Avondale College of Higher Education
School of Education

What can the archaeology and history of Ephesus tell us about Paul's ministry there?

An Honours Thesis
Presented
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master of Education (Honours)

by

Deirdre Hough, BEd (Sc)
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DECLARATION:

I, Deirdre Hough hereby declare that:

this thesis is my own work,

all persons consulted, and all assistance rendered are fully acknowledged,

all references used are indicated in the text and accurately reported in the list of references,

the substance of this thesis has not been presented, in whole, or part by me, to any University for a degree.

2013 Signature:

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GLOSSARY

Acanthus	spiny leafed plant sculptured on Corinthian capitals
Agora	open public market or meeting place in Greek cities
Androclus	mythical founder of Ephesus
Anastylosis	re-erection of pillars
Apodyterium	changing area in a Roman bath
Apsidal	semi-circular domed recess
Archaic	6th and 7th centuries B.C.
Architrave	horizontal beam resting on column capitals
Asiarch	high official in the provinces of Asia
Atrium	open courtyard in the centre of a building or an entrance to a Roman house
Basilica	double columned oblong hall; later was known as a 3 - 4 aisled Christian Church
Bema	raised area in an ancient church
Bouleuterion	town hall, council chamber of a Greek city
Caldarium	hot room in a Roman bath
Cavea	section in Roman theatre for audience to sit
Cella	sacred place in temple where the cult statue was situated
Classical	5th - 4th century B.C. in Greece
Colonnade	rows of columns or pillars along buildings or streets
Corinthian column	column with an ornate capital

Curetes	priests of the Temple of Artemis
Dag(i)	mountain
Damnatio memorae	erasure of any mention of a person
Demos	the people or popular assembly
Diazoma	horizontal walkway in a theatre giving access to the seats
Dipteros	a temple surrounded by a double row of columns - usually 8 columns across
Doric column	architectural style of fluted column with simple capital
Drum	a cylindrical section of a column
Entablature	the decorated structures help up by the colonnade - the architrave, frieze and cornice
Exedra	semi-circular bench seat recessed from a public space and often containing statues
Forum	Market area of Roman city
Frigidarium	cold pool room of a Roman bath
Gymnasium	school and athletic center in Greek cities
Hellenistic	Greek civilization time period from 323 B.C. - 31 B.C.
Heroon	shrine or funerary monument dedicated to a deified person
Hippodamian	a plan of parallel streets which cross at right angles to each other plan

Hypocaust	a series of chambers underneath a floor where hot air is used for heating a building
Ionic	architectural style of column with prominent fluting and a more ornate capital
Marcellum	market for meat or fish in Greco-Roman city
Narthex	vestibule of a church
Nave	central lengthwise aisle of a church
Neocropolis	cemetery
Neokoros	usually denoted as an official in charge of administration of a temple. In Ephesus, it denotes the right of the city to be the keeper and protector of the cult temple of the Emperor
Nymphaeum	monumental fountain dedicated to a nymph
Odeon	small roofed theatre used for public performances
Orchestra	semi-circular space between audience and stage
Pagan	non-christian follower of a cult
Palaestra	exercise area in Greco-Roman gymnasium
Peripteral	temple where the cella enclosed by a colonnade
Peristyle	inner court surrounded by a colonnade
Polis	city state
Portico	porch surrounded by columns
Pronaos	temple entrance - a vestibule
Propylon	gateway with columns
Prostyle	columned portico at the front of a temple

Sarcophagus	stone or marble coffin
Scaena	stage house or building
Sophist	teacher or speaker of science, philosophy and rhetoric
Stoa	roofed colonnade often with shops behind it
Temenos	sacred space around a temple
Tepidarium	warmish pool in Roman bath
Transept	rooms beside the nave in a church

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

A. Research Question

What can the archaeology and history of Ephesus tell us about Paul's ministry there? By examining the material evidence building by building and then adding layers of cultural and religious history, our aim is to begin to build a picture of the social framework in which Paul and his co-workers ministered. In attempting to understand the religiosity of the Ephesians and their codes of behaviour, we can expand our perspectives on the early Christian communities and ascertain the success of Paul's missionary endeavours, despite the opposition he faced.

B. Rationale

Bible events for many, have taken place in some part of the world known as the "Bible Lands" and in a time long ago. The imagery which one has of these places and which readily spring to mind, come from the illustrations of children's bible story books, from the slide shows of the evangelistic series, "Dead Men do Tell Tales"; from ancient history books, from movie and television footage of war torn countries and from glossy tourist brochures.

This thesis is done for the School of Education, not as a paper in Classics, Archaeology or Theology. It is not a theoretical discourse, but rather it has a combination of praxis combined with a process of reflection based on academic insights. It is a way of enabling a teacher in the Primary and Secondary educational levels of having quality information based on a journey involving both the head and the heart.

By focusing on Ephesus in this small portion of New Testament history, a new context is brought to the writings of Paul, Luke and John, and is in part a confirmation of the reality and accuracy of our Bible.

The archaeological finds, which help provide descriptive outlines of life in Ephesus, and our subsequent knowledge of the spiritual dimension, together

with the Biblical record, allow us to develop a picture of this early Christian Church set within the framework of the Greco-Roman world.

Thus this study will enhance students' understanding of Biblical archaeology and will provide context in which to view scripture.

C. Research Orientation

What we see in the ruins of Ephesus today is a compression of the millennia and representative only of the seventh century city which was virtually abandoned when the city's inhabitants moved to the nearby hill of Aysoluk. While only 10% of the city has been excavated, enough remains have been identified to give us a picture of the religious, commercial and administrative sectors, as well as the home-life of the elite.

Chapter Two will examine the archaeology and the story it tells of the city of Ephesus. The aim is to reconstruct and identify, with details which can be verified, the buildings as we see them today, in an attempt to understand how the ancient Ephesians lived. An introductory background to the city, dealing with the location and surrounding environment, it's agriculture and industry, and the culture and history each provide a context for the city buildings. Beginning at Magnesian Gate and walking down the Kathodos, Curetes Street and Marble roads of Ephesus, an analysis will be shared of the archaeology and historical data currently available in English. Each building will be numbered corresponding to the map for ease of location, and photographs and diagrams will be used to give more detail. Additional buildings and sites not strictly within the city but that are of significance, will also be investigated. The Artemisian and St Johns Church are included as they are integral to the research questions and aims. Buildings and sites which were around in Paul's day will be noted, with applicable comments.

Chapter Three will focus on some of the characteristics of the Greco-Roman culture of first century A.D., in an effort to investigate more fully Paul's

mission in the city. Two aspects of Paul's third missionary journey, as found in Acts 19, will be examined:-

a) To explore why Pauline Christianity would have met with opposition in the city of Ephesus, and;

b) to ascertain if Paul's Ephesian missionary endeavours met with success.

In order to attempt this, some basic introductory information and issues need to be discussed to form a comprehensive picture of the environment in which Paul lived and preached. An introduction to Paul, the man, will begin the chapter three, along with a short discussion on his second and third missionary journeys. Following this will be a brief explanation of the cultural norms of the Ephesian Greco-Roman world in which Paul placed himself. Detailed will be the Ephesian community and their worship of Artemis, the pagan and imperial cults of the day, the practice of slavery, the systems of honour, status and citizenship, the role played by the guilds and associations, women in Ephesian society and the existing Jewish and Christian communities. Each of these major areas will be highlighted and will give specific context to the opposition or acceptance Paul and his co-workers faced.

The methods Paul used to reach the Ephesians furthers our understanding of the evidence presented in ascertaining the success or not of the Pauline mission. The content of Acts 19 will be followed progressively in order to evaluate success and other Bible verses will be offered to provide further illumination.

Information has been collated from a plethora of sources, including books, journals and periodicals, various other professional papers, evidence from ancient writers, guidebooks written by archaeologists working at the site, inscriptions and miscellaneous archaeological findings. Site visits in 2011 and 2013 provide a first-hand perspective and point of reference for writing

about particular sites. Photographs taken on the visit have been used extensively to give a more complete visual understanding.

Throughout the paper, yet not integrated with it, are ancient textual sources, named Voices of the Past, which serve to elucidate points raised in the paper's body. While archaeological investigations and the resultant published works gives a synthesis of the basic facts and structures of the remains, it is the first hand accounts of ancient writers that give Ephesus a life and a sense of vibrancy. They often provide quirky information which gives a more accurate reflection of the vibe of the city; as opposed to the written records of the administrative and governing sectors of that period, which, at times, are overly positive. Strabo, while writing a generation after Paul, introduces important historical and geographical information while Josephus is of value for his account of Jewish history.

D. Limitations

Ephesus is one of the most published archaeological sites in the world, with yearly publications - unfortunately most is written in German. As a non-German speaking researcher, the task of finding current information which has been translated into English has been a challenge. The latest book written with information on the site has had its publication date postponed three times within the two years and to date is still not available.

As more evidence comes to light through more thorough historical and archaeological investigations, verification and amendments to the nature and purpose of some sites will probably be inevitable - thus what is noted is only accurate to the time the paper is written. Where there are many varying interpretations of the function and purpose of specific sites, generally the traditional or most popular viewpoint will be taken, unless recently established logic has since proved otherwise.

The Cave of the Seven Sleepers, Luke's Tomb and Mary's house are not included in this thesis, despite being popular tourist destinations, as their veracity is questionable and they are not important in context of this paper.
It is necessary also to be wary of extrapolating information from another city and imposing it on the city of Ephesus. As far as possible this has been avoided, and while it may have been highly likely that the same application could be made, if there is no supporting evidence, then that will be stated.

The scope and intent of this paper does not include a textual analysis of Acts and Paul's writings, but rather intends to simply show that the ministry of Paul affected the daily life of the Ephesians. There are a plethora of books written on Paul and Acts, each with their presumptions and goals. This paper tends to take the more conservative approach as to the historicity of the Bible.

In the writing of this paper, the basic premise or bias is:- that the Bible is historically reliable, therefore we can infer that what has been written about Ephesus and Paul is accurate and believable. There is controversy over the identity and diversity of the early Christian movement in Ephesus. "That Luke may have exaggerated his version of what actually happened in Ephesus is one thing, but it is not reasonable to assume that he should be totally wrong in his description of Paul's mission to Ephesus" (Telbe, 2009, p. 29). Of particular interest is evidence which points to the Christianization of the city. These examples are noted during the course of the paper.

The term 'Christian' is used loosely in the paper, to define people who followed Christ. The word 'Christian' apart from the New Testament usage, is not known until the time of Igantius, around the beginning of the second century (Tellbe, 2009).

Voices of the Past

Earthquake of 275

Pollio wrote in The Two Gallieni :"... many structures were swallowed up together with their inhabitants, and many men died of fright" (Laale, 2011, p. 281).

CHAPTER TWO
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS OF EPHESUS

A. The Environment

The environmental surroundings of the coast and rivers played a vital part in the urban development and decline of Ephesus (Crouch, 2004). Of significance were the geomorphology and climate of the area.

1. Geomorphology

Turkey is the product of folding and faulting processes caused by the movement of the Turkish and Aegean plates. The result of these processes are earthquakes, many of which devastated buildings in ancient Ephesus. Some of the larger earthquakes occurred in 17, 23, 29, 262, 275, 342, 359, 366, 368, 526 & 847 A.D. (Earthquake Hazards Program, n.d.) With 85% of Turkey's landmass having an elevation greater than 450 meters, Ephesus is nestled on a rare coastal Mediterranean plain which provided an opportunity for agriculture that the mountain ranges did not (Laale, 2011). Those mountain ranges stored "large volumes of sediment which was mainly produced by terrestrial erosion and delivered to the coast by rivers" (Bruckner, Vott, Schriever, & Handl, 2005, p. 95). The play of deposition of sediment by flooding rivers, and the location of the surrounding hills and mountains, constrained the location of Ephesus.

2. Climate

Ephesus enjoyed a typical Mediterranean climate, characterized by hot dry summers and cool wet winters. Agricultural and other industries were advantaged by the fact that frosts were rare and snow was not a problem. However, Ephesus is subject to wind over 90% of the time, which meant that during the months of November to February, travel by sea in ancient times was avoided because of strong winds and storms (Jeffers, 1999; Krinzinger, 2003; Trebilco, 2004).

Voices of the Past

Silting of Ephesian Harbour

C. Livius, the Roman General, wrote in Liv. xxxvii. 14, 15, :
"... because the mouth of the harbour was like a river, long and narrow, and full of shoals."
(Falkener, 1862, p. 55).

Pliny wrote in Plin. H.N.ii.91, : "brings down with it a great quantity of mud, whereby the land is continually increasing, so that what was formerly the island Syria, stand now a good way within the land" (Falkener, 1862 , p.59).
Pliny, in Plin. H. N. ii.91 also says that the port was once open sea (Falkener, 1862, p. 59).
Herodotus, in Herod. ii. 10., indicates that the plain was formerly the gulf to the sea (Falkener, 1862, p. 59).

B. Location

The ancient Greco-Roman city, and the one we mostly know today, was situated on the Aegean Sea at the mouth of the Cayster River, which flowed generally west into a natural shallow harbour or gulf. The city was flanked on its east by a hill known as Pion in ancient times and today as Panayirdag. Separated by a narrow valley from Panayirdag, another steep hill, Bulbuldag, rises 350 meters above the main city. “The inhabited area fell into two parts: a plain between Panayirdag and the gulf, and the ridge between the two hills, which widened considerably towards the east” (Foss, 2010, p. 46). *Figures 1 and 2*, taken roughly near the Odeon, show Bulbuldagh on the left and Panayirdag on the right. The buildings either side of Curetes Street lie in the valley between these two hills. Figure 5 maps the contours of these hills. (See Appendix A and B for the location of Ephesus).



Figure 1. The slopes of Bulbuldagh as viewed from in front of the Odeon.



Figure 2. The slopes of Panayirdagh with the Odeon in the middle of the photo.

Voices of the Past

Seaside Ephesus

Callimachus, wrote in Hymn III: To Artemis, : "To Artemis, Amazons, lovers of battle, set up a wooden image under an oak, in seaside Ephesos..." (Kraft et al, 2007, p. 123).

Silting of the Harbour

Anaxagoras of Clazomene, wrote around 540 - 428 B.C., :"... in his reply to a doubtless sarcastic enquiry by a man of Lampsacus as to whether the mountains surrounding that city would ever turn into sea; 'yes', he said, 'provided that time does not fail'" (Kraft et al., 2007, p. 121).

The modern day site is separated from the Aegean Sea by approximately 8 kilometers of swampland, now mostly drained for agricultural use. However, the initial settlement of Ephesus and the Temple of Artemis itself, was located on the shoreline of the Ephesian Gulf, which has long since been covered in alluvium. *Figure 3* below shows the shoreline which existed from the earliest known settlements, around the ninth century B.C., and until approximately the first century B.C. Figure 4 is an artist's impression of the early Ephesian settlement surrounding the Temple of Artemis.

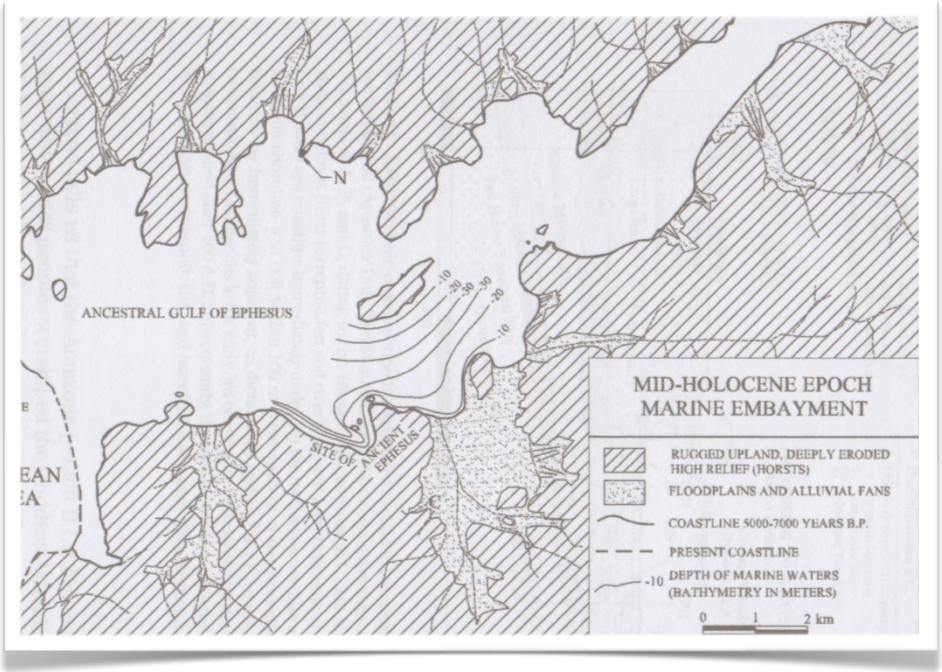


Figure 3. The Gulf of Ephesus as it existed when the first Temple of Artemis was built.

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Figure 4. An illustration of the Temple of Artemis and surrounding city. The temple faced the sea and the setting sun. Between the ninth to first centuries B.C., Ephesus is known to have been located on the coastline1. The buildings surrounding the temple were abandoned when the city was moved by Lysimichus.

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By the first century B.C. the gulf was filled in by riverine sediment[2] from the Cayster River and the nearby Derbent, Marnas and Selinus tributaries, and became a swampy area full of reeds. The continued infilling by alluvium necessitated relocating the harbour successively to the west over the ensuing centuries (OEAI, 2012). This is illustrated in *Figure 5*.

Voices of the Past

Ancient Harbour of Ephesus

Strabo, who wrote in 14.1.24, : "The city has both an arsenal and a harbour. The mouth of the harbour was made narrower by the engineers, but they, along with the king who ordered it, were deceived as to the result, I mean Attalus Philadelphus; for he thought that the entrance would be deep enough for large merchant vessels - as also the harbour itself, which formerly had shallow places because of the silt deposited by the Cayster River - if a mole were thrown up at the mouth, which was very wide, and therefore ordered that the mole should be built. But the result was the opposite, for the silt, thus hemmed in, made the whole of the harbour, as far as the mouth, more shallow. Before this time the ebb and flow of the tides would carry away the silt and draw it to the sea outside. Such, then, is the harbour; and the city, because of its advantageous situation in other respects, grows daily, and is the largest emporium in Asia this side the Taurus" (Jones translation, 1924).

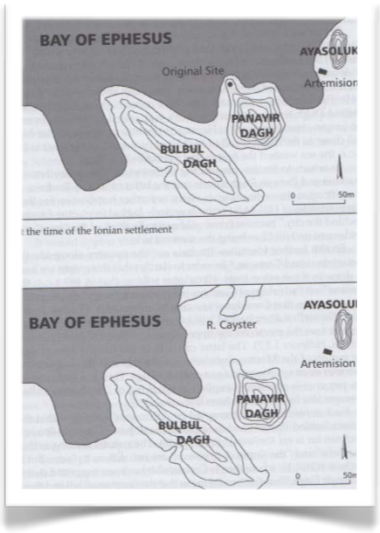


Figure 5. The Bay of Ephesus and its moving shoreline. The top section shows the shoreline during the Ionian Period, with the Roman Period and time of Paul, depicted in the lower section. The Roman era was a period of heavy siltation.

Reprinted from St Paul's Ephesus, (p. 11), J. Murphy O'Connor, 2008, Collegeville, Liturgical Press. Copyright [2008] by Order of St Benedict, Collegeville, Minnesota. Reprinted with permission.

The natural siltation was exacerbated by a) the increased silt load coming from deforested areas, b) ash from the eruption of the volcano Santorini, c) the displacement of land due to earthquake activity, d) the lack of strong tides in the Mediterranean Sea and e) the lack of Government resources to maintain the harbour. This meant that the Ephesians were forced to abandon their harbour on more than one occasion.[3] This was despite the best efforts of the Ephesians to keep the harbour open to navigation with constant dredging, the building of dams, canals, groynes and moles.[4] The battle was eventually lost when an earthquake altered the rivers' course in the sixth century. The constant silting of the harbour was one of the main reasons why the importance of Ephesus declined in the late 6th and 7th centuries (Bruckner, 2005; Koester, 2004; Kraft et al. 2007).

Thus, there was "... a long interplay between natural processes of estuarine infilling from the ... (ancient Cayster River) and multiple attempts of human intervention to preserve the harbours of Ephesus" (Kraft, Rapp, Brukner & Kayan, 2001, p. 27). This inner harbour, pictured, in *Figure 6* below, was by Paul's time, separated from the gulf by very shallow waters which were difficult to navigate (Ramsay, 1901).

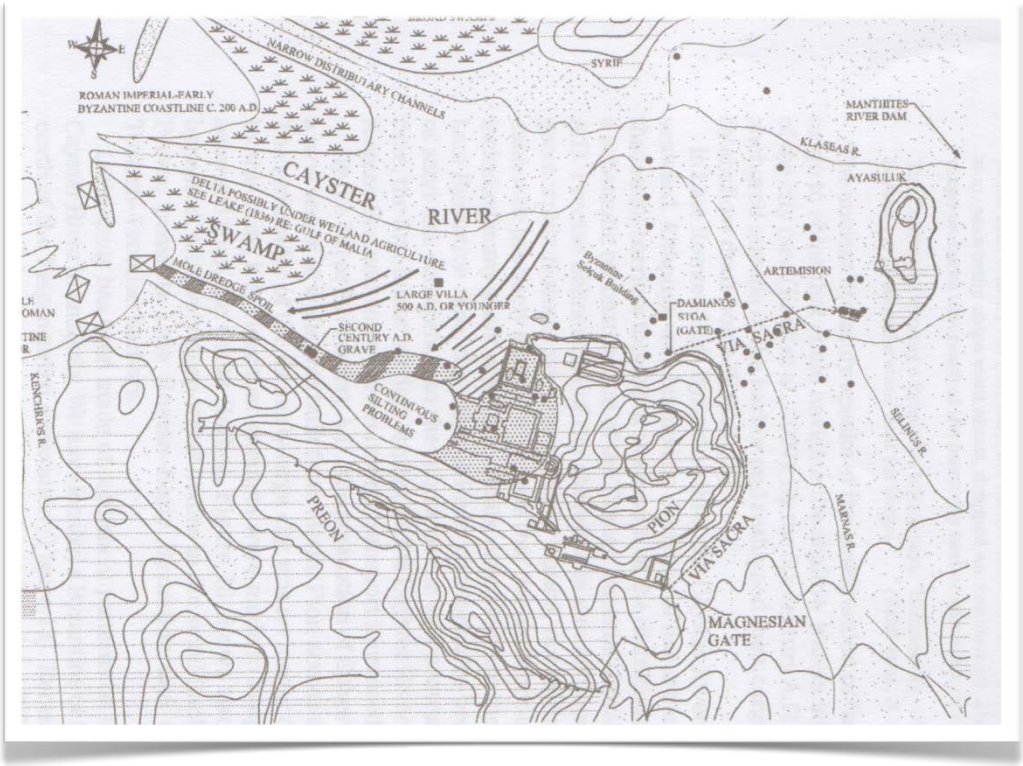


Figure 6. The Ephesian harbour during the time of Paul. Moles can be seen in the delta of the Cayster River - indicated by the boxes with crosses in them. The location of a dam is shown by an arrow above the hill of Ayasuluk.

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However, despite the difficulties, the geographical location and the advantage of a harbour were two of the many reasons Ephesus was able to develop into a chief service city in the province of Asia. Ephesus was located on important sea routes. "Sea traffic from the Aegean to the west, the Bosporus and Dardanelles to the north, from Palestine to the east and from Egypt to the south all called in at Ephesus" (Oster, 1990, as cited in Trebilco, 2007, p. 17).

Voices of the Past

Ephesian Seafood

Archestratus, wrote, in (87c and 92d respectively,on his food tour of the Mediterranean, as cited in Athenaeus, : "As for mussels, those from Ephesus and similar kinds are better in flavour than scallops, but are inferior to cockles; they tend to cause urination rather loosening of the bowels."

"Mussels are moderately nourishing; they promote digestion and are diuretic. The best are the Ephesian, especially when taken in the autumn." (Murphy O'Connor, 2008, p.49).

The city was also the crossroads for land transportation. The Persian Royal Road terminated in Ephesus, stretching from the Euphrates and then up to Susa. Local trade routes followed the surrounding valley floors and Roman roads have been uncovered that stretch from Ephesus to Laodicea, following the cities of Revelation in sequence. This road was thought to be the postal route as couriers were known to be based in Ephesus (Seiglie n.d.; Trebilco, 2007).

Apart from allowing trade and movement of people, these roads connected remote communities and allowed the spread of differing ideologies and ways of living. This is "one of the reasons why many subjugated people saw themselves as Roman, eagerly adopting the lifestyle of their conquerors" (Shuttleworth, 2010, p. 1).

C. Agriculture, Industry and Commerce

The fertile alluvial soils and the mild climate of the Meander Valley was conducive to agriculture - with some crops being harvested four times a year. Typical crops which provided the staples for the citizens of Ephesus included wheat,[5] barley, grapes, citrus fruits, figs, olives and vegetables. Other agricultural industries included honey, cattle, fish[6] (mussels, scallops, cockles, parrot fish, fat gilt head), and tobacco (Murphy O'Connor, 2008; Trebilco, 2007). Ointments were also produced, as well exports of vermilion,[7] quicksilver, saffron, red lead, gold, silver, brass, jewelry, marble, perfume and dyed garments (Falkener, 1862). Slaves were also bought and sold as commodities. "The city was also celebrated for its tents, made in the Persian manner" (Falkner, 1862, p. 124). One wonders if Paul's tents were modeled after the Persian or Roman examples.

The harbour became a trading centre for a plethora of goods. "Wares[8] from Asia Minor were shipped from here, while imports for the entire empire and beyond were delivered to the city and the wider region" (Ladstatter, 2012a). Zabehlicky, as cited in Koester (2004) says that "it is difficult to imagine a cargo that would not have been shipped to and from Ephesus..." (p. 212).

Voices of the Past

Marble of Mt Pion

Vitruvius wrote in Vitr. x. 7, :"A shepherd of the name of Pixodorus dwelt in these parts at the time the Ephesians had decreed a temple to Diana, to be built of marble... Pixodorus, on a certain occasion tending his flocks at this place, saw two rams fighting. In one of their attacks they happened to miss each other, and one of them falling, glanced with his horn against the rock and broke off a splinter, which appeared to Pixodorus so delicately white, that he left his flock, and instantly ran with it into Ephesus, where marble was then in much demand. The Ephesians forthwith decreed him honours, and changed his name to Evangelus, 'the good messenger'. Even to this day, the chief magistrate of the city proceeds every month to the spot, and sacrifices to him; the omission of which ceremony would, on the magistrate's part, be attended with penal consequences" (Falkener, 1862, pp. 225 - 226).

Industry in the city centered on construction work, crafts and arts,[9] although there is little reference made of the labouring class in public records.

Income for the construction and maintenance of public buildings and income for teachers, doctors, gym instructors and public servants, came from rented rural and urban real estate, taxes, custom duties and various tolls. A system of benefaction made up the shortfall - these benefactors were then honoured in turn by grants of citizenship, dedicated statues, the allocation of special seats in the theatre, freedom from taxes and various mentions in inscriptions (Jeffers, 1999).

As marble constructions were such an important part of the character of Ephesus, we will examine Ephesian marbles more closely. Marble came from many local quarries, north west of the city and between 10 - 25 kilometers away (Attanasio, 2003). The famous Belevi quarries were 12 kilometers away. Marble was used because of its colour and the fact that it could be extracted in large pieces. The marble blocks were marked and wooden wedges soaked in water were inserted into the scour marks to wedge the marble blocks apart. Using levers, the blocks were raised onto carts for transportation.

Ephesian marble is of a high quality and therefore a sought after export.[10] Preliminary studies thus far confirm Ephesian marble was used in the Octagon, the Temple on Curetes Street, the Serapeion and the Harbour Baths. It is known that after the first century A.D., imported marbles were used for special projects (OEAI, 2010).

D. Culture

While the cultural aspect of Ephesus is dealt with in much greater detail later in Chapter Three, some brief insights will be given here.

There appears to be consensus that Ephesus was the third largest city in world behind Rome and Alexandria. With an estimated population of around 200,000[11], Ephesus had a high population density, comparable to modern day Calcutta and Bombay. Given that approximately one quarter of the city was comprised of public space, the peoples' living areas were cramped and gave little privacy (Meeks, 1983). Koester, (2004) argues that the population growth must have been the result of migration, as the mortality and fertility rates of the day could not have produced a stable population.[12] The majority of the population of the city lived in poverty, in contrast to the minority elite.

Apart from its geographic and economic advantages, Ephesus was a cultured city full of philosophers. It was noted for its schools of painting, sculpture and medicine,[13] and for the mix of cultural elements that the array of nationalities brought. The Greco-Roman city which we are focusing on, was one of great complexity, with traditional Hellenistic values and ideas becoming increasingly Romanised.[14] Thus Paul's time in Ephesus was characterized by radical social transformation.

The Romans living in Ephesus were businessmen, bankers and traders, who maintained their own religious lives and did not participate in civic life (Strelan, 1996b). Rome had much to gain in taking control of wealthy Asia, acquiring essential trade routes. The Roman authorities allowed democratic practices of the Ephesians to remain unchanged and as long as taxes were paid and law and order followed, the city was left to govern itself.

The Ephesians were also noted for their idleness,[15] their cruel sports, their "effeminacy and luxury ..., and their admiration of being arrayed in vests of varied stuffs, of different colours, and of the most costly material..."(Falkener, 1862, p. 136). Social and recreational activities were

Voices of the Past

Pax Roma

Irenaeus wrote in Adv. haer 4.30.3, :"... the world is at peace through their agency; so much so that we are able to travel the highways and sail the seas wherever we wish without fear" (Koester, 2004, p. 30).

important for both the Romans and the Greeks, and buildings devoted for these purposes were important.

E. History

The city's history centers on its three hills -: Coressus (Bulbuldag), Pion (Panayir Dag) and Ayasoluk which can be identified in Figure 5. The most rapid growth of the city came during the Pax Roma, with the Mediterranean effectively becoming the 'Roman Sea' where there was great movement of goods, ideas and people. *Figure 7* summarizes the settlement history of Ephesus.

Date	Settlement History
5th- 3rd millennia	Oldest known settlements.
2nd half 14th century B.C.	Myceanaean remains of Ayasuluk Hill.
11th century B.C.	Greeks arrived. Androclus settled around Ephesus at the base of Mt Pion. He and his descendants ruled for around 400 years. One of the 12 city states of Ionia, Ephesus became known for its wealth.
9th century B.C.	First known existence of Artemis.
8th century B.C.	Cimmerians invade.
7th century B.C.	Lydians invade, ignoring the rope that the Ephesians had stretched from the Artemisian to the city (indicating a sacred precinct) in the hope that it would save the city from invasion.
circa 560 B.C.	Croesus builds an Artemis shrine and establishes the first city of Ephesus around Panayir Dagh. City wall built.
circa 550 B.C.	New city layout south west of Ayasoluk.
546 B.C.	Ruled and taxed by the Persians.
466 B.C.	Attaic sea alliance.
356 B.C.	Herostratus burned the Temple of Artemis on the night Alexander the Great born.

Voices of the Past

Alexander Ensuring Popularity

"He decreed that it now should be rebuilt on a magnificent scale and, furthermore, that the entire amount of the tribute hitherto paid by the city to the Persians should be transferred to the temple and its priesthood. ...Obviously it assured his popularity with the Ephesians..." (Seton Lloyd, 1989, p. 139).

Sacrifice at the temple

Plutarch wrote in Marcel. 21, : Alexander the Great "stopped at Ephesus, sacrificed to Diana, and accompanied the pomp with all of his troops, under arms, in order of battle" (Falkener, 1862, p.339).

Date	Settlement History
334 B.C.	Alexander the Great liberated Greek cities; he entered Ephesus without a fight; a new temple was begun to be built by taxes given to the Artemisian.
294 B.C.	Lysimachus forces a move of the city to the present site between Coressos and Pion by blocking sewers and flooding the citizens out.
281 B.C.	Lysimachus dies. Ephesus ruled by Seleucids.
133 B.C.	Province of Asia formed under the Romans when Attalus bequeathed his empire to the Romans.
89/88 B.C.	Mithridates VI Eupathor visited; the Ephesians sided with him as they were tired of the Roman taxes. More than 80,000 Romans were killed when he passed a decree ordering Roman residents in Asia Minor be put to death. Ephesus in so much debt that a decree was passed canceling all debts to the city and to the Temple.
84 B.C.	Roman General Sulla took control of Ephesus and tried people guilty of the Roman deaths; Ephesus was fined five years' worth of taxes.
74 B.C	Cicero visits.
73 B.C.	L Licinius Lucullus governor.
42 B.C.	Brutus and Cassius plunder Ephesus.[16]
41 B.C.	Mark Antony and Cleopatra visit. Arsinoe IV murdered.
33 B.C.	Augustus became emperor - declared Ephesus capital of province.[17]
17 A.D.	Major earthquake meant that Tiberius had to rebuild much of the city.
29 B.C.	Strabo visits.
23 A.D.	Major earthquake necessitating much rebuilding.
52 - 55 A.D.	Paul visits.
82 A.D.	First Neokoros granted.
96 A.D.	Temple of Domitian rededicated to Vespasian.
113 - 114 A.D.	Emperor Trajan visits.
August 29, 124 A.D.	Emperor Hadrian visits.

Voices from the Past

City Forced to Change Location

Strabo wrote in Geog 14.1.21, : "Lysimachus built a wall round the present city, but the people were not agreeably disposed to change their abodes to it. Therefore he waited for a downpour of rain and himself took advantage of it and blocked the sewers so as to inundate the city. The inhabitants were then glad to make the change. He named the city after his first wife Arisone. The old name, however, prevailed" (Murphy O'Connor, 2008, p. 17).

Ephesians Against Rome

Cicero wrote in Orator 2.18.75, : "Then [When Mithridates took Ephesus], the Ephesian even overthrew the Roman statues which had been erected in their cities - for which they paid the penalty not long afterward" (Murphy O'Connor, 2008, p. 39).

Ephesus supported Mithridates as they opposed being handed over to Rome by Attalus III and being taxed very heavily by the Romans (Murphy O'Connor, 2008).

Voices of the Past

Ephesians Kills Romans

Appian wrote in Mithrdatic Wars 12.4.22-23 : "Mithridates wrote secretly to all his satraps and city governors ... that on the thirtieth day thereafter they should set upon all Romans and Italians in their towns, and upon their wives and children and their freedmen of italian birth, kill them and throw their bodies out unburied, and share their goods with King Mithridates.
The Ephesians tore away the fugitives, who had taken refuge in the Temple of Artemis, and were clasping the images of the goddess, and slew them....
By which it was made very plain that it was as much hatred of the Romans that impelled the Asians to commit these atrocities."
(Murphy O'Connor, 2008, p. 41).

Voices of the Past

Sulla Fines Ephesus

Appian wrote in 12.9.63 : "The cities oppressed by poverty borrowed it at high rates of interest and mortgaged their theatres, their gymnasiums, their walls, their harbours, and every other scrap of public property, being urged on by the soldiers with contumely"
(Murphy O'Connor, 2008, p. 43).

Voices from the Past

Cleopatra has Arisone Killed

Josephus wrote in Ant 15.4.1. : "She was also by nature very covetous, and hesitated at no wickedness. She had already poisoned her brother, because she knew that he was to be king of Egypt and this when he was but fifteen years old; and she got her sister Arisone to be killed, by the means of Antony, when she was a supplicant at Diana's temple in Ephesus; for if there were but any hopes of getting money, she would violate both temples and sepulchers"
(Whitson, 1999, p. 498).

Voices of the Past

Antony and Cleopatra visit Ephesus

Plutarch wrote in 11.976b.:
"When Antony entered Ephesus, the women in the dress of Bacchanals, and men and boys habited like Pan and satyrs, marched before him. Nothing was to be seen through the whole city but ivy crowns, and spears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and pipes, while Antony was hailed by the name Bacchus: Bacchus! Ever kind and Free!"
(Laale, 2011, p. 167).

Date	Settlement History
262 A.D.	Major earthquake necessitating much rebuilding. Temple of Artemis plundered by the Goths.
third & fourth centuries A.D.	A series of earthquakes, combined with raids and poor economic conditions meant that the citizens lived amongst the ruins for decades. This was a critical point in the background of the city when the administrative, business and spiritual character changed. The harbour also silted up.
fifth century A.D.	There was a building and renovation program after three major earthquakes in the fourth century. Quarrying of buildings allowed for the urban landscape to change - there was an increase in the number of monumental fountains, victory monuments and decoration of buildings.
mid 6th century A.D.	St John's built; also other Christian chapels constructed.
654 / 655 A.D.	Ephesus attacked by Arabs; city relocates to Ayasoluk Hill.
1300 A.D.	Aydinogullari domination (Turkish tribe).
1500's A.D.	Ottoman Empire.
1863 - 74 A.D.	Excavations initiated by J.T. Wood.

Figure 7. Known chronology of Ephesus
(Laale, 2011; Ladstatter, 2012b; Ladstatter & Pulz, 2007; Lloyd, 1989; Murphy O'Connor, 2008).

Thus Ephesus, by the time of Paul, had become "a great centre of trade, finance, industry and entertainment supported by various festivals, athletic games and gladiatorial combats" (Yoncaci, 2007, p. 9). Along with the sacred element bestowed by Artemis on the city, the first century also saw a massive building program. However, John wrote a warning to the Ephesian church in Revelation 2:5 (New Living Translation) a few decades after Paul, saying, "If you don't repent, I will come and remove your lampstand from its place among the churches." That prophecy came true for Ephesus as it lost its domination among Christian communities centuries later.

F. Significant Sites of Ephesus

The physical remains of Ephesus have a story to tell. Excavations, which began in 1859 by T.J. Wood, have continued until today, and much has been learnt from the sites seen as one enters through Magnesian Gate passing through the city to the Stadium and beyond.

1. Magnesian Gate

(Refer to Appendix D for the location of each site within Ephesus)

Paul, at the beginning of his third missionary journey, probably entered Ephesus through the Magnesian gates, one of three entrances to Ephesus. From the gate, one branch of the road led to Magnesia, 24 kms south east of Ephesus and then led on to Miletus. At the end of this missionary journey, fellow believers from Ephesus would have left through this gate to meet with Paul in Miletus, from where he was returning to Jerusalem. The second branch in the road went around Mount Panayirdag to the Temple of Artemis and was thus part of the Processional Way. The third branch of the road led into the city itself.

The initial gate was built as part of the city walls by Lysimachus in the third century B.C., with a single passageway of about 3.7 meters wide entering a paved courtyard on the city side, from which you entered the city. It was built in the Doric order, and was renovated by Emperor Vespian (69 - 79 A.D.) who added two more entrances with towers, making it a triple arched ceremonial gate with a gatehouse. The north passage was used by pedestrians and the other two entrance ways were for wheeled vehicles (Wiplinger & Wlach, 1996).These passageways are shown in *Figure 8*.

Magnesian Gate was further restored in the third century, after which time it became incorporated into a graveyard which was probably associated with the basilica near the East Gymnasium (Scherrer, 2000; Wiplinger & Wlach, 1996). Marble sarcophagi, presumably of people of note, were located here, and sometime, possibly in the fourth century A.D., crosses were carved into the gate (Erdemgil, 1986; Foss, 2010).

Voices of the Past

Damianus Stoa

Philostratus, as cited in Scherrer (2000)
"Artemis will not miss her admirers when it rains" (p. 62).



Figure 8. Magnesian Gate showing the three entrances. The smaller entrance on the left was for pedestrians. In the foreground is the courtyard through which people and vehicles passed in order to enter the city.

Reprinted from Ephesus 100 Years of Austrian Research (p. 118), G. Wiplinger & G. Wlach, 1996, Vienna: Osterreichisches Archaologisches Institut. Copyright [1996] by Bohlau Verlag Ges. m. b. H. & KG. Reprinted with permission.

2. Damianus Stoa and Gladiator Cemetery

Built by the sophist Damianus in the second century A.D., this roofed walkway began at the Magnesian Gate, and followed the road to the Artemisian. The stoa was built as an incentive for people to continue to visit the temple even when raining - it allowed people dry access from the rain above and from water underfoot. It was approximately 2.5 kilometers long and over four and a half meters wide and uncharacteristically, the colonnade was not paved (Scherrer, 2000). An artist's impression is illustrated in *Figure 9*.

A paved vehicular road ran alongside the stoa and was thought to be built at the end of the second century (Koester, 2004). The stoa fell during one of the earthquakes but was not repaired, as by then Artemis had also lost her appeal (Whiplinger & Wlach, 1996).

Alongside the stoa various Hellenistic to late antiquity burial chambers and individual graves, including those of gladiators,[18] have been discovered. The skeletons of 68 gladiators show many skull and shin-bone wounds. In addition, 2 large pits filled with the burned remains of humans, wait for

analysis by anthropologists (Koester, 2004; Scherrer, 2000). The Sacred Way tradition also indicates that the following saints were buried along the route - St Timothy, St Hermione, Mary Magdalene, Philip the Evangelist, Aristobulus (brother to Apostle Barnabas) Paul of Thebes and Adauctus and Callisthena, who were martyrs (Foss, 2010).

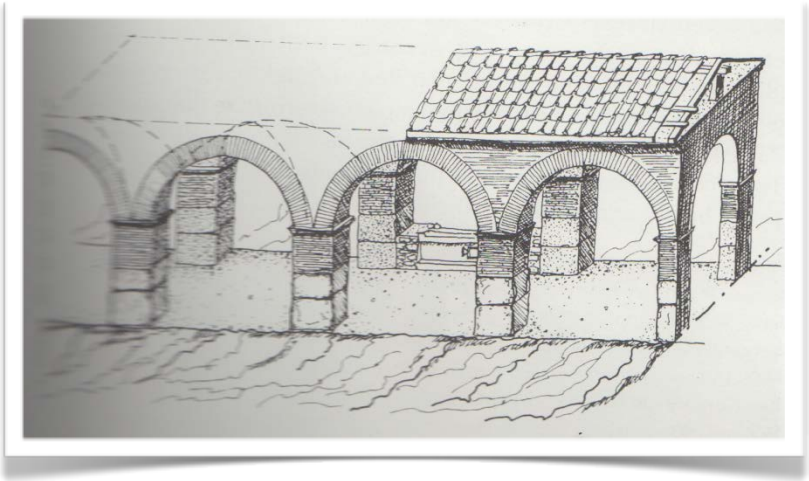


Figure 9. An artist's impression of the Stoa.

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The Administrative District

3. East Gymnasium and early Christian Basilica

The East Gymnasium, which is still under excavation, is located north of the Magnesian Gate and is estimated to have a footprint of 130 x 107 meters. Flavius Damianus, who designed the gym in the second half of the second century, had to take into account the Sacred Way which runs in front of it. It was known also as the Upper Bath or the Girl's Gymnasium - only because statues of maidens had been excavated from the site. The gym was attended by males from the ages of 6 years through to 16 years and consisted of two entities:-

a) the ephebeion or school, which was made up of classrooms, a dining room and "rooms in which the wrestlers oiled themselves and then rubbed themselves down with sand" (Erdemgil, Evren, Tuzun, Zulkadiroglu, Buyukkolanci, & Tuluk, 2000, p. 16). Here they learned reading, writing, grammar and music and had as their goal "Kalokagathia", that is, being

beautiful and noble. In addition to a lecture hall with stepped seating, there was also an Imperial Hall, in which a statue of Asclepius among others, was found (Scherrer, 2000).

b) the palaestra, which was an open colonnaded courtyard where training and competitions took place. The students were trained in gymnastics, running, discus, long and broad jump, wrestling and boxing (Erdemgil et al., 2000). There was also a typical bath complex, "including a caldarium, a tepidarium, and a frigidarium, along with other rooms (including a latrine at the west end of the complex)" (Fant and Reddish, 2003).

Rows of shops bordered the entrance on the road leading to Magnesian Gate, and statues of Damianus and his wife Vedia were found in the gate building (Erdemgil et al., 2000).

A fourth or fifth century church was built over the Hellensitic city walls just east of the lecture hall. While fire destroyed the gymnasium in the seventh century, Numidian marble has been identified as one of the construction materials (Scherrer, 2000).

Figure 10 shows an artist's representation of the East Gymnasium and *Figure 11* depicts the remains as they are today.

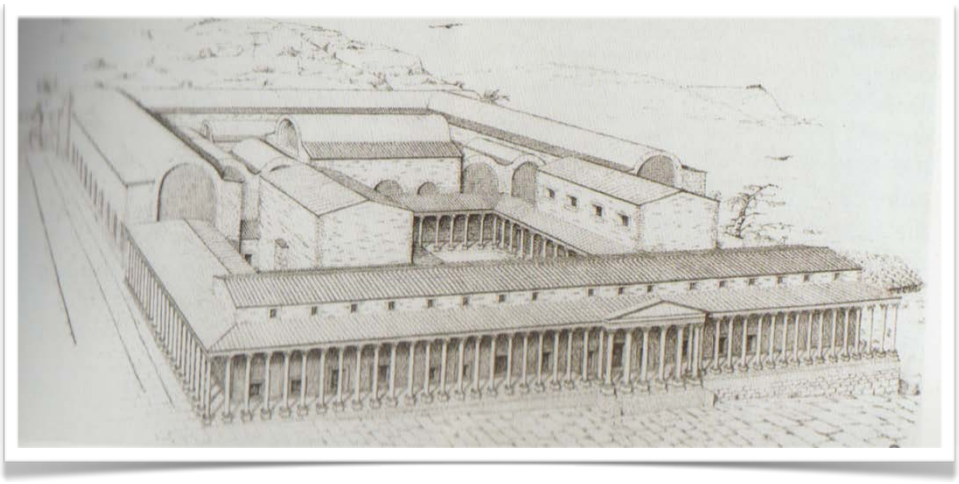


Figure 10. A reconstruction of the East Gymnasium.

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Figure 11. The remains of the East Gymnasium today.

4. Bath Complex (previously known as Varius Baths)

These baths have not been completely excavated and they are not typical of the other Ephesian baths. They consist of four bathing rooms, latrines, a building whose function was relaxation and exercise, and possibly a palaestra. The baths, shown in *Figure 12*, may have been incorporated into a late Hellenistic gymnasium - perhaps known as the Upper Gymnasium (Scherrer, 2000). Paul could possibly have used these baths.



Figure 12. The Upper Baths

Voices of the Past

Functions of Agora

Xenophon wrote in Xen.Hell.ii.4 : "...our peaceable walks in the agora" (Falkener, 1862, p. 67).

Xenophon records in Xen.Hell.ii.4 :"that Cleopatra being one day carried about the Agora of Ephesus in a litter, Antony, who was presiding in one of the courts, ... listening to the pleading of a celebrated orator, no sooner saw her, than, leaping from his throne, he ran to attend her: so forgetful was he of duty when enticed by pleasure" (Falkener, 1862, p. 67).

5. State Agora

The State Agora is also known as the Upper Agora because of its location in the higher part of the city. It was rectangular in shape, paved and it measured 160 x 73 meters. “Its purpose was to foster trade, so it approximated the function of an exchange. Its location among government buildings facilitated this role” (Erdemgil et al., 2000, p. 18).

While it was a semi sacred place, it was also a centre of administration used for official state ceremonies, judicial meetings, political meetings, elections, a place where bankers changed money, a place where demonstrations could be held, a centre for the government to control trade and a venue for state monitored religious functions (Erdemgil, 1986).

It was built around the first century B.C. by the Greeks and was last modified in the Roman time of Theodosius (379 - 395 A.D.). The eastern side of the agora was built over an old graveyard from 7th and 6th centuries B.C. and on the north side, there is evidence of the Sacred Way (Erdemgil, 1986, Scherrer, 2000). Paul would have been familiar with this area and its functions.

The actual agora was surrounded on three sides by a 2 storied stoa built by C. Sextilius Pollio, in 11 A.D., who dedicated it to Artemis, Augustus, Tiberius and the people of Ephesus. The columns were Ionic but later Corinthian columns were added for additional support. Within the stoa were various state official offices (Fant and Reddish, 2003; Kalinowski, 2002, Koester, 2004).

The agora itself was lined with marble benches and “an inscription carved on the south bench suggests that part of the square may have been used for ceremonial purposes by the clergy... This Agora seems to have been called the Forum of Theodosius, which suggests that one of the emperors of that name was responsible for work in or around that square” (Foss, 2010, p. 82). From South Road, which connected the Agora with Magnesian Gate, a

gatehouse gave access to the Agora. As space became a premium in later centuries, buildings filled in the open areas.

After the late Roman period, the city's administrative centre may have been moved. Landstatter and Pulz (2007), suggest alternative locations such as the Lower Agora, the palaestra of the Theatre Gymnasium or the Byzantine Governors Palace.

6. Temple in State Agora

This rectangular temple, 15 x 28 meters, was built in the middle of the agora, around the third quarter of the 1st century B.C. (Scherrer, 2000). While there is no dispute over the dating of the temple, there is a continued dispute over the dedication of it. "Artefacts found within such as a statue of Ammon, bells symbolizing the Egyptian goddess Isis, a marble portrait of Mark Antony suggest that the temple was dedicated to Isis" (Wilson, 2010, p. 209). However, no altar has been uncovered and identification as the Temple of Isis lies solely with the water basin being found in an identical position to other known temples of Isis. Because the temple was built to a Greek plan, alternate suggestions include a dedication to Dionysus, with Mark Antony and Cleopatra as its patrons, while others think it to be a temple to Augustus. The most recent interpretation was that it was dedicated by Roman citizens to the divine Caesar and Dea Roma, as Strabo is said to have recorded. The temple collapsed during the reign of Augustus and was never rebuilt, despite subsequent renovations being carried out to the agora (Scherrer, 2010).

Some report that with the rise of Christianity, the pagan buildings "suffered the fate typical of the age: most of the prytaneion was destroyed, a temple of Isis within the agora was razed, and the temple of Roma and Augustus was leveled and covered by houses" (Foss, 2010, p.473). Whether the temple fell from an earthquake or was destroyed by Christians, the fact is, that there is simply little remaining of it, as seen in the *Figure 13*.



Figure 13. The remains of the foundations of the temple in the Agora.

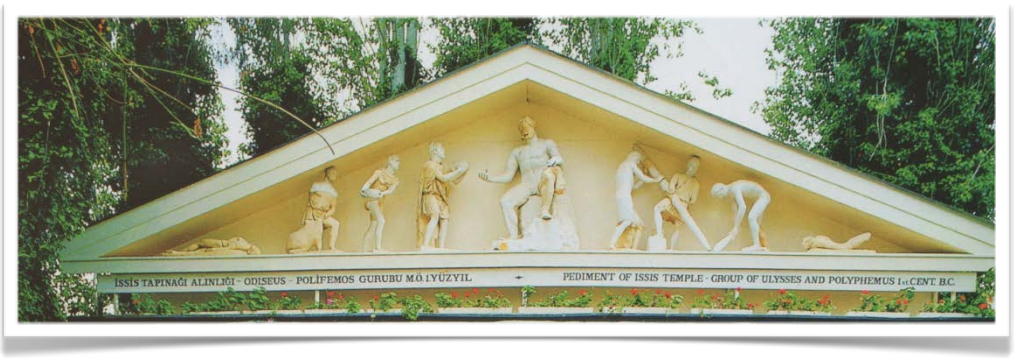


Figure 14. The pediment from the temple in Agora.

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The statue arrangement, depicted above in *Figure 14*, was originally from the temple in the Agora and was used later to decorate the Pollio Fountain. It depicts the escapades of Odyseus and Polyphemus. It is found now in the Ephesus Museum (Erdemgil, 1986).

7. Hydrekdochion of Bassus

This fountain in the S.W. corner of the agora, on Domitian Lane, was built and dedicated to the Roman Governor, Cauis Laecanius Bassus in approximately 80 - 81 A.D. Its facade had two stories and was decorated

with statues of gods, goddesses and marine life. It was the water supply for a number of surrounding buildings. The fountain faced Domitian's Temple and the basin rim shows worn grooves where people drew water. (Erdemgil et al., 2000; Fant & Reddish, 2003; Scherrer, 2000).

8. Nymphaeum - Surge tank of Marnas

The Nymphaeum was a water reservoir with water being supplied from the Marnas Spring by the Pollio aqueduct and then through terra cotta pipes under the agora into the upper parts of the city. Some of these pipes are seen in *Figure 15*. It was first constructed in the late first century A.D., and then enlarged and then restored in the second and fourth centuries respectively (Scherrer, 2000; Wilson, 2010).



Figure 15. Terracotta pipes, found in the Agora, which show clear signs of sedimentation.

For a fortified settlement like Ephesus, water had to be brought within the city walls from the mountain springs. As the city grew, more elaborate water networks had to be built to ensure a constant supply of water. Four aqueducts were constructed, a number of reservoirs, countless ceramic pipe lines, along with some open stone channels, some of which were up to 42 kilometers long. This sophisticated system allowed adjustable water pressure and flow rates. The flow rate was 100 liters per second (Erdemgil et al., 2000). "Individual water lines were designed to match water requirements of major structures en route, with residual supplies to second-level users at the terminus of each line" (Crouch & Ortloff, 1997, p. 2). The

Artemisian was fed by eight kilometers of pipes from the Selinus Spring (Erdemgil), 1986).

9. Basilica Stoa

Ancient cities boasted of their wealth by building colonnades and Ephesus was no exception. The Basilica Stoa was said to be one of the most impressive buildings in Ephesus and its remains are seen in *Figure 16*. This royal colonnade and gallery was accessed from the agora by four steps. The north stoa was converted into a basilica during the Augustan period. The basilica was covered by a wooden roof supported by two rows of Ionic columns decorated with bulls heads - see *Figure 17*. It contained three naves. Emperor Nero added a Chalcidicum to the western side where the imperial statues were probably placed.



Figure 16. The Basilica Stoa with the Odeon behind. Note the four steps leading up to the stoa.



Figure 17. The bull-headed capitals of the Basilica.

Later the 67 Doric columns, as illustrated in *Figure 18*, were turned into Corinthian columns.

The Basilica Stoa was Christianised in the 4th century - Artemis' name was erased and crosses were put on dedicatory statues. "These crosses were no doubt intended to exorcise the demons who were supposed to dwell in the heathen material of the statues" (Foss, 2010, p. 82). The basilica was destroyed by fire at the end of the 4th century and then flattened by an earthquake in approximately 500 A.D.. Subsequently, it was built over by houses and other infrastructure used to supply the water needs of the city. Statues of Augustus and Livia were discovered beneath the floor, perhaps buried after the Chalcidicum, (or large room), was converted into a church (Erdemgil, 1986; Scherrer, 2000).

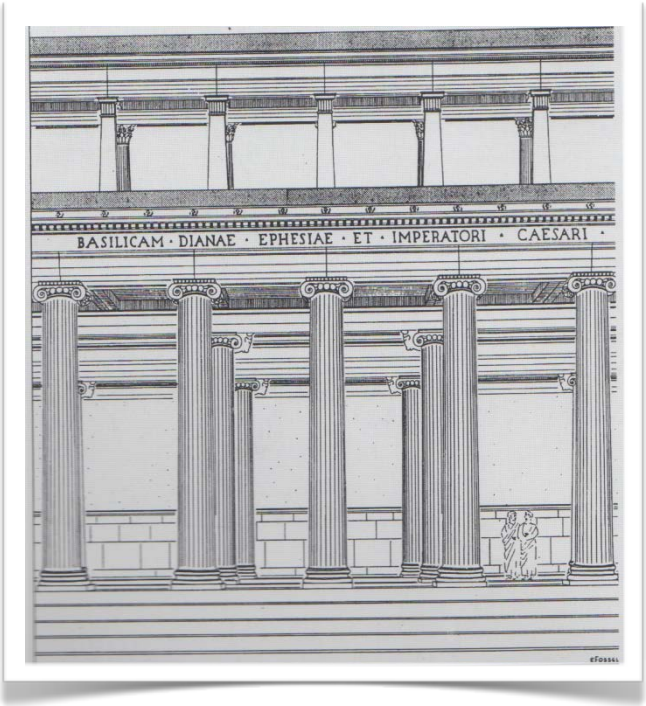


Figure 18. An artist's impression of the Basilica.

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10. Odeon or Bouleuterion

The Odeon was built into the southern slopes of Panayirdag in the 2nd century A.D. (probably around 150 A.D.) by Publius Vedius Antonius and his wife Flavia. Benefaction within Roman cities advanced their status from local to imperial importance and it was therefore sought after. However, for some reason, the Ephesians accepted the benefaction of Publius and Flavia reluctantly[19] (Kalinowski, 2002).

The Odeon consists of 3 main sections. a) The stage building or skene which was 2 storied and embellished with columns. It had a raised podium with 3 doors opening from the stage. b) The seating or the cavea consisting of 22 stairs with a diazoma dividing the seating into the upper and lower sections, where the lower seats were wider than the upper and the steps were decorated with lions feet, as seen on *Figure 21*. Wood (1890) indicated that his workmen had trouble with heat and light reflecting off these marble seats. The top section had red granite Corinthian pillars. The Odeon was entered from both sides by vaulted roofed staircases, with one of the entrances seen in *Figure 20*. c) The marble semi-circular orchestra or actors

stage had 5 doors opening on to it from the skene. Over life sized statues of the sons and granddaughters of emperors stood on statue bases on the stage (Fant & Reddish, 2003; Foss, 2010; Keskin, 2011). “What better way to demonstrate his [Publis] gratitude for Pius’ support than to erect a statue group to the imperial dynasty” (Kalinowski, 2002, p. 144). The odeon is pictured below in *Figure 19*.



Figure 19. The cavea of the Odeon, showing the upper and lower sections. On the far left one can see the entrance to the Odeon.



Figure 20. The arched entrance of the Odeon.



Figure 21. Detail of the lion's foot decorating the Odeon's steps.

The Boule or Senate, which consisted of aristocrats, met there to discuss important city matters. Inscriptions provide evidence that the Boule discussed and passed proposals which were then taken to joint meetings in the Theatre with the Demos, where they were rubber stamped. These meetings were held at least once a month (Rogers, 1992a). However the Bouleuterion, which seated approximately 1500 spectators, was generally used for concerts, where musicians played flutes, lyres and citharas or poetry was recited (Cimrin, 2004; Erdemgil, 1986; Erdemgil et al, 2000; Padfield, 2005; Rogers, 1992a).

As there are no gutters or drains for rainwater, it is thought that the Odeon was covered by a wooden or tent type roof. The building did not have a monumental facade for it was hidden behind, and separated by, a deep rainwater drain from the Basilica Stoa (Scherrer, 2000).

The building collapsed in the 4th century A.D. and the marble seats were used to rebuild other buildings (Erdemgil, 1986). "A large and carefully

incised cross over the East entrance to the building shows that it was used in the Christian period" (Foss, 2010, p. 80).

11. Prytaneion or Palace of the Council

The Prytaneion was the second most important building in Ephesus, the first being the Temple of Artemis. It was "a place for conducting political business, entertaining official guests, and hosting banquets and receptions" (Fant & Reddish, 2003, p. 187). Construction began in the Hellenistic period and was possibly completed by Emperor Augustus during Roman times. It was the city hall, the religious and political quarters of the city where "the prytanis or city magistrate conducted his duties as clerk of Ephesus. The prytanis also bore the title asiarch, an official who led the provincial assembly" (Wilson, 2010, p. 210). It was from this place that the 'mayor' in Acts 19:35 would have come from to quell the riot. During Hellenisitc times, it is known to have also served as a guesthouse (Laale, 2011).

The Prytaneion, with its two courtyards and gardens, was designed to look like a temple, with eight Doric columns on its facade on which were carved the names of the kouretes, as seen in *Figures 22 and 24*. "Until the time of Augustus, these kouretes were the monks of the temple of Artemis. When the temple began to lose its prominence, the monks were reassigned to the prytaneion" (Erdemgil et al., 2000, p. 20).

12. Cult Room of Hestia Boulia

On the north east of this complex lay the cult room of Hestia Boulia as seen in *Figure 23*.[20] "In each of the four corners of the cult room stood two columns formed in the shape of a heart, topped with decorative capitals. The eastern part of the Prytaneion was planned as a unit with the altar to Hestia. The holy fire, which never burned out, burned on the altar" (Erdemgil, 2000, p. 20). Notably though, Scherrer (2000), points out that the sacred heart could also have simply been "a sort of buffet sideboard" (p. 86). The flame, which burned for centuries, was the location from which the citizens were able to light their fires for their homes. Families held simple services each day, with meal rituals such as offerings of wine and incense to the

goddess, common practice (Erdemgil et al., 2000). The fire, said to originate from lava in the middle of the earth, represented life energy, and thus should never be extinguished. All babies were carried around the altar of Hestia for a blessing (Goddessgift, n.d.).

Those tending the fire, the prytaneis, were notable citizens of both sexes who served Hestia and were responsible for her worship, although they "were executive rather than religious officers" (Kajava, 2004, p. 2). Erdemgil (1986) states,

> The flame symbolized the existence of the city and the hearths in all the houses in Ephesus. In the name of Hestia, the goddess of the hearth, the prytanis assumed the job with great pleasure. The pyrtanis also supervised all the cults in the city, and made sure that daily sacrifices were carried out. The expenses incurred were paid by the prytanis (pp. 49 - 50).

These Artemisian priests and priestess' lived in courtyard rooms which surrounded a sacrificial pool (Koester, 2004). Artemis, along with Hestia, ruled the city, however, from the second century A.D., other popular and useful gods began to be worshipped here. e.g. Demeter, the giver of daily bread. This followed a skepticism where the educated turned to philosophy, the uneducated to other new religions and yet others to Christianity (Koester, 2004).

Along with the introduction of Christianity, there came changes to the function of the cult. Although the government function was still important, "the religion with which it had been so closely tied was effectively extinct" (Foss, 2010, p. 80). The edifice was dismantled by Christians around 400 A.D. and parts were used to build the Scholastica Baths. The columns and bases were used along the Embolos. In the fourth century A.D., three Roman copies of the statue of Artemis were buried, some say ritually, under the floor (Wilson, 2010). However, there is much debate over why they were buried. Known as 'big Artemis', the 'beautiful Artemis' and the 'small Artemis', and despite being a little damaged, these statues show no evidence

of Christian tampering (Koester, 2004; Wiplinger & Wlach, 1996). "Beautiful Artemis" is pictured in *Figure 25*.



Figure 22. Two of the Doric columns which supported the architrave of the Prytaneion.



Figure 23. Looking toward the east wall of the Cult Room of Hestia Boulia.



Figure 24. A detail of inscriptions on a column.

The names of Curetes and those associated with cults were inscribed on columns. “This phenomenon of writing names on pillars recalls the promise made to the Christian ‘priests’ at Philadelphia where they would be pillars in God’s heavenly temple inscribed with the name of God and the new Jerusalem” (Revelation 1:6, 3:12) (Wilson, 2010, p. 212).



Figure 25. The "beautiful Artemis" as she was found buried in a side room in the Prytaneion.

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13.Temples of Dea Roma and Divuis Julius

These Ionic prostyle temples, pictured in *Figure 26*, were found next to the bouletarian in a columned courtyard and they were part of the sacred precinct. A podium marks the spot of the small double temple. The cults that were worshipped there were initially introduced for the Roman citizens. Erdemgil (1986) writes:

> When Emperor Augustus came to Ephesus in 29 B.C., he gave permission for the construction of these temples. Upon completion between the years 4 and 14 A.D. one of these was dedicated to the Roman Goddess Dea Roma and the other to Divius Julius Caesar. (p. 49)

It was a privilege to be given the honour of building these neokoros or 'temple warden' temples and the first to be given to Ephesus. This held certain advantages "but the imperial cult was not the official religion in the

Roman provinces. The intent... was, ... to foster the unity of the various ethnic groups in the Roman empire" (Erdemgil et al., 2000, p. 19).

During Paul's time, these cults were still overshadowed by the worship of Artemis but by the late first century A.D. "emperor worship had become quite widespread" (Filson, 1945, p. 77).



Figure 26. The remains of the Temple of Dea Roma and Divus Julius. The building was destroyed in late antiquity and was replaced by private dwellings (Foss, 2010).

Scherrer (2000), places a different interpretation on the site - he suggests that it was for worshipping Artemis, whose statues were found locally, and for Augustus - as mentioned in an inscription. Strelan (1996b) states that imperial cults declined in importance after Augustus, but one could question this given the plethora of monuments dedicated to cultic practices still around at the end of the second century A.D.. They include:

> 4 imperial temples, a monumental Antonine altar, imperial porticos, 4 gymnasia associated with the imperial cult and numerous statues and images in strategic positions throughout the city. The triple-arched gate and entrance to the public square of Ephesus carried strong impressions of imperial presence and power; and fountains and aqueducts donated by emperors simply added to the beneficiary and grand nature of Roman imperial presence. (p. 101)

14. Memmius Monument

The Memmius Monument was constructed from local stone and marble in the first century B.C., during the reign of Augustus. Located on the north side of Domitian Square, its four facades are shaped like a victory crown. Its base sits on a platform of four steps and on each side there are figures which have been placed in niches. The remains are pictured in *Figure 27*.



Figure 27. Memmius Monument with figures of Memmius, his father Gaius and grandfather Sulla. The monument was freestanding, thus able to be walked around. This monument represents one of the few Hellenistic remains in Ephesus.

A Roman inscription on an architrave states “Caius Memmius, the saviour, is the son of Casius, grandson of Cornelius Sulla” (Erdemgil, 2000, p. 53). The statue was built as a symbol of Roman authority[21] and would have been

viewed by Paul as he walked by. Two artists' interpretations of the monument are seen in *Figure 28.*

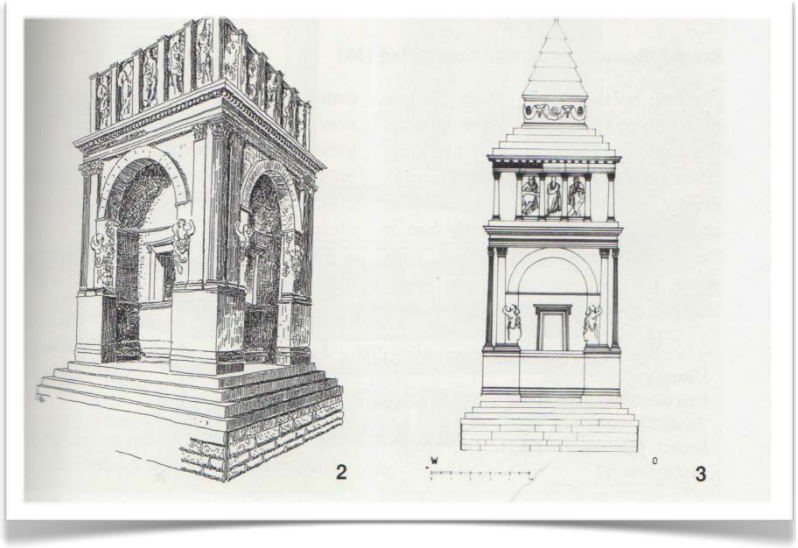


Figure 28. Reconstructive evolution of the Memmius Monument. The left hand side drawing was the initial suggestion, but this has since been modified to the structure on its right.

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A fountain was built on the western side of the monument a couple of decades later. Four Corinthian columns towered above the basin, and are evident on the left hand side of *Figure 29* below. "Around 300 C.E., statues of the emperors Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius Chlorus, and Galerian were added in front of the fountain" (Fant & Reddish, 2003, p. 188). Scherrer (2000) proposes that the round structure found in the vicinity, is in fact the fountain belonging to the Memmius monument - refer to *Figure 30.*



Figure 29. The remains of the Memmius Monument. The four Corinthian columns (LHS) were on the walls of the pool.



Figure 30. Fountain of the Memmius Monument. It had a narrow rectangular pool in front of it and its decorations included garlands and bulls heads.

15. Domitian Square

Domitian Square is found at the junction of the Kathodos, the road which runs between the Prytaneion and Domitian Square, and Curetes Street.

As you enter this square, there are two statue bases on either side of the road, which are pictured below in *Figures 31 and 32*.

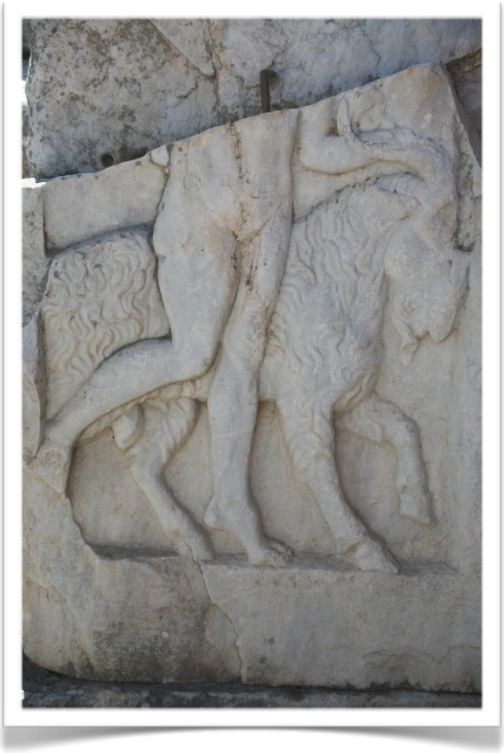


Figure 31. Right hand side statue base. It shows Hermes holding a goat by its horns.



Figure 32. Left hand side statue base. It depicts Hermes holding a ram with one hand and a caduceus in the other. The other face depicts a tripod with a snake entwined through it. (Fant & Reddish, 2003).

In the west of the square are two features which have been moved here from other parts of the city. The Fountain for the Memmius Monument was moved in around the fourth century, and the flying Nike, shown in *Figure 33*, holding a wreath of laurel leaves (a victory emblem) and a palm branch, actually belonged to the Hercules Gate on Curetes Street[22] (Wilson, 2010).



Figure 33. The flying Nike.

On the eastern side of the square, the Chalcidicum backs on to the agora and was in fact an extension of the Basilica Stoa. “The lower part of the building, visible today, consisted of three rooms accessible from Domitian Square, while the upper part opened onto the centre aisle of the Basilica Stoa” (Fant & Reddish, 2003, p. 188). It is depicted in *Figure 34.*



Figure 34. The Chalcidicum of the Basilica Stoa. It displayed an erased inscription, thought to refer to Nero (Scherrer, 2000).

16. Temple of Domitian

There has been much debate over the name of this huge temple complex. Generally known as the Temple of Domitian, it is also known as the Temple of Flavian Sebastoi - the family name of Domitian, Titus his brother, and their father Vespasian. (Sebastoi was a name given to emperors). The Temple of Domitian was erected in A.D. 89 - 90 to honour the Roman Emperor and to ensure his goodwill.[23] Domitian insisted on being called ' our lord and god'[24] (Koester, 2004, p. 246). "The inhabitants of Ephesus understood how to satisfy a despotic ruler consumed by self - absorption" (Erdemgil et al., 2000, p. 24). However, after Domitian was assassinated by a servant, at the request of his wife, "he suffered the official condemnation of his memory (damnatio memoriae), which led to the obliteration of his name and image" (Fant & Reddish, 2003, p. 189). To protect their status of 'temple warden', the Ephesians rededicated the temple to Domitian's father, Vespasian. (Biguzzi, 1998; Fant & Reddish, 2003). Scherrer, (2000), clarifies that the temple was known as a "common temple of the emperors of Asia in Ephesus and was originally erected in honour of Domitian and his deified predecessors" (p. 92).

The temple was built between the commercial and political centers of the city, on a platform at the junction of the city's most important streets.[25] It ensured that the city was not the exclusive domain of Artemis.

Figures 35 and 36 detail the plan of the temple and picture the altar.

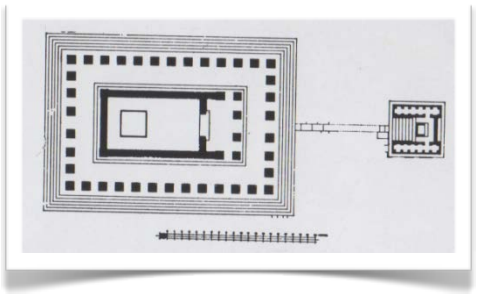


Figure 35. Floor plan of the Domitian Temple. It had a prostyle plan, 8 x 13 columns forming the perimeter, with 4 extra columns on a porch in front of the cella. On the north there was a u-shaped altar, some 10 meters in front of the temple (Foss, 2010).

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Figure 36. The altar as found in 1930.

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Figure 37. A section of the columned parapet in front of the temple.

Part of the staircase is seen in the centre of the photo. The eastern part of the terrace now holds the Inscription Museum.

The temple dominated all parts of the city. It was built on a high terrace which sat on vaulted foundations and thus a monumental staircase (as seen in *Figure 37*) was required for entry to the temple. Measuring 50 x 100 meters, the temple also boasted a massive seven meter high statue of Titus, sections of which were found in the substructure. Along the temples facade were a number of deities and behind them, the emperors. Again, this would only serve to reinforce the idea that the gods and the emperors were united (Trebilco, 2007; Wilson, 2010). *Figures 40 and 41* show some remains of the colonnade which fronted the building.

The statue in front of the temple would have been visible from the harbour. Friesan (1964), as cited in Biguzzi (1998), indicates that this statue has been identified as Domitian's brother Titus (79 - 81 A.D.) by the lines on his face, and may in fact have been part of a group of up to five statues. The head and left arm are in Ephesus museum and the right arm and legs have also been found but have not yet been reconstructed. Botha (1988) as cited in Biguzzi, (1998) reports that the right leg of the statue bore the weight, with the left leg flexed at the knee and the left heel lifted off the ground. While the head, arms and legs were of marble, the chest was made of wood, which suggests that these statues must have been under cover, otherwise they would have deteriorated (Basim, 2005; Biguzzi, 1998; Erdemgil et al., 2000). The head and left arm of Titus are shown in *Figure 38.*



Figure 38. Remaining fragments of Titus.The arm and hand were sculptured out of one piece of marble.

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Domitian granted Ephesus the privilege of holding the title neokoros or 'keeper of the Emperor's temple'. As evidenced in the *Figure 39*, this privilege was granted on four occasions.

Neokoros Number	Date	Building
First	A.D.89 - 90	Temple of Domitian
Second	A.D.128	Temple of Hadrian / Olympeion
Third	A.D. 211 - 212	under Caracalla and Greta
Fourth	A.D. 251 - 260	under Valerian

Figure 39. Neokoros titles granted to Ephesus. The title of Neokoros (owner of warden of an Imperial Temple) indicated to all cities in the Roman empire that Ephesus was their representative in paying homage to the new dynasty. The title was very prestigious (Laale, 2011).

Domitian deified himself rather than waiting for others to do it after his death. In fact, he deified himself one day after the previous emperor (his brother) died.

Worshipping God was seen as a rival to the Emperor and to worship gods other than those whom the Emperor insisted in worshipping was an insult. In protest, Christians and Jews would wave to the pagan temple as they passed, rather than kiss it. Persecutions or punishments may have increased by the building of his temple at that time - sometimes accused Christians had to sacrifice to an image of the Emperor. It also became a crime to have connections with the early Christians. However, while Domitian is generally known for persecution of Christians, there is little evidence to support this in Ephesus[26] (Renan, 2005).



Figure 40. Part of the columned parapet of the Temple of Domitian. A colonnade, of which these 2 columns were a part of, was built to hide the warehouses and shops on the lower section of the temple. These columns were later used to rebuild the agora (Foss, 2010). The left hand side is a male and the right hand side a female.



Figure 41. Figure of Titus?

It has been suggested that the male figure may represent Titus, who ransacked Jerusalem and succeeded his father Vespasian. A more recent interpretation by Scherrer (2000), suggests however that it is a barbarian caryatid.

17. Inscription Museum

The inscription museum, which lies under Domitian terrace, was originally used as storerooms. It is entered in the SW of the State Agora. The vaulted corridor has 102 niches, which were probably used for lighting and to aid air flow (Scherrer, 2000).

18. Pollio Fountain

The Pollio Fountain is found to the west of the agora and on the eastern side of Domitian Square. Originally it was a tomb monument for Pollio, a benefactor of the city. In 97 A.D. it was renovated as a fountain and dedicated to C. Sextillius Pollio. The front of the fountain was covered in marble slabs which were decorated with statues. In *Figure 42* below, the semi- circular apsidal wall can be seen. In front of and in the middle of the basin there was a base for a group of statues - which are thought to have been part of the Temple of Isis. These depicted Odysseus after the Trojan war. (Erdemgil et al., 2000; Erdemgil et al., 1986; Fant & Reddish, 2003).



Figure 42. Remains of the Pollio Fountain. This arch supported a triangular pediment.

19. Heracles Gate

Heracles Gate spanned the junction of Domitian and Curetes Streets. Built probably in the fourth century A.D., only two side columns remain today, as pictured in *Figures 43 and 44*. An inscription provides evidence that it built by Flavius Constantius, a proconsul (Foss, 1979). The gate was originally two storied, "with a broad, arched passageway carried by six columns (Erdemgil et al, 2000, p. 26). Its reliefs, dated to the second century, were quarried from another part of the city in the fourth century after an earthquake. The relief of the flying Nike, found close by in Domitian Square "used to be situated at the corners where the arch joins the pillars with Corinthian capitals" (Erdemgil, 1986, p. 63). This gate prevented access by wagons and other wheeled vehicles, which meant that from the fourth century, Curetes Street was pedestrian access only, dividing the city center from the suburbs (Ladstatter & Pulz, 2007).

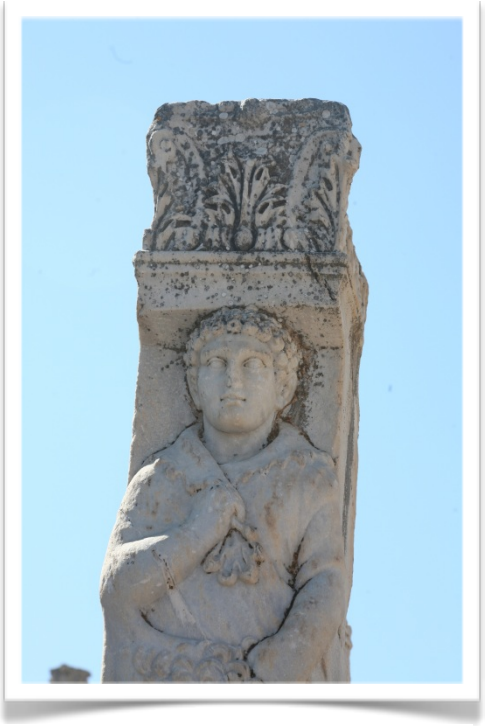


Figure 43. Heracles, the god of power and strength, wrapped in a lion's skin.



Figure 44. The narrow entrance through the columns of the middle gate.

The columns prevented wheeled access and inadvertently allowed Christian and other graffiti to remain etched on the marble road, as the graffiti was free from abrasion by wheels.

Voices of the Past

Noisy City Streets

Juvenal wrote in The Sixteen Satires1 : "How much sleep. I ask you, can one get in lodgings here? Unbroken nights - and this is the root of the trouble - are a rich man's privilege. The wagons thundering past through those narrow twisting streets, the oaths of draymen caught in a traffic- jam - these alone would suffice to jolt the doziest sea-cow of an Emperor into permanent wakefulness" (Jeffers, 1999, p. 48).

20. Curetes Street

The construction of this street, (and Marble Road), and their colonnades and porticos, are typical of processional streets, from where citizens could view the religious parades. The logistical aspect of business would also have played a role in the streets design.

Curetes Street was bounded on the south by Heracles Gate and ended in front of the Celsus Library, where it joined Marble Road. The street is between 6.8 - 10 meters wide, 200 meters long and it drops 20 meters down towards the Library. An indication of the width of the street can be seen in *Figure 46.* This marble road, with the sewer running beneath it, runs diagonally across the city, and was out of place in the Hippodamian grid plan[27](Crouch, 2008).

Koester, (2004) explains that the road simply followed the topography and the route of the archaic Processional Way. He indicates also that the street was a burial site, with graves lining the road. It contained the tombs of notables such as Androkolos, Arisone IV, C. Sextilius Polio (buried in a grave built into the wall of the Agora), Mazaeus and Mithridates (buried next to the gate named after them) and Memmius at the top end of the street. Small alleyways connected the numerous districts from this central road. The street we see today dates to the fourth century, when many columns were replaced from elsewhere in the city after extensive earthquake damage. The street was so named for the many columns, as seen in *Figure 45*, on the north side of the street which had originally been found in the Prytaneion where lists of Curetes (priests who formed the largest cultic union in the city and who looked after the flame of Hestia) were inscribed on the columns.



Figure 45. The columns from which Curetes Street obtained its name. The fact that few columns actually match indicates that they were 'quarried' from other parts of the city.

Normally the inscriptions and decrees were found in the Agora, which was the city centre. However, "as the formal marketplaces of classical antiquity were transformed or abandoned in favour of shops along colonnaded streets, dedications and decrees moved to the new commercial centres" (Foss, 2010, p. 67). This allowed the populace to readily view the inscriptions and shops and also proved a platform from where processions could be viewed, as seen in *Figure 47*. The street was also lined with statues, which sat atop statue bases like the one depicted in Figures *48 and 51*. These statues generally represented proconsuls, emperors and distinguished Ephesians.[28]



Figure 46. Curetes Street, looking towards the library.



Figure 47. Steps leading up to the shop fronts from Curetes Street. While the shops were not large, there were many of them.



Figure 48. An example of a statue base which lined Curetes Street.

As the road was paved only in 94 - 95 A.D., Paul walked this street when it was dirt and he would have been more familiar with tombstones and graves lining the street than statues and columns.

Upper End of Curetes Street

The upper end of Curetes Street was lined with colonnades, behind which were small shops, offices, workshops and storehouses, which in turn stood in front of houses. “The facades of the shops which faced onto the colonnades were covered with frescoes, apparently also of geometric design, giving the whole a bright and colourful appearance” (Foss, 2010, p. 69). An example of a mosaic from a stoa is shown in *Figure 49.* “...numerous capitals and architraves of the various colonnades bore crosses and great numbers of Christian symbols and inscriptions were scratched on the buildings and pavement of the Embolos” (Foss, 2010, p. 69). *Figure 50* is one of many examples of a Christian symbol etched onto the sidewalk.

Other graffiti included comments on various victories, boards for games involving dice and other advertisements.



Figure 49. Mosaic in front of Terrace houses – part of the Alytarchus Stoa.



Figure 50. Christian symbol etched in the marble on Curetes Street.



Figure 51. Headless statue on Curetes Street.

Voices of the Past

Christians in Ephesus

Pliny, writing to Trajan, as cited in Wood (1890):

"What is to be done with these people? Are those who repent to be pardoned, or is it to no purpose to renounce Christianity after having once professed it? Trajan mercifully replies, 'The Christians need not be sought after'". (p. 18)

Lower End of Curetes Street or the Embolos

The lower end of the street, often called the Embolos, displayed the public buildings and honorific tombs. From Hadrian's time the Embolos "was filled with temples, nympheia, baths, honorary tombs, and gates; private dwellings along the main streets more or less disappeared" (Koester, 2004, p. 12). The street, which ends in the square in front of the Celsus Library, was part of an important intersection; and in later years "...the square was dominated by a great cross which had characteristically replaced a statue of the former patroness of the city, Diana of the Ephesians" (Foss, 1977, p. 473). The Greek and Roman inscriptions referring to Artemis were also erased. Foss (2010) indicated that this symbolized a change in the guardianship of Ephesus. It is also thought that the massive Parthian monument may have been located there (Erdemgil et al., 2000).

21. Fountain of Trajan

This two-storied fountain was constructed by asiarch C. Tiberius Claudius Aristian between 102 and 114 A.D. to honour Artemis and Emperor Trajan, who had visited Ephesus during that time. The reconstruction we see today in *Figure 52* is not proportional to the original, *(Figure 54)* the height of which they were not able to ascertain, although many believe it to have been over 12 meters high (Erdemgil, 1986).



Figure 52. Fountain of Trajan.

The pool, edged by columns, measured 20 x 10 meters and was filled with water via a fountain beneath Trajan's feet. An aqueduct, whose source was some 40 kilometers away in the upper Cayster Valley, supplied the water. Within the niches were statues of Dionysus, Satyr, Aphrodite and the emperor's family (now in Ephesus Museum) (Erdemgil et al., 2000; Wilson, 2010).

In the central niche, and pictured in *Figure 53*, stood a 12 metre high statue of Trajan, "with one foot resting on a globe while pensively overlooking, so it seems, the whole of the Roman Empire. The posture seems appropriate, for under Trajan the Roman Empire reached its greatest extent" (Laale, 2011, p. 220). The double sized statue demonstrated the power and presence of Rome. All that remains today are the foot and a part of the chest. The fountain was possibly destroyed by the earthquake of 362 A.D. (Scherrer, 2000).

Voices of the Past

Water in Baths not Hot Enough!

Polystra wrote in V.A.1.XVI : "Visitors would often complain that the water was not hot enough, and at such times the agitated clients may have 'wanted to stone the governor' whom they held responsible for their temporary discomfort" (Laale, 2011, p. 209 - 209).



Figure 53. The remains of the Statue of Trajan, resting on an inscribed base.

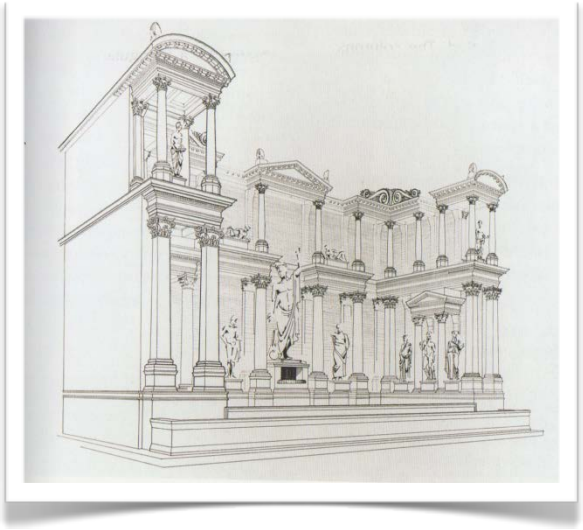


Figure 54. Reconstruction of Trajan's Fountain.

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22. Scholastica Baths

The Scholastica Baths, located between Bath and Academy streets, were part of a three storied complex, which also included the latrines and a brothel. Academy Street was roofed and joined the baths to the latrines (Wiplinger & Wlach, 1996).

The first floor was for used for bathing and it contained the furnace and boiler which provided hot water for the baths, plus a hypocaust system, which provided heat for the rooms through a series of pipes in the walls and channels underneath the floors. Shops fronted Curetes Street from where

one entered the complex - the other entrance was in Bath Street. The second floor was utilized for massage and scrubs. These baths were not typical of the day in that there is no palaestra, they were not associated with a gymnasium and the rooms were arranged asymmetrically (Erdemgil, 1986; Erdemgil et al., 2000; Keskin, 2011; Wiplinger & Wlach, 1996).

Aside from bathing, reading and massages, the most important function of bath complexes of that era, was for socializing. “Relaxation in a bath could last for hours, during which people could hold serious political conversations over hot and cold spiced wine” (Erdemgil et al., 2000, p. 26). Visitors would undress in the apdoyterium where there was a statue of Scholastica, sweat in the sudotorium, wash in the caldarium, socialize in the tepidarium where philospohy and politics would be discussed, and swim in the cold eliptical pool of the frigidarium. The baths were open for the rich and poor alike and could cater for 1000 men and women in separate sections, in both public and private rooms. The rich tended to visit in the afternoons with their slaves, and visitors were welcome to reside there for days. The floors were of marble mosaics and the marble walls displayed inscriptions painted in red. There is some evidence that these inscriptions mentioned the names of Paul and John. The rooms were also adorned with statues and portraits of people like Socrates and the poet Meander, in addition to an Egyptian river god (Erdemgil, 1986; Foss, 2010; Keskin, 2011; Koester, 2004).



Figure 55. The remaining arch of the third floor.

The building was already in use in 100 A.D., having already been restored several times - therefore it was known to Paul, although not in the same form as we see today. After the fourth century earthquake, the Scholastica Baths were extensively renovated by quarrying from other buildings - such as the Prytaneion (Wiplinger & Wlach, 1996). "... a woman named Scholastica adapted it into the present condition, making it available to hundreds of people in the 4th century. ... [However], only a massive arch of the third floor is left" (Keskin, 2011, p. 39) - as evidenced in *Figure 55*. *Figure 56* shows the now headless statue of Scholastica, which stands on Curetes Street.



Figure 56. The headless statue of Scholastica, found on Curetes Street.

"The complimentary verse dedication which accompanied the statue praised not only the piety and wisdom of Scholastica but also her generosity in providing money for restoration of the building which had partially collapsed" (Foss, 2010, p. 70). She was a Christian and her statue was placed in a niche in early Christian times. Foss (2010) also indicates that the baths lost their importance after Roman times but were used again for a while from the 1300's A.D.

23. Latrines

These public toilets are on the western side of the baths and could cater for around 50 people at a time. The stone bench toilets bordered three sides of a

roofed courtyard, where a pool in the centre was open to the weather to allow ventilation. Musicians stood on a platform near the pool playing music to mask bodily sounds. “Fresh water flowed in a channel in front of the seats, while running water underneath the seats carried the wastes away. Sponges attached to sticks were used for wiping and then rinsed in the channel in front of the seats” (Fant & Reddish, 2003, p. 191). The water then flowed into the sewage network, and therefore assisted in eliminating odours. Public latrines were the domain of men, who had to pay to enter. Emperor Vespasian had them built in order for uric acid to be saved for sheep and goatskin tanning processes[29] (Heierli, Harlmann, Munger & Walther, 2004). *Figures 57 and 58* depict the latrines and water channel.



Figure 57. The Latrines.

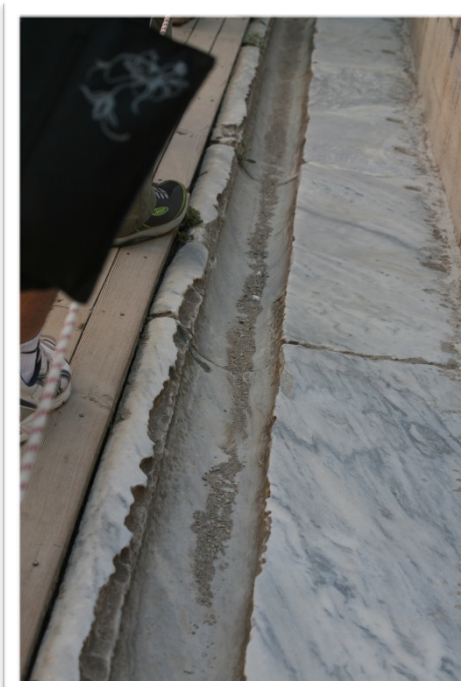


Figure 58. The freshwater channel used for the dipping sponges.

A cross can be found across the architrave of the latrine and a relief of Artemis, located on Academy Street, was found defaced (Foss, 2010).

24. Bath Street

Bath Street is a narrow paved street which runs parallel to Marble Road and leads to the side entrance of the Theatre and to the villa above it. It is located to the east of the Baths of Scholastica and it connected a residential district to other areas of the city. Presumably there are many more houses on the hill above the Embolos which were accessed by Bath Street, but they are still waiting to be excavated (Foss, 2010). Bath Street is pictured in *Figure 59.*



Figure 59. Looking up Bath Street from Curetes Street.

25. Brothel

Inscriptions in the latrines indicate that the brothel was next door. This "house of pleasure", so called because of an inscription found there, mentions the word paidiskeion. However, this word also denotes a public latrine, and there is some uncertainty whether the inscription may have been from elsewhere. The brothel was dedicated to Venus or Aphrodite, whose

statues stood inside. Found in the bottom of a well, which is still in use, was a statue of Priapos, with a huge phallus. Some suggest this as proof that the building was used as a brothel (Keskin, 2011; Scherrer, 2000).

The brothel is said to have been built around 98 - 117 A.D., during Trajan's reign. The building was two storied, with the upper rooms used by prostitutes and the lower floor for guests. It could be entered from both Marble Road and Curetes Street. It was richly decorated, with the dining room walls painted with four portraits of women, each representing a season. The mosaic floor shows three women drinking around a table and the elliptical pool was adorned with mosaics of a woman drinking, a standing servant, a mouse eating crumbs and a cat (Cimrin, 2004; Erdemgil, 1986; Foss, 2010).

Clients had to wash their hands and feet before entering - "...careful health control dominated the brothel" (Keskin, 2011, p. 38).

26. Octagon or Tomb of Arisone IV

On top of a tall square base, which was surrounded by 'papyrus' columns, sat an octagon decorated with garlands. It was roofed like a stepped pyramid and decorated with leaves and flowers, and is said to be the Hellenistic monument to Arisone IV,[30] perhaps constructed between 40 - 20 B.C. (Bennett, 2009; Erdemgil, 1986; Wiplinger & Wlach, 1996). The unusual octagonal shape is thought to symbolize a lighthouse from the town where Arisone was born and is illustrated in *Figure 60.*

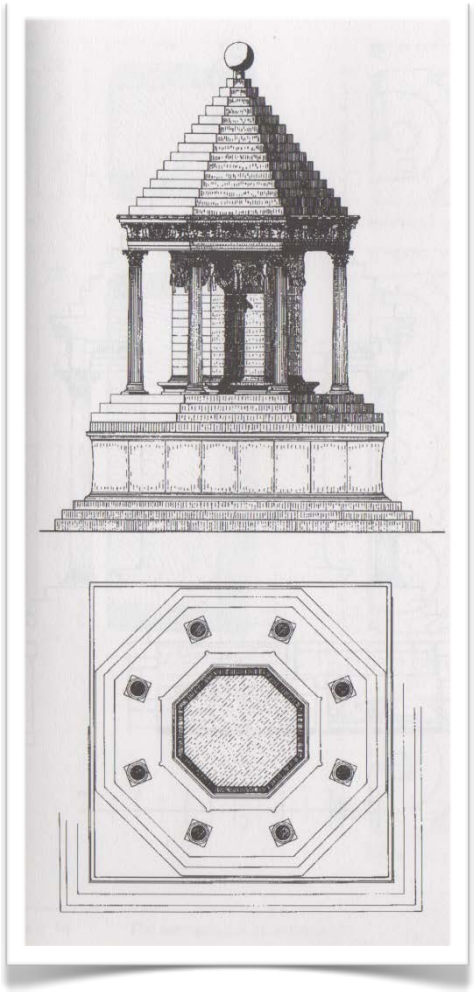


Figure 60. A reconstruction of the monumental Tomb of Arisone.

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While identification as Arisone's tomb is not definitive, as a grave inscription has yet to be found, "three pieces of evidence support this hypothesis: its architectural style, especially its pyramidal roof, the archaeological evidence, and historical testimony" (Erdemgil et al, 2000, p. 30). Wilson (2010) writes it was built by the Ephesian citizens

> in memory of the younger sister of Cleopatra. In 42 B.C. troops under orders from Mark Antony had Arisone dragged from asylum in the temple of Artemis and executed. This helped to secure his lover Cleopatra's claim to the Ptolemaic throne.[31] (p. 124).

The actual grave is entered at the back via a hidden lockable passageway under a house, and contained an undecorated andesite sarcophagus holding the skeleton of a young woman up to twenty years old (Scherrer, 2000). By giving Arisone an honourable burial afforded only the important people in the city, may mean the intention was to hide the fact she had been assassinated (Wilson, 2010).

Inscriptions on the NW face of the octagon base, and written around the fourth century by emperors Valens, Valentinian and Gratian, address how public monies were to be shared to fund earthquake damage and how the cost of running the provincial games would be shared between cities (Scherrer, 2000).

27. Heroon or Monumental Grave

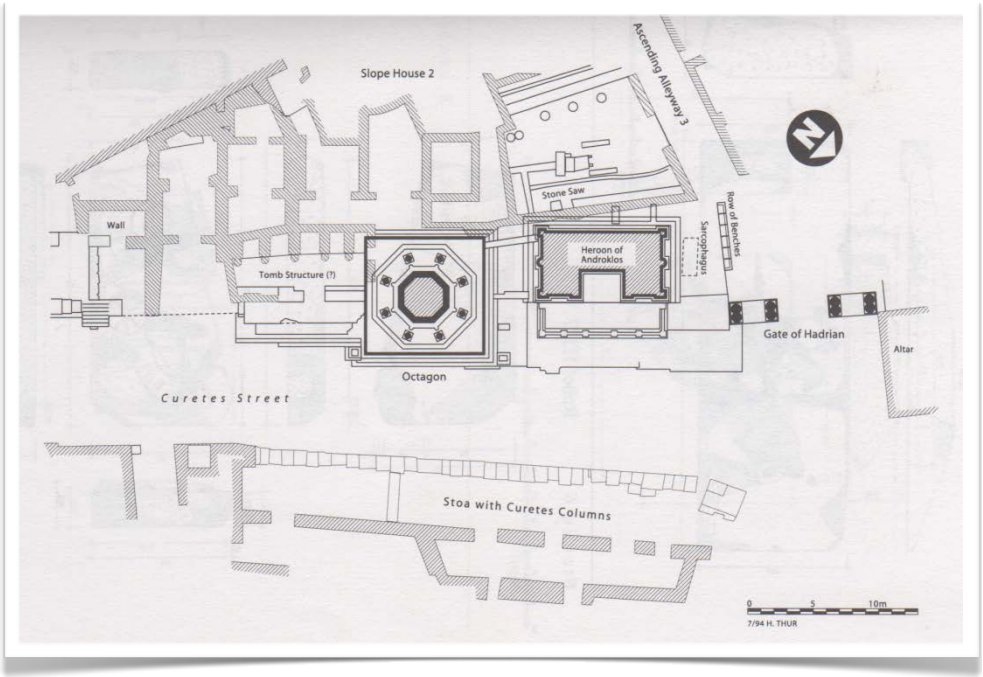


Figure 61. Map showing location of Tomb of Arisone IV and the Heroon of Androclus.

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Located in front of the slope houses, as seen in *Figure 61*, the 13 meter high heroon was built as a monument honouring Androclus, the founder of Ephesus. This is known from archaeological and epigraphic evidence and the fact that there is no burial chamber (Erdemgil et al., 2000; Scherrer, 2000; Wilson, 2010).

This structure, built sometime in the second century B.C., is one of the oldest buildings from Hellenistic times.[32] Its location on the Processional Way and its proximity to the city centre is typical of a sacred site (Koester, 2004).

During Roman times it incorporated a water basin, whose panels were decorated with crosses. An artist's impression is shown below in Figure 62.

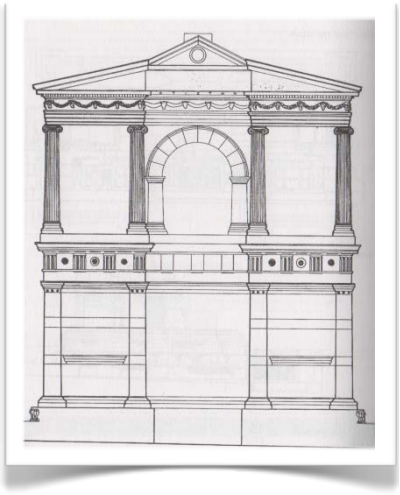


Figure 62. A reconstruction of Heroon of Androclus.

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28. Slope or Terrace Houses

The slope houses were built on the side of Mt Coressus (Bulbuldag). The houses followed the contours of the hill and consisted of seven units on three terraces. They were built of stone, tile and mortar. The houses were multi-storied but the upper levels consisting of bedrooms and guest rooms have collapsed. All units were built around a central, colonnaded, peristyle courtyard, some of which measured between 25 to 5o meters. Entry was gained through a terrace from the narrow stepped alleyways under which the sewage drained. Luxuriously furnished, they had running water, both hot and cold, some had private toilets with a sewage system, and they were heated by clay pipes carrying hot air through the floors and the walls - refer



to *Figure 63.* Water was supplied to the house through the gutters into wells or cisterns and some units had fountains. Baths or basins were uncommon, therefore one can assume that public baths were used instead. There is little evidence of kitchens (Erdemgil, 1986; Wilson, 2010; Zimmermann & Ladstatter, 2011).

Figure 63. Part of the hypocaust system in a wall - an uncovered pipe which was used to heat the house.

The walls were mostly marble although less important rooms were of brick, covered in mosaics or plastered and covered in wall paintings. As frescoes became damaged through general wear and tear, moisture or earthquakes, mortar would be laid on top and a new fresco would be painted. “Generally frescoes depicted mythological themes, gods, goddesses, Muses, Eros and scenes from tragedies and comedies. Also floral motifs were often used” (Erdemgil, 1986, p. 76). The Room of the Muses, *Figure 65,* show examples of such frescoes. The Muses were nine goddesses thought to guide intellectual thought, to inspire “literature, music and dance” (Murphy O’Connor, 2008, p. 85). Rooms dedicated to house, Imperial and other cults were also common.

The floor mosaics, examples of which are found in *Figures 66 – 69,* depict geometric designed and show evidence of having been repaired. The open courtyards were the only light source, which meant, because the rooms had no windows, that it was quite dark inside. “To provide additional light, numerous lamps of pottery, metal and glass were employed, but their open fire constituted a permanent danger” (Zimmermann & Ladstatter, 2011, p. 50).

The slope houses were in use as dwellings from the first to the seventh centuries, after which the citizens of Ephesus relocated to Ayasuluk Hill. The terrace houses we see today were built over the remains of Hellenisitc ones. Koester (2004) indicates that some of these homes also served as alternate meeting places for private assemblies. Thus the houses were not purely for private use, but served as social, official and business spaces too - the lower units had shops in front of them and some houses may have had guest accommodation. The remains we see today are largely the Roman ones which were ruined in 262 A.D. by a large earthquake and subsequent fire - evidence of movement causing a bulge in the wall can be seen in *Figure 64.* There were some renovations after this time - in the Byzantine period, grain mills, warehouses, stone working plants with water driven saws (see *Figure 74.*), metalwork workshops, and later graves, saw a change in function.



The houses were finally filled with rubble after serious earthquake damage and landslips in 614 A.D. - this allowed the third century interiors to be effectively preserved (Wood & Nilgun, 2012; Zimmermann & Ladstatter, 2011).

Figure 64. The bulge in this wall is thought to be due to the Severan Earthquake.

Jeffers (1999) comments on the community which residents of the slope houses would have experienced:

> Even in the little alleys, a vibrant sense of community connected the inhabitants. In the daytime, the streets were full of sights, sounds and smells. Neighbours discussed local events. Shop keepers and vendors took advantage of natural light and warm weather to ply their trade and sell their wares outdoors. The literature of the period is full of complaints by the upper class about the constant noise of city life. (p. 58)

These were the houses of the rich and similar to our modern day condominiums. Zimmerman & Ladstatter (2011) write:

> ... nestled within public complexes as well as within sacred and funerary monuments of prestigious character in the centre of Roman Ephesus, suggests that its residents belonged to the civic elites who could afford property in this prominent area. These are municipal residences of prominent and wealthy Ephesians citizens, whose houses served as spaces in which business was conducted and clients and guests were received, and in short promoted the prestige of their owners. (pp. 42 - 44).

While it may have been possible for Priscilla and Aquila, who appear to have been a couple of some wealth, to have owned a house like this and from where a house church may have assembled, on closer examination this seems improbable. Firstly, they were not Ephesian citizens nor were they in all probability as wealthy as the elites who occupied these houses. Their house church, if it incorporated a shopfront like these ones on Curetes Street, would have more likely have been located in another area of town, where the smells associated with the tanning of leather for tents would not have affected the general populace. Therefore the house would possibly have been in an area of city devoted to light industry, rather than the prominent civic area of the slope houses. *Figures 65 through to 76* show some detail of various units.

Detail from the Room of the Muses



Figure 65a. The Room of the Muses.

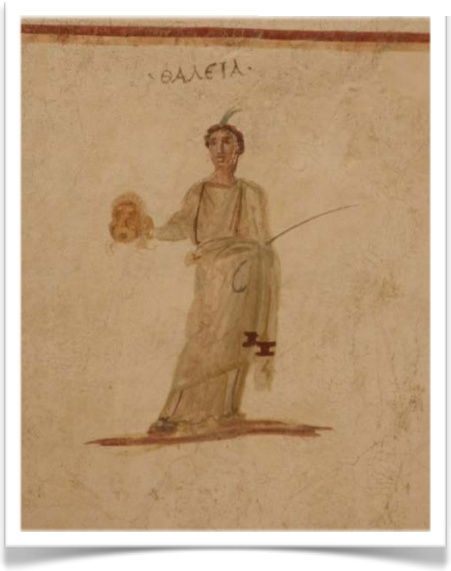


Figure 65c. Thalia



Figure 65b. Euterpe

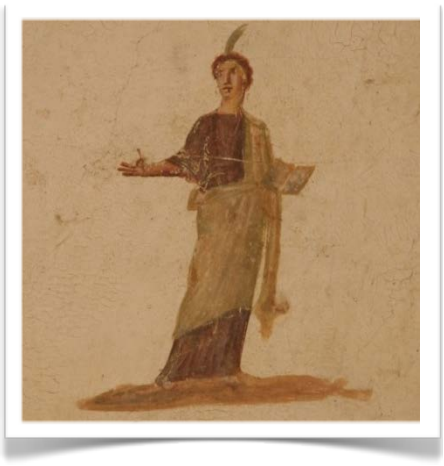


Figure 65d. Clio

Floor Mosaics



Figure 66. Residential Unit 3. Black and white geometric designs were common.

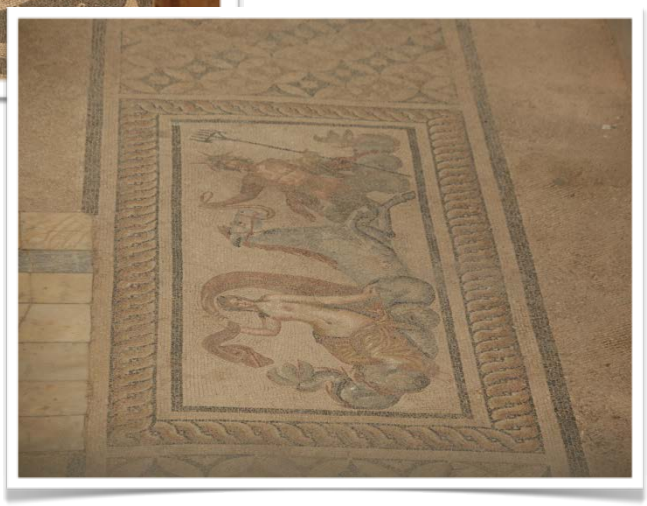


Figure 67. Residential Unit 3. Representation of Dionysos and Medusa. (Zimmerman & Ladstatter, 2011).

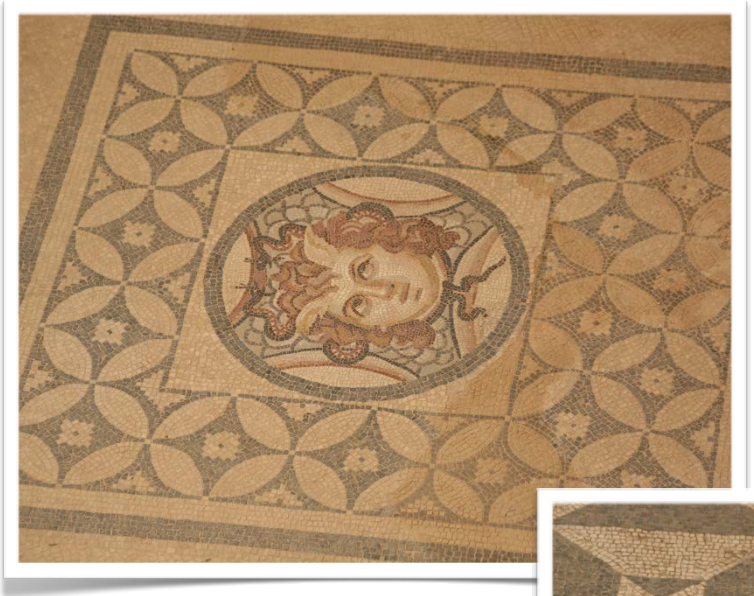


Figure 68. Residential Unit 3, room 16A. Representation of Medusa (Zimmermann & Ladstatter, 2011).



Figure 69. Residential Unit 6. Black and white geometric design – an indication of Roman design beginning to prevail over Greek design
(Zimmerman & Ladstatter, 2011).



Figure 70. Residential Unit 7.

The round altar base in the centre held an eagle of Zeus. A niche in the courtyard of this unit, which had 8 columns, held busts of Emperor Tiberius and his mother Livia. A bronze snake was also found there (Zimmermann & Ladstatter, 2011).



Figure 71. Residential Unit 7.

The unit's well. The uneven floor is said to be due to earthquake damage (Zimmerman & Ladstatter, 2011).



Figure 72. Residential Unit 6.

Two of the twelve courtyard columns. This unit included a marble hall, a basilica, reception and banqueting rooms. "... it is identified as the home of Caius, Flavius, Furius Aptus and was used for the reception of clients as well as for social and political gatherings, and for welcoming and entertaining of private guests" (Zimmermann & Ladstatter, 2011, p.71).

Figure 73. Residential Unit 6.

Close-up of the walls - the walls and floors were covered with marble. The ceiling in the hall was wooden and parts of it were guilded (Zimmerman & Ladstatter, 2011).



Figure 74. Byzantine alterations to residential Unit 7

The curved protecting wall seen in the upper to mid-section of this photo was built into Residential Unit Seven possibly around the seventh century. This sectioned off the ruined living quarters from the sawmill behind. The arrow indicates a water channel through which water flowed. This water was then used to power a sawmill where broken columns were sawn into pieces. (Krinzinger, 2003)



Figure 75. Membrane roof over Slope Houses.

The excavated slope houses are all covered to protect the finds from the elements. The roof is a plastic membrane supported by stainless steel girders. A system of louvres provides free flow of air, regulating the temperature inside. An entry limit of 800 people per day exists to aid in conservation measures (Krinzinger, 2003).



Figure 76. Archway of private Bascilica.

Looking inside House 6 from the peristyle to what looks like a huge gap in the wall. This is in fact a large archway through which you would enter a private basilica that Caius Furius Aptus had built in the second century. He was a priest of Dionysus, and bought the adjacent unit to build his basilica which he dedicated to Dionysus.[33] A central pool was later replaced by a hypocaust, where "he and his friends could no doubt indulge in the usual Dionysiac pleasures" (Ladstatter, 2010).

29. Hadrian's Gate

Hadrian's gate is located at the junction of Marble Road, Curetes Street and the Ortygia Way, beside Slope House Two. It was constructed just before 117 A.D. and the three stories are over 16 meters high but only one and a half meters deep. A complete reconstruction is not possible because little of the remains have been found - it collapsed probably in the 262 A.D. earthquake and again, after rebuilding, in the fourth - fifth centuries. Between the columns were statues of the gods, the Imperial family and important dignitaries of the city (Scherrer, 2000). A reconstruction is shown in Figure 77.

One of the roads from this gate led to Ortygia, the place where Artemis was said to be born. Just to the west of the gate is a site of a possible altar to

Voices of the Past

Ephesian Statue of Hadrian

-

An inscription, I Ephesos 11 274, states : "for his unsurpassed gifts to Artemis: he gave the goddess rights over inheritances and deposits and her own laws; he provided shipments of grain from Egypt, he made the harbours navigable and diverted the river Kaystros which silts up the harbour ..." (Price, 1984,p. 175).

Artemis, dating to the Roman period (Fant & Reddish, 2003). Wilson (2010) writes that:

> An inscription that stands nearby along the Theatre Street states that a certain Demeas tore down this image of the "demon Artemis" and set up a cross, 'the victorious, immortal symbol of Christ'. This act occurred sometime in the early Christian era (4 - 5 C A.D.). (p. 214)

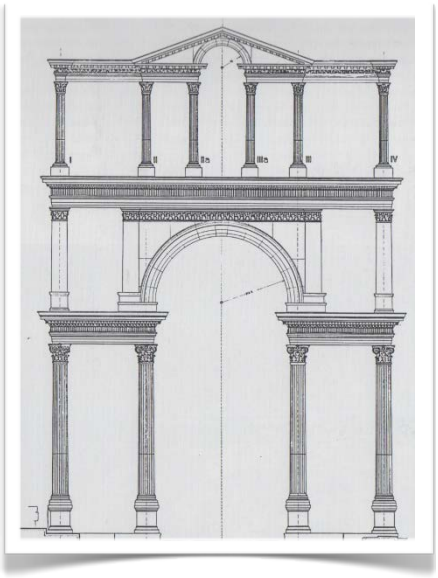


Figure 77. Reconstruction of Hadrian's Gate.

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30. Temple of Hadrian or Monument of Hadrian

Controversy surrounds what has commonly been believed to be the Temple of Hadrian which is known to have given Ephesus its second neokorate. The question centers on whether it is an imperial temple or not - it is thought to be by some as too insignificant, despite it being constructed of high quality marble, its prominent location and the ornate decorative features (Erdemgil et al, 2000). Bowie (1971) writes that it is Hadrian's Temple is improbable for the following reasons:-

1. The fact that it shares its dedication with the demos is unusual.

2. The person who actually dedicated the temple is not mentioned in the inscription.
3. The unusual architecture of the arch supported by columns is not found on any coins, and its size indicates it being more of a monument than a temple.
4. Usually temples occupied a prominent position, on a hilltop or plateau - this structure is found “in the corner of a bath-complex and crammed adjacent to a brothel” (Bowie, 1971, p. 133).
5. There is a belief that the inscription may have come from elsewhere in the city.
6. It is too small a temple to have earned Ephesus a second Temple-Wardenship.
7. This structure was built around 117 A.D. and “authorization for the construction of an official imperial temple was not issued until about 130” (ARS Electronica, 2011, p. 1).

Bowie (1971) concludes that this was simply a shrine which was built by citizens in devotion to their Emperor. He also suggests that the family who owned the bath complex, Vedii Antonini, were involved in the erection this building. Erdemgil et al., (2000) states, “This smaller building would then have been a monument which Antinous, the close friend of Hadrian, dedicated to Hadrian when they visited Ephesus together in 129.” (p. 29)
Further evidence supporting Bowie’s assertion comes from Jones (1993) who also notes a conflict about recent discoveries and ancient textual evidence.

> The current view is that the Olympieion, the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, is identical with the sanctuary of the emperor Hadrian ... a large structure under excavation in the northern part of the Roman city is held to be this dual purpose building.” (p. 149)

Current excavations for the Temple of Hadrian centre north of the Church of Mary.

From an inscription on the architrave we know that this monument was built at the beginning of the second century A.D. by P. Quintilius who dedicated the temple to Hadrian. The inscription states: "... it is dedicated to the goddess of destiny who rules well. To Zeus Olympios, father of the land "to Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, the saviour of the city and its adoptive founder"" (Erdemgil et al., 1986, p. 62). What we now see is a restoration from the fourth century (Erdemgil et al., 2000).

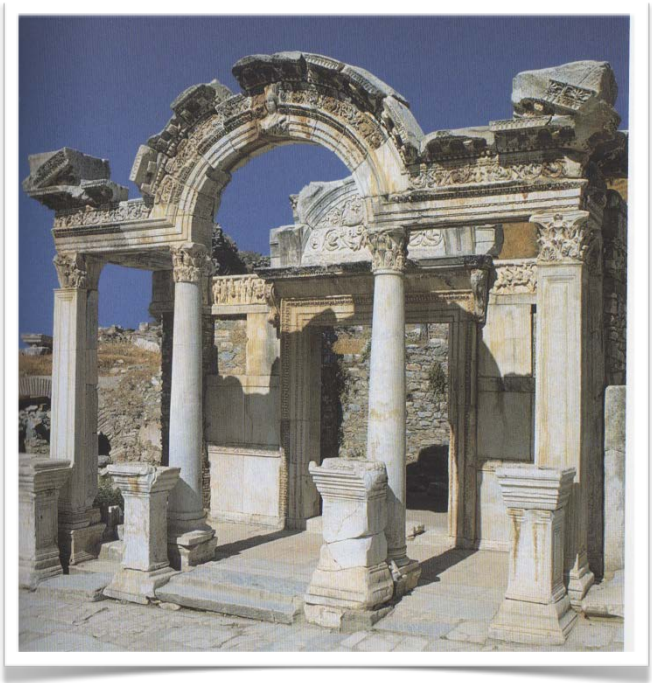


Figure 78. The so-called Temple of Hadrian.

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Standing in front of the Baths, it had a four columned Corinthian facade with a cella or main room behind the porch, as seen in *Figure 78.* The outside columns are square and the arch is said to have Syrian characteristics. In front of the temple on the four pedestals were bronze statues of the Roman emperors who ruled between 293 - 305 A.D. - Diocletian, Maximam, Constantine Chlorus and Galerius. While the statues have never been found, their existence is known through inscriptions. A statue of Theodosius was placed there some time later when he restored the temple in 391 A.D., dedicating it to his father, General Theodosius, who was hanged innocently (Erdemgil, 1986, Erdemgil et al., 2000). "The

possibility has been raised that the resources of the time were insufficient to build a new temple, and that the old one was therefore rededicated to show the continuing importance of the imperial cult" (Foss, 2010, p. 71). There is evidence of fourth century earthquake damage and possibly a fire. *Figures 79 to 82* show detail on the structure.



Figure 79. Medusa.Inside the temple and above the door is a depiction of Medusa, adorned with flowers and acanthus leaves. The half nude figure was intended to keep evil spirits away (Erdemgil, 1986).



Figure 80. Close-up of the door lintel showing classic egg or pearl decorations
(Erdemgil, 1986).



Figure 81. Androklos shooting a boar. The other figures are gods and goddesses
(Erdemgil, 1986).



Figure 82. Close-up showing important gods and goddesses in Ephesus. From left to right: Athena, Selena (goddess of the moon), a man, Apollo, a female figure, Androklos, Heracles (father of Theodosius), Theodosius (who outlawed pagan cults), Artemis Ephesia, wife and son of Theodosius, and the goddess Athena. This panel was added in the fourth century (Erdemgil, 1986).

Voices of the Past

Inscription from Library

"To Tiberius Iulius Celsus Ptolemaeanus, consul and proconsul of Asia. Tiberius Iulius Aquila Ptolemaeanus, consul, his son, built the Celsian library out of his own funds, with all the building decorations, the statues and books. He also left 25,000 dinars for its equipment and for the acquisition of books, 2000 dinars of which were spent in one year, so that from the annual interest of the remaining 23,000 the library will be kept and its attendants will be paid [800] dinars, which shall be paid to them on the birthday of Celsus for all times. And also according to the will of Aquila new books shall be bought every year. And also his [Celsus]statues shall be hung with wreaths thrice a year. And also all other statues shall be decorated every year on the [birthday] feast of Celsus. After the same heirs had commissioned the equipment of the library with the 2000 dinars taken [from the capital], the library was officially opened on the feast of Celsus [?], so that, on the seventeenth on the month ... according to the wording of the will, no [demand nor] deduction nor expenditure shall be put up to them from the stated funds, for the heirs of Aquila have wholly completed the work. Executor of the will was Tiberius Claudius Ariston, three times asiarch" (Strocka, 2008, p. 40).

31. Celsus Library

The Celsus Library is the most well-known of the reconstructed buildings at Ephesus and was said to be the third richest library in ancient times - after Alexandra and Pergamum. It was designed by the Roman architect Vitruoya and took around 3 to 5 years to build. The intent in placing it in such a prominent position was to emphasize the might and power of Rome. The library was built in the available space between other buildings and over a peristyle house. Clever architectural design was employed to give the appearance of greater size (Eidson, 2013; Erdemgil et al., 2000).



Figure 83. The Celsus Library façade.

The Library was built in 114 A.D by Tiberius Iulia Aquila as a mausoleum to his father Gaius Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, [34] who was a senator and governor of the province of Asia. "Celsus was a lover of books and was given the honour of being buried, not only within the city, but in the vault of his own library among his books" (Padfield, 2005, p. 4). Celsus was a wealthy citizen and was said to be a Romanized Greek. He is reported to have bequeathed 25000 denarii to buy the scrolls and for the libraries maintenance. The library was built in a style typical of Hadrian's era, where the facade was the emphasis. The reconstructed facade is seen in *Figure 83.* The inscription on the north is in Latin and the one on the south is in Greek[35] (Eidson, 2013; Erdemgil, 1986).



Figure 84. Optical illusion emphasized size of façade.

The central columns are taller; they protrude and have larger capitals; the central door is wider and taller. These tricks enable the building to appear straight when viewed from Curetes Street (Scherrer 2000).

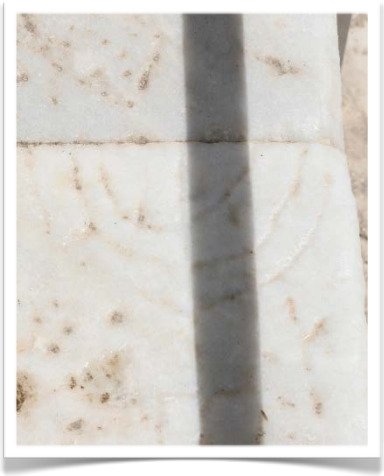


Figure 85. Jewish menorah carved onto the top step.

This is one of the few pieces of evidence of Jews in Ephesus.

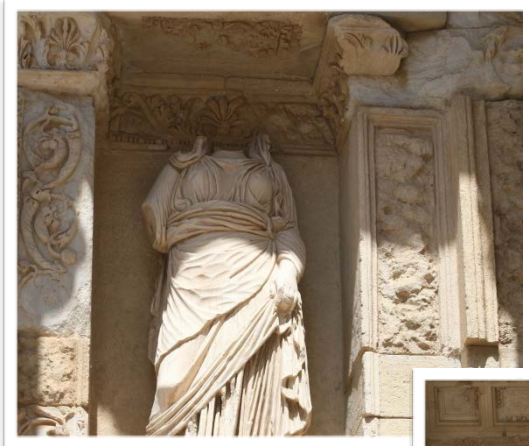


Figure 86. Copy of Episteme representing Expertise.

One of the four statues on the facade said to represent the vitues of Celsus (Scherrer, 2000).



Figure 87. Details on porch

Leading up to the building are 9 steps, and on a step at the top is found an engraving of a Jewish menorah,[36] as pictured in *Figure 85.* The building was two storied, with a large porch, behind which were three ornamented doors, the central one being the largest. (Refer to *Figures 84, 86 & 87* for detail on the façade.) On either side stood two bronze equestrian statues of Celsus, which would have reflected his Greek and Roman duality (Eidson, 2013, Erdemgil et al., 2000). The floors and walls were of coloured marble and there were reading tables which were supported by Ionian pillars. The main apse contained a statue of the father or son (now in the Istanbul Museum) (Erdemgil, 2000). Access to the stacks was via wooden ladders and hatches, and a podium, shown in *Figure 88,* ran in front of the niches.

The library was able to hold 1200 scrolls[37] in 30 wooden doored bookcases, which were protected from worms, the damp and temperature excesses by being placed in wall niches which were hollow behind. This common assumption is disputed by Strocka (2008) - "This is a mistake: the ostensible outer walls of the library belong to adjoining buildings...." (p. 38 - 39). The reading room faced east for best light advantage and there may have been an oculus in the flat ceiling to let additional light in.

The west wall is over the remains of the white marble sarcophagus of Celsus which measures 2.5 meters long. The sarcophagus had to have been brought



Figure 88. The podium, behind which can be seen three of the many niches which held the library scrolls.

in while the building was under construction as it is too large to fit through the narrow corridor. It is covered in sculptures of snakes, Eros, Nike, Medusa, garlands and rosettes. A smaller lead casket was found inside the sarcophagus.[38] The burial chamber contained no burial gifts (Strocka, 2003). As the literacy rate in Roman times was less than 10%, the library was probably not used by the majority of citizens, but possibly used only by the wealthy and those with political power. It may also have been used as storage for legal papers, a place of recitation, a meeting venue and a place for the Emperor to perform civic duties (Eidson, 2013).

The building and all of its scrolls was burned by the Goths in 262 A.D., but later the facade, probably in the sixth century, was restored, painted white and served as a background to a fountain. This, however, came down in an earthquake in the tenth century. For a while, the walls of the main hall, that had been damaged and reduced to half their height, served as a courtyard for the adjoining residential complex. Fortunately for archaeologists, 80% of the original structure was in situ and could be laid out in the agora as the jigsaw was pieced together (Strocka, 2008). Foss (2010) suggests that when it collapsed the area was not inhabited, otherwise it would have either been burned or quarried for other buildings. (Scherrer, 2000; Strocka, 2008).

Wilson, (2010) writes that a diagram was found inside the library which detailed how the library was constructed - right from the quarrying of the marble and until completion. (See *Figure 89* for an artist's impression of the library's interior).

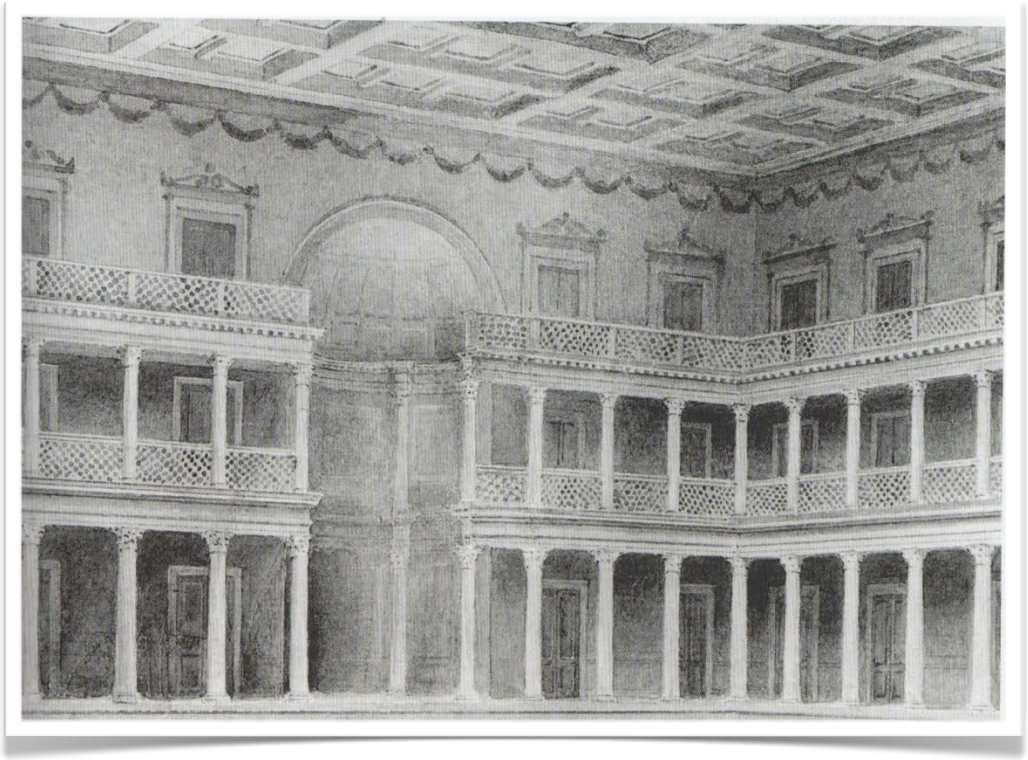


Figure 89. An Artists Impression of the Interior of the Celsus Library.

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32. Celsus Square

Scherrer, (2000) relates:

> The topography of the library quarter reflects extensive changes from Augustan up to late Roman times. On the one hand, these changes are connected with the shifting of the road junction on the venerable Processional Way and, on the other, are linked to earthquake devastation in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD as well as to the Christian elimination of pagan cult buildings. (p. 134)

Therefore what we see today is not representative of the time of Paul. Originally the Processional Way passed through the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate and under the Celsus Library - the road had to be shifted to leave through Hadrians Gate after the addition of the Library. "...thus, the gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates no longer served as a triumphal arch ... but became the south gate of the Tetragonos Agora" (Koester, 1995, p. 8). During the time of Hadrian this auditorium was used for lectures.

Extensions to the Tetragonos Agora and the building of the Hall of Nero in the first century A.D., also pushed into the square. The square, in Imperial times, was dominated by a monumental altar, thought to be associated with Artemis. The altar was later replaced by a large cross and a mill, with the flow of water coursing over the 9.5 meter wide steps, which completed the square. The mill stopped working in the sixth to seventh century (Scherrer, 2000). A sarcophagus was located in the eastern corner - the inscription was to Tiberius Claudius Flavianus Dionysuis, a well-known Ephesian sophist of the second century. A stairway above this burial place led to the Neronic Hall and is pictured in *Figure 90* below (Baugh, 1999, Koester, 2004).



Figure 90. Sarcophagus of Dionysius and the stairs leading up to the Neronic Hall.

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The interior of the library was destroyed in late Antiquity but the facade was used as a background for the fountain (Wiplinger & Wlach, 1996). Foss (2010) wrote that:

> The interior was filled with rubble, the outer doors were walled up, and a wall composed of finely executed series of reliefs in honor of Lucius Verus was built on the lower steps to contain a pool which reflected the decoration and statuary of the facade. (p. 65)

Crosses at the ends of the inscription indicate that this was constructed during the Christian period. It was known as the Parthian Monument and is depicted in *Figure 91* (Foss, 2010).

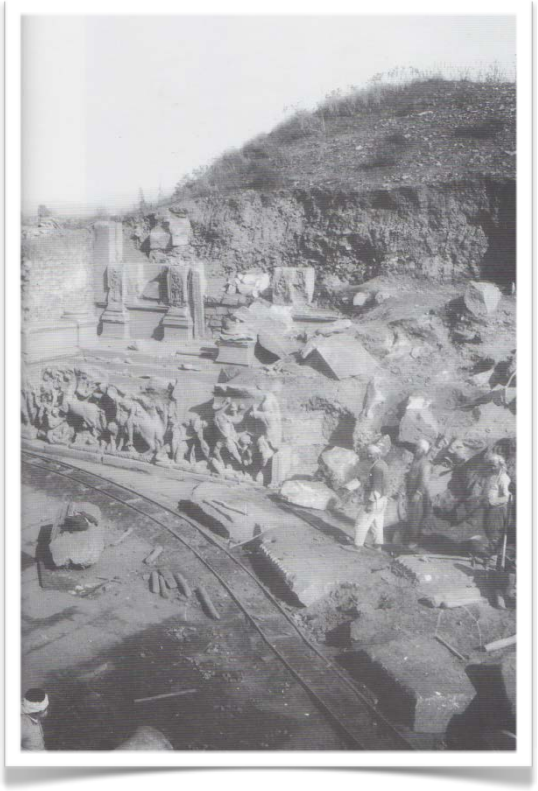


Figure 91. The Parthian Monument as found in 1903. The Library behind was still being excavated.

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33. Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate

On the north side of Library Square, is a marble gate, pictured in *Figure 92*, built around four or three B.C., through which the lower agora was accessed. After the construction of the library, the road under the gate had to be lifted to allow for drainage beneath it. This was a preventative measure against water flowing down Curetes St and flooding the Agora (Erdemgil, 2000; Koester, 2004). The gate was built by two slaves who had been granted their freedom, Mazaeus and Mithridates. Their gratitude to Emperor Augustus, Empress Liviae and their daughter and son-in-law, is evident from the Greek and Latin inscription, in bronze letters, on top of the gate and pictured in *Figure 93.* The gate is also covered in inscriptions referring

to grain supply, pricing and concerns about building construction in the near vicinity. "'Whoever urinates here will be tried in court' is written in the second niche in the eastern passage'' (Erdemgil, 2011, p. 87).

There are three passageways which suggests it may have been a triumphal arch. It has also been suggested that the donors may have been buried in the wings on either side of the gate (Cimrin, 2004; Scherrer, 2000).



Figure 92. The Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate.



Figure 93. A detail of part of the dedicatory inscription.

34. Lower, Commercial or Tetragonos Agora

As the Ephesian economy was a monetary one, the marketplace was significant. Goods were sold mostly to the elite as they were the only ones who could afford to buy items. After an earthquake early in the first century, which destroyed much of the third century B.C. Hellenistic Agora, it was able to be doubled in size to 111m^2 by moving Marble Road to the east. The Hellenistic agora lies on top of the ancient village of Symrna. This village, which has been dated back to the eighth century B.C., was abandoned after the sixth century B.C. due to rising seawater. It was then occupied by crafts people and potters for the next two centuries (Scherrer, 2000).

The agora was surrounded by a double columned stoa which contained around 100 or so shops and commercial facilities, the remains of which are photographed in *Figure 94*. Columns, capitals and architraves were re-used from the temple of Domitian, Vedius Gymnasium and Harbour Gymnasium. Merchants and craftsmen made and sold their wares here and some shops have been identified as belonging to silversmiths. Common goods sold include lamps and olive oil, bronze, copper and ceramic ware, honey, silk and other cloth, Arabian herbs, Anatolian wine, Ephesian perfume, jewellery and dried meats. Laale (2011) informs his readers that a ceramics merchant shop which was excavated contained shards of Sigillata B type pottery, for which Ephesus may have been a manufacturer and distributer. Guilds and bureaucratic organizations may well have had meeting places here. Paul, Priscilla, and Aquila undoubtedly practiced their trade of tent making / leather working here. This is probably the site where the riot mentioned in Acts, began - Acts 19:25 “He called them together, along with others employed in similar trades, and addressed them ...”. The gate to the northeast leading to the Theatre and the western gate to the harbour, have not been restored. The Agora’s use continued until the seventh century (Erdemgil, 2011; Fant & Reddish, 2003; Padfield, 2005; Scherrer, 2000; Wilson, 2010).



Figure 94. Remains of the shops on the northern perimeter of the Agora.

Vehicular traffic did not enter the agora - goods were brought into the stoas through the West gate - which had to be widened in Domitian's time and ramps added to assist in the movement of goods. In the centre of the Agora there was a sundial, pictured in *Figure 95*, and a water clock. Various statue bases of the Imperial families and important civic figures were found - which tell the story of historical, political, cultural and religious events. The colonnaded West Road leaves the agora through the Medusa Gate, named for its Medusa reliefs. A road further towards the harbour transects both West Road and the Arcadiane and a doorway from the colonnade allows entry to the Serapeion (Erdemgil, 2000; Scherrer, 2000).



Figure 95. Sundial From the Agora - now in Ephesus Museum.

Reprinted from File: Sundial, marble (3rd century A.D.) - Ephesus Museum. JPG in Wikimedia, 2011. Retrieved February 19, 2013, from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sundial,_marble_(3rd century_A.D.)_-_Ephesus_Museum.JPG. Copyright, 2011, by Lulz Bernardes Ribeiro. Reprinted with permission.

35. Neronic Hall

On the Marble Street side of the Agora, and behind the colonnade, stood a basilica named after Nero. "An inscription indicates that the hall was dedicated to Artemis Ephesia, Nero, his mother Agrippina, and the citizens of Ephesus" (Fant & Reddish, 2003, p. 194). This Hall of Nero, which was in an upper story alongside the Library, was 150 meters long and 1.7 meters above the road level - it was designated as a viewing platform for ceremonial occasions. It has also been suggested that it could have been used as a tribunal for hearing trials (Koester, 2004; Scherrer, 2000). "This hall and the raised platform could have functioned as the 'lawful assembly' mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles [Acts 19:39]" (Yoncaci, 2007, p. 80).

36. Serapeion

The Temple of Serapis or the Serapeion[39] was built in the late second or early third century A.D., perhaps by Egyptian colonists. The Ephesians wished to maintain good relations with Egypt, therefore they displayed a

meter long marble dedicatory inscription bearing Artemis on one side and Serapis on the reverse.

It was a massive structure, sitting on a terrace in the agora, (four meters higher than West Road), with its facade reaching 29 meters. Some of the columns were said to be 15 meters high and weighed over 45 tonnes; they were topped with capitals made from one block of marble. The wide entrance had a metal door - the track of which is visible today. It was surrounded by two storied colonnades (Keskin, 2011; Scherrer, 2000). A reconstruction is illustrated in Figure 96.



Figure 96. Reconstruction of Serapeion.

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The function of the building is still uncertain, with some assigning it as an imperial temple and others a nymphaeum. “Keil gave it its current, though still not undisputed, designation as Serapeion” (Scherrer, 2000, p. 150). It was designated as such because of the extensive water system in the structure, which played an important role in the cult of Isis (Fant & Reddish, 2003).

There is some thought that this temple may never have been completed as there is no floor and an incomplete frieze was also discovered. The Serapeion was damaged by an earthquake and fire in 262 A.D., its materials

Voices of the Past

Game Inscribed on Road

One of the games on the pavement is represented by a square divided into 36 squares, each of which represents a letter. These Greek letters read "This game board brings great pleasure in the loss of money" (Erdemgil, 2000, p. 50).

quarried, and eventually it became a Christian church in the fourth century. The intact cella was converted into a Christian building, with benches for priests and a baptismal font. The font is still visible and the building is surrounded by numerous graves (Erdemgil, 1986; Erdemgil et al, 2000; Koester, 2004; Scherrer, 2000). Uncovered on a step in 2012 are two examples of early Christians carvings - one is the word John (refer to *Figure 97*.), and the other is a stork with a snake in its mouth, which is said to indicate the fight between the Christian god and pagan ones (Ephesus Foundation, 2012).

New evidence to light indicates that this building, at one stage, also served the purpose of a slave market (Trumper, 2009).



Figure 97. The word John written on the steps of the Serapeion.

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37. Marble Road

Monumental roads like Marble Road, pictured in *Figure 98* (and Curetes Street), indicated wealth, and they not only served a practical function for moving goods and services, but were "used both as a site for casual social interaction, including recreation, conversation and entertainment; and as a site for ritual practices, processions, funerals..." (Yoncaci, 2007, p. 4). Because of their ceremonial and commercial importance, roads were generally well maintained, unlike some of the surrounding buildings

(Ladstatter & Pulz, 2007). Marble Road, part of the Sacred Way which lead to the Temple of Artemis, was built in the first century A.D., between the time of Paul and John, but was only paved in uneven marble blocks in the 5th century by Eutropius (Padfield, 2005). Seats from the stadium and granite columns from the Agora were used in later renovations, after which it was covered with houses built of rubble (Erdemgil, 2011; Foss, 2010).

Between the Library and the theatre, the road was lined with reliefs, busts, statues of gladiators and other important people. Emperors had letters carved into the marble and the supposed first known advertisement in the world was also carved into the roadside. However, according to Fant and Reddish (2003), the carving, shown in *Figure 99*, is not likely an add for a brothel but rather a representation of the goddess Tyche.



Figure 98. A view from the Terrace Houses looking to the north along Marble Road. To the left can be seen the stoa of the Agora and the remains of the Neronic Hall or Stoa.



Figure 99. The carving commonly known as the advertisement for the Brothel.

Reprinted from Ephesus (p. 37), by N. Keskin, 2011, Istanbul: Keskin Color Kartpostalcilik. Copyright 2011 by Keskin Color AS. Reprinted with permission.

Voices of the Past

Inscriptions on Harbour Street

"indicates the taxes paid for official business in Ephesus. According to the text, the tax paid to sell parsley was 1 denarius; to sell salt was 1 denarii; to be declared a champion in the games was 6 denarii; to obtain a birth certificate was 1 denarius but if the mother belonged to a distinguished class, then it was 100 denarius" (Erdemgil, 1986, p. 99).

As with the other roads, water and sewer systems ran underneath and a series of holes were drilled in the road to allow water to flow into the drains. Water from fountains flowed down the street to clean them, and, to prevent the road from being slippery, the roads were scored. Wheel ruts from Roman carriages, 10 - 15 centimeters long, are evident in parts of the street that had not been repaired in antiquity; it is also lined with holes purported to be for portable street lights (Erdemgil, 2011).

Marble Road was lined with a colonnade on the east, with shops and multi-storied houses sitting behind. These houses were not as palatial as the terrace houses. The western side was lined by the Hall of Nero. The iron clamps holding the wall of the stoa were dug out in the Byzantine era during a period of economic hardship and melted for re-use. Pedestrians used the higher wall on the west (Erdemgil et al, 2000).

38. Arcadiane or Harbour Street

"The harbour street is the last segment of the royal highway that led here from central Anatolia. For those traveling by sea, the Arcadiane was an important point of departure for Asia Minor. Many emperors and important figures were welcomed on this street of reception. It was also a favourite place for outings by the Ephesians" (Erdemgil et al, 2000, p. 49).

Unlike the other main Ephesian streets, this was not a road for honorary dedications - it was an arterial road in and out of the city. It was the widest street in Ephesus and it was built over a swamp. Etched on the pavements were games for adults and children to play. The road is 530 meters long (or three stadia) and 21 meters wide. The Arcadiane, depicted in *Figures 100 - 101,* was paved in marble from Hellenistic times, and was restored by Emperor Flavius Arcadius from 395 - 408 A.D.. He raised the street level and, sometime in the fourth century, four monumental columns, displaying Latin crosses, were place halfway to the habour, where a road let to the south. It is thought that they held statues of the four evangelists – Matthew, Mark, Luke and John (Erdemgil et al., 2000; Koester, 2004; Wilson, 2010). "The monument was probably intended to display the city's Christian

character to newly arrived visitors" (Wilson, 2010, p. 219). The colonnade and columns holding statues of the four Apostles are depicted in *Figure 102*. Further down the road towards the harbour, an exedra with a water basin could be found on the south side of the road, directly opposite the baths (Erdemgil, 1986; Foss, 2010).



Figure 100. The Arcadiane as viewed from the theatre.

At either end of Harbour Street stood gates which could be closed. The gate from Theatre Square separated pedestrians from wheeled vehicles; pedestrians entered via steps and vehicles via a ramp. At the harbour end was a Hellenistic or Roman arch with three gates. An inscription on one arch reads "may the great city of Ephesus flourish" (Foss, 2010, p. 59).



Figure 101. Harbour Street with the remains of the shops on the right hand side.

The drainage channels beneath the nearby shops and the road itself, drained into the harbour. Similar to the other important thoroughfares in Ephesus, this road was lined on both sides with colonnades which featured a mosaic pavement. Shops and other buildings were accessed through the colonnade (Foss, 2010). Moody (2011) informs us that in approximately 400B.C. one of the first known pharmacies opened on this street. The colonnade and columns holding statues of the four Apostles are depicted in *Figure 102.*

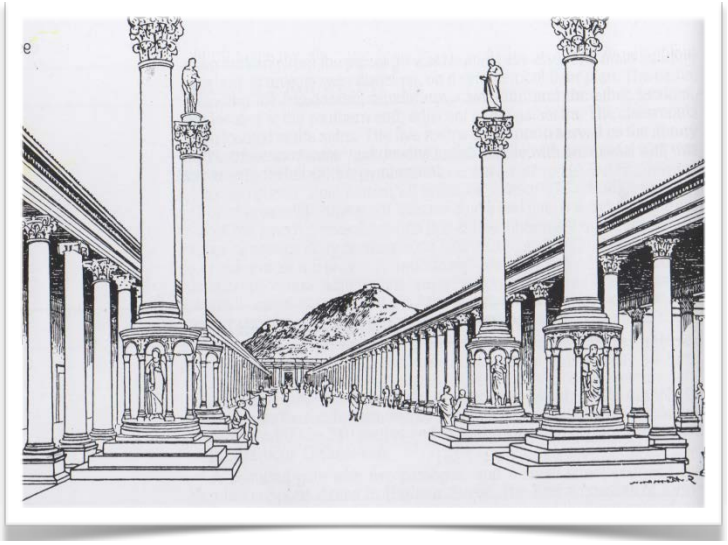


Figure 102. An artist's impression of Harbour Street, with the columns topped with statues of the Apostles.

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This street was also candle lit from about the fifth century, with two rows of torches, as far down as a statue of a boar which was part of the founding legend of the city. There were about 50 lamps which were placed just outside the shops. It is not known whether the shop owners or the city would have paid for the installation and upkeep (Basim, 2005; Foss, 2010). Lighting of streets was a new phenomena, with Rome and Antioch being the only other cities with lit streets at that time (Bosanquet, 1915).

39. Harbour, Harbour Plains and North slope of Bulbuldag

The Ephesian harbour was one of the busiest in the world - now nothing remains of it but a tiny lake in the midst of a swamp. Its exact location is not precisely known as yet. Few excavations have taken place, with inscriptions providing proof of the existence of important buildings (Erdemgil et al, 2000; Scherrrer, 2000). Port buildings would have included "warehouses and offices, ... colonnades, honorific arches and free standing statues and columns, lighthouses, signal tower, harbormasters' quarters" (Yoncaci, 2007, p. 50).

In Hellensitic times, a wharf was constructed on the harbour which was connected to the sea by what was then a wide canal. A jetty projected into the harbour from the quay which was paved only near the city. The east quay was made of marble but the southern quay, where ships loaded and unloaded, was constructed of limestone blocks. This artificial harbour was kept open only through constant dredging. The harbour was a world wide focal point for trading and aside from the normal goods, heavy cargo was also loaded here[40] (Ladstatter, 2007; Yoncaci, 2007).

40. State Theatre

Taking advantage of the western slope of Mt Panayir and opposite the beginning of the Arcadiane, the Theatre, which faces west, is easily seen as one approaches from the harbour. "Although Lysimachus is often credited with building the "Great Theatre" ... there is no evidence of a theatre in the initial construction phase of the city.[41] Stefan Karweise of the Osterreinchisches Archaologisches Institut questions the existence of a

Voices of the Past

A Theatre inscription

" described a number of gold and silver images weighing from 3lbs to 7lbs. each, which were devoted to Artemis, and were to be placed in her temple; and on certain days of assembly in the theatre, including the anniversary of the birthday of the goddess, they were carried from the temple to the theatre by 2 curators of the temple attended by the conquerors in the games and a staff -bearer and guards. tis procession was met at the Magnesium gate by the Epheboi (young men), who assisted to carry the images into the theatre, where they were set up in full view of the assembly. ... The inscription mentions all the details of the endowment, even the sum of money to be spent in plate-powder for the cleaning of images" (Wood, p. 36).

theatre at Ephesus prior to 100 BC but acknowledges the possibility that Lysimachus may have chosen the building site prior to his death in 281 BC" (Heffernan, 2003, p. 1). The theatre was initially built at the end of the first century B.C. in the typical Greek style but was greatly modified and extended over the next five centuries by the Romans (Scherrer, 2000).

Ephesus is thought to have first developed between the theatre and the harbour (Attac, 1996). "Because of its function as urban focal point and place of assembly, the theatre, with its performances and artistic competitions, was especially important to the infrastructure of the city" (Scherrer, 2000, p.158). The theatre was in the most prominent location of the city.

Around 40 A.D. the theatre which we see and Paul would have known, was enlarged from a single tier of seating, a single story stage house, a cavea and orchestra. This is the place where the angry mob rioted after being addressed by Alexander the silversmith of Acts 19 and where Gaius and Aristarchus were dragged into by the angry mob. The Bible makes no specific mention of Paul being in the theatre and we know that he certainly was not there during the riot mentioned in Acts. Much of the theatre was under construction while Paul lived in Ephesus.

Figure 103 sets out the modifications made to the original Hellenistic theatre and expansions made during Roman times.

Time Period	Reign	Modifications
1st century B.C.	Late Hellenistic era	Cavea and orchestra, single tier seating, single storey scaenae constructed.
40 A.D.	Emperor Augustus	Theatre enlarged.
54 A.D. - 92 A.D.	Nero	Scaenae enlarged.
87 A.D.- 92 A.D.	Dedicated to Emperor Domitian	Stage enlarged, two storied facade on scaenae, second tier added to cavea.
100 A.D. - 200 A.D.		Awning constructed, channel had to be constructed through the upper seats for the new aqueduct supplying water to the Trajan Nymphaeum.
before 262 A.D.		Third tier added to cavea and the stage house; a columned gallery built above this section improved acoustics. Parts of the building collapsed during earthquake of 262A.D.
300 - 400 A.D.		Wall built around orchestra to protect audience from gladiatorial and circus events. Orchestra also waterproofed to enable a pool to be used for aquatic events.
395 - 408 A.D.	Arkadios	Earthquakes in 359 & 366 destroyed upper tier and despite repairs under Arkadios, the third tier was abandoned. Its use changed more to games and contests.
800 - 900 A.D.		Had become much smaller in size and became part of the defense walls of city.

Figure 103. The Stages of the Theatre

(Cimrin, 2004; Erdemgil, 2011; Heffernan, 2003).

Figure 104, shows the stage house as we see it today and *Figure 105* gives an artist's impression of what the Theatre looked like in the third century A.D.



Figure 104. The orchestra and stage facade of the Theatre.

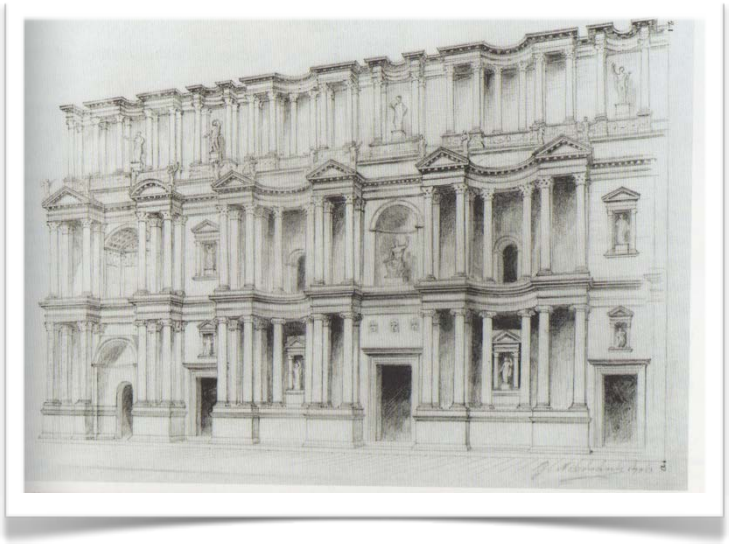


Figure 105. An artist's impression of the stage facade of the third century.

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The cavea is actually larger than a semi-circle with three tiers of seating separated into wedges by two diazomata and 58 staircases - 12 in the first tier and 23 in the other two. These can be identified in *Figure 106*. Part of the orchestra was floored with green marble and the dignitaries sat nearby. People at the front could see better but those at the back could hear better.[42] There was an emperors box in the lower section and the marble seats with

backs were reserved for the dignitaries. The further towards the back the people sat, the more steep the seating became. A statue of an emperor stood on top of a gate looking down on people who entered through Theatre Street. There was a Hellenistic well house at the north end of the stage building (Heffernan, 2005).



Figure 106. The cavea of the Theatre in Ephesus.

Fant and Reddish (2003) suggest that the theatre seated approximately 25,000 after the third tier was added, although others suggest more conservative figures of between 17,000 - 22,000 (Heffernan, 2005); and 24,000 (Wiplinger & Wlach, 1996); while Falkener (1862) estimated the capacity at 56,700, after allowing people 34 centimeters of seating space. The structure was never roofed but there is evidence of an awning.

The theatre was used variously over the centuries for concerts and plays, religious, political and philosophical discourse, gladiator and animal fights. Meetings of the demos were held here. The performers were all males wearing masks, as was the custom of the day. The choir would stand in lines and speak in unison. Before each performance there would be a ceremony in front of an altar honouring Dionysius (Erdemgil et al., 2000).

41. Theatre Gymnasium

This gym was the largest in Ephesus and was built for those visiting the Theatre. It was thought to be constructed at the beginning of the second century A.D. It had a palaestra, 30 x 70 meters, which was colonnaded on three sides and on the northern side it had four rows of steps for patrons to sit and judge competitions and watch award presentations. Those steps then led to the bathing area of the complex. As well as rooms found in typical gymnasiums, there were five rooms for libraries and conferences and a central hall which served as an imperial cult space (Cimrin, 2004; Erdemgil et al., 2000; Erdemgil et al., 2011; Fant & Reddish, 2003).

By late Antiquity, the gymnasium had fallen into such disrepair that it was rebuilt as a residential and commercial area, complete with storerooms and even a public toilet. “One of the houses of this district bore an inscription which well reflects the beliefs of the age” (Foss, 2010, p. 60). Inscribed on the lintel of a doorway, in the fifth or sixth century, was supposedly a letter of reply to Abgar of Edessa from Jesus, who promised that Abgar would never be taken by an enemy. This was thought to provide a protective function for citizens in warding off bad spirits. A phrase was added to this particular inscription asking also for protection of the city (Foss, 2010).

42. House above Theatre

A large villa has been located above the Theatre, which, because of it’s commanding position, suggests that it was the home of a person of prominence. Also known erroneously as the Byzantine Banqueting House, it was designed around a peristyle courtyard and included a large reception hall and a chapel. While the exact date of construction is not known, it is thought to be Hellenistic and was in use during late antiquity. Above the house, evidence of tombs or monuments have been found (Foss, 2010; Scherrer, 2000).

43. Olympieion or Temple of Hadrian

The ruins located north of the Church of Mary were once thought to be a temple of Asklepios. It is comparable in size to the Artemisian and could be

Voices of The Past

John in Harbour Baths

Eusebius wrote in Church History 3.28; 4.14 : "Let us get out of here, for fear the place falls in, now that Cerinthus, the enemy of truth, is inside" (Wilson, 2010, p. 222).

This event most likely happened in the Harbour Baths. Cerinthus was teaching that Christ did not become the Messiah until he was baptised. Purportedly John, on seeing Cerinthus in the bath house, ran back outside without even having a bath as he did not want to associate with such a person (Wilson, 2010).

clearly seen from the harbour and the upper city, as it was 25 meters high. It was built on reclaimed land, after 130 A.D., with deep Roman foundations used to support the marble Corinthian structure.

It was an imperial cult temple dedicated to Hadrian (117 - 138) in an attempt to obtain a second neokorate, which was granted to the city between 130 - 132 A.D. The temple sat in a large open area and was surrounded by porticos, with the Church of Mary being built into the southern end later on.
As it " ... was pulled down in about 400 CE, and its marble was burnt to limestone, we can infer that the building was associated with the official imperial Roman cult, which was loathed by the Christians" (Koester, 2004, p. 313). Later the foundations were quarried to obtain the iron clamps and lead dowels which held the foundations together. In the late Medieval period it became a Christian cemetery, as evidenced by coins and a bronze cross found on the grave tops (Koester, 2004; Scherrer, 2000).

Harbour Complex

This complex was the largest in Ephesus , measuring 500 x 300 meters. It was built around 89 A.D. to provide a premises for the olympic games which were to be held in recognition of Domitian (Biguzzi, 1998; Trebilco, 2007). The palaestra connected the Theatre Gym with the Harbour Gym - that so much space was assigned to athletic training indicates the importance the Ephesians placed on education (Erdemgil et al., 2000).
The complex consisted of:

44. Harbour Baths (a)

These public Harbour Baths were constructed during the first century A.D. and later restored by Constantine 11 (337 - 361) in the fourth century.
It was one of the largest structures in Ephesus having halls as high as 28 meters and with a footprint of 160 x 170 meters. There was a covered swimming pool in the north enclosed by pink and grey granite pillars - which now hold up the domes of the nearby Isabey Mosque. It contained many statues, the bases of which remain today. Like most structures, it was built of some quarried materials and it is thought that parts of the Parthian

altar were used here. In addition to rooms normally found in a bath complex, there were rooms for “ball games, boxing, physical training, massage, personal hygiene, and cosmetics” (Scherrer, 2000, p. 176). It is evident that the floors and walls were made of marble as holes in the existing walls once held rods which attached the marble panels.

They are the only baths remaining from the time of Paul. The name of Artemis was erased from inscriptions found there (Erdemgil et al., 2000; Foss, 2010; Scherrer, 2000; Wilson, 2010). An artist’s impression and the floor plans are illustrated in *Figure’s 107 and 108.*

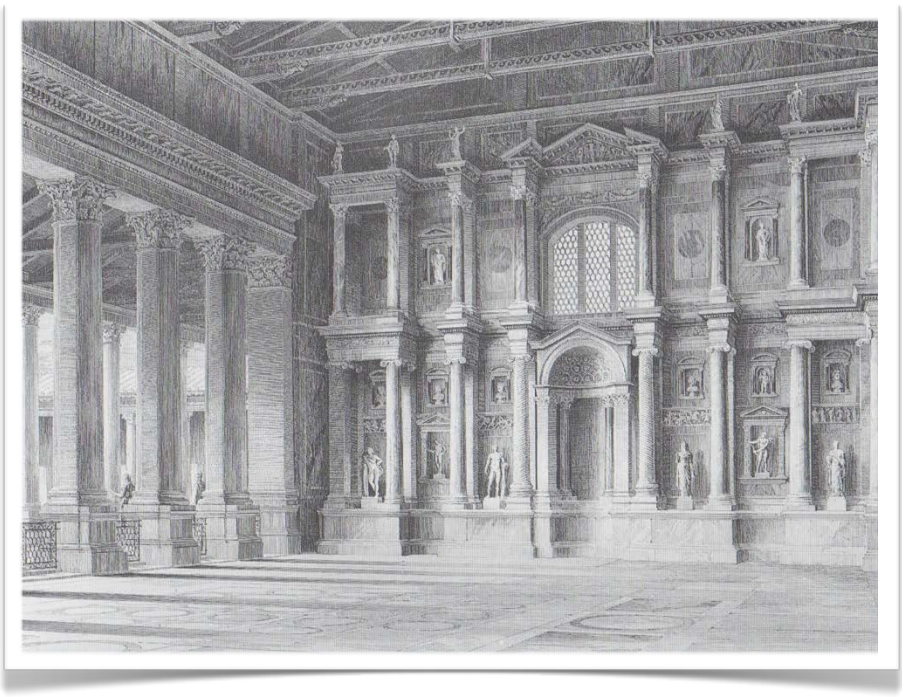


Figure 107. Marble hall found in the Harbour Baths.

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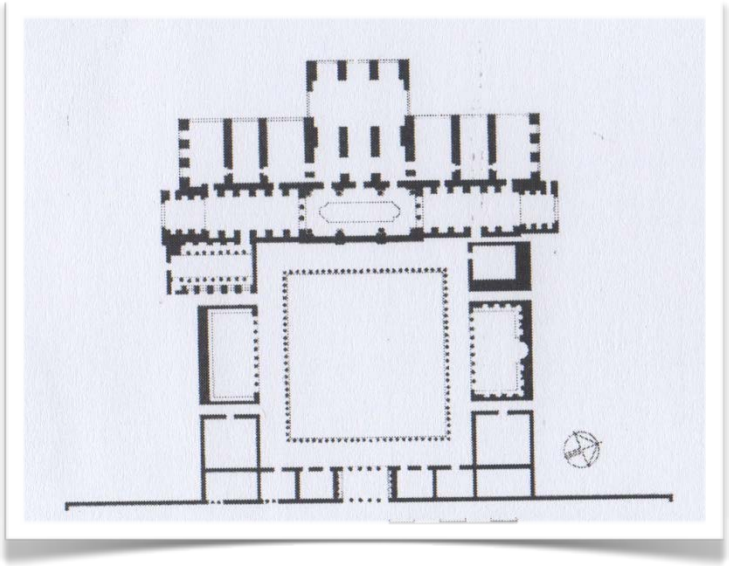


Figure 108. Floor plan of the Harbour Baths and Gym.

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45. Halls of Verulanus and Harbour Gym (b)

The second part of the complex contained 2 structures - the palaestra and the Halls of Verulanus. The palaestra, which measured 200 x 240 meters, and had the largest footprint of any area or building in Ephesus, was covered in marble and was surrounded by the Halls of Verulanus, the teaching centre, which was also floored with marble. The Imperial priest of the province of Asia, Claudius Verulanus donated the marble for this complex during the reign of Hadrian (117 - 138 A.D.). The building itself was constructed earlier in the eighties A.D. and a representation of it is seen in *Figure 109* with the remains today photographed in *Figure 110.*

It may also have been called the Gymnasium of the Emperors and was used for “cultural and spiritual edification” (Scherrer, 2000, p. 176). The Imperial Hall was found to have statues sculptured from thirteen different marbles (Erdemgil et al, 2000; Scherrer, 2000).

Falkener (1862) explains that it was

> ...a place set apart for the training of youth to the nature and practice of war, for exercising and strengthening the muscles of the body, and for rendering it supple and graceful. These exercises were relieved at certain intervals by the office of the pedagogue, and thus the body and mind were improved conjointly. (p. 77)

Apart from a place of education, it was used for public occasions like recitals, discussions and to hear the news and gossip of the day - "...to spend their time in nothing else, than either to tell or hear some new thing"[43] (Falkener, 1862, p. 78). Civic and Imperial cultic practices were also observed (Biguzzi, 1998).

To the west were two buildings, once assigned as warehouses, but now thought to be open porticoes for trade and business. During Byzantine times, residences occupied the space. Difficulties have been experienced excavating the area due to rising groundwater and the meters of debris covering the remains (Fant and Reddish, 2003; Foss, 2010).

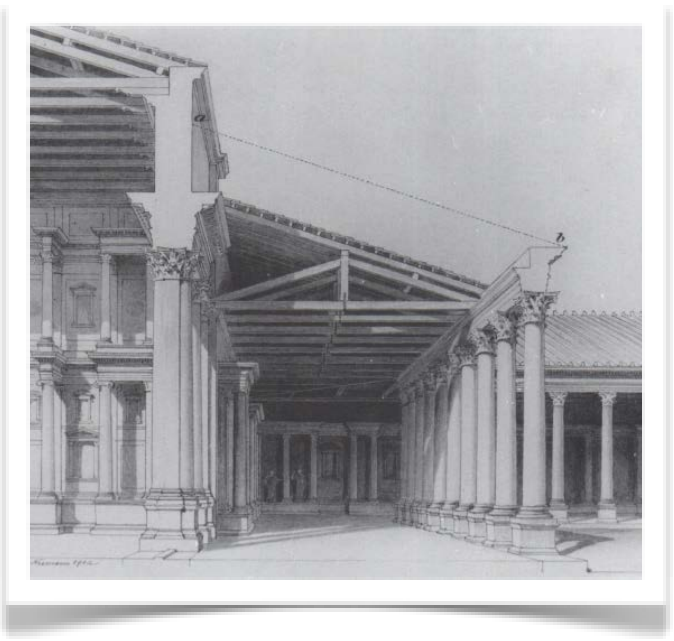


Figure 109. Artist's impression of the Harbour Gymnasium.

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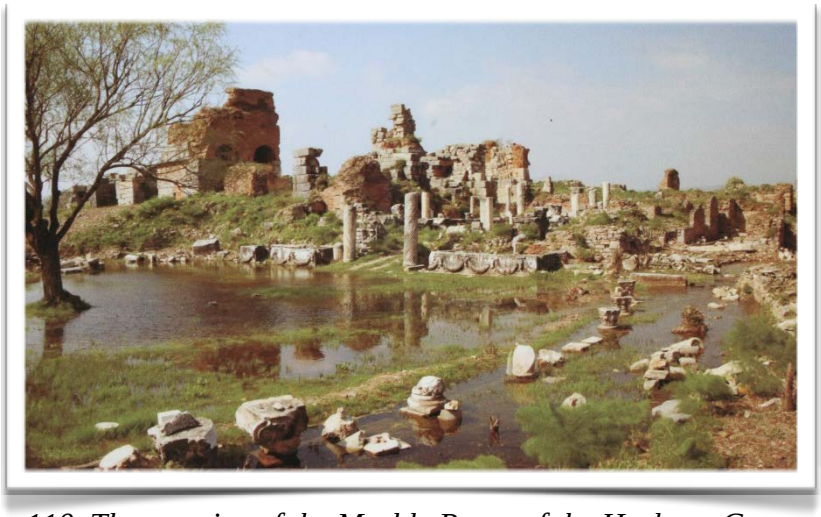


Figure 110. The remains of the Marble Room of the Harbour Gym.

46. Harbour and Quay Structures

The harbour was up to six meters deep in sections and edged with a quay, which in subsequent years had to be heightened as the surrounds began to sink. Open spaces near the harbour were probably used for trade and business.

There were three harbour gates - the Southern Gate, built around 200 A.D.; the Middle Harbour Gate, built during Hadrians reign at the end of the Arcadiane (*Figure 111*), and the Northern Harbour Gate, built in the third century A.D. On the harbour side of these gates was a 10 meter wide road, which was divided by circular sections where vehicles were able to turn (Scherrer, 2000).



Figure 111. An artist's impression of the Harbour Gate at the end of the Arcadiane.

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47. Stadium

For the most part the Stadium is still un-excavated but is estimated to cover 3.3 hectares.

This Hellenistic building was restored in the first century during the reign of Nero (54 - 68 A. D.). Restoration was also carried out in the third and fourth centuries. During the Byzantine period the seating was used to help construct the Gate of Persecution at St John's, and a church was built into its north in the fifth century; with a cemetery subsequently surrounding the church.

The Stadium's running track was of tamped earth. It was shaped in a horseshoe and measured 230 x 30 meters but was said to be too narrow for chariot races. It's prime function was to hold sports competitions, ceremonies and horse racing. On one side, the stepped seating was carved out of the rock face of Mt Pion, while the other side had vaulted galleries with the seats on top. Beneath the seats, which could sit about 130,000, were rooms (Erdemgil, 2011; Erdemgil et al, 2000; Fant & Reddish, 2003; Scherrer, 2000).

The Romans love of gladiatorial and animal fights was also popularized in Ephesus in the third and fourth centuries; although gladiator fights were known from 69 B.C. when the eastern side of the stadium was changed into an elliptical field for this intent (Kanz & Grossschmidt, 2006). Gladiator contests were used by the Roman rulers to keep the citizens 'under control' (Follain, 2002). A round area on the east was used for gladiatorial fights and there was a covered area for housing the animals. Gladiators were conscripted from captives of war, slaves and jailed detainees and they formed three classes. The first type were simply put into the arena, without any training and forced to fight until the death of one; the second type were trained in gladiator schools, were well looked after, and could fight their way to freedom. They would use blunt wooden weapons in training to prevent lethal blows. The third class were volunteers who signed up - and in

Paul's time the odds of them dying was 1:9 (Kanz & Grossschmidt, 2006; Keskin, 2011).

"Christians were murdered during these animal fights. That is why, after Christianity became the official religion, the Ephesian Stadium was destroyed unmercifully by religious fanatics, as though to take revenge" (Erdemgil, 2011, p. 105). Not one row of seating was spared. However, there is no evidence specific to Ephesus which indicates whether or not Christians were put into the ring with wild animals. Trebilco (2007), indicates that Christians in Ephesus were not used in animal fights during Paul's time. He argues that 1 Cor 15:32 "And what value was there in fighting wild beasts - those people of Ephesus ...", was probably metaphorical. In addition, Paul was a Roman citizen which meant that it would have been an illegal act, apart from the fact that he probably would not have survived.

Wilson (2010) writes of the honours of being a gladiator:

> "The participants in the games were all volunteers, ... it was not considered cruel for gladiators to die in the arenas. They had volunteered to commit murder and suicide. A boxer who died during a match received the same glory as if he died in battle. Athletes were praised for courage, steadfastness, and the will to win by their adoring audiences. (p. 223)

After gladiatorial and animal fights ceased, the stadium's function as a games centre continued and it probably hosted the provincial games. Opposite the stadium, and constructed in the sixth century, was a fountain whose marble plaque was decorated with crosses and vines. A fish market and what is thought to be a funeral chamber for Androcles have been unearthed (Basim, 2005; Foss, 2010).

Three hundred meters to the east of the stadium, between the Processional Way and a road, a mass gladiator graveyard had been uncovered. Approximately 68 corpses of men under 30 years old have been found, one female slave and one man aged in his 50's (with two healed skull fractures. A nearby tombstone suggests that it may belong to a former gladiator,

Euxenius, who then became a trainer). Analysis of their bones shows high levels of strontium, which is indicative of a vegetarian diet. Their diet is thought to have consisted of beans and barley and a drink made of vinegar and ash. There is also evidence that surgery[44] was common - and included amputations and cranial operations (Curry, 2008; DeBattista, 2009; Follain, 2002; Kanz & Grosschmidt, 2006; Mastro, 2010).

48. Vedius Gym

These baths were built in 146 - 148 A.D. to accommodate the people who lived in the north east of the city - although there may have been four or so other bath - gym complexes in the city at the time. A size comparison of the gyms of Ephesus is shown below in *Figure 112.*

Bath-Gym Name	Size Comparison to Vedius Gym
Theatre Gym	Similar in size
Harbour Baths	Larger
Baths of Varius	Smaller
East Baths	Larger

Figure 112. Size comparisons of the gyms of Ephesus.

They were located near the Koressos Gate and were on a main thoroughfare where visitors entered or exited Ephesus. Its form was that typical of Roman baths and it may have had an Imperial Hall dedicated to "Antoninius Pius who did not have his own temple in Ephesus" (Scherrer, 2000, p. 168). This is deduced from the fact that an altar was uncovered, along with a statue of Antoninus. The baths were a convenient venue for operations of the imperial cult where the environment promoted happiness and well-being - which would remind the patrons that the complex was a result of the greatness of the emperor. These halls did not replace the neokorate temple, but simply provided an informal place where simple and cheap offerings of wine and incense could be offered. On festival days blood sacrifices may have been given (Yegul, 1982).

Voices of the Past

Mary in Ephesus?

Epiphanius wrote around 375 A.D. :"He pointed out that 'the scriptures say nothing about the death of the Virgin, whether she died or not, whether she was buried or not, and that in the scriptures there is no authority for the opinion that when John went away into [the province of] Asia, he took her with him...This has been taken to imply, that in the late fourth century the elders of the Church were already aware of an Ephesian tradition, sufficiently strong to warrant this cautionary reminder" (Lloyd, 1989, p. 224).

With half of the building being excavated so far, many rooms, including an entrance building, palaestra surrounded by a portico, a latrine,[45] an imperial and ceremonial hall and typical bath rooms have been identified (Erdemgil, 2011).

49. Coressian or Koressos Gate

This gate is thought to be Hellenistic and is located just east of the stadium. As yet, it is unexcavated.

50. Byzantine Palace

There is much debate about the purpose of this structure, found NE of the Olympeion, which is made up of a conglomeration of buildings dating from the first to the sixth centuries. As it was known where the elite of the city lived, archaeologists had long questioned where the governors lived. It is now generally accepted that this palace was the residence of the Governor or Pro Consul of Asia and may have been converted from a bath complex. The existing structures show a residential area, a bath and a domed reception room. Later it was converted to a number of private houses and it even became a cistern after the aqueducts became unusable (Fant & Reddish, 2003; Foss, 2010; Wiplinger & Wlach, 1996). Being located on the Processional Way, this secular centre stood adjacent to the spiritual centre of Ephesus and further linked the two together (Scherrer, 2000).

51. Church of St Mary

Parvis (1945) indicates that after the legalization of Christianity in 325 A.D.:

> "there was a movement on the part of Christians all over the empire to build more stately houses of worship which should be able to give adequate expression to the new place of importance now held by their faith. ... They obtained possession of one of the most favorable building locations in the city ... ." (p. 72)

The Church of St Mary's was built at about the same time as the Church of St John's,[46] in about 500 A.D.. While there is little evidence of Mary living or dying in Ephesus, and nothing Biblical, the tradition is strong, and in fact,

the church is the first recorded as being named after Mary. The Church is connected to a number of Ecumenical Councils[47](Wilson, 2010).

The church was built into the southern stoa of the Olympieion. Prior to this it was a school of medicine and science - a Hall of Muses. It was well constructed and decorated and consisted of 3 naves, an apse, atrium and baptistery. “The Atrium ... clearly showed the tendency of the times to use whatever material was at hand ... Columns of varying heights were reused, bases and capitals rarely matched; the marble paving included numerous old inscriptions, some of which may still be read” (Foss, 2010, p. 52). Refer to *Figure 113.* for a photo of inscribed marble paving slabs. Through the atrium was the octagonal baptistery constructed of stone and brick, with a central font for baptism by immersion, as seen in *Figure 114.* Decorating the baptistery were slabs of marble with crosses in relief, photographed in *Figure 115.* The marble cauldron, previously from the Harbour Baths, was an addition to the basilica constructed during Emperor Justinian’s (527 - 565) reign and is seen in *Figure 116.* (Erdemgil, et al, 2000; Foss, 2010; Koester, 2004).



Figure 113. Inscribed marble slabs quarried from elsewhere in Ephesus.



Figure 114. Baptismal font.



Figure 115. Byzantine cross etched on marble.



Figure 116. The marble cauldron.

The Church had four construction phases, as indicated in Figures 117 and 118 below.

Time Period	Modifications
after 130 A.D.	Part of south stoa of the Olympeion; its secular functions included being used as Hall of Muses / Museion and for the marketing of goods.
fourth century	It was converted into a basilica with an apse built into both ends, and niches in outer walls.
by the fifth century	The church was built on western side with it's apse in the middle stoa, it had a three aisled hall. Octagonal baptistery constructed in the north.
sixth century	The basillica was destroyed by an earthquake and built over by another brick building. The Church hall in the east was used again as a church (thus called the double basilica) and contained a marble basin - which may have been used as a font. Pillars replaced columns.
seventh century	The Arab attack of 654/5 A.D. may have caused its episcopal status to be lost. Importance declined as the population shifted to Ayasoluk
seventh - eleventh century	It became a cemetery, inside and outside.

Figure 117. The building phases of the Church of Mary

(Basim, 2005; Cimrin, 2004; Fant & Reddish, 2003; Scherrer, 2000).

Voices of the Past

John in Ephesus

Irenaeus, a disciple of Polycarp, wrote in Against Heresies 3., "that the disciple of the Lord who leaned on Jesus' breast published his Gospel while residing in Ephesus" (Wilson, 2010, p.226).

"Irenaeus (Heresies 3.3) also says that John stayed there until his death during the reign of Trajan (98 - 117AD).
Eusebius (Church History 2.1), writes that John was scattered to Asia where he stayed until he finally died in Ephesus... Polycrates mentions John's death there, and Apollonius John's raising of a dead man at Ephesus" (Wilson, 2010, p. 226).

John may have come to Ephesus after the death of Stephen, and after Peter and Paul had been martyred in Rome. Tradition has it that he brought Mary, the mother of Jesus with him and he may have preached there for about 45 years in Ephesus. Purportedly dying in this city, he was the only apostle who died of natural causes.

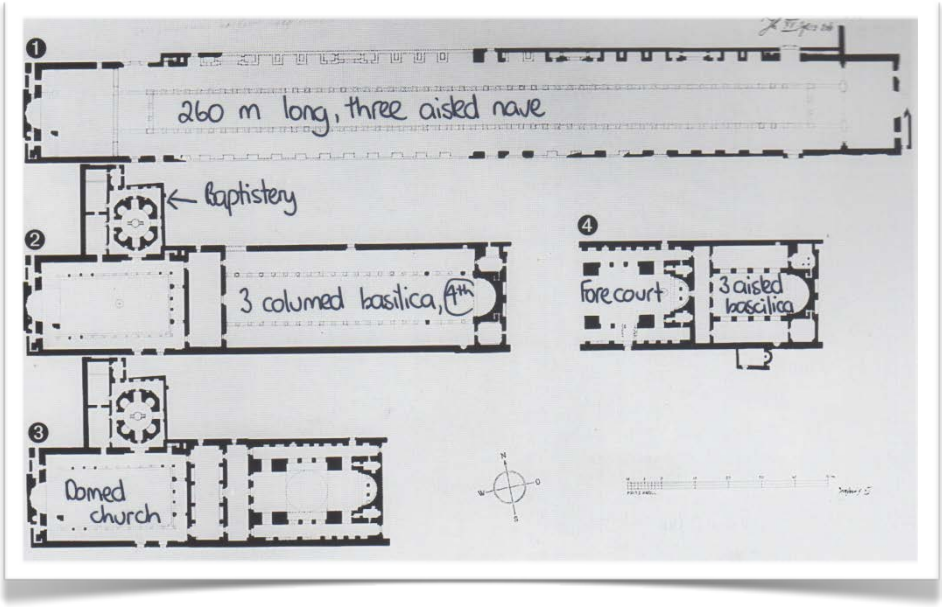


Figure 118. Floor plans of the four stages of the Church of Mary.

Adapted from Ephesus 100 Years of Austrian Research (p.36), G. Wiplinger & G. Wlach, 1996, Vienna: Osterreichisches Archaologisches Institut. Copyright [1996] by Bohlau Verlag Ges. m. b. H. & KG. Adapted with permission.

A Bishop's residence was also built into the eastern side of the church complex. A bottle displaying a menorah and an incense burner, along with coins dating from the fourth century, were found on site. It was abandoned in the sixth century, probably when the archbishop left for St John's (Koester, 2004). The residence was refurbished at expense to the community - "Bishop Antonius took columns from the adjacent church to put in his dining room, and used marble from the Baptistery to decorate his bath. As a result of these offenses among others, he was deposed from office in 400" (Foss, 2010, p. 52).

52. Church of St John

" ...[T]he triumph of Christianity allowed graveyards to become holy sites" (Foss, 2010, p. 473). This church was also the final great public monument to be built in Ephesus. It is traditional thought that John lived out his last years in Ephesus after returning from his exile on Patmos. There are however, many who believe this to be erroneous.

Figure 119. below shows how the Church of St John developed over the years from a simple grave site to a cathedral.

Voices of the Past

John in Ephesus

Prochorus, who may have accompanied John to Ephesus, indicates in his writings Acts of John, that John lived in Ephesus. "The two holy men entered the city and came to the 'place of Artemis' where they took up service in a bath. The building was haunted by a demon who would occasionally strangle the unwary; John cast him out. Eventually the devotees of Artemis inadvertently destroyed her great idol by casting stones at John which were miraculously deflected. The temple itself soon succumbed to the prayers of the saint, who drove out the demon Artemis. When he and Prochorus returned to the city after exile in Patmos, they found that its idols and temples had fallen" (Foss, 2010, p. 34).

John is also placed in Ephesus by a Greek translation of a Syriac account, Life. "It reveals that when John arrived in Ephesus, the smoke from the festival of Artemis was so thick that it veiled the sun. At the city gate, he found a painted statue of the goddess with gilded lips and a veil over her face, with a lamp burning before it. John entered Ephesus and took up service in a bath on the right of the gate. After various adventures, including an encounter with the son of the 'procurator' who insisted on using the bath for trysts with a harlot, John converted the city. The procurator called an assembly of the people to confirm the conversion and discuss the fate of idol-worshippers; as was the custom, the meeting took place in the Theatre, where the ruler sat on his throne. Meanwhile, the priests of Artemis blew horns, lit lamps, and opened the gates of the Temple, where a multitude assembled. Saint John, standing on the highest. or easternmost, row of seats in the Theatre, blessed the Ephesians and baptized 40 000 of them" (Foss, 2010, p.35).

The writings also say that 3 days later John went to live on a hill above the temple and was later buried on that same hill. "From there he could watch the festival of Artemis, which so enraged the newly converted multitude that they swarmed the Temple, cast gret ropes about the image, and tore it down. The crowd later proposed to pull down all of the images, burn them, set up crosses on the gates, and build a church" (Foss, 2010, p. 35).

These writings indicate that the writer knew the city very well - John came from the coast and would have found the Harbour baths on his right; the eastern seats in the Theatre are in fact the highest; crosses were found on the gates and tradition has it the John was buried on a hill overlooking the Temple of Artemis.

Time Period	Modifications
1st century	Grave monument or martyrion.
4th - 5th century - 390 - 420	Basilica with a wooden roof built over the grave.
sixth century - 535 - 536	Old structure demolished and present structure built - a 6 domed basilica built in the shape of a cruciform which was centered of John's grave. Imperial money was used in the construction.
7th - 8th century	Wall built around the church to defend it against Arab attacks; the wall had 20 towers and four entrances. Constructed with material from the Stadium and Artemisian.
1304	Church used as mosque until the present mosque was built.
1365 - 1370	Church was leveled by an earthquake.

Figure 119. The development of the Church of St John

(Erdemgil et al, 2000; Foss, 1977; Foss 1979; Scherrer, 2000).

Figures 120 - 122 show various features of the Church of St John.



Figure 120. Gate of Persecution - one of three entrances to St John's Church. Above the arch was a relief of the persecution of Achilles. The gate is flanked by the square towers of the fortress walls and it led visitors into a courtyard (Erdemgil et al., 2000; Scherrer, 2000).

Voices of the Past

John Buried Near Ephesus

From Late Antiquity, the burial place of John on a hill above the Artemisian, was honoured. In fact the people believed the John was not dead but sleeping. "Saint Augustine, writing in about 416, refers to this belief and one of its consequences. Since John was supposedly sleeping until the Second Coming, he was believed to show signs of life by scattering dust with his breath and driving it upward to the surface of the tomb. Augustine thought that this opinion could not be rejected out of hand, since he had heard it from "serious people"" (Foss, 2010, p. 36).

Eusubius wrote in HE 5.24.2-7; cf. 3.31.3 : "... John too, he who leant back on the Lord's breast... He has fallen asleep at Ephesus" (Trebilco, 2007, p. 242).



Figure 121. The Tomb of St John with the priest's bench seats or bema behind.

It is located under the central dome of the cathedral. The judges ruled in an adjacent room, which according to Foss (2010) "…illustrates the elevation of the Church of St John into the cathedral church of Ephesus" (p. 91). The belief is that the dust, which comes through a hole in the tomb and which is caused by John snoring, has holy powers (Cimrin, 2004).



Figure 122. The baptismal font located in the octagonal baptistry.

Voices of the Past

John, Not Dead, But Sleeping

Jordanus Catatanus, a traveller in approximately 1330 wrote in Jordanus 64:
"As I have heard from a certain devoted monk, who was there and heard it with his own ears, from hour to hour, a very loud sound is heard there, as of a a man snoring."
(Foss, 2010, p. 126).

The church measures 130 m long and is 65 m wide. Marble pillars supported the domes and the floors were covered in geometric patterned mosaics. Some walls were covered in frescoes including one of Jesus raising Lazarus, and Christ crowning Emperor Justinian (Erdemgil, 1986; Erdemgil et al, 2000; Foss, 2010; Scherrer, 2000). Figure 123 shows the floor plan of St John's Church.

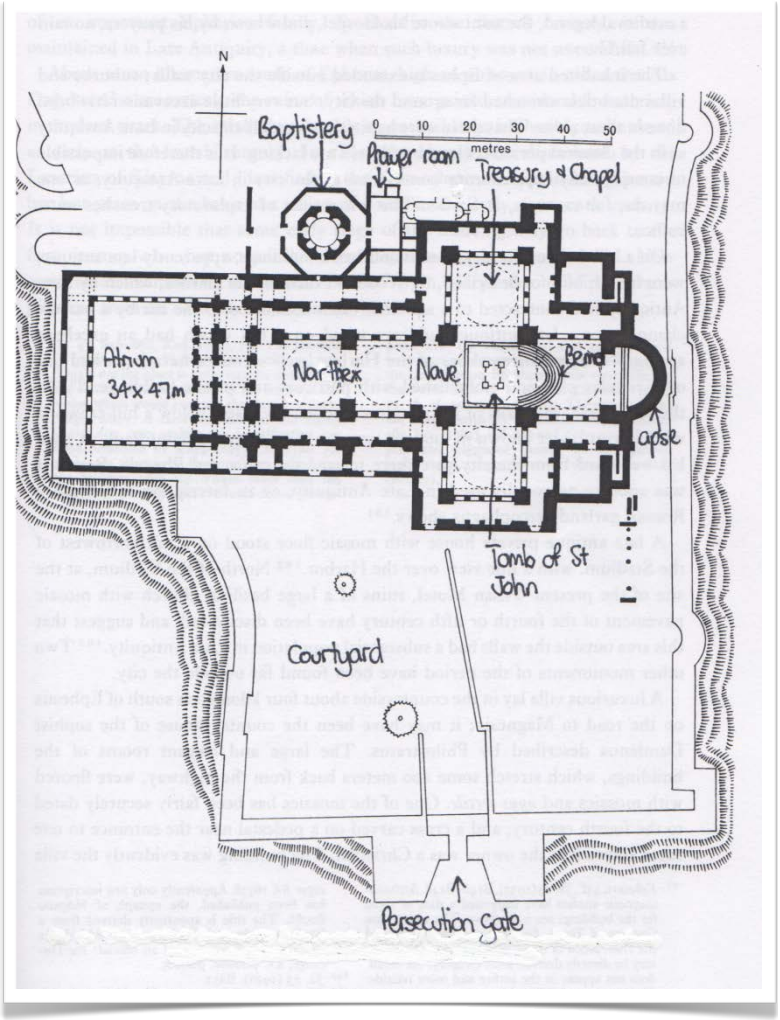


Figure 123. Ground plan of St John's.

Adapted from Ephesus After Antiquity: A Late Antique Byzantine and Turkish City, (p. 93), by C. Foss, 2010, New York: Cambridge University Press. Copyright [1979] by Cambridge University Press. Adapted with permission.

Voices of the Past

Asylum in the Temple of Artemis

Tacit. An. iii.61 : "The Romans at all times have had the strictest regard to the sanctity of the place" (Falkener, 1862, p. 327).

Strabo wrote: "...the limits of the asylum have frequently changed. Alexander established it at a distance of one stadium; Mithridates fixed it to a bow-shot from the angle of the roof,... which was more than a stadium length. Antony double this distance, which extension took in part of the city. But this being found to be dangerous, as it placed the city in the power of malefactors, it was abolished by Augustus." (Falkener, 1862, p. 327 - 328).

Plut. de Vitando Arc. :"Diana, who is worshipped at Ephesus, gives freedom and safety to all debtors who fly to her temple" (Falkener, 1862, p. 329).

Achil.Tat. de Amor. Clit. et Leuc. vii "By ancient law it was forbidden to free women to enter the Temple, although it was permitted to men and virgins; and if any married women entered, she was visited with capital punishment, unless she happened to be a slave who was prosecuted by her master, from whom it was lawful to fly for refuge to the goddess. The prefect then judged between her and her master; if the master had done her no injury, he was permitted to take her again, swearing, however, to forgive her running away; but if the slave had a just complaint, she remained in the Temple for the service of the Goddess" (Falkener, 1862, p. 329)



Figure 124. The one remaining column of the Temple of Artemis, as seen from St John's Church.



Figure 125. The model of the Temple of Artemis Instanbul Miniature Park.

Reprinted from File: miniaturk Artemis Tapinagi – Temple of Artemis.JPG. Retrieved February 19, 2013 from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Miniaturk_ Artemis_Tapinagi_Temple_of_Artemis.JPG. Copyright 2012 by VikiPicture.

Voices of the Past

Importance of Diana

Pausanias wrote in Paus. ii.148 : "All cities call Diana, Ephesia; and men privately honour this goddess beyond all other divinities" (Falkener, 1862, p. 304).
Pliny wrote in Plin.H.N.xxxv.xxxvi.92 : "Apelles painted Alexander the Great holding a Thunderbolt, in the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus, for a fee of twenty talents of gold" (Lalle, 2011, p. 97).

Painting of Alexander the Great in the Temple

Fronto in 95/100-166/170 :"it is claimed that when Alexander did not give the painting the praise it deserved a horse happened to pass by, and seeing the painting it whinnied at the horse in the picture as if it too were real. Apelles is said to have turned to Alexander and made the comment: "Your Majesty, the horse certainly appears to have much better taste in art than you do" (Lalle, 2011, p. 98).

There are no Greek records which indicate how the Temple of Artemis, one of the Seven Ancient Wonders of the World, was built. The temple may in fact have been the first wonder of the world. “Seven times destroyed, it was seven times rebuilt, each time with greater magnificence. ... This shrine was reverenced in Greece and Asia. When Darius destroyed all of the other temples of Asia, this alone was spared” (Falkener, 1862, p.p. 11 - 12).

The Ephesian Artemis was worshipped in many countries and when she was introduced to Rome she was well received.[48] Worshippers did not have to be monotheistic but opposition to Artemis was disapproved. “We find the Ephesian legislature defending Artemis on an inscription well before the time of the New Testament” (Horsley, 1992, p. 155). “From Rome’s point of view, the prestige of Artemis meant that it was useful for political and social reasons that her cult be brought into association with the Imperial cult” (Horsley, 1992, p. 156). Men were said to even receive capital punishment for disrupting the festival.

Ironically, today we actually see more of the Artemisian in museums and other monumental buildings, than we do at the site, as pictured in *Figure 124.* However, we do know that it was about two kilometers from Ephesus; it was located near two streams (as water was important for rituals and obligatory washings); it was rebuilt several times; at 130 x 70 meters, it was four times larger than the Parthenon (the largest building in the world according to Pausanias); it had 127 columns each two meters in diameter and twenty meters high (refer to *Figure 125*); it took 120 years to build; it was the first temple to be constructed entirely of marble; the statue of Artemis was not extraordinarily large and all ceremonies appear to have been conducted outdoors (Erdemgil et al., 2000; Fant & Reddish, 2003; Padfield, 2005; Trebilco, 2007). It was covered in paintings and sculptures and in fact Wood (1890) indicates “many fragments had remains of colour upon them, blue, red and yellow...” (p. 46). Some columns were sculptured with figures to a height of seven meters, as seen in *Figures 126 and 127.* Inscriptions and sculptures featured matters that related to religious and political life (LiDonnici, 2011). Thus, the “temple was able to be ‘read’ like

Voices of the Past

Crown of Artemis

Aelian wrote in VH.5.16 : "that a young boy touched a golden leaf which had fallen from the crown on an image of Artemis and, as a result, was punished with death..." (Strelan, 1996, p. 74).

A Test for Virginity - Artemis

Achilles Tatius relates the following:

> Rhodopis and Euthynicus who shunned marriage and were celibate out of devotion to Artemis. Aphrodite, an opponent of Artemis, caused them to fall in love and so Artemis changed Rhodopis into a water spring and that spot became a testing place for any query about a woman's affair of love. (Strelan, 1996, p. 75)

A nearby cave was used to test a woman's virginity - if she entered the cave and beautiful music played, then she was deemed a virgin! (Strelan, 1996).

a book by the common people" (Strelan, 1996, p. 74). The entrance door was over 4.5 meters wide and 10.6 meters high. Circular groves in the marble floor allowed a bronze wheel to open the door (Wood, 1890). The temple precinct was bounded by a wall and lead pipes covered in marble sleeves brought water into the courtyard of the altar - presumably to clean the area after sacrifices were made. (Wiplinger & Wlach, 1996). Upkeep of the temple came from grants, rent from lands and tithes from other temples (Falkener, 1862).

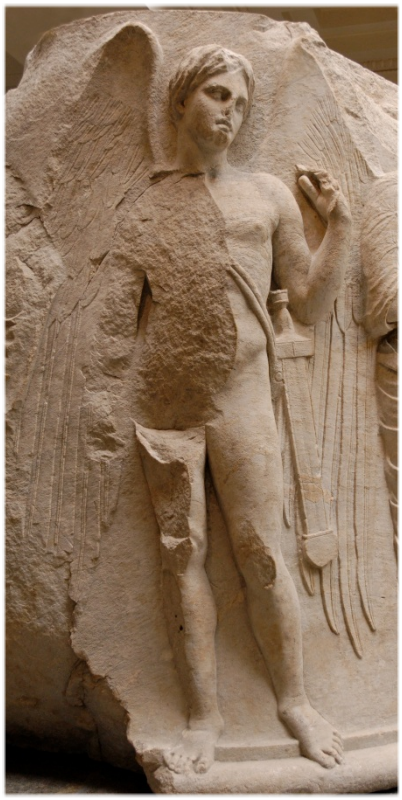


Figure 126. Detail of a column drum depicting Thanatos, a youth with wings who holds a sword (Lethaby, 1913).

Reprinted from File: Column temple Artemis Ephesus BM Sc1206n3.jpg, in Wikipedia, 2007. Retrieved February 19, 2013 from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Column_temple_Artemis_Ephesus_BM_Sc1206_n3.jpg. Copyright 2007 by Marie-Lan Nguyen. Reprinted with permission.



Figure 127. A column drum,nearly two meters high and seven meters in diameter. Lethaby (1913) indicates that Hermes is depicted on the right.

Reprinted from File: Column drum Ephesus. JPG, in Wikipedia, 2008. Retrieved February 19, 2013 from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Column_drum_Ephesus. Copyright 2008 by Twospoonfuls.

Voices of the Past

Sanctuary Not Heeded in the Temple of Artemis

Ptolemy Nios (268-267-259) a co-regent to Ptolemy II sought sanctuary in the temple, after warring with Ptolemy. Ath. XIII.593a-b. :
"[He] was killed there; along with a courtesan Eirene, 'and that she' clinging to the knockers of the temple doors splashed the altar with her blood until they had dispatched her also" (Lalle, 2011, p. 126).

Figure 128 indicates the construction of successive temple structures while *Figure 129* shows the progression of the floor plan from Archaic times to the Hellenistic temple.

Time Period	Period	Modifications
early 8th century B.C.		The structure was a square wooden altar. Tradition tells us it stood on the seashore. The remains of a retaining wall, which may have been part of a dam wall from the Mycenaean period, have been uncovered.
8th century B.C.		Small temple with a wooden statue. Two other temples were begun but not completed. Their use was probably cultic.
second half of the 7th century, B.C.		Built on top of the first structure with a simple naiskos plan; three square structures were probably used for sacrifices; ivory and gold votive animal figurines and bowls (Ephesian ware), found in the precinct date to this period.
beginning of 6th century, B.C.		Temenos wall added.
441 B.C.	Archaic period	New temple began by Cherisphron of Crete. See Figure 129 for the floor plan. It was built on a marsh as protection against earthquakes and faced west towards the sea. This temple was nearly 1.2 meters higher than the first. It was built on a layer of rammed charcoal, wool and leather to help prevent water percolation through building. King Kroisos donated 36 of the 136 ionic columns. The temple was built to the dipteral plan. His signature was found on one of the columns. It is not known what sort of roof it had, although coins of the time indicate a gabled roof and a central door. The ceiling was of wood and the doors made of cyprus.[49] The temple precinct included a large park with minor buildings, statues and monuments. The statue of Artemis was supposed to have fallen from the skies.
4th century		A rise in groundwater meant the city and temple had to be relocated.[50]
July 21, 356 B.C.	Hellenistic Period	Herostratus[51] burned the Temple in an effort to gain immortality and fame. It was burnt the night that Alexander the Great was born - Artemis was said to be at the birth, therefore she was unable to protect her temple. The ancient wooden statue of Artemis was incinerated in the fire. The fire allowed a bigger and better temple to be built.52 See *Figure 129* for the floor plan to compare the archaic and Hellenistic Temples.

Voices of the Past

Temple of Diana

Pliny wrote in Plin. H.N. xxxvii.21 :

But the temple of the Ephesian Diana is a work of truly admirable magnificence, which was raised at the joint expense of all Asia, and occupied two hundred and twenty years in building. It was placed on a marsh, that it should not be endangered by earthquakes, or cleavings of the ground. Again, that the foundations of such a pile might not be laid on a sliding and unstable foundation, they laid a bed of charcoal, over which they places fleeces of wool. The total length of the Temple is 425 feet, the width 220. (It has) one hundred and twenty columns, each the gift of a king, and 60 feet in height; one of these thirty-six are ornamented, one by Scopas. Chersiphron the architect (Ctesiphon) directed the works. (Falkener , 1862, p. 221).

Time Period	Period	Modifications
4th century B.C. - 2nd B.C.		Dinocrates rebuilt the edifice using the plan of the old temple, with numerous Greek states contributing - the construction taking 220 years. It became a monumental marble temple - coins show a gabled roof, central door and windows. It was nearly 2.3 meters higher than last temple and measured 105 x 55 meters. The altar was in front of temple. It was this temple Paul would have known and was one of the seven Ancient Wonders of the World.
A.D. 64	Roman Period	Nero pillaged the temple.
A.D. 262	Gallienus 260 - 268	Raspa, a Goth (Tribe of Scythians) vandalized the temple, partially destroying it.
after A.D. 262		The temple was partially restored using rubble from other parts of the building. It remained in use for next hundred or so years.
A.D. 300 - 400		Emperor Theodosius in 381 A.D. ordered the temple closed. The early Christians then totally destroyed what was left of the temple after earthquakes. It was also a matter of commerce that the building was quarried.
		Christians began to build a church in the cella but stopped when an earthquake raised the building 1.5 meters. Inscriptions from the temple were used in the Harbour baths, Churches of St Mary and John, Hagia Sophia; a capital was found on an aqueduct, a church at Pisa also had materials from the temple.[53] A 5 meter diameter lime kiln was found on the platform and had been used to burn the marble into lime (used for mortar). Huts, possibly of the lime burners, were built in temple precinct.
Late antiquity		Swamps began to silt up and the temple was buried under six meters of alluvial soil.

Figure 128. The constructive phases of the Temple of Artemis.

(Basim, 2005; Erdemgil, 1986; Erdemgil et al, 2000; Fant & Reddish, 2003; Falkener, 1862; Foss, 2010; Laale, 2011; Lethaby, 1917; Lloyd, 1989; Padfield, 2005; Ramsay, 1901; Scherrer, 2000; Wilson, 2010; Wood 1890).

Voices of the Past

Doors Made of Cypress

Plint wrote in Plin. H.N. xvi. 79 :

The doors (are said) to be of cypress, and notwithstanding the lapse of near four hundred years, they continue as good as new; but it is to be remembered that they were kept four years in glue. Cypress was chosen in preference to others woods, because, in addition to other advantages, it alone has the property of constantly preserving its beauty and polish. (Falkener, 1862, p. 280)

Pliny also wrote in Plin H.N. xxxiv. 7 that the doors of the earlier temples were of brass (Falkener, 1862, p. 281).

Voices of the Past

How Could the Temple Burn Down?

Plutarch wrote in Alexander 3.6: "Hegesias the Magnesian made an utterance frigid enough to have extinguished the great conflagration. He said, namely, it was no wonder that the Temple of Artemis was burned down, since the goddess was bringing Alexander into the world"
(Murphy O'Connor, 2008, p. 22).

Plutarch wrote in II.713b : "All the Magi, who were then at Ephesus, looked upon the fire as a sign which betokened a much greater misfortune: they ran about the town, beating their faces, and crying, 'That the day had brought forth the great scourge and destroyer of Asia."
(Lalle, 2011, p. 93 - 94).

Voices of the Past

Herostratus put to Death

Valerius Maximus wrote in 8.14 ext. 5 : "Here is appetite for glory involving sacrilege. A man was found to plan the burning of the temple of Ephesian Diana so that through the destruction of this most beautiful building his name might be spread through the whole world. This madness he unveiled when put upon the rack. The Ephesians had wisely abolished the memory of the villain by decree."

(Murphy O'Connor, 2008 p. 23).

Despite this decree, Strabo actually mentions his name!

(Murphy O'Connor, 2008).

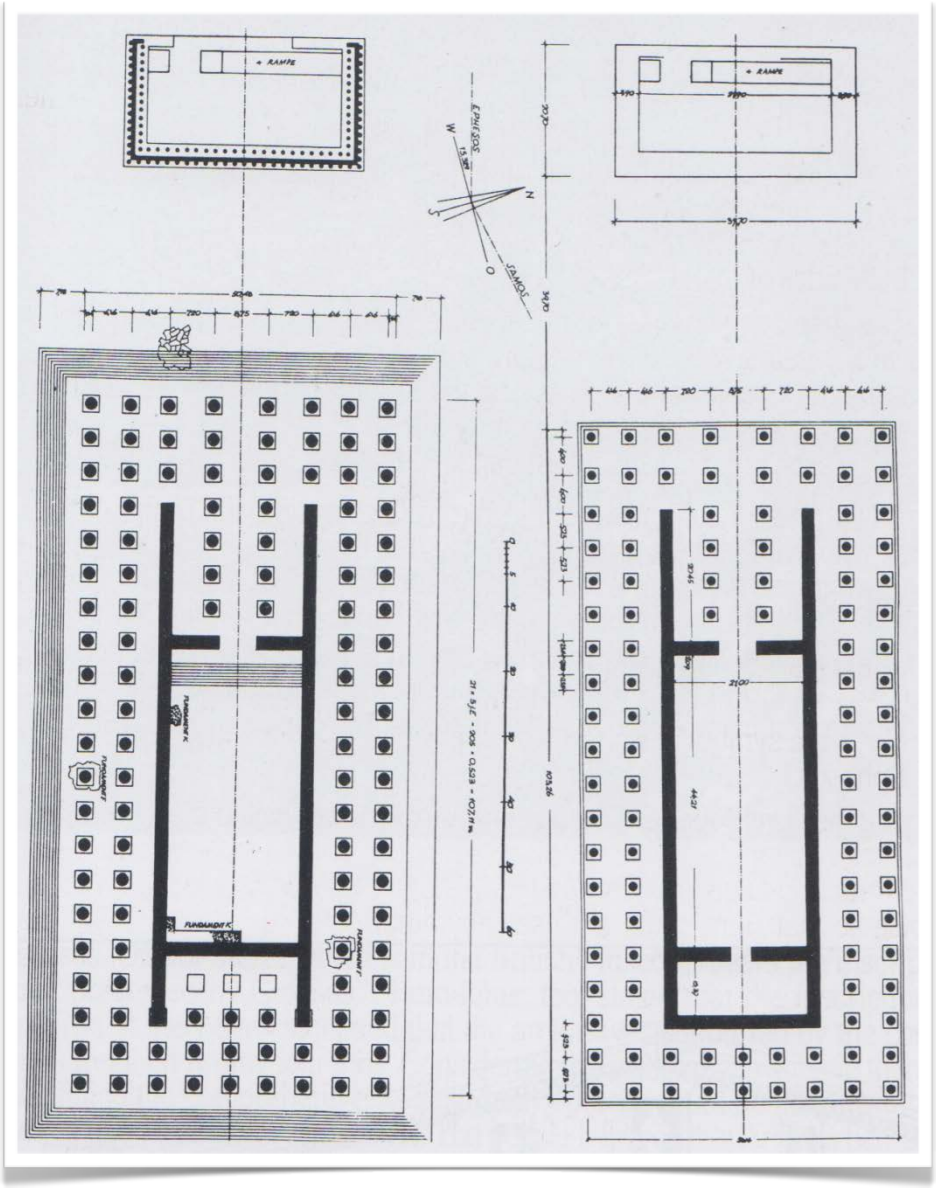


Figure 129. The Hellenistic temple floor plans on the left and the Archaic temple floor plans on the right.

Reprinted from Ephesus Ruins and Museum (p. 29), S. Erdemgil, 1986, Istanbul, Net Turistik Yayinlar A.S.. Copyright [1986] by Net Turistik Yayinlar A.S.. Reprinted with permission.

Artemis

Figurines of Artemis have been found dating to seventh century B.C. which predates the Sumerians. Artemis is not an ancient Greek name; the name was derived from Anatolia where the mother goddess had a connection to the bee, as does Artemis. Her Roman name was Diana. Artemis combined the philosophy and mythology of Greece with the mysticism and magic of Asia (Falkener, 1862).

Voices of the Past

Roof of Cedar

Pliny wrote in Plin. H.N. xvi. 79 :"... and what is a well known fact, the roof is wholly composed of planks of cedar" (Falkener, 1862, p. 283).

Staircase of Vine

Pliny also wrote in Plin. H.N. xiv. 2. : "... and even now the stairs leading to the roof of the Temple of the Ephesian Diana, are formed of the vine-tree, said to be from Cyprus; because there principally vines grow to a great size. Nor is any wood more durable by nature" (Falkener, 1862, p. 285).

Nero Raids Temple of Artemis

Written in Tacit. An. xv 45 : "the rapacity of the emperor not being content with seizing the votive offerings which adorned the temples, but even the very statues of the gods were deemed lawful prey" (Falkener, 1862, p. 343).

Strabo infers that the name could mean safe and sound, healthy, benevolent, giver of oracles, a petitioner (Trebilco, 2007).

The bee and deer are often depicted as the symbol of Artemis of Ephesus - as indicated with their usage on Ephesian coins, shown in *Figure 130* below (Elderkin, 1939).



Figure 130. Fourth to third century B.C. coins depicting the bee and deer of Artemis (Head, n.d., p. 93)
Copyright Free.

Artemis was known as the -:

1. protector of wild beasts - particularly those animals which were not domesticated.
2. protector of the wilderness - woodcutting and hunting implements were not allowed in the temple precincts.
3. huntress - hunters would pray to her for success. The goat was most often used in sacrifices.
4. children's teacher - she taught children to respect animals (Hughes, 1990). Some of these elements are illustrated in *Figure 131*.

The statue of Artemis Ephesia stands as a central symbol for the goddess, the city, and the people" (LiDonnici, 1992, p. 395). No evidence has been found linking Artemis to cult prostitution. (Baugh, 1999).

Voices of the Past

Nero Raids Temple of Artemis

It is written in Tacit. An. xv 45 : "the rapacity of the emperor not being content with seizing the votive offerings which adorned the temples, but even the very statues of the gods were deemed lawful prey"
(Falkener, 1862, p. 343).

There is also evidence to suggest “that Ephesian Artemis was associated with magic, since her name is invoked in spells” (Brinks, 2009). Trebilco (2007) writes that her “zodiacal necklace ... expressed her power over fate.” (p. 22) Spells were said to have been engraved on the statues - possibly some Ephesian letters which were charms purported to make you indestructible (Falkener, 1862).



Figure 131. A relief of Artemis from the Artemisian which depicts her role of protector of nature, children and worshippers by Artemis.

Reprinted from Artemis: Goddess of Conservation, by J.D. Hughes, 1990, Forest and Conservation History, 34(4) p. 194. Copyright 1990 by American Society for Environmental History and Forest History Society.

The ‘Great Artemis’ is pictured in *Figure 132*. This statue is nearly three meters tall and was sculptured in the first century A.D. The crown, said to resemble the city walls, was thought to hold the power of Artemis and symbolized her protection; the lions on her arms indicated her succession from the mother goddess and her skirt demonstrated her protection of nature and the city. The zodiac symbols around her neck show her as protector of the stars, queen of the cosmos and her relationship to fate (Erdemgil, 1986; Laale, 2011; Strelan, 1996; Trebilco, 2007).

Voices of the Past

The Ephesia

Aelian wrote "The sweet maidens, daughters of Lydia, sport and lightly leap and clap their hands in the temple of Artemis the Fair at Ephesus, now sinking down apon their haunches and again springing up like the hopping wagtail" (Arnold, 1972, p. 76).

At Least One Priest Was Not a Eunuch!

Strabo wrote in Geography 14.1.23 : "they had eunuchs as priests, whom they called megabyzi" (Murphy O'Connor, 2008, p. 20).

C. Thomas (2004) as cited in Murphy O'Connor (2008) draws attention to a fourth century B.C inscription that speaks of the son of a Megabyzos - a biological miracle?

There is much confusion over the protuberances on her chest which some suggest are an association with fertility. Laale (2011) and Erdemgil (1986) indicate that they are bulls testicles and are thus symbols of fertility. Finnegan (1981), as noted in Trebilco, suggests that they are eggs - a symbol of fertility. LiDonnici (1992) argues that they represent breasts and that Artemis was the symbol for wives. Wiplinger & Wlach (1996) also write that other interpretations have centered on the protuberances being dates or grapes.

However, Dray (2002), writes that there is no agreement on their interpretation. They appear only in the later Greco - Roman images, and there is "silence of all primary sources about this supposed link with fertility" (Trebilco, 2007, p. 23).



Figure 132. The Great Artemis –which was one of three statues unearthed in the Prytaneion.[54]

Reprinted from File: Artemis Efes Museum by Pvasilliadis, 2007, Retrieved February 19, 2013 from http://wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Artemis_Efes_Museum.JPG. Copyright 2007 by Pvasilliadis. Reprinted with permission.

Voices of the Past

Painting of Alexander in Temple

Pliny wrote in Plin.H.N.xxxv.xxxvi.92 : "Apelles painted Alexander the Great holding a Thunderbolt, in the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus, for a fee of twenty talents of gold" (Lalle, 2011, p. 97).

"it is claimed that when Alexander did not give the painting the praise it deserved a horse happened to pass by, and seeing the painting it whinnied at the horse in the picture as if it too were real. Apelles is said to have turned to Alexander and made the comment: "Your Majesty, the horse certainly appears to have much better taste in art than you do" (Lalle, 2011, p. 98.

The Festival of Artemesia was celebrated for over a month, with one night being dedicated to unmarried girls and slaves, where brides and fiances could be selected and the young ladies would give gifts of clothes to Artemis in thanks for marriage or children. There were up to 260 participants in the processions, including eunuchs, temple virgins, priests and priestesses (refer to Figure 133. for type and function), citizens carrying gold and silver statues of Artemis and deer, musicians, officials who carried the sacred objects, torches, baskets and incense. The standard offering would be equivalent to one months wages (Harland, 1996; Laale, 2011; Sokolowski, 1965; Wilson, 2010).

Rogers (1991) as cited in Trebilco (2007) estimates that there would have been a procession nearly every fortnight and that it was a significant event each time, perhaps blocking the roads for up to an hour and a half.

Priest Type	Function
Megalobyzi or Essenes (King)	Were eunuchs. Generally from Anatolia; accepted gifts and lent money.
Curetes	Demi-gods related to Zeus (while Artemis was being born, the Curetes stayed nearby making noise to prevent other gods from interfering).
Acrobats or tiptoers	20 priests who were involved with dancing in ceremonies.
Priestesses	Assistants to Megalobyzi; virgins from the upper class. A single priestess served for one year. Mostly Roman nobles by birth and under 14 years old. Had to donate 5000 denarii for the privilege. They were named Melissa which is the name for ‘bee”.

Figure 133. Functions Held by the Priesthood

(Baugh, 1999; Elderkin, 1939; Erdemgil, 1986).

The processions went via the Sacred Way which entered the city through the Magnesian Gate, went down to the Theatre, through the Koressos Gate and back to the Artemisian. This route was lined with tombs and sarcophagi, (Pagan, Jewish, gladiator and some Christian), and a residential district during the classical and archaic periods. The road was just over three meters

wide and had to be raised a number of times due to the rising water table. Sacrifices were made along the Sacred way at stones which bore the inscriptions ‘Altar of Artemis”. These sacrifices were to impart immortality for the dead who were buried along the way (Erdemgil et al., 2000; Foss, 2010; Koester, 2004; Wilson, 2010; Wiplinger & Wlach, 1996; Wood, 1890).

As Artemis’s importance decreased[55], people became unwilling to walk across a muddy plain, in the winter rains, so Titus Flavius Damianus constructed a stoa to encourage people to visit the temple. This later fell after an earthquake but was not reconstructed as Artemis had lost her importance (Koester, 2004).

CHAPTER 3

PAUL IN EPHESUS



Figure 134. Statue of Paul in St Peter's Square, Rome.

Reprinted from File:Vatican St Paul Statue in Wikimedia 2006. Retrieved February 19, 2013, from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AVatican_StPaul_Statue.jpg. Copyright 2006 by AngMoKio. Reprinted with permission.

1. Introduction

Paul was born of Hebrew parents and brought up in Tarsus. A representation of Paul is seen in *Figure 134.* He was a Pharisee who had studied Greek, and who was probably schooled in the Hellenistic style of rhetoric - delivering a good argument. Known to be a persistent persecutor of early Christians, he had a conversion experience on the way to Damascus (Acts 13:9) and then "became the foremost of all Christian missionaries during the beginnings of the Christian era" (Maydell, 2010, p. 7). Paul's background meant that "... Paul was extensively involved in, and affected by, many of the significant tendencies and tensions of his day and cannot be studied in isolation from them" (Banks, 1994, p.5).

Barriers for Paul and his co-workers missionary endeavours were embedded in the cultural norms of the Greco-Roman world and included slavery, guilds and associations, a society divided by the tenets of honour, status and citizenship, a patriarchal family organization, Jewish and other 'Christian' groups. In addition, it would have been impossible for Paul not to have encountered the obstacles created by the worshippers of Artemis and other cultic and Imperial figures. The festivals, writings of the day, the currency, the monumental temples and other structures, the statues, the inscriptions and decrees and the home chapels all ensured that Artemis, and a plethora of gods, pervaded everyday life. Ephesus identified with Artemis and other cultic practices both in religious and civic life - the distinction between the two was virtually nonexistent.

Paul used his Jewish heritage to reach the Jews and his Roman citizenship to reach the elite in Ephesus. Paul is presumed to be from a wealthy family, though there is no evidence of him traveling with slaves, as would have been customary for the wealthy. As he had to support himself by working, perhaps his family did not convert to Christianity.

Paul would probably have been tolerated if he had kept his religion, innovative concepts and values within the confines of a church. However, when people were forced to examine themselves and their society, opposition inevitably followed. Paul risked angering the Ephesians gods and he simply became an enemy of the state.

Paul's Missionary Journeys

In Romans 15:20 Paul informs us that "My ambition has always been to preach the Good News where the name of Christ has never been heard, rather than where a church has already been started by someone else."

Hock (1980), as cited in Jeffers (1999), estimates that Paul journeyed 16093 kilometers sharing his faith, walking alongside "government officials, traders, pilgrims, the sick, letter carriers, sightseers, runaway slaves, fugitives, prisoners, athletes, artisans, teachers, and students" (p. 35). Paul was probably 41 years old when he first set out on his missionary journeys,

Ephesus became the base for Christian evangelism and from here "... all residents of Asia heard the word of the Lord" (Acts 19:10).

Second Missionary Journey (Acts 18: 18 - 23) Overview

Paul had been in Corinth for over eighteen months, then visited Ephesus briefly on his way home to Antioch. He entered via the harbour and "while he was there, he went to the synagogue to reason with the Jews" (Acts 18:19).

He then left Priscilla and Aquila in Ephesus to "prepare for his mission by making friends, and begin a business where he could earn his living" (Pollock, 1985, p. 179). Acts 16:6 tells us that for whatever reason, "the Holy Spirit had prevented them from preaching the word in the province of Asia at that time." This visit prepares Paul for his more lengthy stay later. During his absence from Ephesus, Apollos arrived (Acts 18:24 - 26).

Third Missionary Journey Overview

Paul's third missionary journey brought him to Ephesus from the end of 52 - mid 55 A.D., which is the longest recorded time he spent in any city. He would have entered through the Magnesium Gates as he had travelled from Antioch, through the inland country (Acts 19:1), which was the more mountainous and direct horse route, rather than by the camel trade route through the Meander valley and the large cities of Revelation (Pollock, 1985). Paul preached in the city for approximately two and a half years, and despite opposition, he and his co-workers were successful. After the riot Paul left, as previously planned, for Macedonia. On his way back to Jerusalem to celebrate Pentecost (early June) and to hand over the collection, his ship stopped at Miletus, some 80 kilometers south from Ephesus. For whatever reason, the boat waited there for up to 5 days so he sent for the Ephesian elders to join him.[56] Luke was with Paul and recorded the events. Paul is not mentioned in the Bible as ever visiting Ephesus again, and in fact he never thought that he would (Acts 20:25, 28). In 64 A.D. Paul was decapitated (a Roman punishment) in Rome and John became the

Voices of the Past

Pliny, Proconsul of Bithynia reported to Emperor Trajan "that the Christian faith and also manner of life became the dominating forces in the Province, bringing fundamental changes into the social and economic life of Asia"

(Zuzic, 1960, p. 28).

leader of the church in Ephesus (Erdemgil, 1986). (Refer to Appendix C for map)

2. Background to the Cultural Norms of Paul's Day

Paul lived in Ephesus in a Greco-Roman world, one in which the Greek and Roman cultures shared, competed and blended to create an enriched civilization.[57] Ephesus, in the first century A.D. was thoroughly Hellenistic in its "ideas, customs, religion and language but dominated by Roman law, governmental forms, ideas of class and status, and the military. It was beginning to be influenced by Roman cultural values as well" (Jeffers, 1999, p. 13). Thus, the citizens spoke Greek but were politically Roman.

The Ephesians were a people rich in ancient traditions and proud of their heritage. Fortunately Roman tolerance allowed the Ephesians a degree of freedom, whereby they were able to govern locally, provided they paid taxes to Rome and maintained order.

For the wealthy citizens, life was one of ease and indulgence. Games and religious festivals interrupted daily life, often for several days at a time. However, most people in Ephesus would have been engaged in meeting the local needs by working in the manufacturing and service trades; this would have necessitated long hours of toil on their part and for little reward (Jeffers, 1999).

Ephesus was a city consisting of many immigrants partly because Pax Roma ensured safety in travel, which, when combined with the engineering ability of the Romans and their system of roads, ensured the facilitation of travel, communication and trade. "Family, territory, language, customs, religion, tribal affiliation, names, stories about common ancestry, and shared historical memories were the cultural markers of ethnic group identity" (Neufeld & DeMaris, 2010, p. 4). Tensions would have existed simply because of this diversity, and would have been compounded by the fact that Ephesus, in Paul's time, may well have been a lawless society, as it was a sanctuary for criminals.

Voices of the Past

Artemis Known Everywhere

A second century inscription reads: "Since the god Artemis, patron of our city, is honored not only in her native city, which she has made more famous than all other cities throughout her own divinity, but also by Greeks and barbarians, so that everywhere sanctuaries and precincts are consecrated for her, temples are dedicated, and altars set up for her, on account of her manifest epiphanies..."
(Brinks, 2009, p. 778).

Ephesus was a religious city and as long as the city's deities were not disparaged, the people were free to worship whom they liked. However, there was often no clear demarcation between religious and other facets of life, with sometimes the traditions morphing together.

Osiek and Balch (1997), indicate that both girls and boys were educated, dependent on wealth, and that they grew up in a patriarchal culture where at birth the father assumed the right to decide whether a child was to be kept or not.[58]

In order to better understand some of the issues and problems which Paul would have faced, a deeper understanding of the following needs to be explored - the worship of Artemis, the pagan and Imperial cults, the practice of magic, slavery, citizenship, honour and status, the role of women, the role of the guilds and associations, the Jewish community and other 'Christian" groups. These factors, which would have affected Paul's success, will then be examined.

A. Worship of Artemis or Diana

The Artemis cult had spread throughout the world by the time of Paul; "There is evidence of them in Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, France, Spain, Phoenicia and Palestine" (Brinks, 2009, p. 2). So great was her fame that even in Acts 13:35, Luke re-asks the asiarch's question, "who is there that does not know that the city of Ephesus is the temple keeper of the great Artemis." Ephesus had become the representative of the cities of the Roman province for proffering acclaim and adulation to Artemis.

Oster (1990a), in Trebilco, (2007), explains the bond between Ephesus and Artemis in this way:

> the quintessence of Artemis was forever related to the well-being of Ephesus. Notwithstanding the individualistic and personal significance of the goddess, the principal force of her cult was upon the interrelated components of the city's urban life, e.g. the civic, economic, educational, patriotic, administrative, and commercial facets... There was no other Greco-Roman metropolis in the Empire whose 'body, soul and

Voices of the Past

Avoid Offence Against Artemis

Josephus writes in Contra Apion 2, 237 : "And indeed our lawgiver has expressly forbidden us to laugh at and revile those that are esteemed gods by other people on account of the very name of God ascribed to them." (Whitson, 1999, p.975).

Josephus writes in Jewish Antiquities 4.207: "Let no one blaspheme those gods which other cities esteem such; nor may anyone steal what belongs to strange temples, nor take away the gifts that are been dedicated to any god."
(Whitson, 1999, p. 155 - 156).

Voices of the Past

Festival of Artemis

An inscription, Athen. p.619 b. says: "... the people of Ephesus deem it proper that the whole month be called by her name, be sacred, and set apart for the goddess; and have determined by this decree that the observation of it by them be improved. Therefore, it is enacted, that in the whole month Atremision the days be holy, and nothing be attended to in them but the yearly feastings, the Artemisial panegyrics and the hieromenia; the entire month being sacred to the goddess, for, from this improvement in her worship, our city shall receive additional lustre, and be permanent in her prosperity forever" (Falkener, 1862 pp. 333 - 334).

Xenophon the Ephesian writes, Xen. Eph. de Amor. Anth. et Abroc. i. 2.: "The yearly festival in honour of Diana was held at Ephesus; her temple being scarce seven furlongs distant from that city. The virgins of that place, in their richest attire, assisted at the celebration, as also the young men of tha=e age of Abrocamas, who was in his sixteenth year ... A mighty concourse of people, as well strangers as citizens, were present; and then the virgins were wont to look out for spouses, and the young men for wives. The procession moved regularly along; the holy utensils, torches, baskets, and perfumes, led the van; and were followed by the horses, hounds, and hunting accoutrements, as well for attack as for defence. Each of the virgin train behaved as in the presence of her lover. They were led by Anthia (the bride and heroine) ... Her attire was a purple dress hanging down from her waist to her knees, the skin of a fawn girded it round, on which hung her quivers and arrows. SHe bore her hunting arrows and javelins, and her hounds followed her. The Ephesians beholding her in the grove, have often adored her as their goddess ... affirming her to be Diana herself ... When the procession was over, all the multitude entered the temple to offer a sacrifice" (Falkener, 1862, pp. 335 - 336).

Voices of the Past

The Artemision

"Therefore it is decreed that the entire month Artemision be sacred for all its days, and that on the same (days) of the month, and throughout the year, feasts and the festival and the sacrifices of the Artemisia are to be conducted, inasmuch as the entire month is dedicated to the goddess" (Horsley, 1992, p. 154).

Temple as a Bank

Dio Chrysostom wrote : "You know about the Ephesians, of course, and that large sums of money are in their hands, some of it belonging to private citizens and deposited in the temple of Artemis, not alone money of the Ephesians but also of aliens and persons from all parts of the world, and in some cases of commonwealths and kings, money which all deposit there in order that it may be safe, since no one has yet dared to violate that place, although countless wars have occurred in the past and the city has often been captured" (Trebilco, 2004, p. 25).

> spirit' could so belong to a particular deity as did Ephesus' to her patron goddess Artemis" (p. 30).

In fact, because of the association of Artemis to Ephesus, the Roman senate did not give Ephesus the honour of erecting a temple to Tiberius, despite it being the capital of the province. While this happened about thirty years before Paul's visit, it is indicative of the influence the goddess exerted (Trebilco, 2007).

Worship of Artemis was important for:-

a) Religious reasons

Kearsley (1994), as cited in Trebilco (2007) states that the people "... believed that their own lives were deeply affected by the degree of reverence accorded Artemis" (pp. 27 - 28). In fact, new citizens would often inscribe their names on the temple walls in the hope of her offering some kind of protection[59] (Gray, 1943). To worship Artemis was ensure protection of yourself and the city. Worship usually took place in front of the temple - one reason being that females were not permitted entry.

b) Social reasons

The temple was also used for secular, community and social purposes, with no clear distinction between those purposes and religious function. "Where gods and men lived on such familiar terms, where a man's house was the god's house, little hesitation was felt in turning the god's house to the use of man" (Gray, 1943, p.333). The image of Artemis was found everywhere a person went in Ephesus.

The Temple of Artemis could be used for holding political meetings, it could also function as school, library and museum, and it could be used for public banquets. Paul, in 1 Corinthians 10:27 could possibly be indicating that food was being eaten at the temple (Gray, 1943). Strelan (1996b), implies that those who did not eat sacrificial food would be regarded as suspect. "The question of Christians participation in such scared meals was a burning one (1 Cor 8 -10) not only for its theological repercussions, but

Voices of the Past

Emperor and Cult Worship

A letter from Demetriasts to the proconsul of Asia, *88 - 89* A.D. :
"Mysteries and sacrifices are performed each year in Ephesus, lord, to Demeter Karpophorus and Thesmophoros and to the Sebastoi gods by mystai with great purity and lawful customs together with the priestesses" (Harland, 1996, p. 332).

also, and probably more importantly, its social implications" (Strelan, 1996, p. 76).

The temple was a place of safety. "Men "when abroad", whether traveling or on military campaigns, may well have desired for a night's shelter the security of a temple, which was, as it were, neutral ground and under divine protection" (Gray, 1943, p. 326). Asylum was an additional function where criminals, those who owed money, slaves and refugees could find refuge in the temple. Strabo indicates the boundary of asylum surrounding the temple kept increasing until it eventually extended to the city of Ephesus itself, allowing criminals to live within a section of the city. This limit was later revoked (Stevenson, 2001).

The temple was also a tourist attraction. Visitors came from all over the world to worship at the temple, to offer sacrifices, present gifts and receive blessings from Artemis and to view the collections of art. (Fant & Reddish, 2003; Keskin, 2011, Stevenson, 2001). Typical practices used to worship Artemis included, "feasts, festivals and public sacrifices, ... banquets, ... processions, ... contests of athletes, actors, musicians..." (Baugh, 1999, p. 454). There were two main festivals –

1. In March - April, 'The Artemisian', was dedicated to Artemis and the whole month was set aside to celebrate her. The elite women would clean, oil, dress and crown the wooden statue in finery which would then be paraded around the city on a four wheeled carriage. The procession would stop at various sites to sacrifice, pray and sing. This was followed by a communal meal of sacrificed food which was shared by citizens and visitors. It is thought that some of the processions may have taken place at night as some coins depict Artemis carrying a torch (Koester, 2004; Strelan, 1996). It is said that approximately one million people attended these festivals (Keskin, 2011).
2. In May - June, the 'Thargelion' was celebrated. Athletic, theatrical and musical competitions were held and fiances and brides were selected (Brinks, 2009; Falkener, 1862).

3. The ‘Thesmophoria’ was held in Oct - Nov and was for married women only (Erdemgil, 1986).

c) Economic reasons

The temple amassed land,[60] including two lakes, vineyards, farms and their stock, salt pans and it also controlled the fishing industry - money from these industries helped with building maintenance and wages of the officials. Half of the city’s fines were paid to the Temple, the other half going to the person who had been wronged. The temple’s income also helped bankroll city infrastructure, like roads and baths (Brinks, 2009).

People from all countries deposited money in what became the largest bank in Asia.[61] Strelan (1996), notes that a decree dated 44 A.D. (just a few years before Paul visited), which indicated, that due to a fire in the city, revenue to Artemis had decreased; temple funds were being misused for celebrations; priesthoods were being sold; and that babies were being bought and then dedicated to Artemis so that the temple was responsible for the costs of raising them. The concern over these matters could have signaled a period of reform in operations which may have still been in force about the time Paul visited.

B. Pagan & Imperial Cults & Other Festivals

Ancient religions grew from a belief that people needed the protection and co-operation of gods. Roman religion was a collection of a number of beliefs which were not as much spiritual but a relationship with the forces that controlled people’s existence and well-being. The numerous gods were worshipped as a function rather than a personality, unlike the Greek gods. The needs that the cults safeguarded included economic prosperity, health, protection against fire, flood and earthquake and political protectorship. Roman religions were not individualistic but provided the empire with protection (Willoughby, 1929).

Little is known about cult participation as it was done in secret - however, it is known that a body of regulations arose where blessings, spells and sacrifices had to be performed in a certain way in order to obtain protection. “Greeks or Romans could believe what they liked, so long as they performed the rituals properly” (Jeffers, 1999, p. 90). Fox (1986) indicates that this sorcery was used to gain some advantage, like winning at the games, advancing a business interest or gaining help with love lives.

Pagan religions had no hierarchy or officials, no creedal statements, no ethical demands, no belief in an afterlife; they had no sacred writings, church and state were not separated and many cults could be worshipped (Vandergriff, n.d.). Wilson (2010), estimates that there were at least 14 deities worshipped in Ephesus at the time of Paul.

i) Imperial Cults

The Greeks celebrated hero and dynastic cults from at least the third century B.C.. By the first century A.D. the cult of Roma replaced the Greek cults, which then gradually morphed into the cult of the emperor (Yegul, 1982).

These imperial cults never attained the importance of the cult of Artemis - at best they co-existed, but generally were held with less regard. “The emperor held so much power that the only beings with whom comparison could be made were gods, and the only adequate homage seemed to be the honors given to deities” (Ferguson, 1998, p 34). Coins which carried the image of Artemis on one side, and that of the Emperors on the other, showed that “the emperor supported Artemis, and Artemis stood behind the emperor” (Brinks, 2009, p. 783). Women could hold positions within the cult by the 40’s and 50’s A.D. and sacrifices to the emperors had begun by the end of the century (Rogers, 1994). The Ephesians were not accustomed to emperors, so the only way they could begin to understand them, was to associate them with their gods. The gods were considered powers, not people, and therefore they empowered the emperor. The Ephesians wish for an imperial temple may have been to ‘locate’ this power in their city

(Strelan, 1996). Price (1984), as cited in Trebilco (2007), concluded that the "emperor's name or image met the eye at every turn" (p. 36).

The Roman's attempt at uniting church and state was just beginning in Paul's time. Emperor worship in Ephesus only began as an attempt to pacify Augustus, whose enemies they had aided, despite the fact that no emperor had visited during the first century A.D. (Harland, 1996). During Paul's time, "the cult of the living emperor became an accepted feature of public life. Oaths were sworn by the genius of the emperor" (Jeffers, 1999, p. 101). Sacrificial bulls and incense were offered to the image of the emperor, who, while not regarded as a god, was given divine status (Vandergriff, n.d.).

Imperial family worship became increasingly entrenched in Ephesus in the first century A.D., not only in the grand temples,[62] but also in private homes, and in the agora, gymnasia and baths, where statues and busts were thought to guarantee peace and wealth. The citizens were constantly reminded by honourific inscriptions[63] which were everywhere, that the gods, Imperial patrons[64] and other wealthy persons, gave the citizens things that would not normally be available to them - in return, honour to the patron was expected. The cities put pressure on the citizens to worship the emperor as a way of showing loyalty and homage. Gladiatorial combats and wild animal contests, feasts and processions were an important part of Imperial cult celebrations (Erdemgil, 1986; Trebilco, 2007). There was also a religious significance apart from the political aspect (Harland, 1996). However, the imperial cult never developed as a true religion as its main aim was to simply develop unity amongst citizens of the Roman empire (Erdemgil, 1986).

The deification of emperors continued after their death - the new ones were simply added to those worshipped. However, most private citizens were not as interested in these deities as they were local ones.

ii) Greco Roman Cults

One can summarize Greco-Roman cults with one word - variety. Ephesus was not monocultist.

Oster, (1992a), as cited in Trebilco (2007), indicates that there was a

> plethora of Greco-Roman and some Anatolian deities worshipped there, including Aphrodite, Apollos, Asclepius, Athena, Cabiri, Demeter, Dionysus, Egyptian cults, Ge, God Most High, Hecate, Hephaestus, Hercules, Hestia, the Mother goddess, Pluton, Poseidon, Zeus and other minor deities. ... A number of heros were also venerated, including Alexander the Great, Androclus (regarded as the Greek founder of Ephesus), Apollonius of Tyana (who performed an exorcism to rescue the city from a plague), Pixodarus Evangelus (who discovered the quarry for marble used in the construction of the temple of Artemis) and Publius Servilius Isauricus, proconsul of Asia 46 - 44 BCE. (p.19)

The foreign cults of Isis and Serapis were also introduced from the third century B.C. as Egypt extended its political influence. It is also thought that Antony and Cleopatra may have encouraged worship of their gods, particularly during their stay in 33 - 32 B.C.[65]

iii) Festivals

Whilst festivals are mentioned in inscriptions (particularly the patrons and winners of contests), of their exact nature and form, little is known. Cultic activity dominated the calendar, with numerous festivals and processions taking place. “Time revolved around the cult and the figure of the emperor, and the constant ritual activity reinforced this notion” (Flexenhar, p. 3). However, not all festivals revolved around the worship of deities - although there would have been some homage paid during the festivals course. Below is a list of festivals celebrated in addition to cultic ones.

1. The Balbillea, was festival organized by Balbillea, a benefactor of Ephesus and astrologer to Nero. This festival appears to be one featuring gymnastic events, with some “heraldic contests ... included” (Arnold, 1972, p. 19).

2. Cult of Rome - “The worship of Roma appears to have been of singular importance at Ephesus, where the priest of Rome played the role of second eponymos, and also acted as agonothetes at the local Dionysia” (Arnold, 1972, p. 20).

3. Olympia - this was almost exclusively a gymnastic festival.

4. Gladitorial festivals with wild beasts fighting other beasts or humans. “In fact Ephesus was the first place in Asia in which a spectacle of this brutal type was produced” (Arnold, 9172, p. 22). They were first introduced in 71/70 B.C. “At Ephesus as many as 39 pairs took part in the course of a thirteen day celebration, and there were hunts at Ephesus lasting five days during which 25 African beasts were killed” (Arnold, 1972, p.22).

5. The Parentilia was held in February, when families worshipped dead ancestors (Arnold
1972).

Why Paul’s Teachings Were Against the Commonly Held Views of Religion

It would have been quite in keeping for the Ephesians to have simply added one more god to the city - but that was what was distinctive about Paul’s teaching - the need for one god only. “Paganism is often said to have been tolerant and accommodating. But it was not so towards a monotheistic religion centered upon an invisible God, a religion which could not be readily assimilated, in the usual fashion, into the existing system” (Rajak, 1984, p. 122). In addition, Paul’s God caused a change in lifestyle. This was not the case with the pagan gods.

Christianity was also in opposition to Imperial patronage by suggesting that it was God, rather than Caesar, who was in control of everything. While Mithraism, the cult of Dionysus and the emperor cult all had leaders coming to earth as the son of a god and being on the same level as god, Christianity’s God stood above even the emperor.

Voices of the Past

Wealthy Freedman

An inscription states, I.Eph.859a : "... a Roman freedman named Julius Nicephorus in 27 B.C. had paid for the sacrifices offered there to Roma and Artemis. His was a generous gift that earned him a lifelong civic office" (Laale, 2011, p. 176).

Paul's unwillingness to participate in the polytheistic religious and cultic practices of the day and his refusal to acknowledge the emperor as a deity, would have singled him out from the average Ephesian citizen, who would have regarded him as a threat to the state - for fear the gods may not offer protection to the city anymore.[66] This conflict would have been more apparent during festival times. (Neufeld & DeMaris, 2010).

C. Slavery

Ephesian society was characterized by a small elite group who owned the land, the wealth and taxed the poor. There was a large group of peasants and artisans, another group consisting of slaves, and then the widows, the sick and those not able to support themselves. The Ephesian population may have been composed of up to one third slaves, who were a part of the extended family,[67] and therefore better off than the poor of the city, (for at least they were fed), and far better off than those slaves on farms. The slave population came from children of slaves, exposed babies, people kidnapped during war or people snatched from the streets (Neufeld & DeMaris, 2010). Slaves had no rights.

The society of Ephesus was based on slavery[68] and would not have functioned without it. They performed all of the labouring jobs[69], from agriculture to workshops; the cleaning and cooking, babysitting and sexual services (Glancy, 2006). "The use of slaves as sexual outlets was widespread and culturally ingrained" (Macdonald, 2007, p. 96). Slaves were not in control of their sexual activity[70] and slaves and prostitutes were used freely by men, who generally married in their late 20's or 30's and who did not regard sexual abstinence as important.

The belief those days was that household gods protected the whole family and their daily life - thus, when the head of the household became a Christian, all slaves and others associated with the house adopted the worship of God, at least nominally. We see this in Acts 16:14 - 15, 40 where Lydia's entire household was baptized[71]. As head of the house she probably

assumed the responsibility to convert them and thus became a house church leader[72] - possibly the first church planted in Europe and with a female minister! 1 Timothy 6:1

Why Paul's Teachings about Slavery would have gone Against the Norms of the Day

Slaveowners, dealers and the government would have been at odds, both economically and socially, with Paul's view of the rights of slaves and the concept of human freedom. There is no evidence to suggest that there were more or less slaves in the early Christian churches and it does not seem to be controversial that Christians had slaves.

1. Slaves and prostitutes were an economic resource important for families (and the city at large, as prostitution was heavily taxed). Without their labour, the city simply would not have functioned. While Paul makes no specific mention of the sexual use of slaves, this may be because he simply expects the early Christians to find it abhorrent. "Perhaps this is one reason he encourages slaves to seek a change in their status where possible, taking advantages of opportunities for freedom" (Glancy, 2006, p. 70).

The citizens also would have thought that restricting sex to marriage was unusual.

2. Masters and slaves would have struggled with equality issues. It must have been difficult to be hospitable to everyone and to treat slaves as equals when the exact opposite would have been ingrained from birth, and reinforced in every aspect of life. Paul's teachings created a commonality among people - slaves were to be treated justly and with fairness, and barriers between slave and free were to be dissolved (Glancy, 2006). The baptism of a slave would mean that they should enjoy the same honor and worth as other members. They may have attained spiritual equality but that made little difference to their status as slaves (Kirkegaard, 2006). 1 Timothy 6:1 says, "All slaves should show respect for their masters so that they will not bring shame on the name of God and his teaching."

Voices of the Past

Ascribed Honour

Plutarch wrote in Mor.1.1.2 : "For those who are not well born, whether on the father's or on the mother's side, have an indelible disgrace in their low birth, which accompanies them throughout their lives, and offers anyone desiring to use it a ready subject of reproach and insult. Wise was the poet who declares: The home's foundation being wrongly laid.The offspring needs must be unfortunate" (Neufeld & DeMaris, 2010, p. 118).

Acquired Honour

Plutarch wrote in Mor.VI.247 : "...and the pleasure you will take in acts which are right will make the perseverance of your judgement more firm, inasmuch as your acts will win approval before spectators, so to speak, who are honorable and devoted to virtue" (Neufeld & DeMaris, 2010, p. 119).

Honour in Society

Plutarch, in Moralia VI.201, advises, "Whenever, then, you are lost in admiration of a man borne in his litter as being superior to yourself, lower your eyes and gaze upon the litter bearers also" (Neufeld & Demaris, 2010, p. 111).

Osiek & Macdonald (2006) states:

> We hope that in a believing household life would be different, but there is no hard evidence that this is so, and there is abundant evidence that whole households often did not convert to the new faith together. There were probably many Christian slaves in predominately non-Christian households, whose life of faith was hard indeed. (pp. 249 - 250)

Any change in attitude caused by Christianity was probably a slow transformational process.

D. Citizenship

The Romans granted citizenship to secure and expand their empire. Largely, the populace was tired of the unrest caused by ethnic wars, and to be a Roman citizen provided security and protection where ever a person was. Thus it was highly sought after. Paul's status as a citizen of Rome was of more importance to the authorities than him being a Christian.

Ethnic identity was being replaced by the new Christian family whose citizenship was in heaven rather than on earth - Philippians 3:20 says "But we are citizens of heaven, where the Lord Jesus Christ lives."

Thus Paul's teaching at odds with the norms of the day as there was no distinction between Jew and Greek - nationality and heritage had no place in community.

E. Honour/Status

Ascribed honour, or class, was determined at birth by ancestry; acquired honour, or status, was determined by virtue, success and wealth (Neufeld & DeMaris, 2010). Meeks (1983) suggests that a persons status was related to their ethnic origins, citizenship, education, gender, profession, age, slave or free and whether they were married or unmarried. *Figure 135* ranks people in terms of status, with those of higher status listed first.

Voices of the Past

Ascribed Honour Questioned

Seneca wrote in Ep. 111,4.30.1 : "In competition for public office some of the most disreputable men are preferred to others who are industrious, but of no family, by reason of their noble birth and not without reason"
(Neufeld & DeMaris, 2010, p. 119).

Boasting About Ascribed Honour

Seneca wrote in Ep. 111, 3.28.1 :"Those who display ancestral busts in their halls, and place in the entrance of their houses the names of their family, arranged in a long row and entwined in the multiple ramifications of a genealogical tree - are these not notable rather than noble"
(Neufeld & De Maris, 2010, p. 119).

Citizenship and Freedom	Patrons and Clients
wealthy freeborn citizen	Patrician patron
Imperial freed (citizen) slave	Upper-class plebian patron
Imperial slave	Client of powerful patron
Wealthy freed citizen slave	Client of weak patron
Poor freeborn slave	
Poor freed citizen slave	**Age and Sex**
Wealthy freeborn noncitizen	Adult male with no living father
Poor freeborn noncitizen	adult male with living father
Urban domestic slave	Rich widowed adult female
Farm slave	Widowed adult female
Mining slave	Married adult female
	Child - male then female

Figure 135. Social status of the Greco Roman world. (Jeffers, 1999, p. 190).

The honour system was integral to the lives of Ephesians in the first century, and Paul's writings are rich with language conveying the importance of giving honour.[73]

Neufeld & DeMaris (2010) explain,

> ... even at the level of everyday living, honour status determined nearly everything in life: how one behaved, interacted with others, dressed, ate,[74] married, even what happened at the time of death. Public rights and responsibilities, public speech, approved gestures, friends, associates, and even the guests one could invite to a meal were all determined by one's place on the scale of honour. It even determined which seat you could occupy at the dinner table in a friend's home. (p. 109)

Honour represented an Ephesian's value in society and it had the ability to 'open or close doors.' It could easily be lost and there was intense competition to gain it. Consciousness regarding honour was given by the

community rather than the individual; “Thus it is the community that accuses, not an internal voice” (Neufeld & DeMaris, 2010, p. 113).

Lack of privacy in the crowded city meant that the citizens were “critically observed”, (Neufeld & DeMaris, 2010, p. 45) in their public lives. Citizens were thus very conscious of what others saw them doing and therefore their public persona was carefully guarded.[75]

Men obtained honour through self-mastery and reason, while women did so through obedience. Men were responsible for, and had to defend, the honour of their female relatives (Neufeld & DeMaris, 2010).

People were known by their occupation and received status accordingly.[76] Lydia, for example, is identified in Acts 16:14 as a seller of purple.[77] Shame was catastrophic and some occupations were deemed to be shameful because they did not honour social boundaries - innkeepers, prostitutes, sailors, shepherds and tax collectors were among them. “In a culture whose definition of honour emphasized the preservation of a woman’s sexual integrity and a man’s sexual inviolability, prostitutes had no honour to preserve” (Glancy, 2006, p. 56). However, prostitution protected the honour of respectable families!

Why Paul’s Teachings were against the commonly held views of honour and status.

Into this status driven city comes Paul with revolutionary ideas. It did not matter what a person’s background was, there was no social divide because everyone was a fellow citizen. This thought would have been preposterous to the elite - especially coming from Paul, a tentmaker, whose occupation would have been seen as something to belittle. (His saving grace may have been that he was a Roman citizen). The Greeks and Romans would also have looked down on shepherds, therefore the image of Christ as a shepherd would not have made sense.

Voices of the Past

Women's Attendance at Meetings

Philo, in Special Laws 3.169, wrote : "market places and council halls, law courts and gatherings, and meetings where a large number of people are assembled - in short all public life with its discussion and deeds, in times of peace and war - are proper for men. It is suitable for women to stay indoors and to live in retirement, limited by the middle door [to the mens apartments] for the young girls and to the outer door for married women" (Banks, 1994, p. 156).

Women to Worship Only the God's of Her Husband.

Plutarch wrote in Coniug. praec. 145B-E : "it is becoming for a wife to worship and to know only the gods that her husband believes in, and to shut the front door tight upon all queer rituals and outlandish superstitions. For with no god do stealthy and secret rites performed by women find any favour" (Meeks, 1983, p. 25).

Paul may have been critical of the rich elite and he would have called for the church to look after exposed infants (those chosen by their fathers to die by exposure at birth), the widows, the poor and sick, regardless of their status.

F. Role of Women

Nothing much but generalizations exist about women in the Greco-Roman culture as "history is written by, for and about men" (Kroeger, 1987, p. 25). The Greco-Romans saw men as rational beings while women were emotional, weak and easily deceived. Therefore women were commodities, always under the rule of a male and therefore they were not considered full citizens. Status defined their quality of life and education was dependent on wealth.

However, during the time that Paul spent in Ephesus, some women were beginning to be permitted to live in the actual world where they supervised those in their households, travelled, controlled businesses and acted as patrons[78] (Torjesen, 1995) While mostly concerned with household duties, the women were allowed to move freely around the city and could therefore engage with others. "... the household was the real power base for Roman women" (Papazov, 2010, p. 3).

How Paul's Teachings about Women Went Against the Norms of Society.

While Paul lived in a time where there were changes in the roles women could play, these shifts were not necessarily widespread. Paul's ideas would have exacerbated the unsettling effect brought about as women began to embrace a new life.[79] The order of the old times was being challenged by the progressive reforms that Christianity brought. "The validity of the 'natural' inferiority of women, and their subordinate place in society was duly challenged and exposed as false. This new kyrios was becoming the head of all who wanted to experience life to the fullest, and in Him there were no longer male or female priority status" (Papazov, 2010, p 5). Paul himself wrote in Galatians 3:28 "... there is neither male or female: for you are all one in Christ Jesus."

Voices of the Past

Silversmiths Tomb Inscription

"This tomb and the area around it and the subterranean vault belongs to M. Antonius Hermeis, silversmith, and Claudia daughter of Erotion, his wife. No one is to be put in this tomb except the aforementioned. If anyone does dare to put in a corpse or to excise this text, he shall pay the silversmiths at Ephesus 1,000 denarii. Repsonsibility for this tomb rests with the association (synedrion) of silversmiths, and Erotion dedicated 50,000 denarii" (Laale, 2011, p. 188).

Paul taught that husbands were to be faithful to their wives and love them as their own bodies and that children were not assets or liabilities.[80] This belief contradicted the Greco - Roman belief that women were in many respects, inferior.

Martin (1994), as cited in Trebilco (2007), writes of Priscilla and Apollos, "In a rare and unusual portrayal in Acts, we see a woman [Priscilla][81] exercising decisive leadership[82] and substantial intellectual engagement and instruction with a male who was himself an 'eloquent man, well versed in the scriptures" (p. 114). Among Paul's circle he encouraged a number of women to hold leadership and other positions and thus demonstrate the equality of women. Paul named women without using their family name or marital status, even mentioning Priscilla before her husband Aquila - this was also a contradiction to the norm of the day.

G. Guilds or Associations

Guilds and associations were something akin to our trade unions today. Guilds were quite common and consisted of approximately 12 - 40 members governed by presidents, treasurers and other officials. People found community in guilds which often centered on political, sporting, professional and commercial interests (Banks, 1994). Mystic rites and initiations were part of an association's practice and enhanced a sense of belonging to the group (Harland, 2003). "Evidently, besides conviviality the clubs offered the chance for people who had no chance to participate in the politics of the city itself to feel important in their own miniature republics" (Meeks, 1983, p. 31). Benefactors often financed the guilds, in return for position and title. Guilds were often responsible for the burial of members and the maintenance of members' graves.

While no remains of guild halls have been found in Ephesus, at other sites, halls have included a shrine for imperial cults. Figure 136. lists some of the known Ephesian guilds.[83]

Voices from the Past

Jews in Ephesus

Josephus wrote in Ant. 14.10. 263 - 264 :"Since the Jews which dwell in this city have petitioned Marcus Julius Pompeius, the son of Brutus, the proconsul, that they might be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and to act in all things according to the customs of their forefathers, without impediment from anybody, the praetor has granted their petition. Accordingly, it was decreed by the senate and the people, that in this affair that concerned the Romans, no one of them should be hindered from keeping the Sabbath day, nor be fined for so doing; but that they might be allowed to do all things according to to their own laws" (Whitson, 1999, p. 474).

Jewish Community exempt from Army in Ephesus

Josephus wrote, in Ant 14:228 - 230 : "I have at my tribunal set these Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewish religious rites, and yet live at Ephesus, free from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under. ... and my will is, that you take care that no one give them any disturbance" (Whitson, 1999, p. 472).

Guild	Guild	Guild	Guild
Silversmiths & coppersmiths	Woodcutters, knob turners	Fishermen	Wine growers & nut sellers
Leather workers	Carpenter, cobblers	Boot makers	Artists
Association of hymn singers	Bed-builders	Physicians	Athletes
Perfume makers	Bakers	Wool merchants	Surveyors

Figure 136. Examples of guilds in Ephesus.

(Dray, 2002; Harland, 2003; Laale, 2011).

Initially, Paul's community and the Jewish communities may have been seen as simply another guild. (except that you were born into a Jewish community and membership was not open).

H. Jews In Ephesus

Lalle (2011), indicates that there was a Jewish community in Ephesus from at least the time of Antiochus II Theos (261 - 246 B.C.). However, there is no agreement on the number of Jews in Ephesus at the time of Paul. Horsley (1992) and Laale (2011), suggest that the writings of Josephus indicate that Ephesus had a sizable Jewish community who may have been deported from Samaria and Babylon. Modern estimates range from a couple of hundred to 25,000.[84] These numbers could suggest that there was more than one synagogue in Ephesus.[85]

There is consent however, and evidence in many inscriptions and decrees, that the Jewish population was conspicuous.[86] The Romans afforded the Jewish community many privileges, including being allowed to send the Temple tax back to Jerusalem;[87] being allowed to follow their own customs and food regulations; being exempt from going to court on the Sabbath; being allowed to judge anyone caught stealing their sacred money and an allowance for non-practice in civic cults. Josephus wrote that it was because

Voices of the Past

King Herod assists Jews in Ephesus

Theodorus, an Ephesian, was overheard making this remark after the death of Herod. "Here in Jerusalem you've probably never heard about how your king helped us get our rights in Ephesus about ten years ago. I'll tell you, he did more for the Jews in the Diaspora than anyone else ever did. It sure helped that he was such good friends with Augustus and old Marcus Agrippa. Now all our half-shekel taxes get to Jerusalem, and it's easier to make the long trip ourselves. He may have been a dirty old man, but he made a difference" Richardson (1996), as cited in (Laale, 2011, p. 170).

Ephesian's Anger at Jews

Josephus wrote in Ant. 16.6.175 : " I frequently make mention of these decrees, in order to reconcile other people to us, and to take away the causes of that hatred which unreasonable men bear to us" (Whitson, 1999, p. 537).

of the Jews' friendship with the Romans that these rights were allowed (Rajak, 1984; Tellbe, 2009; Trebilco, 2007).

"Rome was interested in keeping the urban masses under control and in checking initiatives of too political a nature" (Rutgers, 1994, p.71). If allowing Jews certain privileges meant peace and quiet resulted, the Roman authorities were content. Thus these edicts were not a measure of religious toleration but arose out of pragmatism for order. These concessions were out of the ordinary and it is no wonder that they were resented by the populace at times (Wilson, 2010). At a time of economic hardship and because a lot of Jews were also Roman citizens, to be distinguished in this way would have been a significant point of conflict. It is no wonder that the Jews frequently had to appeal to the Romans to have their rights upheld. These edicts are perhaps too an indication that there were a significant number of well-organized Jews in Ephesus for them to have obtained these freedoms (Telbe, 2009).

Why Paul may have faced opposition from the Jews.

Paul spent three months teaching in the synagogue, which has been described by Tellbe (2009), as "the womb of the early Christian movement" (p. 63). Initially Judeo-Christians and Gentile Christians co-existed, and did not call themselves anything specific. Their "religious movement was known as 'the way' ... short for 'the way of God'" (Vermes, 2012, p. 54).

There are a number of areas where Paul would have caused contention in the Jewish community. Some of these areas would have included:

1. Possible contention over his reputation for persecuting Jews.

2. Paul would have tried to break down the boundaries of Judaism and the religious practices and belief systems that were centuries old. The Mosaic and covenant requirements of the Jews were a point of conflict for Jews wanting to become Christians. "Some contended that converts first had to become Jews in order to become Christians. Others considered the outward

signs of Judaism to be unnecessary for the Christian life" (Walker, 2012, p. v). The Judeo-Christians still initially observed the Jewish rules and regulations set out by Moses. To all appearances, they would have been thought of as Jews by the Ephesian populace.

3. With Gentiles being accepted into the movement, a divide appeared. Ephesians 2:19 states, "So now you gentiles are no longer strangers and foreigners. You are citizens along with all of God's holy people." To accept a Gentile into worship in the synagogue was unthinkable for most Jews. It was in fact 'Jews from Asia' who were responsible for Paul's Jerusalem imprisonment. Acts 21: 27-36 indicates that the Jews accused Paul of bringing "Trophimus the Ephesian" into the temple and defiling it. "Their hostility may suggest that Paul had had more success among Jews in Ephesus than Luke records" (Murphy-O'Connor, 2008, p. 209).

4. Paul's relaxation on Gentiles being circumcised would also been a bone of contention.

5. Paul went against the rabbibic law which said that females were not to be taught the law (Papazov, 2010). "In a culture where a wife was property ... , Paul elevated women to a position of honor previously unknown in the world" (Papazov, 2010, p. 7). Paul's invitation for the participation of women would not have been tolerated by a strict Jewish community.

6. Paul taught that God did not live in temples anymore.

7. The early Christians perhaps stopped giving temple tax and instead supported Paul's fund for the poor in Jerusalem - which would have upset the Jewish community.

8. John talks of the Nicolaitans as an adversary in Ephesus - perhaps they also existed in the time of Paul (Trebilco, 2007).

Voices of the Past

Christianity For the Uneducated

"Celsus, the first pagan author we know who took Christianity seriously enough to write a book about it, alleged that the church deliberately excluded educated people because the religion was attractive only to the "foolish, dishonourable and stupid, and only slaves, women, and little children"
(Meeks, 1983, p. 51).

9. The Jews may have been tired of others thinking that the ‘Christians’ were a sub group of the Jewish community.

After three months of preaching in the synagogue, Paul faced opposition, where the Jews became stubborn, rejected his message and spoke publicly against ‘The Way’. He therefore had to leave and find a new preaching venue so as to protect the faith of the new believers. Ellen White, (1911), says “Paul separated from them and gathered the disciples into a distinct body, continuing his public instructions in the school of Tyrannus, a teacher of note” (p. 286).

Paul may never have entirely severed his ties with the synagogue. However, it is reasonable to assume that Christian and Jew were beginning to distinguish themselves as separate groups by this stage, although the Christian communities may still have been influenced by Jewish traditions. Breaking all of the ties and beliefs between the two communities would have been a gradual process.

I. Opposition from other “Christian” groups

Acts 2:9 indicates that people from Asia were present at the day of Pentecost. Some of these may have been part of the 3000 converted that day and travelled back home to spread the good news. That there were already Christians in Ephesus when Paul arrived is indicated by Acts 18:27, “Apollos had been thinking about going to Achaia, and the brothers and sisters in Ephesus encouraged him to go.”

Paul was not necessarily the first to preach about Jesus in Ephesus, although arguably he was the most influential. Tellbe (2009) argues that there were probably a few groups of Christ followers rather than one ‘church’ in Ephesus. It may not be accurate to describe the development of the ‘church’ as beginning with the Pauline tradition. Murphy-O’Connor (1996) and Strelan (1996), as cited in Reid (1998), support Prisca and Aquila as the founders of the church in Ephesus.

Other ‘Christian’ groups in Ephesus include:

1. Apollos and his followers. Apollos was an Alexandrian Jew who was well versed in the ways of Philo, who taught fellow Jews through the eyes of Greek philosophy in an attempt to marry the Law and pagan culture. Acts 18:24 - 26 indicates that Apollos appears to have founded a Jewish group of Christ believers. He needed further instruction regarding the baptism of the Spirit, as he was familiar only with the baptism of John. He preached in the synagogue between Paul’s visits and had to be corrected by Priscilla and Aquila (Murphy- O’Connor, 2008).

2. A group of 12 Jews who were John the Baptist disciples. As Acts 19: 1 - 7 indicates, these believers had not heard of the baptism of Jesus and the Holy Spirit, only that of John (Murphy-O’Connor, 2008). Paul was able to instruct them correctly and they were the “qualified to labor as missionaries in Ephesus and its vicinity and also to go forth to proclaim the gospel in Asia Minor” (White, 1911, p. 283).

3. The sons of Sceva (Acts 19:13-16).

4. A sect called the Nicolaitans existed at end of first century as informed by John - perhaps they may have existed in the middle of the first century too. Ignatius of Antioch, in his letter to the Ephesians, Chapter XVII, commends the Ephesians for not heeding false doctrines.

While Paul and his followers were able to instruct these groups correctly, initially they may have been a source of conflict amongst early believers. Each group may not have interrelated with other church groups with each developing independently.

3. Methods Used to Reach People

At first Paul would probably have blended in with the other philosophers. Unlike at Thessalonica and Galatia, we do not know specifically what he taught in Ephesus. However, we do know that his success was not limited by one method.

Voices of the Past

How Christianity Spread

Celsus, a pagan writer, wrote : Christian evangelists were " wool-workers, cobblers, laundry-workers, and the most illiterate and bucolic yokels," who enticed "children ... and stupid women" to come along "to the wooldresser's shop, or to the cobbler's or the washerwoman's shop, that they may learn perfection"
(Meeks, 1983, p. 51).

1. Paul preached in the synagogue for three months[88] in the winter of 52 - 53 A.D. and until he met with resistance from fellow Jews, as we read in Acts 19:8 -10, “But some became stubborn, rejecting his message and publicly speaking against the Way.” So Paul left the synagogue and took the believers with him.

2. Paul taught in the Halls of Tyrannus.[89] In the spring of 53 A.D. Paul, and presumably his supporters, left the synagogue to teach in the Halls of Tyrannus (Pollock, 1985). Murphy O’Connor (2008) questions if this was when the early Christians separated themselves from the Jews. Non Jews were not allowed into synagogues so any Gentile converts would not have been able to worship with the Jewish Christians. Paul would have taught from 11am until 4pm, which was the hottest part of the day and when people would have had lunch and an afternoon nap. This meant that unbelievers had free access to Christian meetings - including salves (Meeks, 1983).

As yet there is no physical evidence of this hall but it would be reasonable to suggest that it may have been a lecture hall, a guildhall, a school or part of a gymnasium complex.

3. Paul worked with his hands at his trade. Acts 20:34 “You know that these hands of mine have worked to supply my own needs and even the needs of those who were with me.” Paul probably, as was his custom, worked at his tent[90] making trade during normal working hours. He also worked to help others within the fledgling church. Apart from paying his own way, working in his trade was simply good strategy - it provided a non - hostile and non religious environment where initial contacts and conversation could be made. It would also have been a place where he felt at ease and more importantly where others of a lower socio-economic standing would have had ready access. In addition, he believed it put him above suspicion about his motivation - he was not being paid by someone to share the good news. He simply demonstrated the life he hoped everyone would lead - while he

worked side by side with people in the same environment, forming relationships and using opportunities to preach the word.

His place of work may have been the shop front of Prisilla's home or possibly in the stoa of the agora. Either way, he was able to connect with a cross section of society visiting the workshop. The citizens were in this way introduced to 'the way', initially observing, rather than seeking a faith, but leaving with seeds planted.

4) Paul worked as a team member - he was one a network of co-workers who sometimes went ahead of him to make initial contacts. "Paul had often been portrayed as the individual who by himself brought Christianity out of Palestine into the wider Mediterranean world" (Harrington, 2009, p. 23). The Bible does not credit this to Paul. While his importance cannot be downplayed, an extended group played an important part - particularly after he left the planted churches. From Acts and the letters of Paul, we glean that his co-workers included Priscila and Aquila, Apollos, Timothy, Sosthenes, Titus, Tychius, Onesimus Aristarchus, Marcus, Justus, Lucas, Clement, Lydia, Epaphras and Luke, among others.[91]

From Ephesus the news spread and teams would have been sent out to the surrounding countryside and cities - perhaps Paul himself may have gone.

5) Paul used house-churches and women as missionary agents. Acts 20:20 informs us that Paul taught in large gatherings and in house churches[92] - "I never shrank back from telling you what you needed to know, either publicly or in your homes." House-churches were the pivotal structure of the early churches.[93] House-churches were governed by the size of the household and house. Larger homes were owned by the wealthy, and the head of the home usually became the leader and provided patronage. Paul had sent Priscila and Aquila on ahead of him to Ephesus with one aim to establish a large enough home to host a church. Stowers (1984) as cited in Trebilco (2007), writes, "Thus an invitation to teach in someone's house would provide Paul with a sponsor, an audience and credentials, and a

venue away from the controversy of the synagogue or the competition of a public space" (p. 185).

House-churches allowed for distinctly Christian worship and possibly had 30 - 40 members, depending on the size of the home (Trebilco, 2007). House-churches enabled the spread of Christianity through urban centers and these churches provided strong participation and emotional attachments, which paganism had failed to do. To an extent, the initial growth of the church developed out of the public eye. "Voluntary and cult associations met on a monthly basis; these larger Christian gatherings may well have followed suit" (Banks, 1994, p. 34).

To outsiders, at first, they would have been seen as an offshoot of Judaism and therefore left in peace. But from the second half of the first century, Rome began to recognize them as a separate religion and the "churches had to find a different way to congregate legally" (Jeffers, 1999, p. 72). Jeffers (1999), also suggests that they used the associations or guilds as a legal cover.

There probably were a number of small groups in Ephesus who would meet as one body at various times. Because of their very nature, house-churches could have divergent beliefs and practices. "Fostering unity and overcoming differences in this sort of situation would be challenging" (Trebilco, 2007, p. 99). This may have been particularly so as congregations may also have been divided along ethnic lines, because people of different ethnicity lived in different parts of Ephesus (Jeffers, 1999).

a. Basic unit of organization of a House church

As women were in charge of the household, "to step into a Christian house church was to step into a woman's world" (Osiek & Macdonald, 2006 p. 163). They were modeled on the synagogue in that elders led out, they read scripture, they prayed and sang, and visitors were invited to speak. Women were able to speak freely within the confines of a home and thus the door was opened for them to become leaders.

While women were socially invisible in the patriarchal society, there was some movement for women to enjoy greater freedom and assist the spread of Christianity. Women had the advantage of creating natural relationship networks enabling them to spread information easily. Osiek & Macdonald (2006) state:

Women did move in and out of houses and shops, taking risks and leading people - including children - to join the movement without permission from proper authorities. They did so, it seems, while conducting their daily business. No doubt they sometimes remained largely invisible, but in other cases they met with real resistance both inside and outside of church groups. (p. 243)

Female slaves and lower class females could move more freely within the confines of their work (Osiek & Balch, 1997).

b. Composition of house churches

Figure 137 below shows varying estimations of the numbers of 'Christians' at the end of the first century A.D.

Author	No of Christians by End of the First Century A.D.
Tellbe (2009)	500 - 2000 Christ believers.
Gunther (1995)	2000 Christ believers.
Robinson (1988)	approx 500 believers, amongst 30 churches.
Muddiman (2001)	500 Christ believers.

Figure 137. Approximations of numbers of Christ believers in Ephesus in the first century A.D., adapted from (Telbe, 2009).

Early Christians were most likely from the middle classes of merchants, tradesmen and craftsmen according to Meeks (1983).[94] He bases this on the fact that the offering was collected bit by bit each week - typical of the economy of tradespeople; and because of the urban nature of the Christian

movement, which does not speak specifically of the poorer agricultural labourers.

Paul himself mentions members of three house churches: Romans 16:3-5 where the names are of Jewish Christians; Romans 16:14 where Paul speaks of Greek gentiles, and Romans 16:15 which indicates Greek slave names (Jeffers, 1999). While cases can be argued from all sides, often there is little specific evidence from which to draw a conclusion. However, based on the fact that house-churches included all involved, this does indicate a broad spectrum of society.

Figure 138 indicates possibly where the early church members would have belonged on an economic scale.

Scale	Description	Includes	%	Known Members
1	Imperial Elites	Imperial dynasty, Roman senatorial families, a few retainers, local royalty, a few freed persons.	0.04	
2	Regional/ Provincial Elites	Equestrian families, provincial officials, some retainers, some decurial families, some freed persons, some retired military officers.	1	Erastus
3	Municipal Elites	Most decurial families, wealthy men and women who did not hold office, some freed persons, some veterans, some merchants.	1.76	
4	Moderate Surplus	Some merchants, some traders, some freed persons, some artisans (especially those who employ others), military veterans.	7	Chloe Gaius Philemon Phoebe Crispus
5	Stable - near Subsistence Level	Many merchants and traders, regular wage earners, artisans, large shop owners, freed persons, some farm families.	22	Priscilla & Aquila
6	Subsistence Level	Small farm families, labourers (skilled and unskilled), artisans (those employed by others), wage earners, most merchants and traders, small shop/tavern owners.	40	

Scale	Description	Includes	%	Known Members
7	Below Subsistence Level	Some farm families, widows, orphans, beggars, disabled, unskilled day labourers, prisoners.	28	

Figure 138. An adaptation of Friesan's Seven-Point Poverty Scale with suggested levels mentioned for some of Paul's co-workers.
(Still & Horrell, 2009, pp. 44, 47).

6. Paul wrote letters. His letters emphasize the connectedness of believers everywhere. They enabled him to keep in touch with fellow believers, to encourage them and correct any false teachings. *Figure 139* indicates books believed too have been written from Ephesus and those typed in blue as being Paul's writings.

Book of Bible		Book of the Bible	
1 Corinthians	53 - 57 A.D.	Revelation	
2 Corinthians		Galations	gives little information about life in Ephesus
Acts		Romans 16	questionable
1 & 2 Timothy	80 - 100 A.D.	Ephesians	Ep 1:1 not original
John 1 - 3		Pauls letters	not enough evidence
Philippians	written while in Ephesian prison	Philemon	written while in Ephesian prison
Gospel of John		Colossions	written while in Ephesian prison
Romans 16	a separate letter sent to Ephesians	1 & 2 Thessalonians	

Figure 139. Books of the Bible associated with Paul
(Koester, 2004; Trebilco, 2007).

4. Evidence for Success

Paul's preaching had evident success, with open hostility being one measure of it. The other areas which will be treated in this paper and which show how successful Paul's mission was, include: that he was asked to stay longer on his first visit, his conversions, the riot, the miracles he performed, the incident where scrolls were burned, a possible imprisonment, 'all heard the word of the Lord', and that Christianity eventually triumphed and all stratums of society were reached.

Stark (1997), in an attempt to quantify the success of Christianity as it replaced paganism, uses Acts 1:14 - 15 as the initial reference point. The Christian movement began with approximately 120 members in Jerusalem, after which 3,000 believers were baptized. He estimates the count to be in the thousands by the time Paul was in Ephesus. Goodenough (1931), as cited in Stark (1997) estimates that Christians worldwide would have made up about 10% of the population by the fourth century. This equates to roughly six million Christians by the time of Constantine, which was reached by a growth rate of about 3.4% per annum.

While we cannot be sure how many Christians actually were converted to Christianity while Paul and his workers were in Ephesus, the Bible and other evidence does assure us that his endeavours were successful. What we are sure of is that "paganism[95] did pass into history" (Stark, 1997, p. 94).
Stark (1997) also points out:

> Christianity revitalized life in GrecoRoman cities by providing new norms and new kinds of social relationships able to cope with many urgent urban problems. To cities filled with the homeless and impoverished, Christianity offered charity as well as hope. To cities filled with newcomers and strangers, Christianity provided an immediate basis for attachments. To cities filled with orphans and widows, Christianity provided a new and expanded sense of family. To cities torn by violent ethnic strife, Christianity offered a new basis for social solidarity. And to cities faced with epidemics, fires, and earthquakes, Christianity offered effective nursing services. (p. 161)

Paul wrote about Ephesus in 1 Corinthians 16: 8, 9 - "In the meantime, I will be staying here at Ephesus until the Festival of Pentecost. There is a wide-open door for a great work here, although many oppose me." Trebilco (2007) adds that apart from evangelism, the 'open door' also meant that Paul had a role in nurturing the developing community.

Paul was asked to stay longer. Acts 18:20 indicates that Paul and his teachings were popular, so he was asked to stay longer on his first visit - which he had to decline, promising to return if he was able.

Known converts of Paul. On returning to Ephesus, Paul's first converts were the 12 disciples of John the Baptist who needed to know of the baptism of Jesus.[96] Acts 19: 4 - 5 explains that:

Paul said, 'John's baptism called for the repentance of sin, But John himself told the people to believe in the one who would come later, meaning Jesus. As soon as they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus.

c) The Riot. At the end of Paul's stay in Ephesus, probably early in the summer of 54 A.D., and after we are told that Paul intended to leave for Jerusalem and Rome, Luke tells us of a riot[97] which takes place in the theatre which may have precipitated an earlier leave from Ephesus than anticipated by Paul. The incident is told in Acts 19:23 - 41 and can be used as evidence that Paul and his teachings were having a significant impact on the citizens of Ephesus. In fact, Ellen White, (1911) says that there was a decreasing interest within the city of attending the festivals and in worshipping Artemis - even those who had made no commitment to this new God had still lost trust in the pagan deities.

Acts 19: 23 - 26 says:

> About that time, serious trouble developed in Ephesus concerning the Way. It began with Demetrius, a silversmith who had a large business manufacturing silver shrines of the Greek goddess Artemis. He kept many craftsmen busy. He called them together, along with others employed in similar trades, and addressed them as follows: 'Gentlemen, you know that our wealth comes from this business. But as you have seen and

Voices from the Past

Effect of Christianity on the Sale of Sacrificial Animals

Pliny the younger,in Ep. 10.96 (corresponding to Trajan in 112 A.D.):
"For this contagious superstition [ie Christianity] is not confined to the cities only, but has spread through the villages and rural districts; it seems possible, however, to check and cure it. 'Tis certain at least that the temples, which have been almost deserted, begin now, (that is, since Pliny has been persecuting Christians and some have recanted) to be frequented; and the sacred festivals, after a long intermission, are again revived; while there is a general demand for sacrificial animals, which for some time past have met with but few purchasers. From hence it is easy to imagine that multitudes may be reclaimed from this error, if a door be left open to repentance"
(Trebilco, 2007, p. 164).

> heard, this man Paul has persuaded many people that handmade gods aren't really gods at all. And he's done this not only here in Ephesus but throughout the entire province!

Firstly, Demetrius wanted to emphasize the ramifications of Paul's teaching on their guild. Paul preached that "... gods made with hands are not gods" (Acts 19:26) and when this teaching began to hurt sales of Artemis icons,[98] the silversmiths reacted aggressively. In view of Artemis' popularity, the sale of icons was probably a lucrative souvenir business. These statuettes were also used as offerings in the temple. Though we are not told, one could imagine that the riot could possibly have have occurred during festival time when sales of Artemis icons would have been at their peak, and when this loss in revenue would have been most noticeable. In all probability the whole economy of Ephesus was challenged.[99] It is interesting to note in 2 Timothy 4:14, Paul mentions Alexander the coppersmith from Ephesus, who never gave up opposing Paul and was responsible for his second arrest some time later.

Acts 19: 27 - 28 further tells us:

> Of course, I'm not just talking about the loss of public respect for our business. I'm also concerned that the temple of the great goddess Artemis will lose its influence and that Artemis - this magnificent goddess worshipped throughout the province and all around the world - will be robbed of her great prestige. At this their anger boiled, and they began shouting, "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!

Secondly, Demetrius wanted to bring to the workers attention the damage Paul's teaching was doing to their city and the city's pride in Artemis.[100] To our thinking, a city wide riot caused over some silver statuettes is implausible, but it is understandable within the context of the cult of Artemis. The socio-religious context illuminates how devoted the Ephesians were to Diana the Great and how much she was integrated into their daily lives[101] (Brinks, 2009). Artemis by this stage had developed into a political goddess. Demetrius was concerned that the lack of respect, and the decrease in popularity and worship of Artemis, may see Ephesus lose the privileges associated with the temple. As Artemis was worshipped worldwide, the

citizens of Ephesus could not afford a backlash from other cities. They were known to have the largest temple and they enjoyed all the benefits that that brought - they associated the wealth of Ephesus with the protection of Artemis. Threatening Artemis was equivalent to threatening Ephesus[102] and therefore a lot of effort would be used for Ephesus to maintain its' pre-eminent place. Strelan, (1996) argues against this, indicating that only the official image was thought to have powers and therefore the loss of sales in the images made by guilds, would not have affected the power of Artemis. He appears to be a lone voice on this.

It would be interesting to know if an inscription declaring that business was not to be conducted on the holy festival days, presumed to be because of lack of interest in the festival,[103] was decreed before or after the Pauline church was established.

Acts 19: 29 - 31 says:

> Soon the whole city was filled with confusion. Everyone rushed to the amphitheater, dragging along Gaius and Aristarchus, who were Paul's traveling companions from Macedonia. Paul wanted to go in, too, but the believers wouldn't let him. Some of the officials of the province, friends of Paul, also sent a message to him, begging him not to risk his life by entering the amphitheater.

While the assembly of citizens in a theatre was an avenue the populace had for making their wishes known, this riot was a scene of confusion, disturbance and tumult. Aristarchus and Gaius, identified as Paul's a traveling companions, were from Macedonia and therefore probably only visiting Ephesus - however, they were clearly identified as Christian. The asiarchs, who would have been most loyal to the imperial cults, were concerned for Paul's safety, above everything else. This indicates that Paul had wealthy and influential friends and leaves one to ponder if Paul moved easily amongst the elite in Ephesus.

The fact that Paul's life was endangered points to the impact his teachings had in the city. It also points to the protection of Paul by God, who sent angels to protect him (White, 1911).

Acts 19: 32 - 34 expands the event further:

> Inside, the people were all shouting, some one thing and some another. Everything was in confusion. In fact, most of them didn't even know why they were there. The Jews in the crowd pushed Alexander forward and told him to explain the situation. He motioned for silence and tried to speak. But when the crowd realized he was a Jew, they started shouting again and kept it up for about two hours: "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians! Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!"

Alexander,[104] a Jewish spokesperson, was pushed forward, perhaps to separate Christian and Jewish positions. However, Alexander, who was recognized as a Jew, was not afforded the luxury of being heard, but his attempted defense suggests that the Jews were wanting to disassociate themselves from the Christians. Brinks (2009) indicates:

> ...it is evident that the attack on Paul was felt by the Jews to be an attack on them ... for if Judaism was spreading, it was as much a threat to the Artemis cult (and therefore the Ephesian economy) as was Christianity. ... Paul's message as restated by Demetrius is not uniquely Christian, and the crowd was obviously no more favorably disposed toward the Jews than Demetrius and his colleagues were toward Paul. (p. 786)

Acts 19: 35 - 41 concludes the event:

> At last the mayor[105] was able to quiet them down enough to speak. "Citizens of Ephesus," he said. "Everyone knows that Ephesus is the official guardian of the temple of the great Artemis, whose image fell down to us from heaven. Since this is an undeniable fact, you should stay calm and not do anything rash. You have brought these men here, but they have stolen nothing from the temple and have not spoken against our goddess. If Demetrius and the craftsmen have a case against them, the courts are in session and the officials can hear the case at once. Let them make formal charges. And if there are complaints about other matters, they can be settled in a legal assembly.[106] I am afraid we are in danger of being charged with rioting[107] by the Roman government, since there is no cause for all this commotion. And if Rome demands an explanation, we won't know what to say. Then he dismissed them, and they dispersed.

Voices of the Past

Power of Jesus Recognised.

Tertullian wrote, as cited in Oster 2001: "Let a person be brought before your tribunals, who is plainly under demoniacal possession. the wicked spirit, bidden to speak by a follower of Christ, will readily make the truthful confession that he is a demon, as elsewhere he has falsely asserted that he is a god" (p. 20).

Irenaeus wrotes, as cited in Oster (2001): "those who have thus cleansed from evil spirits frequently both believe [in Christ], and join themselves to the Church" (p. 20).

The mayor, in calming the crowd, had to reassure the questioning citizens that Artemis was indeed the most powerful goddess and that she was not under threat by a more powerful being. However, they were also concerned for law and order, and with this being disturbed, “legal and administrative measures [could be] ... taken.”(Rutgers, 1994, p. 74). The riot upset Roman boundaries, and the clerk was worried that the assembly was illegal as nothing against Paul was proven. He wanted due procedure to be followed and he gave no intimation that he thought Christianity was a threat to Rome (Brinks, 2009).

Paul had to leave soon after the riot - whether he was asked to leave or thought that it would be prudent to do so, we do not know. His leaving, though expected, appears to be sudden. Again, this testifies to the powerful effect he was having in Ephesus.

d) Paul performed miracles while in Ephesus. People were healed by just touching his handkerchief or apron. Acts 19:11-12 says, “God gave Paul the power to perform unusual miracles. When handkerchiefs or aprons that had merely touched his skin were placed on sick people, they were healed of their diseases, and evil spirits were expelled.”

The traditional view of the handkerchief was that it was a sweat rag tied around a persons head and the apron (or possibly a belt) was material tied around the waist of the leather workers. Strelan (1996a), believes otherwise, and indicates that these articles may in fact have been part of the clothing one would expect an orator would wear. Orators may have used the handkerchief to mop their brows for effect, indicating hard work.

Miracles such as these would have spread quickly through the city, and may have provided a new focus for ex-pagans who had previously worn abracadabras. The belief that garments could heal was not an unfamiliar concept to the Ephesian populace as sweat from a ‘divine’ man would be thought to possess the same power as the man himself. The miracles he

Voices of the Past

Ephesian Letters

Athenaeus (548c), as cited in Murphy O'Connor (2008) : "... and what is more, carrying about, on little bits of stitched leather, lovely Ephesian letters" (p. 51).

Magic in Ephesus

Ignatius (Eph 19:3) wrote in his letter to the Ephesians :"all magic is dissolved" (Wilson, 2010, p. 202).

Mystic Sacrifices

Strabo (Geog 14.1.20), as cited in Murphy O'Connor (2008) : "At that time also a special college of the Curetes holds symposiums and performs certain mystic sacrifices" (p. 16).

How to Pray for Omens and Spells

Pliny the Elder, in Natural History 23:10, as cited in Jeffers (1999): "The text for invoking a happy omen is different from that for averting an ill or that for making a request. The highest officials pray in fixed forms of words, and to make sure that not one word is omitted, or spoken in a wrong place, a prompter reads the text before them, another person is appointed to watch over it, yet another to command silence, and the flute-player plays to mask all other sounds" (p. 90).

performed however, did give people another reason to alienate him as he was not authorized to heal (Pollock, 1985).

e) Burning of scrolls and exorcisms were another indication of Paul's success in spreading the Good News.

Acts 19: 13 - 18 tells us:

> A group of Jews was traveling from town to town casting out evil spirits. They tried to use the name of the Lord Jesus in their incantation, saying, 'I command you in the name of Jesus, whom Paul preaches, to come out!' Seven sons of Sceva, a leading priest, were doing this. But one time when they tried it, the evil spirit replied, 'I know Jesus, and I know Paul, but who are you?' Then the man with the evil spirit leaped on them, overpowered them, and attacked them with such violence that they fled from the house, naked and battered. The story of what happened spread quickly all through Ephesus, to Jews and Greeks alike. A solemn fear descended on the city, and the name of the Lord Jesus was greatly honored.

The seven sons of the Jewish priest Sceva[108] tried to imitate Paul but failed, and ran into the streets of Ephesus naked and wounded. Howell (2001) remarks that the Greco-Roman world was very aware of demons, which were said to be just a little lower than the gods. While exorcists were known in pagan, Jewish and Christian circles, Paul demonstrated that Christ had authority over these powers.

Magic and witchcraft was prolific in the time of Paul. "... the use of incantations and magical formulas was so prevalent in Ephesus that books or rolls of such formulas were referred to by ancient Greek and Roman writers as 'Ephesian writings' "[109] (Filson, 1945, p. 78). Many Ephesians were enamored with the practice of magic, which permeated their lifestyles,[110] but they renounced these practices, as told in Acts 19:19. A number of them who had been practicing sorcery brought their incantation books and burned them at a public bonfire. (Le Sueur's painting shown in *Figure 140.* shows the artist's impression of what the scene could have looked like). They had become aware of the sinister application of the spells and magical practices of the occult. The value of the books was estimated at

several million dollars.[111] Ellen White, (1911) indicates that these people were converted and wrote that "these scenes lived in the memory of men and were the means of winning converts to the gospel" (p. 289). The fact that a solemn fear descended on Ephesus and Christ was honoured is yet another piece of evidence which points towards the success of Paul's mission. In the eyes of the Ephesian's, Paul and his God would have been validated. This very public incident would have shaken Ephesus and would have had a powerful effect on the fledgling church.

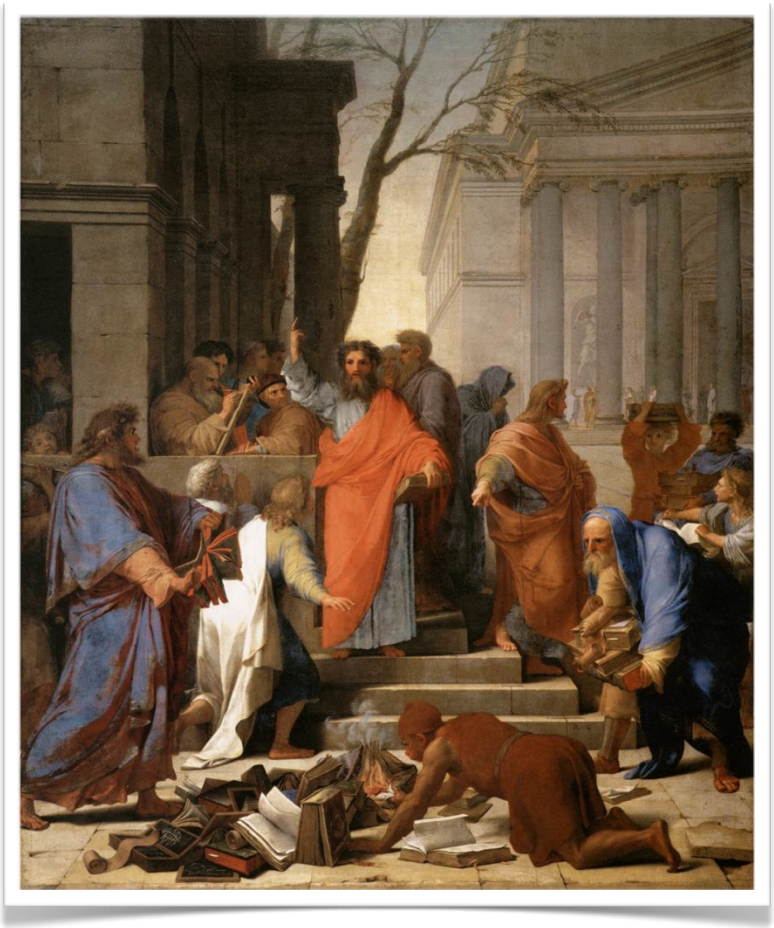


Figure 140. The preaching of St Paul at Ephesus - the burning of the scrolls.

Reprinted from the file of Eustache Le Sueur in Wikimedia. Retrieved April 4, 2013 from http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a3/Eustache_Le_Sueur-_The_Preaching_of-St_Paul_at_Ephesus_-_Wga12613.jpg Copyright free. Reprinted with permission.

f) A possible imprisonment and persecution can also be used to measure success. We glean nothing in Acts about an Ephesian imprisonment, but it is

not wholly implausible, given that Paul faced opposition. Paul himself speaks about the fact that he had been put in prison often (2 Cor 11:23). A tradition still exists of "Paul's Prison" and its location in Ephesus on the hill above the Agora (Rowlinson, 1950).

Paul made a brief visit to Corinth while working at Ephesus. The reference made to fighting wild beasts is taken by some as meaning the riot or imprisonment in Ephesus. 2 Corinthians 1:8 says, " ... About the trouble we went through in the province of Asia. We were crushed and overwhelmed beyond our ability to endure, and we thought that we would never live through it." Some take this as implying Paul was in an Ephesian prison in 54/55 A.D. and that he even feared for his life (Koester, 2004). This is alluded to in Romans as well. Murphy O'Connor, (2008), suggests mid 53 A.D. when:

> Paul was held in the praetorium[112] (Phil 1:3) ... where the emperors representative lived, and which may well have been the palatial mansion on the hill above the theatre. ... Even though his movements were restricted, the conditions under which he lived were not too severe. He could receive visitors and stay in touch with his congregation. ... His letters to Philippi, Colossae, and Philemon imply that he was given access to a professional secretary. (p. 220)

Perhaps Paul alludes to having been persecuted in 2 Corinthians 1:8. It would be reasonable to assume this. Green (1970) summarizes the early Christians impact like this:

> They marry as do all; they beget children but they do not destroy their offspring. They have a common table, but not a common bed. They are in the flesh, but do not live after the flesh. They pass their days on earth, but they are citizens of heaven. They obey the prescribed laws, and at the same time surpass the laws by their own lives. They love all men, and are persecuted by all. (p. 136)

However, 2 Timothy 3:11 does not include Ephesus as being another place where Paul was persecuted. Thus, possible imprisonment and persecution could also be indicative of success in Ephesus for Paul.

Voices of the Past

Paul as founder of Ephesian Church

Irenaeus, in Adv,haer. 3.3.4, as cited in Tellbe (2009) : "Then, again, the Church in Ephesus, founded by Paul, and having John remaining among them permanently until the times of Trajan, is a true witness of the tradition of the apostles" (p. 23).

g) The Bible tells us that "..all heard the word of the Lord." Acts 19:10 says: "... all the residents of Asia, both Jews and Greeks, heard the word of the Lord." Even Demitrius exclaimed that Paul had influenced people all over Asia (Acts 19:26). What further proof do we need? This is not hyperbole. If that does not testify to success, what then does?

While Paul may have lived in the cities, "he let his converts evangelize the countryside" (Siemens, 1997, p 127). Mrs White, (1911), indicates that a "flourishing church was raised up here, and from this city the gospel spread throughout the province of Asia, among both Jews and Gentiles" (p. 291). Paul could not physically have reached all those people but with the assistance of co-workers, the word obviously spread. This was at a time when people were not always satisfied with the traditional goddesses whom they felt had failed to protect them.

Paul was a firm believer in missionary endeavors and the fact that he sent greetings to Corinth from the 'churches of Asia', (1 Cor 16:19), suggests that other cities in the vicinity of Ephesus were evangelized. Seiglie, as noted in McRay (1997), relates that the road from Ephesus to Laodicea passed through the cites in the order that they are mentioned in Revelation, chapters 1 - 3.

Paul mentions Colossae and the divisive effect it was having on Laodicea and Hierapolis; he baptized Lydia at Philippi from where she would have returned home to Thyatira. It would also seem logical to assume that Smyrna, Pergamum, Sardis and Philadelphia[113] were all cities evangelized by Paul's co-workers as they were all within a radius of 192 km and accessible on good roads (Murphy-O'Connor, 2008).

h) We have no timeline to gauge how quickly Christianity triumphed, but we know that it did and Paul was one of the foundation members. It is written in Acts 19:20 that "...this man Paul has persuaded many people ... and he's done this not only here in Ephesus but throughout the entire province!" Everyone was going to listen to a religion who taught about

human freedom, that all were equal - slaves and masters, the poor and the rich, the citizen and the non citizen, male and female. Stark (1997) conservatively estimates that there were only over 1000 Christians in the world in 40 A.D. - that number could have been significantly more by the early 50's. Wein (n.d.) suggests that "almost one third of the Roman Empire became Christian in little more than 100 years" (p. 1).

However, we do not have a neat chronological division separating Christianity and paganism. We do know that in Ephesus, at the end of the second century, Artemis believers had to be encouraged to attend the temple when it rained - a stoa being built, as previously mentioned, to allow worshippers visiting the Temple to remain dry. In addition, the temple of Artemis was plundered by the Goths causing economic hardships for a number of decades (Ladstatter & Pulz, 2007). Combined with the effects of a severe earthquake, perhaps the citizens lost faith in the protective powers of Artemis, and they may have been more and more receptive to the powers of the God of Paul. Opposing this argument, " ... Strelan shows that the cult of Artemis was not dislodged, nor even threatened in any significant way by the early Christians in Ephesus. Rather, it continued to thrive for at least two more centuries after the arrival of Christianity. The followers of Jesus, Strelan asserts, could at best hope to be considered one among many coexisting cults" (Reid, 1998, p. 590).

Most researchers do not agree with this view however. They argue that Artemis was a huge obstacle which was faced daily by the emerging church, with interest beginning to wane significantly in the second century, after the influence of Pauline and Johnnanine Christianity. In reality, paganism, the various cults and the indolent lifestyle of Ephesus probably co-existed with Christianity, albeit, as a subculture. However it happened, God's hand was there and one of his instruments was Paul and his co-workers.

The 325 A.D. edict of Constantine, which declared Christianity a legal religion, saw the building of churches all over the empire, befitting the importance of the faith (Parvis, 1945). The Constantine edicts[114] of 391

A.D. and 392 A.D., which basically prohibited paganism, meant that Christianity triumphed in the end - the temple of Artemis was destroyed for good, and many cultic buildings and statues were defaced by Christian zealots, as evidenced in *Figures 141. - 143*. In addition, several hundred Christian texts appeared in inscriptions in Ephesus (Horsley, 1992).

Evidence for Christianity triumphing in Ephesus include:

a) The defacing of buildings and statues and the cessation of other cultic practices. “Decrees were ... passed which required pagan monuments to be ‘cleansed’ by carving on them the sign of the cross” (Ladstatter & Pulz, 2007, p 415.). Private and community buildings, in addition to inscriptions, had crosses and Christian symbols added to them. This would have shown the Ephesians collective commitment to Christianity.

Building or Statue Defaced	Method used to Deface or Replace
Sacred flame of Hestia	Not known after the fourth century.
Cult and provincial games	Ceased gradually.
Fresco of Demeter in Temple of Domitian	Whitewashed over.
Name of Artemis	Erased from all Greek inscriptions (not necessarily Latin ones).
Statues of Augustus and Livia	Crosses carved into foreheads.
Statues of Artemis from Prytaneum	Buried.
Statue on monumental fountain	Cross carved on it.
Statue of Artemis near library	Taken down and replaced by a large cross.
Magnesian Gate	Decorated with crosses.
Temple of Domitian	Fresco of Demeter was whitewashed.
Harbour Baths and Prytaneum	Inscriptions mentioning Artemis were erased.

Figure 141. Christianization of the buildings and statues of Ephesus

(Foss, 2010; Horsley, 1992).



Figure 142. Defaced statue of Augustus.

Reprinted from file Disfigured Augustus Ephesus in Wikimedia. Retrieved 19 February, 2013 from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Disfigured_Augustus_Ephesus.jpg Copyright 2006 by QuartuerKatin 1968. Reprinted with permission.

Voices of the Past

Constantine's Edict

Poleui, in Saggi Acad. di Cortona, tom. i., as cited in Falkener (1862): "It has pleased us that in all places and cities whatsoever, the temples shall be henceforth shut, and access forbidden them; and that the power of remitting debts to debtors shall be denied them. We will likewise that all sacrifices be discontinued. And if anyone is bold enough to transgress in these particulars, he shall be given up to the avenging sword. Moreover the governors of the provinces shall issue decrees, claiming the treasuries of the temples for the imperial exchequer, and if the neglect to do so they shall be punished in like manner" (p. 345).



Figure 143. Close-up of Livia's face showing a cross carved into her forehead.

Reprinted from File:Unknown defaced bust_Ephesus Museum (2) in Wikimedia. Retrieved 19 February, 2013 from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Unknown_defaced_bust-_Ephesus_Museum_(2)
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b) The physical evidence of churches and buildings which were given a Christian function. There are now 20 known churches[115] in Ephesus, most having been constructed over public or pagan buildings, and some, like the church at the entrance to the stadium, were thought to be erected in commemoration of Christians. Most of the gymnasia had churches built in them probably because, not only were they places of philosophy, but because they had Imperial cult rooms (Koester, 2004). Sites which have been identified as Christian in Ephesus are shown the *Figure 144.*

Church of Mary	Church in the Stadium	Chapel in Harbour Baths
Chapel in Byzantine Palace	Chapel in house above the theatre	Church in the Serapeion
Grotto of St Paul - first half of fourth century	Chapel in house above the theatre	Chapel on Clivus Sacer
Chapel on Panayir Dag	Chapel in Basilica Stoa	"Grave of St Luke"

Basilica in East gym	Basilica in cemetery of Seven Sleepers	Church in gym of Vedius
Church on top of Bulbul Dag & another on its western slopes; also a man-made cave with crosses carved in to cliff	Chapel in the "house of pleasure"	Basicilica of St John
Monastery on Ayasoluk	Bascilica built in the Artemisian	Chapel in shop in Lower Agora

Figure 144. Known churches or Christian sites identified in Ephesus (Erdemgil et al., 2000; Fant & Reddish, 2003; Foss, 2010; Koester, 2004).

Unlike elsewhere, there is no direct evidence in Ephesus of destruction of pagan temples by Christians. This does not mean that this did not happen - as it is known to have occurred elsewhere, why would Ephesus have been any different? The Serapeion and the Temple of Artemis are cited as the only ones taken over by Christians - the rest remained untouched, although they may not have been used as temples. The Imperial edicts which forbade pagan worship also forbade the destruction of the buildings. Dijkstra (2005) in reviewing Bayliss's work (2004), notes "the dilapidation of the temples was not so much a matter of violent Christianization as it was a simple matter of a lack of resources available to restore them" (p. 2). Oster (1984) also plays down the idea that Christianity had a significant effect on the cultic worship - he supposes that "the vicissitudes of history and culture likewise engendered abandonment of temples and remissness toward the gods" (p. 237). Ladstatter & Pulz (2007) propose that the civic buildings taken over by churches may have been done so after the buildings fell into disrepair (possibly after the fourth century earthquakes) and were no longer used.

After Constantine, the role of the emperor cult had to go - "a Christian emperor could not receive offerings and sacrifices in the same sense as the Roman emperor could" (Yegul, 1982, p. 29). Yegul (1982) also suggests

Voices of The Past

John and Temple of Artemis

Acts of John (42 - 45 - apocryphal work

"And with these words of John the alter of Artemis suddenly split into many parts, and the oblations pit up in the temple suddenly fell to the ground, and its glory broke, and so did more than seven of the idols. And half of the temple fell down, so that when the roof came down, the priest also was killed at one stroke. And the people of the Ephesians cried, 'There is only one god, that of John, only one god who has compassion for us; for you alone are God....' And after these words he said to the people, 'Rise up from the ground, men of Ephesus, pray to me God, and know how his invisible power was made manifest and his miraculous deeds took place before your eyes! Artemis herself should have helped. What is the power of the deity? Where are the sacrifices? Where the birthday? Where the festivals? Where the garlands? Where the great enchantment and the poison allied to it? And the people rose up from the ground and made haste to destroy the remainder of the temple, crying, 'We know that the God of John is the only one, and henceforth we worship him, since we have obtained mercy from him."

that the imperial cult was simply replaced by the Christian emperor as God's elect, with rituals being influenced by the emperor cult.

Additional evidence of Christianity in Ephesus which predates Emperor Constantine include a sarcophagus and inscriptions from 2nd and 3rd centuries; a tunnel on slope of Bulbuldag known as a Christian structure and possibly dedicated to Paul (Koester, 2004). *Figure 145* is possibly a portrait of Paul and is found in what is known as Paul' Grotto.



Figure 145. The Only Known Painting of Paul in Ephesus. It is located in St Paul's Grotto on Bulbuldag .

Reprinted from St Paul in Ephesus, by O. Acar, 2002, Archaeology, p. 1
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c) There is also abundant epigraphical evidence - inscriptions regarding dedication of a church to the Archangel Gabriel, a dedication to St Timothy, mention of churches dedicated to St Paul, St Luke and St Marcus (none of these have been identified as yet) (Ladstatter & Pulz, 2007).

d) evidence of success can also be measured by martyrs - Saint Myrope (time of Decius), Saint Porphyrius the Mime (time of Aurelian), Saints Andronicus, Adauctus, Callisthena (time of Diocletian) (Koester, 2004).
What we can say is that the success was measured in God's time - while the Bible does not specifically enumerate how successful, Paul was part of the plan that came to fruition when in 262 A.D. the Temple of Artemis was totally destroyed.

e) Miletus speech Paul[116] affirms his ministry in Ephesus and leaves the elders in charge of the new centre of Christianity.

f) Paul reached people from all stratums of society. Paul's message reached the Jews and Gentiles alike. "He has surmounted the social distance between Jews and Gentiles so that 'both' can gain access to the God of Israel in a common spirit' (Yee, 2005, p. 228).

Paul as a tent maker mixed with the free poor, as a Roman citizen, and with his ability to speak Greek, he also reached the higher levels of society. Meek's (1983) analysis of the social standing of people associated with Paul is featured in the *Figure 146* below.

Name	Text	Indication
Achaicus	1 Cor 16:17	Either from Cornith or Philippi;
Fortunatus	1 Cor 16:17	These Latin names may point to
Lucius	Rom 16:21	them being original colonists.
Clement	Phil 4:3	
Euodia	Phil 4:2	Greek females who were independent
Syntyche		and seen to be activists in their own right.
Tertius	Rom 16:22	Latin name indicating he may have been a scribe.

Name	Text	Indication
Luke	Philemon 24, Col 4:14	Dr - as doctors were often slaves, he may have received this name on his manumission
Chloes household	1 Cor 1:11	Slave and freedmen could travel for business on behalf of owners - from wealthy houses
Ampliatus	Rom 16: 8	Latin slave name
Andronicus and Junia	Rom 16:7	Husband and wife whose names suggest they were freed slaves
Epaenetus	Rom 16:5	Name suggests that of a slave - first convert in Asia.
Ampliatus		Name suggest slave.
Silvanus	1 Thess 1:11	Travelled widely, not necessarily at own expense.
Gaius	1 Cor 1:14, Rom 16:23	Owned a house large enough to accommodate whole of Corinthian Church.
Crispus	1 Cor 1:14	Jew with prestigious position
Stephanas	1 Cor 1:14,	First convert in Achaia - travelled to Ephesus to see Paul.
Erastus	Romans	Wealthy, held one of the highest positions in Corinth. Was administrator of public funds.
Prisca & Aquila	1 Cor ; Romans 16: 3-5	Relatively wealthy, had homes in 3 cities; acted as Patron for Paul. Prisca had a higher status than her husband.
Onesimius	Phil 10; Col 4:9	Runaway slave - may have been skilled as Paul was eager to help him.
Philemon	Philemon 2	Large home owner who owned slaves.
Phoebe	Rom 16: 1- 2	Ability to travel to Rome indicates wealth.
Mark’s mother	Acts 12:12	Large home - a Jew whose Latin surname may indicate social standing.
Barnabas	1 Cor 9:6	Sold his farm.
Apollos		Independent traveller.

Name	Text	Indication
Lydia	Acts 16:14	Seller of purple, a luxury good. Head of her house which was large enough to accommodate guests.
Jason	Acts 17: 5-9	Owned a large house and pays bond for them.
Imperial house of Ceasar	Phil 4:22	Sometimes communities formed where the head of the house was not Christian.

Figure 146. Table indicating the social standing of some people Paul had association with (Meeks, 1983).

g) Letter from Ignatius of Antioch[117] to the Ephesians is full of compliments of the church there and his "respect "for a church of eternal renown" ... is so great that he speaks to them as "my fellow learners" (Murphy O'Connor, 2008, p. 76).

CHAPTER 4

Conclusion

Although Paul's third missionary journey is relayed to us in only around 130 words and the ruins of Ephesus are still open to interpretation, so much can be gleaned from their study as to the transforming power of Christianity. From the ruins of the once magnificent city of Ephesus and the story they tell of the social, political and religious history, we see how even the archaeology of Ephesus was altered by the power of the gospel preached by Paul and his co-workers. Long established religions and cults which were entrenched within the fabric of the Ephesian society were eventually overthrown by a theocracy. This analyzed research shows that it may well have been the early Christian movement rather than nature's physical processes which caused the demise of Ephesus.

Endnotes

1. Many skeptics have questioned the artist's interpretation of the location of the gulf in relation to the Temple of Artemis. However, Kraft et al. (2007), using sedimentologic and geomorphologic techniques, are confident that the "coastline of 300 B.C. still included shallow marine waters extending close to the Artemision" (p. 135).
2. The silting of the Epehsian harbour was a constant problem from the initial settlement. Lysimichus had to move the entire city as the harbour near the Temple of Artemis silted up. Foss, (1979), suggests that by the early ninth century A.D. the port was no longer viable. In the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. a new port was established three kilometers downstream, but it suffered a similar fate to the original one.
3. Increased silt loads were a function of the following and all significantly increased the felling of trees. -: a) deforestation - an increased demand for timber brought about by i) the construction of ships and buildings, ii) wood was needed to heat the water in the Baths, and iii) grazing goat herds (used as sacrifices to Artemis) This led to increased erosion and resulted in delta progradation b) Eruptions of the volcano Santorini would have undoubtedly have increased the siltation load - pumice has been found in sand ridges at mouth of Cayster c) earthquakes which caused land subsidence - however, this would have been a minor influence on the port as it did not decline suddenly, but over a number of centuries. However, the fourth century earthquake may have sunk land near the harbour causing flooding of the quay. There is no recorded evidence that earthquakes destroyed buildings in Ephesus - however, records from towns close in proximity would indicate that earthquake damage was significant and archaeology certainly supports this d) lack of tides in the Mediterranean Sea - tides are of centimeters rather than meters, due in part to the narrow outlet into the Atlantic Ocean (Foss, 2010; Koester, 2004; Mullenhoff, Bruckner & Handl)
4. Expensive measures were undertaken to keep the all important harbour open. Bruckner et al. (2005), in quoting Strabo 14.1.24, tells us that around the time of Christ a canal linking the harbour to the sea was constructed, in addition to a dam which helped to mitigate floods. The measures taken were not always a success - the moles which were constructed in the harbour prevented tides from carrying silt away from the mouth of the Cayster - this then settled in the harbour, making it more shallow than before. The resulting increased marsh areas also allowed a rise in the incidence of malaria due to favourable breeding conditions for mosquitos (Foss, 2010).

5. Of the food industry we know little apart from the breads of the city. Jansy (1947), informs us that the breads were more like what we know as cake, probably cooked from durum wheat, and that it was three times as expensive as bread was in 1947.
6. While the fishing industry was of great importance, there is only 1 known register of fisherman - that of a crabber. This could be indicative of the lack of records held on the poorer workers (Foss, 2010).
7. Vermilion was a valuable commodity used in frescoes, and quicksilver was needed to gild silver and bronze. The marble from Ephesus could be used straight from the quarry, unlike marble quarried from other areas. Other marbles had to be plastered with ground marble as they flaked easily (Murphy O'Connor (2008).
8. "The list of wares found in Revelation 18:12 - 13, may refer to one of the overseas large luxury cargoes that John saw being bought and sold, loaded and unloaded, at this place" (Koester, 1995, p. 213).
9. Hellenistic and mid - late Roman amphorae, made in Ephesus, were exported. A mushroom rimmed vessel, a one handled jar and a buff coloured amphorae were all thought to have been made in Ephesus or its vicinity (Bezeczky, 2010). Over 5000 fragments of Megarian bowls have been found in Ephesus, some of which were found in well in Terrace House 1. These were Hellenisitc in age, hemispherical in shape "showing ornamental, floral, vegetal or figural motifs" (Lejpunskaja, 2010, p. 269). The bowls were glazed and used for drinking.
10. An Ephesian white marble with black speckles has been identified in buildings in Rome, Sirium and Selinus (OEAI, 2010).
11. Warden & Bagnall, (1988) in their paper, The Forty Thousand Citizens of Ephesus, critique other authors estimations of the population. They find evidence for a misread inscription, which generally accepted that Ephesus had a population of around 40,000 males.
12. Death rates were greater than birth rates. Half of the children died before they reached puberty, and wars, plagues and drought ensured that mortality rates remained high (Koester, 2004).
13. Soranus was an ancient doctor, who was born in Ephesus, and who was known for his writing on perinatal care (Dunn, 95).
14. Spawforth, (1992), states, from his interpretation of an inscription, that the Greek citizens may have faced an identity crisis as Roman influence was exerted.

15. The wealthy loved to play board games, particularly “the game of the twelve markings” (Laale, 2011, p. 179). This was similar to Blackgammon.
16. Brutus and Cassius, who murdered Julius Caesar, taxed the Ephesians and gave them two years to collect ten years worth of taxes (Murphy O’Connor, 2008). Broughton (1938), as cited in Murphy O’Connor (2008) estimates that that equates to $260 for each adult and child, and over one billion dollars from the province of Asia.
17. Ephesus was always dealt with favourably by those who conquered her - Kroisos built a temple, Alexander wanted to rebuild the temple, Lysimachos even moved the city to save it and Rome honoured Ephesus by making it the provincial capital and bestowing four ‘temple warden’ titles (LiDonnici, 1992).
18. Follain (2002), states that gladiator combats began as funeral rites for the elite. In 78 B.C. Sulla’s death was celebrated with the fighting of 6000 gladiators. Gladatorial combats morphed into entertainment for the masses, and lost their religious meaning. Curry (2008), reports that the gladiator’s diet was vegetarian and was rich in carbohydrates such as barley and beans. Some suggest that the gladiators carried a lot of subcutaneous fat which in turn protected blood vessels from being cut. However, Mastro (2010) writes that Galen, an ancient doctor, suggested that the diet simply made the flesh soft and gained no advantage. Indeed artwork of the period depicts the gladiators as lean and muscled. He suggests that the diet was simply a matter of commerce - that it was cheaper to feed these gladiatorial slaves and prisoners a vegetarian diet, and in doing so, it produced lean bodies for fighting.

    The finds so far show that a large number of gladiators died from head wounds - thought to be the result of mercy killings rather than combat, as most gladiators wore a type of helmet. Three gladiators are known to have been killed by a trident, others were stabbed through the shoulder blade to the heart while they lay on their stomachs, and some had marks on their vertebrae which indicates a stabbing through the throat down to the heart. While some gladiators died of their wounds, there is also evidence that leg amputations and cranial surgery were performed , in addition to the setting of bones (DeBattitsa, 2009).

    Fighting was conducted in pairs and the contestants were matched for fairness. They fought until a clear outcome was gained, either through death, exhaustion or an injury which prevented further combat. The losers fate was with the crowd and he was expected to remain still

Fighting was conducted in pairs and the contestants were matched for fairness. They fought until a clear outcome was gained, either through death, exhaustion or an injury which prevented further combat. The losers fate was with the crowd and he was expected to remain still while the mortal blow was given. They were then carried into the carcass area and then executed (Kanz & Grossschmidt, 2006).

A trident found in the harbour matches perfectly the hole marks in one of the excavated skulls. Most gladiators died within their first year of fighting but some spent a number of years fighting with their victories recorded on their gravestones. These contestants became heroes. Gladiatorial contests were banned in 404 A.D. (Follain, 2002).

19. Various inscriptions were found in the building. One of note details conflict between the benefactor, Vedius Antonius and the citizens of Ephesus where the emperor acknowledges the Ephesians late recognition of Vedius' work. The cities would normally notify governors and emperors of the benefactors wish to build and suitable inscriptions from the emperor would give imperial authority. This was not the case here. "Imperial intervention was necessary to prevent factional strife from disrupting the peace of the city. Antonius Pius chose to support Vedius Antonius against the desires of the Ephesians because his project went beyond the provision of fleeting pleasures to the city populace. The refusal of the Ephesians to accept his proposal might have seemed highly irrational to Roman provincial administrators and to the emperor who were concerned with both the finances of cities and their physical upkeep" (Kalinowski, 2002, p. 114). It probably also helped that Antonius Pius was friends with Vedius Antonius, becoming the first Ephesian to enter the Roman Senate. The irony was that those who opposed him building the odeon, then had to meet in the building. Other inscriptions detailed resolutions in border disputes between Ephesus and Smyrna; Hadrian's recommendation for honorary citizenship for 2 boat owners and a complaint from Ephesus that Smyrna had omitted mentioning them in a decree regarding joint sacrifices (Kawlinowski, 2008).
20. Hestia, a sister of Zeus, rejected proposals from Poseidon and Apollo. Zeus then decided that "Hestia was to sit in the middle of the house and she was given the fatty part of the offerings so that she could keep the fireplace burning" (Kajava, 2004, p. 1). Her association with the hearth meant that she was present everywhere offerings were made to deities. She was considered significant more for her ties with politics than with religion as the magistrates would make decisions around her fire (Kajava, 2004).

this monument was built in 87 B.C. by the Romans to remind the Ephesians of the defeat. (Laale, 2011).

22. This is a first century traditional depiction of Nike, although the relief was made sometime in the fourth century (Wilson, 2010).
23. Domitian (51 - 96 A.D.) reigned from 81 - 96. Domitian had ordered that the vineyards in Asia Minor be uprooted, as there was a glut of grapes in Italy. After theEphesian wine growers protested, he had to revoke the edict. To make up for this error, he allowed Ephesus to become another neokoros, or keeper of his temple (Laale, 2011).
24. Usually the preceding emperor deified the last one - except for Caligula, Nero, Domitian and Commodus who defied themselves (Laale, 2011)!
25. Domitian Square was originally a valley - therefore a terrace had to be constructed to sit the temple on so that it was on the same level as the agora (Wilson, 2010).
26. In general, provincials were rarely persecuted for practicing their own religion - doing so in Italy and in particular Rome, was an entirely a different matter. However, Paul was a Roman citizen, so this may have added a different complexity on the matter, “for him to go over to a foreign religion was to be guilty of treason to his country” (Renan, 2005, p. 100). In any event, Paul at this stage was far from Ephesus. There has been some suggestion that John was boiled in oil, perhaps by Domitian, and then exiled to Patmos as a result of conflict over the construction of the building (Renan, 2005; Wilson, 2010).
27. The Greeks built to a regular street plan with roads intersecting at 90^0, with the main street crossing the town through the business areas. The main thoroughfare was 7.3 meters wide and was intersected by less important streets 5.8 and then 3.6 meters wide (Bosanquet, 1915).
    The sewer system of the city must have worked well as even coins were flushed along it. If pipes became blocked, oval holes were cut into them and then closed. The sewers were constructed of limestone and marble offcuts (Erdemgil, 1986; Scherrer, 2000).
28. Statues were mass produced in various poses and only the head, which was attached to the torso by dowel, was sculptured into the person’s likeness. (Foss, 2010).
29. Vespasian’s son Titus criticized his father for taxing urine. Vespasian reportedly held coins under his son’s nose and asked if they smelt. Titus said no and his father commented that the coins stemmed from urine taxes. The quotation “money does not stink” is said to have originated from this story (Heierli et al., 2004).
30. Arisone was the youngest sister of Cleopatra VII. She was captured by Caesar, paraded in Rome, but later freed. She fled to Ephesus and

took sanctuary in the Artemision where the high priests treated her as a Queen. She had been given the status of Queen in Alexandria by those who hated Cleopatra. Between the age of 15 - 17, she was killed by Mark Antony. Dio Cassius, a Roman Historian writing in the third century, states that Mark Antony also killed Cleopatra's two brothers who too had sought sanctuary at Ephesus (Koester, 2004; Murphy-O'Connor, 2008). However, while it is logical to think of the tomb as that of Arisone IV, the results are not conclusive - the tomb was finished two decades after her death, the skull has been missing since the 1920's and therefore not available for verification, there is no indication on the skeleton of a violent death, and there are some difficulties in ascertaining Arisone's exact birth date (Bennett, 2009).

31. Antony and Cleopatra's luxurious living in Ephesus "retarded for a few years the prosperity of the city" (Parvis, 1945, p.66).
32. "This was a very crucial time; the last Pergamene king had just willed western Anatolia to Rome (133 BCE), and many cities, among them Ephesus, desired their freedom. This may be the reason that the Ephesians remembered the mythological founder of the city, and erected this heroon in his honour" (Erdemgil, 2000, p. 40).
33. "... Vibius Salutaris also established a room for the domestic practice of the Imperial cult" (Zimmermann & Ladstatter, 2011, p. 54).
34. The inscriptions on the facade, written in Greek and Latin, give a bibliography of Celsus. He was born in Sardis; his father was a Roman knight and therefore wealthy; 68 A.D. - he was a military tribune in Alexandria; 70 A.D. - senator; 72 A.D. - aedilis in Rome; 75 A.D. - praetor in Rome; 78 - 85 A.D. - legatus juridicus in Cappadocia, commander of legion in Syria, governor of Bithynia and Pontos; 85 - 87 A.D. - in charge of pension funds for veterans in Rome; 89 - 91 - legate in Cilicia; 92 - consul suffectus, elected to noble council of priests, responsible for finances and organization of building projects in Rome; 105 - 106 A.D. - proconsul (governor) of Asia at Ephesus; 114 A.D. - dies at Ephesus; 113 - 114 A.D. construction of Library began (Strocka, 2003). The son also died before the Library was completed (Erdemgil, 2011).
35. Smith (1998), as cited in Eidson (2013), indicates that there were other gifts to the Library apart from those that Celsus's son donated for upkeep and the purchase of further literary volumes.
36. While we know that there was at least one synagogue in Ephesus, little remains in the archaeological record of the presence of Jews.
37. It is speculation as to how many scrolls the library held. It is not known if all the niches were full or how many shelves there were in

each niche. It is also not known if the scrolls were stored in rows or heaps(Strocka, 2008).

38. “The connection between the library and the tomb now has a deep meaning, for it was believed in antiquity that taking part in the spiritual world, which was embodied by Apollo and the muses, made that person immortal. Thus Romans of the second and third centuries A.D. liked to decorate magnificent sarcophagi with the figures of philosophers and muses or Apollo and muses, and the deceased hold book rolls in their hands which document their spiritual interest” (Strocka, 2008, p. 40).
39. Apparently most of the building is in good condition and present.
40. Recently a shipwreck off the Italian coast at Torre Sgarrata has revealed a cargo of roughly cut marble columns and statues, thought to be of Ephesian origin (Yoncaci, 2007).
41. In support 0f this argument, verified lists of referees did not begin until 51 B.C. “Since lively building activity took place in general at the end of the 2nd century, it is likely that the theatre came into being as the centre of the new, Romanised harbour city of Ephesus, probably in connection with the establishment of the Roman province of Asia in 133 B.C.” (Scherrer, 2000, p. 158). Atac (1996) also agrees that the theatre was built later and notes that it follows very closely to Vitruvius’s plan of an ideal theatre.
42. Earthenware or bronze sounding containers were used to enhance acoustics (Heffernan, 2005).
43. Acts 17:21 - Luke relates that the Athenians “ seem to spend all their time discussing the latest ideas.”
44. The techniques of the father of surgery, Galen, known to have worked only 60 kilometers away, have been noted (DeBattista, 2009).
45. Inscriptions show that the latrines were leased by business associations and guilds (Scherrer, 2000).
46. “For reasons unknown to us - perhaps a quarrel between factions over the proteria, the priority of the saints - the old see was split in two. The bishop moved with Mary to a new place, while the Church of St John was transferred to the location of his - or some other John’s - tomb” (Koester, 2004, p. 319).
47. Scherrer (2000) and Fant & Reddish (2003) all indicate that the Ecumenical Council predates the building of the church. They suggest that the council may have been held in part of the church which was later incorporated into what we now call the Church of Mary. In any event, the council was held in a building known as “the most holy church which is called Maria” (Lloyd, 1989, p. 224).

These councils discussed the principals of Christianity. The third Ecumenical Council, held in 431, had a lengthy debate for months trying to establish whether Jesus' mother was mortal or immortal. The debate was against Nestorius and his followers who did not believe in the veneration of the Virgin Mother of God. This particular Council indicated that Mary had stayed in a house at that very spot and had been buried in Ephesus (Erdemgil, 2011; Lloyd, 1989).

48. "Elagabalus, one of the Roman Emperors, during a ceremony, cut off his male organ as required according to the worship of Cybelle, and presented it to the mother goddess. The incident proves the respect she received in Rome" (Erdemgil, 1986, p. 28).
49. Cyprus wood was hoarded for four generations to make the folding doors (Falkener, 1862).
50. That groundwater was a problem may have been indicated by the fact that channels had been dug around the altar (Erdemgil et al, 2000).
51. "The pyrotechnic art of antiquity would not have enabled a single individual to torch a huge and well guarded marble temple. Rather, Herostratus was useful; the priests of Artemis put him forward as a culprit in order to cover up their own conspiracy to burn the temple ... which was about to sink into a swamp and therefore needed to be replaced with a new structure" (Koester, 2004, p. 145). Laale (2011) writes that no-one was ever supposed to have mentioned Herostratus's name again. There is some suggestion that Herostratus may have only burnt the roof - in any event what was able to be salvaged was reused in building a bigger and better temple (Laale, 2011).
52. The Ephesians did not accept Alexander the Great's offer to help rebuild the temple - instead they used donations from citizens, monies from fundraising and selling the columns of the previous temple. The citizens wanted to ensure that temple was the city's and that the temple was "a symbol of the people"(LiDonnici, 2011, p. 209). By the time Alexander visited they had already invested much of their wealth and probably wished to remain in control. The Ephesians diplomatically refused his request saying that one god could not present gifts to another god. The Ephesians wanted to create and pay for their own temple to reestablish their identity after allowing the original temple to burn down.
53. The building was so large that its destruction took many years - "enough remained in the time of Justinian for him to order statues and marble gorgon heads which adorned the temple to be transported to Constantinople" (Foss, 2010, p. 87).
54. In the fifth century B.C. a competition was held for sculpting a statue of Artemis. The sculptors were asked to judge the best sculpture -

marble gorgon heads which adorned the temple to be transported to Constantinople" (Foss, 2010, p. 87).

54. In the fifth century B.C. a competition was held for sculpting a statue of Artemis. The sculptors were asked to judge the best sculpture - each voted for himself therefore the winner was the one voted second best. There are copies of it all over the world and archaeologists are unsure which one is actually Polykleitos's sculpture (Erdemgil, 2011).
55. In the second century, Artemis began to lose her popularity, primarily over concerns of financial management. For instance, priesthoods would go to the highest bidder; children of slaves were dedicated to Artemis - which meant that the temple had to support them and, money was borrowed through the priests for others. Efforts were made increase her followers e.g. the populace was told that she healed sufferers of the plague who had burnt wax images of her; a decree was given that no-one should work during the sacred month and oil was given out on the sixth day of each month in her honour (Bible History, n.d.).
56. There is a lot of conjecture as to why he did not return to Ephesus. Trebilco (2004) suggests that he may have been making the best of the opportunity, knowing that if he went there he would want to stay longer, or, perhaps he may not have felt safe to return because of repercussions after the riot.
57. Some of the disparities which existed in Paul's time are listed in the figure below.

Greek Thought	Roman Thought
Anthropomorphic deities	Divine powers did not have a physical identity
House was separated by gender	House separated by status
Baths were seen as a temple	Baths were for leisure, business and socializing
Games were for athletes	Games were to pacify the populace

(Osiek & Balch, 1997; Jeffers, 1999).

58. In a system called 'exposure' the unwanted child was either left to hemorrhage to death or left to die outside in the elements. Christians raised all their children (Osiek & Balch, 1997).
59. A lot of inscriptions have names beginning with Arte... which is thought to be indicative of the fact that children may have been named in honour of or even have been dedicated to Artemis (Horsley, 1992).

61. Wood (1890) and his 100 workers alone found 2600 coins from "Naples, Rhodes, the Seljuk Emeers, Venice, Genoa, and the Papal States" (p. 47).
62. Other honours to the Imperial deities included sacrifices at their temples, altars in the civic centers, banquets at the gyms and shrines in private houses. "Sometimes libations or ritual cakes were offered, but the burning of incense, perhaps on special altars, or the killing of an animal, normally a bull, were the standard offerings at public festivals" (Price, 1984, p. 208).
63. First century Ephesus typified displays of patronage - the temple precincts, funerary monuments, dedicated gates, public spaces, monuments and fountains being examples.
64. Busts of the Emperor were kept in the Theatre and brought out at the new moon sacrifice, assembly meetings, civic festivals and games. The calendar was altered to begin on Augustus's birthday. "... the birthday of Antoninius Pius was celebrated at Ephesus for five days; on each day there were shows and a distribution of money to the citizens for sacrifices" (Price, 1984, p. 140).
65. Evidence for Egyptian cults in Ephesus include a second century water clock, various inscriptions, a statue of Isis found near the harbour (with the suggestion that Isis may have been patron of the fishing industry), lamps with Isis iconography, evidence that Caracalla during his reign, encouraged the worship of Sarapis; and the possibility of two temples, one in each of the agoras (yet to be proved) (Koester, 1995).
66. It was not until 250 A.D. that an edict was passed insisting that everybody had to offer a public sacrifice to the gods. This may not have even been aimed at the Christians but could rather have been an attempt to force the people to pay more attention to their gods. In any event, "this was the moment in Roman history when imperial policy and imperial legislation first singled out Christians who had decided to abstain from traditional religious life" (Watts, p. 2). This persecution ended in 313 A.D. with Emperor Constantine when he committed to suppress paganism. This would have been no mean feat considering the all-pervasive nature of the cults. It is known that in Alexandria there were 2,500 temples in the city and it is estimated that there were 13,000 or so cultic images and statues outside of the temples. Practically, Christians probably had to decide what could be tolerated. It seems that old religious festivals were still celebrated, perhaps to avoid resistance of Rome by the populace (Watts).
67. While slave families had no legal rights, they had their own kinship systems (Neufeld & DeMaris, 2010).

68. All slaves and gladiators who entered Ephesus had to have tattoos on their faces. The words “tax paid” or “stop me, I’m a runaway” were common. Constantine stopped this practice (Mayor, 1999).
69. “The more frivolous a slaves task, the clearer the evidence of the owner’s wealth” (Glancy, 2006, p. 44).
70. Not much is known about the slaves reactions: “The silence is revealing. Ancient societies were not concerned with the reactions of slaves to sexual coercion, since the slave had no legal or cultural right to say “no” ” (Glancy, 2006, p. 53). It was also known that slaves were tortured for information (Glancy, 2006).
71. “Many slave collars bear Christian iconography, such as the alpha and the omega or the chi-rho figure” (Glancy, 2006, p. 88). Perhaps this was used by Christians rather than tatooing or branding on the face.
72. Pliny indicated that “slave women played leadership roles in the new cult” (Glancy, 2006, p. 130).
73. There are many texts found throughout the New Testament which are indicative of the honour system. See 1Cor 12:23; 2Cor 6:8 and Rom 2:7 for texts where Paul refers to honour. Note also Acts 28:10; Heb 2:7; Rev 4:9; Rev 5:12; John 5:23.
74. “... [meals] become occasions for conspicuous display of social distance and even for humiliation of the clients of the rich, by means of the quality and quantity of food provided to different tables” (Meeks, 1983, p. 68).
75. “A man or woman who appeared in public surrounded by a retinue of slaves promoted his own reputation and the dignity of his household” (Glancy, 2006, p. 147).
76. “... a well-educated, wealthy, noncitizen, former slave would have been thought lower in status than a poor, uneducated, freeborn citizen” (Jeffers, 1999, p. 182).
77. Purple dye came from a gland of a mollusk (Jeffers, 1999).
78. Rogers, (1992b, p. 216) indicates that initially women were only noted “as the wives and daughters of male builders”, but during the third century, a female’s personal wealth could afford her name being cited on inscriptions as the benefactor. This probably grew out of necessity, as the city had begun to struggle to afford to erect new buildings. The most famous of these is of course, is Scholastica. The paved area in front of the Library was paid for by a woman - Iulia Potentilla (Rogers, 1992b).
79. Women were beginning to recline with their husbands at banquets, they could administer their own property, own and run businesses (Meeks,1983).

80. Females were not as desired as male babies and more frequently suffered from a practice called infant exposure.
81. Priscilla is often named before her husband - an unusual situation in those days.
82. “Ancient mosaics, paintings, statuary, dedicatory inscriptions, and funerary epitaphs, scholars have found numerous pieces of evidence for women’s leadership” (Torjessen, 1995, p. 3).
83. Guilds of spinners and weavers are never found - because this was a home enterprise, where the work was done by women and slaves (Murphy -O’Connor, 2008).
84. Trebilco, (2007), estimates only a few hundred Jews; Meeks, (1983), suggests that there could have been as many as 2000 - 2500, while Telbe, (2009) argues “there were between 10,000 and 25000 Jews in Ephesus in the first century CE” (p. 75). Telbe (2009), bases this on the fact that the Jewish population in Asia was between 5% - 15% of the total population, with Ephesus’ population estimated at 200,000 citizens.
85. The synagogue complex included more than the synagogue - nearby there would be guest houses, rooms and baths for visiting Jews (Banks, 1994).
86. However, there is a dearth of material evidence relating to Jews in Ephesus. There have been less than 10 items found - 4 oil lamps with menorahs, a fragment of a jug displaying a menorah,a lulab and shofar; menorah carved into library steps, amulets, inscriptions on a stele near the harbour which lists of 22 - 28 donors, 18 of which are said to be associated with Paul; inscriptions containing the word ‘sambathios’ which translates as ‘someone born on the Sabbath’; a tomb inscription which notes that the “Jews in Ephesus are charged with care of this tomb” (Trebilco, p. 45). (Horsley, 1992).
87. There were issues in the late first century over fiscus Iudaicus or the temple tax. Some Jews tried to avoid paying the tax and therefore hid their identity. “Suetonius goes on to describe how appalled he had been as a boy when he once attended a crowded court where the Imperial agent sought to learn if a ninety-year-old man was subject to the fiscus Iudaicus and had him inspected to establish whether or not he had been circumcised” (Telbe, 2009, p. 106).
88. One could rightly assume that Priscila and Aquila would also have taught in the synagogue before Paul arrived the second time. - were they also expelled? If so, then it is interesting that it took three months before Paul had to leave. There would, historically, have been some division within the synagogue, so it may simply have taken a little time before the Jews objected strongly enough to expel Paul.

89. Tyrannus is probably a Gentile name and was common in Ephesus; it is seen in many inscriptions. The word 'Hall' does not denote a building of Jewish origin. (Trebilco, 2007) "A lecture hall, or auditorium, mentioned in a 1st-century-A.D. inscription, has been tentatively identified by the Turkish archaeologist E. Akurgal in the area adjacent to the east side of the Celsus library. It may be the lecture hall ... of Tyrannus where Paul 'reasoned daily' " (McRay, 1990, p. 80). No remains have been found - only the Hellenistic platform over which it was built. Ellen White, (1911), describes Tyrannus as "a teacher of some note (p. 286).; others describe him as a "rhetorician" (Ephesus, 1909).
90. The tent type Paul possibly made were either from sheep leather or cloth made from goats hair, stitched with hemp rope and supported by wooden poles coated in beeswax (Pollock, 1985).
91. Romans 16, according to Koester (2004), p 123 "contains greetings to as many as twenty-three of Paul's fellow workers and personal acquaintances, who must have been located in Ephesus rather than Rome, unless one assumes that there was a mass migration of Ephesian Christians to Rome within less than a year after Paul's departure from that city." Only six of the people cited had Jewish names, which indicates to Koester that the Pauline community was primarily made of Gentiles.
92. Mention made of Housechurches in the Bible include: Romans 16:5 "Also give my greetings to the church that meets in their home."; 1Cor 1:16 "... I also baptized the household of Stephanas..."; 1Cor 16:19 " ... and all the others who gather in their home for church meetings."; Col 4:5 " ... and the church that meets in her house."
93. Banks (1994) says that congregations meeting in churches were not established until the third century.
94. There has been much debate about the socio-economic profile of members of the early church. Still & Horrell (2009), suggest that there are three schools of thought:

    a) That the church was for the poor and destitute. Meggitt (1998) as cited in Still and Horrell (2009) says, "The Pauline Christians en masse shared fully the bleak material existence which was the lot of more than 99% of the inhabitants of the Empire ... To believe otherwise ..., given the near universal prevalence of poverty in the first-century world, is to believe the improbable" (p. 38 - 39).
    b) That the church was dominated by the well to do. Judge (1960) as cited in (Still & Horrell, 2009), notes that "the Christians

were dominated by a socially pretentious section of the population of the big cities" (p. 39).

c) that the church was socially diverse and the richer members supported the poorer (Still & Horrell, 2009).

95. Pope Damascus 1 had to order that the homes of pagan women not be visited by Christian missionaries (Stark, 1997).

96. These converts were probably baptized in the Cayster River, and in full view of the Artemisian, when they received the Holy Spirt (Pollock, 1985).

97. There are many who believe that Luke's account is fictitious - they accept part of the story yet reject other facets. While a lot of detail is not given, this should not detract from the facts as stated in the Bible. " What Luke says about magic in Ephesus, the silversmiths, the Temple of Artemis, the significance and distribution of the cult of Ephesian Artemis, the fame of the city of Ephesus as the "temple keeper" of Artemis and the bond which existed between the city and the goddess, the use of the theatre for informal gatherings , the presence of the Asiarchs, the behaviour of unruly mobs in the Greco-Roman city, the attitude of the town clerk to a disturbance in the city and the way he defends the city's reputation, and much more is all abundantly confirmed as realistic by literary and archaeological evidence" (Trebilco, 2007, pp. 104 - 105).

Riots were not uncommon in this era - there are records about a riot of bakers that had to be controlled by proconsular action (Laale, 2011).

98. No silver statuettes have yet been found, possibly because one would expect to find them in homes rather than the public buildings that excavations have been centered on. Also with the rise in Christianity and opposition to idolatry, these may simply have been melted down, as were other pagan items. Silversmiths and their guilds have been mentioned in inscriptions and silversmith shops were found in the agora (McRay, 1990).

99. Financial woes of the Temple - "At the time of Paul's presence in Ephesus the Emperor Claudius had to instruct the proconsul of Asia, Paullus Fabius Persicus, to deal with a whole series of corrupt practices that had practically beggared the temple of Artemis" (Murphy-O'Connor, 2008, p.21).

100. A city, for example Sardis, could give a gift to Artemis and in return expect protection. Thus Ephesus was in danger of losing 'gifts' to the city (LiDonnici, 2011).

101. At this time a coin was minted (50 - 51A.D.) depicting Agrippina's marriage to Claudius and their association with Artemis. Kreitzer (1987), as cited in Trebilco (2007) suggests "the coins and the

Imperial honour they show was granted to Ephesus through the association of Artemis and Ephesus with the Empress, [and] may have helped to foster an aggressive pride and popular fervour among the Ephesians with regard to Artemis and her temple, and thus help to explain the climate and hostility Paul encountered ..." (p.165).

102. Even before Paul's time, inscriptions indicate that opposition to Artemis could be dealt with by capital punishment (Horsley, 1992).
103. Records relate that a pagan teacher asked his students to miss the Festival of Artemis because they needed to study more (Watts, p 1.).
104. Alexander may have been a Christian Jew?
105. Original versions use Asiarchs instead of mayor. - They kept state and archival papers, brought agendas before the assemblies and senate; witnessed money being deposited into the temple and city letters were addressed to them (Conybeare, & Howson, n.d.). Inscriptions in Ephesus number the Asiarchs at 106, both male and female, with some being dated to within 50 years of the riot. This supports the reliability of the book of Acts (McRay, 1990 & Horsley, 1992).
106. "The acoustics of the theatre, which faced westward toward the sea, would have hindered officials in the upper city from hearing the disturbance in the lower city. In addition, the streets were probably clogged with pilgrims visiting Ephesus for a festival related to Artemis. Thus it is understandable why it took time for the town clerk (grammateus), whose office was in the prytaneion, to reach the theatre to calm the riotous crowd" (Wilson,2010, p. 212)
107. Unlawful rioting could caused the guild to become disbanded, city officials could have been punished, and, at worst, the city could lose its freedom (Brinks, 2009).
108. Jospehus does not name Sceva in his lists of High Priests. Some suggest Sceva may have been a member of the 'priestly aristocracy' or it was a pseudonym used to gain credibility (Trebilco, 2007).
109. Ephesian letters consisted of six magical expressions, written on leather, which were then shuffled and read. Murphy-O'Connor, (2008) informs us that even in those days, people had no clear understanding of what the words meant, which has only served to increase conjecture. Most spells had to do with competition - to win at the games, to advance your business, to help with your love life (Fox, 1988). Trebilco, (2007), points out that they could be written on amulets or spoken as charms, in an endeavour to fend off demons. They could also be used to force the gods to do what you wanted.
110. The Ephesians developed absurd superstitious practices to enhance favourable outcomes. For example, Augustus hid in cellars during thunderstorms, while Caligula hid under his bed (Willoughby, 1929).

111. The Ephesians must have had a lot of disposable income to have bought these books in the first place.
112. Under Roman law citizens were imprisoned while under investigation or when waiting the death penalty. “The well connected got better treatment than the poor and strangers” (Murphy O’Connor, 2008, p. 220).
113. It is interesting that Paul never writes letters to these churches - perhaps he was in frequent contact and therefore there was no need.
114. It was these edicts, which allowed quarrying of previously sacred buildings, that allowed Ephesus to be rebuilt into the Byzantine - Christian city. (Koester, 2004).
115. People had chapels added to their houses and to some public buildings.
116. There is a lot of speculation as to why Paul himself did not call in at Ephesus at the end of his third missionary journey. It may have been that there was no boat stopping at Ephesus; he may have been carrying a lot of money with him and was worried about theft; it may have prevented him from reaching Jerusalem in time or perhaps because he feared going to Ephesus after the riot?
117. Ignatius is thought to have become Bishop of Antioch in 69 A.D. and martyred in Rome in 107 A.D. (Murphy O’Connor,2008).

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Appendix A

World map showing the location of Turkey



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Appendix B

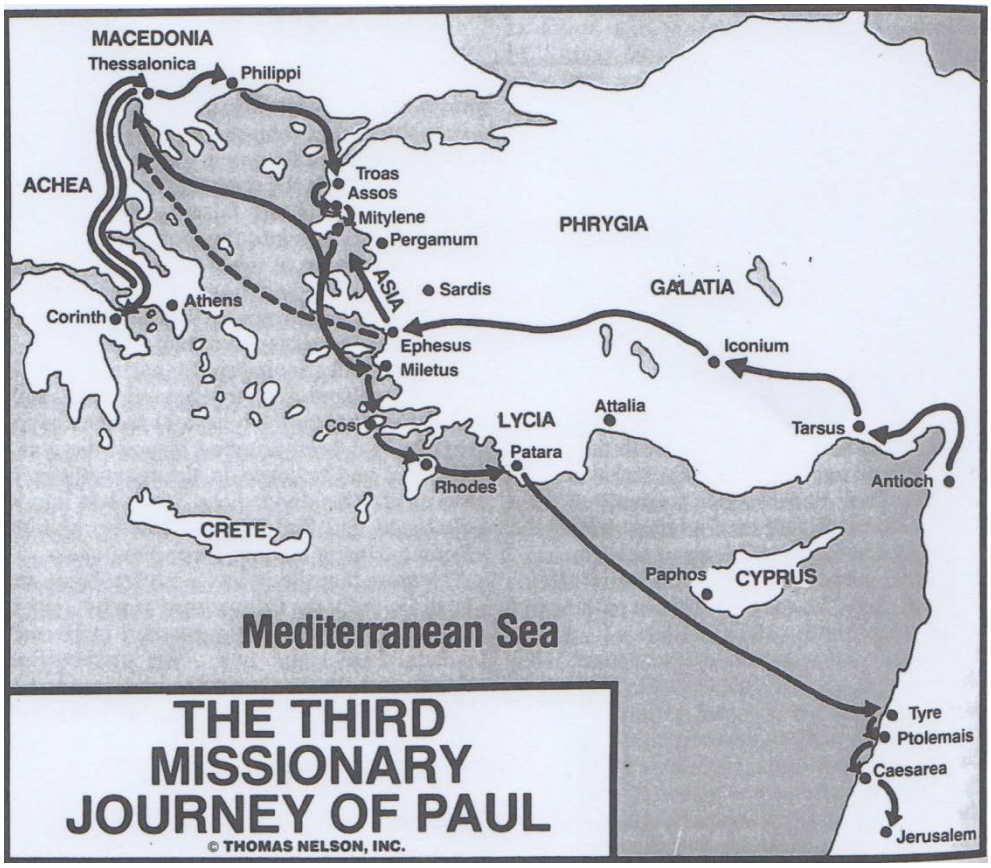
Map of Turkey showing the location of Ephesus



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Appendix C

Paul's Third Missionary Journey



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Appendix D

Map of the Ruins of Ephesus