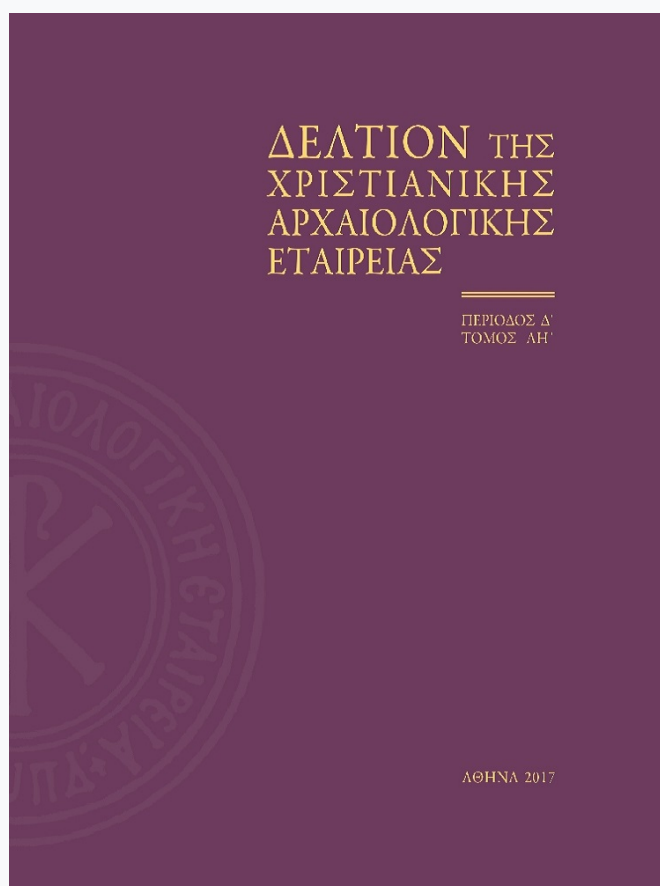


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Άγιοι και προσκυνητές στην κοιλάδα του Λύκου
(Μικρά Ασία)

Francesco D'ANDRIA

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SAINTS AND PILGRIMS IN THE LYKOS VALLEY (ASIA MINOR)

Στο άρθρο παρουσιάζονται τα πορίσματα των τελευταίων αρχαιολογικών ανασκαφών και ερευνών στις πόλεις της κοιλάδας του Λύκου, που πραγματοποιήθηκαν από την Ιταλική Αρχαιολογική Αποστολή στην Ιεράπολη και από το Πανεπιστήμιο του Παμουνκαλέ στη Λαοδίχεια. Στην Ιεράπολη οι έρευνες έφεραν στο φως το εκτός των τειχών ιερό που οικοδομήθηκε γύρω από τον τάφο του αποστόλου Φιλίππου, και βοήθησαν να αποκατασταθεί η διαδρομή που ο προσκυνητής ακολουθούσε για να φτάσει σ' αυτό. Τα ευρήματα στη Λαοδίχεια επιτρέπουν μια νέα ανάγνωση της πολεοδομικής εξέλιξης της πρωτοβυζαντινής πόλης και των μνημείων της, σε αναλογία με αυτή της Ιεράπολης και του μαρτυρίου του αποστόλου Φιλίππου, η οποία συνδέεται με τον επίσκοπο της πόλης Σάγαρι.

Λέξεις κλειδιά

Πρωτοβυζαντινή περίοδος, προσκυνήματα, μαρτύριο Αγίου Φιλίππου, ευλογίες, απόστολος Φίλιππος, επίσκοπος Σάγαρις, Κοιλάδα του Λύκου, Ιεράπολις, Λαοδίχεια.

The valley of the river Lykos¹ (in the modern *vilayet* of Denizli), in which the cities of Hierapolis, Laodikeia, Colossae and Tripolis on the Maeander all flourished, is a region in Anatolia characterised by natural phenomena of extraordinary intensity, arising from the highly seismic

The results of recent archaeological excavations and surveys in the cities of the valley of Lycus conducted by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Hierapolis and by the University of Pamukkale in Laodikeia are presented in the article. Investigations in Hierapolis revealed the extramural sanctuary built around the tomb of the Apostle Philip and helped to restore the pilgrim route. Findings in Laodikeia allow a new reading of the urban development of Byzantine city and its monuments, analogous to that of Hierapolis and St. Philip's tomb, which may be connected with the city's bishop Sagaris.

Keywords

Proto-byzantine period; pilgrimage sanctuary; tomb of the Apostle Philip; stamped ampullae; St. Philip; Bishop Sagaris; Lykos Valley; Hierapolis; Laodikeia.

nature of the region, which is crossed by the fault of the Maeander. The deep fissures in the earth's crust, caused by earthquakes, are the source of numerous thermal springs (frequently associated with the emission of toxic gases such as CO₂), which in turn are responsible for the famous white travertine cascades in the site of Pamukkale².

* Professor, University of Salento. Director of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Hierapolis, francesco.dandria@unisalento.it

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¹ I would like to thank Piera Caggia for her help in preparing the text and selecting the images, Silvia Pedone for providing important

bibliographical references, and lastly Şengül Aydıngün, of the Kocaeli Üniversitesi, for promptly informing me of the significant discoveries made in Bathonea, near Istanbul.

² On the seismic phenomena of the region, which have modelled the current appearance of the ruins in the ancient cities, see H. Kumsar – Ö. Aydan – C. Şimşek – F. D'Andria, "Historical earthquakes that damaged Hierapolis and Laodikeia antique cities and

Archaeology and literary sources in the valley of the Lykos

In this special geographical contest, located at the crossroads of important communication routes, Christianity was able to develop vigorously as early as the 1st century AD. This is attested by the writings of the New Testament, particularly Paul's letter to the Colossians, which refers to the church that met in the house of Nympha in Laodikeia, and the Revelation of John, which cites Laodikeia among the seven cities of Asia. In the early centuries of the Christian era, highly influential figures such as Papias, Appolinarios and Sagaris constituted a point of reference that transcended regional boundaries, bringing these communities into direct contact with the main centres of the new religion in Asia and in Rome. Their prestige was linked to the tradition of the apostle Philip, who was believed to have brought the Gospel to Hierapolis and to have been martyred there. The presence of his tomb in the Phrygian city, associated with that of St. John in Ephesus, is cited as early as the late 2nd century, in the famous letter of Bishop Polycrates to Pope Victor, regarding the controversy over the correct date on which to celebrate Easter. The letter compares the noble origins of the Church of Asia, founded by the Apostles John and Philip, with those of Rome, where the relics of the Apostles Peter and Paul were venerated³.

their implications for earthquake potential of Denizli basin in western Turkey", *Bulletin of Engineering Geology and the Environment* 75.2 (2016), 519-536. On the geological aspects of the site of Hierapolis, see S. Marabini – G. Scardozzi, *La ricerca geo-archeologica a Hierapolis*, G. Scardozzi (ed.), *Nuovo Atlante di Hierapolis di Frigia. Cartografia archeologica della città e delle necropoli*, Istanbul 2015, 227-268. On the emissions of CO₂, which in Hierapolis have given rise to myths and cults such as those linked to the cave, considered one of the entrances to the Underworld, and the *Ploutonion*, see H. Pfanz – G. Yüce – F. D'Andria – W. D'Alessandro – B. Pfanz – Y. Manetas – G. Papatheodorou, "The Ancient Gates to Hell and their Relevance to Geogenic CO₂", P. Wexler (ed.), *History of Toxicology and Environmental Health. Toxicology in Antiquity*, I, Amsterdam 2014, 92-117.

³ Eus., *H.e.*, 5,24,2-4: "For in Asia, too, great luminaries lie buried. They will rise on the day of the Lord's appearance, when he comes in full glory from the heavens and seek out all the saints: Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who was buried in Hierapolis, and his two daughters, who grew old as virgins, and his other daughter, who worked in the Holy Spirit and rests in Ephesus. Then also



Fig. 1. Map showing the cities of the valley of the Lykos.

Over the last decade in particular, the cities and territories of the valley of the Lykos (Fig. 1) have been the focus of systematic archaeological research, radically improving our knowledge of the late-Roman and proto-Byzantine phases. In addition to the activities of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Hierapolis, begun by Paolo Verzone in 1957, the last few years have seen the development of large-scale excavation and recovery projects, promoted by the University of Pamukkale⁴. These include the excavation of the Cathedral in Laodikeia and the colonnaded street in Tripolis⁵, which brought to light a series

John, who reclined on the bosom of the Lord, who became a priest with the frontlet, a martyr, and a teacher. He is buried in Ephesus..." (translation by U. Huttner, *Early Christianity in the Lycus Valley*, Leiden – Boston 2013).

⁴ For a general presentation of the activities, see C. Şimşek (ed.), *10. Yılında Laodikeia (2003-2013 Yılları)*, Istanbul 2014.

⁵ On the results of the archaeological research in Tripolis, see B. Duman, "Son Arkeolojik Araştırmalar ve Yeni Bulgular Işığında:

of statues of magistrates with inscribed bases, dated to the 5th century, of extraordinary stylistic quality, comparable to the contemporary sculptures of Aphrodisias.

During the last few years, research has also been conducted into the literary sources and the early history of Christianity in this area. Ulrich Huttner's *Early Christianity in the Lycus Valley*, represents the most up-to-date summary of these themes⁶. Huttner however was able to make only partial use of the new data emerging from the excavations conducted while the book was already nearing completion. In contrast, the volume on Colossae by A. Cadwallader and Michel Trainor follows an approach that is more closely tied to traditional New Testament studies and makes only limited use of archaeological data⁷. The lack of systematic archaeological research in Colossae means it has not yet been possible to identify the cave of the first apparition by the Archangel Michael. It was in this area that the cult of the Archangel began, subsequently spreading to the West via Constantinople, reaching Monte Sant'Angelo on the Gargano peninsula in Puglia, the monumental Sacra di San Michele in the Alps and the famous sanctuary of Mont St. Michel in Normandy.

The pilgrims' route to the Sanctuary of St. Philip

Of extraordinary value in contrast are the new discoveries in Hierapolis, on the hill to the east of the city, in an area occupied by Roman-era necropolises. It is here that P. Verzone first identified and brought to light the octagonal *Martyrion* of the early 5th century, which constitutes one of the most important examples of proto-Byzantine architecture⁸. On the basis of the above-mentioned letter of Polycrates, which attests to the presence of the tomb of Philip in Hierapolis, Verzone had

sought the Apostle's mausoleum inside the Octagon, without success however.

Topographical research conducted in this area for the *Atlas of Hierapolis*, whose 52 plates show all the architectural structures and traces of buildings present in the site, made it possible to obtain an overview, highlighting the fabric of settlement⁹. The use of remote sensing images had already highlighted new structures, previously not taken into consideration, especially in the area of the *Martyrion*, leading to excavations which have greatly contributed to our knowledge of the context in which the Sanctuary of the Apostle Philip developed¹⁰. This was one of the most famous pilgrimage sites in the whole of the Orient, comparable to that of St. John in Ephesus, which archaeologists had known of for decades¹¹.

Since 2003, the excavations have revealed the image of the Sanctuary in terms of its buildings and extraordinary landscape, which must have represented one of the main elements contributing to the pilgrims' perception of the sacred. The impact that the construction of the sanctuary of Philip had on the urban topography has also become clear. Indeed, it involved the creation of a route that radically detracted from the focal points of the Hellenistic and Roman city, such as the Sanctuary of Apollo, the famous *Ploutonion* and the civil Agora, aligned with the north-south *plateia*, which had been built by the proconsul Julius Frontinus in 84 AD, under the emperor Domitian. The pilgrims' route created a new special axis that ran across the urban layout along stenopos 13, passing over the now eliminated insula 66, from which a new road led towards the St. Philip Gate

⁹ F. D'Andria – G. Scardozzi – A. Spanò (eds), *Atlante di Hierapolis di Frigia. Hierapolis di Frigia*, II, Istanbul 2008.

¹⁰ As early as the 2002 and 2003 campaigns, the topographical investigations and the images acquired by remote sensing made it possible to identify the broad road that enabled pilgrims to cross the city and reach the eastern hill on which stood the Sanctuary of St. Philip: G. Scardozzi, *Ricerche topografiche e telerilevamento*, F. D'Andria – M.-P. Caggia (eds), *Hierapolis di Frigia*, I, *Le attività delle campagne di scavo e restauro 2000-2003*, Istanbul 2007, 67-83.

¹¹ On the pilgrimage sanctuaries of the East, see the list in P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe*, Münster 2004, 385, which, regarding the sanctuary of St. Philip in Hierapolis, contains only a brief mention of the octagonal Martyrion.

Tripolis ad Maeandrum = Tripolis ad Maeandrum: The Latest Archaeological Research Results and New Finds", *Cedrus. The Journal of MCRI* 1 (2013), 179-200.

⁶ Huttner, *Early Christianity*, op.cit. (n. 3).

⁷ A. H. Cadwallader – M. Trainor (eds), *Colossae in Space and Time. Linking to an Ancient City*, Göttingen 2011.

⁸ P. Verzone, "Le chiese di Hierapolis in Asia Minore", *CahArch* 8 (1956), 37-61. P. Verzone, "Il martyrium ottagonale a Hierapolis di Frigia", *Palladio* 10 (1960), 1-20.

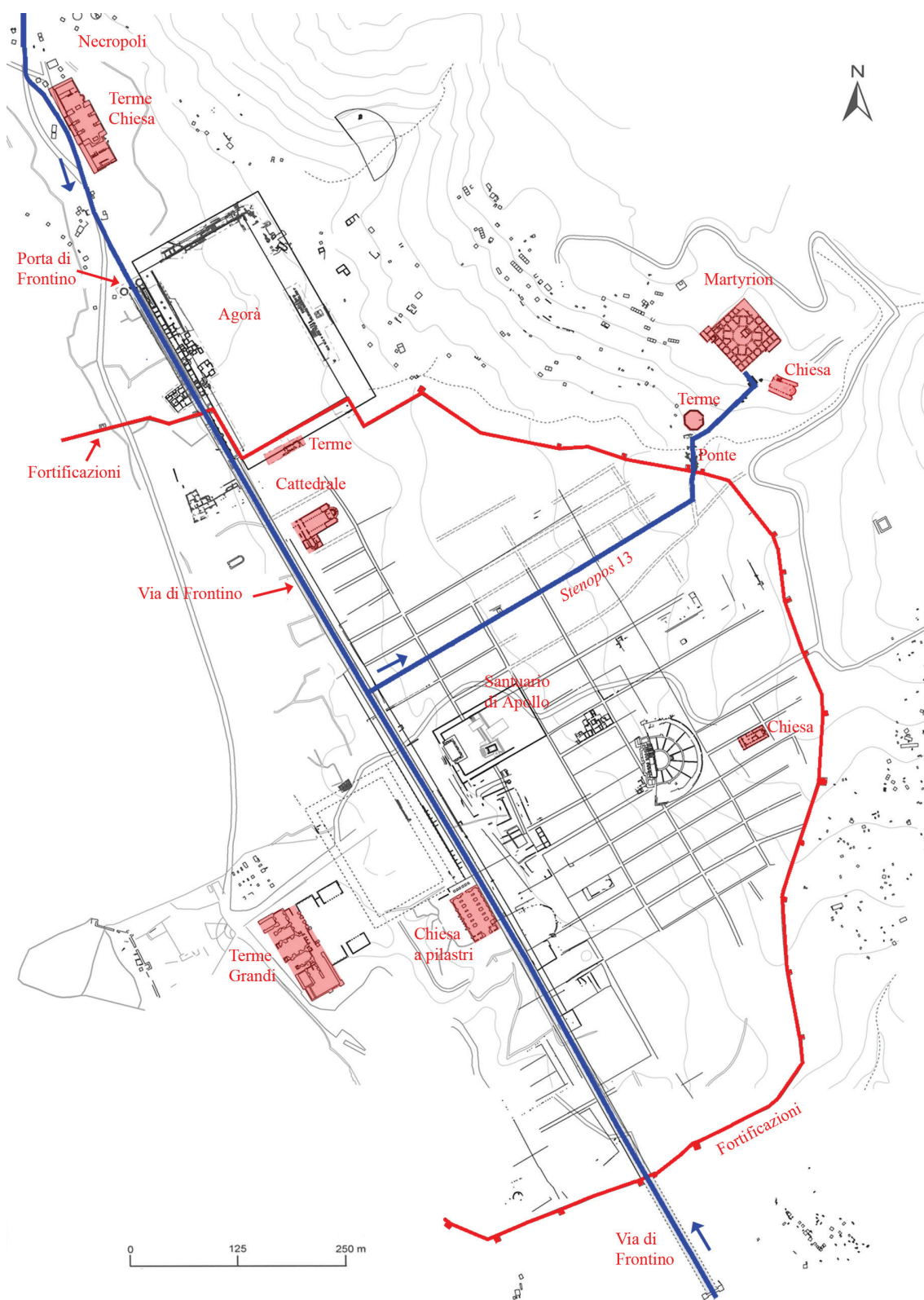


Fig. 2. Map of Hierapolis with the pilgrims' route to the Sanctuary of St. Philip (blue line).

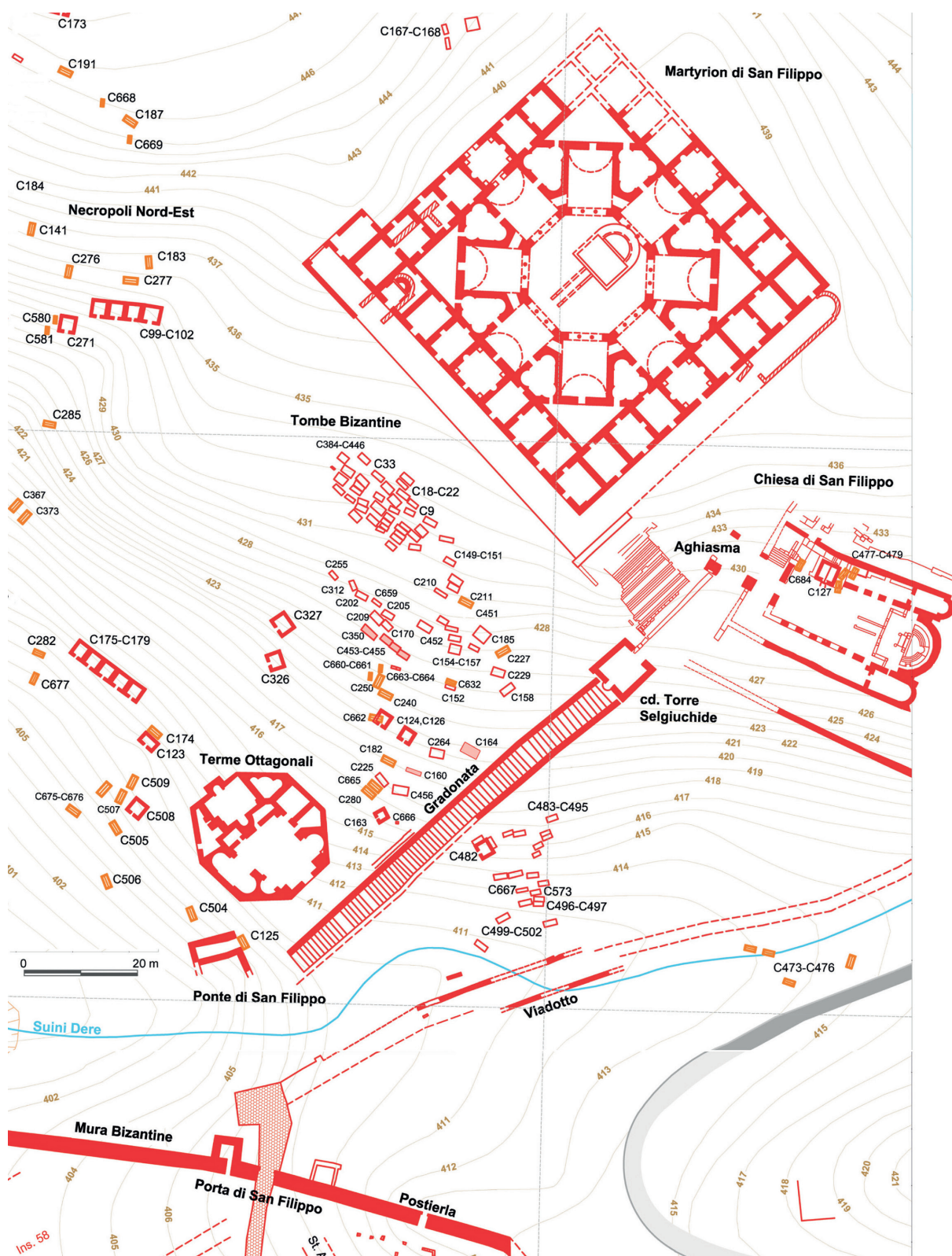


Fig. 3. Hierapolis, the buildings of the Sanctuary of St. Philip on the eastern hill (cf. Fig. 2).

on the eastern side of the 5th-century Byzantine fortifications¹² (Fig. 2).

Once in sight of the city, the pilgrims passed the Frontinus Gate where, near the eastern arch, a chapel with an apse had been built¹³. They then travelled along the *plateia*, where a portico had been built against the Doric façades of the imperial period. Here, they would have been able to read the inscriptions in red with acclamations to the emperor Justinian, painted on the pillars of the portico, before entering the Byzantine city through the North Gate¹⁴. The façade of the North Gate was adorned with symbols of the cross and marble reliefs –taken from the Roman Agora– of the heads of panthers, lions and Gorgons, with an apotropaic function. Proceeding along the main street, the pilgrims would have stopped at the Cathedral before entering *stenopos* 13 which led, slightly ascending, towards the eastern hill, where the complex of St. Philip occupied a dominant position on the heights that marked the city's eastern skyline (Fig. 3). Once outside the city the pilgrims gathered in an open area, before crossing an L-shaped bridge over the steep-sided ravine created by a seasonal torrent¹⁵. Just past the bridge was an octagonal baths building, dated like the *Martyrion* to the early 5th century¹⁶ (Fig. 4). As in other sanctuaries in the Orient,



Fig. 4. Hierapolis, aerial photograph of the octagonal baths.

such as St. Simeon Stylites, the worshippers had to purify themselves before beginning the climb to the summit of the hill, up a four-metre-wide staircase made of travertine slabs. At the top of the steps was a flat area with the *aghiasma*, where the pilgrims could slake their thirst and perform their ablutions before entering the church to venerate the sepulchre of the Apostle. Water played an important role in the cult activities that took place in the Sanctuary. Indeed, discovered behind the fountain was the *Castellum aquae*, which received water channelled from high-altitude springs via terracotta pipes and distributed it to the various buildings of the Sanctuary such as the *aghiasma*, the church of the Saint (which contained baths for immersions) and the baths building at the foot of the staircase. The entire complex clearly reflects the objectives of its design, which sought to shape, by means of complex architectural organisms, the perception and topography of the sacred site, which had two main points of reference: the Octagon built to a central plan over the place of the Apostle's martyrdom

¹² On the reconstruction of the layout of the proto-Byzantine city, see Scardozzi (ed.), *Nuovo Atlante di Hierapolis di Frigia*, op.cit. (n. 2), particularly 48-62, which also offers an extensive bibliography.

¹³ F. D'Andria – A. P. Zaccaria Ruggiu – T. Ritti – G. B. Bazzana – R. Cacitti, "L'iscrizione dipinta con la preghiera di Manasse a Hierapolis di Frigia (Turchia)", *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, s. III, 78 (2005-2006), 349-449.

¹⁴ The acclamations to the emperor Justinian, painted on the semi-columns of the portico, are described in E. Miranda, "Acclamazioni a Giustiniano I da Hierapolis di Frigia", D. De Bernardi Ferrero D. (ed.), *Hierapolis Scavi e Ricerche IV. Saggi in onore di Paolo Verzone*, Rome 2002, 109-118.

¹⁵ On the project to reconstruct the bridge, see M. P. Caggia – F. Galvagno – P. Mighetto, "Il percorso processionale della collina di S. Filippo. Interventi di restauro sulla scalinata e sul ponte", F. D'Andria – M-P. Caggia – T. Ismaelli (eds), *Hierapolis di Frigia*, VIII, 1-2, *Le attività delle campagne di scavo e restauro 2007-2011*, Istanbul 2016, 675-687.

¹⁶ M. P. Caggia, "The thermal building of the Sanctuary of Saint Philip in Hierapolis (Phrygia, Turkey)", M. F. Boussac – S. Denoix – T. Fournet – B. Redon (eds), *25 Siècles de bain collectif en Orient. Proche-Orient, Egypte et péninsule Arabique, Actes*

du 3ème Colloque international Balneorient, Damas 2009, Cairo 2014, 433-452. On the transformations of the baths building in the middle Byzantine period, see M. P. Caggia, "Le Terme ottagonali e le loro trasformazioni in quartiere abitativo: osservazioni sulle fasi di età proto e mediobizantina", D'Andria – Caggia – Ismaelli (eds), *Hierapolis di Frigia*, op.cit. (n. 15), 689-713.

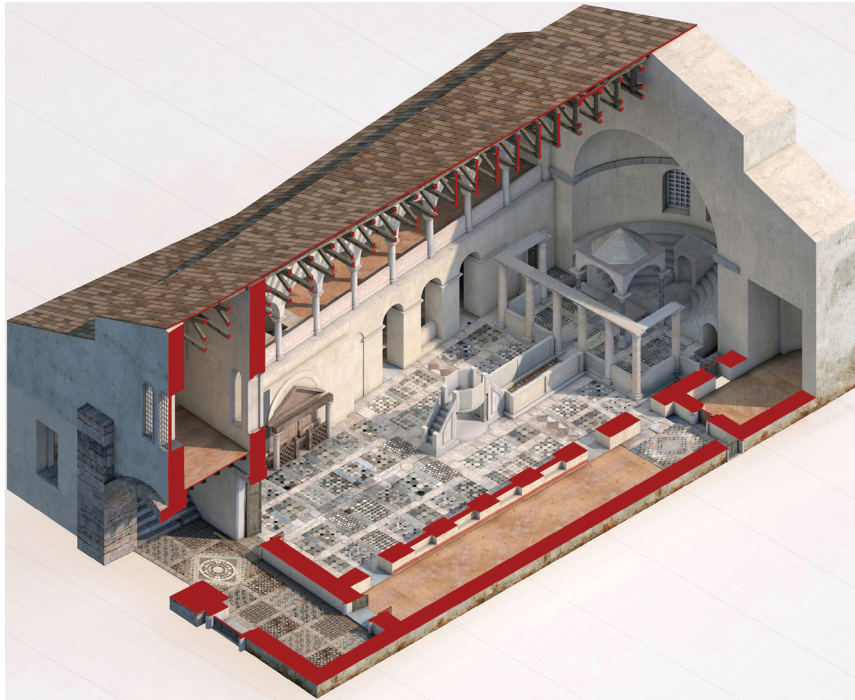


Fig. 5. Hierapolis, church of St. Philip: The tomb is embedded in the left wall of the central nave.

and the Church built around the Tomb¹⁷. The sacred buildings and those providing services, such as the Baths and the accommodation structures, formed a unified architectural whole that enjoyed an intense dynamic relationship with the extraordinary landscape of the valley of the Lykos, which was dominated by the massive forms of Mount Kadmos (Honaz Dağ) and Mount Salbakos (Baba Dağ). The beauty of the environmental context must have had a powerful emotional impact on the pilgrims, who reached the Sanctuary after a long and exhausting journey.

The route inside the Church of St. Philip

The church of the Apostle Philip is a building with three naves, 35 m long and 21.50 m wide, with pillars that mark off the central nave and support the *matronaea*.

¹⁷ On the topography of the sacred in Late Antiquity, see S. Mac Cormack, "Loca Sancta: the Organisation of Sacred Topography in Late Antiquity", R. Ousterhout (ed.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, Urbana – Chicago 1990, 7-40, 108-124.

It is believed to have been built in the second half of the 6th century (Fig. 5). The semicircular apse has a polygonal shape on the outside, as in the Cathedral and the Monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople¹⁸.

In front of the narthex was an entrance hall linked to the *aghiasma*, where the pilgrims gathered before entering the church. In the narthex on their left they found a marble staircase leading up to a platform on the level of the *matronaea*, above the tomb of the Apostle. A slab from an architrave discovered here, believed to have

¹⁸ A preliminary presentation of the complex can be found in F. D'Andria, "Il santuario e la tomba dell'Apostolo Filippo a Hierapolis di Frigia", *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 84 (2011-2012), 13-17. On the excavations and the recognition of the phases of occupation of the complex, see M. P. Caggia, "Prime indagini sul terrazzo dell'Aghiasma: la Chiesa di San Filippo", D'Andria – Caggia – Ismaelli (eds), *Hierapolis di Frigia*, VIII, op.cit. (n. 15), 729-760. The articles that present the discoveries of the Ploutonion and the tomb of St. Philip are translated into Turkish and collected in a single volume: F. D'Andria, *Ce-hennem'den Cenner'e Hierapolis (Pamukkale). Ploutonion. Aziz Philipus'un Mezarı ve Kutsal Alanı*, Istanbul 2014.



Fig. 6. Hierapolis, church of St. Philip. The slab of the altar with the inscription of bishop Theodosios.

belonged to a marble *aedicula* on the platform, bears on its front face the monogram of Theodosios, the bishop credited with commissioning the construction of the monument. The name, together with an indication of his role as the metropolitan bishop, is also found on the marble slab of the altar, in the formula “Lord, remember your servant Theodosios when thou comest into thy kingdom” (Fig. 6). The expression is taken from the Gospel according to Luke (23:42), where it is spoken by the Good Thief to Jesus in his last few moments of agony on the cross. The slab with the monogram of Theodosios belonged to an *aedicula-ciborium*, positioned on the platform that covered the tomb of the Apostle, which pilgrims approached in order to perform particular forms of veneration, perhaps in the presence of icons of the Saint and oil lamps from which oil could be drawn and conserved in ampoules¹⁹. From the platform, the pilgrims descended via a landing decorated with mosaics before returning to the narthex²⁰ (Fig. 3, 7). The strong signs of wear found on the marble staircase suggest that the pilgrims ascended on their knees.

After finally entering the church, the worshippers saw on their left a small chapel, again decorated with mosaics, where they could pray, and Tomb C127 (Fig. 3), which was protected by a metal railing, of which



Fig. 7. Hierapolis, church of St. Philip. The corridor decorated with mosaics, with the staircase descending from the platform above the tomb of the Apostle Philip.

¹⁹ The relationship between the pilgrims and the tombs of the Saints represents the fulcrum of the experience of those who travelled to the sanctuaries: the faithful believed that the Saint could hear and grant their prayers, as with St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki and, in the West, the tomb of St. Martin of Tours, where the inscription affirms that he is actually present and is manifested in the grace of his virtues: Mac Cormack, “Loca Sancta”, Ousterhout (ed.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, op.cit. (n. 17), 17.

²⁰ D’Andria, “Il santuario e la tomba dell’Apostolo Filippo”, op.cit. (n. 18), 20-22.

numerous nails remain. Only the cornice of the architrave over the door of the tomb was not covered by metal plating and indeed it appears to have been worn down by the hands of the faithful who could thus touch the structure linked to the memory of the Apostle, and carve crosses on it.



Fig. 8. Hierapolis, church of St. Philip. The templon, after the restoration; in the background the tomb of the Apostle.



Fig. 9. Hierapolis, church of St. Philip. Dedicatory inscription on the architrave of the templon.

In the presbytery, monumental features are seen in the *templon*, which it was possible to reconstruct thanks to sponsorship by the Kaplan Foundation of New York²¹ (Fig. 8). It has eight marble columns and waterleaf capitals, with an architrave bearing the bishop's dedication, probably by the same Theodosios cited on the slab of the altar, following the standard formula, “*MNHCΘHTI K(YPI)E TΩ CΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ*” (Lord, remember your

servant)²² (Fig. 9). The role of the bishops of Hierapolis in spreading the cult of Philip is also attested by a slab of marble that is believed to have been embedded inside the apse, bearing a list of archbishops including the name of Auxanon, who had participated in the Second Council of Constantinople in 553²³.

²¹ I would like to thank the Kaplan Foundation, New York, and Ken Lustbader (Program Director, Historic Preservation) for their sponsorship, which has made it possible to carry out important restorations of this monument.

²² T. Ritti, “Alcune iscrizioni rinvenute nella Chiesa di San Filippo”, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 84, op.cit. (n. 18), 56-58, fig. 4.

²³ Ritti, “Alcune iscrizioni”, op.cit. (n. 22), 58-61, fig. 6. On the bishops of Hierapolis and the relative epigraphical testimony, see A. Filippini, “Councillors, Heretics and Archbishops in Late Antique

Of particular importance is the structure of the altar, surmounted by the marble *ciborium* and resting on a monolithic marble slab, which in turn covers a subterranean chamber, made of bricks and lined with hydraulic plaster (1.25 m wide; 1.85 m long; 1.90 m high), linked to the level of the altar by a clay pipe. In the preliminary report on the excavation, the room below the altar was interpreted as a place for keeping relics, on the basis of a comparison with the cavity present below the altar of the large Justinian Basilica of St. John in Ephesus, which housed the body of the Evangelist, who, on the day of his panegyris, began breathing again; the tomb emitted a miraculous powder, which was gathered by the pilgrims and used to treat all kinds of diseases²⁴. On the basis of a new reading of the church in Hierapolis, together with the new elements that have emerged in the course of subsequent excavation campaigns, a more plausible interpretation is that the room below the altar was a cistern that served to collect the water that was used for the purification of the altar. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the excavation of the Cathedral of Laodikeia, which in the area of the altar has tubes for supplying and draining the water used for cleaning the sacred place²⁵. An element that had favoured my interpretation of the room below the altar of Hierapolis as a place for storing the relics of the Apostle was the terracotta tube connecting the slab on which the altar rested

to the chamber below, into which *myron* may have been poured as a libation in honour of the Saint.

In addition, by a strange coincidence, on the marble altar slab in the chapel to the north of the presbytery there was discovered inscription dedicated by Dorotheos Myrodotes, who had the task of conserving and offering the perfumed chrism that was also used for administering the sacraments²⁶. Lastly, inside the Cathedral, located inside the city, a monumental tomb in the apse has a tube leading to the subterranean chamber for offering libations to the deceased, who was presumably an important figure, perhaps a bishop, in the local Christian community²⁷.

The phases of construction of the Church of St. Philip

The stratigraphic excavation of the church has made it possible to understand the phases of transformation of the area from the imperial period, when *Sacellum* Tomb C127 was situated within the necropolis, with nothing to distinguish it from the other burials²⁸. Its only special feature was the erasure of the original dedicatory inscription above the architrave of doorway. In the 2nd century, on the slab to the left of the doorway an inscription was added, consisting only of the name (in the nominative case) of Appolinarios. This is believed to be a reference to the famous bishop of Hierapolis, the author of an apologia for Christianity addressed to the emperor Marcus Aurelius and a committed opponent of the Montanist heresy²⁹.

Hierapolis: Recent Epigraphical Findings Concerning the City, its Territory, and the History of Hierapolis' Bishopric (IV-IX cent.), C. Şimşek (ed.), *The Lykos Valley and Neighbourhood in Late Antiquity. 2nd International Symposium on Archaeological Practises, Laodikeia 22-23 May 2015* (in press). Fundamental for the prosopography of the bishops of Asia Minor is S. Destephen, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas Empire. 3. Prosopographie du diocèse d'Asie (325-641)*, Paris 2008, 802, especially the references to bishop Philip and the status of the autocephalous archbishopric, which was conferred on Hierapolis in a letter of the emperor Leo I (457). The role of the bishops as arbiters in the management and creation of sacred places was fundamental, especially considering their control over these specific cult contexts; see Mac Cormack, "Loca Sancta", Ousterhout (ed.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, op.cit. (n. 17), 18.

²⁴ R. Muntaner, Cronica 234. F. Moisé, *Cronache catalane del secolo XIII e XIV*, Palermo 1984, 268. C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity. A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*, Cambridge – New York 1979, 127.

²⁵ C. Şimşek, *Church of Laodikeia. Christianity in the Lykos Valley*, Denizli 2015, 37-45, figs 46-48.

²⁶ Ritti, "Alcune iscrizioni", op.cit. (n. 22), 56, fig. 3.

²⁷ An initial description of this Byzantine funerary structure can be found in P. Arthur, *Byzantine and Turkish Hierapolis (Pamukkale)*, Istanbul 2006, 140-143, figs 74, 75.

²⁸ F. D'Andria, "The Sanctuary of St. Philip in Hierapolis and the tombs of saints in Anatolian cities", J. Rasmus Brandt – E. Hagelberg – G. Bjornstad – S. Ahrens (eds), *Life and Death in Asia Minor in Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Times. Studies in Archaeology and Bioarchaeology. Studies in Funerary Archaeology*, 10, Oxford – Philadelphia 2017, 9-11, fig. 1.11.

²⁹ The inscription is published in Ritti, "Alcune iscrizioni", op.cit. (n. 22), 53-54, fig. 1. On the figure of bishop Appolinarios and the presentation of his literary works in the historical context of the mid-imperial period, see Huttner, *Early Christianity*, op.cit. (n. 3), 231-269.



Fig. 10. Hierapolis, church of St. Philip. The baths for ritual immersions, discovered next to the tomb of the Apostle.

In the course of the 4th century the area around Tomb C127 acquired a monumental character, with the elimination of all the other funerary monuments and the reuse of the sarcophagi to build the walls of a rectangular building, a *memoria* in which the tomb formed the central element. Next to the tomb were two basins, two metres deep and completely lined with marble slabs, linked to healing practices involving water, which acquired a special meaning in proximity to the tomb of the Apostle, which itself was believed to have healing powers³⁰ (Fig. 10). However, as Paolo Verzone had already noted, the healing must have also involved

incubation practices that took place in the rooms that surrounded the octagonal Martyrion, framing it within a square plan. Here, at the end of the long ritual itinerary, the pilgrims would spend the night; as in other Byzantine sanctuaries, they entered into close contact with the sacred dimension while they slept³¹. Incubation is believed to have also been practised in Hierapolis in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, inside the famous sanctuary of Hades, where recent archaeological excavations have brought to light the *abaton*, the innermost and most secret room of the sacred place, positioned on the fracture of the seismic fault. On two sides of the room were beds on which the faithful spent the night in order to receive the gift of healing from the god of the Underworld³². Indeed, it should be pointed out that the iconography of the cult statue of Hades, discovered in the *Ploutonion*, recalls the type of the Serapis of Bryaxis,

³⁰ D'Andria, "Il santuario e la tomba dell'Apostolo Filippo", op. cit. (n. 18), 25-28, fig. 18. On the Christian healing cults and their relationship to the preceding context of the Greek-Roman religion, see G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Taumaturgia e culti terapeutici nel mondo tardo-antico: fra pagani, ebrei e cristiani", E. Dal Covolo – G. Sfameni Gasparro (eds), *Cristo e Asclepio: culti terapeutici e taumaturgici nel mondo mediterraneo antico fra cristiani e pagani*, Atti del Convegno internazionale, Accademia di studi mediterranei, Agrigento 20-21 novembre 2006, Rome 2008, 13-53. On the healing function of water in Byzantine sanctuaries, see R. G. Ousterhout, "Water and Healing in Constantinople. Reading the Architectural Remains", B. Pitarakis (ed.), *Life is Short, Art Long. The Art of Healing in Byzantium. Catalogue of Exhibition in Suna ve Inan Kıraç Müzesi*, Pera Museum, Istanbul 2015, 65-77.

³¹ On incubation in Byzantine sanctuaries, see V. Déroche, "Dream Healing: from Asklepios to the Physician Saints", *Life is Short*, op.cit. (n. 30), 12-25.

³² Incubation-based healing practices were also a feature near the cave in the other sanctuary of Pluto, described by Strabone (14, 1, 45-47), which was located in the Acharaka district near Nysa ad Maeandrum: F. D'Andria, "Il Ploutonion a Hierapolis di Frigia", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 63 (2013), 191-192.



Fig. 11. Hierapolis, church of St. Philip. The capitals with pulvini of the *matronaea*.

taking on the features of the famous Egyptian divinity who, in his sanctuary in Alexandria, was manifested as a healing god.

During the first half of the 5th century, the building work in the Sanctuary area focused on the construction of the octagonal Martyrion and the baths building. It was only in the second half of the 6th century that the primitive *memoria* was replaced by a sumptuous basilica with three naves, with *matronaea* characterised by capitals and *pulvini* decorated by crosses (Fig. 11). The flooring in *opus sectile* with geometric motifs is similar to the other churches of the city and contemporary dwellings³³. In this phase too, the basins maintained their function. To each of them was added a smaller bath for individual immersions, equipped with a vertical

marble slab to keep the water in, while a circular bath was installed in the centre of the nave.

The building was badly damaged in the earthquake of the second half of the 7th century, but it was completely rebuilt, while the Martyrion on the hill was abandoned and only a chapel along the south-west side recalled the presence of the monumental building marking the place of the Philip's martyrdom³⁴. In the middle Byzantine phase the church had fine marble decoration, but the basins of the central nave were removed, while a bath for immersions was installed in the north nave in a less visible position, reusing a marble Roman sarcophagus with fluted sides, showing the persistence of the healing role of the Saint in this phase, corresponding to the 9th and 10th centuries.

After the earthquake of the 10th century the building was not rebuilt and only the north chapel was restored and used as a church (Fig. 12). The central nave

³³ The marble *opus sectile* flooring of the church has the same decorative pattern as the proto-Byzantine houses in the city: A. P. Zaccaria Ruggiu, *Regio VIII, insula 104. Le strutture abitative: fasi e trasformazioni*, D'Andria – Caggia (eds), *Hierapolis di Frigia*, I, op.cit. (n. 10), 229-234, figs 19-22. In the Cathedral of Laodikeia the polychromatic flooring in *opus sectile* has the same decorative motifs as the Church of St. Philip; see Şimşek, *Church of Laodikeia*, op.cit. (n. 25), 79-82, figs 125-130.

³⁴ For a critical discussion of the phases of transformation of the Martyrion in the middle Byzantine period, see F. D'Andria, "Storia di un libro sul Martyrion di Hierapolis di Frigia", *Orizzonti* 14 (2013), 125-138.



Fig. 12. Hierapolis, church of St. Philip, the north chapel, middle Byzantine phase.

remained roofless and, in the course of the 11th and 12th centuries, was used as an *ad sanctos* necropolis area, with the tombs aligned along its sides³⁵. In this period numerous tombs were built in the area surrounding the structures of the church, by then in ruins.

Following the Seljuk conquest, the whole area was occupied by makeshift dwellings built among the ruins, in which Tomb C127 is believed to have been used as a bedroom.

An extraordinary piece of evidence relating to the Sanctuary's phase of greatest development is a pilgrims' bread stamp (diameter 10.5 cm), clearly from Hierapolis, now kept in the Virginia Museum in Richmond, USA³⁶ (Fig. 13). The motif represents, with a high degree



Fig. 13. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. Bronze stamp for marking loaves distributed to pilgrims: the image is shown here in reflection, as it would have been seen on the bread.

³⁵ M. P. Caggia, "La collina di S. Filippo a Hierapolis di Frigia: osservazioni sulle fasi di occupazione bizantina e selgiuchide (IX-XIV sec.)", *Scienze Antichità* 20,2 (2014), 143-161.

³⁶ A. Gonosova – Chr. Kondoleon, *Art of Late Roman and Byzantium in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, Baltimore 1994, 270-273, n. 94. In the catalogue record the building surmounted by the cupola is correctly interpreted as a representation of the octagonal Martyrion of Hierapolis, while the other structure "with



Fig. 14. Hierapolis, the hill of St. Philip: on the left, the baths building; in the centre, the Martirion with cupola; on the right, church of the sepulchre of St. Philip.

of detail, the complete complex that the recent excavations have brought to light. At the centre of the representation is the image of St. Philip, indicated by the inscription, wearing a heavy pilgrim's cloak. He is flanked by two stairways leading to two buildings that clearly correspond to the monumental complex of the Sanctuary: the one on the left, covered by a dome, is the octagonal Martyrion, while on the right is a church with a pitched gabled roof covered with tiles (Fig. 14). Inside is a hanging lamp which clearly alludes to the presence of the tomb of a saint, as in the representations in the Constantinian Basilica of St. Peter in Rome and the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

Evidence of pilgrimage

Numerous discoveries in the course of the excavations shed light on the contexts and typical objects of pilgrimage, such as the ampoules with representations of saints and crosses³⁷. Discovered in the baths building were small

pots with highly characteristic shapes, marked by painted letters, which probably contained unguents³⁸ (Fig. 15). Medical practices, common in Christian healing sanctuaries such as those of the Anargyroi Saints Cosmas and Damian, are also referenced by the numerous unguent pots (*ampullae*), stamped and spindle-shaped, some of

da Hierapolis di Frigia, D'Andria – Caggia – Ismaelli (eds), *Hierapolis di Frigia*, VIII, op.cit. (n. 15), 663-674, which makes reference to Byzantine literary sources (see in particular the *Homilia in Martyres* by John Chrysostom, PG 50, coll. 664-665), which refer to the pilgrims' custom of using the ampoules to conserve the oil taken from lamps placed on the tombs of the martyrs [see also B. Pitarakis, "Empowering Healing: Substances, Senses, and Rituals", *Life is Short*, op.cit. (n. 30), 169-178]. The recent excavations in the proto-Byzantine contexts of the valley of the Lykos have unearthed a considerable quantity of these objects in Laodikeia and Tripolis on the Maeander as well as Hierapolis: C. Şimşek – B. Duman, "Laodikeia'da bulunan ampullalar", *Olba* 15 (2007), 1-29. It seems highly probable that in addition to Ephesus, centres of production of this particular type of ampoule were also located in this region. The importance of these artefacts in the practice of pilgrimage to Byzantine sanctuaries was recently highlighted by V. A. Foskolou, "Relics, miracles and eulogiae: The Archaeology of the cult of local saints" (in Greek with English summary), *DChAE* 37 (2016), 157-180, which includes extensive references to the Sanctuary of St. Philip.

³⁸ These small truncated-cone vases with "basket handles" are marked by painted letters, like containers of medicines in the classical period: R. Caldarola, "Analisi contestuale di alcune classi di materiali protobizantini rinvenuti nelle Terme Ottagonali", F. D'Andria – M-P. Caggia – T. Ismaelli (eds), *Hierapolis di Frigia*, VIII, op.cit. (n. 15).

lamp on the left may be the tomb of the saint inside it". It is only recently that the excavations have made it possible to understand that these are two separate buildings positioned at the top of two different flights of steps.

³⁷ For an update on the issues linked to this particular class of materials, with a discussion of the existing literature, see M. Leo Imperiale, *Sanctum oleum sume. Le ampolle a eulogia di tipo microasiatico*

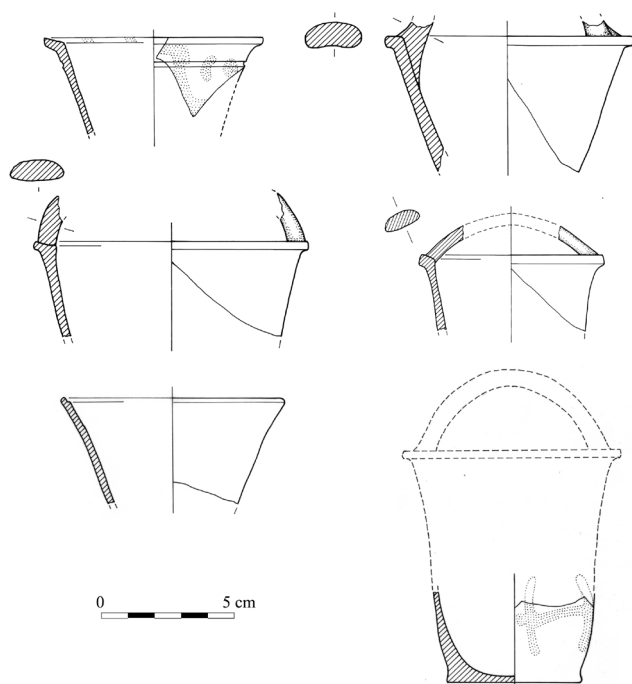


Fig. 15. Hierapolis, octagonal baths. Small vases with basket handles, perhaps containers for unguents.

which bore the names of bishops. The recent discovery in Bathonea, near Constantinople, of a deposit with hundreds of specimens has made it possible to analyse their contents. Tests have confirmed the presence of medicinal substances, including methanone, a psychoactive tranquilliser, and phenanthrene, which has beneficial effects on various diseases³⁹. The presence of stamps with inscriptions on the proto-Byzantine unguent and medicine pots has a precedent in the classical period, in the small containers for unguents (very frequent is the *lykion*, an ointment for care of the eyes obtained from certain plants). These containers bore stamps with figurative

³⁹ In the course of the excavations in this settlement, not far from Constantinople, a deposit with more than 400 intact exemplars of spindle-shaped proto-Byzantine unguent pots was discovered. The pots contained residues that were analysed by the Tübitak Marmara Research Centre and found to include medicinal substances: Ş. Aydıngün – A. Aslan – D. Kaya, “Küçükçekmece Göl Havzası (Bathonea?) Kazılarında ele geçen Unguentariumlar”, *Istanbul Araştırmaları Yıllığı* 2 (2013), 1-14. Ş. Aydıngün – A. E. Bilgili, “İstanbul tarih öncesi arkeolojik yüzey araştırmaları ve Küçükçekmece göl havzası (Bathonea) kazılarının İstanbul’a katkıları”, Yılmaz C. (ed), *Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, I, Istanbul 2015, 386-387.



Fig. 16. Hierapolis, church of St. Philip. Inscription painted by a pilgrim, ΔΟΥΛΟC ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

motifs and names referring to the producer which also served as a guarantee of the product’s quality⁴⁰.

The excavation of the room in front of the narthex in the 2015 campaign discovered densely packed graffiti and inscriptions painted with a carbon-based ink on the plaster of the north wall. These are attributable to the pilgrims who gathered there before entering the church. Many of the graffiti, dated to the middle Byzantine era, are prayers to the Lord (*Κύριε βοήθει τὸν δοῦλόν σου*)⁴¹, while others are only names. A painted inscription consists of a name followed by “ΔΟΥΛΟC ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟC(ΤΟΛΟΥ) ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ”, which represents the first explicit reference to the Apostle⁴² (Fig. 16), found in his Sanctuary. In the 19th century, Cockerell

⁴⁰ M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, III, Rome 1974, 358-360, group of flasks discovered in Priene. E. Sjöqvist, *Morgantina. Hellenistic Medicine Bottles*, *AJA* 64 (1960), 78-83, from Morgantina; from Paleokastro in Cyprus is a single-handle jug, of the Hellenistic period, with the stamp of Ermophilos and the word *epenguai*, which refers to the guarantee of the product: L. Quilici, “Le terme dell’abitato ellenistico romano di Paleokastro”, *Orizzonti* 16 (2015), 117, figs 15, 16, 19, R1.

⁴¹ The same formula is found in the graffiti inside the so-called cave of St. Paul near Ephesus. R. Pillinger, “Neue Entdeckungen in der sogenannten Paulusgrotte von Ephesos”, *Mitteilungen zur christliche Archäologie* 6 (2000), 16-29.

⁴² The graffiti in Christian pilgrimage contexts, in both the East and the West, are studied from the anthropological perspective of the perception and creation of sacred space in a recent article by A. M. Yasin, “Prayers on Site: the Materiality of Devotional Graffiti and the Production of Early Christian Sacred Space”, A. Eastmond (ed.), *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, Cambridge 2015, 54: “But unlike bowing in supplication, intoning a prayer, lighting a candle or partaking of the Eucharist, inscribing a graffito offered a tangible interaction with the very substance of the site. Through it one’s presence at

had copied an inscription in Hierapolis, unfortunately now lost, which refers to the Archidiakonos Eugenios⁴³, who was in charge of the church of the holy and glorious “ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου καὶ θεολόγου Φιλίππου”, which is clearly the church that the most recent excavations have brought to light. Recently deciphered by Nikoloz Aleksidze (Oxford) and Michel Stone (Jerusalem) is another inscription in Armenian, painted on a small marble slab, of which the text reads as follows: “I, Andranik, having come to the holy place” (Andranik is an Armenian proper noun that means first-born)⁴⁴. Together with two other inscriptions in Armenian that have yet to be deciphered, this document attests to the international character of the Sanctuary, which appears to have been frequented by peoples from far-off regions in the Orient.

However, Hierapolis was also frequented by western pilgrims. In the 12th century, when the church had collapsed and the area around the tomb was being used as a cemetery, the memory of Philip was still alive, as attested by the chronicles of Frederick Barbarossa’s journey through Anatolia as part of the Third Crusade. The account describes the passage of the crusader army through the city, by now in ruins, before reaching Laodikeia, on the morning of the 25th of April 1190: “*Sequenti die in Lytania majori transivimus circa dirutam civitatem Hierapolis, ubi S. Philippus Apostolus passus est...*” (The next day we crossed, singing the major rogation, the ruined city of Hierapolis, where St. Philip the Apostle was martyred)⁴⁵.

A recent discovery has provided new data on the presence of western pilgrims in the sanctuaries of the

the shrine and one’s appeal to higher powers there found fixed form and a modicum of endurance”.

⁴³ W. Judeich, “Die Inschriften”, C. Humann – C. Cichorius – W. Judeich – F. Winter, *Altortümer von Hierapolis*, JDAI, Erg. 4, Berlin 1898, 67-180, no 24. Huttner, *Early Christianity*, op.cit. (n. 3), 265, 370, with an extensive discussion of the issues arising from the interpretation in a Montanist key of documents from Hierapolis concerning the cult of St. Philip. The greatest promoter of this pan-Montanist vision is W. Tabbernee (*Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia. Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism*, Macon, GA 1997, 502-508), which presents a detailed discussion of the inscription in Hierapolis by the Archidiakonos Eugenios.

⁴⁴ I would like to express my thanks for the help provided by Professor N. Aleksidze and M. Stone in the reading and translation of the Armenian text.

⁴⁵ *Historia de Expeditione Friderici Imperatoris*, IV, 25-27.

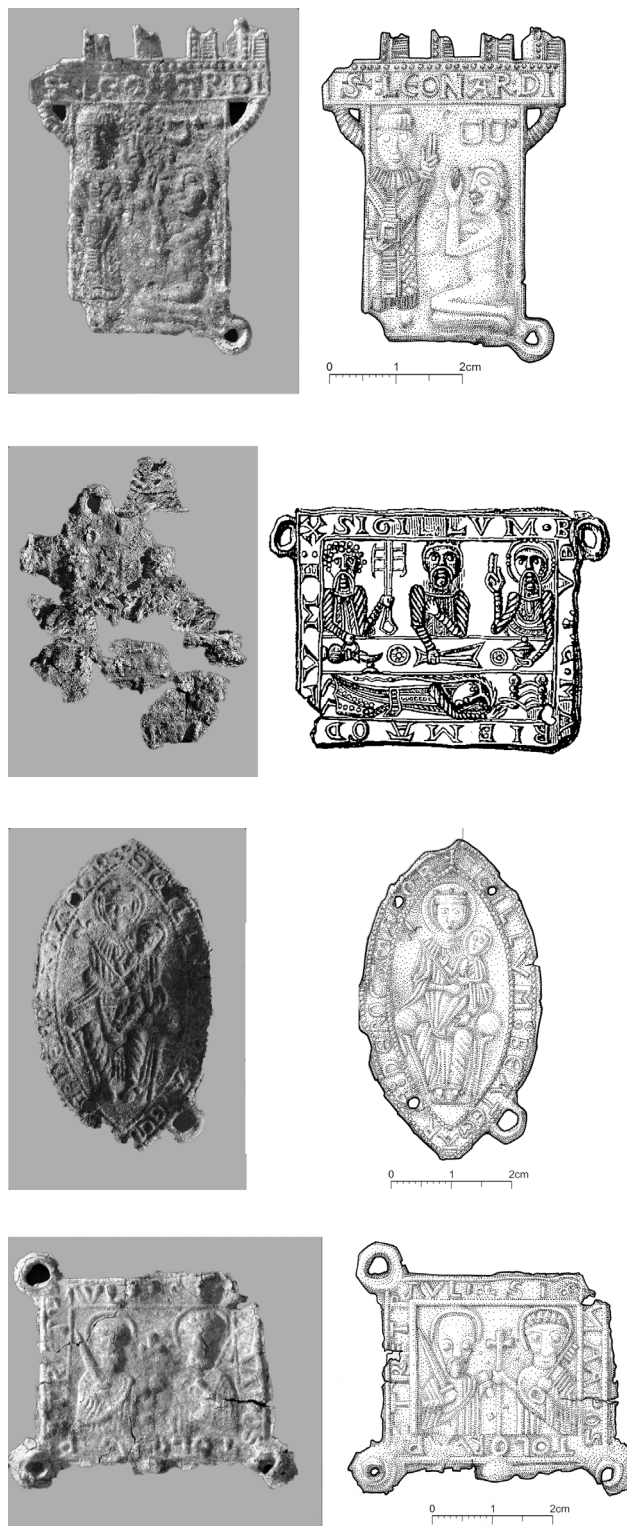


Fig. 17. Hierapolis, signa peregrinorum, discovered in a medieval burial to the west of the octagonal Martyrion.

Orient, which was extensively documented by the graffiti discovered in the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers in Ephesus⁴⁶. In Hierapolis the excavations in the eastern necropolis, conducted by the Norwegian group working as part of the Italian Archaeological Mission, brought to light a Roman-era *sacellum* tomb a few metres from the *Martyrion* of St. Philip which had been reused, at the beginning of the 14th century, to bury a pilgrim who had come from France⁴⁷ (Fig. 17). It was possible to reconstruct his itinerary on the basis of the lead *signa peregrinorum* discovered next to his skeleton. The itinerary began in Saint Léonard de Noblat, near Limoges, moving first to Sainte Marie de Rocamadour in the Pyrenees and then to Saint Maximin la Sainte Baume in Provence, with the tomb of Mary Magdalene. The last of the *signa* is from Rome and bears portraits of Saints Peter and Paul. Although the pilgrim had probably intended to reach the Holy Land, his journey ended in Hierapolis, where he was buried on the site of the now abandoned Sanctuary of the Apostle⁴⁸. Indeed, by then the entire area of the church was used as a dwelling by a group of Seljuk families.

Following the discovery of the Tomb and church of St. Philip, the site began to draw large numbers of visitors, including groups of Christians belonging to various denominations, mainly Russians. In the same year as the discovery, on the 14th of November 2011, the day of the *panegyris* of the Apostle, His All Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I, visited the site, participating in the celebration of the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. In a highly evocative atmosphere, after more than one thousand years, Byzantine hymns were sung among the ruins of the Basilica of St. Philip⁴⁹ (Fig. 18).



Fig. 18. Hierapolis, Martyrion of St. Philip, 14 November 2011: the liturgical celebration on the occasion of the panegyris of the Apostle, in the presence of His All Holiness Patriarch Bartholomew I.

The *Acta Philippi*

An extraordinary document attesting to the cult of Philip in Anatolia is the *Acta Philippi*, an apocryphal Gospel probably written in Hierapolis in the 5th century, which contains various references to the Phrygian heresy of Montanism⁵⁰. It was precisely in this region that Montanism arose, along with its most extreme manifestations, practised by the Encratites (*continentes*), who adhered to strict ritual rules, such as refusing food and drink even during the liturgy of the Eucharist⁵¹. In the *Acta Philippi*, Hierapolis, where the arrival and martyrdom of the Apostle take place, is called *Ophiorhyme*, i.e. the city of the Serpent. This appears to be linked to the dramatic seismic phenomena, referenced in the episode of the abyss that opened up and swallowed the

⁴⁶ An up-to-date discussion of the issues linked to the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers in Ephesus, with an extensive bibliography, can be found in N. Zimmermann, “Das Sieben-Schläfer-Zoemeterium in Ephesos. Neue Forschungen zu Baugeschichte und Ausstattung eines ungewöhnlichen Bestattungskomplexes”, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 80 (2011), 365-407.

⁴⁷ The preliminary report on the activities of the Norwegian team is published in S. Ahrens – J. R. Brandt, *Excavations in the North-East Necropolis of Hierapolis 2007-2011*, F. D’Andria, M-P. Caggia, T. Ismaelli (eds), *Hierapolis di Frigia*, VIII, op.cit. (n. 15), 395-414.

⁴⁸ S. Ahrens, “A Set of Western European Pilgrim Badges from Hierapolis of Phrygia”, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 84 (2011-2012), op.cit. (n. 18), 67-74.

⁴⁹ F. D’Andria, “Le attività della MAIER – Missione Archeologica

Italiana a Hierapolis, 2007-2011”, D’Andria – Caggia – Ismaelli (eds), *Hierapolis di Frigia*, VIII, op.cit. (n. 15), 18-19.

⁵⁰ F. Amsler – F. Bovon – B. Bouvier, *Actes de l’Apôtre Philippe*, Turnhout 1996.

⁵¹ For a recent analysis of the Encratite movement in Asia Minor, see A. Filippini, “Non sono atti degli apostoli ma scritti demoniaci. Il movimento enkratita nell’Anatolia tardoantica: iscrizioni, eresologi e testi apocrifi”, W. Ameling (ed.), *Die Christianisierung Kleinasiens in der Spätantike*, Akten der Intern. Konferenz, Köln, Marz 2013 (in press).



Fig. 19. Cyprus. Icon with the image of St. Philip framed by smaller panels showing scenes of his life, 13th century.

inhabitants of the city who wanted to kill Philip and re-establish the cult of the Echidna, the sacred serpent that they worshipped. The episode is a clear reference to the pagan cults that were practised in the nearby *Ploutonion*, considered to be the Entrance to the Underworld. Recent excavations have brought to light the famous Sanctuary and the cave, which is the source of both thermal springs and emissions of CO₂, causing the death of living things that approach⁵². The episodes narrated in the *Acta Philippi* constitute a repertoire that is seen in Byzantine paintings and icons. An example is the beautiful 13th-century icon of Cyprus, in which the 15 small scenes arranged around the central image (showing

the Saint with a youthful appearance) describe the miracles performed by the Apostle, accompanied, as in the text, by two speaking animals, a leopard and a goat⁵³ (Fig. 19). In the pictorial tradition of the Latin Church, preserved in the *Legenda Aurea* compiled by Jacobus de Varagine, the speaking animals are excluded.

The discoveries in Laodikeia

The recent and extensive excavations conducted in Laodikeia by Celal Şimşek, from the local University of Pamukkale-Denizli, have brought to light a large quantity of evidence pertaining to the proto-Byzantine city. Discovered in the central area was the Cathedral, a majestic building that has been the object of painstaking restoration (Fig. 20). Its distinctive layout, with apses in the lateral naves, has features that are typical of late-Roman architecture, such as St. Gereon's Basilica in Cologne. The mosaic flooring has elegant geometric decoration, with plaques bearing the names of donors. As in the church of St. Philip, the marble altar had a basin into which water flowed, serving to wash and purify the altar and the other liturgical furnishings associated with it⁵⁴.

An eminent figure of the early Christian period in Laodikeia (2nd century AD) was Bishop Sagaris, who is also cited as being one of the most important personages of the Church of Asia in the famous letter of Polycrates to Pope Victor concerning the proper date to celebrate Easter. It is said that like Philip in Hierapolis, he slept in Laodikeia (*ὁ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ κεκοίμηται*) (Eus. *H.e.* 5,24, 5). The same text indicates the most important personages of the Church of Asia, in support of the positions

⁵² The initial presentation of the discovery of the sanctuary of Pluto and Kore-Persephone, together with the relative data, can be found in D'Andria, "Il Ploutonion a Hierapolis", op.cit. (n. 32), 157-217.

⁵³ F. Bovon, "From Vermont to Cyprus: a new witness of the Acts of Philip", *Apocrypha* 20 (2009), 20. On the presence of the speaking animals, the leopard and the goat, in the text of the *Acta*, see the reading by F. Amsler, "The Apostle Philip, the Viper, the Leopard and the Kid. The masked Actors of a Religious Conflict in Hierapolis of Phrygia (Acts of Philip VIII-XV and Martyrdom)", *Society of Biblical Literature. Seminar Paper Series* 35 (1996), 432-437, which identifies the Old Testament sources that inspired the tale, and revisits the theme of the conflict between the Christian message and the cult of Cybele, already discussed by L. Weber, "Apollo Pythoktonos im phrygischen Hierapolis", *Philologus* 69 (1910), 178-251.

⁵⁴ Şimşek, *Church of Laodikeia*, op.cit. (n. 25).

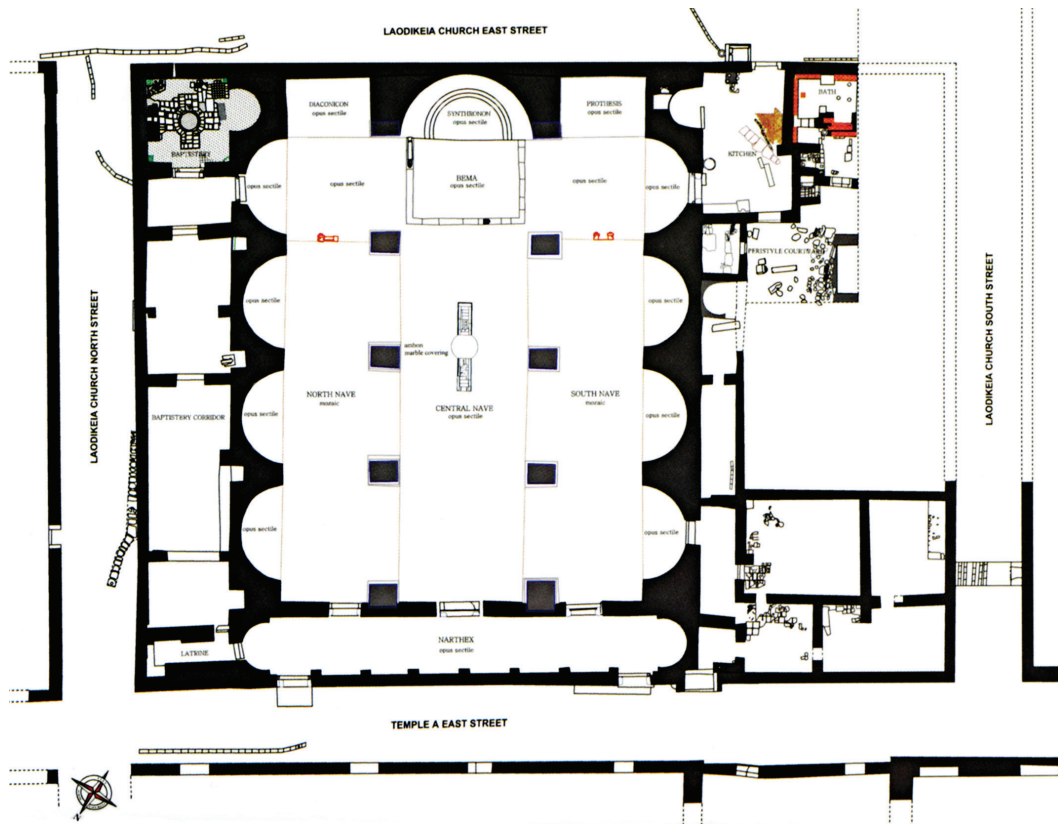


Fig. 20. Laodikeia, plan of the cathedral.

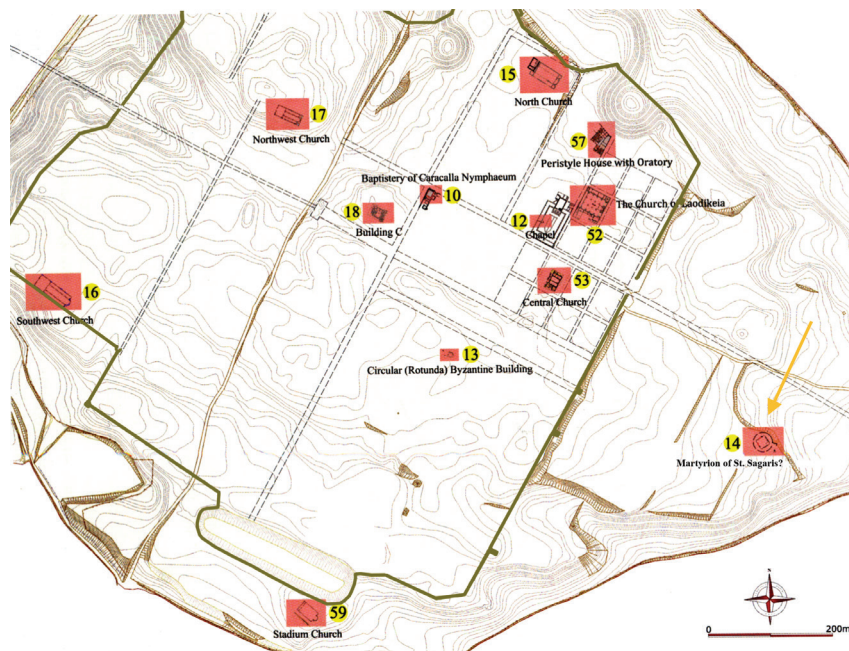


Fig. 21. Laodikeia, plan of the proto-Byzantine city, showing the probable location of the Martyrion of Sagaris.

of Polycrates: in addition to the Apostles John and Philip, it cites Polycarp of Smyrna, Thrasesas (a bishop and martyr from Eumeneia) and Melito of Sardis⁵⁵.

In the light of the recent research that has led to the discovery of the tomb of Philip and related pilgrimage sanctuary, and considering the significance of Sagaris' martyrdom for the Christian community of Laodikeia, I sought to verify whether it was possible to recognise traces of a *Martyrion*-like structure linked to the cult of the bishop in the area of the city and its necropolis. In effect, looking at the map of Laodikeia it can be observed that, outside the Byzantine fortifications, in the area of the Roman necropolis there is a building with a central plan that occupies an analogous position to the Sanctuary of St. Philip with respect to the proto-Byzantine city of Hierapolis (Fig. 21). In a recent paper I suggested that this building should be recognised as the *Martyrion* of Sagaris, but only the excavation of this important architectural complex will be able to validate this hypothesis⁵⁶. The presence in the same region of two sanctuaries dedicated to the memory of saints fits with the pattern of competition between the two cities, in the new Christian era as in the preceding Roman period, when this

⁵⁵ See Huttner, *Early Christianity*, op.cit. (n. 3), 334-335, which offers an effective presentation of this personage, closely linked to the local context, whose name "... is derived from the Sangarius River, which rises in northern Phrygia and flows into the Black Sea".

⁵⁶ D'Andria, "The Sanctuary of St. Philip", Rasmus Brandt *et al.*, *Life and Death*, op.cit. (n. 28), 15-16.

rivalry was seen in their relationships with the capital of the Empire. This competition seems to have ignored the disparity in the importance of the two Saints (Philip, one of the twelve Apostles, and Bishop Sagaris). Indeed, an inscription in Ephesus of the Justinian era refers to a controversy between Ephesus and Smyrna, whose bishop asked that his city be granted the title of Metropolitan See of Asia, emphasising its ancient origins, having been founded by Bishop Polycarp (*Die Inschriften von Ephesos* Ia, 45). The epigraphical document however confirms the primacy of Ephesus, whose church was founded on the authority of the Apostle John⁵⁷.

Archaeological, epigraphical and literary sources now form an extraordinary store of knowledge that is growing year by year, illustrating the history of early Christianity as it flourished in the Lykos Valley, one of the most vital areas of the Mediterranean.

⁵⁷ M. Amelotti – L. Migliardi Zingale (eds), *Le Costituzioni giustiniane nei papiri e nelle epigrafi*, Milan 1985, 125, no 15. D. Feissel, "Epigraphie administrative et topographie urbaine: l'emplacement des Actes inscrits dans l'Ephèse protobyzantine (IV-VI s.)", R. Pillinger – O. Kresten – F. Krinzing – E. Russo (eds), *Efeso paleocristiana e bizantina. Archäologische Forschungen* 3 (1999), 127-128, no 29.

Provenance of the figures

Figs 5, 12, 14: 3D reconstruction by Max Limoncelli. Fig. 13: Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund; Photo: Travis Fullerton. Fig. 19: Bovon, "From Vermont to Cyprus", op.cit. (n. 53). Figs 20, 21: Şimşek, *Church of Laodikeia*, op.cit. (n. 25).

Francesco D'Andria

ΑΓΙΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΛΑΔΑ ΤΟΥ ΛΥΚΟΥ (ΜΙΚΡΑ ΑΣΙΑ)

Η κοιλάδα του ποταμού Λύκου (σημερινή διοικητική περιφέρεια του Ντενιζλί), στην οποία άνθισαν οι πόλεις της Ιεραπόλεως, της Λαοδίκειας και της Τριπόλεως ἐπὶ τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ, αποτελεί μια από τις περιοχές της Ανατολίας όπου ο χριστιανισμός αναπτύχθηκε δυ-

ναμικά ήδη από τον 1ο αιώνα, όπως φανερώνουν κείμενα της Καινής Διαθήκης, και ιδιαίτερα η προς Κολοσσαείς επιστολή, στην οποία ο Παύλος αναφέρεται στη συναθροζόμενη στην οικία του Νυμφά εκκλησία της Λαοδικείας, και η *Αποκάλυψη* του Ιωάννη, όπου

η Λαοδίκεια περιλαμβάνεται στις επτά πόλεις. Το κύρος της Ιεραπόλεως ήταν, εξάλλου, συνδεδεμένο με την παράδοση, σύμφωνα με την οποία ο απόστολος Φίλιππος κήρυξε τον λόγο του Ευαγγελίου στην πόλη και μαρτύρησε σ' αυτήν. Η ύπαρξη του τάφου του στη φρυγική πόλη, συσχετιζόμενη με την ύπαρξη του τάφου του Ιωάννη στην Έφεσο, σημειώνεται ήδη, στο τέλος του 2ου αιώνα, στην περίφημη επιστολή του επισκόπου Εφέσου Πολυκράτη προς στον πάπα Βίκτωρα, που αφορά τη διαμάχη για τον καθορισμό της ημερομηνίας εορτασμού του Πάσχα. Στην επιστολή αυτή οι ρίζες της Ανατολικής Εκκλησίας, που ιδρύθηκε από τους αποστόλους Ιωάννη και Φίλιππο, συγκρίνονται με εκείνες της Ρώμης, όπου είναι σεβαστά τα πρωτεία των αποστόλων Πέτρου και Παύλου.

Συστηματικές αρχαιολογικές έρευνες που διεξήχθησαν, ιδιαίτερα την τελευταία δεκαετία, σε πόλεις και περιοχές της κοιλάδας του Λύκου, ανανέωσαν ριζικά τις γνώσεις μας για την υστερορωμαϊκή και την πρωτοβυζαντινή περίοδο. Εκτός από τις δραστηριότητες της Ιταλικής Αρχαιολογικής Αποστολής στην Ιεράπολη, που ξεκίνησαν από τον Πάολο Βερτζόνε το 1957, τα τελευταία χρόνια αναπτύχθηκαν εκτεταμένα προγράμματα ανασκαφής και ανάδειξης, υποστηριζόμενα από το Πανεπιστήμιο του Παμουνκαλέ (Ντενιζλί), που αφορούν την Λαοδίκεια –κυρίως την ανασκαφή και την αναστήλωση της πρωτοβυζαντινής επισκοπικής εκκλησίας– και την Τρίπολη επί τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ.

Στην Ιεράπολη γεωφυσικές επισκοπήσεις, έρευνες μέσω τηλεπισκόπησης και συστηματικές ανασκαφές, επέτρεψαν να έλθει στο φως, στο σύνολό του, το εκτός των τειχών ιερό που οικοδομήθηκε γύρω από τον τάφο του αποστόλου Φιλίππου και να αποκατασταθεί η διαδρομή που ο προσκυνητής ακολουθούσε για να φτάσει στο ιερό προσκύνημα. Οι πιστοί, αφού έβγαιναν από την πόλη μέσω μιας μνημειώδους πύλης στη βορειοανατολική πλευρά της πρωτοβυζαντινής οχύρωσης του 5ου αιώνα, συγκεντρώνονταν σε έναν ανοιχτό χώρο, πριν διασχίσουν τη γέφυρα σε σχήμα L, η οποία ένωνε το απότομο άνοιγμα που είχε δημιουργήσει ένας χειμερινός χείμαρρος. Αμέσως μετά τη γέφυρα, υπήρχε κτήριο θερμών λουτρών οκταγωνικής κάτοψης, χρονολογούμενο, όπως και το Μαρτύριο, στις αρχές του 5ου αιώνα. Οι προσκυνητές, όπως και στα άλλα προσκυνήματα της Ανατολής, παραδείγματος χάριν στο ιερό του Αγίου Συμεών του Στυλίτη στο Καλάτ Σιμάν,

έπρεπε να εξαγνισθούν πριν αρχίσουν την ανάβαση στην κορυφή του λόφου μέσω μιας κλίμακας στρωμένης με πλάκες από τραβερτίνο λίθο, πλάτους 4 μ., που οδηγούσε σε πλάτωμα στο οποίο δέσποζε η κρήνη με το αγίασμα. Εδώ οι πιστοί μπορούσαν να ξεδιψάσουν και να εκτελέσουν τους καθαρμούς, πριν από την είσοδό τους στην εκκλησία για να προσκυνήσουν το σκήνωμα του αποστόλου. Σε όλες τις εκδηλώσεις λατρείας που λάμβαναν χώρα στο ιερό, το νερό έπαιζε πολύ σημαντικό ρόλο, συνδεδεμένο με τις θαυματουργικές δυνάμεις που αποδίδονταν στην μεσολάβηση του αγίου Φιλίππου.

Ακριβώς κάτω από την κορυφή του λόφου, όπου δέσποζε ο όγκος του οκταγωνικού μαρτυρίου, υψωνόταν η εκκλησία που οικοδομήθηκε γύρω από τον τάφο του αποστόλου, η οποία ανακαλύφθηκε το 2011. Πρόκειται για ένα οικοδόμημα με τρία κλίτη, μήκους 35 μ. και πλάτους 21,50 μ., με πεσοστοιχίες που ορίζουν το κεντρικό κλίτος και υποστηρίζουν τους γυναικωνίτες. Η κατασκευή του μπορεί να τοποθετηθεί στα μέσα του 6ου αιώνα. Η ψίδα είναι ημικυκλική στην εσωτερική και πολυγωνική στην εξωτερική της όψη, όπως στον επισκοπικό ναό της Ιεραπόλεως και στον ναό του Αγίου Ιωάννη του Στουδίου στην Κωνσταντινούπολη.

Μπροστά από τον νάρθηκα υπήρχε ένας χώρος υποδοχής, που συνδέονταν με το αγίασμα, όπου οι προσκυνητές συγκεντρώνονταν πριν μπουν στην εκκλησία. Καθώς εισέρχονταν στον νάρθηκα, έβρισκαν στα αριστερά τους μαρμάρινη κλίμακα που τους οδηγούσε σε εξέδρα τοποθετημένη στο ύψος του γυναικωνίτη, σε αντιστοιχία με τον τάφο του αγίου.

Επιστρέφοντας στον νάρθηκα και μπαίνοντας στην εκκλησία, οι πιστοί είχαν στα αριστερά τους ένα μικρό παρεκκλήσιο κοσμημένο με ψηφιδωτά, όπου μπορούσαν να προσευχηθούν, και ακριβώς δίπλα τον τάφο του αγίου Φιλίππου, που προστατευόταν από ένα είδος μεταλλικού κιγκλιδώματος, από το οποίο διατηρήθηκαν πολυάριθμα καρφιά στερέωσης. Μόνο το επιστύλιο της πόρτας του τάφου δεν ήταν καλυμμένο με αυτή τη μεταλλική επένδυση και είναι φθαρμένο από τα χέρια των πιστών, οι οποίοι μπορούσαν να αγγίξουν το οικοδόμημα που προστάτευε το λείψανο του αποστόλου και να χαράξουν σταυρούς.

Πολλά από τα ευρήματα των ανασκαφών συνδέονται με το πλαίσιο και τα αντικείμενα του προσκυνήματος: ευλογίες με παραστάσεις αγίων και ανάγλυφους σταυρούς. Στο κτήριο των θερμών λουτρών βρέθηκαν,

επίσης, μικρά αγγεία με πολύ χαρακτηριστικό σχήμα και σήμανση με ζωγραφισμένα γράμματα, που περιείχαν πιθανώς αλοιφές. Σε θεραπευτικές πρακτικές διαδεδομένες στα ιερά θεραπευτήρια των χριστιανών, όπως εκείνα των αγίων Αναργύρων Κοσμά και Δαμιανού, παραπέμπουν επίσης τα πολυάριθμα *unguentaria* με σφραγίδες, από τις οποίες ορισμένες φέρουν ονόματα επισκόπων.

Κατά την τελευταία ανασκαφική περίοδο του 2015, στον χώρο υποδοχής μπροστά από τον νάρθηκα αποκαλύφθηκε στο κονίαμα του βόρειου τοίχου ένα πυκνό δίκτυο από χαράγματα και επιγραφές με μελά-νι από κάρβουνο, που αποδίδονται στους προσκυνητές που συγκεντρώνονταν στον χώρο αυτό περιμένοντας να εισέλθουν στην εκκλησία. Τα περισσότερα χαράγματα χρονολογούμενα στη μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο χρησιμοποιούν επικλήσεις προς τον Θεό (*Κύριε βοήθει τὸν δοῦλόν σου*), άλλα αναφέρουν μόνο το όνομα του πιστού ενώ μια επιγραφή αναφέρει ένα όνομα ακολουθούμενο από τη φράση «δοῦλος τοῦ ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου». Η επιγραφή αυτή αποτελεί την πρώτη ρητή επιγραφική αναφορά στην παρουσία του αποστόλου Φιλίππου σε αυτό το ιερό.

Μια πρόσφατη ανακάλυψη προσέφερε, επίσης, νέα χρονολογικά δεδομένα για την παρουσία στα προσκυνήματα της Ανατολής προσκυνητών που προέρχονταν από τη Δυτική Ευρώπη, γεγονός που είχε τεκμηριωθεί ευρύτατα από τα χαράγματα στη Νεκρόπολη των Επτά Παίδων στην Έφεσο. Στην Ιεράπολη οι ανασκαφές που διεξάγονται από την ομάδα των Νορβηγών που δουλεύουν στο πλαίσιο της Ιταλικής Αρχαιολογικής Αποστολής, έφερε στο φως στο ανατολικό νεκροταφείο, λίγα μέτρα από το μαρτύριο του Αγίου Φιλίππου, έναν ναόσχημο τάφο της ρωμαϊκής περιόδου, που επαναχρησιμοποιήθηκε στις αρχές του 14ου αιώνα για να ταφεί ένας προσκυνητής από τη Γαλλία. Το δρομολόγιο του ταξιδιού του αποκαταστάθηκε με βάση τα μολύβδινα *signa peregrinorum* που βρέθηκαν πλάι στον σκελετό του. Το ταξίδι του πρέπει να ξεκίνησε από τον Άγιο Λεονάρδο του Noblat στην περιοχή της Limoges, συνεχίστηκε έως τη Santa Maria di Rocamadour στα Πυρηναία, μετά στην Provenza, στο St. Maximin La Baume, όπου ο τάφος της Μαρίας της Μαгдаληνής. Το τελευταίο από τα *signa* προέρχεται από τη Ρώμη και φέρει τα πορτραίτα των αποστόλων

Πέτρου και Παύλου. Το ταξίδι του προσκυνητή, που πιθανότατα κατευθυνόταν προς τους Αγίους Τόπους, τέλειωσε στην Ιεράπολη, όπου πέθανε και τάφηκε κοντά στο ιερό του αποστόλου που βρισκόταν πια σε εγκατάλειψη. Κατά την περίοδο αυτή η εκκλησία γύρω από τον τάφο χρησιμοποιήθηκε ως κατοικία ορισμένων οικογενειών ημινομάδων των νεοαφιχθέντων Σελτζούκων.

Νέα και πολύ σημαντικά ευρήματα για τις απαρχές του χριστιανισμού στην κοιλάδα του Λύκου προέκυψαν από τις πρόσφατες εκτεταμένες ανασκαφές που πραγματοποιούνται στη Λαοδίκεια από το τοπικό Πανεπιστήμιο του Παμουκαλέ (Ντενιζλί), τα οποία επιτρέπουν μια εντελώς καινούργια ανάγνωση της πολεοδομικής εξέλιξης της πρωτοβυζαντινής πόλης και των μνημείων της. Στην κεντρική ζώνη ήλθε στο φως το μνημειώδες οικοδόμημα του επισκοπικού ναού, που χαρακτηρίζεται από μια πολύ πρωτότυπη κάτοψη: στα πλάγια κλίτη ανοίγονται αψιδωτές κατασκευές με πλούσιο μαρμάρινο διάκοσμο και δάπεδα με ψηφιδωτά και *opus sectile*. Εξέχουσα προσωπικότητα του χριστιανισμού στη Λαοδίκεια ήταν στον 2ο αιώνα ο επίσκοπος Σάγαρις, ο οποίος αναφέρεται ανάμεσα στις πιο σημαντικές μορφές της Ανατολικής Εκκλησίας στην περίφημη επιστολή του επισκόπου Πολυκράτη προς τον πάπα Βίκτωρα, σχετικά με τον εορτασμό του Πάσχα, στην οποία αναφερθήκαμε παραπάνω. Και για τον Σάγαρι λέγεται, όπως και για τον Φίλιππο, ότι εκοιμήθη στη Λαοδίκεια (ὃς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ κεκοίμηται). Σε μια πρόσφατη παρέμβαση πρότεινα να αναγνωριστούν τα λείψανα της περικεντρικής κατασκευής που βρίσκεται έξω από τις βυζαντινές οχυρώσεις, στην περιοχή του ρωμαϊκού ανατολικού νεκροταφείου, ως το κτήριο που σχετίζεται με το Μαρτύριο στο οποίο λατρευόταν το σκήνωμα του Σαγάριδος. Η διάταξη αυτή μοιάζει να αναπαράγει στη Λαοδίκεια την τοπογραφική σχέση που έχει το ιερό του Αγίου Φιλίππου με τον πρωτοβυζαντινό οικισμό της Ιεραπόλεως. Μελλοντικές ανασκαφές ίσως επιβεβαιώσουν αυτή την υπόθεση.

Καθηγητής, Πανεπιστήμιο του Salento
Διευθυντής της Ιταλικής Αρχαιολογικής
Αποστολής στην Ιεράπολη
francesco.dandria@unisalento.it