

THE CREATION OF SHARED MEMORY: THE THEATER RELIEFS FROM HIERAPOLIS

Bailey Benson

A thesis submitted to the faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Classics.

Chapel Hill
2014

Approved by:

Jennifer Gates-Foster

Donald Haggis

Kenneth Sams

© 2014
Bailey Benson
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

Bailey Benson: The Creation of Shared Memory: The Theater Reliefs from Hierapolis
(Under the direction of Jennifer Gates-Foster)

The theater reliefs from the site of Hierapolis were first published in 1898 by Carl Humann and since then have been discussed by multiple scholars. However, rarely are all of the reliefs from the theater discussed in the same work. More often than not, scholars either choose to focus on the podium reliefs or on the reliefs from the *porta regia* and leave only a few cursory lines to deal with the rest of the sculpted reliefs from the theater, if they are mentioned at all. This paper seeks to look at the entire sculpted relief program from the theater at Hierapolis and not only analyze how the iconographic program of the theater fits together, but also the message that is being broadcast to the citizens of Hierapolis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	vi
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Hellenic Pasts in the Roman Present	1
The Role of the Theater in the Ancient World	2
II. THE LOCATION AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE THEATER	4
The Layout of the City	4
Construction of the Theater	6
III. THE PODIUM RELIEFS	9
The Apollo Cycle	10
The Artemis Cycle	15
Reliefs from the Upper Orders	21
Local Mythologies	22
IV. THE RELIEFS FROM THE PORTA REGIA	29
The Left Section	30
The Right Section	32

The Central Section	34
The Role of the Emperor	38
V. CONCLUSIONS	45
FIGURES	47
BIBLIOGRAPHY	69

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of Hierapolis	47
Figure 2. Reconstruction of the stage building of the theater at Hierapolis	47
Figure 3. Podium frieze from the theater at Side	48
Figure 4. Podium frieze from the theater at Side	48
Figure 5. Podium frieze from the theater at Perge	49
Figure 6. Podium frieze from the theater at Perge	49
Figure 7. Drawing illustrating the podium frieze at Nysa	49
Figure 8. Union of Leto and Zeus. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis	50
Figure 9. Birth of Apollo. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis	50
Figure 10. Gigantomachy. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis	51
Figure 11. Apollo and Gaea. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis	51
Figure 12. Alcioneus, Athena Gaea and Nike. Pergamon Great Altar	51
Figure 13. The spying on Athena by Marsyas. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis	52
Figure 14. Marsyas playing the double flutes. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis	52
Figure 15. Apollo as victor and Marsyas being led away. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis	52
Figure 16. The flaying of Marsyas. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis	52
Figure 17. Reclining Apollo. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis	53
Figure 18. Reclining figure. Side	53
Figure 19. Muses. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis	54
Figure 20. Apollo in long <i>chiton</i> with lyre. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis	54
Figure 21. Zeus. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis	55
Figure 22. Birth of Apollo. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis	55

Figure 23. The Seasons. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis	56
Figure 24. Young Artemis on Zeus' lap. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis	56
Figure 25. The infant Dionysus. Perge	57
Figure 26. Boar Hunt. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis	57
Figure 27. Artemis at rest. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis	58
Figure 28. Artemis slaying the Niobids. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis	58
Figure 29. Dying Niobids. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis	59
Figure 30. The companions of Persephone. Nysa	59
Figure 31. Relief from the theater at Perge	60
Figure 32. Apollo. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis	60
Figure 33. Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia. Artemic Cycle. Hierapolis	61
Figure 34. Worships of Artemis. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis	61
Figure 35. Violed women and altar. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis	62
Figure 36. Dionysus in a chariot drawn by panthers. Perge	62
Figure 37. Organization of the <i>Porta Regia</i> . Hierapolis	63
Figure 38. <i>Porta Regia</i> reliefs. Hierapolis	63
Figure 39. <i>Porta Regia</i> reliefs. Left Section. Block A. Hierapolis	63
Figure 40. <i>Porta Regia</i> reliefs. Left Section. Block B. Hierapolis	64
Figure 41. <i>Porta Regia</i> reliefs. Left Section. Block C. Hierapolis	64
Figure 42. Aion. Zoilos Monument. Aphrodisias	65
Figure 43. <i>Porta Regia</i> . Right Section. Block A. Hierapolis	65
Figure 44. <i>Porta Regia</i> . Right Section. Block B. Hierapolis	66
Figure 45. <i>Porta Regia</i> . Right Section. Block C. Hierapolis	66

Figure 46. Andriea. Zoilos Monument. Aphrodisias	67
Figure 47. <i>Porta Regia</i> . Central Section. Left half. Hierapolis	68
Figure 48. <i>Porta Regia</i> . Central Section. Right half. Hierapolis	68

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Hellenic Pasts in the Roman Present

Even after having been incorporated into the Roman Empire and eventually having been given the status of Roman citizens the peoples of the eastern provinces continued to cling to their Hellenistic pasts, and it is these Hellenic pasts, not their Roman present, that seem to give many of the cities in the east, and thus their citizens, their primary sense of identity.¹ By cultivating their own separate local identities centered on a Hellenic core the citizens of the eastern provinces were effectively setting themselves up in contrast with the heart of the Roman Empire.² Why would the citizens of the Roman east cling to a past that essentially separates a group from the Roman whole? And why would the Roman Empire allow them to separate themselves when conformity most often breeds unity?

It is of particular interest that this concentration on having a Greek past was especially prominent during the second and third centuries CE.³ This was the period of the Second Sophistic, a time of revival for Greek culture, art and learning throughout the Roman Empire. This was not the first time that the Romans showed an inclination toward philhellenism. From very early on the Roman people blended Greek cults, deities and religious practices with local

¹ Newby 2003, 192

² Goldhill 2010, 49

³ Newby 2003, 192

indigenous beliefs.⁴ During the period of the Second Sophistic, Roman elites drew upon this precedent and employed Greek sophists to instruct them and their children on the glory of Greece's past and, more often than not, these sophists came from Athens or the province of Asia.⁵ Greek learning, thus, became a symbol of power and an elevated status in the Roman world.⁶ Roman nobles gained stature and prestige from these philhellenic inclinations and intellectual aspirations.⁷ Moreover, with some of the later emperors openly expressing a love for Hellenic culture, such as Hadrian, it thus became fashionable in the Roman east to broadcast Greek ancestry, whether this be real or fabricated. It was through this "lens of Hellenic high culture" that the citizens of Roman Asia Minor were able to bring into focus the particularities of their local civic traditions and thereby express their local, primarily Hellenic, identities.⁸

The Role of the Theater in the Ancient World

The theater was the ideal location to express the local identity of a city. Not only could a theater hold the entire citizen body, but it could also serve multiple functions, both civic and religious.⁹ The primary role of the theater was for the display of dramatic performances, which often had religious associations. However, since the Greek period theaters had also served as a place for political and social activities.¹⁰ Consequently, the theater became a "locus of national

⁴ Gruen 1992, 269

⁵ Brown 1992, 35

⁶ Brown 1992, 37

⁷ Gruen 1992, 256

⁸ Brown 1992, 41

⁹ Sturgeon 2000, 58

¹⁰ Sturgeon 2004, 54

observances and an advertisement of public values.”¹¹ In the case of Hierapolis, one of the primary functions of the city’s theater was to host the local Pythian games in honor of the city’s patron deity, Apollo. During the competitions the city would have also played host to people from throughout the region, many of whom would have traveled to Hierapolis specifically to partake in the festivities. Due to the large quantity of people, both domestic and foreign, who would have occupied the theater during the festival the theater, especially the stage building, became the ideal location for the citizens of Hierapolis to make claims about the history of their city, their own ancestry and their place within the Roman Empire at large.

¹¹ Gruen 1992, 221

CHAPTER II

THE LOCATION AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE THEATER

The Layout of the City

The site of the ancient city of Hierapolis is situated on a large, calcareous plateau, around 350 meters above sea level, in the Lycus valley located in southwestern Turkey. The ancient city covers a total area of about 1,000 meters long by 800 meters wide (Fig. 1). Little remains from the original, Hellenistic phase of the city, except for a few grave monuments in the northern necropolis and a ceramic workshop where the new agora was later built during the second century CE.¹² The surviving form of the city is organized into an orthogonal grid that likely dates to the Flavian remodeling of the city that followed the disastrous earthquake of 60 CE.¹³ The urban theater, whose reliefs are the focus of this paper, is located just to the west of the center of the city.

The urban theater is one of only two buildings in the entire city that do not conform to the orthogonal layout of the city, the other being the nearby Temple of Apollo. D'Andria argues that the principal reason for the nonconformity of these two buildings can be attributed to the local geography within the city.¹⁴ The location of the theater abuts a rocky slope while the Temple of Apollo is built around a rocky outcropping that signaled the entrance to the Plutonium. Such an

¹² D'Andria 2001, 100

¹³ D'Andria 2001, 99

¹⁴ D'Andria 2001, 100

explanation seems probable for the orientation of the Temple of Apollo. The very existence of the Plutonium may have served as the impetus for the foundation of a city at this location. Archaeological evidence attests to the existence of cult activity centered around the Plutonium dating to the third century BCE, which precedes the Seleukid foundation of the city.¹⁵ Thus, the early date for the use of the Plutonium, as well as its religious association, aids in explaining the different orientation for the Temple of Apollo.

However, such explanations cannot fully elucidate the orientation of the urban theater. The urban theater was constructed during the first century CE and there is no evidence to suggest that a previous theater stood on this spot and, thus, dictated its orientation. Furthermore, the Romans were masters of forcing the local topography to conform to their will and, consequently, the overall orientation of their cities. Therefore, those in charge of laying out the new grid for Hierapolis had the knowledge and ability to force the theater to follow the orientation of the grid plan. So, why didn't they? Let us recall that the Pythian Games at Hierapolis celebrated the city's patron deity, Apollo, and that the Temple of Apollo, which was centered around the Plutonium, is located within the proximity of the theater. Thus, the orientation of the theater could have served to further link the theater, which housed the Pythian Games, to the temple of the deity that they honored. Further strengthening this association is the existence of a winding road that physically connected the two structures.

¹⁵ D'Andria 2003, 9

Construction of the Theater

As stated above, construction on the large urban theater was begun in the first century CE.¹⁶ This theater however, was not the first theater to have been built in the city. The first theater dates to the Hellenistic period and was constructed outside of the Hellenistic city limits.¹⁷ Since this theater has not yet been excavated little can be said about it. Due to its small size and extra-urban location it is likely that this Hellenistic theater went out of use shortly after the construction of the Roman urban theater. The surviving form of the large theater dates to a period of renovations that took place during the second and first half of the third centuries CE.¹⁸

The new urban theater, as is common with architecture in Roman Asia, combined Roman architectural traits with those of the Hellenistic tradition.¹⁹ As with its suburban Hellenistic predecessor the urban theater also took advantage of the natural terrain and had its *cavea* built into a natural slope. The sides of the *cavea*, however, were supported by vaulted substructures that are more typical of Roman theaters.²⁰ Further recalling Roman theater conventions is the fact that the *cavea* was semicircular in form and that it was physically connected to the stage building.²¹ The façade stage building at Hierapolis also conforms to Roman traditions in the

¹⁶ Masino and Sobra argue for a date corresponding to the reign of Augustus (2010, 374), while D'Andria keeps to the originally proposed date following the Neronian earthquake of 60 CE (2001, 99).

¹⁷ D'Andria 2003, 111

¹⁸ D'Andria 2001, 108. It is from this period of reconstructions that the reliefs from the *scaenae frons* come from

¹⁹ Masino and Sobra 2010, 374.

²⁰ D'Andria 2003, 150

²¹ Ibid

east.²² Whereas in the west theater façades were generally composed of three curved niches, Roman theaters in the east typically have a straight façade (Fig. 2).²³

The stage building itself dates to the Severan renovations and can be divided into three different sections: the *hyposkenion*, the stage, and the *scaenae frons*.²⁴ The *hyposkenion* refers to the area directly below the actual stage, and it was generously decorated with spiral fluted marble columns and a series of six half-domed niches.²⁵ The *hyposkenion* at Hierapolis does not conform to this standard. At Hierapolis, the *scaenae frons* of the theater would have originally extended up to a total of three stories in height.²⁶ Unfortunately, only the first story was preserved in situ. However, thankfully, a reconstruction of the *scaenae frons* can be extricated from the remains of the podium. The podium indicates that the *scaenae frons* would have had a façade decorated with a series of niches or aediculae that in turn alternated with the five doors of the stage building.²⁷ Aedicular facades for theaters were fairly common in the Roman east and comparanda can be found in other cities within the region, such as at the theaters of Side, Perge and Aspendos.²⁸

Sculptural decoration, free-standing and relief, as well as inscriptions decorated the stage building, or *scaenae frons*, of the theater. The podium of the *scaenae frons* contained two

²² See Masino et al. 2011 for a detailed discussion on a possible reconstruction for the stage building of the theater at Hierapolis

²³ Sturgeon 2004, 31

²⁴ D'Andria 2003, 155-156

²⁵ De Bernardi Ferrero 1966, 64

²⁶ Ng 2007, 113.

²⁷ De Bernardi Ferrero 1966, 66.

²⁸ For Side, see A. Mansel *Die Ruinen von Side*. For Perge, see Inan, "Vorbericht über die Untersuchungen an der Fassade des Theaters von Perge" in AA 2000.

mythical narrative cycles that depicted the lives of the twin deities Apollo and Artemis, while the architrave of the *porta regia*, the central stage door, had a relief showcasing the imperial family.²⁹ These reliefs over the *porta regia* were the most visible for the audience in the iconographic program of the theater. As such, it was necessary that they make explicit the message being broadcasted in the reliefs of the theater as a whole.

²⁹ Ng 2007, 114-115.

CHAPTER III

THE PODIUM RELIEFS

The iconographic program of the theater displayed myths which could be located in the region, as well as scenes of worship of local cults. These local myths and their allusions to local cultic places were used to tie the local cult of Apollo at Hierapolis into the greater mythological-historic narrative of the region. The podium reliefs from the theater take the form of a continuous narrative frieze and tell the biographic narrative of the twin deities Apollo and Artemis. Continuous friezes were particularly rare in theater decoration and did not attract much scholarly interest until the 1970s and 1980s.³⁰ However, the use of the continuous frieze in theater decoration appears multiple times in the Roman East. The neighboring cities of Side, Perge and Nysa also employ the continuous frieze in the embellishment of their theater facades.

Furthermore, the themes of these other theater friezes also extoll the importance of each city's religious myths. At Nysa the podium reliefs of the theater also stress the importance of the city's patron deities. The frieze from the theater at Side has been heavily damaged but it is believed that the reliefs depicted various myths associated with the early history of the city (Fig. 3-4).³¹ Myths pertaining to the birth and life of Dionysus make up the iconographic program of the relief frieze from the theater at Perge (Fig. 5-6).³² The reliefs at Nysa bear a closer

³⁰ Sturgeon 2004, 35

³¹ Mansel believes that the reliefs were purposefully damaged during the Byzantine period of the city when the theater was used for religious purposes (1963, 138)

³² De Bernardi 1966, 155

connection with the Hierapolis theater frieze than the other two sites because both friezes at Nysa and Hierapolis display two mythic narratives, whereas the friezes from Side and Perge only display one mythic narrative. However, rather than separating the two mythic cycles as is done in the podium reliefs at Hierapolis the myths of the Nysa podium reliefs are intermingled (Fig. 7).³³

The Apollo and Artemis cycles begin in the *excedrae* flanking the central door, the *porta regia*, of the theater and extend to the sides of the building following the contours of the aedicular façade. The Apollo cycle covers the right half of the podium and the Artemis cycle the left. The two cycles mirror each other in both composition and theme, acting as pendants for each other.³⁴ Both cycles begin with the conception and birth of the infant deities and are striking in how closely they mirror each other in their composition. The Apollo cycle will be discussed first since the cycle likely commemorates the local cult patron deity of Hierapolis. A discussion of the Artemis Cycle will follow highlighting the similarities between the two narratives.

The Apollo Cycle

The Apollo cycle opens with the depiction of an older bearded male seated in a throne, who is then flanked on both sides by two female figures (Fig. 8). D'Andria has identified the enthroned figure as Zeus and the women to left, with whom the seated Zeus is interacting, as Leto.³⁵ Zeus's right arm rests on the arm of the throne and holds a scepter. His left hand reaches

³³ The Nysa theater reliefs are a particularly interesting comparison for the Hierapolis theater reliefs. The Nysa reliefs were also part of a renovation of the *scaenae frons* of the theater dating to the second and third centuries CE. As to the intermingling of the mythological reliefs at Nysa, Lindner argues that this is due to the fact that the myths themselves, Dionysus in the East and the Rape of Persephone, were closely related (1994, 109-110) However, at Hierapolis the two cycles are separated yet still interwoven.

³⁴ Pendants in regards to roman sculptural groups refer to pieces that encouraged comparison and discussion by the viewer. For a thorough analysis of how the architectural setting of sculpture can effect and enhance a pendent pair see Bartman (1988).

³⁵ D'Andria 1985, 21

out to clasp the left shoulder of Leto, who in turn extends her left arm out toward Zeus. In the hand of her extended arm, Leto holds a round circular object that D'Andria identifies as some type of fruit.³⁶ The scene is believed to portray the union of Zeus and Leto and, thus, the corresponding conception of the twin gods, Apollo and Artemis, whom the podium reliefs commemorate.³⁷ If this interpretation is correct, which is highly likely, then the fruit identified by D'Andria could potentially be a pomegranate. The pomegranate was a symbol of fertility in antiquity and it would have particular significance in a scene meant to convey both marriage and conception. Ng identifies the second female in the scene as a transitional figure who serves to link the marriage scene with the following birthing scene (Fig. 9).³⁸ It is also likely that she served as a boundary marker that kept the two scenes separate from each other in regards to the chronological events of the narrative frieze. This role is highlighted by the fact that she stands facing away from the following scene and that she clasps Zeus on the shoulder, physically framing the scene.

The subsequent scene in the Apollo cycle is that of the birth of the god. Here, Leto is depicted as reclining on an ornate couch encircled by three female attendants. The newly born Apollo lies on the ground in front of the couch upon which his mother rests. A young girl also sits on the ground and appears to be attending to the infant. D'Andria identifies this figure as a young Artemis and Ng readily accepts this identification.³⁹

³⁶ D'Andria 1985, 21

³⁷ Ng 2007, 116

³⁸ Ng 2007, 113

³⁹ D'Andria 1985, 24 and Ng 2007, 116

The obvious age discrepancy between the figures identified as Apollo and Artemis, who we must keep in mind are twins, may seem odd to the uninformed viewer. However, in one version of the myth told by Callimachus Artemis was born first and then acted as the midwife for her mother (*Homeric Hymn* 27). As for the location of this scene, it is difficult to tell other than it is in an ambiguous rocky setting. The various versions of the myth further complicate matters.⁴⁰ In the *Homeric Hymn* to Delian Apollo, Artemis is born in Ortygia a day before Apollo who is then born in Delos (*Homeric Hymn* 3.16). Delos appears as the setting of at least one of the twins in multiple retellings of the myth and, as such, appears to be the canonical setting. Strabo, however, does mention an alternative location that places the site of the divine birth at Ephesos (14.1.20). Simon Price argues that since this version of the myth keeps the divine pair in the province of Asia, the region which the Hierapolis reliefs are commemorating, it is likely that this version of the myth is intended to be inferred here.⁴¹ Further strengthening this location is the fact that the Artemis cycle ends in a decidedly Ephesian setting. If the Artemis cycle then begins and ends in Ephesos the cycle is subsequently nicely framed by this prominent regional cult center.

In the following panels the god reaches maturity. These scenes portray the stories which are most closely associated with Apollo, however discussing them all in great detail is not necessary since the most important are those scenes that have pendant pairings on the Artemis cycle. The next scene of interest in the Apollo cycle, at least for the purpose of this paper, depicts the god as riding in a chariot (Fig. 10). The god holds a bow in his left hand and reaches into the

⁴⁰ S. Price notes that ancient myths were not archetypal nor were they fixed (2003, 116). As such, they could be constantly molded with each retelling to fit the needs of the narrator and his audience. This practice gave rise to not only competing versions of the myth but also to competition between locations for the honor of being the setting.

⁴¹ Price 2003, 118

quiver on his back for an arrow with the right. Apollo's chariot is drawn by two griffins, standard attributes of the deity. Flying before the griffin-drawn chariot is the winged goddess of victory, Nike. In her left hand she holds what has been identified by D'Andria as a palm frond.⁴² Standing directly behind Apollo is a helmeted female figure who is carrying a shield on her left arm. She has commonly, and most likely correctly, been identified as the goddess Athena.

Directly in front of the god's chariot is portrayed his adversary. His opponent is depicted in the nude and his legs end in serpentine tentacles. Such a representation identifies the scene as that of the Gigantomachy and should call to mind the Great Altar at Pergamon, which is arguably the most famous monument in the Mediterranean that depicts a Gigantomachy. Further strengthening this connection to the sculptural iconography at Pergamon is the figure which rises partially out of the ground between the two combatants (Fig. 11). This figure bears a striking resemblance to that of Gaea, the mother of the Giants, on the Pergamon Altar where she is depicted as begging Athena for her son's life (Fig. 12).⁴³ In both scenes Gaea raises her right arm while her left hand barely breaches the frame of composition. A winged Nike is also present in the Pergamon composition. Such a close resemblance was likely a deliberate choice made by the dedicators of the theater.

Further along in the lateral composition of the Apollo cycle are a series of panels detailing the myth of the musical competition between Marsyas and Apollo (Fig. 13-16). It should be noted here that this myth was extremely popular in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire and appears repeatedly in various media.⁴⁴ However, its location here in the iconographic

⁴² D'Andria 1985, 42

⁴³ Ng 2007, 116-117.

⁴⁴ D'Andria 1985, 53

program of the theater has more to do than just with its popularity in the east.⁴⁵ As with many of the myths depicted in the podium cycles from the theater at Hierapolis the myth concerning Marsyas is believed to have taken place in the province of Asia, specifically in the territory surrounding the ancient city of Kelainai which was later renamed Apamea during the Hellenistic period.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the myth of the music competition between Marsyas and Apollo was probably depicted at Apamea in sculptural form.⁴⁷ Simon Price believes that the relief panels from the theater at Hierapolis may have actually been directly inspired by the Apamea cycle.⁴⁸ If this is the case, then such a direct reference would have served to even more closely connect the two locations with regard to their local mythologies.

Four separate panels portray the principal scenes of the myth: the discovery of the pipes by Marsyas, the music competition (Fig. 13), the victory of Apollo (Fig. 14), and the punishments of Marsyas (Fig. 15-16). In the first scene, Athena is depicted sitting upon a rocky outcropping with the pipes in hand. The reclining figure of a river god, most likely the aptly named River Marsyas which is where the flaying of Marsyas is believed to have happened, sets the narrative scene of the myth. The following scene depicts what is commonly believed to be the music competition between Apollo and Marsyas, although the god is omitted from the composition.⁴⁹ Ng argues that the figure of a seated nymph is meant to stand in for the absent

⁴⁵ Contra-Sturgeon 2000, 70

⁴⁶ Price 2003, 117-118.

⁴⁷ The Apamea cycle unfortunately does not survive, however Chuvin (1987, 105) and Price have (2003, 118) little doubt that this myth would have been portrayed in the location it was believed to have taken place in.

⁴⁸ Price 2003, 118

⁴⁹ D'Andria 1985, 52

god.⁵⁰ The victor of the competition is revealed in the next panel. Here, Apollo, lyre in hand, is being crowned by Nike while Marsyas is lead away for his punishment by a figure identified as the Scythian slave.⁵¹ A diminutive nude male figure kneels before the god with outstretched arms. This figure was identified by D'Andria as Olympos, the student of Marsyas, and he has been interpreted as begging for the life of his teacher.⁵² The incorporation of this specific myth likely served to warn viewers against acts of *hubris* by displaying the type of punishment that awaited those who believed themselves to be on par with the gods.

The next panel serves as a transitional scene between the preceding mythological narrative and the following scenes of cultic observance. In it the god reclines on a rocky outcropping with his left arm thrown over his head (Fig. 17). Flanking him are two female figures which both appear to be sprinkling something on Apollo's head. The figure to the left of the deity holds a small jug.⁵³ The figure to the left holds a phiale in her outstretched right hand. From their gestures it is likely that these two female figures are making an offering to the god.⁵⁴ Striking comparanda comes from the site of Side and its theater's relief frieze (Fig. 18). In this panel a male figure is depicted reclining on the ground. His adornment, with his garment only covering the lower half of his body, recalls that of river gods. However, the positioning of his right arm echoes the pose of Apollo in Hierapolis reliefs. Further stressing the relaxed nature of

⁵⁰ Ng 2007, 117

⁵¹ D'Andria 1985, 56

⁵² D'Andria 1985, 56-57

⁵³ This jug has been identified by D'Andria as a an ovoidal amphora (1985, 67) and by Ng as an oinochoe (2007, 118). The state of preservation of the relief makes it difficult to determine the number of handles which the vessel was shown to have. Overall, the interpretation of what form the vessel was meant to be is not of paramount importance. What is important is that the vessel was likely to contain a liquid used in ritual performance.

⁵⁴ D'Andria 1985, 68

the figure is the fact that his left arm and hand are used to prop up his head. It is difficult to confidently identify this figure due to scanty knowledge about the relief cycle from the theater at Side, yet his pose and that of the resting Apollo from the Hierapolis podium reliefs are very similar.

The remainder of the relief cycle portrays the god in his role as the leader of the muses (Fig. 19) and the god of music. When depicted he now holds his lyre, having exchanged his bow and quiver, and wears a long chiton and laurel wreath upon his head (Fig. 20). He is also shown standing next to a tripod, which was most likely meant to call to mind the competitions that would have taken place in the theater. The following panels depict scenes that commemorate the musical talent of the god and portray the nymphs who served him.

The Artemis Cycle

As noted previously, many of the scenes depicted on the Artemis cycle bear a striking resemblance to those on the Apollo cycle. These corresponding scenes likely served as pendant pairs and would have encouraged careful examination and comparison by the viewer.⁵⁵ The pendant pairs that appear on the podium reliefs were in all likelihood a conscious decision made by those who commissioned the sculptures and were meant to more closely bind the two cycles, and thus their respective cults, together.

The first figure in the Artemis cycle is not an enthroned male, although one does follow shortly after, as would be expected given the composition of the Apollo cycle. This first figure is, however, an older bearded male. He stands half nude with his right hand gesturing towards the following scene and his left arm cradling a scepter (Fig. 21). Ritti identifies this male figure as

⁵⁵ For a thorough discussion on the term 'pendant' and how it relates to Roman sculpture see Bartmann 1988

Poseidon because of the role he played in hiding Leto away on Delos so that she could give birth to the twins in the canonical version of the myth.⁵⁶ Ng readily accepts this interpretation without any further questioning.⁵⁷ There are, however, many possibilities as to who this figure represents. Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades were traditionally depicted in a similar manner, generally as a bearded mature male, and without corresponding attributes or identifying inscriptions it is extremely difficult to tell the figures apart.⁵⁸ Furthermore, due to the mirroring of scenes between the two cycles and the preference given to local versions of myths, in which Poseidon plays no part, it is more probable that the figure should be identified as Zeus. Further aiding in this identification, the rendering of the male figure is consistent with other depictions of Zeus throughout the cycles (Fig. 8 and 22), a mature male, half cloaked and cradling a scepter in his left arm.

The birth of Artemis is portrayed in the following panel (Fig. 22). This panel in particular bears the strongest resemblance to its companion in the Apollo cycle. In it, Leto again is depicted as reclining on an ornate couch surrounded by female attendants, two here instead of the three on the Apollo cycle. On the floor in front of the couch lies the baby Artemis who is being attended to by a young girl. This young girl strongly resembles the one who is depicted as attending to the newly born Apollo in the mirroring cycle. Consequently, it could be argued that the young girl in the Apollo cycle's birthing scene is not Artemis but this same young female attendant.

Three female figures separate the birth of Artemis from the following scene (Fig. 23). These women each hold different forms of seasonal vegetation and, as such, likely represent the

⁵⁶ Ritti 1985, 99-100.

⁵⁷ Ng 2007, 119

⁵⁸ Pedley 2007, 234

Seasons, as both Ritti and Ng argue.⁵⁹ Ng goes on to argue that the Seasons represent additional attendants for the preceding childbirth scene. It is probable that they also serve as a means of keeping the preceding and following scenes separate.

The image of Zeus enthroned appears in the subsequent panel (Fig. 24). There are some slight variations to the scene from the Apollo cycle which would have likely encouraged a careful comparison of the two scenes in order to determine what stayed the same and what was changed. Again Zeus is flanked by two figures. The unmistakably female figure standing to Zeus' right has been identified by Ritti as Leto primarily because of what Ritti calls "the confident gesture she makes toward the group of Zeus and Artemis."⁶⁰ Ritti identifies the female figure to Zeus' left as Themis in accordance with her "matronly" appearance. Such a specific identification seems tenuous here as there are so few distinguishing features for the figure. The garland which she holds, however, may provide a clue. Returning to the figure of Zeus we see that he holds a scepter in his left hand, similar to the composition from the Apollo cycle. The major difference is that a young Artemis is portrayed as sitting on her father's lap, whereas in the corresponding scene on the Apollo cycle the young god has been omitted from the composition.

This scene in particular is echoed in the relief frieze from the theater at Perge (Fig. 25). The Perge frieze honors the life of Dionysus by portraying events from the god's life in a continuous narrative. In one noteworthy scene the infant Dionysus is depicted sitting in the lap of an enthroned male. While the young Dionysus is depicted as quite a bit younger than Artemis is in the Hierapolis cycle the similarity between the two scenes cannot be overlooked. Sturgeon has even argued that the birth and infancy scenes from the Apollo and Artemis cycles at Hierapolis

⁵⁹ Ritti 1985, 102-104 and Ng 2007, 119

⁶⁰ Ritti 1985, 106

were specifically modeled on the popular lives of Dionysus which decorated a number of eastern theaters.⁶¹

To the left of the father and daughter pair stands the figure of Athena. The goddess wears a plumed Corinthian helmet and holds a spear and shield. Newby notes that the location of the young Artemis between Zeus and Athena places her at the center of the Olympian dynasty.⁶² This placement further elevates the status of the goddess and subsequently her cult which is later emphasized in the Artemis cycle.

The next scene from the Artemis cycle that deserves closer inspection comes shortly after the appearance of Athena, who makes an appearance in both cycles. As with the mirroring narrative cycle, just after Athena makes her appearance there is a depiction of the cycle's primary deity in a chariot (Fig. 26). The chariot which the goddess rides in is drawn by animals that were closely associated with her, just as was the case in the corresponding scene on the Apollo cycle. However, rather than griffins Artemis' chariot is drawn by two leaping stags. Artemis further resembles her male twin in that she too has a bow held in the hand of her outstretched arm. Her opponent is not a charging giant but rather a fleeing boar. The scene is bounded on either side by two trees.

The hunt ends in a success as is indicated by the very next scene (Fig. 27). Here, the goddess rests on a rocky outcropping, the boar dead at her feet and her hunting dogs surrounding her. This composition should call to mind the scenes of the god Apollo at rest in the mirroring

⁶¹ Sturgeon 2000, 70

⁶² Newby 2003, 195.

narrative cycle. As Newby indicates this scene, as well as the hunt scene preceding it, stresses Artemis' Hellenic identity as a hunting goddess.⁶³

Continuing the theme of similar yet different scenes between the two cycles is the narrative portraying the act of hubris against a god in the Artemis cycle. This specific narrative sequence recalls the Apollo cycle this time not in composition but in subject matter. Niobe, a mortal queen, boasted about the great number of children she had borne and even went so far as to compare herself with the goddess Leto, mother of Apollo and Artemis. Seeking retribution for the slight made against their mother, Artemis and Apollo murdered Niobe's children.

The embedded narrative begins with the depiction of Artemis slaying the fleeing children of Niobe with her bow and arrows (Fig. 28). Fleeing, dying and dead Niobids populate the majority of the following scenes (Fig. 28-29). The manner in which the goddess and the Niobids are depicted varies a great deal. Artemis is portrayed as stoic and calm. The children of Niobe, however, are portrayed in exaggerated poses with their garments flying about them. The dramatic poses of the figures seems particularly revalent for the decoration of a theater where exaggeration in both costume and movements would have been fitting on the stage. The frieze reliefs from the theaters at Nysa (Fig. 30) and Perge (Fig. 31) also use the garments to either exaggerate the movement of the figures or to draw attention to a particular figure in the frieze by framing their head and upper torso.

It is important to note here that Apollo is represented in the Artemis cycle during this particular myth (Fig. 32), while in the rest of the cycles the siblings are kept separate. Newby argues that his presence here was possibly meant to give him more presence in the theater which

⁶³ Newby 2003, 196

is dedicated to him.⁶⁴ It is just as probable that his presence here was also meant to unite the two cycles and, consequently, the cults of the deities. In the closing scene of the mythical narrative Niobe sacrifices herself in an attempt to shield her youngest child from the arrows of Apollo.⁶⁵ While the composition of the Niobe cycle differs greatly in comparison with the Marsyas cycle they are both meant to convey the same theme of *hubris* against the gods and the punishments that resulted from this *hubris*. As such they serve as pendants that were meant to cause the viewers to compare the two myths rather than the compositions of the relief sequences alone.

As with the Apollo cycle, between the last and penultimate stage doors the Artemis cycle there is a sudden change in the iconography of the narrative. At this point in the narrative of both cycles, the theme of the reliefs changes from focusing on myths associated with the lives of the deities to portraying scenes of religious worship. However, in the Artemis cycle it is not just the iconography that switches but it is also the direction of the action that changes.⁶⁶ Up to this point the Artemis cycle has been read in a center to periphery direction, however now the movement of the figures reverses. Ritti argues that this shift in the narrative flow was likely meant to further emphasize the change in themes in the Artemis Cycle.⁶⁷ Whereas the sections of the frieze that have been discussed thus far are focused on the biographic narrative of the goddess, the following scenes are dominated by the depictions of cultic worship. The sequence of cultic worship is bookmarked by statues depicting the Ephesian Artemis. The first statue of the Ephesian Artemis rests on a short base and is flanked by two statues of dogs (Fig. 33). Three

⁶⁴ Newby 2003, 196.

⁶⁵ Ng 2007, 120.

⁶⁶ Ng 2007, 121

⁶⁷ Ritti 1985, 143. Ng (2007, 121) echoes this argument.

women, who are fully clothed in *chitons* and *himations*, are shown in the act of worshiping the cult statue (Fig. 34). To the left of the cult statue is a female figure wearing a laurel crown and sprinkling water upon the head of the cult statue (Fig. 33). Ritti argues that this figure represents Agonothesia.⁶⁸ To the immediate right of the cult statue is what has been identified as a small altar (Fig. 35). A veiled woman stands directly on top of this altar.⁶⁹ This woman is framed by architectural elements and Ritti believes that she is making an offering with incense.⁷⁰ Following this scene of worship is a procession in which bowls of offerings and sacrificial animals are brought forward. The procession ends with the portrayal of the *victimarius* slaughtering a bull. The second cult statue of Artemis is also depicted along with a statue of a dog and is this time framed by an archway. As with the first representation of the Ephesian Artemis, a figure is depicted as making an offering at the altar placed before the cult statue and a female figure is shown in the act of worship.

Reliefs from the Upper Orders

The mythological iconography continued in the upper orders of the *scaenae frons*. The reliefs from the upper orders bear a noticeable similarity in composition and theme to the Apollo and Artemis cycles. Fragments from a series of reliefs depict Dionysiac revelries.⁷¹ One such fragment includes Dionysus riding in a centaur-drawn chariot. This composition should call to mind the chariot scenes from the podium reliefs. In the Hierapolis relief, Dionysus is accompanied by dancing Maenads and satyrs, as well as Eros, who is shown riding on the back

⁶⁸ Ritti 1985, 148

⁶⁹ Ritti 1985, 146

⁷⁰ Ritti 1985, 146

⁷¹ Ritti 1985, 180.

of a panther.⁷² As has been mentioned earlier, scenes with a Dionysiac theme were extremely popular in the theater decoration.⁷³ At Perge, Dionysus is also shown riding in a chariot (Fig. 36). The Perge relief depicts Dionysus as reclining with his right arm thrown over his head. As with the chariot scenes from the Apollo and Artemis cycle, the chariot in which the Perge Dionysus rides in is being drawn by his animal attributes, panthers.

Also from the upper orders are a series of relief panels that depict the myth of the rape of Persephone. Two of these panels also portray deities riding in a chariot. The first represents the pursuit of Demeter who is shown riding in a dragon-drawn chariot while the other depicts Hades holding Persephone in his arm with both deities in quadriga driven by Eros.⁷⁴ The rape of Persephone, as well as other myths associated with the deity, was one of the focuses of the theater reliefs at Nysa.⁷⁵

Local Mythologies

While the theater reliefs do include images from the standard repertoire found in theaters of the region, such as depictions of Dionysus, most of the Hierapolis reliefs deviate from the typical iconography found appropriate for the decoration of theaters.⁷⁶ The theater at Hierapolis draws on the malleability of ancient myths in order to elevate their religious standing in the region. All of the myths depicted in the theater at Hierapolis can be geographically located in Asia Minor.

⁷² Ritti 1985, 180.

⁷³ Sturgeon 2000, 70

⁷⁴ Ritti 1985, 180-181.

⁷⁵ Lindner 1994, 109-119.

⁷⁶ Sturgeon 2000, 70.

Before moving into a discussion as to where exactly each myth can be located it is important to understand the nature of mythology in the ancient Mediterranean world. As Simon Price notes, in the ancient world myths were never fixed or archetypal, but rather they could be constantly recreated with each retelling.⁷⁷ Furthermore, mythology that was focused on the birth and deeds of gods and heroes was often incorporated into the foundation myths of ancient cities. These mythologies were then woven into the history of the site. They became part of a continuous narrative that transitioned smoothly from tales of gods and heroes down to the present.⁷⁸ Therefore, as Price argues, mythology became equated with history.⁷⁹ Consequently, these stories needed be given geographical settings that would have been familiar to those hearing and telling the stories. Moreover, taking into account the malleability of ancient myths, multiple cities often laid claim to the locational setting of the same myths.⁸⁰ It is this development of local shared mythologies that eventually aided cities in creating a shared sense of the past.⁸¹ This is specifically one of the key ways in which local identities could be articulated in the Greco-Roman world. The Hierapolis theater reliefs are a prime example of a city using local mythology to attempt to form and articulate a shared past with its surrounding region.

The numerous myths that were depicted in the theater reliefs from Hierapolis can be situated in different locations throughout the province of Asia. At each of these locations these mythologies have been integrated into the history of the locations and the cities that have laid

⁷⁷ Price 2003, 116.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Price 2003, 115.

⁸¹ Ibid.

claim to these various mythologies celebrate them with festivals and/or the establishment of a local cult. By portraying these local mythologies in sculptural form the dedicators of the theater reliefs are attempting to incorporate these various mythologies, and their associated places of worship, into the historical narrative of Hierapolis. As mentioned previously, the Temple of Apollo at Hierapolis also included what the ancients believed to be an entrance to the underworld, known as the Plutonium. Later, a Temple to Apollo was built around the Plutonium. The close association between the Plutonium and Apollo likely contributed to the adoption of the god as the city's patron deity. Eventually a local festival was established in order to honor the patron deity of the city. The festival was modeled on the Pythian Games held at Delphi and fairly soon after their foundation the local Hierapolis festival to Apollo was given equal status as the Delphi games. Coins from Hierapolis often refer to this festival as Pythia.⁸² Thus, the Hierapolis festival to Apollo even assumed the name of the famous Pythian games from Delphi. The theater at Hierapolis would have housed the competitions for the festival. The celebration of the Pythian festival in honor of the god Apollo would have served to link the theater with the nearby Temple of Apollo, which we have seen were also physically connected by their orientation and placement within the orthogonal grid of the city. Thus the central location and focus placed upon the Apollo cycle was meant to highlight the local cult of the god and its relationship to the theater.

The most prominent mythological narrative in the iconographic program of the theater other than the Apollo cycle is the biographic narrative of the goddess Artemis, which occupied the other half of the podium. The iconographic details of the statue of Artemis from the closing scenes of the cycle make it clear that the specific incarnation of Artemis that is being honored

⁸² Newby 2005, 249.

here is none other than Artemis Ephesia.⁸³ The cult of Artemis at Ephesus is arguably the most important of the goddess and was known throughout the Roman Empire. The depiction of not only the major events in the goddess's mythological life cycle, but also of the specific cult statue of Artemis Ephesia in the theater reliefs at Hierapolis served to closely link that city with Artemis Ephesia and Ephesus.⁸⁴ The appearance of Artemis Ephesia in the theater relief at Hierapolis was not meant to make the city just another devotee of a popular goddess. The organization of the reliefs creates a close association between the cult of Artemis Ephesia and her brother, the patron deity of Hierapolis. This association is further strengthened by the appearance of Apollo in Artemis cycle during the slaughter of the Niobids. It is through this close association that Hierapolis acquires some of the goddess's own aura and 'charisma.'⁸⁵

The inclusion of the Niobids myth in the Artemis cycle works to further enhance the regional focus of the theater's iconographic program. The myth of the slaying of the Niobids was believed to have taken place in the region surrounding Hierapolis. Pausanias locates the geographic location of the events of the myth during his travels in the east. In discussing the myth he states that "This Niobe I myself saw when I went up Mount Sipylus. When you are near, it is a beetling crag, with not the slightest resemblance to a woman, mourning or otherwise; but if you go further away, you will think you see a woman in tears, with head bowed down (1. 21. 3)." Mount Sipylus is located in western Asia Minor between the cities of Hierapolis and Ephesus.

The regional interest is continued in the pendant from the Apollo cycle, the myth concerning the music competition between Apollo and Marsyas. Sturgeon argues that the story

⁸³ Newby 2003, 195

⁸⁴ Ibid

⁸⁵ Elsner 1997, 186

of Marsyas is portrayed here in the Hierapolis reliefs because of the popularity of his myth in the east.⁸⁶ However, given the regional geographic locations of the other myths depicted in the theater reliefs it is more likely that the myth is depicted for a greater reason other than its regional popularity. Like the other myths depicted in the theater reliefs the story of Marsyas can be mapped onto the terrain of Asia Minor. The spying on Athena by Marsyas took place at the site of Kelainia, later renamed Apamea in the Hellenistic period.⁸⁷ It was also at the source of the aptly named river Marsyas, which flowed through Apamea, that the skin of the flayed Marsyas was displayed, according to Herodotus (*Histories* 2. 26. 3).

The reliefs from the upper orders of the theater can also be placed within the region surrounding Hierapolis. Dionysus was believed to have been born at the nearby city of Nysa, some 90 kilometers to the west of Hierapolis (Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.29). Nysa also claimed to be the location of the rape of Persephone by Pluto and both deities are commemorated in the city's theater reliefs. However, the myth concerning the rape of Persephone had been claimed by multiple locations in the ancient world. The oldest telling of the myth locates it in Eleusis (Apollodorus 1.29). However, since the theater reliefs at Hierapolis appear to be focusing on a regional setting for the myths depicted it is much more probable that they are referencing the neighboring town of Nysa, which celebrated the union of Persephone and Pluto in its own local festival, the *Theogamia*.⁸⁸ It could also be argued that the reliefs were arguing for a location even closer to home. The Plutonium at Hierapolis was believed to be an entrance to the underworld and is thus a contender for the location of Persephone's descent to the underworld.

⁸⁶ Sturgeon 2000, 70.

⁸⁷ Price 2003, 118 and Newby 2003, 196.

⁸⁸ Robert 1977, 74

However, the cult was much more prominent at Nysa where it was celebrated annually in the extramural sanctuary at Acharaca.

One final regional sanctuary is referred to in the Apollo cycle. One should recall the figure of Gaea rising up out of the ground to beseech the god in his griffin-drawn chariot to have mercy on her children, the giants, and how it has been argued that the portrayal of Gaea bears a striking resemblance to a similar scene on the Great Altar of Pergamum.⁸⁹ It could very well be that this allusion was intentional on behalf of the city of Hierapolis and was meant to link the city to yet another local cult.

The allusion to local myths in the Hierapolis reliefs represents the city's attempt at placing itself in a greater mythical and, thereby, historical narrative. The citizens of Hierapolis hoped that by stressing their direct, and indirect, connections to local Greek mythologies they would be able to establish relationships between their city and other cities in the region, thereby creating the sense of a shared regional past. However, this was not solely an attempt to link the city to other important mythic locations in the region. The cities of Roman Asia Minor were in competition with each other for honors and privileges from Rome.⁹⁰ Consequently, it was in the best interest of a smaller community like Hierapolis to connect its own mythologies and local cults with the more prominent ones in the region with the hopes of then siphoning off some of the glory and accomplishments of these larger more renowned civic and cultic centers.

Through their location in the *scaenae frons* and with their mirrored compositions, the Apollo and Artemis cycles were meant to act as pendants. In comparing the similarities and

⁸⁹ Ng 2007, 118-119.

⁹⁰ Ando 2010, 33

differences in the two cycles the viewer would be associating the corresponding scenes from each cycle with each other. This association would then extend to the deities themselves. It is in this manner that the local cult of Apollo was put on par with that of Artemis Ephesia.⁹¹ Furthermore, by putting their own local cult on par with that of Artemis Ephesia, which was arguably one of the oldest and most revered cults in the entire Greco-Roman world, the citizens of Hierapolis were claiming supremacy over the other regional myths displayed in the iconographic program of the theater. These myths, and their corresponding cities and cults, were then subsumed into the greater narrative of the Apollo cycle. The emphasis on a local setting was not reserved solely for the mythological components of the theater reliefs. This theme is carried over into the reliefs located above the *porta regia*.

⁹¹ Price 2003, 121.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELIEFS FROM THE PORTA REGIA

The reliefs from the *scanae frons* continue on a series of slabs that were located above the *porta regia*, however they differ markedly from the rest of the iconographic program of the theater. Whereas most of the iconographic program of the theater concentrates on depicting myths that are local to the region, the reliefs of the *porta regia* focus on portraying the imperial family as well as personifications specific to the city of Hierapolis. This set of reliefs is divided into three sections that when reconstructed resemble the Greek letter *pi* in shape (Fig. 37). There is a central long section that would have faced the audience and two shorter side sections that face each other and frame the scene depicted on the central section (Fig. 38). The central section was located directly above the lintel of the *porta regia* and the projecting ends of the side sections would have been supported by columns which in turn framed the doorway. Above the figures depicted in the *porta regia* reliefs are inscriptions that identify them.⁹² Of the twenty-nine human or divine figures preserved in the *porta regia* reliefs seventeen identifying inscriptions have survived.⁹³ The reliefs of the side sections are depicted on all three exposed surfaces of the blocks. The action on the side sections runs toward the central block where the Severan imperial

⁹² It is likely due to these captions that the reliefs of the *porta regia* were not published in the same volume as the Apollo and Artemis cycle but rather in the volume concerned with the epigraphy and inscriptions from the theater.

⁹³ Chuvin 1987, 99

family is depicted. The figures portrayed in the side sections represent the institutions of the city, as well as various aspects of the festival competitions.⁹⁴

The Left Section

Following the flow of the figures on the side sections we will begin with an examination of the figures from the left section before transitioning to those of the right. Both side sections can be divided up into three units of reliefs. The external units open onto the rest of the *scaenae frons* while the internal units frame the action of the central block. The lateral unit refers to the reliefs that cover the short end of the blocks and face the audience. The external block of friezes on the left side depicts a group of four figures (Fig. 39). The first figure represented is a male and the label above his head identifies him as a trumpeter. He wears a belted *chiton* that ends just below his knees, a cloak and boots. To his right is what remains of the outline of a young boy. This relief in particular was heavily damaged, however Ritti reconstructs him as having been depicted in the nude.⁹⁵ The inscription above the youth labels him as *pythikos* and Ritti posits that he may have been a part of the *paides pythikos* competition that was held in imitation of those held in Delphi.⁹⁶ He is likely meant to be a personification of the athletic competitions that took place between young boys, ages two to four.⁹⁷ To the immediate left stands a male figure wearing a *chiton* and *himation*. This figure holds a scroll in his left hand and a wreath in his right.⁹⁸ The clothed male holds the wreath over the nude youth's head, declaring the youth victorious. The last figure of this block is a nude victorious athlete who is shown in the process

⁹⁴ Chuvin 1987, 101

⁹⁵ Ritti 1985, 64

⁹⁶ Ritti 1985, 65

⁹⁷ Chuvin 1987, 100

⁹⁸ Ritti 1985, 64-65

of crowning himself. Chuvín argues that the nude athlete here is the personification of the competitions that took place between adult males ages seventeen to twenty.⁹⁹

The lateral block of the left section, which faces the audience, is much smaller and as such only contains two figures (Fig. 40). The pair is made up of a male and female figure. The male figure is located on the left side of the block. He is depicted as holding a scroll in his right hand and wearing a *chiton* and *himation*. He also wears a small crown on his head which is decorated with the busts of three men and one woman. Ritti identifies these busts as the members of the Severan imperial family, who are depicted in the central section of the *porta regia* reliefs.¹⁰⁰ She further identifies this man as the organizer of the games, the *agonothetes*, although only the second half of the word survives.¹⁰¹ The identifying label for the female figure does not survive. However, the *patera* she holds in her left hand likely identifies her as a cult servant of the Pythian competitions.¹⁰²

The final panel of the left section faces the opposing right section and contains the depiction of four figures (Fig. 41). The leftmost figure, a woman, is shown standing next to a small altar. From what remains of her inscription she was likely the personification of the *gerousia* of Hierapolis.¹⁰³ Beside her is a pair of interacting female figures. The female figure on the left holds a *patera* in her right hand while the one on the right holds a *patera* in her left hand and a scepter in her right. The unrestricted arm of the woman on the left is draped over the

⁹⁹ Chuvín 1987, 100

¹⁰⁰ Ritti 1985, 66

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² Ibid

¹⁰³ Ritti 1985, 67

shoulders of the female figure on the right. Ritti identifies these two figures as Synthusia and Oikoumene respectively from their remaining captions.¹⁰⁴ The closing figure for the left section is a seated, bearded male who is shown holding a scepter in his left hand. Despite the fact that little remains from this figure's corresponding inscription, he has been identified as Aion, or eternity.¹⁰⁵ The figure of Aion can also be found in relief format on the Zoilos monument at Aphrodisias (Fig. 42).¹⁰⁶

The Right Section

The structure of the right section of panels roughly mirrors that of the left. Furthermore as with the left section, the right section can also be divided up into three panels or blocks. Unfortunately, the figures from the right section are even more heavily damaged than those of the left. The rightmost figure on the external facing block is that of a nude athlete and he is shown standing next to a clothed male who has his arm held upwards (Fig. 43). From comparanda on the left section of the reliefs, it is plausible that the clothed male was in the processes of crowning the nude athlete. While there are no inscriptions to identify this pair, Chuvin argues that this nude athlete should be grouped in with the two nude athletes from the external face of the left block. According to Chuvin, this figure is meant to represent the adolescent competitions, ages fourteen to sixteen, on account of the fact that he appears to be more petite in stature than the figure representing the competitions between adult males on the opposing block.¹⁰⁷ This pair is separated from the action on the other half of the panel by a

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

¹⁰⁵ Ritti 1985, 68

¹⁰⁶ Erim 1979, 36

¹⁰⁷ Chuvin 1987, 100

cylindrical altar with flames already lit. On the other side of the burning altar is a female figure wearing a *chiton* with a himation wound around her waist. She is leading forward a sacrificial bull. Ritti reconstructs the label for the female figure as Synthusia.¹⁰⁸ Synthusia is particularly relevant in these reliefs since she inaugurated the sacred games with a sacrifice.¹⁰⁹

The lateral panel from the right side is very poorly preserved (Fig. 44). Similar to the scene that begins at the right section of reliefs, this middle block also depicts a nude athlete being crowned by a clothed male figure. The inscription above the clothed male gives little aid in identifying him since it contains only the generic term “ANHP.” Ritti posits that he may have had some more general function in the contests specific to the local Pythian Festival.¹¹⁰

The internal unit of reliefs from the right section depicts four figures (Fig. 45). The rightmost figure here is heavily damaged; however, it can be reconstructed as a generic nude athlete. His corresponding inscription identifies him as *dolichos*, a participant in the long distance runs that were part of the Pythian Festival.¹¹¹ The fact that this label gives this athlete a specific contest lends credence to the fact that the missing labels from the other nude athletes likely would have also given them specific contests. The following figure is a clothed male whose inscription marks him as a torchbearer.¹¹² A female figure follows the torchbearer. She is depicted as wearing a long *chiton* that is belted just below her breasts. In her left hand she holds a large unidentified object. The caption above her head identifies her as *synodos*, the

¹⁰⁸ Ritti 1985, 71

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Ritti 1985, 70-71

¹¹¹ Ritti 1985, 70

¹¹² Ritti 1985, 69

personification of the association of artists devoted to Dionysos.¹¹³ With her identity revealed, the object held in her left was probably meant to be a theater mask.¹¹⁴

The final figure from the right section of reliefs is another female figure. She wears a short belted *chiton* which leaves her arms bare. A scabbard is slung across her torso and she wears a helmet on her head. She is identified as “ANDPHA”, or courage, by her inscription. The Zoilos monument from Aphrodisias also produces a figure in relief that is labeled as *andreia* (Fig. 46).¹¹⁵ At Aphrodisias this personification is also depicted with a shield and corresponding inscription. It should be noted that this armed female figure in a short belted *chiton* is the closest figure from the left section to the personification of Roma from the central section, who is depicted with many of the same attributes.

The Central Section

The action of the central section flows from the outside inwards with the gazes of the peripheral figures resting on the Severan imperial family. Let us begin with the left side of the central section (Fig. 47). The figure located at the leftmost end of the central section has been identified by Ritti as Agon, or the personification of competition.¹¹⁶ The figure depicts a fully grown male reclining on an unidentified cylindrical support that rests horizontally on the ground level. Ritti reconstructs the raised right arm as having held a crown and believes that the figure is in the processes of crowning himself.¹¹⁷ To the immediate left of the reclining male figure is a

¹¹³ Ritti 1985, 69

¹¹⁴ Ibid

¹¹⁵ Erim 1979, 37

¹¹⁶ Ritti 1985, 61

¹¹⁷ Ritti 1985, 60

large tripod. Ritti interprets this tripod as a direct reference to the deity Apollo, who would have been honored in the local Pythian competitions.¹¹⁸ Such a composition supports the hypothesis that the figure is meant to represent Agon. However, due to the fact that there is only one letter preserved from the corresponding inscription, an “O”, such identification cannot be completely certain.

The identity of the standing female figure to the right of the reclining male, however, can be identified by her corresponding caption as Agonothesia, the personification of the person who organized and presided over the games. She is shown as wearing both a *chiton* and *himation*, while her arms may be missing iconographic parallels from a nymphaeum at Side suggest that she would have held a palm frond in her hand.¹¹⁹ An amphora stands next to Agonothesia’s left leg and is likely meant to call to mind the prize amphora that would have been awarded to the victors of the competitions.¹²⁰

Another female figure stands to the right of the prize amphora. She has been identified as the personification of the city of Hierapolis by her corresponding inscription. To the immediate right of this figure is a large crown that is shown resting on a table. Reclining in the foreground in front of this table is a bearded, half-nude male who Ritti identifies as a river god representing the nearby Chrysorhoas River.¹²¹ The table serves to separate these personifications from the imperial family who are shown clustered together on the other side.

¹¹⁸ Ritti 1985, 61

¹¹⁹ For a detailed discussion of the sculptural decoration of the nymphaeum at Side see Mansel 1963, 53-76.

¹²⁰ Ritti 1985, 61

¹²¹ Ritti 1985, 62

The imperial family is located slightly to the right of the very center of this section (Fig. 48). According to Ritti, Septimius Severus is seated in a forward facing throne that is very reminiscent of the nearby enthroned Zeus in the Apollo and Artemis cycles.¹²² It is likely that this depiction of the emperor, surrounded by personifications of the city and elements meant to evoke the local Pythian Festival, is intended to symbolize the emperor's patronage of the city and its festival.¹²³ This scene was likely not meant to reflect an actual historical event but rather refer to the metaphorical patronage of the emperor.

As is common with depictions of Septimius Severus, he appears here surrounded by the images of his wife, Julia Domna, and two sons, Caracalla and Geta.¹²⁴ To the immediate left of the enthroned Septimius Severus is one of his two sons, Caracalla. Caracalla is depicted as a mature male wearing a toga. Flanking Septimius Severus to the right is his other son, Geta. As with most other depictions of Geta this one from the theater at Hierapolis has also suffered the effects of the *damnatio memoriae* decreed by his brother after he became emperor.¹²⁵ Sturgeon identifies the figure of Caracalla as an official in charge of the Pythian games.¹²⁶ In this interpretation, the figure of Geta then must be that of Caracalla since he eventually succeeds his father as sole emperor. However, this interpretation is dubious since at the time of the dedication

¹²² Ritti 1985, 60

¹²³ Newby 2007, 215.

¹²⁴ Newby 2007, 233

¹²⁵ Ritti 1985, 62

¹²⁶ Sturgeon 2000, 70

of the theater reliefs, ca. 206-208 CE, Caracalla had not yet succeeded his father and both of Septimius Severus' sons were still alive.¹²⁷

To the right of Geta is the figure of Julia Domna, Septimius Severus' wife, who partially overlaps the figure of Geta. She wears a short-sleeved *chiton* and *himation*, which she has pulled up over head. In her extended right hand she holds a *patera*.¹²⁸ As Ng points out, such a rendering is common for the depiction of women who are in the act of performing a religious ritual.¹²⁹ The religious ritual being performed likely corresponds to the competitions associated with the Pythian Festival that would have taken place in the theater and to which many of the surrounding relief figures suggest.

The central section closes with the depiction of two female figures. The composition of the rightmost figure reveals her to be the personification of Roma.¹³⁰ Here, as with almost every other depiction of the goddess, she wears a short, belted *chiton* and is depicted in a seated position. In her right hand she would have held a lance and a shield rests at her side. Ritti reconstructs the figure decorating the shield as a griffin.¹³¹ The standing female figure to the left of the seated Roma has been identified by the cornucopia held in her right arm as the Tyche of Hierapolis.¹³² In her other hand she holds a round object that could either be a globe, another

¹²⁷ The date of the reliefs is taken from an inscription from the 'corporation of the purple-dyers' that was found in association with the stage building of the theater

¹²⁸ Ritti 1985, 63

¹²⁹ Ng 2007, 132-133

¹³⁰ Ritti 1985, 63

¹³¹ Ritti 1985, 63. Ng identifies the decorative figure on Roma's shield as a sphinx rather than a griffin (2007, 133). However, this figure closely resembles other depictions of griffins from the east, such as those atop Classical Athenian grave stelai.

¹³² Ritti 1985, 63

attribute of the goddess, or a patera since many of the other figures in the frieze are shown in the act of making an offering.¹³³ The Tyche of the city appears to be a relatively popular motif in the theater reliefs of Roman Asia Minor. At Nysa the Tyche of the city appears throughout the podium reliefs as a way to stress the locality of the myths.¹³⁴ However, at Nysa the goddess is identified not by the inclusion of a cornucopia in her composition but by the tall turreted crown which she wears. The image of Tyche in the *porta regia* reliefs at Hierapolis is missing this tall turreted crown, although she does have the other attributes, such as the cornucopia, most commonly associated with her.

The Role of the Emperor

The focus of the *porta regia* reliefs, and indeed of the entire iconographic program of the theater at Hierapolis, is the central section of panels featuring the imperial family surrounded by the personifications of the city. The difference in both the composition and subject matter between the *porta regia* reliefs and the mythological narratives from rest of the theater's sculptural program is notable. How exactly, then, do the reliefs from the *porta regia* relate to the program of the theater as a whole?

The argument has been made that the presence of the emperor was relatively absent from the eastern provinces throughout the later periods of the Roman Empire. During the period of the Second Sophistic it can be argued that much of the literature and rhetoric from the Roman east can be characterized by an avoidance of anything pertaining to Rome.¹³⁵ Ewen Bowie sees this absence as a means of escape from the realities of Roman power by the immersion in the glories

¹³³ Ritti 1985, 63

¹³⁴ Newby 2003, 202-209

¹³⁵ Swain 1996, 17-42.

of the Classical and Hellenistic past.¹³⁶ This lack of presence is then used to argue that the inclusion of depictions of the emperor on monuments in the east was done without much forethought and with a fair amount of insincerity on the part of the inhabitants. Thus, the role of the emperor on many of the civic monuments in the east is reduced to a mere participant in local rituals.¹³⁷ However, as has already been discussed, an association with the Greek past was often stressed in the iconographic program of monuments in the Roman east in the competition between cities for Roman honors. Rather than using an association with the Greek past as a means of escape from a Roman present, the citizens of the eastern Roman cities used their Greek ancestry to elevate the status of their cities within the Roman Empire.

Furthermore, the emperor was not a figure so removed from the eastern provinces that his presence was barely felt. Hadrian had perhaps the most direct physical influence on the city of Hierapolis. In the earlier years of Hadrian's reign as emperor he exempted the city of Hierapolis from the payment of the *aurum coronarium*.¹³⁸ It was under imperial patronage that Hierapolis experienced substantial growth. At this time the previously unoccupied area to the north of the city was incorporated into the urban plan. The city gained not only a second theater but also a new bathing complex and a monumental agora.¹³⁹ This agora was constructed on an enormous scale measuring 280 meters long and 170 meters wide and was monumentalized by a massive stoa-basilica on its western edge.¹⁴⁰ In response to these additions, the city dedicated statues of

¹³⁶ Bowie 1970, 35-41.

¹³⁷ Ng 2007, 142-143

¹³⁸ D'Andria 2001, 104.

¹³⁹ D'Andria 2001, 100

¹⁴⁰ D'Andria 2001, 104

Hadrian and his wife and had them placed in the theater.¹⁴¹ The presence of these statues and their dated inscriptions to after 128 CE has led some scholars to believe that Hadrian may have included Hierapolis in his itinerary during his campaigns in the east.¹⁴² While there is no explicit evidence to back this claim an inscription from the theater commemorates the emperor's presence in the region on route to his invasion of Jerusalem in 130 CE.¹⁴³

Another inscription gives insight into the presence of another emperor, Marcus Aurelius, having been in the region surrounding Hierapolis. The inscription comes from a stone block that was reused in the foundations of the Temple of Apollo. This inscription describes plague that not only beset the city of Hierapolis but also many of the cities in the surrounding region. The inscription also gives detailed instructions as to how the city may purge the disease from its boarders.¹⁴⁴ Ng rightly associates this plague with the one carried through the region by the army of Marcus Aurelius on their return from the east.¹⁴⁵

As with his predecessors, Septimius Severus spent a great deal of time in the provinces. Birley estimates that until 204 CE Septimius Severus spent no more than twelve months at a single time in the Italian peninsula over the preceding 40 years.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, Septimius' political career had strong foundations in the eastern provinces of the empire. As a legate he was assigned to the most prestigious of the three Syrian legions, which was stationed near the

¹⁴¹ Ng, 2007, 104.

¹⁴² D'Andria and Ritti 1985, 177.

¹⁴³ Ng. 2007, 104-105.

¹⁴⁴ Rutherford 2007, 451.

¹⁴⁵ Ng. 2007, 106.

¹⁴⁶ Birley 1999, 169.

province's capital, Antioch on the Orontes.¹⁴⁷ After serving in Syria, Septimius traveled west. However, he would not be gone from the eastern provinces for long. When Septimius laid claim to the title of emperor in 193 CE he was met with multiple sources of contention. One of the strongest sources came from Pescennius Niger who was then the governor of Syria.¹⁴⁸ Backed by not only his own ten legions, but also the foreign powers of Parthia, Hatra, and Armenia, Niger was not a threat that Septimius could let stand. Consequently, in 194 CE he lead his provincial troops east. Septimius engaged and defeated Niger in the province of Bythinia in 194 CE, but Niger escaped and fled to the east hoping to obtain aid from his foreign supporters.¹⁴⁹ He was pursued by Septimius' troops and finally defeated at Isus in southwestern Asia Minor that same year.¹⁵⁰

After the defeat of Niger the imperial family and their court progressed through Asia Minor and their presence was celebrated in every city they passed through.¹⁵¹ It is likely that the entire region would have felt the physical presence of the imperial family, if not directly then indirectly by means of the economic pressures that hosting these celebrations would have imposed on the surrounding region. The imperial family returned to the eastern provinces in 202 CE when Septimius Severus and Caracalla, his son, inaugurated the year as co-consuls in Antioch on the Orontes.¹⁵² On their return to Rome, Septimius Severus again paraded Caracalla throughout the cities of Asia starting in Tyana and ending in Nicaea on the coast of the Black

¹⁴⁷ Birley 1999, 68.

¹⁴⁸ Levick 2007, 37.

¹⁴⁹ Levick 2007, 40.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Levick 2007, 41.

¹⁵² Levick 2007, 51.

Sea.¹⁵³ As with the procession of the imperial family almost a decade earlier the arrival of the emperor and his family would have been extravagantly celebrated in each city they passed through.

Septimius Severus also had more direct connections with the city of Hierapolis. As with the emperor Hadrian, under the reign of Septimius Severus the city experienced an influx of monumental building projects. It is to this period that the monumental Nymphaeum of the Tritons and the rebuilding of the *scaenae frons* of the theater date.¹⁵⁴ Both projects were located in areas that would have been highly visible to the citizen body. It should also be noted that Septimius Severus had additional, personal ties to the city of Hierapolis by way of the local sophist Aelieus Antipater. Antipater served as the *ab epistulis Graecis* of Septimius Severus, as well as the tutor to his sons, Geta and Caracalla.¹⁵⁵ It is this very personal connection to Hierapolis that may have influenced the monumental building projects that went up during Septimius Severus' reign. Years later during his reign Caracalla would eventually visit Hierapolis and it is difficult to believe that Antipater's presence did not in some way influence this visit.¹⁵⁶

From Hadrian until the time the Hierapolis theater reliefs were dedicated it is quite evident that the emperors spent a fair amount of time in the eastern provinces. Moreover, during their travels through Asia Minor they left a physical impact on the cities of the region. Hierapolis was also greatly affected by this imperial presence and benefaction and additions made to the

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ D'Andria 2001, 108-111.

¹⁵⁵ Birley 1999, 137.

¹⁵⁶ Halfmann 1986, 229.

urban layout of the city.¹⁵⁷ Thus, it is evident that the presence of the emperor was not only strongly felt in Hierapolis, but that imperial benefaction directly impacted the appearance of the city.

To further augment the argument that the emperor was not reduced to the position of a simple devotee one need only to look at his divine entourage and at the manner in which he was portrayed.¹⁵⁸ The emperor is not only surrounded by regional personifications but he is depicted as though he were Zeus himself. Septimius Severus sits enthroned holding a scepter in his left hand. The manner of his depiction should call to mind the nearby flanking depictions of Zeus enthroned in both the Apollo and Artemis cycles. In this way the emperor could even be interpreted as being brought into the mythological narratives. It can also not be forgotten that Septimius Severus has been placed on the same plane as personifications and deities. Such a representation is intended to not only associate the emperor with the gods, but also to claim that he should receive the same honors usually reserved for them.¹⁵⁹

Moreover the citizens are not using the iconographic program of the theater to make themselves subservient to the emperor, as Zahra Newby argues.¹⁶⁰ Rather they are using the personifications of the city, of its location and of its civic institution, to situate the emperor in the local narrative and thereby elevate the political status of the city in the wider context of the empire. Thus the iconographic program of the theater is used to claim glory for the city.¹⁶¹ It

¹⁵⁷ Inscriptions and dedicatory statues from throughout the city attest to different instances of imperial benefaction.

¹⁵⁸ Newby 2007, 215.

¹⁵⁹ Gebhard 1988, 65

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Sturgeon 2000, 71.

should also be noted that the personification of Roma was placed directly next to that of the Tyche of Hierapolis. So here, Rome, the supreme power of the empire, is placed into the geographic narrative of the region, thereby becoming integrated into the local landscape.¹⁶²

The emperor is not only being placed within the local geography of Hierapolis. Septimius Severus is also being brought into the historical narrative of the city. The iconographic program of the theater included two portrait busts: one of an Attalos and the other of a Eumenes, the Attalid kings whom the citizens of Hierapolis believed were their city's founders.¹⁶³ The emperor is then also being incorporated into the historical narrative of the city where he is made a successor of the Hellenistic kings.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, since Apollo was believed to have been the mythic founder of the city and, as noted by Price, such mythic foundations were often integrated into the broader history of cities in the Greco-Roman world¹⁶⁵ it is plausible to argue that the emperor was also being made a successor of the mythic founder of the city.

¹⁶² Price 2003, 124.

¹⁶³ D'Andria and Ritti 1985, 61.

¹⁶⁴ Price 2003, 124.

¹⁶⁵ Price 2003, 115.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The entire aim of the iconographic program of the theater at Hierapolis was to elevate the status of the city so that it could better compete for imperial honors with the larger and more renowned centers in the region. During the period of the Second Sophistic there was a reemergence of interest in Rome in the Greek past. Greek and eastern sophists were employed and charged with the education of the Roman elite. The citizens of the eastern provinces took advantage of this resurgence to stress their own Greek ancestry and Hellenistic foundations of their cities.

The theater became the ideal location for making claims about ancestry and, consequently, identity. Of all the monumental structures in the ancient world, the theater served the widest range of functions and was thus seen by the largest spectrum of people. Theaters were occupied by elected magistrates and their defeated opponents, victorious athletes and the losers, members of the wealthiest families as well as unskilled workmen and slaves.¹⁶⁶ All the inhabitants of a city were expected to attend gatherings in the theater and in the case of cities, like Hierapolis, that played host to large local festivals it was not uncommon for outsiders to visit the theater as well.

However, simply stressing the presence of Hellenic roots was not always enough to gain honors from the emperor. It was only the 'first cities' which received neocorate status and were

¹⁶⁶ Chaniotis 2006, 213

allowed temples and festivals honoring the emperor.¹⁶⁷ Thus the citizens of secondary-level cities in Asia Minor had to get creative if they wished to even attempt to match the greatest cities in the region. At Hierapolis, the local myths were tied into the broader and greater mythological narrative of the region and it was through this association that the city was able to acquire some of the glory from the more prominent religious and political centers in the region.

In order to make a more direct appeal for imperial favor, and thereby titles, the emperor and his family was incorporated into the iconographic program of the theater at Hierapolis. However, the emperor was not simply made into a participant in the local Pythian celebrations as has been argued by some scholars. Rather, he was put on par with local deities and personification and incorporated into the historical narrative of the site. In this manner the emperor was made a successor of not only the earlier rulers of the city, but also of the city's own mythic foundations. These efforts must have proven effective because only a decade after the theater reliefs were dedicated the city was granted the title of *neokoros* by the emperor Elagabalus.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Newby 2003, 202

¹⁶⁸ Ng 2007, 108.

FIGURES

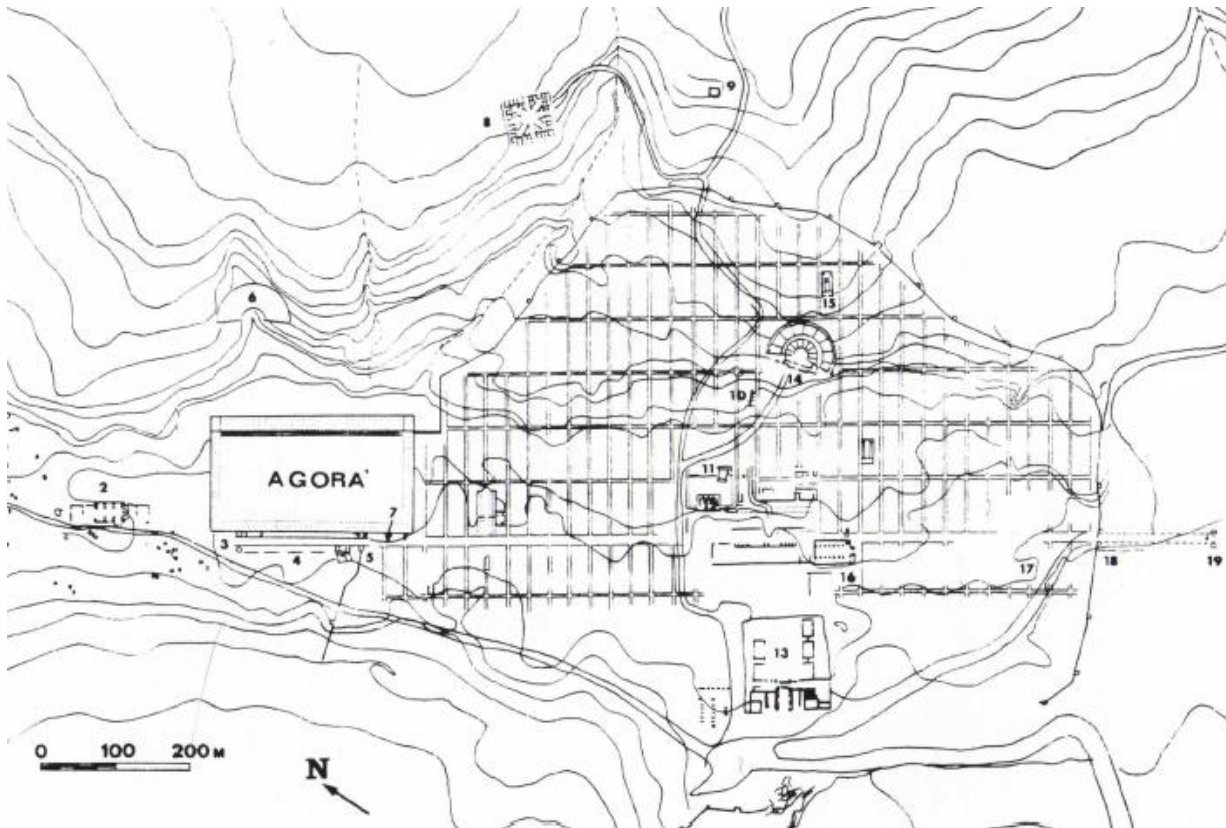


Figure 1. Map of Hierapolis. Modified from D'Andria 2001.

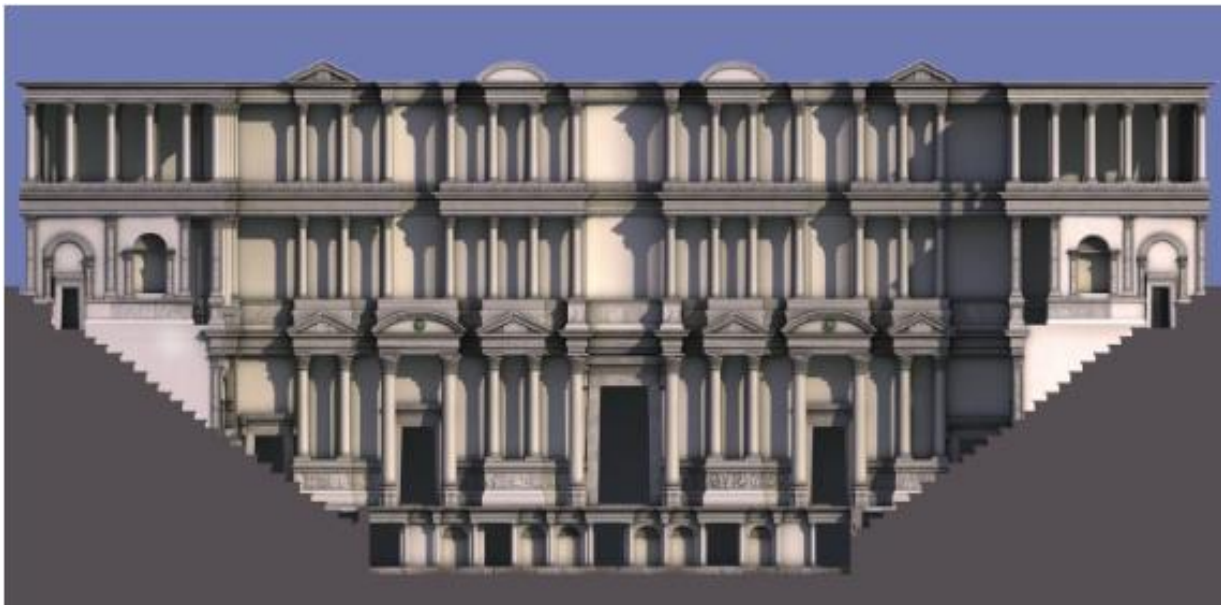


Figure 2. Reconstruction of the stage building of the theater at Hierapolis. Taken from Masino et al. 2011



Figure 3. Podium frieze. Side. Taken from Mansel 1963



Figure 4. Podium frieze. Side. Taken from Mansel 1963



Figure 5. Podium frieze. Perge.



Figure 6. Podium frieze. Perge.

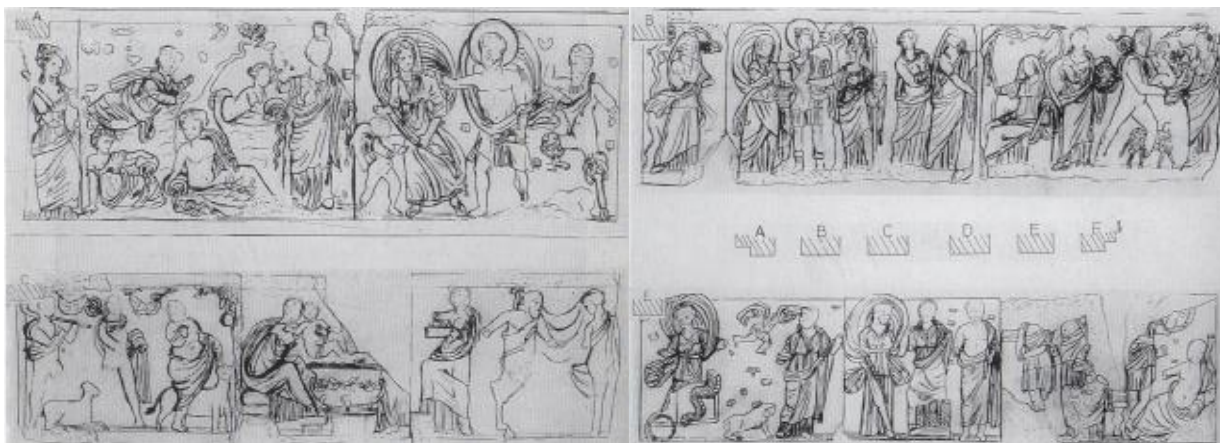


Figure 7. Drawing illustrating the various scenes from the podium frieze at Nysa. Modified from Lindner 1994.



Figure 8. Union of Leto and Zeus. Apollo Cycle. Taken from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



Figure 9. Birth of Apollo. Apollo Cycle. Taken from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



Figure 10. Gigantomachy. Apollo Cycle. Modified from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



Figure 11. Apollo and Gaea. Apollo Cycle. Taken from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



Figure 12. Alcyoneus, Athena, Gaea and Nike. Pergamon Great Altar.



Figure 13. The spying on Athena by Marsya. Apollo Cycle. Modified from D'Andria and Ritti 1985



Figure 14. Marsyas playing the double pipes. Apollo Cycle. Taken from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



Figure 15. Apollo as victor and Marsyas being led away. Apollo Cycle. Taken from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.

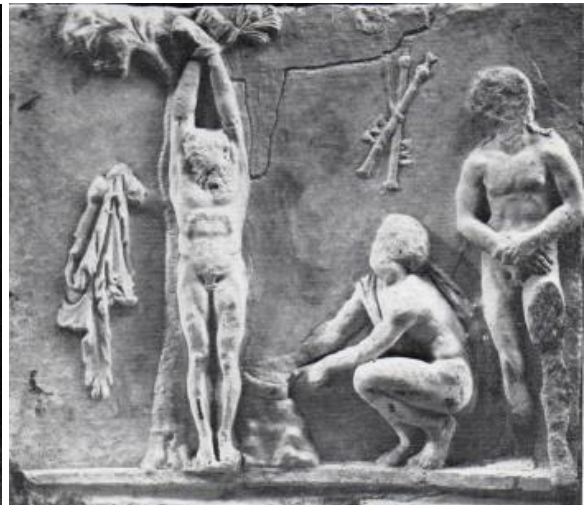


Figure 16. The flaying of Marsyas. Apollo Cycle. Modified from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



New image

Figure 17. Reclining Apollo. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis. Taken from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



Figure 18. Frieze from the base of the columnar façade of the theater at Side. Taken from Mansel 1963

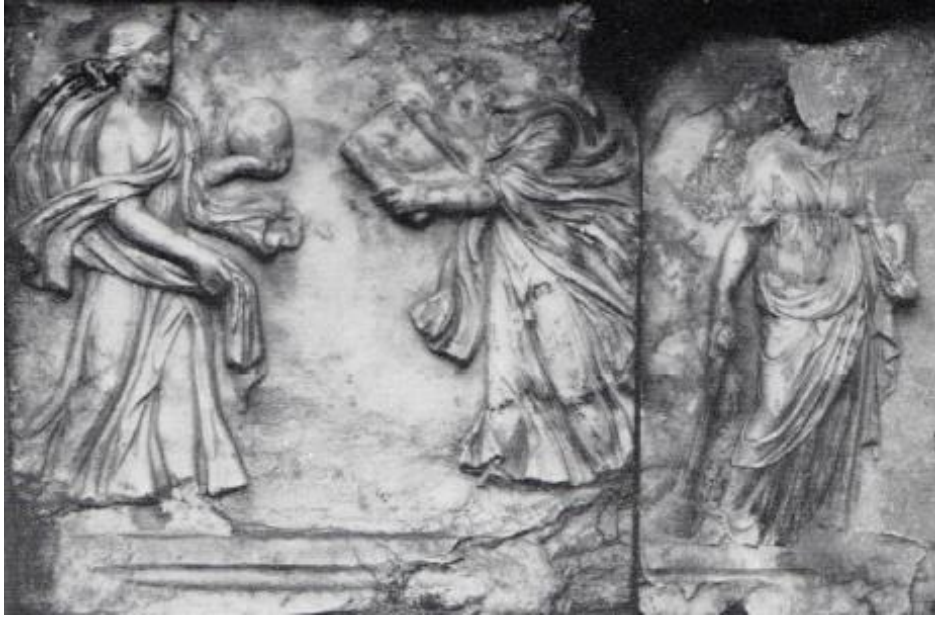


Figure 19. Muses. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis Modified from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



Figure 20. Apollo in long *chiton* with lyre. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis. Modified from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.

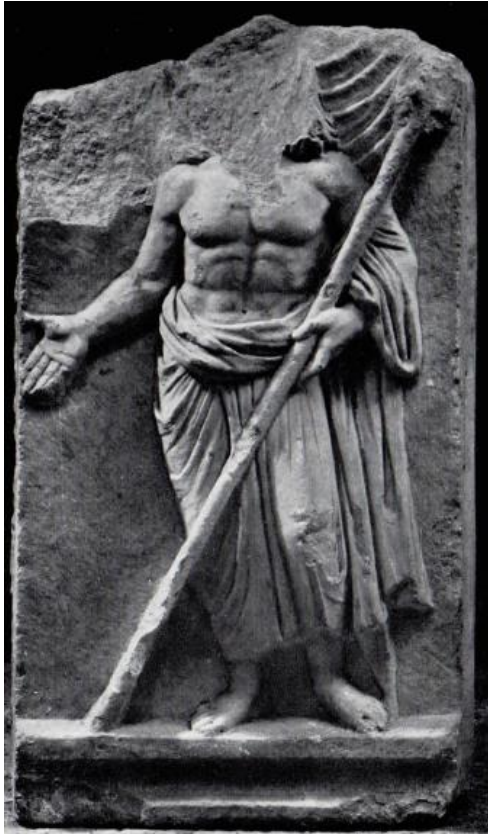


Figure 21. Zeus. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis. Modified from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



Figure 22. Birth of Apollo. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis. Taken from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



Figure 23. The Seasons. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis. Modified from D'Andria and Ritti 1985

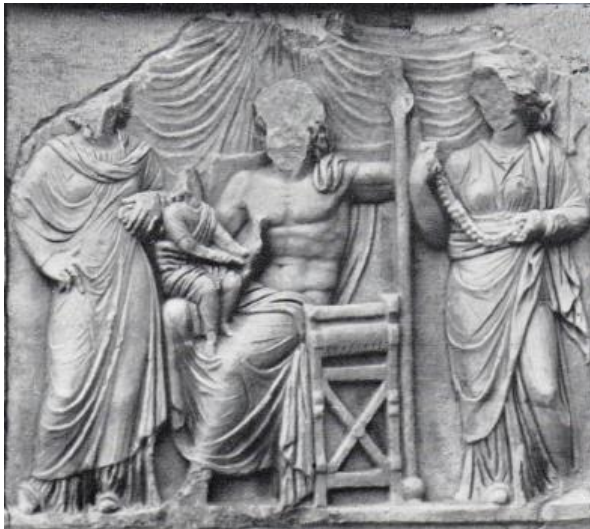


Figure 24. Young Artemis on Zeus' lap. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis. Modified from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



Figure 25. The infant Dionysus. Perge.



Figure 26. Boar Hunt. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis. Modified from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



Figure 27. Artemis at rest. Apollo Cycle. Hierapolis. Taken from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



Figure 28. Artemis slaying the Niobids. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis. Taken from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



Figure 29. Dying Niobids. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis. Modified from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



Figure 30. The companions of Persephone. Nysa. Modified from Lindner 1994

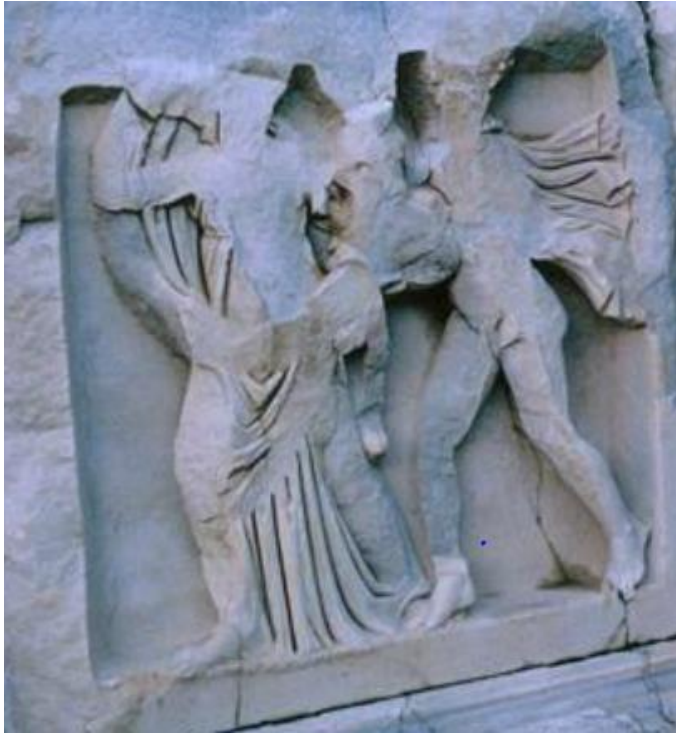


Figure 31. Relief from the theater at Perge



Figure 32. Apollo. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis. Taken from D'Andria and Ritti 1985



Figure 33. Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia. Artemic Cycle. Hierapolis. Modified from D'Andria and Ritti 1985.



Figure 34. Worships of Artemis. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis. Taken from D'Andria and Ritti 1985



Figure 35. Vieled women making an offering at an altar. Artemis Cycle. Hierapolis. Taken from D'Andria and Ritti 1985



Figure 36. Dionysus in a chariot drawn by panthers. Perge

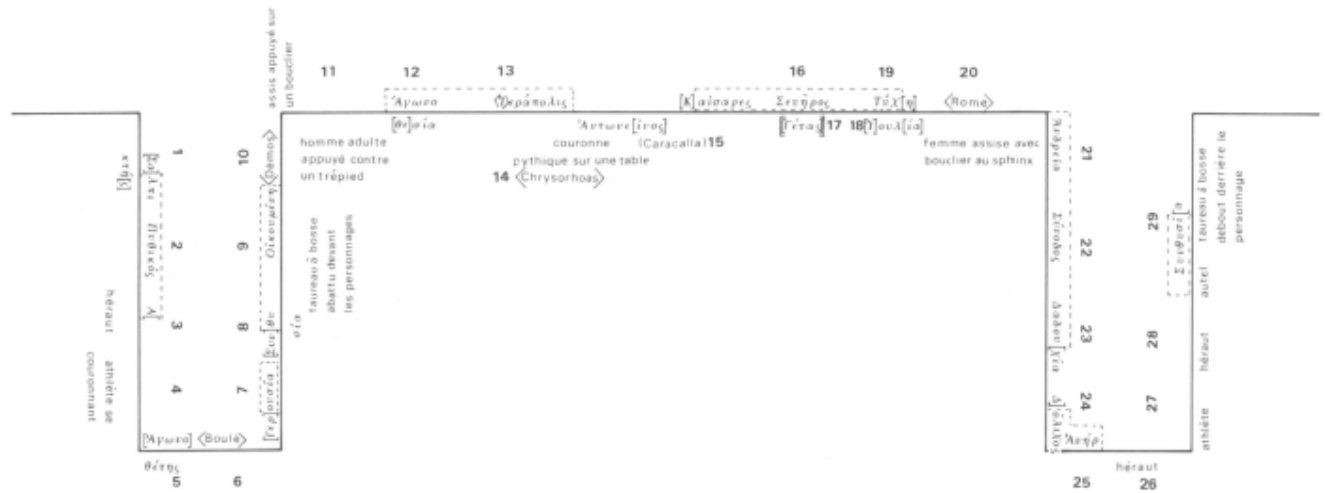


Figure 37. Organization of the *Porta Regia* reliefs from the theater at Hierapolis. Taken from Chuvin 1987.



Figure 38. *Porta Regia* reliefs. Hierapolis. Modified from Ritti 1985.



Figure 39. *Porta Regia* reliefs. Left Section. Block A. Hierapolis. Modified from Ritti 1985.



Figure 40. *Porta Regia* reliefs. Left Section. Block B. Hierapolis. Modified from Ritti 1985.



Figure 41. *Porta Regia* reliefs. Left Section. Block C Hierapolis. Modified from Ritti 1985.



Figure 42. Aion. Zoilos Monument. Aphrodisias.



Figure 43. *Porta Regia*. Right Section. Block A. Hierapolis. Modified from Ritti 1985.



Figure 44. *Porta Regia*. Right Section. Block B. Hierapolis. Modified from Ritti 1985.



Figure 45. *Porta Regia*. Right Section. Block C. Hierapolis. Modified from Ritti 1985.



Figure 46. Andriæ. Zoilos Monument. Aphrodisias.



Figure 47. *Porta Regia*. Central Section. Left half. Hierapolis. Modified from Ritti 1985.



Figure 48. *Porta Regia*. Central Section. Right half. Hierapolis. Modified from Ritti 1985.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ando, C. 2010 "Imperial Identities" In *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*, edited by T. Whitmarsh, 17-45. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bartman, E. 1988. "Décor et duplication: Pendants in Roman Sculptural Display," *AJA* 92, 211-225.
- Birley, A. 1999. *Septimius Severus: The African Emperor*. New York: Routledge.
- Bowie, E. 1970. "Greeks and their past in the second Sopistic." *PastPres* 46: 3-41.
- Brown, P. 1992. *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Chaniotis, A. 2006. "Rituals between Norms and Emotions: Rituals as Shared Experience and Memory." In *Ritual and Communication in the Graeco-Roman World*, edited by E. Sraivianopoulou, 211-238. Liège: Centre international d'étude de la religion grecque antique.
- Chuvin, P. 1987. "Observations sur les reliefs du théâtre de Hiérapolis. Thèmes Agonistiques et Légendes Locales." *RA* 1: 97-108.
- D'Andria, F. 2001. "Hierapolis of Phrygia: its evolution in Hellenistic and Roman times." In *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor, New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, *JRA Suppl.* 45, edited by D. Parrish, 94-115. Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- D'Andria, F. 2003. *Hierapolis of Phrygia (Pammukale)*. Translated by P. Arthus. Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari.
- D'Andria, F. and Ritti, T. 1985. *Hierapolis II: Le sculture del teatro. I rilievi con I cicli di Apollo e Artemide (Archaeologica 54)*. Rome: Bretschneider.
- De Bernardi, F. 1966-1974. *Teatri Classici in Asia Minore*, 4 vols. Rome: Bretschneider.
- Elsner, J. 1997. "The origins of the icon: Pilgrimage, religion, and visual culture in the Roman east as 'resistance' to the centre." In *The early Roman Empire in the East*, edited by S. Alcock, 178-199. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Erim, K. 1979. "The Zoilos Frieze." In *Aion in Merida und Aphroisias*, edited by A. Alföldi et al, 35-40. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern/
- Gebhard, E. 1988. "Rulers' use of theaters in the Greek and Roman World," In *Praktika tou XII Diethnous Synedriou Klasikes Archaialogias*, Athena 4-11 Septembriou, 1993, Vol. IV, Athens. 65-69.
- Goldhill, S. 2010. "What is local identity? The Politics of Cultural Mapping" In *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*, edited by T. Whitmarsh, 46-68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Gruen, E. 1992. *Cultural and National Identity in Republican Rome*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Halfmann, H. 1986. *Itinera Principum: Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH.
- Lindner, R. 1994. *Mythos und Identität: Studien zur Selbstdarstellung*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Levick, B. 2007. *Julia Domna: Syrian Empress*. New York: Routledge.
- Mansel, A. 1963. *Die Ruinen von Side*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.
- Masino, F., F. Gabellone, M. Limoncelli and G. Sobrà. 2011. "Research on the Theater at Hierapolis in Phrygia: an integrated approach." In *Von Handaufmass bis Hig Tech III. 3D in der historischen Bauforschung*, edited by F. Heine, K. Heine and K. Rheidt, 72-79. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Masino, F. and G. Sobrà. 2010. "La Frontescena Severiana del Teatro di Hierapolis di Frigia. Architettura, Decorazione e Maestranze" In *La Scaenae Frons en la Arquitectura Teatral Romana*, edited by S. Asenio and N. Röding, 373-412. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia.
- Newby, Z. 2003. "Art and Identity in Asia Minor." In *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*, edited by S. Scott and J. Webster, 192-214. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Newby, Z. 2005. *Greek Athletics in the Roman World: Victory and Virtue*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Newby, Z. 2007. "Art at the crossroads? Themes and styles in Severan art." In *Severan Culture*, edited by J. Elsner, S. Harrison, and S. Swain, 201-249. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ng, D. 2007. "Manipulation of Memory: Public Buildings and Decorative Programs in Roman Cities of Asia Minor." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan.
- Pedley, J. 2007. *Greek Art and Archaeology*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Price, S. 2003. "Local Mythologies in the Greek East." In *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, edited by C. Howgego, V. Heuchert, and A. Burnett, 115-124. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ritti, T. 1985. *Hierapoli I: Fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche (Archaeologica 53)*. Rome: Bretschneider.
- Robert, L. 1977. "Documents d'Asie Mineure III. Monnaies, villes et cultes dans la vallée du Méandre. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 101: 64f.
- Rutherford. 2007. "Trouble in Snake-Town: interpreting an oracle from Hierapolis-Pamukkale." In *Severan Culture*, edited by J. Elsner, S. Harrison, and S. Swain, 449-457. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Sturgeon, M. 2000. "Pergamon to Hierapolis: From Theatrical "Altar" to Religious Theater." In *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context*, edited by N. de Grummond and B. Ridgway, 58-77. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sturgeon, M. 2004. *Corinth IX, iii: The Sculptural Assemblage from the Theater*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies.
- Swain, S. 1996. *Hellenism and empire: Language, classicism, and power in the Greek World AD 50-250*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.