

ROMAN URBAN SPACE FRAMED BY COLONNADES:
MEDIATING BETWEEN MYTH, MEMORY AND HISTORY
IN EPHESUS

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ABSTRACT

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IN EPHEBUS

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A multi-layered analysis on the morphological development of Ephesus in relation to the Temple of Artemis and an investigative wandering through the streets of this city in the era of Roman Empire highlights this thesis characterized by a consistent search for the significance of the notion of "urban armature." From the standpoint of those who lived at that time, special attention is directed toward the colonnaded avenues as well as to their formal and social impacts within the city fabric. The thesis re-reads Ephesus within two main parts; first the urban form in relation to the topographical provision and sacred landscape provided by the site itself; and then from the ground level through a walking trip of the city as it appeared in the second century A.D. Crucial to this visual experience is the semantic quality of the environment at a collective level since the meaning of the experience would be useless without considering the meaning of signs and symbols within the environment. Thus, bounding ancient society and urban space at the phenomenological level, the small trip starts at the harbor and concludes at the Temple of Artemis, the irrefutable symbol of Ephesus and the most revered shrine in Asia Minor.

Keywords: Urban armature, Ephesus, urban/social space, street experience, grid, visuality, rhythm.

ÖZ

KOLONADLI ROMA KENT MEKANLARI: EFES' TE MİT, BELLEK VE TARİH ÜÇGENİNDE BİR DEĞERLENDİRME

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Bu tez, Efes antik kentinin morfolojik yapısının Artemis Tapınağı gözönüne alınarak incelendiği çok katmanlı bir analizi ve yine bu kentin sokaklarında gerçekleştirilen araştırmaya dayalı bir yürüyüşü konu almaktadır. Çalışma boyunca kentsel armatür kavramı sorgulanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, kolonadlı caddeler ve onların fiziki ve toplumsal etkileri üzerinde durulmuştur. Bu çalışma, Efes'i iki alt başlıkta inceler; öncelikle, topografyadan gelen koşullar ve kentin konumundan doğan kutsal değerler ışığında kentin fiziki formu; ve daha sonra da kent sokaklarında M.S. ikinci yüzyılda yapıldığı varsayılan bir yolculuk tasvir edilir. Bu yürüyüş esnasında önemli olan, çevrenin kolektif anlamdaki semantik değeridir, zira yapılı çevrede yer alan işaretlerin ve sembollerin manaları düşünülmeden böyle bir deneyimin anlamı kavranamayacaktır. Bu doğrultuda, toplumu ve kent mekanını olgubilimsel olarak bağlayan bu yolculuk, limanda başlayıp, Efes'in reddedilemez sembolü ve Küçük Asya'nın en çok saygı duyulan kutsal yerlerinden biri olan Artemis Tapınağında son bulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler : Kentsel armatür, Efes, Kentsel/sosyal mekan, sokak deneyimi, ızgara, görsellik, ritim.

To my family,

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

. . . the relief and design of structures appear more clearly when content, which is the living energy of meaning, is neutralized, somewhat like the architecture of an uninhabited or deserted city, reduced to its skeleton by some catastrophe of nature or art. A city no longer inhabited, not simply left behind, but haunted by meaning and culture, this state of being haunted, which keeps the city from returning to nature . . . (Jacques Derrida, 1978, *Writing and Difference*)

1.1. Reading an urban text from the ancient era

Accustomed to speed reading modern cities, modern visitors can hardly catch the atmosphere of ancient urban environments. Due to the gradual elimination of the street from social life and the introduction of high speed in the order of cities, the latter have adapted themselves to the perception of the cityscape while in motion, from remote vantage points. In identifying buildings and orienting oneself, the primary foci of the urban language - form, ornamentation, orientation, location, etc. - are now replaced by numbers, names and signatures posted on structures.

In this sense, it is necessary to convey a 'Roman' way of urban reading before attempting to explore the ways Romans perceived and experienced their urban space. As pedestrians or passengers on animals, ancient people passed through cities at slow speeds. The town thus had more tangible limits than modern cities. This modulated speed allowed the inhabitants to perceive the city more closely in order to comprehend various contents from structures and construct their own urban narrative since they would have been accustomed both to read and to think with their eyes - through images, sculptures, inscriptions or calculated vistas.

In this sense, one appropriate methodology in assessing the ancient city might be reading various degrees of persistences provided by the city plan. Indeed,

according to the theory of permanences posited by Rossi, at the basis of the urban composition is the persistence of the plan.

Cities tend to remain on their axes of development, maintaining the position of their original layout and growing according to the direction and meaning of their older artifacts. . . The most meaningful permanences are those provided by the street and the plan. The plan persists at different levels; it becomes differentiated in its attributes, often deformed, but in substance it is not displaced. (Rossi 1982, 59)¹

For the modern reader trying to read an ancient urban text, this theory might seem more applicable since most of the concrete evidence (materials/ruins) usually lies at the foundation level.

Against a background of the differences between historical periods and civilizations, it therefore becomes possible to verify a certain constancy of themes [between shapes of things in the urban scale], and this constancy assures a relative unity to the urban expression. From this developed the relationships between the city and the geographic region, which can be analyzed effectively in terms of the role of the street. . . The city is born in a fixed place but the street gives it life. (Rossi 1982, 51)

The street, meaning a surface distinguished from its surroundings in some physical or at least notional way, a delimited surface (Rykwert 1986, 15), presents itself as the basic structuring device of a city's form and also as the locus of its civilization. Indeed, modern scholarship elaborates the street as the 'main core of the city' combining architecture, planning policies, and social life in the urban context. Anthropological, political, and technical aspects of the street are also investigated in various places and time periods. These approaches, in fact, have begun to influence ancient urban studies. Planar approaches are currently giving way to researches concerning the sensory experience of ancient cities, for which the street becomes the crucial device with a potential to reveal architectural, visual, social, political, economic, and ethnic phenomena.

Streets are a primary ingredient of urban existence. They provide the structure on which to weave the complex interactions of the architectural fabric with human organization. (Çelik, Favro, Ingersoll 1994, foreword)

However, in the Roman urban context, the interpretation of two-dimensional urban layouts on paper is far from adequate. Because in this case, the architectural order has elaborated the natural topographic order to create a

¹ In his first chapter, Rossi wrote about the sources he benefited from while formulating his theory of urban artifacts. For the theme of "permanence", he mainly refers to Marcel Poète (1929, *Introduction à l'Urbanisme. L'évolution des villes, la leçon de l'antiquité*, Paris: Boivin & Cie.) and Pierre Lavedan (1926-1952, *Historie de l'urbanisme*, 3 vols., Paris: Henri Laurens).

synthesis between land and culture. Nature is thus no longer an external partner; openness too, is no longer oblique and casual: Everything becomes "architecture" and thus subject to the laws of design. Everything is the "city": there are no loose ends. The outdoor realm is treated as an interior with its ceiling being the sky and arranged as bounded urban spaces. Vaults, arches, columns, gates constitute architectural boundary pieces that one would find in any Romanized city. Hence, nothing could be more difficult than to take only an ideally configured city plan and try to read 'Roman' way of building cities.

Romanae spatium est urbis et orbis idem. [The extent of the Roman city and the world are the same] (Ovid, *Fasti*, 684, 1st century AD)

In cognizance of this, MacDonald states that plans alone cannot convey the character of the well-structured Roman towns, especially imperial ones, because they defy rigid formulas. (1982, 29) Different from the towns of the Republican era, the imperial *urbs* is not derived from idealized configurations and therefore most of their plans fail in displaying the specificities of the Roman city.

Hence, the study of the street should have three significant components. The inevitable relation between street and movement is one that needs to be emphasized. In modern discourse, scholars currently define new space conceptions depending on the experience of high speed – both bodily and virtually. However, in pre-modern cities human movement was a principal factor shaping urban conception through daily wanderings, religious rituals, triumphal ceremonies, and etc.

Streets are integral parts of our movement and communication networks; they are the places where many of our conflicts or resolutions between public and private claims are accessed or actually played out; they are the arenas where the boundaries of conventional and aberrant behavior are frequently redrawn. (Anderson 1986, 1)

The street is human movement institutionalized. . . . unless he (an individual) is followed by others, his path never becomes a road or street, because the road and the street are social institutions and it is their acceptance by the community that gives them the name and the function. (Rykwert 1986, 15)

Respectively, the emotional quality appears as the second key component in defining the street. Unlike the 'modern' rupture of the street from individuals' urban lives - imposed by the masters of the Modern movement in the early thirties whereby, streets are considered as "no more than a trench, deep cleft,

and a narrow passage"² - streets have usually more autonomy as colorful public spaces in history.

It is the urban street that from the first origins of settlements has acted as the principal place of public contact and public passage, a place of exchange of ideas, goods and services, a place of play and fight, of carnival and funeral, of protest and celebration. (Czarnowski 1986, 207)

In similar lines, the Roman street was meant to be open to all citizens and thus to all kinds of practical, religious, political or festival occasions. It was used both as a site for casual social interaction, including recreation, conversation and entertainment; and as a site for ritual practices, processions, funerals, etc. Establishing the street as a physical reality, scholars have begun to discuss the emotional, intellectual, artistic, political and economic aspects of Roman daily life, which also allows them to hear the hitherto ignored voices of the lower-classes, women and children.³ Indeed, most of the statues and inscriptions that framed and facilitated the social and economic life of the towns were on streets where the common men and citizens of the Empire were living.

Without doubt, the architectural component is another indispensable element in exploring the street in the urban context. In addition to their practical functions— to provide a link between buildings over which the goods and the people can pass in order to sustain the agricultural, economical, administrative and military services of a city or town – streets have a strong three-dimensional quality. In other words, the street includes not only the road and the sidewalk surfaces but also the buildings and bordering elements located along it, the street furniture, stairs, porticos, and ceremonial structures that mark its length or define its beginning or end points. The more dominant these elements, the more monumental and memorable the streets become. Sometimes they are so monumental that they transform the city into a single monument (Ball 2000, 262).

² The famous anti-street polemic of Le Corbusier appeared in many of his works. See, "La rue", in *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret. Oeuvre Complète de 1910-1929*. Zurich: Girsberger, 3rd ed. 1943. pp.112-115.

³ With gender studies and concerns about the consequences of social stratification, scholars have begun to re-evaluate archives, pictorial representations and archaeological data in order to obtain more precise perceptions and reactions of marginal groups. See, J. P. Toner, 1995, *Leisure and Ancient Rome*. (Cambridge: Polity Press); M. Smith, 2003, *The Social Construction of Ancient Cities*, (Washington, D.C. : Smithsonian Institute Press); J. R. Clarke, 1991, *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 BC-AD 250: ritual, space and decoration*, (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press); J. R. Clarke, 2001, *Looking at Lovemaking, constructions of sexuality in Roman Art, 100 BC-AD 250*, (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press). For other references see, Favro (1999).

In fact, such three-dimensional quality has sometimes led scholars to assume that the street may be regarded as a closed system (Gutman 1986, 250). Accordingly, they may be considered as a bounded form that can be taken up as an individual entity and examined independent of the rest of the system of urban links.⁴ For example, researchers have discussed the capability of citizens to perceive the street as an 'urban box' (Fig.1.1). This outlook promotes the sense of enclosure and delimits the territory of the street including its vertical binding surfaces, the facades of buildings, which strengthens the perception of a particular street space as an 'outdoor room'. (Schumacher 1986, 139)

However, restricting the scope of analysis to the street layout and ultimately to the city plan alone may cause the loss of the dimension of time as "plan" is a finished, singular image captured in a specific time. Urban places, in contrast, – even in dead cities – are constantly being altered. New findings, the growth of trees, different climatic conditions all transform the urban setting piece by piece and obviously this cannot be reflected on any kind of two-dimensional medium.

Instead, to characterize Roman urban morphology, William MacDonald proposes that there is something that is the product of the passage of time. He posits that every *urbs* is given form by an "urban armature." He formulated and promoted this urban concept in his book *Architecture of the Roman Empire II: Urban Appraisal*: "main streets, squares, colonnaded avenues, gates and essential public buildings linked together across cities and towns from gate to gate, with junctions and entranceways prominently articulated." This armature may be inserted into a grid town like Timgad but may also be found in a non-grid Roman town in North Africa like Djemila. As individual architectural monuments or groupings, armatures organize the physical structure, the narrative and the message of the city that was given to its inhabitants. Depending on the existing qualities and common features, studying armatures may reveal the urban text of the city from its origins to the present.

Furthermore, architectural experience involves the dynamics of space and movement. As mentioned above, ancient citizens interacted directly with city

⁴ There is a wide historiography on streets in general. For some see, B. Rudovsky, 1969, *Streets for people*. (Garden City: Doubleday), S. Anderson ed., 1986, *On Streets*. (Cambridge Mass: MIT Press), A. B. Jacobs, 1993, *Great Streets*. (Cambridge: Mass: MIT Press), A. M. Barlas, 1994, *The Street: Its meaning, function, origin, death and rebirth*. (Unpublished PhD. diss. Philadelphia, Pa., USA, University of Pennsylvania), Z. Çelik, D. Favro and R. Ingersoll (eds.), 1994, *Streets: critical perspectives on public space*. (Berkeley: University of California Press)

environments and saw city locales from many vantage points in greatly different sequential positions. As 'site-seeing', every citizen creates his own architectural promenade, which is inscribed into and interacts with narrative experience.⁵ Developing the idea of *promenade architecturale*, Le Corbusier states that architecture "is appreciated while on the move, with one's feet . . . ; while walking, moving from one place to another. . . A true architectural promenade [offers] constantly changing views, unexpected, at times surprising."⁶ In MacDonald's terms, "the meaning [of urban order] repeatedly evoked a form of *kinetogenesis*, i.e. a bringing into being through motion" (MacDonald 1982, 269).

In this sense, Roman towns embody detailed urban texts that are clarified by repeated elements, inscriptions and reliefs; and guided and framed by urban armatures. With motion orchestrated by armatures, these texts may be re-written or over-written; consequently urban narratives are shaped and re-shaped. The palimpsest-like architecture of Roman cities, with layer upon layer of history peeking through, is a way of visualizing the simultaneity of different narratives, for both ancient and modern observers.

1.2. Urban Armatures: Direction, Linkage, Hierarchy

The most conspicuous achievement of Roman architecture was its urban instrumentality. (MacDonald 1982, 3)

The work of William MacDonald is without doubt one of the most influential studies of Roman urban architecture. MacDonald concerns himself with urban artifacts to the extent that the latter are indicative of imperial urbanism because they provide precise information about several levels of relationships between urban architectural unity and Roman rule.

In his study of Roman imperial towns, MacDonald argues that a more or less clearly articulated bond was established between the structures of the city throughout the Roman era. Against a background of different regional modes and configurations, a certain urban language can be traced in the Roman cities. This constancy imparts a relative Roman identity to urban expression.

⁵ G. Bruno coined the term "site-seeing" in her discussion of film joining architecture as a practice that engages seeing in relation to movement. (Bruno 2002, pp. 15)

⁶ *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret. Oeuvre Complète de 1929-1934*. Zurich: Girsberger, 3rd ed. 1943. pp.89.

MacDonald's analysis refers in the first place to open spaces (major streets and plazas), then to structures partly or wholly open to connective architecture (arches, fountains, exedras) and last, to the form and organization of public buildings. Particularly, path-like thoroughfares which are the backbone of urban armatures are fundamental to understanding the city.

Minimally, these armatures consisted of a high street wider than the other streets, plazas (forum, agora), civic buildings or open structures marking junctions or intersections, or providing amenities, along the way. They were like a language with sentences composed of several nouns - like forum, curia, temple, market, bath, theater - and by verbs indicating direction, linkage, and hierarchy, such as a colonnade, a free-standing column, a triumphal arch, a tetrapylon of four columns marking an important intersection.

Notwithstanding their practical basis - as passing the city, providing communication arteries and giving ready access to principal public buildings of the city - armatures also had symbolic importance. They were simultaneously both the backgrounds for and the billboards of the social life of the imperial town. Much of the commercial life, administrative or religious gatherings took place along them; inscriptions and sculptures were displayed on them. This also suggests that studying these arterial urban elements will reveal how architecture was directly involved with daily life. And reciprocally, how social life and the passage of time shaped and re-shaped architecture. With respect to the armatures as products of time, MacDonald writes, "armatures were not created consciously and all at once within the controlling requirements of comprehensive city plans. Nor were they conceived from the beginning as entities in themselves. Instead they evolved over time through gradual elaboration and, quite often, extension" (ibid, 18).

To the analysis of streets, MacDonald adds squares as another significant urban component since both have a *raison d'être* of connective quality: both fix and bind the locations of the buildings, link them together and display them, while the facades of these buildings give them much of their character. What is (and was) seen or experienced of the architecture of connection in any given locale thus depends on individual qualities and features of these uncovered public spaces.

Seen in this light, to examine the architectural composition and read the Roman imperial urban narrative, MacDonald has formulated the use of armature-plan studies as a methodological tool which involves “analyses combining armatures and plan that would include the dimension of time and a consideration of the essentials such as the nature of typological distribution and the architecture of connection and passage” (ibid, 29). With respect to the plan of the city, analyses of armature will give a haptic quality to the study of Roman urban form with greater range because “they encompass more facets of architectural design and meaning than a single building, building type or regional mode” (ibid, 22).

1.3. Imperial armature manifested: Ephesus

The Roman colonnaded avenues are the example *par excellence* of the elaborated monumental street (Fig.1.2), both physically and socially. As such, they frequently appear as major elements of the city image in literary and visual works (Fig.1.3). In paintings, reliefs, mosaics, coinage, authors have depicted cities by focusing on main streets, walls and city gates, fora and other public spaces, i.e. primary architectural components of the “imperial urban armatures.”

To understand the role of the colonnaded avenues in the life of Roman people, it is crucial firstly to look carefully at the ancient material remains of Roman cities. The majority of relatively well-preserved sites are in North Africa and the Near East, where many of them were never built over to a significant degree. In this regard, Ephesus has been chosen as a case study for this thesis because it has been continuously excavated since 1860s. After the studies of John T. Wood, the Austrian Archaeological Institute took over the excavation and since 1895 the work in Ephesus has continued unabated.

Moreover, Ephesus has the potential to provide important clues about the ‘height’ of the Roman city, in other words, about its volumetric dimension. The city has three connected colonnaded streets. The Harbor Street (Arkadiane) extends from the Harbor to the Theater. It was paved with slabs of marble; on both sides stood galleries with mosaic floors, behind which were rows of shops. Stated by Ammianus, “the brilliancy of the lamps [of Arkadiane] at night often equaled the light of day” (Mumford 1961, 213). With a similar arrangement, the Marble Road with its richly-decorated surfaces connects the Theater with the Celsus Library. Starting from the plaza in front of the Library, the Curetes Street

leads to the State Agora. On both sides of this street stood various structures and statues dedicated to emperors and citizens who had rendered service to the city.

As such, the upright and extensive remains now visible give an impression of the opulence of the city with its imposing and extravagant armatures and public buildings. Enabling modern visitors to experience the 'atmosphere' of Roman times, the city still provides vantage points to experience what Romans would have perceived (Fig.1.4).

From an historical point of view, on the other hand, the city of Ephesus owed its prominence to its strategic position and to the wealth of its territory. As the capital of the province of Asia Minor in the Roman era, it was also the leading political and intellectual center. In addition, Ephesus was a great seaport, the largest in the Aegean, a place where the trade roads of Asia Minor and the whole Eastern Mediterranean met. Furthermore, due to the serious earthquakes necessitating extensive rebuilding and renovation, the city underwent significant modifications and consequently represents various architectural approaches in different periods within the canon of the Roman imperial era.

As the terminus of great highways, Ephesus had grown to become a great center of trade, finance, industry and entertainment supported with various festivals, athletic games and gladiatorial combats. As a consequence, it is ideally suited to examine colonnaded avenues with respect to their political and imperial implications and a certain theatrical quality as well.

CHAPTER 2

URBIS EPHESIA

2.1. Archaic topography as a background

At every instant, there is more than the eye can see, more than the ear can hear, a setting or a view waiting to be explored. Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences. (Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, pp. 1)

Not only is Ephesus an urban artifact which was perceived and lived in by hundreds of people of widely diverse class and character but it was also the product of many builders who were constantly modifying the cityscape over time. While it may have been stable in general outlines for some time, it was ever changing in place and in detail throughout centuries. Ephesus was never the product of one single mind; the city today is the cumulative result of a continuous succession of phases.

Therefore, in order to characterize and evaluate the formation of the city's armature – and ultimately the city itself - both the topographical conditions and, most importantly, a specific sacred urban element that had functioned as the catalyst of aggregation need to be examined. Having such a dominant nature, the Temple of Artemis Ephesia shaped the evolution of the city over time in many different ways, often being related with the major civic artifacts.⁷

Recent geological studies have attempted to construct a sequence of paleogeographic maps of past landscapes during the long occupancy of the city of Ephesus and the Artemision.⁸ In prehistoric times, the silting up of the deep

⁷ The temple and its famous cult image had been an archetypal site of pagan religious activity since archaic times. Beside the effects on spatial organization, the worship of the goddess had many manifestations and was utterly integral to the economic, cultural and political life of the city, which will be taken up in the following chapter in terms of the theme of social space of Ephesus.

⁸ For recent intensive geological analysis, see J. C. Craft, H. Brückner, I. Kayan, "Paleogeographies of ancient coastal environs of the Feigengarten Excavation and the Via(e) Sacra(e) to the Artemision at Ephesus," in P. Scherrer, 1999a, *Steine und Wege*. Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, pp. 91-100. All the information about the ancient topography referred below comes from this broad survey.

inlet of the sea, mountain streams originating in the south, and changes in the coastline caused by eustatic and climatic fluctuations together with seismic disturbances led to several relocations of the city site. According to the first results, the sea level at the mouth of the River Kaystros (Küçük Menderes) rose more than 100 meters during the Holocene period (starting circa 6th millennium B.C.). Therefore, the Kaystros River alluvium started to fill in the marine waters of the gulf gradually, forming land surfaces from deposited materials. Over the centuries, the rubble brought onto the plain of the Kaystros enlarged the shores and caused the coastline to move even further west (Fig.2.1). In Roman times, a sea channel to a harbor well was maintained with difficulty. By the late Byzantine era, however, this channel had become useless, and in the Middle Ages, Ephesus was cut off from the sea completely (Fig.2.2).

In a similar vein, the outlines of the Ephesian sacred landscape should also be taken into account here. It is important to mention that Panayırdağ may originally have been the property of Cybele.⁹ Also known as Magna Mater, the latter was a goddess of caverns and of Earth in its primitive state, and worshipped on mountain tops in Anatolia. What survived as her cult district, the Meter sanctuary on the rocky northwestern side of the mountain (Fig.2.3), is a small remnant of her original realm of authority.¹⁰ This cult area consists of a series of niches cut into the face of the rock. As the sea covered the entire plain west of Panayırdağ, right across Cybele's sanctuary, another religious center had arisen early around a sweet water spring close to the shore and near a sacred tree. This is the origin of the cult of Artemis and at the same time the exact place where the first, so-called archaic Artemision was erected.

All cities worship Artemis of Ephesus, and individuals hold her in honor above all the gods. The reason, in my view, is the fame of the Amazons, who traditionally dedicated the image, also the extreme antiquity of the sanctuary. Three other points as well have contributed to her renown, the size of the temple, surpassing all buildings among men, the eminence of the

⁹ Also known as Kybele and Magna Mater and the Mother of the Gods, the worship of this goddess spread throughout the Roman Empire. She ruled over wild beasts, and was also a bee goddess. Cybele was the goddess of nature and fertility. As she presided over mountains and fortresses, her crown was in the form of a city wall. Along with her consort, the vegetation god Attis, Cybele was worshipped in wild, emotional, bloody, orgiastic, cathartic ceremonies.

¹⁰ Ephesus worshipped Cybele as early as the 10th century BC, and the city's ecstatic celebration, the Ephesia - of the instincts, nourishing powers of Nature - honored her. In fact, Ephesia herself may have developed from Cybele of Scythia and Rhea of Anatolia. Later in Ephesus' religious life, Artemis' worship was respected and accepted by the people of the area, who considered her to be the same as their Ephesia. Accordingly, it may be surmised that Artemis and Cybele were the same goddess, just different understandings of her.

city of Ephesians, and the renown of the goddess who dwells there. (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 4.31.8) ¹¹

As Pausanias informs us, the actual image of the goddess, with its famed mythic dedicators was combined both with the house of the deity and the city itself where the temple stands. When considering the spatial aspect of the temple together with its function, it can be realized how closely it was identified with its specific location. It possessed a value 'in itself', but also a value dependent on its place in the city. Reciprocally, regardless of its political identity, Ephesus also boasted a sacred identity as 'the city of Artemis.'

What is useful here for exploring the physical structure of the city is that the temple itself gave place to spatial transformations of the site and consequently the city. Although at some time in history it was disconnected from its city and worshippers, or took on functions different from those for which it was built, its quality as an "urban artifact,"¹² as a generator of the form of the city always remained.

Obviously, the relationship between the goddess' image, temple and city has paramount importance in pagan religious practice. As Elsner points out (1997, 182), in the case of Ephesus, this relation was expressed not only spatially, but also spiritually through a series of liturgical or processional rituals which actively linked the urban spaces of the city with the 'goddess who dwelled there' by taking images of Artemis around the city, and by taking images of the city and the empire into the Artemision.¹³

These practices are of primary significance to establish main paths to investigate Ephesus during the course of its urban development. The very first route in existence was a sacred one, which was originally a ring road used as a cemetery encircling the entire Panayırdağ (Fig.2.4), under the aegis of Cybele. She was given the position of protector of the dead buried along this road. From archaic

¹¹ Quoted from Elsner 1997, 182.

¹² Rossi (1982, 87) defines "urban artifacts" as the primary elements capable of accelerating the process of urbanization in a city. They also characterize the processes of urban transformation in an area larger than the city. He calls them catalysts. "At first their presence can be identified only by their function but they rapidly take on a more significant value, which is principally a function of its placement, its unfolding of a precise action, and its individuality."

¹³ There are many inscriptions recording statues to be carried in processions dedicated to Artemis. An inscription from early second century A.D. dedicates to Artemis thirty-one statue types made mainly of silver but some gilded and one of solid gold. (Rogers 1991, 83-110)

times to the Hellenistic period, however, time gradually blurred the boundaries between the characteristics and identities of Cybele and Artemis; and eventually Artemis made her authority felt over the former kingdom of Cybele, mainly due to her royal protection and magnificent temple "surpassing all buildings among men." As a consequence, the ancient *Via Sacra* started to be used as her triumphal way.¹⁴

To establish Artemis' claim to the *Via Sacra*, some nodal points were added along the path. The most important of these was the point at which a road branched off the *Via Sacra* to Ortygia, the site promoted as the place of Artemis' legendary birth to Leto as the illegitimate daughter of Zeus (Knibbe 1981, 70-73). Called *triodos*, this spot not only acquired a special cultic meaning but also required spatial emphasis as a three-way intersection.¹⁵ Another node, on the other hand, stood at the point where the *Via Sacra* ascending the valley between Bülbüldağ and Panayırdağ, reached its highest point. (Knibbe 1995, 144)

During its long history extending back to the fifth millennium before Christ, Ephesus, as a center of civilization in several epochs, suffered not only from shifts in the landscape caused by geological and natural events but also shifts of power. The personal and political vicissitudes of the leaders have determined the settling areas for Ephesians. To take the analysis further and reach possible conclusions, it would be helpful to review both the geohistory and the political time-line by concerning the Temple of Artemis, its partially colonnaded sacred way constituting the 'urban armature' of the city and the tripartite nodal point, *triodos*, since armatures by definition "should not be thought of as static architecture but as having always a past, a now and a future" (MacDonald 1986, 50).

2.2. Legendary Ephesus

Although the development of the city in archaic and classical times will not be discussed in detail here, several settlements preceding Hellenistic and Roman Ephesus will be summarized. The history of settlements started at least by the

¹⁴ See Knibbe and Langmann eds., *Via Sacra Ephesiaca I* (1993); Knibbe and Thür eds., *Via Sacra Ephesiaca II* (1995)

¹⁵ As did all three-way intersections and crossings in antiquity, this region was treated specially which can be understood from the splendor of the two gates built there; the Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates and the Gate of Hadrian (Knibbe 1998, 55).

end of Chalcolithic period (5000 B.C.).¹⁶ Yet it became clearer only in the late Bronze Age from 3rd millennium B.C. According to ceramic finds, Ayasuluk Hill most probably was already the center of local occupation during the Bronze Age and Mycenaean times, and continuously down through the Dark Ages to the beginning of the archaic period due to its isolated strategic position in south-east corner of the Ephesian bay.¹⁷ Located on the hill and the deep bay on the south (Fig.2.5), this settlement can be considered as the early, if not earliest, urban agglomeration under the rule of Cybele.¹⁸

Another evolving sanctuary in this area was originally a small and primitive tree-shrine which stood on the marshy ground of the river delta. In the seventh century B.C. a stone building was erected over and around it. Actually, scholars cannot be sure whether this structure was really a temple or nothing more than a platform and altar.¹⁹ In any case, the preceding structure was certainly a temple; it was built of fine limestone and seems to have had a porch of two columns facing west. Its relation with the settlement belongs to a common pattern for western Anatolia as it is very probable that sacred precincts - rather than large temple structures - often lay near but outside the towns in early archaic times (Hanfmann 1975, 4).

The colonization of Ephesus, as in other Ionian cities, was completed in the 11th century B.C. Different from other archaic groups, Greek colonists preferred to settle on islands near the coast and on peninsulas to ensure their security. The legend of the settlement is known from Strabo and Pausanias: Androklos, the King of Athens, and his friends who were about to migrate to Anatolia, were not able to decide on the location of the new city they were about to establish. Hence, they consulted the oracle of Apollo, which led them to establish their new

¹⁶ During excavations in 1995, pieces of pottery and obsidian came to light some 400 m south of the Magnesian Gate dating back to 5000 B.C. (Scherrer 2000, 14)

¹⁷ Indeed, there are good arguments to identify this site with the town of Apasa under the rule of Arzawa Kingdom mentioned in the written records of the Hittites of the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. Ephesus or Aphotos can be considered as the Hellenized version of Apasa which was derived from a pre-Latin word "apis", meaning bee. The definition of Apasa as "the city of bees," can be undoubtedly applied to Ephesus where bees had always played a sacred role. (Karweise 1995, 14)

¹⁸ See, Erdemgil and Büyükkolancı, 1992, "1990 yılı Efes-Ayasuluk Tepesi Prehistorik Kazısı," in *XIII Kazı sonuçları Toplantısı II, Çanakkale*, Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, pp. 265-281.

¹⁹ This was destroyed in 660 BC by an invasion of the Cimmerians, barbarians who burst into Asia from Europe, and restored in the form of a second temple, which has the appearance of a hasty repair, the masonry being of very inferior character, and which probably also did not last long, although the exact date at which it was replaced by the third temple cannot be stated.

city at a location which would be indicated by fish and a boar. After arriving in the region, Androklos wanted to cook fish, but the fish he was frying jumped off the pan, scattering flames that set the dry bushes on fire. A boar ran out of the burning bushes and the king started to chase the boar, then caught it and killed it. Convinced that the prophesy of the oracle had come true, he destroyed the Carian settlement located around the shrine, and established his new city on the hill seven *stadia* (about 1300 m) west of the Artemision.²⁰ Identified by J. Keil (1964) as the "Coessos district" (Fig.2.6) around 1920s, this spot housed most probably the center of the Ionian Ephesus.²¹

During the course of the 8th century B.C., the southern coastline of the Ephesian bay was filled in toward Bülbüldağ forming a flat land - in front of the later Roman Theater. At this location, below the Hellenistic-Roman commercial agora, another concurrent Archaic-Classical settlement came to light during the excavations between 1987 and 1996. Identified as Strabo's Smyrna, this region could have been inhabited by the immigrants from Androklos' city running away from barbarian attacks (Knibbe 2000, 59). In the early 6th century, the ancient settlement moved further east once again, because of the rising sea level, along the valley between Mount Bülbüldağ and Panayırdağ, called Embolos, where their graveyards have been found.²²

2.3. Croesus' city

About the year 560 B.C., Croesus, the fifth and last king of the Mermnad dynasty²³, besieged Androklos' city and forced the resettlement of the

²⁰ Herodotus (1.26) indicates that this spot corresponded to the opposite shore of the inlet, a long narrow peninsula, bordered by the twin picked Mount Panayırdağ. (Knibbe 2000, 15)

²¹ Incompletely studied so far, this area contains foundations of a city wall, very poor remains of houses and holes to set up *stelai* (painted blocks placed on the graves, which bore the names of the dead and sometimes their patroness).

²² Scherrer claims that he found scattered sherds from this area in 1997 which have not yet been published (2001, 59, n. 11). The known part of cemetery starts below the east half of the State Agora till the eastern stoa of the Hellenistic-Roman commercial agora. For information, see G. Langmann, 1967, "Eine archaische Necropole unter dem Staatsmarkt von Ephesos," in *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler*, Vienna, pp. 103-123; Ö. Özyiğit, 1988, "Spätarchaische Funde im Museum von Ephesos und die Lage von Alt-Ephesos," *Istanbulur Mitteilungen* 38, pp. 83-93; W. Jobst, 1983, "Embolosforschungen I: Archäologische Untersuchungen östlich der Celsusbibliothek in Ephesos," *Österreichische Jahrbuch* 54, pp. 171-178.

²³ Without any doubt Croesus was the crown prince. He served some time as governor of Adramyttion, the capital of Mysia and the Troad, which was the usual position given to the heir of the Lydian king. He captured nearly all Greek towns along the west coast of Asia. He subsequently attacked all the Ionian and Aeolian cities in turn on various pretexts, substantial or trivial, according to what ground of complaint he could find against them. He forced all Asiatic Greeks to pay him tribute. (Herodotus, *Histories* 1.26)

Coressians back in the area of the sanctuary. Although the capital of the Lydian kingdom was "Golden Sardis", G. Hanfmann suggests that it is at Ephesus rather than Sardis, that we come closer to discovering Croesus, a friend of Thales - the founder of Greek geometry - as a builder.²⁴ According to Strabo, "they [Lydians] settled around the present temple until the time of Alexander, the city was then moved" (14.c 640) (Fig.2.7). Considering the hoard deposit in the Artemision suggesting that luxury craft workers - goldsmiths, ivory workers - were primarily serving the temple, it may be assumed that much of the population settled around the temple.²⁵

. . . the first city that Croesus attacked was Ephesus. The Ephesians, when he laid siege to them, ran a rope from their walls to the temple of Artemis, putting the town, by means of this link, under the goddess' protection. The distance between the temple and the old town is about 1½ stadia. (Herodotus, Histories 1.26)²⁶
Croesus gave most of the columns of the temple at Ephesus. (1.92)

In this area, a grid has been discerned by A. Bammer (1961, 46) possibly with plots of 280 by 140 feet, conforming to the orientation of the archaic temple of Artemis, which he believes belonged to archaic Ephesus (Fig.2.8). This revolutionary design -geometric grid plan - would have been devised for the new "Croesus city" associated with the new huge temple to which Croesus provided many columns. Since the sites of the sanctuaries predated the plan, the new city could have been developed with respect for the sacred traditions. Hence the two sanctuaries can probably be considered as starting points for the planned renewal of the city.

Indeed, his reign (560-546 B.C.) indicates the date for the rebuilding of the Temple of Artemis on a scale of unequalled magnificence.²⁷ The reason why such

²⁴ Hanfmann (1975, 10) supports his claim by referring to fragments from the Artemision, from the roundels at the top of column base(s) with the Greek inscription BA(sileus) KRoisos ANeTHEK-EN, "King Kroisos dedicated," and the less well-preserved Lydian: . . . LIS INL, "son of Alyattes gave" were found. As he states, this bilingual quality - Anatolian and Greek - is symbolic of the character of the arts at the court of King Croesus.

²⁵ Hanfmann 1975, 13. For the foundation deposit see, Paul Jacobsthal, 1951, "The Date of the Ephesian Foundation Deposit," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 71, pp.85-95.

²⁶ This story is strange, because the tyrant of Ephesus, Pindarus, was the son of Croesus' sister and the former pro-Lydian tyrant, Melas. The regime change must have resulted in a change of policy, and Croesus may have laid siege to the town because it had ceased to support Lydia. However this may be true, the conflict was ultimately settled peacefully, and Croesus rebuilt the Temple of Artemis.

²⁷ Herodotus compares this Croesus temple to the pyramids. It was of white marble, covered four times the area of its predecessor, and was surrounded by Ionic columns with a portico of eight

special honor was paid to what had hitherto been a modest sanctuary is unknown; but it is acknowledged that the goddess Artemis was the principal deity worshipped at Sardis, as well as at Ephesus and other cities. In the 4th century B.C., an enormous temple to Artemis was built in Sardis at the spot where there was a temple dedicated to a local deity during the time of King Croesus (Fig.2.9). An altar dedicated to Artemis had existed there as early as the 5th century BC. The heart of the sanctuary was the temple building that faces west. Though the identity of the existing local god is uncertain, the choice for the direction of the temple indicates Anatolian influence – typical of many Cybele temples – since in the Greek mainland the temples usually faced east, rather than west. Inside the temple was placed the statue of the goddess. Around it was a sacred corridor that was enclosed by a colonnade. Offerings were made on a large altar. By doing so, the spirit of this important Anatolian goddess continued to live in the form of Artemis. Seen in this light, one may well speculate that archaic Ephesus could be the first place where Greeks living in Ionia associated Cybele with their mother goddess Artemis, and consequently a temple of the modest proportions would not have sufficed for the goddess. As such, the predecessor of the Temple of Artemis at Sardis came into being two centuries earlier in Ephesian terrain.

What is more, Knibbe (2000, 16) claims that the reason behind this re-location was probably political since Croesus wanted to unite the region under a single deity as a counterbalance to the mighty shrines of the oracular Apollo at Didyma and Hera at Samos. His aim was to combine different deities as the Greeks brought their supreme god Zeus and Athena as a municipal goddess, regardless of the fact that the area they settled in was originally the domain of the Anatolian mother goddess Cybele.

Besides the temple as a nodal point, the port in front of the Artemision, called the Sacred Port, and the *Via Sacra* were most probably equally important. The idea of procession coming to offer gifts to the god or goddess recurs in the sculptures which Croesus gave to the temple at Ephesus (Fig.2.10). Hanfmann argues that the thirty-six sculptured drums of the Croesus' Artemision might have represented a processional vision of the court of King Croesus (1975, 13).

columns at each end. The columns had a peculiarity of great rarity in Greek architecture: at the base they were encircled with a band of sculpture.

After the successive rule of the kings of Lydia, Ephesus came under Persian domination. During the Peloponnesian War (431-406 B.C.), the city was on the side of Spartans. At this time the Coressos harbor played a major role as an important place of anchorage and as an arms-depot for the Spartans in the fight against Persia.

In 334 BC, Alexander the Great captured Ephesus which offered no resistance. The death of Alexander, however, brought dark days to Ephesus, but it got back onto its feet again in 287 B.C. after Lysimachos, who triggered another major phase in the history of Ephesus.

2.4. Hellenistic Ephesus: Arsinoeia

Over nearly three centuries, silt transported by the rivers running downwards from the south filled the bay and the ground water level had risen considerably in the ancient location of Ephesus and the Artemision. Due to the geological changes the temple had to be rebuilt on a higher level.²⁸ Ephesians lived around the temple until the Hellenistic king Lysimachos came. Lysimachos, one of the generals and heirs of Alexander the Great, built a new city in approximately 290 B.C. near the coast in the slopes of Mounts Bülbüldağ and Panayırdağ (Fig.2.11). The Artemision remained relatively far outside the city for the rest of antiquity.

If we follow Knibbe (2000, 144), rather than to re-build a “new, modern” Ephesus, Lysimachos intended to found his own city, one that would no longer be under the domination of the mighty goddess’ and her powerful hierarchy of priests. He even changed the name of the city after his wife Arsinoe. Obviously Ephesians reacted against leaving their goddess behind. Yet the king is said to have broken this resistance against the move to the new city by having the drains blocked during heavy rain and thereby causing extensive flooding. But, as Knibbe stresses (2000, 20) the real reasons may have been both the neighboring communities – Teos, Lebedos, Colophon - already settled down in the city and also the ancient necropolis running right through the new city. Moreover, the story that he invited new settlers from Lebedos and Teos, as well

²⁸ Ancient sources claim that the Temple of Artemis had been burnt down by a certain “mad” Herostratos in 356 B.C. and thus was built again during 350 B.C. Yet Knibbe and Langmann (1993, 14 n.29) argue that he was not an ill-minded person but worked on behalf of the priests, because the old temple was threatened by silt and water. Similarly, Karweise (1995, 57-59) affirms that Herostratos was an innocent priest, made responsible for the fire so that the goddess herself was not blamed for being unable to protect her own home.

as those of the Ephesians who were willing to abandon their accustomed place near the Artemision also supports Knibbe's interpretation.

The course of the city wall is known (except for the west slope of Panayırdağ) and the main gate on the road to Magnesia has been known since J. T. Wood's excavations.²⁹ Recent surveys have shown that the city walls came down close to the south part of the theater, which has led some scholars to the idea that the city must have ended somewhere between the commercial agora and the theater, where the "Koressian Gate", the Hellenistic city gate, might have been located (Scherrer 2001, 67). From the theater, part of the Artemis' sacred road leads north, running along the plain area between Panayırdağ and the coastline. It was called the '*Plateia* in Coressos,' which indicates that it must have been outside the Hellenistic city. Moreover, an earlier plan by Karweise (Fig.2.12) indicates the possibility of a third city gate but the area around it has not been excavated. Nearly on the axis of the Magnesian Gate, this west gate (?) may suggest that much of the Hellenistic city was aligned along east-west direction "directly near the sea" (Pausanias 1.9.7). A possible street running east-west all along the city may have been the *decumanus* parallel to the coastline (like Alexandria (Fig.2.13), Naples, or Herculaneum), as Aristotle (Pol. VII, 10, 11,1330a) testifies to the care taken to open the city to winds - preferably the east, otherwise the north - (Castagnoli 1971, 61). In this respect, one may also note that Vitruvius also attached great importance to winds (I, 6, 1): "These [broad streets and the alleys] will be rightly laid out if the winds are carefully shut out from the alleys. For if the winds are cold, they are unpleasant; if hot, they infect; if moist, they are injurious." It is possible that this urban form could have derived entirely from rational criteria of organization, not necessarily inspired by earlier examples. For instance, the reasoning could be that only a few roads are needed for circulation, while the rest serve to subdivide the city into sections; an east-west *decumanus* and many north-south *cardines*, setting of elongated *strigae* (land pieces).

Another road, the partial *Via Sacra* between the city walls, has a singular quality which marks it off from the surrounding channels: a concentration of special activities along its margins. Though the Artemision was both ritually and spatially

²⁹ It is generally accepted that the Magnesian Gate dates from Hellenistic times. But Scherrer states that (2000, 63 n.27) despite the presence of some Hellenistic blocks, recent excavations on this gate have dated the existing remains to a phase not earlier than the reign of Augustus.

apart from the city from then on, as stated by Elsner (1997, 183) this very peripheral quality may have served to improve its centrality as a sacred guarantor. The rituals and taboos surrounding the temple may have served to define and enhance the sanctity of the deity by emphasizing the goddess' unique position beyond ordinary space, in a location which required a special and ritualized approach; in the form of sacred festivals.³⁰ The very concentration of habitual travel along the path reinforces a familiar continuous image. This path, then, leading through Ephesus following the natural landscape, may be regarded as a continuous and unified element.

This thoroughfare started at the Magnesian Gate, passed diagonally through the flat area between the two mountains, and then turned down into the valley to the Tetragnonos Agora. Here the road divided. One branch led to the harbor and further on to Ortygia, while the other moved north, passing east of the Hellenistic Agora, and then following the former coastline near Panayırdağ to the Coressian area.

Inside the city, however, few monuments of Hellenistic date are known today since most excavations stopped at Roman levels or failed to reveal earlier layers. A smaller agora in the area of the later Tetragnonos Agora - starting in the third century and reaching its final configuration around the first century B.C. - is thought to be one of the main complexes in Hellenistic times. The storehouse-like structure consists of two rows of at least seven chambers and all of them were almost equal in size and nearly square in form, very similar to the East Building in the South Market in Miletus. The Theater started to be built at the site of its Roman successor.³¹ The Hellenistic fountain located just across the Theater facing west was built in traditional Ionian style (Fig.2.14). It is estimated to have been built in the 2nd century B.C. This elegant Hellenistic fountain with two columns on the front is a very unique example of the careful and stylish Ionian workmanship.

³⁰ As Strabo informs us every year on the sixth of May, the birthday of Artemis was celebrated at Ortygia with offerings and the dramatic representation of the scene of her birth by the *curetes*, who concealed the confinement of Leto from Zeus's legal wife Hera by banging on their shields. (Knibbe, 1995,144)

³¹ The stage building of the theater has a construction phase dating to Hellenistic times. R. Heberdey, G. Niemann, and W. Wilberg, 1912, "*Das Theater in Ephesus: Forschungen in Ephesus II*," (Vienna); Arnim von Gerkan, 1921, *Das Theater von Priene*, (München: Schmidt), pp. 90-93.

In addition, the existence of a long terrace wall with an oblique west end dating in the 3rd century suggests the possibility that the rather flat and somewhat empty area between the mountains might have been a place for physical training.³² This circa 180m wall could well be the foundation for the terraces of a Hellenistic stadium. As stated by Scherrer, it would well fit such a function by its overall length and its location outside the city center (2001, 72).

The public buildings essential for a town, such as the Bouleuterion and the Prytaneion, are so far unknown for this period. Yet, a second agora, located further to the west, is mentioned in an inscription discovered in the harbor area suggesting that a western 'political' Agora, probably the Hellenistic city center, could have been placed in the plain west of the Tetragonos Agora, between the shoreline and Mount Bülbüldağ (Scherrer 2001, 68), which already supports the possibility of a linear city parallel to the coastline.

It is significant that the street between the mountains, Embolos (modern Curetes Street), has already started to display a characteristic spatial quality. As Artemis was also given the position of protector of the dead buried along this road – a role previously attributed to the Phrygian Mother – the memory of the ancient tombs persisted through the erection of heroa and cenotaphs along the path. The lower end of the street was lined with a group of Late Hellenistic commemorative buildings (Fig.2.15). Thür (1995, 164) has lately pointed out that the structure commonly known as the 'Fountain House' or 'Heroon' was built in the late 2nd or early 1st c. B.C. (Fig.2.16). Its neighbor, the tomb of the Egyptian princess Arsinoe IV was erected after her assassination in 41 B.C. in the form of an octagon (Fig.2.17). To the east of this Octagon were erected two more fountain-houses. Further east along the Embolos, scattered remains of houses date no earlier than the 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.

Thür claims that in Hellenistic times, the Embolos was lined, at least partially, with structures that may have housed shops, trade offices, inns and artisans' workshops (1995, 159). Remains of these structures are preserved at the south side behind the Octagon. Referring to a series of pottery kilns, Thür assumes that such workshops would never have been allowed in a densely populated or central area. Hence, the central residential area of Hellenistic Ephesus would rather have been located further on the eastern side of the city. Moreover, when

³² A rather detailed drawing can be found in Alzinger 1988, Fig. 10.

considering the Late Hellenistic peristyle house at the crossroads to Ortygia (Fig.2.18), it can be suggested that the plain west of the Tetragonos Agora, between the shoreline and Bülbüldağ may have been an already well-developed building area.

As such, it would not be presumptions to conclude that re-locating the city far from its goddess had reinstated, in contrast to Lysimachos' wishes, Artemis' position within the city walls. Lysimachos did not realize that his decision had consolidated Artemis' position in the city. No wonder, then, after the king's death in 281 B.C., the name "Arsinoeia" disappeared and the town reassumed the name of the old city of Artemis – Ephesus.

2.5. Roman Ephesus: Asian Metropolis

The Hellenistic tradition brought a prosperous period for Ephesus till the battle of Magnesia (199 B.C.). Following this contest, however, the city passed to the kings of Pergamum in 133 B.C., when the last king Attalus III bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman Empire. After this the way was paved for the particular phenomenon of 'provincial worship' to Artemis' city of Ephesus.

In the Augustan age, the imperial cult became very significant because it consolidated the young and undergoverned empire, mainly by recruiting the support and cooperation of the local elite in the provinces by giving them opportunities for social advancement. In doing so, the imperial cult also reaffirmed the structure of the local power, thus stabilizing the hierarchical order of the provinces, crucial to the stability of the empire. It also had religious significance, especially for polytheistic Greek people, where success was treated as commensurate with divine favor and patronage. So, the emperor was regarded as divine and generally accepted as a god.³³

The imperial cult also fostered unity within cities and provinces by involving various architectural programs and community activities. Indeed, the cultural landscape of Roman Asia was permeated by temples, commemorative buildings, festivals and rituals that encompassed the emperors and the imperial family, the *Sebastoi* (Greek equivalent of Roman *Augusti*). All these constitute clear evidence about the fact that cultic honors for the emperors were, in many

³³ For further information, see Price, 1986 and Zanker, 1988.

respects, well integrated within social and religious life and of importance to a wide range of social levels of the population. R. R. R. Smith's study of imperial reliefs from the temple for the Sebastoi at Aphrodisias, for instance, speaks of a "relatively uncomplex equation of gods and emperors" which points to a thoroughgoing integration of the emperors within the social and mythological framework of the Greek East.³⁴ As pointed by Harland (2003, 93) cultic honors for the imperial gods (*Sebastoi*) could be a significant component in the internal life of Ephesians, providing clues about their self-understanding or identity, about how they understood their place within the context of the city, empire and cosmos. Along similar lines, the architectural process involved in the production of the imperial image in Ephesus could well be an important input for further examination of the city's urban layout, since the forms of worship have important architectural implications.

In order to place the imperial cult of Ephesus, and consequently the city of Ephesus, into the historical context of provincial imperial cults in Asia Minor and throughout the Empire, it will be instructive to briefly review some historical circumstances of the cults' inauguration.

In 32 B.C. Mark Antony, ruler of the eastern Mediterranean at that time, and Cleopatra spent the winter in Ephesus. A group of senators who had opposed Octavian met them in Ephesus and thus the city became a temporary center of resistance to Octavian (Friesen 1993, 3). In the naval battle of Actium in 31 B.C., Octavian defeated Mark Antony and strengthened his control over the entire Mediterranean world, which left the province of Asia in a difficult position. The province lost no time in declaring its allegiance to the new ruler and in the winter of 29 B.C. the *koinon* (provincial council of the cities) of Asia requested permission to establish a cult in Pergamum for Octavian (Dio Cassius 51.20.6.). As seen here, in the Greek world, for the most part, the initiative was with the Greek subjects themselves, and not the Roman administration. By coincidence this was the time when Octavian spent half of the year in Ephesus and made the city the residence of the proconsul and thus the new capital of Asia. As pointed out by Zanker (1988, 302) he was at first reluctant to accept such honors, perhaps because he did not wish to alienate the Roman aristocracy. Later, he may have come to see its political value and sanctioned the continuation of the

³⁴ R. R. R. Smith, 1987, "The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias", *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 77, pp. 88-138.

ruler cult in the east by a series of *ad hoc* directives. According to Dio Cassius, not to diminish the reputation of Pergamum, Octavian ordered that the common provincial temple for himself and Rome had to be hosted by the old capital city.³⁵ It is not clear whether the *koinon* requested that Rome be included in the cult, or whether Octavian insisted upon it.³⁶ Yet as Friesen points out (1993, 6), this 'a person-a city' pattern was not new for Asia Minor. As known through two inscriptions from Ephesus, a cult was established for Publius Servilius Isauricus, a close ally of Caesar and the proconsul of Asia between 46-44 B.C., in gratitude for his actions as the savior and the benefactor of cities. The exact nature of the cult is not attested but it was related with the gymnasia – rather than a temple - and refers to priests of "Rome and Isauricus".³⁷ To cite Friesen again, it could well be assumed that an accepted format from the late Republican period had been applied to the new cult of Asia for Rome and Augustus.³⁸

Especially significant for our present purposes are the writings of Dio (51.20.6-7) who indicates that Augustus allowed his own cult with Rome, but required another cult for Rome and Julius to be set up one in Ephesus and Nicaea. The cult requested by the provinces was to be for the local inhabitants, while the cult involving Julius was specifically for Romans living in the provinces (Friesen 1993, 7). Friesen interprets this order as acknowledgement of the existence of two religious systems and a signal for the emperor's intent to preserve both worshippers within their appropriate spheres, rather than to legitimize one at the

³⁵ Friesen 1993, 7. The phenomenon of cults offered by the *koinon* to the rulers was not a new practice for Anatolia. Following the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., the Hellenistic ruler cult was initiated in the Hellenistic kingdoms. Greeks, often on their own initiative, established cults to living Hellenistic monarchs (Ptolemies in Egypt, the Seleucids in Asia, and the Antigonids in Greece) and often to their wives and children as well. These rulers were worshipped as gods and had temples, statues, and festivals, and their cults were administered by priests and priestesses. As Friesen discusses, however, the Pergamene cult differed from older ones for it involved the pairing of a political leader and the city of Rome.

³⁶ For the most part, his worship in the provinces was coupled with that of Roma [Suet. *Aug.* 52], but in some areas, such as Cyprus, he was worshipped alone (Jones 1970, 151).

³⁷ High up on the south slope of Panayırdağ lies the square foundation of a formerly two-storey honorific monument. Composed of Doric and Ionic orders, its interpretation is disputed. In some sources it has been identified as a heroon for P. Servilius Isauricus (47-46 B.C.), and consequently Dea Roma as well. See, Scherrer 2000, 98 and Jobst 1980, 243.

³⁸ Though this cult took its precedence from the Greek ruler cult, the latter was typically instituted irregularly in one city or another and usually for a particular occasion. But in the Augustan age, the imperial cult appeared everywhere - in free cities, administrative centers of the provinces and in settlements without civic status - and rapidly became the most widespread of all cults (Zanker 1988, 297).

expense of the other.³⁹ Indeed this sacred precinct in Ephesus has been identified with the so called 'State Agora' but the exact place of the cult temple is unknown. Possible locations are discussed below.

2.5.1. Search for a place for the "divine" emperor

The selection of the location for any structure, as also for any city, was of primary importance in the classical world. To cite Rossi (1982, 103), the site, governed by the *genius loci* or the local divinity who presided over all that was to unfold in it. Thus, the *locus* is at once singular and universal. In this light, there could have been a variety of possible locations for a position of prominence and honor. As listed by Price (1986, 250-274), in the small cities of Asia Minor, when there was room, the temples were often placed in civic centers (like Cibyra, Sidyma or Cestrus), at corners facing the city gate (Laertes) or on terraces over theaters (Laertes). In the larger cities like Pergamum, however, the Temple of Rome and Augustus stood most probably in the civic center at the foot of the acropolis. In Miletus, in the centre of the courtyard of the council house there was a large imperial altar built in the Augustan period. Thus the cult's usual location was generally in the middle of a city where it would become integrated into the center of religious, political and economic life, as observed on the Greek mainland in examples like the round Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Athenian Acropolis.

Seen in this light, one would expect that the center of the cult in Ephesus, the reference point for the imperial construction and transformation of Ephesus, should have been placed in the middle of the city. However, this was not the case. Instead of the Tetragonas Agora or the 'political' West Agora, a flat saddle between the two city hills, Bülbüldağ and Panayırdağ, had been chosen as the place of the new imperial cult. We cannot be sure, of course, whether Augustus himself or members of his local circle took this decision. Nevertheless it is clear that the new emperor or his allies or the local authorities had chosen to follow a different way. Rather than staying on Hellenistic terrain, they preferred the flat and somewhat empty field on top of the Arsinoeia and singled out the area to be the site of a new form of life, acknowledging in the *locus* the potential for transformation.

³⁹ It is interesting that Friesen (1993, 8) provides two different understandings of the figure of Rome as evidence for his idea of two religious systems. According to Greek inscriptions of Asia, the cult was for the goddess Rome. Latin writers, however, viewed the cult as one for the city of Rome.

At first glance, the choice of this new district seems anomalous with respect to the origins of the city itself since the city's origins were determined by particular geographical and historical facts. Contrary to what might be expected, this site has been proven to be uninhabited until then.⁴⁰ When examined more carefully, however, the traces of the *Via Sacra* crossing the area diagonally can be seen clearly (Fig.2.19). As mentioned above, this thoroughfare served for the goddess of the city and had some nodes along its margins. As a continuous, dominant element, this road came from north, passed one of its main nodes, the *triodos*, took the hill along the Embolos and came to another stop on the north side of the plain area between the mountains. Being the highest point along the road, this spot was the sacred place where Artemis ruled the city together with Hestia Boulaia, her 'ambassador' within the walls of Ephesus. Knibbe (1995, 144) interprets this strategic location as a symbol of Artemis' victory over the Mother goddess Cybele and all other gods of Ephesus. Standing very close to the later Prytaneion, this spot was identified with it, the house of the sacred fire and the institution for the regulation of the city's official religious life (Fig.2.20).

What is of paramount importance here is the fact that the cult for Rome and Julius was, most probably, placed with reference to the Prytaneion. Occupying a strategic location exactly next to this structure, which was Artemis' representative office; foundations of a double cella temple have been found in Ephesus. In fact, the construction of two cellas may be the best fitting solution when considering the two deities. The building techniques and architectural details are those of the late first century B.C. and the podium temple that is backed up near the wall of a small peribolos courtyard may actually be the first known example of typical Italian temple design (Friesen 1993, 8). This could well have been a deliberate choice since the temple was supposed to be built for the Romans living in Asia. It has an open courtyard in the front bordered by colonnades on three sides.⁴¹ As the altar serving the worship of Rome and Augustus, and Artemis as well; a portrait head of this ruler and statues of Artemis were found nearby along with an inscription dating before 25 B.C., mentioning the dedication of a statue for Augustus there.

⁴⁰ Scherrer argues that according to the recent excavation results there was no developed urban district in the so called State Agora before the Roman Imperial era (2001,68).

⁴¹ Friesen, following Alzinger, sees an unmistakable Roman influence in the building concept and interprets the structure as a double shrine for Dea Roma and Divus Julius Caesar. Following Miltner, however, Scherrer, has recently re-interpreted the precinct, already functioning before 25 B.C., as a temenos serving the worship of Artemis and Augustus with reference to the portrait head of this ruler and statues of Artemis. (Scherrer 2000, 84)

In the central west part of the otherwise empty square stands another possible precinct. A prostyle peripteros temple with 6 by 10 columns dates approximately to the third quarter of the first century B.C. and is surrounded by Doric porticoes (Fig.2.21). Its designation in the past as an Isis or Dionysus temple with Mark Antony and Cleopatra as patrons has been followed by a new denomination as a Temple of Augustus. Its Corinthian capitals and central position are reminiscent of the imperial cult temple for the first provincial cult in Pergamum having six Corinthian columns in front.⁴²

For a tentative conclusion, it could be posited that as Augustus recognized both, when confronted with the choice between eastern and Roman traditions of the ruler cult; he respected local deities when faced with them in eastern sacred sites. Such an approach further fostered unity within the citizens and the new emperor in spiritual terms. In Ephesus, as argued by Knibbe (1995, 146), "Augustus restored to Artemis all property and rights that she had lost during the Roman civil war, hoping that this would gratify Artemis and that she would repudiate her claim to the domination of the city." In fact, Augustus is said to have rearranged the proportions in the Artemision by restoring the boundaries of the temenos and repairing effects of the plundering that took place in the time of Mark Antony.⁴³ Whether the double temple next to the Prytaneion or the central one nearly on axis with the Prytaneion constituted the imperial cult is uncertain but either way Augustus was at least aware of the fact that this territory had a particular memory of a prominent deity.⁴⁴ Instead of constructing a full-blown temple, which might have competed with the local temple, Augustus seems to have been 'subordinated' to Artemis in her sanctuary, which he was responsible for repairing. As such the cult reflected a desire to maintain continuity with local

⁴² The site of the temple for Rome and Augustus in Pergamum has neither been located nor have any architectural pieces been found. We have only the depiction of the temple on several different coins. For further details, see Friesen 1993, 9-11.

⁴³ Jobst 1980, 244. For this statement, indeed, the author refers to Strabo, *Geography*, 14.1.23, where he wrote "... and when Antony doubled this distance [the limits of the temenos of Artemision] and included within the refuge a part of the city. But this extension of the refuge proved harmful, and put the city in the power of criminals; and it was therefore nullified by Augustus Caesar." The interpretation looks acceptable but also involves some doubts in it. But if it is the case, this would support the argument that Augustus deliberately took care about the patron deity of the city.

⁴⁴ As stated by Friesen (1993, 8), the cult for Rome and Divus Julius never became significant for the religious life of the province of Asia. It is not mentioned in any surviving inscriptions. As he pointed, the reason may be the fact that the cult was not the responsibility of the *koinon* nor was it designated for the use of the majority of the residents. Yet, such an approach was considerably opposed by Burrell (2004) by saying that an imperial cult was first initiated as a local demand, made by *koinon*. Yet, Friesen concludes that, it looks unlikely that Ephesians built a temple in the middle of the new cult district. A rather modest temple next to the main religious center seems as a more appropriate choice.

religious practices of the pre-Augustan period while simultaneously promoting allegiance to Augustus and his adoptive father Julius Caesar, which would be in keeping with practices in Rome.

2.5.2. Inauguration of Imperial Architecture in Ephesus

As stated by Price (1986, 135), the imperial architecture is very significant for the articulation of the ideology of the imperial cult since "the ordering of space can be seen both a representation of social ideas and as a fabric of reality." In this sense Ephesus becomes an important instance explicitly marking the effects of imperial architecture over the spatial organization of an existing city.

In its simplest sense, a city district is usually an area of homogeneous character, recognized by clues which are continuous throughout the district and discontinuous elsewhere (Lynch 1960, 103). This new district in Ephesus, the so called State Agora, displays homogeneity of topography and of style. Different than the rest of the city, the area is on a smooth space edged by mountains which are not only visually prominent but also continuous in form and impenetrable to cross movement. Coming from the rather narrow, sloping Curetes Street, this elevated, large open space produced a strong, unique presence and image.

As the *locus*, so conceived, defines the relationship between a certain specific location and the buildings that are in it (Rossi 1982, 103), then, the architecture of imperial artifacts in this new district should be appropriate. However, the area was not bordered by a colonnade, which was the more usual arrangement. Instead, individual monuments in various shapes and sizes were lined up around a court, expressing the principles of Roman urban center, for "... Roman architecture is defined as much by the way buildings are joined in meaningful functional and symbolic ways as by any other" (MacDonald 1982, 259). In fact, the south side of the Agora was occupied by the triple-aisled Basilica Stoa, Prytaneion, Bouleuterion and bathing structures.⁴⁵ Freestanding monuments were erected successfully along the north side of the Agora and fronted the western terrace wall as in the case of the West Chalcidicum of the Basilica, the

⁴⁵ For the architecture of the State Agora, see W. Alzinger, 1974, *Augusteische Architektur in Ephesos*, Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts. 16; P. Scherrer, 1990, "Augustus, die Mission des Vedius Pollio und die Artemis Ephesia," *Österreichische Jahrbuch* 60, p. 87-101; P. Scherrer, 1995.

memorial tomb monument of C. Sextilius Pollio and a Doric gateway, which made the area accessible from the western side. The two-aisled South colonnade, built in the Doric order with two gate structures appears to belong to the original building concept. The situation in the east has not yet been clarified, but similar to the southern side, a colonnade could have stood there. Throughout the complex, variation and convention were related to each other in a Roman way promoting visual diversity in an urban integrity.

Such an extraordinary plan arrangement is certainly not limited to Ephesus. In fact, it coincides with the urban project of Cremna in Pisidia, which has an apsidal Basilica-Stoa on one side of its forum-like opening reached by a monumental colonnaded street;⁴⁶ and with the Caesareum in Cyrene (Fig.2.22), where a pre-existing gymnasium, as probably in Ephesus, provided the ideal setting for an early Imperial cult center.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the considerable degree of formal variety accommodated in a quite orderly way through a courtyard might have paved the way to the final form of the Asklepieion in Pergamon in the 2nd century A.D.

Among the structures of the State Agora, the Basilica Stoa requires special attention. Paid for by the Roman citizen C. Sextilius Pollio and finished in 11 A.D., the stoa was dedicated to Artemis, Augustus and Tiberius. At the eastern end, monumental statues of Augustus and his wife Livia were set up in a private room. Price (1986, 140) reads this type of an arrangement, the provision of special imperial space in the porticoes on the main squares of the cities, as a common feature in Asia Minor (like Choma, Priene, Thera and Iasos). Serving as 'royal porticoes', these halls were interpreted as special imperial spaces, of secondary importance after the temples and altars. In fact, referring to this royal portico from Ephesus, Price (1986, 143) makes the point of a possible connection between Augustea and colonnaded halls. This type of an inclusion of the imperial cult into porticoes can be seen not only in the Greek world, but also in Italy and North Africa. In Ephesus' case the building is much more like an extended Greek stoa, rather than a classic western colonnaded hall. Though its dedicatory inscription was in both Latin and Greek, it was entered through the long sides facing the agora, which is quite the opposite in the western halls.

⁴⁶ For further information about Cremna in Pisidia, see Mitchell 1995.

⁴⁷ K. Tuchelt, 1981, "Zum 'Kaisareion-Sebasteion': Eine Frage zu den Anfängen des römischen Kaiserkultes," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, vol. 31, pp. 176-186.

Here architecture shaped not only a new city-quarter but also a context, which continued throughout the golden ages from Domitian to Hadrian. The architectural forms changed together with the larger changes of social and religious life, participating in the shaping of a whole new era, while at the same time constituting an event in themselves. By analyzing these structures the relationship between the comprehensive idea and the signs that mark it can be understood more clearly. This combination of a powerful city goddess and the Roman Emperor symbolizes Ephesus' existence as both a nominally free city and a part of Rome with its new world order.

As mentioned before, there is another sacred nodal point for the goddess inside the city. The *Triodos*, the holy intersection of the *Via Sacra*, where the road branched off to Ortygia, was also architecturally emphasized in the Augustan period with a monumental gate erected by Mazaeus and Mithridates between 4-2 B.C. This road also served as the south gate of the Tetragonos Agora. The Embolos preserved its identity as Artemis' burial site with graves lining both sides. C. Memmius, a grandson of Sulla, was given a luxurious sepulcher at the upper end across the tomb of C. S. Pollio, while it is also possible that Mazaeus and Mithridates were also buried in annexes of their gates, as indicated by an inscription found nearby. Tombs of other outstanding men were also built, such as the one for the Milesian orator, Dionysius, located under the staircase leading to the hall in the upper floor of the Tetragonos Agora.

During the reign of Tiberius, a serious earthquake struck Ephesus in 23 A.D. It is reasonable to suggest that this earthquake may have greatly influenced the future expansion of the city. It seems that constructions on the lower slopes of the Bülbüldağ, most likely late Hellenistic private houses, the Western Agora or other public buildings supposed to have been there were devastated. The space thus gained, however, was only partly at the disposal of the new inhabitants. As a reason for this, Scherrer (1995, 7) points to the idea that much of this area was reserved for public buildings. Yet there could be other reasons that derived simply from daily practices.

From the excavations of Knibbe (1995, 148), it is known that the northern course of the *Via Sacra* from the city to the Artemision had to cross the low land between Mount Ayasoluk and Panayırdağ, a territory that had been a shallow bay until the fifth century B.C. By the beginning of the Hellenistic period, the water

gradually withdrew westward; the new land, however, was swampy, and, especially during heavy rains, the way between the city and its goddess was extremely difficult or completely flooded. Until the Roman era, the Ephesians, suffering from the difficulties of the northern road could have often preferred the eastern course of the *Via Sacra* on their way to Artemis. Considering the fact that this eastern line, the Curetes Street was the main artery during the Hellenistic times, this possibility could have some value.

With the Roman era, however, the less important or rather rarely-used northern road, called Plateia in inscriptions, probably became more important due to several reasons. First, though Artemis was still the goddess of the city with her common temple, her birthplace could have no longer occupied first place in the competition with other holy places. Moreover after the earthquake the area on the road to Ortygia could have turned to a blighted area, with ruined buildings and negative memories. Secondly, from the first century A.D. the Kaystros River alluvium started to in-fill the bay between the Artemision and Panayırdağ and Romans built roads from large limestone blocks – instead of Hellenistic sandy footpaths. And finally, considering the newly formed land surfaces from deposited materials, the whole coastal area along Panayırdağ seems to have been founded as a new quarter in the earliest imperial times. Around the second half of the first century, a monumental stadium on the north edge and a bath-gymnasium complex opposite the theater had begun to be constructed.⁴⁸ In addition, the water edge of the harbor front was moved to the eastern side of the shore due to the further movement of the coastline and the aftermath of the earthquake. As a result, all the harbor activities were gradually shifted along the Plateia. Taken altogether, the path passing through the new activity zone while leading to the Temple could advance both functionally and conceptually in value. No wonder, the course between the Triodos and the Theater was paved in a luxurious marble cladding, which has lend its modern name, the Marble Road, to this street.

Along this new artery, the new Tetragonos Agora was probably the first important building project undertaken, far exceeding its Hellenistic predecessor in size and magnitude. A two-aisled hall formed its upper storey on the east side.

⁴⁸ The stadium has usually been claimed to be of Hellenistic origin, but recent coin finds from this area show that the stadium was not used before Augustus and probably not finished before Domitian. For a detailed study see, S. Karwiese, 1995, "Grabungen 1994," *Österreichische Jahrbuch* 64, p. 22-28.

Yet it is not archaeologically clear whether there was an upper floor on all four sides or only on this east side. The date at which the Agora was finished is fixed by the dedication of this hall to Artemis, Nero and Agrippina (Scherrer 1995, 6). As a result of the constructions and reconstructions of the Tetragonos Agora, the Marble Road had to be moved to the east; thus the Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates no longer served as a ceremonial arch on the side of the *Triodos*, but became the south gate of the Agora.⁵⁰

During the time of Nero, the city expended its resources not only to complete the upper storey of the Agora, but also enlarged the theater for the growing assembly of the people, reconstructed the stadium to its monumental shape, and erected a customs building for fisheries. Apart from some possible repairs to the Basilica Stoa at the time of Nero, major building activities in the area of the State Agora did not commence until the Flavian period, when the city received its first neokorate in 88/89. As can be noted in the following pages, this title and thus the new imperial temple, Temple of the *Sebasteoi*, had remarkably affected the religious image of Artemis and also the visual image of her city.

2.5.3. "Twice Neokoros:" . . . of Artemis and of the *Sebasteoi*

The term "neokoros" has become a standard concept of the modern interpretation of provincial cults of the emperors. This word was the name of certain officials associated with many different cults, including Olympian and imperial cults.⁵¹ At some point, however, certain cities began to call themselves "neokoros" in relation to a deity. In fact as Friesen notes (1993, 65) this term does not appear in relationship to cities until the late first century A.D. in any literary, epigraphic or numismatic references. He thus claims that the cult in Ephesus was a turning point in the use of the concept "neokoros."

⁵⁰ It is not archaeologically clear whether this gate functioned as the freestanding Triodos Gate, emphasizing the spot, or whether it was just built as a south gate combined with the sidewalls during the enlargement of the Agora. Referring to Alzinger (1974, 9-16), Hilke Thür states that (1995, 178) the south gate to the Agora was erected as a triumphal arch. This statement implies a freestanding structure, which could be later united with the walls of the Agora. Since the triumphal arches were by definition built after victories, in fact, this gate could only be a freestanding ceremonial arch, but its relation with the Agora is still questionable. Yet, the elaboration and the architectural qualities of this gate allow us to attribute further meanings to it. Moreover it can be assumed that Mazaeus and Mithridates could well be aware of the sacred quality of this spot, and thus have the gate built at this location for honoring both the goddess and the emperor.

⁵¹ Friesen's chapter, "Developments in Cultic Traditions" (1993, 64-96) gives many examples about ancient sources and inscriptions from the mainland and Asia Minor concerning neokoroi, their responsibilities and religious meanings. He concludes that the neokoros was charged with the care of sacred facilities, equipment or funds, which were affected and determined according to the nature of the particular deity.

This shift from an individual office to a municipal title is difficult to trace but there are a few references from Ephesus, as pointed out by Friesen. In Tiberius' time, when locating the second provincial temple of Asia Minor, the cities Ephesus and Miletus were excluded from consideration because any candidate city had to have room in its cultic life for this major, new cult. Yet in the case of these two cities the religious ethos was already dominated by a cult of wide renown (Friesen 1993, 20). Moreover, an Ephesian coin from the reign of Nero portrays the emperor on the obverse and the reverse depicts a small temple with the words "of the neokorate Ephesians." This coin is interpreted as a reference for Ephesus being the neokoros of Artemis. In similar lines, the book *Acts of the Apostles* chapter 19.35 (dating between 80 and 100) recorded the fact that the city of the Ephesians was known throughout the world as the neokoros of Artemis (ibid, 70). Although the evidences are not accurate, it seems reasonable to assume that Ephesians could have chosen their goddess as a way of self-designation. As mentioned above, all through its history, the city, i.e. the citizens, guarded the goddess's honor under all circumstances.

In Friesen's terms, when Ephesus was chosen as the city to receive a provincial cult, the neokoros imagery was conveniently adopted from the cult of Ephesian Artemis for the Cult of the *Sebastoi*. By doing so, the cult's status was raised to that of the most significant cult in the city and the region, and elevated to an official title for the city. To avoid any conflict between the preeminent deity and the imperial cult, on at least two coins of the Domitianic period, the Ephesians called themselves "twice neokoros," i.e. of Artemis and of the *Sebastoi* (ibid, 75). These two coins present a vivid visual image of the city's new religious situation. The city now had two dominant cults of equivalent significance; that of Ephesian Artemis, and that of the Emperors.

Indeed, the cult and its architectural program remodeled the city of Ephesus. These changes in the city's visual image affected both the region near the upper agora as well as the lower area by the harbor. Firstly, the construction of an artificial terrace for the Cult temple of the *Sebastoi* significantly affected the central area of the city, the Curetes Street and the Upper Agora (Plate 1). The terrace built artificially over the State Agora was in an area of the city where land would have been relatively valuable as some evidence about the early

Roman era of that area suggest that the temple terrace seems to have been constructed on an area that was already well-developed.⁵²

The practical function of the temple terrace was to create a level area above the descending slope of Bülbüldağ, overlooking the Augustan and Artemisian cult centers. This placement might suggest the superiority of Domitian's cult over all other divines. Such an organization, however, did not dethrone the traditional god. On the other hand, this site should be understood as a temenos reserved for all deities of the city. Anywhere else would have been inappropriate for the new cult temple. There was already an imperial building (double-cella temple or the small temple in the center) and a larger room with statues of the emperors and families at the end of the Basilica-Stoa. The building of an entirely new temple to the emperor or a traditional god may be seen as the limiting case but neither of these structures - freestanding or in porticoes - approached the Temple of Artemis in grandeur or design.

Moreover, this temenos was at the heart of the city where the cult could become integrated into the center of religious, political and economic life immediately. Accordingly, the changes below the northeast corner of the terrace appear to have been more significant. The Temple with its terraced precinct and pseudodipteral floor plan was lined by stoas on three sides, leaving the north side open to the intersections of streets below. Here, indeed, a large plaza was redesigned in relation to the temple. The plaza and the narrow street below, the so-called Lane of Domitian were paved, the Pollio Fountain was renovated and expanded, and an apsidal monument was raised in the middle of the plaza. At the level of the plaza, the entire length of the north terrace contained vaulted shops behind a colonnaded hall.

The remaking of the visual image of Ephesus was not confined to the upper area. Over the centuries, the silt brought onto the plain of the Kaystros enlarged the shores and new lands were added to the territory of Ephesus. This new large area was reserved for the most important building program of that era; to build appropriate facilities for the Olympic games meant to accompany the provincial cult of the *Sebastoi* in Ephesus.

⁵² The street below Lane of Domitian was paved in the Augustan period during which there were already shops on the agora side. Friesen refers also to the houses west of the temenos which were dismantled in order to make room for the construction of a terrace that would support the temple of the Flavian *Sebastoi* (1993, 90).

The harbor area became the site of a large complex that combined Roman baths with the quintessential feature of the Greek city, the gymnasium (see plate 1). While gymnasia were by no means a rarity in the first century B.C., the Harbor Gymnasium stands out in two ways: its size and its design. The extent of land occupied by the Harbor gymnasium was such that it dwarfed all other buildings in the area (Friesen 1993, 203). While having certain Roman features, in its overall design the complex interestingly refers to previous Hellenistic arrangements. In addition, a new avenue was built parallel to the complex. The Arcadiane was a great colonnaded street, having monumental gates in both ends. It led from the harbor to the theater. The roadway was completely covered with marble and had shops behind the colonnades. The characteristic spatial qualities of this predominant path will be examined in greater detail in the following chapters.

Taken together, the designs of two building projects related to the cult of *Sebastoi* tried to remodel Ephesus in different ways. The temple and the interventions in the upper city did not create a new district; but rather redefined an existing one. On the other hand, the new urban arrangements in the harbor entrance below formed a new unified region, a new urban district. Its topographic condition, i.e. large, flat lands are not so common for Ephesus; its use as the new gateway of the city, and also of Asia Minor; and its status as the territory of the provincial games sharpens the district's quality and immediately made the area one of the focal points of the city – even sharper than the huge imperial temple and its terrace.

2.5.4. From Hadrian to Byzantine times

In the following years, the roads between the temple and the gymnasium-complex were emphasized by the use of colonnades and fine pavements. The Embolos was paved in 94/95, probably for the first time. Along the axes, several fountain houses and honorific tombs were newly constructed or restored. Water from the Marnas and Klaseas rivers was brought into the city with pipelines that fed nymphaea. One was built south of the State Agora. Across the new temple terrace, the proconsul C. Laecanius Bassus built a beautiful Hydrekdocheion. The Ephesian asiarch T. Claudius Aristion was the donor for the imperial temple and also so called Fountain of Trajan on the Embolos, in addition to another fountain, the so-called Street Fountain, near the street coming from the Magnesian Gate. Close to Trajan's Fountain were a public bath and latrine built by a certain Varius

Valens. At the entrance to the bath was a small temple-like structure commonly known as Hadrian's Temple. The dedication is to Hadrian and the city, but the name of Hadrian is preceded by the name of a deity, probably, judging from placement and the external decoration of the temple, that of Artemis. This, in fact, expresses once again and this time more explicitly, the subordination of the emperor to the gods (Price 1986, 50). Along similar lines, the contemporary reliefs had no connection with the emperor, but show scenes involving Artemis and the mythical founder Androklos.

The so-called Serapeion was built on the southwest of the Tetragonos Agora. This temple, however, blocked the Processional Way to Ortygia and therefore a new road had to be planned some 30m further south. At this common crossroad with the Marble Road and the ancient *Triodos*, a monumental gate was erected: the so-called Gate of Hadrian. In the years between 110-114, the former proconsul of Asia, T. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus dedicated a library at this holy spot on the condition that he be buried in its basement.⁵³ With these arrangements, in fact, another public space emerged at the end of the Embolos and the beginning of the Marble Street. In this way, the Library Quarter, one of the conceptual anchor points of Artemis' Ephesus before Roman times, once again became a central node point in the layout of the city. In this way, the zones around the plaza were paved and filled with buildings, the intersections were organized with gates and new houses of generous proportions were constructed for the wealthy.

These new quarters were connected by colonnaded streets. As such, the articulated *Plateia* (both its Embolos section and the Marble Road), and the newly built Arkadiane have formed the dominant urban armature of the new "Metropolis of Asia".

In the time of the emperor Hadrian, while the Harbor-Bath complex was still being completed, another large building was begun on its northern side. This was the Temple of Hadrian as Zeus Olympios, the second imperial neokorate temple of Ephesus. However, this complex has not yet been sufficiently explored.

⁵³ For specific inscriptions and further details about the Celsus Library, see V. M. Strocka, 1978, "Zur Datierung der Celsusbibliothek," in E. Akurgal, (ed.) *Proc. 10th International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, 1973 II, Ankara, p. 893-900; J. Roewer, 1976, *Ephesos: Lebendige Vergangenheit*. Wien: Mikado-Verlag.

During the reign of Antoninus Pius and his adopted sons, C.P. Vedius stood out as a distinguished sponsor of building activities. He rebuilt the Bouleuterion, adding statues of the imperial family, and established a bath-gymnasium complex, the Vedius Gymnasium, north of the stadium, which was dedicated in 146/147. During the same years, another group of donors built the East Gymnasium near the Magnesian Gate, which has nearly identical details with the Vedius Gymnasium.

After this construction period in the mid-second century, there are no records of major architectural donations in the city, except T. Flavius Damianus's building of a vaulted stoa for the *Via Sacra*. Philostratos, a student of Damianus, described this effort:

He connected the sanctuary with Ephesus, leading the descending road into it [the sanctuary] through the Magnesian Gates. This portico, [constructed] entirely of stone [marble], was one stadia long; the purpose of the building was that the sanctuary should not lack worshippers in case of rain. (Knibbe 1995, 149)

This record indicates that religious practices in the name of the goddess could have been adversely affected by the uncomfortable conditions of the road. Moreover, as pointed by Knibbe (ibid.), a possible change in climate supports this assumption since it is widely believed that during these times, due to the increasing deforestation on the hills and mountains around, the hills no longer retained rain waters. Hence, devastating floods could have deterred Ephesians from managing the difficulties of the *Via Sacra*. Moreover, at the end of the second century, Artemis could have suffered depreciation due to other religious constitutions, particularly due to early Christian practices.

During the period from the Severan dynasty to the middle of the third century, the far northern course of the *Via Sacra*, the so-called *Plateia*, and the area around it were elaborated. The last great donor of Ephesus, M. Fulvius Publicianus Nikephoros donated halls containing areas reserved for different corporations of artisans, which may have stood along *Plateia*. The south stoa of the Olympieion was repaired or altered, and a rotunda with twelve radial walls - a cultic site for the imperial cult (?) - was constructed opposite of the stadium.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ As mentioned by Scherrer (2000, 188) this structure has always been interpreted as a Macellum, a meat market, but recent inscriptions state that this was in the Tetragonos Agora. So, another interpretation is necessary since its proximity with the second imperial temple suggest a cultic meaning.

In fact, it can well be assumed that this district gained importance due to various reasons. One reason could be the replacement of the imperial temple. From then on, the focus of the city may have been shifted to the harbor area instead of the upper agora, where the first neocorate temple was situated. Following the decline of Artemis's domination, her sacred spots could have become disfavored. Another reason, on the other hand, could be that the new religious activities in the city might have led Ephesians to search for new physical settings which could be religiously reloaded. Thus a new land with no preeminent memory could be a perfect choice.

From late antiquity on, however, the prevailing economic and military crises prevented both the construction of new projects and the reconstruction of the city after the disastrous earthquake in 262. The last known renovations were made in some private houses, along the armatures – especially the *Plateia* and *Arkadiane* - during the reign of Diocletian; and finally in the reign of Constantius II, *Sebaston Baths*, *Tetragonos Agora* and the theater were restored.

2.6. The city plan of Ephesus

According to the analysis of Rossi, the city is the accumulation of its many pasts coming together in different ways and at different rates in the city's form and eventually creating a "persistent" layout. These persistences are revealed through various monuments, physical signs and more explicitly through the persistence of the city plan. For my purposes, the last constitutes the most meaningful permanence that is provided especially by the outline of streets. In this regard, following the 'armature-plan studies'⁵⁵ method proposed in the first chapter, it is necessary to analyze first the plan, and then the armatures to reformulate Ephesus in the most concrete way possible.

A closer look at the archaeological plans of Ephesus published with various levels of detail will show that a certain orthogonality can be discerned in the form of set lines with many spaces in between, conforming to the orientation of the Temple of Artemis. Because of this, many scholars have traced the existence of a possible rectangular street pattern, a grid in Ephesus. And, it is now generally accepted that besides parts of the *Via Sacra*, all of the other discerned streets in Greek and Roman Ephesus were brought into a strict grid system. Most recently,

⁵⁵ See the first chapter, pp.16

Scherrer (2001, 80-87) has argued that there were two different systems closely connected to each other: a rectangular-grid established by the Hellenistic ruler Lysimachos and another square-grid brought during Roman rule (Plate 2). Based upon his discussion and observations, and the above-mentioned historical building phases of the city, an analysis of the street pattern and the buildings in accordance with their location and relation to one another will shed light on the understanding of Ephesus's material space.

First of all it was the natural landscape, the hills, the mountains and the bay which thoroughly conditioned the morphology of the city. The natural harbors determined both the places to settle and the possible paths for the streets, especially for processional ways. In fact the defensive wall of Hellenistic Ephesus closely followed the contours of the ground and the city was most probably aligned parallel to the coastline in the Hellenistic era. Later, again due to the effects of natural events, the territory of the city was enlarged and consequently new districts were created accordingly on the new grounds recovered from the sea.

As mentioned in detail in the previous chapter, Artemis and her temple served as a dominant urban artifact, though not being within the walls of Ephesus. Particularly, the processional way, the *Via Sacra*, not only affected but most of the time actually determined the main arteries of the city. The sections of this thoroughfare seem to have shaped the main streets of the Greco-Roman Ephesus after the Roman urban (re)constructions: the so-called South Street starting from the Magnesian Gate, the Lane of Domitian, the Embolos (modern Curetes Street), the Marble Road and *Plateia* reaching the Stadium (see plate 1).

In the area between the upper and lower zones, between the Marble Road and the Lane of Domitian, there are four parallel small lanes either starting at or crossing the Embolos. As estimated by Scherrer, their axes are an average of 160 Roman feet (47.4m) apart. Furthermore, Scherrer argues that it was not the enlarged *Roman* Tetragonos Agora but the *Hellenistic* walls excavated below the west side of the Agora that fit this grid. The next street west of the Marble Road collides with the earlier course of the *Plateia* in this area, whose remains survived only at the north entrance opening into the Theater Plaza. Thus the original Hellenistic market building was probably surrounded by this axis and the second street west of this one. In search for any east-west axis of this grid

configuration, Scherrer refers to the street along the south side of the Agora, passing under the Library and dating back to the Late Hellenistic era. Similarly on the north side was the great avenue, the so-called 'West Street.' The origin of this street dates back to Lysimachos. If continued further to the east, the only parallel street for which an early Hellenistic date may be verified is the South Street on the State Agora. What is more, the north-south interspacing perfectly meets the axis of the Magnesian Gate. Dividing these distances accordingly, Scherrer proposes a grid of 47.40 x 66.35 m, or 160 x 224 feet. (ibid. 83) This grid in fact matches various known building plots; the terrace of the Domitian Temple, the Terrace Houses, the Hellenistic House under the Library, the peristyle villa above the Theater, as well as the Gymnasium of Vedius.

Dwelling upon this analysis, it emerges that Ephesus was most likely organized according to a conventional Hippodamian grid of perpendicular streets and regular city blocks (*insulae*), whose exact dimensions varied with individual plots. To cite Scherrer, the rectangular grid aligning with the Hellenistic Tetragonos Agora might have been part of the original layout of the city founded by Lysimachos. In fact such a program can well be acknowledged since it can be traced from other contemporary city plans that by the 5th and 4th centuries the popularity of the grid was at its peak (Kostof 1991, 105). Old cities, including Miletus and Pergamon, needed to be re-built and new colonies were founded for political and commercial reasons. The gridal plan was applied even to the undulating land, as at Priene, which was laid out on a steep slope in the mid 4th century B.C. At Pergamon, the Hellenistic grid shaping the Upper City or Acropolis was initially created under the ruler Philetairos in circa 280 B.C. - a decade after the establishment of the Hellenistic Arsinoeia - with streets meeting at nearly regular intervals and leading to gates in the fortification walls (Fig.2.23).

Seen in this light, it is reasonable to argue that there was little provision in the choice of this street layout beyond the fact that the model that stood before Lysimachos was the most 'fashionable' and, more importantly, practical way to plan his 'new, modern' city. The advantage of straight thorough-streets for defense has been recognized since Aristotle, and at its most base, the grid is the easiest way to divide "a uniform range of land into regular accordant measured plots" (Kostof 1991, 103).

Geometry is a theory of space, and of figures in space; it is an order of lines and angles, and in terms of city making one of the simplest ways of making order is to have horizontal and vertical coordinates in orthogonal relationship to one another. ...geometry, from the Greek word *geometria*, means literally 'earth measurement'. (Kostof 1991, 103)

Moreover, the grid is generally an instrument of modernization in terms of being in contrast to what existed before. Arsinoeia was founded as if it lacked a past and had no history, in contrast to its being spiritually an offspring of a mature city with its common goddess. Hence, the grid representing a new order was exactly the concept Lysimachos was looking for. When Lysimachos first came near the coast in the slopes of Bülbüldağ and Panayırdağ, most of the terrain was unoccupied except for some intricate, organic structures from Strabo's Smyrna (under the later Hellenistic Agora), graveyards of the Late Archaic and Classical era⁵⁶ and the first signs of a processional way, if not a proper path, in the Embolos area. All these structures were assumed to be disorderly and regularized with the use of a rational urban solution.

As Vitruvius states, city planning started with the city walls; as a next step, the architect had to fix the axes (here, the grid) according to the space available.⁵⁷ A walled enclosure is the most obvious, but not the only means of delimiting of grids. Conversely the city wall may or may not be integrated with the street grid, as it is seen in Ephesus. As the primary system of defense, the walls must ensure their own survival under attack; thus in rough terrain, the walls will seek to maximize the advantages of natural features of defense. In Ephesus' case, they rise and fall where the street grid cannot or need not follow.

As stated by Kostof (1991, 138) the grid within organizes civil life – the development of houses and their relation to the market, the distribution of public buildings and open spaces. This rectangular gridiron pattern in Arsinoeia might have accommodated the West Agora and other public buildings in the plain west of the Tetragonos Agora, between the shoreline and Bülbüldağ. In fact, Scherrer proposes that the so-called West Street might have been one of the main Hellenistic avenues leading to all important buildings on the coastline and by

⁵⁶ See S. Fabrizii-Reuer, 1993, "Die menschlichen Skelette aus den Hanghäusern von Ephesos," *Anzeiger der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien* 130, pp. 25-44; W. Jobst, 1983, "Embolos Forschungen I: Archäologische Untersuchungen östlich der Celsusbibliothek in Ephesos," *Österreichische Jahrbuch* 54, p. 171-178.

⁵⁷ Vitruvius (I, 6, 1), "Their circuit [the city walls] being completed, it behoves us to consider the manner of disposing of the area of the space enclosed within the walls, and the proper directions and aspects of the streets and lanes."

doing so, connecting the agora with the (still undiscovered) city gate near the harbor. Until the 1st century A.D., this West Street surpasses all other roads with its width of 24m between the porticoes. The same grid continued in the east till the Magnesian Gate, while in the south steep hills of Bülbüldağ edged the grid.

However, the northern boundaries of the grid are still questionable since the Theater, supposed to have a Hellenistic origin, does not fit the grid (see plate 2). This fact strengthens Scherrer's idea concerning the boundaries of the Hellenistic city. The Roman Agora's North Gate may have derived from a Hellenistic city gate and the rectangular grid may have terminated at that point. In this light, the buildings outside the city walls (the theater and the stadium) need not date back to the early Hellenistic era; rather their construction might have been planned in the early years of Augustus' reign or during the preceding decades. According to the chronology Scherrer proposed, Caesar or Mark Anthony may have widened the borders of the city and allowing the new theater to build outside the Hellenistic city walls because of the expanding population. The architectural remains of the oldest stage building may have dated to the 3rd century B.C., but this view has recently been challenged by Karwiese, who suggests a date in the 1st century B.C. What can be added to this discussion is that the Hellenistic original of the peristyle house above the Theater also does not fit with this grid. Although the Roman version perfectly follows the lines of the grid and occupied exactly one *insula*, its Hellenistic predecessor is smaller,⁵⁸ which also supports Scherrer's hypotheses since the earlier structure below the house dates back to the Late Hellenistic-early Imperial era. This structure could also be a part of the widening process ordered by a Roman ruler.

As the following stage of his research, Scherrer focuses on Roman Ephesus, particularly on the streets around the Roman Tetragonos Agora. Although the northern and western streets cannot be recognized here, along the east runs the Marble Road. In the south, on the other hand, we have the axis of the South Gate, the Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates. Parallel to this axis, at least three avenues lead from south to north: the West Street, a road marked by the harbor's south gate and the Arkadiane between the theater and the middle gate

⁵⁸ Thür attempts to reconstruct the original Hellenistic house under the Roman villa depending on investigations on the parts of the ionic capitals founded *in situ*. See H. Thür, 2002, "Kontinuität und Diskontinuität im ephesischen Wohnbau der frühen Kaiserzeit," in C. Berns, et. al. ed., *Patris und Imperium, Kulturelle und politische Identität in den Städten der Römischen Provinzen Kleinasiens in der frühen Kaiserzeit*. Leuven: Peeters Colloquium.

of the harbor. The axes of all these streets comprise a square grid of 54.80 m, allowing 9 blocks (3 x 3) for the Agora. Further north, the Arkadiane, the Harbor Bath-gymnasium complex and the *xystos*,⁵⁹ the Temple of Hadrian and even some of the early Byzantine structures (the Church of Mary) also correspond strongly to this second grid system.

As the next step, Scherrer applied the same grid system to the upper city. Taking up the South Street as the base line and the Lane of Domitian as the west border, 12 blocks run in the east-west direction and match the end wall of the East Gymnasium and also the Magnesian Gate. Here the axes created by this grid exactly meet the Prytaneion-Temple (in the center) axis, and the eastern colonnade of the Agora with its Doric gateway. The geometrical form of the agora and the plots of the East Gymnasium quite strongly support the existence of such a square grid.

As can be seen clearly, the two areas where this square grid was introduced were almost totally reserved for Roman Imperial era. Since the Tetragonos Agora and the State Agora acquired their base forms under Augustus, this second grid was most probably introduced in the early years of the Empire. Scherrer proposes 29 B.C. as the initial date, when Octavian ordered the Roman citizens to build a Temple for Roma and his divine father. The square grid system could have been planned for the erection of this temple and for the State Agora as its precinct and also used in the renovation and monumentalization of the Tetragonos Agora. In the last decade of the first century B.C., the new grid was then transferred to the harbor plain for the newly built Harbor district.

These processes had considerable effects upon the sacred *Via Sacra*. As can be observed from the figure 2.24, both of the agoras were built over the 'irregular' pattern of the old road. In the State Agora, the diagonal line of the road vanished and the rectangle with its strict geometry dominated the area by preventing any 'trans-diagonal' movement.

In the commercial Agora, however, the effect was more dramatic, as briefly outlined in the previous chapter. Due to the enlargement of the agora, the road leading north from the *Triodos* had to be moved to the east and elaborately

⁵⁹ A *xystos* is a covered track on which runners and pentathletes practiced and trained before the start of the ancient Olympic Games.

renovated with the use of marble. The Triodos Gate (later the Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates) became the south gate of the Agora and the canal system underneath had to be reconstructed in order to prevent the rainwater flowing down the Embolos from flooding the Agora (Scherrer 2001, 8) (Fig.2.25). So the fork of the processional road remained under the plaza which would in time become a public plaza with surrounding artifacts - a monumental altar, the Hall of Nero, the Circular Monument and the Celsus Library. This plaza and the later added Serapeion removed the traces of the road leading to Ortygia and by the passage of time this road disappeared.

Yet, this theoretical attempt to reconstruct a grid for Ephesus is not without problems. The street along the upper façade of the Terrace Houses and the so-called Altar Street, moving west from the Gate of Hadrian do not fit any of these grids. Both dating to the Julio-Claudian period, these streets might have been affected by the irregular course of the *Via Sacra* in the Embolos area, which set the size of the adjacent *insulae* on both sides (Scherrer 2001, 84). Since the Romans did not propose a new grid for that section of the city, additional streets around the Curetes Street could have somehow tried to merge with the existent grid. But it would have been very difficult to measure exactly and impose in the mountainous area.

2.7. Implications of the “dual” grid system

What is especially significant for our present purposes are the processes involved in the laying out of this Roman square grid, which could shed light on the imperial urban concerns. Recently, various formal approaches have characterized the Roman city as a ‘ready-made’ artifact assuming that it has a specific layout – a checkerboard grid - and elements that by definition compose the city: a theater, a forum, a bath-complex, a stadium (Koolhaas 2000, 12). In this respect one can build a Roman city wherever he wants.⁶⁰ In fact, this assumption is true to a certain extent. The Roman military camps and other colonies were laid out as strict squares or rectangles. The four sides were walled and the inside was divided into four parts by two axial streets. Yet beyond the

⁶⁰ Assuming the city as ‘a box of speeds’ - rather than an urban artifact-, and the *urban armatures* as ‘network interface’ to ensure efficient communication and exchange with other cities; Harvard Project on Rome has created a list in order to decode the ‘visual language’ of Roman cities. The list, like an ‘instructions manual’, gives standard equipments (*templa, basilica, cardo et decumanus, viae*) to be placed within a standard grid, general operating principles and the program, enabling one to build a Roman city on any appropriate land.

modern formal rationality, this grid had some spiritual quality in its origins. For the Romans, the point of these rules was to create cities on the pattern of Rome itself. "The rite of the founding of a town touches on one of the great commonplaces of religious experience," Rykwert writes in his study of Roman city, as "boundaries are never drawn without reference to the order of the universe, for the *decumani* are set in line with the course of the sun, while the *cardines* follow the axes of the sky" (Rykwert 1976, 90). The noteworthy point here is that these processes were applied most of the time when making a city from scratch. Yet what happened there when an established urban pattern prior to the imposition of a formal Roman order was already in existence?

As explicitly stated by Kostof (1991, 108), "where private benefactors or local authorities became involved, cities were rarely content with such prosaic regularity." His argument clarifies perfectly the situation in Ephesus, especially during the Augustan era, since the dedicatory inscriptions reveal that the Temple in the middle of the State Agora, the Prytaneion, and the Tetragonos Agora were all built by wealthy Roman freedmen and the 'council of Roman merchants in Asia,' *conventus civium Romanorum*.⁶¹ It is very important to note here that Augustus' era was a time of cultural diversity in Ephesus. Romans settled in Asia before the Roman rule, local Greek people and the new coming Roman citizens started to live together, which formed a productive setting for creative solutions. As contemporary artistic expressions gained a hybrid character from ingenious syntheses of local values and Roman tradition,⁶² such a mutual interaction gave way to total urban ensembles where Roman planning principles and existing urban patterns became integral in form and in essentials of content in Ephesus.

Different from the developments in Roman Gaul, where it has been observed that "[Romans] demonstrate a quite remarkable disdain for existing features, either natural or man-made, the demand was for a virtual *tabula rasa*,⁶³" the process in Ephesus was quite the opposite. Under the security of the *pax romana*, there was no need for fortification walls and Ephesus spread freely to

⁶¹ For the eminent role of this group in Augustan Ephesus, see P. Scherrer 1999b.

⁶² G. M. A. Hanfmann (1975) shows concrete examples indicating how Roman art, particularly sculptures and funerary reliefs, affected and influenced the local artistic qualities in Asia Minor. In addition, his third chapter, "Ad Claras Asiae Volemus Urbes: Roman Governors and Urban Renewal," deals with the Greek citizens within the framework of the Roman Empire.

⁶³ F. Grew, B. Hobley eds., 1985, *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*. London: Council for British Archaeology Research Report, pp.53.

territories with the help of a square grid system, a unitary plan with large square blocks. Preserving the Embolos and the plots around it, the new Roman grid system was mostly applied to these virgin lands.

Yet the laying out of the grid eminently suggests that the grid was not determined independently, which can be traced from many instances. Firstly, the grid was aligned with respect to the existing grid. The Roman checkerboard system sticks to the orientation of the older grid – and conversely to the orientation of the Temple of Artemis – and expanded accordingly. Secondly, though regularizing some parts of the *Via Sacra*, the main part of the processional way, the Embolos never underwent attempts of regularization. It was treated as a generator of the form of the city and cut both of the grids diagonally. In fact, both ends of this street became the starting points of the new grid for the lower and the upper zones – the SE corner of the Agora in the harbor lane and the SW corner of the State Agora on mountains became the starting points of the new square grid – and the Curetes Street itself stretch from the marketplace in the older agora, through the valley between the mountains, into the new State Agora, connecting the two urban units together. As such the sacred quality of this street, the locus, which is unique and full of social memory, was displayed and acknowledged once again, but this time by the Roman planners. This implies that its characteristic spatial and symbolic quality makes it the fixed asset of the city beyond any temporal and contextual framework.

Furthermore, on the southern side of the Embolos, where the Hellenistic plots were preserved, a dwelling area which can be defined as an emerging residential district was formed. Rather than been superimposed upon the city, this district evolved in the city from the dynamics of this street, most probably due to its recognizable sacred quality inherited from the memories and solidified through festivals and rituals in the name of the goddess. In this regard, the act of leaving the 'private' areas intact and applying the new grid to the 'public' places might give way to further interpretations.

In fact, the second component of Rossi's "permanences" is dwellings. They are expressions of ever-changing individual will, the vernacular that lacks the cultural autonomy of monuments (1982, 65). The location of public housing on a major city street is an example of *locus*, a significant and socially provocative location. In Ephesus, since the sacred burden resided in people's memories

shaped by experience of the Embolos and the graves around it, the areas close to this line might still function in a liminal way. This consecrated path with sequentially placed domestic structures led the individual into a sacred world where beliefs of the spirit prevail over the rational values of everyday life. This implicit characteristic might account for a reason not to touch the existing composition of secular means on the line of a sacred path.

Another assessment might be the desire of the provincials, whether the elite, wealthy freedmen or the common people, to create public recognition and admiration with the monumental structures implying the grandeur and power of the Empire. The new civic square is characterized by a high degree of formalization and regularity. The rectangular space enclosed by porticoes on three sides with a temple in the center most likely contrasted the irregular small scale structures on both sides of the Embolos and the slopes of Bülbüldağ. The regularization of the 'public' space, and also the public life, could be more urgent than the formalization of the 'private' dwellings.

Yet, on the other hand, Scherrer proposes practical reasons by stating that the old grid stayed intact because the slopes of Bülbüldağ in most parts could not be altered without enormous legal problems (e.g., private land ownership and changes in the individual plot sizes). He refers to the Vitruvian treatise stating that after the fixing of the grid, Hellenistic and Roman town planners discussed the zones reserved for public places and buildings. Only later were private plots allotted to the citizens. In Ephesus, the less-densely inhabited Embolos district was partly changed in terms of users or owners, but the layout remained basically the same.

Concerning the *neokorate* city of Ephesus, however, we need a convincing explanation of why the Domitian Temple, Vedius Gymnasium, the Roman peristyle Villa over the Theater, or even the Byzantine archbishop's palace conformed to the Hellenistic grid, while for example the East Gymnasium followed the Roman system. As recognized easily, these relatively later buildings did not order new systems over the existing one. Practically, the East Gymnasium used the Roman grid since it was already measured and easy to set on the ground. Similarly for the western side of Panayırdağ, the already set Hellenistic grid might have served as the guidelines for new projects. In this regard, it can be said that the builders or the planners were at least aware of the

fact that there was already a regular arrangement that could serve their purpose perfectly and provide required regularity. So from now on, they could concentrate on more advanced visual and/or kinetic experiences, if not aiming at more dramatic, calculated urban effects by introducing "new" elements – different than the Classical urban language.

In fact, as asserted by Kostof (1991, 214), the grid was old fashioned by the first century A.D. The Roman imperial city in its final two centuries relaxed into a much more flexible, "impure" orthogonality. In the place of the grid, the city form was anchored to an armature of thoroughfares and open space that created an interrupted passage throughout the town. This gradually shaped armature distorted the absolute geometric regulations and introduced "fluidity" as a new urban concept. As such, the kinetic and visual fluency brought by the continuous heroic scale and luxurious building materials characterized the city of Ephesus in the second century.

In Ephesus, the most deliberate urban response of this kind was the colonnaded avenue that started from the first century. The elevations were not necessarily consistent but it was quite continuous from the Magnesian Gate till the Harbor Gate. It branched in the Theater Plaza and led the Stadium and the other city gate called Koressian Gate in the north. This connective spine gave the city as a whole a clearly defined structure. Since the public buildings were spread all across the urban fabric, the structures behind the colonnades changed through the road. The northern side of the Embolos, for example had fountains, temples, baths, latrines next to each other, and across these structures were the tombs, workshops, and dwellings. Or else, along the northern side of the Arkadiane, harbor structures (probably for services), a bath complex, an open area for physical training, and a theatrical stage for rhetorical education (reserved for the Theater Gymnasium) were situated. This 'curtaining' effect, in fact, invites an important question: the possibility to consider the colonnaded avenues as the 'vertical grid,' neutralizing the individual structures or the oddly grouped building complexes.⁶⁴ Its strict regularity may bring the organic arrangements into better order. Besides physical and visual terms, the colonnades had certain ordering implications in social terms as well. The grid, regardless of its position in space,

⁶⁴ I am inspired by Richard Sennett's use of the term 'horizontal' where he states that (1991, 48) "modern" man has used the grid plan as a horizontal tool to erase any kind of diversity and as a result neutralize the environment, in broader sense, the city.

has the potential to deny the complexity and the difference that existed in the environment.

As recognized above, however, the "horizontal" grid was not determined independently in Ephesus. Far from a dominant, hegemonic approach, the grid was adapted to its local physical setting and shaped by reference to the physical qualities of the site, existing streets and layout, which seems to have been a continuation of the imperial politics, seeking a compromise between local values and the Roman unitary plan. Similarly, the "vertical grid" could have served as a board where local and foreign values were projected simultaneously and flowed into each other to create fruitful improvisations. Moreover, these colonnaded avenues surrounded various kinds of activities, such as vehicular traffic, linear markets, public shelters; and of social formations built by different sexes, ages and social status, i.e. both for the emperor and the plebs. For Ephesus, colonnades could have formed the base matrix within which integrity, diversity, and concurrence were provided. Furthermore, with a suitable coding of their configuration, architecture and decoration they may convey a powerful representational message. More will be said on this further on, while wandering through streets of Ephesus.

CHAPTER 3

CIVITAS EPHESIA

3.1. Sailing to Ephesus

As one sailing to Ephesus, Strabo describes the “Ephesians’ seaboard” as a wide silhouette including the neighboring settlements:

After the Samian strait, near Mt. Mycale, as one sails to Ephesus, one comes, on the right, to the seaboard of the Ephesians; and a part of this seaboard is held by the Samians. First on the seaboard is the Panionium, lying three stadia above the sea where the Pan-Ionia, a common festival of the Ionians, is held, . . . Then comes Neapolis, which in earlier times belonged to the Ephesians, but now belongs to the Samians, who gave in exchange for it Marathesium, the more distant for the nearer place. Then comes Pygela, a small town, with a temple of Artemis Munychia, founded by Agamemnon and inhabited by a part of his troops. . . Then comes the harbor called Panormus, with a temple of the Ephesian Artemis; and then the city Ephesus. On the same coast, slightly above the sea, is also Ortygia, which is a magnificent grove of all kinds of trees, of the cypress most of all. . . Above the grove lies Mt. Solmissus, where, it is said, the Curetes stationed themselves. . . There are several temples in the place, some ancient and others built in later times; and in the ancient temples are many ancient wooden images, but in those of later times there are works of Scopas; for example, Leto holding a sceptre and Ortygia standing beside her with a child in each arm. A general festival is held there annually. (Strabo, *Geography*, 14.1.20)

This impression from an earlier phase of Ephesus was most probably not changed in the Roman imperial era for the favorable position of the city on the western edge of the Asian routes created a perfect setting for it to evolve as an important port city. As pointed out by MacDonald (1982, 262) ports were the spots that were “fitted out with urban architecture.” Considering the archaeological, numismatic and pictorial evidence, he states that structures along the harbors were not limited to warehouses and offices but housed colonnades, honorific arches and free-standing statues and columns, lighthouses, signal towers, harbormasters’ quarters, and in some cases a shrine or small temple to Portunus, or to the imperial cult. Furthermore port-building was treated as a specialized field which required particular attention since “to build a large port meant creating a specialized suburb with enough features of complete towns to give it an acceptably urban aspect” (ibid.).

As already mentioned, Ephesus experienced important social, political and economic changes between the first and fourth centuries. Yet throughout this period, as numerous inscriptions reveal, the city kept its title as "the first and the greatest Metropolis of Asia". Seen in this light the first impression of the Asian Metropolis - and also the great gateway of the peninsula - should have been one of the important concerns of its leaders and citizens.

As far as the Harbor of Ephesus is concerned, writing about it in the present state of our knowledge is very difficult. The outline of the harbor is not known with precision since the area has still not been systematically excavated. Nevertheless, the work of Zabehlicky (1995) has explained some of new archaeological findings uncovered from 1987 to 1989 (Fig.3.1). Although insufficient, this contribution combined with the evidence of other well-documented Roman ports in antiquity are useful to get an idea of what such a harbor and possible utilitarian buildings might have looked like; and how this area might have been connected with the rest of the city (Fig.3.2).

The city has both an arsenal and a harbor. The mouth of the harbor was made narrower by the engineers but they, along with the king who ordered it, were deceived as to the result; for he thought that the entrance would be deep enough for large merchant vessels if a mole were thrown up at the mouth, which was very wide, and therefore ordered that the mole should be built. . . . 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 harbor; and the city, because of its advantageous situation in other respects, grows daily, and is the largest emporium (market) in Asia this side of the Taurus. (Strabo, *Geography*, 14.1.24)

Most of the ancient maritime cities possessed enclosed harbors whether by the selection of a suitable natural bay or by the construction of an artificial pool achieved by draining or by moles. When the depth was enough the natural shore could be used as a quay. Especially after the Roman period, building a stone quay around the port pool becomes a common practice. In the harbor basin of Ephesus too, excavations have brought to light a longer stretch of the quay wall. Its installations extended from the east in a curving line to a jetty that projected into the basin. West of the jetty, the quay turned back to the south and then bent westward. To the south and further towards the city, the quay was paved.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Zabehlicky states that in the west of the quay closer to the city, three column drums were visible above the ground. They stood on a debris and were probably parts of Late Roman buildings. See, H. Zabehlicky, 1991, "Ein spatantiker Bau im südlichen Hafengebiet von Ephesos (Vorbericht)," in T. Bakir, et. al. ed., *Erol Atalay Memorial (Arkeoloji Dergisi, Özel Sayı 1; İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi)*, pp. 198-205.

On the water side the top of the quay was made of immense slabs up to 1.5m long and 1m wide. The slabs were well laid and joined, but their surface was not carefully dressed. There were mooring stones but their details remain unspecified. While the quay at the eastern end of the harbor was constructed of marble, the massive solid wall against damages caused by ships on the southern side - far from the center of the city - did not have a decorative appearance and was made of limestone (Zabehlicky 1995, 207). Discoveries under the pavement of the road south of the jetty were dated between 50 and 125 A.D.⁶⁶ Furthermore, Zabehlicky adds that since the pavement and the quay correspond in level, they were probably parts of a common plan. In addition, the epigraphic evidence suggests similar periods. Between 54 and 59 A.D., an inscription discusses the construction of a fishery customs house.⁶⁷ One decade later, in 66 A.D., the proconsul Barea Soranus provided for the opening of the Ephesian port (ibid. 208). Admitting the difficulties of investigating structures that are very much dependent upon natural conditions as harbors, Zabehlicky suggests that the Ephesian harbor - at least its part excavated in two years - can be compared more or less to the Trajanic construction at Portus (Fig.3.3).

As can be detected from the picture of the model in the Ephesus Museum in Vienna (Fig.3.4), three gates marked places of transfer from sea to land and *vice versa*. The Middle Harbor Gate (Fig.3.5), the earliest one, stands at the end of the Arcadiane and has three passageways separated by supports, each consisting of four Ionic columns. Dating to Hadrian's era, this richly decorated gate with its axially placed street behind marked the main approach to the city. On both sides of this gate were placed two more gates dating to the end of the second and the middle of the third century A.D. The curvature of the quay resulted in nonrectangular spaces where the gates - and the streets behind them which fit the rectangular grid system - and the sea met. Particularly the southern gate (Fig.3.6) gains additional appeal through its adaptation to the triangular space between the road and the quay wall running diagonally to it. Between these gates, around the port pool could have stood a portico since harbor porticoes were very common in the Roman period. Both the north and the west side of the harbor in Lepcis Magna had marble port-porticoes used as shelter areas for the people or for the transitory storage of the goods (Fig.3.7). The area left behind this structure could be used for the loading and unloading of

⁶⁶ See, G. Langmann, 1988, "Grabungen 1987," *Österreichische Jahrbuch* 58, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁷ *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, I-20

the goods. Such a configuration is consistent with what one might expect for “the largest emporium in Asia.” In fact, Falkener’s reconstruction of the Ephesian harbor was based mostly on this assumption and no convincing objection has been made to these drawings yet (Fig.3.8).⁶⁸

In his chapter devoted to the ports, moles and shipyards, Vitruvius (V, 12, 1) states that once the enclosures of harbors are formed, “nothing more is necessary than to construct porticos and arsenals round them, or passages to the markets; and then erect a tower on each side, from where chains may be suspended across by means of machinery.” Accordingly, the large, presumably open square behind the southern gate was bordered in the east by the Harbor Baths and in the south and north by two similar buildings (Fig.3.9). These buildings were constructed of four rows of limestone pillars carrying groin vaults of brick but neither of them shows signs of walls between the pillars. They are generally referred to as warehouses but as Thür (2000, 179) has suggested they can simply be designated as open porticoes for business and trade. Aside from these porticoes (?), the Harbor Baths occupy one of the dominant roles of the harbor picture. The atrium serving as the entrance of the baths complex makes a projection into the northern square and the open and semi-open spaces defined by its colonnades provide various public areas for merchants, visitors, travelers, or pilgrims (Fig.3.10). It may be further worthwhile to note the elaborate care with which the complex was designed. All the architectural elegance and sophistication of the marble colonnades – as can be estimated from the reconstruction – intensify the relation between this complex and the temple of the imperial cult.

Literary and epigraphic evidence from Hellenistic and Roman times repeatedly refer to the harbor, which clearly demonstrates its importance. Between 102 and 114 A.D., for example, T. Flavius Montanus gave seventy five thousand *denarii* to outfit the port. In approximately 105 A.D., the *prytanis* C. Licinius Maximus Julianus gave two thousand five hundred *denarii* for the port and the new gymnasium. In 129 A.D., the emperor Hadrian was honored for making the harbor navigable and for diverting the Kaystros River, which had previously

⁶⁸ In fact, Falkener did not refer to any archaeological data and as can be seen in the drawing, the Byzantine city wall – dating to a later era - was depicted together with the porticoes of the Roman harbor, which reveals that such a reconstruction could be conjectural.

damaged the harbor.⁶⁹ As can be realized immediately, these repeated references also reveal the problematic, if not unsolvable, situation of the harbor due to silting.

Despite repeated problems of silting, this harbor was filled with ships from all around the Mediterranean throughout its history due to its location at the western terminus of the main Roman trading route and of the Persian Royal route leading to Mesopotamia. Different kinds of goods were both imported and exported. This aspect made the city function as a gateway.

. . . the coastal enclaves that are part of the world of the sea but interact with the 'depths' of the hinterland have always played a special, if highly volatile, part. They functioned as what geographers have labeled gateway settlements, through which goods and people are 'funneled' in both directions. (Horden and Purcell 2000, 133)

It is believed that Ephesus functioned like a worldwide market, particularly as a reloading point for the imported goods, which is proven by various archaeological findings dispersed all around the city (Otschar 1993, 47).⁷⁰ The greatest mass of the findings consist of miscellaneous sherds and whole or fragments of amphorae. Yet in a similar way, locally produced wares were also leaving the harbor; especially domestic vessels and lamps were distributed widely. These wares were used for packing the goods that travelled long distances. Kinds of packing material found around the harbor from middle and late imperial times give evidence for the transportation of wine, oil, and prepared fruit (Zabehlicky 1995, 212).

In addition to food and beverage, some heavy cargo was also loaded and unloaded in Ephesus. Between 146 and 147 A.D., the proconsul L. Antonius Albus ordered that timber should not be stored on the quay wall and that stones should not be cut on it because the weight of timber would weaken the pillars of the wall and the emery from stonecutting would fill in the basin, both of which would make the quay inaccessible (ibid. 207). Aside from timber or stone, marble could be a valuable cargo for Roman ships. Recently, for example, there

⁶⁹ *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* VI-2061, VII-3066, II-274.

⁷⁰ Otschar refers to the Corinthian imported objects around the Artemision and also findings in Italian style unearthed under the Basilica-stoa and the Prytaneion. See also V. Gassner, 1997, *Das Südtor der Tetragonos-Agora : Keramik und Kleinfunde*. (Wien : Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften). This work documents pots and pottery found under the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate in detail. Among these goods are many imported objects both from neighboring cities and overseas.

has been the discovery of a merchant vessel carrying marble blocks and wrecked near Torre Sgarrata in southern Italy. These blocks of stone were roughly hewn in to the shape of sarcophagi, columns and statues, and then transported to Rome where they were carved in more intricate detail by expatriate Greek artists. A large number of quarries produced marble in the Roman Empire, but only three of them were dedicated to export: Proconnesus (now the island of Marmara), Mount Pentelicus in Attica and Docimeum in Phrygia. Pottery from the aforementioned wreck was worn and eroded but an in-depth study has revealed that these pottery items originated from Anatolia, or more precisely from the İzmir region. The author suggests that Ephesus could be the place of production (Donato 2003, 22).⁷¹

What is more, since J. Woods' excavations in 1877, scholars have been cognizant of the fact that there could be a working area devoted to textile production between the plain south of the State Agora and Magnesian Gate (Fig.3.11) (Groh 2002, 26). The field studies of G. Seiterle in 1980-82 also confirm that model workshops could have been situated on the eastern side, on the hill near the Magnesian Gate, on the way to Magnesia (Fig.3.12) (Otschar 1993, 47).

Such qualities made Ephesus "a place of redistribution" defined by Horden and Purcell (2000) which highly depends on connectivity. Many cups with reliefs (*reliefbecher*) in Ionic style – particularly in Ephesian style - found in Delos are examples of such physical connections between Ephesus and other busy maritime centers (Otschar 1993, 48). By the same token, a relief found in the harbor area (Fig.3.13) with representation of *homonoia* (city partnership) illustrates close relations between Ephesus and Alexandria, the departure point of the grain route between Egypt and Rome.

In this connected geography, indeed, another important factor stressed by Horden and Purcell is "profoundly mobile" human society.

. . . redistribution is an extension of the strategies of production and storage; and the second which follows from it, is that the history of Mediterranean redistribution is therefore inseparable from that of the people who produce, store, process, transport and consume. For all these activities are carried on by people who are often profoundly mobile. (Horden and Purcell 2000, 392)

⁷¹ The author does not explicitly say that this production center could be Ephesus but the map he uses to show the possible routes Roman vessels took off indicates the relation between Torre Sgarrata and Ephesus (see figure, pp. 16-17).

Ephesus. . . a city which took the beginning of its race from the purist Attic [stock], and which grew in size beyond all other cities of Ionia and Lydia, and stretched herself out to the sea, outgrowing the land on which she is built, and its filled with studious inhabitants, both philosophers and rhetoricians, thanks to whom the city owes her strength not to her cavalry, but to the myriads of humans in whom she inculcates wisdom. (Philostratos *Vit. Ap.* 8.7.8.)⁷²

This latter comment is particularly noteworthy since it reflects on the physical growth and the dwellers – if not travelers, visitors, or pilgrims – of the city. Thus, it may be worthwhile here to discuss the possible user groups of the Ephesian harbor.

Ancient sources indicate that Ephesus grew appreciably in size under Roman rule because of its prestige and geographic position. The bulk of these references come from the second and third centuries. In this era, the total population of the city was usually estimated at approximately 200.000 to 225.000. White (1995, 41) points out that these figures, however, assume the extramural and rural districts attached to the city. Since not all the population lived within the city proper, he claims that this population could have been floating in size and configuration.

In this large urban center dwelled – permanently or temporarily – different groups and classes of people. One group included persons in imperial service; proconsuls, procurators, as well as military officials and their detachments, imperial freedmen or other bureaucrats, and also members of the imperial family. Another official group emerged due to the importance of Ephesus in the *koinon* of Asia. Asiarchs, high priests and priestesses who were not originally from Ephesus would have visited the city from time to time. They could also have business relations. Yet another group, examined by White (1995, 66-79), formed by 'temporary' immigrants who were generally wealthy and active participants in the public life. According to his analysis, the busy physical connections of the city also created social pathways; as such people from Galatia and Mysia, Karia and Phrygia, Magnesia and Nysa were the largest bodies of immigration. In addition to these, each aristocratic group obviously had a sub-group of network of clients or other dependents.

⁷² Quoted from White (1995, 35).

Furthermore, reputable titles of the city could have obviously expanded the demand of foreigners. First of all, its condition of having the title "neokoros" proved very useful as the city began to reinvent itself as a pilgrimage and tourist destination in anticipation of the commemoration of both their patron goddess Artemis and the imperial cults. An inscription of the early second century records a bequest made to the boule by a wealthy Roman called Caius Vibius Salutaris.⁷³ With the public procession of goddess' images, the festival became a common ritual where every individual, regardless of age, social status or sex, could participate. This one private bequest portrays a civic culture centered on the Ephesian goddess Artemis.

Moreover, the existence of an imperial temple could bring many pilgrims during imperial festivals, and these pilgrims would have to purchase materials for sacrifice, including animals and incense. Actors belonging to professional guilds were most probably employed in these ceremonies and performed before huge audiences in the spacious Theater of Ephesus. In addition, gymnastic contests took place at Ephesus – either as parts of the imperial festivals or matches in the name of Artemis⁷⁴ - and thus in those days, huge groups of athletes and spectators could have visited the Metropolis.

Furthermore, Ephesus had a status of an assize-center of a *conventus*, i.e. the geographic area for which assizes were held in a certain town. Although scattered epigraphic and literary evidence shows that the general pattern of assizes in Asia Minor remained constant from the mid first century to the Flavian period. Three inscriptions and a reference from Pliny summarized by Habicht (1975, 70) reveal that Ephesus maintained the privilege of being the leader city of a jurisdiction for a long time (Table 1).

⁷³ *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, I-27.

⁷⁴ Rogers (1991, 83) refers to related inscriptions mentioning annual games that took place at the Great Artemisia during the month of Artemision.

<i>Late Republic</i> Sherk no. 52	<i>Time of Augustus</i> Pliny, NH 5	<i>Time of Gaius</i> <i>Ins. Didyma</i> 148	<i>Time of the Flavians</i> Ephesus 3653
Miletus	—	Miletus?	Miletus
Ephesus	Ephesus	Ephesus	[Ephesus]
Trales	—	—	—
Alabanda	Alabanda	Alabanda	[Alabanda]
Mylasa	—	Halicarnassus	Halicarnassus
Smyrna	Smyrna	Smyrna	[Smyrna]
Pergamum	Pergamum	Pergamum	Pergamum
Sardis	Sardis	Sardis	Sardis
Adramytteum	Adramytteum	Adramytteum	[Adramytteum]
Phrygian	Apamea	Apamea	Apamea
<i>conventus</i> separated from Asia	Cibyra	Cibyra	[Cibyra]
—	Synnada	Synnada	[Synnada]
—	Philomelium	Philomelium	[Philomelium]
—	—	Cyzicus	[Cyzicus]

Table 1: Evidence for cities having assize courts.

As stated by Burton (1975, 95), it was very difficult to acquire the right to hold assize courts for it could only come from the emperor. But if a city claimed to have an assize-status, it would have special privileges, such as exemptions or economic benefits which accrued because of the large confluence of litigants, camp-followers and tradesmen attracted to a city.

* * *

Taken altogether, a passenger sailing to Ephesus would see the semi-circular basin formed by the surrounding hills and the impressive, marble architecture of the harbor that was situated in the heart of this natural bowl. Rather than being only a spot for arrival and departure, this scene created the self-image of the city in several ways: as the gateway of the peninsula; the capital of the province of Asia Minor; the center of trade for all that was exported from further east; the temple warden (neocorate) of two imperial cults; and as the house of the Temple of Artemis, "the place of refuge of the debenture."⁷⁵

It looks as if the 'theater' of coming and going only occurred in the northern side of the Arcadiane. Yet there should have been some other structures behind the southern gate since as pointed out by Vitruvius, from the waterfront, adequate passages needed to be given to the business quarters which appear to have been the Tetragnos Agora for Ephesus. Moreover, it has already been mentioned that there was a so-called West Street, a boulevard leading from the

⁷⁵ As the famous rhetorician Aelius Aristides called it in the second century A.D. (Scherrer 2000, 24).

harbor and terminating in the explicitly monumentalized and lavishly decorated West Gate of the commercial agora (Fig.3.14). It was most likely that this path in some way connected firstly the commercial space with the point of access between inland goods and distant markets; and secondly the densely populated areas on the slope of Bülbüldağ facing the port.⁷⁶

In fact, this assumption about the relation between Roman Ephesus and its waterfront requires more attention since it met the water in a completely different way than its Hellenistic predecessor, Arsinoeia. As mentioned in the previous chapter, many waterfront cities in the Hellenistic era, like Alexandria or Naples, possessed at least one great linear avenue along their waterfronts. These avenues, generally the *decumanus*, served for bringing together functional requirements of the harbor, visitor needs and hosting rituals, as it was in Arsinoeia. So, cities captured the benefits of their water assets more efficiently. The particularity of this confrontation also justifies Braunfels' (1988, 79) statement that "we land in these cities [waterfront cities], we enter them, not on their periphery but in their center."

In Roman Ephesus, on the other hand, the waterfront was approached in terms of perpendiculars to the water's edge. Since the center and other urban artifacts were away from the water's edge, Ephesians created a less direct but more processional entrance to their city by developing the potential of perpendicular layout. As such, the Arcadiane, the West Street and the open plaza in front of the Harbor Baths may be considered as attempts to widen the overlapping zone between the water and the shore. Of course, the deliberation of ancient decisions is open to discussion but at least it can be claimed that the city's waterfront was thought about neither as a gate to the heart of the city nor as a bordering thin line between land and water. Instead, it was elaborated as a porous "architectural proscenia" through which the eye can penetrate.⁷⁷ With no doubt, the magnificent colonnaded harbor avenue, the Arkadiane could be the most deliberate urban enterprise promoting the necessary visual continuity, directionality and depth.

⁷⁶ As mentioned before, the harbor plain and the adjoining terraced foothills of the Bülbüldağ were among the most densely populated areas of the Hellenistic-Roman city. However, hardly any excavation has taken place there. A trial excavation on the slope west of the so-called Serapeion has revealed evidence of well furnished Roman residential buildings and it is supposed that older layers underneath can be traced back earlier times (Evren 2000, 151).

⁷⁷ This phrase is quoted from Kostof (1992, 223) where he talks about the Renaissance and Baroque architecture absorbing renditions of Classical themes.

As a contemporary example of such an organization, Soli-Pompeiopolis in Cilicia can be mentioned here. Started during Hadrian's rule and completed in the time of Antoninus Pius, this imperial harbor project boasted an axial colonnaded avenue combined with a curvilinear harbor facade (Fig.3.15). Similar to the one at Ephesus, the project stood perpendicular to the waterside and its scale and elaborate architectural details stand as outstanding manifestations of Roman planning (Fig.3.16) (Güven 2003, 47-48). It is said to have been built mainly as a preparation for Hadrian's visit to the region during 130 A.D. (ibid.).

Seen in this light, aside from its leading role in the seafaring culture of the Mediterranean, one major reason behind Ephesus' leading reputation may also have been its unforgettable silhouette as perceived from the sea. The amphitheater-like form of the landscape appeared emphatically carved from the coastal mountains and adorned with the marble architecture of the Roman Empire. This architecturally and also aesthetically unified "maritime façade" of the Metropolis, however, might have blurred gradually when one got close to the shore to become superseded by the crowded scene of the port since the physiognomy of a working harbor considerably differs from that of the artistic qualities attributed to the waterfronts.⁷⁸ At that point, the Arcadiane, the only and monumental direct connection with its strong perspective fixing the convergence point with a definite marker welcomed the visitor while breaking new grounds. Such a determined urban element could tell about the city more than it is thought.

3.2. Walking through the Arcadiane

Since we do not know much about the buildings along the quay and the Arcadiane, we must depend upon representations from elsewhere to visualize the appearance of the Ephesian harbor. The Torlonia relief shows a ship sailing in to the port of Ostia (Portus) and indicates a scene featuring smaller vessels and loading activities (Fig.3.17). This port was decorated with numerous statues. Behind the dock at the right a triumphal arch, with a chariot drawn by elephants on top is clearly visible. Several halls lined the quay and basin. A rather smaller harbor was displayed in a wall painting from Stabiae where a jetty was built on top of an arcaded substructure (Fig.3.18). The Ephesian inscription set up by Antonius Albus also mentions pillars for the support of the quay (Zabehlicky

⁷⁸ The use of this term has been borrowed from Güven 2003.

1995, 209). The ancient voyager arriving or leaving the Ephesian harbor would have observed an environment and architecture similar to that of the port of Ostia and undoubtedly would have witnessed a busy place with vitality.

In this regard, it can be speculated that such an image would have been insufficient for the imperial city of Ephesus given its renowned status. Several Roman governors or aristocrats and also emperors arrived at Ephesus by ship.⁷⁹ Given the honor of welcoming the emperor and the new emissaries of Rome, the city would need to organize the urban scenario in order to create memorable impressions on visitors' minds and to narrate a story about itself: declaring local qualities and their privileged status in the area and at the same time honoring the Empire and its leader.

In fact, such a concern may have triggered the decision to build two additional gates in the harbor because the busy picture of the working port could be visually undesirable. Constructed later than the central main gate, these gates would have served mainly as commercial facilities. Seen in this light, having the so-called warehouses on both sides of the northern gate and connecting the West Street with the southern gate would become more meaningful. By doing so, the Ephesians reserved the central gate for the pilgrims, travelers, ordinary citizens, and to the more honorable and prestigious visitors.

When a foreigner first stepped on the quay of Ephesus, the Middle Harbor Gate would seem, in this regard, as a focusing device -- like a centripetal magnet orienting all the arrivals to itself. This centralizing orientation was bolstered by the strong perspective created by the huge wide street behind. In this regard, having passed through the formal entrance, the central artery was immediately noticeable to the visitor due to its visual prominence as it extended for some 500m on a straight course. Such a prominent axial space would centralize and

⁷⁹ During its long history, Ephesus was visited by many important figures. In 30/29 B.C. Octavian reorganized the East from Ephesus. One year later the geographer Strabo journeyed through Ephesus. In 52 A.D. St. Paul came to the city. Around 110 A.D., Pliny the Younger traveled to Bithynia via Ephesus. Following the visit of Emperor Trajan in 113/114 A.D., Hadrian came to the city for the first time in 124 A.D. After five or six years, he visited the city again with his friend Antinoos. During the years 135/136 Antoninus Pius, subsequently emperor, the proconsul working in Ephesus was also here. In 140-144, Antoninus Pius sent an admonition to the Ephesians concerning their obsession with titles. In the second quarter of the second century the activities of the sophist T. Claudius Flavianus Dionysius took place in the city. For a campaign against Parthians, the emperor Lucius Verus came to Ephesus. (taken from the chronological table of important events, in Scherrer 2000, 11-13)

fully control the urban experience of visitors from the moment they entered the city.

Concerning questions of dating of this avenue, Schneider (1999) has put together drawings (Plate 3) and a chronology of construction phases. Accordingly, the central Harbor Gate (A in figure 3.19) had presumably already functioned as an entranceway to a boulevard connecting the Harbor with the rest of the city since the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century. Named after the 5th century Byzantine Emperor Arcadius who renovated it, this great colonnaded avenue was 528m long and 11m wide and paved in marble. It directly led into one of the main cores of the city, the Theater Plaza where it terminated with another gateway. On the way to the theater, it climbed up 3.5m. Pedestrian walks were placed on both sides with varying depths from 5 to 5.7m and at least partially paved with mosaics.⁸⁰ A drainage canal ran behind the stylobate of the northern hall, and a second one was located under the marble pavement close to the southern hall. The chambers behind the colonnades were partially excavated up to now yet the door openings are already visible (ibid. 467).

Referring to the observations of Rudolf Heberdey, the first archaeologist who studied the avenue around 1902, Schneider dates the western gate of the avenue to the Hellenistic era and the eastern one - at the plaza - to the early imperial decades. In fact, an older Hellenistic street, as stated by Heberdey, was supposed to be running under the marble pavement but this idea has never been confirmed by *in-situ* exploration (ibid. 468). To be able to acquire more precise dating, Schneider examined some structural parts, particularly column bases and capitals, found in three important spots: near the entrance of the Harbor Baths, in the middle of the avenue and the vicinity of the Gate at the Theater Plaza. By analyzing the capitals and grouping them according to the dimensional and technical characteristics, he concluded that there existed at least two types of column capitals (Fig.3.19). The first composite type dating stylistically to the early 2nd century belonged apparently to the first phase of the construction, while the second group of Corinthian capitals surely came from a comprehensive renovation during the Severan era (ibid. 472). In the original arrangement, the intercolumniation between the columns was 2.65m and a marble entablature

⁸⁰ Citing Schneider (1999, 467): "ein grobes, dreifarbiges Mosaik mit einfachen geometrischen Ornamenten."

was placed over the elaborately carved capitals. Yet during the renovations, the degree of detailing diminished and more simple processed capitals were replaced with the older ones. (Plate 4) The distance between the columns was widened and the architraves were replaced with a continuous arcade structure which could easily stretch longer spans (Fig.3.20-21).⁸¹

Actually this innovative renovation may have been part of a bigger project. It is widely accepted that whatever its renown and glory in earlier times, Ephesus took its recognizable urban shape from this building program under the Flavian and Antonine emperors. So the formation of such a colonnaded avenue could be considered within the scope of remaking the image of imperial Ephesus, which gave shape to urban life according to a new imperial urban vision which pervaded provincial territories.⁸² As such, building programs became direct indicators of an imperial agenda. From this perspective, the Arcadiane, accepted to be in existence at least since the time of Hadrian, may be considered as a sub-part of a large-scale imperial urban project.

Hence, due to the importance mostly given to the imperial implications of the Arcadiane, physical and functional analyses of this avenue have remained in the form of unclassified and more secondary arguments. However, in order to talk about the morphological and social properties of this colonnaded avenue, discussing how ancients could move or interact within this space needs to be considered. By doing this, the significance of other urban artifacts placed around can also be revealed.

Above all, the Arcadiane enables the modern observer to see, hear, perceive and thus to conceive the Roman situation more directly simply because the kind of vista it presents constitutes an unlimited, continuous bridge from the periphery to the core. Yet, for one walking through the Arcadiane, this space was too wide to be read as a closed 'urban box' of a traditional street. Despite the commercial activity and the social life it was able to shelter, its monumental scale could have prevented the citizens from perceiving the totality of the avenue at once. Similarly, the commercial *tabernae* (shops) hidden by the colonnades could have

⁸¹ The fact that the earliest example of such an arcaded street exists in Lepcis Magna as a part of a Severan urban re-arrangement verifies Schneider's dating.

⁸² See the Diane Favro's monograph, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (1996, Cambridge University Press) which examines the re-design of Rome under the first emperor and explores imperial implications behind these urban developments.

acted independently as if each sidewalk were a separate street because the in-between space in front of the shops was spacious enough to create side galleries. On the other hand, on the harbor-side of the avenue, many shops may have been situated facing one another. Most likely, every shop would have had a main room entered from its door which was always open during the day. Every one passing by could catch a glimpse of the goods inside as stated in an inscription "we have no show-window-goods, nor do we deceive the purchaser in such a way that, if he enters our shop, he will find nothing except that which is displayed in the window" (Kellum 1999, 283). In fact this statement suggests the likelihood that ancient merchants exhibited their goods in some way. For such a purpose, galleries elaborately treated with mosaics could have been very suitable – which is still a favorite practice in shopping malls, arcades or bazaars today. As such, the edges defined by columns were blurred physically and also visually. Although no evidence has been found in Ephesus, some other examples of colonnaded avenues from further east hint at the existence of additional rooms above the street level (Fig.3.22).

While moving forward on the Arcadiane, the northern hall gave entrance to one of the main public facilities of the city: the Harbor Bath-Gymnasium complex (see plate 1). The forecourt of the gymnasium is noteworthy for its curved east and west boundaries. Three sides were surrounded by colonnades with mosaics while the courtyard had a marble pavement – as a continuation of the avenue. In the middle of its north side, a stairway led into the three-aisled atrium leading to the bath. "By reinforcing the embracing," as stressed by MacDonald (1965, 176), these "concave shapes heightened the sense of place, the expression of a specific and suitable location for a particular purpose." As far as we know, such an innovative curvature does not exist anywhere else in the city. What is also intriguing here is the fact that this artistically created forecourt was concealed behind regular columns. It was thus barely visible from the roadway. Only one who sensed the opening – from a stream of air, or from people or sounds - and looked at this direction would realize the depth and ultimately the volume behind. Up to that point the colonnades were, most likely, perceived like well-structured, continuous surfaces.

By the same token, while the visitor continued on the northern side, he/she would have come upon another entrance which led to the vast open space (200 x 240 m) reserved for physical training. Called *xystos* in antiquity, the court was

surrounded by a three-aisled colonnade whose broad middle aisle served as a running track. Two gates placed at both ends of the western hall directed pedestrians to the western hall. The one at the southwest corner could display itself to the colonnaded avenue yet there is no archaeological evidence supporting the existence of a monumental (?) gate there. With the aim of preventing cross-movement in any of the running areas in the north, east and south halls, architects could have particularly chosen one side of the big rectangular courtyard and used it as a passage/entrance hall. The gate situated on the other end of this hall did not lead to a proper path but symmetrical concerns may have led to such a composition.

The lack of a conventional gateway, however, may be explained considering the fact that in the middle of the western hall, another well-proportioned axial gateway was generated from the main courtyard of the gymnasium. Thus it is not inappropriate to suggest that architects could have planned the main approach to the field through the Harbor gymnasium. Creating an architectural sequence, one would walk inside the forecourt and then enter a closed decorated atrium that gave access to a changing room and finally to the palaestra where imperial rooms (?) were placed symmetrically. Entering the open court, one grasped immediately the gate with two rows of four columns. This composition mirrored right across the eastern hall but it seems that this gate did not lead to a designed exit.

In fact, Scherrer (2001, 85) mentions a street there fitting his proposed Roman square grid. This assumption has not been verified with archaeological data yet but Schneider (1999, 468) also mentions such a pathway east of the *xystos*. In fact, this street may actually have existed because the avenue was widened circa 1m exactly at the point where it crossed with Arcadiane (ibid.). Then, approximately the last 75m of the avenue followed the borderline of the Theater Gymnasium's palaestra. This large courtyard behind the colonnades, measuring 70 x 30m, was surrounded on three sides by a second row of colonnades with mosaic floors. In front of the baths, on the other hand, were four rows of seat steps and an inclined area for standing-room (Scherrer 2000, 162). The change of the floor material - different from the forecourt of the Harbor Bath-Gymnasium - and the carefully designed tribune show that this open area may have had a specific function.

Aside from this meager pathway west of the Theater Gymnasium, nowhere along the avenue was another cross road in north-south axis.⁸³ Hence, the 'combining' function of the Arcadiane is questionable. Instead of being a connective thoroughfare between different parts of the city, on the contrary, it controlled and in some spaces prohibited the freedom of coming and going. Along the line, the movement functions only in a single direction; in an east-west axis, either to the Plaza dominated by the Theater or the Harbor 'overcharged' by merchants and visitors.

What is more, a variety of graffiti and shop signs on this avenue could have vanished in time. As mentioned by Büyükkolancı (2004, 50) game boards with animal and human shapes have been scratched into the surface of the marble pavement for children and probably also for adults. There was an inscription intended for adults saying that "this game board brings great pleasure in the loss of money." In fact, archeological evidence alone cannot supply a reliable picture concerning the existence or the placement of such visual elements. But considering the various shop signs, niches with small figurines and street plaques on walls decorating the streets of Pompeii, this possibility makes sense since this avenue might have functioned as one of the crowded lines of the city (Fig.3.23). There is no question that a rather variegated and dynamic life must have animated this axis.

On the other hand, whatever the original intention behind this axial space, the goods or images that were on continual display had multiple audiences, especially on specific dates. Merchants were one fixed group regularly using this avenue as mentioned briefly in the previous section. But the way they used it raises questions concerning the functional qualities of Arcadiane. As illustrated by Schneider (1999, 475) the absence of any chambers for long distances in the northern side and the 1m level difference with the Plaza, which was fixed by stairs at the Theater Gate, have obscured the avenue's adequacy for vehicular traffic. In other words, any transportation of goods along this route – paved with elegant pavement – seems problematic. Moreover, the wider West Street, 150m south of the Arcadiane, provided a more practical and shorter connection

⁸³ In the sixth century A.D., a four-column monument, a structure consisting of highly decorative free standing columns was erected approximately in the middle of the Arcadiane. It is assumed that – referring to some wall fragments and the directions of the marble pavement blocks – this monument may have fixed an intersection point with another street running north-south axes. Yet during second-fourth centuries the Arcadiane might have run uninterruptedly.

between Harbor and the Tetragonos Agora. In this regard, the small-scale goods that needed little transporting efforts, if not lamps, wares, vessels, honorific figures or jewelry, could have been sold there.

Moreover, repeated renovations and extensions of the Tetragonos Agora have already revealed its significance as the commercial center of the city. Halls with double naves formed the periphery of the agora, and behind these were shops and warehouses. Merchants and craftsmen from all the different guilds of Ephesus could bring and sell goods there. Moreover, when the Roman extension took place, the originally lower-lying Hellenistic ground under the west hall was used for a cellar storey with basement windows set at an angle in the front wall (Scherrer 2000, 142). Supplies were probably brought into this storage room through six entrances in the western outer wall so that the traffic did not affect the activities in the Agora. Following this view, it can be assumed that large cities may have more plazas set apart for the sale of particular classes of goods, as in Side and Priene. In this regard, the *tabernae* aligned with the Arcadiane could have a different status than the shops around the commercial agora. Since the centrally arranged agora fitted the characteristic forms and required the space of commercial spirit better, this monumental avenue might not constitute the commercial face of the city. More precisely, although there were rows of shops behind the colonnades, commerce may not have been the sole space generating activity through the Arcadiane.

Then, what was the intention behind the formation and elaboration of this monumental avenue? For such a question, the analyses of the material space are likely to remain insufficient in uncovering the *social* meaning of the space for Roman citizens and visitors. In this regard, Lefebvre claims that every society produces its own – appropriated – space in the light of its unique spatial practices for space is accepted as a (social) product. In his words again (1991, 17), “to *decode* the material space, social space should be *read* through existing specific codes, established at specific historical moments.” In the analysis of urban elements and surrounding “social space,” Kostof (1994, 18) describes the street “as the space of daily life including commerce and spectacle.” The latter, then, may provide the key to reveal major social practices that were staged along Arcadiane since “they [thoroughfares] were equally practical and symbolic, making essential locations available while establishing the framework for a common imagery of cultural and political allegiance” (MacDonald 1982, 48). In

this light, Ephesus' distinguished colonnaded avenue might be examined in terms of its representational quality.

While walking along this 'civic corridor,' the visitor would have started to feel the aura of the city emanating from its architecture and visual culture since along this route countless officials of various ranks were greeted and many ceremonies took place. In these public performances, physical sites, special effects, choreography, props and visual representations played essential roles. In that sense, spectacle can reasonably be considered as a generative force in the formation of urban artifacts, as in the Arcadiane, in many different ways.

First of all, travelers – and also citizens - were forced to adapt themselves to the perception of the cityscape from a strictly defined frame, a frame shaped by the regularly erected columns, and thus continuous street surfaces that gave a perspective drive to the viewing cone. As such, the colonnaded avenue became an artifact to be contemplated where the individual elements lost their own identity through the persistent revelation of their inherent symmetry in favor of overall solidity and impression of surreality.

Perception does not know the concept of infinity; from the very outset it is confined within certain spatial limits imposed by our faculty of perception. And in connection with perceptual space we can no more speak of homogeneity than of infinity. The ultimate basis of the homogeneity of the geometric space is that all its elements, the 'points' which are joined in it, are mere determinations of position, possessing no independent content of their own outside of this relation, this position which they occupy in relation to each other. Their reality is exhausted in their reciprocal relation: it is a purely functional and not a substantial reality. Because fundamentally these points are devoid of all content, because they have become mere expressions of ideal relations, they can raise no question of a diversity in content. Their homogeneity signifies nothing other than this similarity of structure, grounded in their common logical function, their common ideal purpose and meaning. (Panofsky 1991, 30)

Exposing itself totally to the visitor, the Arcadiane presented strict unity through repeating vertical elements and continuous back walls of the side halls - the columns alone have a height of 4.77m. As such, it prevented other view points and distractions, freed itself from references of landscape; and isolated the space from its natural environment and framed with clearly defined proportions. In Panofsky's terms (ibid. 41), the art of antiquity "was a purely corporeal art; it recognized as artistic reality only what was tangible as well as visible." In this regard, colonnades were perceived as neither surfaces nor volumes but "points

which are joint in the homogeneity of the geometric space." So, this undisturbed perspective provided a considerable sense of depth and directionality, which is reminiscent of an absolute gaze. Thus, the colonnaded avenue itself became a spectacle. Actually, the Latin *spectacula* also means 'a place for seeing,' hence could signify the venue itself (Bergmann 1999, 11). Such an impression could also be intensified when the notion of perspective as *per-spectare* - meaning 'seeing through' - is considered as well because it seems that perspective already arose from a particular visual phenomenon, a spectacle.

As already emphasized by Panofsky above, perspective may even be characterized as one of the "symbolic forms" in which "spiritual meaning is attached to a concrete material sign." The site, form, sight lines or iconography could become the means of communicating ideological messages to the public domain. Such a dominant intervention in the urban layout of Ephesus could signify order that belonged to the Roman Empire, and defined and demonstrated through public performances. The play of colonnades created a stage-set effect along the avenue where various actors were on stage during these public ceremonies and festivals. From then on, the Arcadiane became the magnificent background for a kind of *spectacula* which is defined as "a thing or a person seen as an object of curiosity, contempt, marvel or admiration" (Bergmann, *ibid.*).

As already mentioned, referring to the conventional discourse on Roman imperial propaganda using spatial and urban images, one can claim that the imperial image attempts to produce its own space concept to survive, especially in the urban context of cities in the provinces. In this light, the use of perspective as an impression of grandeur and power, and the subordination of the individual expression was in favor of a grand scheme, which is explained by Kostof (1992, 224);

. . . especially perspective helped to emphasize "the order imposed upon space by the political master of that space, the centrality of that master's vision, and the increasing significance of the objects as they were located at greater distance from the position of power.

It is where the colonnaded avenue turns out to be a 'show place' of power displayed both to awe and to entertain subjects. It is an appropriate place for 'imperial space'. The emphasis was on the spectator and the emperor was already on stage; mounted on his chariot through the city.

. . . behind such designs stands a powerful centrist state whose resources and undiluted authority make possible the extravagant urban vision of ramrod-straight avenues, vast uniformly bordered squares, and a suitable accompaniment of monumental public buildings. This urbanism speaks of ceremony, processional intentions, and a regimented public life. (ibid. 240)

Seen in this light it is reasonable to assume that this physical setting also shaped the audience's perceptions, which regulates access and participation. Simply, spectacles were the chief means for creating a cultural identity in Roman societies as 'seeing' offered the sole means of contact with the powerful and the emperor. Reciprocally, however, the spectators themselves became actors of the daily life. Certain rituals and rules controlled their behavior during ceremonies, which were observed by the emperor/actor. More clearly, while the emperor performed on the stage with a content-laden perspective behind, the common people played their parts before the regular colonnades as their *scanaeae frons*.

In line with the statements of Kostof, this process may also correspond to Lefebvre's definition of *active – operational or instrumental - space* (1991, 11) by assuming that colonnaded avenues served both materially and spatially in the establishment of Roman imperial identity; first by providing a strong perspective embracing the emperor till infinity, which could have appeared as a symbol of an imaginary world where he emerged as the absolute power. Secondly, by censoring the daily life through a continuous/homogenous façade, it created the necessary theatricality. It is worthwhile to emphasize, however, that the aim behind this 'curtaining' effect could be regularizing the visual image of Ephesus - rather than denying the complexity and the difference of daily life. Preventing its quality as a base matrix, the colonnades sometimes smoothed the irregularities of land, sometimes concealed untidiness of common routines of citizens, but also sometimes revealed flamboyant attitudes of the crowd. In the end, the Arcadiane ended up creating a completely separate space between the 'subject' and the 'object', fluid in form, slipping between actor and audience, imagery and real, sacred and secular.

* * *

When the overall layout of Roman Ephesus is examined, this boulevard contrasts with the integrity and social structure of the city in two main ways: firstly considering the enormous scale of the street in the urban plan of Ephesus may

reveal the contrast with older public quarters along the Embolos area; and secondly such an honorification of the emperor could be interpreted as indignity to the patron goddess of the city, Artemis. Yet it seems that with the passing of time the popularity of this boulevard should be assured since in the following decades the Arcadiane was lit at night by torches, making Ephesus along with Rome and Antioch, one of the three ancient cities known to have had street lighting.

At first glance, this situation may be thought of as the demise of the main deity, and ultimately the rise of the imperial cult. An inscription from the Arcadiane, however, speaks for a different conclusion: it said that "this avenue had fifty lanterns along its two colonnades up to the statue of the boar" (Rogers 1991, 103). In fact, Schneider (1999, 476) interprets this expression carefully and suggests that the depiction referred to the boar followed by the Greek city founder Androklos. In this regard, this monumental avenue could also serve as a processional way leading the mythical roots of the city.

As stated by Çelik (1994, 3), specific ritual uses or urban artifacts could be adapted to the existing space with particular concerns in mind but these were 'superimposed' over time; when not locally desired, physical or social narratives became re-determined and re-shaped by the local character of those spaces. The conventions of Roman urbanism were inserted into the unique topography and thriving commerce of second century A.D. Ephesus to create a legible, imperial environment. Yet when the preconceived model encounters the geographical and social contradictions of an existing urban culture, it inevitably transformed itself to find a compromise between multiplicity of actors; Artemis, Androklos, emperors, imperial agents, local governors and common citizens. Such an assumption about this avenue and its termination point can be better 'checked out' while 'relaxing' at the Theater Plaza and contemplating the relation between the Great Theater of Ephesus and its goddess Artemis and her Temple.

3.3. Experiencing the Theater Plaza and approaching the *Triodos*

Very little is known about the severely damaged eastern gate of the Arcadiane. Three passageways separated by two mighty supports, each consisting of three columns are still visible (Fig.3.24). A 4m wide and 80cm high relief frieze found *in-situ* with a representation of a battle against barbarians strengthens the

possibility that this gate may have been an impressive monumental arch (Schneider 1999, 476). It could have been built in honor of an imperial visit. Like the Harbor Gate of the Arcadiane,⁸⁴ this Theater Gate may also have been freestanding and highly differentiated.

While describing the "architecture of passage," MacDonald highlights monumental ceremonial arches and claims that (1982, 76) "in the relationship between path and the opening, it is important that the path is down on the ground and the arch high overhead, because its separation helps to dissipate the impact of their four-square confrontation and make the idea or impression of passage immediately apprehensible." Following this, it is not improbable that this gate also had stairs covering the 1m level difference between the pathway and the Theater Plaza (Fig.3.25). Thus the gate emphasized the difference between the space 'behind' and 'forward' without separating them physically. Instead, it prepared travelers for the idea of passage and provided a one-second familiarization pause for another 'place', while emphasizing the presence and the significance of the avenue.

Approaching the end of the Arcadiane, the observers would have been distracted due to the noisy crowd gathered in the palaestra of the Theater Gymnasium. Hence they unconsciously realized that the embracing aura of the concentrated space between the colonnades started to blur and they first felt a sense of arrival when they stepped on to the Plaza. Indeed, the processional avenue gave them the necessary background information on the primary ruler/power before experiencing the key nodes of the Asian Metropolis; now it was the time for reading the narrative told solely by the Ephesians about themselves.

What was seen through the Theater Gate along the extended passageway axis is puzzling, however. Two monuments flanking both sides of the monumental northern entrance of the Theater defined the particular view framed by the Gate (Fig.3.26). The first monument was the elaborate Hellenistic fountain house, which was renovated and enlarged in the Roman era; and the other was, as examined by Schneider (1999, 477), a 7.1m x 7.1m square structure. Not

⁸⁴ Following the analysis in the second section of this chapter, it is reasonable to suggest this gate to be the western Gate of the Arcadiane, rather than the Harbor Gate of the city since the extraordinary proportions and imperial implications of the Arcadiane would have required more precise definition. In fact, the aforementioned isolation of this space could also have been called for sharp differentiations from the environment. Moreover the positioning of the gate – right at the western end of the avenue – supports this assumption.

studied yet, these remains include a limestone base, countless marble pieces and a curved block from a pyramidal covering (ibid.). As pointed out by Schneider, this picture corresponds with the description of classical tombs. The remains mostly date to the late Roman era yet it is not clear whether a renovation took place or whether these were all original pieces.

The axis of the Arcadiane met exactly with the middle axis of these small structures. Though their scales were not suitable for a long distance effect, they were certainly among the first artifacts the observer would notice after passing through the symbolic gateway. In fact following this view, Schneider suggests that (ibid.) the "boar" mentioned in the Arcadiane inscription might refer not only to a topographical location, but also tombs and monuments related with the foundation myths of the city. His idea chiefly depends on the fact that the Hellenistic city must have ended somewhere on the south of the Plaza. Moreover, he makes a point of an inscription from the Theater Gymnasium listing the names of the *Ephebes* (youth association) and continues further that this building could be the education center mentioned in another inscription as "*Androkloneion*" – where games were held on the festivals in the name of Androklos. So, the Theater Gate, the Fountain House, neighboring (tomb) monument, and the Gymnasium became parts of a total building concept and consequently the monumental Arcadiane turns out to be a ritual path in the way to the mythical roots of Ephesus.

* * *

Before reaching a conclusion, however, it is worth considering the spatial configuration and use-patterns of this open public space. First of all, the Theater Plaza had a prominent nodal quality. It was situated in a very significant city lot where the Arcadiane coming from the Harbor met with *Via Sacra* following the periphery of the Panayırdağ and leading to the house of the mother goddess. In addition, it was the place where crowds entering or exiting the theater joined the inner-city traffic. A secondary street was also added to the plaza from the southwestern corner: - an older part of the *Via Sacra* before the Roman regularization - leading people to the Northern Gate of the Tetragonos Agora and taking those leaving the Agora to the nodal plaza. What is striking about this irregular road is the fact that its intersection point - and also the termination point - with the Byzantine city wall is right on the axis of the Theater Gate of the

Arcadiane (see fig.3.26).⁸⁵ Since this pathway was older than the monumental gate, its positioning might be the reference point to terminate the colonnaded avenue. In that sense there would be a deliberate attempt to create a gathering space in front of the older extramural zone of the Hellenistic city and the newer forecourt of the imperial pilgrimage and commerce center of Asia.

As asserted by Lynch (1960, 72) a strong physical form is not absolutely essential to the recognition of a plaza. This forecourt of the Asian capital has a rectangular form but non-continuous perimeters or clearly defined boundaries. It can thus accept entering axes from different directions; reduce their directional force and individuality while tying them together. Without dispute, the only solid boundary and also the most dominant element of the plaza was the Great Theater of Ephesus (Fig.3.27).

Because of its function as an urban focal point and place of assembly, the theater, with its performances and artistic competitions was especially important to the infrastructure of the city. It was situated on the natural slope of Panayırdağ and thus isolated on all sides, with the exception of the perisyle house above it (Fig.3.28).⁸⁶ According to an inscription found in the Theater, its tiers of seats could be seen far out from sea (Rogers 1991, 101); so those who were arriving could easily enjoy its aspect and those who were already inside could equally experience different perspectives including the distinguished view of the Arcadiane and the harbor. Its form and decoration (Fig.3.29) corresponded with the needs of an imperial capital as revealed in the inscriptions.

⁸⁵ As mentioned in the second chapter, Scherer (2001, 67) believes that the northern gate of the Tetragonos Agora could be derived from the Koressian Gate, the Hellenistic city gate since a Hellenistic wall was excavated beneath the Augustan foundations. Yet, Schneider proposes another spot for the Hellenistic gate here and argues that (1999, 477) the point where the older part of Via Sacra intersected with the Byzantine wall could be the place of the Koressian Gate. While setting the location of the wall, Byzantines could have respected the gate and aligned the course of the wall accordingly. Further trial trenches in that area might clarify the exact position of the Hellenistic city gate in the future.

⁸⁶ While tracing the Hellenistic city of Ephesus, Thür (2002) presents detailed drawings showing that the western side of the house had an open façade. Later in the Roman period this façade was closed with a continuous wall but this wall also had openings through it which again provided the owners with a splendid view of the lower cityscape. Referring to these evidences, Thür implicitly suggests the idea that this house might be the residence of a Hellenistic Ruler, if not Androklos, since its location and architecture resemble those of the Hellenistic palaces. With a similar view, Rogers (1991, 102) discusses Roman renovations of this house, so called "residence of the proconsul," and concludes that this richly decorated villa could have been used by the proconsul when he visited the city. Moreover, due to its positioning over the place of assembly where the *ecclesia* met regularly this house deserves some symbolic interpretations as well.

The first and greatest Metropolis of Asia and twice temple guardian of the Augusti gave the awning of the theater together with the proscenium, and the floor, and the curtains, and all other wooden furniture of the stage, and the remaining doors, and the white marble work in the theater, partly restored, partly new, at its own expense. Publius Vedius Antoninus the Asiarch was Recorder, P. Atilius Menodotus Berenicianus and Gaius Attalus son of Attalus, friends of Emperors, being superintendents of the works.⁸⁷

It is still unclear when the theater attained its final form with the building of the third seating circle but many inscriptions reveal that in Roman imperial times it seated some 25.000 spectators. Indeed, various civic groups had reserved seats and regular meetings were held there (Scherrer 2000, 160). The general public also watched various dramas and contests from these seats.

The space necessary for officials and spectators to circulate freely was provided inside by curved walkways and vaulted staircases and outside with two monumental stairs and the wide open plaza. The course of the Via Sacra was interrupted with this plaza but both of the branches aligned with the main lines of the theater, so suitable vistas were established while approaching from the north or south. In the western side, on the other hand, it was tied firmly to one of the major features of the city, the Harbor, and had an oriented shape that clarified the direction from which one entered. Whereas, the Arcadiane, coming directly from the western side, did not provide a central move toward the theater, which in fact could have been very easily realized since the avenue was not a continuation or a predecessor of an earlier course.

Hence it should not be too much of a speculation to assume that Ephesians deliberately avoided placing the axis of the avenue right to the center of the circle formed by the theater. When the above proposed formation of a background for the 'imperial space' is considered, this planning decision might seem more reasonable, yet, some further verification is needed. One speculation about this ambiguous choice might be a conscious attempt to continue the vista with a flow of stairs. This flight would take the observer directly to the seats where he/she could enjoy conventional spectacles honoring the emperor. Or else, aesthetical concern could prevent Ephesians from ending the vista with the solid, three storey high back wall of the stage building. Another one may be the assumption that by not fixing the end of the axis with this edifice, they could have highlighted the importance of the theater or its neutral response to the

⁸⁷ An Inscription from the theater dating to the second century A.D. (Wood 1975, 47).

imperial rituals and greeting ceremonies. Besides, Schneider's statement about the emphasis given to Androklos and his myth might be another reason. The narrative did not come to an end in the Theater Gate; this spot could be only a break in the way to the main 'text' which would be written in the Great Theater.

In fact, ancient testimony and some archaeological finds reveal historical relations associated with this urban artifact, which might be the reason behind such a special treatment. The most famous comes from the *Acts of the Apostles*, chapter 19.23-41, which describes a spontaneous assembly in the Great Theater:

. . . For a certain man named Demetrius, a silversmith, which made silver shrines for Diana, brought no small gain unto the craftsmen, whom he called together with the workmen of like occupation, and said, Sirs, ye [we] know that by this craft we have our wealth. Moreover ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands: So that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshipped.

And when they heard these sayings, they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. And the whole city was filled with confusion: and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre. And when Paul would have entered in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not. And certain of the chief of Asia, which were his friends, sent unto him, desiring him that he would not adventure himself into the theatre. . . . all with one voice about the space of two hours cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians.

And when the townclerk had appeased the people, he said, Ye men of Ephesus, what man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana, and of the image which fell down from Jupiter? Seeing then that these things cannot be spoken against, ye ought to be quiet, and to do nothing rashly But if ye enquire any thing concerning other matters, it shall be determined in a lawful assembly. For we are in danger to be called in question for this day's uproar, there being no cause whereby we may give an account of this concourse. And when he had thus spoken, he dismissed the assembly.⁸⁸

This account from 57 A.D. is particularly significant in two ways: first, it represents the theater as the place of communal debate and acclamations, and second, it dramatically demonstrates the importance of the worship of the mother goddess in the city of that time. Another ancient source, as pointed out by Parsons (1989, 114), suggests that copies of Amazon sculptures - designed

⁸⁸ Quoted from, <http://theology101.org/bib/kjv/act019.htm>, last accessed in July 2006.

originally for the Temple of Artemis between 440 and 430 B.C. – decorated the stage of the theater during Roman times. Moreover, inscriptions found in the theater also confirm its quality as a public declaration and approval place. The aforementioned bequest of Caius Vibius Salutaris was inscribed on the marble wall of its southern entrance. The founder gave an extremely generous donation for the Artemis procession and had silver statues of the goddess and of the Emperor Trajan set up the theater during the public gatherings.⁸⁹ To be more precise, he dedicated certain statues and images, and money, firstly to Artemis and then to various civic bodies and individuals in the city (Rogers 1991, 26). In fact, another copy of the text of this long inscription was incised somewhere in the Artemision (ibid.). Taken together, these findings suggest that the theater assumed the role of a free-zone open to common citizens and visitors where they could actively intervene in the cities' internal affairs, participate in sacred rituals and ceremonies and at the same time watch various performances. Rogers defines this spot as a "spatial linchpin" of the imperial Ephesus by stating that,

It was the place where the political and economic reality of the city's dependence of the Roman fiat and the changes of international trade met the social and even theological ideal of a free city with its assembly sitting in the Great Theater amidst Salutaris' golden statues of Artemis. (1991, 105)

What is especially significant for our present purposes, however, is the specific relationship of the theater to the Temple of Artemis. Under the terms of his foundation, in fact, Salutaris requested that statues and images be paraded along a circular route which began at the Temple of Artemis via the Magnesian gate and returned to it on the side of the Stadium.⁹⁰ It is significant to note that this procession made its first and only stop at the theater. Noteworthy enough, it was also this theater which was chosen by Demetrius and his followers as the place to protest any religious activity against Artemis. These in turn suggest that the theater was somehow closely related with the Temple of the deity and thus became a sacred structure in the core of the Roman harbor city of Ephesus.

⁸⁹ As listed by Rogers (1991, 83) there are nine type-statues in the inscription. One of these type- statues, which was silver overlaid with gold, belongs to the Artemis yet the rest were silver alone. In addition, Salutaris dedicated twenty silver images, including Trajan, Augustus, Lysimachos, Plotina, Euonomus, and Pion, the mountain god.

⁹⁰On the east of the Stadium there is another city gate, the so-called Coressian Gate, which has not been mentioned till now. Hardly any evidence or documentation on this gate is available. Classified as a Hellenistic structure (Rogers 1991, 135), it is treated as the gate completing the circle around the Panayırdağ in the way to Artemis. However, the information about this gate is insufficient to be included in this study.

Even further, Parsons (1989, 114) suggests that the theater itself may have been an analogue for the temple of the goddess. From a rather prudent perspective, on the other hand, this 'artifact' could be considered as Artemis' new 'representative' within the walls of Ephesus. As examined in detail in the previous chapter, in the first years of the Empire, the highest spot of the Via Sacra located in the northern side of the State Agora was the sacred place where Artemis ruled the city together with Hestia Boulaia, her 'ambassador' within the city. Yet, in the following years, this Agora acquired a definite Roman imperial character – due to the imperial temple (the Temple of Domitian) and various honorary structures (the Stoa-Basilica, Pollio Monument, Memmius Monument and fountains) dedicated to the imperial cult - and thus was treated like a sacred area for the imperial cult, rather than a terrain ruled by the mother goddess. Hence it is possible to claim that this spot, standing very close to the later Prytaneion, could have lost its representative quality. So, the open 'office of representative' could be filled by the Great Theater, which would be a perfect choice when its orientation, dominant position, scale and decoration are considered.

Seen in this light, the Arcadiane and the following Plaza appear to be designed with an attempt to inscribe the 'masters' of the city in a hierarchical order. It was a narrative of gradation, of what was less important and what was more so, a kind of statement which was already present in the other fields of social life – in administration, army and society itself. In this respect, one read first the magnificent maritime facade of the city and the marble colonnaded avenue that lay behind, reflecting the grandeur and visual ideology of Romanitas. Having imperial power and absolute authority in mind, the observer was faced with the mythical founder of Ephesus, Androklos, who in fact experienced a revival of sorts under the empire, particularly after the second neocorate of the city.⁹¹ Furthermore, such an arrangement and the denomination of Hadrian as the "new founder" of the city may be seen as the outcome of an imperial attempt to compromise with the local values, or else a result of the internalization of the emperor by Ephesians. Either way, heroic Androklos emerges as the spiritual

⁹¹ Rogers (1991, 107-108) documents evidence of representations and allusions spread throughout the city suggesting that Ephesians started to see Androklos in various forms especially after the reign of Hadrian. His large statue was perhaps placed in the Harbor Gymnasium. A mosaic of him was placed in the South side of the Agora and a relief on the walls of Theater (See Aktüre, 1995). His name was carved on the walls of houses along the Curetes Street and various honorary epigrams were placed around the city. He had a statue in the Salutaris' foundation and a corporation of tradesmen named themselves the Androklidai.

connection between the terrestrial and celestial domains, between human beings and gods, between the Roman emperor and the patron deity Artemis. In this way, passing through the symbolic monuments of the city's legendary past, the observer reached the 'representative' of Artemis, whose form and decoration already announced its position in the spiritual world of the city. The Theater, in effect, was not an end point of this urban narrative; it was just a place of break where decisions were made. Hereafter, the narrative would be shaped by the path of the observer.

* * *

Coming across the procession of *Salutaris*, the visitor could have chosen to join the crowd and proceed further northward. On climbing to the northern part of the the *Plateia*, the Theater Street in modern terms, he could have watched various exercises or rehearsals since the palaestra of the Theater Gymnasium was still visible. The *Olympeion*, the second official provincial temple for Emperor Hadrian, may have been situated still further along on the western side of the street, and in the distance to the north-east, the Stadium of the city dating to the time of the Emperor Nero, could also be visible to the people in the procession.

In fact the Theater Plaza was an "extraverted" plaza, in Lynch' terms (1960, 80), where "general directions are explained and connections are clear" to the *Artemision*, the Library Quarter and the waterfront. Hence, if the observer did not come upon any of the ritualistic wanderings at the Plaza, he would most probably concentrate his attention at this nodal plaza in order to determine the next route to follow. Supposedly, he would choose the opposite direction to continue; an assumption that highly depends on rather clear visual effect of the strictly defined and marble-paved street running southward (Fig.3.30). This elaborately furnished 'semi-colonnaded' thoroughfare, called Marble Street, led visitors to one of the anchor points of the city, to the *Triodos*.

The entire western border of the Marble Street was lined by a Doric, two-aisled hall approximately 150m in length, which was jointly dedicated to Artemis Ephesia, Nero, his mother Agrippina and the citizens of Ephesus. One half of this hall was erected above the rooms behind the east colonnade of the Tetragnonos Agora. As a result, the so-called Hall of Nero was raised 1.7m and therefore

inaccessible from the street, except from its simple, arched doorway in the direction of the Theater (Fig.3.31). In fact, this end of the building, the spot where the hall and the nodal Plaza met, was redesigned in later Roman times with a floor raised about 1m and separated from the main space by a transverse wall (Scherrer 2000, 142). It can well be assumed that this platform occupied a crucial position on this side of the city as it allowed a good view of the crowded Plaza, frequented entrance way of the Theater and also busy lower lying street leading the north gate of the commercial Agora.

The function of this hall, however, is unclear. Since it had an imperial dedication, it may have had a relation with the imperial cult and a separate space could have answered some ritual needs, as such an arrangement was already used for the Augustan Basilica in the State Agora. In addition, the existence of an imperial space in a portico on the main commercial square of the city also may have been meaningful. In that sense, this projection could have been used as an observation platform for imperial officials. As suggested by Scherrer (1995, 8), on the other hand, this section could be interpreted as a tribunal used for trials and other purposes of proconsularic assemblies. In fact, a Bouleuterion (a city council chamber) was situated on the State Agora but inscriptional evidence dates it to the mid-second century, so until that time daily business activities could have taken place in this hall. Moreover, different than the dedicatory formula of the Basilica-Stoa in the upper city, this hall's inscription included 'the citizens of Ephesus,' which can be interpreted to mean that this hall may have had some sort of a communal quality. In that sense, this hall and the raised platform could have functioned as the 'lawful assembly' mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*.

About the agora-side of the Neroan Hall, however, nothing can be said archaeologically. Whether it was physically connected with the agora or whether it had openings to view the busy commercial life of the Agora remain unclear. But if the possibility of its quality as a 'town hall' is considered, such a position and regularly placed visual, if not physical, connections (openings) would not be out of place.

Contrasting with the higher and thus physically inaccessible façade in the west, the eastern length was bordered by a gallery with undecorated columns supporting a ceiling of Doric style (Fig.3.32). Behind this Stoa lay single rooms

which were used for commercial purposes, and entrances to the partially excavated multi-storied residential buildings (Scherrer 2000, 156).

These colonnades probably differ from the ones along the Arcadiane. First of all they have a more modest scale comparing with the heroic scale of the 'imperial street.' Similar to it, however, the rooms curtained by the colonnades were reserved for commercial use. Yet, different from the Arcadian's chambers, these *tabernae* had some connection with the residential district behind. Not in the sense of the modern understanding of a "district" of course but this group of buildings, modest in size and furnishing, may have formed a characteristic cluster and may have ultimately affected functional and visual qualities of the street. As can be examined from the archaeological data of the structures at the southern end of the Marble Street (Fig.3.33, the colonnades could have led the observer directly (through regular openings) or indirectly (through adjacent rooms) to dwellings. Pausing at the entrance of a shop, the viewer could have been confronted by an ensemble of personal representations, shop signs, graffiti. Moreover, these visual elements could have spilled over the street since the semi-open hall in front of the shops was not wide enough. Along the Marble Road, in fact, the colonnades, this time literally, could have become an interface between regulated public image of the city and rational values of everyday life.

Supporting this scenario, the figures of a marble block showing a woman's head, a left foot and supposedly a heart is seen on the narrow pavement on the side of the Neronian Hall (Fig.3.34).⁹² In addition, some reliefs of gladiators were also found along this side (Fig.3.35) (Erdemgil 1996, 93).

The appearance of the street was determined to a large degree by the 1.7m high terrace wall of the Hall. Different than the strictly defined perspective of the Arcadiane, the visitor had a more heterogeneous visual composition along the Marble Road. By forming a definite edge with its maintained height, this Hall may have set the visual limits for the observer. While passing from the Theater Plaza to the Marble Street, he would have had a glimpse of the colonnades of the lower lying commercial Agora behind, if observant enough, but as he proceeded,

⁹² These figures carved on the floor have frequently been interpreted as a sign board for the so called 'House of pleasure.' As stated by Scherrer (2000, 120), such an interpretation could be incorrect. the inscription found in this residential building referred to mentions a *paidiskeion* (house of delight), but this word also means public latrine and the architrave may originate from there. Further excavations will shed light on this issue in the future.

the agora most probably was lost to his sight. Then the Agora may have been recognizable to someone familiar with the city but it would have lacked visual strength or impact for the new comers. In that respect, it is provoking that such a huge area, indeed an important urban artifact, was deprived of generating the city image. While being one of the dominant objects of the two-dimensional city plan, in three-dimensionality it did not create a memorable impression on the observer, except for one approaching from the harbor side, from the so-called West Street and the West Gate.

Instead, the visitor concentrated on the tension between the two facades of the Marble Street where actors of the "urban drama" were already on stage. For the first time in his journey, the visitor could have seen common people in their domestic setting chatting, joking or quarreling about things. Since the stoa would have protected shoppers from both sun and rain, particular locally-produced goods could have been sold in every season. On the western side, in contrast, he could have observed official trials discussing daily submissions between inhabitants and (local or foreign) traders, as well as those between traders and their suppliers. These trials were open to observation with the semi-open colonnades bordering the Hall; but at the same time closed to spontaneous interruptions with the elevated floor level.

As one went further, the monotonous elevation of the Hall led the gaze to a monumental three-storied gate building (Fig.3.36). as a focusing point, which was huge in scale when compared with the neighboring structures (Fig.3.37). Its overwhelming proportions - 11.4m width and 16.6m height - may have made this element visible from many locations - from the Theater Plaza, the Curetes Street and also the State Agora, even from the *Plateia* coming from the side of the Stadium.

Furthermore, there was a break in the street course, which turned this spot into a place of intensified perception, where there was a three-way intersection: beside the Marble Road, one route led under this monumental gate through southwest, the third one to a climbing street in the east way, to the upper city. While approaching this "route decision point,"⁹³ visitors stared at this gate from an extended range of time and distance. From this point of view, in fact, this

⁹³ This term is borrowed from Lynch 1960, 101.

structure can be interpreted as an ancient landmark singled out of its environment due to its uniqueness and memorability in the context. As stated by Lynch (1960, 78), "landmarks become identifiable if they have a clear form, if they contrast with the background, if there is some prominence of spatial location." So, its strength as a landmark could have derived from its physical visibility and topographically significant position.

Furthermore, the structure has a tripartite plan in which the broad street gateway is framed by two narrower passages. Statues of gods, members of the imperial family, and donors were set up in the intercolumniations next of the large arch and in the upper storey. Underneath, there was also a statue of the city's patron goddess, Artemis (Scherrer 2000, 128). This could be the first time observers directly confronted the prominent deity and ultimately understood that this significant spot and the street located behind this structure had a sacred meaning. In sum, besides its topographical importance, this gate and its location had a culturally significant position in the sacred landscape of the city, which also intensified its identity as an urban landmark since "once a history, a sign or a meaning attached to an object, its value as a landmark rises" (Lynch 1960, 82). Hereafter, the visitors found a stable anchor for their perception of this side of the city.

3.4. Observing the *Triodos* and its quarter

Already impressed by the grandeur of the monumental gate at the end of the Marble Road, passers-by would have realized that they had eventually arrived at another pause in the urban narrative, where men "could reexamine passages already read and preview passages to come" (Favro 1993, 243) (Fig.3.38). To the west, they saw the façade of the Celsus Library bordering a clearly defined plaza. To the south, next to the slender gate structure, a monumental altar (?) filled the horizon. Previously hidden from the observer's view, the Curetes Street leading to the upper city now demanded attention. To the east, the colonnades gently made a curve and 'curtained' the structures behind, a large peristyle villa and a public latrine. The probable crowd at this corner may have let visitors know that this spot was the core of the Metropolis. This node, in fact, which had to handle the angled intersection of three different routes, was very sharply imaged. It was less of a spatial whole than a concentration of activity and of some uniquely contrasting buildings.

As mentioned before, the later South Gate of the Tetragnonos Agora was originally erected as a *triodos* (three-way) gate at this point where the *Via Sacra* branched off to Ortygia, the legendary birthplace of city's patron deity, Artemis. With the regularization of this part of the city, however, this junction was shifted further up the slope at the south end of the Marble Street. The beginning of this new "Ortygia Steet," as Knibbe calls it (Thür 1999, 108) was marked with the Gate of Hadrian, 'the new Triodos Gate' set at a different angle to the orientation of all the three crossing streets. This gate served, as stated by Yegül (1994, 102), "as an effective visual reflector, redirecting the pedestrian's gaze from the gently rising Embolos, leading southeast, back to the rich ensemble of architectural façades dominating the junction."

Just to its right foot was another structure, an altar measuring 22m x 8.5m. Dating to the early imperial times, these architectural findings are still parts of an unsolved problem among scholars studying Ephesus. The foundations and the 9.5m wide stairway connecting the large U-shaped loggia with the plaza beneath are all that remains (Fig.3.39). What was built above them has not yet been determined. It has been suggested that this structure once formed the foundations of the so-called Parthian monument, the relief slabs of which were reused in late Roman times (Scherrer 2000, 136).⁹⁴

Hueber suggests that (1997, 84) this open structure could be the place for jurisdiction purposes. The elevated stage surrounded by columns on its three sides could have been used for open courts (Fig.3.40). Again according to his interpretation, in the middle of the rear wall, directly across the stairs could have been located an imperial statue in an apsis-like niche. Although no archeological evidence supports this idea, Hueber insists on the possibility that this monumental "auditorium" – referring to an inscription found in the plaza – could have dominated the area. Expressing implicitly the imposed power of the Empire and the jurisdiction of the emperor with its vertical emphasis, this structure had also a proper positioning. During these cases, the stairs around the structure

⁹⁴ The Parthian monument, one of the most important relief friezes from Roman times ever found in Asia Minor, was erected on the occasion of the victorious conclusion of the Parthian wars (161-165 A.D.) to commemorate the Emperor Lucius Verus, commander of the Roman forces, who had set up his headquarters in Ephesus. The Emperor is glorified in a series of five scenes: his adoption by Antoninus Pius in 138; Lucius Verus in battle; as Emperor with the personifications of the most important cities of the Empire; enthroned among the gods; his apotheosis. All the relief slabs and their remains were found in second or third use, making the original position of this circa 40 meter long figurative frieze - still being exhibited in the Ephesus Museum in Vienna - and also the accuracy of the reconstruction questionable.

could have been functioned as seats for audiences and so ordinary citizens or visitors could have followed the judgments or orders of the court (Fig.3.41).

Knibbe, on the other hand, concentrates mostly on the generative quality of this important spot within the city. Considering its specific relation with Artemis and its processions, he suggests that this area could have protected its sacred identity, rather than assuming a secular mission (1991, 56). The altar could have served with association of Artemis' worshippers, known from an inscription, in the area around the Embolos. The area where the procession left the city and continued towards the legendary birth place of the goddess could have been crowned with a prestigious altar. Supporting Knibbe's interpretation, Jobst (1985, 81) proposed a reconstruction which states that the podium of this altar could have been decorated with the famous Parthian reliefs below garland-friezes (Fig.3.42). In this sense, the altar may be regarded as a memorial to Lucius Verus with respect to city's patron goddess.

Certainly, Ephesus' status as an assize-center in the province has made scholars look for an appropriate place for these continual courts, but when the history of the three-way crossing and its place in the memories of the Ephesians are taken into consideration, the possibility of a cultic altar seems more reasonable. The probable statue of the goddess placed between the pillars of the Triodos Gate also strengthens such an interpretation, as any observer approaching the crossway would have been somehow informed about the character of this urban place. What called this intersection into being centuries ago, obviously, was the goddess and her spiritual dominance. Only such a huge altar could represent her and her magnificent temple, which would become one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

Either way, this monument had a powerful public character and most probably, was the most eye-catching element in this nodal point. Following the contours of this monument the observer would, most probably, have perceived the theatrical architecture staged on his right, on a sunken plaza. Different from the city's forecourt - the Theater Plaza - this open space did not block the thoroughfare; instead, it stood beside the junction where the Marble Street met with the Embolos. Without interfering with the flow of the busy life, this plaza made a spatial retreat and created its own urban character within the hierarchically organized spatial network of Ephesus. Its being situated below the street level

and having clear-cut boundaries provided the plaza a great sense of enclosure (Fig.3.43). The most impressive of the "façades dominating the junction" and defining this urban space was beyond doubt the library of Celsus, which deserves a detailed description.

In 92 A.D., Tiberius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus was a consul in Rome. Between 105 and 106, he was the proconsul, general governor of the Province of Asia. When he died in 114 at the age of seventy, his son Tiberius Julius Aquila built the library as a heroon for his father (Erdemgil 1996, 84). To cite Scherrer (1995, 77), on the other hand, during his life he offered a library at this holy spot on the condition that he be buried in its basement. The two-storeyed façade of the library (Fig.3.44) rises from a nine-stepped podium, which is built over a vaulted substructure. Following the criterion of Vitruvius, it faces east to take advantage of the morning light.

The columns on the first storey have smooth shafts and composite capitals with Attic bases. They are grouped in pairs, but individually each column rests on a pedestal. Resting on the entablatures above each pair of lower storey columns are eight more columns in the second storey, paired and spaced differently from those below. The middle pair supports a triangular pediment; the two pairs on either side of the middle one support curved pediments. These three pairs fill the gaps between the pairs on the lower storey, creating a hierarchical arrangement. The two solitary columns at either end are left without pediments, and are attached to the wall by means of entablatures alone. Different than the lower ones, the upper storey columns have Corinthian capitals. Yet in both storeys every column has its projection carved on the wall behind. This in fact emphasized a conscious concern for a proper figure-ground relationship.

Above the doors were window-like openings. The pattern in the reconstruction reflects the hypothesis of stone-grated windows below, and larger ones on the second storey, to light the inside of the Library. The facade seems almost transparent. Large openings reveal the interior space, but only when one stands on the Marble Street. After getting down the stairs occupying the eastern side of the plaza, one could hardly see anything about inside. Instead, from this point on, the lavishly decorated ceiling of the projection of the upper storey and the inscriptions placed under the entablatures were on display (Fig.3.45 a-b).

There are also four niches in the façade with statues representing the virtues possessed by Celsus: Arete (Goodness), Ennoia (Thought), Episteme (Knowledge), and Sophia (Wisdom) (Erdemgil 1996, 84). Also found were statues of a bearded man in military dress (Celsus?), and a tragic Muse (Melpomene).⁹⁵ The placement of these is uncertain; perhaps the upper story, perhaps not.

While the facade of the building shows a two-storied plan, the interior (one large hall) had three stories: a main floor and two balconies where scrolls stored in cubby-holes in the walls could be retrieved. The niches could have held as many as 12,000 scrolls (Scherrer 2000, 130). In the middle of the west wall there is an apsidal niche where a statue stood in antiquity either of Athena (according to Miltner) or Celsus himself (according to Hueber). The huge entrance door in the middle could have made this statue visible, even from the Marble Street. Below the statue was the arched tomb of Celsus (Fig.3.46).

Because the library was built after the buildings on either side of it, it was somewhat squeezed in. Thus, the desired monumental effect was enhanced by certain tricks played with the perspective, as discovered by Hueber (1997, 83). The columns in front were very cleverly designed, producing an optical illusion whereby the building front looks wider than it actually is. The podium, on which the columns rest, for example, was built with a raised center and lowered sides. The capitals and rafters on the end columns were made smaller to appear to be farther from the center than they are, giving the building the appearance of being wider than it really is (Fig.3.47). Furthermore, the arrangement of the column pairs also contributes to such a visual illusion. That is, by reducing the number of the column pairs – instead of using a repeated pattern like the scaenae frons of the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias (Fig.3.48) – the designers created a vertical emphasis which made the building appear taller than it really was.

Next to the Library, at right angles to it was another 'gift' from other outstanding men to the city (Fig.3.49). Inscriptions on the high attic of this three-arched gate house declare that this gate was built by two freedmen of Augustus in the name of the imperial family – the emperor Augustus, his wife and daughter and

⁹⁵ METU, <http://classics.uc.edu/~johnson/libraries/celsus.html>, July 2006.

his son-in-law Agrippa. While most of the inscriptions on the façade of the library were in Greek; here, the text was given in a shortened Greek version in the middle section and in a greater detail in Latin on the sides. Different than the vulnerable and noteworthy architecture of Hadrian's Gate, this deep and massive structure, the so called Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate, stood as a steady, bold statement from the Augustan era. As claimed by Scherrer (2000, 138) in the original design there were two-storey wings on each side of the gatehouse which could also contribute to such an image. These wings most probably housed the graves of the two donors.

The architecture of the South Gate was very much in tune with the north façade of the Neronian Hall (Fig.3.50). Facing the plaza, two doors framed by a moderate Doric order constituted the entrance of this public (?) hall. Somehow repeating the pattern of the monumental altar across the plaza, the hall was reached by a flight of stairs. This time, however, the staircase incorporated an ashlar plinth of a circular monument. Actually this structure was the first - and the nearest - element catching the eye freed from the regular columnar 'curtain' of the Neronian Hall for someone approaching from the Marble Road. But the monumental architecture of the Altar and the Library could have diminished its visual dominance. Hueber (1997, 73) interprets this six-columned *monopteros* with Corinthian capitals and conical roof as the sundial and water clock (horologium) that was used to be in the Agora since the Hellenistic era - according to an inscription. Considering its function as a sun-clock (?), it could have also affect and even determine various vistas of the plaza in different times of the day and of the year. Scherrer, on the other hand, avoids naming this structure as a horologium. Instead he states that it must have functioned as a decorative fountain of a type which was very popular (2000, 136). Regardless of its function, however, it is noteworthy that the scholarly suggested architecture of this decorative urban element (urban furniture?) contrasts with the simple language of the façade behind. Instead, it referred more explicitly to the façade of the Library (Fig.3.51).

In its overall effect, this introverted plaza and the node point nearly two meters above seems to create an urban space in two different levels and characters resulting in two connected but separated urban spaces with different qualities. To be more precise, this permanent anchor point of the city had different kinds of activity patterns and all of them occurred spatially in two levels.

The first level was an enclosed space where no room was left for ambiguity. Open solely to the sky, this plaza functioned somehow as an entrance for the merchants or customers who were mainly interested in the commercial facilities of the city and thus used the West Gate of the Tetragonos Agora instead of the processional entrance of the Arcadiane. Hence the plaza in front of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate became the forecourt of the city and the gate itself became an 'informal' city gate. In fact, the particular design of the gateway - the depth of the three passageways and richly decorated doorways between them - gives credence to this suggestion. Moreover, this sunken plaza served again as a forecourt for both the library and the commercial agora for those who approached from the Marble Road or the upper city.

As commonly known, the agoras occupied an important place in the life of the ancient cities. Referring to the citation of the Roman philosopher Cato that "one does not enter a forum wearing the same suit as worn in the fields," Erdemgil (1996, 89) states that these urban places were considered as semi-sacred areas and thus one entered agoras with reverence as though entering a place of worship. In this sense, the 'foyer' of one of the biggest market places and also one of the biggest libraries of Asia Minor would have been a very dynamic and colorful public place. With this in mind, one can assert that this rather smaller and enclosed plaza became a perfect stage for ongoing face-to-face interactions. All urban participants with different backgrounds were collectively present in close proximity there. Whether they were acquainted or not, or belonged to the same social group or not, people would have used this place in some time of their daily activity. In this type of communication, the ideas could have been exchanged verbally or just bodily gestures could have been used. Pilgrims, travelers, merchants, athletes, officials, criminals, dealers, hunters, fishermen, soldiers, rhetoricians, priests, women, children, plebs and many others would be standing on the steps or passing across the plaza, knowing that "they are close enough to be perceived in whatever they are doing, including their experiencing the others and close enough to be perceived in this sensing of being perceived" (Goffman 1963, 17).

As Norberg-Schulz also pronounces "enclosure has strong social implications." He illustrates the case by reference to theatrical performances, where people congregate for a common purpose. "The essential architectural property is a clearly defined boundary which secures physical as well as psychic protection"

(Norberg-Schulz 1971, 44). Consequently, the sunken area can be considered as a very well-defined stage for the "urban drama" although the play was hardly prescribed or structured.

The higher level, on the other hand, is an in-between space with loose definition. Any planar or linear element set the boundaries of this empty volume of the *Triodos*. It is permeable; it allows the passage and flow of other urban elements. It is diffused into the Marble Road, the Ortygia Street, the lower Embolos, filling the left-over, out of use spaces without forming any disclosure. In this sense, it can be assumed that the *Triodos* did not aim for a constructed space and it did not include any physical construction. In spatial-geographical terms, the *Triodos* can be described and defined by "certain patterns of events that keep on happening there" (Alexander 1980, 55).

Those of us who are concerned with buildings and towns tend to forget too easily that all the life and soul of a place, all of our experiences there, depend not simply on the physical environment, but on the patterns of events which we experience there. (Alexander 1980, 62)

Processions from the Artemision circumventing Panayırdağ occurred on certain days during the holy month of Artemis called *Artemisium* and this holy spot was one of the important nodal points of these ritualistic wanderings.⁹⁶ As stated by Arnold (1972, 76), during this month a truce was declared for the duration of the festival. Secondly, processions to Ortygia on the sixth of Thargelion also took place (Knibbe 1995, 154). No wonder, then, mainly the processions of Artemis would be seen to have the capacity to "produce" an urban space in this spot in the sense introduced by Lefebvre: through the practices of the participants.

These celebrations were held in all parts of the Greek world but were observed with special magnificence by the Ephesians since it was 'the city of the goddess.' The festival was thronged with strangers as well as local citizens. The reason for its popularity may have been a custom described by Xenophon.

The local festival of Artemis was in progress, with its procession from the city to the temple nearly a mile away. All the local girls had to march in the procession, richly dressed, as well as all the young men... There was a great crowd of Ephesians and visitor alike to see the festival, for it was the custom at this festival to find husbands for the young girls and wives for the young

⁹⁶ Detailed versions of these processions are unknown to modern scholars. Only some inscriptional records constitute main source of the knowledge of the festivals. For further study see, I. R. Arnold, 1972, "Festivals of Ephesus," in *American Journal of Archaeology* vol. 76:1 pp. 17-22.

men. So the procession filed past – first, the sacred objects, the torches, the baskets, and the incense; then houses, dogs and hunting equipment... And when the procession was over, the whole crowd went into the temple for the sacrifice, and the files broke up; and men and women, girls and boys came together. (*The Ephesian Tale of Anthia and Habrocomes* 1.2 – 3)⁹⁷

According to him it had become traditional at this festival for young women to select their fiancés, and young men their brides (ibid.). It is probably a later Romanized version of the festival to which Achilles Tatius refers when he describes a night celebration in which unmarried girls and even women slaves participated, but from which married women were excluded (ibid.).

In this sense, the urban and spatial practice of the inhabitants – their act of (re)producing space – is exercised on an already provided space. This is the space planned, designed and inscribed by local authorities. For the case of *Triodos*, the location was changed by some regulating activities and a new urban space was established for those using it. Yet through the multifarious practices of inhabitants – local people or visitors – of those who experienced it within their daily life this urban space was continuously defined and also re-defined.

In particular times, the form and position of the *Triodos* might have changed; every time this urban space could have been re-created by the changing nature of the rituals performed during the processions. The redefined space could have been an unintended production; it could have been unconsciously appropriated, interpreted and manipulated through the needs and desires of the ritual, where the basics were always constant but the practices might have altered from time to time. In contrast to the lower level of this spot, here, the urban space could have been defined by an event whose stages and sub-events were already assigned and structured. Rather than any physical boundaries, an event might have defined the *Triodos*.

For further clarification, it will be instructive to compare this 'dual-plaza' with the space defined by the colonnades along the Arcadiane. After the examination of the functional and perceptual qualities of the colonnaded avenue it is already claimed that this colonnaded avenue might have provide space for various "patterns of events." Yet all these particular events had one single space that not only planned, designed, contemplated upon, but also experienced and lived.

⁹⁷ Quoted from Elsner (1997, 183).

In fact, this urban space can be analyzed as a multi-faceted urban space. Referring to the medieval city, Lefebvre mentions that (1991, 266)

Social space is multi-faceted: abstract and practical, immediate and mediated. Religious space did not disappear with the advent of commercial space; it was still the space of speech and knowledge... there was room for other spaces - for the space of exchange, for the space of power.

In this sense, the Arcadiane may be said to have functioned in several levels as already mentioned. Beside its commercial function, it had a processional quality serving as a memorable first impression of the city, and imperial implications were given within its material architectural space. Most strikingly, it constituted a spectacle in two contradictory ways: a "space of power" manifesting the absolute and eternal power of the empire and its emperor; and a space of representation for the common people who were honored by being seen by the emperor. Moreover, when the religious interpretations of the imperial cult are considered, the avenue's face as a "religious space" can also be examined, but this theme is too broad and 'multi-faceted' to include within this study. What is most important for our present purposes, however, is the fact that all these different perceptions emanated from one unique axial space. These are different faces of this space coexisting in a definite time.

In this regard, the city offered different kinds of open spaces with various spatial and social implications to the visitors. Every urban space in Ephesus had different kinds of activities possessing a peculiarity, not found elsewhere. The observer continuing onwards to the upper city would have met a procession there and felt the particular aura of the quarter dominated by magnificent facades. Remembering and visualizing this 'dual' image of the urban space in her/his head, he/she would have continued through the slightly sloping course of the Embolos accompanied by the tomb monuments following the Hadrianic arch mentioned above.

3.5. Mediating in-between: exploring the Embolos

As one's gaze continued up the Embolos, he would have been stimulated by an urban ensemble very different from the strictly repeating pattern of the Arcadiane or the functionally organized and orderly set Marble Road. That is, through the Arcadiane, the visitor would have experienced the 'whole' rather than single parts in isolation. In a similar way, while passing through the Marble

Road, he/she would have perceived two different facades, both of which had common principles in their own parts and, moreover, having reasonable relations with the façade facing it. At this point, the visual field in front of the viewer was more heterogeneous than ever. In fact, such a complexity in the environment served to increase the interest of the viewer as it could have involved surprise or mystery.

Most probably, two honorable burials from city's history would have been the first structures to recognize due to their scale and elaborate style. Visually, the proximity between these two elements with Hadrian's Gate and the Altar of Artemis (?) enables them to be read as a group and to be distinguished from those that are further apart (Fig.3.52). Furthermore, the Hadrian's Gate, the Hellenistic Heroon, the Octagon and the nymphaeum (the Hexagon) next to it were also defined by a common background: the Terrace House II, the compact built-up area on the north slope of Bülbüldağ. This visual and ultimately mental grouping of different structures inevitably suggests the idea that the information conveyed was also parallel.

In fact, supporting this idea, a simple if not primitive relief on the sculptured frieze over the Ionic order above the Doric ground floor caught the eye immediately, which indirectly referred to earlier knowledge about the city of the viewer/traveler. The key element - and also the key element for the interpretation of this heroon (see fig.2.16) - was the figure of a horseman dressed in a short chiton with a chlamys unfurling backwards (Fig.3.53). The relief consisted of a battle scene between a horseman and a hoplite, a charioteer, a fallen figure in heroic nakedness, and both heavily and lightly armed soldiers (Fig.3.54) (Thür 1995, 168). Single battle groups were so separate from one another that although they stood side by side, they did so without apparent relationship. In fact, this very quality made the figures stand out from a distance. On the structure ca. 13m above the street ground (ibid, 163) one of the design decisions for a frieze carving may have been its legibility from a distance, so as a result, figures were well spaced and simple. Following a study of the reliefs in detail and Pausanias' testimony below,

Androklos helped the people of Priene against the Carians. The Greek army was victorious, but Androklos was killed in the battle. The Ephesians carried off his body and buried it in their own land, at the spot where his tomb is pointed out at the present day on the road leading from the sanctuary past

the Olympieion to the Magnesian Gate. On the tomb is a statue of an armed man. (Pausanias 7.2.8.)⁹⁸

Thür suggests that the relief showing the battle for the fallen figure may have illustrated the heroic death of Androklos. He also refers to the common assumption that the 'founder' is often buried within the city as a hero since his grave provides protection against the enemies. If Pausanias indeed passed through the city on this route, he would have seen the heroon situated nearly midway between the two aforementioned monuments. The statue of an armed man, according to Thür, could have stood on the upper floor of the monument. In support of this, a statue base with a dedication to Androklos has been excavated near the heroon (Fig.3.55). The inscription refers to the replacement of the statue of the founder Androklos at the time of Caracalla (ibid. 176).

In fact, having the burial monument of one of the prominent actors of the city history along the *Via Sacra*, particularly near its most important spot, the *Triodos*, seems comprehensible within the spiritual framework of Ephesians. If we turn back to the claims of Schneider who says that the unstudied square structure might also be a classical tomb (of Androklos?), the problem gets more complicated. But at least it can be concluded that both of the probable monuments have a close relation with a 'place' which was reserved for the patron deity. Symbolic elements from the city's legendary past could have given a novel touch to the 'place of Artemis,' the *Triodos*; as it gave to the termination point of the marvelous colonnaded avenue of the city. Now, and again, the visitor faced a familiar narration about the collective values of the city: an altar (of the patron deity), a monumental gate in the name of the emperor and a burial chamber of the mythical founder occupying the same space.

To this combination may also be added another grave monument, the Octagon from the early Imperial times, which had the basic form of a mausoleum. It is a monumental tomb with an eight-sided superstructure, surrounded by a Corinthian colonnade, with a stone bench, on a square marble base (see fig.2.17). For the first time in the cityscape, it probably combined a polygonal floor plan with a monopteros with a pyramidal roof. The visitor would have noticed immediately that this massive structure had a different language than the others. The owner of the tomb is assumed to be the Ptolemaic princess

⁹⁸ Quoted from Thür 1995, 172.

Arsinoe IV, who was murdered in Ephesus. Yet the relationship of this individual with the Ephesians, their city and the reason behind her having such a prestigious burial on such a prestigious city plot needs further affirmation. What is known so far and what particularly matters for this discussion is the fact that two letters were made public on the street-side of the base in the fourth century A.D. The letter on the left, in Latin, regulates the sharing of public funds between the cities of Asia Minor heavily damaged by earthquakes. The letter on the right, both in Latin and Greek, is addressed to the proconsul and distributes the financial burden of the provincial festival games among four cities (Scherrer 2000, 124) (Fig.3.56). So, it can be speculated that this structure might have been one of the public 'boards' where public notices were 'pinned.' Moreover, referring to the nature of the inscriptions, it is interesting to note that the declarations were actually official and more concentrated on relations with the other cities. In other words, they both referred to foreign affairs, rather than internal ones. Nothing can be said against the possibility that this structure could have functioned for such purposes even before. Yet, this might simply be a coincidence and might be over-interpretation to say that the use of this street as the main core and its being full of visitors/citizens makes it the best candidate for a 'place of public notice.' However, in order to frame this specific 'alien' structure it can be said that Ephesians accepted it as it was but then modified it in such a way that neutralized its formal qualities.

After reading some 'legal or administrative' piece of knowledge about the city, which might not have been so relevant for a traveler or pilgrim, his/her eye would have followed a sense of rhyme right across this mass of visual detail and information. The colonnaded hall with a 3.5m depth occupying the left side of the Embolos might have caught attention (Fig.3.57). In fact, the re-used column drums of this hall covering the lists of the *curetes* gave this street its modern name: the Curetes Street. In spite of this, the appearance of this hall has not been clarified yet. Referring to the archaeological data presented by Thür (1999) and the two reconstruction proposals (Fig.3.58) it can at least be said that the drums were bulky with their diameters of approx. 1m and the floor level was changing according to the topography, which was not the case for the Arcadiane or the Marble Road. So, the interest of the viewer was continually stimulated by level differences and various viewpoints that provided hints of a different spatial quality behind these colonnades. Indeed, this portico gave way to one narrow, rectangular space (19 x 2.6m) through four doors. In fact from that space, two

gateways led to a garden of adjoining houses (Thür 1999, 113). A fifth door, on the other hand, led to the public latrine, which beyond doubt allows us to assume that this hall, the space between these columns was very often used by passers-by.

In a way, vertical smoothness would have emphasized the complexity of the other side of the street. At the same time, however, its perception as a coherent whole and its way of offering views about the 'backstage' of the street would have made this colonnaded hall an attraction point. As mentioned before, there would have existed some ambiguous buildings on this corner *insula*, such as a brothel. Regardless of the correctness of this assumption, this hall led to a 'mixed' setting where a domestic environment coexisted together with a very public entity, the latrine. This quality, indeed, could have provided greater diversity of building form and scale, making the area visually more interesting, with greater scope for local distinctiveness and character.

Moreover, it seems that the semi-open space defined by colonnades did not have a display function, as the ones along the Arkadiane. Yet, this space also did not recall the colonnades along the Marble Road functioning like 'front porches' of the houses (or shops?) behind. In fact, here, the public character interwoven with the private sphere enables further speculations about the use of that median space. Since it was so much integrated with the street space, pedestrians would have been encouraged to see into and move through it. The public component of that space would thus have reduced the unconscious discomfort of visitors while standing in front of one's own house. As such, people coming and going throughout the day and evening might have paused there in order to have a quiet place to take a breath. This portico would in fact have provided surveillance opportunities; so during that time passers-by might have observed the urban spectacle in which they were also taking part. For citizens, on the other hand, this spot had many further specialties since within the city as a whole and the *Triodos* as the main core; this *insula* had a privileged position. Actually, citizens living in this quarter would have met with foreigners ever so often than others and followed any kind of urban drama – processions, courts, festivals – from this rather 'protected' place. As a matter of fact, they would have been the perfect candidates continuously experiencing the redefinition of that space. That is, already having the knowledge of the provided – designed – spatial quality of that corner, inhabitants were furnished with the mental ability

to compare it with the (re)produced space(s) through the practices of rituals performed during the processions.

Towards the end of this rather hidden 'stage,' another 'piece' of "architecture of invitation" caught the traveler's eye from the other side of the street.⁹⁹ Joining the group of tomb monuments further east, a nymphaeum (?) was placed where the border of the street was temporarily widened (Fig.3.59). In front of it, steps were built over an older hexagonal monument. Remains of four marble basins here set against the wall are still visible. What matters in that fabric is the fact that these stairs would have acted as a more open and informal derivative of the hall facing it. As stated by MacDonald (1982, 99) such structures were "urban caesuras" placed beside lines of communication, "made for pausing and resting, of the opportunity to quit, for the moment, the activity of the pavement."

Often they [way stations - public fountains, exedras and porticoed courtyards] were fitted with features for leaning and sitting - steps, ledges, stone railings, or seats - and in porticos there was strolling room. (ibid.)

Precisely, this could have been the case in the Embolos: steps for gathering informally, sticking around were provided together with "strolling rooms" - i.e. the colonnaded hall across the street - enabling to observe the busy street and its stagy aura, with wide openings and various angles of vision. Furthermore, these steps in front of the nymphaeum led to a group of rooms. A well house reminiscent of the Hellenistic fountain house at the Theater Plaza (Scherrer 2000, 122) stood beside these rooms (Plate 5). The function of these rooms or cellars is still uncertain but the size of the rooms and the neighboring context suggests the possibility of commercial use. Or else, they could have been storage rooms or water depots for the nearby fountains. When the location is considered, however, it seems illogical to have just a simple, ordinary shop marking the termination of a dominant building group, having such a well exposed façade to the street, and situated in such an enlivened way that people standing there would have enjoyed the relaxing sound of running water. The relation of this group of rooms with the residential units above them is also questionable. Yet at least it can be derived from the drawings that following the solidity of the tomb group, which was also emphasized - deliberately or not - by the regularity and homogeneity of the colonnaded hall across the street; this

⁹⁹ The term is quoted from MacDonald (1982, 99) referring to public fountains, exedras and porticoed courtyards.

'void,' formed by the nymphaeum and its stairs, the rooms and the small well house as the eastern border, would have provided an 'urban niche' for observers who needed a pause for the revelation of the urban narrative.

Not surprisingly, if not deliberately, the colonnades facing them ended in line with these 'public' rooms with a bulky pier having a conventional niche at its street side (see fig.3.59); and specified the place where one narrow lane leading down from the north slope of Panayırdağ intersected the Embolos. Although the archaeological data about this side street, the so-called Academy Street is insufficient, it seems that this channel could have functioned as an edge working like a seam. As Lynch (1960, 47) notes, "edges may be barriers, more or less penetrable, which close one region off from another; or they may be seams, lines along which two regions are related and joined together." In this sense, the Academy Street both separated and joined two *insulae* with different characters. That is, the corner *insula* already having a mixed character met with a truly public building which occupied the whole block. Large planar walls of the so-called Varius Bath¹⁰⁰ (the Baths of Scholastica) would have formed the eastern boundary of the street, whereas some probable entrances to the dwellings situated far northern part of the corner *insula* or the eastern side of the Marble Road might have constitute the western street façade. Noteworthy enough, the bath was not accessible from this lane; only its *praefurnium*, where the efficient heating system of the baths was operated, was entered from this direction. This, in fact, may suggest the idea that in earlier times the side street might have functioned as an entrance path for a limited number of residences up to the slope and, more importantly, as a service road for the bath complex. With this in mind, this narrow street would not have been so interesting to a visitor due to its smaller scale, probable quietness and rather rare traffic - even if he/she paused at the nymphaeum for a moment. Furthermore, such an assumption can also be supported by the fact that this street, in its late phase, roofed over with groin vaults, connected the baths with the latrine and the decorated residence, if not a house of pleasure (Scherrer 2000, 120). So, its spatial quality as a street - as an 'urban box' - was so weak that it lost its identity as a street over time.

¹⁰⁰ The Varius Bath was built originally around the 1st century A.D. by P. Quintilius Valens Varius (Rogers 1991, 96). It was originally a Roman structure. The remains that are seen today were from the 4th century A.D. The main architectural style of the modified structure is very similar to the original form. The 4th century renovations and modifications were known to be made by a Christian woman named Skolastica. Her seated statue was set up in a niche in the apodyterium. Consequently, this bath is also called the Baths of Scholastica. See, Scherrer 2000, 120.

For the visitor, another reason for not taking the Academy Street might have been the considerable crowd in and around the spatially differentiated colonnade on his/her right side (see plate 5).¹⁰¹ This stoa,¹⁰² 4m to 5m in depth, 'curtained' a row of shops and a narrow alley up to Bülbüldağ. This steep alley (Stiegengasse 1), on average 3m wide, adapted to the slope with flights of steps to overcome a difference in level. Leading to the self-contained residential units arranged in pairs on terraces, this stairway did not reach directly to the street level. Instead, the stoa served as a foyer for the owners or the guests of these houses. Considering the possibility that such luxurious apartments/residences in the capital could have had some reputation among ancient people, it can be assumed that the visitor would have immediately understood that this area was more than a regular residential district, which deserves some further detailing.

This interpretation, an alternative to the view that these houses were luxurious private dwellings, seems particularly convincing with regard to the lower parts of Terrace House II - apartments 6 and 7 which was the property of a priest of Dionysos, T. Flavius Furius Aptus; and the big house with a two-storey peristyle court occupying about half of the entire Terrace House I (Fig.3.60). The ground plans of apartments 6 and 7 in House II, where a peristyle hall gave access to rooms on the west and north sides, a marble paneled room on the south and a small atrium on the southwest, support public use for official purposes. The adjoining apartment 7, on the other hand, had a traditional arrangement: rooms grouped around a central interior court can be classified as a private living area once connected with the unit 6 (ibid. 112). Moreover, a group of rooms arranged around an open courtyard, designated as unit 4, may have served as a commercial wing of this residential unit. Its staircases open to the alley suggest the idea that this part could have functioned as 'public' workshops of Unit 6. Indeed, Jobst (1985, 200-203) was able to suggest that a *hospitium*, probably used for guest accommodation, existed there. As investigated by Scherrer

¹⁰¹ It is assumed that the visitor is following the course of the throughfare from the harbor to the State Agora sometime during the late second – early third century. However, some later urban developments have also been included on occasion since they can better illustrate how street space was utilized and enhanced in the following decades.

¹⁰² The so-called Alytarchus Stoa was restored by a city official in the early fifth century. As stated by Scherrer (2000, 122) the hall and the mosaic floor must have been finished prior to 440 A.D. because a letter of this year to proconsul is made public on one of the columns. The polychrome mosaic, which is one of the favorite artifacts for tourists visiting Ephesus, is largely composed of geometric patterns and is enriched by fields of birds and flowers. All this decoration, in fact, reveals the importance given to this axis and its rebuilding. Of greater interest, in fact, during late Roman-early Byzantine era, an inscription still and rightly called the Embolos "the magnificent ground of the city." (Scherrer 1995, 22)

(2000, 111) the owner belonged to the circle of leading citizens of Ephesus at the close of the 2nd century A.D. and had, at least once, organized the Ephesian games as festival leader. In addition, his function within the framework of the cult of Dionysus was reflected in the decorative layout. So, his unit which was closest to the 'public' street might have served as a 'semi-public' state apartment or as a 'semi-official hotel.' From the archaeological finds it seems nearly certain that the first tavern (T-I in Fig.3.60) behind the colonnades would have given access to this house in a hierarchical manner: the narrow entrance was continued with a rather bigger square 'foyer' which led to a well-defined corridor-like, peripheral sub-space – pretending abrupt entrances - opening to the main peristyle hall. This kind of an arrangement underlines the fact that while the other units above were accessible through the stepped alley, this house had its own entrance. In fact, this entrance might have had a proper expression of its function which enables the visitor to recognize this residence for what it was.

Next to this entrance (?), climbed the stepped street up to 26m to reach the upper street bordering both *insulae* in the south. Tavern II defined its beginning, while Tavern III allowed access to another ambiguous structure (Fig.3.61). The luxurious *domus* had a total surface area of 1400m² and was oriented towards the Embolos. Thereby it diverged from the other planimetric arrangements of the units in Terrace House II. As stated by Parrish (1995, 508), a pair of social spaces, including a reception room (presumably for use during the day) occurs next to a *triclinium* (or dining room), and both rooms face onto a central, hall-like space designated as an *oikos* by H.Vetters. This space opens into a large peristyle hall (6 x 10m). One of the entrances led from the stepped street directly to a corridor-like passageway elaborated with the fountain occupying the south side of the peristyle. Another entrance came from the Embolos through Tavern III where a staircase took the visitor to the upper level and following a waiting room led him/her directly to the heart of the peristyle. No side rooms (with a private purpose), latrines or baths are evident in this building. Consequently, this building is interpreted as a meeting house of an association (Scherrer 2000, 100) or a banqueting house of a notable man mainly used for representational purposes (Lang 1995, 499). Following his suggestion, Lang speculates further that this three-storeyed 'public' house might have established a visual relationship to the street space mainly in two ways. First, the entrance might have been emphasized with a projection. Second, the northern side of the

peristyle could have constituted the street façade of the building. Referring to archaeological data and some assumptions about the representational purposes of a wealthy citizen – the desire to show-off his status, being able to see the ordinary people from 'above' – Lang proposes a very hypothetical reconstruction (Fig.3.62).

What matters here is that while moving through the Embolos, the visitors would have observed the imageability (or distinctiveness) of this 'row of entrances.'¹⁰³ What this urban agglomeration meant to people would possibly affect their mental images: they were highly 'visible,' they were settings for certain known activities, and considering the probable symbolism of the houses, they had a conceivable role in society. Moreover, they were possibly open to public. All this means that the visitor could have followed the road and reached the upper level and as a result would have had the opportunity to observe the street from 'above.' Whether or not he/she looked from above or below, the first thing catching the eye would have been the small temple-like monument embedded in the rough, larger volume of the Varius Baths.

Fronted by a porch with an exceptionally ornate "Syrian pediment" supported by a Corinthian order, this artifact was an endowment and dedicated to Emperor Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) by a renowned representative of the citizens of Ephesus by the name of P.Vedius Antoninus Sabinus (Otschar 2000, 118). In fact, Price (1986, 150) makes a point of the dedicatory inscription of this building. The dedication is to Hadrian and the city, but Hadrian's name is preceded by the name of a deity. Inside there was room for only one cult statue, presumably Artemis. Placing Artemis inside this small structure and the emperor on the periphery, the designer(s) - or Ephesians – referred again a constantly repeated symbolic visual pattern. And again it was Androklos¹⁰⁴ constructed the bridge between these two figures: the observer once again confronted with the

¹⁰³ The original version of the Alytarchus Stoa is still unclear but it is nearly certain that it was a project of reconstruction. Moreover, considering the common pattern of shops behind colonnades on the thoroughfare of Ephesus, it seems reasonable that these taverns on the Embolos might have had colonnades in front of them. If asked about the possible differentiation of entrances of the two houses –as discussed above, the answer might be a shift of the starting point of the colonnade since the two entrances and the beginning of the stepped street occupied the western corner. That is the colonnade could have begun after the entrances. In later Roman phases, the status or the function of the houses might have been changed and consequently

¹⁰⁴ Androclus was this time accompanied with other mythical characters: Hercules rescuing Theseus, a mythological hero and the first true King of Athens, who was chained to a bench as a punishment by Hades for trying to kidnap Persephone from the underworld; Amazons, Dionysus and his entourage, and an assembly of gods including Athena and Artemis (Hueber 1997a, 254).

mythological founder of the city, killing a wild boar, this time on the decorative zones of the this small temple, particularly the reliefs above the lintel (Fig.3.63).¹⁰⁵ These reliefs, in fact, also referred to the Heroon across the street. This visual repetition, in fact, would have further enhanced the meaning of each monument in the integrated identities of Androklos and Hadrian.

While providing some sort of a connection between the terrestrial and celestial domains through visual 'coding,' this small temple thus constituted itself as a common compromising ground: it provided for the dominant actors of the city - Artemis, Androklos, and the emperor - to be confronted with travelers and common citizens. Moreover, its visual contrast with the background structure would have also strengthened its quality of 'being in-between.' As pointed out by Yegül (1994, 103), "one imagines that its (Temple of Hadrian's) jewel-like elegance was set effectively against the large, planar walls, arched windows, and broad projecting apse of the baths." To cite him again, although being both public, these two structures also differed in their function: a place for sacred purposes was hollowed out from a place for physical contentment. Thus, the integrated life of the Embolos might have covered both spiritual and physical worlds.

In fact, the bath was another type of a community center and a daily ritual that defined what it meant to be Roman (MacDonald 1982, 115). Any visitor standing on the colonnades in front of the private dwellings built upon bigger (public ?) houses would have observed not only the splendor of the environment, but crowds of people since the eastern wall of the Temple formed one of the doorways to the Varius Baths. The archaeological findings suggest that this gate could have been a subordinated one since the large apsidal room which served as a changing room and entrance hall had its main entrance from the side street, labeled as the Bath Street (Fig.3.64).¹⁰⁶

To step into a bath house was to step into the arms of pleasure, to experience the relaxing effects of the warm water and the warm air, to socialize with friends

¹⁰⁵ The fact that the statues of the tetrarchs were set up on the street front around 300 A.D. also strengthens such a visual pattern. Furthermore, as Outschar (2000, 118) stated, the late Roman aspect of the small building, displaying myths of the city's founding and presenting images of the tetrarchs, further represents a historical phenomenon "which saw the integration of private and public attitudes in Imperial and late Roman Ephesus."

¹⁰⁶ This path is lined with unexcavated buildings, probably residential quarters located behind this 'public' *insula* (Scherrer 2000, 120). It climbs 70m without any street intersection.

and neighbors - altogether, a joyful experience. And all the time, noise. Romans loved to converse and argue or discuss. There would have been shouting, laughing, drinking and singing. The bath lasted several hours and the rest of the afternoon was spent socializing and arranging the evening's activity. In that sense, allowing all the people to the street might have distracted the spatial quality of the Embolos, as the sacred route. Thus the side street might have functioned as an intermediary zone coping with the crowd, cooling them and then releasing them to the main artery. Moreover, some people would have drunk too much, which could have been inappropriate considering the spiritual quality of Hadrian's Temple.

Throughout his/her travel along the Embolos, the observer would have felt both the sense of being in a particular place, and an equally strong sense that around and outside were other particular places. So, the entrance with stairway – whether used by all or reserved for particular purposes or personalities – would have challenged him as this bath located on one of the most prestigious *insulae* of Ephesus would have offered miscellaneous information about the citizens and the socio-cultural aura, and ultimately about the city. Yet, supposedly, our visitor would have continued to the upper city which would have already started to reveal itself through the silhouette of the monumental imperial temple precisely positioned on the horizon, which is synonymous with the fame of 'its owner,' Ephesus.

On the way to the neokorate temple, the traveler would have passed the *tabernae* – behind the later stoa – where Ephesians both worked and lived from the first century A.D. (Fig.3.65). As mentioned by Scherrer (2000, 114), they were rented out as shops, hot food stalls, drinking parlors and small workshops. Thus, it can be argued that such environments with a high concentration of street-level doors are more contributive to social interaction. Similarly, shops with front porches would have presented a more convivial setting for both travelers and permanent citizens. Active or passive contacts, such as greetings and conversations, or simply seeing and hearing other people, would have occurred spontaneously. Examining the goods exhibited and enjoying such a buzzing informal public life, the traveler would have certainly seen the two-storey high theatrical façade embracing a double life-size statue of Trajan with water flowing at his feet into the pool below (Rogers 1991, 95) (Fig.3.66).

An architrave of the lower storey, (on the eye level?), told the observer that this nymphaeum was dedicated to Artemis, the emperor Trajan and the city between 102 and 102 A.D. by asiarch Tiberus Claudius Aristion. Being an urban niche itself, it provided sub-niches or tabernacles, spaces for statues: Dionysus, Aphrodite, a reclining satyr, Nerva, several females and Androklos with his hunting dog were on display (Scherrer 2000, 202). The facade of the building was highly ornate with Corinthian columns on the upper story and composite columns on the lower.

What is more, strengthening the imperial urban occupation, the neokorate temple covered all the visual field as one approached towards the end of the Embolos. The columned porticoes occupied both sides, but this time, without any disruption (see plate 5). A statue base, inscribed with a dedication, usually to a victorious athlete, stood in front of each column. It can credibly be argued that these colonnades turned out to be the spaces created and modified by people who had something to say, who deserved or needed public admiration or whose family wanted them remembered. The traveler thus came to know about the citizens and their 'space' in this designed 'theater of experience'.

3.6. Contemplating the Square of Domitian

The direct view up to the Embolos¹⁰⁷ focused on another monumental assemblage accompanied by the sound of voluminous mass of water. While acting as a point of visual reference, the fountain adjoining, if not curtaining, another commemorative monument behind, served for a different function than the Nymphaeum Traiani. Rather than emphasizing side boundaries and contributing to the horizontal flow of the street, which increased visual dynamism together with the sense of movement; this fountain, called the Hydreion, would have created a vertical emphasis and damped the flow for a few minutes, ultimately alluding to a pause or a transition within the city armature (Fig.3.67).

¹⁰⁷ In late Roman times, a monumental gateway spanned the eastern end of the Embolos. As indicated by Scherrer (2000, 98), two now re-erected pillars, sculptured with images of Hercules, had framed the middle gate since the third quarter of the fifth century A.D., so that vehicular traffic was no longer possible. In contrast to this common interpretation, Bammer (1972-75, 387) suggests that the re-erected pillars could have been part of an attic storey, which means that the regular opening would have been still suitable for vehicular traffic. Since the construction date is considerably later than other mentioned structures, this gate is excluded from the cityscape within the limits of this study.

Rather, passage buildings are a pause along the armature without impeding circulation, mostly located at armature junctions and deflections, at entrances and intersections, and alongside thoroughfares and plazas. (MacDonald 1986, 74)

Like the "passage buildings" formulated by MacDonald, three water basins and a semicircular niche in the middle which faced the junction smoothed the rather abrupt transition between the Embolos and the plaza. Furthermore, this fountain designated the point where the street, covering the upper storeys of the Terrace Houses, got down and reached the main artery (see plate 1).¹⁰⁸ The monument behind, on the other hand, left a more dignified impression through its inscription which referred to dictator Sulla's capture of Ephesus in 1st B.C. The latter was a memorial built under Augustus and dedicated to C. Memmius, the grandson of the Roman dictator Sulla (Fig. 3.68). Here again, the visitor was confronted with a late Hellenistic artifact. It seems interesting that whether deliberately or not, the corners or intersections along the armature of Ephesus were repeatedly crowned with an architectural piece referring to Hellenistic past of the city: the small fountain at the foot of the Theater, the Heroon facing the Marble Road – and the Octagon to a certain extent, and now a tower-like structure reminiscent of traditional Hellenistic tombs and honorific monuments related to the city's Republican history.

The visitor continuing eastward and uphill beyond the Memmius monument, then reached the so-called Domitian Square, another "repository plaza of the town's soul"¹⁰⁹ dominated by the neokorate temple and its artificial terrace (Fig.3.69).

Though providing commercial and social community spaces, they [plazas] were also crucial plan elements, mediating among street patterns and angles. They were often chronological hinges as well, interpolated between street constructions of different periods, serving as important evidence of evolving architectural thinking. (MacDonald 1982, 62)

In MacDonald's terms, mediating between the Embolos, the Prytaneion and the State Agora, and the Cult of Sebastoi, this square was bounded on the east by the massive substructures of the basilica, the so called Chalcidicum, and the Pollio monument over which the so called Fountain of Domitian was later built. The so-called Domitian Street continued southwards and the rest of the south

¹⁰⁸ Much of this street still lies buried under the ground, but paving reaching the Embolos can be observed as it is in the figure.

¹⁰⁹ MacDonald 1982, 63.

side is bordered by the terrace of the so-called Temple of Domitian. At its northeast corner, the square led to a narrow lane. Known as *Kathodos* in antiquity (meaning the way downwards) (Scherrer 2000, 86), this lane gave direct access to several of the city's most important religious and civic institutions. On the uphill left side, was the Prytaneion, the meeting place of the executive council and the official guesthouse, once the ambassador of Artemis, as mentioned before.¹¹⁰ Next came the precinct of the double cella temple, which may be regarded as an official acknowledgment of imperial presence and its cult. Then, the Bouleterion (shaped like a traditional Odeion and formerly identified as one) was situated above the descending slope of Panayırdağ, where the council of the city held its meetings. Across from these buildings, the Basilica-Stoa extended along the entire north side of the State Agora. This governmental quality, in fact, made the street more like an official route reserved mainly for 'offices' lined up along the great administrative forecourt, if not the *temenos* reserved for all of the deities, of the city.

The traveler might or might not have known about this street or even about the Agora behind – since it was probably invisible from that standpoint. Yet, there was a threshold-like installation on each side of the street, each bearing a pair of reliefs. As examined by Scherrer (2000, 86), one, showing Hermes with his ram was oriented to the square as a probable symbol of man, life and death; and the other depicting Apollo's tripod indicated another fundamentally different realm of cult: purity, symbolized by the tripod (Fig.3.70). Such an interpretation also paves the way to suggest that these bases with reliefs could have given some information or a clue about the use or meaning of this lane.

Overall, the design and use of this plaza may be considered in terms of the 'periphery' and the 'center.' While having various and richly articulated forms on the edges, approximately at the geometric center of this space and across from the arched entrance of the grand staircase leading up to the temple platform, was a freestanding memorial edifice with four-way niches (see fig.3.69). Consistent with the assertion of Alexander (1977, 606), a public plaza "without a middle is quite likely to stay empty . . . choose something to stand roughly in the middle. . . leave it exactly where it falls, between the paths; resist the impulse to put it exactly in the middle." Though archaeological data about the

¹¹⁰ The configuration of the State Agora by regularizing the ancient course of the *Via Sacra* has already been examined in the second chapter, see pp. 39-46.

overall form of the plaza is insufficient, what matters for our purposes is mostly the concavity of the structure. In fact, its equally treated sides created a homogeneous visual reflector to where the pedestrian's gaze touched from one direction and redirected to one of the other façades forming the periphery. Moreover, the natural movement pattern of the plaza would have been organized around this edifice since this four-sided massive structure was capable of leading the gazes and feet at the same time by forcing them to move around it.

Already astonished by the grandeur of the niches in front of an elaborate terrace façade, the visitor would in all probability not have taken the narrow *Kathodos*. Instead, he would have stopped in front of the Memmius monument, which removed him/her sufficiently from the visual splendor of the surrounding facades, in order to observe the plaza as a whole. In his/her perception, the relaxing sound of water, the floorscape, the niches indicating the center and the skyline dominated by the imperial cult temple might also have become important elements contributing to the square's character.

As can be followed from figure 3.69, the temple was set within a precinct that was lined by stoas on three sides, leaving the north side open to the plaza and the intersection of the streets below (Friesen 1993, 85). At the level of the plaza the entire length of this façade contained vaulted shops behind a colonnaded hall approximately 5m wide. In front of the hall stood a three-storey façade reaching to the top of the terrace, which was broken only by a 4.3m wide monumental stairway (Scherrer 2000, 92). This double-stairway provided the main access to the top of the terrace.¹¹¹

As claimed by Friesen (1993, 91), one of the most important functions of this plaza was the creation of free space in front of the terrace from which the viewer would have seen the open north side of the precinct and the terrace's north façade. The elevation of this visual composition was nearly 10.4m high and the first storey was executed in Doric half columns. Above the first storey architrave was an area decorated with palmette, lotus and rosette designs, which supported columns with engaged figures of deities along the length of the façade

¹¹¹ At least one other entrance, at the south east corner, is investigated by Vettors (1972-1975).

(Fig.3.71), interrupted only by the staircase entrance near the northeast corner.¹¹²

Since the use of figures on the columns is an unusual feature within Ephesus, it has raised discussion among scholars. As reviewed by Friesen (1993, 93-94), Thür interpreted them as western influence by referring analogous figured supports of the Forum of Augustus and the Captives façade in Corinth. Yet the nature of the figures differs from the ones in Ephesus. Moreover, the fact that the recovered figures are both eastern deities; Attis and Isis; led Bammer to the conclusion that the entire façade might have contained eastern deities. Thus, such a visual impact would have served as forceful imperial propaganda co-opting these figures of "salvation religion" (ibid.). Yet, Friesen has also opposed this interpretation by stating that the façade originally had 39-40 columns, of which only two have been identified. Given such a high number, it would not have been easy to find enough eastern deities with recognizable iconographies to use in the colonnade. It is more likely that the colonnade figures included gods and goddesses from east and west, which was also in keeping with imperial policy. The visual symbolism of the façade would thus have been related to the relative positions of the gods and the emperors in a universal pantheon.

Different than the axial Roman way of approaching, the visitor would have seen first the side of the Temple, which was 'approved' and 'supported' by the gods and the goddesses of peoples. "The emperors were not considered as a threat to the worship of the diverse deities of the empire; rather the emperor joined the ranks of the divine" (ibid. 95). Although such kind of an approach recalled Hellenistic tradition, the building of an artificial terrace is "a prime Roman occupation" (MacDonald 1982, 135).

In order to insure high visibility, to gain sufficient bulk and commanding silhouettes, height was secured by building terraces, podia and steep pediments. ... One of the commonest sights in the cities and towns is the artificial terrace that supported a public building. ... it is not unreasonable to suggest that a major Roman objective was to lift public buildings well above street level in order to increase their visibility and thus their symbolic effectiveness. (MacDonald 1982, 134)

¹¹² Friesen (1993, 91) states that there could have been another storey with a Corinthian order, but Scherrer (2000, 92) and Yegül (1994, 105) reject such a possibility and claim that the facade had two-storey with approximately 10m height.

Yet, as mentioned before, this 85m x 64m wide terrace was accessed only by a 4,5m double stairway (Fig.3.72). To cite MacDonald again (ibid. 70), "the more monumental the buildings, the grander the stairs, which, because of the strong Roman emphasis on principal axes, were usually symmetrically centered in front of their buildings' main entrances." Seen in this light, however, the scale, the orientation and the form of the stairway – in terms of its having a double flight - spoke a language other than the Roman imperial one. Moreover, the stairway was curtained by the colonnades in front, which means that its visibility was continuously subordinated by the visual richness of the façade and the regular rhythm of the colonnades in front (see fig.3.69).

Rather than linger out in the open, the traveler would have gravitated to this colonnade. The 5m wide semi-open space of the colonnade and the vaulted shops behind provided an informal 'corridor' to walk through and 'window-shop;' to stop and watch the plaza; or maybe simply to sit, rest and then continue to the top of the terrace. In this way, the designers/architects/citizens literally 'thickened' the interface between the plaza and the monumental terrace. Spiritually too, the interface between the deities and the ordinary people became annulled. Although belonging to gods and goddesses – including the emperor – it can be said that this colonnade and its facade functioned as an active edge with a significant impact on the life around the plaza by generating many comings and goings.

One of these activities, if not most important, was providing the access to the top of the terrace and ultimately to the neokorate temple. The reconstruction of the superstructure of this medium-sized temple surrounded by a pseudodipteral colonnade (8 x 13) columns) has not been possible because only a few fragments of the building itself have been found. The temple, however, appears on the reverse of several Ephesian coins alongside the Temple of Artemis, and sometimes with other later provincial temples from Ephesus as well (Fig.3.73). While ascending the stairs, on the other hand, the visitor would not have seen the Temple, but instead he confronted a broad niche having a strong visual impact which caused a 90 degree turn. Upon arrival at the top of the terrace, one would have been first greeted by a U-shaped altar. If this was his/her first time in Ephesus, the visitor would not have realized that such an altar in front of a temple reminded the one across the great Temple of Artemis (Fig.3.74). In fact, as pointed out by Friesen (1993, 88), the U-shaped altar platform was a

common feature associated with major temples in Asia. Beside the Artemision at Ephesus, the Artemis Temple in Sardis, the Temple of Athena in Priene, and the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Meander had such a layout. In this sense, viewers from the peninsula and viewers from the other parts of the Roman world would have perceived this architectural similarity in different ways. While the former would have seen it as the standard pattern, a convention coming from the temple of their goddess; the latter would have surmised that the ritualistic habits and ways of representation differed at this terrain. Rather than taking the imperial cult and adopting it to local taste, Ephesians internalized the cult and represented it with their own terms; especially in this precinct which may be thought as the 'architectural manifesto' of the most Roman or western originated phenomenon in the Asia Minor.

Another visual focus of the visitor, or a pilgrim, would have been a colossal statue of the Emperor Titus (Fig.3.75). According to Bammer's suggestion (1972-75, 388) the statue stood outside above the terrace's stairs. In fact, Friesen (1993, 81) opposes this idea with reference to the statue's non-durable material and the back of its head which was hollowed out. Especially, the latter indicates that the statue could have been designed to be placed near a wall here the back would not be seen. Noteworthy enough, such an arrangement would have been a remodeling of the statue of Artemis placed in the Artemision (Fig.3.76).

Whether or not the visitor entered the Temple, he/she would have been amazed by the visual-aesthetic character of the urban environment seen from above (Fig.3.77).¹¹³ First he/she would have observed the Square, this time from outside (Fig.3.78). Bold marble benches of the State Agora emphasized the entire length occupied by the monumental Basilica-Stoa (Fig.3.79). Its closely placed Ionic columns with bulls' heads decorating the capitals would have curtained the massive Doric columns of the Prytaneion or marble seats of the Bouleuterion. It is said that these columns had statues in-between (Rogers 1991, 87). The Temple in the middle was already on display and behind it, further east, the observer could have distinguished the Upper Gymnasium always offering

¹¹³ It was mentioned above that it was the northern side of the temple terrace which was left open to the Domitian Plaza. Yet, in the model of the Ephesus Museum (Fig.3.77), the Temple was also surrounded by stoas on three sides, but leaving the eastern side open. The reason behind this contradiction is unclear but it does not discredit the statements about the terrace and the view deeply.

physical and cultural facilities, and then the street below, functioning like a sunken edge separating two plain lands with its flow of people (Fig.3.80). At the end of this lane was a nymphaeum whose splendor would have been captured from above even more (Fig.3.81). The street took a sharp left turn following this amenity and continued for a while along the south edge of the agora as a straight, colonnaded avenue, leading eventually to the city gate.

Looking from above would have made the visitors realized that lined with marble benches and official monuments, and with the small temple in the middle, this Agora served as the place for private assemblies or official courts. Thus its design was closely similar to a sacred precinct, with its isolating walls enclosing almost completely the west, south and east sides - resulting in a quieter, more sacred atmosphere meant to surround the celebrated symbols of the city. Probably, for him, the one dominant structure in constant view going northeast was the great Temple of the Artemis. So, after a while, along with this mental image in his head, the visitor would have turned back to the Square below. Now, he knew where to go.

Peculiar to the Square of Domitian, in fact, the eastern edge was also 'thickened.' The visitor's glance was arrested by the projecting bulk of a massive construction made out of rusticated ashlar blocks, a substructure supporting the west end of the basilica. The three chambers of the plinth were accessible through doorways from the square (Fig.3.82). The entrances directly opening to the Square indicate the probable potential of an activity-generating quality of this rather older structure.¹¹⁴ Views into rooms would have created interest to passers-by, while views out could have provided the ability to contemplate the plaza without being perceived. Close to this so-called Chalcidicum stood the monument of C. Sextilius Pollio, a memorial tomb honoring the builder of the Basilica-Stoa on the State Agora. The high arch of this building supported a triangular pediment (Rogers 1991, 89). Later, the proconsul of 92/93 A.D. expanded this monument into a fountain dedicated to Domitian (ibid.) (see fig.3.80). With its large semi-domed apsidal room opening onto the Domitian Square and with its statue group representing the familiar theme of the blinding of Cyclops by Odysseus and his companions, this fountain would have ensured a

¹¹⁴ This substructure could have been a monument from the early Empire. It could have been a part of the project when the State Agora was first implemented. As stated by Scherrer (2000, 88) the erased inscription on this structure could refer to Emperor Nero (43-68 A.D.).

busier and livelier public space concentrating at the southeastern corner of the Square. In fact, the projecting solid wall of the Chalcidicum, the cavity created by the spatial retreat of the Pollian group and the central Niche Monument created a smaller sub-space within the bigger space of the Square (Fig.3.83). This kind of a specialization would have been further supported by the fact that this corner also led to another narrow street called Domitian Lane.

Flanked by taverns, this street climbed up to another colonnaded avenue, which the visitor already perceived from above. On the way he/she would have observed the vaulted rooms arranged at right angles to the street and become astonished (one more time ?) by the lively business and buzzing trade in this city. It is not clear whether the substructure of Domitian terrace, the cryptoporticus, was accessible for passers-by but these well-lit and ventilated "corridors" would have provided space for storage.¹¹⁵ Towards the end of the street, the visitor would have come along the magnificent two-storeyed façade called the hydrekdocheion according to an inscription. Erected by C. Laccanius Bassus in 80-82 A.D., this large U-shaped basin served as a water reservoir. Around it, arrangements of statues were set up including portraits and statues of goddesses in addition to representations of sea creatures and river gods, part of which served as water outlets (Scherrer 2000, 76). Thus, it can be assumed that the reason behind the specialization of this node (marked by such an elaborate nymphaeum) was the importance attached to the last part of the *Via Sacra* within the borders of the city, the so-called South Road. The response of a passer-by when he came upon this fountain was to stop by for the reasons of astonishment, and also of curiosity.

Afterwards, the street turned sharply due east in a straight line leading directly to the tripartite city gate, so-called Magnesian Gate, 650m away. This colonnaded avenue ran along the south side of the State Agora but was not a part of the overall organization of the large public square. The southern portion of the Agora was defined by a double colonnade in front of a solid wall running uninterrupted east to west for 170m before turning north.

¹¹⁵ As mentioned before, Friesen states that the Hellenistic approach was dominant during the design of this temple. Yet as mentioned by MacDonald (1982, 135), the cryptoporticus is a "typical result of Roman architectural thinking." "These versatile, adaptable corridors, in a sense internalized stoas, were typical results of Roman architectural thinking: begin with an axis, and then carry out along that axis the logical extension of a simple concept, in this case the arch" (ibid.).

In fact, towards the city gate, after the exposure to the projection of the terrace of the imperial temple, the viewer would have followed for the first time in his tour a familiar rhythm, one similar with the composition of the great avenue welcomed him while breaking new grounds. Yet, this time this familiar formal rhythm similar to the Arkadiane led the travelers to a more dominant "urban artifact:" not the great Theater of Ephesus but the magnificent temple of its goddess, the Temple of Artemis was on their way.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Preceding the monumental water reservoir of Laecanius Bassus, the South Street reached the Magnesian Gate, the grand entrance to Ephesus from the land side. On the west side – within the city - there was a “courtyard surrounded by high walls” filled with tombs dedicated to some of the city’s distinguished citizens (Gümüş 1992, 68). The gate once had “marble statues” between each of the entrances, symbolically acting as guardians of the city (Keil 1964, 107), and also a statue of Artemis either on or near the gate. According to one of the pseudo-gospels, the Apostle John was “cast up by the sea and Divine Providence in a field by the city” where “he walked to the city gate.”

At the gate, John found that the incense from the Festival of Artemis was so thick that it veiled the sun. And there too he saw a painted statue of the goddess with gilded lips, a veil over her face, and a lamp burning before her image. (Romer and Romer, 1995, 156)

This would be the second time (if we assume there was one beneath the columns of Hadrian’s Gate) that observers would have directly confronted the patron goddess and understood that this gate and the street located behind belonged to her and ultimately led to her sanctuary. In fact, it is most likely that the ‘owner’ of the popular local cult would have attracted numerous visitors. Many of them were there only to visit the great Temple of Artemis.¹¹⁶ It was to the splendor of Artemis that one inscription gave voice to the following:

The deity over our city, Artemis is honored not only in her own city which she has made more famous than all other cities through her own divinity, but also by Greeks and foreigners, everywhere shrines and sanctuaries of her have been dedicated, temples founded and altars erected to her because of her vivid manifestations.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ One should not forget that the Temple of Artemis became one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world, yet when and how this title was given is not clear.

¹¹⁷ Inscription quoted in Price 1986, 131.

Along similar lines, Pausanias particularly commented on the influence of Artemis "in her own city."¹¹⁸ First he highlighted the mythological heritage of the city, centering on the prominence of the cult of Artemis and her temple; then came the 'size' of the temple and lastly, the "eminence of the city of Ephesians" where the goddess "dwelled." In fact, following the walking tour presented in this study, Pausanias' statement is crucial to uncover the multi-layered complexity of Ephesus, particularly between the first and third centuries - because the Ephesians reputation derived from their rich heritage, which can only be revealed after examining the city's history and legends.

Most assuredly, both physically and spiritually, the inhabitants lived more in religious and mythical terms, politics and economics were secondary forces in the fabric of Ephesus' everyday life. The citizens' identity and pride were united with the temple dedicated to their patron goddess. Such pride and devotion empowered the Ephesians to achieve high status in the ancient world. They were the blessed of Artemis whose temple was their own. They identified themselves, their relationship with others, with the empire at large and even with the cosmos through Artemis. In this respect, the Temple of Artemis made its presence felt in a liminal position between two spheres: mortality and immortality. Moreover, this self-understanding was so obvious that when confronted Artemis, Augustus respected not only her omnipresent divine personality but also her "*lieux de memoire*."¹¹⁹ Put differently, this territory had a particular memory of a prominent deity and thus relating this memory with the cult and sacred presence of the Roman emperor would have been a politically wise move to foster unity with the citizens and the new emperor in spiritual terms. Furthermore, the intermediary agent of this symbiosis also came from the collective mythical past of the citizens: Androklos. This combination of a powerful city goddess with the Roman emperor symbolizes Ephesians existence as both 'guardians' of Artemis, members of a society willing to remember, 'blessed' citizens of a Roman capital both separated and connected with Rome and its new world order.

¹¹⁸ See, the extract in chapter 2.1, pp.12.

¹¹⁹ *Les lieux de memoire*, sites of memory, are certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists. As formulated by Nora (1989, 22), there are portable *lieux* (texts, souvenirs, statues, coins), or topographical ones "which owed everything to the specificity of their location and to being rooted in the ground." Then there are the "monumental memory-site" not to be limited with architectural sites alone. Statues or single monuments, commemorative structure can credibly be counted among them. I would particularly like to thank Ömür Harmanşah who suggests me to look Nora's articles.

What is more, when it came to telling the narrative by themselves about themselves, Ephesians not only self-identified through Artemis but also their city was defined, perceived and experienced in relation to the goddess and her temple which "surpassed all buildings among men." These phenomena buried in the "subconscious" of the inhabitants were made visible in the architecture of the city of Ephesus.

. . . urban subconscious is a sense of priorities shared by all inhabitants of one town. This urban subconscious is formed by the sum of physical circumstances, both natural and man-made, and historical events, experienced collectively by a group of people living for several generations in the same environment. . . The dominant local atmosphere even penetrates the subconscious of the newcomer. Art and architecture created in a particular environment, is simultaneously the sum and the cause of the local subconscious. (Bièvre 1995, 222)

Within this framework, many details of Ephesus's material space¹²⁰ seen through the eyes of the ancients themselves, including their stories and opinions of various places; suggest that beside the goddess, the temple as a distinct "urban artifact" not only affected but sometimes determined the urban character formed over many centuries. There is no question that since the archaic period, the sacred road of the deity, the *Via Sacra* persisted in the city layout; its traces can be followed clearly, particularly after the physical separation of the temple from the city. Long before Roman arrival, certain spots had already emerged along this road for anchoring this common memory. Afterwards the influential imperial "newcomers" were also affected by the "dominant local atmosphere" and the *lieux de memoire*. As a result, a series of liturgical or processional rituals connected these sites with each other and became actively linked with the 'goddess who dwelled there.' This specific memorial affiliation thus took root in the concrete, in sites, spaces, rituals, gestures, images, and objects.

These occasions linked ritual to reality: they linked human action to physical urban presence, and in doing so magnified the personal, every-day experience of the city and elevated the event to the level of a community celebration. Some were particularly aimed at a certain group or age, such as those that initiated the young men, the *ephebes*, into the duties and responsibilities of adult life. (Yegül 2000, 151)¹²¹

¹²⁰ "Formal, functional and structural analyses are concerned with clearly determined forces, as with the material relationships obtaining between those forces- relationships which give rise to equally clearly determined spatial structures: columns, vaults, arches, pillars and so on." (Lefebvre 1991, 159)

¹²¹ The testimony about the *ephebes* participating in the procession of Artemis comes from Wood who writes that "on a certain day of assembly in the theater, May 25, which was the birthday of the goddess, these images were to be carried in procession from the temple to the theater by the

Therefore, the conceptual structure of the Artemis' procession - like that of the relations between the *lieux* - always remains fluid and open to interpretations. Such "fluidity" was reflected physically, kinetically and visually. In Ephesus, the most deliberate urban response of this kind was the gradually shaped armature. Through this armature, colonnaded avenues made it possible to engage the space of daily-life with imperial, commercial, political and religious space(s) in a way that was speculative and suggestive rather than predetermined and conclusive. The colonnades assumed to role of a base matrix for tackling various faces of the urban space that were complex, filled with contradiction, or otherwise ungovernable. Hence, multiple actors - Artemis, Androklos, emperors, imperial agents, local governors and common citizens and even the dead - concerned with occupying spaces along the armature; particularly along the course of Embolos since it was the boldest line upon the layers of the palimpsest-like architecture of Ephesus. In short, this was a scenario where "all roads led to Artemis."

Since the narrative was constructed spatially, by the kinaesthetic experience of moving through urban space, the experience could never be totally predetermined or controlled. Its "meaning" was constructed interactively with the viewer/user: not only by the inhabitants of the city, but also magnitude of visitors who once thronged the grand avenues of Ephesus, frequented Artemis' markets and worshipped in her temples. Thus, any individual "who strolls with his thoughts and emotions, his impressions and his wonder,"¹²² through the streets of Ephesus would have grasped the rhythm of the 'vertical grid.'

Wandering along the crowded streets of Ephesus, he would have "discerned in the apparent disorder certain currents and an order that became revealed through rhythms" (Lefebvre 2004, 87). Lively travelers and pilgrims entering the city, merchants carrying their goods from one place to another, people rushing to the events in theater scheduled during the day, men returning from hunting

priests, accompanied by a staff-bearer and guards, and to be met at the Magnesian Gate by the *ephebi* or young men of the city, who, from that point, took part in the procession, and helped to carry the images to the theater." (quoted from Wood in Romer and Romer 1995, 135)

¹²² This concept is borrowed from the general theory of Lefebvre that notably focuses on rhythms (2004). In his analysis of rhythms - biological, psychological and social - Lefebvre shows the interrelation of understandings of space and time in the comprehension of everyday life. He demonstrates how these issues need to be thought together rather than separately. Moreover, "rhythmanalysis gives itself the objective of separating as little as possible the scientific from the poetic" (2004, 87).

or fishing, plebeians buying things from the markets, rhetoricians rehearsing in the Theater Gymnasium, young people going to practicing, people coming out of the baths, officials leaving their home in order to make contact with the outside, or a "thick" procession "veiling the sun" and so on would have "compose a polyrhythmia" (ibid.). Since "all rhythms imply the relation of a time to a space," such a rhythm always linked to a particular space, which is in this study also a literally 'polyrhythmic space,' an urban space defined by colonnades with slower or faster flow continuous all along the city. The colonnades, in fact, did not begin from a well defined starting point with a unit defined once and for all; and they were not the only elements organizing the rhythmic language of the city. They developed gradually and the stairs between them also ensured a link between times and spaces, i.e. between the time of the Triodos and the sunken Library Plaza; between the time of the Embolos and the (semi-official?) dwellings (Stiegengassen); between the time of emperor (the stairway of the temple terrace) and the square below. In this sense, the city would have ceased simply with a schematic outline of the repetitive objects if this was the case, if the goddess, the emperor, the daily life, time and ultimate change did not intervene with the "material space" of the city.

Rhythm, which refers to the regular or harmonious recurrence or repetition, is a device to organize forms and spaces in architecture, as well as giving clues about the life cycle of the human beings. (Aytaç-Dural 2002, 76)

Although the stairways had a certain, easily-recognized accent in Ephesus, the elevations of the colonnaded avenues were not necessarily consistent. Quite continuous from the Magnesian Gate till the Harbor Gate, they branched in the Theater Plaza and led to the Stadium and the other city gate, the Coressian Gate in the north. This connective spine gave the city as a whole a clearly defined structure. Since the public buildings were spread all across the urban fabric, the structures behind the colonnades varied through the road. The northern side of the Embolos for example, had fountains, temples, baths, latrines next to each other, and across these structures were the tombs, workshops, and dwellings. Or else, along the northern side of the Arkadiane, harbor structures (probably for services), a bath complex, an open area for physical training, and a theatrical stage for rhetorical education (reserved for the Theater Gymnasium) were situated. Hence it may be said that the colonnades were regular within an irregular context, which underlines the plurality of rhythms, both physically and experientially.

Rhythm implies repetition, as well. The visual composition of the Arkadiane was completed with a linear rhythm¹²³ that strengthened its self-definition as a 'spectacle.' Furthermore, this consistency in vision and space further fostered the avenue's objective 'multi-facidity:' while becoming a content-laden perspective when the emperor performed on the stage, it turned out to be a regular common background for people playing their parts before the emperor.

In keeping with such perceptual and experiential multiplicity, the Marble Road revealed a more heterogeneous visual balance. Here, the street had two obvious faces: the regular administrative rhythm and the irregular, more relaxed rhythm of the commercial and residential spirit; the former was more formal, symbolic and rhetorical, while the latter was more immediate and spontaneous. With the plaza between the Arkadiane and the Marble Road, on the other hand, the viewer could have taken himself out and re-read these two rhythmic urban spaces as an outsider: the regular, formal rhythm of the Arkadiane paved the way to the rhythm of people's space that confronted with a modest formality of the official space.

Such a shift in rhythm also repeated itself when the Marble Road turned into the Embolos at the most important *lieu de memoire* of Artemis, the *Triodos*. From that point on, the rhythm of the colonnades changed considerably, almost suggesting that this path had a certain, particular identity that was different than all the paths before and after. This time, as a third variation, the sense of cohesiveness and continuity was achieved through the repetition of a particular rhythm, i.e. a pattern repeated itself while shifting within itself. While allowing certain individual elements, such as a temple front, a tomb, a fountain group, to accent the overall scene, each part with its perpetual interaction with others constituted a whole – for "a rhythm is only slow or fast in relation to other rhythms with which it finds itself associated in a more or less vast unity" (ibid. 89). Beside its particular composition creating an 'irregular,' if not baroque¹²⁴ rhythm, the Embolos also mediated between inside and out and between private and public space, providing gradations between the two. Vistas, side streets, stairs, openings suggested the potential presence of people living in the city. Decorated facades would have distracted, delighted and intrigued the observer.

¹²³ The term "linear rhythm" is defined by Lefebvre as the "reproduction of the same phenomenon, almost identical; if not, at roughly similar intervals" (2004, 90).

¹²⁴ Yegül uses this term while referring to the facades of the Embolos (1995, 101).

The noise and/or the reflection from the big water monuments could also contribute to the polyrhythmic quality of the colonnades within a polyrhythmic city.

On a final note, Lefebvre places special emphasis on steps while reading the particular rhythm in the most of the Mediterranean towns (ibid. 97). However, in Ephesus, more than that of a gate or a simple street, the 'overbold' monumentality of colonnades subordinated the body of staircases, which in turn became ancillary elements enriching the experience of passing from one rhythm to another.

A link between spaces, the stairway also ensures a link between times: between the time of architecture (the house, the enclosure) and urban time (the street, the open space, the square, and the monuments). . . Don't the steps in Venice rhythm the walk through the city, while serving simultaneously as a transition between different rhythms? Now is the stairway not a localized time *par excellence*?

So, in the light of this attempt to re-read the urban space of Ephesus that was framed within colonnades creating mixed, hybrid spaces bound intimately with life and death, the sacred and the profane, the immutable and the mobile; is it not the colonnades in Ephesus that "rhythm the walk through the city, while serving simultaneously as a transition between different rhythms?" If so, is this not the "localized time *par excellence*?"

APPENDICES

1. Colonnaded Avenues: Origins, Examples and Debates

The literature on ancient colonnaded avenues is not plenty.¹²⁵ In addition to W. MacDonald's inspiring work, A. Segal in *From Function To Monument: Urban Landscapes of Roman Palestine, Syria and Provincia Arabia* (1997), and more recently W. Ball in *Rome in the East: The Transformation of an Empire* (2000) have assigned specific chapters to colonnades as the main thoroughfares of the city, and more specifically to their visual and symbolic aspects as monumental images of splendor, power and authority.

While the word 'colonnate, colonnato, colonnade' is derived from Latin *columna*, meaning 'pillar' or 'column'; 'avenue' comes most probably from Latin *ad-venire*, meaning 'to come'. Rykwert (1986, 16) relates 'avenue' with words like 'path', 'track', 'promenade' and 'mall' by stating that "all of which are connected with ways of proceeding on foot – from picking out a route on totally unmarked ground (track) to sauntering along a well-defined, marked way (promenade), - it even includes the walk through a path beaten by a recurrent walking game: mall." Hence, a colonnaded avenue is basically a street with columns.

This strictly etymological definition, however, does not suffice to convey the overall more sophisticated configuration of the colonnaded avenues. These are streets with colonnades along their full length extending on either side (Segal, 1997, 1); or covered porticos, each no more than a block long, carried on columns or piers and interposed between the pavement and the buildings (MacDonald 1986, 33); or any paved walkway with a few monumental columns constitutes colonnaded avenues. Altogether, these definitions indicate clearly what Güven (2003, 43-45) points out scholars are not always in agreement on what actually constitutes a colonnaded avenue. In general, there are basically two common properties among these variations: one is that the colonnades have to run on both sides of the street, and the other is the fact that they have to traverse the entire length of the town or city. Henceforth, within the limits of this thesis, colonnaded avenues are taken as paved streets with sidewalks and

¹²⁵ Anabolu 1980; MacDonald 1986, 33-51; Waelkens 1989, 77-88; Erol 1992, Yegül 1994, 95-107; Segal 1997, 5-53; Ball 2000, 261-272; Akbaş 2001.

columns on both sides. The rhythm and the pattern of the colonnade varies according to the specific qualities of the street.

Similar to the exact definition, the question of the origin and the earliest examples of colonnades has provoked a good deal of discussion. Some scholars, closer to the Greek tradition assume colonnaded avenues to be derivations of late Hellenistic colonnaded *stoas* of Greece and Asia Minor.¹²⁶ Indeed, the *stoa* was originally an independent structure with a row of columns running parallel to its façade. In Coulton's terms (1976, 177) the idea of the street as a monument itself began to be seen after Alexander the Great and subsequently streets gained three-dimensionality with the addition of *stoas*. However, W. Ball opposes this assumption by referring to the absence of colonnaded streets in Greece where the *stoa* originated (2000, 268). Yet the counter argument (Ceylan 1994, 18) put forth the existence of a Greek word *plateia*, meaning a broad avenue; suggesting that broad streets were widespread features in the Hellenistic environment.

According to Diodorus (17.52) and Strabo (17.1.8) the word *plateia*¹²⁷ was influenced by the processional road,¹²⁸ which is another possible explanation for the origin of the colonnaded street (Segal 1997, 8). Yet there are many colonnaded avenues not leading to temples or sacred sites (Antioch, Apamea, Sebaste); and also many processional ways that are not colonnaded (Ephesus and Miletus). Nevertheless, Ball agrees with this possibility (2000, 268) as long as it may explain the *way* or *route*, not the *colonnades*, since they had no ritual function during ceremonies.

Highlighting the ubiquity of colonnaded streets in the East and their corresponding absence in the West, Ball places the origin of the colonnaded street with certainty in the eastern traditions, particularly in the oriental bazaar street. In making this point, he emphasizes the rows of shops behind the

¹²⁶ For *stoas* see, Coulton 1976, 177-181; Ward-Perkins 1981, 256-263, Sear 1983, 239-242; MacDonald 1986, 43-44; Segal 1997, 5-9; Akurgal 1973, 72,192,212-219 and references.

¹²⁷ As mentioned throughout this study, this word is also used in Ephesus.

¹²⁸ While Segal takes up the processional way as a distinctive element of (Egyptian) Pharaonic temple architecture (1997, 8); Ball, in contrast, places these secret ways as a dominant feature in Eastern architecture by arguing that (2000, 260) in Eastern ritual, the religious procession was accorded greater importance (than Western) and was expressed elaborately in the cityscape, and even continued into Christianity.

columns as the essential features of the avenues and then points to the striking formal and functional similarities between the Eastern bazaar, or 'street of shops', and colonnaded avenues.

These are in fact polemical issues. Probing the origins of the colonnaded streets has not yielded conclusive results. For instance, another viewpoint posits that it may have been Roman Italy where the idea of the addition of porticos to improve the monumentality of an avenue originated,¹²⁹ since from the 1 BC on, *tabernae* had porticoes built in front of them (Ceylan 1994, 20). The objection to the idea of Roman origins comes from Segal (1997, 8) who claims that these 'assumed-colonnade' structures ran only for a few segments of store fronts and never along the entire length of a street; so one can not really speak of predecessors of colonnaded streets.

Fortunately scholarly opinions differ less on the question of the earliest example. According to Segal, MacDonald and many others, the earliest colonnade may have been the one at Antioch on the Orontes built between 30 BC and 30 AD¹³⁰, which has totally disappeared today.¹³¹ Besides Antioch's colonnade, Ball focuses on the original form of the *cardo* at Apamea. From a study of excavated fragments, it is thought that two storeyed Doric colonnades, dating from the end of the Seleucid period (c.300 BC), were replaced with Corinthian ones after the great destruction occurred in the earthquake of 115 AD (2000, 264). In that case, the now disappeared colonnaded street in Apamea from 4th century BC might be the earliest instance (Fig.1).

Among the still standing colonnades, the northern Ionic section of the *cardo maximus* at Gerasa (Fig.2) - modern Jerash - is regarded as the oldest extant colonnade completed in the late first century AD.¹³² Yet Güven (2003, 47) adds that Hanfmann dated the main avenue at Sardis soon after the great earthquake

¹²⁹ MacDonald 1986, 43-44; Segal 1997, 8; Waelkens 1989, 77-88. For the colonnaded streets in Ostia see, Calza and Becatti 1967, Fig.3; Ward-Perkins 1981, 140-155.

¹³⁰ This issue is open to debate since Malalas wrote that Herod (30-20 BC) had paved the great street and the roofed colonnades were erected later in the days of Tiberius (14-37 AD). From Josephus, on the other hand, we learn that it was Herod who both made paved the street and built the colonnades. For more details, see Güven 2003, 46.

¹³¹ See, Segal 1997, 9, footnote 5; MacDonald 1982, 43, footnote 20.

¹³² See, Ball 2000, 266; Segal 1997, 5.

in 17 AD. If this is indeed the case, the colonnade at Sardis would precede the one of Gerasa.

Whatever the exact origin may have been, it seems more likely that the roots of colonnaded avenues may have been laid in the Eastern side of the Empire. One can not help noticing that many of the great monumental colonnaded avenues are still standing in the Syrian and Arabian provinces, not in Roman or Greek terrain. Even the reputation of Syrian cities came from their colonnaded streets.¹³³

Apart from debates on origin and nature, colonnaded avenues also feature in the more popular discussion concerning the East - West bipolarity. W. Ball presents the colonnaded street as a distinctive, essentially eastern element differentiating eastern Roman cities from those in western provinces. He states that (2000, 262) "no city of the Roman East was complete without at least one colonnaded street." Using archaeological evidence, he claims that practically the colonnades were placed to provide shade and cover; and architecturally they emphasized the main commercial part of the cities. The latter continued later in the form of closed bazaars (*souqs*). To substantiate this claim, he points to the absence of regular *Fora* in the East concluding that the colonnaded avenues of eastern cities may be considered as counterparts of the western Forum since both assumed commercial functions and emerge as marketplaces.

Nevertheless, MacDonald claims that colonnades were not limited to eastern provinces (1986, 44). Using the evidence of colonnades in western provinces like Stobi, Lepcis, Vaison-la-Romaine, Timgad (Fig.3) Djemila (Fig.4) and some others, he emphasizes that the colonnades functioned like volumetric bordering tools throughout the Roman Empire, both east and west. For his analyses, colonnaded avenues are taken up as urban elements unifying the form and meaning of the Roman city throughout the Empire. In his own words, "varying in configuration and numbers of parts within the frame of an empire-wide conceptual order, urban armatures were physical counterparts of Roman rule, mainstay of imperial urbanism and the bedrock of architectural unity" (1982, 30). He admits the local variations – not regional differences - in the East, and further argues that "what was seen and experienced of the architecture of

¹³³ Güven makes the point that (2003, 42) Dio of Prusa recommended "Syrian colonnaded streets" for his native city as examples to follow.

connection (thoroughfares and plazas) in any given location did not differ substantially from that to come.” (ibid. 38)

Taken together, the contrasting perspective presents valuable insights into a different facet of the colonnaded avenue. Hence as a form of outdoor building, colonnaded avenues are potential ‘urban laboratories’ offering diverse spatial and visual alternatives, and different cross-sections from the Roman social scene.



Figure 1 (left) Reconstructed version of the main colonnaded street at Apamea
Source: Ball, W., 2000, *Rome in The East: The Transformation of an Empire*. London; New York: Routledge, pp. 161.

Figure 2 (right) Main colonnaded street at Jerash towards the Temple of Zeus
Source: Ball, W., 2000, *Rome in The East: The Transformation of an Empire*. London; New York: Routledge, pp. 258.



Figure 3 (left) Timgad, Cardo, looking West (MacDonald 1982, 35)
Source: Macdonald, W. L., 1982, *The Architecture of The Roman Empire: An Urban Appraisal V.II*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 35.

Figure 4 (right) Djemila, principle street, looking south (MacDonald 1982, 8)
Source: Macdonald, W. L., 1982, *The Architecture of The Roman Empire: An Urban Appraisal V.II*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 8.

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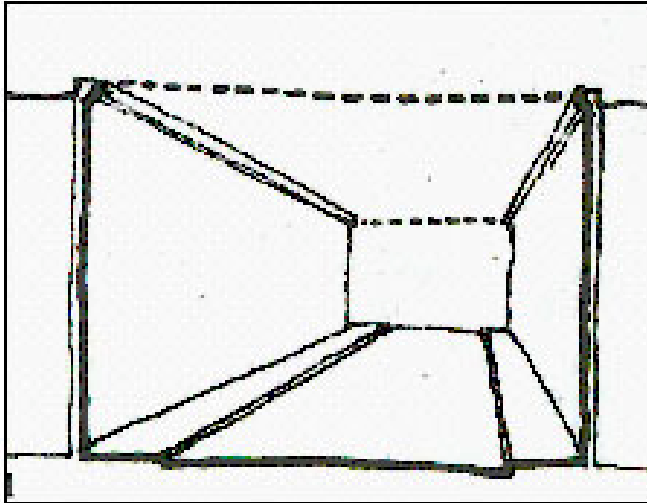
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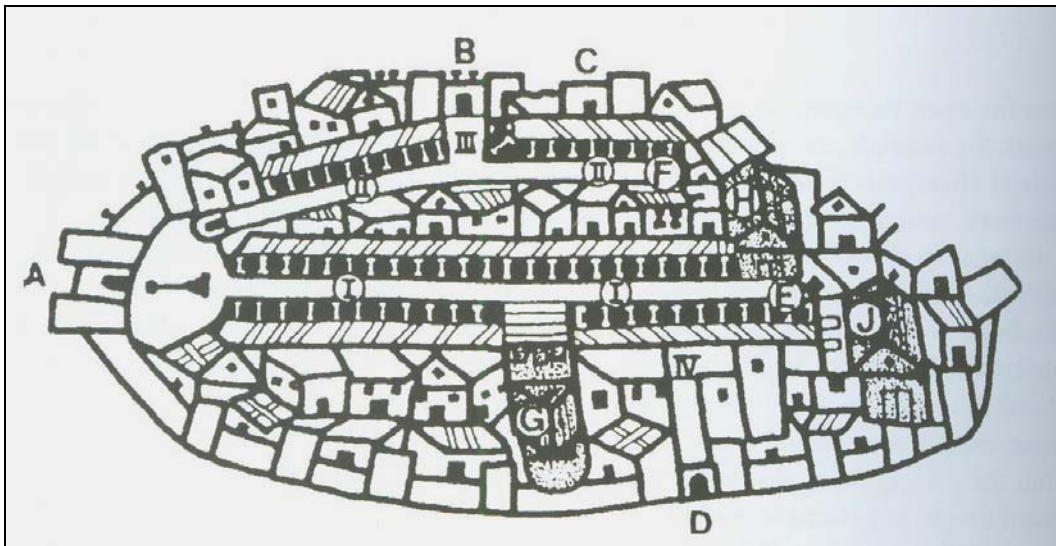
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FIGURES



Source: Anderson, S., 1986, *On Streets*. Cambridge; Mass: MIT Press, pp. 138.

Figure 1. 1 Diagram of an outdoor room, "an urban box"



Source: Ball, W., 2000, *Rome in the East: The Transformation of an Empire*. London; NY: Routledge, pp.271.

Figure 1. 2 The Jerusalem street colonnades depicted in the Madaba mosaic, with the sidewalks roofed

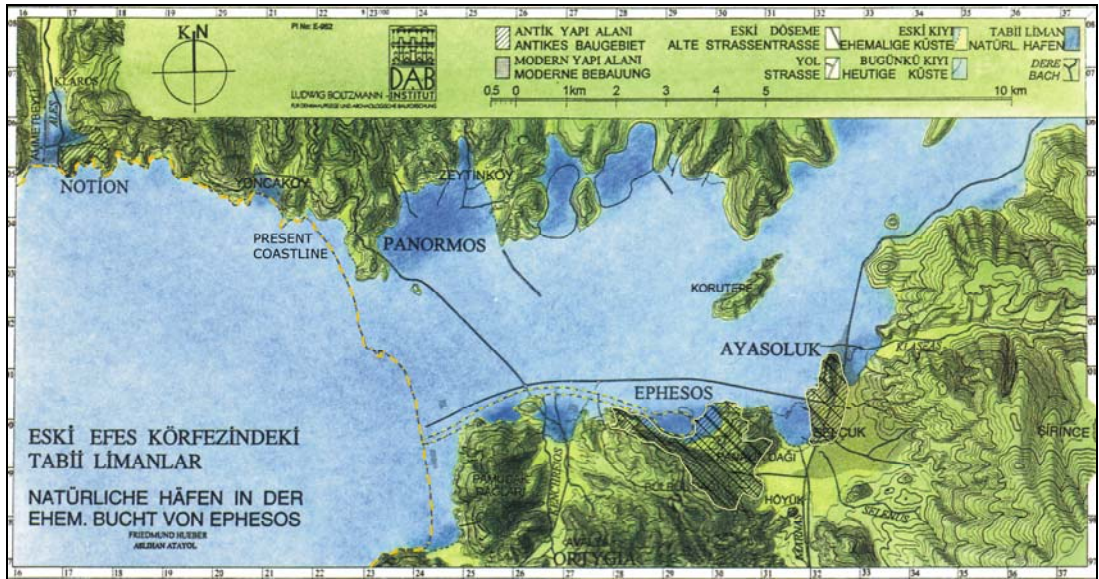


Source: (after) Anderson S., 1986, *On Streets*. Cambridge; Mass: MIT Press, pp. 138.

Figure 1. 3 “Urban box” superimposed on the colonnaded avenue

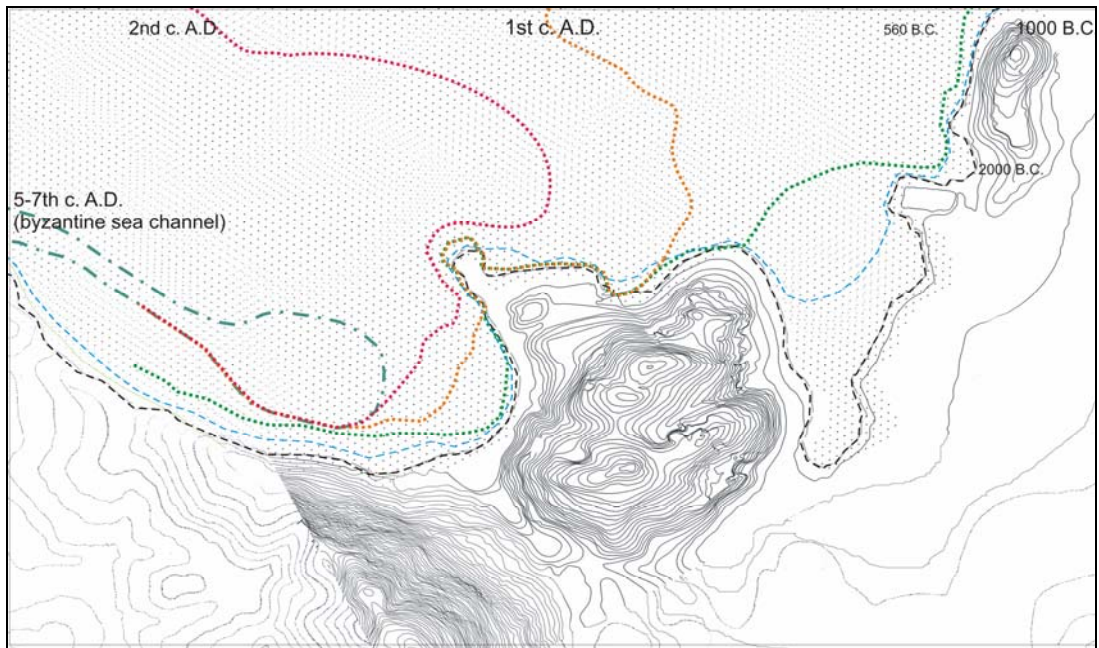


Figure 1. 4 Ephesus, view from the Curetes Street (author)



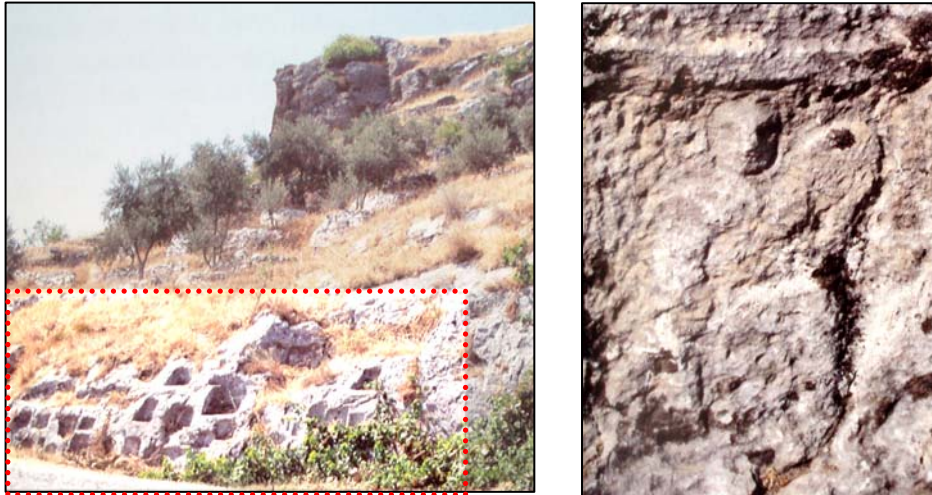
Source: Hueber, F., 1997, *Ephesos Gebaute Geschichte*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, pp. 6.

Figure 2. 1 Natural Harbor in the Ephesian bay



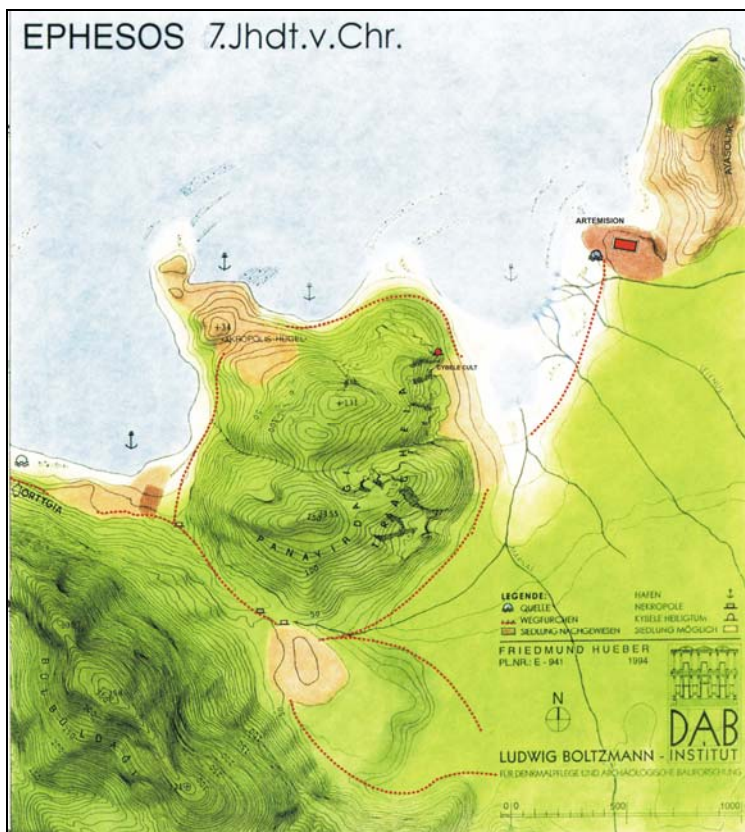
Source: (based on) Drawings of Karweise, S., 1995, *Gross ist die Artemis von Ephesos: Die Geschichte einer der großen Städte der Antike*. Wien: Phoibos Verlag.

Figure 2. 2 The movement of the coastline from 2000 B.C. to the Byzantine era



Source: Scherrer, P., ed., 2000, *Ephesos: The New Guide*. Turkey: Ege Yayınları, pp.61.

Figure 2. 3 Rock shrine: niches for votive reliefs in the terrace like subdivisions of the rock and a Meter relief from Hellenistic times



Source: Hueber, F., 1997, *Ephesos Gebaute Geschichte*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, pp. 31.

Figure 2. 4 The ring road used as a cemetery encircling the entire Panayırdağ



Source: (after) Drawings of Karweise, S., 1995, *Gross ist die Artemis von Ephesos: Die Geschichte einer der großen Städte der Antike*. Wien: Phoibos Verlag.

Figure 2. 5 Early archaic settlement around the Ayasoluk hill



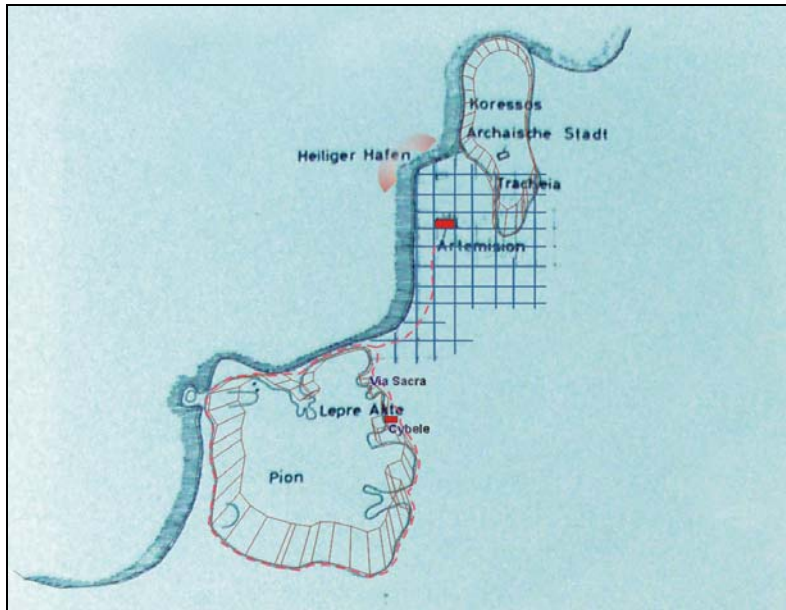
Source: (after) Drawings of Karweise, S., 1995, Gross ist die Artemis von Ephesos: Die Geschichte einer der großen Städte der Antike. Wien: Phoibos Verlag.

Figure 2. 6 Ionian Ephesus



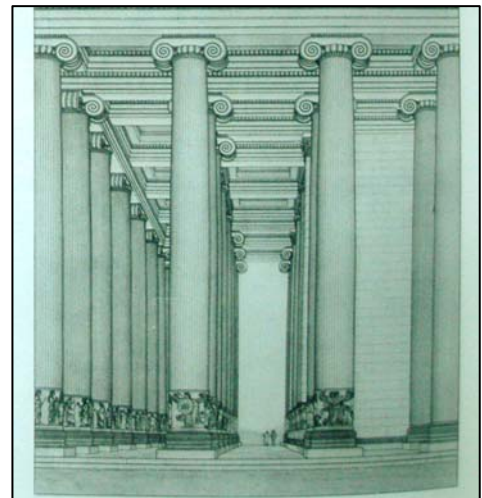
Source: (after) Drawings of Karweise, S., 1995, *Gross ist die Artemis von Ephesos: Die Geschichte einer der großen Städte der Antike*. Wien: Phoibos Verlag.

Figure 2. 7 Croesus' city of Ephesus



Source: Bammer, A., 1961, "Zur Topographie und städtebaulichen Entwicklung von Ephesos", *Österreichische Jahrbuch* 46, pp. 140.

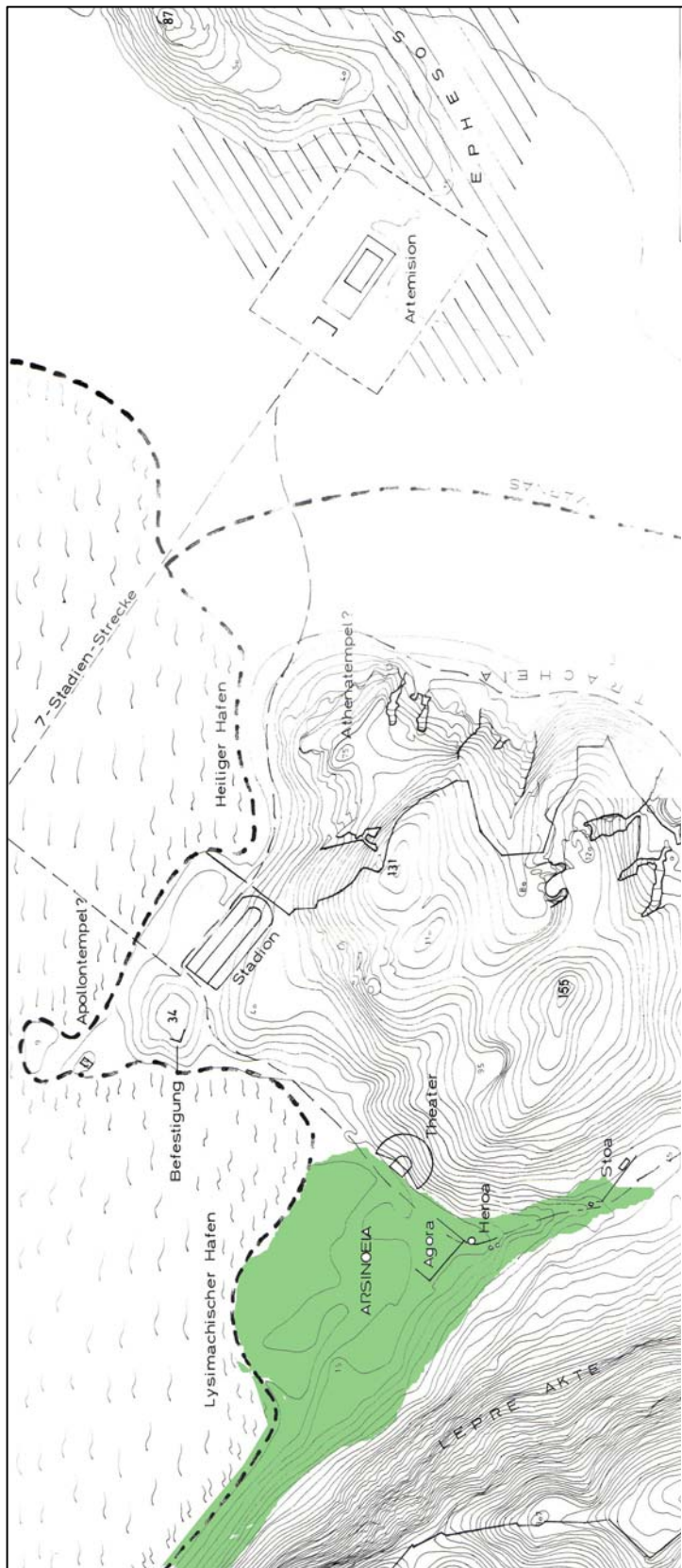
Figure 2. 8 Bammer's attempts to reconstruct the grid around Temple of Artemis



Source: Hanfmann, G. M. A., 1975, *From Croesus to Constantine: The Cities of Western Asia Minor and Their Arts in Greek and Roman Times*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, figure 20.

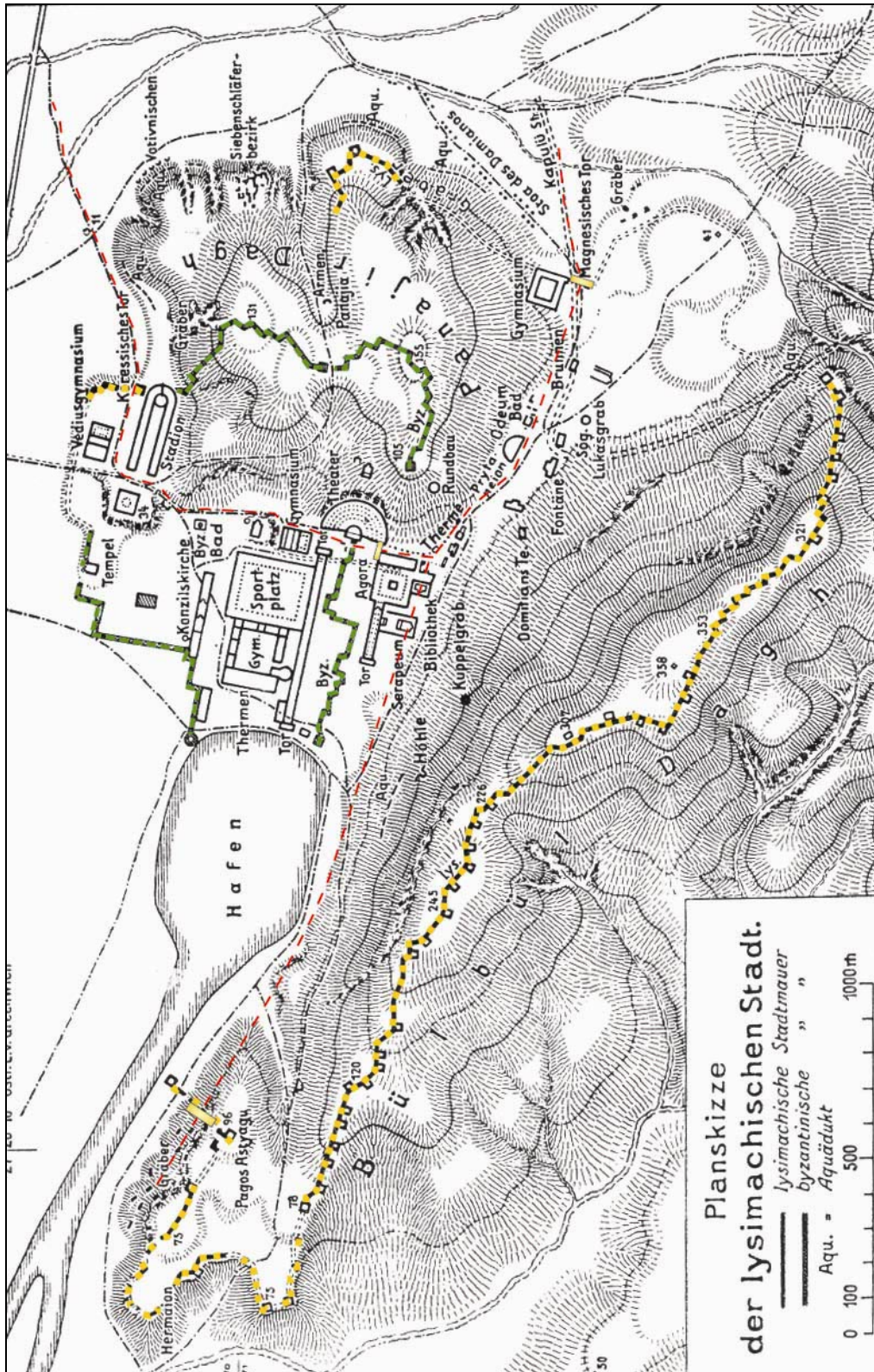
Figure 2. 9 (left): Artemis Temple in Sardis

Figure 2. 10 (right): Sculptured column bases from the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus



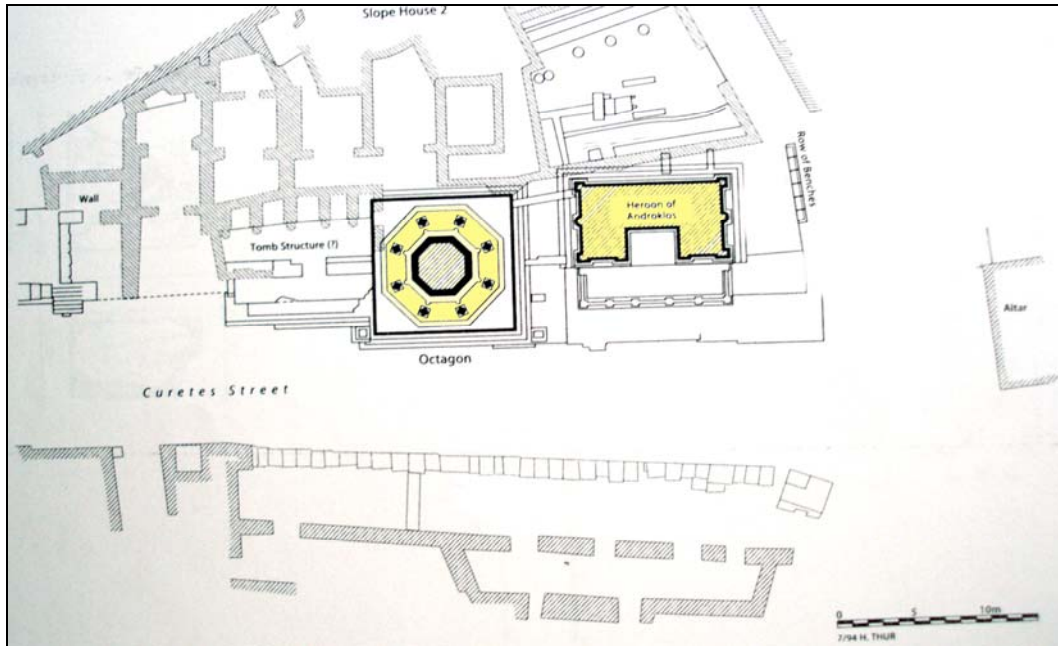
Source: (after) Drawings of Karweise, S., 1995, *Gross ist die Artemis von Ephesos: Die Geschichte einer der großen Städte der Antike*. Wien: Phoibos Verlag.

Figure 2. 11 Lysimachos' City of Arsinoeia



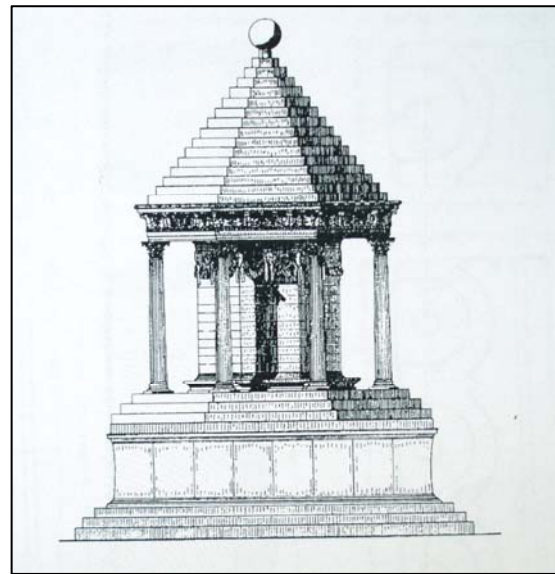
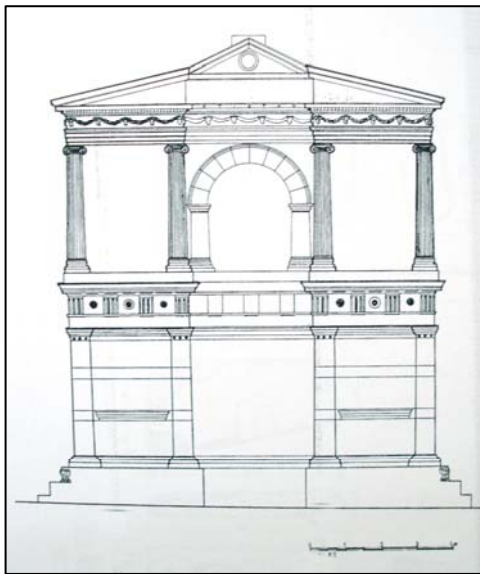
Source: (after) Drawings of Karweise, S., 1995, *Gross ist die Artemis von Ephesos: Die Geschichte einer der großen Städte der Antike*. Wien: Phoibos Verlag.

Figure 2. 12 General layout of Ephesus showing lysimachischen city walls and a probable third gate



Source: Thür, H., 1995, "The Processional Way in Ephesos as a Place of Cult and Burial," in H. Koester, (ed.), *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: an Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion and Culture*. Cambridge, Mass., pp. 191.

Figure 2. 15 Plan of the Octagon and the Heroon



Source: Thür, H., 1995, "The Processional Way in Ephesos as a Place of Cult and Burial," in H. Koester, (ed.), *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: an Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion and Culture*. Cambridge, Mass., pp. 190 (left) and 195 (right).

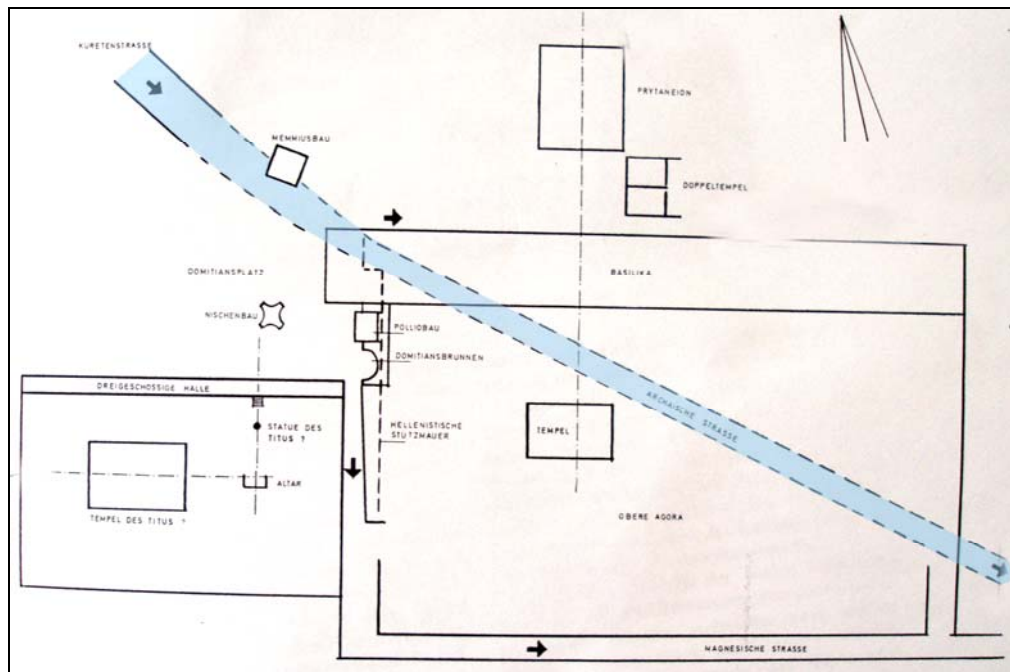
Figure 2. 16 (left) Reconstructed view from the north of the Heroon

Figure 2. 17 (right) Wilberg's reconstruction of the Octagon (drawn by Max Theuer)



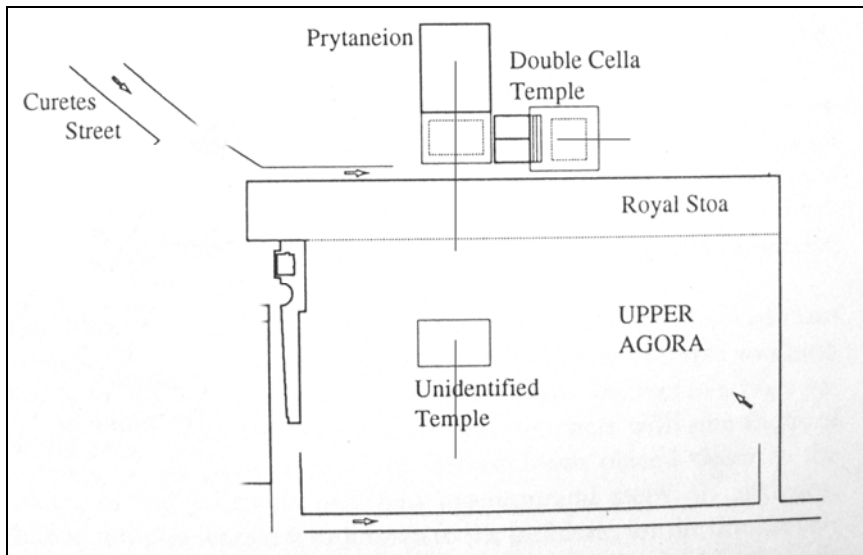
Source: Hueber, F., 1997, *Ephesos Gebaute Geschichte*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, pp. 75.

Figure 2. 18 Late Hellenistic Peristyle House on *Triodos*, later next to the library



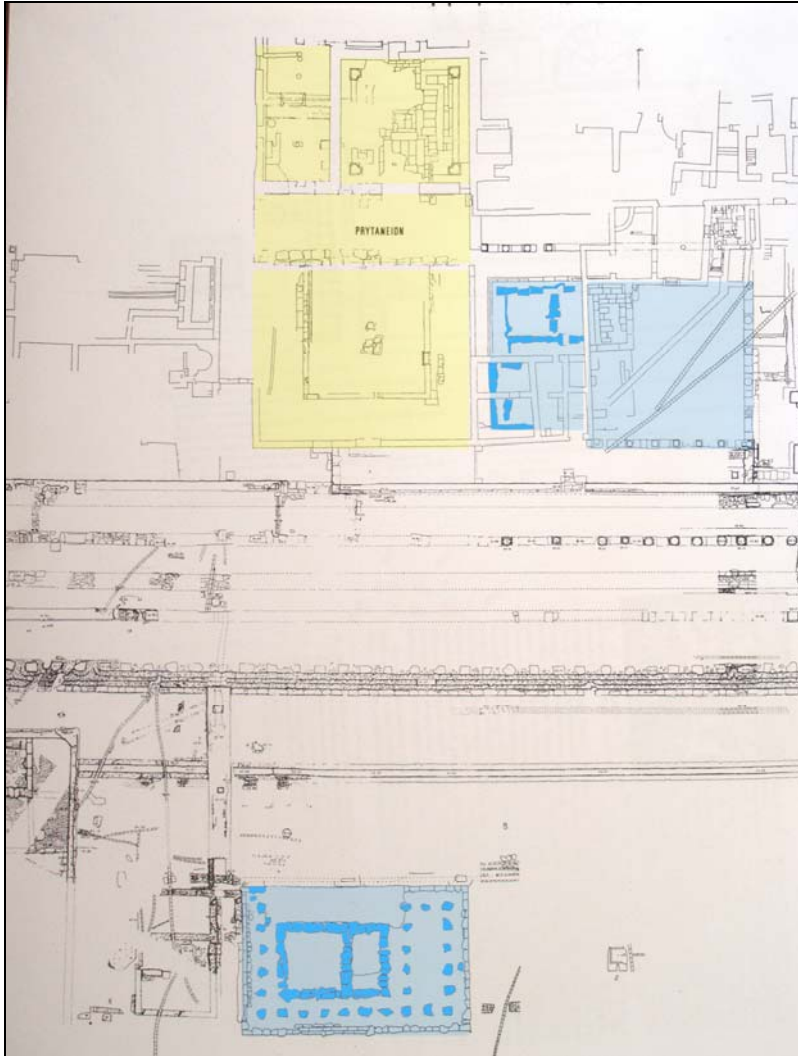
Source: (after) Bammer, A., 1972-75, "Römische und Byzantische Architektur," in *Österreichische Jahrbuch* 50, pp.392.

Figure 2. 19 Ancient *Via Sacra* diagonally crossing the State Agora



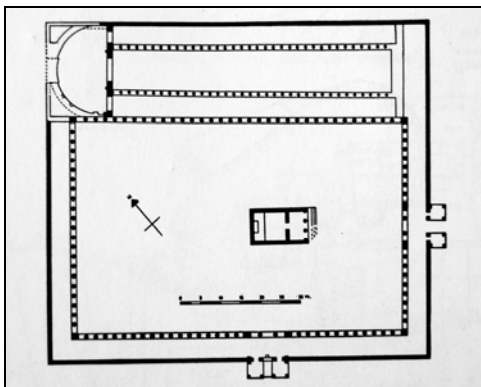
Source: Friesen, S. J., 1993, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 59.

Figure 2. 20 Schematic plan of the State agora in the Augustan age



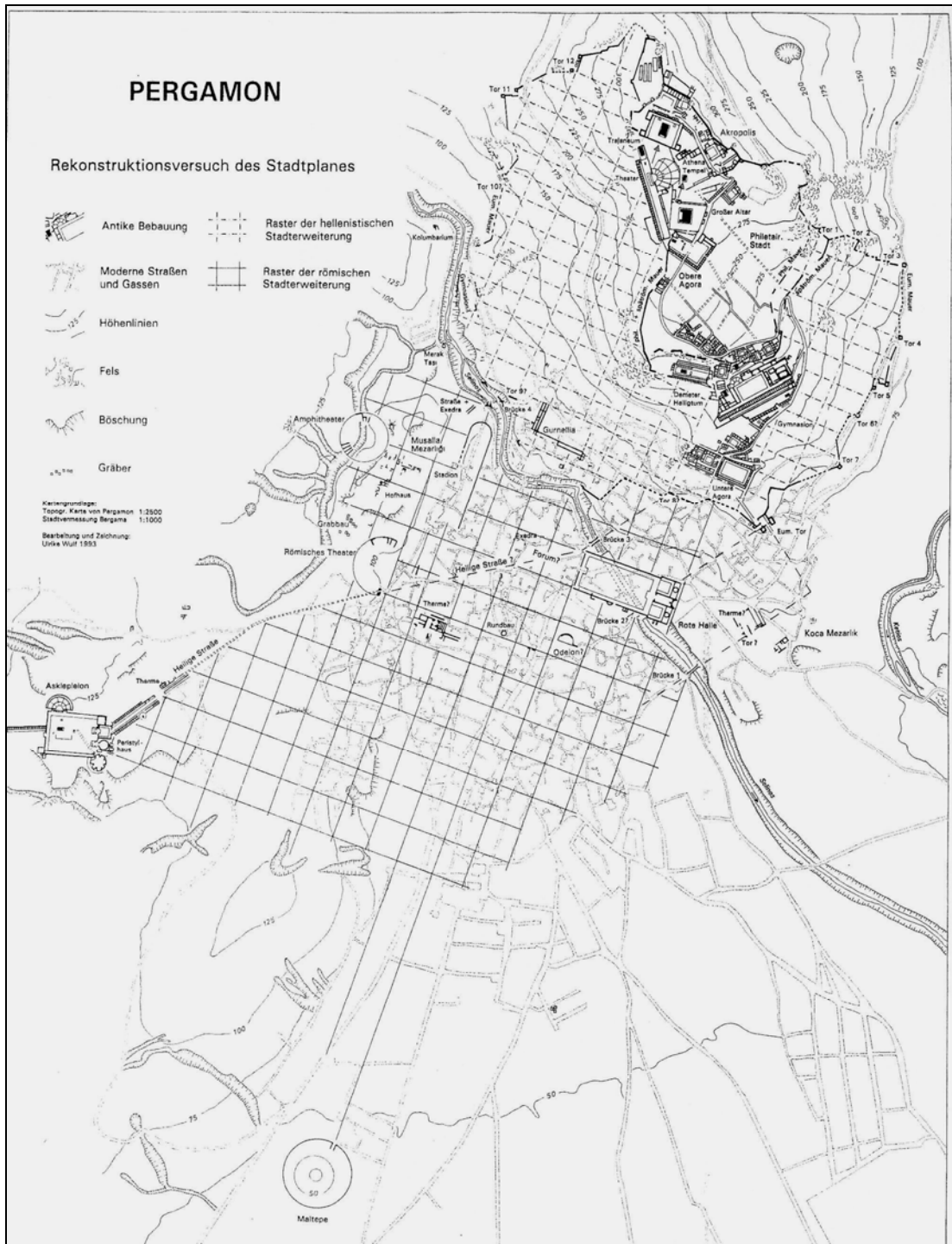
Source: (after) Karweise, Excavation reports, 1980.

Figure 2. 21 Drawing showing the Prytaneion, Double-cella Temple and the Temple on the agora



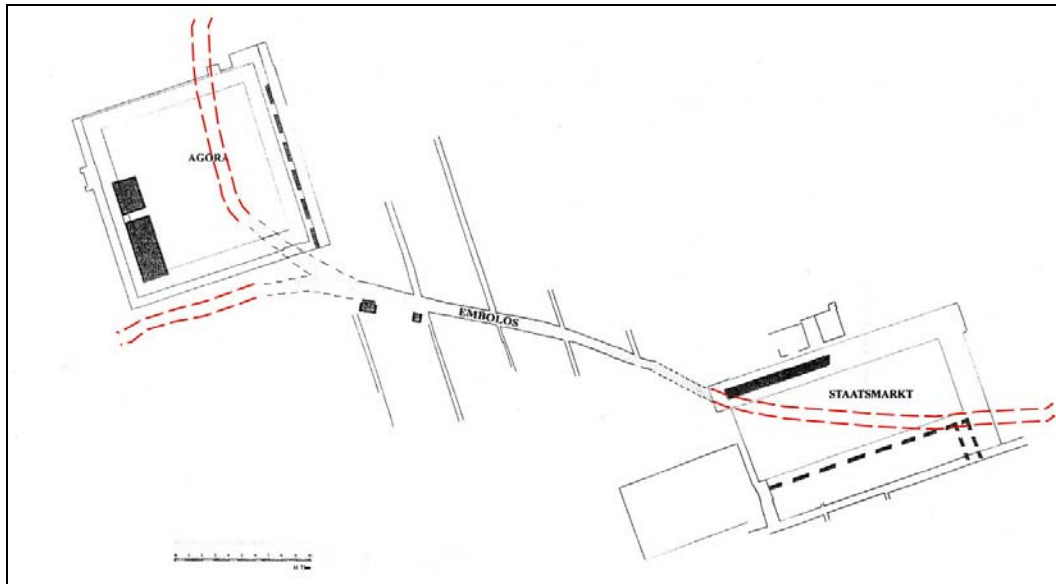
Source: Ward-Perkins, J. B., 1981, *Roman Imperial Architecture*. London: Penguin Books, figures at the back of the book.

Figure 2. 22 Cyrene ,Caesareum, plan (after Ward-Perkins, 1981)



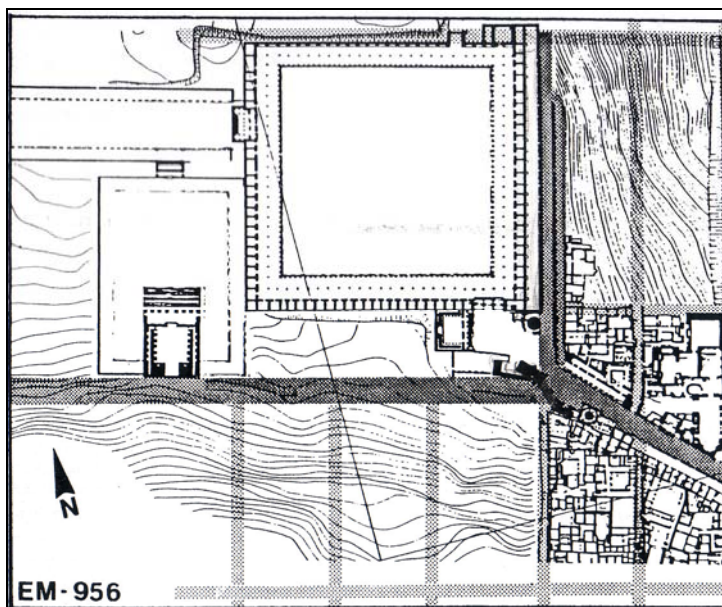
Source: Radt, W., 2001, "The Urban Development of Pergamon," in D. Parrish (ed.) *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor: New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement no: 45. (8-41). Dexter; Michigan: Thompson-Shore. pp.43, figure 2.6.

Figure 2. 23 Reconstruction of the Hellenistic and Roman street systems in Pergamon (Radt 2001, fig.2.6)



Sources: (based on) Thür, H., 1999, "Die spatantike Bauphase der KuretenStrasse," in R. Pillinger (et al.), *Efeso paleocristiana e bizantina = Frühchristliches und byzantinisches Ephesos: Referate des vom 22. bis 24. Februar 1996 im Historischen Institut beim Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom durchgeführten internationalen Kongresses aus Anlass des 100-jährigen Jubiläums der österreichischen Ausgrabungen in Ephesos*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, plate 81; Hueber, F., 1997, "Zur städtebaulichen Entwicklung des Hellenistisch-römischen Ephesos: Phyllen, Embolos, Olympieion, Horologion, Staathalterpalast, Auditorium, Parthermonument, Marienkirche", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 47, pp. 265; and Bammer, A., 1972-75, "Römische und Byzantinische Architektur," in *Österreichische Jahrbuch* 50, pp.392.

Figure 2. 24 Map showing the Tetragonos Agora and the State Agora built over the old route of *Via Sacra*



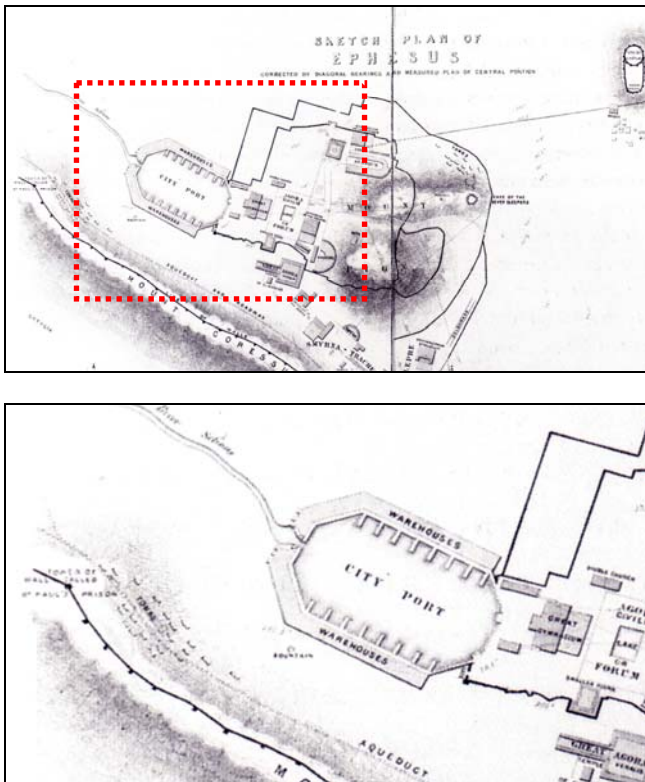
Source: Hueber, F., 1997, "Zur städtebaulichen Entwicklung des Hellenistisch-römischen Ephesos: Phyllen, Embolos, Olympieion, Horologion, Staathalterpalast, Auditorium, Parthermonument, Marienkirche", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 47, pp. 265.

Figure 2. 25 The new arrangement of the Tetragonos Agora and the *Triodos*



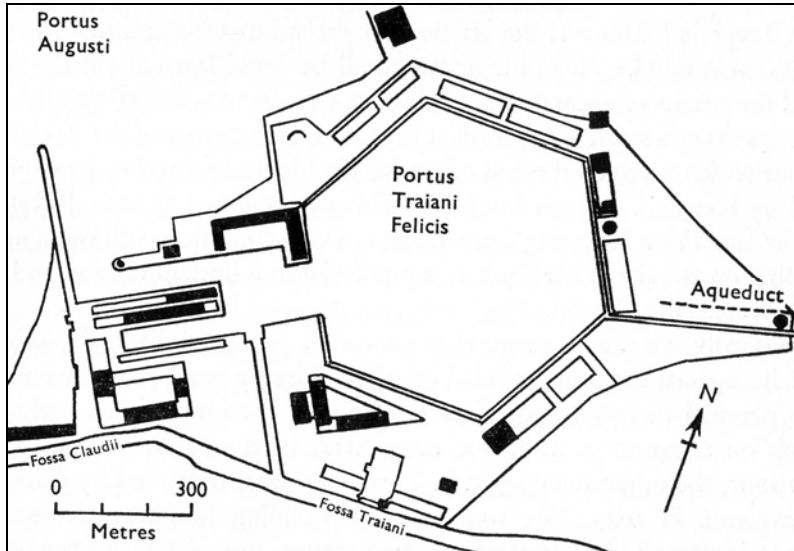
Source: Zabezhicky, H., 1995, "Preliminary Views of the Ephesian Harbor," in H. Koester (ed.) *Ephesus, Metropolis of Asia: an Interdisciplinary approach to its Archaeology, Religion and Culture*. Cambridge, Mass., pp. 214.

Figure 3. 1 Plan of the excavated area (labeled in red) superimposed on an earlier drawing of G. Wiplinger, after E. Karhan



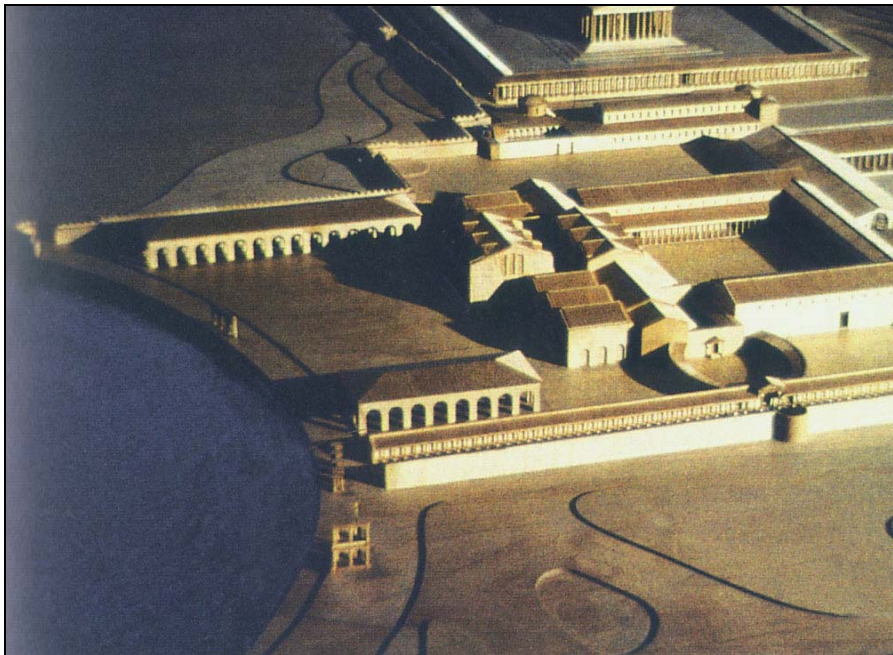
Source: Scherrer, P., Ed., 2000, *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey: Ege Yayınları, pp. 25.

Figure 3. 2 Map of Ephesus with a reconstruction showing Ephesian port, which refers some other examples of Roman ports - drawn by E. Falkener in 1845



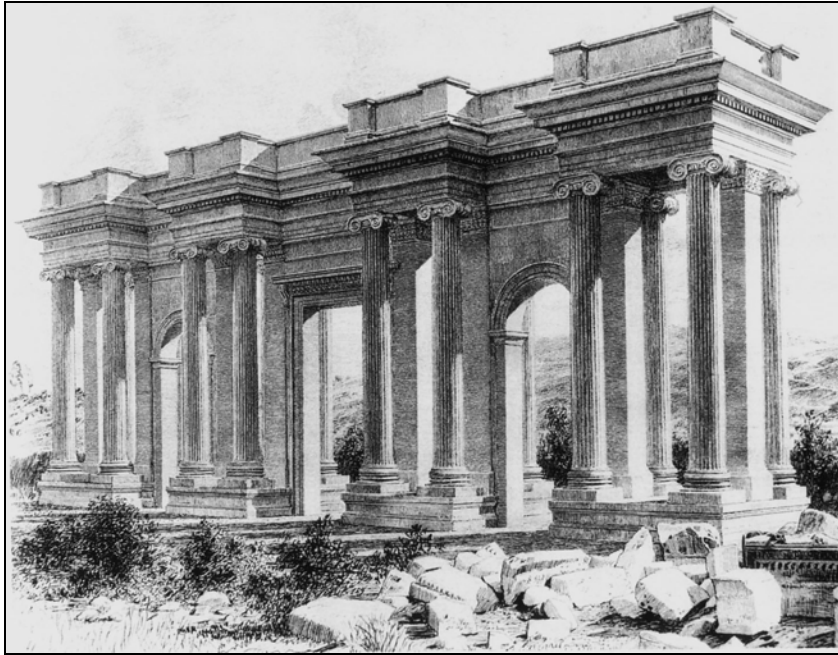
Source. Rickman, G., 1971, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings*. London: University Of Cambridge Press, pp. 125.

Figure 3. 3 Plan of the Trajan's Harbor



Source: Scherrer, P., ed., 2000, *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey: Ege Yayınları, pp. 175.

Figure 3. 4 Buildings on the harbor, model in the Ephesos Museum Vienna



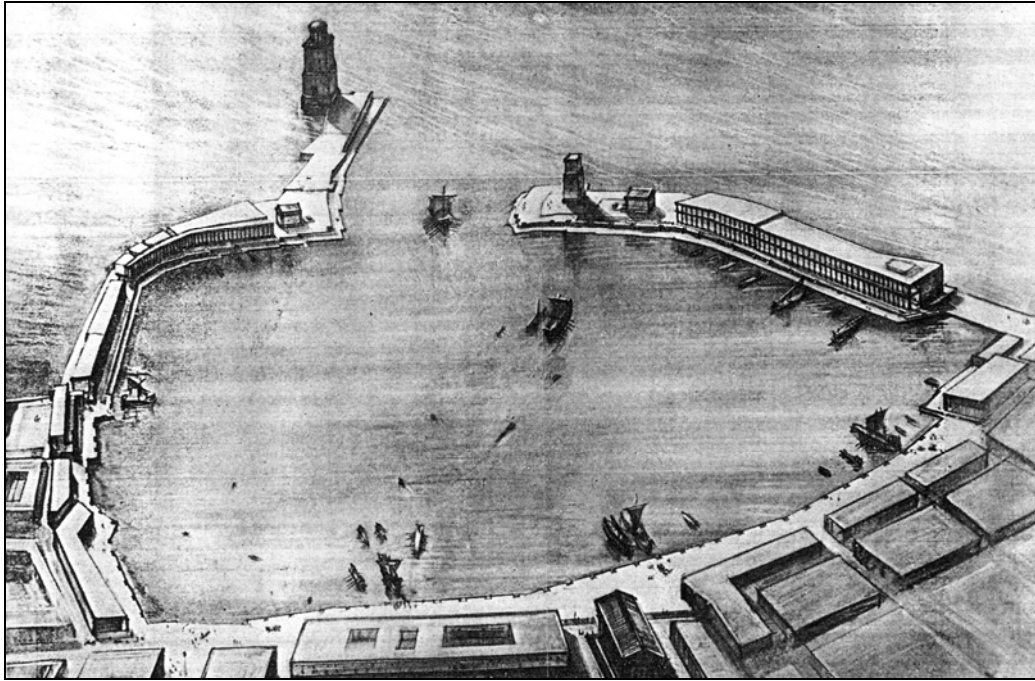
Source: Scherrer, P., ed., 2000, *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey: Ege Yayınları, pp. 179.

Figure 3. 5 The middle Harbor Gate drawn by G. Niemann



Source: Wiplinger, G. And Wlach, G., 1996, *Ephesus: 100 Years of Austrian Research*. Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, pp. 27.

Figure 3. 6 Southern Gate of the Harbor



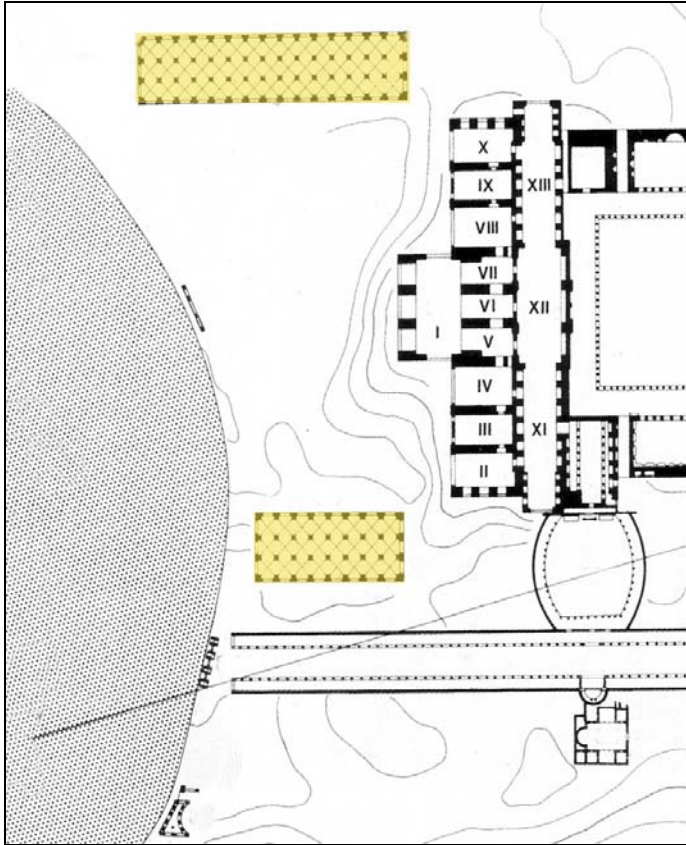
Source: Macdonald, W. L., 1982, *The Architecture of The Roman Empire: An Urban Appraisal V.II.* New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 262.

Figure 3. 7 Reconstruction of the Severan port in Lepcis Magna



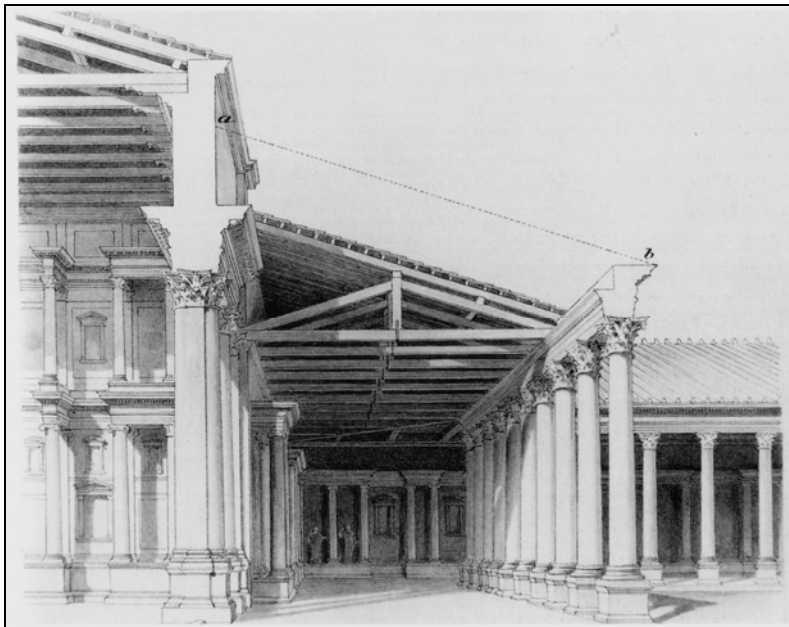
Source: Wiplinger, G. And Wlach, G., 1996, *Ephesus: 100 Years of Austrian Research.* Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, pp. 3.

Figure 3. 8 Reconstruction of Ephesus as seen from Bülbüldağ, drawn by Falkener 1858



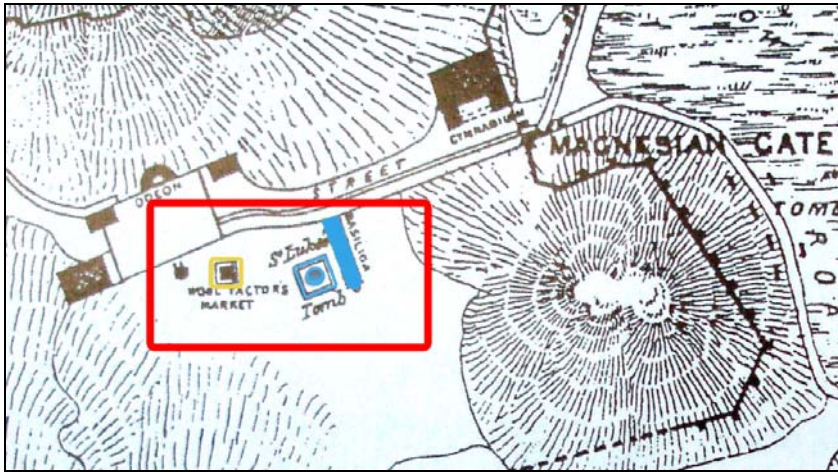
Source: Scherrer, P., ed., 2000, *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey: Ege Yayınları, pp. 163.

Figure 3. 9 Open porticoes for business and trade, drawn after the Harbor Map



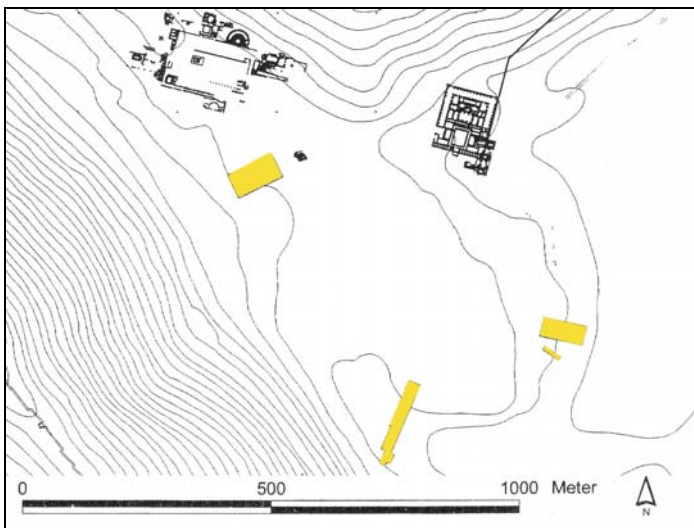
Source: Scherrer, P., ed., 2000, *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey: Ege Yayınları, pp. 177.

Figure 3. 10 The semi-open spaces around the Harbor-Bath Complex, drawn by G. Niemann in 1902



Source: Groh, S., 2001, "Die Topographie Des Oberstadt Von Ephesos," In *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 70, pp. 26.

Figure 3. 11 Upper city and the proposed Wool factory in Ephesus, after drawings of J. T. Wood in 1877.



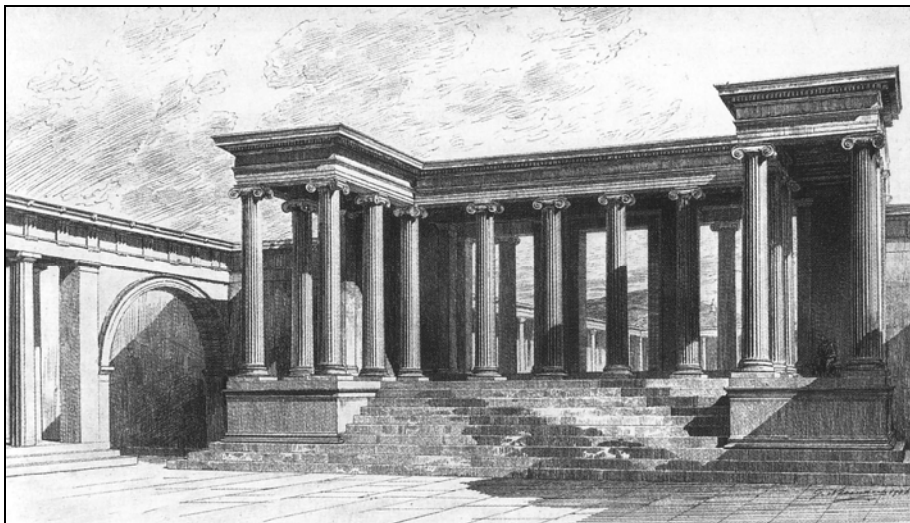
Source: Groh, S., 2001, "Die Topographie Des Oberstadt Von Ephesos," In *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 70, pp. 28.

Figure 3. 12 Plan of the excavated area and found structures in 2000, after Groh (Groh, 2001, 28)



Source: Scherrer, P., ed., 2000, *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey: Ege Yayınları, pp. 153.

Figure 3. 13 Relief with representation of *homonoia*



Source: Scherrer, P., ed., 2000, *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey: Ege Yayınları, pp. 143.

Figure 3. 14 The West Gate of Tetrakonos Agora drawn by G. Niemann in 1904



Figure 3. 15 The plan of the Soli-Pompeipolis (taken from the billboard of the excavation area) (author)



Figure 3. 16 The colonnaded avenue at Soli Pompeipolis, facing the harbor basin (author)



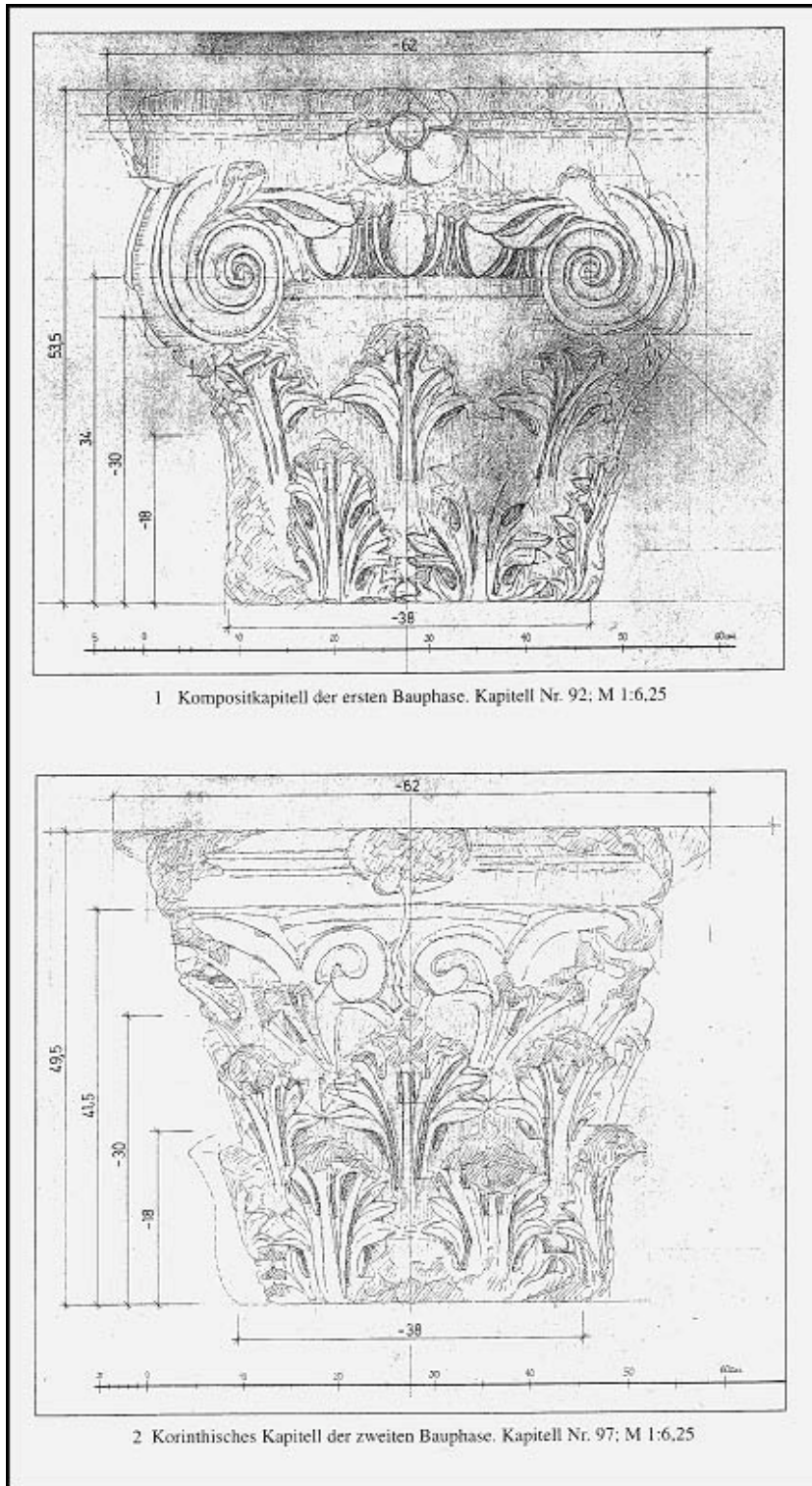
Source: Casson, L., 1959, *The Ancient Mariners: Seafarers and sea fighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Time*. New York: Macmillan, plate 12.

Figure 3. 17 Torlonia relief showing merchantmen in the Harbor at Portus, circa 200 A.D.



Source: Wheeler, M., 1964, *Roman Art and Architecture*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., pp. 199.

Figure 3. 18 Wall painting showing the busy life of the Harbor from Stabiae before 79 A.D.



Source: Schneider, P. Gelnhausen-Hailer, 1999, "Bauphasen Der Arkadiane," In H., Friesinger And F., Krinzinger, eds., *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen In Ephesos : Akten Des Symposiums Wien 1995*. Vienna: Verlag Der Österreichischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften, plate 3.

Figure 3. 19 Hand drawings of two different types of column capitals

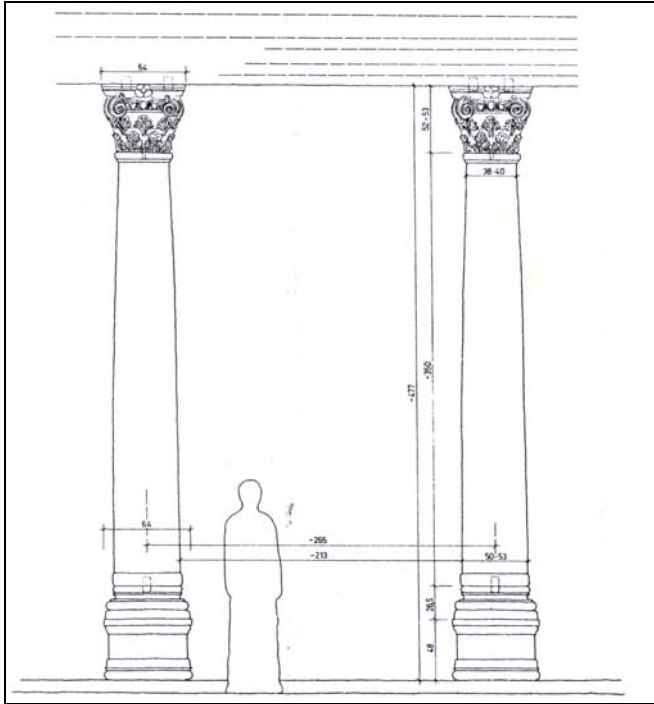


Figure 3. 20 The arrangement of the columns in the first phrase of Arcadiane

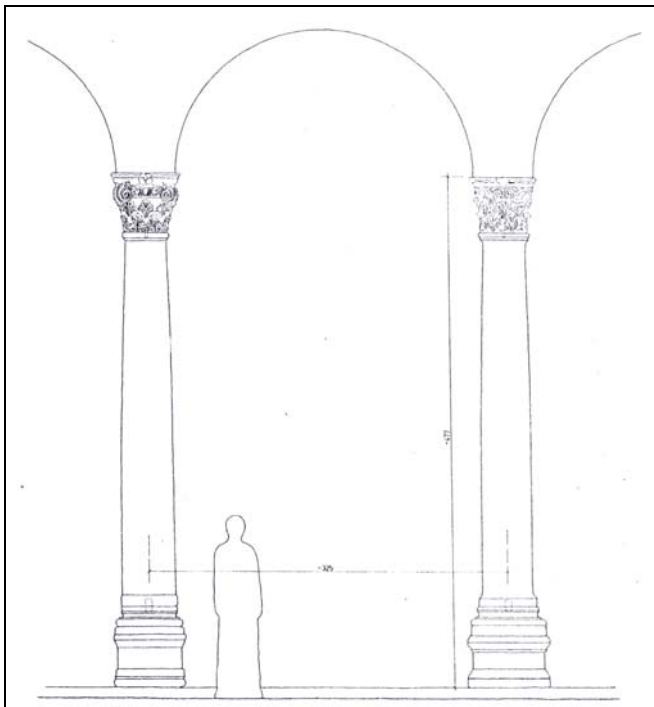
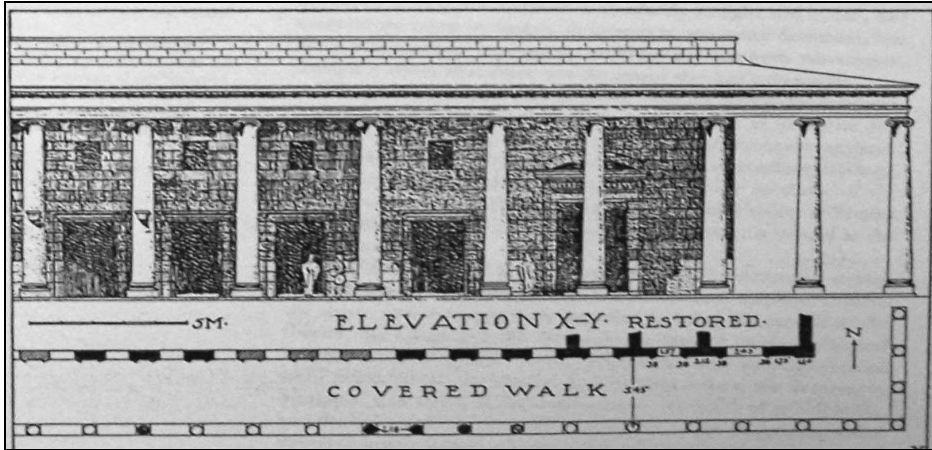


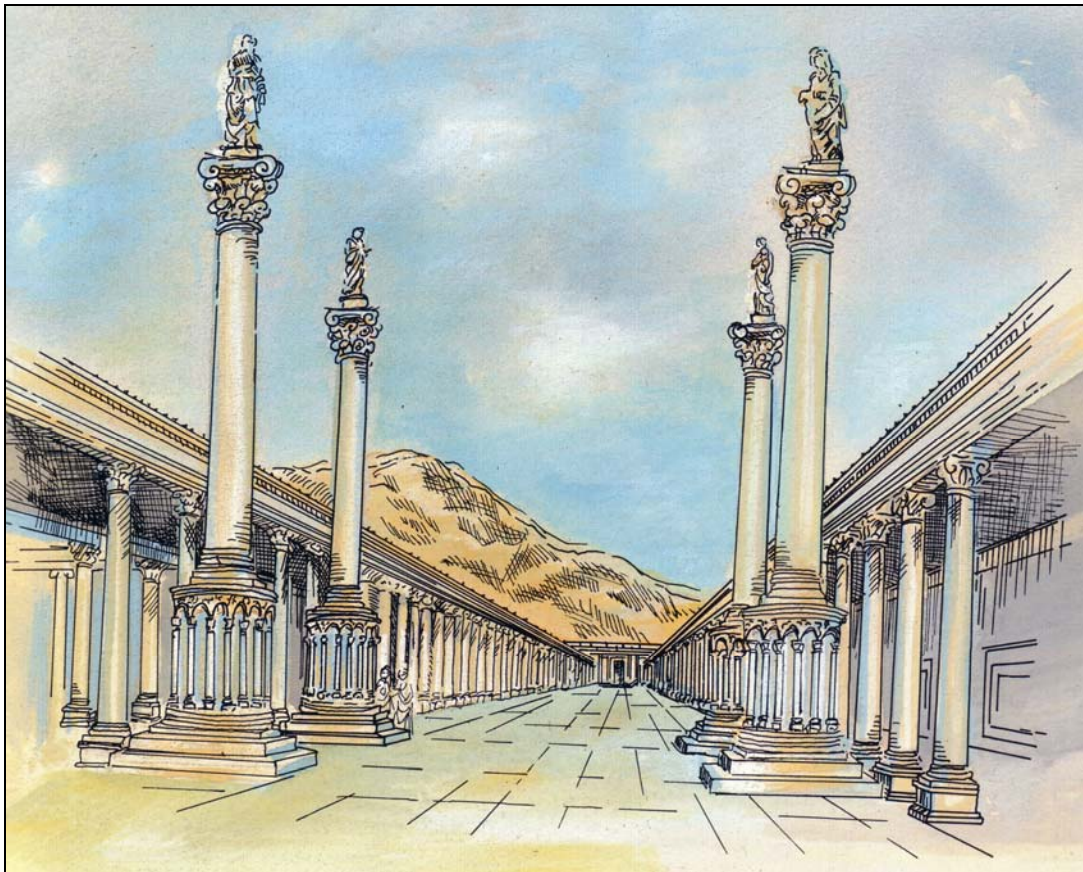
Figure 3. 21 The arrangement of the columns in the second phrase of Arcadiane

Source: Schneider, P. Gelnhausen-Hailer, 1999, "Bauphasen Der Arkadiane," In H., Friesinger And F., Krinzinger, eds., *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen In Ephesos :Akten Des Symposiums Wien 1995*. Vienna: Verlag Der Österreichischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften, plate 1 and plate 2.



Source: Segal, A., 1997, *From Function to Monument: Urban Landscapes of Roman Palestine, Syria and Provincia Arabia*. Exeter: The Short Run Press, pp. 25.

Figure 3. 22 Suggested reconstruction of the colonnaded avenue of Bosra



Source: Erdemgil, S., 1996, *Ephesus: Ruins and Museum*. İstanbul: Net Yayınları, pp. 55.

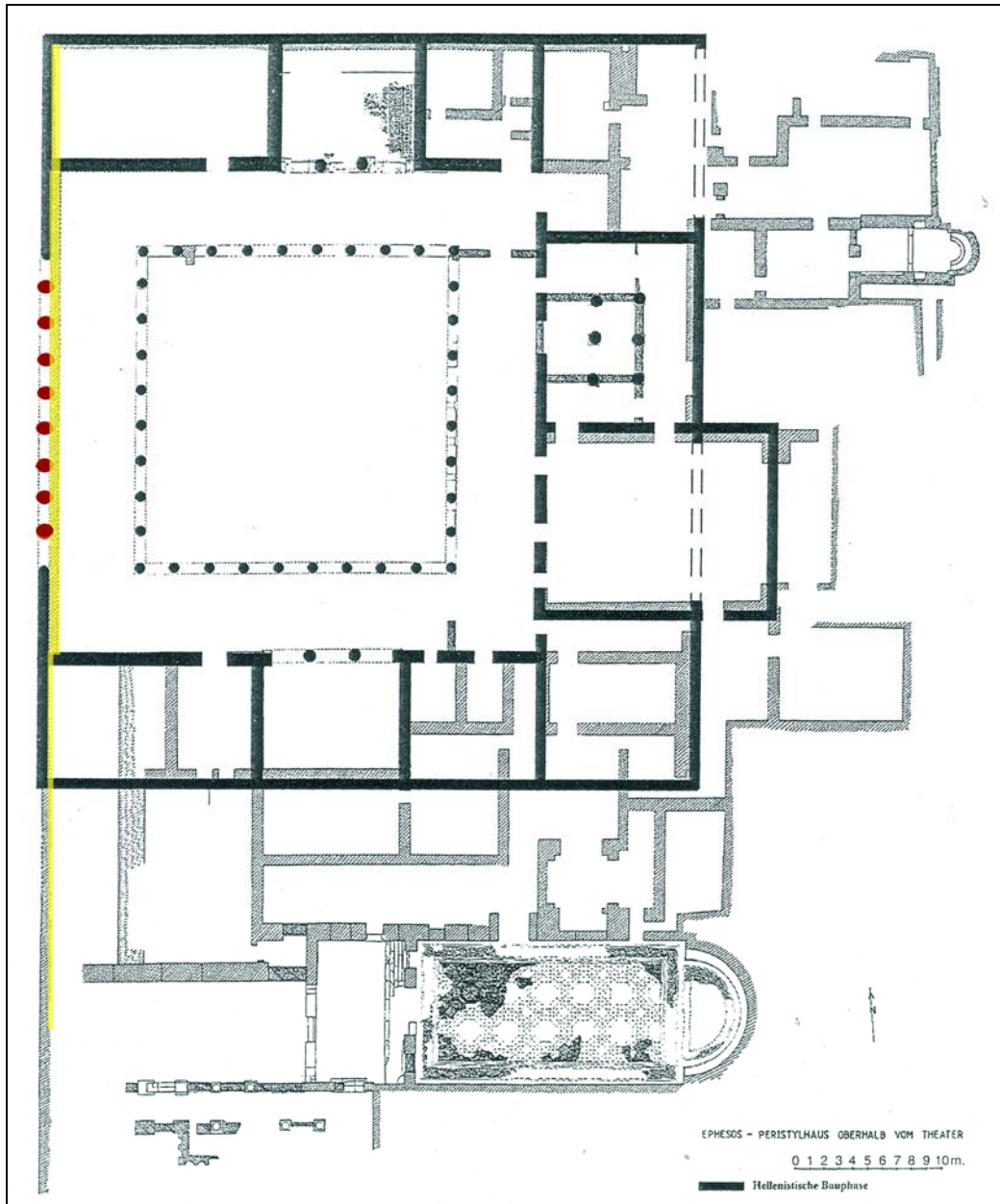
Figure 3. 23 Reconstruction of the Arcadiane from a later period - after sixth century



Figure 3. 24 The remaining pillars of the Arcadiane's eastern gate (author)

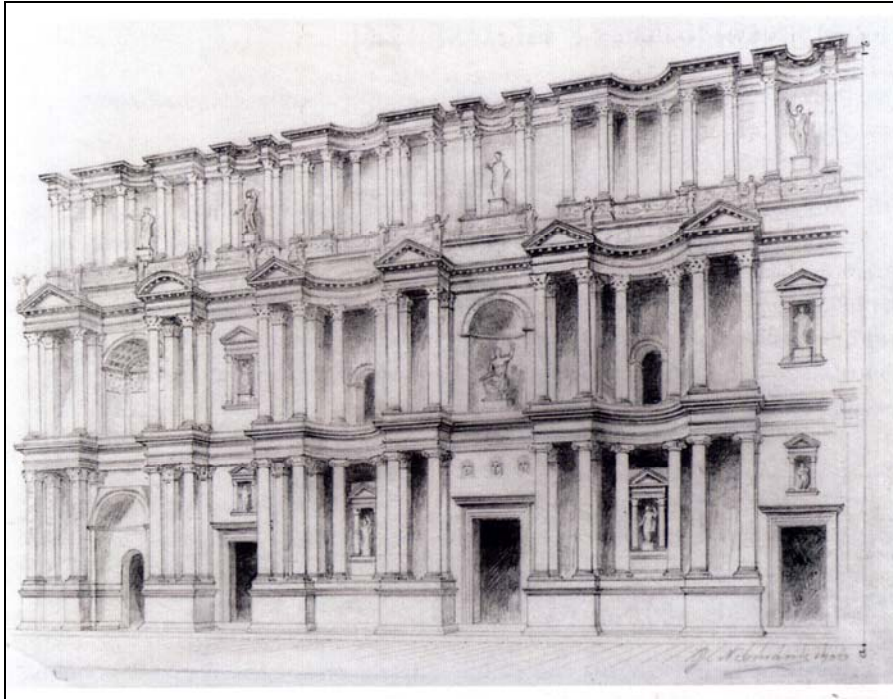


Figure 3. 25 Stairs covering the 1m level difference between the pathway and the Theater Plaza (author)



Source: Thür, H., 2002, "Kontinuität und Diskontinuität im Ephesischen Wohnbau der Frühen Kaiserzeit," in C. Berns, et. al. ed., *Patris und Imperium, Kulturelle und Politische Identität in den Städten der Römischen Provinzen Kleinasiens in der Frühen Kaiserzeit*. Leuven: Peeters Colloquium, pp. 262.

Figure 3. 28 Reconstruction of the Peristyle House over the Theater, early Hellenistic building superimposed over the Roman villa. The western side is particularly highlighted as it shows Hellenistic columns (in red) replaced with a Roman continuous wall. It is had openings which allowed the owner to have a view of both the Theater and the harbor.



Source: Wiplinger, G. And Wlach, G., 1996, *Ephesus: 100 Years of Austrian Research*. Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, pp. 36.

Figure 3. 29 The form and decoration of the *scaenae frons* of the Theater at Ephesus



Figure 3. 30 The Marble Road running southward from the Theater Plaza (author)



Figure 3. 31 The simple arched doorway on the north end of the Neronian Hall (author)



Figure 3. 32 The eastern gallery of the Marble Road with undecorated columns (author)



Source: (after) Jobst, W, 1976-77, "Open Freudehaus in Ephesus," *Österreichische Jahrbuch*, plan 1.

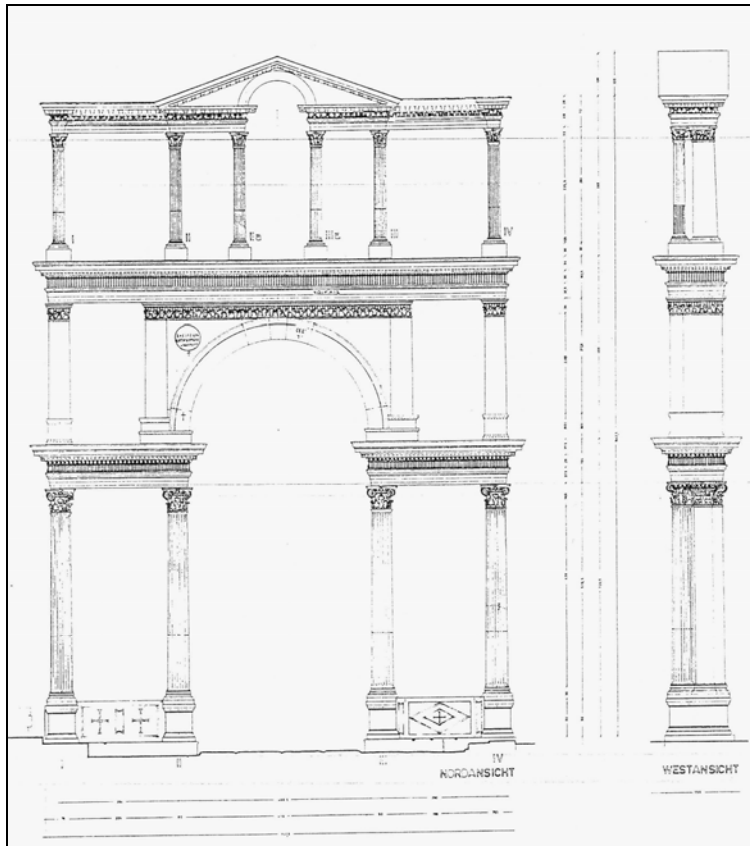
Figure 3. 33 The partial plan of the Doric Hall and the structures behind



Figure 3. 34 The marble block showing a woman's head, a left foot and supposedly a heart (author)

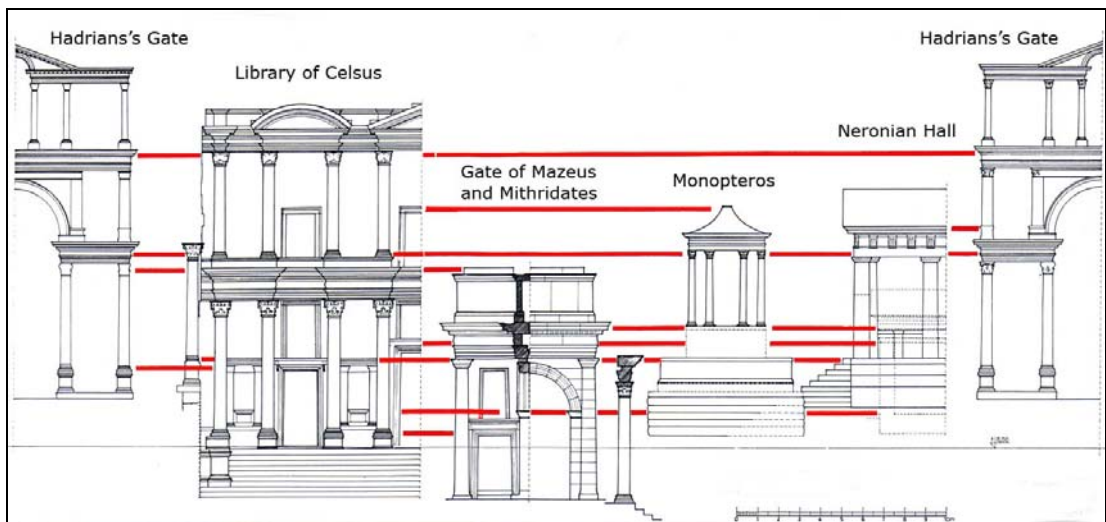


Figure 3. 35 Some reliefs of gladiators from the Marble Road (author)



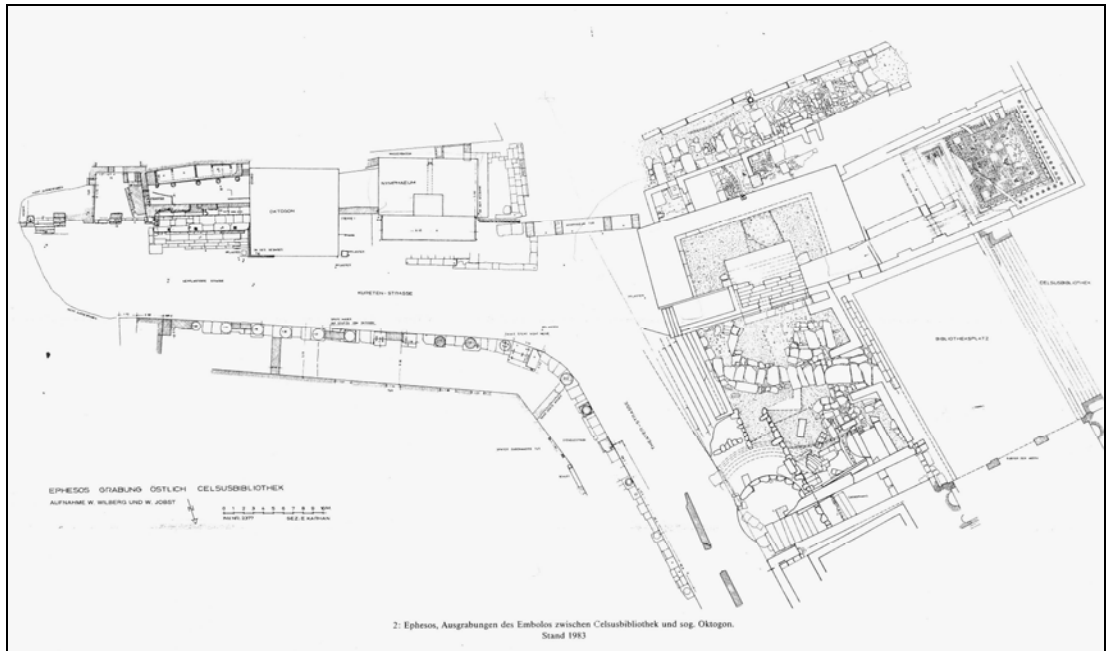
Source: Thür, H., 1999, "Die Spatantike Bauphase der Kuretenstrasse," in R. Pillinger, et. al. ed., *Efeso Paleocristiana e Bizantina = Frühchristliches und Byzantinisches Ephesos: Referate des vom 22. bis 24. Februar 1996 Im Historischen Institut beim Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom Durchgeführten Internationalen Kongresses aus Anlass des 100-Jährigen Jubiläums der Österreichischen Ausgrabungen in Ephesos*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, plate 9.

Figure 3. 36 Hadrian's gate



Source: (after) Hueber, F., 1997, *Ephesos – Gebaute Geschichte*. Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, pp. 82.

Figure 3. 37 Hadrian's gate compared with the neighboring structures

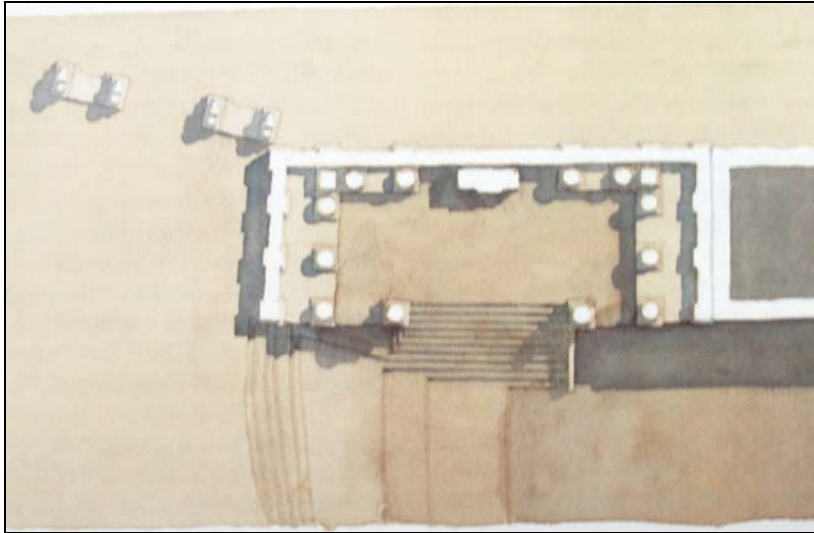


Source: (after) Friesinger, H., and Krinzinger F., et. al. ed., 1995, 100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos :Akten des Symposions Wien 1995. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, plate 1.

Figure 3. 38 The plan of the Library quarter (*Triodos*)



Figure 3. 39 The stairway of the altar connecting the large U-shaped loggia with the plaza (author)



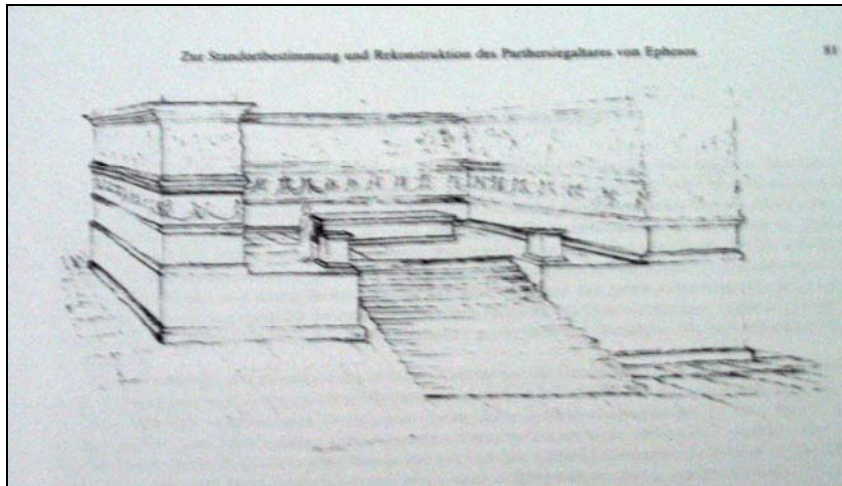
Source: Hueber, F., 1997, *Ephesos – Gebaute Geschichte*. Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, pp. 84.

Figure 3. 40 The plan of the altar as reconstructed by Hueber



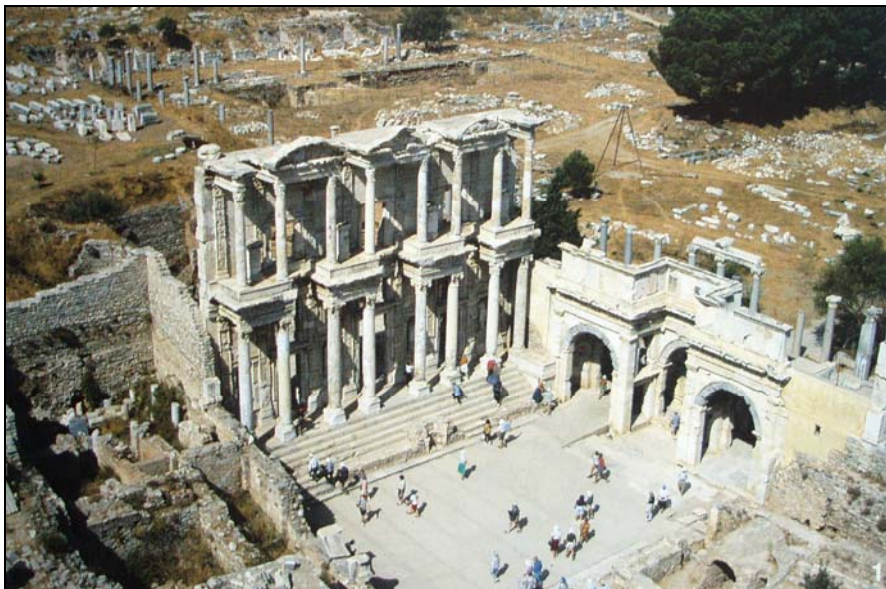
Source: Hueber, F., 1997, *Ephesos – Gebaute Geschichte*. Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, pp. 84.

Figure 3. 41 A reconstruction of the use of the altar structure



Source: Jobst, W., 1985, "Zur Standortbestimmung und Rekonstruktion des Parthersiegaltars Von Ephesos," in *Österreichische Jahrbuch*, pp. 81.

Figure 3. 42 The reconstruction of the altar suggested by Jobst

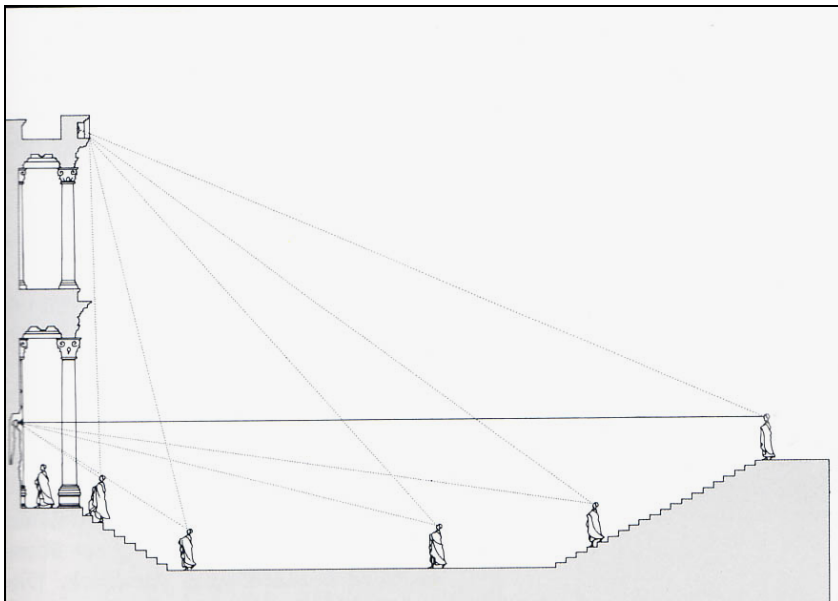


Source: Scherrer, P., ed., 2000, *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey: Ege Yayınları, pp. 131.

Figure 3. 43 The sunken plaza in front of the library



Figure 3. 44 The Celsus Library (author)

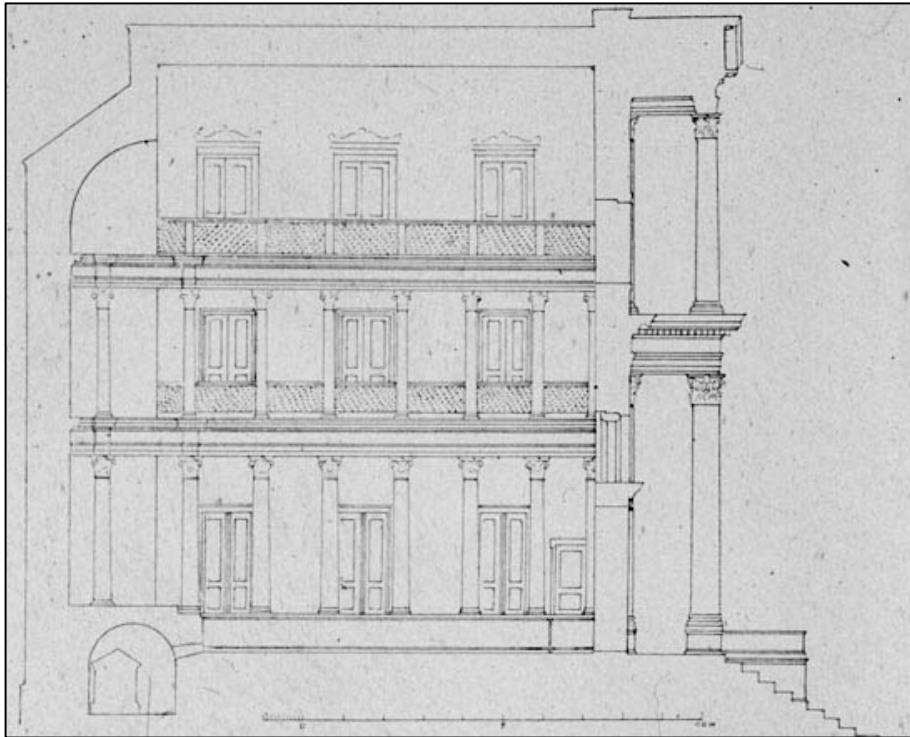


Source: (after) Hueber, F., 1997, *Ephesos – Gebaute Geschichte*. Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, pp. 83.

Figure 3. 45-a The sketch showing the visual cone of the observer

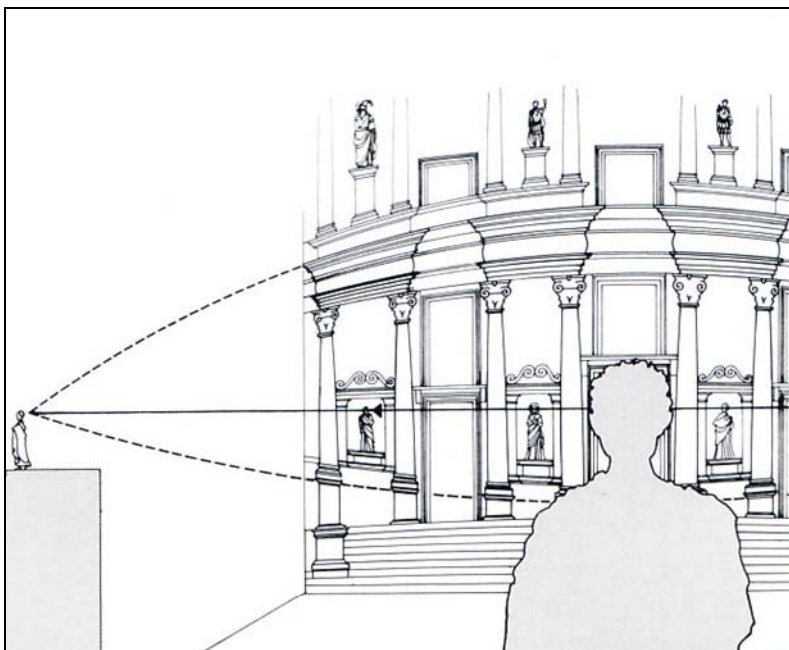


Figure 3. 46-b The lavishly decorated ceiling of the projections of the upper storey and the inscriptions placed under the entablatures can be observed while entering the library (author)



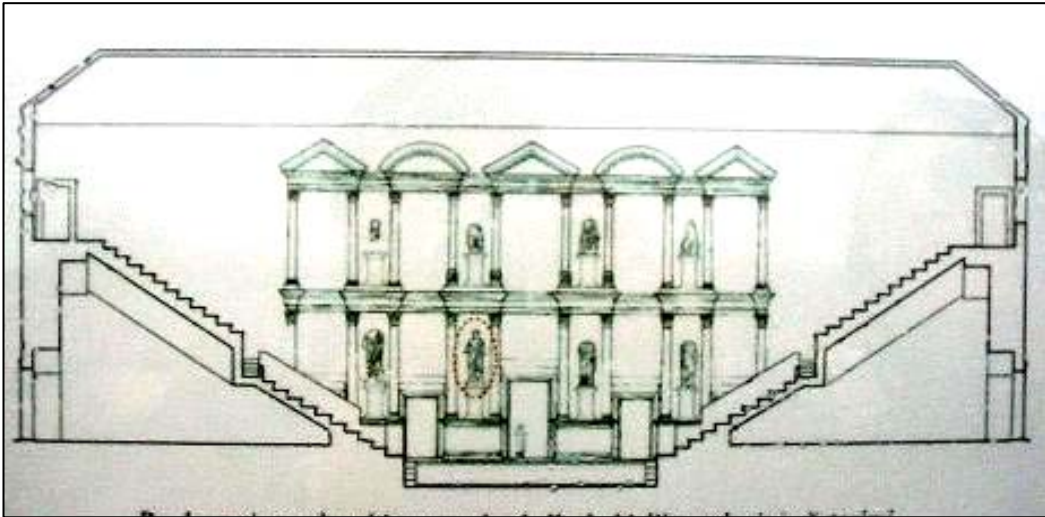
Source: <http://classics.uc.edu/~johnson/libraries>

Figure 3. 47 The section of the library showing the tomb of Celsus



Source: (after) Hueber, F., 1997, *Ephesos – Gebaute Geschichte*. Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, pp. 83.

Figure 3. 48 Hueber's sketch showing the visual illusion created within the façade of the Celsus library

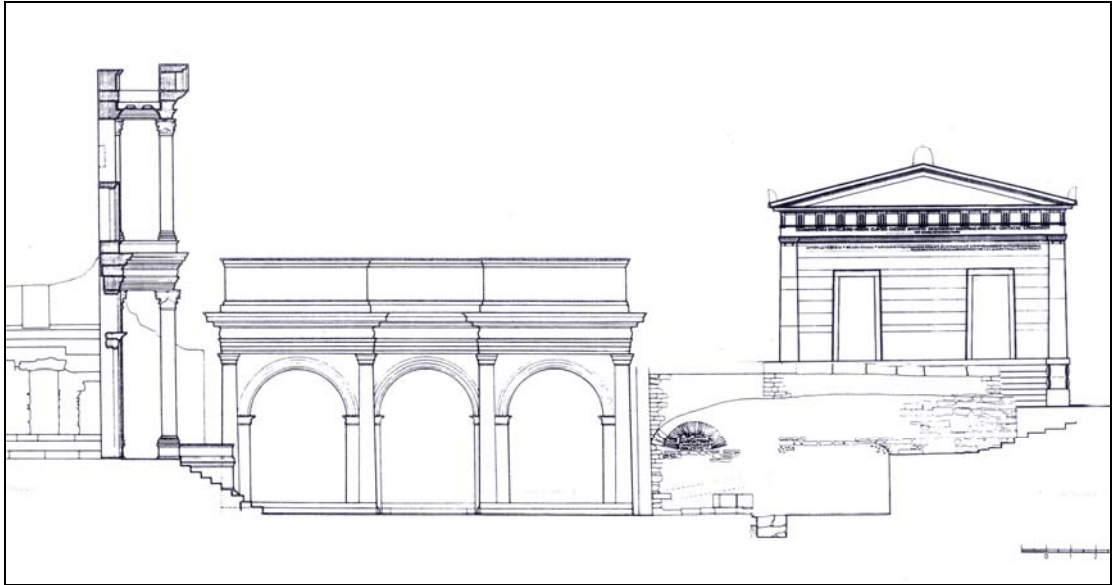


Source: Unknown.

Figure 3. 49 Restored scaenae frons of the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias



Figure 3. 50 The Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates (author)



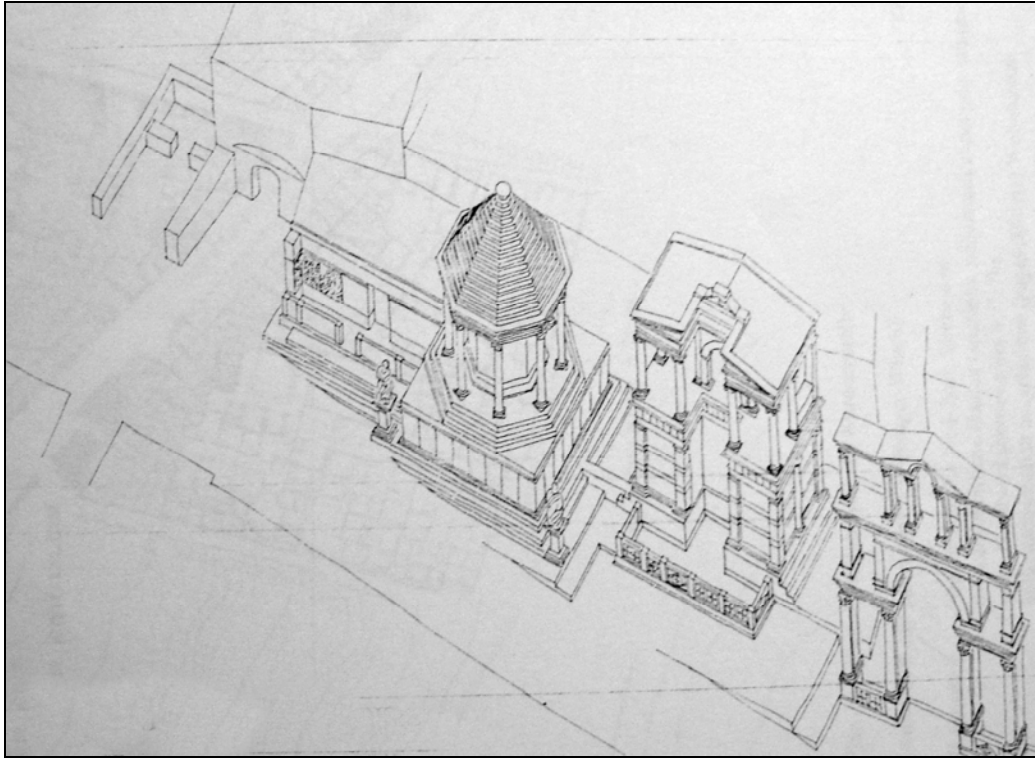
Sources: (after) Hueber, F., 1997, *Ephesos – Gebaute Geschichte*. Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, pp. 101; and *Grabungen in Ephesus*, 1985, Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.

Figure 3. 51 The north elevation of the Library Plaza



Source: Hueber, F., 1997, *Ephesos – Gebaute Geschichte*. Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, pp. 70.

Figure 3. 52 The elevation of the Neronian Hall and the six-columned *monopteros* suggested by Hueber



Source: Thür, H., 1995, "The Processional Way in Ephesos As a Place of Cult and Burial," in H. Koester, (ed.), *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion and Culture*. Cambridge, Mass., pp. 193.

Figure 3. 53 The group of monuments at the lower end of the Embolos



Source: Thür, H., 1995, "The Processional Way in Ephesos As a Place of Cult and Burial," in H. Koester, (ed.), *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion and Culture*. Cambridge, Mass., pp. 199.

Figure 3. 54 The figure (Androklos ?) from the frieze of the Heroon

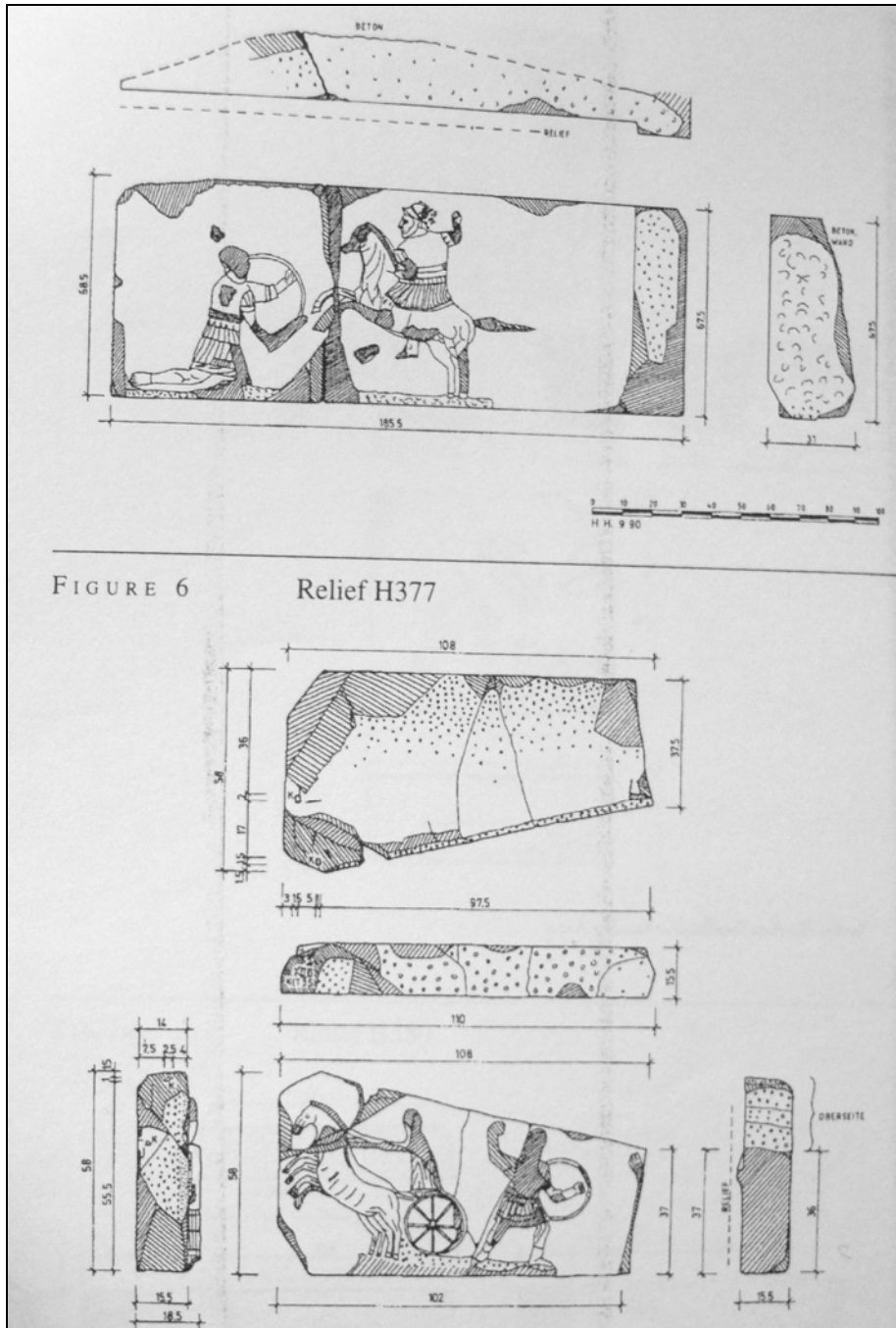


FIGURE 6 Relief H377

Source: Thür, H., 1995, "The Processional Way in Ephesos As a Place of Cult and Burial," in H. Koester, (ed.), *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion and Culture*. Cambridge, Mass., pp. 192.

Figure 3. 55 Figures showing the battle scene from the frieze of the Heroon



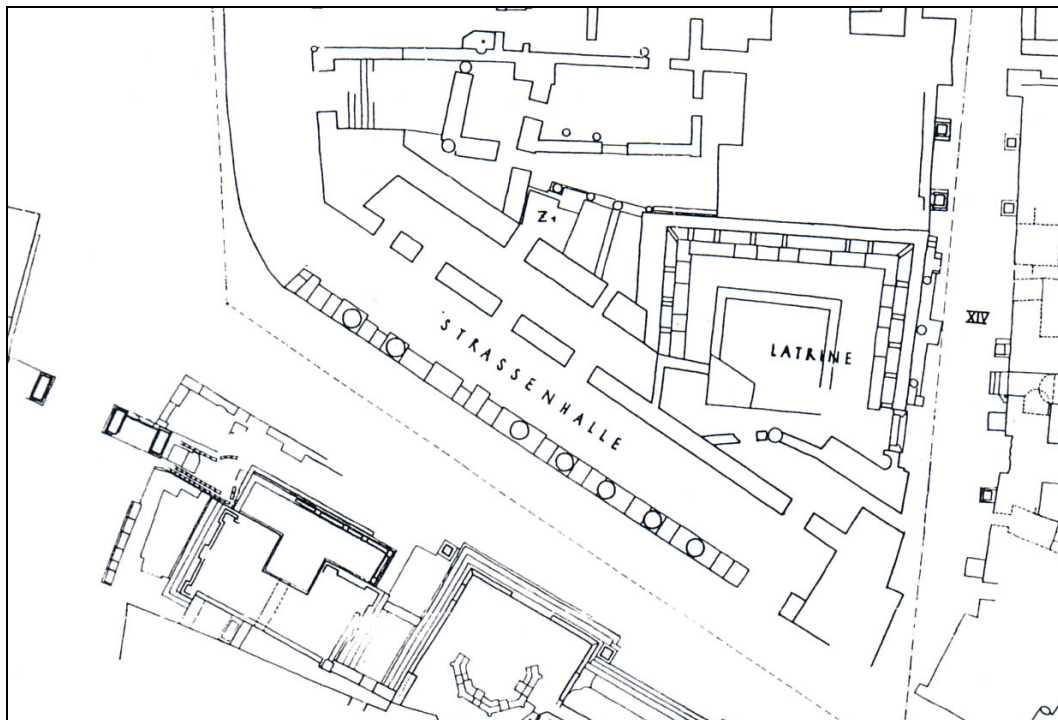
Source: Thür, H., 1995, "The Processional Way in Ephesos As a Place of Cult and Burial," in H. Koester, (ed.), *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion and Culture*. Cambridge, Mass., pp. 192.

Figure 3. 56 The sculpture base with an inscription about Androklos and the Heroon in the background



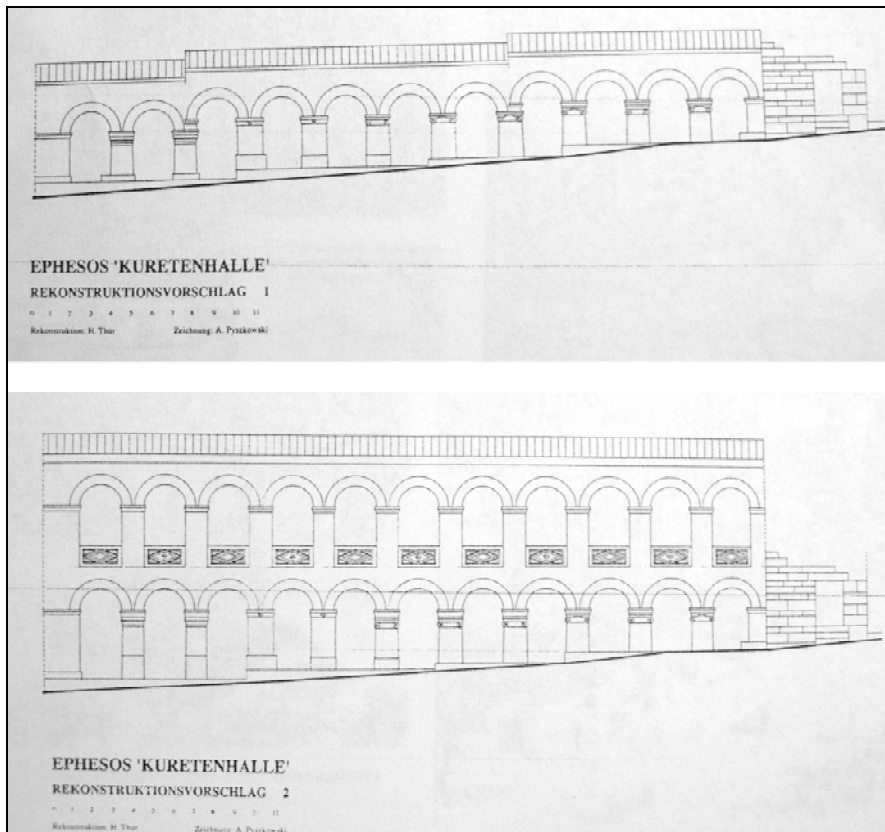
Source: Scherrer, P., ed., 2000, *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey: Ege Yayınları, pp.124.

Figure 3. 57 Orthostats on the northwest corner of the octagon socle with the letter to Festus



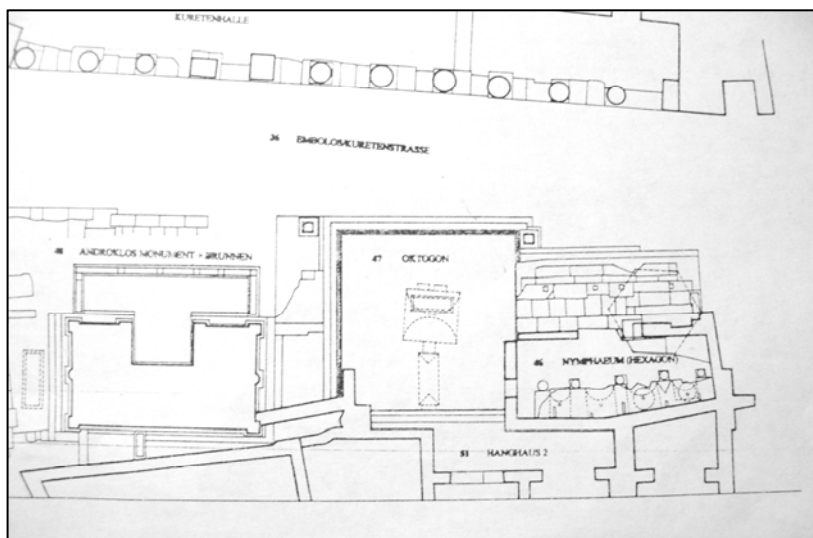
Source: (after) Jobst, W, 1976-77, "Open Freudehaus in Ephesus," *Österreichische Jahrbuch*, plan 1.

Figure 3. 58 Plan of the Curetes Hall at the lower Embolos



Source: Thür, H., 1999, "Die Spätantike Bauphase der Kuretenstrasse," in R. Pillinger, et. al. ed., *Efeso Paleocristiana e Bizantina = Frühchristliches und Byzantinisches Ephesos*: Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, plate 21-22.

Figure 3. 59 The reconstruction proposals for the Curetes hall



Source: Thür, H., et. al. ed., 1997, "... und verschönerte die Stadt..." : *Ein Ephesischer Priester des Kaiserkultes in seinem Umfeld*. Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, pp. 18.

Figure 3. 60 Plan showing the nymphaeum (?) and steps over an older hexagonal monument.



Source: *Grabungen in Ephesus*, 1985, Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.

Figure 3. 61 General plan of the Terrace House I and II

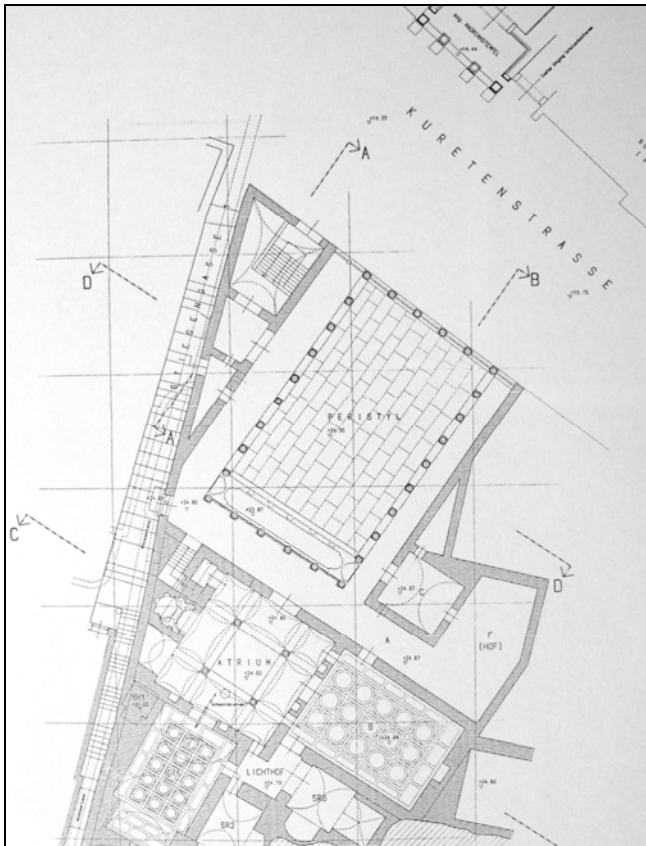


Figure 3. 62 Plan of the *domus* in Terrace House I

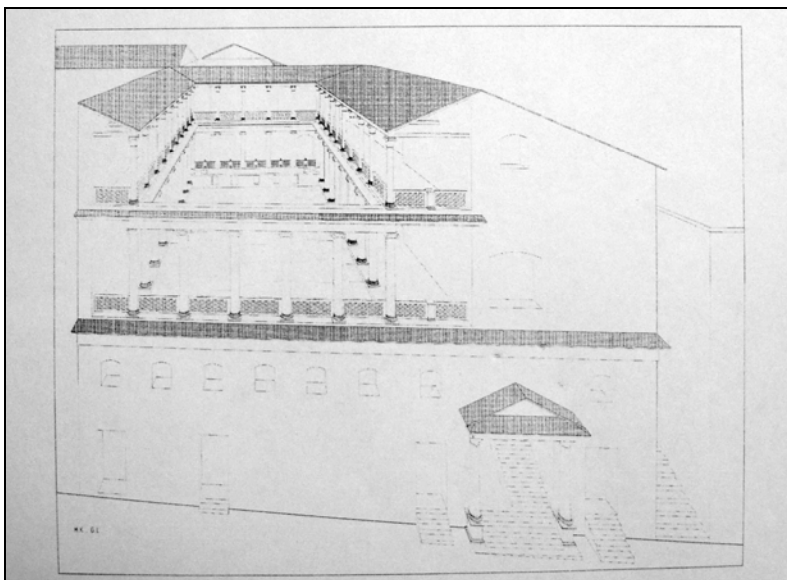


Figure 3. 63 The reconstruction of the façade of the *domus*

Source: Lang, G., 1995, "Die Rekonstruktion der Domus im Hanghaus 1," in H., Friesinger And F., Krinzinger, eds., 100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos: Akten des Symposions Wien 1995. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, plate 111 (above) and plate 112 (below)



Source: Thür, H., 1995, "The Processional Way in Ephesos As a Place of Cult and Burial," in H. Koester, (ed.), *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion and Culture*. Cambridge, Mass., pp. 199.

Figure 3. 64 The relief frieze from the Temple of Hadrian (recalling the relief of Heroon)



Figure 3. 65 View of the Bath Street and the entrance of the Varius Baths (author)



Figure 3. 66 View of the tabernae situated under the Terrace House I (author)



Figure 3. 67 The Nymphaeum Traiani (author)



Figure 3. 68 The Hydreion seen from the Embolos (author)

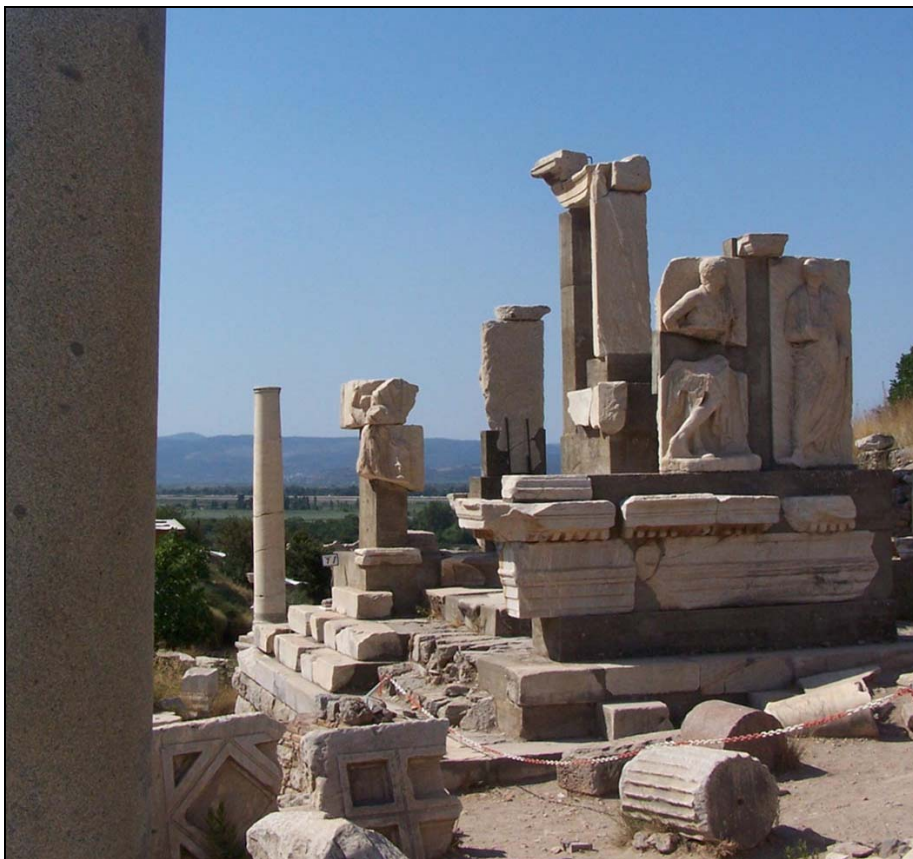
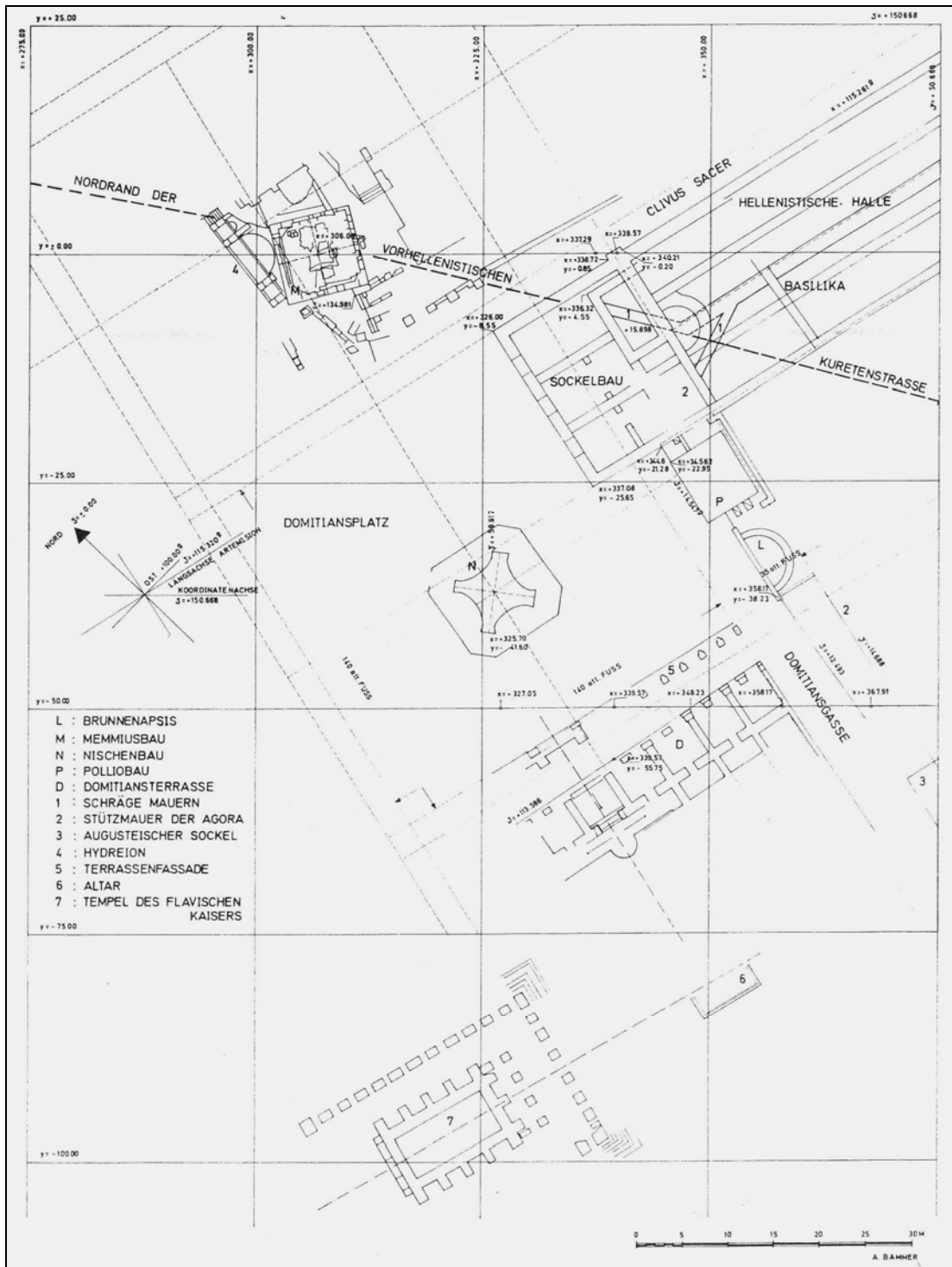


Figure 3. 69 The Memmius Monument (author)



Source: Bammer, A., 1972-75, "Römische und Byzantische Architektur," in *Österreichische Jahrbuch* 50, pp.382.

Figure 3. 70 Plan showing the Temple of the *Sebastoi* and its Square



Source: Scherrer, P., ed., 2000, *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey: Ege Yayınları, pp.87.

Figure 3. 71 The installation on each side of the *Kathodos*, one, showing Hermes with his ram and the other depicting Apollo's tripod



Figure 3. 72 The left two columns of the façade of the Domitian Terrace (author)

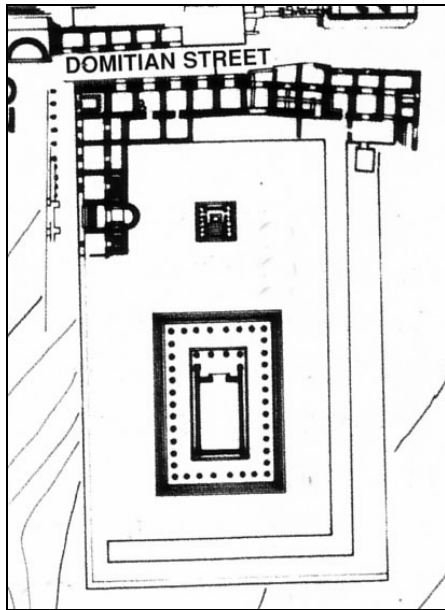


Figure 3. 73 Double stairway of the temple terrace (author)



Source: Friesen, S. J., 1993, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*. Leiden: Brill, pp.66

Figure 3. 74 Ephesian coin with 4 temples: Temple of Sebastoi (lower right?), Temple of Hadrian, Temple of Caracalla, Temple of Artemis (upper left). BM Ionia 91 _305 Courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum



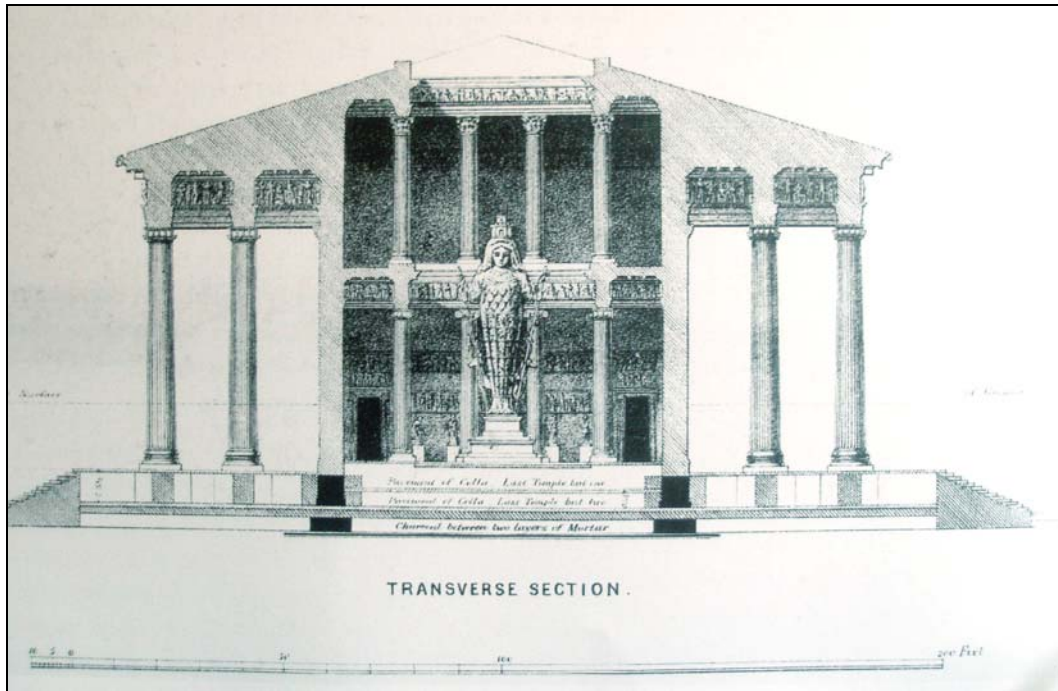
Source: (after) Scherrer, P., ed., 2000, *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey: Ege Yayınları, pp.75.

Figure 3. 75 The plan of the precinct of the Domitian temple in Ephesus



Source: Magazine, *Yolculuk*, vol.27, September 2006, cover page.

Figure 3. 76 The parts of Titus' statue taken from the cover of a popular magazine showing the huge scale of the statue.



Source: Wood, J. T., 1975, *Discoveries at Ephesus*. Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 22. 32.

Figure 3. 77 Transverse section of the Temple of Artemis showing the statue of the goddess (reconstruction by J.T.Wood)



Source: (after) Scherrer, P., ed., 2000, *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey: Ege Yayınları, pp.85.

Figure 3. 78 The model of the State Agora



Figure 3. 79 The Domitian Square seen from the temple terrace (author)



Figure 3. 80 Bold marble benches of the State Agora with the monumental Basilica-Stoa (author)



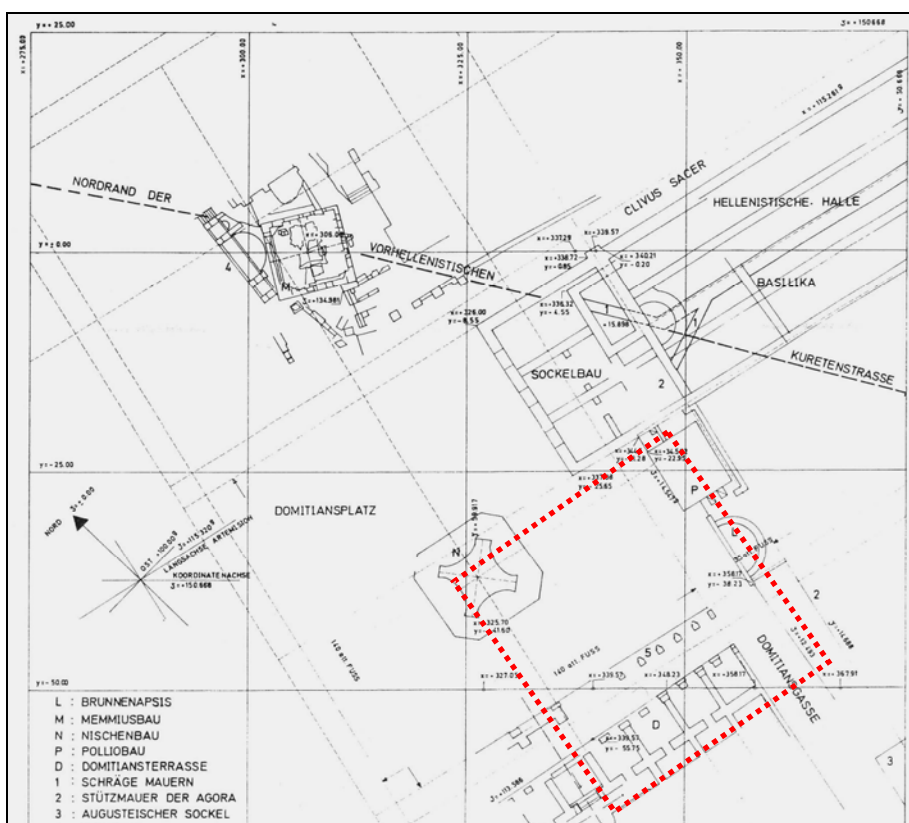
Figure 3. 81 Domitian Lane from above, showing the Pollio Monument and the semi-domed apsidal room of the Fountain dedicated to Domitian (author)



Figure 3. 82 The nymphaeum seen from the temple terrace (author)



Figure 3. 83 The three chambers of the Chalcidicum projecting to the Domitian Square (author)



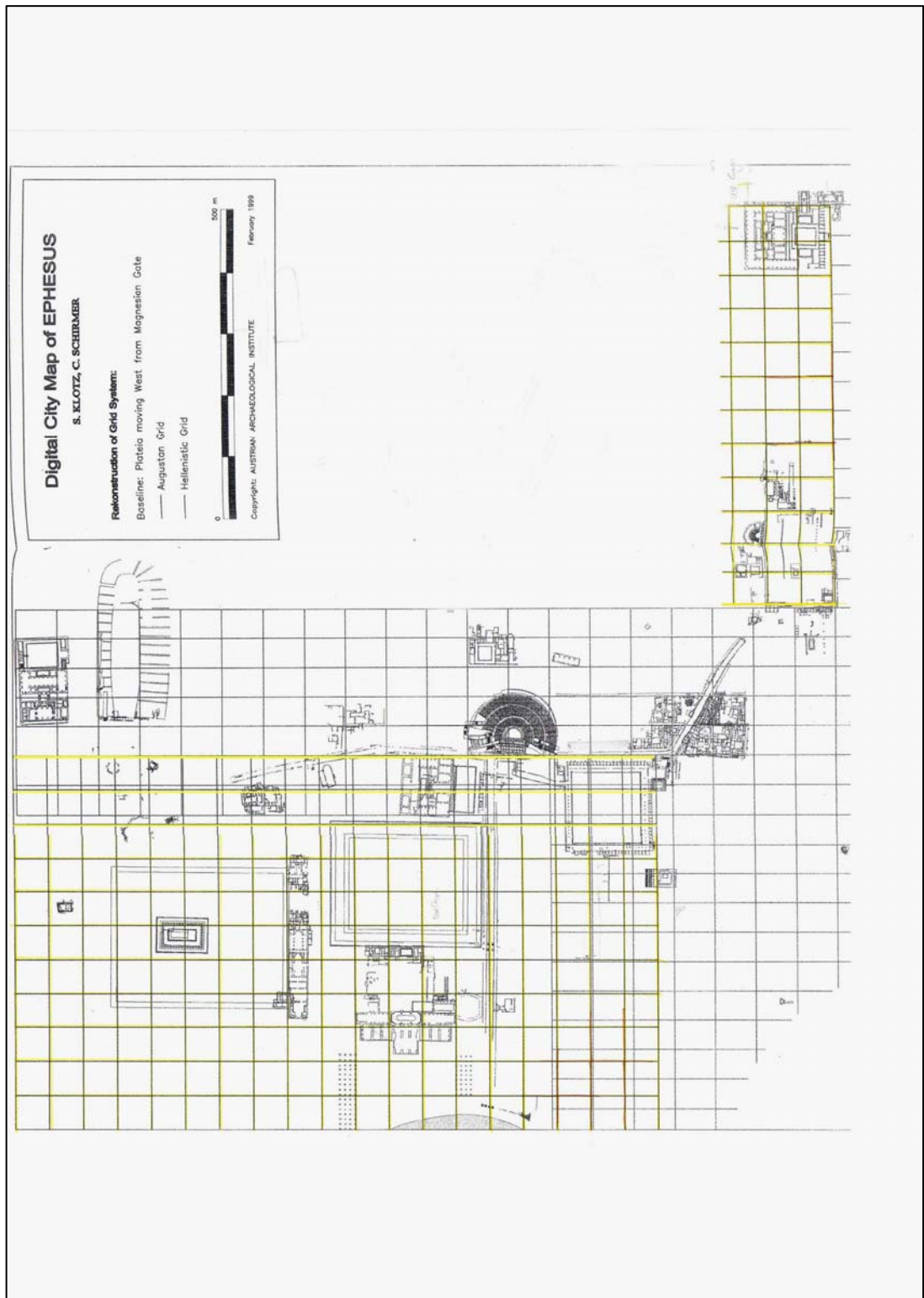
Source: (after) Bammer, A., 1972-75, "Römische und Byzantische Architektur," in *Österreichische Jahrbuch* 50, pp.382.

Figure 3. 84 The more defined 'sub- space' at the corner of the Domitian Square



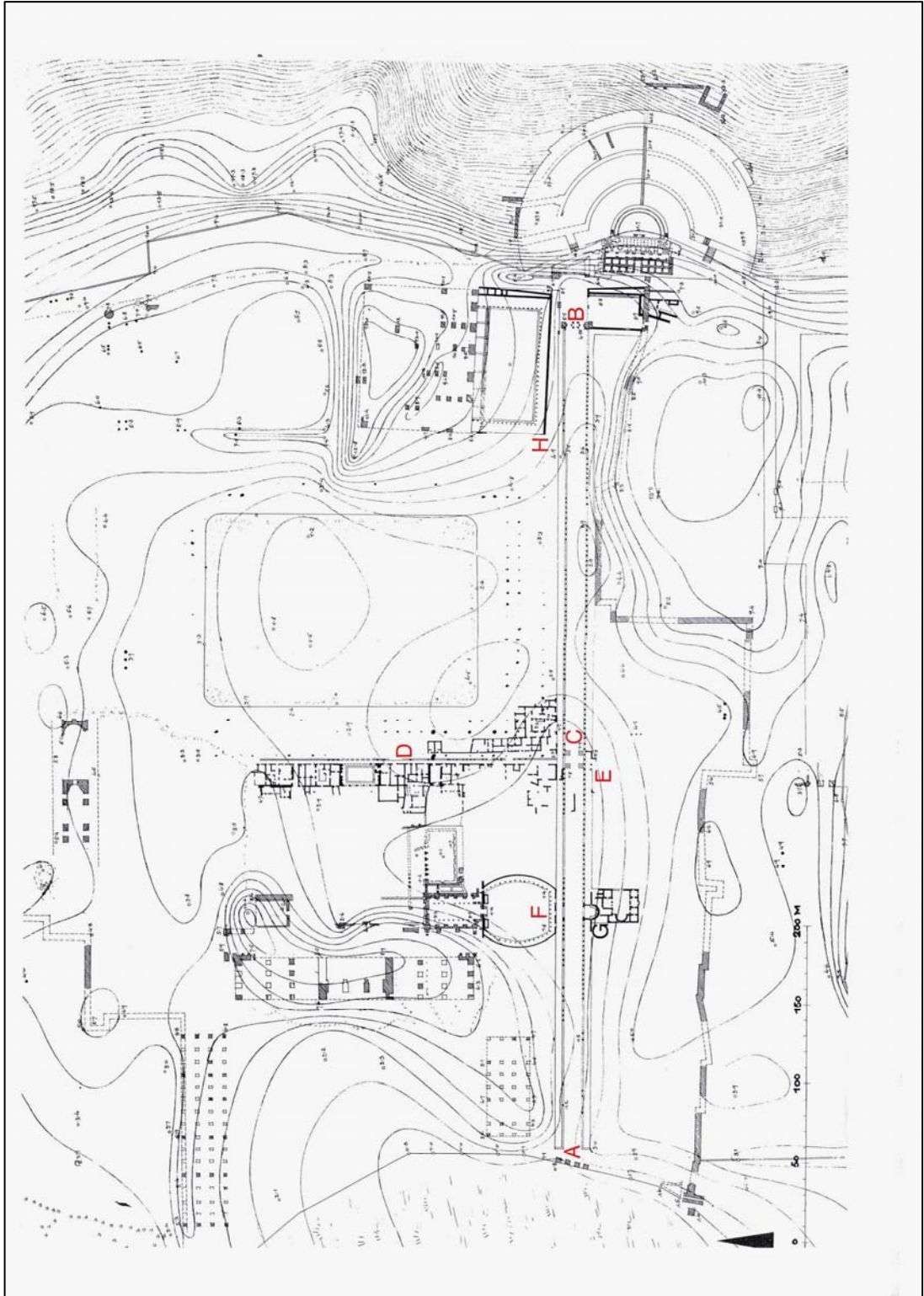
Source: Friesinger, H., and Krinzinger F., et. al. ed., 1995, 100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos :Akten des Symposions Wien 1995. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, plan 1.

Plate 1 General Plan of Ephesus drawn by Austrian Archaeological Institute



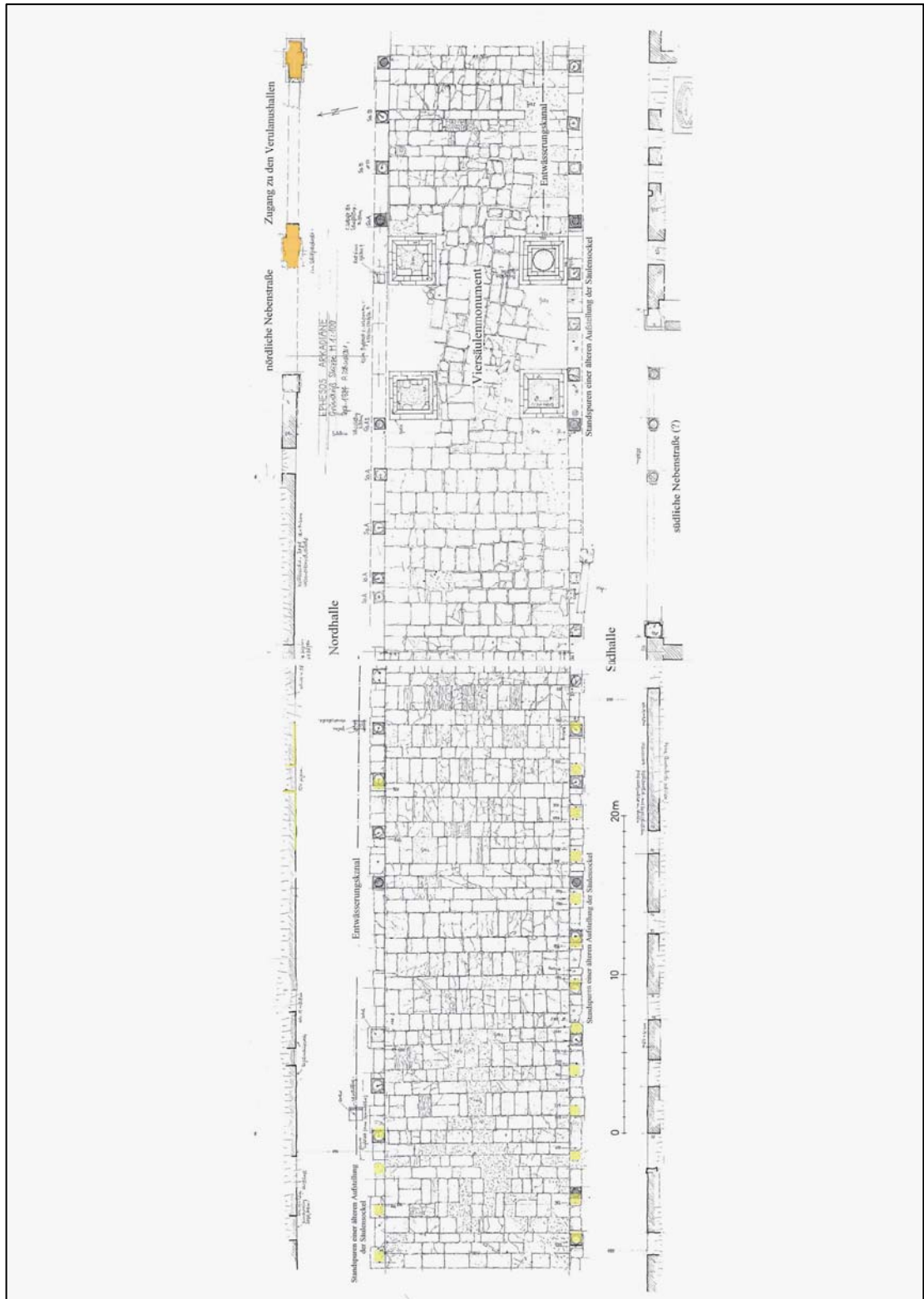
Source: Scherrer, P., 2001, "The Historical Topography of Ephesos," in D. Parrish (ed.) *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor: New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement no: 45. (8-41). Dexter; Michigan: Thompson-Shore. pp.58.

Plate 2 The grid plan of Ephesus proposed by Scherrer; showing two of the systems – Roman grid in squares and Hellenistic grid in rectangles.



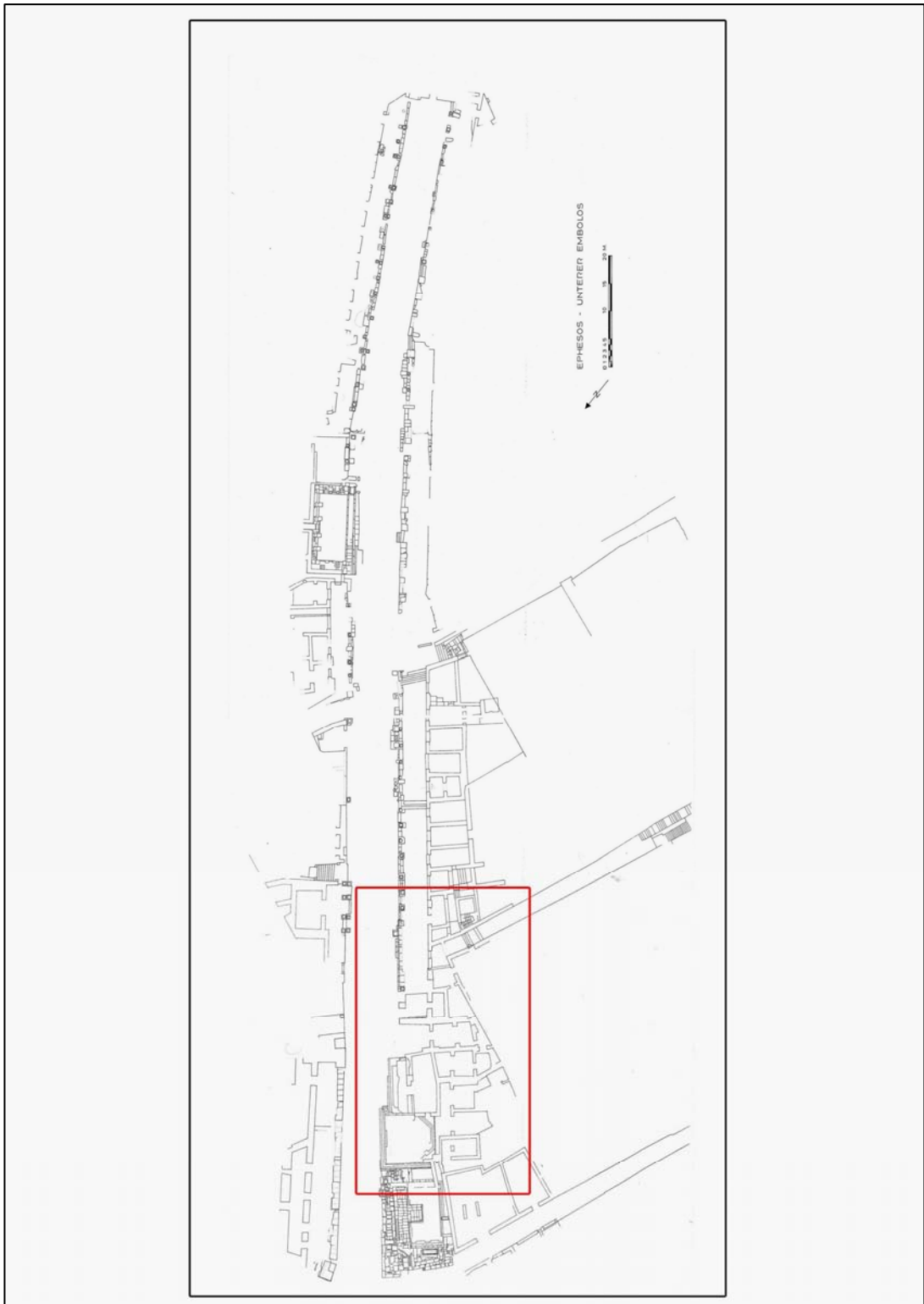
Source: Friesinger, H., and Krinzinger F., et. al. ed., 1995, 100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos :Akten des Symposions Wien 1995. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, plan 3.

Plate 3 The Harbor area including the Harbor-Bath Gymnasium, the Arcadiane and the Theater.



Source: Friesinger, H., and Krinzinger F., et. al. ed., 1995, 100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos :Akten des Symposions Wien 1995. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, plan 7.

Plate 4 Detailed drawing of the middle part of the Arcadiane, showing the replacement of the columns and the probable openings for the shops nearby.



Source: Knibbe, d., and Thür, H., eds., 1995, *Via Sacra Ephesica II*. Vienna: Schindler.

Plate 5 The plan of Embolos