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# ANCIENT QUARRIES AND BUILDING SITES IN ASIA MINOR

Research on Hierapolis in Phrygia  
and other cities in south-western Anatolia:  
archaeology, archaeometry, conservation

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*E S T R A T T O*

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# THE SANCTUARY OF APOLLO IN HIERAPOLIS: BUILDING ACTIVITIES AND RITUAL PATHS

*Grazia Semeraro*

**ABSTRACT** - The paper focuses on the recent excavations on the Sanctuary of Apollo in Hierapolis. The data acquired reveal a series of building activities between the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, which implied substantial changes in the organisation of the sanctuary and impacted the ways in which the buildings and sacred space were used by the participants in the ritual activities. The study seeks to analyse the archaeological evidence (theatra, entrances, pathways, ect.) with reference to the various ritual acts which may have helped to shape the spaces and determine the prescribed routes inside the sanctuary.

**KEYWORDS:** theatron, ritual paths, sanctuary, Apollo, Hierapolis.

In the centre of the city, the sanctuary of the poliadic divinity occupies a large area corresponding to about four blocks, stretching over a series of terraces that descend more than 12 m.

The sanctuary was one of the first complexes to be investigated by the Italian Archaeological Mission when it began its work. Between 1962 and 1965 Gianfilippo Carettoni conducted extensive excavation campaigns, identifying the building which for a long time was believed to be the temple of Apollo<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1, A). However, the systematic research which began in 2001 resulted in a radical shake-up of our knowledge of the sanctuary, identifying a complex system of buildings and establishing the lines of its development and transformation over an extremely long period, from the late Hellenistic age to the proto-Byzantine phases and the subsequent occupation of the area in the Medieval period<sup>2</sup>.

Between 2001 and 2007 the investigation focused on the upper and median terraces where, in addition to Building A and the Doric portico, already discovered by the excavations of the 1960s, two other monuments were identified: Building B, recognised as the real temple of Apollo (an Ionic hexastyle, identified by its foundation trenches alone) and Building C, an elegant monopteros with an underground room covered by a barrel vault. The structures are built over a system of fractures in the subsoil that are a distinctive feature of the geomorphology of the area and are incorporated in the religious complex<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 1).

In the last few years, the investigation has been extended to the lower terrace, focusing on the difficult excavation of the marble theatron, literally buried under a thick layer of calcareous deposits<sup>4</sup>. Between the median and lower terraces stands the imposing Nymphaeum of the Temple, one of the key features of the landscape of ruins that was observed and documented by travellers in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> cent.<sup>5</sup>.

The data acquired reveal a series of building activities that imply substantial changes in the organisation of the sacred space and make it possible to link these changes to the sanctuary's main phases, which have already been discussed elsewhere<sup>6</sup>. In this paper we intend to make certain reflections in this regard, highlighting the developments that may have significantly impacted the ways in which the buildings and spaces were used by the participants in the ritual activities. We shall focus on the use of the sacred area by the community involved in the cult activities, seeking to analyse the archaeological evidence with reference to the various acts of which the ritual was composed, which may have helped to shape the spaces and determine the prescribed routes inside the sanctuary. The role of the rituals performed in the places of worship represents an increasingly valuable tool not just for interpreting specific architectural installations for spectators<sup>7</sup>, such as the theatra, but also for the socio-anthropological analysis of

*Thanks are due to Barbara Pecere and Alessandro Monastero for their help with the graphics and GIS data processing. Photos belong to the Archive of the Italian Archaeological Mission of Hierapolis in Phrygia.*

<sup>1</sup> CARETTONI 1963-1964.

<sup>2</sup> On the recent research in the sanctuary, see SEMERARO 2016, with bibliography.

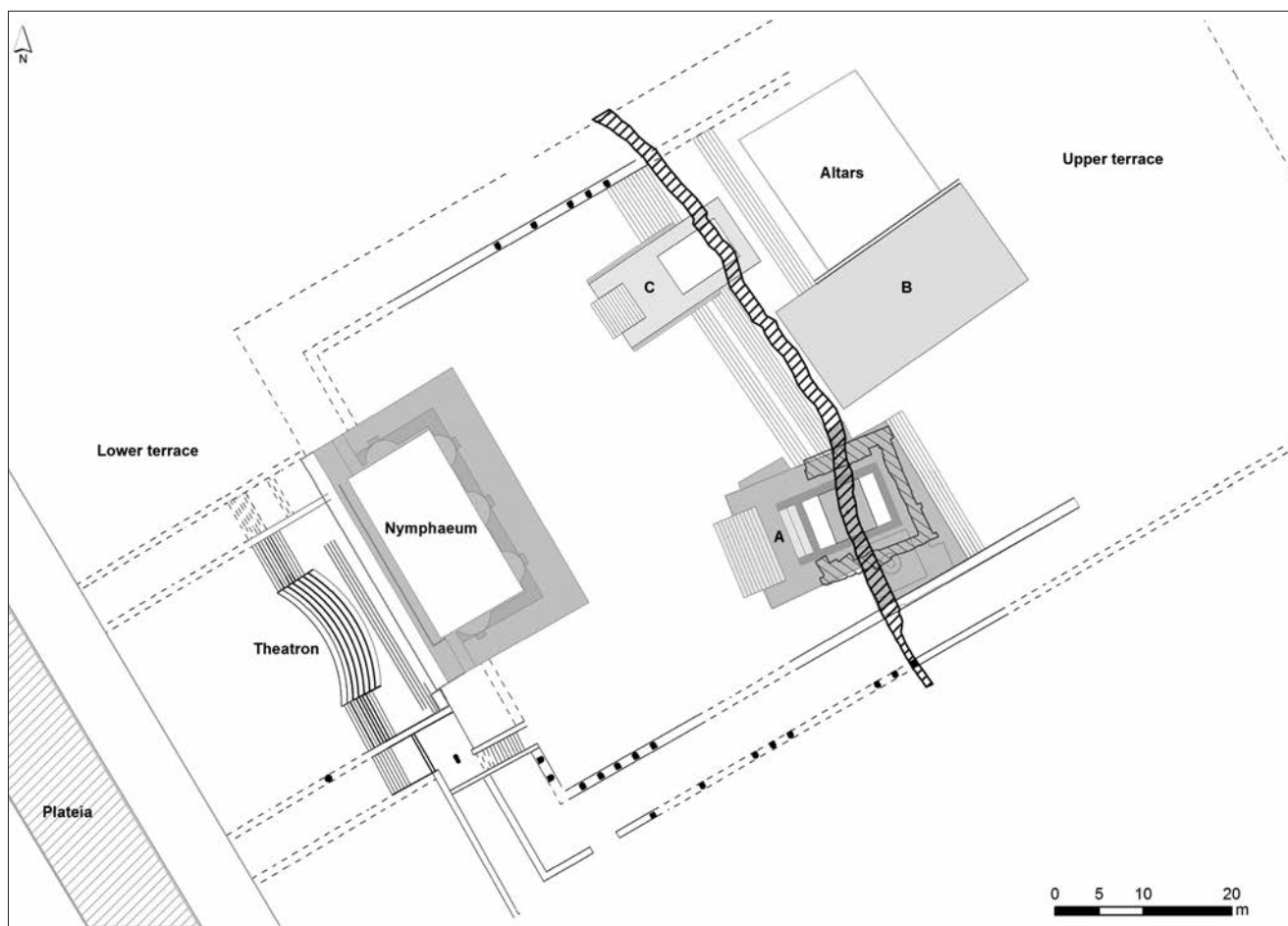
<sup>3</sup> See the reconstruction in SEMERARO 2014, fig. 1b.

<sup>4</sup> SEMERARO 2014; SEMERARO 2016.

<sup>5</sup> On the Nymphaeum, see most recently CAMPAGNA, SULFARO, TERRANOVA 2016, with bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> See note 2.

<sup>7</sup> The bibliography on the theme has grown considerably in the last 15 years. For the main references, see NIELSEN 2002; MYLONOPOULOS 2006; NIELSEN 2008; MORETTI 2009; HOLLINSHEAD 2015.



1. - Schematic drawing of the Sanctuary of Apollo with the main buildings.

the rituals' communicative function in the public life of the communities of the Greco-Roman world<sup>8</sup>.

### Hellenistic phase

In terms of absolute chronology, the original sanctuary dedicated to Apollo can be dated to the late Hellenistic phase. The evidence datable to this period consists mainly of mobile finds, above all ceramics, together with a few coins<sup>9</sup>. The remains of structures are rather limited and hard to read, since the buildings were obliterated by subsequent building work. A valuable piece of evidence of the late Hellenistic religious dimension is the travertine flooring in Building A with a bothros (an altar for libations) in the centre, which survived the subsequent transformations<sup>10</sup>. Building A was a small structure, probably a sacellum, built on the high travertine podium spanning a fracture in the rock from which harmful gases were emitted. Other important attestations of cult activities dating to the sanctuary's earliest phases were also found in the vicinity of this important natural feature, which is the real reason for the sanctuary's presence here. These consist of structures legible in cross section in the trench dug in the Byzantine period behind Building C<sup>11</sup>. They include a rectangular pit, lined with travertine blocks that are intensely blackened by fire. It was filled exclusively with charcoals, in which a high percentage of olive tree wood was recognised<sup>12</sup>. The structure is clearly of a chthonian character and represents important evidence of the role played by the burning of plants in the ritual practices of the place of worship.

The structures linking the median and lower terraces also seem to date from the most ancient phases. These include the travertine substruction to the south of the

<sup>8</sup> STAVRIANOPOULOU 2006a, 8 "Ritual communication is thus to be seen as a part of public life". On this approach, see in particular the collection of studies in STAVRIANOPOULOU 2006 and CHANIOTIS 2011.

<sup>9</sup> See the references in SEMERARO 2007.

<sup>10</sup> See D'ANDRIA 2007, 25; SEMERARO 2007, 181; SEMERARO 2008. On Building A, see most recently ISMAELLI 2016e.

<sup>11</sup> SEMERARO 2012, 309; SEMERARO 2014, 21.

<sup>12</sup> SEMERARO 2012, figs. 27, 29, US 1268; for the botanical remains D'ORONZO 2012 (PhD thesis).

Nymphaeum and the narrow staircase, also made of travertine<sup>13</sup>. The evidence dated to the Hellenistic age from the lower terrace is however rather limited, consisting of a few fragments of hemispherical bowls with reliefs, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, discovered in the course of the early research (late 1950s) in the area of the Nymphaeum<sup>14</sup>.

We have already stressed the close association of these ceramics with the cult dimension, recalling possible links with the chthonian sphere and local traditions centred on the cult of Cybele and its mystic connotations<sup>15</sup>. The figurative repertoire of the most ancient bowls with reliefs is characterised by the frequent presence of musicians and dancing figures, which are without doubt linked to the rituals performed in the sanctuary. From the very beginning there was probably a space dedicated to these activities on the lower terrace, where the marble theatron was built in the subsequent phase. The reduced dimensions of the narrow travertine staircase clearly make it unsuitable for the passage of large numbers of people, supporting the notion that it was reserved for a small number of worshippers, perhaps those involved in rituals for the initiated.

The general layout of the sanctuary therefore seems to have already been established in the earliest phase. We have no data on gateways to the temenos, but it may be assumed that there was a route linking it to the area to the south, where the Ploutonion was situated. Recent research has clearly documented the Hellenistic phases of the latter complex, frequented from the Archaic period<sup>16</sup>.

### **Augustan and Julio-Claudian phase**

In the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods, the sanctuary took on a monumental appearance. It is to this period that the marble buildings (A, B and C) that dominate the median terrace are dated. Imposing marble staircases link the various levels of the sanctuary and connect the three buildings. The Doric portico, built in the same period, frames the broad space in front of the sacred structures.

Around the Temple of Apollo was the sacrificial area, used intensely in the course of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD for activities of a strongly chthonian character, as shown by the installations for libations, the pits full of anthracological remains and the areas marked by extensive use of fire<sup>17</sup>. The bio-archaeological and archaeometric analyses have demonstrated the strong role played by the burning of wood in the rituals practised in this area<sup>18</sup>. Numerous species (pine, almond, olive) are documented among the combusted materials, while the analyses of organic residues performed on the cooking ceramics have shown them to be mainly vegetable in content<sup>19</sup>. The iconographic repertoire of the most common ceramics in cult contexts – those with relief decoration – is also characterised by the prevalence of plant themes in this phase<sup>20</sup>.

The sacrificial area is a highly important point of reference for the ritual activities of the sanctuary in the course of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD, while it does not seem to have been frequented in subsequent periods. While it remained in use, the sacrificial area functioned as an altar, being used for activities with strongly chthonian associations.

In the broad space in front of building B, where there may have been a monumental altar, no traces of buildings of this type have yet been found. It is believed to have been a large area free of other structures.

Traces of a building dated to the Julio-Claudian phase were discovered under the Nymphaeum of the Severan epoch<sup>21</sup>. There may have been a fountain in this area, as suggested by Francesco D'Andria<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> See the observations in SEMERARO 2016, 202-204, fig. 31, US 2001 and 2004.

<sup>14</sup> For example SEMERARO 2005, fig. 2.1.

<sup>15</sup> SEMERARO 2005.

<sup>16</sup> D'ANDRIA 2013. On the Hellenistic phases, see also PANARELLI 2016; ISMAELLI 2016b.

<sup>17</sup> SEMERARO 2007; SEMERARO 2012.

<sup>18</sup> FIORENTINO, SOLINAS 2008.

<sup>19</sup> NOTARSTEFANO 2013; SEMERARO, NOTARSTEFANO 2013.

<sup>20</sup> SEMERARO 2005.

<sup>21</sup> SEMERARO 2016.

<sup>22</sup> D'ANDRIA 2011, 166-168.

On the basis of the recent research, the monumental system of the lower terrace, centred on the marble theatron, can also be attributed to this phase. In the original layout, this structure is believed to have looked as it does in the 3D reconstruction (Pl. 48, 1): a marble hemicycle characterised by elegant seats, about 40 cm high, which were accessed via the two lateral flights of marble steps. The hemicycle was composed of eight rows of seats and could host 250-300 people, while another 200-250 could crowd on to the adjacent steps. However, purely practical and ergonomic considerations meant that the primary function of the lateral steps was to facilitate access to the seating of the hemicycle (as in the *cunei* of theatres)<sup>23</sup>.

The theatron belongs to a typology of structures for ‘spectators’ linked to the sacred dimension that has recently drawn the attention of various scholars<sup>24</sup>. Important contributions to our understanding of these monuments have been made by I. Nielsen, who associates them with the sacred representations performed in the sanctuaries<sup>25</sup>. The *theatra* (or “*théâtres de rituels*” – as they are termed by Jean-Charles Moretti) seem to be characterised by wide variety in terms of architectural types and layout<sup>26</sup>. They may consist of simple flights of steps (as in the sanctuary of Demeter in Pergamon) or take the form of proper theatres such as that of the Letoon of Xanthos, or structures similar to *odeia*, such as the small theatre of Magnesia on the Maeander<sup>27</sup> and the one recently identified in the Artemision of Ephesos<sup>28</sup>. In Hierapolis itself, just a few metres away, the theatron of the Ploutonion was recently brought to light, completely different from the hemicycle of the Sanctuary of Apollo in terms of both its structure and building materials<sup>29</sup>. In order to understand the nature and function of these structures it is clear that elements arising from the analysis of the context need to be fully taken into account. While we wait for new data to emerge from the continuing investigations on the sanctuary’s lower terrace, it should be pointed out that despite its close relationship with the upper terrace, the marble theatron dominates a space in its own right, which probably enjoyed a specific status inside the sanctuary. Another feature that should be stressed is its modest capacity, which seems to indicate that access was reserved for a limited number of worshippers. In addition, the connection with the sanctuary’s middle terrace was by means of the narrow travertine staircase, which (as already mentioned) does not seem to be suitable for large flows of people either.

All this tends to support the hypothesis that this space was intended for a specific category of worshippers, perhaps the members of a religious association, linked in some way to practices of the *mysteric* type, a connection also cited in Nielsen’s study. These aspects seem to be fairly consistent with certain distinctive features of the sacred context. Indeed, the Apollo of Hierapolis, *Kareios*, assumes the features of a young local divinity presented in the epigraphical documentation as a *paredros* of the *Meter*<sup>30</sup>. The most important document for grasping the sanctuary’s complex religious dimension is without doubt the inscription with the *chresmoi* of Apollo *Klarios*<sup>31</sup>, discovered in Building A in the 1960s, which also contains interesting references to cults of a *mysteric* nature, such as those of *Deo* and *Gaia* “*mother of all*” (*pammeter*). Both preside over specific cult spaces, to which the text refers with somewhat ambiguous language<sup>32</sup>, although it still suggests a close topographical contiguity with the Sanctuary of Apollo. This close relationship is expressed in images in the relief with divinities discovered in the *Nymphaeum*<sup>33</sup>, in which Apollo is accompanied by *Leto*, *Artemis*, *Demeter* and *Kore*. According to D’Andria<sup>34</sup>, the slab belongs to a monument of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD “perhaps a large podium, located between the main *plateia* and the entrance

<sup>23</sup> On the bio-mechanical aspects of the use of the stairs, see the observations in HOLLINSHEAD 2015, 19.

<sup>24</sup> See in particular NIELSEN 2002; NIELSEN 2008; MYLONOPOULOS 2006; MORETTI 2009. On steps functioning as *theatra* in Greek sanctuaries, see BECKER 2003 and the recent work by HOLLINSHEAD 2015.

<sup>25</sup> NIELSEN 2002; NIELSEN 2008.

<sup>26</sup> See MORETTI 2009.

<sup>27</sup> BİNGÖL 2012c.

<sup>28</sup> ZABRANA 2011.

<sup>29</sup> See the extensive presentation of the early research in D’ANDRIA 2013. For the excavation data, see PANARELLI 2016.

<sup>30</sup> CEYLAN, RITTI 1997; MIRANDA DE MARTINO, RITTI, SCARDOZZI 2012.

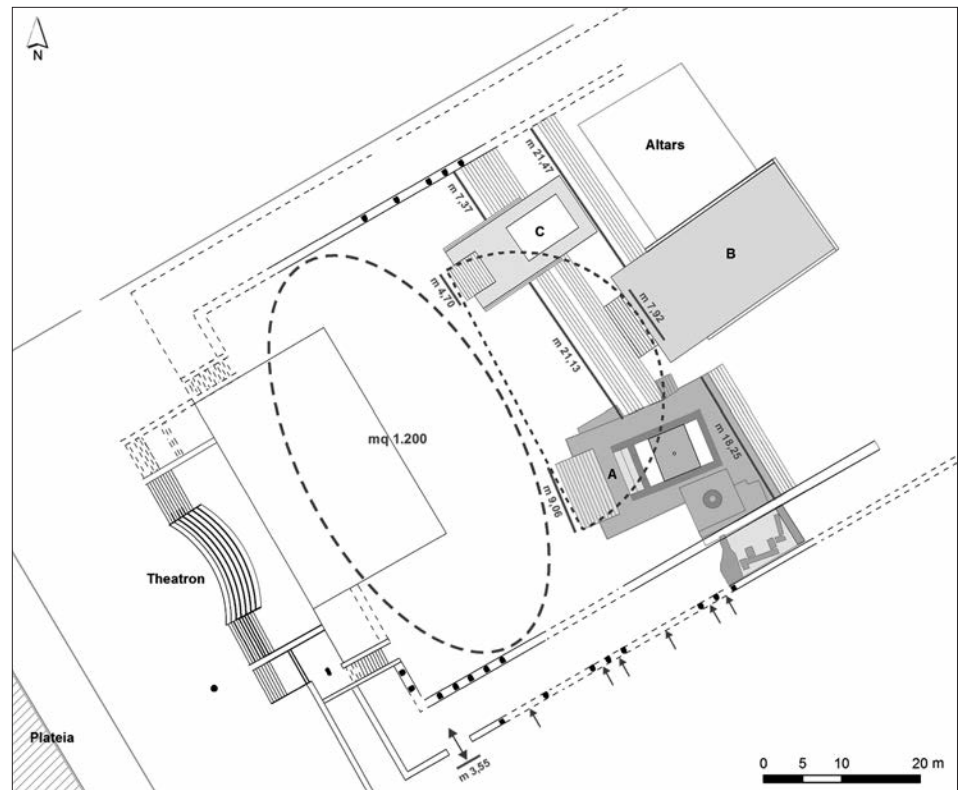
<sup>31</sup> PUGLIESE CARRATELLI 1963-1964; RITTI 1985; GUIZZI 2012.

<sup>32</sup> See the difficulty of translating the expression “*megaron tetragyon*” used for the place of worship dedicated to *Gaia* (RITTI 2006, 96; GUIZZI 2012, 682, n. 12 with references).

<sup>33</sup> D’ANDRIA 2011.

<sup>34</sup> D’ANDRIA 2011, 167.





2. - Sanctuary of Apollo, spaces for spectators and for ritual performances.

to the sacred area”<sup>35</sup>. With its strong symbolic value, the relief appears to mark a space with specific cult connotations, such as the area dominated by the marble theatron.

We do not have many elements on the organisation of the area in front of the seating and the steps. The exploration of this area is made particularly complex by the presence of water, which wells up just below the layer of limestone throughout the lower part of the city. Despite this problem, it was possible to identify two bases belonging to lateral porticoes, although it is not certain that these buildings are part of the layout of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD. There is also a lack of data on the presence of an entrance from the plateia which runs along the western side.

While use of the lower terrace seems to have been reserved for a limited number of initiates, it is likely that the median terrace was a venue for performances that involved much larger groups of people. The three buildings dominate a broad space, free of constructions, which could host large numbers of worshippers. It may be imagined that this space was the scene of processions and sacred representations (*dromata*) in which the wider community of worshippers could participate (Fig. 2).

To better understand the ways in which this space was used, we should reconsider the role of the imposing marble staircases that represent a key feature of the sanctuary. In the course of the research it was possible to observe on the marble surfaces of the steps conserved *in situ* the traces of wear due to intense use. The marble slabs of the median terrace are also highly worn down, showing the continuous passage of people. These observations suggest that the staircases were open to collective use and were intensely frequented by the wider community of worshippers. It is thus probable that worshippers – presumably in large numbers – gathered on the steps to participate in the ceremonies as spectators.

To get a better idea of their numbers, it should be considered that it was possible to both sit and stand on the steps. In the latter case the steps could accommodate a much larger number of people attending the rituals. The system of staircases can be recog-

<sup>35</sup> On the 1<sup>st</sup>-cent. foundations below the Nymphaeum, see SEMERARO 2016, 204.

nised as a theatron in the literal sense of the term, i.e. a “structure for spectators”, from which it was possible to see what was happening in the sanctuary (Fig. 2).

Some quantitative data may help to corroborate this hypothesis. On the staircases in front of Buildings A, B and C at least 1000 spectators could be seated comfortably (calculating a space of 0.40-0.45 m per person). In contrast, considering standing spectators only and adding the space of the small terraces adjacent to Building B and the area in front of the central staircase gives a capacity of about 2200 people<sup>36</sup>. The calculation includes only those areas giving a good view of the central area (Fig. 2), whereas adding participants who might have gathered in the spaces to the north of Building C takes the total to about 3000 people.

In addition, observations regarding the structural characteristics of the portico and the temenos wall also strengthen the hypothesis that the space in front of the three buildings was used for ritual performances involving the wider community of worshippers. An entrance to this part of the sanctuary is clearly recognisable in the southern side of the temenos (Figs. 2-3), where there is an opening in the travertine wall 3.55 m wide<sup>37</sup>. The entrance may be linked to a processional route running between the sanctuary of Apollo and the area to the south where the Ploutonion was located, an area that has yet to be explored, although it is likely to have hosted other cult installations. It is fairly intuitive to explain the dimensions of the south entrance of the temenos as being necessary for the passage of processions, with all the sacred furnishings and paraphernalia that characterised these important manifestations of popular religiosity in the Greco-Roman world.

The southern gateway to the temenos is also favoured by the distinctive structure of the portico. To the east of the entrance, the temenos wall consists of a colonnade through which the public would have been able to pass<sup>38</sup> (Fig. 3). It may be imagined that this arrangement served to facilitate the passage of spectators, i.e. those who participated in the rites in a non-active role. The façade of the portico has another feature that can be explained with reference to the needs of those who attended the ritual manifestations. Analysis of the Doric semi-columns has revealed recesses for seating that is believed to have been used by the spectators<sup>39</sup>. The median terrace thus appears to have been destined for a type of manifestation that involved the community of worshippers as a whole, enabling the broadest possible communication of the message conveyed by the ritual<sup>40</sup>.

According to the interpretation adopted in this study, the architecture of the sanctuary reflects the ways in which the worshippers were expected to participate in the ceremonies. Spaces and entrances served to regulate the forms of involvement of the various groups of people, based on a code that has yet to be determined although it was clearly important. The main purpose of this complex – and in many ways unfathomable – system of norms was to enable the ritual to fully perform its function of communication between human beings and divinities.

This approach makes it possible to delineate the ritual topography on which to connect the various points that the archaeological research has identified: Building A was for the consultation of the oracle<sup>41</sup>, Building C hosted the subterranean space (perhaps for incubation rituals)<sup>42</sup> and the sacrificial area next to Building B contained the travertine altar, the installations for libations and the hearths where they burned the wood of various trees<sup>43</sup>. The epigraphical documentation points to another route, setting out prescriptions to follow in particular moments: the epigraph of the chresmoi lists the sacrifices that the community of Hierapolis must perform, in accordance with a sequence

<sup>36</sup> In calculations to estimate the number of participants in modern events, the number of persons standing in a space of 1 m<sup>2</sup> varies from 4 to 6.

<sup>37</sup> ISMAELLI 2009a, 7-8. The height of the door cannot be precisely established but it has been estimated to be at least 3.60 m: ISMAELLI 2009a, 7, note 16.

<sup>38</sup> ISMAELLI 2009a explains this feature by proposing different entrances for different types of ritual.

<sup>39</sup> ISMAELLI 2009a, 53-57.

<sup>40</sup> STAVRIANOPOULOU 2006.

<sup>41</sup> D’ANDRIA 2007; ISMAELLI 2009b.

<sup>42</sup> SEMERARO 2014; see also observations in GUIZZI 2012, 683.

<sup>43</sup> See above notes 17-18.





**3. - Sanctuary of Apollo, the southern gateway to the temenos.**

that seems to be that of a procession, with specific procedures for each type of cult invoked. Lastly, via the iconographic repertoire, the ceramics make it possible to grasp some aspects of the ritual, such as those linked to the key role of the plant elements.

Together with the contextual analysis they also make it possible to highlight the role of individual acts which in this phase appear to be an integral part of the ritual, such as libations and the cooking and consumption of herb-based dishes. From the combination of this series of elements emerges a variegated picture, obviously fragmentary and hard to associate with any single narration, but with some clear points that must constitute the basis for future reflection.

Lastly, it is clear that the nature of the ritual changed radically at the end of this phase. The most striking feature from the archaeological point of view is the cessation of the use of the sacrificial area around Building B. Indeed, ceramic materials dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD are almost entirely missing<sup>44</sup>. The deactivation of one of the most important points of reference in the ritual topography of the sanctuary can only have been the consequence of a deeper transformation of the system of rites and sacred ceremonies. It is therefore fully plausible that changes in the ritual also affected the architecture and the organisation of the spaces.

#### **Antonine-Severan phase**

The sanctuary underwent major restructuring between the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, when two important measures that profoundly modified the sanctuary's appearance were implemented: the construction of the large Nymphaeum and the refurbishment of Building A. The latter operation entailed the reuse of archi-

<sup>44</sup> A similar situation was observed in the Ploutonion, where the deposits rich in ceramics do not seem to date from any later than the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. and ceramic evidence from the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. is extremely sporadic (V. Giannico, post-graduate thesis in Archaeological Heritage - Scuola di Specializzazione "Dinu Adamesteanu", Università del Salento 2014).

tectural elements belonging to the previous building, a pseudomonopteros of the Julio-Claudian period, as shown by the Corinthian cornices reused to build the thick external wall, made of blocks. Some of the reused elements were also taken from Building B<sup>45</sup>: these were mainly blocks belonging to the epistyle, perhaps recovered during the restoration measures that are believed to have been carried out on the building. Probably both Buildings B and C were still standing in the course of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.

The Nymphaeum was also built on foundations created previously, in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD, as shown by recently formulated observations<sup>46</sup>. It is not possible to say much more, given the current state of our knowledge. It is necessary to extend the research to acquire more data and to reconstruct the structure of the pool of the Nymphaeum during the Severan phase.

The construction of the large Nymphaeum had a big impact on the layout of the sanctuary, creating a sort of break between the median and lower terraces. This was further strengthened by the closure of the northern staircase connecting the two terraces<sup>47</sup>. The only possible connection between the two sectors of the sanctuary was then via the travertine staircase on the south side. It is significant that the staircase gave direct access to the area in front of Building A, the only one of the three that became the object of a radical restructuring in this period. This restructuring undoubtedly entailed modification of its functions, particularly those pertaining to the oracle. Indeed, the small tholos linked to the ritual of the extraction of the alphabetic oracles<sup>48</sup>, which in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. stood on the south side, was deactivated. In addition, one of the inscriptions with the alphabetic oracles was reused in the flooring of Building A. We have no data on the new cult function of the building, which however conserves what was probably a structure of considerable importance for the ritual, i.e. the ancient bothros situated in the centre of the travertine pavement dating to the building's early phase.

The route linking the building to the lower terrace proceeds via the travertine steps to the theatron, behind which the large Nymphaeum stands like a monumental wing of a theatre. The sculptural decoration is inspired by religious themes: the tympana frame the main divinities venerated in the sanctuary, linked to Apollo.

The space between the theatron and the front of the Nymphaeum is not very large: if the basin occupied the whole of the area between the lateral walls of the fountain (currently the most popular hypothesis, as yet unproven), providing the worshippers with a large reserve of water, this would mean that only a small number of people at a time could circulate in the area and draw water from the sacred fountain. This suggests the existence of a fixed route that regulated the flow of participants in the area.

On the basis of the data currently available, it seems that the theatron maintained its original structure in this phase. At its sides, two porticoes were built that probably extended right across the (still unexplored) lower terrace, perhaps up to the plateia. Thanks to the porticoes, the spaces in which the participants moved were broader in this phase. All this suggests a change in the ritual, in a direction that entailed greater involvement of the community as a whole.

### Proto-Byzantine phase

As we have already noted, the complete destruction of the Temple of Apollo and the nearby Building C dates to the proto-Byzantine age. Only Building A remained standing, the evidence suggesting that it collapsed only near the end of the city's life, probably in the earthquake of the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. AD<sup>49</sup>. The data emerging from the recent research into the lower terrace strengthen the indications arising from the previous in-

<sup>45</sup> SACCHI, BONZANO 2012.

<sup>46</sup> See above note 35.

<sup>47</sup> SEMERARO 2016, 207: in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD the situation in this location is believed to have mirrored that of the (better conserved) southern part.

<sup>48</sup> D'ANDRIA 2007; ISMAELLI 2009b.

<sup>49</sup> See SEMERARO 2008; SEMERARO 2012.

vestigations, adding new and important elements for the reconstruction of the layout of the city between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD. The beginning of this period was marked by an earthquake that severely damaged the structures of the sanctuary (stratigraphic evidence). Following this event, the Nymphaeum underwent restoration measures on the upper part of the building.

The theatron also underwent extensive refurbishment. The top two tiers were dismantled and reused to lay a pavement in the area behind it. At the same time, a new imposing structure was built to contain the pool of the Nymphaeum, with steps leading up to it. The dismantling of the upper tiers increased the open space in front of the Nymphaeum. More or less at the same time, access to the travertine staircase was walled up. The access room (Pl. 48, 2, A) was filled in with rubble, which provides, thanks to the ceramics contained within it, a useful chronological point of reference<sup>50</sup>.

The analytical reconstruction of these measures raised the issue of understanding whether and to what extent the functions of the two most important monuments of the lower terrace changed. The separation from the ritual route that had once linked it to the second terrace represents a clear break with the previous arrangement. However, the theatron maintained a close link with the Nymphaeum, which also seems to conserve its decoration, with its strongly religious nature. It may be that the theatron conserved a (pagan) cult function even as the city began a period strongly marked by the spread of Christianity. The city's remaining pagan enclaves continued to use the old places of worship, by then radically changed, for performing their rites<sup>51</sup>.

In its proto-Byzantine version the theatron remained in use until the end of the classical city's life. Between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> cent., the lowest step of the theatron was dismantled in order to build a channel. This measure may be related to the effects of the seismic events on the hydrogeological system and to the abandonment of this sector of the city at the beginning of the Middle Age. From that time onwards, the continuous flow of thermal spring waters in the channel caused the progressive growth of calcareous deposits, creating a thick layer that protected and conserved the structure of the theatron in the course of the centuries.

<sup>50</sup> SEMERARO 2016, 212-216.

<sup>51</sup> Evidence of occupation in the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. was identified in the area of the Ploutonion, confirming what has emerged from the literary sources, see D'ANDRIA 2013. The visit to the Ploutonion described by Damascius was in the mid 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD (RITTI 1985).

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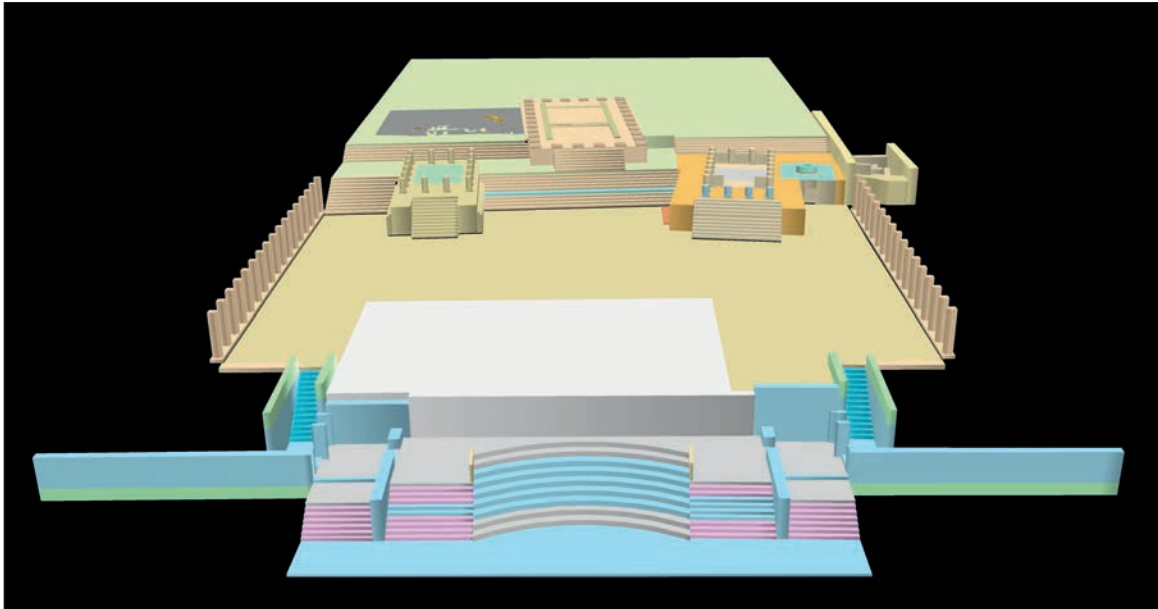
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Pl. 48, 1. Hierapolis. Sanctuary of Apollo, schematic 3D reconstruction.



Pl. 48, 2. Hierapolis. Sanctuary of Apollo, Nymphaeum and adjacent areas.

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