



LAODIKEIA ÇALIŞMALARI  
EK YAYIN DİZİSİ / SUPPLEMENTARY SERIES 1

GEÇ ANTİK ÇAĞ'DA  
LYKOS VADİSİ VE ÇEVRESİ

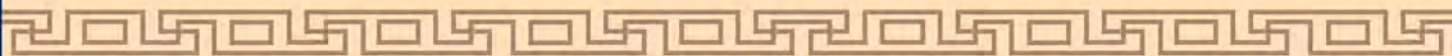
THE LYKOS VALLEY AND  
NEIGHBOURHOOD IN  
LATE ANTIQUITY



EDİTÖRLER / EDITORS  
CELAL ŞİMŞEK – TURHAN KAÇAR

ege

YAYINLARI



LAODIKEIA ÇALIŞMALARI  
EK YAYIN DİZİSİ / SUPPLEMENTARY SERIES 1

GEÇ ANTİK ÇAĞ'DA  
LYKOS VADİSİ VE ÇEVRESİ

THE LYKOS VALLEY AND  
NEIGHBOURHOOD IN  
LATE ANTIQUITY

Editörler / Editors

Celal ŞİMŞEK – Turhan KAÇAR

Laodikeia Çalışmaları  
Ek Yayın Dizisi / Supplementary Series 1

GEÇ ANTİK ÇAĞ'DA LYKOS VADİSİ VE ÇEVRESİ  
THE LYKOS VALLEY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Editörler / Editors  
Celal Şimşek – Turhan Kaçar

© 2018 Ege Yayınları  
1. Baskı  
ISBN 978-605-9680-58-5

Kapak tasarımı  
Mustafa Bilgin

Ön kapak fotoğrafı  
Kazıma-Kabartılı Tabak (Laodikeia Kazı Arşivi)

Yapım ve Dağıtım  
Zero Prodüksiyon Kitap-Yayın-Dağıtım Ltd. Şti.  
Abdullah Sokak, No: 17, Taksim, Beyoğlu 34433 İstanbul/Türkiye  
Tel: +90 (212) 244 7521 Faks: +90 (212) 244 3209  
E.posta: info@zerobooksonline.com  
[www.zerobooksonline.com](http://www.zerobooksonline.com)

Baskı  
Matsis Matbaa Hizmetleri  
Tevfikbey Mahallesi Dr. Ali Demir Caddesi No: 51  
34290 Sefaköy/İstanbul  
Tel: 0212 624 21 11 [www.matbaasistemleri.com](http://www.matbaasistemleri.com)  
Sertifika No: 20706

*Anadolu arkeolojisine büyük emeđi geen Hierapolis İtalyan Kazı Heyeti'nin  
üüncü başkanı Ord. Prof. Dr. Francesco D'Andria'ya ithaf olunur...*

*To Ord. Prof. Dr. Francesco D'Andria, third president of the Italian Archaeological  
Mission to Hierapolis, for his great contributions to Anatolian archaeology...*

*Ayrıca, elim bir trafik kazası sonucu vefat eden Bizans Dönemi Anadolu arkeolojisi ve  
tarihine önemli katkıları olan Oxford Üniversitesi'nden  
Prof. Dr. Mark Whittow'un aziz anısına...*

*Also to the beloved memory of Prof. Dr. Mark Whittow from Oxford University,  
who contributed greatly to the Byzantine history and archaeology  
of Anatolia and sadly passed away after a traffic accident...*



# İÇİNDEKİLER / CONTENTS

SUNUŞ .....	ix
INTRODUCTION .....	xi
<b>I. GEÇ ANTİK ÇAĞ VE LYKOS VADİSİ (Late Antiquity and the Lykos Valley)</b>	
GEÇ ANTİK ÇAĞ NEDİR? (What is Late Antiquity?) Turhan KAÇAR .....	3
THE IMPACT ON ASIA MINOR OF THE PERSIAN INVASIONS IN THE EARLY SEVENTH CENTURY (Erken VII. Yüzyılda Sasani İşgallerinin Anadolu'ya Etkileri) Geoffrey GREATREX .....	13
THE GREAT PLAGUE OF LATE ANTIQUITY IN ASIA MINOR (Geç Antik Çağ Anadolu'sunda Büyük Veba) Stephen MITCHELL .....	27
THE END OF ANTIQUITY IN THE LYKOS VALLEY: SETTING A NEW AGENDA (Lykos Vadisi'nde Antik Çağ'ın Sonu: Yeni Bir Düşünce) Mark WHITTOW .....	37
ROADS AND ROUTES IN WESTERN PHRYGIA IN LATE ANTIQUITY (Geç Antik Çağ'da Batı Frigya İçindeki Yollar ve Rotalar) Andreas KULZER .....	55
GEÇ ANTİK ÇAĞ'DA LYKOS VADİSİ VE ÇEVRESİ (Lykos Valley in Late Antiquity) Mustafa Hamdi SAYAR .....	65
EARTHQUAKES AND LATE ANTIQUE URBANISM: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE CASE OF THE LYKOS VALLEY (Depremler ve Geç Antik Kentleşme: Lykos Vadisi Örneği Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler) Troels Myrup KRISTENSEN .....	71
<b>II. LAODIKEIA</b>	
GEÇ ANTİK ÇAĞ'DA LAODIKEIA (Laodikeia in the late antiquity) Celal ŞİMŞEK .....	81
LAODIKEIA'DA HİRİSTİYANLIK VE KİLİSELER (Christianity and Churches in Laodikeia) Fahriye BAYRAM .....	117
PERSECUTION, MARTYRDOM, AND HAGIOGRAPHY IN LAODIKEIA PRESENTATION (Laodikeia'da Takibat, Şehadet ve Aziz Hikâyeleri) Ulrich HUTTNER .....	139
LAODIKEIA KİLİSESİNDE UYGULANAN RESTORASYON YÖNTEMLERİ: TEMEL PRENSİPLER VE UYGULAMA SINIRLARI (Restoration Methods Applied in the Laodikeia Church: Fundamental Principles and Application Limits) Çağrı Murat TARHAN .....	149

LAODIKEIA GEÇ ANTİK ÇAĞ SERAMİKLERİ (Late Antique Pottery of Laodikeia) Celal ŞİMŞEK – Mustafa BİLGİN .....	175
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF TEMPLE A FROM LAODIKEIA. NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE AGE OF DIOCLETIAN TO THE AGE OF CONSTANTINE (Laodikeia'dan Tapınak A Yazıtları. Diocletianus'tan Constantine Yeni Bulgular) Francesco GUIZZI .....	201
AMPULLAE WITH FIGURAL DEPICTIONS FROM LAODIKEIA OF LATE ANTIQUITY (Geç Antik Çağ Laodikeiası'ndan Figürlü Ampullalar) Celal ŞİMŞEK – Barış YENER .....	217

### III. HIERAPOLIS

GEÇ ANTİK ÇAĞ VE ERKEN BİZANS DÖNEMİNDE PHRYGIA HIERAPOLIS'İ (Late Antiquity and Early Christianity Periods in Hierapolis at Phrygia) Francesco D'ANDRIA .....	235
COUNCILLORS, HERETICS, AND ARCHBISHOPS IN LATE ANTIQUE HIERAPOLIS: RECENT EPIGRAPHICAL FINDINGS CONCERNING THE CITY, ITS TERRITORY, AND THE HISTORY OF HIERAPOLIS' BISHOPRIC (4 <sup>TH</sup> - 9 <sup>TH</sup> CENT.) (Geç Antik Hierapolis'te Konsey Üyeleri, Sapkınlar ve Başpiskoposlar: Hierapolis Kenti, Territoriumu ve Piskoposluk Tarihi ile ilgili Son Epigrafik Bulgular [IV – IX Yüzyıllar]) Alister FILIPPINI .....	249
DIVINE LITURGY AND HUMAN SKILLS IN THE ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE FROM THE CHURCH OF THE APOSTLE IN HIERAPOLIS (PHRYGIA) (Hierapolis Aziz Philip Kilisesi'nden Mimari Heykeltıraşlıkta İnsan Yeteneği ve Dinsel Seramoni) Manuela DE GIORGI .....	291
MOSAIC AND <i>OPUS SECTILE</i> PAVEMENTS IN THE CHURCH OF ST. PHILIP IN HIERAPOLIS (Aziz Philip Kilisesi'nden <i>Opus Sectile</i> ve Mozaik Döşemeler) Maria Piera CAGGIA .....	309
THE PLOUTONION OF HIERAPOLIS IN PHRYGIA IN THE LATE ANCIENT AND PROTO-BYZANTINE PERIOD (Geç Antik Çağ ve Erken Bizans Dönemi'nde Frigya Hierapolis'i Ploutonion'u) Pio PANARELLI .....	325

### IV. GÜNEYBATI ANADOLU KENTLERİ (The Cities of South Western Anatolia)

GEÇ ANTİK ÇAĞ'DA LYDIA TRIPOLIS'İ (MS 4. YY'DAN SASANİ TAHRİBATI'NA KADAR) Lydian Tripolis during Late Antiquity (from the fourth century to the Sassanian destruction) Bahadır DUMAN .....	343
GEÇ ANTİK ÇAĞ'DA TRALLEIS (Tralleis in Late Ancient Period) Aslı SARAÇOĞLU .....	369
SOME REMARKS ON LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY CHRISTIAN EPHEBUS (Geç Antik ve Erken Hıristiyanlık Dönemi Ephesus Üzerine Bazı Notlar) Andreas PÜLZ .....	385
EFES VE MAGNESIA BİZANS SURLARININ YENİDEN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ (Dating of the Byzantine City Walls of Ephesus and Magnesia on the Maeander Reconsidered) Mustafa BÜYÜKKOLANCI .....	401
GEÇ ANTİK ÇAĞ'DA STRATONIKEIA (Stratonikeia in Late Antiquity) Bilal SÖĞÜT .....	429

# SUNUŞ

Eskiçağ ile Ortaçağ dünyası arasında bir geçiş dönemi olarak ilk defa 20. yüzyılın başında sanat tarihi çalışmalarında tanımlanan Geç Antik Çağ, özellikle son yarım yüzyılda popüler hale gelmiş ve günümüzde artık farklı bir disiplin ve tarihsel dönem olarak kabul edilmiştir. Modern tarih ve arkeoloji çalışmalarında “kısa ve uzun Geç Antik Çağ” olarak iki farklı kronolojik çerçeveye sahip olan bu dönem; araştırmacılar tarafından Diocletianus’tan, Iustinianus’a (3. yüzyıl sonu–6. yüzyıl) veya 2.–8. yüzyıllar arasına, hatta 10. yüzyıla kadar uzatılmaktadır. Geç Antik Çağ’ın coğrafi odağı büyük oranda Roma İmparatorluğu’nun doğu topraklarıdır. Doğu Roma İmparatorluğu’nu ayakta tutan en önemli bölge olan Anadolu’nun Geç Antik Çağ’daki durumu bu bağlamda çok önemlidir. Anadolu’nun tarihi ve arkeolojisi üzerine yürütülen çalışmalar, Geç Antik Çağ dünyasıyla ilgili akademik tartışmalara göz ardı edilemeyecek derecede önemli bilgiler sağlamış ve sağlamaya devam etmektedir. Bundan dolayı, Anadolu arkeolojisinde Geç Antik Çağ’a ilişkin buluntular, son zamanlarda üzerinde en çok durulan konuların başında gelmektedir. Arkeologlar geçmiş dönemlerde daha çok Arkaik, Klasik, Hellenistik ve İmparatorluk sanatı, mimarisi ve kültürü üzerinde durmuşlardır. Bu nedenle 1980’li yıllara kadar kazılarda ortaya çıkartılan MS 3. yüzyıl sonrası buluntular üzerinde fazlaca durulmamış, ancak bu tarihlerden itibaren Geç Antik Çağ kazı verileri yavaş yavaş önem kazanmaya ve yorumlanmaya başlanmıştır.

Gerçekten de genelde Akdeniz dünyası ve Anadolu, özelde ise Lykos Vadisi ve çevresi MS 3. yüzyıldan itibaren ortaya çıkan köklü değişimlere ve gelişmelere sahne olmuştur. Roma İmparatorluğu’nun 3. yüzyılda yaşadığı siyasi ve dini kriz, imparatorluğun ertesi yüzyılda bir yandan Hıristiyanlaşmasıyla diğer yandan idari olarak çatalaşmasıyla sonuçlanmıştır. İmparatorlar Constantinus ve Licinius’un 313 yılında Milano’da kararlaştırdıkları din politikasıyla, Hıristiyanlar serbestlik kazanmışlar, Theodosius Dönemi’nde ise paganlık yasaklanarak, Hıristiyanlık resmi din olarak ilan edilmiştir. Bu gelişim, alışlagelmiş birçok şeyi temelinden değiştirmiştir. Artık kent yaşayışını eskiden olduğu gibi şekillendiren, kentsel peyzajı oluşturan agoralar, hamamlar, tiyatrolar, stadyumlar ve tapınaklar yerlerini, yavaş yavaş kiliselere ve dini mimari unsurlarına bırakmış ve yaşamın odak noktasını bu yapılar oluşturmaya başlamıştır. Geç Antik Çağ’ın son döneminde bir başka tek Tanrı inancı olarak İslam’ın ortaya çıkışı, başlangıçta Batı Anadolu kentlerinde olmasa da Doğu Akdeniz’de bulunan kentlerin arkeolojik manzarasına, yeni unsurların eklenmesine neden olmuştur.

Bütün bu değişimlerin özellikle başta Laodikeia olmak üzere, içerisinde yer aldığı Lykos Vadisi kentleri (Hierapolis, Tripolis, Kolossai vd.) ve çevresine nasıl yansıdığı sorusuna cevap arayan bu kitaptaki çalışmalar, 2015 yılında Denizli’de Pamukkale Üniversitesi bünyesinde Laodikeia Kazı Evi’nde yapılan bir toplantıya dayanmaktadır. Dolayısıyla odak noktası Geç Antik Çağ’da Lykos Vadisi ve Çevresi olarak belirlenen bu kitapta yer alan çalışmalar, sadece Batı Anadolu antik kentlerinde kazılarda ortaya çıkartılan son buluntu ve gelişmeleri değerlendirmemekte, aynı zamanda Geç Antik Çağ tarih yazımını meşgul eden, antik kent kültürünün durumunu, çöküş, değişim, dönüşüm gibi kavramları da dikkate alarak tartışmaktadır.

Geç Antik Çağ Anadolu’sunda kentsel nüfusun azalmasının gerisindeki faktörleri incelerken, şimdiye kadar genelde ihmal edilen salgın hastalıkların rolüne dikkat çekilmekte ve kentsel sistemin çöküşünü ele alırken fazlasıyla anlam yüklenen Sasani saldırılarına ilişkin yargılarda, daha temkinli olunmasını önermektedir. Hiç kuşkusuz Roma dünyasının tek dış tehdidi Sasaniler değildi. İmparatorluğun kuzey sınırlarında yaşayan Germen asıllı kavimler de zaman zaman büyük tehdit oluşturuyordu. Öyle ki bu kavimlerden birisi olan Gotların, 3. yüzyılın ortalarında Kafkaslar üzerinden Anadolu’yu istila etmelerinin etkisi Efes ve civarında yapılan arkeolojik çalışmalarla belgelenmektedir.



Bu kitapta yer alan arkeologların ve tarihçilerin çalışmaları iki farklı kategoride değerlendirilebilir: Bir yanda arkeologlar çalıştıkları kentler özelinde, (bu bağlamda Laodikeia, Tripolis, Hierapolis gibi Lykos Vadisi kentleri; Stratonikeia, Ephesus ve Tralleis gibi çevre kentler) Geç Antik Çağ'da farklılaşan buluntulara dikkat çekilmektedir. Kazılarda ortaya çıkartılan buluntular kentsel hayatın vaziyetini ortaya koymasından çok önemlidir. Diğer yanda tarihçiler Geç Antik Çağ dünyasıyla ilgili modern tarihi tartışmalara işaret ediyorlar ve o dünyayı derinden sarsan depremler, siyasi sorunlar ve salgın hastalıklar gibi faktörlerin, söz konusu dönemde kentsel hayatı ne derecede etkilediklerini arkeolojik veya yazınsal literatürde yer alan verilerden hareketle ele almaktadırlar.

Son olarak, hem bu kitabın ortaya çıkmasında hem de Laodikeia Kazı ve Restorasyon çalışmalarına sağladıkları destekten dolayı, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü'ne, Denizli Valiliği'ne, Denizli Büyükşehir Belediyesi Başkanlığı'na, Pamukkale Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü'ne, Pamukkale Üniversitesi, Bilimsel Araştırma Projeleri Birimine (BAP), Güney Ege Kalkınma Ajansı'na (GEKA) teşekkür ederiz. Ayrıca kitabın hazırlanmasında emeği geçen Dr. İnci Türkoğlu ve Arkeolog Ayşegül Arıç'a teşekkür etmek bizim için bir görevdir. Laodikeia antik kentinin Dünya Kültür Mirasına kazandırılması için 2003 yılından itibaren Kazı Ekibinin yaptığı öz verili çalışmalar, hiç kuşkusuz her türlü takdirin üzerindedir.

Celal ŞİMŞEK – Turhan KAÇAR  
2017, Denizli

# INTRODUCTION

The term “late antiquity” denoting the transitional period from the ancient world to the medieval world was first proposed in the art historical studies at the beginning of the twentieth century; it has become very popular in the last half-century transforming to a separate discipline and historic period. In modern studies of history and archaeology, the period of late antiquity has two chronological spans as “short” and “long”, lasting either from the reign of Diocletian to Justinian (third-sixth centuries AD) or from the second to the eighth – even to the tenth – century. Geographical focus of late antiquity is mostly the eastern part of the Roman Empire. Therefore, the situation of Anatolia, the most important region that kept the East Roman Empire standing, through late antiquity is of utmost importance. Studies on the history and archaeology of Anatolia provide non-ignorable material to the academic debates on the late antique world. Therefore, finds related with the late antiquity of Anatolia are among the leading topics of recent times. In the past, archaeologists had concentrated on the art, architecture and culture of the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and Imperial periods. Thus, finds dating to after the third century AD were not paid much attention until the 1980s when the data on late antiquity started to gain in importance and be assessed gradually.

Indeed, the Mediterranean world and Anatolia in the wider sense and the Lykos Valley and its neighbourhood in particular witnessed radical changes and developments as of the third century AD. Political and religious crises of the third century culminated in the Christianisation and administrative forking of the Roman Empire in the following century. Emperors Constantine and Licinius legitimised Christianity with their “Edict of Milan” in 313; and finally Emperor Theodosius banned paganism making Christianity the official religion. This change altered many things taken for granted. Now, agorae, baths, theatres, stadiums and temples, which had shaped the urban life and landscape in the earlier times, were taken over by churches and other Christian religious structures. In the last phase of late antiquity, another monotheistic religion, Islam was born and it paved the way for integration of new elements in the archaeological landscape of the cities in the East Mediterranean, even if not the cities of West Anatolia right away.

The papers in this book have arisen from a meeting held at Pamukkale University in 2015 and look for answers to the query on the abovementioned changes as reflected in Laodikeia, above all, and in the Lykos Valley and its neighbourhood. Thus, the studies presented in this book with a focus on the Lykos Valley and its Neighbourhood in Late Antiquity not only assess the latest finds uncovered and developments attested in the archaeology of the ancient cities of western Anatolia in particular, but also discuss these issues taking into consideration the concepts such as the situation with the urban culture of antiquity, fall, change, and transformation, which have been debated by the historiography of late antiquity.

Investigating into the decrease in urban populations in Anatolia of late antiquity, they draw attention to the part of the epidemics, mostly neglected until now, and also suggest that the Sassanian raids have been overrated while dealing with the collapse of the urban system. Certainly, the Sasanians were not the only external threat to the Roman world. Germanic peoples living about the northern borders of the Empire posed threats time to time. In so much that the raids by the Goths, one of those peoples, about middle of the third century AD are now archaeologically documented in and around Ephesos.

The studies by archaeologists and historians presented in this book should be considered in two categories: on one side, the archaeologists call for attention to the finds distinguishing themselves in late antiquity based on

the cases of their proper excavations at the cities of Laodikeia, Tripolis and Hierapolis in the Lykos Valley as well as Stratonikeia, Ephesus and Tralleis in the neighbourhood because these finds are of importance for they cast light onto the urban life of the period. On the other side, historians point to the modern historiographic debates regarding the world of late antiquity and investigate the effect on the urban life of the factors like earthquakes, political problems and epidemics, which shook that world deeply, by investigating the data provided by the archaeological and literary literature.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums, Governorate of Denizli, Metropolitan Municipality of Denizli, Presidency of Pamukkale University, Pamukkale University's Office of Scientific Research Projects (BAP), and Development Agency for the South Aegean Region (GEKA) for their support to the excavations and restorations at Laodikeia. We also would like to extend our thanks to Dr. İnci Türkođlu and Archeologist Ayşegöl Arıđ for their effort in the preparation of this volume. Last but not least, the self-sacrificing work of the excavation team since 2003 to get Laodikeia into the World Heritage List is beyond all appreciation.

Celal ŐİMŐEK – Turhan KAÇAR  
2017, Denizli

# AMPULLAE WITH FIGURAL DEPICTIONS FROM LAODIKEIA OF LATE ANTIQUITY

## *Geç Antik Çağ Laodikeiası'ndan Figürlü Ampullalar*

CELAL ŞİMŞEK – BARIŞ YENER\*

### Özet

*Çalışma kapsamında; MS 3. yy'ın ortalarından itibaren İncil ile ilgili hikâyeler ve basit sembollerle oluşmaya başlayan Hristiyanlık sanatının Geç Antik Çağ toplumu için önem derecesi daha yüksek olan Aziz/Azize betimlerinin de işlendiği görsel sanatlara ait izler, Laodikeia özelinde yeni kazı verileriyle değerlendirilmiştir. Antik kentte 2002 yılından bu yana yürütülen kazı çalışmalarında ele geçen küçük buluntu grupları arasında kabartmalı fildişi Thekla plakasının yanı sıra, bazıları İsa/Meryem, Aziz/Azize betimli örneklerin yer aldığı en yoğun buluntu grubunu ampullalar oluşturmaktadır. Bunun nedeni ise Hristiyanlık merkezi olarak Anadolu'nun Yedi Kilise Kentleri içinde Laodikeia'nın bir hac merkezi olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Çalışmada Aziz/Azize betimli toplam yedi adet ampulla örneği ikonografik açıdan ele alınarak MS 5.-6. yy'lar içinde değerlendirilmiştir.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Ampulla, Aziz, Hristiyanlık, Hac, Laodikeia

**Keywords:** Ampulla, Saints, Christianity, Pilgrimage, Laodikeia

## INTRODUCTION

As of the third century AD the Roman Empire started to lose control over its vast territory and this led to the rise of many serious problems. Consequently, and inevitably, the administrative, economic and cultural point of gravity shifted to the East in time. This eastward orientation starting in the reign of Diocletian culminated in the shift of the capital to Constantinopolis by Constantine I. It is of utmost importance that Constantine I legitimised Christianity in AD 313 as a result of his efforts looking for a new, strong and dynamic fulcrum for the Roman administration, which was abraded during the third century. Although the freedom bestowed on Christianity paved the way for substantial oriental influence on the culture and arts, all the cultural fields of the late antiquity, which witnessed the coexistence of Christianity and paganism, were still dominated by the “Roman” character<sup>1</sup>.

Having lived a brilliant era during the first through the third centuries AD under the Roman Empire, Laodikeia was one of the leading cities in southwestern Anatolia and one of those where the new religion emerged rapidly. From the very early stages, Laodikeia housed a Christian community effectively. Meetings and prayers held at homes in the beginning spread gradually and paved the way for a strong infrastructure for Christianity. Evidence uncovered in the course of excavations has shown that the strong influence of pagan elements that had

---

\* Prof. Dr., Pamukkale University, Faculty of Science & Arts, Department of Archaeology, 20017 Denizli, Türkiye.  
E-mail: csimsek@pau.edu.tr

Assistant, Pamukkale University, Faculty of Science & Arts, Department of Archaeology, 20017 Denizli, Türkiye.  
E-mail: byener@pau.edu.tr

<sup>1</sup> Akyürek 2007, 9.

prevailed for centuries continued with the new religion as well in late antiquity. This has placed Laodikeia at a special point among other cities in the emergence of Early Christian art<sup>2</sup>.

Christian art started to form with biblical stories and simple symbols as of the mid-third century; this study assesses the visual examples of Christian art with depictions of saints, which were of greater importance for the society of late antiquity, in the special case of examples uncovered at Laodikeia. Excavations have been going on at the site since 2002 and small works of art uncovered include a substantial group of ampullae, in addition to the ivory plaque with St Thekla in relief. A selection of seven ampullae with depictions of saints are presented with respect to iconography<sup>3</sup>.

## MARTYRDOM AND THE CULT OF SAINTS IN LAODIKEIA

Saints and holy people had an influential part in the socio-cultural structure of the Byzantine society during late antiquity. The saints guarded the cities and the people from the evil, healed the sick, performed miracles and constituted the bridge between the people and the God. Therefore, the cities of late antiquity began to build saint cults for the personages, who were tortured for their faith of Christianity, were martyred, or performed various miracles<sup>4</sup>. As understood from extant records, the Christian community of Laodikeia retained their existence relatively in peace for about two hundred years apart from a few individual events that are observed all over the Empire. The earliest record of oppression on the Laodikeian Christians is the martyrdom of Sagaris, the first known bishop of the city, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (r. 161-180)<sup>5</sup>. The organised persecution of Christians in the reigns of Decius (r. 249-251) and Valerian (r. 253-260) has not recorded any martyrs from Laodikeia. Following this decade of oppression in the mid-third century, a period of relative peace prevailed for Christianity until the decree of Diocletian (r. 284-305) issued on 23 February 303 at Nicomedia, which shook the Christendom violently.

The new wave of intense persecution led to new martyrs from Laodikeia. This organised persecution, which aimed to revive paganism, is attested in the repair of Temple A and in the reliefs of Apollo, Artemis, Fortuna and Laodikeian Tyche on the columns erected on 20 November 303 on the twentieth regnal year of Diocletian and Maximian<sup>6</sup>. Among important martyrs recorded from Laodikeia are SS Trophimus and Thallus, who were crucified, and St Artemon; furthermore, there were twenty martyrs from Laodikeia according to *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* and ten martyrs according to *Syriac Martyrology*<sup>7</sup>. At this point, it is possible to state that, theoretically, a strong cult of saints, which had started to rise in Laodikeia with martyrdom of St Sagaris in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, augmented with increasing number of martyrs recorded by the time of Tetrarchy. However, excavations to date have not brought to light any evidence regarding the saints' cult at Laodikeia, and this should be linked to the sanctity of the city since the first century AD rather than individual saints, who would be expected to push forth the Christianity of Laodikeia<sup>8</sup>. Therefore, liturgical materials recovered in the city should be evaluated as pilgrims' materials adorned with themes appropriated by Christianity in overall as a pilgrimage site of Anatolia rather than local Christian cults<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Şimşek 2013, 338-341.

<sup>3</sup> A total of twenty ampullae with/out figures were uncovered in the course of excavations in 2002 through 2006 and were published in 2007 (see Şimşek – Duman 2007, 73-102). The total number of ampullae uncovered has reached forty until the end of 2016 campaign; however, the present study handles only the examples with iconographic value.

<sup>4</sup> Akyürek 1998, 175.

<sup>5</sup> Huttner 2013, 345; Şimşek 2013, 339.

<sup>6</sup> Şimşek 2010, 177-187; Şimşek 2013, 250 Fig. 332.

<sup>7</sup> Huttner 2013, 342.

<sup>8</sup> Laodikeia assumed sanctity already in the first century AD when first St Paul, then St John sent letters. By the late antiquity when the spiritual balances started to change Laodikeia hosted one of the regional councils discussing the Gospels, liturgy and church regulation. According to Zonaras and Balsamon this council was held some time between AD 343 and 381 and many church fathers from all over Asia came together and ruled about 60 canons (See Şimşek 2013, 344-345).

<sup>9</sup> Şimşek 2015, 14-20, Fig. 5.

## LAODIKEIAN AMPULLAE: SEEKING THE SAINTS

The first example of saint depictions was uncovered at Temple A, a symbolic structure of the “Great Persecution” period. This pagan monument bears the earliest marks of the transformation arising from the new religion when Christianity was legitimised and the ivory plaque with St Thecla uncovered at its southwest portico<sup>10</sup> was published in an article in 2010. The plaque features a standing draped figure of St Thecla before an architectural façade with spirally fluted columns topped with an arch<sup>11</sup>. The saint *orant* is flanked with a lion on both sides and the one on the right is a male while the one on the left is a female; the lions are rendered with their heads and foreparts only. Thecla, a saint venerated by both the Eastern and Western Churches, is depicted on various elements of Early Christian art as one of the first missionaries of the new religion trying to get hold of a place in a vast geography dominated by paganism. She was usually depicted between wild animals (lion or bull), holding a cross, palm leaf, globe on flame, whip or snake during late antiquity; the plaque from Laodikeia probably depicted her before the architecture of her sanctuary at Seleukeia and with lions that protected her from other wild beasts at the arena of Antioch where she was punished.

In addition to the ivory relief of Thecla, an important find group from Laodikeia is the ampullae, which were bought by the pilgrims and filled with holy oil or water during their pilgrimage. The ampullae feature flat surfaces and are adorned with saints venerated, holy sites and various Christian symbols. In this context, ampullae with saint figures uncovered at Laodikeia present us with interesting examples.

The first example, **Cat. No. 1**, has, on side A, a figure dressed with a long garment, depicted standing before a double-winged gate on top of four steps. The figure holds a book in his hand. On side B, the same architecture encircles a cross standing on an altar-like pedestal. The differences between the two architectures depicted are the corner acroteria missing on side B with only the top one worked, and the roulette rendering of the arch on side A whereas it is moulded on side B. It was proposed by scholars that the gate depiction on ampullae from other sites with similar iconography symbolises the passage between life and death, that the figure before it is Jesus resurrected, or SS Lazarus, Demetrios, Spyridon or John<sup>12</sup>. The cross on top of the altar on side B is linked to the grave, resurrection of people and the triumphal cross erected on top of Mt Golgotha<sup>13</sup>.

Concerning the Laodikeian example, minor differences between the two architectures depicted on both sides, like the perspective and decorative details, may suggest that they actually show the front and back views of one monument. Architectural properties of the concerned monument and depiction of a cross on top of an altar allow us to link it to the Constantinian Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The Holy Sepulchre retained its appearance until the Sassanian conquest of Jerusalem in AD 614 and information on it is available both in written sources and depictions on small works of art.

Eusebius writes that “it was discovered in earthen fill beneath a Roman temple in the northwestern part of the city. Since the tomb was literally a cave in rock, Constantine’s workers first cut it free from its surroundings, then suitably embellished it ‘with rare columns and most splendid decorations of every kind’ ” (Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 3.28; 3.34). The Piacenza Pilgrim (AD 570), one of the earliest pilgrims known, describes the Holy Sepulchre as: “The tomb of Christ is hewn out of living rock ... The stone which closed the tomb is in front of the tomb door ... The tomb is roofed with a cone which is silver, with added beams of gold. In front of the tomb stands an altar” (Piacenza Pilgrim, *Travels*, 18); it is worth noting that he noted a dome and an altar before the tomb.

<sup>10</sup> Arrangements to adapt to the new religion were carried out mainly in the naos and western and southern porticoes of Temple A. These arrangements started with the construction of the chapel in the fourth century; some more additions were built following the earthquake in AD 494 and remained in use until the earthquake in the first half of the seventh century (See Şimşek 2013, 254-265, Figs. 340-343, 346, 348-350).

<sup>11</sup> Şimşek – Yener 2010, 321–334.

<sup>12</sup> Wulff 1909, 264, Taf. LXVII, 1348; Griffing 1938, 279, Fig. 21; Metzger 1981, 114, Fig. 102-103, nrs. 120-121; Vikan 1982, 26–27, Figs. 20 a-b; Zalesskaya 1986, 185; Campbell 1988, 542, no. 6, Fig. 6 a-b; Stiegemann 2001, 199 Figs. 1.77.1-2; D’Andria 2003 Fig. 195; Anderson 2004, 84; Şimşek – Duman 2007, 6, Cat. 1, Figs. 3-4.

<sup>13</sup> Vikan 1982, 26–27; for the cross on Golgotha see Aydın 2013, 442.

In parallel to the written narratives by the pilgrims of the period, a group of ampullae from Jerusalem, named the Monza/Bobbio group, provides us with more visual evidence regarding the Constantinian period sepulchre. These round metal bottles of tin and lead alloy are dated to the sixth-seventh centuries; they are decorated with important scenes of Christianity such as Resurrection and Assumption in a setting before the Holy Sepulchre of Jesus Christ. These examples also feature a similar arched/domed architecture carried by spirally fluted columns, crowned with a cruciform acroterion<sup>14</sup>. This architectural façade observed on the ampullae of Monza/Bobbio group is also attested on the Holy Sepulchre model of stone at Narbonne and dated to the fifth century, almost the same as that on the Laodikeian ampulla<sup>15</sup>.

The depictions on both sides of Cat. No. 1 are clearly related with death, resurrection and funerary iconography. Therefore, it is possible to propose that the figure depicted on side A may be Jesus resurrected or St Lazarus revived. However, in the Early Christian iconography St Lazarus is depicted shrouded, without a book in his hand<sup>16</sup>; therefore, it is more plausible that the figure depicted is Jesus. Accordingly, the cross on altar depicted on side B may be proposed to represent the empty tomb or the altar before the tomb based on the hypothesis that the architecture depicted on both faces of the concerned ampulla represents the front and back façades of the same building. This proposal seems to be supported by a marble plaque decorated with the depiction of the Holy Sepulchre in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. It is decorated with the depiction of a single cross over the actual grave within a domed structure carried by four columns, as on the Laodikeian example<sup>17</sup>.

The ampulla Cat. No. 2 uncovered in Temple A East Alley in 2010 bears very interesting depictions. On side A is a bearded male figure standing and stabbing with his spear a dragon extending along the round bottom of the vessel; the figure wears a short *chiton* and *chlamys*, clearly a soldier, holds his short spear in his right hand and rests his left hand on his waist. The dragon with its mouth open is depicted probably attacking. On side B is another male figure, again bearded, wearing a long dress and depicted facing, standing. He holds a book with both hands at bosom level and is flanked with a lion with puffy mane on either side. These lions, as on the ivory plaque with St Thecla, are not rendered attacking but rather accompanying the saint figure, and their long tails curl up.

Same iconography is also attested on four other examples now housed at Aphrodisias<sup>18</sup>, Louvre<sup>19</sup> and Munich<sup>20</sup>. On these examples the figure killing the dragon on side A is identified as St George, St Demetrius<sup>21</sup> or St Theodore<sup>22</sup>. It is clear that a soldier saint<sup>23</sup> is depicted here; however, St George, the dragon slayer, is mostly depicted riding a horse<sup>24</sup> and St Demetrius is depicted also on horse but killing the gladiator Lyaeos. In this context, for the identification of the figure depicted killing a dragon on side A, St Theodore of Euchaita, who had earlier depictions in the Early Christian art, is a more likely name.

Theodore was born in Euchaita, modern Avkat/Mecitözü of Çorum province, and was martyred in the course of the Great Persecution; a cult centre was built in his hometown in the fourth century<sup>25</sup>. Beside his depictions

<sup>14</sup> Grabar – Fourmont 1958, 15, Fig. II A1, VIII A3; Kötzsche 1995, 274–275, Taf. 28 a-c.

<sup>15</sup> Wilkinson 1972, 95, Fig. 13; Kötzsche 1995, 277, Abb. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Morey 1941, 47–48, Fig. 8; Weitzmann 1972, Figs. 12, 25-27.

<sup>17</sup> Kötzsche 1995, 274, Taf. 28 d.

<sup>18</sup> Campbell 1988, 541–542, nos. 4-5, Figs. 4a-b, 5a-b.

<sup>19</sup> Metzger 1981, 981, 46-47 no. 117, Fig. 99.

<sup>20</sup> Sörries 2006, 140–141, nos. 325-328.

<sup>21</sup> Campbell 1988, 541.

<sup>22</sup> Anderson 2004, 83.

<sup>23</sup> Prominent soldier saints of late antiquity were Teron, George, Sergios and Bakchos, Hieron, Merkurios, Menas, Eustathios and Artemios (See Grotowski 2010, 58–59).

<sup>24</sup> Grotowski 2010, Figs. 30f, 31, 32, 41a, 42.

<sup>25</sup> The town of Euchaita housing the martyrdom of St Theodore was honoured by Emperor Anastasius (r. 491-518). Anastasius encircled Euchaita, the town of martyr St Theodore, known as the athlete of Christ, with a wall to protect it, and installed Mamas as the bishop there (See Grotowski 2010, 109, n. 171).

riding a horse and killing a dragon<sup>26</sup>, Theodore is mostly depicted standing, wearing military costume, and killing a dragon curling under his feet with his spear in the right hand and holding a shield in his left hand. Among these, the examples with St Theodore clearly identified are found on lead seals of the sixth-seventh centuries. The iconography of St Theodore killing a dragon attested on the seals of Epiphanius of Euchaita, Nicholas of Euchaita<sup>27</sup>, and Peter, Bishop of Euchaita<sup>28</sup>, is closely parallel to the Laodikeian ampulla. Furthermore, an ampulla from Calymna now housed at the British Museum is decorated with a similar composition of a figure standing over a dragon and holding a cruciform spear and this figure is identified as St George or St Theodore<sup>29</sup>. To us, it is more plausible that the figure killing a dragon on side A of the Laodikeian ampulla Cat. No. 2 is St Theodore, an Anatolian saint who had an important cult centre already in the fourth century.

The figure flanked with lions on side B of the Laodikeian ampulla is most likely to be Daniel in the Lions' Den. According to the Old Testament, Daniel was thrown into the lions' den for he did not abide by the bans of Darius the Mede, the king of Babylon, not to worship the God. However, the lions did not touch Daniel with the help of the God<sup>30</sup>. Therefore, iconographically Daniel is depicted flanked with lions. Searching for the identity of the figure on the Aphrodisian ampulla Campbell notes that Daniel is usually depicted in *orans* without holding a book. However, the concerned figure holds a book, which may be considered an attribute symbolising the intelligence and wisdom of Daniel<sup>31</sup>. Indeed, there is no example known with Daniel holding a book, but rather with a parchment scroll on very few examples<sup>32</sup>. Rautman states that, while discussing the iconography of the Daniel figure depicted holding a parchment scroll on a marble plaque from Sardeis, Daniel figures holding a book on the ampullae symbolise the prophethood and teaching of Daniel<sup>33</sup>. In this context, Daniel venerated by both Jews and Christians was depicted, not surprisingly out of the usual iconography, on the ampullae, which should be considered not only a religious object but also a commercial item.

Ampulla Cat. No. 3 was uncovered in the east portico of the North (Sacred) Agora in 2011. On side A is a bearded man riding on a horse and holding an axe over his shoulder; on side B is a veiled woman, riding a horse sideways, holding a round object between her hands at belly level. Close parallels are seen again at the Louvre and this iconography is categorised as “rider group” by Metzger<sup>34</sup>. Some examples in this group feature the male figure with the right hand raised<sup>35</sup> or only riding a horse<sup>36</sup> while the figures on the other side are usually depicted in the same composition. Studies propose that this iconography on the ampullae represents the Flight to Egypt<sup>37</sup> by Joseph and Mary<sup>38</sup> while some other scholars consider these horse-riding figures representing the Christians<sup>39</sup> on their pilgrimage and the axe-carrying male figure as St Theodore<sup>40</sup>. The carpenter's axe seen in the hand of the male figure on side A of the Laodikeian ampulla suggests the identification of the figure as Joseph and that the round object held by the woman on the reverse should be representing infant Jesus.

<sup>26</sup> Grotowski 2010, Fig. 7a.

<sup>27</sup> Zacos – Veglery 1972, vol. 1/1, nos. 1283 a-c, 1287.

<sup>28</sup> Zacos – Veglery 1972, vol.1/2, no. 1285.

<sup>29</sup> That the origin of this ampulla with the depiction of SS George or Theodore is Calymna is not certain (See Dalton 1901, 159, no. 912).

<sup>30</sup> Daniel 6: 1-28. For the ivory pyxis decorated with Daniel in the Lions' Den See Weitzmann 1979, 485, no. 436.

<sup>31</sup> Campbell 1988, 542.

<sup>32</sup> Deonna 1949, 124–131, Pl. 1a-1b-2.

<sup>33</sup> Rautman 2010, 53.

<sup>34</sup> Michon 1899, 324, Figs. 18-19; Metzger 1981, 18–19, nos. 98-103.

<sup>35</sup> Maeir – Strauss 1995, 237–239, Fig. 1, Pl. XXXV-b.

<sup>36</sup> Anderson 2004, 83, Fig. 3.

<sup>37</sup> ...Now when they had departed, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, saying, “Arise, take the young Child and His mother, flee to Egypt, and stay there until I bring you word; for Herod will seek the young Child to destroy Him... When he arose, he took the young Child and His mother by night and departed for Egypt, and was there until the death of Herod... (Mathew 2: 13-15).

<sup>38</sup> Wulff 1909, 264.; Robert 1984, 464–467, Fig. 12.

<sup>39</sup> Broneer 1932, 48, Fig. 17.1.

<sup>40</sup> Dal Santo 2011, 36, Fig. 4.



Although most of the examples depicting Flight to Egypt indicate Joseph on foot and Mary riding the mule or donkey<sup>41</sup> this scene formed by complementary figures on both sides of the Laodikeian ampulla may be the result of iconographic preference of the artist. On the other hand, one other proposal could be the Journey to Bethlehem for the census, just before the Nativity, as one would normally not expect to see an infant Jesus on this trip yet. Furthermore, it would be more plausible for Journey to Bethlehem to be depicted on a pilgrim item as the owners, the pilgrims, were travelling to and from the Holy Land.

The ampulla **Cat. No. 4** was uncovered in Temple A East Alley in 2015. On side A is the depiction of a boat, whose crescent shaped hull occupies the lower half of the side. The sail makes a triangle tip on the neck of the ampulla with the edges flaring out to the aft and stem of the boat. Three figures are depicted on this boat and the middle one is rendered much larger with his torso than the other two, who are given only as heads. On side B, however, a façade with a triangular pediment carried by two columns frame a male figure standing. The figure wears a long mantle and has a beard. He holds an open book in his left hand raised to his belly level; he possibly holds a censer with his right hand depicted hanging down. Parallel examples<sup>42</sup> depict, as proposed by scholars, a pilgrimage voyage of Christians<sup>43</sup>; however, that the middle figure is depicted bigger than the other two is a reason for raising question marks.

In this context, if the big figure in the middle is considered a saint then he should be identified as St John, Paul, Phocas or Isidore, connected with voyages or maritime affairs. In case this figure is depicted as sailing then he should be identified as St John sailing either between Patmos and Miletus or Joppa and Ephesus<sup>44</sup>. However, this proposal should be considered weak as St John, the evangelist, was mostly depicted in the context of his connection with the Gospel<sup>45</sup> rather than his voyages. At this point, St Phocas of Sinope or St Isidore of Chios<sup>46</sup> should be a more plausible identification for the saint on side A of Cat. No. 4.

Our research has not brought any suggestion for the identification of the saint on side B. The censer he holds in his hand seems to be the symbol to clarify his identity; however, it should be noted that censers are among liturgical items of Christianity<sup>47</sup>. Therefore, proposals for his identity will most probably be troubled. The personage depicted here could be any Christian saint or perhaps the protomartyr St Stephen, who is known with depictions holding a censer.

An important group of ampullae with saint figures from Laodikeia comprises the examples with busts of saints. Among this group, ampulla **Cat. No. 5** uncovered at Temple A in 2005 is clearly identified thanks to the inscriptions on it. On both sides of this ampulla is a saint depicted as a bust over the belly level and holding an open book. On side A, the figure has a long beard and the inscription is divided into lines flanking him: "ΑΥΙ-ΟΣ ΑΝ-ΔΡ-Ε-ΑC"; on side B, the same figure separates the inscription in two again: "ΑΠΙΟΣ-ΤΟΛΟC". In publications to date on the ampullae of Anatolian origin there are only very few examples with inscriptions. Three examples, one of which is without inscription, perhaps out of the same mould, are found at the Louvre Collection<sup>48</sup>; the one with full inscription at the Princeton Museum Collection also reads "Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΑΠΙΟCΤΟΛΟC" and differs only in some lettering from the Laodikeian example; it also seems to have been produced in the

<sup>41</sup> Bergman 1974, 164, 174, 183, Figs. 1, 17, 35.

<sup>42</sup> Metzger 1981, no. 118; Ćurčić – Clair 1986, 122, no. 151, (Princeton University Art Museum Collection, Inv. No: 118, "<http://artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/18554>"); Stiegemann 2001, 198, Cat. No. 1.77.2; Sodini 2011, 111, Fig. 30.

<sup>43</sup> Stiegemann 2001, 198; Anderson 2004, 83.

<sup>44</sup> Sodini 2011, 110, n. 135.

<sup>45</sup> An ampulla from Sardeis is decorated with a full figure of a saint standing before a façade topped with a triangular pediment and holding a book in his hand; he is identified as St John the Baptist based on its inscription reading "ΑΓΙΕ ΙΟΑΝΝΗ ΒΑ(ΠΤΙCΤΑ)". See Greenewalt *et al.* 1998, 486, Fig. 13).

<sup>46</sup> Vikan 1982, 13, Fig. 6; 15, Fig. 8; Dal Santo 2011, 34, Fig. 1; for the St. Phocas? image on ampulla, see Sodini 2011, 111, Fig. 28.)

<sup>47</sup> Vikan 1982, 22.

<sup>48</sup> Griffing 1938, 275, 279, Fig. 18; Metzger 1981, nos. 123-125.

same mould<sup>49</sup>. The book held by the saint looks as if scribbled at first sight but a close examination reveals an X-shaped cross identified with him on which he was crucified.

The ampullae presented above have string holes on the round shoulders; however, Laodikeian finds also feature examples with larger string holes raised to the ear-shaped shoulders.

One such example is the ampulla **Cat. No. 6**. On side A is a bust holding with his left hand a cross at his belly level, rising towards his chin; he holds a round object with his right hand behind the lateral arm of the cross. The most interesting feature of the composition is the pair of fish over the head of the figure. On side B is the bust of a veiled female figure. Intense veiling on side B does not allow us to retrieve any more details. No similar ampulla has been noted in publications to date. However, an example with a bust in *orans*, identified as St Peter, holding a cross at belly level was found at Sliven, Bulgaria; on its other side is a figure holding a book, possibly Jesus<sup>50</sup>.

The most important attribute to identify the personage on side A of Cat. No. 6 is the fish over the head. The fish, “ΙΧΘΥΣ” in Greek, a symbol of Christ in Christian art, is usually taken as an acrostic actually reading “Ιησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ – Jesus Christ, God’s Son, Saviour”. This and many other theories link Jesus with the fish symbol nevertheless, the round object the figure holds behind the lateral arm of the cross suggests the fish and bread miracle<sup>51</sup>. In case the depiction on this ampulla relates to the concerned miracle then it may be proposed that the male figure on side A of this ampulla from Laodikeia is Jesus Christ and the female on side B is Mary.

Another type attested among the ampullae from Laodikeia is a group with standing full figures on both sides of the vessel.

Ampulla **Cat. No. 7** uncovered at Temple A features a standing full figure on both sides. On side A, the figure is dressed with a long garment and mantle, holds a book in his left hand, and holds a sceptre with cross top in his right hand. On side B, the figure holds a *globus cruciger* in his left hand and a sceptre with cross top in his right hand. This figure wearing a short *chiton* and headgear actually has wings slightly open. One similar example is found at the Princeton Museum Collection<sup>52</sup>. The Princeton example features a figure holding a book within an arch on its side A and the winged figure *orant* on its side B is proposed as Archangel Michael. Apart from ampullae, other small works of art also feature angel figures holding a sceptre and a *globus cruciger*. An ivory plaque at the British Museum dated to the sixth century also features an archangel holding a sceptre in his left hand and a *globus cruciger* in his right<sup>53</sup>. This figure is identified as St Michael based on the inscription. On groups of lead seals dated to the fifth-sixth centuries according to their iconographic features the archangel holding a tall cross in his right hand and a *globus* in his left is identified as Michael<sup>54</sup>. Thus, it is not easy to propose any identity for the figure on side A of the Laodikeian example; however, in overall, the full figures standing and holding a book may be identified as one of the evangelists or St Paul. On side B, the winged figure should then be identified as the archangel Michael.

<sup>49</sup> Ćurčić – Clair 1986, 121, no. 149 (Princeton University Art Museum Collection, Inv. No: 1966-234, “<http://artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/29943>”)

<sup>50</sup> Shtereva 1999, 86–87, Fig. 2.1, 2.2; Sodini 2011, 117–118, Fig. 34.

<sup>51</sup> “...As evening approached, the disciples came to him and said, this is a remote place, and it’s already getting late. Send the crowds away, so they can go to the villages and buy themselves some food. Jesus replied, they do not need to go away. You give them something to eat. We have here only five loaves of bread and two fish they answered. Bring them here to me, he said. And he directed the people to sit down on the grass. Taking the five loaves and the two fish and looking up to heaven, he gave thanks and broke the loaves. Then he gave them to the disciples, and the disciples gave them to the people. They all ate and were satisfied, and the disciples picked up twelve basketfuls of broken pieces that were left over. The number of those who ate was about five thousand men, besides women and children...” (Matthew 14: 13-21; Mark 6: 30-44; Luke 9: 10-17; John 6: 1-13).

<sup>52</sup> Ćurčić – Clair 1986, 121–122, no. 150. (Princeton University Art Museum Collection Inv. No: 1966-235, <http://artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/29884>).

<sup>53</sup> Weitzmann 1977, 81, no. 70.

<sup>54</sup> Zacos – Vegler 1972, vol. 1/1, nos. 1251, 1254.

## CONCLUSION

The seven ampullae presented here and stemming from Laodikeia, which retained her religious, cultural and commercial position through late antiquity, have cast light onto the Early Christian art, iconography, pilgrimage routes and sites in general. The depictions of saints in general are part of the life of Christ, his ministry, or evangelists as well as Anatolian figures and their cults find their place on this group of ampullae called Anatolian ampullae with respect to their forms. St Theodore of Euchaita, St Paul of Tarsus, St Phocas of Sinope, St John of Ephesus, or Archangel Michael always mentioned together with Colossae (Chonai), all of Anatolian origin, find their place on ampullae, certainly not by accident. In this context, the first written sources regarding the pilgrimage route during the late antiquity actually cast light onto the situation mentioned above. About the end of the tenth century, a pilgrim by the name of Lazarus set off from a village near to Magnesia ad Maeandrum and first called at the Church of St Michael at Colossae (Chonai) on his way to the Holy Land. Sometime later on his way back from Jerusalem, he passed through Antioch on the Orontes, Cilicia and went to the Church of St Basil in Kaisareia, then on to the Church of St Theodore in Euchaita, and came back to Colossae (Chonai) and completed his pilgrimage by visiting the Church of St John in Ephesus<sup>55</sup>. In light of this information transferred to us by a pilgrim of the Middle Ages, it is possible to state that this geography was of great importance for Christians wishing to go on pilgrimage. Taking into consideration this itinerary it can be said that in late antiquity a pilgrim from the West arriving at the harbour of Ephesus could easily reach Laodikeia following the Maeander Valley. He could then proceed northward to visit Philadelphia, Sardis, Thyateira, Pergamon, and Smyrna getting back to Ephesus. In case the final destination of the pilgrim was the Holy Land then he could also visit other Christian sites such as Hierapolis and Colossae (Chonai) in the Lykos Valley and continue onto Myra via Kibyra further southeast (Fig. 1).

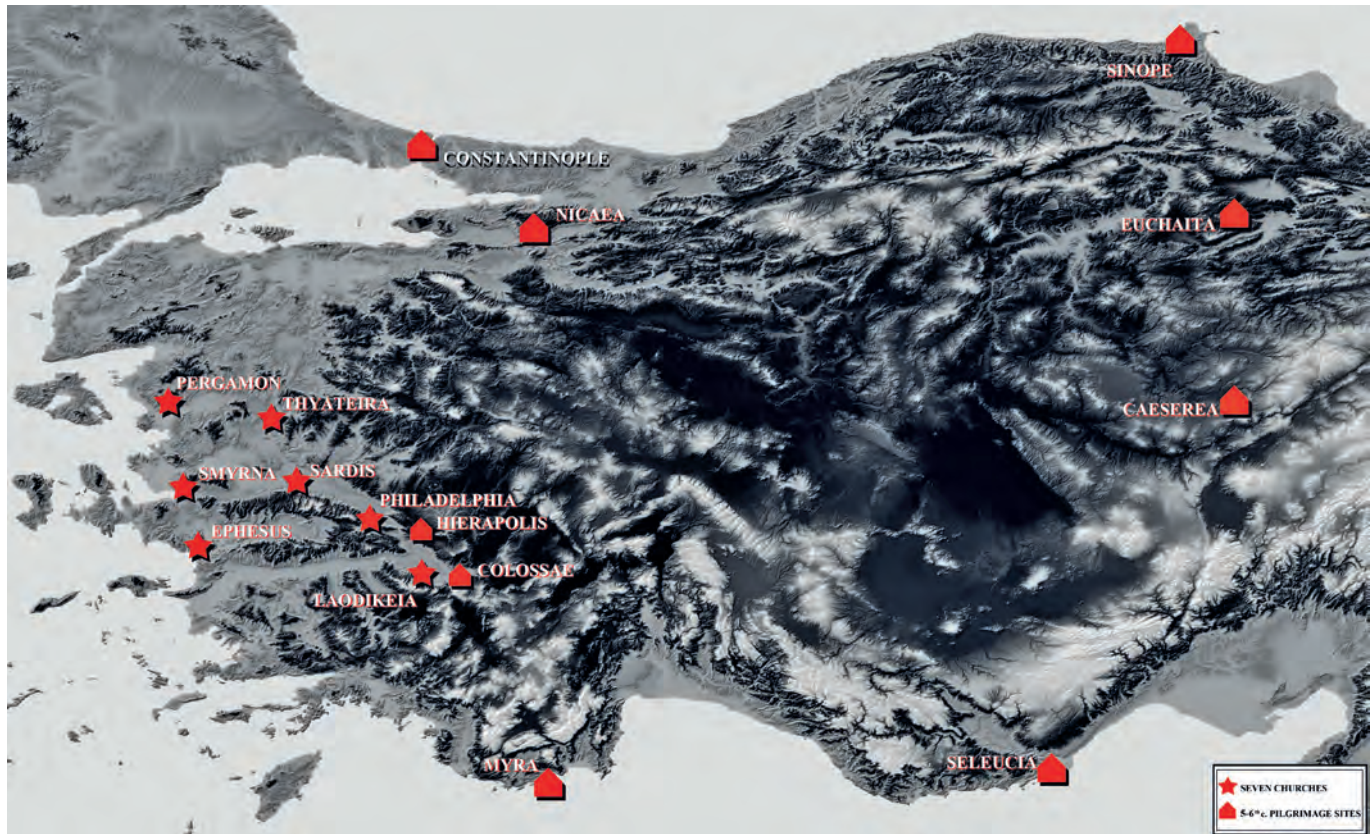


Fig. 1 Seven Churches and Pilgrimage Sites on Anatolian Map

<sup>55</sup> Foss 2002, 130.

In this context, it is plausible to propose from the present study that Anatolia housed important pilgrimage sites during late antiquity and thus produced local commercial items of religious function such as the ampullae from Laodikeia, which actually imitated the fine lead ampullae of the Holy Land iconographically.

Consequently, that the ampullae of the fifth-sixth centuries AD presented here have been uncovered in high quantities at Laodikeia arises from the fact that the city was one of the Seven Churches and thus a pilgrimage destination<sup>56</sup>. Queries regarding the production sites of these ampullae, image and identity issues in Byzantine art before the Iconoclasm, and pilgrimage route across Anatolia during late antiquity shall only be answered following the small find groups of religious function such as the Laodikeian ampullae across the Anatolian geography.

---

<sup>56</sup> Şimşek 2013, 338-391, Figs. 451-516; Şimşek 2015, 14-20, Fig. 5.

## CATALOGUE

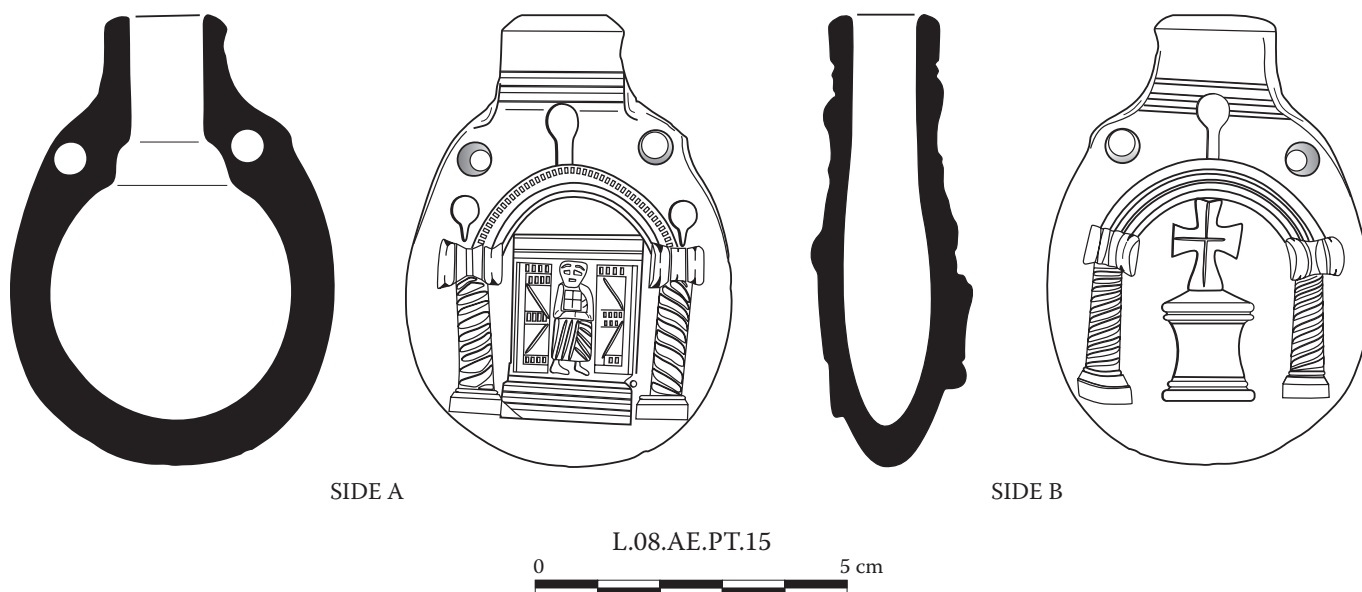
## Cat. No. 1

**Terra Cotta Ampulla** (Inv. No. L.08.AE.PT.15)

**Findspot:** House A

**Dimensions:** H. 6.8 cm, W. 4.8 cm, Depth 5.8 cm, Rim diam. 2.0 cm, Hole diam. 0.5 cm, Wall th. 0.3 cm

**Description:** It is intact other than a small missing part on the rim. Its clay is reddish yellow (7.5 YR 6/6) with mica temper, has fine sand, firm and hard fabric. The interior has clay colour and the exterior has brown slip (7.5 YR 5/4), matt and slightly rough. The rounded rim is thickened outward; the short neck is cylindrical; the body is flask shaped. There is a string hole on either side on the shoulders, for wearing it around the neck. The neck and body are separated by two lines engraved. The ampulla is well-fired and moulded.



## Cat. No. 2

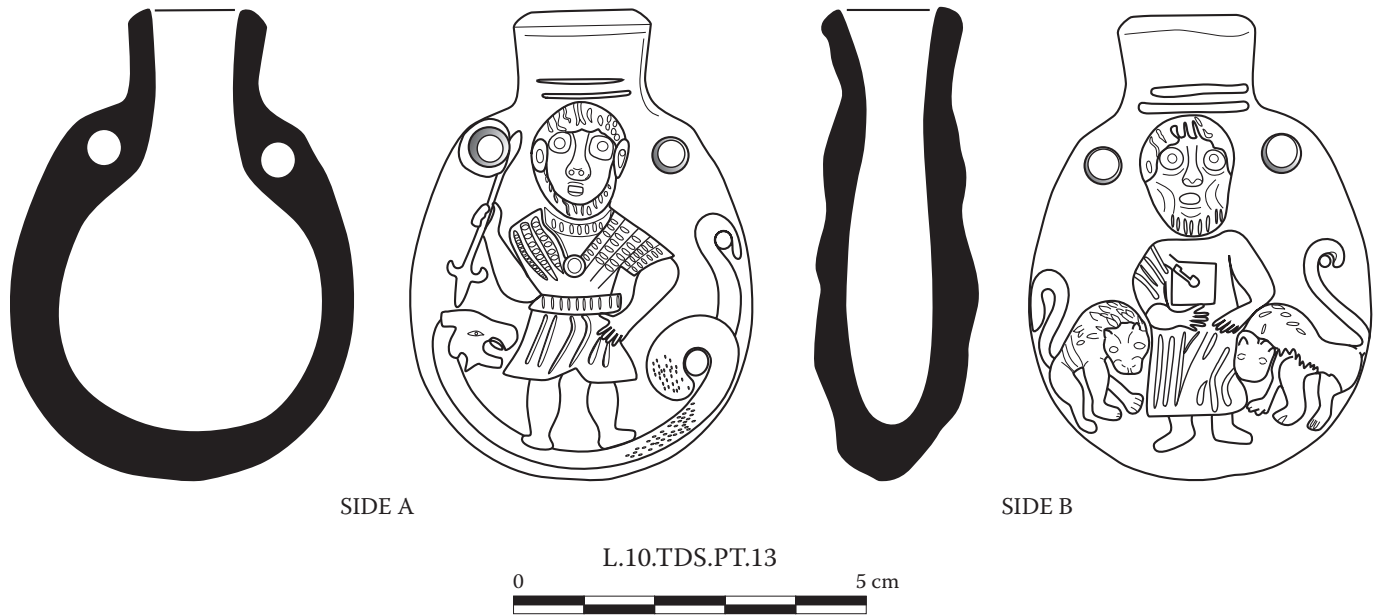
**Terra Cotta Ampulla** (Inv. No. L.10.TDS.PT.13)

**Findspot:** Temple A East Alley

**Dimensions:** H. 6.7 cm, W. 4.9 cm, Depth 6.0 cm, Rim diam. 2.0 cm, Hole diam. 0.5 cm, Wall th. 0.3 cm

**Description:** It is intact. Its clay is reddish yellow (7.5 YR 6/6) with little yellow mica temper, has fine sand, firm and hard fabric. The interior and exterior have clay-coloured slip, are matt and slightly rough. The rounded rim is thickened outward; the short neck is cylindrical; the body is flask shaped. There is a string hole on either side on the shoulders, for wearing it around the neck. The neck and body are separated by two lines engraved. The ampulla is well-fired and moulded.





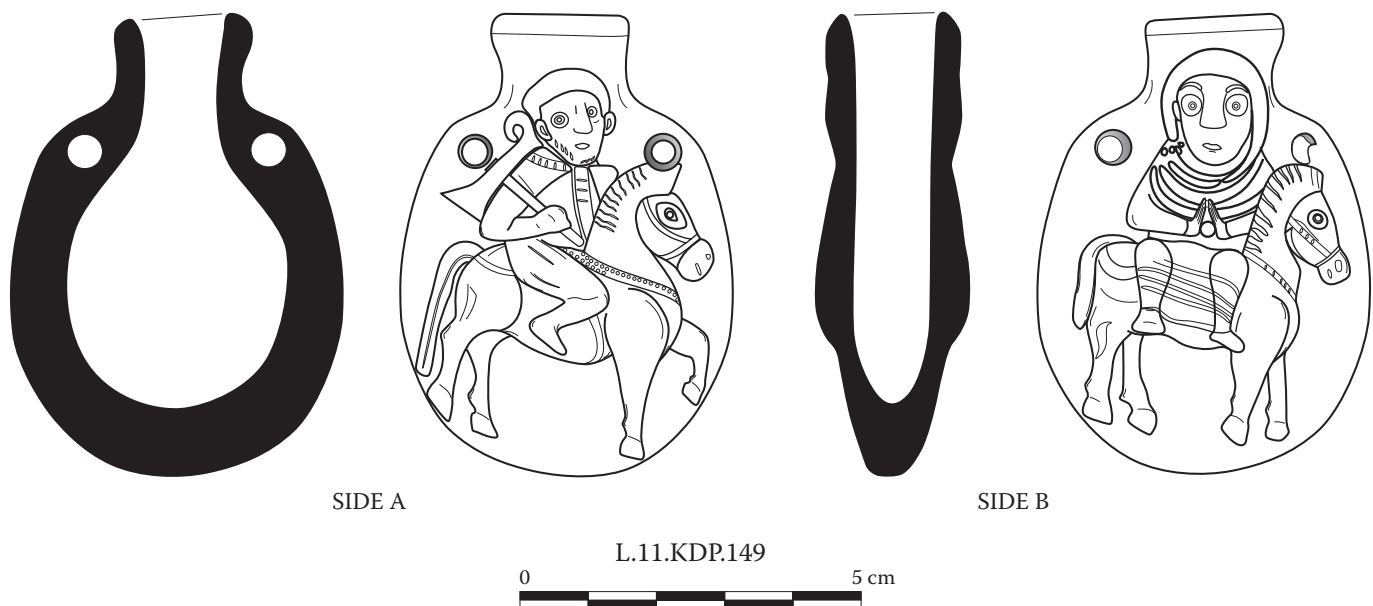
**Cat. No. 3**

**Terra Cotta Ampulla (Inv. No. L.11.KDP.149)**

**Findspot:** North (Sacred) Agora East Portico

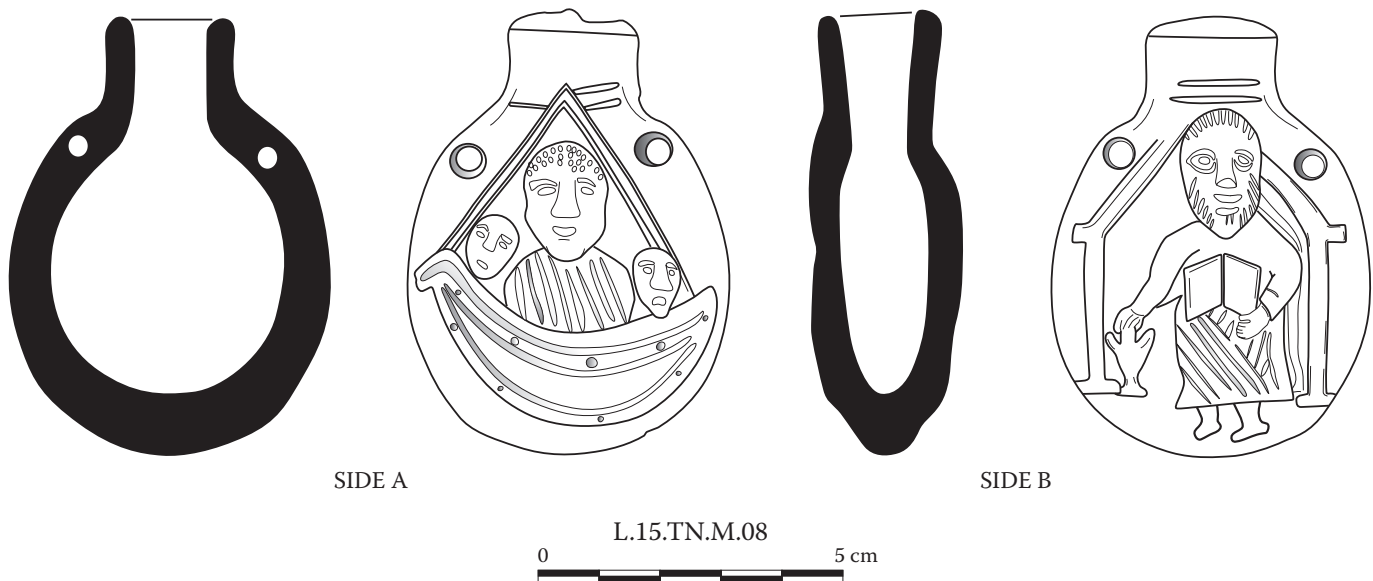
**Dimensions:** H. 6.8 cm, W. 4.8 cm, Depth 5.8 cm, Rim diam. 2.0 cm, Hole diam. 0.5 cm, Wall th. 0.3 cm

**Description:** It is intact. Its clay is reddish yellow (5 YR 6/8) with much yellow mica temper, has fine sand, firm and hard fabric. The interior has clay coloured slip and the exterior has red (10 R 5/6) slip, are matt and slightly rough. The rounded rim is thickened outward; the short neck is cylindrical; the body is flask shaped. There is a string hole on either side on the shoulders, for wearing it around the neck. The ampulla is well-fired and moulded.



**Cat. No. 4****Terra Cotta Ampulla** (Inv. No. L.15.TN.M.08)**Findspot:** Traian Nymphaeum Square**Dimensions:** H. 7.2 cm, W. 5.3 cm, Depth 6.2 cm, Rim diam. 2.2 cm, Hole diam. 0.4 cm, Wall th. 0.4 cm

**Description:** It is intact. Wear is observed at places on the surface. Its clay is reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6) with yellow mica and little lime temper, has fine sand, firm and hard fabric. The interior has clay coloured slip and the exterior has red (2.5 YR 6/6) slip, are matt and slightly rough. The rounded rim is thickened outward; the short neck is cylindrical; the body is flask shaped. There is a string hole on either side on the shoulders, for wearing it around the neck. The neck and body are separated by two lines engraved. The ampulla is well-fired and moulded.

**Cat. No. 5****Terra Cotta Ampulla** (Inv. No. L.05.TAP.108)**Findspot:** Temple A Portico**Dimensions:** H. 6.0 cm, W. 4.8 cm, Depth 4.9 cm, Hole diam. 0.3 cm, Wall th. 0.4 cm

**Description:** It is missing its rim, neck and one of the string holes. Its clay is pink (5 YR 8/4) with mica temper, has fine sand, firm and hard fabric. The interior has clay coloured slip and the exterior has reddish brown (5 YR 6/4) slip, are matt and slightly rough. The neck is short; the body is flask shaped. There is a string hole on either side on the shoulders, for wearing it around the neck. The ampulla is well-fired and moulded.





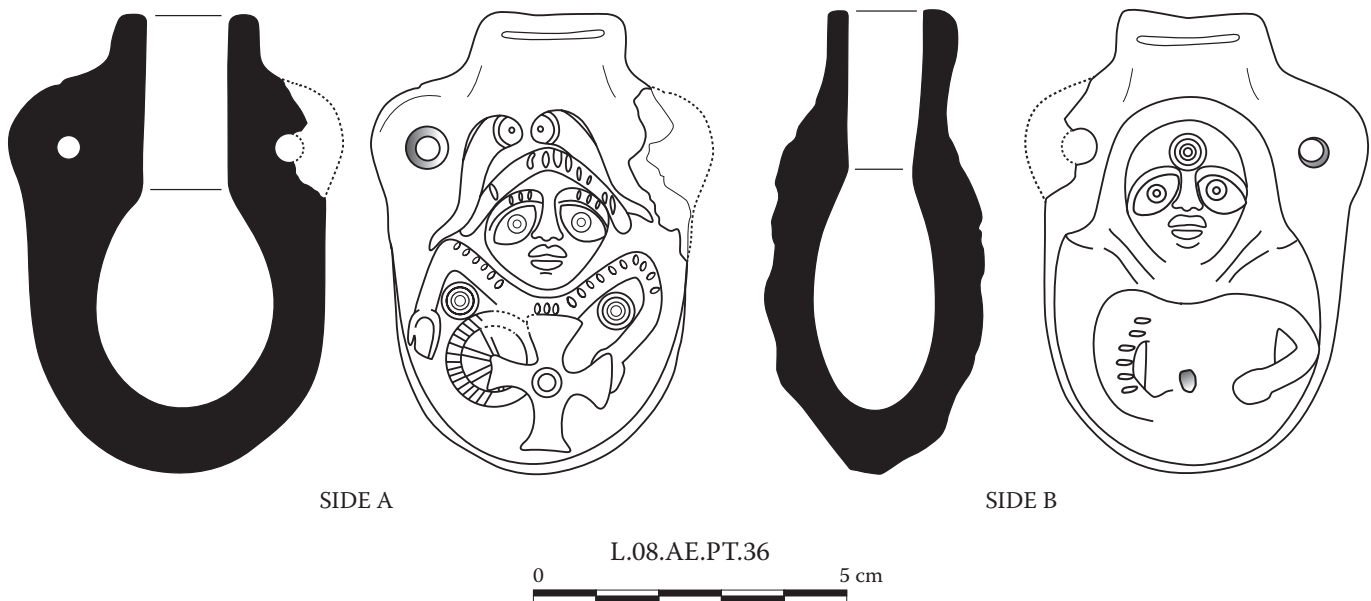
**Cat. No. 6**

**Terra Cotta Ampulla (Inv. No. L.08.AE.PT.36)**

**Findspot:** House A

**Dimensions:** H. 7.3 cm, W. 4.8 cm, Depth 6.2 cm, Rim diam. 2.4 cm, Hole diam. 0.4 cm, Wall th. 1.1 cm

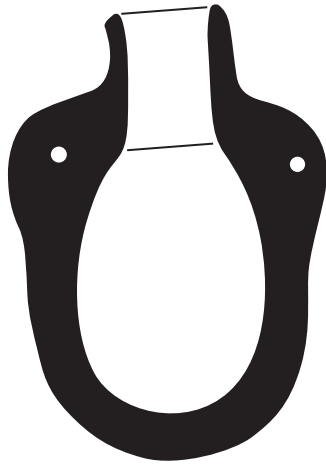
**Description:** One of the string holes is broken and missing. Its clay is light red (2.5 YR 6/6) with mica temper, has fine sand, firm and hard fabric. The interior has clay coloured slip and the exterior has red (10 YR 4/6) slip, are matt and slightly rough. The rounded rim is thickened outward; the short neck is cylindrical; the body is flask shaped. There is a string hole on either side on the shoulders, for wearing it around the neck. The ampulla is well-fired and moulded.



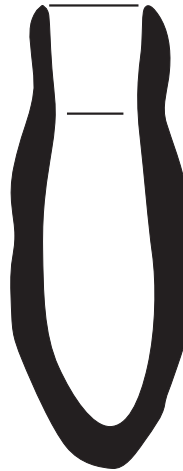


**Cat. No. 7****Terra Cotta Ampulla** (Inv. No. L.05.TAP.72)**Findspot:** Temple A Portico**Dimensions:** H. 7.1 cm, W. 4.9 cm, Depth 6.4 cm, Rim diam. 1.4-2.0 cm, Hole diam. 0.3 cm, Wall th. 0.4 cm

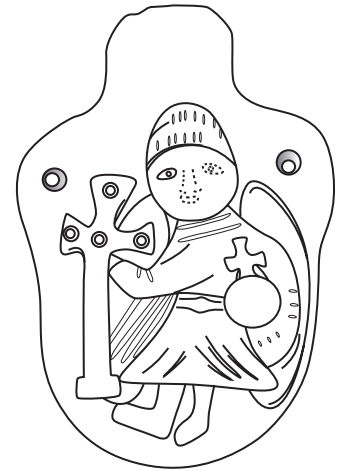
**Description:** It is intact other than some broken parts on the rim. Its clay is pink (5 YR 8/4) with mica temper, has fine sand, firm and hard fabric. The interior has clay coloured slip and the exterior has reddish brown (5 YR 6/4) slip, are matt and slightly rough. The rounded rim is thickened outward; the short neck is cylindrical; the body is flask shaped. There is a string hole on either side on the shoulders, for wearing it around the neck. The ampulla is well-fired and moulded.



SIDE A



SIDE B



L.05.TAP.72

0 5 cm

## ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akyürek 1998 E. Akyürek, "Bizanslılar, Azizleri ve Khalkedon'lu Azize Euphemia", *Sanat Dünyamız* (Bizans Özel Sayısı) 69-70, 1998, 175-189.
- Akyürek 2007 E. Akyürek, "Bizans Uygarlığı Üzerine Genel Bir Değerlendirme", *Türkiye Arkeolojik Yerleşmeleri-8: Bizans Dönemi/ Marmara Bölgesi*, 2007, 1-15.
- Anderson 2004 W. Anderson, "An archaeology of late antique pilgrim flasks", *Anatolian Studies* 54, 2004, 79-93.
- Aydın 2013 A. Aydın, "Marmaris Müzesi'ndeki Ampullalar", *Olba* 21, 2013, 437-456.
- Bergman 1974 R.P. Bergman, "A School of Romanesque Ivory Carving in Amalfi", *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 9, 1974, 163-186.
- Broneer 1932 O. Broneer, "Eros and Aphrodite on the North Slope of the Acropolis in Athens", *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1, 1932, 31-55.
- Campbell 1988 S.D. Campbell, "Armchair Pilgrims: Ampullae from Aphrodisias in Caria", *Mediaeval Studies* 50, 1988, 539-545.
- Ćurčić – Clair 1986 S. Ćurčić – A.S. Clair, *Byzantium at Princeton: Byzantine Art and Archaeology at Princeton University: Catalogue of an Exhibition at Firestone Library*, Princeton University, August 1 Through October 26, 1986.
- Dal Santo 2011 M.J. Dal Santo, "Text, Image, and the 'Visionary Body' in Early Byzantine Hagiography: Incubation and the Rise of the Christian Image Cult", *Journal of Late Antiquity* 4:1, 2011, 31-54.
- Dalton 1901 O.M. Dalton, *Catalogue of early Christian antiquities and objects from the Christian East in the Department of British and mediaeval antiquities and ethnography of the British museum*, London, 1901.
- D'Andria 2003 F. D'Andria, *Hierapolis di Frigia (Pammukkale): guida archeologica*, Istanbul, 2003.
- Deonna 1949 W. Deonna, "Daniel, le Maître des Fauves: A Propos D'une Lampe Chrétienne du Musée de Genève (Suite)", *Artibus Asiae* 12:4, 1949, 347-374.
- Foss 2002 C. Foss, "Pilgrimage in Medieval Asia Minor", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56, 2002, 129.
- Grabar – Fourmont 1958 A. Grabar – D. Fourmont, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza, Bobbio)*, Paris, 1958.
- Greenewalt et al. 1998 C. H. Greenewalt – M. L. Rautman, "The Sardis Campaigns of 1994 and 1995", *American Journal of Archaeology* 102:3, 1998, 469-505.
- Griffing 1938 R. P. Griffing, "An early Christian ivory plaque in Cyprus and notes on the Asiatic ampullae", *The Art Bulletin*, 1938, 266-279.
- Grotowski 2010 P.L. Grotowski, *Arms and armour of the warrior saints: Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843-1261)*, *The medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500 v. 87*, Leiden, The Netherlands, Boston, 2010.
- Huttner 2013 U. Huttner, *Early Christianity in the Lycus Valley, Ancient Judaism and early Christianity volume 85*, Leiden, Boston, 2013.
- Kötzsche 1995 L. Kötzsche, "Das Heilige Grab in Jerusalem und seine Nachfolge", *Die Reise nach Jerusalem Eine kulturhistorische Exkursion in die Stadt der Städte 3000 Jahre Davidstern Eine Ausstellung der 9 Jüdischen Kulturtage in der Großen Orangerie, Schloß Charlottenburg Berlin* (22 November 1995 bis 29 Februar 1996), Berlin 1995, 64-75.
- Maeir – Strauss 1995 A.M. Maeir – Y. Strauss, "A Pilgrim Flask of Anatolian Origin from Late Byzantine/Early Ummayyad Jerusalem", *Anatolian Studies* 45, 1995, 237-241.
- Metzger 1981 C. Metzger, *Les ampoules à eulogie du musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1981.
- Michon 1899 E. Michon, *Nouvelles ampoules à eulogies*, Paris, 1899.
- Morey 1941 C.R. Morey, "The Early Christian Ivories of the Eastern Empire", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 1, 1941, 41-60.

- Rautman 2010** M. Rautman, *Daniel at Sardis*, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 2010, 47-60.
- Robert 1984** L. Robert, *Documents d'Asie Mineure, bch Bulletin de correspondance hellénique 108:1*, 1984, 457-532.
- Shtereva 1999** I. Shtereva, "Early Christian Ampullae from Sliven, South Bulgaria", *Archaeologia bulgarica* 3, 1999, 85-88.
- Şimşek 2010** C. Şimşek, "Lycos Laodikeia'sından Kabartmalı İki Sütun", *XV Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara 2010, 177-187.
- Şimşek 2013** C. Şimşek, *Laodikeia (Laodicea ad Lycum)*, Istanbul, 2013.
- Şimşek 2015** C. Şimşek, *Church of Laodikeia, Christianity in the Lykos valley*, Denizli, 2015.
- Şimşek – Duman 2007** C. Şimşek – B. Duman, "Laodikeia'da Bulunan Ampullalar", *Olba* 15, 2007, 73-102.
- Şimşek – Yener 2010** C. Şimşek – B. Yener, "An Ivory Relief of Saint Thecla", *Adalya XIII*, 2010, 321-334.
- Sodini 2011** J.-P. Sodini, *La terre des semelles: images pieuses ramenees par les pelerins des Lieux saints (Terre sainte, Martyria d'Orient)*, *Journal des Savants*, 2011, 77-140.
- Sörries 2006** R. Sörries, *Daniel in der Löwengrube: Zur Gesetzmäßigkeit frühchristlicher Ikonographie*, Wiesbaden, 2006.
- Stiegemann 2001** C. Stiegemann, *Byzanz, das Licht aus dem Osten: Kult und Alltag im Byzantinischen Reich vom 4 bis 15 Jahrhundert; Katalog der Ausstellung im Erzbischöflichen Diözesanmuseum Paderborn*, Paderborn, 2001.
- Vikan 1982** G. Vikan, *Byzantine pilgrimage art*, Washington, D.C., 1982.
- Weitzmann 1972** K. Weitzmann, "The Ivories of the So-Called Grado Chair", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26, 1972, 43-91.
- Weitzmann 1977** K. Weitzmann, "The Late Roman World", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 35:2, 1977, 2-96.
- Wilkinson 1972** J. Wilkinson, "The Tomb of Christ: An Outline of its Structural History", *Levant* 4:1, 1972, 83-97.
- Wulff 1909** O. Wulff, *Altchristliche Bildwerke*, Berlin, 1909.
- Zacos – Veglery 1972** G. Zacos – A. Veglery, *Byzantine lead seals*, Basel, 1972.
- Zalesskaya 1986** V. Zalesskaya, "Ampuly-Evlogii iz Maloy Azii (IV-VI vv)", *Vizantijskij vremennik* 47, 1986, 182-190.