

**EPHESUS** (PLACE) [Gk *Ephesos* Ἐφεσός]. A large seaport city in the Roman province of Asia.

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## A. Geographical Features

Like most Greek colonies in Anatolia, Ephesus was located along the coastal region. It was situated near the nexus of the Cayster river and the Aegean Sea. The earliest evidence of occupation is reflected in a Mycenaean grave dating from ca. 1400–1300 B.C. The history and development of the occupied site can be divided into four eras, together lasting two millennia. These four periods can be traced by their relationship to three topographical landmarks. These landmarks are the three small hills known in modern Turkish as Bülbül Dagħ, Panayir Dagħ, and Ayasoluk. The first period is that of the old Ionian city. According to Strabo (*Geog.* 640) the Greek colonists from the time of Androclus to the period of Croesus' hegemony (ca. 1000–550 B.C.) settled at the N base of Panayir Dagħ. The second period, that of the Greek city, lasted from the time of Croesus to Lysimachus (ca. 550–300 B.C.), during which time the population inhabited the region near the Artemision, SW of Ayasoluk. During the third period (Hellenistic–Roman–Early Byzantine) the city was located, as a result of Lysimachus' efforts, in the valley between the two hills Panayir Dagħ and Bülbül Dagħ and was protected by the impressive Lysimachan city wall. The final era of the city's history was late Byzantine, when the city forsook the boundaries of the Lysimachan city. During this final period the population was divided among those who chose to remain within the walls of Byzantine Ephesus and those who decided to relocate at Ayasoluk.

In addition to the hilly terrain, the river and harbors of Ephesus also affected the urban development of the city. One of the harbors was called Panormus by Strabo (*Geog.* 639). Additional harbors included one mentioned by Athenaeus (*Deipn.* 8.361d) as a sacred harbor. There was also [Vol. 2, p. 543] the major commercial harbor for the Greco-Roman city (Meric 1985: 30–33). According to Strabo (*Geog.* 641) alluvium from the Cayster river caused navigation problems in this commercial harbor long before Rome's acquisition of Asia in the latter half of the 2d century B.C. Some scholars have misinterpreted this alluvium problem and have incorrectly concluded that, "by NT

times, however, the great days of Ephesus' trade were long past" and "deepening economic depression and decline must have been a feature of Ephesus' life over the last century B.C." (Blaiklock 1975: 324–26). Strabo's evaluation of Ephesus' mercantile prowess in the Augustan era, however, was that it was the largest commercial center in Asia Minor W of the Taurus (*Geog.* 641). Cicero likewise judged that the Roman province of Asia was without peer with regard to its natural resources. Moreover, literary (*Tac. Ann.* 16.23) and epigraphic documents (*IvEph* 23, 274, 2061, 3066, 3071) testify to major efforts at keeping the harbor serviceable during and after the period of Paul's ministry there. These dredging operations were apparently successful since Aristides (*Orat.* 23.24) of the 2d century A.D. and documents of the 5th-century Council of Ephesus refer to the accessibility of Ephesus' harbors (Foss 1979). Moreover, one must reckon with the fact that the alluvial sediment "in the Küçük Menderes delta at Ephesus" was the greatest during the Hellenistic rather than during the Roman period (Brice 1978: 62, 71 fig. 2).

The positive sentiments of the Ephesians toward the natural resources of the Cayster river, the sea, the ocean, Mt. Pion (Bülbül Dag) as well as local brooks were evident in their mythological use of these resources and also in their personification of them on imperial Ephesian coinage (Imhoof-Blumer 1924: 278–80; Paus. *Descript.* 7.2.7; 7.5.10).

Strabo (*Geog.* 641–42) was correct in noting the significance of Ephesus' location as one of the many reasons for its commercial growth. In addition to its propitious littoral situation, it was also part of a principal trans-Anatolian highway system that had been in use for centuries (Birmingham 1961). In Strabo's words it was a "common road constantly used by all who travel from Ephesus toward the East" (*Geog.* 663). The fact that Republican period milestones from Asia used Ephesus as the point of origin for measuring distances portrays the continuing significance of this site as a travel hub at the period contemporary with nascent Christianity. Furthermore, the city was also the hub of regional urban development. Ephesus had successfully annexed several adjacent suburban areas; NW to Metropolis, S toward Magnesia and Priene, and E 40 km into the Cayster valley. However, unlike other Ionian cities such as Miletus (Boardman 1980: 238–55), Ephesus is not known to have established colonies in other regions, though Hecataeus notes an island in the Nile river named Ephesus.

## **B. Historical Survey**

Greek migrations to Ionia seem to be the best explanation for the beginnings of Ephesian settlement in the LB, though the presence of Mycenaean artifacts suggests some form of pre-Greek occupation, a perspective preserved in Pausanias' account (*Descript.* 7.2.6–8). The extant legends place the influx of Greek settlers at the dawn of the 1st millennium under the direction of Androclus, son of the Athenian king Codrus (Strabo *Geog.* 633). The 12 cities colonized comprised the Pan-Ionic League, with Ephesus serving, in Strabo's words, as "the royal seat of the Ionians" (*Geog.* 633). In the late Archaic Period Ephesus, as other Ionian cities, came under the influence and control of the Lydian kingdom. The city itself was besieged by the last Lydian king, Croesus, who, in spite of harsh treatment of the Ionians in general, was a primary benefactor in the construction of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. This Lydian influence "produced at Ephesus a more thoroughly mixed culture, part Greek, part Asiatic, than we know anywhere else in the Greek East" (Dunbabin 1957: 63). After the defeat of Croesus by Cyrus and during subsequent Persian hegemony, Ephesus enjoyed better relations with the Persians than did other Ionian cities. Between the time of the defeat of the Persians at Salamis (480 B.C.) and the later ascendancy of Alexander's successor, Lysimachus (ca. 290 B.C.), over Ephesus, the city was involved in various internecine Aegean conflicts.

Under Lysimachus' insistence the city of Ephesus was relocated to the area between two hills, Panayir Dag

and Bülbül Dagh. The residents were reluctant to move, but Lysimachus' strategy of flooding the city's streets forced its denizens to relocate. Lysimachus' new city was arranged according to the Hippodamian plan, and this arrangement was to remain the warp and woof of civic administration and urban life for well over half a millennium (Paus. *Descript.* 1.9.7; Strabo *Geog.* 640). Lysimachus also enclosed the city within an impressive city wall, stretching approximately 9 km over hills and valleys and standing 7 m tall and 3 m thick, parts of which are yet in situ. Between the death of Lysimachus (ca. 280 B.C.) and the Roman acquisition of all Asia in the will of Attalus III (133 B.C.), both the Seleucids and the Ptolemies forcefully exerted their control over Ephesus and W Anatolia.

During the Roman Republic Ephesus vacillated in its relations with Rome. On the one hand, there was veneration of Dea Roma and Roman officials during the final century of the Republic. On the other hand, the city suffered from the fallout of troubles in Italy as well as insurrection in the provinces. The city had to pay a high price for its collaboration with the supporters of Mithridates, king of Pontus, who fomented revolt that eventuated in a one-day slaughter of 80,000 Romans in Asia. Moreover, the city ceremoniously welcomed visits from the soon-to-be-vanquished Antony and Cleopatra as late as the winter of 33–32 B.C.

Beginning immediately with Augustus' ascendancy, Ephesus entered into an era of prominence and prosperity. It served as the capital of the Roman province of Asia and received the coveted title "First and Greatest Metropolis of Asia." The elevation of Ephesus in the dramatic urbanization policies of Augustus is revealed in its architecture. This revitalization included construction of aqueducts, repavement of streets, and Hellenization, including at times enlargement of agoras. As the political centerpiece of the province of Asia, Ephesus' burgeoning architectural program also encompassed triumphal monuments honoring C. Memmius, son-in-law of the Roman general Sulla, and M. Vipsanius Agrippa, adopted son and ally of Augustus. The new political realities of the early Empire [Vol. 2, p. 544] were strikingly evident in the comprehensive romanization of the civic space in the State Agora (58 x 160 m). This "strategy of incorporating the emperor into the public space" (Price 1984: 143) is reflected in the juxtaposition of the Royal Basilica, the temple of Roma and Julius Caesar, the temple of the Flavians (= "Domitian's temple"), and the temple of Augustus with the city's pre-Roman Prytaneion, Bouleterion, and agora.

Beginning in the late 1st century A.D., Ephesus received its first of four imperial Neocorate temples. On a rotating basis Ephesus also served as the seat for the long-standing and very influential provincial institution known as the Koinon of Asia. The office of high priest of Asia in the Ephesian imperial cult was filled by both men and women of Ephesus, demonstrating anew that women of the period held public office (Magie 1950: 1518, n. 50). Reexamination of inscriptional evidence vitiates the traditional view that the high priestesses of the imperial cult in Asia held that title only because of their marriage to the high priest of the imperial cult. Recent investigations of the numismatic and epigraphic evidence are also calling into question the older majority view that the office of provincial high priest was identical with that of the Asiarch (cf. Acts 19:31; Kearsley 1986: 183–92; 1987; see ASIARCHS).

Generally speaking, Ephesus prospered under the succession of various Roman emperors from late 1st century B.C. up to the mid to late 2d century A.D. The plague brought back by Roman troops in the latter half of the 2d century A.D. following the Parthian victory of the emperors Verus and Marcus Aurelius was virulent. Ephesus, along with the Empire in general, was better able to cope with a short-lived, albeit ravaging, plague than with the increasing incompetency and cruelty that characterized the stream of Roman emperors in the late 2d and 3d centuries. A cluster of misfortunes led to the deterioration of the E frontier of the Roman Empire in the 3d century. This included a depletion of political and administrative leaders through assassination, aggressive pogroms against

Christians, and the increase of foreign intervention from Parthians in Mesopotamia and from Goths in S Russia. In these matters Ephesus suffered along with the rest of the Anatolian cities. It was during one of these sea attacks from Gothic invaders that the temple of Artemis was heavily damaged, never again to be restored to its former glory. The severity of the situation in the mid-3d century is captured in the observation of D. Magie: "It was the first time that the country had been invaded by an enemy from outside since the Parthian army had overrun it in 40 B.C. and the first time that it had suffered from northern barbarians since the raids of the Galatians in the 3d century before Christ" (1950: 705). The impact of severe earthquakes in the late 4th and 7th centuries led to the partial desertion of the Lysimachan city. In comparison, however, to the fate of cities such as Sardis and Pergamum, Byzantine Ephesus was relatively viable, with one center of city life located near the harbor within the reduced walled city and a second center on the hill of Ayasoluk.

### **C. History of Excavations**

The 18th and 19th centuries saw numerous explorers and dilettantes visit Ephesus. The first serious exploration and quasi-archaeological effort there occurred in the years 1863–74 under the guidance of John T. Wood, an architect who had a long fascination with ancient Ephesus. Wood was commissioned by the British Museum to locate the ancient temple of the Ephesian Artemis. Through the fortuitous discovery of an imperial inscription that adumbrated the route of the Via Sacra leading from the temple of Artemis to the theater at Ephesus and back again by a different route, Wood was able to locate the foundations of the Artemis temple 20 feet beneath the topsoil. His work there also included excavation of the theater and Odeon. With the departure from Ephesus of J. T. Wood, the British Museum terminated support of excavations there, with the exception of the brief work at the site of the Artemis temple conducted by David G. Hogarth in 1904–5.

In 1895 the Austrian Archaeological Institute (Vienna) received permission to begin systematic exploration at the site of Ephesus and has continued to excavate there, interrupted only by world wars and outbursts of regional strife. With the commencement of its excavations, the Austrian Archaeological Institute began publication of two serial works which have continued to be the principal outlets for the publication of epigraphic, numismatic, architectural, and plastic artifacts. These are the *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* (annually) and *Die Forschungen in Ephesus* (irregular). Annual excavation reports are also published in *Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil.-hist. Klasse), Vienna. The inscriptions are now collected and published in the multivolume *Inschriften von Ephesos* (= *IvEph*), which is part of the series *Inschriften der griechischen Städten Kleinasien*.

### **D. Major Excavations and Restorations**

**1. Temples and Shrines. a. Imperial Temples.** At the base of the S slope of Panayir Dagħ along the Curetes Street lies a cluster of buildings used to quarter the city's Prytaneion and Bouleterion. Between these two was the single temple for Dea Roma and Divus Julius, probably representing the provincial desire, shortly after Actium, to venerate Augustus. According to Dio Cassius (*Rom. Hist.* 51.20.6) Augustus allowed the Ephesians to erect a sacred precinct for the veneration of Dea Roma and Divus Julius.

Westward along the Curetes Street and situated at the foot of Bülbül Dagħ is an immense temple, traditionally called "Domitian's temple." The temple, the altar, and a colossal statue were placed upon a substructure measuring 50 x 100 m and which contained underground shops. Only the foundation of the temple is preserved,

indicating a stylobate of 34 x 24 m. With the *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian, his name was removed from all the inscriptions and replaced with the name of Vespasian. Some have suggested that it was at this time Domitian's (?) colossal statue was removed to the subterranean compartments (crypto-porticus) of the terraced area. This temple was apparently the first of several Neocorate temples of the imperial cult in Ephesus. Magie (1950: 1432–34, 18) suggested that the Neocorate temple was originally dedicated to the earlier emperor Vespasian, later usurped by Domitian, and then returned to Vespasian at the time of Domitian's *damnatio*. A collage of weapons and armor covers the remains of the altar of this temple.

Farther westward along the Curetes Street lies [Vol. 2, p. 545] “Hadrian’s temple.” It was constructed no later than A.D. 127 and its diminutive size suggests that it surely was not a Neocorate temple. Considerable controversy yet surrounds the proper nomenclature for this edifice dedicated to the Ephesian Artemis, to the emperor Hadrian, and to the Neocorate people of the Ephesians (*IvEph* 429).

**b. Traditional Cults. (1) Artemis.** The pinnacle of Ephesus’ sacred architecture was the temple of Artemis, largest Greek temple in antiquity, and one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world. In its 1200 year history the sanctuary of the Ephesian Artemis underwent fundamental evolution and expansion. Typically the temple’s history is divided into five successive periods, temples A–E respectively. Temples A–C were pre-Croesus and are known by only the most meager evidence. Temple D, on the other hand, can be evaluated on the basis of more artifactual evidence as well as ancient literary discussion of the temple. Herodotus noted that King Croesus had donated most of the columns for the new temple (*Hist.* 1.92), a fact supported by the discovery of column fragments from the Artemis temple which read “donated by King Croesus.” Strabo (*Geog.* 640) and others report that the Croesus temple was destroyed by an arsonist named Herostratos in 356 B.C. Temple E was standing during the period of nascent Christianity, finally falling as a result of Gothic plunder (ca. A.D. 262) and Christian looting. Its dimensions were 70 x 130 m and it contained 127 columns, each approximately 2 m in diameter and 20 m high. There were originally 36 column bases with relief carvings (*columnae caelatae*); one has been unearthed and is now in the British Museum. Even though the temple foundation was discovered over a century ago by J. T. Wood, it was not until 1965 that the foundation of the temple’s altar outside the temple was unearthed. This horseshoe-shaped altar was erected on an area 32 x 22 m. Since most of the temple was plundered, scholars have relied on literary and numismatic evidence for supplementary information. The tympanum of the temple’s pediment suggests the presence of an epiphany window for the goddess, a motif preserved in numismatic iconography.

**(2) Temple of Hestia.** At the S foot of Panayir Dagh and directly N of the State Agora lies the Prytaneion, Ephesus’ city hall. As goddess of the city’s sacred public hearth, Hestia is mentioned in numerous inscriptions excavated at the Prytaneion, where her eternal flame was housed (*IvEph* 1058, 1060, 1070). Certain cosmic qualities were also attributed to Hestia because of her identification with the pervasive and cosmic element of fire.

**(3) Temple of Serapis.** This temple was located on the SW corner of the Square Agora. It is traditionally interpreted to be a temple of Serapis because of fragmentary inscriptional remains that refer to Serapis and other Egyptian deities and also because of the enormous size of the extant columns and the immense proportions of the overall structure. The forecourt was 16 x 107 m. The entrance to the cella was 5 m wide with a lintel weighing approximately 5 tons. There were eight monolithic-form columns 15 m tall, weighing 57 tons. Since Egyptian cults relied heavily upon the use of sacred water rites, the abundance of water basins and of the symmetrical water canals has also contributed to the Egyptian interpretation of this structure. As the presence of a presbyterium and baptistery demonstrates, this temple was later adapted for Christian usage.

**(4) Sanctuary of Zeus and Mother Goddess.** On the N face of Panayir Dagħ were discovered, some in situ, several archaic inscriptions dedicated to Zeus and the Phrygian mother goddess. The reliefs typically depict a trinity consisting of Cybele the mother goddess, a younger male deity, and an older bearded male deity (perhaps Apollo and Zeus).

**2. Private Dwellings.** The remains of several important residences have been discovered at Ephesus. Situated above the theater on the W face of Panayir Dagħ is the foundation of a peristyle residence 20 x 20 m. The splendid location and size of this residence have suggested to some archaeologists that it may well have been the home of the proconsul. During the Byzantine era a small chapel was erected at this site, including pews and a presbyterium. The partial remains of a small structure with a basin for bathing were also discovered nearby.

The most significant dwellings so far excavated are the slope houses situated adjacent to the temple of Hadrian and the Scholastica Baths but on the S side of the Embolos (Curetes Street). This area contained two insulae occupied from the late Roman Republic until the late 6th–early 7th centuries.

Insula 1 (East Slope House) was trapezoidal, measuring 47 (S) x 54 (E) x 75 (W) x 50 (N) m, and containing peristyle courtyards with pool, fountains, sleeping quarters, and a *cenatorium* (dining hall). Separating insula 1 and the Embolos was a colonnade consisting of a series of 12 shops (*tabernae*) which were built and renovated from the 1st through 6th centuries. Some contained stairways leading to second floor dwelling quarters. The mosaics of this colonnade were commissioned by a certain Alytarchus and date from the 5th–6th centuries.

Insula 2, situated to the W, has revealed seven opulently decorated peristyle dwellings with no adjoining shops. Dwellings nos. 1 and 2 lay on the S side of insula 2 and were two-story. Dwelling no. 1 contained approximately 700 sq. m of living space. This house contains frescoes with scenes from works of Menander and Euripides as well as typical scenes from mythology. Bedrooms, bathroom (with bathtub), *triclinium* (dining hall with couches), kitchens, and other rooms were discovered in dwelling no. 1 of insula 2. Insula 2, dwelling no. 2 contained approximately 900 sq. m of living space and was originally built in the 1st century A.D. Dwelling no. 2 likewise contains frescoes and mosaics dating from the Roman and Byzantine periods. Dwelling no. 4 dates from the late Roman Republic and later underwent extensive renovation. One of its more interesting rooms is the Socrates room, so named because of a fresco consisting of a stereotypical depiction of the philosopher Socrates. The presence of Socrates' name removes any doubt regarding whom the original artist was intending to depict.

**3. Theater.** The major theater at Ephesus, seating 25,000, was built in the Hellenistic period into the W face of Panayir Dagħ. Major structural alterations were carried out on the theater during the reigns of Claudius, Nero, and Trajan in order to bring it into line with the ideals of Roman theaters. Efforts at modernization included deepening the stage by extending its front edge 20 feet into the [Vol. 2, p. 546] orchestra, constructing an impressive *scaenae frons* “stage front,” and enlarging the orchestra at the expense of the front seats so that animal fights and gladiatorial combat could be accommodated (Bieber 1961: 213–20). Fragments of winged Erotes, Amazons, and satyrs, friezes with tragic masks, numerous inscriptions, and a “throne of honor” for prestigious individuals were found among the theater ruins during its original excavations (1897–1900).

As in all cities, the theater at Ephesus served as the site for theatrical performances, for the regular meeting of the city's ecclesia (*IvEph* 27, *passim*), and for city meetings in times of urban crisis (Acts 19:23–41). Epigraphic data indicate that Nikes and Erotes were dedicated there (*IvEph* 724); the city's Ephebes conducted their songfest to the emperor Hadrian there (*IvEph* 1145); religious awards (*IvEph* 27, *passim*) and civic ceremonies (*IvEph* 1408, 1411, 1440, 1452, 1453, 1457, 2003) occurred there. Notwithstanding the widespread notion in popular and scholarly

works, there is no historical evidence that the apostle Paul even once preached in the theater at Ephesus. The only text that mentions both Paul and the theater explicitly states that he did *not* go into the theater to preach and defend the gospel (Acts 19:30).

**4. Agoras.** Two agoras have been located and partly excavated at Ephesus. One is located S of the base of Panayir Dagħ and is known as the State Agora. The State Agora is bounded on the W by the monument of C. Sextilius Pollio and the Domitian temple, on the S by the fountain of C. Laecanius Bassus and the Nymphaeum, on the NE by the so-called Varius Baths, and on the N by the Agora Basilica (Alzinger 1974: 26–37; and *IvEph* 404), which separated it from the Bouleterion and Prytaneion, situated at the S base of Panayir Dagħ. Begun in the Hellenistic era, the State Agora was modernized in the Roman period. In the Imperial period this agora was 58 x 160 m. A temple foundation 15 x 22 m, dating from the late Republic, was located in the W end of this agora. Some have suggested that it was perhaps dedicated to Egyptian deities, possibly under the influence of Antony and Cleopatra. More recently, scholars suggest that it was the city’s temple of Augustus. A Byzantine inscription cleared from the theater by J. T. Wood refers to a forum of Theodosius; some have speculated that the State Agora later carried this appellation.

The second agora is located on the W side of the Marble Road, SW of the Ephesian theater and N of the Celsus Library. Inscriptions refer to this agora as the Square Agora (*tetragona agora*; *IvEph* 3005, 4123), a term also used in other cities for their agoras. This Square Agora, or commercial agora, arose in the Hellenistic period and was 112 x 112 m. This agora was surrounded on all sides by shops which had arched roofs and were about 12 m deep. The recently restored Mazaeus-Mithridates Gate, named after the two freedmen of Agrippa who paid for its construction, connected the Square Agora with the plaza to the S that was adjacent to the Celsus Library. The agora also had gates on its N, S, and E sides, though these have not been as well excavated and restored as the Mazaeus-Mithridates Gate. The proximity of this agora to the harbor and to its numerous adjacent shops testifies that it was clearly the city’s commercial agora. A sundial (*horologion*; *IvEph* 3004) and numerous statues (cf. *IvEph* 3007, 3019, 3031, 3046, 3047, 3064, 3065, 3067, 3069) originally embellished the Square Agora. It underwent significant modernization under the reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211–17).

**5. Library of Celsus.** The Celsus Library at Ephesus is one of the visual highlights of the restored city; the approximate dates of construction are A.D. 115–125. It is “thought to represent the standard monumental form of the Roman library” (Johnson 1984: 11). Its facade (21 m long and 16 m high) is over 80 percent original stone. It lay to the S of the Square Agora and E of the Serapis temple. Its facade was oriented toward the E, probably for better lighting (Vitruvius, 6.7.3 *ad orientem autem bybliotecas*). The interior area of the library was 17 x 20 m. Estimates of the Celsus collection at less than 15,000 rolls are small when compared to the hundreds of thousands of rolls collected in the libraries of the Ptolemies and Attalids (*Kl.Pauly* 1: 892–96).

The library was dedicated to Tiberius Julius Celsus Ptolemaeanus, proconsul of Asia, by his son Tiberius Julius Aquila. Aquila’s largess paid for the construction of the library (concluded by his relatives after his death), an operations budget for library staff and new acquisitions, and, in addition, annual choral performances in his father’s behalf. Impressive statuary was also part of the original dedication. The function of the library as a memorial to Celsus is highlighted by the fact that his sarcophagus was located under the apse (Pliny *Epist.* 10.81.7). In the late 4th–early 5th century it was filled in with debris, while the magnificent facade became the backdrop for a monumental fountain. This remodeling was accomplished under the Christian proconsul Stephanus (*IvEph* 5115).

**6. Gymnasiums and Baths.** The gymnasium “was a center for mental as well as physical training, and

inevitably became a center of general social life, like the agora and the stoas” (Wycherley 1962: 139). Roman imperial urban life depended upon the baths and gymnasiums to furnish a place for education, relaxation, contemplation, entertainment, admiration of plastic and performing arts, public hygiene, exercise, and intensive athletic training and competition. Even before the excavation of certain Ephesian bath-gymnasium complexes, several references to these had appeared in literary and epigraphic sources. These references mentioned an “old gymnasium,” the “upper gymnasium,” the “Emperor’s gymnasium,” the “Koressus district gymnasium,” and the “new gymnasium.” In all probability some of these coincide with extant gymnasium ruins, though the identifications are tenuous at times. All six baths which have been uncovered in Ephesus come from the 1st or 2d century A.D. and have acquired the following names in modern literature: (1) Harbor Gymnasium and Baths, (2) Vedius Gymnasium, (3) Theater Gymnasium, (4) So-called Varius Baths, (5) Scholastica Baths, and (6) East Gymnasium.

The state of preservation and extent of excavation of these six vary significantly. Each one, nevertheless, conforms to one of two architectural patterns. The first pattern is the symmetrical axis pattern where identical rooms were constructed symmetrically on both sides of an axis which divided the baths. This convention characterized the Harbor Baths, Theater Gymnasium, East Gymnasium, and Vedius Baths. The less dominant style was asymmetrical (Scholastica and “Varius Baths”) so that the bather [Vol. 2, p. 547] could enter and leave the baths through different doors without having to retrace his steps on departure.

The normal configuration of rooms of a Roman bath included: (1) caldarium (warm water), (2) tepidarium (mild water), (3) frigidarium (cold water), (4) apodyterion (changing room with lockers), (5) latrine, (6) natatio (swimming pool), and (7) unctorium or elaethesium (rooms for anointing with oil and unguents). Several Ephesian inscriptions mention oil donations given by benefactors to all the local gymnasiums (*IvEph* 644, 661, 926, 3014; Vitruvius 5.10.1–5; 5.11.1–4; Lucian *Hippias* 4–8 for literary evidence regarding Greco-Roman baths and gymnasiums).

The Greek gymnasium (palaestra) was often attached to a Roman bath and included an expansive area for exercise, jogging, and athletic competition. There were often rooms and auditoriums for rhetorical and musical performances and an “imperial room” usually containing the bust of the emperor and other leaders who perhaps endowed the construction and maintenance of the gymnasium. In this regard the excavation of Ephesian gymnasiums has yielded an impressive collection of statuary and busts.

**a. Vedius Gymnasium.** This building complex—gymnasium with palaestra and baths—was built in the mid-2d century by the Ephesian couple Publius Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiana. The inscription indicates that it was dedicated to Artemis and to the emperor Antoninus Pius. There were altars and statues of Antoninus Pius and later emperors. The gymnasium was 75 x 135 m and located directly N of the city stadium in the vicinity of the Koressian Gate. A latrine in the gymnasium’s SW corner served both the street traffic and those from the inside. The complex contained an exercise room, changing and locker rooms, swimming pool, frigidarium, caldarium, and small shops.

**b. Harbor Gymnasium.** This large complex (240 x 356 m) was not a single structure architecturally, but rather consisted of three components. The tripartite structure was situated close to the harbor, directly N of Arkadiane Street and was arranged, moving from E to W, with the Verulanus Hall, the gymnasium, and baths. The Verulanus Hall (200 x 240 m) takes its name from a benefactor, Claudius Verulanus, high-priest of Asia, who paid for the marble veneer of the hall during the reign of Hadrian. The hall’s principal entrance was situated on the E. The inside roofed perimeter of the Verulanus Hall was used for races and jogging (Vitruvius 5.11), while the uncovered

center portion provided the location for training and athletic competition. It was in the Verulanus Hall of this sports complex that Apollonius of Tyana purportedly received a vision of the assassination of the emperor Domitian (Philostratus *Vita Apoll* 8.26). The gymnasium, dating at least from the time of Domitian, contained an inner square 88 x 88 m enclosed by surrounding colonnaded hallways 11 m wide. On the N and S sides lay marble rooms (16 x 32 m) used for the emperor's statue, works of art, and rhetorical presentations consistent with the pedagogical function of Roman gymnasiums.

The baths themselves (70 x 160 m) consisted of dressing rooms, caldarium, tepidarium, and frigidarium. With the discovery of a statue base of the proconsul P. Calvisius Ruso, dated ca. A.D. 93, previous efforts to date the baths in the late 2d century have been abandoned. The baths were renovated in the mid-4th century.

**c. East Gymnasium.** Located at the base of the SE face of Panayir Dag and adjacent to the Magnesian Gate, the East Gymnasium was rectangular (50 x 75 m), with a palaestra in the S end of the complex. The East Gymnasium contained the rooms typical for such a complex and was completed probably by the middle of the 2d century A.D.

**d. The "Varius Baths."** So-called Varius Baths (54 x 100 m) lay immediately E of the State Agora. They were apparently constructed in the 2d century A.D. However, the fragmentary nature of the ruins and the architectural deviations evident in the extant foundation make detailed suggestions tenuous.

**e. The Scholastica Baths.** Located adjacent to the "temple of Hadrian" along the Curetes Street, they were, in all probability, constructed during the reign of Trajan or Hadrian. The Scholastica Baths were laid out differently from most of the Ephesian bath complexes but contained the appropriate rooms for changing clothes, bathing, and swimming. The modern nomenclature, Scholastica, derives from the name of a Christian woman of the late 4th century who rebuilt the baths and whose statue was erected in the entrance room.

**7. Fountains, Wells, and Aqueducts.** The water requirements of the earliest settlement at Ephesus were probably met by the water source mentioned by Creophylos (Athenaeus *Deipn.* 8.361c–e) and by the collection of rainwater. In this latter case an Ephesian inscription (A.D. 92) is instructive regarding the volume of rain runoff in the area. In an epigram Claudia Trophime mentions that Mt. Pion drinks in so much rain water and stores it in its ravines, that it is comparable to the greatness of the sea (*IvEph* 1062; Engelmann 1987: 149–50). In the Hellenistic-Roman period the local river Marnas (*IvEph* 414, 415–17, 1530, 4105) and waterway Klaseas (*IvEph* 415–16) were channeled into the city's fountains and gymnasiums; these were celebrated for the first time on coinage during the reign of Domitian.

The early Empire saw the construction of three aqueducts at Ephesus. The emperor Augustus contributed to the construction of the Aqua Iulia (*IvEph* 401) and the Aqua Troessitica (*IvEph* 402), thereby reflecting his well-known attentiveness to the water supply of cities (*Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 20). The wealthy benefactor C. Sextilius Pollio also paid for the construction (ca. A.D. 4–14) of the aqueduct that can still be seen today approximately 4 km S of Ephesus (*IvEph* 3092; Alzinger 1974: 1.21–23). Excavations among private dwellings (e.g., slope houses) reveal the presence of numerous cisterns and fountains.

The most important public fountains and wells in use in the imperial era include:

1. Fountain of C. Laecanius Bassus, built in ca. A.D. 80 (*IvEph* 695).
2. Nymphaeum (S of State Agora), built sometime in 2d century A.D. (*IvEph* 414, 1316–17).
3. Fountain in honor of C. Sextilius Pollio constructed in A.D. 93 (*IvEph* 413, 419).

4. Fountain attached to Memmius Monument. The [Vol. 2, p. 548] fountain dates from early 3d century A.D. (*IvEph* 435).
5. The impressive Trajan Fountain was constructed ca. A.D. 110 (*IvEph* 265).
6. The Hellenistic Fountain, located at the NW foot of the city theater, was built sometime in the 3d–2d century B.C.
7. Roadside Fountain (Strassenbrunnen) was constructed during the reign of Trajan, excavated and reconstructed in 1927 by the Austrian Archaeological Institute, and completely demolished in 1955 by a Turkish road crew in order to construct a highway (*IvEph* 424a; Keil 1964: 138–39).

## E. Ephesian Religions

**1. Paganism. a. Artemis of Ephesus.** Religion was of paramount significance to the city of Ephesus. The city was the cult center of the worship of the Ephesian Artemis. When called upon to do so, the city would vigorously defend the goddess against impious detractors. The origins of the Ephesian goddess are lost in the undocumented centuries of early contacts between the Greeks and their Anatolian neighbors. During the Roman period several facets about the Artemis cult are salient: (1) the goddess was the tutelary deity of the city; (2) the goddess' cult was not characterized by base sensualism or a focus upon sexuality and fertility; (3) the goddess' influence was evident in the city's political, civic, cultural, educational, and economic activities; (4) the goddess' religion was internationally recognized as a premier religion, and her temple was acknowledged as one of the Seven Wonders of antiquity; and (5) the goddess appealed to both the social need and to the personal pietism of the pagan Ephesians.

**b. Traditional Deities.** Ephesus' religious climate was similar to that of many other large cities in the Greek East. There is documentation—including literature, epigraphy, numismatics, sculpture, and architecture—of a plethora of Greco-Roman and, to a lesser extent, Anatolian deities. These include the following:

NAME	DOCUMENTATION	
	Literature	Coins
Epigraphy	Monuments	
Aphrodite	*	
*		
Apollo	*	*
*	*	
Asclepius	*	
*		
Athena	*	*
*		
Cabiri		
*		
Demeter	*	
*	*	
Dionysus	*	*

*	*	
Egyptian Cults	*	*
*	*	
Ge		
*		
God Most High		
*		
Hecate	*	*
*		
Hephaestus		
*		
Hercules	*	*
*	*	
Mother goddess		
*	*	
Pluton		
*		
Poseidon	*	
*		
Zeus	*	*
*	*	

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**c. Hero Veneration.** The worship of select individuals, sometimes while they were yet alive but more often after death, was a common practice of Greek cities. The motivation for such veneration could be a pious and grateful response to unusual benefaction, to miraculous assistance, to extraordinary civic or political contribution, or to a unique role in the founding and history of the honoring city. Heroes at Ephesus include:

1. Alexander the Great, whose cult was still maintained into the 2d century A.D.
2. Androclus, regarded as the Greek founder of Ephesus
3. Apollonius of Tyana, a Neo-Pythagorean preacher and thaumaturgist, was venerated at Ephesus because of the exorcism he performed to rescue the city of Ephesus from a plague.
4. Pixodarus Evangelus was worshipped with regularity at Ephesus, under the auspices of the city magistrate, because of his singular role in discovering the marble quarry from which the city took the marble for the construction of the temple of Artemis.
5. There existed at Ephesus, even into the imperial era, a cult and priesthood for the former Roman proconsul of Asia (46–44 B.C.), Publius Servilius Isauricus. This honor was in all probability a response to this administrator's just treatment of the city and his advocacy of the city's interests in official issues.

**2. Christianity.** The early history of Ephesian Christianity can be divided, for the sake of convenience, into periods characterized by the influence of different Christian authors and leaders. The earliest period obviously falls

to the apostle Paul. The text of Acts indicates that Paul's efforts played an important role in the early spread of the Gospel in Ephesus (Acts 18–20). This city was not only the site of his longest missionary tenure, as presented in the scheme of Acts, but also was the base of operation for Paul and his associates as they spread the Christian Gospel into the adjacent cities and regions of Asia Minor (e.g., the Lycus valley). The Pauline Corinthian correspondence was written at a time contemporary with the apostle's Ephesian ministry and Romans was written shortly thereafter. Dogmatism in the matter of the provenance of the Pauline "Prison Epistles" seems inadvisable. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the complex issues of authorship, the letters of Ephesians, Colossians, and the epistles of 1 and 2 Timothy provide strong indications of the importance of Ephesus in the Pauline Anatolian ministry and the perception of such in the nascent Christian community.

Less well attested is the role of Ephesus in the final years and ministry of the apostle John. There is no internal evidence in either the Fourth Gospel or the Johannine Epistles that indicates their provenance or destination. While the Revelation of John was written from the island of Patmos, off the coast of W Anatolia, that geographical proximity does not intrinsically bespeak an Ephesian home of its author. In addition, there is no necessity based upon internal evidence of the documents themselves to identify the author of the Fourth Gospel with the author of the Revelation. The *onus probandi* for the historical reconstruction placing the apostle John (as the author of the Fourth [Vol. 2, p. 549] Gospel, Johannine Epistles, and the Revelation) in Ephesus lies in the use of Christian literature of the 2d century. The consensus of 2d-century sources is in favor of placing John in Ephesus in his latter years. It was during these later years of his life that he was exiled to Patmos, wrote the Fourth Gospel, Johannine Epistles, and the Revelation, and combated gnostic heretics such as Cerinthus. However, the matter of John's tenure there was not without dispute in this early Christian period, with the result that certain Christian authors opted for the presence of two different Johns (and later their graves) in Ephesus.

The Ephesian Christian community of the 2d century is documented, in part, by the evidence available in the letter to it from Ignatius of Antioch. The name of the Christian apologist Justin Martyr was also associated with Ephesus in the first half of the 2d century A.D.

**3. Judaism.** While Judaism thrived in Greco-Roman Ephesus, especially under the legal protection of the Seleucids and Romans, firm evidence of its size, character, and role in Ephesian urban life is difficult to reconstruct. The term *Ephesus* occurs about a dozen times in Josephus, making his record the largest Jewish literary testimony concerning Ephesian Jews (*Ant.* 16 §27–65). Unlike certain other cities of W Asia Minor, Ephesus has yet to yield any synagogue remains. Moreover, there is a dearth of physical evidence (e.g., lamps) and of inscriptional evidence to the presence of Ephesian Judaism in the Greco-Roman era. Both the Pauline corpus and the Acts of the Apostles testify to Jewish-Christian hostilities in this region. For further discussion, see PWSup 12: 248–364, 1588–1704.

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