

PICTURING EARLY EPHEOS: IMAGES IMAGINED AND REAL

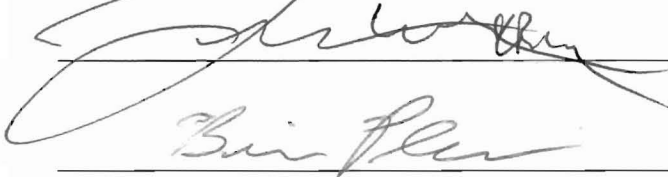
by

Ellen McVickar Layman
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Ellen McVickar Layman
Master of Arts
George Mason University, 2010

Director: Prof. Carol Mattusch

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ABSTRACT

PICTURING EARLY EPHEOSOS: IMAGES IMAGINED AND REAL

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The ancient Greek city of Ephesos with its immense temple dedicated to an unusual form of Artemis spawned a variety of images, both fanciful and informed. Those that I consider in this thesis range in date from the first century A.D. to the twentieth century and illustrate elements of the now-vanished early city and temple by artists who were stimulated and informed by the thrill of an imagined place that had survived in legends, ancient literary testimonia, religious stories, historical and travel accounts, and archaeological discoveries. Arranged roughly in chronological order, the images include coins, maps, prints, paintings, and reconstructions of the city and its Temple of Artemis, one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world, and demonstrate many different motivations and interpretations. My account begins with an historical framework of the city that serves to situate the artists, their motivations, and their works in time.

The factors influencing artists sometimes overlapped, often defying attempts to categorize the works as strictly religious or historical or archaeological, since such

attempts would have left no room for imaginative representations or borrowings between artists. Since the Temple has not been seen for more than a millennium, the images, except those on early coins, are inventions, although those by archaeologists are more grounded in reality.

A study of this visual record provides a valuable sense of how early Ephesos was viewed, recorded, and understood and documents how physical elements have deteriorated over time or were lost. Since very few surveys of this nature have appeared in English-language publications on Ephesos, my analysis will augment the existing body of work on the early form of the city by providing a visual dimension for English-speaking readers. These images will also help to dispel the notion, common among many modern travelers, that the ancient Greek city of Ephesos appeared as it does now in the restorations of the Roman city. Images of the twentieth-century reconstructions of the Roman buildings of Ephesos are widely available in books, guidebooks, and on websites, so only a few of these modern images will appear in this thesis. I shall focus instead on the early years of the city's history and on its symbol, the renowned Temple of Artemis, visited by thousands in antiquity.

1. PROLOGUE

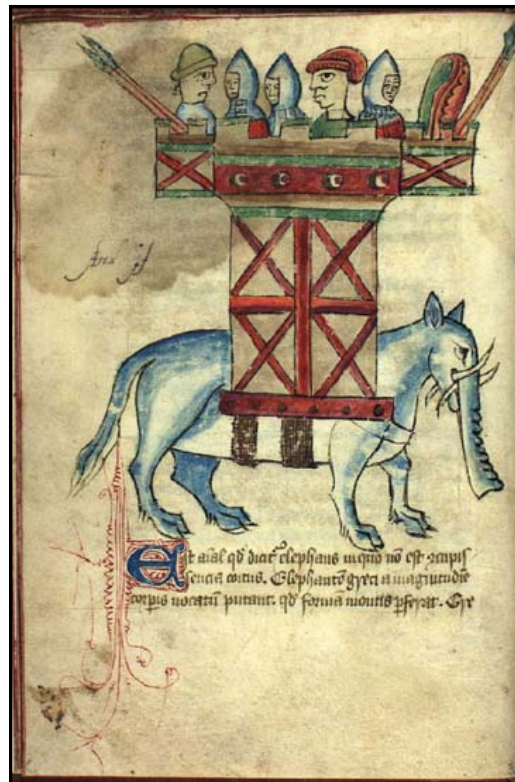


Fig. 1. After *Bestiarius* c.1400-1425. ©The Royal Library, Copenhagen¹

An artist in early fifteenth-century England painted an extraordinary image of an elephant, an animal he had never seen. It had a body reminiscent of a cow with too-short

¹ *Bestiarius* (*The Bestiary of Anne Walshe*), MS. GKS1633 4°, 6 verso, a Latin bestiary of English origin. See: http://bestiary.ca/articles/anne_walshe/index.html

legs, hooves, and a ribbed trunk somewhat resembling a vacuum cleaner hose. The artist was illustrating a book known as *The Bestiary of Anne Walshe*, a medieval guide to animals both real and fantastic² and if he had checked more of these popular bestiaries to see what an elephant looked like, he would have found other extraordinary-looking elephants – also by artists who had never seen one. Even today, artists continue to create images of things they have never seen. The incredible, peculiar, exotic, fanciful, or unknown has always stirred the imagination. The Greek city of Ephesos, now substantially lost, has triggered the same response. The key trigger in Ephesos was its ancient Temple of Artemis, named one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World for its sheer size and grandeur.³ The magnificence of the temple was a visual proclamation of the wondrous power attributed to its goddess, Artemis, whose famous sanctuary has been lost for more than one thousand years. Images of the early Greek city were shaped by various influences from which artists drew calculated decisions about how the early city and its temple should look and what the purpose of the image might be.

² Carl Zimmer, “Artists Mine Scientific Clues to Paint Intricate Portraits of the Past,” *New York Times*, March 23, 2010, Science Section, Washington Edition, D3.

³ John Romer and Elizabeth Romer, *The Seven Wonders of the World: A History of the Modern Imagination* (London: Seven Dials, 1995), ix.

2. INTRODUCTION

The ancient Greek city of Ephesos spawned numerous images that seem both fanciful and informed, that will be the subject of this paper. My selection will feature images of the now-vanished early city and its iconic Temple of Artemis, whose reputation reached monumental proportions as one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world. The artists of these images that ranged from the first century to the twentieth were inspired in various ways by the thrill of an imagined place and temple that had survived in ancient literary testimonia and legends. Some were further motivated by ancient texts and legends and other influential factors like coins, Christian writings, pilgrim and traveler accounts, secular or physical considerations, archaeological discoveries, and most recently the findings of interdisciplinary research. Many of the images, in the form of coins, maps, prints, and paintings, are the work of those who had never seen Ephesos or its glorious temple while later reconstructions and measured archaeological plans are more grounded in reality.

To place these images in historical context I have included a timeline of historical events, although sources of material from periods of decline in the city's history were often sparse.⁴ Because there are few if any images of Ephesos or its Temple from its most ancient past, the first two images in this paper are of two coins from the first and third

⁴ Clive Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), vii ff.

centuries A.D. (Figs. 10 and 11), followed in rough chronological order by views from the first century A.D. to the twentieth. Within the framework of the period in which they were created, I will remark on the image, artist, the context, and the audience of each. These and subsequent images as a visual record can provide a valuable sense of how early Ephesos was viewed and understood while providing an important document of physical elements that have since deteriorated or have been lost.

The texts of ancient authors have provided important primary evidence for generations of scholars, historians, archaeologists, scientists, and artists who often turned to them for clues to the location and appearance of the famed Greek city and its temple, the remains of which went unfound until the nineteenth century. These authors include the Greek historian Herodotos (484-421 B.C.), the encyclopedist Pliny, the Elder (23-79 A.D.), geographer, Strabo (c.63/64 B.C.-c.24 A.D.), and the traveler Pausanias (fl. 2nd century A.D.).

As there are very few, if any, visual records of this nature in English-language publications on Ephesos, this study will augment the existing body of work on the early city with a visual dimension. These images will also help to dispel the notion, common among many modern travelers, that architecturally, the ancient Greek city of Ephesos appeared as it does now in the modern restorations of Roman buildings on the site. Of these reconstructions there are countless images that include the Library of Celsus, the theater, Curetes Street, and others, all readily available in books, guidebooks, and on websites, so few of these modern images will appear in this study.

3. GEOGRAPHY

The modern city of Ephesos⁵ is situated on the west coast of Greek Anatolia or what is now Turkey (Fig. 2), outside modern Selçuk on the Kayster River. The city's topography features three hills now known as Ayasoluk, Panayirdağ (Mount Pion), and Bülbüldağ (Mount Koressos). The ancient Greek city of Ephesos changed locations during its two-thousand-year history, survived through long periods of great prosperity, was besieged by warring powers, modified by changing cultures, damaged by earthquakes, and altered significantly by other natural causes. In its renewal phases, parts of the city were rebuilt over its ruins a number of times until the fourteenth century when the city suffered final decline and was abandoned. At that point, the ancient city of Ephesos was reduced to ruins and rubble that were regularly plundered for building materials, its Temple of Artemis had vanished, and the grand buildings of the later Roman city were in ruins. The physical setting of the ancient city has partly been surmised from the scant ruins visible above ground, but the landscape has been transformed greatly since antiquity due to the accumulation of silt deposits carried down by the river. Indeed, it was difficult for early travelers to envision or even reliably identify parts of the lost ancient city through the visible ruins, but more recent reconstructions and archaeological and scientific reports have contributed greatly.

⁵ I will use the Greek spellings of names and places where applicable.

Historic reasons for the city's reputation as a major destination relate to its advantageous coastal location for the trading of goods over key land and sea routes and its long-lasting reputation as the major pilgrimage site of the famous sanctuary of Artemis. Enhanced by the well-protected harbor into which the Kayster River flows, Ephesos stretches along a plain from the harbor, inland (eastward), and is surrounded by peaks and hills, making it a naturally defended location. Most modern travelers choose Ephesos as a destination to see the architecture of the once spectacular Roman city and its Christian sites, to follow in the footsteps of Paul the Apostle, and to see the modern city of Selçuk and the Ephesus Museum.



Fig. 2. Map of Western Turkey. ©Turkey Travel Planner.com

4. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

The following summary of the city's historical development and evolution from antiquity through its Greek, Roman, Byzantine/Christian, and Ottoman periods, precedes an expanded history later in the text.⁶ According to Strabo, Ephesos was an ancient place with an extensive history dating from at least the tenth century B.C. Founded by Ionian Greeks who chose the site for its advantageous geographical location,⁷ Ephesos flourished as a commercial hub and the Greek city continued to thrive in a new location in the Hellenistic period – it was relocated three times in antiquity.⁸ When the Ionians took over, it was the cult center and site of the sacred shrine of an ancient Anatolian Earth Mother goddess. This goddess was syncretized with their Greek goddess Artemis (Roman Diana), whose temple was named one of the Wonders of the Ancient World.⁹ During its Roman period Ephesos was named the capital city of the province of Asia and became its largest city and commercial center.¹⁰ Ephesos was also hailed for its early

⁶ For more on the ancient history of Ephesus there are many sources, such as: Foss (1979), Bean (1966), Akurgal (1962), and the guidebook, *Ephesus: Ruins and Museum*, Selahattin Erdemgil, (Istanbul: Net Turistik Yayınlar A. Ş. (2006).

⁷ Strabo, *Geography*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929, reprinted 2006), 14.1.3, p. 199.

⁸ John Freely, *The Western Shores of Turkey* (London: John Murray, 1988), 146.

⁹ Freely, *Western Shores*, 146; Romer, *Seven Wonders*, 233.

¹⁰ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, viii.

association with Christianity, the Saints Paul and John, and as the legendary last home of Mary, the mother of Jesus.¹¹ (See Fig. 3 for a city plan).

After the Roman ascendancy, Asia Minor with Ephesos as its capital remained relatively peaceful and secure until the Middle Ages when it was part of the Byzantine state from the fourth century. It became a center of early Christianity that eventually eclipsed pagan worship that had been practiced there for thousands of years.¹² The Byzantine Empire shrank in the later Middle Ages, leaving Asia Minor unprotected and at the mercy of small local powers, so that by the early fourteenth century, the Turks ruled over the western part of Asia Minor, including Ephesos.¹³ With the decline of the Byzantine Empire, Ephesos began a period of deterioration that was surely initiated earlier in the seventh to ninth centuries by the combined menace of Arab and Persian invasions and persistent silting problems in the harbor. In the fifteenth century the Ottoman Turks, taking advantage of the city's weakened defenses, invaded the region and established the Ottoman Empire that survived into the twentieth century.¹⁴ Expanded historical detail follows later in this text.

¹¹ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 33.

¹² Freely, *Western Shores*, 147.

¹³ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 141.

¹⁴ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 103 ff, 141.

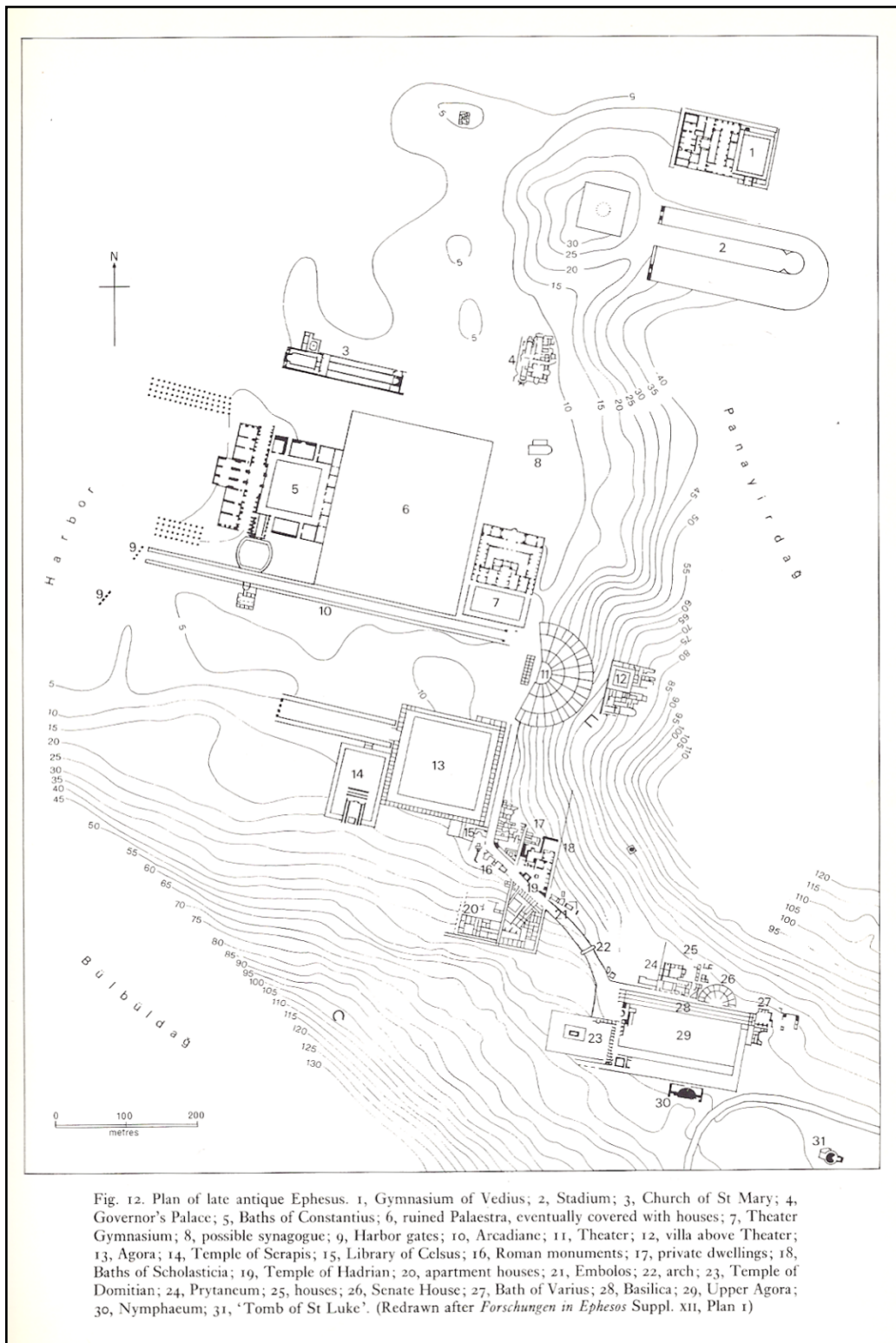


Fig. 3. Plan of Antique Ephesus; after Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity*, 1979, Fig. 12.

5. TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS, SYMBOL OF EPHEOS

The tremendous size and magnificence of the temple engendered a sense of awe and admiration in antiquity as a world wonder, attracting thousands of pilgrims over the years. Many descriptions and images of Ephesos define the city by featuring the Temple of Artemis or her image, the city's most important monument and potent symbol, a representation of the city. The earliest descriptions of Ephesos and its iconic temple appear in ancient literary sources, stories, and legends. Pliny described the temple as the largest ever built, made entirely of marble, 425 feet long by 225 feet wide, with 127 columns 60 feet high of which 36 were carved with reliefs (10.36.95).¹⁵ By comparison, the Parthenon in Athens, one of the most famous structures in the world, measures 228 by 101 feet.¹⁶ The cult of Artemis was legitimized in the common belief that an image of Artemis fell from the sky or from Zeus, thus surrounding it with the mystical aura of a supreme or divine origin.¹⁷ Herodotos relayed a story that the Ephesians tried to protect themselves from the invasion of Kroisos and the Lydians by attaching a rope from the gate of the ancient city to the Temple of Artemis seven stades¹⁸ away, in order to put

¹⁵ Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. D. E. Eichholz (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962, reprinted 1971), 75.

¹⁶ Ian Jenkins, *Greek Architecture and its Sculpture* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 78. Measurements of the stylobate (platform).

¹⁷ Giancarlo Biguzzi, "Ephesus, Its Artemision, Its Temple to the Flavian Emperors, and Idolatry in Revelation," *Novum Testamentum* 40, 3 (1998): 279. ACTS (19:35).

¹⁸ One stade = 606 feet 9 inches = 4/5 mile.

themselves under the protection of the goddess (1.26).¹⁹ His account illustrates the belief in the capacity of the goddess to protect all within her sacred domain, a place of asylum.²⁰ That the Temple of Artemis (the Artemision) and its statue (often called the Ephesian Artemis) alone can symbolize the city of Ephesos is indicated in literary and epigraphic documentation²¹ and on certain early coins, such as those commemorating treaties, also called “alliance-coins,”²² where the relationship between two cities might be represented by an image of one city shaking hands with a symbol or image of the other city.²³ Such an intimate relationship between a city and a goddess was not unusual. In official documents or decrees, it was the custom in early Greek art to represent the city in the form of a guardian deity that might wear a turreted or mural crown, as seen on the Artemis of Ephesos (Figs. 4a-b).²⁴ In the contract between Artemis and Ephesos, the title *neokoros* was conferred on Ephesos. While the term *neokoros* is usually associated with the official responsible for the care and administration of a temple, in this instance it affirmed that Ephesos was the divinely appointed keeper and protector of the cult of the goddess Artemis and her temple.²⁵ Indeed, Percy Gardner noted that in Greek doctrine

¹⁹ Herodotos, *The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt (London: Penguin, 1954, revised 2003), 12.

²⁰ Rachel Lesser, “The Nature of Artemis Ephesia,” *Hirundo: The McGill Journal of Classical Studies* IV (2005-2006): 47.

²¹ Biguzzi, “Ephesus,” 280.

²² Percy Gardner, “Countries and Cities in Ancient Art,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 9 (1888): 51.

²³ Lynn R. LiDonnici, “The Images of Artemis Ephesia and Greco-Roman Worship: A Reconsideration,” *The Harvard Theological Review*, 85,4 (1992): 394ff.

²⁴ Gardner, “Countries and Cities,” 79-80. For a comprehensive analysis of the Ephesian Artemis, see LiDonnici and her references.

²⁵ Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Ephesus* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 1971), 21. For more detail on Ephesus as *neokoros* see Steven J. Friesen. *Twice*

guardian deities of cities are so closely tied to the communities over which they watch that it is nearly impossible to distinguish one from another.²⁶ This concept is re-stated by Richard Oster, who calls the relationship between Ephesos, Artemis, and her temple a “covenant bond,”²⁷ while Giancarlo Biguzzi wrote “...Ephesus identified herself with its Artemision²⁸ more than any other institution, whether religious or civic.”²⁹

The numerous literary, numismatic, and epigraphic representations leave no question that Ephesos identified itself with its Artemision.³⁰ Oster wrote “There was no other Graeco-Roman metropolis in the Empire whose body, soul, and spirit could so belong to a particular deity as did Ephesos to her patron goddess Artemis”.³¹ Thus images of the Temple metaphorically symbolize the city of Ephesos. These images were reproduced in many ways throughout the entire Mediterranean region, but we only know the appearance of the original cult statue of Artemis through coins issued from the Ephesian mint in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. We also know that the fame of the Ephesian Artemis encouraged the spread of her cult throughout Asia Minor to Greece and beyond.³²

Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia & the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family (New York: Brill, 1993).

²⁶ Gardner, “Countries and Cities,” 49.

²⁷ Richard Oster, “Ephesus as a Religious Center under the Principate: I. Paganism before Constantine,” *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II 18, 3 (1990): 1728.

²⁸ The Temple of Artemis is also known as the Artemision (from the Greek) or the Temple of Diana, with the Roman name for the goddess.

²⁹ Biguzzi, “Ephesus,” 280.

³⁰ Biguzzi, “Ephesus,” 280.

³¹ Biguzzi, “Ephesus,” 280.

³² F. Sokolowski, “A New Testimony on the Cult of Artemis of Ephesus,” *The Harvard Theological Review* 58, 4 (1965): 429.



a.



b.

Fig. 4a. *Artemis of Ephesus*, 2nd century A.D., Roman. Museo Nazionale di Napoli, No. 6278.

Fig. 4b. *Ephesian Artemis*, 1st century A.D. Selçuk Archaeological Museum; photos ARTstor.

6. SOURCES FOR PICTURING EARLY EPHEOS

Among the most important sources for picturing the ancient city are ancient literature, Christian writings, early travel accounts, and modern archaeological and scientific reports. Although few ancient writers actually saw the Temple of Artemis, their descriptions supplied creative nourishment. For over two thousand years, Ephesos has been a destination for merchants trading goods, pilgrims (pagan and Christian) making offerings or seeking indulgences, archaeologists, scientists and tourists.³³ Early travelers to Ephesos seeking to satisfy needs of salvation, spiritual epiphanies, forgiveness, and even miraculous cures were frequently hampered by dangers of thievery, disease, and overexposure to the elements. Such pilgrimages continue to the present day but travelers have been relieved of the most troublesome obstacles. As Christianity began to take hold, clerics increasingly made travel to holy lands a pious practice, preaching the faith. Clues to the appearance of the early city arise from their writings and journals that are sometimes combined with drawings and sketches produced on site or after their return. Although the numbers of the faithful who journeyed to Ephesos to make offerings at the Temple of Artemis in antiquity are not well documented, we know that with the expansion of Christianity, most travelers in the Middle Ages were pilgrims, journeying to

³³ Robert Ousterhout, *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 1.

antique lands and early Christian sites.³⁴ To find their way, they often relied on rudimentary maps and were likely to have consulted the words of Pliny, Herodotos, Pausanias, and Strabo. There is a long history of map-making during the Greek and Roman periods, a subject well covered in books such as O. A. W. Dilke's *Greek and Roman Maps*.³⁵

One early map (Fig. 14) was hand drawn in 1670 by Dr. John Covel, a British chaplain living in Constantinople from 1669 to 1677 who traveled in the Levant. His prodigious writings include volumes of correspondence, letters, and three journals,³⁶ now housed at the British Library. In 1893 J. Theodore Bent excerpted Covel's travel account and described it as, "so prolix a work, [...] the Doctor is wearisome in the extreme."³⁷ In his effort to manage such excessiveness, Bent omitted Covel's description of Ephesos, explaining, "Dr. Covel here gives a long and technical account of all he saw at Ephesos – of little value now, since the light of recent excavations."³⁸ The map may have been in a section that he omitted. Such early maps are, however, fundamental to the comprehension of topographical and structural features in the landscape. Later images of the temple illustrated passages from Christian scriptures.

³⁴ Robert Eisner, *Travelers to an Antique Land: the History and Literature of Travel to Greece* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 37.

³⁵ O. A. W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985).

³⁶ F. W. Hasluck, "Notes on Manuscripts in the British Museum Relating to Levant Geography and Travel." *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 12 (1905/1906): 211.

³⁷ J. Theodore Bent, ed., *Early Voyages and Travels in The Levant. I. The Diary of Master Thomas Dallom, 1599-1600. II. Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covel 1670-1679. With Some Account of the Levant Company of Turkey Merchants*, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1893), xxvi-xxvii.

³⁸ Bent, *Early Voyages*, 142.

When the city was in a state of severe decline and very sparsely populated later in the seventeenth century, travelers coming mostly from England and parts of Europe, driven by the lure of ancient ruins and the ancient past, produced images of what they saw in the form of sketches, paintings, and engravings, done to enhance their accounts. One seventeenth-century traveler with a different focus was a young Turkish man named Evliya Çelebi, who spent nearly forty years traveling around the Ottoman Empire in response to a dream in which the Prophet appeared and urged him to visit the tombs of the saints.³⁹ In the resulting ten-volume narrative, *Seyahatname*, he describes the now Turkish city (Ayasoluk) as having many mosques, castles, and other structures.⁴⁰ Richard Chandler was another early traveler to Ephesos. In 1764 he was contracted to travel to Asia Minor by the Dilettanti Society, a group founded in 1734 for Englishmen with a taste for foreign travel, camaraderie, and antiquities.⁴¹ Upon seeing the ruins of the theater, stadium, and a considerable amount of rubble Chandler lamented, “What is become of the renowned Temple of Diana? Can a wonder of the world be vanished like a phantom, without leaving a trace behind!” To his great regret he and his party had no

³⁹ Evliya (Çelebi) Efendi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Ritter von Hammer (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968), v.

⁴⁰ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 173. Only parts of his odyssey have been translated into English.

⁴¹ Bruce Redford, *Dilettanti: The Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-Century England* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum 2008), 72.

better luck than previous travelers in finding it.⁴² William Pars, an artist who traveled with Chandler, created images of the ruins of the once-great city.

The nineteenth century brought the first archaeological reports. English archaeologist and engineer John T. Wood began excavations at Ephesos in 1863 under the auspices of the Trustees of the British Museum. Taking his clues from ancient literature, he said in the introduction to his account, “My chief purpose in undertaking the excavations [...] was to find the remains of the Great Temple of Diana which had been buried for so many centuries. All trace of it above ground had disappeared, and many even doubted whether such a building ever existed.”⁴³ Ultimately he was the first to locate the site of the temple, the theater, the odeion, and other structures for the British Museum.⁴⁴ He presented the first architectural plan and reconstruction of the temple based on his findings and the writings of Vitruvius (3.2.7-8) and Pliny (35.21.96), determining that it was an Ionic octostyle temple, with double rows of sixty-foot white marble columns around a cella measuring, by his estimation, 163 feet 9 ½ inches by 342 feet 6 ½ inches.⁴⁵ Wood’s account and images of his eleven-year quest provided the first modern glimpses of the temple, not seen since antiquity, and was a vital contribution to the history of excavation at Ephesos.

⁴² Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor: or an Account of a Tour Made at the Expense of the Society of Dilettanti* (Oxford: Society of Dilettanti, 1775), 153. Google Books: <http://books.google.com/books>.

⁴³ John T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus: Including the Site and Remains of the Great Temple of Diana* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1877), vii.

⁴⁴ Wood, *Discoveries*, 68 ff.

⁴⁵ Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, trans. Frank Granger (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1946), 169, Pliny, *NH*, 75; Wood, *Discoveries*, 264-265.

Around 1904 another Englishman, David Hogarth, building on Wood's reports, located evidence confirming the presence of earlier sacred shrines beneath the Temple. Following Hogarth, the Austrian archaeologist Anton Bammer began work at Ephesos in 1965 that led to the discovery of the altar for the Temple. Under the auspices of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, major excavation efforts continued early in the twentieth century, focusing on the Temple, the Roman city, and the rebuilding (anastylosis) of many Roman structures, a project that continues today.⁴⁶ Anastylosis involves the use of extant architectural fragments augmented by clearly distinguishable new sections, after careful research is done to identify key details and characteristics.⁴⁷

In 2007 the Austrian Archaeological Institute funded a study of interdisciplinary research and analysis of the ancient geographies and sedimentary environments around the city of Ephesos, incorporating elements of legend and ancient texts with scientific, archaeological, and historical data.⁴⁸ This research, linking the work of scientists, geologists, geographers, classicists, archaeologists, and historians resulted in an analysis of the floodplains and delta of the ancient Kayster River around the city of Ephesos and the Temple that, where feasible, correlates important clues from legend and historical literature with archaeological and scientific findings.⁴⁹ Through a series of drill-core

⁴⁶ See Anton Bammer, *Das Heiligtum der Artemis von Ephesos* (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1984); Gilbert Wiplinger and Gudrun Wlach, *Ephesus: 100 Years of Austrian Research* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1966).

⁴⁷ For detailed accounts see: Bammer, *Heiligtum*; and Wiplinger and Wlach, *Ephesus*, 1996; and <http://www.oeai.at/eng/ausland/ephesos.html>

⁴⁸ John C. Kraft, Helmut Brückner, Ilhan Kayan, and Helmut Engelmann, "The Geographies of Ancient Ephesus and the Artemision in Anatolia," *Geoarchaeology: An International Journal* 22, 1 (2007): 121.

⁴⁹ Kraft et al., *Geographies*, 120.

samples at the site, the team was able to confirm the existence of an earlier ninth century B.C. temple located near the edge of the Bay of Ephesos (Fig. 5).⁵⁰ They also confirmed that the site had flooded periodically from as early as the seventh century B.C. throughout antiquity,⁵¹ a hardship that had already been noted in the 1860s by Wood. The Austrian team produced cross-sections demonstrating sedimentary sequences and the stratigraphy of the successive temples on the site of the Temple of Artemis.⁵² The Ephesos of each period had particular physical attributes that fell victim to the workings of man or nature and succumbed either partially or fully to the next layer of structures, roads, and cultural attributes of the later time. The particular visions of Ephesos presented by maps, religious writings, architectural plans, reconstructions, paintings, works on paper, and photographs provides a glimpse into these layers of the city from antiquity to the present. Many of the views, conceived without the benefit of tangible remains, are creations of the imagination informed by various writings and archaeological findings.

⁵⁰ Kraft et al., *Geographies*, 128.

⁵¹ Kraft et al., *Geographies*, 129.

⁵² See Kraft et al., *Geographies*.

7. HISTORY OF THE EARLY CITY

7.1. GREEK EPHEOS

An early Bronze Age settlement was located on the hill of Ayasoluk, (Fig. 5.) between the Kayster River to the north and the bay (of Ephesos) to the south, which then separated it from Mount Pion (Panayirdağ).⁵³ On this site Turkish excavators uncovered part of a defensive wall two meters wide (apparently an extension of an earlier wall) that they speculate could have marked the location of the Hittite city *Apasa*, the capital of an early western Anatolian kingdom.⁵⁴ The founders of Ephesos, according to Strabo (14.1.3-4)⁵⁵ were Ionian Greeks led by the legendary Greek prince Androklos.⁵⁶ Present research has found no evidence of Androklos' original site except for a small section of wall on the north slope of Mount Pion that may be associated with this earliest city of Ephesos.⁵⁷ As the legend goes, Androklos sought the advice of an oracle to find a

⁵³ Peter Scherrer, "The City of Ephesos from the Roman Period to Late Antiquity" in *Ephesos: Metropolis of Asia*, ed. Helmut Koester (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1995), 3.

⁵⁴ Stephen Mitchell, "Archaeology in Asia Minor 1990-98," *Archaeological Reports* (1998), 150-1; Peter Scherrer, "The Historical Topography of Ephesos," in *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor* (Portsmouth RI: 2001), 58.

⁵⁵ Strabo, *Geography*, p. 199-200.

⁵⁶ George E. Bean, *Aegean Turkey: An Archaeological Guide* (New York: F. R. Praeger, 1967), 160-161.

⁵⁷ Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, 161; Kraft et al., *Geographies*, 123; Carl Roebuck, *Ionian Trade and Colonization* (Chicago: Ares Publishing, 1984), 8.

suitable place to found a colony.⁵⁸ The oracle responded that a fish and a wild boar would show him where. During his search Androklos came across some fisherman putting fish on the fire to cook and a flaming fish fell from the fire igniting nearby brush. The flames scared a wild boar hidden there, causing it to run in the direction of the mountain. Androklos pursued and killed the boar and thus established the first Greek city of Ephesos on that spot, believing that the prophesy of the oracle had been fulfilled.⁵⁹ According to Strabo, Carians and Leleges were early settlers in that area who were later driven out by Androklos when he moved the colony closer to the existing temple (14.1.21).⁶⁰ Ayasoluk hill, (site of the Byzantine fortress shown on Covel's map, (Fig. 14) provided good visibility on all sides and was thus an important strategic location. It was possibly the location described by Pausanias (7.2.5) and Strabo (14.1.3 ff).⁶¹ Although texts vary as to its exact location, the Director of Austrian excavations in Ephesos, Peter Scherrer, suggested (in 1995) the probable location of Androklos' settlement was on the southern side of the bay on a northwestern promontory of Mount Pion.⁶² (Fig. 5) But based on their findings published in 2007, Kraft et al. submit that a likely location for this early city is in the vicinity of the eastern flank of Mount Pion.⁶³

⁵⁸ Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, 160-161.

⁵⁹ Hilke Thür, "The Processional Way in Ephesos as a Place of Cult and Burial," in *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester (Valley Forge PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 171; Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, 160-161.

⁶⁰ Strabo, *Geography*, p. 225.

⁶¹ Pausanias, *Guide to Greece I*, trans. Peter Levi (London: Penguin, 1971, reprinted 1979), 231; Strabo, *Geography*, p. 199; and Scherrer, "Topography," 59.

⁶² Scherrer, "City of Ephesos" 3, Kraft et al., "Geographies," 132-4.

⁶³ Kraft et al., "Geographies," 132.

Ephesos, one of the oldest Greek settlements in Western Anatolia, became one of the greatest ports of the ancient world. Modern studies can affirm the presence of Ionian Greeks in this vicinity during the tenth century or possibly as early as the mid-eleventh century B.C.⁶⁴ The original site may have been on a peninsula jutting into the Bay of Ephesos where seawater would have come up past the city as far as the modern city of Selçuk, to the Artemision (Fig. 5).⁶⁵ Ekrem Akurgal noted that the Greeks often chose small peninsular sites as easily defensible locations for their cities.⁶⁶

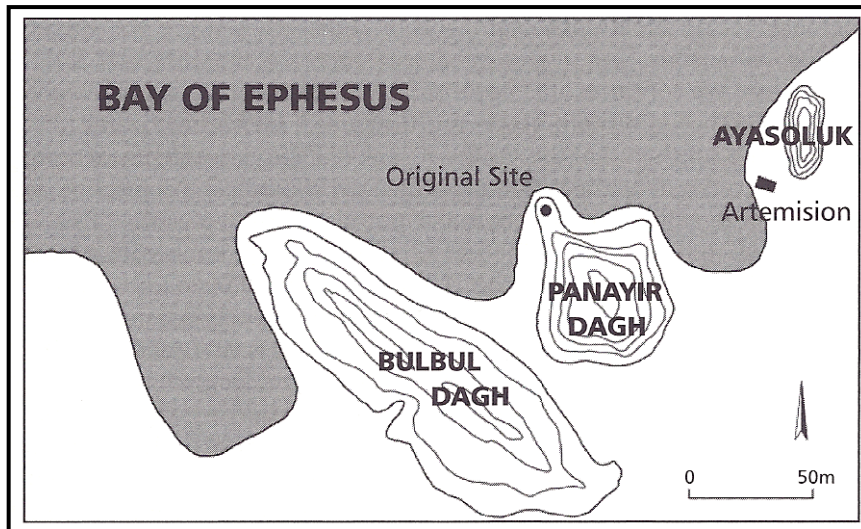


Fig. 5. *Bay of Ephesus at the time of the Ionian settlement*; after Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Ephesus*, 2008, Fig. 2.

To picture the positioning of the early Greek settlements and the later Roman city, it is helpful to understand the topography in antiquity. Scherrer notes that even before the

⁶⁴ Ekrem Akurgal, "The Early Period and the Golden Age of Ionia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 66, 4 (1962): 369-370.

⁶⁵ Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's*, 10, 11; Kraft et al., *Geographies*, 129-130.

⁶⁶ Akurgal, "Early Period," 371.

Bronze Age the sea level rose significantly, more than 328 feet (to about 6.5 feet below present sea level), and prevented the Kayster River and its smaller tributaries from carrying the silt out into the sea so that accumulations slowly moved the coastline farther west. The mouth of the Kayster in antiquity was located just over two miles north-northeast of the Ayasoluk hill, or about 6.2 miles further inland from today's coastline.⁶⁷ (Figs. 5 & 6.)

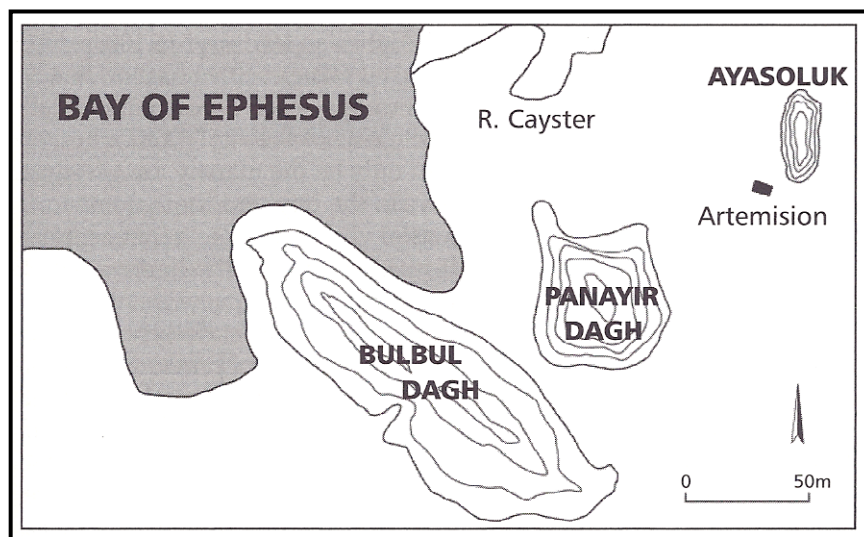


Fig. 6. *Bay of Ephesus at the time of the Roman Period*; after Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Ephesus*, 2008 Fig. 2.

Soon after their arrival, the Ionian Greeks began to integrate with the remaining indigenous inhabitants adopting the local cult of the Anatolian mother goddess, Cybele, and conflating some of her attributes and functions with their own popular Greek goddess

⁶⁷ Scherrer, "Topography," 58.

Artemis.⁶⁸ She became the patron and guardian of Ephesos, overseer of her people, as well as a fertility/mother goddess.⁶⁹ During the first half of the seventh century B.C., the nomadic Cimmerians came down from the shores of the Black Sea,⁷⁰ invaded Asia Minor, seized the new city of Ephesos, and destroyed the early temple.⁷¹ Gradually the city and its prosperity were restored, benefitting from active sea trade in its protected harbor, fertile lands, its prime location at the terminus of important land trading routes connecting the Aegean coast with the interior of Asia Minor and routes north and south,⁷² and its fame as the central cult center for Cybele/Artemis. Ephesos was a prominent Greek site of pilgrimage from prehistoric times and its harbor critical to its success as a vital link in the trade of goods and produce that contributed to its reputation as the wealthiest city in Asia Minor.⁷³ Its low marshy plains were fertile and, as Falkener noted, valued products originating in this area included beautiful marble from Mount Pion, ointments of all kinds, “especially megalium, and saffron from Mount Tmolus,” as well as excellent wines, valuable fisheries, lead, and vermilion.⁷⁴ Further, around the middle of the seventh century the Ionians reached their cultural peak establishing the Ionic

⁶⁸ Ekrem Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey*, (Istanbul: Mobil Oil Türk, 1970), 142.

⁶⁹ Lesser, “Artemis Ephesia,” 43, 46.

⁷⁰ Herodotos, *Histories*, n.13, p. 626.

⁷¹ Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, 24.

⁷² Floyd V. Filson, “Ephesus and the New Testament,” *The Biblical Archaeologist* 8, 3 (1945): 74.

⁷³ David Winfield, “The Northern Routes across Anatolia,” *Anatolian Studies* 27 (1977): 151-152; Heinrich Zabeck, “Preliminary Views of the Ephesian Harbor,” in *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester (Valley Forge PA: Trinity Press International, 1995): 201.

⁷⁴ Edward Falkener, *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana* (London: Day and Son, 1862), 123-124.

order⁷⁵ and constructing some of the most beautiful and monumental marble structures and temples in history throughout Asia Minor, particularly in Ephesos, Samos, Miletus, and other Greek cities.⁷⁶ Strabo wrote “Now Ephesos was thus inhabited until the time of Kroisos, but later the people came down from the mountainside and abode around the present temple until the time of Alexander.” (14.1.21)⁷⁷

Possibly attracted to the city’s prestige and wealth, the Lydian King Kroisos (r.560-546 B.C.) besieged Ephesos to expand his kingdom, as recorded by Herodotos who wrote, “The first Greek city that Kroisos attacked was Ephesos” (I.26).⁷⁸ Kroisos permitted the Ephesians their freedom and contributed to the creation of a temple to Artemis on the site of the old shrine of Cybele, under the direction of the architect Chersiphron.⁷⁹ According to Dieter Knibbe, Kroisos’ intention in promoting the building of the Archaic Artemision was to consolidate his political power by merging existing shrines in his kingdom under a single “first-ranking” deity. Gradually, the authority of Artemis prevailed over the former dominion of Cybele.⁸⁰ To ensure the grandeur of the new temple, Kroisos made several donations that were described by Herodotos as “[...] golden cows and most of the columns at Ephesos” remarking, “All these were in

⁷⁵ The Ionic capital is an original creation of the east Greek architects and was probably perfected on the Anatolian coast in the sixth century B.C. For greater detail see: Akurgal, “Early Period,” 377-378.

⁷⁶ Akurgal, “Early Period,” 375, 378.

⁷⁷ Strabo, *Geography*, p. 225; Murphy-O’Connor, *St. Paul*, 17.

⁷⁸ Herodotos, *Histories*, 12, n.16, p.626.

⁷⁹ Dieter Knibbe, “Via Sacra Ephesiaca,” in *Ephesos: Metropolis of Asia*, ed. Helmut Koester, (Valley Forge PA: Trinity Press, 1995), 143-144.

⁸⁰ Knibbe, “Via Sacra,” 143.

existence in my own day [...].”⁸¹ Fragments of the column bases from the Archaic temple are at the British Museum, some bearing the inscription “King Kroisos dedicated this”.

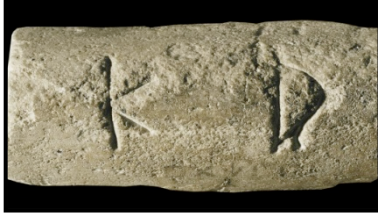


Fig. 7. Kroisos Inscription from Archaic Temple of Artemis. British Museum Inv. No. 10-01-03/30.⁸² Photo ARTstor: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.

In a well-known tale, a man named Herostratos was said to have set fire to the Archaic temple on the same day that Alexander the Great was born, in hopes of seeking perpetual fame. Intending to prevent his immortality, the Ephesians issued a decree forbidding the mention of his name (*damnatio memoriae*), a mandate that instead reinforced its endurance.⁸³ The citizens started building a larger and better temple on the site of the old sanctuary, that was, according to Strabo, financed by the sale of columns from the former temple and ornaments and objects owned by the Ephesians (14.1.22).⁸⁴

To accommodate the considerably higher water table during the fourth century B.C., the base of the new Temple of Artemis was raised approximately 2.7m (9 feet) higher than that for the Kroisos-Temple, in an apparent effort to get it above the flood

⁸¹ Herodotos, *Histories*, I.92, p. 43.

⁸² British Museum online database:

http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/article_index/a/the_archaic_temple_of_artemis.aspx

⁸³ Peter Scherrer also notes an argument that Herostratos worked on behalf of the priests who were concerned that the temple was threatened by silt and water, “Topography,” *Urbanism*, 61, n.24; Knibbe, “Via Sacra,” 145.

⁸⁴ Strabo, *Geography*, p. 225; see also Murphy-O’Connor, *St. Paul’s*, 20.

plain.⁸⁵ It was the largest marble temple that was ever built, measuring 425 by 225 feet with 127 columns, each 60 feet high, of which thirty-six were described as *columnae caelatae* or carved with reliefs, one by the famous fourth-century sculptor Skopas (10.36.95).⁸⁶ The beautifully sculpted marble column drum, (Fig. 8) traditionally and stylistically associated with Greek sculptor Skopas, is a marble fragment from the fourth-century temple excavated by J. T. Wood, now in the British Museum.⁸⁷



Fig. 8. Column drum fragment c.340-320 B.C. excavated by J. T. Wood in 1871.
(©Trustees of the British Museum, GR 1872.8-3.9 Sculpture 1206)

⁸⁵ Peter Scherrer, "Topography," 61.

⁸⁶ Pliny, *NH*, 75.

⁸⁷ http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/gr/m/column_drum-_temple_of_artemis.aspx

7.1.1. THE ARTEMISION, A WORLD WONDER

Indeed it was the largest building in the Greek world, one of a unique group of colossal temples which included the temples of Hera on Samos and Artemis at Sardis,⁸⁸ and the first monumental building to be made entirely of marble.⁸⁹ Pliny added that the reconstruction of the temple occupied all Asia Minor for 120 years, a testimony to the magnificence of Greece, that still stood in his time (10.36. 95).⁹⁰

After the defeat of Kroisos in 547 B.C.⁹¹ Asia Minor came under the control of the Persian Empire until its defeat by Alexander the Great in 334 B.C.⁹² On his arrival in Ephesos the temple Alexander saw being rebuilt and the sight of its grandeur greatly inspired him. Wishing to be associated with such a great temple and a goddess that was worshipped throughout the antique world, Alexander offered to pay all expenses for its completion if they would credit him with an inscription. The Ephesians turned his offer down with the canny suggestion that it was not appropriate for one god to dedicate a temple to another god.⁹³

⁸⁸ Jenkins, *Greek Architecture*, 54.

⁸⁹ Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations*, 147.

⁹⁰ Pliny, *NH*, 75.

⁹¹ Herodotos, *Histories*, 1.81-82, p. 37.

⁹² Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's*, 17-18; Strabo, *Geography*, 14.1.22, p. 227.

⁹³ Strabo, *Geography*, 14.1.22, p. 227; see also Richard Stoneman, *Alexander the Great* (London: Routledge, 2004), 32-33; Peter A. Clayton and Martin J. Price, *The Seven Wonders of the World* (London: Routledge, 2002), 83; Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, 162.

The artists of two modern images selected the harbor as a setting for the temple (Figs. 18 and 27) a decision possibly based on Strabo's description (14.1.20).⁹⁴ A waterside setting has since been verified by the ongoing research of the international geoarcheological team represented by Kraft who propose that the waters of the harbor abutted the site of the Artemision from the ninth century B.C. to c.100 B.C. After that time the progressive seaward movement of land due to deposits of sediment by the Kayster River continually moved the harbor's shoreline westward from the Artemision.⁹⁵

In the first half of the third century B.C., Philo of Byzantium (c.260-c.180 B.C.), a Greek engineer, mechanic, and inventor who produced a pneumatic treatise and mathematical texts compiled a list of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World that included amazing engineering and architectural feats of ancient cultures that were greatly admired in his day. Philo chose the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos because of its enormous scale and grandeur and wrote, "The Temple of Artemis at Ephesos is the only house of the gods. Whoever looks will be convinced that [...] the heavenly world of immortality has been placed on the earth."⁹⁶ And further, "The architect [...] dug out trenches to a great depth and laid down the foundations underground. The quantity of masonry expended [...] amounted to whole quarries of mountains. He ensured its unshakeable steadiness [...] he set down on the outside a base with ten steps, and on that base he raised..." The next page of the manuscript has been lost.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Strabo, *Geography*, 223.

⁹⁵ Kraft et al. "Geographies," 129-131.

⁹⁶ Quoted and translated by Romer, *Seven Wonders*, 129.

⁹⁷ Romer, *Seven Wonders*, 233.

Antipater of Sidon (fl. 2nd half of the 2nd century B.C.) is also credited with producing a list of world wonders. Of the Temple of Artemis he wrote “But when I saw the palace of Artemis, stretching as far up as the clouds, the rest faded into insignificance, and I said ‘Look, apart from Olympus, the Sun has not yet looked on anything that compares with this.’”⁹⁸ These lists would have been describing the rebuilt fourth-century B.C. version of the temple. It was not only an astonishing engineering feat, but it was held in awe for its magnificence, grandeur, collection of paintings and sculpture, and its extraordinary beauty, synonymous with Ephesos itself.

The fourth-century temple was the last one built on the ancient sacred site and was the most magnificent of all, according to Pliny, who wrote “Of grandeur as conceived by the Greeks a real [not legendary] and remarkable example still survives, namely the Temple of Diana at Ephesos, the building of which occupied all Asia Minor for 120 years” (10.36.95).⁹⁹ J. J. Pollitt suggests that the long building period mentioned by Pliny encompasses the building of the Kroisos temple and the fourth-century temple, (actually more like 200 years) and that Pliny, who saw the temple in the first century A.D. viewed it as one prolonged building period.¹⁰⁰

The Temple of Artemis had functioned for centuries as a bank and a place of unchallenged asylum, focal point of frequent religious festivals honoring the goddess, and a popular place of pilgrimage for worshipers from Asia Minor and beyond.¹⁰¹ Strabo

⁹⁸ Quoted by Romer, *Seven Wonders*, 150.

⁹⁹ Pliny, *NH*, 75.

¹⁰⁰ J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 182 n.6.

¹⁰¹ Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, 161; Falkener, *Ephesus*, 237.

wrote, “A general festival is held there annually; and by a certain custom the youths vie for honour, particularly in the splendour of their banquets there”. (14.1.21)¹⁰² The main festival was held in the Greek month of Artemision, thought to correspond with April/May of the Julian calendar, by which time a sacrificial bull would have been adequately fattened.¹⁰³ To celebrate such popular annual festivals honoring their goddess worshippers arrived in Ephesos by the hundreds, joining the population in processions to revere their deity, bearing images of the goddess and lavish gifts. The goddess was present in the sacred cult statue borne along the procession route up to and returning from the splendid white marble temple, her sanctuary.¹⁰⁴ In its role as a bank, its immense prestige made it the chosen place to deposit votive offerings of high value, money, and other wealth by both Ephesians and foreigners, since the inviolability of the temple ensured its greatest security, while generating massive wealth and universal fame for the city. Ephesos’ relationship with its guardian goddess remained an essential feature of the city until the imperial edicts of Theodosius in 381 A.D. that prohibited pagan worship; Knibbe believes that the ubiquitous reverence for Artemis had already begun to subside by the time of the edicts.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the fame of the great goddess and her temple persisted and by the Renaissance images began to be created that added the temple’s greatness as a world wonder. Several of the numerous images of the temple that have been produced up to the twentieth century are reproduced later in this text.

¹⁰² Strabo, *Geography*, 225.

¹⁰³ George Thompson, “The Greek Calendar,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 63 (1943), 54; Otto Meinardus, *St. Paul in Ephesus and the Cities of Galatia and Cyprus* (New Rochelle: Caratzas Bros., 1979), 96.

¹⁰⁴ Romer, *Seven Wonders*, 145.

¹⁰⁵ Knibbe, “Via Sacra,” 146.

From the earliest times, the goddess Artemis, city deity of Ephesos, was revered by Greeks and Persians alike and attracted vast numbers of pilgrims, traders, and merchants who frequented the port.¹⁰⁶ Pausanias wrote “all cities worship Artemis of Ephesos, and individuals hold her in honor above all the gods” (4.31.8).¹⁰⁷ The majestic temple was synonymous with the city, and the Ephesian Artemis, mother goddess and guardian, was long worshiped throughout Asia Minor.¹⁰⁸ Even in the eighteenth century, Edward Gibbon admired and regretted the loss of the temple to the Goths in 262 A.D., “The arts of Greece, and the wealth of Asia, had conspired to erect that sacred and magnificent structure. [...] The temple of Diana was, however, admired as one of the wonders of the world. Successive empires, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman had revered its sanctity, and enriched its splendour. But the rude savages of the Baltic were destitute for a taste of the elegant arts [...]”.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ The Persian name for Artemis was Anaitis. For more about the Persian influence on Ephesos see Rick Strelan, *Paul, Artemis, and the Jews in Ephesus* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996).

¹⁰⁷ Pausanias, *Greece*, 176.

¹⁰⁸ Among the many sources on the Ephesian Artemis see: Lesser, “Artemis Ephesia,” 43-54; LiDonnici, “Images of Artemis,” 389-415.

¹⁰⁹ Edward Gibbon, ed. David Womersley, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* 1.10.3 (London: Penguin, 1994), 281.

7.2. HELLENISTIC EPHEOS

Ephesos and other Greek cities of Asia Minor remained part of the Persian Empire until 334 B.C. when Alexander defeated the Persians at the Battle of Granikos.¹¹⁰ After Alexander's death in 323 B.C., one of his successors (*diadochi*) was Lysimachos, who ruled Ephesos from 301-281 B.C. By this time, Pliny observed, the silting in the Kayster River delta was causing the Bay of Ephesos to become shallower, moving the coastline westward.¹¹¹ Sometime in the first two decades of the third century B.C. Lysimachos built the new Hellenistic-Roman city of Ephesos on the flanks of Mount Pion, moving it further away from the Artemision, possibly anticipating continuing problems from silt accumulation.¹¹² Pausanias wrote, "At Ephesos he founded the modern city which reaches the sea [...]." (1.9.8)¹¹³ Kraft et al. attest that the silt build-up had not yet reached the foot of Mount Pion where Lysimachos had established the new fortified city.¹¹⁴ Scherrer noted in "Historical Topography" that the Artemision remained outside the city for the rest of antiquity. According to Strabo, Lysimachos invited settlers from Lebedos and Teos to settle there in order to build the population of the new city and to force the reluctant Ephesians to move to the new location, he blocked their sewage

¹¹⁰ Erdemgil, *Ephesus*, 12, 14; Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, 24ff.

¹¹¹ Pliny, *NH*, 5.31.115, p.307.

¹¹² Pausanias, *Greece*, 1.9.8, p. 32 and n. 9, p. 231; Strabo, *Geography*, 14.1.24, p. 229; Scherrer, "Historical Topography," 62.

¹¹³ Pausanias, *Greece*, 32.

¹¹⁴ Kraft et al. "Geographies," 135.

system during a heavy downpour, flooding the area. (14.1.21)¹¹⁵ To protect the relocated city, briefly renamed Arsinoe after his wife, he built long, high fortification walls around the city that were thirty-three feet high and nearly ten feet thick with square towers at various intervals, according to Strabo. (14.1.21)¹¹⁶ To date, the exact location and the size of the Hellenistic city are debated although recent excavations have uncovered sections of the wall on Panayirdağ.¹¹⁷ Thür notes that Lysimachos configured the Hellenistic city streets on a grid system¹¹⁸ and that Kuretes Street cutting diagonally across the grid followed the path of the ancient Sacred (Processional) Way of the Archaic period.¹¹⁹

After the death of Lysimachos in 281 B.C., the city came under the sway of the Seleucid kings from Syria and the Ptolemies of Egypt, and eventually passed into the hands of Pergamene kings. During this period prosperity continued, the harbor was in constant use for ship travel and trading to and from Asia and Europe maintaining its reputation as a successful trading port for centuries. While Foss comments that products traded are rarely mentioned,¹²⁰ Falkener notes that Ephesos was known for tent-making and he supposes that there were also products like “purple, oil, barley, wheat, abundant gold, silver, and brass, cattle, and slaves, as in the rest of Ionia.”¹²¹ Fourteenth-century Venetian records indicate that Ephesos was a prime source for grain and a market for

¹¹⁵ Strabo, *Geography*, 225.

¹¹⁶ Strabo, *Geography*, 225. For an argument that Arsinoe is Lysimachos’ wife, see: Sviatoslav Dmitriev, “The Last Marriage and Death of Lysimachus,” 136-7, 148 at <http://www.duke.edu/web/classics/grbs/FTexts/47/Dmitriev.pdf>; Murphy-O’Connor, *St. Paul’s*, 19.

¹¹⁷ Scherrer, “Historical Topography,” 61-3; Knibbe, “Via Sacra,” 144-145.

¹¹⁸ Thür, “Processional Way,” 158.

¹¹⁹ Thür, “Processional Way,” 159.

¹²⁰ Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity*, 120.

¹²¹ Falkener, *Ephesus*, 123-125.

cattle, slaves, alum, wine, and soap.¹²² The many visitors who were drawn to Ephesos by the shows, festivals, and games in the theater, probably built in the third century B.C.,¹²³ included vast numbers of worshippers of Artemis followed by Christian pilgrims from the entire province of Asia Minor.¹²⁴ In spite of the city's fabled business and commercial atmosphere, the silt deposition had an increasingly negative effect during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, requiring years of engineering efforts and dredging to keep it open for commercial and naval use. A seriously failed attempt to deepen the harbor for ships was made during the reign of Attalus II of Pergamon (220-138 B.C.), when a mole was built along the seaward side of the mouth of the Kayster with the intent of increasing the scouring action of the water to keep it "deep enough for merchant vessels." (14.1.24)¹²⁵ It had the opposite effect, causing the silt to become trapped, intensifying the problem.¹²⁶

¹²² Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 153.

¹²³ See Scherrer, "Historical Topography," 84-85 for other suggestions on the date.

¹²⁴ W. M. Ramsay, "Ephesus," *The Biblical World* 17, 3 (1901), 169-70. The western part of Asia Minor is the Roman province of Asia.

¹²⁵ Strabo, *Geography*, 231.

¹²⁶ Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul*, 27.

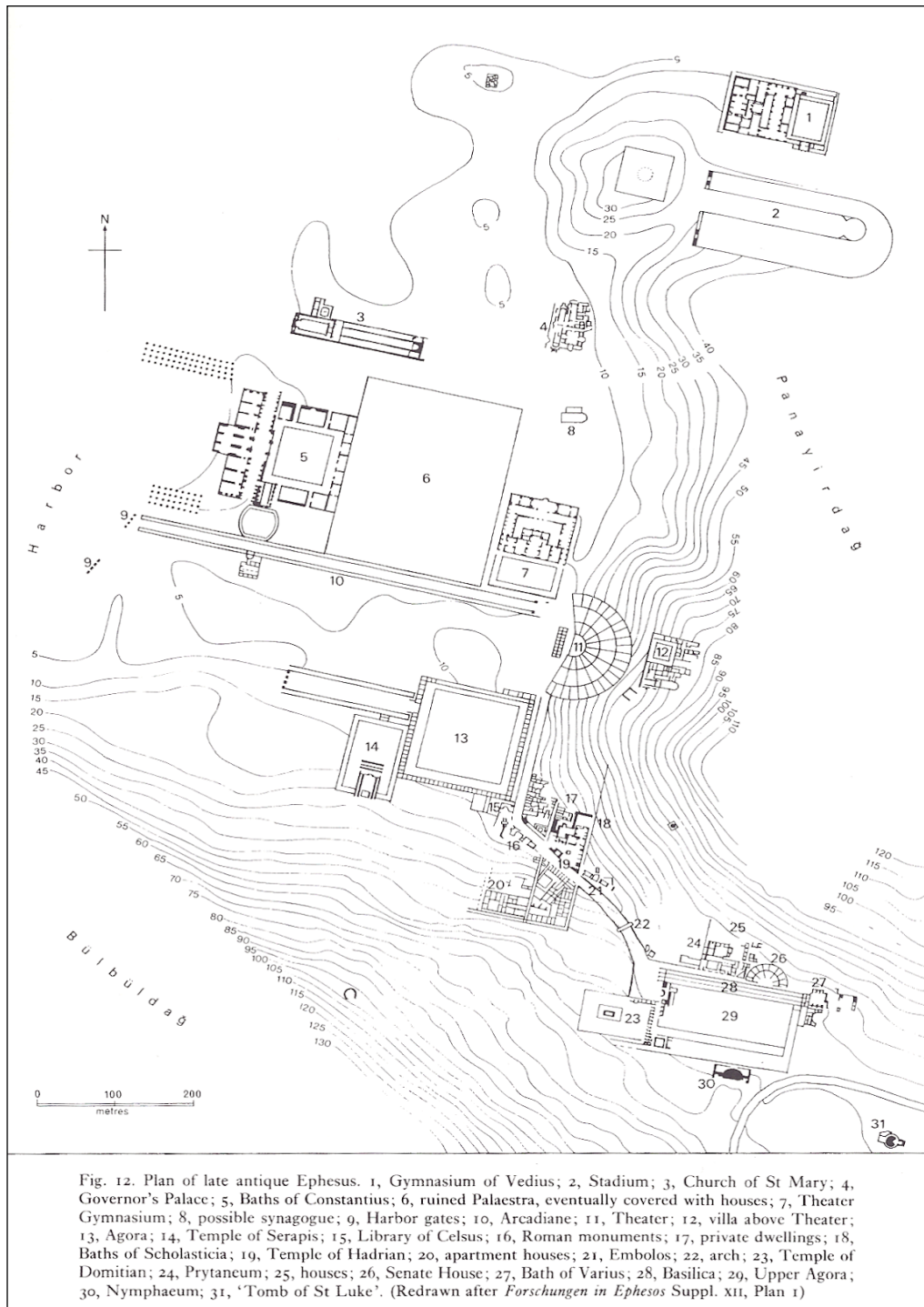


Fig. 9. Plan of late antique Ephesus; after Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, p. 49.

7.3. ROMAN EPHEsos

During the first century A.D. all of Asia Minor was incorporated into the Roman Empire and when Augustus (31 B.C.-14 A.D.) came to power the city experienced its greatest prosperity and glory. The Ephesians had relative freedom to operate their city government and mint their own coins. Naming Ephesos the “Metropolis of Asia,” Augustus began the Romanization of the city with construction of large public buildings and structures, a practice that was continued by Tiberius after him, probably until the time of Domitian in 81 A.D.¹²⁷ Strabo wrote, Ephesos “grows daily and is the largest emporium in Asia.” (14.1.24)¹²⁸ Around the end of the first century B.C., the wealth of many inhabitants was visible in the size and lavish decoration of their fine houses along Kuretes Street.¹²⁹ Pliny called Ephesos “the other great luminary of Asia,” (5.31.120)¹³⁰ a city transformed by its monumental building plan. Dedicatory inscriptions named its wealthy patrons on buildings, aqueducts, and streets further elevating the status and importance of the city.

Recent scientific research has shown that many large new public buildings were constructed under Augustus on a small plateau between Bülbüldağ and Panayirdağ, using

¹²⁷ Paul Trebilco, *The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius* (Grand Rapids MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2007), 15.

¹²⁸ Strabo, *Geography*, 231.

¹²⁹ Trebilco, *Early Christians*, 14, n. 23.

¹³⁰ Pliny, *NH*, 311.

as their foundation the “new” land to the west formed by the accumulation of silt.¹³¹ Notable among the new structures in the new city center were the Bouleuterion (small Odeion), Prytaneion,¹³² stadium, four gymnasia, State Agora, imperial monuments, and temples.¹³³ Having its origins in the age of Lysimachos, the theater was expanded during the reign of Claudius (41-54 A.D.), to accommodate approximately 25,000 spectators, and was probably not completed until 104/105.¹³⁴ Located on the western slope of Mount Pion, the theater, first excavated by Wood, was thoroughly uncovered by Austrian archaeologists in 1897-1900. Still in use, it is one of the most impressive tourist attractions in Ephesos.

The map in Fig. 9 gives an idea of the layout of the city, indicating the Hellenistic walls, structures of the Roman period from its prime in the Imperial Era, and the smaller area enclosed by later Byzantine walls. Also shown are the Artemision, the later Ottoman Mosque of Isa Bey, and the Church of Saint John.¹³⁵

An earthquake that struck in c.23 A.D. during the reign of Tiberius devastated sections of the city precipitating another phase of expansion. Streets were paved, aqueducts reconstructed, and new structures built, including the Commercial Agora (Tetragonos), the so-called Slope or Terrace Houses 1 and 2 (luxurious private dwellings of wealthy Romans, also interpreted as semiofficial state apartments), and the Marble

¹³¹ Kraft et al., “Geographies,” 139; Scherrer, “City of Ephesos,” 5, 19.

¹³² Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations*, 167, notes it was a place for political business and an altar with an eternal flame and the two statues of the Ephesian Artemis, now in the Ephesus Museum, stood there, see Fig. 4b.

¹³³ Scherrer, “City of Ephesos,” 4-5; Kraft et al., “Geographies,” 139.

¹³⁴ Scherrer, “Topography,” 75.

¹³⁵ See also fold-out map inside the back cover of *Ephesos: Metropolis of Asia*, adapted from *Inschriften von Ephesos*, 1979.

Road that was part of the *Via Sacra* or sacred processional route to the Temple of Artemis.¹³⁶ The central section of the *Via Sacra*, called the Embolos in antiquity, was paved with marble and passed diagonally through the city.¹³⁷ This street, later Kuretes Street, was located in the valley between Mount Pion and Bülbüldağ,¹³⁸ was lined with columns inscribed with the names of the priests (kuretes) of Artemis,¹³⁹ and sloped down to the Celsus Library (begun about 110 A.D.). The interior of the library, also the tomb of Tiberius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus, Proconsul of Asia in 105-106 A.D.,¹⁴⁰ was demolished by Gothic raids but the façade that was left later served as a decorative setting for a fourth-century fountain and pool. Between 1969 and 1971 the façade was completely reconstructed by a team from the Austrian Archaeological Institute.¹⁴¹ The Library is a favorite site for tourists today.

Dating from the second and third centuries, two coins (Figs. 10 and 11) are among the earliest images of Ephesos and the temple. In combination with Pliny's account, representations on coins provided the only evidence as to the appearance of the Temple of Artemis before its discovery by Wood in 1869.¹⁴² Although the four columns represented on the coins are fewer than Pliny described, Bluma Trell argues that the ancient die-engravers used a convention called "numismatic abbreviation," wherein they

¹³⁶ Scherrer, "City of Ephesos," 7-8.

¹³⁷ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 65 n.39, 66-67.

¹³⁸ Scherrer, "City of Ephesos," 6.

¹³⁹ Wiplinger and Wlach, *Ephesus*, 38, 14 for a list of structures and buildings excavated between 1895-1913.

¹⁴⁰ Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul*, 11.

¹⁴¹ Wiplinger and Wlach, *Ephesus*, 124.

¹⁴² Bluma L. Trell, *The Temple of Artemis at Ephesus* (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1945), 7.

sometimes reduced the number of columns from eight and the number of steps in the platform to accommodate the demands of the design within the small space of a coin. As to the number of columns, Trell defined the convention further by explaining that the ancient engraver never showed more columns than the actual number.¹⁴³ While they can reasonably be considered imaginary images altered for practical reasons, Trell argues that the images are fundamentally faithful pictures of the actual temple since the “architectural order is always represented with absolute reliability”.¹⁴⁴ To reconstruct the appearance of the temple, the ancient engravers, until its destruction, were able to view the temple as it stood at the time, thus proving to be a valued source of information for later scholars.

¹⁴³ Trell, *Temple of Artemis*, 3, 4.

¹⁴⁴ Trell, *Temple of Artemis*, 3. Trell rightly points out the fallacy of using one or two coins to conclude the facts; she undertook a rigorous study of 1,800 Roman coins.



10.



11.

Fig. 10. Coin: reverse, Temple and statue of Artemis; Trajanic period (98-117 A.D.)

<http://learn.mq.edu.au/webct>

Fig. 11. Bronze coin: reverse, minted at Ephesos, Valerian period (253-260 A.D.) ©

Trustees of the British Museum, CM 1970-9-9-84 AN31805001

Peter Scherrer notes that the building boom seemed to wane after the middle of the second century A.D. except for the creation of structures and statues undertaken to honor various emperors, the so-called imperial elite, and to demonstrate their imperial status and power.¹⁴⁵ Included among them were the Temple of Domitian and the Temple of Hadrian that made Ephesos a prestigious cult center for the worship of imperial cults. In imperial-cult practice, the officials of a city might grant a ruler divine honors with a temple, altar, or games, just as they would have been granted to the gods, to honor his accomplishments, power, and importance.¹⁴⁶ Such ruler-cult worship took place in Greek cities as a way to integrate Greek and Roman traditions of authority or cult worship,

¹⁴⁵ Scherrer, "City of Ephesos," 14-15. For more on imperial cults see Knibbe, "Via Sacra" and Simon Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985).

¹⁴⁶ Price, *Rituals*, 235.

according to Simon Price who wrote, “The imperial cult, like the cults of the traditional gods, created a relationship of power between subject and ruler. It also enhanced the dominance of local élites over the populace, of cities over other cities, and of Greek over indigenous cultures.”¹⁴⁷ The practice of imperial cult worship became a way of articulating power.¹⁴⁸

During the reign of Hadrian (r.117-138 A.D.), the city continued to expand on new land in the coastal area south and east of the harbor filling it with new structures including temples, fountains, gates, the Harbor Baths, and other structures known today only by their dedicatory inscriptions.¹⁴⁹ The road between Ephesos and the Artemision had always flooded during heavy rains, making the procession along the *Via Sacra* to the Artemision difficult. So the sanctuary would not “lack worshippers in case of rain,”¹⁵⁰ Titus Flavius Damianus, a wealthy Ephesian in the last third of the second century,¹⁵¹ built a marble stoa or covered way, the discovery of which led Wood to the location of the famed temple five hundred years later.¹⁵² City expansion continued until 262 A.D. when a devastating earthquake followed by a Gothic invasion caused great destruction and fire.¹⁵³ The earthquake damage was related to what geologists call the “early

¹⁴⁷ Price, *Rituals*, 248.

¹⁴⁸ Steven Friesen, “The Cult of the Roman Emperors in Ephesos,” in *Ephesos: Metropolis of Asia*, ed. Helmut Koester (Valley Forge PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 243.

¹⁴⁹ Scherrer, “City of Ephesos”, 13; Kraft et al., “Geographies,” 143 note: these buildings were situated over the former early Hellenistic harbor of Lysimachos’ time.

¹⁵⁰ Knibbe, “Via Sacra,” 148-150.

¹⁵¹ Scherrer, “Topography,” 78.

¹⁵² Wood, *Discoveries*, 117.

¹⁵³ Falkener, *Ephesus*, 344.

Byzantine tectonic paroxysm.”¹⁵⁴ After the invasion, the temple was partially rebuilt and probably still in use after the expansion of Christianity in the fourth century A.D. and the evolving belief that the human and divine are combined only in Christ.¹⁵⁵

In the third century, destruction caused by the Gothic invasion and earthquake activity contributed to a period of decline in both prosperity and population. During the fourth and early fifth centuries A.D. Christianity propelled the conversion of many buildings and monuments once dedicated to pagan and imperial cult worship,¹⁵⁶ a number of churches and other Christian structures were built, and the stadium, theater, and other structures were renovated, often with materials reused from fallen buildings or structures no longer in use. Such reuse of materials makes the dating of several later structures somewhat uncertain, such as the Church of the Virgin Mary that was built into the south portico of the Temple of Hadrian.¹⁵⁷ One of the most impressive of the later monuments was the broad street, the so-called Arcadiane that stretched from the theater to the harbor, named after the early fifth century A.D. Emperor Arcadius, son of Theodosius. Paved with marble and colonnaded on each side, it is still greatly admired and traversed by tourists today. The part of the *Via Sacra* that ran in the valley between Mount Pion and Mount Koressos was the so-called Embolos, now called Kuretes Street, and was lined with commemorative monuments and statuary, public buildings, and honorific inscriptions with lavish *insulae* of private houses rising on terraces above the street. Rich

¹⁵⁴ Zabehlicky, “Preliminary Views,” 211.

¹⁵⁵ Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, eds., *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1337-8.

¹⁵⁶ Scherrer, “City of Ephesos,” 15 ff.

¹⁵⁷ Scherrer, “City of Ephesos,” 24.

ornamentation of the houses including marble floors, mosaics, and frescoes is described by Foss,¹⁵⁸ Scherrer described a house in the vicinity of the Odeion/Bouleuterion that was similarly adorned,¹⁵⁹ and Wiplinger and Wlach describe and illustrate these embellishments after their excavation from 1960 to 1968.¹⁶⁰ Rebuilding efforts substantially altered the appearance of the city, thus amending once again the physical characteristics of the face of Ephesos.

¹⁵⁸ Clive Foss, "The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of Antiquity," *The English Historical Review* 90, 357 (1975), 738; Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 74ff.

¹⁵⁹ Scherrer, "Topography," 29, 79 n.124.

¹⁶⁰ Waplinger and Wlach, *Ephesus*, 91.

7.4. BYZANTINE / CHRISTIAN EPHESOS

Among the pilgrims who arrived during the transition from paganism to Christianity were the ardent followers of Artemis and recently-converted Christians, who eventually began to outweigh the former. Early pilgrims came at least once a year to offer sacrifices during the month-long festival honoring Artemis, while later pilgrims sought its churches, legendary tombs, and miracles. The city's auspicious port and geographic location gave them good access.

The Apostle Paul who came to Ephesos around 51 A.D., was born in Tarsus (ACTS 21:39)¹⁶¹ in Southern Asia Minor and although the exact date of his birth is not known, Otto Meinardus suggests it was around the beginning of the first century A.D.¹⁶² The Temple of Artemis that Paul saw when he arrived surely posed a significant obstacle to his quest to spread Christianity. He is said to have spent either two years and three months (ACTS 19:8-10) or three years (ACTS 20:31) in Ephesos conducting his missionary activity.¹⁶³ Meinardus also confirms that, "The shoreline has moved since St. Paul's time, for today there is no harbor and Ephesos looks as if it was an inland city."¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Revised Standard Version, 1901, 135.

¹⁶² Meinardus, *St. Paul*, ii-iii; Meinardus (1925-2005) was an authority on the Coptic Church and theologian.

¹⁶³ RSV 132 and 133-134. See also Helmut Koester, "Ephesos in Early Christian Literature," in *Ephesos: Metropolis of Asia*, ed. Helmut Koester (Valley Forge PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 119 -140.

¹⁶⁴ Meinardus, *St. Paul*, 58-59.

Although Christianity had begun to expand while Paul was there, the specifics of its growth in Ephesos or even in Asia Minor are not clear; indeed, the transition may not have been very smooth if we are to judge from the celebrated story of Demetrios and the silversmiths' riot in the theater that probably took place around the middle of the first century A.D.¹⁶⁵

“About that time there arose no little stir concerning the Way. For a man named Demetrius, a silversmith, who made silver shrines of Artemis, brought no little business to the craftsmen. These he gathered together, with the workmen of like occupation, and said, ‘Men, you know that from this business we have our wealth. And you see and hear that not only at Ephesus but almost throughout all Asia this Paul has persuaded and turned away a considerable company of people, saying that gods made with hands are not gods. And there is danger not only that this trade of ours may come into disrepute but also that the temple of the great goddess Artemis may count for nothing, and that she may even be deposed from her magnificence, she whom all Asia and the world worship.’ When they heard this they were enraged, and cried out, ‘Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!’”
(ACTS 19: 23-28)¹⁶⁶

As the symbol of the powerful city of Ephesos Artemis and her temple, a known world wonder, did indeed pose a significant threat to the artisans and the growth of

¹⁶⁵ Meinardus, *St. Paul*, 56-57.

¹⁶⁶ RSV, 132.

Christianity. Demetrios and his fellow silversmiths, makers of miniature silver replicas¹⁶⁷ of Artemis and perhaps models of the temple in demand by pilgrims, showed their opposition by provoking a riot in the theater as Paul preached against the worship of gods crafted by hand. Powerful spiritual sites such as the Temple of Artemis often inspired the creation of souvenir replicas for pilgrims to mark their journey to the site.¹⁶⁸ Robert Ousterhout suggests that for medieval pilgrims, there was a meaningful relationship between the physical place called a *loca sancta* and the spiritual world, a place where access to heaven and the subsequent attainment of salvation is more accessible. The pilgrim's portable souvenir would have represented or stood in for that place ("efficacious simulacra") and delivered the same sanctity and potent experience once the pilgrim was gone from the place.¹⁶⁹ Although there has been little study of early pilgrim accounts, it seems reasonable to apply the same argument to the experience of pagan pilgrims and souvenirs such as those made by Demetrios. With such a relationship, the silver replicas would have been equally potent symbols of the temple as a spiritual place capable of delivering similar rewards of sanctity. Murphy-O'Connor notes, however, that no silver models of the temple of Artemis have been found, but terracotta ones are common.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ J. T. Wood, *Modern Discoveries on the Site of Ancient Ephesus* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1890) 18, n.1 "These shrines were probably minute models of the temple and the image of Diana..."

¹⁶⁸ Robert Ousterhout, "*Loca Sancta* and the Architectural Response to Pilgrimage," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 109ff.

¹⁶⁹ Cynthia Hahn, "*Loca Sancta* Souvenirs," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. Richard Ousterhout (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 85-86.

¹⁷⁰ Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul*, 94; Meinardus, *St. Paul*, 96.

Before Christianity became widespread, the Ephesians, who were known for their religious tolerance, recognized multiple beliefs and practices including rituals of Judaism, magic, and superstition.¹⁷¹ Ephesos functioned as a leading center in Asia Minor for magic, sorcery, and superstition for which there was a large following.¹⁷² Eventually many practitioners of the magic arts converted to Christianity and burned their books of magic publicly (ACTS 19:19).¹⁷³

Also preaching Christianity in Ephesos was John the Evangelist or Theologian,¹⁷⁴ whose tomb and church were such important Christian sites that the medieval town was given the Greek name of *Theologos*, sometime in the ninth century.¹⁷⁵ It was later called Ayasoluk when the Turks took it in the fourteenth century and today's modern name, Selçuk, dates from 1914. The writings attributed to John, called *Revelation* or the *Apocalypse* during the first century A.D. told of the founding of Seven Churches of Asia Minor, naming Ephesos as the first.¹⁷⁶ John became leader of the church in Ephesos, where it was thought he wrote his gospel and converted many to Christianity, eventually dying there. With the fame of Ephesos in the second century, it was natural that it was the

¹⁷¹ Michael Tierney, "Ephesus, Pagan and Christian," 468; Filson, "New Testament," 78.

¹⁷² Clinton Arnold, *Ephesians: Power and Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 14.

¹⁷³ Warren P. Behan, "Paul's Third Missionary Journey," in *The Biblical World* (1909) 125, 126; RSV, 132.

¹⁷⁴ Foss acknowledges long-standing scholarly debate and uncertainty whether or not John the Evangelist, the Apostle, or the John sent to Patmos were one or three men, in Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 33-36.

¹⁷⁵ Clive Foss, "Pilgrimage in Medieval Asia Minor," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002), 130.

¹⁷⁶ Rev 1:11, 1:17; p.227, 228. I have used the Revised Standard Version of the Holy Bible, 1952.

location of his tomb.¹⁷⁷ More churches began to be built throughout Ephesos and in the fourth century a small church was erected over John's grave with a chamber believed to contain a sacred dust with miraculous properties.¹⁷⁸ Since the Middle Ages the church of Saint John and his grave on Ayasoluk hill had become one of the most important destinations for pilgrims drawn by the legend of healing properties of the sacred dust.¹⁷⁹

The physical condition of the fourth-century church declined and remained in ruinous condition until the reign of Justinian (527-565 A.D.), who converted it into a monumental basilica, adding six domes to the original design in emulation of the Church of the Holy Apostles, the great Christian basilica in Constantinople. It was a spectacular structure, centered over the sacred tomb of Saint John, and embellished richly with inscriptions, mosaics, and frescoes over an interior cruciform plan that spanned 525 feet by 213 feet.¹⁸⁰ The magnificence of the basilica and its strong defense walls are indicative of the importance of the church and the city of Ephesos during the early Christian period and in the Middle Ages. It should be noted that by the fifth and sixth centuries, there were more than twenty churches in Ephesos, of which the church of Saint John with the Church of the Virgin Mary was one of the two most important.¹⁸¹

The excavations for Saint John's church were begun by Greek archaeologists in 1921 and followed in 1927 by the Austrian team.¹⁸² In 1955, an American industrialist

¹⁷⁷ Koester, "Early Christian Literature," 140.

¹⁷⁸ Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations*, 146; Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 36.

¹⁷⁹ Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations*, 145-6.

¹⁸⁰ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 89-90; Freely, *Western Shores*, 164.

¹⁸¹ Scherrer, "City of Ephesos," 23; Scherrer, "Topography," 80.

¹⁸² Wilinger and Wlach, *Ephesus*, 50. See p. 42 for a list of structures and buildings excavated between 1926-35.

named George B. Quatman founded the American Society of Ephesus, which is today still responsible for the restoration of several religious sites in Ephesos, including the Basilica of Saint John and the house of the Virgin Mary. In 2006, Pope Benedict XVI traveled to Ephesos and presented the grandson, Bill Quatman, with a medal in recognition of the work his family accomplished in the preservation of holy sites.¹⁸³

With the spread of Christianity beginning in the first century A.D., many Christian stories spread mostly by pilgrims told of what they saw in Ephesos,. Foss recounts an episode from 721 A.D. when the Anglo-Saxon Bishop Willibald visited Ephesos. According to his account, Willibald spent time admiring the Basilica of Saint John, the tombs of Mary and the Seven Sleepers, and remarked that Ephesos was still considered a viable port for travel to Greece after the worst of the Arab invasions.¹⁸⁴ Another pilgrim story by the twelfth-century Russian abbot Daniel claimed that curative holy dust rose from John's grave on the anniversary of John's death. He also said that he had seen the tomb of Mary Magdalene, the cave of the Seven Sleepers, and the relics of many important Christian figures, and noted that there was a lively trade in relics by the Turks.¹⁸⁵ Through the centuries the basilica continued to draw large numbers of pilgrims including the pilgrim Saewulf, who traveled there from Patmos in 1102. Among other traveler accounts to these Christian sites is a 1322 journal called *The Marvellous Adventures of Sir John Maundeville*. The author wrote that "from Patmos men go to

¹⁸³ Marty Denzer, "Pope Rewards Quatman family's Devotion to Mary," *The Catholic Key: Newspaper of the Diocese of Kansas City – St. Joseph*, Online edition, January 19, 2007, <http://catholickey.org/> Thanks to Larry Butler for calling my attention to the existence of this patron.

¹⁸⁴ Foss, *Ephesos after Antiquity*, 110.

¹⁸⁵ Meinardus, *St. Paul*, 109.

Ephesus, a fair city and nigh to the sea” also observed that John was buried in a tomb behind the high altar in the Basilica of St. John. The author was a learned, well-read doctor named Jean de Bourgoigne, who assumed the name Maundeville (also known as Mandeville). He had apparently never visited the countries he mentioned and copied most of his text from other authors.¹⁸⁶ Foss points out that Christian and pagan pilgrims still arrived in a constant stream through the Byzantine period into the fifteenth century.

Stories vary concerning the next episode of destruction of the Artemision. One version appears in New Testament apocryphal literature, ancient Biblical writings that include the Acts of John, written around the second century.¹⁸⁷ It narrates a story in which John arrived in Ephesos on the anniversary of the “idol temple” to convert the Ephesians to Christianity. As he prayed aloud for their salvation, “immediately the altar of Artemis was parted into many pieces. [...] And the half the temple fell down [...]” killing the priest. Seeing the success of John’s acts in the name of his God, the people, immediately converted, rose up and “cast down the rest of the idol temple”.¹⁸⁸ Another version tells of a miracle performed by the Apostle John in which he drank poison in an effort to convert the non-believers.¹⁸⁹ The story takes place in Ephesos when

¹⁸⁶ A. Houtum-Schindler, “Sir John Maundeville,” *The Geographical Journal* 13, 6 (1899) 668. Houtum-Schindler was a Persian scholar and government worker.

¹⁸⁷ J. R. Porter, *The Lost Bible: Forgotten Scriptures Revealed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 172, 180-183.

¹⁸⁸ Montague Rhodes James, trans., “Acts of John,” in *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924, reprinted 1975), 236-237.

¹⁸⁹ James A. Kelhoffer. *Miracle and Missions the Authentication of Missionaries and their Message in the Longer Ending of Mark (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament, 2 Reihe)*. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co., 2000), 449. In this Kelhoffer discusses two versions of this story in: Pseudo-Abdias *Virtue Johannis* and Pseudo-Melito’s *Passio Johannis* in the larger context of the interest of a number of

Aristodemus, a priest of Artemis, asked John either to abandon his teachings or to drink poison to validate his faith while followers of both men looked on. John agreed to take the poison, which Aristodemus tested publicly on two prisoners beforehand, killing them. John prayed, made the sign of the cross, asked for the conversion of the Ephesians, and drank the poison. With his survival the temple crumbled, John raised the prisoners from the dead, and the emperor Domitian (r.81-96), exiled John to Patmos instead of executing him.¹⁹⁰ In a later version the temple was still being used during restoration when an early church father John Chrysostom and his followers, in an outburst against pagan worship, destroyed the temple in 401 A.D.¹⁹¹

During the Byzantine period visual language often revolved around biblical and religious stories.¹⁹² The image below (Fig. 12) was created by a Medieval artist in a thirteenth-century French manuscript located at Trinity College Library, Cambridge. It appears to depict the event from the New Testament *Apocrypha* mentioned above.¹⁹³ Not ever having seen the Temple of Artemis, the artist created something closer in form to a Medieval Christian structure with a depiction of the confrontation between John and the pagan priest. The image conflates the *Apocryphal* narrative into one scene in which Saint John appears at the left with his followers and addresses the pagan priest at the right. The steps of the temple platform are indicated by alternating bands of blue, white, and red.

Greco-Roman and Jewish authors in depictions of poison in early Christian literature.

¹⁹⁰ James, "Acts of John," 262-3; Kelhoffer, *Miracle*, 452-3, 458, 461.

¹⁹¹ Freely, *Western Shores*, 147-8.

¹⁹² Ioli Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women and Their World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museum, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 16.

¹⁹³ See also Clayton and Price, *Seven Wonders*, 97.

Above the tiny columns alternating with niches, the upper sections are toppled back to suggest the temple's destruction. A frieze-like section with metope-like parts is shown topped by a tiny pediment pierced by three rectangular openings or doors that Trell argues were features in the pediment of the Temple of Artemis.¹⁹⁴ Centered in a larger niche that is toppling to the left is a statue of the pagan idol Artemis. Her dark face and hands suggest her very early wooden form,¹⁹⁵ which would have had a regular treatment with oil in a process described by Pliny, "nard is poured into it through a number of apertures so that the chemical properties of the liquid may nourish the wood and keep the joints together," presumably to protect against shrinkage and warping.¹⁹⁶ Regular applications of such oil would have caused the darkening of the wood. The statue has toppled off a base that once stood atop a stand adorned with volutes and acanthus. See Fig. 13 for a similar stand supporting a statue of Artemis. Such scrolled stands held statues for pagan veneration.¹⁹⁷ John, preaching the evils of idolatry and pagan worship, is holding a decree depicting his denunciation of paganism, while Aristodemus, at the right, may be explaining the poison challenge.

¹⁹⁴ Trell, *Temple of Artemis*, 14-15. See her text for a discussion of the possible function of the openings.

¹⁹⁵ For a discussion of primitive wooden images, *Xoana*, see A. A. Donohue, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 31-34, 232-235.

¹⁹⁶ Pliny, *NH*, 16.79.215, p.527 observed that the (original) statue of Artemis was made of wood (either ebony or grapevine wood).

¹⁹⁷ Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women*, 37.



Fig. 12. *John and followers destroying the Temple of Artemis/Diana at Ephesus*; after 13th century French MS, Trinity College Library, by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.¹⁹⁸

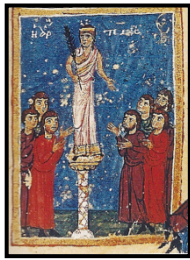


Fig. 13. *Crowds Venerate figure of Artemis*, 12th century; after Ioli Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women and their World*, Harvard University Press, 2003, Fig. 8.

¹⁹⁸ With appreciation to Mr. Sandy Paul, Sub-Librarian, Trinity College Library, Cambridge, U.K. for his assistance in obtaining this image.

The Church of the Virgin Mary, because of its strategic location near the harbor, is thought to have been the choice of imperial officials for the Councils of Ephesos in 431 and 449,¹⁹⁹ who proclaimed, “We have chosen Ephesus as a city easily accessible to those who come by land or sea”.²⁰⁰ This praise of the city echoes a mid-fourth-century geographical treatise on the Empire by Jean Rougé, *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (Paris 1966), in which he wrote,

“Asia is outstanding among all provinces and has innumerable cities, indeed very great ones and many on the sea. Two of these must be mentioned: Ephesus, which is said to have an outstanding harbour, and likewise Smyrna, itself a splendid city. The whole region is broad and fruitful in all products: various kinds of wine, oil, grain, good purple dye, and spelt. It is very admirable, and it is difficult to write its numerous praises.”²⁰¹

Both proclamations indicate that the harbor was still an extremely significant component in the city’s affluence in spite of silting. The city’s prosperity was brought to a sudden end when the city suffered an urban breakdown after Persian²⁰² and Arab invasions in the seventh century A.D.²⁰³ The lavish houses were burned and the remaining ruins of public buildings, monuments, and other structures were reduced to rubble that later served as foundations when the city was replaced by a smaller fortified

¹⁹⁹ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 52.

²⁰⁰ Translated by Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 7, from *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, I.i.iii.31 (Acts of the Ecumenical Councils)), ed. E. Schwartz, Berlin, 1924-1940.

²⁰¹ Quoted by Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 7.

²⁰² Foss suggests that coins found nearby date the Persian event to 614 A.D.

²⁰³ Foss, “Persians,” 738.

town in eighth or ninth century.²⁰⁴ The prosperous city life known for centuries under the Greeks and Romans had disappeared almost entirely in the Byzantine period. The need to guard against further invasion compelled the citizens to consolidate in the harbor area and to build the fortified wall that ran from the harbor up the hill, enclosing the theater, and running back to the harbor. Scherrer reported finding a layer of destruction from the early seventh century outside the Byzantine walls.²⁰⁵ Whatever was left outside the wall of the harbor area – the many destroyed and abandoned buildings of the Hellenistic and Imperial sections and the Embolos²⁰⁶ - was considered no longer defensible. The Ephesians were reduced to living in this small, walled harbor area and in the fortified inland town up on the hill of Ayasoluk where the Basilica of Saint John was centered.²⁰⁷ The thick fortified walls of the upper city, made with rubble and marble spoils from the temple and other structures, protected the Basilica of Saint John and the Byzantine castle from the early Christian period through the early Selçuk period.²⁰⁸ Only sections of wall near the Basilica of Saint John survive today.²⁰⁹ Plommer suggests in his article on the Basilica that the high quality of workmanship on a 30-inch piece of marble roof tile found on the Austrian excavation site, perhaps reused in an interim structure, could have

²⁰⁴ Foss, "Persians," 738-739. For a note on H. Vettiers' argument claiming the destruction was due to earthquake activity, see n.5, p. 739; Foss also notes argument for climactic change in Rhys Carpenter, *Discontinuity in Greek Civilization* (New York, 1968), 77-80. Foss notes the argument needs considerable evidence.

²⁰⁵ Scherrer, "Topography," 80.

²⁰⁶ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 107.

²⁰⁷ Foss, "Persians," 747.

²⁰⁸ Clive Foss, "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 81 4 (1977): 472-473; Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations*, 143.

²⁰⁹ Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity*, 113.

come from the fourth-century Artemision.²¹⁰ Foss notes a modest transformation of the city in the seventh and eighth centuries that included new structures built on foundations of rubble within the walls such as a large warehouse-like structure, small dwellings, and a cistern nearby, but most outside the wall had been abandoned.²¹¹

The centuries between the Byzantine period and the Turkish conquest of 1304 represented a period of decay and limited expansion, reducing “one of the richest lands of classical civilization to one now dominated by villages and fortresses.”²¹² Historical accounts of Medieval Ephesos when Christians and Muslims co-existed are extremely limited since there has been scant research on Anatolia through the Ottoman period and many written works are no longer extant.²¹³ Kraft et al. determined that by the ninth century the harbor was so compromised it was “no longer adequate for the Byzantine fleet”.²¹⁴

Another pilgrim site and shrine favored since the Middle Ages was the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers on the east slope of Mount Pion. In a third-century legend seven young recently converted Christians, when forced to make sacrifices to idols, fled into the hills to a cave where they fell asleep for two hundred years. When they awoke, as the legend goes, their money was not recognized when they went to buy food. After Theodosius II (r.408-450) arrived, they died naturally and he had their remains enshrined

²¹⁰ H. Plommer, “St. John’s Church Ephesus,” *Anatolian Studies* 12 (1962), 127.

²¹¹ Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity*, 113.

²¹² Foss, “Twenty Cities,” 486, 474-5.

²¹³ A. C. S. Peacock, “Ahmad of Nigde’s ‘al-Walad al-Shafiq’ and the Seljuk Past,” *Anatolian Studies*, 54 (2004), 96.

²¹⁴ Kraft et al., “Geographies,” 144-145; Foss, “Ephesus After Antiquity,” 123, says by the tenth century silting made harbor no longer navigable for Byzantine fleet.

in the large basilica built over the cave.²¹⁵ Austrian excavations in 1928-1929 revealed a catacomb with many burial chambers, probably for pilgrims who sought the location for their own burials.²¹⁶ The shrine has remained an important Christian pilgrimage site.

In early Christian tradition, some believe that Mary traveled to Ephesos, where she lived until her death, having been in the care of Saint John the Evangelist as requested by her son Jesus Christ.²¹⁷ At least one scholar, Vasiliki Limberis, supports the Orthodox tradition that determined her burial was in Jerusalem noting that evidence for her presence in Ephesos is weak.²¹⁸ On the other hand, Meinardus notes that Mary's burial in Ephesos was tradition in the Middle Ages and cited Medieval Syrian sources supporting her presence there with Saint John, her death, and her burial in Ephesos.²¹⁹ To support his position, he recounts a nineteenth-century revival of interest in an Ephesian burial site for the Virgin, based on a story by a German nun who had a vision of the house of Mary. She claimed she saw Mary coming to Ephesos, and even though she had never been to Ephesos and had never left Germany, she described Mary's house as built of stone on a hill outside the city. A priest and three others attempting to verify her story

²¹⁵ Meinardus, *St. Paul*, 123-124; Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 42-43, acknowledges the "common folk-tale" nature of the story that is attested in parts of the world, but notes there may be some basis in truth.

²¹⁶ Wiplinger and Wlach, *Ephesus*, 48.

²¹⁷ Gospel According to John 19:26-27 (RSV), p.109. See discussion in Meinardus, *St. Paul*, 113ff.

²¹⁸ Vasiliki Limberis, "The Council of Ephesos: The Demise of the See of Ephesos and the Rise of the Cult of the Theotokos," in *Ephesos: Metropolis of Asia*, ed. Helmut Koester (Valley Forge PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 325 ff.

²¹⁹ Meinardus, *St. Paul*, 114. Sources he mentioned include: 431 A.D. Third Ecumenical Council; a Syrian Jacobite tradition recorded by Moses bar Kepha, a 9th century Syrian bishop and theologian; Michael the Syrian, a Jacobite patriarch of Antioch; and Gregory Abu'l-Faraj, known as Bar Hebraeus.

went to Ephesos and at the location she described, they found a stone house with sections dating to the first century A.D.²²⁰ Although the evidence is not conclusive, the so-called House of Saint Mary (Meryemana)²²¹ continues to be a key pilgrimage and tourist destination. It was the same city to which thousands of pilgrims from the ancient world came to worship their goddess Artemis, so it seemed fitting that in a well-publicized visit on November 29th, 2006, Pope Benedict the XVI celebrated mass at the House of the Virgin Mary; he was the third pope after Paul VI in 1967 and John Paul II in 1979 to join the thousands of pilgrims who visit every year.

²²⁰ Meinardus, *St. Paul*, 115-117.

²²¹ Debbie Challis, *From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of Ephesus: British Archaeologists in the Ottoman Empire 1840-1880* (London: Duckworth, 2008), 117.

7.5. OTTOMAN EPHEOS

In the first half of the thirteenth century, the population of the western region of Anatolia was still largely Christian but a steady conversion to Islam was taking place.²²² Falling under Turkish rule in the thirteenth century, Ayasoluk flourished once again as an important trading city, but the harbor, no longer viable, had been relocated down the river where commercial trade with Venetian merchants was centered; this harbor soon silted up as well.²²³ A number of mosques were built during this period, the principal one being the massive mosque of Sultan Selim, the Isa Bey, dedicated in 1375 on Ayasoluk Hill just below the Basilica of Saint John. Its distinctive domed structure with two minarets, faced with blocks of marble, measured 181 by 167 feet.²²⁴ Further up the hill a Byzantine fortress stood along with the remains of an aqueduct into which several Ottoman houses had been built.²²⁵

The famous fourteenth-century Muslim traveler, Ibn Battuta, chronicled his twenty-nine year journey around the Islamic world through forty-four countries;²²⁶ his account is called *The Rihla*. In Ayasoluk he noted the presence of a “great mosque which was formerly a church greatly venerated by the Greeks” and described it as “one of the

²²² Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 140-141.

²²³ Kraft et al., “Geographies,” 145.

²²⁴ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 159-160.

²²⁵ Challis, *Harpy Tomb*, 117.

²²⁶ Dunn, *Ibn Battuta*, xiii-xiv.

most beautiful in the world.”²²⁷ He also told of an incident there when he forgot to dismount from his horse, breaking a basic Turkish sign of respect. This lapse in courtesy resulted in a snub by the governor who consequently only sent him only one robe of gold brocade, a censorious act that he claimed contrasted greatly with his treatment in other cities where he was hosted grandly and plied with gifts.²²⁸

The Ottoman Turks eventually succeeded in regaining all of western Anatolia, recapturing Ephesos in 1425, and making the area a permanent part of the Ottoman Empire for the next five centuries.²²⁹ Although fifteenth-century silver coins from the mint at Ayasoluk attest to the presence of a certain amount of commercial activity, the ruins of the Greco-Roman city stood in stark contrast to the once-prosperous city of Ephesos that was bypassed for lack of a viable harbor, making the city and her temple redundant.²³⁰ The fifteenth century was a turbulent period with intervals of peace during which the city changed hands various times. Foss writes of a paucity of information about Ephesos from the sixteenth century onward when the city was in a state of ruin and squalor while malaria-infested swamps further reduced the population.²³¹ Nevertheless, pilgrim accounts constitute a valuable documentation of the physical appearance of the city through the fifteenth century.

²²⁷ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 146; <http://rolfgross.dreamhosters.com/Battuta-Web/Rihla-4-1.htm>

²²⁸ Dunn, *Ibn Battuta*, 151.

²²⁹ Freely, *Western Shores*, 149.

²³⁰ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 168.

²³¹ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 162ff.

8. PICTURING EPHEOS AND HER TEMPLE

“Great was its greatness; utter has been its desolation.”²³²

Few cities have suffered the ravages of time as much as Greek Ephesos and its celebrated temple. Its history shows how it rose and fell, was host to numerous cultures, and physically suffered damaging affects of natural forces and invasion, with little left of the once populous town. But, taking advantage of ancient texts, travel and pilgrim accounts, and excavation reports, artists have produced images of it displaying varying degrees of truth and accuracy.

From the sixteenth century forward Ephesos was essentially invisible aside from ravaged architecture and rubble, yet it still remained a favored destination. Travelers included Christian pilgrims inspired by the holiness of the site, educated Europeans seeking the ruins of classical monuments described in ancient texts, and still others who knew of the Seven Wonders and wished to see remains of that magnificent temple. Travelers were sometimes able to rely on rudimentary maps such as the one by John Covell (Fig. 14). Although there are numerous medieval pilgrimage accounts, not much research has been done to examine sketches, drawings, or other images in them, although

²³² Mark Wilson, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor* (Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), 158; the quote is by J.C.M. Bellew.

research has been conducted on pilgrim souvenirs.²³³ Covell's detailed writings and map, created when he was chaplain for the Levant Company, (organized in 1606 to regulate British trade with countries of the Levant) provide valuable evidence of the lamentable state of the country in the seventeenth century.²³⁴ Foss cautiously suggests that the architecture and building techniques shown on the map are probably Ottoman, "regular rows of cut stone with courses of brick between them is a technique well known in early Ottoman architecture."²³⁵ Visible at the upper left is a Turkish settlement below a Byzantine fortress, the Mosque of Isa Bey, and according to Foss a convent of whirling dervishes. Visible in the center background between the two hills is an aqueduct, various ancient ruins at center and right, and the winding Kayster in the foreground.²³⁶ In addition to examples of Ottoman buildings, the unique panoramic view in this seventeenth-century image, one of few, gives valuable insight into the appearance and condition of the topography and remaining architectural features of Turkish Ephesos.

²³³ For more on ampules see Maggie Duncan-Flowers, "A Pilgrim's Ampulla from the Shrine of St. John the Evangelist at Ephesus," and others in Ousterhout, *Blessings*, 1990.

²³⁴ J. Theodore Bent, "The English in the Levant," *The English Historical Review*, 5, 20 (1890): 657.

²³⁵ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 172.

²³⁶ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 142.

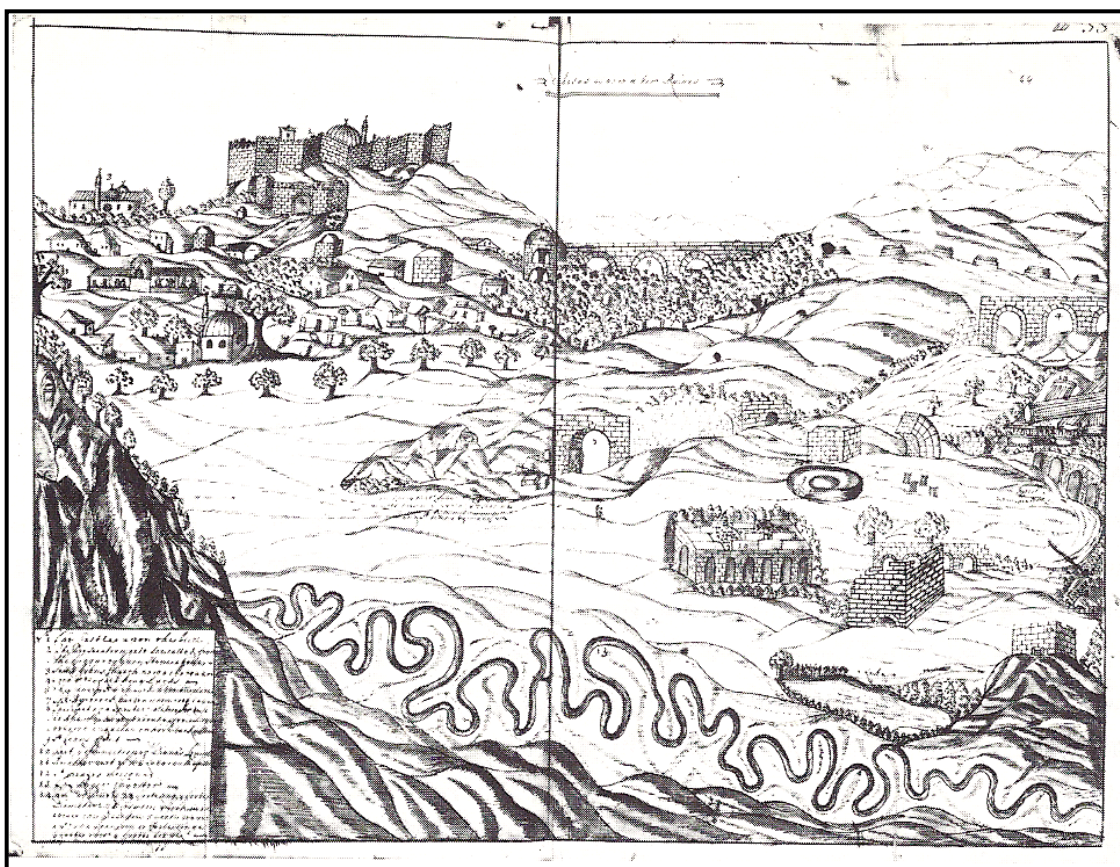


Fig. 14. John Covel's hand drawn map of Ephesos in 1670; after Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 1979, Fig. 39; The British Library Add. MS 22912 ff. 43v-44

Biblical and Christian texts were a significant source of content for much of the imagery in this period. The gallery label of an Italian panel painting by Francescuccio Ghissi, dated c. 1370 and located in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 15) identifies the subject as *Saint John praying for the destruction of the Temple of Diana* while the 'notes' section of their online database describes it as Saint John praying for the destruction of a pagan temple.²³⁷ (The author acknowledges the potential for textual

²³⁷ http://www.metmuseum.org/works_of_art/collection_database/european_paintings/saint_john_the_evangelist_causes_a_pagan_temple_to_francescu

adjustment due to ongoing research.) In reading the image, it appears that while Saint John (at left) prayed, cracks appeared in the temple and in the pedestal on which the statue stands in a niche. The statue, broken, is about to topple from its stand and the temple, in the form of a simple, roofed structure on a two-stepped base, is about to crumble. Since the statue appears to be male, the structure may represent an imperial cult temple rather than the Temple of Diana since John strongly denounced imperial worship.²³⁸ The gesticulating figure at the right opposite Saint John could be the pagan priest, Aristodemus. Images such as this and the image in Fig. 12 illustrated to pagans and Christians alike, the power of Christianity. This image draws primarily from the story in the Apocalypse of John (ACTS: 42) and appears, in a sense, as an eyewitness account of his missionary work in Ephesos as he converted the followers of Artemis after destroying their temple.²³⁹

ccio_ghissi_francesco_di_cecco_ghissi/objectview.aspx?page=92&sort=0&sortdir=asc&keyword=&fp=1&dd1=11&dd2=0&vw=1&collID=11&oID=110000939&vT=1&hi=0&ov=0; part of an altarpiece.

²³⁸ For more details on Imperial cults see Friesen, "Roman Emperors," 229-250.

²³⁹ James, *Acts of John*, 237.



Fig. 15. *St. John the Evangelist Causes a Pagan Temple to Collapse*, Francescuccio Ghissi, c.1370. Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y., No. 69.280.3

Although accounts by travelers to Ephesos were often written without drawings or sketches, their verbal narratives have shown to provide valuable and revealing details that illustrate the physical and social conditions they encountered. For example, the seventeenth-century French traveler Corneille Le Brun noted that most of the ruins in Ephesos were in such disarray and poor condition that they were difficult to identify; it was extremely challenging to envision what the structures had been and where they had been situated.²⁴⁰ Le Brun also commented on the marshy conditions of the land where the former city harbor had been located.²⁴¹ Later travel accounts in this period described the

²⁴⁰ Falkener, *Ephesus*, 17.

²⁴¹ Falkener, *Ephesus*, 50.

town as “ruined, a poor and squalid place with few inhabitants.”²⁴² The account of the Turkish traveler Evliya Çelebi (1611-c.1685) indicates that most of the population around Ayasoluk occupied about one hundred earth-roofed houses, a few shops, a bath, and a mosque, and all inhabitants lived in extreme poverty, misery, and unhealthy malarial conditions from the undrained swamps. In contrast, the striking Isa Bey mosque dedicated in 1375 was still maintained and had a vast arcaded courtyard, an enclosed prayer area, two minarets, and was covered by two domes decorated with turquoise tiles. Its extravagant exterior was embellished with marble blocks (many taken from ruined buildings nearby), rich ornamentation, gold inscriptions, and calligraphy.²⁴³ The mosque was described in lofty overstatement by Çelebi as being as big as the Hagia Sophia.²⁴⁴ Çelebi’s travel account focused on the Turkish city and its Islamic features rather than its classical antiquities or Christian structures.²⁴⁵

Like Çelebi’s lavish description of the mosque, exaggeration and hyperbole characterize descriptions of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world. Interest in and exposure to these lists of man-made wonders began escalating in the sixteenth century following the production of a print series of world wonders by Philips Galle after the prolific Flemish artist Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574). This series is part of Heemskerck’s remarkable *oeuvre* of prints and etchings, many of which carry religious or classical themes or messages, standard fare in sixteenth-century literature. According to

²⁴² Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, viii. Foss does not identify the travelers.

²⁴³ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 160.

²⁴⁴ Cited by Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 174; Freely, *Western Shores*, 148-150. The English translation of Evliya Çelebi’s (a.k.a. Evliya Efendi) account of Ephesus was excerpted so as to exclude this description.

²⁴⁵ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 173-174.

Ilja M. Veldman, Heemskerck packages moral messages in visual form, as in Fig. 16, Heemskerck's interpretation of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus dated c.1572.²⁴⁶



Fig. 16. *Temple of Diana at Ephesus*, c. 1572, Philips Galle etching after Maarten van Heemskerck; after *The New Hollstein*, III, cat. 482, p. 178.

The iconography in this image reveals a bearded monarch with a scepter and crown accompanied by a boy carrying his mantle in the right foreground. He is with three lightly clad men standing around a block of marble, discussing what appears to be a

²⁴⁶ Ilja M. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century* (Maarssen, The Netherlands: Gary Schwartz, 1977), 7.

temple plan. The partially visible plan seems to represent a typical Greek temple plan with a peristyle colonnade, in contrast to the pilasters on the temple in the image. In the foreground, one artisan is chiseling details into a column shaft on the ground while another works on a marble column next to an upside-down Corinthian capital; other pieces of building materials are scattered about. Standing over the artisans is a man (architect?) with a compass and an L-shaped instrument. The facade of the huge three-tiered structure dominating the scene is reminiscent of the façade of the Santa Maria Novella in Florence by Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) or other quattrocento churches. Heemskerck's temple embellished with statues in niches and on the cornices, has a stepped stylobate on which worshippers walk or sit. There is an image of Diana seated with a stag, her attribute, in the center front of the second tier.

The semi-attached, ornamental columns surrounding the temple and the curved volutes are features used by Alberti in many Italian Renaissance buildings. By using this Alberti-inspired Renaissance-style façade for the temple and classically draped figures Heemskerck demonstrated his knowledge of Roman architectural motifs acquired while he was in Rome from 1532 to roughly 1536,²⁴⁷ even though he would have seen several examples of classical temple architecture there.²⁴⁸ By depicting a colossal structure with a large number of columns Heemskerck suggests his familiarity with Pliny's description of

²⁴⁷ Veldman, *Dutch Humanism*, 12; Ilja M. Veldman, "Maarten van Heemskerck and Hadrianus Junius: The Relationship between a Painter and a Humanist," *Simiolus* 7,1 (1974), 35; Timothy Riggs & Larry Silver, *Graven Images: The Rise of Professional Printmakers in Antwerp and Haarlem, 1540-1640* (Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University, 1993), 7.

²⁴⁸ Veldman, *Dutch Humanism*, 35.

the Artemision and demonstrates his grasp of a classically Greek temple form by picturing it on the ground plan in the image.

In spite of bearing little resemblance to the Artemision, the temple is identified in the sky with the words “*DIANAE EPHESIE TEMPLUM*”. Along the lower edge of the image is a verse said by Ilja M. Veldman to have been written by Heemskerck’s humanist friend Hadrianus Junius in Haarlem that reads:

*STRUXIT AMAZONIA HANC EPHESUS TIBIA DELIA SACRAM / AEDEM
LUXURIOSAE INGENS ASIAE ORNAMENTUM // FUNDAMENTA PALUS
TENUIT, CARBONIBUS ANTE / FACTA UTI TELLURIS STARENT IMMOTA
FRAGORE.*²⁴⁹

Heemskerck’s iconographical references to classical antiquity, reflect his participation and interest in humanistic philosophy that argued for the rediscovery of the classical world and the study of classical texts in their original Latin or Greek form.²⁵⁰ Interpreting the scene allegorically, Veldman believes that Heemskerck’s themes were consistent with sixteenth-century Dutch humanism that aspired to “weld the antique and the contemporaneous into a single edifying lesson for the moral welfare of mankind.”²⁵¹ Veldman believes that in the sixteenth-century tradition of closely linking word with image, Heemskerck tended to privilege allegorical content (or message) over accuracy of

²⁴⁹ With thanks to Latinist Linda Sharrard Montross for her translation; the paraphrasing is mine: “For Hippolyte, Queen of the Amazons, Ephesos built this sacred temple to Aremis (Diana) from Delos; of colossal size it ornamented Asia luxuriously; built on swampy land to protect it from earthquakes; once of wood it was burned”

²⁵⁰ Riggs and Silver, *Graven Images*, 10.

²⁵¹ Veldman, *Dutch Humanism*, 7.

depiction, although the message was not always immediately obvious.²⁵² In this case, Heemskerck's *Temple of Diana* is an allegorical portrayal of the "rewards of labor and diligence," the path to a place in heaven while here on earth, a frequently occurring subject in his prints,²⁵³ a popular theme in Netherlandish art in the late sixteenth century, and one that followed the Christian discipline that man was ordained by God to toil.²⁵⁴ The artisans chiseling marble, the men talking with the monarch, and the architect all manifest the allegory of hard work and diligence. Heemskerck's prolific *oeuvre* itself reflects his personal sense of labor and diligence. The bright ray-filled landscape in the far right background may symbolize the final heavenly reward.

By the latter part of the sixteenth century, Antwerp had become the largest center of print production in Europe²⁵⁵ with the probability that Heemskerck's images were disseminated to a sizeable market giving other artists a new pattern to emulate. Netherlandish artists of this period were particularly interested in Italian styles and themes.²⁵⁶ In consideration of his audience, Latin inscriptions would have been understood by the elite and humanists and Veldman argues that it is likely that the images were directed to "rhetoricians and like-minded spirits," middle class citizens like Heemskerck and his engravers, who could easily interpret the allegorical idiom and its moral intent. She also believes that the clear function of such prints was to mold their

²⁵² Veldman, *Dutch Humanism*, 8. For additional material on Heemskerck's association with Humanism, see Veldman, "Hadrianus Junius," 35-54.

²⁵³ Ilja M. Veldman, "Images of Labor and Diligence in Sixteenth Century Netherlandish Prints," *Simiolus*, 21, 4 (1992), 230; Ilja M. Veldman, *Images for the Eye and Soul* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2006), 183.

²⁵⁴ Veldman, "Labor and Diligence," 229.

²⁵⁵ Veldman, "Labor and Diligence," 263.

²⁵⁶ Riggs, *Graven Images*, 1-3.

fellow contemporaries into morally aware beings who would “arrive at a true awareness of God not through a mindless subordination to dogma and church but through the exercise of their own consciences and faculties of thought.”²⁵⁷ Thus in this example, however unrealistic the image may appear, its moral message was paramount.

Certain later images of the Ephesian temple will demonstrate the effect of the widespread availability of Heemskerck’s image and the indebtedness of other artists to Heemskerck and other artists for their ideas and designs. In addition to its reputation for printmaking, Flanders was also one of the most important centers for tapestry production; Flemish tapestries were exported around Europe.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ Veldman, *Dutch Humanism*, 93.

²⁵⁸ Ian Chilvers, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 616-617.

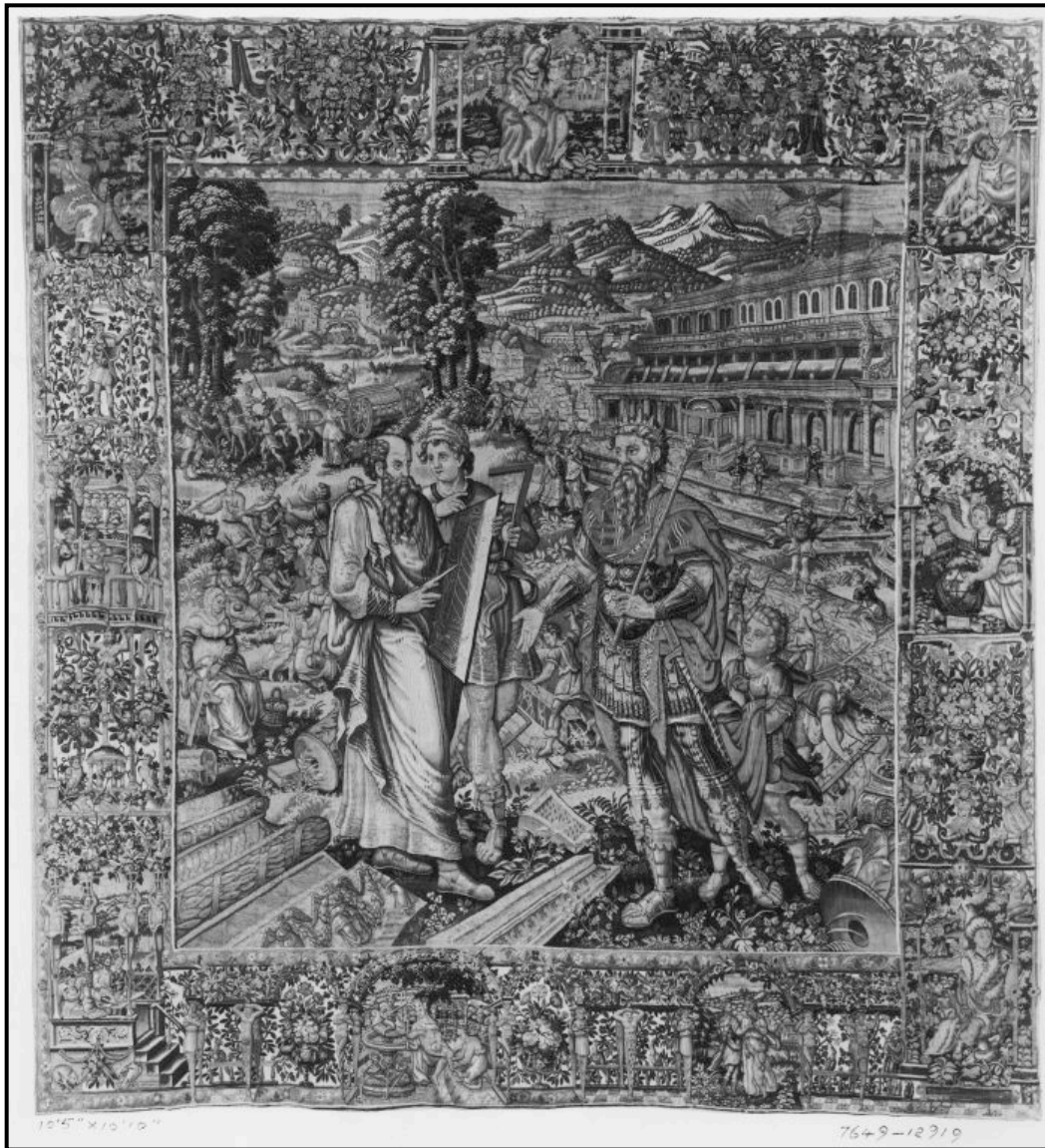


Fig. 17. *Temple of Diana at Ephesus*, tapestry after Heemskerck & Galle, c.1580-1600, 10'10" x 10'5". Getty Photo Study Collection GCPA 0237656, 0237657

Part of a series of Flemish tapestries of Eight Wonders of the World (the usual seven plus the Colosseum), this tapestry (Fig. 17) follows the *Temple of Diana at Ephesus* by Philips Galle after Heemskerck. Among various compositional differences is the larger scale of the elongated Mannerist figures. This adaptation was a practical

measure made to accommodate the larger format and different viewing requirements of a tapestry that hung on a wall.²⁵⁹ The architect is holding a drawing board and appears to be discussing its content with a crowned king carrying a scepter and wearing a mantle that is carried by a young boy. Workers are busily chiseling and doing other construction duties amidst pieces of friezes and columns on the ground in front of the temple with a mountainous landscape and a sun with prominent rays behind. Surrounding the industrious scene is a border design, busy with figures, creatures, and plants.

In the lavish composition of the next image (Fig. 18), an etching of 1610 by Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630), the temple, unlike Heemskerck's, is situated at the water's edge and appears to be in the final stages of construction. The research by Kraft et al. confirms that the waters of the harbor probably did abut the site of the Artemision from the ninth century B.C. to c.100 B.C.²⁶⁰ Workers in the image are shouldering heavy bags of building materials on shore and transporting them in boats across the water to the temple. In the middle right, a crowned king on horseback is pointing and issuing instructions while more workers and animals - horses, donkeys, and camels - are visible. The full bags in the boats and on the near shore are being used in the foundation and may correspond to those used by the architect Chersiphron to raise the architraves by creating a graded ramp of sand bags, a method described by Pliny (36.97).²⁶¹ Tempesta illustrates a column being raised by means of a scaffold-type structure at the rear of the temple and, although the presence of the riders prevents an actual count, it is plausible that the

²⁵⁹ Edith A. Standen, "Some Tapestries at Princeton," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 42, 2 (1988), Standen, "Tapestries," 5.

²⁶⁰ Kraft et al., "Geographies," 130.

²⁶¹ Pliny, *NH*, 77.

temple's octostyle configuration is intended. Two horsemen in classical armor on a rise in the foreground turn to view the scene. It is possible that Tempesta's treatment at the front edge of the temple base is a reference to Vitruvius' recommendation that if a temple is to be built on a marshy site, it is to be completely excavated and re-made with piles of wood with charcoal between them (3.4.2). Such a foundation would buffer it from earthquake activity and mediate the instability of the marshy ground.²⁶² Tempesta included a Latin inscription below the image that reads:

*"Molem Asia immensam, fastu spectanda superbo / struxit, Templa Hecates, regalibus undique cincta // sumptibus: insano quae vanus Erostratus aestu / incendit, stolidae venatus praemia famae."*²⁶³

While there is evidence for the worship of the goddess Hecate in late fourth century B.C. Ionia and areas around the Aegean, there are also instances when the name Hecate was often confused with Artemis.²⁶⁴ The names Hecate, Cybele, Artemis, and Astarte are all frequently and easily blurred as the Great Anatolian mother/nature goddess. Both Strabo and Pliny²⁶⁵ mention a sanctuary to Hecate that was in close proximity to the Temple of Artemis.

Tempesta, born in Florence, was associated with Netherlandish painters and became active as an engraver in Rome producing over 1,000 prints that were widely

²⁶² Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, 181; Pliny, *NH*, 75.

²⁶³ Translation kindly provided by Carol Mattusch: "Asia built an immense and massive Temple of Hecate, regal and lavish in all respects; the insane and vain Erostratos in his passion burned it brutishly hunting for the reward of fame."

²⁶⁴ William Berg, "Hecate: Greek or 'Anatolian'?" *Numen* 21, 2 (1974), 139-140; Lesser, "Artemis Ephesia," 43.

²⁶⁵ Strabo, *Geography*, 14.23, p. 229; Pliny, *NH*, 36.32, p. 25.

circulated.²⁶⁶ Tempesta's image of a lost world wonder being easily reproducible, reached a wide audience allowing Tempesta, in a humanistic way, to demonstrate his knowledge of ancient texts and architecture while exhibiting the Netherlandish preference for a detailed landscape background.



Fig. 18. *Temple of Diana at Ephesus*, Antonio Tempesta, 1610, etching; after Max Kunze, *Die Sieben Weltwunder der Antike*, Cat. No. IV.1 p.89.

²⁶⁶ C. Höper. "Tempesta, Antonio," *Grove Art Online*. *Oxford Art Online*, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T083701>

Even though Heemskerck's and Tempesta's prints were in wide circulation soon after their publication²⁶⁷ a completely different image of the Artemision was engraved in another cycle of Seven Wonders by Crispijn de Passe after the work of Maerten de Vos (1532-1603), a Netherlandish painter active mainly in Antwerp (Fig. 19). In his image, de Vos, who traveled to Italy c.1552,²⁶⁸ depicted a three-tiered circular temple with twin towers on either side of a conical roof.²⁶⁹ He seems to borrow from Heemskerck (Fig. 16) the idea of a visual narrative in the foreground and a sun-filled background landscape. Additionally, de Vos continues to reflect the work of Heemskerck in his use of the words in the sky *TEMPLUM DIANAE*, yet the inscription below the image repeats the one used by Tempesta (Fig. 18):

MOLEM ASIA IMMENSAM, FASTU SPECTANDA SUPERBO / STRUXIT,
 TEMPLA HECATES, REGALIBUS UNDIQUE CINCTA // SUMPTIBUS:
 INSANO QUAE VANUS EROSTRATUS AESTU / INCENDIT, STOLIDAE
 VENATUS PRAEMIA FAMAE.²⁷⁰

The inspiration for de Vos's unique rotunda-like impression of the Temple of Artemis (1614) is debated as to whether he was inspired by the circular shape of the Pantheon or the three arcades and pilasters of the Colosseum.²⁷¹ The artist may have wished to illustrate size and beauty of both Italian architectural wonders for his

²⁶⁷ Veldman, "Dutch Humanism," 16.

²⁶⁸ Ian Chilvers, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists*, 4th ed, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 662.

²⁶⁹ It was printed posthumously.

²⁷⁰ See n. 263 for translation.

²⁷¹ Jörg Martin Merz, review of *Die Sieben Weltwunder der Antike. Wege der Wiedergewinnung aus sechs Jahrhunderten*, by Philipp von Zabern, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. December 2005, 571.

Netherlandish audience. It is worth noting that early in the seventeenth century Pope Urban VIII (1568-1644) enhanced the Pantheon with two bell towers designed by Carlo Maderno (c.1556-1629). After his sojourn in Italy, de Vos may have seen a print illustrating the towers that were added following the removal of a medieval bell tower. The towers, once thought to be the work of Bernini (1598-1680), were removed in 1883.²⁷²

It is apparent from the similarities in content that de Vos was familiar with Heemskerck's interpretation of the temple (Fig. 16) and that Tempesta borrowed elements from both including Heemskerck's convention of using an inscription to emphasize the temple's fame. In the left foreground of his picture de Vos depicted a king in a breastplate turning to a lady at his side while gesturing toward the temple beyond. Behind them a girl carries her train as two armored soldiers in plumed helmets follow them, carrying lances. There is abundant activity in the image with workers carving figures in relief on a column shaft, measuring, and transporting worshipers by horse-drawn carriage, as the faithful walk to the temple where a statue (presumably of Artemis) appears on a pedestal in the large central opening of a small portico. Emulating Heemskerck's work, statues enhance the niches, openings, and columns (Ionic) on each of the three levels. The landscape, cistern, aqueduct, and buildings behind the temple may represent the Ephesian landscape of the seventeenth century with a certain degree of accuracy; one that de Vos could have seen in a print.

²⁷² Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "The Iconography of Sacred Space: A Suggested Reading of the Meaning of the Roman Pantheon," *Artibus et Historiae*, 19, 38 (1998), 28.



Fig. 19. *Temple of Diana*, Crispijn de Passe, 1614, etching, after Maerten de Vos; after Kunze, *Die Sieben Weltwunder der Antike*, Cat. No. IV.2 p.90.

The popularity of prints, an important part of sixteenth-century visual culture, was essentially attributable to their low price and availability and their ability to inform, inspire, and disseminate ideas on religious and secular topics, or even decorate a room. Artists like Heemskerck, Tempesta, and de Vos used the medium to convey a message,

demonstrate their knowledge of antiquity, or possibly to demonstrate their technical skills to potential patrons.

The substance of the images in the text so far have constituted visual narratives of apostolic miracles and moralizing messages that reflect a knowledge of ancient texts and humanistic concerns with the revival of classical antiquity. Admiration for the technical and engineering feats of the ancients who constructed colossal wonders like the Artemision was reflected in the popularity of such print cycles at a time when appreciation for pagan precepts coexisted comfortably with Christian themes.²⁷³

The reverberations of print-making in general and Heemskerck's world wonders cycle, in particular, is evident in a seventeenth-century fresco series by the Austrian Nikolas Schiel nearly a century later. Schiel's cycle of wonders appears in the courtyard cloister of the Augustinian Abbey of Novacella or Neustift, founded in 1142, in Bressanone/Brixen, Italy, in the South Tyrol.²⁷⁴ In it an image of the Temple of Artemis (Fig. 20) exhibits a familiarity with Heemskerck's image. The king in Schiel's fresco, hand on hip, addresses a figure before him, perhaps the architect. The architect, who was consulting a sheaf of papers in his hands, looks over his shoulder in the direction of the monarch. The date MDCLXX (1670) is inscribed on the papers. Analogous to the Heemskerck, Tempesta, and de Vos images, artisans are sculpting a column shaft and

²⁷³ Evelyn Welch, *Art in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 32-33.

²⁷⁴ <http://travel.viamichelin.com> Novacella Abbey/Neustift. See also <http://www.abbazianovacella.it/en/order-convent.html>; Roderick Conway Morris, "An Ancient Prince-bishopric and Cultural Landmark," *International Herald Tribune*, 16 Oct 1998. <http://www.roderickconwaymorris.com/Articles/247.html>.

chiseling a decorative column base, indicative of the *columnae caelatae* mentioned by Pliny (36.95),²⁷⁵ and the words *Diana Templum* appear above temple.



Fig. 20. *Artemision at Ephesus*, Nikolaus Schiel, 1669-70, fresco, Bressanone/Brixen, Italy; photo from M. Michaeler, Augustiner Chorherrenstift Neustift – Abbazia di Novacella²⁷⁶

This fresco series is located in the cloister of the Abbey where the monks would typically take contemplative walks, perhaps with the intention of seeing the frescoes as a metaphor for the triumph of Christianity over pagan worship. The architectural design of

²⁷⁵ Pliny, *NH*, 74.

²⁷⁶ With thanks to Maria Michaeler from Augustiner Chorherrenstift Neustift - Abbazia di Novacella for providing this photograph.

the temple in Schiel's version is more similar to the Alberti/Renaissance style used by Heemskerck than the magnificent white marble classical fourth-century Artemision described by Pliny that it is supposed to exemplify. The fresco's placement in an Abbey necessarily limits the audience for Schiel's seventeenth-century images by comparison to the large exposure enjoyed by the prints of Heemskerck, Tempesta, and de Vos. However the image contributes to the understanding of how images of Ephesos and its famed iconic temple persisted one hundred years later.

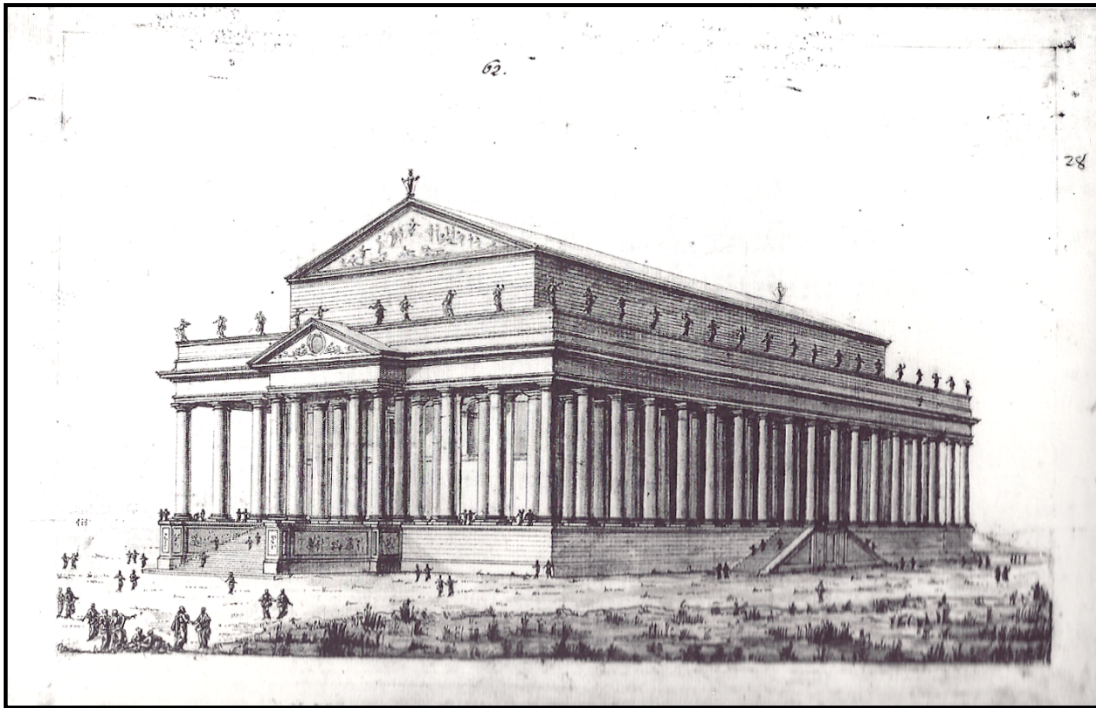


Fig. 21. *Temple of Diana at Ephesus*, Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, 1721, pencil, pen, and black wash; after Kunze, *Die Sieben Weltwunder der Antike*, Cat. No. IV.4, p. 92.

Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656-1723) was trained in Italy and Austria and designed often-imitated secular buildings and important churches during his

architectural career.²⁷⁷ This depiction of the temple marks a shift in focus from theological/scriptural to historical/classical themes. Erlach, known for his ability to summarize and synthesize architectural elements and for his architectural virtuosity wrote a major work of architectural history entitled *Entwurf einer Historischen Architekten* in 1721, in which he included his reconstructions of the Temple of Diana. Erlach began the history with a series of antiquarian reconstructions of ancient monuments, including Solomon's Temple, which he designated as the "divinely ordained origin of all monumental architecture," following it with the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.²⁷⁸

His fascination with methodical and scientific characteristics of architectural reconstruction of ancient buildings is indicated in this interpretation of the colossal Temple of Artemis with a raised base, two pediments, a four-columned porch, and a course of statues above the portico. One of the first to apply scientific measurement and design techniques to the study of ancient buildings, Erlach opened his history by declaring that his chief aim was to depict those famous monuments that have been devoured by the "rust of time," noting they "would surely not be recognized for what they were intended to be, were it not for their names."²⁷⁹ Erlach's temple, while inventive, as all images of the temple are, is meticulously executed. The tiny figures in and around the temple have the effect of emphasizing the grandiose size of the structure

²⁷⁷ Werner Oechslin and W. Georg Rizzi, "Fischer von Erlach," *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T028425pg1>.

²⁷⁸ Kristoffer Neville, "The Early Reception of Fischer von Erlach's *Entwurf einer historischen Architectur*," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 66 2 (2007): 160.

²⁷⁹ As translated by Clayton and Price, *Seven Wonders*, 1.

and echoing the hyperbole of ancient testimonia. He depicts the columns as Ionic, but fewer in number than Pliny's count of 127, theorizing that the "missing" thirty-three were located within the cella.²⁸⁰ The darker area of the foreground and the weedy growths along the lower edge of the image hint at the wet, swampy conditions still experienced by archaeologists including the current Austrian team.

The intended audience for his four-volume work was initially Emperor Charles VI with whom he wished to retain his position as principal architect in the Austrian court. He also hoped to appeal to intellectuals, architects, and a generally educated group.²⁸¹ Like artists before him, Erlach may have been influenced by ancient literature but he has not borrowed from earlier artists. His image begins a new category of secular, scientifically- and archaeologically-informed images of the famed temple.

The next eighteenth-century images continue the dialogue with secular design and are rendered with great attention to accuracy. As mentioned (p. 15), it was popular at this time for young, educated British aristocrats with the resources to travel to Europe and for the more adventurous to venture farther afield to Greece, Asia Minor, and the Far East, as the ultimate conclusion to their education. Normally traveling in the company of a mentor or tutor, these young men were traditionally well versed in Greek and Latin literature and Classical studies. It was common to employ experts to accompany them, such as artists, draftsmen, and scientists, to measure, map, sketch, and otherwise recreate for later publication views of the places they visited. The images often depicted

²⁸⁰ Max Kunze, *Die Sieben Weltwunder der Antike* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2003), 93; Oechslin and Rizzi, "Erlach," *Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online*, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T028425pg1>.

²⁸¹ Neville, "Erlach's *Entwurf*," 171.

landscapes with ancient ruins, monuments, and wonders of classical antiquity that were often in ruinous condition or even lost. Ephesos and her celebrated temple, the first world wonder, was a subject of fascination for British Grand Tour travelers such as Chandler who traveled to Ephesos at the request of the Society of Dilettanti, described as:

“In the year 1734 some gentlemen who had travelled in Italy, desirous of encouraging at home a taste for those objects which had contributed so much to their entertainment abroad, formed themselves into a society under the name of Dilettanti [...].”²⁸²

Chandler visited Ephesos twice between 1764 and 1766, searching for the Artemision unsuccessfully, claiming the “city is prostrate and the goddess gone”.²⁸³ Indeed, Chandler and other travelers often had difficulty in determining the identity of many architectural structures in Ephesos because of the indistinctness of the numerous column parts, walls, remnants, and architectural fragments that were partially or fully obscured by overgrown weeds and shrubbery.²⁸⁴ English artist William Pars was selected by the Dilettanti Society to join Chandler on his archaeological expedition to Asia Minor and Greece. The Society made explicit in their instructions their desire for rigorous measurement and “correct language” for an archaeological narrative. The head of the committee gave the directive: “Mr. Chandler, [...] was appointed to execute the Classical part of the Plan” and “the Choice of a proper Person for taking Views [...] fell upon Mr.

²⁸² Richard Chandler and Edith Clay, eds., *Travels in Asia Minor 1764-1765* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1971), x.

²⁸³ Freely, *Western Shores*, 150.

²⁸⁴ Reinhold Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 88.

Pars, a young Painter of promising Talents.” (Fig. 22)²⁸⁵ When Chandler arrived in Ephesos by way of Ayasoluk, the city he saw showed few indications of its past prosperity and grandeur. In his written account, he noted the remains of a stadium, great theater, ruins of a church, odeium, and gymnasium and that the removal of marble materials of ancient Ephesos for use in later structures contributed largely to “the present nakedness” of the site.²⁸⁶ Although the source of the marble remains unresolved, Chandler wrote that Mount Pion “contributed largely to the magnificence of the city,” as the source of the marble (in the Artemision).²⁸⁷ Upon reaching the site of the harbor, fully compromised by silting, Chandler described it as a “morass”,²⁸⁸ and of the inhabitants he commented, “The Ephesians are now a few Greek peasants, living in extreme wretchedness [...] representatives of an illustrious people, and inhabiting the wreck of their greatness.”²⁸⁹ Describing the once renowned city, he continued, “Its streets are obscured, and overgrown. [...] The glorious pomp of its heathen worship is no longer remembered; [...] and Christianity [...] barely lingers on in an existence hardly visible.”²⁹⁰ Of the renowned Temple of Artemis, he asked “Can a wonder of the world be vanished, like a Phantom, without leaving a trace behind? [...] to our regret, we searched for the site of this fabric to as little purpose as the travelers who have preceded us.”²⁹¹ At the end of the eighteenth century, the Society of Dilettanti published the work by

²⁸⁵ Redford, *Antic and the Antique*, 72.

²⁸⁶ Chandler and Clay, *Asia Minor*, 78.

²⁸⁷ Chandler and Clay, *Asia Minor*, 84.

²⁸⁸ Chandler and Clay, *Asia Minor*, 82.

²⁸⁹ Chandler and Clay, *Asia Minor*, 87.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Chandler and Clay, *Asia Minor*, 89.

Chandler and Pars as *Antiquities of Ionia*. Chandler's documentation with images by Pars, was, according to Edith Clay of the British Museum, "undoubtedly the most important description of (these lands) and (it) was very widely used by scholars of that period."²⁹² Other intended readers were the educated traveler, armchair traveler, and fellow Grand Tourists.



Fig. 22. *Gymnasium at Ephesus*, William Pars, c.1765; after Bruce Redford, *Dilettanti*, p. 76²⁹³

The drawing by Pars in Fig. 22 combined an accurate record of what he saw with a romantic nostalgia for the irretrievable classical past. The dissimilitude between this idealized view and Chandler's use of words such as "wretched" and "morass" to describe

²⁹² Chandler and Clay, *Asia Minor*, xv.

²⁹³ See also: Chandler and Clay, *Asia Minor*, Plate III in black and white.

the same landscape suggests ideological differences between the ‘lure of the exotic Orient’ and the unglamorous actualities of travel in the eighteenth century.

The ruined gymnasium dominates the scene while the presence of men, dwarfed by the ruins, is simultaneously documented. Pars illustrates the social culture of his traveling group as they relax in a tent pitched adjacent to the ruins while several costumed Turkish men, at rest with rifles and other materials piled on the ground, sit on a wall, tend the fire, and drink from a container, as another rides up on a white horse. Pars’ muted tones of brown and ochre emphasize by contrast the rocky and weedy foreground as a shaft of light through clouds illuminates the scene, sharpens the depiction of the ruin, and highlights the touches of red and blue in the Turks’ costumes. This picture, though imaginative in atmosphere, is an accurately-scaled recording of the distinctive features and current state of the gymnasium ruin, but avoids the scientific tone of an architectural plan or elevation. He integrates the imaginative with scientific measurement and observation that provides valuable insight into eighteenth-century conditions of the site. Illustrated travel literature, especially publications by the Dilettanti Society, constituted important examples of eighteenth-century archaeological drawing that set the standard for architectural research and came to have an impact on markets and taste in the United Kingdom and beyond.²⁹⁴ The writings and images of Chandler, Pars, Erlach, and Wood inspired a phase of architectural style that reflected a revival in enthusiasm for classical antiquities that was stimulated by excavations of Greek and Roman remains in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

²⁹⁴ Francis R. Walton, “Gennadeion Notes I,” *Hesperia* 31, 4 (1962): 405, 411.

Another image from the eighteenth century (Fig. 23) depicts the harvesting of grain (possibly flax or hemp²⁹⁵) on the fertile plain below Ayasoluk; Wood mentions that tobacco was cultivated among the ruins.²⁹⁶ Wagons, camels, goats, and people at work, illustrate a period in eighteenth-century Ephesos when peasants worked among the ruins that appeared to be more substantial than when Wood arrived in 1863. The fourteenth-century mosque of Isa Bey is shown in the middle ground of the image and Ayasoluk hill at the back left, is crowned by the Byzantine fortress that Covel depicted in his map nearly one hundred years earlier. The artist's creative interpretation of the landscape as a busy agricultural scene differs from the view described by Chandler on his arrival in Ayasoluk in 1764, at roughly the same time as this engraving, "[...] a solemn and most forlorn spot; a neglected castle, a grand mosque, and a broken aqueduct, with mean cottages, and ruinous buildings interspersed among wild thickets, and spreading to a considerable extent."²⁹⁷ This divergence in the nuances of the Ottoman experience might be a fascinating topic for study at another time.

Although little data is available on settlement patterns in the flood plains, current findings by the archaeologists of the interdisciplinary team led by John Kraft located a large Byzantine or Selçuk building, possibly a wealthy landowner's villa, about one-third mile from the harbor. They report that its presence could signify the existence of an agricultural tradition in the Late Roman or Byzantine periods.²⁹⁸ Foss notes that Turkish documents from the period of the Selçuk Sultan Isa Bey suggest that revenue-producing

²⁹⁵ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 175.

²⁹⁶ Wood, *Discoveries*, 14.

²⁹⁷ Chandler and Clay, *Asia Minor*, 75-76.

²⁹⁸ Kraft et al., 144.

activities such as vineyards and linseed oil production took place here.²⁹⁹ Future excavation could reveal evidence for a thriving agricultural base in the Byzantine period.



Fig. 23. *Ephesus*, Anon. engraved print c.1700s. Penciled in lower margin: now re-named AYASOLUK, Smyrna, Turkey. ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. SP.602

Luigi Mayer (1755-1803) was employed as a resident artist by Sir Robert Ainslie, a member of the Society of the Dilettanti and Britain's Ambassador to Turkey at Constantinople from 1778 to 1793. Once a student of Piranesi, Mayer was an excellent draftsman who produced over three hundred drawings of panoramic landscapes, towns, ceremonies, and ruins around the Ottoman Empire that included twelve watercolor

²⁹⁹ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 160.

drawings of Ephesos. Fig. 24 illustrates the remains of an aqueduct in Ephesos and Fig. 25 depicts the ruins of the ancient city of Ephesus.³⁰⁰

Mayer's drawings share similarities with those by Pars, illustrating with immaculate detail the classical ruins, set in atmospheric, aesthetically picturesque landscapes, without the scriptural or allegorical references of Heemskerck and followers. The addition of vegetation, billowing clouds, and Turkish figures on horses or on foot evoke an idealized sense of Turkish daily life in a bucolic environment. In 1810 his drawings were published as prints in *Views in the Ottoman Dominions, in Europe and Asia, and Some of the Mediterranean Islands*,³⁰¹ a format that had widespread distribution. After publication, the drawings were given to the British Museum.³⁰²

³⁰⁰ F. W. Hasluck, "Topographical Drawings in the British Museum Illustrating Classical Sites and Remains in Greece and Turkey," in *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 18 (1911/1912), 275.

³⁰¹ Paul S. Starkey and Janet Starkey, eds. *Unfolding the Orient: Travellers in Egypt and the Near East* (Reading UK: Ithaca Press, 2001), 53.

³⁰² Hasluck, "Topographical Drawings," 275.



Fig. 24. *Aqueduct near Ephesus*, Luigi Mayer, 18th century, hand-colored print;
<http://www.heatons-of-tisbury.co.uk/mayer2.html>



Fig. 25. *View of the Ruins of the Ancient City of Ephesus*, Luigi Mayer, 1794, w/c.; ©Trustees of the British Museum, No. 1960,0212.1.21 AN885435

In 1834, approximately seventy years after Chandler and Pars' journey, the English architect and topographical illustrator Thomas Allom (1804-1872) was sent abroad by his publisher to make sketches of Turkey.³⁰³ Labeled as a man who was “as much an artist as architect,” Allom became a founder of the Royal Institute of British Architects,³⁰⁴ but is best known as a topographical artist.³⁰⁵ Allom's original paintings of Ephesus were published in *Thomas Allom's Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor* in the early 1860s, but the location of his originals is no longer

³⁰³ Wilson, *Seven Churches*, xi-xii.

³⁰⁴ Leslie Smith and Sidney Lee, eds., *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: OUP, 1921-1922, reprinted 1959-1960), V. I.

³⁰⁵ Royal Institute of British Architects; <http://www.architecture.com>

known. According to Allom's obituary in 1872, they were "painted expressly for Mr. George Virtue [...]" and passed through several hands before disappearing in the 1900s.³⁰⁶ Allom's paintings were accompanied by descriptions written by a fellow traveler Robert Walsh who described Ephesos as:

"The present state of this 'light of Asia,' this 'emporium of the world,' forms a sad and striking contrast to its former splendour. The traveler lands on a dismal swamp at the mouth of a river, choked up with sand. Beside this is an extensive jungle of low bushes, the retreat of wolves and jackals, [...] which had once been, but are no longer, the habitations of men. From thence he advances up an extensive and fertile plain, through which the Kayster winds, exhibiting all the capabilities of culture and abundance, but now a rank marsh, scattered over with muddy pools [...]. At some miles from the sea are marble columns, supposed to have formed part of the quay when the river was navigable, and Ephesus the great mart of Asia. Beyond, the plain is skirted by a rising ground, on which appears a succession of ruins for several miles [...]"³⁰⁷

There are similarities between Walsh's verbal picture and Allom's visual representation, *Ephesus, the Castle of Aisaluk in the Distance* (Fig. 26) one of a series of engraved views based on the original paintings. Allom shows the numerous ruins on the swampy plain stretching toward Ayasoluk hill, a scene described frequently in travelers' journals. Ayasoluk hill in this view is crowned by the Byzantine citadel (called Aisaluk

³⁰⁶ Wilson, *Seven Churches*, ix. George Virtue was originally a rival publisher.

³⁰⁷ Wilson, *Seven Churches*, 156.

Castle in the title) lit by sunlight that also illuminates the mosque lower down and the aqueduct that is just visible at the lower back right side of the hill. At the near right is the entrance to the stadium where riders in Turkish costume face the ruins of the gymnasium that appear to be in a more ruinous condition since Pars' visit less than one hundred earlier. Above the stadium entrance on the right edge is a section of the theater,³⁰⁸ and two camels are visible in the middle ground.

The combination of travelers' narratives with images can be a useful tool in determining the verisimilitude of an image to its description. In Allom's publication the readers would have gained a visual and textual understanding of the condition of the ruins, mode of travel, and topography. The original volume, *Thomas Allom's Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, had very few readers by virtue of its rarity and cost but, as noted by the editor of the 2006 revised edition, the significance of the original volume is indicated by its inclusion in the "two major book catalogs of the Ottoman world: Blackmer #1766 and Atabby #1316".³⁰⁹

³⁰⁸ Wilson, *Seven Churches*, 158.

³⁰⁹ Wilson, *Seven Churches*, ix.



Fig. 26. *Ephesus, the Castle of Aisaluk in the Distance*, c. 1838 engraving by W. J. Cook after Thomas Allom. ancestryimages.com³¹⁰

Edward Falkener (pseud. E. F. O. Thurcastle) (1814-1896), a privately-educated English architect and archaeologist with a comprehensive knowledge of classical archaeology, set out in 1842 on a journey to Europe, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Asia Minor. He visited Ephesus 1844 and 1845 and wrote his account after his return, relying on his notes, sketches, and pertinent ancient texts.³¹¹ A skilled draftsman, he made rigorously detailed studies and archaeological drawings of the ruins he

³¹⁰ See also Ramsay, "Ephesus," 173.

³¹¹ Falkener, *Ephesus*, 12-13.

encountered.³¹² One drawing in a portfolio that was published in 1862 (Fig. 27) shows the temple situated in a valley between two mountains. It stands at the water's edge (as Tempesta had shown it two-hundred-fifty years before) under a clouded sky with a crescent moon, one of the many attributes for Artemis, with long colonnaded structures to the right and left for which there is no documentation or evidence at present.³¹³ Its waterside setting (with ship and boat activity) affirms Chandler's observation that "An ancient author describes it [the temple] as standing at the head of the port, and shining like a meteor."³¹⁴ Both Herodotos (2.10)³¹⁵ and Strabo (14.1.20)³¹⁶ wrote that the plain of Ephesos was once a gulf, and Pausanias (1.9.8) described Ephesos in Lysimachos' time as a city "which reaches the sea."³¹⁷ Further supporting a waterside setting, Falkener observed that rivers are sacred to Diana since, in addition to being the goddess of woods and forests, she was also goddess of lakes, rivers, and even marshes.³¹⁸ But, at this time, no one yet knew the true location of the temple, since Wood's discovery would not occur until twenty years later in 1863.

³¹² George Aitchison, "Falkener, Edward (1814-1896)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, rev., Rachel Ward (Oxford: OUP, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9123>.

³¹³ Kraft et al., "Geographies," 130.

³¹⁴ Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, 173-174.

³¹⁵ Herodotos, 98.

³¹⁶ Strabo, 221.

³¹⁷ Pausanias, 32.

³¹⁸ Falkener, *Ephesus*, 199, 202.



Fig. 27. *Temple of Diana*, Edward Falkener, woodcut; after Falkener, *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana*, 1862, p. 189.

In the account of his visit to Ephesos Falkener commented that he did no excavation work, but only had the time to make “hasty notes and sketches”³¹⁹ and like many before him, he was unable to locate the temple, although he later “became convinced of the true site that the temple had occupied.”³²⁰ When Falkener came to Ephesos in the nineteenth century, there were many ruins visible above ground as he reflected on the joys of walking “over the prostrate ruins of [the] great city,” working out how the city must have been organized and where things might have been. After examining the ruins, he came to believe that all the public buildings were located on the plain at the foot of the hill while private structures were located on the hillsides for

³¹⁹ Falkener, *Ephesus*, 12.

³²⁰ Falkener, *Ephesus*, 13.

reasons of defense and aesthetics.³²¹ He maintained that he could see in his mind's eye “the whole city lying out before him in a manner which appears half imagination, half reality.”³²² Perhaps it was this frame of mind that led him to execute this intricately detailed image (Fig. 28).

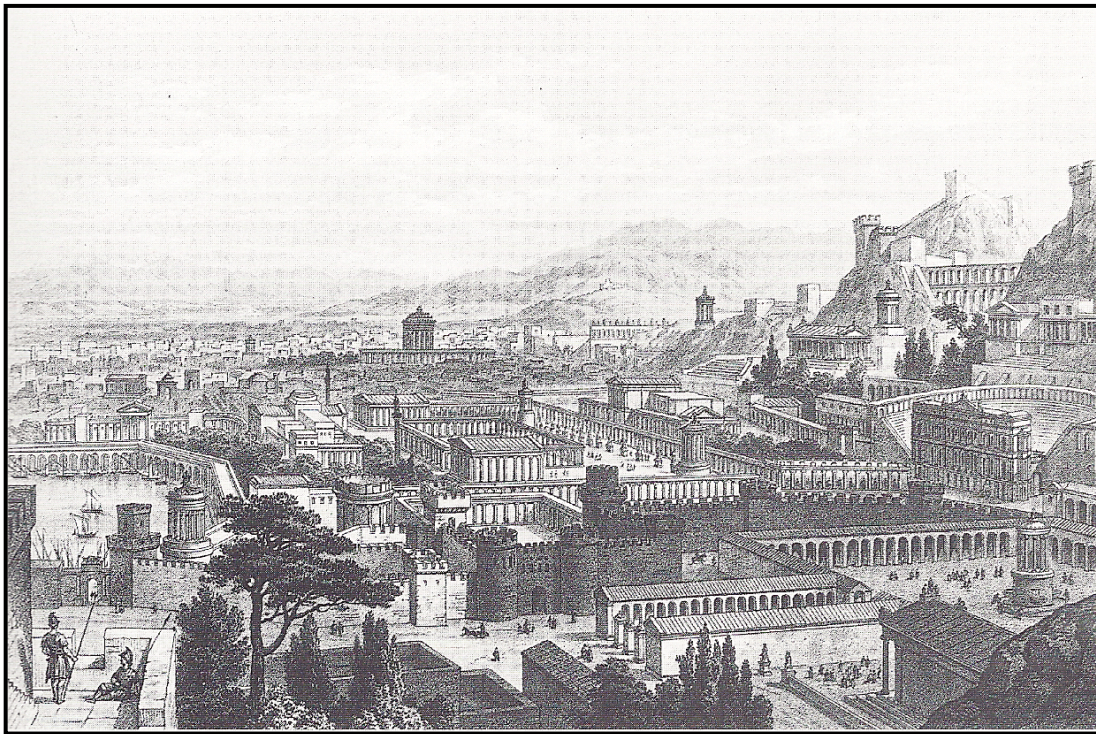


Fig. 28. *Restoration of the City of Ephesus as seen from the Theatre*, 1858; after Falkener, *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana*, 1862, facing p.1.³²³

Falkener's assertion that his elaborate, predominantly Roman, portrayal of Ephesos in Fig. 28 was largely faithful to its appearance in antiquity, is supported by the

³²¹ Falkener, *Ephesus*, 26.

³²² Falkener, *Ephesus*, 4-5.

³²³ Wiplinger and Wlach, *Ephesus*, 3.

opinion of Wiplinger and Wlach of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, who noted that Falkener's *Restoration of the City of Ephesus* shows a series of "correctly identified antique buildings."³²⁴ They identify the Byzantine city wall running from the theater to the harbor and the Commercial Agora with its hall-lined street. While it is reasonable to conclude that Falkener's meticulous reconstruction of the city and the smaller image of the temple on the harbor (Fig. 27), can be viewed as both imaginary and real, more importantly, his drawings heralded the beginning of an era of scientifically rendered archaeological sketches and drawings drawn to scale that conveyed a real sense of the form and detail of the city's structures.

One year after Falkener's travel account was published in 1862, Wood undertook his first efforts at excavation (see p.18). Already working on the construction of a railway in southwest Turkey, he obtained grants and permits through the British Museum to begin his search for the great Temple of Artemis, the world wonder that had long stirred in him a sense of awe; its discovery had become his life's goal. For guidance in determining the location of the Temple he consulted the works of Pliny and Strabo, though they periodically proved to be vague and misleading.³²⁵ Wood wrote in his journal, "In the month of May 1863, having obtained a firman from the Turkish Government, through the influence of the trustees at the British Museum, I commenced my excavations at Ephesus in search of the long-lost Temple of Artemis."³²⁶ When he arrived, he observed that the city was reduced to almost nothing with only a few inhabitants and peasants working

³²⁴ Wiplinger and Wlach, *Ephesus*, 2.

³²⁵ Wood, *Discoveries*, 17.

³²⁶ Wood, *Discoveries*, 16.

there.³²⁷ His account of his search was published in 1877 and included numerous sketches, plans, and photographs including a map of the ruins of Ephesus that illustrates the site of the Temple (Fig. 29) looking in the direction of Ayasoluk.

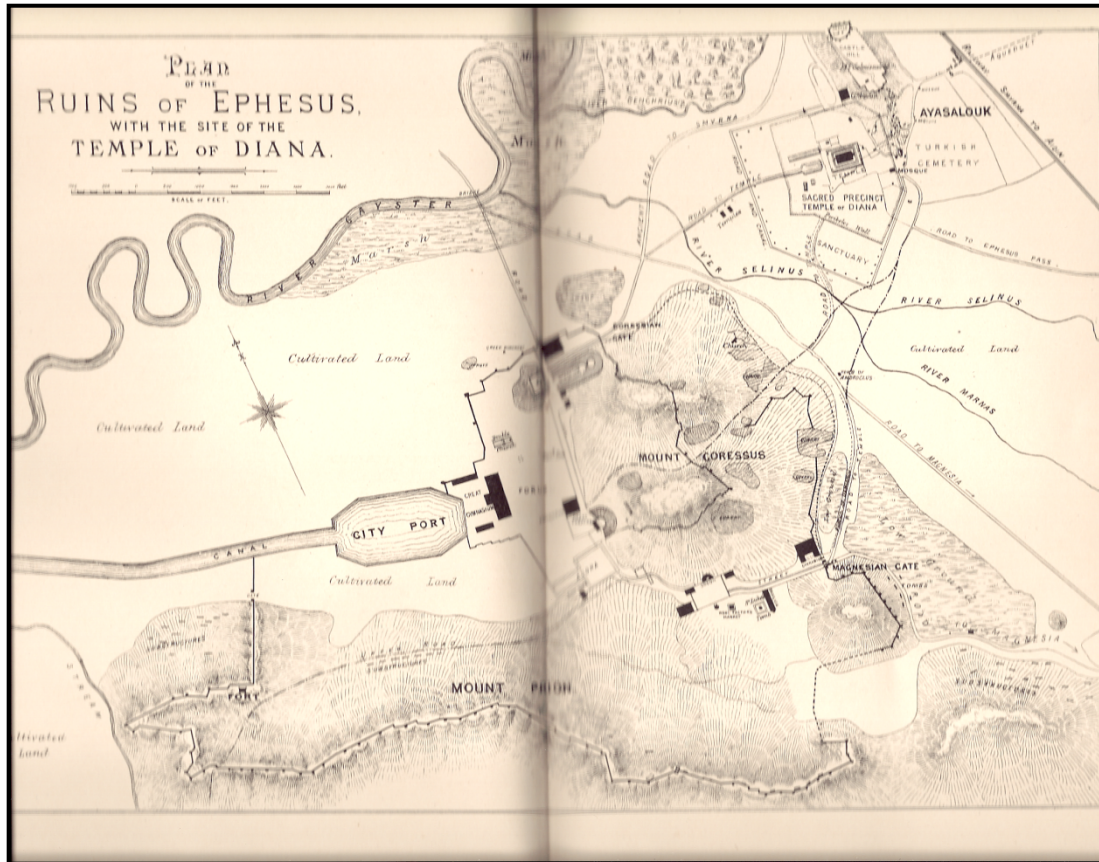


Fig. 29. *Plan of the Ruins of Ephesus with the site of the Temple*, J. T. Wood, c.1877; after Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*. fol. p. 1.

As an engineer and archaeologist, Wood's object was to portray the view as accurately as possible. The flat area above the "city port" indicates how the westward movement of the terrain had eliminated much of the earlier harbor from Lysimachos'

³²⁷ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 179.

time and before, and illustrates the necessity of using a long channel to access the port. He indicates Ayasoluk hill and village at the right middle-ground, remains of the aqueduct at the right, and the plain, empty of all but shrubs and weeds.

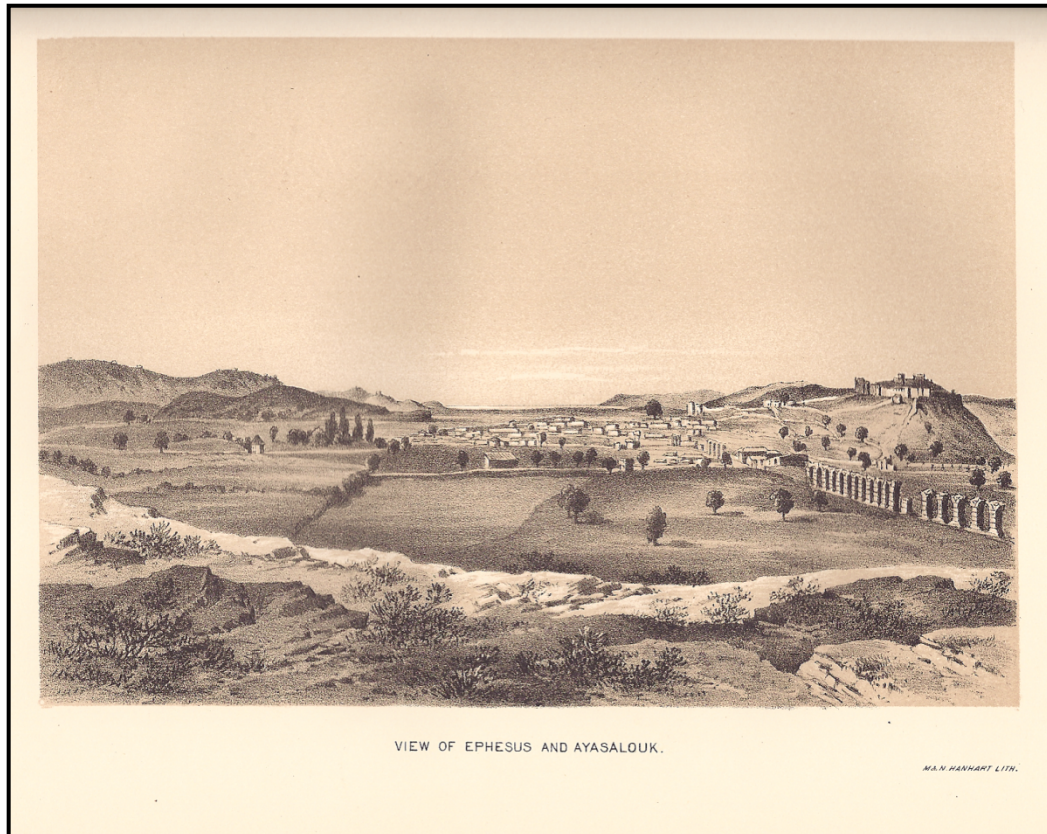


Fig. 30. View of Ephesus and Ayasoluk, J. T. Wood, c.1863; after Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, after p. 4.

A comparison with Covell's illustrated map (Fig. 14) and these two images by Wood indicates how few ruins were visible two hundred years later. Covell's depiction of Ottoman structures, mosques, and ruins may be indicative of the number of Ottoman structures present, rather than the Christian sites he may have preferred, but had difficulty

recognizing. Wood, on the other hand, had an entirely different agenda. He needed to justify to the British Museum that their (somewhat unpredictable)³²⁸ support was well founded and would be rewarded by his discoveries.

After six years of painstaking work, during which Wood excavated much of the Odeion and the theater, he made the portentous discovery of an inscription in the theater.³²⁹ The inscription mentioned the sacred way to the temple that led him to discover, on the last day of 1869, several oversized marble pieces from the pavement of the Temple of Artemis “so long sought for, and so long almost despaired of,” lying below more than twenty feet of alluvial soil carried down by the Kayster River.³³⁰ In 1870 he unearthed a number of fluted column drums from the temple (Fig. 31). Not only is the discovery accurately depicted, but the image gives a good idea of the large number of workers Wood required. The massive scope and difficulty of the task is underscored when considering the simple tools with which they had to work; a man visible at the upper left corner removes earth from the site with a wheelbarrow. Wood estimated the amount of earth removed at 132,221 cubic yards, most of which had been removed by shovel and wheelbarrow.³³¹

³²⁸ Wood, *Discoveries*, 53-53.

³²⁹ Wood, *Discoveries*, 80.

³³⁰ Wood, *Discoveries*, 155.

³³¹ Wood, *Discoveries*, 281.



Fig. 31. *Fluted column drums excavated in October 1870*, engraving; after Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*. p. 171.

By virtue of the large quantities of evidence he uncovered including sections of column drums decorated with reliefs, foundation stones, and numerous architectural fragments, Wood was finally able to confirm the temple's identity and verify the fourteen-step base indicated by Pliny.³³² A number of questions about the reconstruction cannot ever be determined with certainty, since it is not known for example the length of the foot measurement used by Pliny or how the odd number of 127 columns would have been accommodated. Likewise, neither the number of sculpted columns (*columnae caelatae*), nor their placement is sure. Wood noted his preference for placement at the

³³² Wood, *Discoveries*, 264.

bottom of the Ionic columns as suggested by a medal (reverse) of Hadrian (Fig. 32),³³³ whereas Bammer based his argument on variations in drum diameters.³³⁴ Bammer tentatively situates them just below the capitals, a placement protested by Plommer who instinctively objects to “rings of figures, walking apparently on nothing, so high up in the air”.³³⁵

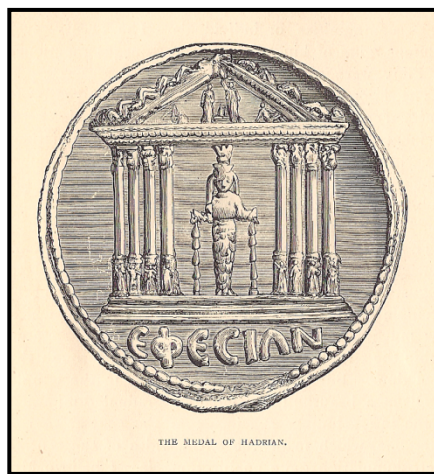


Fig. 32. Medal of Hadrian; after Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, p. 266, *Modern Discoveries on the Site of Ancient Ephesus*.³³⁶

During excavations, Wood was able to confirm that earlier temples had been constructed one above the other with the remains of each ancient temple forming the

³³³ Wood, *Discoveries*, 265-267; I have been unable to determine the location of the medal.

³³⁴ Bammer, *Heiligtum der Artemis*, 218-222.

³³⁵ Hugh Plommer, review of *Die Architektur des Jungeren Artemision von Ephesos*, by Anton Bammer, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 94 (1974), 250.

³³⁶ One of these was in auction: The Vermeule, Ward, and Mexico Maxico Collections (11.01.2010), <http://www.acsearch.info/search.html>

foundation for the next.³³⁷ And with the materials found on site he was able to calculate that the platform of the temple measured 418 feet by 239, measured at the lowest step,³³⁸ conforming closely to Pliny's dimensions, and that it was dipteral with an octostyle facade and Ionic columns. He also ascertained that the roof was partially open to the sky, concurrent with Vitruvius (3.2.8),³³⁹ and covered with large white marble tiles (estimated to be about 4 feet wide) that surely contributed greatly to the magnificence of the temple. See Wood's reconstruction in Fig. 33.³⁴⁰ Fueling the debate about the basic temple plan and the placement of the *columnae caelatae*, Bammer's reconstruction proposes a different column arrangement with eight on the front (west) end and nine on the rear elevation (east), but his total does not tally with Pliny's count of 127 columns, a total questioned by most scholars.³⁴¹

In contrast to other imaginary images of Ephesos and its temple, Wood's plan and reconstruction (Figs. 33 and 34) are based on detailed measurements, proportion, scale, knowledge, and facts as discovered through excavation, all essential to the understanding and conceptualization of this lost monument. Wood combined the words of Pliny, Pausanias, Vitruvius, and others with his own discoveries.³⁴² The object of the detailed written account that he published in 1877 was to provide the public with a full narrative of his eleven years' work and discovery of the famed temple, undertaken under

³³⁷ Wood. *Discoveries* 263-4. Wood's fully detailed account of his 11-year excavation work is in: *Discoveries at Ephesus*, London: Longmans, Green, 1877 or its paperback facsimile.

³³⁸ Wood, *Discoveries*, 264.

³³⁹ Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, 170-171.

³⁴⁰ Wood. *Discoveries*. 263-4, 272.

³⁴¹ Jenkins, *Greek Architecture*, 56-57.

³⁴² Wood, *Discoveries*, 263-272 for details.

conditions hardly imaginable today.³⁴³ Wood created an imaginary setting for his temple recreation in Fig. 34, setting it in a historically credible landscape. Although Chandler and Pars were on the forefront of accuracy and scientific measurement in their images of the ruins of Ephesos, Wood's reconstructions, drawings, and photographs made extremely important contributions to the visual understanding of the colossal temple and to the credibility of archaeological practice as well. The large number of carefully detailed works for which Wood is best known, recorded with great accuracy the size and appearance of the theater, Odeion, and other structures, elevations, views of Ephesus and Ayasoluk, numerous fragments, coins, and inscriptions. They also documented his workmen, a Turkish robber, mosaic pavement fragments, tombstones, reliefs, and much more, giving present scholars the opportunity to compare appearances from Wood's day to that of the twenty-first century.

³⁴³ Wood. *Discoveries*. vii-ix.

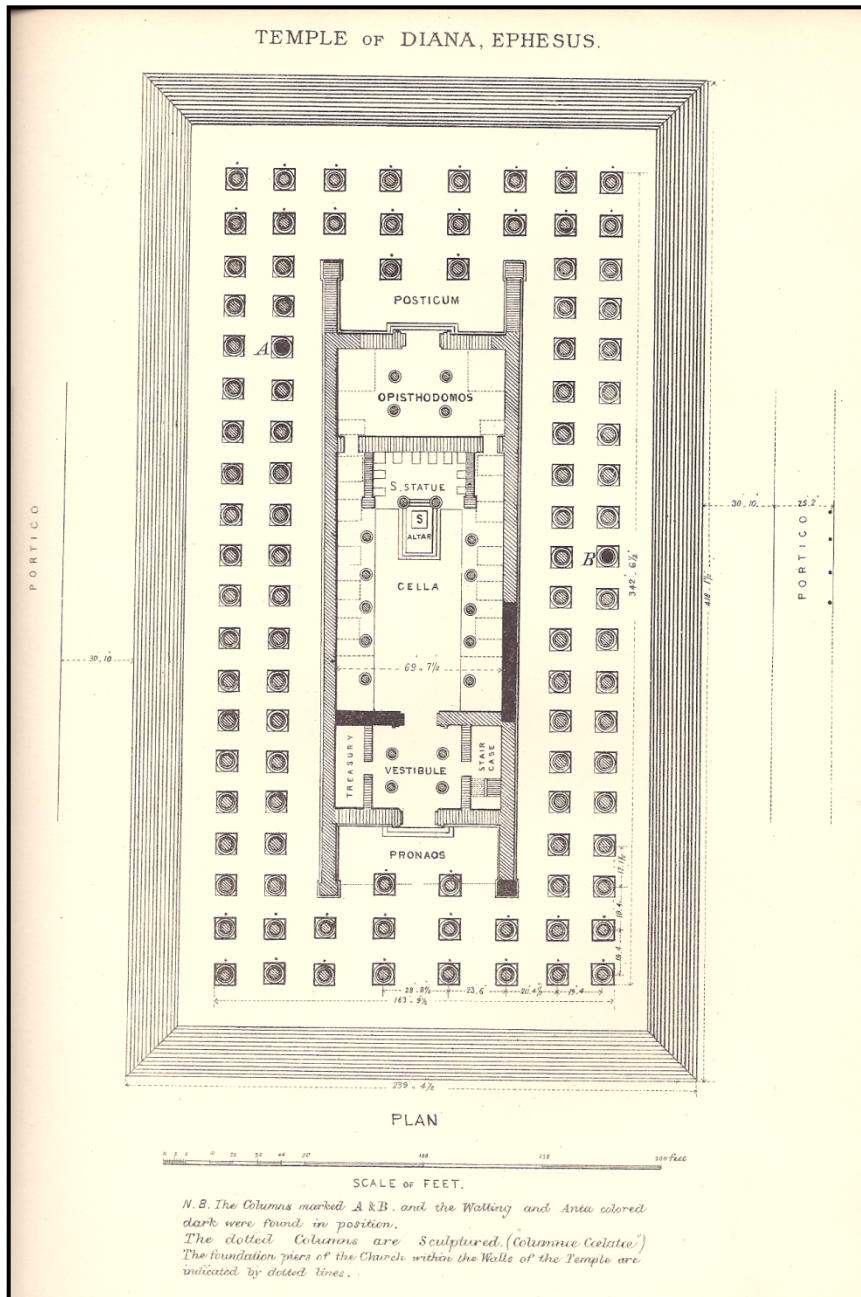


Fig. 33. Plan, Temple of Artemis/Diana, c.1877; after Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, 262.

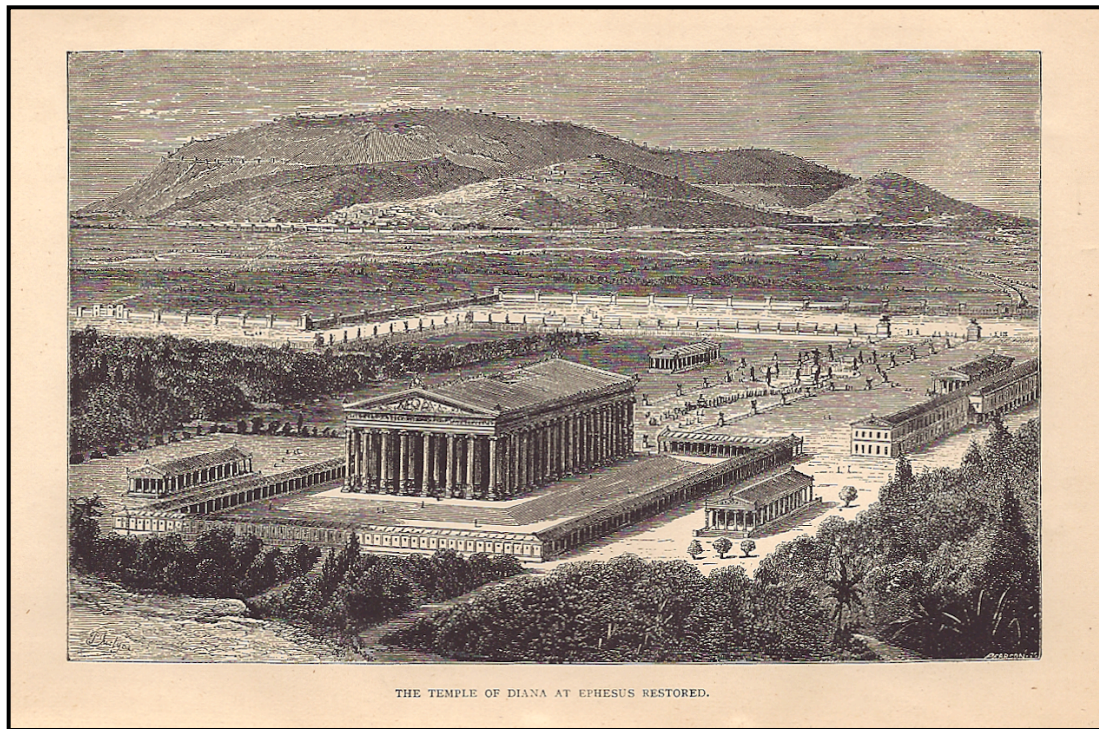


Fig. 34. *Perspective View of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus Restored*, c.1890; after Wood, *Modern Discoveries on the Site of Ancient Ephesus*, frontispiece.

Although Wood was able to pinpoint the site of the altar, deep in the marshy soil, to the east of the temple, he did not excavate it. His discoveries led to a series of subsequent excavation projects conducted in Ephesos, particularly the extensive work by the Austrians whose work began 1895 and continues today. When he ceased work on the site in 1874 and returned to England, Wood had not excavated the Archaic temple's foundations to the lowest levels, a project that David George Hogarth undertook in 1904, sponsored by the British Museum. Hogarth excavated older structures below the Artemision that existed prior to the Archaic and late classical sanctuaries,³⁴⁴ down to the oldest, seventh-century temple floor where he discovered a wealth of movable finds

³⁴⁴ Wiplinger and Wlach, *Ephesus*, 20-21.

including pottery fragments, some from the Early Bronze Age, objects and beads of amber dating probably to the Geometric period, and a number of electrum coins from c. 560 B.C. or possibly earlier, all of which are now in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul.³⁴⁵

As excavations and traveler narratives revealed by degrees more of the lost ancient city of Ephesos and her temple, word spread beyond the experts to the public. In 1898, an article on the Seven Wonders of the World appeared in *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, which for twenty-five years had been a preeminent example of illustrated American magazine publishing. Published late in the nineteenth century, its circulation was not equaled by any other “quality” magazine for another seventy years. Particularly praised for its illustrations, its featured illustrators and artists included Frederick Remington, Maxfield Parrish, Howard Pyle, and N. C. Wyeth.³⁴⁶

The Seven Wonders article, enhanced by the work of a French-born illustrator and engraver, André Castaigne (1861-1930),³⁴⁷ was serialized over several months. Castaigne’s interpretation of the *Temple of Diana* depicts the cult statue standing on a large plinth on the steps in front of the temple, surrounded by an ornate railing. The temple and plinth rest on a base higher than other images, while many devoted followers of the goddess appear on covered steps and an artisan, who brings Demetrius to mind, is

³⁴⁵ Anton Bammer, “A ‘Peripteros’ of the Geometric Period in the Artemision of Ephesus,” *Anatolian Studies* 40 (1990): 137-160; Bammer, *Heiligtum der Artemis*, 257-258.

³⁴⁶ Michael Koenig, “De Vinne and the De Vinne Press,” *The Library Quarterly* 41, 1/2 (1971): 3.

³⁴⁷ Musée d’Orsay notes in ‘Artists – biographical notes’, that he exhibited at the Salon of French Artists between 1885 and 1899. <http://.musee-orsay.fr/>

visible crouching on the lower steps selling small objects, perhaps made of silver, as offerings.³⁴⁸ Castaigne skillfully embellishes his illustration with unique details that he may have learned from ancient texts or archaeological data available to him at the time. For example, Vitruvius wrote of pediments being ornamented with statues (3.3.5).³⁴⁹ He may have known an image by Falkener of the cult statue, which shows her with hands outstretched, ready to receive all who come to her,³⁵⁰ her tightly-wrapped torso adorned with symbolic sculpture in the form of zodiac signs, a ceremonial necklace, and her head crowned with a turret crown.³⁵¹ Falkener also wrote about the practice of placing small silver statues on the steps of the temple for people to kiss at the conclusion of a festival.³⁵² The artist may be conflating these details with descriptions by Pausanias who wrote of a woolen curtain that hung in the temples in Olympia and Ephesos either from the ceiling or suspended from cords between columns.³⁵³ Since three statues of the Artemis Ephesia were discovered in 1956 during the excavation of the Prytaneion, and are at the Ephesus Museum; it is clear that Castaigne had not seen these Artemis figures.³⁵⁴ It is more likely that Castaigne, a prolific illustrator, familiar with ancient texts, prints, and the recently published findings of Falkener and Wood, may have combined fragments of information to create an image likely to awaken the fantasies of American readers. Castaigne was no doubt well aware of the great circulation of *Century*

³⁴⁹ Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, trans. Frank Granger (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1945), 173.

³⁵⁰ Falkener, *Ephesus*, 289.

³⁵¹ Falkener, *Ephesus*, 290.

³⁵² Falkener, *Ephesus*, 295.

³⁵³ Pausanias, 5.12.4, p. 231.

³⁵⁴ Wiplinger and Wlach, *Ephesus*, 70, 139.

Illustrated magazine³⁵⁵ and the visual impact his images could make on his audience, an experience not unlike Heemskerck's over three hundred years earlier.

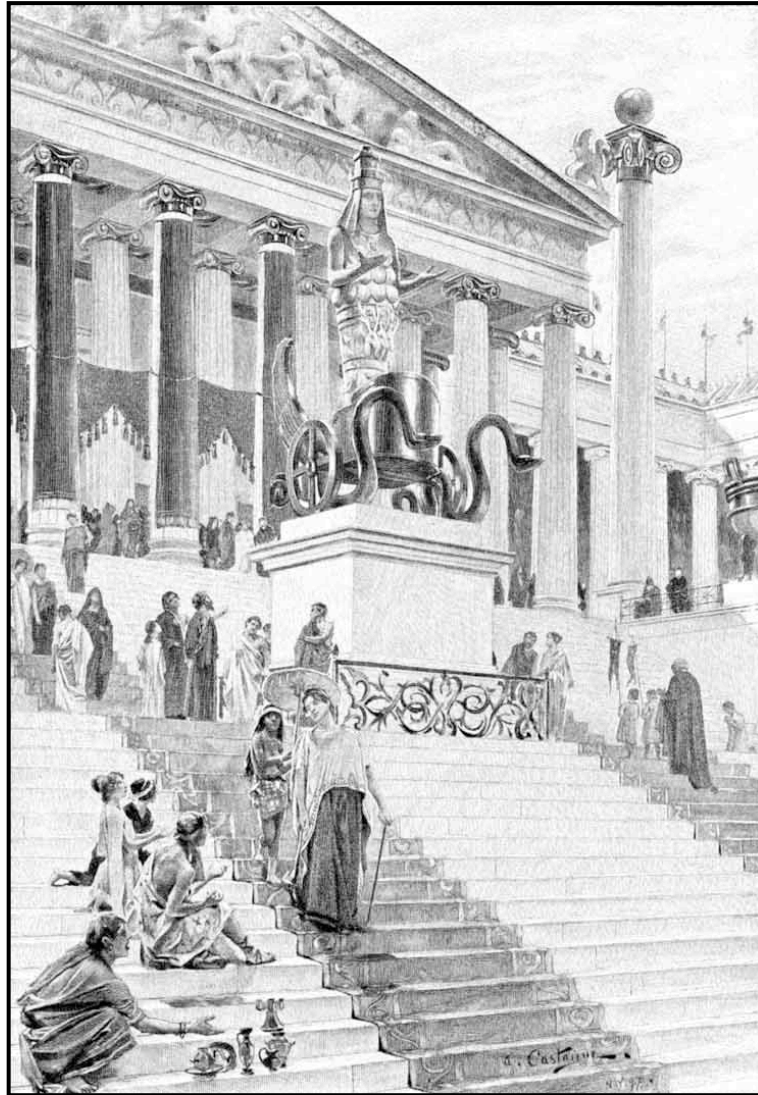


Fig. 35. *Temple of Diana*, André Castaigne, 1898, illustration; after “The Seven Wonders of the World.” *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, LVI, New Series XXXIV 664.

³⁵⁵ In 1884 the circulation was over 227,000. Koenig, “De Vinne”, 3.

Before the Second World War, travel to Ephesos would have had its challenges; “Ephesus,” wrote H. V. Morton in 1936, “stands dignified and alone in its death. [...] with no sign of life but a goatherd leaning on a broken sarcophagus or a lonely peasant outlined against a mournful sunset. [...] Few people ever visit it. [...] Ephesus has a weird, haunted look.”³⁵⁶ This was a poignant footnote to the once crowded, important, and wealthy provincial capital city of Asia, that was slowly deserted.

Between 1895 and 1913 the significant number of excavation projects by the Austrian Archaeological Institute included the completion of Wood’s work on the theater and a variety of locations, and, hindered by persistent ground water over the area, they constructed a mile-long drainage canal that enabled them to continue work in 1926 after the war. The altar to the Temple of Artemis, located by Wood in 1873, was not fully unearthed until 1965 by Bammer, who discovered pieces of animal bones in a large courtyard adjacent to the altar, confirming the existence of a sacrificial cult and ritual that were associated with the temple.

As archaeologists analyzed the multiple layers of habitation in Ephesos stretching from the ninth century B.C. to the present,³⁵⁷ they shared their presence there with travelers whose descriptions contributed greatly to the understanding of how the lost city was imagined. One of those writers was Freya Stark (1893-1993) who turned to Herodotos and Pausanias in her quest for lost Greek cities of antiquity and wrote of her journey to Asia Minor and Ephesos in *Ionia: A Quest*, one of her nearly two-dozen travel

³⁵⁶ H. V. Morton, *In the Footsteps of St. Paul* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1936), 376. Quoted by Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, 160.

³⁵⁷ Kraft et al., 128.

books. This is not a guidebook: she wrote instead of the feeling and atmosphere of the place, describing the Ephesian ruins in the valley as a place, “where the city of Lysimachos slopes down under the vestiges of Rome” where the “trees are in the place of the waves of the bay now filled by the delta of Kayster.” She wrote of excavations in the early 1950s that partly uncovered colonnades, small squares of shops, and a paved road forty feet wide. She described the road as “the widest in Asia Minor” and other Ephesian ruins as “too many lifeless objects.”³⁵⁸ Of the Temple of Artemis she wrote, “[...] indeed nothing is left except an ideal shape floating with known dimensions in the mind and anchored to a single block of existing masonry.”³⁵⁹

Stark’s book, palatable for the general reader, reached a wide audience with narratives of the adventure and charm of the less accessible lost classical Greek cities of antiquity. Traveling in the middle of the twentieth century, she passed through Ephesos just before the Austrian team of archaeologists resumed work in 1954 after World War II. We can fairly regard Stark’s poetic and atmospheric descriptions as romanticized images of the lost antique city, just as the hand-colored nineteenth-century lithograph in Fig. 36 does with its visual description. The popularity of prints of this type and those by Mayer, Allom, and others of this period reflect a taste for romantic and flattering imagery and a curiosity for the wonders of once-grand classical ruins - images that obscure the realities of the banditry, hardship, and discomforts experienced by early travelers. Such desires are satisfied by the textual and visual descriptions of travel writers and artists.

³⁵⁸ Freya Stark, *Ionia: A Quest* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1952), 137-8.

³⁵⁹ Stark, *Ionia*, 128.

In this nineteenth-century lithograph (Fig. 36) the viewer looks down across the ruins of the Basilica of St. John (the British Museum notes that the remains of the Church of the Ephesians referred to in the title indicates the Basilica of St. John),³⁶⁰ where goats roam across plains strewn with worn remnants of the ancient city. Prints like this served to inform and excite travelers or armchair travelers seeking the “Ottoman experience” in visions of Greek ruins in far off Asia Minor.

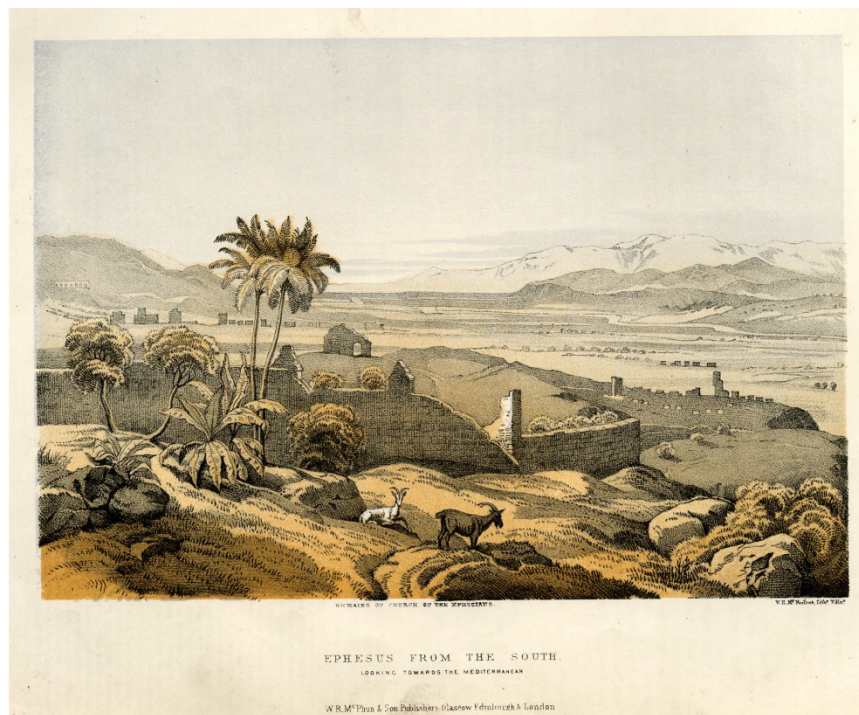


Fig. 36. *Ephesus from the South, looking towards the Mediterranean...Remains of the Church of the Ephesians*, hand-colored print published by W. R. McPhun (fl.1820s); W. H. McFarlane, lithographer. ©Trustees of the British Museum, No. EPH-ME.270 AN229163001³⁶¹

³⁶⁰ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/

³⁶¹ William McPhun, best known for his edition of the *Workman's Family Bible*, the first cheap Bible available to all classes, also published legal texts, guidebooks, directories, and maps. <http://www.theglasgowstory.com/index.php>



Fig. 37. *Temple of Diana*, Salvador Dalí, c.1954. ©Christie's Images Ltd.³⁶²

Concurrent with the resumption of the Austrian excavations in 1954, Spanish artist Salvador Dalí (1904-1989) produced an inventive re-creation of the Artemision. Like other twentieth-century artists with an interest in ancient Greek myths,³⁶³ many of Dalí's works reflect his childhood interest in Greek art and mythology and include Greek gods and goddesses like Dionysos, Nike, Athena, and Aphrodite.³⁶⁴ The temple in Dalí's *Temple of Diana* shown in a smoky atmosphere is accurately depicted with an octostyle façade and Ionic capitals with the carved lower drums mentioned by Pliny (36.21). It seems likely that Dalí has depicted the festival of Artemis, one of the most revered

³⁶² Christie's New York: Lot 334, Sale 1148, 7 November 2002.

³⁶³ Judith E. Bernstock, "Classical Mythology in Twentieth-Century Art: An Overview of a Humanistic Approach," *Artibus et Historiae* 14 27 (1993): 153 ff.

³⁶⁴ <http://www.mlahanas.de/Greeks/Arts/Dali.htm>

festivals at Ephesos that usually began on the day of the new moon in late February/early March, the month of Artemision. To honor Artemis, bulls were sacrificed on the altar and maidens danced to music in the temple.³⁶⁵ Chandler published an inscription indicating that a whole month was dedicated to Artemis during which only festivals, music, dancing, and magnificent ceremonies to the goddess could be held.³⁶⁶ Dali's image reflects a festival atmosphere in the disproportionately large dancing figures in the foreground that include a figure at the left with an animal skin and long staff suggesting Dionysos and at the right, a dancing woman in diaphanous drapery carrying an amphora. Behind her is Apollo with a lyre, one of his attributes, in middle ground at the right is a rider on a spirited white horse carrying a rippling standard, and small figures and bulls surround the base of the temple over which a new moon, an attribute of Artemis, appears. The horse probably represents Pegasus, the mythological white horse said to have helped kill the Amazons.³⁶⁷

Dali demonstrates his familiarity with the ancient writers and in the Biblical passage (Acts of John: 42) describing John's arrival in Ephesos during the birthday festival of the goddess, when the incense "was so thick it veiled the sun"?³⁶⁸ Biblical references often appear in Dali's works reflecting his spiritual and religious nature as in

³⁶⁵ Irene Ringwood Arnold, "Festivals of Ephesus," *American Journal of Archaeology* 76, 1 (1972): 18.

³⁶⁶ Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, 134; Falkener, *Ephesus*, 333-336.

³⁶⁷ Hornblower and Spawforth, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 1130-1131. Legendary founders of Ephesos - Strabo, *Geography*, trans. Horace Jones (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1944) 11.5.3-4, p. 237; Pliny, *NH*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1942) 5.31.115, p. 307.

³⁶⁸ Romer, *Seven Wonders*, 156. Romer makes a reference to the Pseudo-gospels or Acts of John from the *Apocrypha* as the source, but I was unable to identify the particular translation with that wording.

his *The Sacrament of the Last Supper*, several Crucifixions, and the *Temptation of St. Anthony*. In the temple's pediment, the three openings are consistent with Trell's account and those indicated on Ephesian coins depicting the Temple with pedimental openings (Fig. 38).³⁶⁹ While the pagan cult statue of Artemis makes her ritualistic appearance between the columns on the coin, that opening in Dali's painting is vacant, no doubt reflecting Dali's strong Christian beliefs.



Fig. 38. Ephesian Bronze coin with Temple of Artemis, Valerian (253-260 A.D.) Roman, minted at Ephesus. ©Trustees of the British Museum, No. CM 1970-9-9-84.

Dali painted this image when conditions in Franco's 1950s Spain were politically problematic suggesting his classical references may express a certain desire for a metaphorical return to a classical and therefore more perfect world. According to Robert Descharnes and Giles Neret, Dali made this painting as one of a series for a film project named *Les 7 Merveilles du Monde* in 1954, in which this work would presumably have been a part. A rendering of the Temple of Artemis is not included in the series, but this omission may reflect the scant documentation of the painting during long periods of time

³⁶⁹ Note: Trell argues for the openings as part of the design of the actual pediment, though some scholars disagree. See Trell, *Temple of Artemis*, 12, 21-23 and 23ff.

when the painting was out of view in private collections.³⁷⁰ This painting demonstrates Dali's fascination with mythology and classicism and makes no references to modern measured scientific accuracy.

³⁷⁰ Robert Descharnes and Gilles Néret, *Salvador Dalí, 1904-1989: L'Oeuvre Peint, 2: 1946-1989* (Köln: B. Taschen, c.1993), 472. With gratitude to G. P. J. Most from the National Gallery of Art Image Collections Department for calling my attention to this reference.

9. EPHEOS: RECONSTRUCTED

In 1954 when the Austrian team resumed its excavation and restoration projects, its work was greatly facilitated by the additions of a new light railway, belt conveyors, and other modern equipment – a far cry from the shovels and wheelbarrows of Wood’s day. At this time they also began their first attempts at *anastylosis*, reconstruction using extant ancient architectural fragments.³⁷¹ Major structures reconstructed in this way are the Temple of Hadrian (the Olympeion), Celsus Library, Mazeus-Mithridates Gate, and the Basilica of Saint John. For Hadrian’s temple, they aimed to replicate its last fourth-century state by incorporating the remaining fragments into newly created sections that were designed to be clearly distinguishable from the original parts.³⁷² The Basilica of Saint John was reconstructed in the same way. In 1973, to identify the location of and to represent the Artemision, Anton Bammer gathered several unrelated column drum fragments found nearby to construct a single column sixty-five feet in height on the site of the celebrated sanctuary.³⁷³ This solitary column is a stark symbol of what was once the illustrious world wonder (Fig. 39). Visible behind the column is the Mosque of Isa

³⁷¹ See longer description of the process on p. 19 of this text.

³⁷² Wiplinger and Wlach, *Ephesus*, 72. Also see p. 58 for list of structures and buildings excavated between 1954-1958.

³⁷³ www.crislerlibraryephesos.com/Anton%20Bammer.html

Bey (with dome) back left, the Byzantine fortified citadel at the top of the hill, and the ruins of the Basilica of St. John to the right between the castle and the mosque.³⁷⁴

Two luxury homes of wealthy Ephesians, Terrace Houses 1 and 2 were reconstructed in the 1980s.³⁷⁵ Statues, lamps, objects, inscriptions, mosaics, and fragments were continually added to the valuable collections in the British Museum and the Kunsthistorisches Museum until 1906 when Turkish law ruled that all artifacts were to remain thereafter in Turkey where additional finds have been added to the collections of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul and the Ephesus Museum in Selçuk.³⁷⁶

The important interdisciplinary analysis done by Kraft et al. has been extremely critical in developing a better understanding of the true picture of historical Ephesos and its many changes. By their calculations, Kraft et al. estimate that by the 1990s the coastline had advanced westward over nine miles as a result of the silting of the Kayster River from the seventh century B.C. onwards, contributing to the eventual decline of the ancient city and people of Ephesos.³⁷⁷ Through the interdisciplinary research that links the disciplines of geology, geography, archaeology, history, and epigraphy, analysis of ancient testimonia, legend, archaeological site records, sedimentary, environmental, and geomorphological records, that Kraft and his team have studied over the past seventeen years, they have been able to determine the many changes to the coastal landscape and many restructuring details of the city. They believe they are

³⁷⁴ Wiplinger and Wlach, *Ephesus*, 122.

³⁷⁵ Wiplinger and Wlach, *Ephesus*, 130.

³⁷⁶ Austrian Archaeological Institute, "Ephesus – An Ancient Metropolis: History," <http://www.oeai.at/eng/ausland/geschichte.html>

³⁷⁷ Kraft et al., "Geographies," 146.

now able to project where to search for certain missing historical topography and legendary elements of Ephesos.³⁷⁸ Although the excavated remains of the Temple of Artemis, the city environs of Ephesos and Ayasoluk, their defensive walls, and much more have been successfully located, there is much yet lying below the layers of silt laid down over centuries. Among the missing features are the coastal city founded by Androklos around 1000 B.C., much of the Hellenistic city of Lysimachos, and a better understanding of late Byzantine structures, the shrine of Artemis, and its sacred processional route. Bammer's eye-catching solitary column (Fig. 39) is the single on-site representation of the classical Temple of Artemis, the world wonder, subject of countless images for nearly fifteen hundred years.³⁷⁹ Its site is best visited in the summer when the water table is at its lowest.

³⁷⁸ Kraft et al., "Geographies," 122.

³⁷⁹ Wiplinger and Wlach, *Ephesus*, 122.

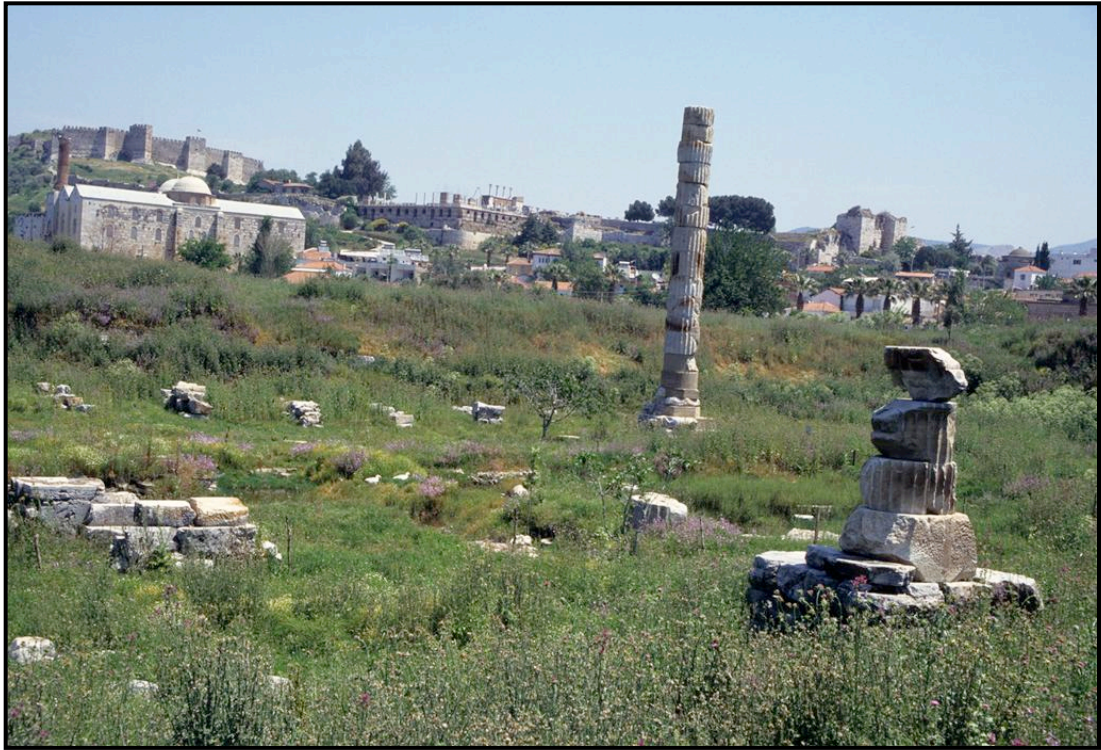


Fig. 39. Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, 1993; ARTstor ©Elizabeth S-Pierce, Canyonlights Photography.

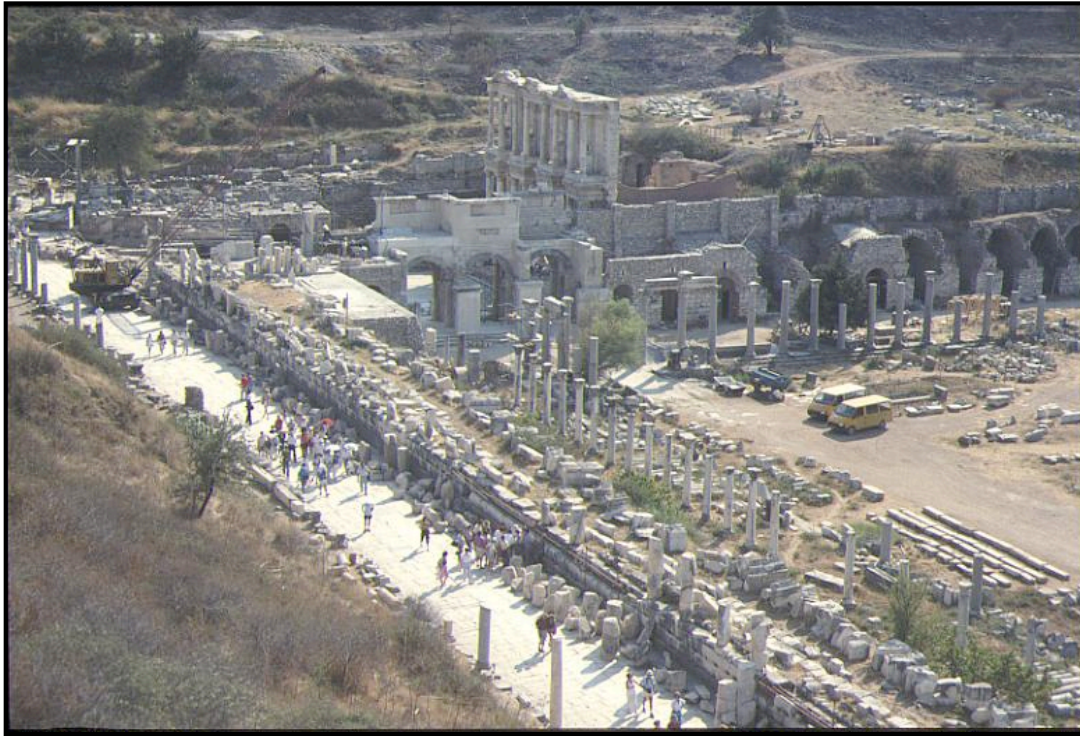


Fig. 40. Aerial view of Marble Street looking South from the Theater to the Celsus Library c.1998-2003. <http://www.imagesoftheworld.org/Ephesus/Ephesus.html>

Thanks to the impressive work of the Austrian Archaeological Institute and others Ephesos is rising again. In this image, (Fig. 40) tourists stroll along Marble Street lined with columns, part of the Sacred Way, past the site of the Lower Agora (empty space at right), then the Gate of Augustus, and the Celsus Library. This is the modern view of ancient Ephesos - the form frequently captured by the photographic lens of amateurs and professionals.

10. CONCLUSION

The artists in this study shared an unseen subject – a lost city and a lost temple. The iconography of their images of early Ephesos and the Artemision emanates from ancient texts, religious scriptures, Renaissance thought, travel experiences and other secular authorities, modern science, and the work of other artists; it is further informed and inspired by the time and place of the creation, cultural influences, and historical interpretations. In some images, these influences were combined. Although the effects of certain influential factors appeared somewhat sequentially in time as knowledge expanded, some artists engaged in specific aesthetic considerations driven by personal interests or patron requests. Where certain images may have once been viewed as entirely imaginative, this study makes clear that, regardless how fanciful, the antecedents of most components in these images can be identified as textual, religious, historical, or purely aesthetic. Where others remain elusive at this time, it is likely that deeper research, scientific discovery, and interdisciplinary study might prove enlightening. These images are also informative records of the progressive state of deterioration of the ruins and topography. Of further importance is the awareness that there is verifiable truth in the often hyperbolic content of ancient testimonia, legends, and stories which when correlated with images, analyses, and scientific study, can continue to provide clues to the theoretical, visual, and scientific revival of early Ephesus. To facilitate this revival, the

addition of Islamic studies to the ongoing interdisciplinary analysis could uncover data to assist in the shrinking of gaps in the Ottoman record and more closely complete the picture of early Ephesos and its Artemision, the World Wonder.

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