription that a person named Chrysisippos built a temple in the name of the goddess Artemis with his own budget and his own statue was placed on this inscribed pedestal.¹⁰² During the excavations carried out in the bath by Jale İnan in the 1970s, a statue of Athena was found in the place where this inscribed pedestal was located. However, according to the inscription, this pedestal is neither related to the Athena statue nor the bath structure. Because it is written in the inscription that Chrysisippos had a temple built for Artemis and had his own statue erected in the temple.¹⁰³ Therefore, since the bath structure is not a temple, it is thought that the inscribed statue base was probably brought here from within the city (Artemis temple?) or from outside the city and was used here for the second time as a base (for the Athena statue). There have been very important discussions about the fact that the stele with the Artemis Ephesia inscription and the pedestal named Chrysisippos were brought from Cremna and its surroundings.¹⁰⁴ The determination that the sanctuary was dedicated to the goddess Artemis suggests that the above archaeological data may belong to İnarası. In this respect, the sanctuary and the inscription mentioning the name of the goddess shed important light on this issue. The Artemis statue from the Early-Middle Antonine Period in Cremna, purchased by the Burdur Museum in 1967, is contributes to our topic.¹⁰⁵ The city's coins from the 3rd century AD also featured goddess depictions.¹⁰⁶ Also, depictions of goddesses can also be found on the coins of Ceraitai, located in the northwest of Cremna and west of İnarası, dating back to the 2nd-1st centuries BC.¹⁰⁷ The presence of data about Artemis in both cities and the presence of a sanctuary in İnarası show that she has a special place among the religious beliefs of the people of the region. As can be understood from the archaeological data above, there was goddess worship in Cremna, and therefore the goddess sanctuary in İnarası, located close to the city, was an important reference to this issue. This also revealed that the finds belonging to the goddess, which have been claimed to belong to the city until today and have caused controversy, are associated with İnarası. This finding may shed important light on Gregory Hugh Horsley's discussion of the location of archaeological data on the goddess, or where they might come from.¹⁰⁸ However, it is not possible to give precise information on this subject; It is necessary to wait for the excavations to be carried out on this subject in Cremna and the results of these excavations. In addition, based on the inscription showing that Hermaios and his family continued the cult by serving the goddess as priests and the inscriptions in İnarası, it may be possible to talk about a foundation established in the region for the purpose of worshiping the goddess. İnarası can also be considered as a place of representation of the goddess belief and a center of pilgrimage.

The sanctuary location, located between the cities of Cremna and Ceraitai, is surrounded by temples and church, as well as places of devotion dedicated to the Mother Goddess. Building remains

¹⁰² Horsley – Mitchell 2000, 64-66, Pl. 32-33.

¹⁰³ Horsley – Mitchell 2000, 65.

¹⁰⁴ Horsley 1992, 119 et al.

¹⁰⁵ Kaya 2022, 133-141; Kaya et al. 2024, 62-64, Cat. No. 24 (Lev. 24).

¹⁰⁶ von Aulock 1979, 1398-1403, 1554-1559, 1613-1620, 1621-1623.

¹⁰⁷ SNG Cop. Pisidia 117; SNG France 3, 1415; Imhoof-Blumer, 1902, 2; Hill 1964, 2-4.

¹⁰⁸ Horsley 1992, 119-150.

and ceramics from the Late Neolithic Age to the Ottoman Period were discovered here (Fig. 33). The first of these is on the bedrock surrounding the north and west of the sanctuary. It consists of a platform reached by seven steps by processing a huge rock mass. There is a small rectangular section at the top. This place is suitable for placing the goddess statue or leaving votive items to the goddess. It is possible to see similar places of worship in Kocagözet (Kocaaliler), Hisarköy-Asartepe and Hyia (Kumaryaylası?), which are located in the same region as the sanctuary. There is another Mother Goddess worship area on the hill to the east of this worship area. There is an altar (?) created by processing the bedrock at the exit of the hill (Fig. 33, I). As you move westwards towards the hill from here, steps are created by processing the main rock in the same way. After the steps, there is a rectangular area on the southern slope created by processing the main rock. There are two votive pits here, but they have been destroyed (Fig. 33, II). All these data are interconnected and are thought to belong to the open-air temple of the Mother Goddess. This place resembles the goddess sanctuary in Ceraitai. Based on these data, it can be said that the belief in the Mother Goddess in İnarası continues with the goddess Artemis. It seems that the sanctuary related to the Mother Goddess in İnarası are related to the examples in Phrygia, the homeland of the goddess.¹⁰⁹ There is a temple on the hill, whose foundation ruins can be seen and which is thought to be *In antis* according to its plan. The anta head on the cella wall on the right side of the temple is still intact (Fig. 33, III-V). It is possible to see similar plans and architecture in the Emperor temples in Adada and Sia cities. Around the sanctuary, there were remains of Late Antique Period rural settlements and a single-nave church. The church is located in an area covered with dense vegetation, southeast of the sanctuary and south of the İnarası Pınarı water source. In addition, according to the research carried out so far in Cremna, located in the southeast of the sanctuary, 8 church structures have been identified.¹¹⁰ As a matter of fact, with the acceptance of Christianity in Late Antiquity, it is understood that pagan beliefs were replaced by heavenly theological traditions and accordingly the church building process accelerated.

The Mother Goddess was identified with Kubaba, Cybele and Anahita in Anatolia and the Near East, with Artemis in Hellas, with Diana in Rome, and was combined with the local goddess that existed in thousands of years of Anatolian tradition. As a matter of fact, Fahri Işık stated that the Anatolian Mother Goddess and Ephesus Artemis were identified in the Early Iron Age.¹¹¹ Known as Meter Oreia and Meter Theôn, the goddess was sometimes worshiped as Meter Potamene, Metaurene, Oueгна, Polyettene, Tymenene, Kadmene and Agdistis.¹¹² Among these, there are many cult centers of the Mother Goddess, called Oreia Meter (Mountain Mother), in the forest-covered mountains, rocky areas and close to water sources of Anatolia.¹¹³ Because it is known that natural resources or underground water resources are of great importance for the cult of the Mother Goddess. Water is an important component of an ancient ritual called purification. During purification, water is thought to be a clean and sinless sacrifice offered to the gods.¹¹⁴ In fact in sacred areas, holy waters can be taken home by believers to heal the sick.¹¹⁵ The belief that the goddess

¹⁰⁹ Tüfekçi Sivas 2005, 217-227; Tamsü Polat 2010, 207 et al.

¹¹⁰ Mitchell 1995, 219-232.

¹¹¹ Işık 2012, 363-364.

¹¹² Vermaseren 1987, 222-232; Mitchell 1993, 19-20; Karayaka 2007, 21-26; Efendioğlu 2010, 31-42.

¹¹³ Üreten 2004, 186-189; Akın 2016, 151 et al.

¹¹⁴ Onasch 1981, 375.

¹¹⁵ Brenk 1986, 77-78.

lives in caves in the mountains¹¹⁶ has led to many caves turning into cult centers over time.¹¹⁷ The high relief depictions of the goddess seen in Phrygian niches and the slots in which portable statues of the goddess were placed in the niches may be the clearest evidence of the belief that the goddess lived in the rock. The niches are like doors opening to the goddess's house.¹¹⁸ For this reason, caves were seen as the houses of the goddess and it was thought that the real house of the goddess was on the rock.¹¹⁹ Meanwhile, cave temples located in mountainous regions are frequently mentioned in ancient hymns and poems.¹²⁰ The fact that the İnarası Cave Artemis Sanctuary is located in a mountainous, rocky geography surrounded by caves and water sources is evidence that it was suitable for the goddess cult and worship. Nature and cult are intertwined.¹²¹ In heavenly religions, the rituals, boundaries and rules of faith are fully clear, but it is not possible to talk about such a situation in beliefs of pagan origin. Therefore, it may not be possible to say exactly what the goddess cult means to believers and followers. However, places where the goddess is worshiped can give us an idea on this subject; the water, cave, bedrock and mountain formations, which are geographical elements around the goddess sanctuary in İnarası, show the connection of the goddess with mother nature. It is an important fact that believers accept these elements as power and worship the goddess. Because the goddess is integrated with water, vegetation and nature. Since these elements are the forces that form the sources of human life, Artemis has been identified with and worshiped as the Mother Goddess since ancient times. Moreover, when we look at the geography of İnarası, it is understood that there is a connection between the presence of such a place of worship in the countryside and the sanctification of the mountains. This situation can be evaluated as an indication that the worship of the mother goddess, thought to be Meter Oreia from the inscription fragment, may have been a cult in the sanctuary. This is also an indication that humans are careful and respectful towards nature and divinity. In addition, the mountainous and forested features of İnarası are closely related to increasing the power of worship by identifying it with Artemis, the goddess of wild animals and places. The existence of open-air worship areas for the Mother Goddess in two places just north of the sanctuary and the subsequent construction of the Artemis sanctuary in the same area is very important in terms of understanding the continuity of the cult.

As in İnarası, the cave-sanctuary relationship is also evident in the Pisidia and Pamphylia regions. It is seen that the goddess was worshipped alone and together with other gods and goddesses. It is known that other gods and goddesses were also worshipped. It is proven from the inscriptions that the cult of Mother Goddess Meter was worshiped together with other gods in the Arpalık Hill Cave and its sanctuary located in Yumaklar village of Gebiz town of Serik district.¹²² It is known that the cult of Meter Theôn Veginos was worshiped in the Zindan Cave in Aksu district.¹²³ It has been determined that Meter Oreia was worshiped in the caves in İndağ to the east of Ariassos and in Yuvacı in the south of the same city.¹²⁴ It is understood that the caves near Dutalan / Potalin

¹¹⁶ Ateşlier – Erdan 2020, 109.

¹¹⁷ Karayaka 2007, 21-26.

¹¹⁸ Ateşlier – Erdan 2020, 109-110.

¹¹⁹ Burkert 1999, 37; Işık 1999, 4.

¹²⁰ Callimachus, *Hymn*. III.1-20; Howatson 2013, 95.

¹²¹ Özcan 2019, 369-385; Talloen 2019, 177-199.

¹²² Işın 2006, 125-135; Lenger 2011, 145-149.

¹²³ Dedeoğlu 2005, 95-102; Takmer – Gökcalp 2005, 103-113; Alp 2013, 119-140.

¹²⁴ Moretti 1926a, 509-546; 1926b, 547-554; Karayaka 2007, 22, 26.

village hosted the cult of Goddess Tyriose / Turiose (-a).¹²⁵ The front of the cave called Kapılı Rock near the city of Mallos was also used as a sanctuary, just like İnarası.¹²⁶ In the mountainous area in the south of Bucak district Industry neighbourhood, there is an open-air worship area created by processing the main rock and a goddess relief placed in a niche. Additionally, temples of the goddess were built in some cities and settlements of Pisidia. According to archaeological data, the most worshiped area of the goddess is in Termessos.¹²⁷ An inscription on the acropolis to the south of the Zeus temple in Selge states that there was a temple belonging to the goddess in the city.¹²⁸ A temple was dedicated to the goddess in a position overlooking the surroundings in Yalvaç (Sağır).¹²⁹ The Mother Goddess cult is found in many centers in Western Anatolia; Söğüt Cave in Klazomenai,¹³⁰ Molla Mustafa Hill¹³¹ and Kapıkaya Cave in Pergamon,¹³² Aizanoi Kesik Cave, rock temples in Ephesus¹³³ and Phocaea,¹³⁴ Erythrai,¹³⁵ Uyuzdere Cave near Metropolis,¹³⁶ the Cult of Zeus Krezimos at Metropolis,¹³⁷ and Çarıklar.¹³⁸ In addition to the temple structures built with Greek and Roman architectural features in these sanctuary, the sanctuary of the Mother Goddess was also chosen as a cave or rock side according to ancient tradition.

As a result, it has been proven by the ceramics that the historical process of the sanctuary where we carried out the rescue excavation was known until the Late Neolithic Period and that it was used in the Hellenistic, Roman and Late Antique periods. The existence of the Mother Goddess / Cybele cult was documented from the worship areas on the hill to the north of the sanctuary, and the existence of the Artemis cult was documented from the votive inscription no. I at the entrance of the cave. Also, it has not been definitively explained whether the goddess, who we think could be Meter Oreia or Demeter from an inscription fragment (no. III), was worshipped in the sanctuary due to the lack of sufficient archaeological and historical data. The sanctuary can be considered a pilgrimage center for those who believe in Artemis and a sacred place for those who support the Artemis foundation. The existence of the goddess is embodied by the believers with the architectural structure here. For this reason, the İnarası Cave Artemis Sanctuary is important in terms of being one of the few cult areas excavated in Anatolia to date and determining its location by associating it with the goddess cult whose existence we learn from various inscriptions in the region.

¹²⁵ Horsley – Mitchell 2000, 92-93, Pl. 61-63.

¹²⁶ Kaya 1998, 307.

¹²⁷ Lanckoronski 1892, 44; Cousin 1899, 289; Akurgal 1987, 539; İplikçioğlu 1994, 399; Abbasoğlu – İplikçioğlu 1991, 210; Çelgin 2003a, 119-140; 2003b, 141-170.

¹²⁸ Lanckoronski 1892, 178, 232, no. 241; Machatschek – Schwartz 1981, 91.

¹²⁹ Ramsay 1883, 41.

¹³⁰ Koparal 2019, 344.

¹³¹ Ateş 2019, 227-239.

¹³² Nohlen – Radt 1978; Agelidis 2009, 51-54; Engels 2019, 131-136.

¹³³ Ladstätter et al. 2019, 271-273.

¹³⁴ Erdoğan 2003, 22-230.

¹³⁵ Özgünel 2005, 248.

¹³⁶ Roller 1999, 199.

¹³⁷ Aybek – Gülbay 2019, 241-252.

¹³⁸ Ateşlier – Erdan 2020, 97-117.

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İnarası Mağarası Artemis Kutsal Alanı (Burdur/Bucak)

Özet

İnarası, Burdur İlinin Bucak ilçesine bağlı Taşayla Köyü sınırları içerisinde yer almaktadır. Güneydoğusunda Kremna, batısında Keraitai kentleri bulunmakta olup, her iki kentin territoryumuna yakındır. Dar açılı bir vadi içerisinde akan suyun kaynağına doğru giden bir patika ile kutsal alana ulaşılabilir. Kutsal alan vadideki mağara açıklığının önündedir. Teolojik olarak inziva ve münzevi yaşamın yeridir. Burası 2008 yılında İnarası'ndaki kaçak kazı olayını incelemek üzere mahkeme heyetiyle birlikte giden Burdur Müzesi'nden F. Gülşen tarafından keşfedilmiştir. 2009 yılında tescil çalışmaları tamamlanmış olup, 2014 yılında alanın sınırları belirlenerek kültür envanterine eklenmiştir. Kutsal alan ve bu alanın naosu olarak kullanıldığı belirlenen mağarada, 2016-2017 yılları arasında gerçekleştirilen kurtarma kazılarında elde edilen veriler tarihsel olarak Geç Neolitik Çağ'dan Osmanlı Dönemi'ne dek uzanmaktadır. Bu veriler sikkeler, yazıtlar, seramikler, heykeltıraşlık eserleri, mozaik ve mimari unsurların yanı sıra metal ve cam buluntular, kemik objeler ve taş aletlerdir (yongalar ve çekirdekler). Bu çalışmada en dikkat çeken konulardan biri yazıtlardır. Yazıtlardan ilki, kutsal alanın tanrıça Artemis'e adandığını belgeleyen yazıttır. İkinci yazıttan ise adak adayan kişinin adı değil, babasının adı olduğu öğrenilmektedir. Ayrıca MHTPI<O harflerinin bulunduğu kırk bir yazıt parçasının Meter Oreia ya da Demeter ile ilişkili olabileceği önerilmiştir. Çalışmanın bir diğer önemli konusu ise kutsal alanın iki cephe düzenlemesinin restitüsyonuna ilişkin önemli ipuçları veren mimari elemanlardır. Kutsal alanın mimarisi, restorasyona olanak verecek yapısal elemanlar ve düzenlemelere uygun olarak tasarlanmıştır. Artemis tapınma alanı, Pisidia Bölgesi'ndeki mağara-kutsal alan ilişkisi ve geleneksel bir Ana Tanrıça kültürünün devamı açısından oldukça önemlidir. Çünkü Anadolu'nun teolojik geleneğinde Ana Tanrıça'nın Ephesos Artemis inancıyla özdeşleştirilmesiyle kültürün devamlılığının sağlandığı bilinmektedir. Dolayısıyla İnarası'nda kutsal alanı çevreleyen ana kayada ve kuzeyindeki tepede Ana Tanrıça ile ilgili tapınma alanlarının bulunması ve daha sonra aynı bölgede Artemis kutsal alanının inşa edilmesi, kültürün sürekliliğinin önemli kanıtlardır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Pisidia; İnarası; teoloji; Artemis; mağara kültürü; kutsal alan.

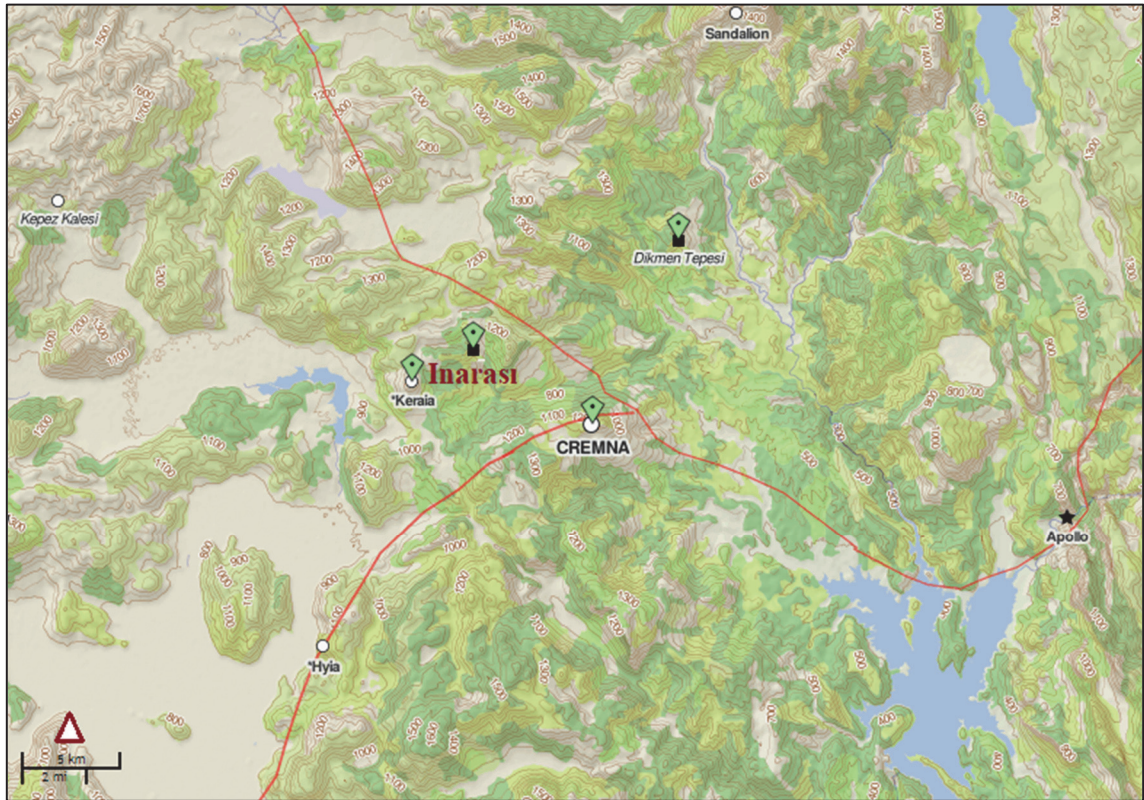


Fig. 1) İnarası (<https://imperium.ahlfeldt.se/>)

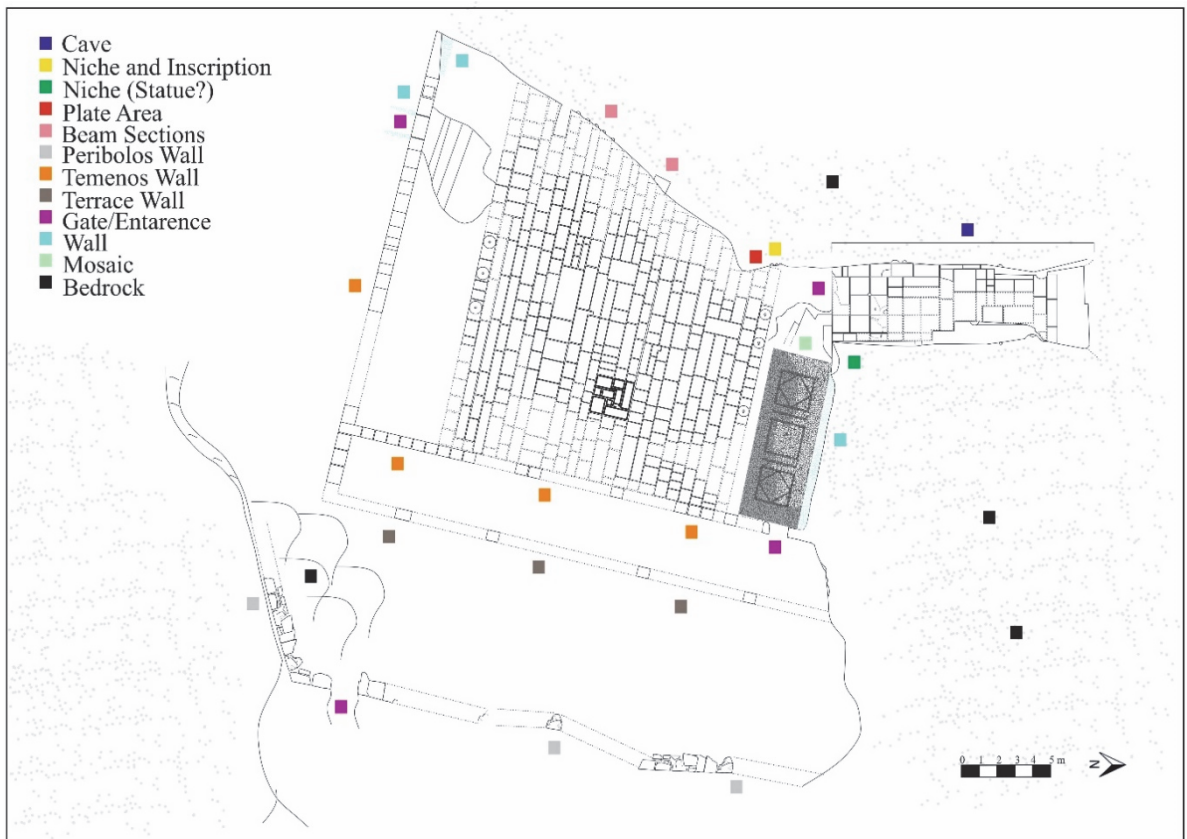


Fig. 2) İnarası cave and sanctuary plan

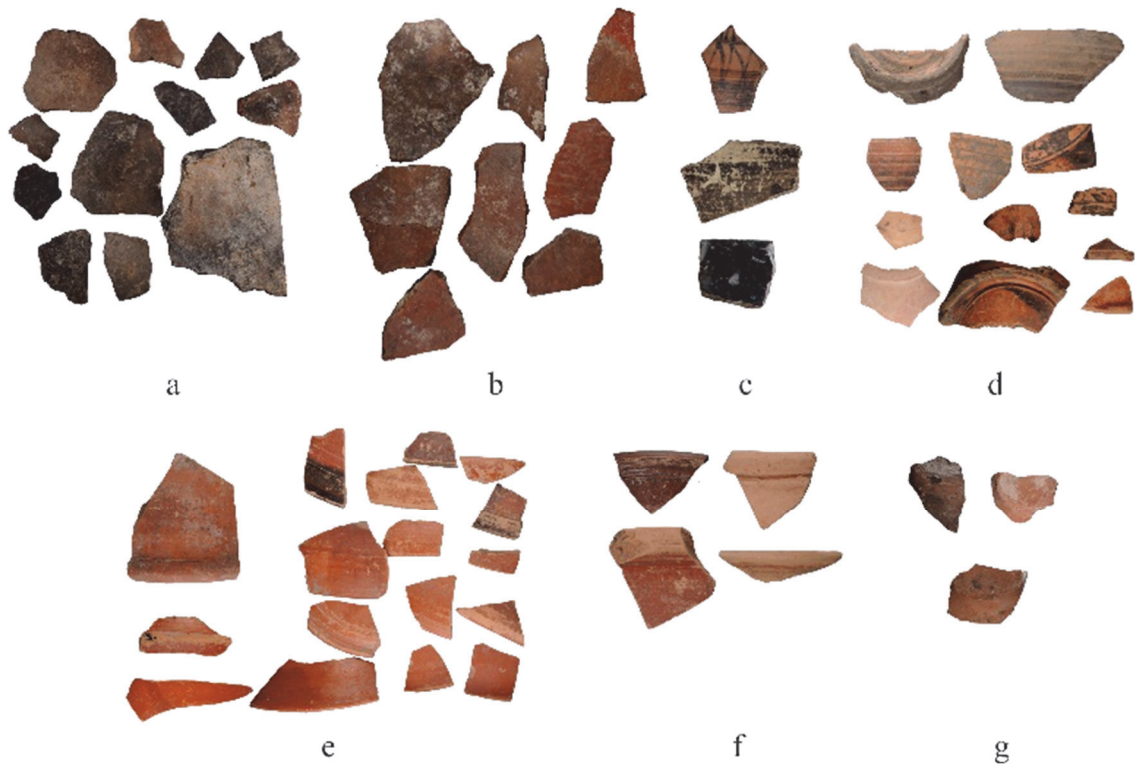


Fig. 3) Ceramics unearthed in the 2017 rescue excavation (Late Neolithic-Early Chalcolithic (a), Bronze Age (b), Archaic-Classical (c), Hellenistic (d), Roman Empire (e), Byzantine (f) and Ottoman (g))

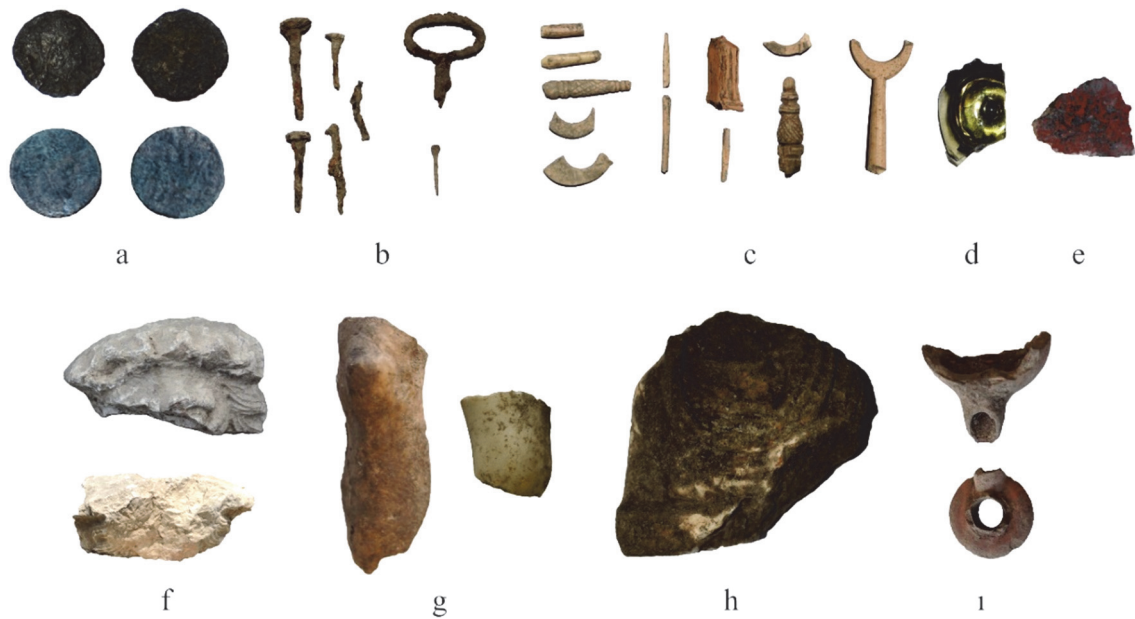


Fig. 4) 2016 rescue excavation data (two bronze coins (a), nail (b), many bone needle fragments and objects (c), glass (d), red plaster (e), broken lion head (f), marble figurine fragments (leg) (g), a headless bust (h) and fragments of an oil lamp (i))

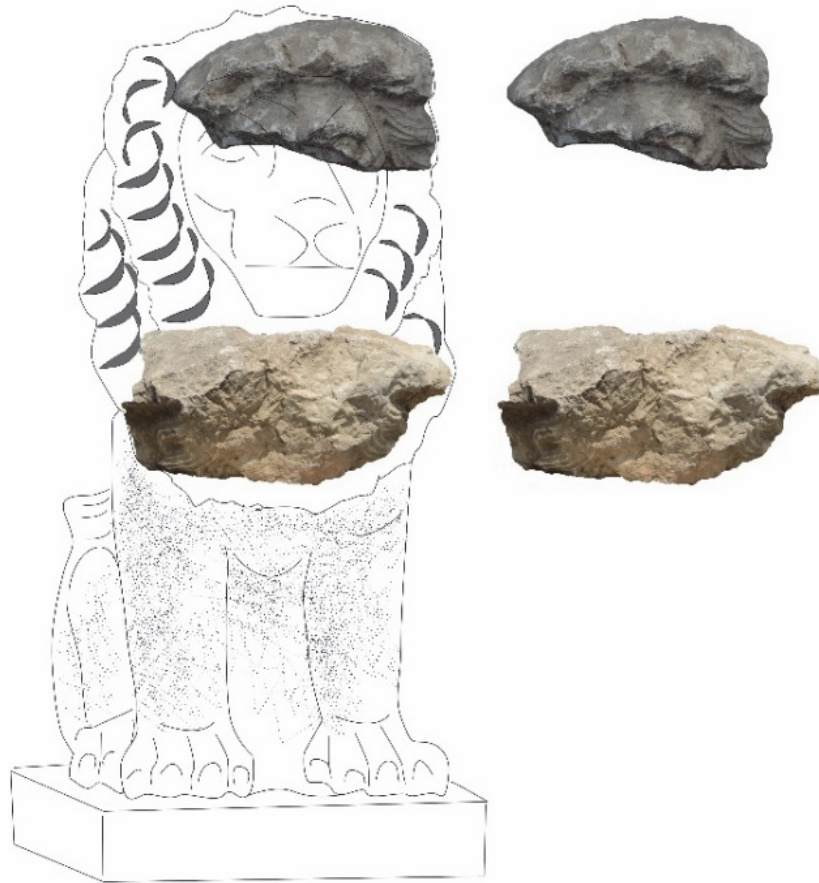


Fig. 5) Drawing of the broken lion head recovered during the 2016 rescue excavation



Fig. 6) 2017 rescue excavation data (chip fragments and core (a-b), small stone tools (c), idol vessel fragment (d-e), terracotta female protome fragments (f), metal (g) and glass finds (h))



Fig. 7) Peribolos wall surrounding the sanctuary from the east



Fig. 8) Eastern entrance gate of the sanctuary



Fig. 9) Sanctuary east retaining wall



Fig. 10) Southern temenos wall of the sanctuary



Fig. 11) The southern gate and stepped entrance of the sanctuary



Fig. 12) Architectural elements of the southern gate of the sanctuary



Fig. 13) Late Antique wall behind the southern wall of the sanctuary and coin of Constantius II

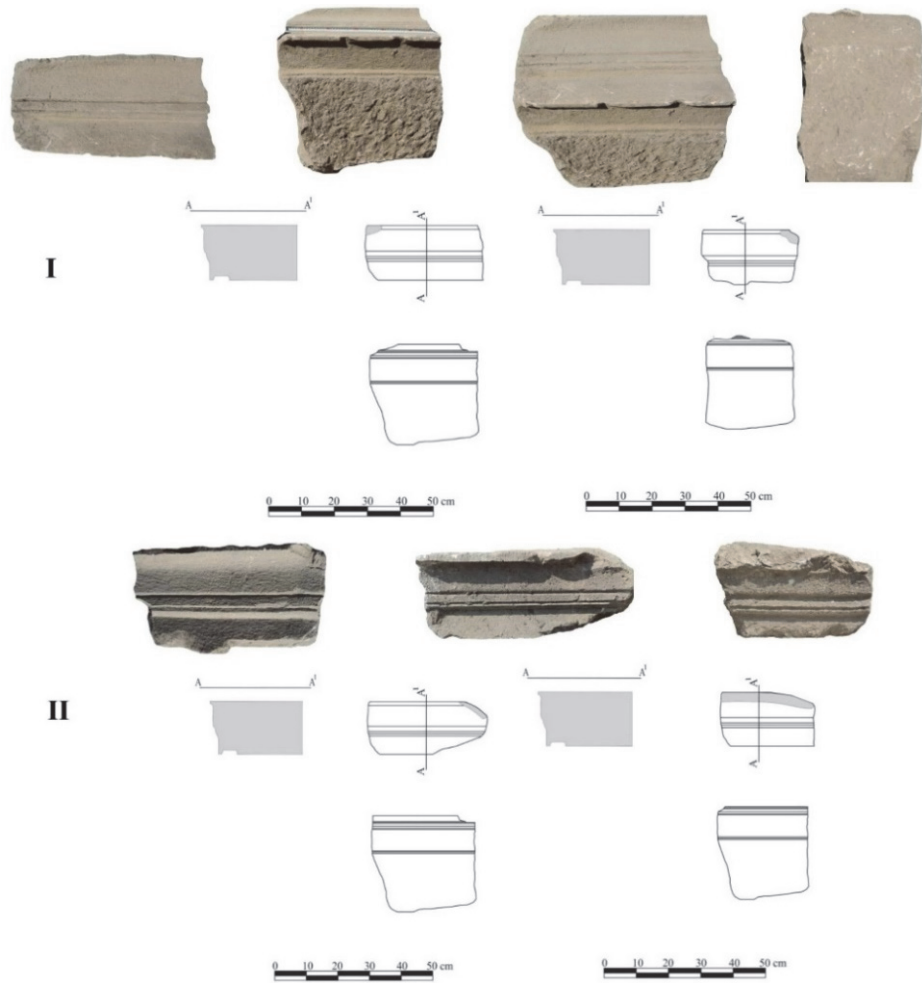


Fig. 14) Geison-sima blocks used on the south (I) and east (II) facades of the sanctuary

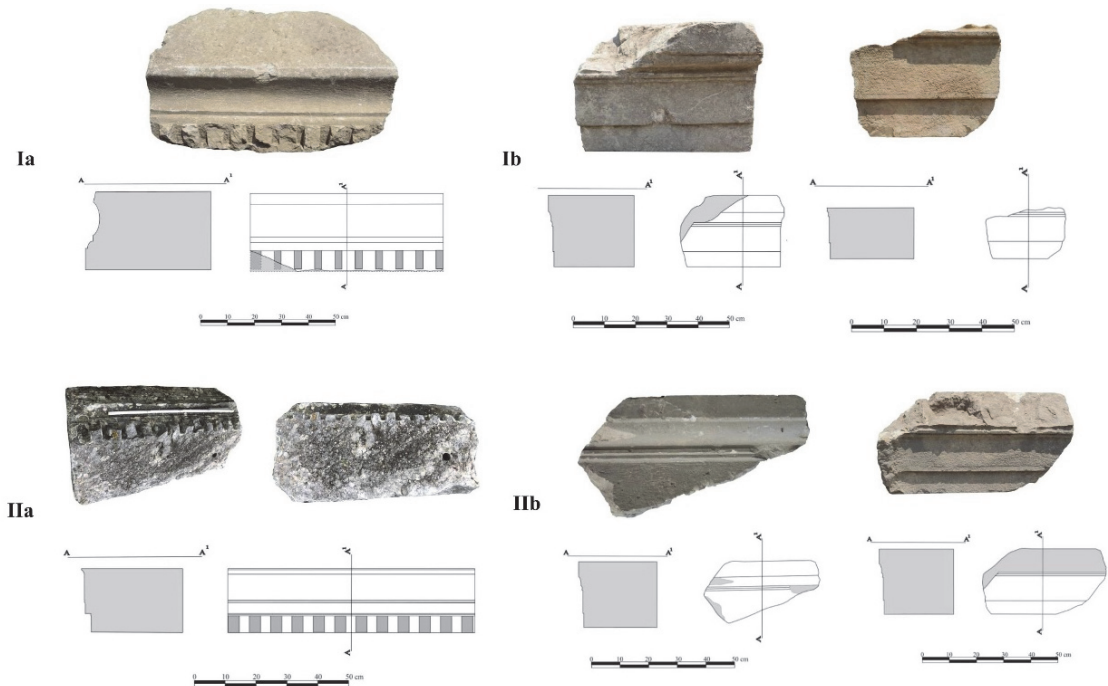


Fig. 15) Geisopodes and architrave blocks used on the south (Ia-Ib) and east (IIa-IIb) facades of the sanctuary



Fig. 16) Parapet block (Ia) and blocks (I-IIb) of the sanctuary

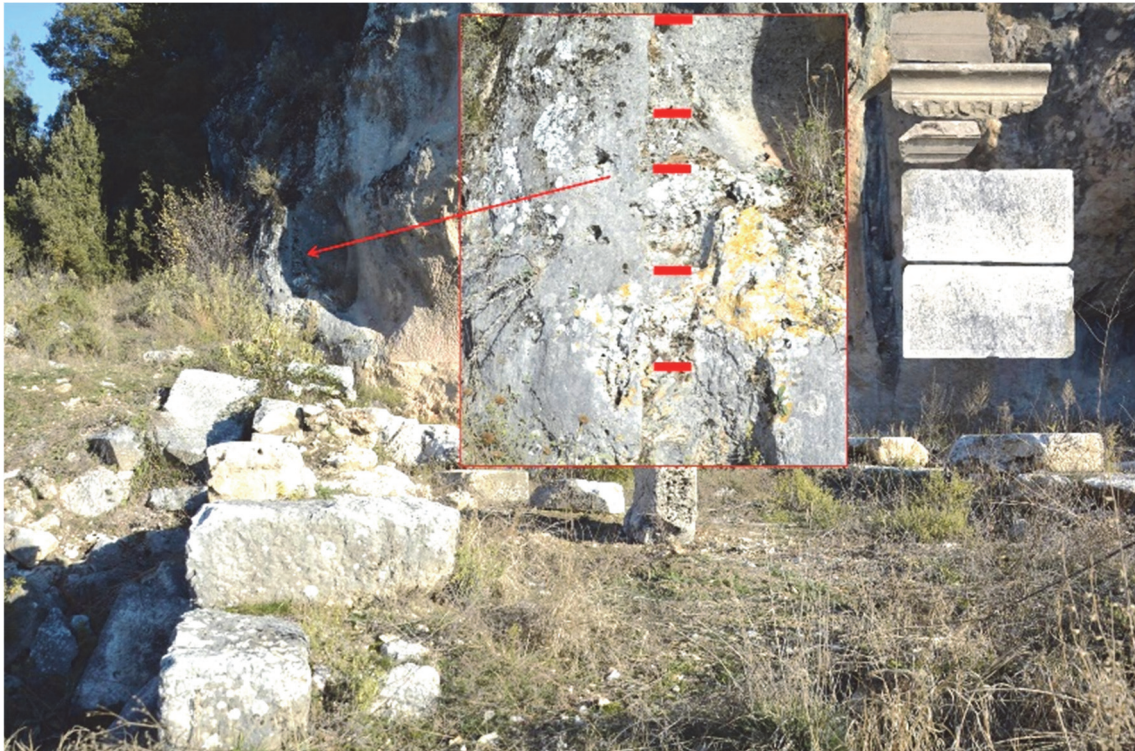


Fig. 17) Traces showing that the superstructure elements and blocks belonging to the southern facade of the sanctuary were placed in the main rock

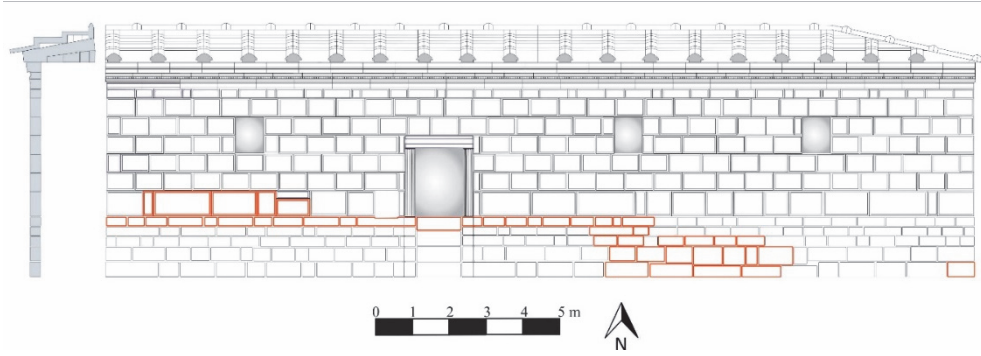


Fig. 18) Restitution drawing of the southern façade of the sanctuary

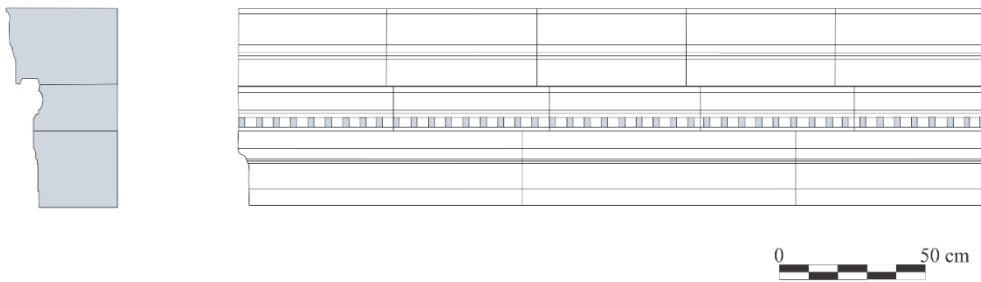


Fig. 18a) Detail of the south facade superstructure of the sanctuary

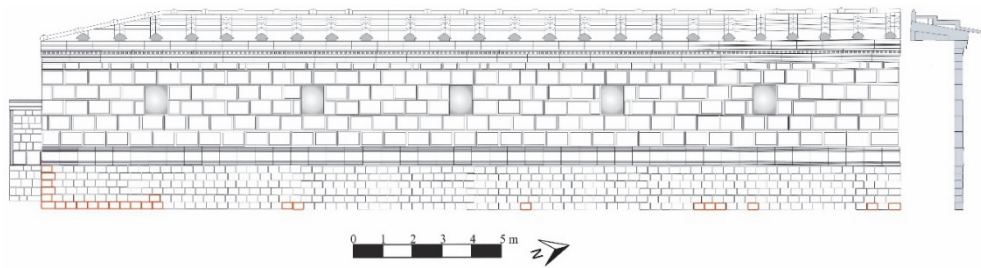


Fig. 19) Restitution drawing of the eastern façade of the sanctuary

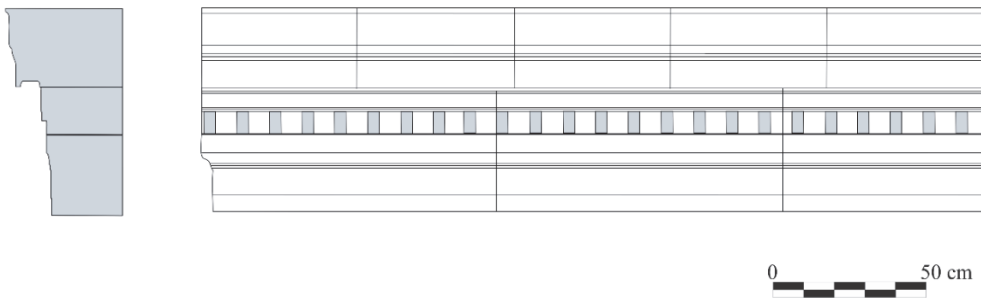


Fig. 19b) Detail of the east facade superstructure of the sanctuary



Fig. 20) General view of the floor blocks of the sanctuary



Fig. 21) Architectural elements of the I and II columned gallery in the sanctuary

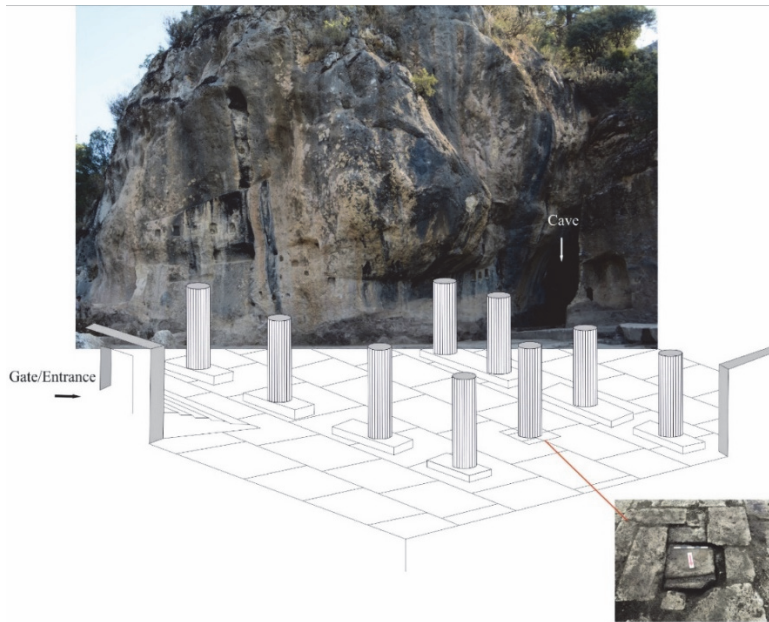


Fig. 22) Restitution drawing according to the architectural elements in the sacred area (I and II columned gallery)



Fig. 23) Column fragments unearthed during excavations in the sanctuary



Fig. 24) Detail and roof tile fragments from the area where the column in the middle of the columned gallery structures in the sacred area was placed

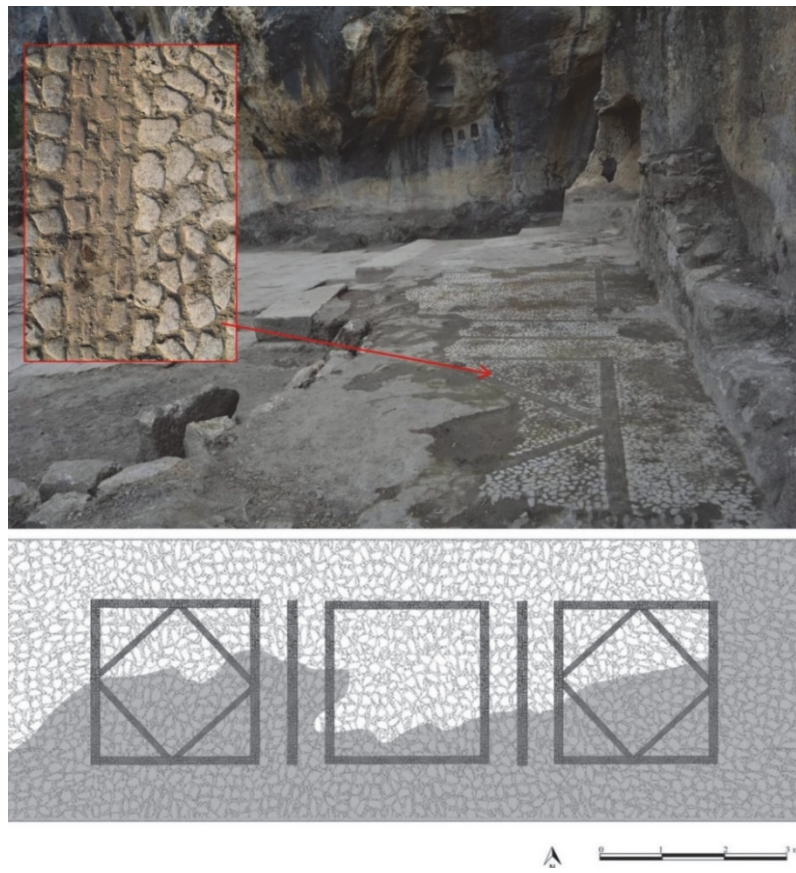


Fig. 25) Mosaic and drawing in the sanctuary

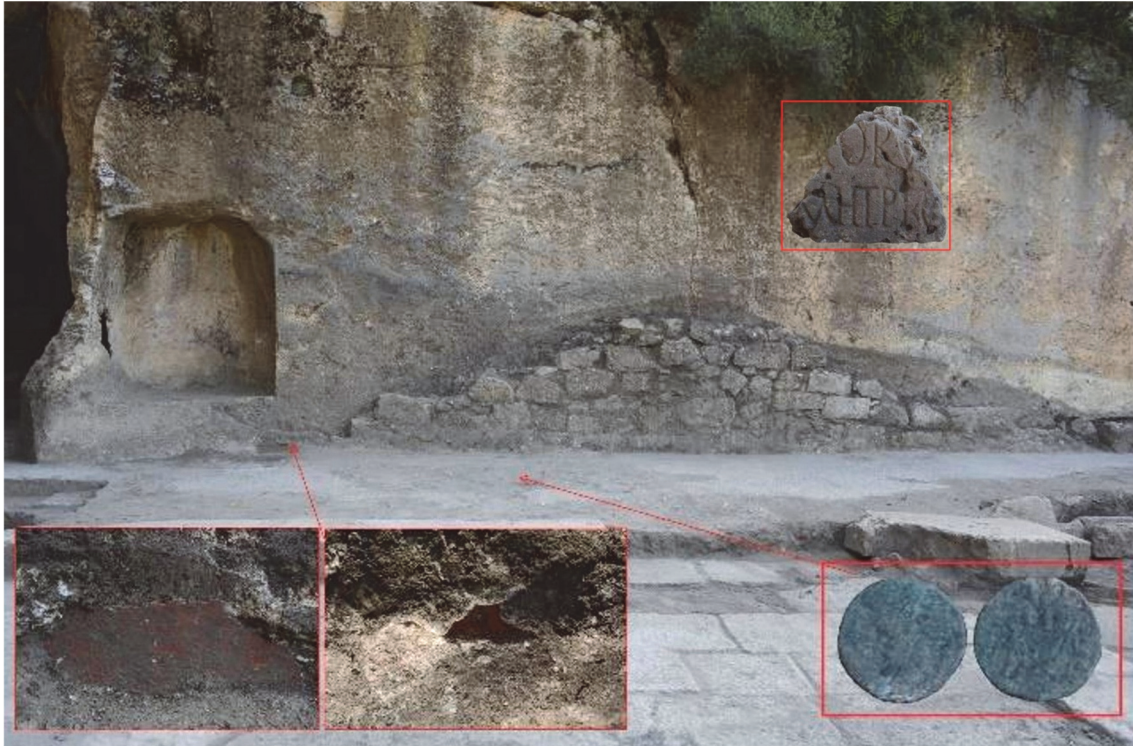


Fig. 26) Late Antique wall in the sanctuary, fragment with inscription, traces of red paint on plaster and a coin of Constantius II



Fig. 27) Beam sockets created to support the roof on the main rock facade surrounding the sacred area from the west and north



Fig. 28) There are dowel holes opened on the main rock facade to hang plaques or tables in the sacred area, traces of red painted plaster and a large niche



Fig. 29) View from the cave in the sanctuary



Fig. 30) Detailed view from the cave in the sanctuary

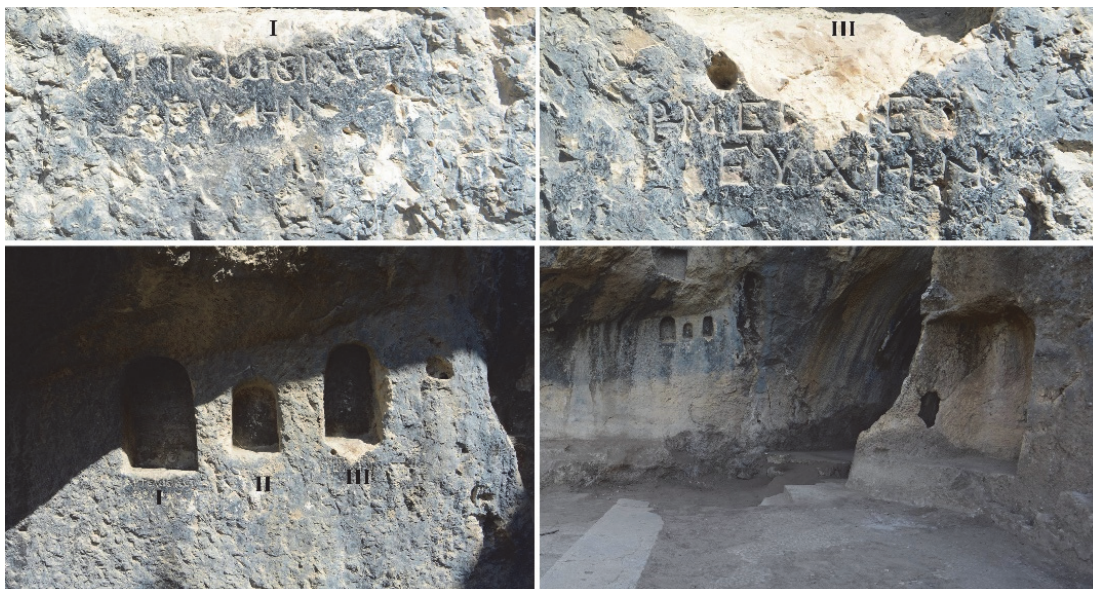


Fig. 31) Artemis inscription (I) and votive inscription (III) in the sanctuary



Fig. 32) Fragment of the inscription with the name MHTPI<O

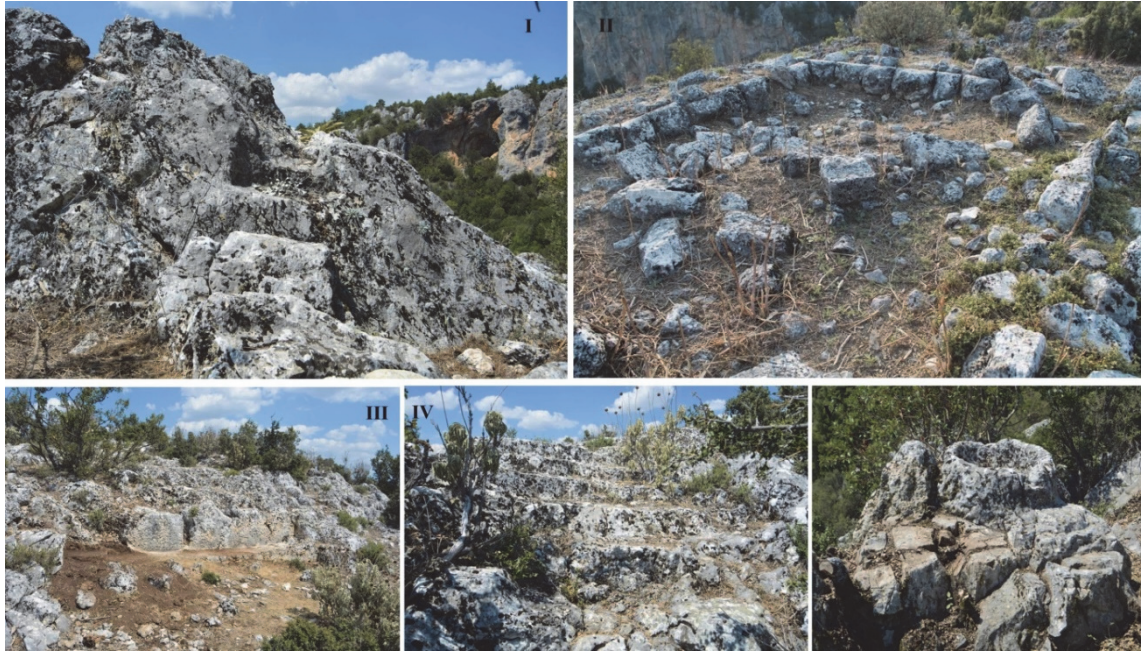


Fig. 33) Mother Goddess sanctuaries (I-III-IV-V) and the temple structure around the sanctuary (II)