INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF LATE ANTIQUE AND BYZANTINE EPHESUS WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON ITS RELIGIOUS HERITAGE

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ABSTRACT

INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF LATE ANTIQUE AND BYZANTINE EPHESUS WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON ITS RELIGIOUS HERITAGE

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Cultural heritage conservation can be best accomplished through its adoption by a broad audience. The process of understanding, appreciating, and respecting cultural heritage can be achieved by effective heritage interpretation and presentation. Interpretation should focus on and involve all heritage resources, without any exclusion. Otherwise, the risk of losing heritage sites' broader character emerges, especially if those somehow neglected or 'excluded' heritage resources are physically preserved and visible. Ephesus, in particular Byzantine Ephesus, is such an example. The Late Antique and Byzantine monuments, specifically the religious ones, are relatively well-preserved. Some indeed are accessible and visible. However, any comprehension of the site's overall Byzantine composition is missing. This thesis addresses this challenge by focusing on the physical and intellectual setting of the Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage and its monuments, and offers proposals for better interpretation and presentation.

Located in Western Asia Minor, Ephesus was settled from at least the 7th millennium BCE and continued so up until the 15th century CE. It became one of the most important centers of Early Christianity from the historical, political, socio-cultural,

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architectural, and religious angles. The religious aspects played a distinctive role in the formation of these features. Moreover, some religious structures (the Basilica of St. John, the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, the Church of the Virgin Mary, the 'Tomb of St. Luke', the Grotto of St. Paul, and the Church in the Bay of Pamucak) are Late Antique and Byzantine pilgrimage sites. Some of these pilgrimage centers have maintained their identity better, some have lost it, and a few new ones have emerged over time. For example, the House of the Virgin Mary gained this character only in the last century. The continuous religious activities, which make Ephesus a 'living religious heritage' site, with visitors coming to the site with diverse motivations (cultural and religious tourism and pilgrimage) indicate the broad spectrum of the spiritual character of Ephesus.

This study concentrates on Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus, its religious monuments, and 'living religious heritage' sites, enhancing their visibility within the broader context of Ephesus. The thesis is structured around three stages: problem definition, understanding the potential, and evaluating possible solutions. In the first two sections, a conceptual framework concerning the terms of interpretation and presentation and the diverse approaches available for Ephesus is presented, and the content of the Late Antique and Byzantine archaeological site of Ephesus is studied and evaluated. Thus, the values and opportunities of the Late Antique and Byzantine heritage and the threats to its interpretation and presentation are analyzed. Following this assessment, the thesis sets out proposals for a better site interpretation and presentation for Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus and so for promoting public awareness of its religious significance both in the past and present. For this purpose, comprehensive themes based on the characteristics of Ephesus (thematic cultural routes interpreting Byzantine Ephesus that embrace both the past pilgrimage sites and 'living religious heritage' sites) are hierarchically planned and promoted.

Keywords: Ephesus, Late Antique/Byzantine, cultural and religious heritage, interpretation and presentation of heritage sites

GEÇ ANTİK VE BİZANS DÖNEMİ EFES'İNİN, DİNİ KÜLTÜREL MİRAS ÖZELİNDE YORUM VE SUNUMU

Özen, Bilge Sena Yüksek Lisans, Kültürel Mirası Koruma, Mimarlık Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Ufuk Serin

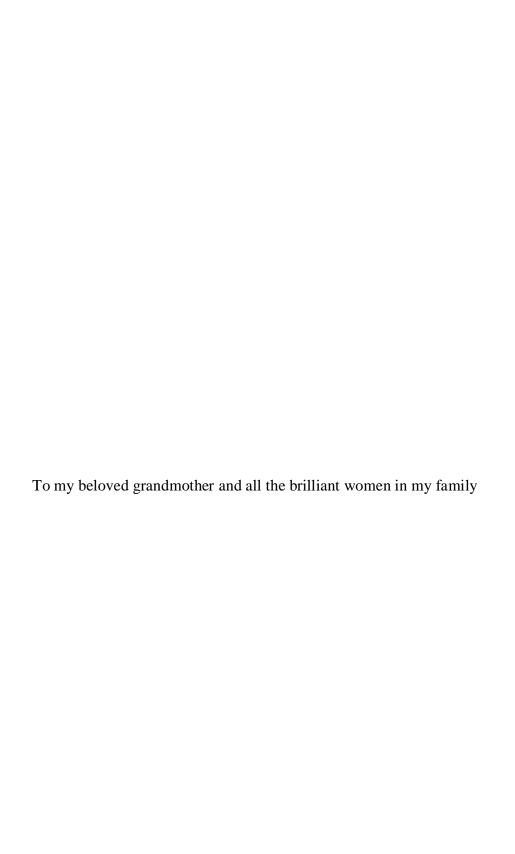
Ocak 2023, 250 sayfa

Kültürel mirasın korunması, bu mirasın geniş halk kitleleri tarafından sahiplenilmesi ile mümkündür. Kültürel mirasın iyi anlaşılması, bu ortak mirasa değer verilmesi ve saygı duyulması ancak geçmişin iyi yorumlanması ve sunulması ile gerçekleşebilir. Kültürel mirasın yorumu, miras alanlarının bütün katmanlarını içermelidir. Bu sağlanmadığı takdirde, miras alanların farklı kültür katmanları, büyük ölçüde korunmuş ya da ziyaretçiler için görünür kılınmış olsa dahi, bu alanların bir bütün olarak algılanması zorlaşabilmektedir. Efes antik kenti ve buradaki Geç Antik ve Bizans dönemi kültürel mirası bu duruma örnek gösterilebilir. Bizans dönemi Efesi, görece iyi korunmuş dini yapıları ile kısmen erişilebilir ve ziyaretçiler için kısmen görünür konumdadır. Buna rağmen, bu arkeolojik alanda Bizans dönemi bir bütün olarak algılanamamaktadır. Bu tez, Efes'teki Geç Antik ve Bizans dönemi yapılarının arkeolojik alanın bütünü içerisindeki fiziksel ve entelektüel çerçevesine vurgu yaparak bu sorunu irdelemeyi ve bu mirasın etkin yorum ve sunumu için öneriler getirmeyi hedeflemektedir.

Batı Anadolu'da konumlanmış olan Efes'te yerleşim yaklaşık olarak M.Ö. Yedinci Binyıldan, M.S. 15. Yüzyıla kadar sürmüştür. Efes antik kenti, tarihi, sosyal, politik, mimari ve dini nitelikleriyle Erken Hristiyanlığın önemli merkezlerinden biriydi. Bu özelliklerin oluşumunda dini mirasın ayırt edici bir rolü bulunmaktaydı. Ayrıca alandaki bazı dini yapılar (Aziz Yuhanna Bazilikası, Yedi Uyurlar Mağarası, Meryem Ana Kilisesi, Aziz Luka Mezarı, Aziz Paulus Mağarası ve Pamucak körfezindeki kilise) Geç Antik ve Bizans dönemlerinde hac merkezleriydi. Bu yapılardan bazıları bu niteliği bugüne değin korumuşken, bazıları zaman içinde hac merkezi olma özelliğini kaybetmiştir. Bazı yapılar ise bu niteliği sonradan kazanmıştır. Bunlar arasında hac merkezi olma özelliğini geçen yüzyılda kazanan Meryem Ana Evi bulunmaktadır. Alanda devam eden dini faaliyetler Efes'i 'yaşayan dini miras' alanı olarak da tanımlarken, buraya farklı amaçlarla gelen ziyaretçiler (kültürel ve dini turizm, hac ziyaretleri) Efes'in ruhani niteliğinin boyutunu göstermektedir.

Bu çalışma, Efes'teki Geç Antik ve Bizans dönemi kültürel mirası ve bu döneme ait dini nitelikli yapıları vurgulayarak bunların görünürlüğünün artırılmasına odaklanmaktadır. Bu kapsamda tez üç aşamada kurgulanmıştır: sorun tanımlama, potansiyelleri anlama ve olası çözümleri değerlendirme. İlk iki aşamada yorum ve sunum terimlerini açıklayan ve Efes'e yönelik çeşitli yaklaşımları kapsayan teorik bir çerçeve hazırlanmış, Efes antik kentindeki Geç Antik ve Bizans dönemi mirası incelenmiş ve değerlendirilmiştir. Devamında, alanın özellikle Geç Antik ve Bizans dönemlerine özgü değerleri ve sunduğu firsatlar irdelenmiş ve alanın yorum ve sunumuna yönelik zorluklar ve tehditler analiz edilmiştir. Bu değerlendirmenin ardından, Geç Antik ve Bizans dönemi kültürel mirasının daha iyi yorumlanması, sunumu ve dini öneminin vurgulanmasına yönelik olarak öneriler getirilmiştir. Bu amaçla, Efes'in niteliklerini öne çıkaran kapsamlı temalar (geçmiş ve günümüzdeki hac merkezlerini içeren ve Bizans dönemi Efesini yorumlamayı hedefleyen tematik kültürel rotalar) hiyerarşik olarak planlanmış ve sunulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Efes, Geç Antik/Bizans, kültürel ve dini miras, arkeolojik alanların yorumu ve sunumu



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

GEEAYK: Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu (The High Council of Real Estate Antiquities and Monuments)

ICCROM: International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites

İKVKBK: İzmir Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma 1 Numaralı Bölge Kurulu (İzmir Regional Conservation Council of Cultural Properties no. 1)

İTVKBK: İzmir Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu (İzmir Regional Conservation Council of Natural Properties)

İZSU: İzmir Su ve Kanalizasyon İdaresi (İzmir Water and Sewerage Administration)

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

WHC: World Heritage Convention

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

'Cultural heritage includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time.' (Council of Europe, 2005).

All these aspects mentioned collectively by the Council of Europe are reflections of a cultural heritage, which last is revealed to the public via site interpretation and presentation. Interpretation defines the relation constructed between a cultural heritage site and the visitor. It strongly affects the process of structuring a bond between the past and present. The term 'interpretation' is a subject of debate in its own right. Freeman Tilden, a leading scholar in heritage interpretation studies, did much to introduce the definitions and the principles regarding heritage interpretation. According to Tilden, interpretation is an educational activity "revealing meanings and relationships through the use of original objects". The definitions of the term have changed and varied through time. The studies of Larry Beck and Ted Cable, Gordon Grimwade and Bill Carter, Sam Ham, and Neil Silberman also reviewed and discussed this subject. Silberman, in particular, has a detailed assessment of the term interpretation. According to him, the term is a subjective and abstract concept sustaining the ideas and images that designate how people relate to ruins around them.⁴

Interpretation, as a significant phase in cultural heritage preservation, allows and encourages the visitor to form a determination on a heritage site and through that, an

³ Tilden 1957, p. 30.

⁴ Silberman 2006, pp. 28-29.

understanding. Understanding the cultural heritage site should lead positively to an appreciation of the site and instigate respect towards it. Conservation of cultural heritage is the expected outcome of this process, to ensure its continuity. When the process of interpretation is problematic or fails to operate, the bond hoped to be established between the public and the cultural heritage site or object is not formed. The heritage site/object does not become adopted and respected by its society, which can lead to serious conservation problems via neglect.

To ensure the conservation of cultural heritage sites, the interpretation and presentation process should focus on defining the heritage area and constructing a sympathetic tie with the public. This process should be handled by an integrative approach. These interpretation and presentation methods must involve the whole archaeological strata constituting the heritage site (as opposed to a select part of same). When specific periods in a heritage site are disregarded and excluded from site interpretation and presentation, the risk of losing the site's broader character emerges, even though this specific period may be physically preserved and visible.

In Turkey, multiple-layered heritage sites have a similar conservation problem resulting from inadequate interpretation and presentation approaches. In particular, those concerning the Byzantine cultural heritage are challenging.

1.1 Problem Definition and Criteria for Selection of the Site

The previous section briefly mentions the importance of the term interpretation and its effect on the conservation of cultural heritage. Despite that accepted significance, interpretation has been long regarded as secondary compared to 'research and physical conservation'. However, the conservation of a cultural heritage site should not solely or primarily focus on the physical preservation but should also equally focus on the intellectual aspect of preservation, maintenance, and sustainability of

⁵ Silberman 2013, p. 24.

the preservation process. In the case of conservation of the Byzantine cultural heritage, both aspects of conservation require tackling. Diverse approaches toward the Byzantine cultural heritage, coupled with economic and physical problems, are the fundamental reasons behind this situation. One of the basic reasons is that the attitudes toward that particular strand of heritage are affected by multiple international and national considerations and circumstances. The Byzantine heritage was regarded as "a stepping stone," providing access to earlier and more glorified periods.⁶ Also, according to Jean-Pierre Sodini, the Byzantine heritage and the scholars examining the heritage were routinely disparaged and underestimated. Sodini identified these as the main attitudes to the Byzantine heritage when describing the problematic attitudes afflicting it.⁷

In addition to these international approaches, nationalist approaches (specifically in Turkey) are often less than helpful too. According to İlhan Tekeli, nationalist approaches identify conservation as a tool for shaping national identity. Defining conservation through this narrow prism and not including the entire cultural heritage in a country naturally creates constricted viewpoints towards preservation. Simply put, the nationalist approaches in Turkey do not define the Byzantine heritage as a part of the country's cultural heritage. These conservation attitudes have much affected the interpretation and presentation of the Byzantine cultural heritage.

These biased international (i.e. considering the Byzantine heritage as something to be got past, on the way to more glorious periods) and narrow national approaches have impacted seriously on the conservation, interpretation, and presentation of the Byzantine cultural heritage on archaeological sites. Notably in the Mediterranean, it is the interpretation and presentation of the Classical to Roman periods that have been focused upon throughout the centuries. There are several reasons behind this.

⁶ Sodini 1993, p. 139.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Tekeli 1988, p. 57.

⁹ Serin 2017, p. 69.

One of the main ones is the often reasonable physical preservation conditions of these ancient structures and the need for less effort in presenting those same structures. ¹⁰ The economic gains from their display is another one. The visitors are commonly interested in these visually 'attractive' buildings rather than all of the remaining structures which have lost their shine of monumentality over time and do not attract 'enough' visual attention. ¹¹ These circumstances have affected the Byzantine cultural heritage, with its less durable construction materials and so structures now existing in poor physical condition.

In the case of Ephesus, although the above-mentioned challenges are relevant, the visitors' comprehension of the site's overall Byzantine period is missing. The Byzantine cultural heritage of Ephesus is an essential component and expresses itself in religious, historical, and architectural dimensions. The Byzantine monuments, particularly the religious ones, are individually visible. These religious monuments and their visibility can be a key issue for distinguishing Ephesus from other Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Not only can they be evaluated as cultural areas in an archaeological site, but also they can be assessed as living religious sites, places of worship, and modern pilgrimage. The value attribution solely depends on the interest and priorities of the visitors. Despite the religious monuments of Ephesus possessing diverse values, their connection to the whole context is missing, weakening this place's spirit. This thesis focuses on restoring the visibility of Byzantine cultural heritage and better connecting it to the broader context of Ephesus. To achieve a more accurate assessment of the subject, Ephesus and its Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage with a specific interest in the religious heritage is therefore selected as a case-study.

The archaeological site of Ephesus is located on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor (Figure 1.1). It is situated approximately 70 km southwest of the city center of İzmir

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¹⁰ Serin 2008, p. 211.

¹¹ Serin 2017, p. 71.

and 3 km southwest of the small county of Selçuk. Close to the city centers and accessible by different types of transport, the archaeological site attracts millions of visitors each year. Ephesus, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, is a first-degree archaeological site surrounded by several first-degree, second-degree, and third-degree archaeological sites, urban archaeological site, and natural sites. The city and the region generally have retained a spiritual and pilgrimage value since the Classical period. Ephesus successfully sustained this identity through the history of Christianity. Multiple Christian pilgrimage centers have been formed in the area. Some of those pilgrimage centers have better maintained their identity, some lost it, and some new pilgrimage centers have emerged over time.



Figure 1.1. Ephesus, aerial view of the archaeological site (URL 42)

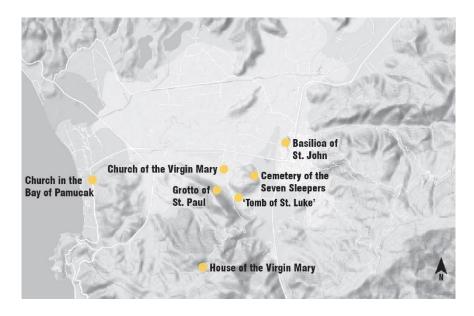


Figure 1.2. Ephesus, the map showing the Christian religious structures, which also have pilgrimage values (URL 43)

The archaeological site of Ephesus and its close surroundings have several Byzantine structures. These include the Church of the Virgin Mary, the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, the Grotto of St. Paul, the Basilica of St. John, the Church in the Pamucak Bay, and the House of the Virgin Mary (Figure 1.2). The Church of the Virgin Mary, where the 3rd Ecumenical Council (431) was held, is Ephesus' cathedral. Even though the Church of the Virgin Mary had religious importance in Ephesus, the church was not transformed into a pilgrimage center according to the archaeological findings. The closest pilgrimage center to Ephesus, the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, is located northeast of the archaeological site. Centered on the Seven Sleepers, a broadly known legend in Asia Minor, the site is sacred for Christians and Muslims. In the city center of Selçuk, another pilgrimage center lies on the Ayasuluk Hill (Figure 1.3). The Basilica of St. John and the saint's grave constitute the primary archaeological remains on the hill. On the south of Ephesus, the House of the Virgin Mary is the main modern pilgrimage center today. The Vatican had officially

¹² Pülz 2012, p. 228. This approach to the pilgrimage character of the Church of the Virgin Mary is discussed with the theoretical arguments on the definitions of pilgrimage and what makes a church a pilgrimage site.

confirmed this living religious heritage site as a pilgrimage site, whereas the other pilgrimage sites have not received a similar attribution. There are also several churches and monasteries in the region.



Figure 1.3. The archaeological site of Ephesus and the city center of Selçuk, aerial view (Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, pp. 414-415)

The region has been subject to multiple developments, management, and conservation development plans. Since UNESCO demanded submissions of site management plans during the new applications for the World Heritage List, the management plans have been prepared. The management plan of Ephesus covering the years 2014 and 2019 had a vast number of conservation strategies. However, these strategies are undeveloped and require comprehensive expansion and detailing in content and context. Therefore, a second management plan for 2022-2027 was developed. Although this plan was prepared in 2021, it is still awaiting to obtain its approval. This second management plan (mentioned as 'the draft management plan' from hereon) has yet more strategies and action plans, but this time made more comprehensive and detailed. Despite the increased content of the draft management plan, it has few emphases and action plans on the conservation, interpretation, and presentation of the Byzantine cultural heritage of Ephesus.

1.2 Aim and Scope of the Thesis

As mentioned in the previous section, the archaeological site of Ephesus is a worldwide known cultural heritage site and the focus of detailed research and several excavations. Multiple management and conservation plans concerning the site, along with Ephesus being a UNESCO World Heritage Site, also point to the diverse bodies involved in the conservation, interpretation, and presentation of this cultural heritage site. Even though detailed research on Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus, particularly the religious monuments of this period, draws visitors to the site, the current interpretation and presentation strategies do not specifically focus on this heritage. This thesis aims to focus on the interpretation and presentation of Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus and its religious heritage and correct this imbalance of presentation. In doing so, Byzantine Ephesus is viewed as a multi-layered archaeological site, and the religious landscape, which partly has a pilgrimage value, acquires a particular emphasis in the process.

As mentioned above, the site's important Late Antique and Byzantine monuments are presented one by one to the audience. However, placing them in their correct position within the general context of Ephesus is challenging. To do this, the spirit of the place is reinterpreted and represented anew to the visitor. Although a particular emphasis on this religious character is expressed during this thesis, the main intent is not to interpret the site only through a religious framework, but to establish a comprehensive approach with a specific focus on its religious heritage. The spiritual-religious environment of Ephesus has created pilgrimage centers throughout its settlement history, and continues to be a living religious (modern pilgrimage) site. This religious landscape and the rich history of Ephesus has become a point of attraction to worldwide visitors with their diverse motivations. To pursue the primary objective of the thesis – to create an integrative approach to the theme developed in the following chapter, the varied motivations of this wide-range audience are reviewed in this light. All visitors (be they cultural or religious tourists or even

pilgrims) and their various intentions are given equal importance. Varying proposals focusing on this are presented in the concluding chapter.

Accordingly, the definitions of the terms of interpretation and presentation and diverse approaches available towards Ephesus – such as archaeological sites, pilgrimage, and the Byzantine period -are studied here. The main aim of this research is to indicate that interpretation and presentation are not disconnected concepts separate from the site characteristics. On the contrary, all the factors defining the site also affect and redefine those terms. During the process, international documents and charters on the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites, cultural routes, and the spirit of place are discussed to illustrate their positive effects on the main objective of this thesis. The content of the archaeological site of Ephesus within the context of the Late Antique and Byzantine period is investigated here. The current interpretation and presentation techniques of the archaeological site of Ephesus are evaluated. The site's values, in general, and within the scope of the Byzantine period, are also reviewed. After evaluating the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus, proposals targeting all the constituents of this heritage are set forth, with particular attention paid to the religious heritage and religious monuments in all their complexity. For this purpose, comprehensive themes based on the characteristics of Ephesus – thematic cultural routes overlapping with the past pilgrimage routes and attempting interpretation of the Byzantine Ephesus are hierarchically planned and promoted.

1.3 Methodology

This thesis has three stages: problem definition, understanding the potential and finally evaluating possible solutions (Figure 1.4). The second stage, comprehending the problem, is achieved by gathering, analyzing, and evaluating data. Literature reviews, archival research, and field surveys are ways to understand the situation as is in the second phase situation. Bibliographical analyses comprise theoretical

research, demonstrating the definitions and approaches concerning the terms of interpretation and presentation in cultural heritage sites, archaeological sites, and Byzantine cultural heritage sites. This process consults multiple books, articles, online sources, international charters and documents, national law, and regulations. Within the scope of data collection, several case studies (9 case studies in Asia Minor, the Middle East, and Europe) are analyzed according to their diverse interpretation and presentation techniques and for any relevant similarities with Ephesus. Information about Ephesus and its characteristics – gathered too from multiple books, articles, and ancient sources – are presented during the data gathering process. Archival researches included visits to multiple official institutions in İzmir and Selçuk, while the field surveys were conducted at different times of the year depending on the exact purpose and context of the survey involved.

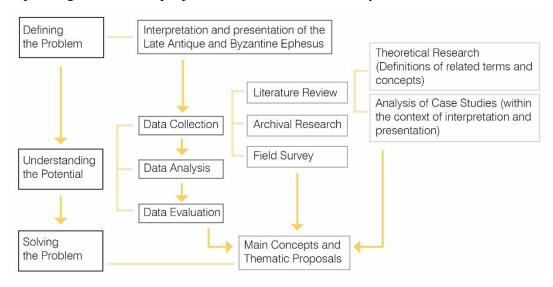


Figure 1.4. Chart of the methodology

Data collection starts with theoretical research, focusing on the definitions of interpretation and presentation. The primary sources for this section are the works of Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage* (1957); David Uzzell, 'Interpreting our Heritage: A Theoretical Interpretation' (1998); Neil Silberman 'Heritage Interpretation as Public Discourse' (2013); Sam Ham, *Interpretation: Making a Difference on Purpose* (2013); Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley, *Re-*

Constructing Archaeology (1987); Frank Matero, 'Heritage, Conservation and Archaeology: An Introduction' (2008). The international charters concerning the heritage sites – the ICOMOS Charter for the Protection and Management of Archaeological Heritage (1990); the ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (2008a); the ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes (2008b) and the Quebec Declaration of the Preservation of the Spirit of Place (ICOMOS, 2008c) – are examined to understand the international point of view on the subject. As for the national regulations, the Law no. 1710 on Ancient Monuments and Sites (Eski Eserler Kanunu); the Law no. 2863 on Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu) are reviewed to describe the national legal regulations existing in Turkey.

To observe how the theoretical progress affected different archaeological sites through diverse interpretation and presentation techniques, two case studies are selected: Hadrian's Wall in Britain and the archaeological site of Caesarea Maritima. The extent and context of archaeological site interventions and interpretation and presentation decisions of those sites are described. The sites are described according to multiple written and visual sources.

Theoretical research continues with the interpretation and presentation problems of the Byzantine cultural heritage. In order to reveal those problems, attitudes toward the Byzantine heritage are described through various articles and books. The articles by Jean-Pierre Sodini, 'La contribution de l'archéologie à la connaissance du monde byzantine' (1993) and Neil Silberman, 'Promised Lands and Chosen Peoples: The Politics and Poetics of Archaeological Narrative' (1995) are the primary sources in demonstrating the international approaches toward the Byzantine heritage. National approaches are represented via multiple sources, e.g., İlhan Tekeli, 'Kentsel Korumada Değişik Yaklaşımlar Üzerine Düşünceler' (1988); Nevra Necipoğlu, 'Türkiye'de Bizans Tarihi Çalışmalarına Dair Gözlemler' (2013); Ufuk Serin, 'Byzantium–Early Islam and Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey' (2008);

'Kültürel Mirası Yorumlamak: Türkiye'de Arkeolojinin Bizans Çalışmalarına Katkısı' (2017); Zeynep Eres, *Conservation of Cultural Heritage in Turkey* (2016). Two case studies regarding the interpretation and presentation of Byzantine archaeological heritage sites – Mystras in Greece and the Church of Kathisma in Jerusalem – are selected to illustrate how different objectives in site interpretation change the site presentation and observation of the visitors. In so discussing two Byzantine archaeological site examples, several written and visual sources are used. While one of these two heritage sites demonstrates a successful interpretation and presentation, the other does not.

In assessing the appraisal of the problems existing and of the literature reviews, the spirit of place, the role of religion on heritage sites, particularly Christianity and its pilgrimage and living religious heritage values, are investigated to develop a better understanding of the formation of Christian pilgrimage in Ephesus. To do that, the terms such as religious tourism, cultural tourism, and pilgrimage are examined in the theoretical research based on the articles by Andreas Külzer, 'Pilgrimage in Byzantine Anatolia' (2022); Mădălina Tală and Ana Pădurean, 'Dimensions in Religious Tourism' (2008); Noga Collins-Kreiner, 'Researching Pilgrimage: Continuity and Transformations' (2010); Simon Coleman, 'Do you believe in pilgrimage? Communitas, contestation and beyond' (2002) and the books by Christian Norberg-Schulz, Genius Loci Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture (1979) and Daniel Olsen and Anna Trono, Religious Pilgrimage Routes and Trails (2018). In light of such studies, fundamental approaches to developing pilgrimage centers are inspected. This theoretical study was conducted to fully comprehend the pilgrimage centers in Ephesus as they are maintained, redeveloped, or abandoned. Understanding the possible reasons behind these alterations and fluctuations and thus the pilgrimage activity generally leads to a better and more holistic comprehension of the area and so assists in developing effective further strategies for interpreting and presenting this character in Ephesus. The primary references for this study are the articles by Jennie Stopford, 'Some Approaches to the Archaeology of Christian Pilgrimage' (1994); Victor Turner, 'Pilgrimage and Communitas' (1974); John Eade and Michael Sallnow, 'Introduction: Contesting the Sacred' (1991); John Kantner and Kevin Vaughn, 'Pilgrimage as costly signal: Religiously motivated cooperation in Chaco and Nasca' (2012). To observe whether those theories are actually put into practice in the interpretation and presentation process of the pilgrimage site and the overall presentation, four Medieval pilgrimage sites in Asia Minor (Laodicea, Philadelphia, the Church of St. Nicholas in Myra, and the Church of St. Paul in Pisidian Antioch) and a pilgrimage route, the Camino de Santiago de Compostela, through France and Spain are presented. These five sites have been selected according to their characteristics and similarities with Ephesus: Laodicea and Philadelphia are among the seven churches mentioned in the Book of Revelation, just like Ephesus. Further, the Church of St. Nicholas in Myra and the Church of St. Paul in Pisidian Antioch have pilgrimage characteristics similar to Ephesus. The World Heritage Site of the Camino de Santiago de Compostela as a pilgrimage and cultural route, attracting visitors of diverse motivations, is presented to illustrate an effectively interpreted and presented living religious heritage site. Each pilgrimage site has differently interpreted and presented its pilgrimage identity to the public. To illustrate these interpretation and presentation decisions regarding the four sites, multiple written and visual sources have been referred to. Additionally, the interpretation and presentation techniques in Laodicea and Philadelphia were observed by the present author in person in 2022.

After the theoretical framework and analysis of case studies, in Chapter 3, the geographical, historical, archaeological, and architectural features of the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus are investigated, with a brief history of excavations and research concerning Ephesus. This section is also a part of the data collection process. Therefore, it too consists of literature reviews, archival research, and field surveys. The primary reference for the literature reviews is the book of Falko Daim and Sabine Ladstätter, *Bizans Döneminde Ephesos* (2011); followed by the book of Clive Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*

(1979) and Daniel Schowalter, Steven J. Friesen, Sabine Ladstätter and Christine Thomas, *Religion in Ephesos Reconsidered* (2020); with the articles by Mustafa Büyükkolancı, 'Efes ve Magnesia Bizans Surlarının Yeniden Değerlendirilmesi' (2018); Norbert Zimmermann, 'The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus: From the First Community Cemetery to a Place of Pilgrimage' (2019); Renate Pillinger, 'The Grotto of St. Paul' (2011); and Katinka Sewing, 'A New Pilgrimage Site at Late Antique Ephesus' (2020).

İKVKBK, the Municipality of Selçuk, Selçuk Ephesus Collective Memory Center (Selçuk Efes Kent Belleği Merkezi), the Ephesus Site Management (Efes Alan Yönetimi), and the Museum of Ephesus were all visited within the scope of the archival research. The registrations of the structures in Ephesus were intended to be drawn from İKVKBK. However, the documents could not be copied due to the regulations prohibiting İKVKBK from sharing data. The conservation development plan, the draft management plan and the documents on the research history are gathered from the Municipality of Selçuk, the Ephesus Site Management, and the Directory of the Ephesus Museum. Additionally, field surveys were conducted in March 2019, September 2020, August 2021, and November 2021. In the first two site visits, Ephesus and its surroundings were systematically photographed, and the physical condition of the buildings, the interpretation and presentation approaches of the individual structures, and of the whole site were examined. The third site visit was conducted to observe the activities of both pilgrims and visitors during the significant annual ceremony of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In the final one, archival research was conducted.

Following the presentation of architectural features of Ephesus and the cultural heritage in the region, the site is evaluated as to its multiple aspects in Chapter 4. The first section of this chapter looks at the current situation in Selçuk regarding the socio-economic structure of Selçuk; the current accessibility situation of the site; development projects concerning the archaeological heritage sites; interpretation,

presentation, and visitor orientation approaches in the area. In this section, the management plans, online sources, and field surveys constituted the primary references. For a better presentation of the gathered data, maps derived from Google Maps are used as a base, and the data is processed on the maps with Adobe Illustrator.

The gathered data is evaluated and possible solutions for the problem are assessed in the second section of Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. A conceptual framework – based on the published works of Bernard Feilden and Jukka Jokilehto, *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites* (1998); Jeanne Teutonico and Gaetano Palumbo, *Management Planning for Archaeological Sites* (2002) and Erica Avrami, Susan Macdonald, Randall Mason and David Myers, *Values in Heritage Management* (2019)— was established for value, threat and opportunity assessment. Besides the outcomes of several field surveys, the varied effects of the management plans on the heritage sites are also included in the evaluation process. Eventually, proposals for interpretation and presentation of Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus were shaped, based on the previous studies.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis comprises 5 chapters: introduction, theoretical framework, characteristics of Ephesus, evaluation of the characteristics and current situation in Ephesus, and proposals for interpretation and presentation of Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus. The introduction consists of the problem statement and site selection criteria, aim and scope of this thesis, methodology of the thesis, and challenges and limitations of the thesis.

Chapter 2 is presented in three sub-sections. They proceed from general definitions and approaches regarding interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites to Ephesus-specific interpretation and presentation discussions. The accepted state of knowledge of the definitions of interpretation and presentation in heritage sites and

archaeological sites is described by reference to several scholars. As examples, two archaeological sites are presented with different focuses. In this section, international charters and documents and the Turkish legal regulations are discussed to observe whether they are useful for the main argument of this thesis or not. The second section includes detailed research on interpretation and presentation challenges of Byzantine cultural heritage, diverse attitudes exhibited by society and academe, and diverse factors related to these attitudes. Two examples of Byzantine archaeological sites with similarities to Byzantine Ephesus are mentioned. The third section illustrates the definitions of the spirit of place, living religious heritage, religious tourism, pilgrimage, and approaches to understanding the development of pilgrimage sites. To better understand this issue, four Medieval pilgrimage sites in Asia Minor and a Medieval pilgrimage site in Europe still in use are briefly presented.

The archaeological site of Ephesus, Selçuk, the Ayasuluk Hill, and the Byzantine cultural heritage sites in their close vicinity are set forth in Chapter 3. A general description of geological, natural, and historical features of the area with an overview of the research and excavation history of Ephesus are given. Architectural characteristics of the area with a specific interest in the Late Antique and Byzantine structures of the site are also illustrated in detail.

Chapter 4 focuses on the evaluation of Ephesus. For this purpose, the chapter is divided into two sections: the current situation of Selçuk and Ephesus, and their evaluation. In the first section, the socio-demographic situation of Selçuk, the accessibility of the heritage sites in the area, conservation strategies of the site, interpretation, presentation, and visitor orientation in the site are described. Values and opportunities of and threats to Ephesus are evaluated in the second section of Chapter 4.

The last chapter 5 pulls together concluding remarks and proposals of interpretation and presentation of the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus. The concluding

remarks cover the overall evaluation of this thesis. The proposals are offered as a result of this conclusion and in reference to the previous study of site characteristics and theoretical framework. Proposals include distinctive interpretation and presentation techniques to raise public awareness of the Byzantine cultural heritage of Ephesus and religious heritage in this archaeological site.

1.5 Limitations and Challenges

The data collection and evaluation process here has encountered multiple limitations and challenges for a variety of reasons. Primarily, procedures in İKVKBK caused difficulties in obtaining data concerning Ephesus. According to these procedures, the official decisions on the registration of structures in the archaeological site of Ephesus were not able to be shared with the present author. However, the environmental plans subjecting entrances of the Ayasuluk Hill and the archaeological site of Ephesus were made available to be read; copying these documents though was forbidden. As a result of this situation, data regarding the structures and the archaeological sites has remained limited. To overcome this challenge of limited data, archival studies were pursued more, and many online sources on the issue were investigated.

CHAPTER 2

INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF BYZANTINE ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE: A THEORETICAL AND LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

The ever-developing nature of archaeology, with its changing approaches and ideas, affects the conservation decisions made for excavated sites. These approaches, in turn, determine the current conservation situation and define the understanding of a heritage site. The factors shaping this definition are the key to addressing appropriate interventions for further preservation phases. Interpretation and presentation of a heritage site are significant factors in this sense. First and foremost, the goals of the interpretation and presentation should be studied to have a broad comprehension of the subject. Even though these are abstract concepts, their implementations in cultural heritage areas such as archaeological sites are practical, concrete, and so observable. Multiple examples of different scales are given to better comprehend these matters in practice. The following sections use the theoretical background to shape effective conservation strategies.

The Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage in archaeological sites is too often disregarded, for many reasons. Those reasons are spelled out in current international and national approaches to Byzantine cultural heritage.

Byzantine heritage posseses multiple formative components, one of them is the religion, i.e. Christianity. The role of this religion is significant in the Late Antique and Byzantine cities. In certain cities, this factor was expressed in the phenomenon of pilgrimage and created a social and economic resource supporting the city. The

Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus is a significant representative of such places. The continuation of this phenomenon in Ephesus, even today as a living religious heritage, is another significant aspect. Just as an appreciation of the physical determinants shaping an archaeological site are essential for its adequate interpretation, the elements defining the phenomenon of pilgrimage also assist one to discern and interpret the site. Accordingly, the definition of pilgrimage, academic approaches on the subject, and its formation are reviewed. Several examples of Christian pilgrimage centers in Asia Minor and Europe and their current interpretation and presentation are illustrated to assist comprehension.

2.1 Conceptual Framework: The Spirit of the Place and Definitions of Interpretation and Presentation

In interpreting and presenting cultural heritage sites, clear and comprehensive determinations of these rather abstract concepts should be made. Heritage is a term highly interrelated with the concepts of place, cultural identity, and connection to the past. According to Rodney Harrison, heritage is 'a series of diplomatic properties that emerge in the dialogue of heterogeneous human and non-human actors who are engaged in practices of caring for and attending to the past in the present'. Human activities that take place in an environment or a place is integral in the definition of heritage. Such places structure cultural heritage sites regarding landscape, settlement, and character. The character of a place is constructed with the experiences of the inhabitants and visitors. It is formed by both open and closed spaces in a settlement, along with multiple architectural features. This character can also be defined as the 'spirit of place'. The spirit of place is an essential determinant in most culture.

¹³ Grimwade and Carter 2000, p. 33; Matero 2008, p. 1.

¹⁴ Harrison 2015, p. 24.

¹⁵ *Genius loci*, the spirit of place, is a Roman term. *Genius* is a guardian spirit determining the character and essence of people and places throughout its lifespan: Norberg-Schulz 1979, pp. 6-23.

The spirit of place is something naturally sensed rather than learned. However, in some cultural heritage areas, heritage should be reinterpreted and represented to the visitors by reconnecting the place to its content and context. Specifically, urban areas where structures are lost to some extent and the identity of place is compromised face the loss of a sense of place. ¹⁶ For conserving this spirit of place, cultural heritage site interpretation and presentation needs to be discussed. Practices on this subject are already in place. John Muir, a renowned conservationist of the 19th century, did much to help establish present-day interpretative standards. ¹⁷ Tilden is also known for his Six Principles in his *Interpreting Our Heritage*. Tilden's principles are listed below:

Principle 1: 'Any interpretation that does not somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.'

Principle 2: 'Information, as such, is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.'

Principle 3: 'Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical, or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable.'

Principle 4: 'The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction but provocation.'

Principle 5: 'Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part and must address itself to the whole man rather than any phase.'

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¹⁶ Norberg-Schulz 1979, p. 194.

¹⁷ Jameson 2020, p. 1; Muir 1896, pp. 271-284.

Principle 6: 'Interpretation addressed to children (say, up to the age of twelve) should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best it will require a separate program.' 18

Tilden's principles on interpretation are not outdated. On the contrary, as they concern themselves with the nature of the concept and the reasons to interpret, the principles are still valid and able to assist the interpretation devised and presented for a heritage site. Among his six principles, the fourth one can be considered as the most significant. ¹⁹ Tilden also described interpretation as an educational activity that aspires to 'reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by first-hand experience and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information'. ²⁰ Each principle of Tilden underlines the unique roles of the heritage interpreter in relating the heritage and the visitor in receiving it. ²¹

The principles of Tilden became a basis for assisting action for many scholars and leading organizations. Similar principles and guidance were reproduced in the book of Beck and Cable *Interpretation for the 21st century: Fifteen guiding principles for interpreting nature and culture* in 2002.²² Beck and Cable upheld Tilden's aim in their work. Tilden's idea on the provocative identity of interpretation is further promoted by subsequent scholars such as Grimwade and Carter, and Ham.²³ The book *Environmental Interpretation* of Ham is a key resource for working procedures and gives practical directions on how to set about an interpretation of a cultural area.²⁴ Ham's primary objective is to get the visitor to think, a similar point made

¹⁸ Tilden 1957, p. 18.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²¹ Silberman 2013, p. 22.

²² Beck and Cable 2002.

²³ Grimwade and Carter 2000, p. 44; Ham 2013, p. 18.

²⁴ Ham 1992.

also by Tilden in his manual.²⁵ 'Through interpretation, understanding; through understanding, appreciation; through appreciation, protection.'²⁶ His constructivist ideas were echoed too by Ham. Understanding and thus caring about the heritage object leads to demands for its preservation in this interpretation process.²⁷

Despite this apparently continuous evaluation process on principles and guidelines for interpretation, Uzzell asserts the arguments on the subject are 'stuck in a rut where the how has become more important than the why'. 28 Uzzell critiques the methods and effects of interpretation with the help of various researchers also working on the subject. In obtaining knowledge and meaning from a cultural heritage object, there are two approaches according to Uzzell. The traditional one, 'meaningtaking', is done by labels attached to objects to transfer data. The alternative approach, 'meaning-making', is described as actively tailoring the interpretation to the visitor experience and encouraging them to develop sense and understanding thereby. The traditional approach, learning via reading the exhibition panels of a cultural heritage object, is not an effective way of passing on interpretation according to research in museums.²⁹ Physical and social interaction, where the visitors can relate to the objects in a milieu more like real daily life, is more effective in learning processes according to the research of Linda Blud. 30 Uzzell argues that if the meaning-making approach is employed in the interpretation process, the hosting bodies become active agents in the formation of change and not merely passive transmitters of data or value. He also claims that 'interpretation should be a force for change'.31 The personality and experience of the visitors are the targets that an interpretation needs to evaluate, engage with and captivate.

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²⁵ Ham 2013, p. 10.

²⁶ Tilden 1957, p. 65. This statement which Tilden quoted from the U.S. National Park Service administrative manual has been a subject for extensive debate: Uzzell 1998.

²⁷ Ham 2009, pp. 50-55.

²⁸ Uzzell 1998, p. 12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

³⁰ Blud 1990, pp. 257-264.

³¹ Uzzell 1998, p. 19.

Physical conservation of the heritage sites and visitor constraints are commonly used factors in cultural heritage site management. However, a successful site management should include non-physical aspects of the heritage site as well. The lack of comprehensive interpretation and presentation for locals and visitors alike haunts site management. This prevailing situation transforms the heritage area into a meaningless scene and generates a loss in the understanding of human history, according to Grimwade and Carter.³² They described interpretation as 'recommendations for making the significant values understood' which involves research, planning and strategic thinking.³³ In a more ordered and quasi-philosophical definition, interpretation is seen as a subjective concept parallel to Silberman's description. Silberman demonstrated the concept as an abstract one that vitalizes the ideas and images that designate how people relate to the ruins around them.³⁴

While international standards for site management, professional training, and site interpretation are defined in some detail, the relationships between the varied interpretative approaches are not. According to Silberman and Dirk Callebaut, all such matters are mainly dependent on the budget available for each heritage site. ³⁵ The approaches addressed by technical methods and creative interpretation solutions such as multimedia displays and their effect on people is also a relatively new subject-area in the debate. ³⁶ The process of interpretation should create a response in the visitor that either advances their understanding or creates an emotive reaction encouraging the person to want to know more.

³² Chowne *et al.* 2007, p. 11; Grimwade and Carter 2000, pp. 33-34.

³³ Grimwade and Carter 2000, p. 44.

³⁴ Silberman 2006, pp. 28-29.

³⁵ Silberman and Callebaut 2003, p. 44.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-46.

Shanks describes interpretation as 'a release of meaning which enables people to take the experience of the past as they wish'. 37 He demonstrates the work of interpretation as an explanation, the decipherment, and communication of sense and importance.³⁸ Similarly, heritage interpretation is described as 'the constellation of communicative techniques that attempt to convey the public values, significance and meanings of a heritage site, object or tradition' by Silberman.³⁹ Through multiple interpretation methods a heritage site is 'experienced, transmitted, and therefore understood'. 40 Although Tilden's six principles cover how the heritage should be interpreted and what it is significant, according to Silberman, they yet fail to definitively cover the challenge of interpreting and dealing with conflicting perspectives. In the contemporary world, heritage interpretation should be an inclusive and informed group activity, an expression of progressive and growing community identity: something which is facilitated by both non-professionals and professionals according to Silberman. Rather than a passive communication method, it should strive to break through the boundaries.⁴¹ The passive consumption of heritage interpretation can be altered and indeed transformed into an act of creation whereby heritage sites are characterized as 'memory institutions not only vacation attractions or weekend entertainment venues'. This contemporary, active and commemorative interpretation, as Silberman explained, requires a newer motto than the one Tilden quoted: 'Process, nor product; collaboration, not 'expert-only' presentation; community memory, not heritage audience.'42

³⁷ Shanks 1992, p. 140.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³⁹ Silberman 2013, p. 21.

⁴⁰ Matero 2013, p. 156.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-30.

⁴² However, public involvement in the management process is mainly visible in the Western contexts. In Turkey, such inclusivity is a more challenging matter (Grima 2019, p. 7; Gürsu 2019, p. 82).

2.2 Interpretation and Presentation of Archaeological Heritage Sites

The last few decades bear witness to an active period of improving the principles and philosophy behind heritage interpretation and the effect of public archaeology, multiculturalism, community engagement, and inclusiveness. The view of interpretation as an individually participated-in activity by lay communities and stakeholders is much promoted. As mentioned in the previous section, in the interpretation and management process, public involvement can be achieved when expert knowledge regarding all aspects of the heritage site is provided. ⁴³

The reflections of interactions between the public and archaeology, which is the definition of public archaeology according to Akira Matsuda, has a crucial role in archaeology and site management.⁴⁴ Public archaeology focuses on analyzing and improving that interaction while forming dialogues with the public and does not proceed in any hegemonic sense.⁴⁵ According to definitions of Gabriel Moshenska, public archaeology has consisted of seven types. Moshenska provides a comprehensive framework focusing not only on the relation between the community and cultural heritage but also all the elements involved in the public definition, public institutions, and channels transmitting data to the public.⁴⁶ Although the concept of public archaeology is elaborative and comprehensive in setting a connection between the public and the cultural heritage, particularly in World Heritage Sites such as

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 31. For more information on human interpreters, see Koshar 1998. For more information on interpretation, see also Ham and Weiler 2003. For more information on interpretation and its economic aspects, see Silberman 2007. For more data on the process of interpretation, see Krösbacher and Ruddy 2006.

⁴⁴ Matsuda 2019, p. 13. Professional bodies often make conservation or excavation decisions based on their appreciation of the subjects. And then, when all is done, the public is 'informed'. This ignored role of the public's interests is commented upon critically by Shanks and Tilley (1987, p. 24).

⁴⁵ Gürsu 2019, p. 86; Tırpan 2019, p. 51. For more detailed information on public archaeology, see Carman 2002; Moshenska 2017.

⁴⁶ Moshenska 2017, pp. 5-11.

Ephesus, the relationship between these two ends are already determined by guidelines and declarations.⁴⁷

Successful conservation enhances the community's feeling of pride for the site and its understanding of the what and the why. A broad recognition of heritage area values, a pragmatic approach to management, and proactive presentation are the key aspects for best preserving a place. According to Serin, recreating values of a past time and revealing the potential of a site are paramount factors in instituting a local sense of ownership and providing a practical heritage preservation. To reveal those values in depth, they should be of high quality, and they need to be made lucid and understandable for broader audiences.

'Archaeology is the skill of interpreting the past'.⁵⁰ All techniques used to interpret the past transform this process' outcomes and the conservation of the cultural heritage in the archaeological sites. Conservation on archaeological sites primarily focuses on physical preservation from damage and loss. Among these conservation techniques are reburial, structural stabilization, protective shelters, and reconstructions. Each solution alters the preserved archaeological data and perception of the site and how it is experienced.⁵¹ As one of these techniques, often larger items are removed from the archaeological sites for various reasons such as security or a 'better display'. This action causes a loss of data on the archaeological sites and often display problems where the object is relocated. The consequences are directly opposed to one of the stated aims of archaeological preservation – namely to minimize the loss of data.⁵² Despite the fact that, international charters and doctrinal guidelines focus on the need for the preservation of material in a cultural

⁴⁷ For detailed information on the community, stakeholders and cultural heritage relationship in World Heritage Sites, see below, pp. 35-41.

⁴⁸ Grimwade and Carter 2000, pp. 36-37.

⁴⁹ Serin 2008, p. 217.

⁵⁰ Shanks 1992, p. 65.

⁵¹ Matero 2008, pp. 1-2.

⁵² Price 1995, p. 2.

property with minimal interventions.⁵³ Even so, and depending on the practices and approaches, even destructive methods can be chosen as desired interventions. Among such methods are the reconstruction or replication of the damaged components. These are often used to achieve structural integrity and make the visual component successful. Such interpretations of archaeological heritage focus solely on the material condition of the objects, and may adversely influence the meanings and values of the place, and 'compromise their power, spirit or social values'.⁵⁴

Another significant subject in heritage matters is the economic benefits of touristic activities. Many archaeological sites face dramatic alterations to address the need for a visual understanding to be available to the public. As a result, possible physical damage may be done to sites as yet unprepared for visitation and development.⁵⁵ Additionally, this economic benefit does not always return to the local community.⁵⁶

The past contains plural meanings with multiple cross-links. The plural nature of the past requires multiple interpretations of the archaeological site.⁵⁷ As archaeological preservation is mainly concerned with material *in situ*, the concept of a place should also be taken into consideration. According to Matero, places are the contexts for human experience to be manifested. Places are 'constructed in movement, memory, encounter and association'.⁵⁸ Through interpretation, archaeological site

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⁵³ Matero 2008, p. 3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*.

⁵⁶ Even in popular archaeological sites, the economic benefit of the local community can be relatively low. The reason for that is accepting tourism as the main economic profit of a cultural heritage site and ignoring the locals' contribution to the economy or the sustainability of the heritage site. The local community can directly (a local workforce and skilled labors who can educate the next generation to sustain cultural heritage preservation) or indirectly (economic independence and empowered social structure invite more people to contribute to heritage preservation) benefit from a heritage site: Orbaşlı 2013, pp. 237-251.

⁵⁷ Shanks 1992, p. 27.

⁵⁸ Matero 2008, p. 2.

conservation can morph into 'a way of reifying cultural identities and historical narratives over time'.⁵⁹

As mentioned above, several scholars over time have produced thoughts on vital points for conserving an archaeological heritage site. Each methodology draws attention to a significant sort of intervention. Archaeology is broadly defined as 'the study of ancient cultures by looking for and examining their buildings, tools, and other objects' according to Cambridge Dictionary. According to this description, archaeology can be understood as a scientific tool for interpreting the past. Yet, a reality gap between past and present still remains – and always will. To Shanks and Tilley, conceptual tools and theoretical structures should be developed to reforge the link. Two archaeological sites from Europe and the Middle East are illustrated here to achieve a clear understanding of the interpretative approaches in archaeological heritage sites: Hadrian's Wall in Britain and the archaeological site of Caesarea Maritima. The study is based on the extent and context of archaeological site interventions together with interpretation and presentation decisions of those sites.

Hadrian's Wall marks the northern frontier of the Roman Empire in Britain; it extends over 118 km from Tyne to South Shields (Figure 2.1).⁶² The site was declared a World Heritage Site in 1987. The area is considered as a significant element in comprehending the Roman occupation of Britain.⁶³ Therefore, UNESCO has described the site as having an 'outstanding universal value' in accordance with its Criteria (ii), (ii) and (iv) with regard to its exceptional testimony to civilization

⁵⁹ *Ibid*.

⁶⁰ URL 1.

⁶¹ Shanks and Tilley 1988, p. vii. They observe that the formal and objective methods in archaeology neglect the structure of the past. The insistence on object-based knowledge fails to take on the practice's rhetorical character, which is central to it and cannot be hidden from its audience. As a consequence, despite the practical side of archaeology, the term is a rhetorical practice for Shanks and Tilley; it is a part of contemporary society, historically situated, and inherently political: Shanks and Tilley 1987, pp. 66-67.

⁶² Adkins and Mills 2011, p. 4.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

and an outstanding example of a structure narrating a critical stage in human history.⁶⁴



Figure 2.1. Hadrian's Wall, UK (Adkins and Mills 2011, pp. 2-19)

Despite these proclaimed significances, the site is often considered as 'simply a wall' by potential and previous visitors. ⁶⁵ To overcome this failing of perception, an interpretation framework is hosted on the World Heritage Site. Interpretation is said to be 'about fostering understanding', and helping shape visitor experiences. ⁶⁶ According to Nigel Mills the landscape itself acts as a large interpretation panel; 'It is the drama and beauty of the landscape setting and the feeling created of being on the edge of the civilised world'. ⁶⁷ Thus the framework focuses on engagement with less tangible aspects, such as landscape, nature, place and culture. ⁶⁸ To achieve a more successful understanding of the site, a primary theme is pursued – namely the northwest frontier of the Roman Empire and a secondary theme shaped around the natural and cultural landscape is added. Site interpretation is achieved through online journeys via the official website, guide books, a signage scheme for visitor orientation and navigation travelling by car, foot or bicycle (Figure 2.2). ⁶⁹ Personal

⁶⁴ Mills 2017, p. 49.

⁶⁵ Adkins and Mills 2011, p. 4.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁷ Mills 2017, p. 47.

⁶⁸ Adkins and Mills 2011, p. 1.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*., pp. 10-16.

interpretation via costumed interpretations, re-enactments, demonstrations, guided tours, public programmes with theatrical performances and storytelling are engaged to create personal connections with the site as these hands-on experiences constitute the most influential sorts of interpretative interaction (Figure 2.3). Besides those techniques, visitor feedback and continuous research on how improve the set-up also helps to sustain a successful operation.⁷⁰



Figure 2.2. Hadrian's Wall, the bike routes (Adkins and Mills 2011, p. 16; URL 44)



Figure 2.3. Hadrian's Wall, interpretative interactions concerning the structure (Adkins and Mills 2011, pp. 21-22)

Caesarea Maritima is positioned on the eastern Mediterranean coast of Israel. From the Hellenistic period until the 7th century, the enormous Roman port of this maritime city provided international trade.⁷¹ The city not only had economic importance but also since St. Paul was imprisoned in Caesarea Maritima, it also had a religious significance.⁷² The archaeological excavations commenced in Caesarea

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

⁷¹ Patrich 2011, p. 1.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 237.

Maritima in 1960.⁷³ In 2000, the site was included to the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List on the basis of Criteria (ii), (iv), (v), (vi).⁷⁴



Figure 2.4. Caesarea Maritima (URL 45; URL 46)



Figure 2.5. Caesarea Maritima, the visitor center (left), and an information panel (right) (URL 5)

The architectural remains of this once-prosperous city have been part of the Caesarea National Park since 2011(Figure 2.4).⁷⁵ The preserved or restored structures are all presented to visitors via diverse techniques. Unlike Hadrian's Wall in the UK, there are no thematic presentations. Nevertheless, a visitor center, a 3D city model, and multiple information panels around the archaeological park give detailed data regarding the site (Figure 2.5). Recreational activities in and around the restored buildings constitute a significant part of the interpretation and presentation decisions. These buildings are used as observation and access points where exhibitions of

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁷⁴ URL 2.

⁷⁵ URL 3.

related content are also placed in the archaeological park. Such are a walking track along the fortification system of the city and the reconstructed Roman Theater, where performances are held (Figure 2.6).⁷⁶



Figure 2.6. Caesarea Maritima, the reconstructed Roman Theater (URL 45)

For different visitor profiles, tours with broad content are presented (Figure 2.7). The tours extend their theme by preparing Olympic games for visitors, presenting a theatrical festival, and holding events in the Hippodrome (Figure 2.8).⁷⁷ These two examples illustrate that varied interpretative techniques can affect the site experience depending on the interpretation strategy adopted.



Figure 2.7. Caesarea Maritima, the tours for different visitor profiles: A classical tour (left), an entertaining tour with a comedy element presented by an actor dressed as a Roman (right), a musical tour, and a tour where the social and spiritual aspects of the Jewish community lived in Caesarea Maritima along with the architectural highlights are demonstrated (URL 6)

⁷⁷ URL 5; URL 6; URL 7.

⁷⁶ URL 3; URL 4.





Figure 2.8. Caesarea Maritima, games organized for visitors (left) and events in the hippodrome (right) (URL 6)

Interrelation between approaches taken on archaeological sites and intervention decisions is also observable in many sites of Turkey. The specific reason for this influence is because much of the archaeological excavation history in Turkey was down to foreigners, predominantly Europeans. Inevitably their attitudes were paramount as they conducted numerous excavations. Therefore, it is not surprising that implemented interpretations and interventions on archaeological sites depended on the approaches current and observed by the foreign bodies responsible. The From the 1970s, museums of archaeological sites (Ephesus, Priene, Miletus) were enlarged, and tourist itineraries began to include them. Archaeological excavations and several presentation techniques were introduced to those sites. The fundamental approaches of *anastylosis* (reconstitution) and installation of information panels were established. These presentation techniques were not sufficient to create a meaningful historical view in the tourists' minds except to astound them with the marvelous reconstructed stone architecture.

Similarly, Ephesus, one of Turkey's most famous archaeological sites, has been subject to diverse restoration approaches over the years. These approaches have resulted in an inconsistent and sometimes incomprehensible site presentation for visitors.⁸⁰ In the 20th century at Ephesus, site presentation was achieved by varied

⁷⁸ For more information on the archaeological excavation, interpretation, and presentation approaches Turkey has been facing, see Aktüre 2012, pp. 3-12.

⁷⁹ Eres 2016, p. 258.

⁸⁰ Demas 2002, p. 44.

architectural experiments, collages, reconstructions. No common concept is visible amongst them. The *anastylosis* policy might be the most striking sample of the 20th-century archaeological methodology, according to Ladstätter. Contemporary presentation techniques often focus on material preservation, not a wholesale attempt at renovation, unless emergency conservation is needed.⁸¹

2.2.1 International Documents and Charters on the Interpretation and Presentation of Archaeological Sites

By the beginning of the 20th century, international charters were dealing with the issues of site management and material conservation. Even though they had different points of emphasis, the charters were united in endowing the preservation process with a sense of moral responsibility and utter respect for the physical, historical, and aesthetic integrity of a place or a structure. The irreplaceable identity of cultural heritage and the determination of this heritage as part of the promotion of cultural sustainability in a dynamic way are also held in common by those international studies.⁸² The first steps were to attempt the formation of interpretation and presentation principles limited to basic implementations.⁸³

The Australian ICOMOS expanded these efforts by identifying necessary definitions. In the Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, also known as the Burra Charter (1979) the term of cultural significance is elaborated to mean the 'aesthetic, social, spiritual, historical, or scientific value for past, present, and future generations' and the term 'archaeological site' is also defined so as to contain the notion of place.⁸⁴ In another edition of the Burra Charter (1999) culturally significant

⁸¹ Ladstätter 2016, pp. 541-561.

⁸² Matero 2008, p. 2.

⁸³ Such as insistence on accurate documentation and collaborative studies between the archaeologists and other experts (Athens Charter, 1931) or again building on the earlier studies by introducing value assessment in any proposed archaeological restoration and excavation (Venice Charter, 1964).

⁸⁴ ICOMOS 1979, Article 1.

spaces are proclaimed to enrich people's lives by providing a sense of connection to community, landscape, and first-hand experiences. As much as a change is necessary to maintain a place, it should be kept to a minimum to ensure cultural significance. ⁸⁵ In the same charter, the term interpretation is defined as 'all the ways presenting the cultural significance of a place' and envisaged as a fusion of the use of activities at a place and recognized explanatory material incorporating the treatment of the fabric such as restoration, maintenance, and reconstruction. ⁸⁶

The ICOMOS Charter for the Protection and Management of Archaeological Heritage (1990) discusses the characteristics, interpretation and presentation techniques, and principles of multiple aspects of archaeological heritage management, including the public authorities' responsibilities. In Article 1, the charter stresses that 'archaeological heritage' is defined as a material heritage in which archaeological methods ensure initial data on all agents of human existence and remains of all kinds.⁸⁷ In Article 7, the nature of the act of presentation is given. In the presentation process of archaeological heritage, the primary goals should be to cultivate an understanding of the need for its protection, its origins, and the development of modern societies. It is suggested that information and presentation should be tailored to comply with a popular understanding (rather than specialist) of the available data and it should be revised regularly to take cognisance of multifaceted and changing approaches to intervention.⁸⁸ According to Article 2 of the charter, planning policies at local, regional, national, and international levels for the protection of and legislation regulating each stage of an active archaeological investigation should be encouraged.⁸⁹ Methodology involving non-destructive techniques, management in situ with appropriate long-term conservation, local

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⁸⁵ ICOMOS 1999, p. 1.

⁸⁶ ICOMOS 1999, Article 1.

⁸⁷ ICOMOS 1990, Article 1.

⁸⁸ ICOMOS 1990, Article 7.

⁸⁹ ICOMOS 1990, Article 2.

participation in the preservation process, interpretation methods, and international co-operations are also stressed in the charter.⁹⁰

There are also some international declarations and documents on heritage interpretation and archaeological heritage. The European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (1992), known as the Valetta Convention, defines archaeological heritage. The ways of conserving archaeological heritage and collecting information from archaeological sites are discussed. To promote public awareness, various implementations are encouraged by the Article 9. The article emphasizes the significance of educational activities in forming this consciousness and encouraging the presentation to the public. ⁹¹ The Charleston Declaration on Heritage Interpretation (US/ICOMOS, 2005) also attends to similar subjects. The declaration seeks an international standard for the scientific, educational and ethical principles for public interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage. ⁹²

The ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (2008), also known as the Ename Charter, includes an outline for public communication and education in heritage preservation. The terms of interpretation and presentation are described in depth in the charter. Interpretation is seen as all kinds of potential activities aimed to evolve and involve public awareness and improve the perception of a cultural heritage site. 'Presentation' is defined as attentively calculated communication of interpretive content through interpretative data and infrastructure with physical access at any cultural heritage site. ⁹³ In the ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites, seven prime principles are set out:

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⁹⁰ ICOMOS 1990.

⁹¹ Council of Europe 1992.

⁹² US/ICOMOS 2005. On the subject of common ground, the Council of Europe's Faro Convention (2005), discusses the concept of 'common heritage of Europe' and the right to cultural heritage expressed as the right to be informed and participate in a community's cultural life. For more detailed information on the declaration see also Jameson 2020, p. 4.

⁹³ ICOMOS 2008a, p. 2.

Principle 1: Access and Understanding

Effective interpretation and presentation should provoke the development of public respect, awareness, and personal experience. Maintenance of the public's physical and intellectual access via public receptions with specifically designed presentation programs should be pursued. Interpretation and presentation programs should be specifically designed, based on the cultural and demographic identity of the audience.⁹⁴

Principle 2: Information Sources

Scientific methods and alive cultural traditions can both provide data for assessment. The data sources regarding the cultural traditions should be documented. Interpretation choices should demonstrate those data assessments made and the attributed meaning therefrom for a site in an appropriate way. Interpretative infrastructure and visual reconstructions on the intangible side of heritage are to be encouraged. Again those techniques chosen are required to be based upon a systematic analysis of the data, comprising analysis of written, photography, iconographic and oral sources. 95

Principle 3: Attention to Setting and Context

The broader social, natural, geographical, historical, spiritual, and cultural contexts of a site should be determined and put across by appropriate interpretation and presentation techniques. Interpretation should discover the multi-faceted context of a site, including all the groups related to/living in the area, as well as the surrounding landscape, geographical setting, natural environment, cross-cultural importance, and other intangible elements. 96

Principle 4: Preservation of Authenticity

⁹⁵ ICOMOS 2008a, pp. 4-5.

⁹⁴ ICOMOS 2008a, p. 4.

¹COMOS 2008a, pp. 4-3

⁹⁶ ICOMOS 2008a, p. 5.

Fundamental norms of authenticity in the spirit of the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) must be respected, and conservation attempts must be made to conform to same.⁹⁷ Interpretation programs should contribute to the preservation of the site's authenticity and respect the cultural practices and dignity of the locals and the traditional social functions of the area. Visible interpretation infrastructures and programs involving physical performances should minimize the disturbance of the locals and be sensitive to the character of the site.⁹⁸

Principle 5: Planning for Sustainability

The conservation process should be integrated with the interpretation and presentation techniques. Potential effects of temporary and permanent infrastructures of the interpretative programs should be considered and implemented carefully. The success of the programs should not be evaluated merely on 'the basis of visitor attendance figures'. The aim of the interpretation should be to provide sustainable social, cultural, and economic benefits to all stakeholders. ⁹⁹

Principle 6: Concern for Inclusiveness

A synergy must be developed between the property owners, hosts, associated communities, and professionals. Plans regarding the interpretation and presentation of the cultural site should be open to the public, and their involvement should be encouraged. The responsibilities, rights, and interests of associated communities, property owners, and the host should also be noted. ¹⁰⁰

Principle 7: Importance of Research, Training, and Evaluation

In interpreting a cultural heritage site, the permanence of fundamental components – research, training, and evaluation – must be pursued. 101

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⁹⁷ ICOMOS 1994.

⁹⁸ ICOMOS 2008a, p. 6.

⁹⁹ ICOMOS 2008a, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰⁰ ICOMOS 2008a, p. 7.

¹⁰¹ ICOMOS 2008a, pp. 7-8.

In the same year, ICOMOS promoted different tangible and intangible categories of cultural heritage assets in detail – the cultural routes and the spirit of place. ¹⁰² The ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes (2008) enlarges the boundaries of cultural heritage and focus on the routes developed by human mobility and communication over the years. The distinctive sign of these cultural routes is that they do not overlap with any defined heritage categories but rather include them all. ¹⁰³ Another inclusive international document is the Quebec Declaration of the Preservation of the Spirit of Place (ICOMOS, 2008). The declaration seeks a more comprehensive understanding of the living, and the cultural landscapes, which is the spirit of place (including monuments, routes, objects, memories, narratives, rituals, values, for example). ¹⁰⁴ Objectives of both charters enriched the cultural heritage definition and conservation of it.

As demonstrated, the definition and importance of archaeological sites have been the subject for the international charters and declarations for almost a century, and yet the detailed management principles or more realistic solutions for the problematic archaeological sites have often been disregarded. In the Salalah Guidelines of the Management of Public Archaeological Sites (ICOMOS, 2017), suggestions on the management of publicly accessible archaeological sites are made with a particular reference to sites within the UNESCO World Heritage List. As similar and persistent problems occur in many archaeological sites once they are first made publicly accessible, establishing a sustainable and sound management plan for the areas is the purpose of these guidelines. Also, the utilization of archaeological sites in a way that supports the local populations and constructs a public awareness of the value of

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¹⁰² Both concepts had briefly introduced in the Xi'an Declaration of the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites, and Areas (ICOMOS 2005). Before that, the first Council of Europe Cultural Route focused on pilgrimage and cultural routes such as Santiago de Compostela, and proposed revitalizing them to highlight the European identity (Council of Europe 2015, p. 9).

¹⁰³ ICOMOS 2008b, pp. 1-11.

¹⁰⁴ ICOMOS 2008c, pp. 1-4.

cultural diversity, as well as the awareness of strong interrelations between cultures are other aims of these guidelines. Economic profits gained by the participation of multiple stakeholders and funding are also mentioned in the guidelines. ¹⁰⁵ Such attempts to include the local community and multiple stakeholders in the management phase have been introduced by World Heritage Convention and its operational guidelines. ¹⁰⁶

2.2.2 National Legal Regulations on the Interpretation and Presentation of Archaeological Sites

Legislation on both conservation and archaeological heritage started as reactions to the implementations occurring in the Ottoman era. European archaeologists started to explore-excavate Antique Greek cultures in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th – 19th centuries. ¹⁰⁷ This practice did not affect the public or the state then as neither were interested in the subject of archaeology, even though they lived among the ancient sites and used their architectural elements as spolia. ¹⁰⁸ As a result of this neglect, various archaeological finds were uprooted and sent back to the countries of the respective European researchers.

In the second half of the 19th century, the Ottoman state enacted in 1869 the first regulation on the ancient monuments, known as the *Asarı Atika Nizamnameleri*, to

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¹⁰⁵ ICOMOS 2017, p. 1.

Article 3 of the Budapest Declaration on World Heritage (UNESCO 2002) focuses on the active involvement of local communities at all levels of the management of World Heritage properties, while Article 17 of the Policy for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Processes of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 2015) focuses on full inclusion, equity, and respect of all stakeholders including the local communities. The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention give more detailed definitions of the stakeholders and their participation in the management process. Stakeholders are defined as site managers, local and regional governments, local communities, indigenous peoples, NGOs, private organizations, other interested parties, and partners (UNESCO 2019).

¹⁰⁷ Eres 2016, p. 255. The excavations in Ephesus was started in 1863 by John Turtle Wood. With the discovery of the Artemision in 1869, the studies were speed up (Aktüre 2011, pp. 73-75).

¹⁰⁸ Eres 2016, p. 255.

protect antiquities. The Law was amended in 1874, 1884, and 1906. The regulations deal with the excavation conditions, including ownership of the artefacts. The first regulation contained articles on archaeological excavations and uncovered artefacts. The same law prohibited smuggling. With the second amendment, new definitions were introduced, and the State was defined as the owner of the historical artefacts. Basic principles of preservation were introduced with the third amendment in 1884. Those principles later became a basis for the legislative framework of the Turkish Republic. The Conservation of Monuments Act (*Muhafaza-i Adibat Nizamnamesi*) established in 1912 was the first document concerning interventions in specific architectural cultural heritage elements. ¹⁰⁹

In the Republican period, new legal bodies, as well as new legislation, were introduced. ¹¹⁰ In the last fifty years, several regulations and their amendments on archaeological heritage sites have been introduced. In 1973, the Law no. 1710 on Ancient Monuments and Sites (*Eski Eserler Kanunu*) was enacted. The Law included definitions related to cultural heritage; 'conservation area' (*sit*), 'historic site' (*tarihi sit*), 'archaeological site' (*arkeolojik sit*), 'natural site' (*tabii sit*). Parallel to the Law no. 1710, conservation development plans for conservation sites and archaeological areas were to be prepared and temporary development conditions regarding the areas were to be conducted. In the light of this law, the concept of a conservation development plan emerged for the first time. The law was a 'founding block of the transformation of architectural conservation in Turkey' according to Neriman Şahin Güçhan and Esra Kurul. ¹¹¹

The current law on cultural and natural heritage conservation was enacted in 1983. With the Law no. 2863 on Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (*Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu*), the term of 'conservation development plan'

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¹⁰⁹ Güçhan and Kurul 2009, p. 23.

¹¹⁰ For more information on the legislations of the Republican period, see also Madran 1996; Madran and Özgönül 2005.

¹¹¹ Güçhan and Kurul 2009, p. 29.

(koruma amaçlı imar planı) was introduced. Despite the former law on cultural heritage no. 1710, the term of an archaeological site is not defined in the current legislation. In Article 3 of the Law no. 2863, although the term of 'an archaeological site' is not used, the statement of 'the ruins of the city where social, economic, architectural and similar characteristics of the periods they lived in are reflected' is inferred to mean an archaeological site. 112 The Law does not give a clear definition. It does not provide specifications on the qualities and degrees of archaeological sites. Therefore, the terminology confuses the exact definition of an archaeological site. As a result, in 1999, the Decree no. 658 on terms of conservation and use in the archaeological sites (Arkeolojik Sitler, Koruma ve Kullanma Koşulları) of KTVKYK designated archaeological sites as the areas and settlements where are located all kinds of cultural assets, which are positioned underground, above ground or underwater and reflecting the social, economic and cultural characteristics of the times in which they existed. Those cultural assets can belong to any time in human history. The Decree also distinguishes the degrees of an archaeological site and related conservation and utilization restrictions. 113

Significant amendments to the Law no. 2863, were enacted in the years 1987 by the Law no. 3386 and in 2004 by the Law no. 5226. The concept of an archaeological site, which is *ören yeri* in Turkish, was defined in the Law no. 5226 focusing on the revisions regarding the conservation of cultural and natural property act (*Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu ile Çeşitli Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılması Hakkında Kanun*). The definition is an area which is the product of various civilizations from prehistory to the present day, with sufficiently distinctive and homogeneous features to be defined topographically, at the same time being remarkable in terms of historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social or technical, partially constructed, human-made cultural assets and natural assets

¹¹² T.C. Resmi Gazete, 21.07.1983-18113.

¹¹³ The Decree no. 658 (658 nolu İlke Kararı) was published in 05.11.1999 by the Ministry of Culture (Kültür Bakanlığı).

¹¹⁴ T.C. Resmi Gazete, 27.07.2004-25535. *Ören yeri* means a site with ruins in Turkish.

combined. The definition comprises all heritage sites such as 'urban', 'historical', 'archaeological', and 'natural'. However, the term *ören yeri* is used for archaeological sites in Turkish. Therefore, confusion occurs with this definition because of translation and perception problems. Besides, the description of the site as 'sufficiently distinctive' and 'homogenous' exclude the heterogeneous components of an archaeological site.¹¹⁵

Legislation on archaeological sites is not restricted to the Law no. 2863.¹¹⁶ The Law no. 2634, the Tourism Promotion Act (*Turizmi Teşvik Kanunu*), and the Law no. 2872, the Environment Act (*Çevre Kanunu*), deal with the regulation about the preservation areas by allowing constructions on the sites.

In addition to these legislations, the preparation of site management plans is relatively new in Turkey. Since UNESCO demanded submissions of site management plans in new applications for the World Heritage List, in 1994, the plans were started to be prepared. Until 2011, only one archaeological site in Turkey had a management plan. Since then, multiple management plans prepared either by the local municipalities, by the archaeological excavation teams or university departments, or by the ministry are provided.¹¹⁷

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¹¹⁷ Gürsu 2019, pp. 82-85.

¹¹⁵ Madran and Özgönül 2005, pp. 15-16.

and principles on determining and registering immovable cultural assets, protected areas, and sites, excluding natural sites, that need to be protected. With the Law no. 5226, the definitions regarding the environmental design project of the archaeological site (*cevre düzenleme projesi*), the 'nexus point and participatory area management' (*bağlantı noktası ve yönetim alanı*) and management plan (*yönetim planı*) were introduced: T.C. Resmi Gazete, 27.07.2004-25535. The definition on buffer zones (*etkileşim-geçiş sahası*) is defined with the Decree no. 648: T.C. Resmi Gazete, 17.08.2011-28028. The regulation concerning the identification and registration of immovable cultural heritage and sites to be protected (*Korunması Gerekli Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıklarının ve Sitlerin Tespit ve Tescili Hakkında Yönetmelik*) and its revision act demonstrates new definitions and legends: T.C. Resmi Gazete, 13.03.2012-28232. The terms of urban site and urban archaeological site are defined in the decree. The proposed legend concerning the demonstration of these new definitions are indicated in the revision act: T.C. Resmi Gazete, 09.01.2015-29231.

2.3 Interpretation and Presentation of the Late Antique and Byzantine Archaeological Heritage in Turkey

Adequate research and investigations on cultural heritage help to uncover the past and to provide a comprehensive understanding of it. However, despite all this research activity, the questions of 'whose perspective of the world is being presented' or 'whose history are we interpreting' remain largely unanswered. ¹¹⁸ In the interpretation process, past, present and future are often treated 'as disconnected periods and not part of a continuum subject to ongoing processes, causes and consequences'. ¹¹⁹ Uzzell argues that all historical moments should be seen as part of more comprehensive historical processes which have a broader spatial development than they are commonly presented as having. ¹²⁰

The approaches centered around these problematic issues and questions should be first demonstrated, so as to understand the actual interpretation and presentation of the Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage. Here, some attitudes affecting the Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage and archaeological sites are explored through two examples of Byzantine cultural heritage and their interpretation and presentation implementations.

Tekeli has posed similar questions of the status quo and assessed arguments behind conservation approaches in Turkey. The first of his four resulting observations is that the community needs to possess a healthy historical consciousness. Conservation as a tool for forming a national consciousness and personality is the second existing reality. This nationalist ideology however is not sufficient to cover a country's whole history. Therefore, stressing it narrows the purpose of whole affair. The third point is the preservation of what is considered valuable, based on an aesthetic criterion or its unusualness. These kinds of subjective limitations on what gets conserved will

¹¹⁸ Uzzell 1998, pp. 13-14.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*.

cause the rise of subjective and so false values. The last justification he critiques is the approach to conservation as an aspect of cultural tourism. Here, conservation is linked to a commercial aim. ¹²¹ Although he observed the conservation approaches in Turkey from a wide perspective, they all apply to the interpretation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey.

Other Turkish scholars have diverse ideas on the attitudes towards Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey. For example, Necipoğlu looks at three factors contributing to the discrimination against Byzantine cultural heritage. National approaches, educational system and necessity of high levels of knowledge in several languages such as Ancient Greek, Medieval Greek, Latin, Persian, Arabic, and also modern languages such as English, German and French. 122 In comparison, Engin Akyürek suggests three different reasons for destroying Byzantine cultural heritage. The sudden increase in population affects the urban consciousness in cities, the lack of consciousness of cultural heritage values, and the few sources reserved for cultural heritage preservation. Akyürek claims that the negative public approaches toward the Byzantine cultural heritage neither develop from the poor state of Byzantine studies nor the preservation status of the Byzantine structures. 123

Commercial and political influences on the conservation of cultural heritage discriminate against the perception of the heritage and alter the interpretation and presentation of the subject. In Byzantine heritage preservation, if we return to the second observation of Tekeli, the concept of 'national identity' works against the Byzantine heritage, as the latter is not a part of the relevant past as defined by this nationalistic concept. Furthermore, practical reasons such as the difficulties in conserving Byzantine structures, mainly now in a poor state of repair, define Byzantine heritage approaches. The architectural heritage components, which are

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¹²¹ Tekeli 1988, p. 57; Serin 2008, p. 210.

¹²² Necipoğlu 2013, pp. 76-77. For more information on absences in the Turkish educational system regarding Byzantine cultural heritage, see also Durak 2013, pp. 78-82; Ötüken 2003, pp. 78-79.

¹²³ Akyürek 2010, p. 218.

mainly religious structures, also create difficulties: what are they to be used for, once conserved.¹²⁴ Another challenge they face is that when compared with the monumental and better-preserved architecture of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the visual effect of the Byzantine material remains relatively weak.¹²⁵

Sodini examined the lack of Byzantine recognition and how that came to develop. According to Sodini, Byzantine remains of themselves are considered as not glorious and rather rough-looking ruins: a canvas or core to support a surface illustration or decoration, now lost or impaired. Another reason is that Byzantine archaeologists are not as effectively assertive as their Classical Antiquity colleagues and are too often constrained to produce but an inexpensive publication of the remains. Byzantine archaeological remains were long designated as less crucial than the more impressive remnants of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. ¹²⁶ Even though these attitudes may be less prevalent now, they still illustrate the subjective approaches than can blight a specific period of cultural heritage. ¹²⁷ As with four approaches described by Tekeli, biased attitudes on heritage may lead to confusions as to the perception of the historical element involved and obscured.

Another reason for highlighting the Classical Antiquity over Byzantine heritage is the economic facts. According to Silberman, in archaeological conservation, the primary purpose is to increase tourism and income; since the Classical Antiquity structures pull in more tourists to archaeological sites, the monumental structures of this period are emphasized more in the same sites. ¹²⁸ Also, another reason for this is that the Classical Antiquity buildings are in a better physical condition and need less effort for reconstruction. ¹²⁹ This approach is applicable not only to the Byzantine era but also for other historical periods which cannot provide 'enough' spectacle for the

¹²⁴ Serin 2017, pp. 69-70.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹²⁶ Sodini 1993, p. 139.

¹²⁷ Serin 2017, p. 72.

¹²⁸ Silberman 1995, p. 259.

¹²⁹ Serin 2008, p. 211.

tourist and even includes Hellenistic and Roman archaeological areas whose architectural glory is no longer extant. ¹³⁰ Although these circumstances can be valid for some Byzantine heritage sites, Ephesus is only partly so affected since the built environment of Ephesus is a recreated Roman city and its Byzantine religious monuments draw much attention.

Concentrating on the glorious Classical period is not only an economic goal but also an ideological act according to Effie Athanassopoulos. From the earliest 19th century archaeological excavations, all-too-hasty a removal of the upper strata from the 'unglamorous' post-classical era continued as a fact of life until the 1970s-1980s. The basis for this attitude is the acceptance of ancient Greek culture as the foundation and early expression of a European spirit. ¹³¹

Even though the subjective nature of the interpretation of the past is criticized, its presence is unavoidable. With its physical and visual features dominant, the science of archaeology significantly influences the interpretation and presentation of the past. Its very nature can be a successful tool to narrate the past to a broader community, if accurately engaged and comprehensibly presented. ¹³² For a clear understanding of the effects of archaeology in interpreting and narrating the past, two Late-Antique-to-Byzantine archaeological sites as interpreted and presented are now demonstrated: the archaeological site of Mystras and a Byzantine archaeological site with a spiritual-religious value, the Church of the Kathisma, in Jerusalem. Although Mystras is a large archaeological site similar to Ephesus, it does not have such a pilgrimage value. The example is selected for it is a successfully interpreted and presented Medieval city.

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¹³⁰ Serin 2017, p. 71.

¹³¹ Athanassopoulos 2004, pp. 81-98.

¹³² Serin 2017, p. 77.



Figure 2.9. Mystras, Sparta (Kalopissi-Verti 2013, pp. 224-228)

The archaeological site of Mystras is a Byzantine city located to the west of Sparta, Greece, on the flanks of the Taygetos mountain range. The settlement formed around the castle of Mystras, founded in 1249. During the late Medieval period, the city flourished as a last outpost of Byzantine culture; ¹³³ inhabited by thousands of people, it was one of the largest Late Byzantine period cities. ¹³⁴ The Byzantine city came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire from 1460 until the 19th century. When the last inhabitants moved from the city, it was formed into an archaeological site in 1955 (Figure 2.9). Then, restoration and reconstruction studies were commenced. In 1989, Mystras was declared a World Heritage Site.

The archaeological site was handled by varied interpretation and presentation decisions. Display of the artefacts in the Museum of Mystras, conservation studies conducted in the churches, infrastructure installation, facilities, and visitor services, including information panels, were all gradually established (Figure 2.10). The thematic content of the information panels provides a better understanding of the Byzantine cultural heritage in the archaeological site as they are addressed to an audience with diverse backgrounds and they are providing. An events program consisting of educational occasions, exhibitions, educational publications, and musical and theatrical performances is designed to cater to the visitors' needs. These

¹³³ Kalopissi-Verti 2013, p. 224.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 226-227.

multi-level interpretation and presentation decisions support and foster the public awareness of the Byzantine archaeological site. 135



Figure 2.10. Mystras, an information panel (left) (URL 47) and ongoing conservation interventions (right) (URL 48)

In Jerusalem, close to the west of Ramat Rahel, remains of a monumental octagonal church of Paleo-Kathisma were accidentally discovered with modern road construction. ¹³⁶ According to the archaeological excavations conducted in 1990s, ¹³⁷ the church was constructed circa 456. It was built by the ancient road of Jerusalem-Bethlehem, around a rock that is identified as the alleged seat upon which the Virgin Mary sat to rest on her journey to Bethlehem. The octagonal structure with its double ambulatory has similarities with a typical pilgrimage church (Figure 2.11). ¹³⁸ The pilgrimage character of the church is not only suggested by its plan typology but also its location. The church of Kathisma is the most ancient Marian holy place in Jerusalem; it is positioned on the sacred route, and it was mentioned in holy texts. ¹³⁹

¹³⁵ URL 8.

¹³⁶ Avni 2014, p. 150.

¹³⁷ Avner 2016, p. 12.

¹³⁸ Avner 2010, p. 37.

¹³⁹ Avner 2016, pp. 24-29.

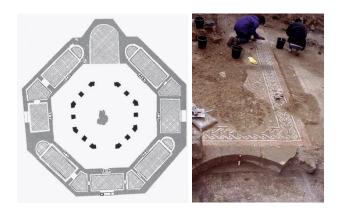


Figure 2.11. The Church of Kathisma, ground plan (left) (Avner 2010, p. 38) and the ground mosaics (right) (Avner 2010, p. 41)

The plan of the Church of the Kathisma is somewhat similar to the plan of the Dome of the Rock. Similarly, they both have large domes covering the central hall where the sacred stone sits. ¹⁴⁰ The church underwent several construction phases until the Early Islamic period. ¹⁴¹ An addition of a Muslim shrine within the already existing church created a remarkable example of mutual Christian and Islamic worship. ¹⁴² Archaeological excavations in the church were conducted in the 1990s. ¹⁴³

Contrary to the archaeological site of Mystras, this significant Late-Byzantine pilgrimage site, although it is open to public access, is preserved in a covered condition (Figure 2.12). 144 Conservation decisions and interpretation differences in these two significant archaeological sites illustrate how the Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage sites may be both valued and effectively managed in their site presentation. As Eres has mentioned, archaeological source management concerns all sorts of signs of human existence and experience. Conservation in an archaeological site has a direct impact on heritage interpretation through its display.

¹⁴⁰ Avner 2010, p. 38.

¹⁴¹ Avni 2014, p. 150.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 151.

¹⁴³ Avner 2016, p. 12.

¹⁴⁴ URL 9.

Interpretation is also affected by how an archaeological site is made accessible to the public. 145



Figure 2.12. The Church of Kathisma, aerial view (URL 49)

2.4 Conceptual Framework: Religious Character of a Place

Any presence, any spatial element, is associated with a character. Particular practices and performances demand places with particular character. ¹⁴⁶ In a spiritual place, the character or spirit of the place is observed in the tangible and intangible elements constructing that place. These interrelated elements involve constraints of both past and present. Notably, Ephesus possess clear spiritual characteristics, before and after Christianity. The Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage in Ephesus is a part of the past with its urban space, pilgrimage structures, and living aspects. The pilgrimage structures in and around the archaeological site of Ephesus sustain their identity as living religious heritage and modern pilgrimage sites. The 'tangible and intangible embodiment of diverse faiths' – from traditional beliefs to formally organized religions, constitute the living religious heritage. ¹⁴⁷

Living religious heritage points out that a place is still in use. Tangible elements (objects, structures, places) are inseparable factors in living religious heritage sites

¹⁴⁵ Eres 2016, p. 258.

¹⁴⁶ Norberg-Schulz 1979, p. 14.

¹⁴⁷ Stovel 2003, p. 9.

and critical factors to fully understand the intangible importance in such areas. ¹⁴⁸ As conservation focuses on the continuation of cultural heritage, the continuation of religious practices 'the primary goal of conservation, from the perspective of those living with it'. ¹⁴⁹ Conservation of living religious heritage passes through the collaboration and support of heritage professionals and religious communities, the needs of the religious community should be defined and target to construct a bond within all stakeholders. ¹⁵⁰

A sacred site becomes a pilgrimage center due to its spiritual character and secular qualities, such as being connected to a transregional communication network, having accessibility, good accommodation options, and travel security. For Christian pilgrimage, the holy sites were limited to Jerusalem and its hinterland until the end of the 2nd century. With the rise of the cult of saints and relics, it expanded through the Mediterranean region. Specifically in Asia Minor, several pilgrimage sites with supra-regional significance, such as Ephesus and Myra developed due to the mentioned qualities. Specifically in Asia Minor, several pilgrimage sites

This section focuses on how pilgrimage is experienced in living religious heritage sites and primarily on Christian pilgrimage. For that purpose, definitions of pilgrimage, its difference and resemblance to religious tourism, and approaches discussing how pilgrimage sites constitute and draw believers are briefly described. Subsequently, Medieval Christian pilgrimage sites from Asia Minor and Europe, along with their interpretation and presentation implementations, are demonstrated to observe how the visitors experience the pilgrimage character of these sites.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*; Lixinski 2018, p. 123.

¹⁴⁹ Stovel 2003, p. 1.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-11; Lixinski 2018, pp. 123-124. This point of view is an ideal if not utopian one. In living religious heritage areas where the religious community and the locals do not share the same religion, such as in the case of Ephesus, implementation of this concept can be challenging.

¹⁵¹ Külzer 2022, p. 178; Markus 1994, pp. 257-271; Talbot 2015, p. 215.

¹⁵² Külzer 2022, p. 179.

2.4.1 Definitions of and Attitudes towards Christian Pilgrimage

Religion is one of the influential factors in shaping a medieval city in its social, economic, and architectural aspects. During the Late Antique and Byzantine period in Asia Minor, Christianity was the dominant religion. To understand the role of religion in the formation of the architectural and social environment in Asia Minor during the Late Antique and Byzantine Period, one must include the phenomenon of pilgrimage to the process. Comprehending the emergence, development, and transformation of this phenomenon – and the ideas and attitudes towards it – assist in understanding how Ephesus sustained its pilgrimage identity. Definitions of religious tourism and pilgrimage are accordingly investigated in this section. The basic approaches and theories on the phenomenon of pilgrimage are displayed to apprehend the subject in its entirety. To discover what potentials the phenomenon of pilgrimage has and how they can be used in site interpretation and presentation, multiple examples of Christian pilgrimage sites in Anatolia are discussed.

Religious tourism, also called spiritual tourism, is frequently regarded as the oldest form of tourism.¹⁵⁴ The world's oldest tourism phenomenon is a valuable source of income and is worth being supported and maintained.¹⁵⁵ Visitors of religious areas are not only pilgrims or believers; cultural tourists also visit those sites. Tală and Pădurean defined visitors who on reaching a holy place show a specific sensitivity, respect and good behavior, as 'religious tourists'.¹⁵⁶

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¹⁵³ Foss 2002, p. 151.

¹⁵⁴ Tală and Pădurean 2008, p. 242. Faith-focused travels are lately evaluated as a branch of tourism. The evaluation of content and theory of religious tourism is still not determined in detail. Scholarly research in this regard were done between 1998 and 2013. After 2008, more studies were conducted: Arslantürk *et al.* 2013, pp. 1245-1248.

¹⁵⁵ There are four factors uphold and motivate religious tourism: belonging and practicing a religious cult, the existence of infrastructure of quality and of tourism services, education and culture, and finally professional occupation and income level. There are also several other less tangible factors involving the socio-economic and psycho-sociological dynamics: Tală and Pădurean 2008, p. 245. ¹⁵⁶ According to Tală and Pădurean(2008, pp. 243-244), in the 21st century, in a religious milieu there is a deep need to protect the integrity of holy places and to respect their importance, making sure that

Religious tourism has many facets and actualities to be accommodated. Visiting sacred destinations and staying there, attending or observing ceremonies; the experience by tourists of different religious beliefs within the tourism phenomenon. 157 Valene Smith describes religious tourism as a middle position on a sliding scale: at the end of belief is the hajj, the other extreme is tourism that is pure and simple and secular, and in between lies religious tourism. 158 However, Collins-Kreiner disagrees with Smith's opinion. The line between pilgrimage and tourism is vague and blurred, and each visitor has their own motivation, curiosity, or search for meaning. Unifying them in one definition and approaching each person as a predefined unit may not be the best solution. 159 In contrast, Yalçın Arslantürk distinguishes cultural from religious tourism through the necessity of being a member of a particular religion to qualify for the latter. In Turkey, religious tourism is regarded chiefly as hac. 160 Religious tourism incorporates a dynamic element – a journey, a movement in space, and a static element – a temporary stay at a specific destination. Much as all other types of tourism do. Gisbert Rinschede devolves the types: cultural tourism is succinctly described as a combination of educational and scientific tourism, whilst religious tourism is the visit to any religious center, including ceremonies and conferences. Nevertheless, both concepts are intertwined. 161

Modern pilgrimage is not limited to religiously or spiritually motivated believers, the concept includes cultural, and heritage tourists who seek journeys of discovery. ¹⁶² Pilgrimage has many faces; it can be a way to achieve healing through the spirit

members of a local community have unaffected access, and to ensure a peaceful co-presence of all types of religious tourists.

¹⁵⁷ Arslantürk et al. 2013, p. 1246.

¹⁵⁸ Smith 1992, pp. 3-4.

¹⁵⁹ Collins-Kreiner 2010, pp. 451-453.

¹⁶⁰ Arslantürk et al. 2013, pp. 1246-1254.

¹⁶¹ Rinschede 1992, pp. 51-52.

¹⁶² Olsen et al. 2018, p. 5.

world or to announce proud positions on nationalism or religious identity. ¹⁶³ Alan Morinis explains pilgrimage as a quest for the sacred, and entire pilgrimages should consist of a journey and a goal. ¹⁶⁴ Scholars have defined pilgrimage in numerous ways: a unitary cross-cultural phenomenon; ¹⁶⁵ a journey to a particular place where the journey itself and the destination have spiritual importance to the traveler. All definitions share the concept of a journey and a destination. ¹⁶⁶ Turner described pilgrimage as an enormous process containing millions of people over the globe, which can be comparable demographically to labor migration. This process, rich in symbolism and complex, involves multiple days or even months of travelling. And yet it is 'very often ignored by the competing orthodoxies of social science and religion'. ¹⁶⁷

Regarding the definitions of pilgrimage, one can safely say that the subject is relatively dense and complex. According to Stopford, this complex concept should be considered as a whole with its routes, monuments, buildings, artefacts, and landscapes as they are all relevant to the theme. ¹⁶⁸ There is an unavoidable verity in the presence of multiple theories and attitudes on this critical point of what is pilgrimage and what this phenomenon consists of. The first of these theories is the Integrationist model. The model suggests pilgrimage centers function as integrative social mechanisms or as a 'social glue'. ¹⁶⁹ Another is Turner's theory on *communitas* which is mainly based on Christian pilgrimage. The social structure turns into *communitas*, a state of direct and egalitarian unity between individuals freed from everyday life's hierarchical roles and status. The essential motivation for a

¹⁶³ Winkelman and Dubisch 2005, pp. ix-x.

¹⁶⁴ Morinis 1992, p. 2.

¹⁶⁵ For more detailed information, see Coleman 2002; Eade and Sallnow 1991a; Eade and Sallnow 1991b; Winkelman and Dubisch 2005, p. xiv.

¹⁶⁶ Kantner and Vaughn 2012, p. 66.

¹⁶⁷ Turner 1974a, 187.

¹⁶⁸ Stopford 1994, p. 69.

¹⁶⁹ The Integrationist model is essentially the Durkheimian approach to pilgrimage. For more information on this approach, see also Coleman and Elsner 1995, p. 199; Durkheim 1912.

pilgrim is to achieve *communitas*. ¹⁷⁰ It suggests that the pilgrims enter an 'antistructure' status or *communitas* and leave the world's social structure behind. ¹⁷¹

The Turnerian approach has been countered with arguments that stress the opposite as well as the supportive ones. ¹⁷² Various critiques argue that Turner's hypothesis on pilgrimage may distort a critical individuality of the process. ¹⁷³ Pilgrims travel to a particular sacred space for abundant personal objectives; the Turnerian approach seems to overlook those individual motivations. ¹⁷⁴ Such overlook however obscures the flexibility and complexity of pilgrimage; diverse potentials, flexible religious rituals, journeys, and the spiritual effects on arrival all still captivate the contemporary world. ¹⁷⁵

Similarly, Eade and Sallnow argue that the Turnerian approach dismisses the heterogeneity of religious practices and prejudges the complex identity of the fact. ¹⁷⁶ They reject the Turnerian approach citing its deficiency to recognize mundane divisions inherent in the pilgrimage which then become the basis for Eade and Sallnow's own approach. ¹⁷⁷ The Contestation approach of Eade and Sallnow defines pilgrimage centers as arenas where 'different social, political and religious discourses are actively contested'. ¹⁷⁸ Eade and Sallnow's concept sees the pilgrimage

¹⁷⁰ Turner 1974a; Turner 1974b; Turner and Turner 1978.

¹⁷¹ Turner and Turner 1978. Belonging and brotherhood feelings compose this model.

¹⁷² Kama Maclean's idea of *communitas* is the 'spontaneous... commonness of feeling, liable to strike pilgrims at some stage during the pilgrimage process' (2008, p. 4). Coleman(2002, p. 359) also narrates Turners' *communitas* idea as the dominance of harmony.

¹⁷³ For more detailed information, see also Bowman 1991; Greenfield and Cavalcante 2005.

¹⁷⁴ It may be too that is only during or after the journey that the person comes to view the experience as a pilgrimage activity: Winkelman and Dubisch 2005, pp. xiii-xiv. Non-religious pilgrimage, which one can call 'secular pilgrimage', where the practitioner is affected by the journey's spiritual nature, is the subject of anthropological studies. Turner referred to the phenomenon as an 'anti-modern' ritual: *Ibid.*, p. xv.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

¹⁷⁶ Eade and Sallnow 1991b, pp. 5-6.

¹⁷⁷ Coleman 2002, p. 357.

¹⁷⁸ Kantner and Vaughn 2012, p. 67. For more information on the Contestation model, see also Badone 2007: Eade and Sallnow 1991a.

sites as dynamic historical and ritual practice sites rather than fixed assets.¹⁷⁹ To Coleman, both concepts fail when compared with real instances. Such concepts, he opines, are too one-dimensional, made deliberately so to create orderly symmetrical anthropological theories. The approaches are both detectable in pilgrimage practice.¹⁸⁰ The mistake in defining the pilgrimage in a Western way is that of approaching the fact as some autonomous, isolated zone of human activity. The primary conclusion of the preceding debates on pilgrimage is that we would do better to harness the phenomenon as a tool to understand human behavior rather than focusing solely on the defining the pilgrimage institution itself.¹⁸¹

According to Kantner and Vaughn's studies, the identification of pilgrimage centers in the archaeological record is somewhat limited. They suggest pilgrimage is sustained as a 'costly signal' of religious adherence. To understand the pilgrimage centers, they address the costly signaling theory. According to Kantner and Vaughn, most anthropological treatises of pilgrimage endeavor to describe pilgrimage in terms of one of three paradigms which are the Integrationist model, Turnerian model, and the Contestation model. These models lack data regarding explanations of pilgrimage centers' development through time and their potential cross-cultural relevance. Kantner and Vaughn apply some sociological models

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¹⁷⁹ In Christianity, divine power can be in a living or dead person, a place, an object, or a text. The religious center has an all-encompassing identity; it absorbs and reflects countless pilgrims' prayers, aspirations and hopes: Eade and Sallnow 1991b, pp. 9-16. Despite the difference in terminology – the individuals' release from hierarchical roles in the Turnerian approach and religion as an empty 'vessel' open to being filled by each pilgrim desires in Eade and Sallnow's opinions – both concepts are reporting on much the same thing: Coleman 2002, p. 361.

¹⁸⁰ Coleman 2002, pp. 361-363.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 363. To illustrate the dynamic nature of pilgrimage as described in the Contestation idea, Coleman gives the Christian pilgrimage site at Walsingham as an example. For more detailed information, see Coleman 2002, p. 364.

¹⁸² Kantner and Vaughn 2012, p. 66.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 67. These models are described above.

widely used to construe human and animal behaviors to understand this phenomenon. 184

Costly signaling theory is a sociological theory that has been recently advanced to narrate human behavior and monumental architecture. Erecting a building effectively promotes commerce between individuals and openly advertises the builder's power. In pilgrimage cases, displays of knowledge and participation in rituals that can be extreme and are expensive obligations can be examples of costly signals. 185 The theory focuses on dynamic interaction and strategic communication rather than Amotz Zahavi's original idea of behavior being shaped with natural selection. 186 As a recognized participation of one's pilgrimage, physical symbols manufactured in the particular' center – metal badges or ampullae – may be purchased. They are physical signs, the demonstration of adherence to a group and a form of social flexibility.¹⁸⁷ Costly signaling helps explain the emergence of pilgrimage centers in the context of religious leaders' competition for adherents, often offering a supernatural influence over the environment and climatic unpredictability to encourage the link between themselves and a place. To support this engagement, monumental religious infrastructure is promoted. The pilgrims' interpersonal relations, endorsing social behavior also positively affects this link. 188

The signal theory is certainly an important approach to explain the emergence, growth, and decline of pilgrimage behavior; 189 however, pilgrimage cannot

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68, they further argue the handicap principle developed by Zahavi (1975; 1977) to explain the interrelations of the animals.

¹⁸⁵ Kantner and Vaughn 2012, pp. 68-69.

¹⁸⁶ Zahavi 1975.

¹⁸⁷ Kantner and Vaughn 2012, p. 69.

¹⁸⁸ The interrelations of leaders and pilgrims can be one-sided or dishonest; this verity is not discussed or declared by Kantner and Vaughn (2012, pp. 70-79).

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

ultimately be demonstrated by this phenomenon alone. ¹⁹⁰ Although, the essential role of sociological theories in explaining the development of pilgrimage cannot be ignored. Religious behaviors and rituals with their costly signals contribute to social relations. Therefore, the communication and social relationships form a fundamental structural element in the religious rituals. ¹⁹¹

2.4.2 Interpretation and Presentation of Medieval Pilgrimage Sites in Asia Minor and Europe

Medieval pilgrimage heritage sites in Asia Minor mainly constituted of Christian pilgrimage areas. Asia Minor played a significant role in the spread of Christianity with the activities of numerous religious characters, the presence of Seven Churches of the Revelation, and the pilgrimage centers. The pilgrimage identity of some centers continued unchanged since their first establishment, others altered allegiance, or even relocated to adjacent areas. Moreover, there were several Christian pilgrimage sites established later in Asia Minor.

The factors responsible for the existence and development of the habit of pilgrimage and the divergent approaches to pilgrimage taken by academe were addressed *in toto* in the previous section. To illustrate whether those factors and approaches are observable on Christian pilgrimage archaeological sites, four Byzantine heritage sites in Asia Minor and a significant Medieval pilgrimage site, the Camino de Santiago de Compostela, in Europe, are examined. The conservation status, interpretation and presentation decisions of two selected sites of the Seven Churches of the Revelation are reviewed in response. Laodicea and Philadelphia are selected due to their divergent handling of site presentation and interpretation. The archaeological site of Myra and the Church of St. Nicholas, which have retained their

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¹⁹⁰ Alcorta and Sosis have analyzed the evolution of religion through diverse methodological approaches. They criticized the belief constructs and psychological mechanisms that create supernatural agents (2005, pp. 323-359).

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*.

role as a pilgrimage destination throughout their existence, is presented as a third example, highlighting its similarities with Ephesus. As a final example from Asia Minor, the Church of St. Paul in Pisidian Antioch is examined since the site is vital for Christians, associated with the Virgin Mary and was a religious center before Christianity, again similar to Ephesus. Finally, the cultural and pilgrimage route of the Camino de Santiago de Compostela is presented – to illustrate how a living religious heritage site can be intertwined with cultural heritage and welcome numerous visitors with varied motivations. The situation as pertaining to a living religious heritage and to the archaeological significance of these cultural heritage sites, along with the interpretation and presentation implementations, is illustrated to provide a clear sample of possibilities available for further interventions. The examples are arranged according to their conservation status. The well-known Christian pilgrimage sites and the religious tourism centers proposed by the Culture and Tourism Ministry (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı) also receive mention. 192

The archaeological site of Laodicea is located in Denizli. As a significant city of the Lycus Valley, it was settled from 5500s BCE through the 7th century CE. ¹⁹³ The city was a commercial and administrative center as a part of the Roman Province of Asia. ¹⁹⁴ A severe earthquake damaged the cities in the Lycus Valley in the 1st century CE, but later on, these urban centers were reconstructed, as well as the ancient city of Laodicea and Hierapolis. ¹⁹⁵ Hierapolis which is settled approximately

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¹⁹² The Faith Tourism Project of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism aims to recreate, rehabilitate and maintain the significant destinations of the three local monotheistic religions to increase visitor numbers. In 1993, inventories of sacred places of worship for those religions were gathered. In the identification process, their religious importance, architecture, and art history were considered. Ease of transport offered by travel agencies and possibilities of increasing tour programs were also deterministic agents. Nine important centers for Christianity were recognized. They are the Church of St. Pierre in Tarsus, the St. Paul Memorial Museum in Tarsus, the House of the Virgin Mary in Selçuk, the St. Nicholas Museum in Demre, the Church of St. Jean in Alaşehir, the Church of Thyateira, the Church of St. Paul of Pisidian Antiochia, the Church of Agios Theodoros Trion in Derinkuyu and the ancient site of Laodicea (URL 10).

¹⁹³ Şimşek 2015, p. 7.

¹⁹⁴ Huttner 2013, p. 38.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

10 kilometers north of Laodicea, was also an important city for the Byzantine history with its rapid development of Christianity. 196

The Book of Revelation (1: 11) addresses the Laodicean Church (the term of 'church' is not a physical building but rather the community of the believers of Laodicea) as one of the seven churches.¹⁹⁷ Significant Christian characters are associated with the city, such as St. Paul who sent a letter to the Church of Laodicea (Figure 2.13)¹⁹⁸ and the apostle John who visited the city.¹⁹⁹ Laodicea was a metropolitan center in the 3rd century and capital of Phrygia Pacatiana in the 4th century.²⁰⁰ The synod, a regional council, in Nicea decided to hold a regularly assembled synod, twice a year, in Laodicea.²⁰¹ The date is unclear however; it is assumed to be between 341 and 381.²⁰² The synod discussed the discipline and the organization of the clergy, the liturgy, and rites, as well as the dissociation of orthodoxy from heretics, Jews and pagans.²⁰³





Figure 2.13. Laodicea, the Church of Laodicea (left) and the information panel demonstrating the letter to the Church of Laodicea (right)

¹⁹⁶ Şimşek 2015, p. 15.

¹⁹⁷ In order, the Seven Churches are Ephesus, Symrna, Pergamon, Thyateria, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea (the Book of Revelation, 1: 11).

¹⁹⁸ Şimşek 2015, p. 17.

¹⁹⁹ Huttner 2013, p. 189. Ancient writers and the Acts of the Apostles are described in detail in the same book.

²⁰⁰ Bayram 2018, p. 120.

²⁰¹ Huttner 2013, p. 291.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 294-296.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

Before the Edict of Milan, the Christians secretly gathered in private houses. The peristyle houses in Laodicea indicate this tradition in which a section of the house is transformed into an oratory, a house church. According to the excavators of Laodicea, there are several churches dated to the 4th-6th centuries. In particular, the Church of Laodicea, the Peristyle House with Oratory, and the Central Church all yield important data regarding the early 4th century church architecture. The Church of Laodicea is a specific example as it was designed and constructed deliberately, not transformed from an already existing structure. The three-aisled basilica with a rectangular plan on an east-west axis is constructed on a single insulae. The structure also includes the Baptistery and the Episcopal Complex (Figure 2.13). The archaeological evidence of pilgrimage is the miniature bottles containing holy water from the church.²⁰⁴ Such bottles were given to the pilgrims: similar rites are observable at the Church of St. Philip at Hierapolis, ²⁰⁵ the Church of St. Nicholas at Myra, and the Church of St. John in Ayasuluk (Figure 2.14). 206 The architectural features also cast light onto the religious activities that took place in the church. The water installations on the way to the baptistery suggest a 'purification ceremony', which is a ritual performed in the early churches. ²⁰⁷

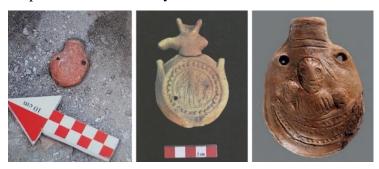


Figure 2.14. The miniature bottles found in Hierapolis (left) (Şimşek 2015, p. 43); in Myra (middle) (Akyürek 2015, p. 36); and in Ayasuluk (right) (Ladstätter 2019, p. 52)

²⁰⁴ Şimşek 2015, pp. 15-37.

²⁰⁵ D'Andria 2014, pp. 130-137.

²⁰⁶ Şimşek 2015, pp. 37-42.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

The Church of Laodicea was demolished entirely. Therefore, partial reconstruction and restorations were executed. ²⁰⁸ As a preservation approach, a protective roof over the church was designed to protect the surviving architectural elements and mosaics and frescoes from temperature changes. The structure also provides a steel and glass catwalk access for the visitors' circulation. The catwalk is designed to create a specific route where one can explore the structure, *opus sectile* floor and extensive use of mosaics (Figure 2.15). ²⁰⁹ Information panels are placed alongside the glass catwalk. ²¹⁰ Only the content of information panels focus on the pilgrimage aspect of the church. There is no specific installation targeting modern pilgrims or religious tourists.

Not only the Church of Laodicea but also the whole archaeological site is displayed to the public through multiple interpretation and presentation methods. Sustainability in the conservation process and public participation are also key concepts in those methods. Workers were trained in various conservation skills, and are provided permanent jobs on the archaeological site. This activity not only produces an effective preservation system but also enhances public awareness of the cultural heritage and therefore increases a sense of ownership in the public. ²¹¹ Visitor management is provided by two visitor routes, one short and one long (Figure 2.16). ²¹² Monitoring systems on those routes secures protection and through one it is possible to broadcast a live feed on an archaeological excavation. Physical interventions apart from the Church of Laodicea are also visible on site. Similar glass and steel constructions were implemented in the other structures of Laodicea. Restoration and preservation studies with the use of *anastylosis* were conducted in the archaeological site. ²¹³ For the future, preparation of information panels on newly

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-95.

²¹⁰ URL 11.

²¹¹ Şimşek 2013, pp. 18-19.

²¹² URL 12.

²¹³ Şimşek 2013, pp. 19-35.

excavated areas, restoration works to form new visitor paths and the restoration of the West Theatre to provide space for social activities are all planned. ²¹⁴



Figure 2.15. Laodicea, the Church of Laodicea



Figure 2.16. Laodicea, different visitor routes

As one of the seven churches of Asia, Philadelphia (or Alaşehir to give it its modern name), was inhabited until the last decades of the East Roman Empire. The city was founded in the 2nd century BCE. ²¹⁵ During the reign of Diocletian, it became a city of the Province of Lydia and later on became the metropolis of the ecclesiastical Province of Lydia until the 16th century CE. ²¹⁶ Philadelphia was faced with several

²¹⁴ URL 13.

²¹⁵ Erdoğan 2015, pp. 251-252.

²¹⁶ Foss 1976, p. 4.

invasion threats: Gothic raids, Persian and Muslim invasions. However somehow, it hung on as the 'last independent East Roman city in western Anatolia'. ²¹⁷ The remains of the city are now either damaged to a great extent or lost. The city walls are not well-preserved; it is rather difficult to follow them among the modern city layout (Figure 2.17). There are a few architectural remains in the south of the city too: the theatre, the temple of the theatre, and ruins of the fortification walls. ²¹⁸



Figure 2.17. Philadelphia, the city walls in the city center of Alaşehir (Erdoğan 2015, p. 259)

The travelers who visited Philadelphia in the 18th and 19th centuries stated that there were 25 churches and 20 of them were either too small or too old. Today, there are two churches from the Late Antique and Byzantine period, the Church of St. Ioannes and the Church of the Prophet Naum. The Church of the Prophet Naum was destroyed in the last quarter of the 20th century. The sole remaining church within Philadelphia is the Church of St. Ioannes. Several travelers and researchers spoke of the church, and according to them, it was already ruined by the early 19th century. Today, the remains of the church, which are four partly standing piers constitute an open-air museum at the city center. Archaeological research by Recep Meriç and Nikolaos Karydis and the studies of Hans Buchwald was conducted to gain an understanding of the structure; however, due to the lack of evidence, the exact plan

²¹⁷ Erdoğan 2015, p. 253.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 254-259.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-265 or more information on the church, see also Buchwald 1979, pp. 279-280.

of the church remains ambiguous.²²⁰ Even though there exist a wide range of studies regarding the city, the modern buildings and the irregular urbanization have caused difficulties in investigations into the settlement history.²²¹



Figure 2.18. Philadephia, the Church of St. Ioannes

The displayed archaeological site of Philadelphia is the Church of St. Ioannes. The site is entered through a simple gate, without any guidance on the structure offered. The four pillars of the once enormous church and archaeological finds scattered around them form the site presentation (Figure 2.18). Even though Philadelphia and Laodicea are both significant Christian cities and both are considered one of the seven churches, their site interpretation and presentation interventions could not be more different. Even so and despite their differences, both archaeological sites attract tens if not hundreds of thousands of visitors each year. ²²²

The Church of St. Nicholas in Demre-Myra, located on the southwest shores of Turkey, is one of the most important sites in medieval Asia Minor as it exhibits a 'spiritual capital' capable of drawing people from long distances. Accessibility between Myra and Constantinople through the seaways was possibly an essential

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²²⁰ Erdoğan 2015, pp. 266-270. For more detailed information on the Church of St. Ioannes of Philadelphia see also Buchwald 1981, pp. 301-318; Karydis 2011; Meriç 1986, p. 261.

²²¹ Erdoğan 2015, p. 272.

²²² Between 2016-2019, the archaeological site of Laodicea was visited by 176.630 people, whereas the archaeological site of Philadelphia was visited by 46.391 people (URL 14).

factor in its religious identity.²²³ The ancient city of Myra, probably founded around the 5th century BCE, was a significant administrative and religious center during the Byzantine period. It was in the episcopal center of Myra that St. Nicholas officiated as bishop during the 5th century. A shrine was constructed to his memory when he passed away. When it was demolished because of an earthquake in the 6th century, a larger structure was built in its place (Figure 2.19; 2.20).²²⁴



Figure 2.19. Demre-Myra, the Church of St. Nicholas (Doğan 2020, p. 37)

As a result of the conflicts affecting the city throughout its history, the church required various architectural alterations, and yet it remained an important pilgrimage center. Pilgrims arrived the city through the harbor, Andriake, to visit the church of St. Nicholas. The *ampullae* found in the excavations are archaeological evidence for this activity (Figure 2.14). Pilgrimage in the city held up well under Turkish rule, and even today, each year, over half a million people arrive at the site to visit the church. Andriake, five churches served the pilgrims who arrived at the site via the harbor. Regarding the archaeological finds of many *ampullae* in one of these churches, Akyürek suggests that it is a sign of an actively used pilgrim-way arriving at Myra through the harbor (Figure 2.21).

²²³ Foss 2002, pp. 132-133.

²²⁴ Akyol and Kadıoğlu 2010, p. 56.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

²²⁶ Akyürek 2015, p. 23. On the saint's day, pilgrims arrived at the church to gather the sacred oil gushing from his grave, which is somewhat similar to the miracles of St. John in Ayasuluk: Foss 2002, p. 142.

²²⁷ Akyürek 2015, pp. 36-37.



Figure 2.20. Demre-Myra, the Church of St. Nicholas: nave (left and middle) (Doğan 2020, p. 38), and the 'sarcophagus' of St. Nicholas (right) (Akyürek 2015, p. 29)



Figure 2.21. Andriake, the harbor settlement (Akyürek 2015, p. 32)

Although the saint's relics were transported to Bari, Italy, in 1087, and the exact location of St. Nicholas' grave is uncertain there are few proposed locations for it. According to one proposed suggestion, the grave should have been located in the south outer nave. With the direction of tour guides, visitors line up there and pray. The church is a significant example of Christian pilgrimage in Asia Minor. Even though the saint's relics are long since removed, the continuity in pilgrimage activity is a clear indicator of this characteristic. Scientific archaeological excavation history of the church dates to 1963. Restoration and material conservation was

²²⁸ Doğan 2020, pp. 35-36.

²²⁹ For more information on the medieval studies on the Church of St. Nicholas, see Ötüken 1996.

conducted. According to the latest findings, the church is a part of a 'pilgrimage monastery' and therefore it should be identified as so.²³⁰ Despite there being numerous scientific studies conducted on the medieval history of the church, the site interpretation and presentation on the pilgrimage characteristics are still undeveloped. Site interpretation and presentation is achieved through audio guides, tourist guides, and information panels (Figure 2.22). A protective shelter also covers the south part of the church.²³¹

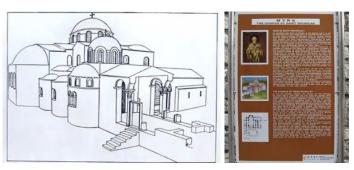


Figure 2.22. Myra, the information panels (URL 50)

In the Province of Isparta, the Church of St. Paul in Pisidian Antioch is located northeast of Yalvaç. St. Paul visited there three times and gave a speech to convert its inhabitants to Christianity.²³² Due to the religious activities of St. Paul, the city was one of the first cities selected to be evangelized. The physical structure and the social life in the city began to alter after Christianity became effective in the city. Multiple churches were constructed.²³³ The Church of St. Paul was built on the synagogue where St. Paul gave a speech to the public in 325 (Figure 2.23).²³⁴ The church is one of only two churches in Asia Minor dated to the 4th century.²³⁵ The church is the seat of the metropolitan bishop at Antioch and the largest church

²³² Yıldırım 2008, pp. 44-45.

²³⁰ Doğan 2020, pp. 36-37.

²³¹ URL 15.

²³³ Gökçü 2020, pp. 135-136. The exact numbers and their architectural demonstration are illustrated in detail in Gökçü 2020.

²³⁴ Yıldırım 2008, p. 45.

²³⁵ The other one is the Church of St. Babylas at Daphne: Gökçü 2020, p. 139; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, pp. 213-217.

structure in Pisidia.²³⁶ The site is also significant with its connection to the sanctuary of Mên, a religious center in Pisidia and a seminary. The sanctuary, located 3.5 km southeast of Pisidian Antioch, was connected to the city via a 'sacred way'.²³⁷ The ancient city center of Ephesus also has a similar relation with the Temple of Artemis as described in the next chapter.



Figure 2.23. Pisidian Antioch, the Church of St. Paul (URL 51; URL 52)

Site interpretation and presentation are achieved via a small number of information panels and booklets. The vast archaeological site can be wandered through via the main route, following the ancient street layout. However, the main route divides at some point without any informative signing. Stone platforms are sited along and near the visitor paths (Figure 2.24), and for protection against the harsh climate protective coverings are installed on the specific architectural remains. Religious tourism is rather limited even though the site was a significant center. People following the St. Paul's Trail and Christian tour groups visiting the biblical sites tend to journey to Pisidian Antioch (Figure 2.25). The archaeological site lacks presentation techniques providing effective interpretation. Although the site's religious identity could be presented in varied ways, this cannot yet be achieved due to insufficient interventions.

²³⁶ Gökçü 2020, p. 139.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-174.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 202.



Figure 2.24. Pisidian Antioch, an information panel (left) (URL 53) and the main visitor route (right) (URL 52)



Figure 2.25. The trail of St. Paul (URL 52)

The Camino de Santiago, or the Way of St. James, is a significant pilgrimage route located in the southwest of Europe. The Camino has multiple routes, and the most popular one is the French Way (Camino Francés), starting from France and aiming for the tomb of St. James in the city of Santiago, Spain (Figure 2.26). The other ones, the Primitive and Northern Ways (Camino Primitivo and Camino del Norte) and the Portuguese Way (Camino Portugués), also attract visitors with different

motivations.²⁴⁰ The Council of Europe declared the Camino as the first European Cultural Route in 1987. Through that, the Council of Europe proposed revitalizing the Camino as the reference and example for further studies in cultural routes. For that purpose, they launched cultural activities within the context of the Cultural Routes programme.²⁴¹ The Camino and a group of monuments within this route were declared as a part of the World Heritage List in the 1980s and 1990s. The focal point of this pilgrimage route, Santiago, was declared a World Heritage Site due to Critera (i), (ii), and (vi).²⁴² The routes of Santiago de Compostela was declared due to Criteria (ii), (iv), and (vi): its role in cultural advances in Europe, its 'outstanding witness to the power and influence of faith' among people in medieval Europe and it 'has preserved the complete material registry of all Christian pilgrimage routes'.²⁴³



Figure 2.26. The routes of Santiago de Compostela (URL 54)

The city of Santiago gained its religious value in the 9th century when the remains of St. James are believed to have been found and has sustained its value ever since. ²⁴⁴ In the last decades, this value, along with cultural value, has increased with the visit of Pope John Paul II (1978-2005) in 1989 and the Holy Year of 1993. ²⁴⁵ Before the 20th century, the Medieval pilgrimage on the Camino was a more classical, destination-oriented one. Later, the journey became the pilgrimage act itself. Not

²⁴⁰ Lois-González et al. 2018, p. 77; Slavin 2003, pp. 1-3; URL 16.

²⁴¹ Council of Europe 2015, pp. 9-30.

²⁴² URL 17; Council of Europe 2015, p. 30.

²⁴³ URL 16; URL 18.

²⁴⁴ The visibility of the phenomenon of St. James increased due to political and social changes in the Church of Rome: Lois-González *et al.* 2018, p. 77.

²⁴⁵ Lois-González et al. 2018, pp. 74-79; URL 19.

being a 'representative of mainstream pilgrimage culture', but continuing to be a living religious heritage, the Camino suggested that there is 'not just one kind of Christian pilgrimage'. ²⁴⁶ The landscape surrounding the Camino is an ordinary one, the experience of traveling idealize this pilgrimage route as a unique and memorable one (Figure 2.27). ²⁴⁷



Figure 2.27. The increment of visitors depends on communication tools advertising the Camino, such as films, literature, and social networks (Lois-González *et al.* 2018, p. 79). For instance, the movie "the Way" demonstrates the final destination Santiago and the symbol of the Camino on its movie poster (URL 55)

The Camino de Santiago de Compostela's length is more than 100 km and passes through three countries, so administrative coordination with all stakeholders has been a severe challenge. The Council of St. James, the body responsible for coordination at a Spanish national level, provides this coordination and communication among the related parties. As the route is a long one, various types of transportation are used, such as walking, cycling or horse riding. Therefore accommodation facilities for overnight stays are provided through the route. Milestones and direction signs lead the visitors through the Camino (Figure 2.28). At the endpoint, in Santiago, a Compostela (a certificate of accomplishment of the

²⁴⁶ Margry 2008, pp. 24-27. According to Turner and Turner (1978) the relationships constructed with the other pilgrims on the Camino de Santiago de Compostela support their *communitas* idea as a group of people gathered with the same purpose, experience a shared goal and brotherhood: Lois-González *et al.* 2018, p. 76.

²⁴⁷ Council of Europe 2015, pp. 45-90.

²⁴⁸ Lois-González et al. 2018, pp. 75-85.

²⁴⁹ Slavin 2003, p. 3.

pilgrimage route) is given to the pilgrims.²⁵⁰ Even though the Camino is a cultural route, the varied motivations of visitors and the emphasis on the experience of the place make this site a significant living cultural/religious heritage route.



Figure 2.28. The Camino de Santiago, direction signs and the Camino's Scallop Shell waypoint marker (URL 56)

2.5 Interim Evaluations

In this chapter, interpretation, and presentation on archaeological sites are set out within the scope of this thesis. For an accurate narration of a heritage site, one must first comprehend the site's components. Understanding the diverse meanings given to those components, the factors shaping and enhancing them, and the attitudes and ideas expressed towards them are all critical to fully forming and disseminating knowledge of the site. This section has sought to create the essential requirements to form such a comprehension. According to the principles, guidelines, and definitions of site interpretation and presentation demonstrated within the conceptual framework section, how a heritage site is experienced and the meanings and values of a heritage site depend on the subjective nature of the interpretation. Two archaeological sites with varying levels of interventions and site interpretation principles are illustrated to assist this aim. The examples show that interpretation and presentation strategies and varied interpretative techniques can affect the site experience. The deployment

²⁵⁰ Lois-González *et al.* 2018, pp. 75-79. Here, the word pilgrim involve all visitors who started the journey with various motivations and were able to finish it.

of different themes and interpretative techniques welcoming all visitors are compelling examples under whose inspiration one can interpret and present the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus. When international charters and guidelines on archaeological sites, cultural routes, and their interpretation and presentation are scrutinized, different concepts (such as inclusiveness of stakeholders and public participation) are suggested as vital to be included in the process. Although there are still discussions regarding these concept, in World Heritage Sites, community involvement and stakeholder inclusivity in the management process were already determined by legal authorities. World Heritage Sites, such as Ephesus, are already interpreted to demonstrate their outstanding universal values. National legislations on archaeological sites are also depicted for a similar purpose: to reveal the viewpoints of legal bodies to archaeological heritage sites. As a result, the definitions and guidelines at the national level are not explanatory or comprehensive as opposed to what the international documents and charters advise.

Fully understanding the context of an archaeological site is essential for developing appropriate and accurate principles for the interpretation and presentation of the same site. With multi-layered heritage sites in particular, this means understanding the architectural or social aspects of the site and comprehending the approaches of researchers and the public to such heritage strata. In the case of Ephesus, the Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage possess some challenges regarding this aspect. Therefore, international and national approaches towards this oft-disregarded culture are demonstrated. Two different interpretation and presentation regimes at Byzantine archaeological sites are illustrated to disclose the sundry effects of those attitudes. The study demonstrates how intervention decisions may drastically alter one important heritage site (the Church of the Kathisma) and yet how a similar one elsewhere may flourish through effective interpretation and presentation decisions (the archaeological site of Mystras).

As mentioned before, the phenomenon of pilgrimage was of considerable effect in the economic and social life of a Late Antique and Byzantine city. The emergence of this phenomenon and the basic approaches towards it and the event itself are reviewed in order to disclose the nature of pilgrimage. As quoted approaches proclaim, pilgrimage is a significant event affecting millions and motivated by complex and variable sociological, psychological, and environmental factors. The attitudes towards the pilgrimage center by both locals and believers from all around the world determine the site's pilgrimage value. As effective/less effective attempts in raising public awareness, four different archaeological sites of Asia Minor and a cultural/pilgrimage route from Europe are illustrated. The sites in Asia Minor either have significant religious value or are actual pilgrimage sites. As a result, it is proven all too clearly that even though a site is an enduring pilgrimage one and receives many religious tourists, this character may be ignored or even disparaged by the locals if the interventions are not what they need to be. Thus, effective site interpretation and presentation can only be achieved by understanding the site's identity/ies and generating the opposite guidelines and disciplines for its successful creation and purposeful maintenance.

CHAPTER 3

LATE ANTIQUE AND BYZANTINE EPHESUS

3.1 An Introduction to Ephesus: Geographical, Natural, and Historical Considerations

3.1.1 Geographical and Natural Features

The archaeological site of Ephesus is located on the Aegean coast (in the modern province of İzmir). The city is situated approximately 70 km southwest of the city center of İzmir and 3 km southwest of the small county town of Selçuk. The River Cayster (*Küçük Menderes*), flowing to its north, borders Ephesus and its surroundings (Figure 3.1).²⁵¹ The silt brought down by the river has filled the area over the centuries and blocked the connection of Ephesus to the sea.²⁵² Therefore, although once a harbor city, Ephesus is now 8 km away from the coast due to this process of sedimentation.

Ephesus was positioned on the south flank of the Cayster delta.²⁵³ The city lay between the present suburbs of Bülbüldağı (to the southwest) and Panayırdağ (to the east); it was bounded by the Hellenistic city walls, the necropolis, the harbor and its channel. Beyond lie multiple other archaeological sites related to the city. On the eastern foothills of Panayırdağ, the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers is located. Around the modern city center of Selçuk, the Ayasuluk Hill and the Artemision, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, lay. The Ayasuluk Hill, located northwest

²⁵¹ Plin. *Nat.* 5.31.

²⁵² Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, p. 416. The River Cayster generated sudden floods and sedimentation from the 7th century BCE on. These natural phenomena of the region challenged the inhabitants. As a consequence, the Ephesians resettled along the coastline over the centuries. For more information on the sedimentation of the area, see Kraft *et al.* 2007.

²⁵³ Stock et al. 2013, p. 57.

of Selçuk, was encircled by Byzantine fortification walls. Some 5 km southwest of the Selçuk town center, the House of the Virgin Mary (*Meryem Ana*) is situated. This pilgrimage site is located at a height of 420 m and is surrounded by the *Meryem Ana* Natural Park and forest.²⁵⁴



Figure 3.1. Ephesus, maps showing the location of Ephesus (URL 57)

3.1.2 Historical Features

3.1.2.1 From its Foundation to Late Antiquity

The site of Ephesus was long the center of trade and cultural contacts. The oldest settlement had its origin on the Çukuriçi and Arvalya Mounds about the 7th millennium BCE. The Çukuriçi Mound had already been abandoned early in the Bronze Age, when a new site started up on the Ayasuluk Hill about 3000 BCE. 255 Around and about the hill, a Greek settlement had taken root by 1086/1085 BCE under one Androclus, according to the inscription 'Marmor Parium' located in Paros and dated to 264/263 BCE. 256 Androclus' city expanded to the northeast of Panayırdağ where the Archaic settlement of Coressus was located. According to the legend, the location of Ephesus was foretold by an oracle to Androclus. 257

²⁵⁶ Külzer 2011, p. 29.

²⁵⁴ Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, pp. 413-417.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 423.

²⁵⁷ Kraft et al. 2007, pp. 131-132.

The Lydian king Croesus took power in the 6th century BCE. King Croesus converted the original deity of the region (the Phrygian mother goddess Cybele) into Artemis, here a fertility goddess, a matter of easy acceptance by the inhabitants hence Artemis and Cybele had similar roles. Also he forced the Ephesians to move from their higher settlements down to the vicinity of the Artemision (Figure 3.2). In 546 BCE, Cyrus the Great took over on defeating Croesus and incorporated the city into the Persian Empire. In the following century, the Persian dominance was brought to an end, and Greek Ephesus became a prosperous city under the Athenian-controlled Delian League. In 334 BCE, Alexander the Great swept through the region, and the Hellenistic era began.



Figure 3.2. The Artemision, with the Ayasuluk Hill on the background

In the 300 BCE, Lysimachus, one of the twelve generals of Alexander the Great, founded a new city at Ephesus, located where is today's archaeological site, forsaking the old Greek settlement around the Artemision. Lysimachus' city was laid out on a Hippodamian grid-plan. In the 3rd century BCE, the city was also surrounded with 9 km-long strong defensive walls, known as the Lysimachian city walls. Within those walls, Ephesus was divided into two, the upper and the lower cities. The political center of the Hellenistic era was in the upper city, between Bülbüldağ on

²⁵⁸ Scherrer 2000, pp. 15-16.

²⁵⁹ Külzer 2011, p. 29; Murphy-O'Connor 2008, p. 17.

²⁶⁰ Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, p. 412. For more detailed information on the relocation, see Str. 14.1.21.

²⁶¹ Koob, Mieke and Gellert 2011, p. 231.

the south and Panayırdağ on the north. The Bouleuterion, the Upper Agora, and the Stoa constituted this administrative center. Around them, public buildings such as baths and sacred areas were located. Residential areas were located on the north foothill of Bülbüldağ and the west and south foothills of Panayırdağ. The lower city contained many public buildings such as the harbor, the Great Theater, the Stadium, sacred buildings, gymnasiums, monumental tombs and buildings, gates, and the commercial center. The main street, the Arcadiane, directed the inhabitants from the Great Theater to the harbor (Figure 3.3). ²⁶²

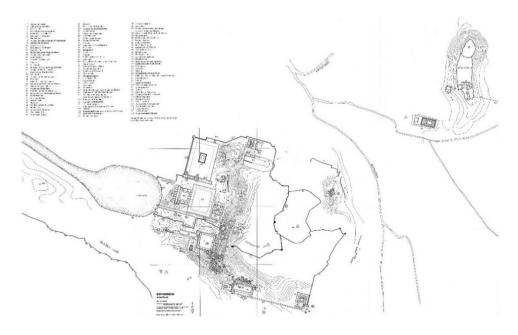


Figure 3.3. Ephesus, the plan of the archaeological site (personal archive of Pillinger)

In 133 BCE, Asia Minor was incorporated into the Roman Empire and Ephesus became the new capital of the Province of Asia. The city's wealth came from its very busy harbor, the rich hinterland with fertile fields, and the spiritual power of the Artemision. The area has enjoyed a productive terrain since ancient times. The main agricultural products of wine, grain, and olives formed the core of this agricultural productivity.²⁶³ The fruitful surrounds and its products such as wine were also

²⁶² Pülz 2011, p. 47.

²⁶³ Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, pp. 412-425.

praised by Strabo.²⁶⁴ In the ancient world, Ephesus was one of the largest trading centers.265

In 30/29 BCE, the proconsulship was moved to Ephesus. 266 In the 2nd century CE, with the Pax Augusta, the city became the fourth biggest city in the east of the Roman Empire.²⁶⁷ These political changes brought a prosperous period that was sustained until the middle of the 3rd century. ²⁶⁸ In the Roman Imperial Period, grand public buildings and paved marble streets were constructed. The Olympeion, the Celsus Library, the Serapeion, the Terrace Houses, and the Temple of Hadrian are examples of those magnificent structures.²⁶⁹ The Hippodamian plan was also retained and enlarged in the Roman period.²⁷⁰ The Roman Imperial period was the golden age of Ephesus in political, cultural and public terms and the city was one of the most crowded, most prominent and vivid cities of the period.²⁷¹

In the course of the 3rd century CE, Ephesus experienced a profound change in its urban landscape which later on had a considerable influence on the city's development.²⁷² During the 3rd century, the Roman cities in the province of Asia shrank economically, due to the political decisions of the state.²⁷³ However, Ephesus still remained as an influential and wealthy city in that period even though it was damaged by the numerous earthquakes in the 3rd century CE.²⁷⁴ Tremors severely devastated the city between the 230s until the last quarter of the 3rd century. In 262,

²⁶⁴ Str. 14.1.15.

²⁶⁵ The religious and economic power of the Temple of Artemis continued in the Roman Imperial period: Ladstätter 2011, p. 27.

²⁶⁶ Külzer 2011, p. 29.

²⁶⁷ Scherrer 2000, p. 23.

²⁶⁸ Külzer 2011, p. 30.

²⁶⁹ Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, p. 412.

²⁷⁰ Koob, Mieke and Gellert 2011, pp. 231-232.

²⁷¹ Ladstätter 2011, p. 27.

²⁷² Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, p. 391.

²⁷³ Jacobs and Richard 2012.

²⁷⁴ Ladstätter 2019, p. 17.

a catastrophic earthquake of 8-Richer magnitude hit. The affected areas of the city remained in ruins for over a century, according to Ladstätter. 275 Not only the natural disasters but also the pillaging of the Goths in 262 caused grave harm. They burnt down the Temple of Artemis and thus cast doubt on the belief in the mother goddess' invulnerability.²⁷⁶ Some two decades later and during the time of the emperor Diocletian (284-305), a modest revival commenced. This in both architectural and the political spheres was maintained during the Late Antique period. 277

The Late Antique and Byzantine periods 3.1.2.2

During the 4th century, the Roman cities underwent a large-scale renovation. As the metropolis Asiae of the Roman Empire, Ephesus was part of these renovations. 278 The destructions suffered in the 3rd century were offset by these reconstructions and repairs, so regenerating the urban layout Ephesus. The religious, political and social changes in the 4th century affected the public structure (administrative buildings, streets, squares, fountains etc.) and the domestic architecture alike and saw the rise of religious buildings for Christian worship.²⁷⁹ The city was still on the crossroads of three maritime routes in the 4th century. 280

In the first half of the 4th century, the public structures were renovated. The work was mainly focused on the old city center, around the Upper Agora (the State

²⁷⁵ Büyükkolancı 2018, p. 416; Ladstätter 2011, pp. 3-6.

²⁷⁶ Ladstätter 2011, p. 6.

²⁷⁷ Külzer 2011, p. 30.

²⁷⁸ Jacobs 2012, pp. 136-138. The Arcadiane, the Curetes Street, the plaza in front of the Celsus Library were relaid in the 4th and 5th centuries: Bauer 1996, pp. 282-290, 422-425; Foss 1979, pp. 56, 65-66. The State Agora and Tetragonos Agora were repaired in the 4th century: Bauer 1996, pp. 290-293; Foss 1979, p. 82, 63. New streets were also constructed in the 5th century: Foss 1979, p. 60. ²⁷⁹ Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, p. 398. During the 4th century, the fountains of the Roman period were renovated, new ones were erected and some already existing structures were refunctioned as fountains. For more detailed information on the fountains, see Pülz 2011, pp. 49-52; Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, pp. 398-401. A similar approach was followed in the bath structures (Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, pp. 401-402).

²⁸⁰ Ladstätter 2019, p. 27.

Agora). ²⁸¹ The renewal process was well under way by the middle of the 4th century and the entire process was achieved by the end of the same century. ²⁸² The renovations were followed by an urban development that occurred in the eastern Mediterranean cities during the Theodosian period (379-450). ²⁸³ At that time, the seat of the administration moved from the upper city of Ephesus to the lower city (the area between the harbor and the Great Theater, mainly around the north side of the Arcadiane). ²⁸⁴ The changes in that period did not affect the area around the Upper Agora. ²⁸⁵ The road system and the squares of the city were also well maintained in the 4th century. In particular, the Arcadiane and the Curetes Street were repaired and upgraded. The Curetes Street became the new commercial, political and social center of Ephesus. The main reason for so doing is likely to have been their role in the ceremonial processions that took place in Ephesus. ²⁸⁶

After the Edict of Milan in 313, religious structures emerged rapidly in the Roman Empire and Ephesus. Multiple churches were erected in the city; some are excavated.²⁸⁷ There are also numbers of unexcavated churches and religious structures in the city.²⁸⁸ Outside the Hellenistic fortifications, many Middle or Late

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²⁸¹ Ladstätter and Zimmermann 2011, p. 160.

²⁸² Ladstätter 2011, p. 7. The archaeological evidence indicates the rural area of Ephesus was also used: Ladstätter 2019, p. 27.

²⁸³ Ladstätter 2019, p. 28; Niewöhner 2017, p. 43.

²⁸⁴ Ladstätter 2019, p. 28.

²⁸⁵ Ladstätter and Zimmermann 2011, p. 160.

²⁸⁶ Jacobs 2009, p. 206; Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, pp. 402-403. The detailed information regarding the processions of Ephesus are given belows.

²⁸⁷ The partially excavated churches are; the Church in the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, the basilica in the East Gymnasium, the 'Tomb of St. Luke', the chapel in the Basilica Stoa, the chapel by the rotunda on Panayırdağ, the chapel on the Clivus Sacer, the Church in the Serapeion, the Grotto of St. Paul, the chapel in the Harbor Baths, the chapel in the 'Byzantine Palace', the Church of the Virgin Mary, the chapel in the peristyle house above the Great Theater, the Church in the Stadium: Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, p. 408, along with the recently discovered double church on Bülbüldağ: Ladstätter 2017, p. 245.

²⁸⁸ For more information on the unexcavated structures, see Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, p. 409; Pillinger 1996. There are also structures incorrectly interpreted as Christian worship places: Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, p. 409.

Byzantine churches are located.²⁸⁹ The majority were re-functioned Roman structures.²⁹⁰ Only the Basilica of St. John, the monastery on the Ayasuluk Hill and the Church in the Bay of Pamucak were new constructions.²⁹¹ Besides the newly erected churches, there was just the one conversion of a pagan temple, namely the Serapeion (Figure 3.4).²⁹²

Before the emergence of religious architecture in Ephesus, Christianity had made a mark in the historical record and social life. ²⁹³ The Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene are believed to have come to Ephesus and died there, according to the myths. ²⁹⁴ Another common belief is the journey of the Virgin Mary with St. John the Evangelist to Ephesus where he stayed until his death. ²⁹⁵ St. John probably arrived Ephesus before 48; also it is commonly accepted that he visited the city for the second time between 50-54 CE. ²⁹⁶ The first bishop of Ephesus, St. Timothy, was martyred in the Curetes Street and a martyrium was built on Panayırdağ to his memory. ²⁹⁷ Also St. Lazarus lived in Ephesus in his last years. ²⁹⁸ Besides the activities of these saints, the city and its Christian community were mentioned in

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²⁸⁹ Around the Ayasuluk Hill, the Basilica of St. John, a monastery to its west, and the church on the Artemision were all positioned. The House of the Virgin Mary, three monasteries on Mt. Galesion, and the churches of Kavaklı Panaya, Bülbül Panaya and Sütlü Panaya and the church in the Bay of Pamucak are the examples of churches outside the city: Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, p. 409. There are also several unexcavated monasteries: Mercangöz 1997, pp. 58-59.

²⁹⁰ Külzer 2011, p. 39. For more detailed information on the Christianized structures in Ephesus see also, Ladstätter 2019, pp. 41-46; Pülz 2011, pp. 67-68.

²⁹¹ Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, p. 415.

²⁹² Over the Temple of Artemis, a church was postulated according to Pillinger (1996). Her suggestion was critized by Büyükkolancı (2011). The archaeological excavations on the spot have now confirmed that the temple was not converted into a church, which leaves the Church in the Serapeion as the only example of conversion a temple into a church in Ephesus: Ladstätter 2017, pp. 242-243; Ladstätter 2019, p. 43.

²⁹³ Mercangöz 1997, p. 51.

Mary Magdalene came to Ephesus after the death of the Virgin Mary and stayed there until her death, according to Modestos, the archpriest of Jerusalem: Foss 1979, p. 33; Külzer 2011, p. 38; Synax. Cpl. 664.

²⁹⁵ Mercangöz 1997, p. 52. The existence of the Virgin Mary does not have any absolute reliable foundation. Only in a letter are the names of St. John and the 'Theotokos' mentioned. However, their purpose in being in Ephesus was not clear in the letter: Pülz 2012, p. 226.

²⁹⁶ For more information on the life of St. John, see Büyükkolancı 2001.

²⁹⁷ Külzer 2011, p. 38.

²⁹⁸ Mercangöz 1997, p. 52. St. Lazarus lived on a pillar on Mt. Galesion in the 11th century. The saint became very popular, and several pilgrims visited the site. The pilgrimage activities even continued in the 13th century: Külzer 2022, p. 179.

literary sources. The Book of Revelation described Ephesus as the very first and the most important church of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor. ²⁹⁹ The cosmopolitan capital of the Asian diocese, it was a significant Christian center from the 2nd to 3rd centuries. ³⁰⁰

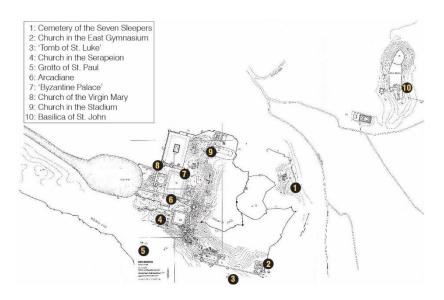


Figure 3.4. Ephesus, monuments related to Christianity

Not long after the Edict of Milan, Christianity became the state religion under the rule of Theodosius I (379-395).³⁰¹ Both the religious and physical effects of the Edict of Thessalonica spread through the Late Antique cities. Pagan temples were deserted and an extensive construction process of churches commenced.³⁰² As pragmatically ordered in the Theodosian Code, the materials of the abandoned temples were reused

²⁹⁹ Mercangöz 1997, p. 51; Rev. 1:11.

³⁰⁰ Jacobs 2012, p. 115; Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, pp. 408-416.

³⁰¹ The Edict of Thessalonica, which enforced the Nicene orthodoxy, was issued in 380 CE: Cod. Theod 16.1.12.

³⁰² Jacobs 2012, p. 125.

for fresh construction projects.³⁰³ The pagan temples in good condition were refunctioned as municipal and administrative buildings.³⁰⁴

In Ephesus, the 3rd Ecumenical Council (431) was convened in the Church of the Virgin Mary. There are two reasons why this specific church was assigned as the venue; both are related to Ephesus' location and economic power: the city could easily be reached by sea and by land, and there was adequate accommodation and provision facilities for the participators. These matters are strong evidence for the region's prosperity during that period. The agricultural hinterland and the local trade must have kept the city of Ephesus well supplied.³⁰⁵

Ephesus also gained importance from pilgrimage activities in the Early Christian period and onwards.³⁰⁶ The Church of the Virgin Mary, the Basilica of St. John, the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, and the 'Tomb of St. Luke' drew many believers to the site. As a result, the city was enriched by donations to the church and the income of catering for the pilgrim visits. For example, the visitors were in the habit of purchasing locally produced ceramic oil lamps.³⁰⁷ The city already possessed accommodation facilities, a safe location, and functioning road networks; it was thus a most suitable place for the growing pilgrimage activity. The only products of this

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³⁰³ Cod. Theod. 15.1.36. The reason for reuse could be the parlous physical condition of the temples, which may have been to much of a challenge for the restoration processes and affected by the lack of economic power of the state. Therefore deconstructed materials were used in nearby buildings, as with the materials of the Artemision in the Harbor Baths, the Church of the Virgin Mary, the Bishop's Palace, and the Basilica of St. John: Jacobs 2012, p. 126. For more information on the reuse of construction materials of the Artemision, see Foss 1979, pp. 86-87.

As indicated in Cod. Theod. 16.10.8 the temples could be reused for the good of the Christian community with secular functions, as sort of museums. The refunctioned temples as churches or public buildings and constructions of church buildings are reviewed in detail by Jacobs (2012, pp. 132-136).

³⁰⁵ Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, p. 422; Ladstätter and Zimmermann 2011, pp. 161-162.

³⁰⁶ According to Ladstätter(2019, pp. 40-41), the theological decisions of the 3rd Ecumenical Council and the institution of the Seven Sleepers and the various characteristics of Ephesus made it attractive to Christian pilgrimage. The accessibility of the city and the existence of sufficient infrastructure are primary examples.

²307 Ladstätter 2011, pp. 15-20.

new industry were the ceramic oil lamps and the pilgrim flasks, *ampullae*, which are decorated with reliefs (Figure 2.18).³⁰⁸

Unlike the more elaborate architecture of the Roman periods, that of the Late Antique period was more modest, with abandoned buildings visible and fewer new construction projects. Therefore, the period is thought of as one of decline compared to the previous eras. Despite this deterioration, the Late Antique cities did sustain their urban characteristics until the 7th century CE. The urban fabric did not alter even though these cities faced a plethora of social, political, and religious changes and conversions.³⁰⁹

In the early 5th century, Ephesus underwent radical social changes and large-scale construction, though no specific development plans existed.³¹⁰ During the same century, many edifices were built in the lower city, which is now the new city center.³¹¹ Both the upper and lower agoras lost their religious function.³¹²

With the stabilization of the economy in Ephesus, the residential areas were removed from the Terrace Houses area to the more level terrain. On the north side of the Arcadiane, the Harbor Gymnasium sat. Over this edifice, a dense residential unit was now created. According to Andreas Pülz, some parts of these structures were inhabited in the Late Antique/Early Byzantine period. ³¹³ The harbor complexes close to the Lower Agora continued in use until the end of the 5th century. ³¹⁴ In the

³⁰⁸ Pülz 2012, pp. 232-233.

³⁰⁹ Jacobs 2012, p. 113.

³¹⁰ Ladstätter 2019, pp. 29-53.

³¹¹ The Church of the Virgin Mary and the Bishop's Palace are examples of these constructions (*Ibid.*, p. 28).

³¹² Pülz 2011, pp. 53-55.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59. The Terrace Houses were used as ateliers in the Byzantine period: Koob, Mieke, and Gellert 2011, p. 236.

³¹⁴ Ladstätter 2019, p. 23.

following century, streets were renovated, and the civic life was revitalized once more. A flourishing phase took place in both rural and urban parts of the city. The functioning harbor ensured a high level of regional trade.³¹⁵ During the Justinian period, renovations on the religious structures were commenced, both in the city center and in the surroundings. The Church of the Virgin Mary, which was in the city center, was redesigned, and the Basilica of St. John and its infrastructure buildings were similarly restored.³¹⁶

The city center gradually moved to Ayasuluk after the 6th century. ³¹⁷ The city borders shrank in the 7th century. The Curetes Street lost its function as the public and commercial center in the second quarter of the 7th century. ³¹⁸ The decentralized structures were now spread across the city and so transformed Ephesus into something of an urban village. Nevertheless, the road network was kept up. The connection within the pilgrimage sites and the harbor was preserved and arterial roads were constructed. ³¹⁹ The earthquake in 614 however ruined Ephesus. ³²⁰ Not long after that the Persian attacks and then the Arab attacks in 654 caused extensive destruction to the city. ³²¹ After these raids, the traditional reconstruction of the city did not occur. ³²² Even so, the city did not lose its economic importance. Life was kept going, thanks to the maritime trade routes. ³²³

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36, 53.

³¹⁶ Koob, Mieke and Gellert 2011, p. 233. The already existing structure of the Basilica of St. John and the Church of the Virgin Mary were mentioned above and are demonstrated in detail in this chapter.

³¹⁷ Büyükkolancı 2008, p. 54; Ladstätter 2019, p. 63.

³¹⁸ Ladstätter 2011, p. 14.

³¹⁹ Ladstätter 2019, pp. 55-57.

³²⁰ Büyükkolancı 2018, p. 416.

³²¹ The Arab attacks continued until the end of the 8th century, both on Smyrna and Ephesus: Külzer 2011, pp. 31-33.

³²² The Justinian plague affected several Byzantine cities during that period. According to Ladstätter (2019, p. 55), the plague must have affected the city, but there is no archaeological evidence such as mass graves to support this.

³²³ Külzer 2011, pp. 31-33.

The ecclesiastical and secular administration and the military leadership moved to the Ayasuluk Hill and its hinterland too. Now, the harbor deteriorated, and its presence was no longer as important as before. The Church of the Virgin Mary was still the main church. However, the baptistery lost its function.³²⁴ By the Middle Byzantine period, Ephesus' hinterland was filled with villages, farmsteads and monasteries. The city's urban face changed into that of a rural settlement, and the city lost its importance.³²⁵ After the Turkish conquest/occupation in 1090/1096, the Turks settled on the Ayasuluk Hill where a Byzantine settlement flourished in the 12th century.³²⁶

After the 11th century, the harbor of Ephesus silted up, and permanent habitation thereabouts ceased. Despite that, Ephesus was still occupied and still continued its pilgrimage function during the Middle Ages, according to the archaeological finds. Religious activities throughout its history have given the city a steady focus. Visual elements kept the interest alive, such as the illustration in the Peruzzi Chapel depicting the resurrection of St. Drusiana of Ephesus and the maps showing the harbor of Ayasuluk (Figure 3.5). Christian pilgrimage was kept up, especially to the Basilica of St. John, where even after the 12th century the religious activities were ongoing. 328

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³²⁴ Ladstätter 2019, pp. 58-59.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61; Pülz 2011, pp. 68-72.

³²⁶ Külzer 2011, pp. 31-33; Ladstätter 2019, pp. 63-65.

³²⁷ Ladstätter 2019, pp. 61-65.

³²⁸ Külzer 2011, pp. 31-33; Ladstätter 2019, p. 63; Mercangöz 1997, p. 62.



Figure 3.5. The Peruzzi Chapel, the illustration of St. Drusiana (Ladstätter 2015, p. 562)

At the beginning of the 13th century, both Ephesus and the settlement on the Ayasuluk Hill had a brief floruit. The city began to be known as a kastron. By the end of that same century Turkish attacks increased around Ephesus, and at the beginning of the following century, the Turkish rule proper started in Ephesus. 329 The trade-based economic power of the city was maintained under the Turkish rule. New structures were built in the city center, at Ayasuluk, and the medieval Turkish settlement grew up around it, with features such as the Isa Bey Mosque, baths, and mausoleums (Figure 3.6). The Turkish influence culminated after the conquest of the Ottomans in 1425. After that, the city lost its importance and remained as a small provincial entity for centuries.³³⁰

³²⁹ Külzer 2011, pp. 34-35. ³³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-38.



Figure 3.6. The İsa Bey Mosque and the Ayasuluk Hill, surrounded by the present-day Selçuk (Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, p. 420)

3.2 A History of Research and Excavations Concerning Ephesus and Ayasuluk

A significant number of travelers and historians visited Ephesus during its settled history. Ancient writers often focused on the legends of Ephesus' foundations, its political, geographical, and historical situation, and the road systems of the city. ³³¹ Most of the ancient sources on Ephesus include architectural and historical descriptions of the Temple of Artemis. ³³²

The Byzantine sources regarding the city are relatively insufficient. Only a limited number of writers describe Byzantine Ephesus, and that briefly. Hierokles, a geographer and writer from the 6th century, saw Ephesus as the primary city among the cities in Asia Minor.³³³ Stephanos of Byzantion, another writer and geographer

³³¹ Paus. 1.9.7, 7.2.6-9; Plin. *Nat.* 5.31; Str. 14.1.3, 14.1.21, 14.2.29.

³³² Paus. 10.38.6; Str. 14.1.22-23; Vitr. 4.1.6-7, 10.1.11-12.

³³³ Külzer 2011, p. 31.

from the same period, regarded the city as the foremost Ionian one and emphasized its harbor. 334

Travelers continued to visit Ephesus during the Middle Ages. In 1106/1107, a Russian pilgrim, Daniil, stayed in Ephesus and described it as a city located in the mountains. His description may refer to the Ayasuluk Hill. In the same century, an Arabic voyager, İdrisi, also visited and described it as 'ruins on a hill'. Ephesus was not mentioned in more official written sources — neither in the Chrysobul of emperor Alexios III Angelos dated to 1198 nor in the *Partitio Imperii* in 1204. The harbor's filling in and the consequent decrease in trade may account for this obscurity. In 1333, Ibn Battuta, a well-known Muslim voyager, paid a visit and described the Basilica of St. John as the city of Ephesus. His descriptions regarding the city are quite detailed. In the 15th century, Cyriacus of Ancona, a merchant, and traveler, came and made copies of various inscriptions on the site. In the succeeding centuries, the reports and depictions of the site increased, especially in accounts by the English and French travelers.

It is thus the excavations that have mainly gathered data concerning later Ephesus, as the literary sources were far from forthcoming about the site's history. The excavation history of Ephesus started in the 19th century. In 1863, John Turtle Wood, as the head of constructions of the English railway line passing near Ayasuluk, settled there to find the Temple of Artemis on behalf of the British Museum.

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³³⁴ St.Byz. 288.

Daniil visited the grave of St. John, the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers and the grave of Mary Magdalene: Külzer 2011, p. 34. For more information on the grave of Mary Magdalene, see Foss 1979.

³³⁶ Edrisi, Jaubert 299-303; Külzer 2011, p. 34.

³³⁷ Külzer 2011, p. 34.

Foss 1979, p. 146. Many voyagers visited the city and described the current social and political state. For more detailed information, see Boldensele 240; Foss 1979, pp. 122-147.

³³⁹ Ladstätter and Zimmermann 2011, p. 20. In the 17th century, the famous Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi visited both Ephesus and Ayasuluk Hill: Çağaptay 2020b, p. 198.
³⁴⁰ Foss 1979, p. 4.

Following hints in a topographic inscription in the Great Theater, he found the remains of the Artemision, but below the then water table. Otto Benndorf kept up the excavations in 1895 and continued Ephesus' historical, topographic and architectural studies on behalf of the Austrian Archaeology Institute. David George Hogarth, the English archaeologist, continued the excavations in 1904/05. The studies of the Austrians were interrupted by wars, in 1909/10, 1914-1925, and 1936-1954.³⁴¹

With an excavation history of 150 years, Ephesus has been a stage for the practicing of different archaeological approaches. In the early years of excavations, the method of speedily removing the uppermost archaeological layer (as post-Classical) was highly favored, and the Late Antique-Byzantine and Medieaval layers were removed in that way. In the excavations between 1926-1935, the Christian pilgrimage characteristics of the site were concentrated on. The excavation director of the period, Josef Keil, tried to make the area 'the interest of the entire Christian world'. 342 A complete study on the Basilica of St. John was accomplished by Hans Hörmann in 1951.343 Another director of the archaeological excavations, Franz Miltner, in charge after 1954, focused on the Roman Imperial period, so bringing out the city's original glory. Restoration studies (anastylosis in the Temple of Hadrian and the Basilica of St. John) commenced in the same period. After 1960, conservation plans and interventions had also begun.³⁴⁴ In 1959, the Museum of Ephesus took an active role in the archaeological excavations, on behalf of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Turkey. 345 After the discovery of the Terrace Houses in the 1960s, the Byzantine period came under scrutiny and into focus too. Foss's study in 1979 was a milestone in the Byzantine heritage studies concerning

³⁴¹ Between 1921 and 1922, the archaeological excavations in the Basilica of St. John were conducted by Greece: Scherrer 2000, p. 37; Stock *et al.* 2013, p. 58.

³⁴² Ladstätter 2019, pp. 11-14.

³⁴³ Karydis 2015, p. 99.

³⁴⁴ Detailed excavation history covering 1895 and 2010 is presented in the documents from the Museum of Ephesus' archival records.

³⁴⁵ Scherrer 2000, p. 42.

Ephesus. In the last years, the Byzantine heritage and the Turkish settlement have become better represented in the studies.³⁴⁶

Since 2010, the archaeological excavations in Ephesus are conducted by Ladstätter.³⁴⁷ The current archaeological excavations are conducted under international and interdisciplinary approaches. Instead of extensive excavation, highly popular in the 20th century, at present non-destructive geophysical and archaeological surface survey methods are preferred.³⁴⁸

3.3 Site Characteristics of Ephesus

3.3.1 The Archaeological Site of Ephesus

The Ephesus archaeological site lies on the southern and western slopes of Mt. Pion (Panayırdağ) and the northern slopes of Mt. Coressus (Bülbüldağ) (Figure 3.3). The harbor on the west and a city wall with a perimeter of 9 km define the city borders. 349 The Hellenistic city walls of Lysimachus start from the Magnesian Gate and continue to the west slopes of Panayırdağ following the geological fault-line between the two peaks of the mountain (it intersects with the Byzantine city walls around the southern peak), and continues to the Great Theater. The ashlar masonry blocks of the Hellenistic city wall, especially those from the top of the hill, were reused in the Byzantine city wall construction. The Hellenistic wall continuing to Bülbüldağ is well preserved. Its 2.40 to 3m-thick double-faced curtain walls reach close to 4m

³⁴⁶ Ladstätter 2019, pp. 15-17.

³⁴⁷ In 2016, the excavations under the head of Ladstätter were canceled for multiple reasons, and the director of Ephesus Museum director, Cengiz Topal, was assigned as the head of the excavations in the same year: URL 20; URL 21. The excavations were paused in 2017 and they were resumed by the Austrian Archaeological Institute in 2018: the Draft Management Plan 2022; URL 22.

³⁴⁸ Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, pp. 439-441.

³⁴⁹ Akurgal 2011, p. 143. Beyond the city walls, there are multiple other archaeological areas related to Ephesus. On the eastern slopes of Mt. Pion, are the Meter-Cybele Sanctuary and the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers. The Temple of Artemis is on the way to the archaeological site, on the southwest of the Ayasuluk Hill.

thickness around the northern peak of Panayırdağ; nearly square towers (8.20m x 9.80m or 9.40m x 10.6m) were located on the strategic points of the wall (Figure 3.7).³⁵⁰



Figure 3.7. Ephesus, the Hellenistic city walls

The Magnesian Gate, one of the many gates of the city walls, is the eastern entrance to the city (Figure 3.8). Proceeding from this gate, Ephesus' architectural and archaeological finds can be followed through the streets and the public squares until the Northern Gate (the Coressus Gate). West of the Magnesian Gate, the Upper Agora and the public buildings encircling the Agora are positioned (Figure 3.9).³⁵¹



Figure 3.8. Panayırdağ, the State Agora (on the left) and the Magnesian Gate (on the right)

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³⁵⁰ Scherrer 2000, p. 68.

³⁵¹ In the Upper Agora, organized destructions and removal of building materials took place in the 6th century, and later the remains were used in the lower city: Ladstätter 2019, p. 27.



Figure 3.9. Ephesus, the State Agora

The Curetes Street (*Embolos*) connects the Upper Agora to the node in front of the Celsus Library and the Lower Agora (Tetragonos Agora). On the south and north sides of the Curetes Street, the Terrace Houses and the bath buildings are located. *Embolos* gave significant access between the public spaces and private zones. In the 5th century, the street was bordered with honorific statues and inscriptions (Figure 3.10). The street's social character was patent. *Embolos* was a part of the Processional Way. A procession consisting of local youths set out from the Temple of Artemis and circled the city, an event that took place during the local festival of Artemis. The Processional Way was described in Greek on a marble inscription panel, the inscription of Salutaris, originally located on a wall of the Great Theater. A copy was set up on the Temple of Artemis.

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³⁵² The lower Curetes Street is an outstanding example of spolia usage involving column capitals, column bases, and columns: *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁵³ Ladstätter and Zimmermann 2011, p. 161.

³⁵⁴ X. Eph. 1.2-3. For more information on the exact route of the procession, see Aktüre 2019.

³⁵⁵ A local, Salutaris, endowed the Artemision in 104 CE to keep the procession going. A golden statue of Artemis, accompanied by gold-covered silver deer, was followed by nine silver statues (portraying the Ephesus council of representatives, the council of elders, Ephesian young men - *ephebes* and six clans living in the city) and 22 images representing the critical figures and groups of Ephesus. The procession was not connected to any religious festivals in the city, and no ritualized behavior such as sacrifices occurred. Ten temple attendants took the statues out, then the procession moved to the Magnesian Gate. 250 *ephebes* waiting near the gate joined the procession, heading for the State Agora. As the procession passes the public structures, the city's richness is emphasized: Aktüre 2019, pp. 320-327. For more information on the Processional Way and the inscription of Salutaris, see Sokolicek 2020, pp. 113-117; Rogers 1991, pp. 80-126.



Figure 3.10. Ephesus, the Curetes Street (*Embolos*)

The north end of *Embolos* is at the Hadrian's Gate and the public square in front of the Celsus Library (Figure 3.11). The Hadrian's Gate, a three-story edifice, was constructed in the Trajanic period and underwent surface alterations and transformations later on. The library was originally a heroon for a Roman senator and built in the first quarter of the 2nd century CE. After the earthquake in 262 CE, the library burned down. In the late Roman period, the façade was transformed into a fountain with water basins. The square in front of the Celsus Library was a densely used point in the urban fabric. The rectangular library was excavated in the early 20th century CE, and the façade was reconstructed between 1970-1978.



Figure 3.11. Ephesus, the Celsus Library

³⁵⁶ Scherrer 2000, p. 128.

³⁵⁷ Koob, Mieke and Gellert 2011, p. 234; Scherrer 2000, pp. 130-132.

The Tetragonos Agora north of the library was the commercial market from the Hellenistic period onwards. The two-aisled colonnades encircled the square Agora, each being 112m in length. The Agora was used until the 7th century but was demolished by the earthquakes and reconstructed with reused materials. The Agora and the Marble Street on its east lead directly to the Great Theater positioned on the slope of Panayirdağ (Figure 3.12). This last was finished in the Roman Imperial era and seated around 25,000 spectators. The structure housed various events, St. Paul's missionary activities being one of them. The structure housed various events, the Arcadiane runs pass on its way to the harbor (Figure 3.13). To the north, the Theater Street leads to the Stadium. The Theater Gymnasium is positioned at the crossing of these two streets. At the end of the Arcadiane, three gates give onto the harbor: the Northern Harbor Gate, the Southern Harbor Gate, and the Middle Harbor Gate that stands at the actual terminus of the Arcadiane.



Figure 3.12. Ephesus, the Marble Street

³⁵⁸ Spolia used in the Agora was sourced from imperial cult buildings; the west Stoa was from the Temple of Domitian, many architraves and cornices of the colonnades were from the time of Emperor Caracalla, capitals and entablatures were from the Vedius and Harbor Gymnasia: Scherrer 2000, p. 140.

³⁵⁹ Acts 19:29.

³⁶⁰ Scherrer 2000, p. 158.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 178.



Figure 3.13. Ephesus, the Arcadiane

The harbor of Ephesus experienced continuous and progressive silting, starting in the Hellenistic period. To overcome the problem, the harbor was dredged several times. ³⁶² Despite the best efforts, the harbor basin silted up in Late Antiquity. After the 3rd century CE, burial structures were erected alongside the canal and thus turned the area into a necropolis. ³⁶³ As the coastline was transformed with the alluvium, a harbor canal was constructed to link the ever-receding sea to the harbor. ³⁶⁴ The basin still continued to silt up; additional outer ports were constructed (Figure 3.14). After that, in the 15th century, another harbor was created, some 3 km away, which in turn was also affected by the silt. ³⁶⁵

³⁶² The several attempts throughout the Imperial period involved clearing the harbor, enlarging the channel and harbor, prohibiting extensive dumping into the canal. Sedimentation still continued. Artificial islands were constructed outside the harbor to effect the transfer of goods since the ships could not enter the harbor in the 5th century CE. During the Late Byzantine times, this sedimentation caused the swamps and seasonal ponding: Kraft *et al.* 2007. pp. 137-144.

³⁶³ Ladstätter and Zimmermann 2011, pp. 161-162. There are multiple graves found too in the Lower Agora. For more detailed information on the burial places within Ephesus, see Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, p. 408. Ephesus had a broad diversity of burial practices, with both intra-urban and extra-urban graveyards. For more detailed information on the necropolis of Ephesus, see Steskal 2020, pp. 124-134

³⁶⁴ After the 2nd century CE, only small ships could enter the harbor, and via the canal even smaller boats could do so until the 14th century: Stock *et al.* 2013, p. 59.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-68; Kraft *et al.* 2007, p. 145.

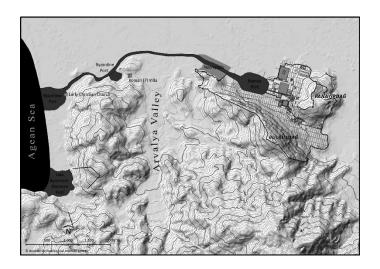


Figure 3.14. Ephesus, the Roman harbor and Byzantine ports (Ladstätter 2017, p. 244)

The Harbor Gymnasium, the Church of the Virgin Mary, and the Olympeion were positioned north of the Arcadiane. The Stadium and the Vedius Gymnasium, at the end of the street from the Great Theater, are the northernmost structures before the Hellenistic city walls and the city's Northern Gate.

3.3.2 The Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus

3.3.2.1 The Late Antique city walls

The Late Antique city walls cover the northwest section of Ephesus, which consists of the harbor and the vicinity around the Coressus Gate. The walls encircle the west slopes of Panayırdağ, the Vedius Gymnasium, the Olympeion, the harbor district, the Arcadiane and the Great Theater. Theater. Imperial period Roman Ephesus, including the State Agora and the Terrace Houses, was not included within the Late Antique city walls. The walls, constructed with 'imprecise' attention to quality according

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³⁶⁶ Büyükkolancı 2018, p. 404. For the exact locations of the Late Antique city walls, see Büyükkolancı 2018, p. 405. The Late Antique city walls were termed the Byzantine Walls: Niewöhner 2010, pp. 257-258.

³⁶⁷ Pülz 2011, pp. 62-63.

to Büyükkolancı, are also called the Byzantine city walls; they enclose an area of some 1000 x 1200m (1.2 km²).³⁶⁸



Figure 3.15. Ephesus, the Marble Street and the Late Antique city walls (Büyükkolancı 2018, pp. 410-413)

For the city walls on Panayırdağ, limestone blocks procured from the nearby stone quarries or reused blocks from the Hellenistic city walls were the primary construction material. In the remaining parts of the walls, smaller quarried stones were used. A limited amount of bricks and small stones set in small layers to equalize the stone facing courses. The core of the walls consists of rubble stones, small fragments of stones, and lime mortar (Figure 3.15). The city walls are generally 3.30-3.40m thick. Although the walls that started from the Great Theater and ran to the west have a similar thickness, their physical structure is entirely different, being fashioned with reused marble blocks. The high ratio of spolia in these 75m-length walls distinguishes them from the rest of the Late Antique city walls. This section could have been constructed in 400 or rather later in the 7th century. The Byzantine city walls have towers, eight of which are identified so far. To Some parts

³⁶⁸ Büyükkolancı 2018, pp. 408-410.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid*

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 405. Similar walls are observed in the parts of the fortress of Ayasuluk Hill dated to the 8th century.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

of the Late Antique city walls are well-preserved.³⁷² However, the only remaining gate in the city walls is the southeast one connecting the city to the Marble Street (Figure 3.15).³⁷³

The Byzantine city walls are not dated; however, they were constructed in the face of invasions as the city population decreased. According to Foss, the walls were erected around the 7th century.³⁷⁴ Pülz too held the Arab invasions of 654/655 and 715/716 as responsible. However, the exact date of and motivation for the Byzantine city walls remains a question for scholars.³⁷⁵

Ladstätter addresses the reason behind the Byzantine city walls. The Terrace Houses, located outside the Byzantine city walls, were fully inhabited up to the 6th century and beyond. If the city walls were constructed for primarily defensive purposes against the Arab attacks as suggested above, it is unlikely that a densely inhabited area such as the Terrace Houses would be left outside these same walls. Therefore, the wall was erected in a monumental style and all at the same time; there was no rapidly thrown-up defensive wall of spolia, which one would expect in a case of expected imminent invasion. Therefore, the city walls probably were not a response to a sudden invasion threat but rather represent a 'well-thought-through building program for the display of power and the ongoing protection of the city'.

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³⁷² The walls are well-preserved around the Coressus Gate, the Olympeion (foundations of a tower have survived at the northwest corner of the Olympeion's portico), and the Church of the Virgin Mary: *Ibid.*, pp. 404-405.

³⁷³ The Coressus Gate is known to be in the north wall. However, the information regarding the rest of the gates is still lacking: *Ibid.*, p. 414.

³⁷⁴ Foss 1979, p. 106.

³⁷⁵ Pülz 2011, pp. 62-63.

³⁷⁶ Ladstätter 2019, p. 27.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

3.3.2.2 The Late Antique and Byzantine Town

As mentioned before, the city center of Ephesus was moved from the upper city to the area around the harbor in Late Antiquity. This new city center housed administrative, public, and religious structures and residential units. The domestic quarters on the skirts of Bülbüldağ and Panayırdağ were kept as the industrial district with multiple workshops. The luxurious residences of the Roman period were replaced by more modest structures. The domestic buildings of Late Antiquity ran from the Harbor Gymnasium and the Halls of Verulanus to the south of the Church of the Virgin Mary (Figure 3.16). The peristyle houses in this residential area were equipped with polychrome mosaics, *opus sectile* floors, wall paintings, and precious furnishings. These dwellings had Christian symbols on the architectural elements and specific architectural installations for religious purposes such as 'niches for domestic religious practices'. Similar architectural developments were observable in the Terrace Houses. In a residential unit of the Terrace House I, there was a private chapel serving the household (Figure 3.17).

³⁷⁸ Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, pp. 420-421.

³⁷⁹ Pülz 2020, p. 77.

³⁸⁰ The archaeological excavations in the area were conducted by the Austrian Archaeological Institute: *Ibid.*, p. 82.

³⁸¹ Fugger 2017; Pülz 2020, p. 85.

³⁸² Pülz 2020, p. 86.

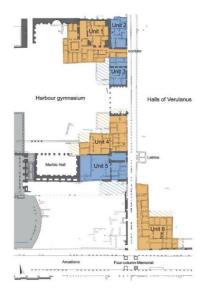


Figure 3.16. Ephesus, the residential units (Pülz 2020, p. 81)



Figure 3.17. Ephesus, Christological inscriptions in the Terrace House I (Pülz 2020, p. 85)

The archaeological finds of residences of the Christians are mainly recovered after the 3rd century. There are several reasons for the lack of earlier archaeological evidence. The first Christians did leave much in the way of physical signs to mark their particular existence among the other religions. Their daily household objects did not carry any trace of their religious beliefs. Moreover, the religious practices of Early Christianity did not require any specific religious structures. Private dwellings were sufficient for this purpose. 383

This lack of archaeological and architectural data reveals itself not only in Ephesus but also in the whole of Asia Minor.³⁸⁴ Long before the legitimization of Christianity in the Roman Empire and the construction of the structures dedicated explicitly to Christian worship, the early Christian communities had to find somewhere to gather. Since it was only authorized to build sacred spaces solely dedicated to the state religion, it was beyond the realms of possibility to construct religious buildings for Christian usage. 385 As a consequence of that and for reasons of security in obscurity, the early Christians first gathered in each other's homes. 386 This first stage of Christian architecture produced the oikos ecclesiae (approximately lasting from 50 to 150 CE). Oikos ecclesiae in Ephesus are mentioned in the New Testament. 387 The second stage was the domus ecclesiae, private homes renovated for religious purposes; this approach lasted roughly from 150 to 250 CE. 388 Domus ecclesiae cannot be traced through specific archaeological or architectural evidence in Ephesus; however, there are more social and theoretical arguments to suggest the existence of such residential structures and how they were transformed into places of worship.³⁸⁹ The third stage was the *aula ecclesiae*, renovated larger structures used for the same end, c. 250-313 CE.³⁹⁰ Even though there is not sufficient

³⁸³ The early Christians' low economic status is another reason for their 'invisibility' in the archaeological record: Thomas 2020, p. 172.

³⁸⁴ The first monumental churches emerged in the late 4th century in Asia Minor. A church and a basilica located in Sardis (Jacobs 2012, p. 125) and the monumental basilica constructed in Pisidian Antioch (Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, pp. 210-217) are dated to the 4th century.

³⁸⁵ Krautheimer 1965, p. 24.

³⁸⁶ Acts 1:3,15-16; 2:46; 5:42; 12:12.

³⁸⁷ Acts 18:18; Billings 2011, pp. 544-545; I Cor. 16:19.

³⁸⁸ Billings 2011, pp. 544-545; White 1990, pp. 23-24.

³⁸⁹ Billings 2011, pp. 545-547. Social network theory and group formations are harnessed to comprehend the formations of *domus ecclesiae*: *Ibid.*, pp. 551-555.

³⁹⁰ This 'three stage' theory was promoted by Krautheimer (Billings 2011, pp. 544-545), and elaborated by White (1990, 1997).

archaeological evidence for these stages, the literary sources suggest there was a functioning Christian community in Ephesus.³⁹¹

The chronology of the Late Antique residential neighborhoods is not accurately known. However, the presence of the Christian community in Ephesus is a fact. The Late Antique and Byzantine public architecture indicates this community. There are many religious structures within and outside of the Byzantine city walls. These religious buildings were mainly constructed over earlier public structures. Only the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers and the Grotto of St. Paul were new and purposebuilt structures in Ephesus.

In Late Antiquity, both religion and economic features affected the usage of public spaces. The public structures associated with the pagan tradition fell out of use in time. The location of such structures or difficulties in maintenance of them were effective in the decision of their refunctioning. By secondary structures, new smaller and spaces in different functions were constructed in the public spaces through usurpation and subdivisions. Notably, monumental structures were refunctioned as residential ones (observable around the Harbor Gymnasium and Halls of Verulanus), commercial ones (observable in the Terrace Houses) or fountains (as mentioned before) in the 4th and 5th centuries. In the following centuries main streets were also faced such transformation. Cisterns and peristyle houses were constructed in the State Agora and the colonnaded streets of Ephesus. On Domitian's Square, a Byzantine business and gastronomy district has been discovered during this year's excavations. The district was in use until 614/615 CE.

³⁹¹ The Acts(18:18-19) contains data regarding the travel of St. Paul to Ephesus and the specific Ephesians who welcomed him into their residences.

³⁹² Jacobs 2009, pp. 203-209.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 205-213.

³⁹⁴ According to Ladstätter, this discovery could answer some questions about changes in the urban life of Ephesus: URL 23.

3.3.2.3 The Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers

Outside the Hellenistic city walls, on the northeastern slopes of Panayırdağ, lay the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers (Figure 3.4). The cemetery, situated in a cave, is the topic of the Seven Sleepers. In the myth, seven young Christians escaped from the slaughter ordered by the Emperor Decius (249-251) to a cave: here they slept for about 200 years and woke up during the reign of Emperor Theodosius II (408-450), before returning to their eternal rest in the same cave (Figure 3.18). According to another common myth, St. Timothy and Mary Magdalene are also buried in this cave. This Christian cemetery was transformed into a pilgrimage site in the 5th century.



Figure 3.18. The Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers

The cave is a rather entangled structure comprised of two complexes at different levels.³⁹⁸ The lower one is the crypt complex, and the upper one that of the church (Figure 3.19).³⁹⁹ The catacombs of the seven Christian sleeping men, the crypts, a mausoleum, and many graves carved in the rock comprise the whole.⁴⁰⁰ The crypt complex is entered through a wide barrel-vaulted *vestibule*. This vaulted entrance

³⁹⁵ Foss 1979, p. 42.

³⁹⁶ There is no archaeological evidence of the graves either in the Panayırdağ or in the cave: Foss 1979, p. 84. According to Zimmermann(2019, p. 266), the site's association with Mary Magdalene has no historical basis.

³⁹⁷ Ladstätter 2019, p. 27; Mercangöz 1997, p. 53.

³⁹⁸ Mercangöz 1997, p. 54.

³⁹⁹ Praschniker *et al.* 1937; Zimmermann 2019, p. 259.

⁴⁰⁰ Mercangöz 1997, p. 54.

space gives onto a barrel-vaulted apsidal hall through a long corridor. In the sidewalls of the apsidal hall, niches arranged in two rows were cut. The floor of the complex is entirely taken up with barrel-vaulted chamber graves. The overall length of the crypt complex, from east to west, is 32m.⁴⁰¹

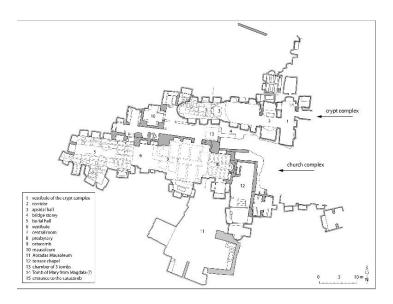


Figure 3.19. The Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, ground plan (Zimmermann 2019, p. 258)

The church complex is located southwest of the crypt complex, obliquely above it. Both are on an east-west axis. A longitudinal burial hall, partially hewn into the rock, is situated at the west end of the complex (Figure 3.20). A vestibule and a square-shaped central room lie to the burial hall's east. The presbytery and its small circular apse comprise the east end. The entrance to the church complex is approximately in the middle of the northern wall of the central hall. To the west of the entrance, a mausoleum and the entrance to the catacombs of the Seven Sleepers beneath the central hall are situated. The terrace chapel and the Abradas Mausoleum are located at the southwest corner at the east of this long unit. The overall length of the church

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⁴⁰¹ Zimmermann 2019, p. 259.

complex from the west end of the burial hall to the apse of the church is 45m. 402 The church complex contains many wall and floor-burials. 403

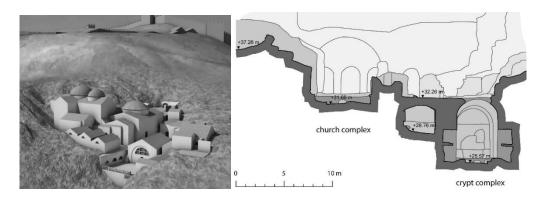


Figure 3.20. The Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, 3D reconstruction (left) (Pülz 2012, p. 245) and site section (right) (Zimmermann 2019, p. 245)

Since the 1970s, both complexes have been thought to date to Theodosius I (379-395). However, recent studies tell a different story: both complexes were structured following one general master plan, and endured alterations in different places for specific requirements. 404 For example, the church complex had three construction stages; the original phase dated to the 3rd century, the insertion of the church was in the 4th century and the addition of secondary graves above the ground level dated to the 5th and 6th centuries. 405

The structure as a Christian community cemetery is the first known 'catacomb' in Asia Minor. The shape and date of the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers indicate similarities with the catacombs of Spain, North Africa or Rome. However, the most

⁴⁰³ Mercangöz 1997, p. 54. The number of these rock cut graves are at least 250: Praschniker *et al.* 1937, pp. 70-87.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 259; Praschniker *et al.* 1937, pp. 18-41.

⁴⁰⁴ Bauer 2008, pp. 179-206; Foss 1979, pp. 42-44, 84-86; Pillinger 1996, pp. 50-51; Zimmermann 2019, p. 260.

The pavement of the church that is different from the other pavement examples of Ephesus or elsewhere, the high-quality stucco, and the neutral decorative ornaments were the fundamental factors that dated the church to the 4th century: Zimmermann 2012, pp. 384-393; Zimmermann 2019, pp. 260-264.

similar structure is the circeforme Constantinian basilicas in Rome. This demonstrates that the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers is a pre-Constantinian Christian cemetery.⁴⁰⁶

The site as a pilgrimage center was already established in Early Byzantine times, although the complex was not explicitly planned for the pilgrims. 407 Even so, the Byzantine paintings and graffiti made by the pilgrims and visitors from all over the world indicate the popularity and venerability of the site. 408

3.3.2.4 The Church in the East Gymnasium

At the city's east entrance were located the Magnesian Gate and the East Gymnasium (to the north) (Figure 3.4). The palaestra of the East Gymnasium was later transformed into a church.⁴⁰⁹ The church has two construction phases: the original structure was erected around 391, and this was reconstructed and enlarged with renovations after the 5th century. The church was a three-aisled basilica and covered with a timber roof. The floor of the basilica was enhanced with decorative mosaics (Figure 3.21).⁴¹⁰

The archaeological evidence confirms that an extensive Christian graveyard surrounded the church in the East Gymnasium. Therefore, the church must have had a cemetery function. 411 Even though it is uncertain how long the church was used,

⁴⁰⁶ Zimmermann 2019, p. 265. For more information on the spatial arrangements of the catacombs, see Serin 2019, pp. 285-318.

⁴⁰⁷ Pülz 2012, pp. 245-246.

⁴⁰⁸ The Islamic culture widely knew of the myth of the Seven Sleepers in Anatolia. In the last decades, new pilgrimage activity both by Christians and Muslims alongside the tourists has been observed in the site. Therefore, it can be appreciated that the site has been a pilgrimage center unceasingly throughout the Middle Ages down until present days: Zimmermann 2019, pp. 266-269.

⁴⁰⁹ Steskal 2010, p. 580.

⁴¹⁰ Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, p. 413; Mercangöz 1997, p. 53.

⁴¹¹ Ladstätter 2019, p. 46.

the structure must have become nigh unusable after a fire that broke out in the 7th century. 412

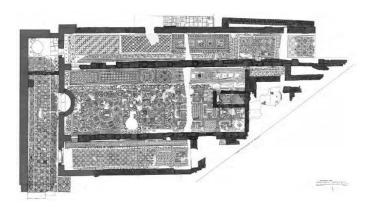


Figure 3.21. The Church in the East Gymnasium, ground plan (Ladstätter 2019, p. 44)

3.3.2.5 The 'Tomb of St. Luke'

The rotunda-like structure was positioned on the south side of the street that runs from the Magnesian Gate to the Upper Agora. The structure was first erected as a fountain in the 2nd century CE. 413 It was transformed into a church probably around the second half of the 5th century. The church has two storeys, the lower one constructed on the former Roman fountain structure. To the original circular central building was added a rectangular vestibule to the east and a polygonally-encased apse to the west (Figure 3.22). The lower church has two entrances positioned opposite each other. Through the north entrance, the crypt was reached. The interior consisted of a nave and an encircling side aisle of a row of columns. The foundation was for a massive circular wall with eight columns, suggesting a formal room (Figure 3.23). The walls have varied fresco layers, which demonstrates the possible construction period. The upper storey of the church was entered by staircases on the

⁴¹² Scherrer 2000, p. 70.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

northern, western and southern sides. The structure probably had a one-storied surrounding gallery. The roof must have been a wooden structure. 414



Figure 3.22. The 'Tomb of St. Luke', 3D reconstruction (Ladstätter 2019, p. 43)

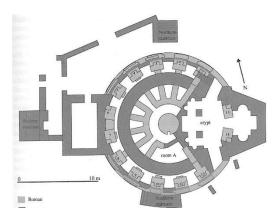


Figure 3.23. The 'Tomb of St. Luke', ground plan (Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, p. 401)

The plan of the church recalls other pilgrimage churches with its several entrances and a space allowing circulation. However, the exact relationship of the church with St. Luke or any other saint is quite unknown. ⁴¹⁵ Equally the length of time the church was in use for, and the reasons for its abandonment are not precisely known. However, the archaeological evidence suggests the church was in use until the 14th century. ⁴¹⁶

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⁴¹⁴ Pülz 2010, pp. 409-410.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250, 410. The church was associated with St. Lucas by J. T. Wood regarding a cross relief over a hump. However, archaeological data on the subject is absent: Mercangöz 1997, p. 54. ⁴¹⁶ Pülz 2010, pp. 409-410.

3.3.2.6 The Church in the Serapeion

The Temple of the so-called Serapeion, probably built in the 2nd century CE, was located west of the Tetragonos Agora and east of the harbor on the skirts of Bülbüldağ (Figure 3.4). The original structure was approached via a monumental staircase. The front of the structure then consisted of eight columns. Through the columns, the *cella* was approached. The south side of the temple was cut into the native bedrock (Figure 3.24).⁴¹⁷



Figure 3.24. The Church in the Serapeion (Schulz 2020, pp. 42-44)

The temple was converted into a church in the Theodosian period. ⁴¹⁸ The nave of this converted church acted as a burial place and the church functioned until at least the 11th century. ⁴¹⁹ There were numerous monograms on the church which could indicate a relationship with St. John or that the structure was dedicated to him. ⁴²⁰ The church in the Serapeion was unusual as it is the only temple in Ephesus that was so converted. ⁴²¹

⁴¹⁷ Schulz 2020, pp. 41-45.

⁴¹⁸ Jacobs 2012, p. 132.

⁴¹⁹ Ladstätter and Binder 2017, p. 30; Schulz 2020, p. 41; Steskal et al. 2015, p. 286.

⁴²⁰ Foss 1979, p. 64.

⁴²¹ The other temples in the city center of Ephesus were destroyed and new structures were built over them: Ladstätter 2019, p. 43.

3.3.2.7 The Grotto of St. Paul

The Grotto of St. Paul lies in the north hillside of Bülbüldağ (Figure 3.4). 422 The cave was known earlier by the Greek population as the 'Kryphe Panaghia' (The Hidden Mother of God). Since antiquity, the site has had religious importance which has been ongoing almost to the present. The Greek inhabitants of Şirince (a nearby hilltop village) carried out an annual procession to the cave until the end of the 19th century. 423



Figure 3.25. The Grotto of St. Paul (Pillinger 2020, p. 62)

The structure is composed of one small and one large rock-hewn caves and a Byzantine period porch (Figure 3.25).⁴²⁴ The larger cave measures 2.3m high, 2.2m wide, and is 15m long. At the end, the cave opens out into a 2.7m wide space. The cave was entered through a broad antechamber that was once vaulted. Three niches positioned the eastern wall of the cave. According to the first archaeological evidence, the walls of the Grotto of St. Paul were white-washed.⁴²⁵

⁴²² Koob, Mieke and Gellert 2011, p. 238.

⁴²³ Pillinger 2011, p. 174; Pillinger 2020, p. 63; Pülz 2012, p. 251.

⁴²⁴ Pillinger 2020, p. 62.

⁴²⁵ Pillinger 2011, p. 174; Pülz 2012, p. 250.

The studies executed in the cave since 1997 have discovered that the walls were painted and covered with numerous graffiti of Christian content. The wall paintings discovered in 1998 have the oldest-known portrait of St. Paul in Turkey. Also depictions of different saints including St. Thekla were discovered in the cave. The paintings are the only physical remembrance of St. Paul's activities in Ephesus (Figure 3.26). 426

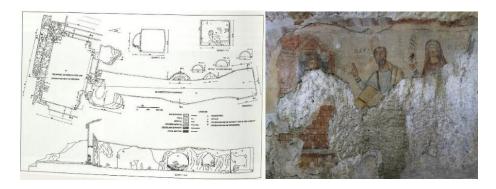


Figure 3.26. The Grotto of St. Paul, plan (left) (Pillinger 2011, p. 174) and the wall painting depicting St. Paul (right) (Pillinger 2020, p. 65)

3.3.2.8 The Arcadiane

This marble-paved street, 528m in length and 11 m in width, runs from the Great Theater to the harbor (Figure 3.10). It was built in the early Roman times and reconstructed during the reign of the emperor Arcadius (395-408). On the sides of the street, there were covered colonnades paved with mosaics, with a width of 5m. There was a row of shops behind the colonnades which were accessed from the street. 427 These colonnades employ reused construction materials in their build. 428

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⁴²⁶ Koob, Mieke and Gellert 2011, p. 238; Pillinger 2020, pp. 63-64. For more detailed information on the graffiti and wall paintings, see Pillinger 2011.

⁴²⁷ Akurgal 2011, pp. 157-158; Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, p. 402.

⁴²⁸ Foss 1979, p. 56; Scherrer 2000, p. 172.

The street underwent alterations and renovations in the Late Antique period. It was relaid in the early 5th century, and the Four-Column Monument was erected in its middle in the 6th century. Honorific statues of high officials were carried by the four columns of the monument. 429 The Arcadiane was a significant street in the Late Antique and Byzantine periods as it was bordered by residential and public structures.430

3.3.2.9 The 'Byzantine Palace'

At the north of the Great Theater, the so-called Byzantine Palace is located (Figure 3.4). The palace is a well-preserved Late Antique and Early Byzantine structure of a non-sacred character. The monumental complex, dated to the early 5th century, is made up of two architectural units (Figure 3.27).⁴³¹

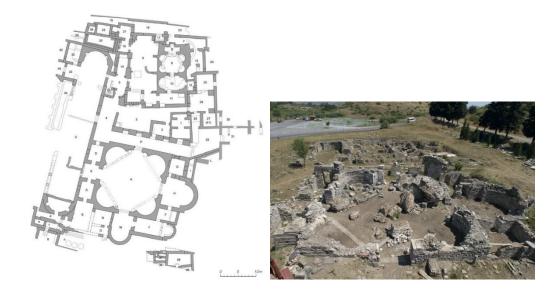


Figure 3.27. The Byzantine Palace (Pülz 2020, pp. 78-79)

The north wing was a private bathing complex connected to a high-status south wing through a vestibule. 432 The south section of the complex was occupied by a

⁴²⁹ Jacobs 2012, p. 138; Ladstätter 2019, p. 36; Scherrer 2000, p. 172.

⁴³⁰ Pülz 2020, p. 81.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁴³² Ladstätter and Binder 2017, p. 31.

domed *tetrakonchos* (four-apsed) reception hall, measuring 19 x 19m. On all four sides of the space, there were door openings; the main access to the space was on the west. In the 6th century, a small chapel was added to the south side of the reception hall.⁴³³ The archaeological studies suggest that the complex ran on for 40m to the south.⁴³⁴

Even though the construction date has broadly been regarded as the 5th century, the northern wing can be dated to the Late Imperial period. The construction techniques of the two wings are utterly different. The exact function of the complex is unknown. However, the sheer magnitude and the plan of the complex suggest the 'palace' could indeed have belonged to a high official. Due to its close location to the bishopric church, the archbishop of Ephesus is a likely candidate. The administrative function of the putative bishop's Palace came to an end in the 8th century, according to the seals found in the palace, as did the church's ecclesiastical function.

3.3.2.10 The Church of the Virgin Mary

The Church of the Virgin Mary was situated northeast of the harbor, parallel to the Arcadiane, and north of the Harbor Gymnasium and the Harbor Baths (Figure 3.4). The Church of the Virgin Mary, constructed on the stoa of the *Olympeion*, was a long complex comprising a vast residence, a church, a baptistery, and an atrium (Figure 3.28). The church, as the Early Christian cathedral of Ephesus and the seat of the bishop, must have announced in no uncertain terms the public transformation of the city into a Christian metropolis.⁴³⁸ The church was also designated as the

⁴³³ Pülz 2020, pp. 77-78.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 79; Pülz 2011, p. 61.

⁴³⁵ In the bath complex *opus mixtum* was used, whereas in the southern wing, reused materials probably from the Temple of Hadrian were employed (Pülz 2011, p. 60).

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴³⁷ Ladstätter 2019, p. 58.

⁴³⁸ Karydis 2019, pp. 176-178; Ladstätter and Binder 2017, p. 31.

venue for the 3rd Ecumenical Council (431).⁴³⁹ This was not only concerned with the incarnation of the Virgin Mary but also with the establishment of a new episcopal hierarchy.⁴⁴⁰



Figure 3.28. The Church of the Virgin Mary, aerial view (Ladstätter 2019, p. 48)

The chronology of the construction date and the stages of the complex has been a subject to debate and disagreement. According to the archaeological findings and written sources, the first stage, which was the transformation of the Roman stoa into a church, could have been finalized shortly before the 3rd Ecumenical Council, approximately between 426 and 431. The transformation process may even have been started decades before the completion. The second stage must have happened at the end of the 5th century or the beginning of the 6th century. The second stage particularly confused the scholars, such as Karwiese who combined the first and second phases and dated them almost seventy years after the Council. The third phase, a cross-domed church, was a typical 7th or 8th-century church.

⁴³⁹ Pülz 2011, p. 65.

⁴⁴⁰ Karydis 2019, p. 178.

⁴⁴¹ Ladstätter 2019, p. 28. Several scholars have asserted various construction dates and phases. Knoll and Keil (1932, p. 101) dated the structure to the 4th century. The architectural decorations of the baptistery provided evidence for the construction date of the Church of the Virgin Mary. The decorations were dated to the end of the 4th century and the 5th century: Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, p. 412. For more detailed information on the debates, see Karydis 2019, pp. 178-181.

⁴⁴² Karydis 2019, p. 185.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

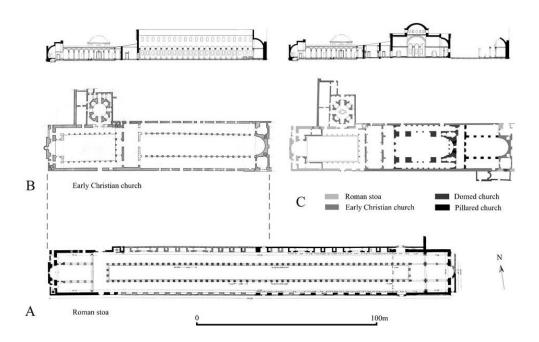


Figure 3.29. The Church of the Virgin Mary, different construction phases (Karydis 2019, p. 179)

In the first stage, the western part of the long Roman stoa was transformed into an Early Christian church. The church, a 260m long and 30m wide structure, was divided by two rows of columns on its long axis, and made up of several components — a three-aisled basilica to the east, an atrium on the west, and a baptistery north of the atrium (Figure 3.29). The entrance of the church was located in the northern wall of the narthex, which connected the atrium with the rest of the church. The atrium was reached through three gates in the narthex's western wall. A staircase leading to the galleries was situated at the northeastern part of the atrium. A few meters west of that staircase, the entrance to the baptistery was positioned. The west end of the atrium ended with an apse. There was another yet smaller staircase at the southwestern corner of the atrium. In the narthex were three entrances leading, one apiece, to the nave and the two aisles of the basilica. At the eastern end of the church, an apse was constructed (Figure 3.30). There was a room at each end of each aisle where small staircases leading to the galleries were inserted. 444

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 184; Akurgal 2011, p. 156.



Figure 3.30. The Church of the Virgin Mary, apse

The eastern apse was constructed with concrete faced small ashlar masonry blocks and grey pozzolanic mortar. The eastern and western walls of the narthex, the baptistery and a large part of the atrium were bonded with a grey mortar; but the longitudinal walls were constructed with bigger blocks and set in a pinkish mortar. The asymmetry in the construction indicates that the bishopric church of Ephesus was not a 'normal' structure. The roofing system varied within the building's length: some spaces were timber-roofed, whereas vaults covered others. The multiple staircases in the structure point to an Early Christian basilica with galleries, quite unlike the other churches in the region. Ladstätter, these reused materials were a deliberate choice. This intentional act is exemplified in the eastern apse, where the well-preserved and readable inscriptions from the *temenos* of Artemision were placed at eye level. 446

Multiple renovations took place in the second stage. A new entrance doorway of Proconnesian marble blocks was constructed, approximately at the center of the western wall of the narthex. The inscription on the door's architrave places the date of it to the mid-fifth century.⁴⁴⁷ The staircases at the corners of the atrium were kept.

⁴⁴⁵ Karydis 2019, pp. 182-186.

⁴⁴⁶ Ladstätter 2011, p. 12.

⁴⁴⁷ Karydis 2019, pp. 186-187.

The south and north external walls of the church were reworked. To do this the galleries and roofs must have been demolished and then reconstructed. The eastern apse and the staircases at its sides were retained and probably used to reach the galleries, which were roughly 9.35m above the ground.⁴⁴⁸



Figure 3.31. The Church of the Virgin Mary, narthex of the Early Christian church

The church in its second phase had become a long, narrow, modular structure with a quasi-symmetrical plan and tripartite division. The walls are constructed with alternating courses of brick and stone (Figure 3.31). The plan was well suited to processions. These qualities are representative of typical architectural developments in 'the First Byzantine Architectural Style'. 449

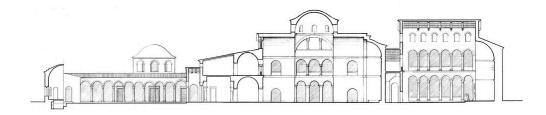


Figure 3.32. The Church of the Virgin Mary, the domed church, section (Karydis 2019, p. 189)

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

The third phase was a cross-domed church that occupied only half of the previous structure's area (Figure 3.32). The domed church was put up in the middle of the aisle and the nave; the atrium, the baptistery, the narthex, and the eastern apse were maintained with a few alterations. The recessed-brick technique was used together with spolia in the walls and piers of this cross-domed church (Figure 3.33). According to Nikolaos Karydis, this third stage remained a 'hybrid, double church' comprised of two narthexes, two naves, and two apses. The superstructure was missing in the third stage church, he thought. However, the remaining structure does yield possible clues for a superstructure. The presence of four large piers at the corners of a square bay announce the existence of pendentives to carry the dome and vaults to cover the nave. To support these vaults, internal buttresses were added to the long and thin external walls.

Cross-domed churches were typical architectural developments of the 7th century down to the 9th century. 453 But few examples survive and their exact construction date is not clear. 454 Opinions on the construction date of the third phase of the Church of the Virgin Mary range from the end of the 7th century to the beginning of the 8th century. 455

As demonstrated above, the cathedral church of Ephesus was a large complex: a long building, with its baptistery adjacent and to the north of the atrium, the bishop's palace on the south (the Byzantine Palace), and the graveyard all around the structure. The church itself underwent several construction phases: the original

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⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁴⁵¹ Karydis 2019, p. 188; Krautheimer 1965, pp. 252-257.

⁴⁵² Karydis 2019, p. 190.

⁴⁵³ Krautheimer 1965, p. 189; Mango 1978, pp. 90-96; Ousterhout 2001, pp. 3-19.

⁴⁵⁴ A similar example to the Church of the Virgin Mary is the Church of St. Sophia at Thessaloniki. The exact construction date of the domed superstructure of the church has been subject to debate: Cormack 1981; Ousterhout 2001.

⁴⁵⁵ After the incidents that affected the city's history in the 7th century (as mentioned above pp. 84-93) the reconstructions must have been a slow business: Karydis 2019, pp. 191-192.

structure, before the conversion into a church; the addition of a domed basilica on the west section of the church, and the renovations during the Middle Byzantine period. During the Justinianic period, the church had a complete renovation, and in the 8th century yet another intervention was carried out. The structure had a final major renovation during the 11th century. It sustained its function until the 14th century.



Figure 3.33. The Church of the Virgin Mary, the domed church, nave and aisles (above and middle) and the recessed-brick construction technique (below)

⁴⁵⁶ Ladstätter 2019, p. 59; Mercangöz 1997, pp. 55-56. According to Foss(1979, p. 53), the structure had 4 phases, however, the recent archaeological excavations have rendered Foss' suggestions obsolete.

⁴⁵⁷ Foss 1979, p. 53; Ladstätter 2019, pp. 55-59.

⁴⁵⁸ In the church, a columnar with an architrave and cornice was created. The *presbyterium* was also redesigned and reformed into a *templon*: Ladstätter 2019, p. 61.

⁴⁵⁹ Ladstätter and Binder 2017, p. 31; Scherrer 2000, p. 182.

According to literary sources, the church was never a pilgrimage site, and indeed it lacks those architectural features needed in a pilgrimage church. In a typical pilgrimage site, an enhanced entrance, fortifications, a presentation of objects of veneration, accessibility, luxurious décor, and a particular size of structure could be present. Any relics or evidence of specific pilgrimage practice were not found in or around the church. Though not all need be, yet none of them are to be observed in the Church of the Virgin Mary. 460 Even though the church is neither officially announced as a pilgrimage center nor accepted as one by the literary sources, the visits of the believers and organizations of a religious community indicate the pilgrimage characteristics of it. Additionally, according to the previous chapter's discussion on the definition of pilgrimage, when sites bearing a specific spiritual character are visited for diverse motivations (including both religious and secular ones) can be identified as pilgrimage sites. In the case of the Church of the Virgin Mary, this somewhat observable spirituality along with the events organized by a Catholic community suggest that a pilgrimage value should be attributed to the cathedral of Ephesus.

The area around the Church of the Virgin Mary and the 'Byzantine Palace' saw a complex and busy residential development. There was no specific development plan, but instead a long transformation process occurred. In this residential district, the earliest structure was dated to the 5th century, and a fire destroyed the buildings in the late 7th century. ⁴⁶¹ Despite that, the settlement went on until the 11th century as scattered groups of houses, and the cemetery around the church received more bodies. ⁴⁶²

⁴⁶⁰ Çağaptay 2020b, p. 196; Pülz 2012, p. 228.

⁴⁶¹ Ladstätter 2019, p. 29. For more information on the Late Antique residential nucleus around the Church of the Virgin Mary and Ephesus, see Pülz 2020.

⁴⁶² Ladstätter 2019, pp. 62-63.

The church was most recently renovated between 1984 and 1988, concentrating on the presbytery area with the nave, narthex, column and pillars to give the visitor an impression of the church and to protect its material remains better. 463

3.3.2.11 The Church in the Stadium

The Stadium is positioned at the north end of the archaeological site, close to the Coressus Gate (Figure 3.4). The structure was presumed to be constructed during the reign of Nero (54-68 CE). Its plan was influenced by the topographical potentials, so that the south side was constructed on the skirts of Panayırdağ, whereas the north side was raised over a vaulted substructure. The earthquakes in the 3rd and 4th centuries damaged the structure. The earthquakes in the 3rd and 4th centuries damaged the structure.

The barrel-vaulted northern entrance of the Stadium was walled-up and transformed into a church structure in the 5th century (Figure 3.34).⁴⁶⁶ The burial places around the church indicates the structure also had a cemetery function.⁴⁶⁷



Figure 3.34. The Church in the Stadium (Ladstätter 2019, p. 25)

⁴⁶⁴ Akurgal 2011, p. 155.

⁴⁶³ Scherrer 2000, p. 183.

⁴⁶⁵ Scherrer 2000, p. 166.

⁴⁶⁶ Karweise 1994, p. 24; Ladstätter 2019, p. 25.

⁴⁶⁷ Ladstätter 2019, p. 59; Scherrer 2000, p. 166.

3.3.3 The Late Antique and Byzantine Heritage of the Ayasuluk Hill and Nearby Settlements

3.3.3.1 The Ayasuluk Hill

At the northwest of the modern city center of Selçuk, the fortified hill of Ayasuluk acted as the civic and administrative center of Medieval Ephesus. Before the fortification and the Byzantine settlement in the Ayasuluk Hill, a Roman cemetery was positioned on these unfertile lands in the 2nd century. The settlement history of Ayasuluk actually dates back to the Prehistoric periods. According to the archaeological excavations, the Ayasuluk Hill was the *Apasas*, the capital of the Hittite vassal kingdom of Arzawa-Mira. The name of Ayasuluk is derived from *Hagios/Ayos Theologos* and the Italian *Altuluogo*. The ologos

The fortification walls had a monumental gate, the Persecution Gate, on the south and two smaller gates to the east and west (Figure 3.35). The 4 m wide walls made up two circles. One enclosed the acropolis at the north and the ruins of the Oratory of St. John, with 13 towers;⁴⁷¹ the second and more extensive circle had 22 rectangular and hexagonal towers. The second fortification walls enclosed the Basilica of St. John, its baptistery, the treasure house, the Bishop's Palace, the large cistern and other infrastructural buildings necessary for the pilgrimage activity that took place there and also the administrative structures.⁴⁷²

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⁴⁶⁸ Karydis 2015, p. 102.

⁴⁶⁹ Büyükkolancı 2008, pp. 53-54; Morris 2001, p. 151. It was also suggested that the name 'Apasas' was transformed into 'Ephesus': Büyükkolancı 2008, p. 53.

⁴⁷⁰ Ayasuluk is from the Turkish 'Aya soluk' which means the holy breath (by the miracle of St. John), the name of Altologo means a high place: Foss 1979, p. 121; Pülz 2012, p. 233.

⁴⁷¹ The Oratory of St. John is regarded as the space where St. John wrote the Gospel of John: Çağaptay 2020a, p. 56.

⁴⁷² Several secondary structures such as stables, the clergy's housing, workshops, and shops were excavated: Çağaptay 2020a, pp. 56-58; Pülz 2012, pp. 242-243. For more detailed information on these structures, see Foss 1979, pp. 136-137.

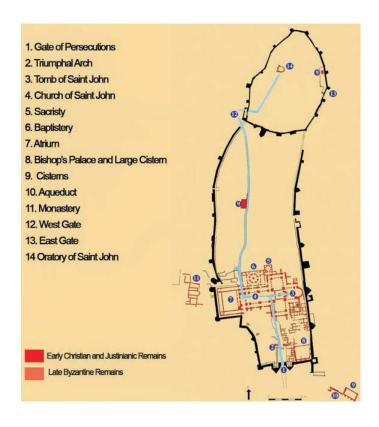


Figure 3.35. The Ayasuluk Hill, plan (Çağaptay 2020a, p.59)

The fortification walls and the Persecution Gate were constructed by Emperor Justinian I (527-565). Spolia from Ephesus was used as the construction material in both of them (Figure 3.36).⁴⁷³ The use of spolia in the gate has generated problems in dating the construction of the gate and the walls.⁴⁷⁴ The Persecution Gate, as the main entrance of the Ayasuluk Hill and the Basilica of St. John, had an arched entrance with two square towers on the sides.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷³ Çağaptay 2020a, pp. 56-58; Foss 1979, p. 197.

⁴⁷⁴ For more detailed arguments on the subject, see Çağaptay 2020a, p. 58.

⁴⁷⁵ Büyükkolancı and Peçen 2020, pp. 2-3. The Persecution Gate was also a significant structure in the rituals of Ephesus. Through the gate, the ancient road of *Via Sacra* reached its final destination. The sacred road started from the Temple of Artemis, divided into two branches, circled Ephesus' ancient city, and returned to the temple in the Classical times. The eastern branch, the *Kathodos*, was used in Byzantine times. The *Kathodos* passed through the so-called Tomb of St. Luke, the Grotto of St. Paul, and the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, reached the Ayasuluk Hill, and finally arrived at the citadel. The pilgrims of various ethnicities crowded onto the *Kathodos*: Çağaptay 2020a, p. 61; Çağaptay 2020b, pp. 193-195; Ladstätter and Zimmermann 2011, pp. 192-197; Pillinger 2011, pp. 174-180. The road was neglected and in a highly ruined state in the 12th century: Ladstätter 2017, pp. 246-247.





Figure 3.36. The Persecution Gate

Within the fortifications of the Ayasuluk Hill, accommodation for pilgrims was provided. 476 During the period of Justinian I (379-395), aequeducts and large cisterns were built on the hill to overcome the lack of water problem. 477 After this installation, the seat of the bishop was transferred to the Basilica of St. John. 478 Following this change in administration, the inhabitants of Ephesus gradually moved to the *temenos* of the Artemision, at the southwest corner of Ayasuluk Hill, as there was no space for a large settlement on the fortified hill. This Byzantine settlement exercised control over the hinterland and had trans-regional trade network connections expanding into the Islamic world. 479

3.3.3.2 The Basilica of St. John

Situated north of the Persecution Gate, the Basilica of St. John covered a vast area (Figure 3.37). The complex had a significant role in the city's urban development, together with the Church of the Virgin Mary, from the 4th to the 7th centuries. The two churches continued to exercise their influence on the city until the Middle Ages, providing evidence about the administrative and religious centers of Ephesus. ⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁶ Ladstätter 2017, p. 247.

⁴⁷⁷ Çağaptay 2020a, pp. 58-59. According to Pülz, before the water supply, the Ayasuluk Hill was inhabited by pilgrims for only brief periods: Pülz 2010, p. 85; Pülz 2011, pp. 77-78.

⁴⁷⁸ Büyükkolancı and Peçen 2020, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁷⁹ Ladstätter 2017, p. 247.

⁴⁸⁰ Foss 1979, p. 121; Karydis 2015, p. 97.



Figure 3.37. The Basilica of St. John, aerial view (Ladstätter 2019, p. 54)

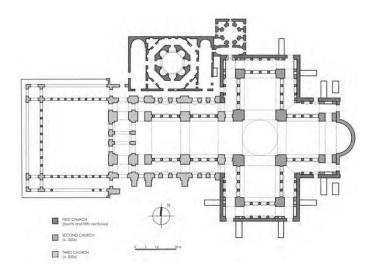


Figure 3.38. The Basilica of St. John, construction phases (Karydis 2015, p. 100)

The Basilica of St. John had three construction phases: a martyrium, a cross-planned Early Christian basilica, and a domed basilica from the Justinian era. The third phase, a domed church with its atrium and the baptistery, was a typical Byzantine church (Figure 3.38).⁴⁸¹ The first structure built in the memory of St. John was mentioned in Etheria's account of her pilgrimage to the Holy Land from 381 to 384.⁴⁸² It is also

⁴⁸² Karydis 2015, p. 103; McClure and Feltoe 1919, p. 44.

⁴⁸¹ Koob, Mieke and Gellert 2011, p. 237.

named in the Acts of the 3rd Ecumenical Council in Ephesus in 431.⁴⁸³ It was a small martyrium built on the grave of the saint, just a timber-roofed square structure. ⁴⁸⁴

In the pre-Justinianic church of the second phase, the original martyrium was transformed into a timber-roofed cruciform church either in the 4th or 5th centuries, based on the mosaic finds. The church's main entrance was through the south wall of the nave. The two-aisled nave leads to the four massive piers that formed the central crossing of the church.⁴⁸⁵ The aisle consisted of four rows of ambulatory which have two symmetrical entrances on the south and north corners.⁴⁸⁶

Knocking down the existing church, Justinian constructed a monumental church in 535-536 in its place. 487 The monumental cruciform and domed church was 130m long and 65m wide. The structure had six massive domes (Figure 3.39). An atrium with three colonnaded porticos was set at the west end of the complex. The harbor of Ephesus was visible from the covered walks located outside the porticoes. The narthex, divided into three bays, connected the atrium to the rest of the church. The nave was divided off from the side aisles with ashlar masonry piers alternating with columnar screens. In the nave, colonnades formed it into six bays. The monograms of Justinian and Theodora carved on the impost of the column capitals assisted in the

⁴⁸³ Foss 1979, p. 88; Karydis 2015, p. 103.

⁴⁸⁴ Hörmann *et al.* 1951, p. 72. A 5th-century Syrian traveler recording the life of St. John described his burial site as somewhere that could include the Artemision and was located above the temple. The place indicated was the Ayasuluk hill. Although there was no real evidence suggesting that one of the Roman tombs in the Roman cemetery belonged to St. John, a martyrium dedicated to him was constructed on the spot: Karydis 2015, p. 102.

⁴⁸⁵ Hörmann *et al.* 1951, p. 205. However, the piers with their square shapes create a circulation problem; thus, Karydis suggests a differently planned cruciform church covered by a timber-roof. Its west cross-arm was divided into two bays and corridors enclosed the central space that assists easy circulation and visibility: Karydis 2015, pp. 104-107.

⁴⁸⁶ Hörmann *et al.* 1951; Karydis 2015, p. 107. There are arguments about the construction phases and the structure of the pre-Justinianic church. For more detailed information, see Karydis 2015.

⁴⁸⁷ Mercangöz 1997, p. 57. According to Karydis (2015) the church of the Justinian period had two construction phases. Thes first church was built around 520, and later additions were made around 550, closer to Theodora's death, to commemorate her life.

dating of the structure (Figure 3.40). The side aisles supported the galleries. The central crossing was surrounded by four massive piers covered with marbles. The tomb of St. John was marked with a marble bema covered with a *ciborium* over colonnades and a *synthronon*. The floor of the basilica was covered with mosaics in geometric patterns.⁴⁸⁸ In the construction, spolia from the Temple of Artemis was used.⁴⁸⁹

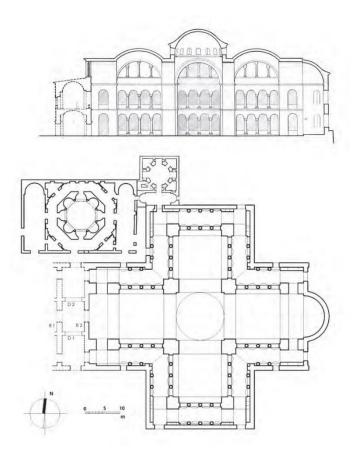


Figure 3.39. The Basilica of St. John, the second construction phase (Karydis 2015, p. 119)

⁴⁸⁸ Foss 1979, pp. 88-89; Karydis 2015, p. 114; Mercangöz 1997, p. 57; Scherrer 2000, p. 194. The northwest colonnade is restored today to create a visual impact of arcades and galleries.

⁴⁸⁹ Ladstätter 2019, p. 43. According to Çağaptay (2020b, p. 196), the use of spolia in the basilica and the fortification walls of the Ayasuluk Hill reinforce the area's 'role as cultic heir'. Külzer (2022, p. 179), supports this point of view by mentioning that 'the cult of St. John replaced the former veneration of Artemis'.



Figure 3.40. The Basilica of St. John, nave colonnade, the monograms of Theodora (A) and Justinian (B) on the column capitals (Karydis 2015, p. 115)



Figure 3.41. The Basilica of St. John, the baptistery (left) and the *secreton* (right)

The treasure house (*secreton - Skeuophylakion*) and the baptistery were built on the north side of the basilica. The large octagonal baptistery connected to the church by the narthex (Figure 3.41). Near the baptistery, a small rotunda-shaped *secreton* was positioned. The *secreton* was a central, two storey building covered with a dome of 6.3m in diameter. ⁴⁹⁰ The construction dates of these two structures are, as ever, argued over, whether they were from the Justinian era or whether they were later additions. ⁴⁹¹

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⁴⁹⁰ Foss 1979, p. 91; Scherrer, 2000, 193.

⁴⁹¹ Karydis (2015, pp. 110-113) suggests the baptistery was built before the Justinian era. However, several scholars contradict with that view and propose the *secreton* was constructed long after the

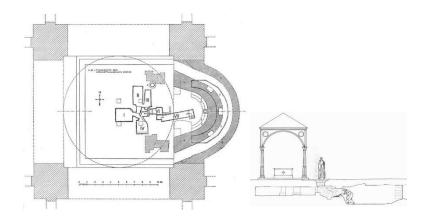


Figure 3.42. The Basilica of St. John, the grave chambers and the suggested performance behind the 'miracle' of the raising *manna* (Pülz 2012, pp. 231-232)

In the Basilica of St. John, a special dust called *manna* was raised from the saint's grave on a particular day, the 8th of May. This dust protects people from illnesses and even calms the sea when it is angry. 492 This *manna* was the evidence of St. John's everlasting sleep in his grave, as it was his breath that created the regular supply of dust. A room with an air shaft existed; the source and locale of the miracle. The crypt was accessible by only one priest or member of the church, who realized the dust 'miracle' by blowing it up the air (Figure 3.42). This miracle of John is already being talked of in the 4th century. Pilgrims collected dust from the site, not necessarily just from the grave, and put it in their pilgrim flasks (*ampullae*) as an *eulogion*. 493 Ephesian *ampullae* vary in their decoration and material, and were manufactured from the 5th to the 7th centuries. The Basilica of St. John also housed essential relics as well: a piece of the true cross, a shirt woven by the Virgin Mary for John, a reddish stone where Jesus Christ's body was laid, a sample of the Book of Revelation of St.

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baptistery. According to Karydis (2015, pp. 110-112) an attribution on the inscription on the lintel of the entrance gate of the *secreton* defines this façade of the building to the times of the Holiest Archbishop John, who is either St. John Chrysostom from the early 5th century or John, bishop of Ephesus, in the middle of the 5th century. According to Pülz (2012, p. 242) the *secreton* was dated to the 7th century.

⁴⁹² Seeking help and protection were the main reasons for pilgrimage in Christian beliefs: Foss 2002, pp. 140-151.

pp. 140-151.

493 Ampullae contained different holy items, such as blessed oil. According to Pülz (2012, pp. 232-233), in the Basilica of St. John, the ampullae could have contained the mentioned manna.

John are all described in the written sources. 494 The literary sources demonstrate that it was St. John and his burial church, not the Church of the Virgin Mary, that were the goal of Christian pilgrimage in Ephesus. The Basilica of St. John sustained its pilgrimage character throughout the Middle Ages and even after the end of the Byzantine rule in the region. 495

3.3.3.3 Nearby Settlements and Structures

The Byzantine Aequeduct

The Byzantine Aequeduct brought water from the springs between Selçuk and Belevi to the Ayasuluk Hill. The aequeduct route passes Şirince and the town center of Selçuk, before it ends in the Gate of Persecution in a large water tank. The aequeduct was constructed with brick arches and spolia from Ephesus and the Temple of Artemis. Some pillars of the aequeduct remain in the city center of Selçuk (Figure 3.43).⁴⁹⁶





Figure 3.43. Selçuk, city center and the Byzantine Aequeduct

The Church in the Bay of Pamucak

At 6 km west of the archaeological site of Ephesus, the bay of Pamucak is situated. South of where the River Cayster flowed into the sea, a low hill (Kumtepe, only 9.5

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⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 230-240.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 227, 243. According to sources demonstrating the social life on the Ayasuluk Hill, in the 14th century, Turks had commissioned the pilgrims who came to visit the grave of St. John: Foss 1979 p. 147

⁴⁹⁶ Scherrer 2000, p. 194; Ladstätter 2019, p. 43.

m high) was located (Figure 3.44). A church was positioned thereon.⁴⁹⁷ The hill was once an island before it became a part of the mainland in Late Antiquity.⁴⁹⁸



Figure 3.44. The Church in the Bay of Pamucak

The structure was erected in the early 5th century, and later additions were made probably in the 7th century. 499 The basilica was positioned on a west-east axis. The complex had two different entrances, one by the harbor and one by land, in a route designed for the visitors (Figure 3.45). The structure 'skillfully took advantage of the natural conditions and extended over two levels'. 500 High-quality features, a uniform construction, and superior design all suggest an economic power behind the construction. The church may have been raised in Late Antiquity when the old city harbor was still in use; however, there is no substantial evidence to support the exact date. 501

The site occupied a 3500 m² area, and the three-aisled basilica on the hill measured 25 x 18 m.⁵⁰² From the harbor canal to the north, a grand staircase cut into the rock lead through the entrance positioned almost at the middle of the north façade of the church. The second entrance was located in the north end of the narthex. From the

⁴⁹⁷ Sewing 2020, p. 79; Sewing 2021, pp. 243-245.

⁴⁹⁸ Sewing 2020, p. 79.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁵⁰⁰ Ladstätter 2019, p. 51.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51; Mercangöz 1997, p. 55.

⁵⁰² Sewing 2020, p. 82.

narthex, three entrances, one to every aisle, lead through to the nave. The nave, 10 m wide, was separated from the side aisles, 2.8 to 3m wide, by eight columns. A staircase leads down to a crypt below the eastern part of the southeastern aisle. The apse was of course placed at the east. Parts of the floor were destroyed and fell into the crypt. The existing floor was then covered with later *opus sectile* mosaics; the walls were constructed from rubble and bricks in two-rows, held with mortar (Figure 3.46). The existing floor was the open for the floor were destroyed and fell into the crypt. The existing floor was then covered with later *opus sectile* mosaics; the walls were constructed from rubble and bricks in two-rows, held with mortar (Figure 3.46).

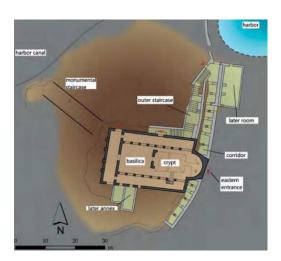


Figure 3.45. The Church in the Bay of Pamucak, plan (Sewing 2021, p. 249)



Figure 3.46. The Church in the Bay of Pamucak, the mosaics and the construction system (Sewing 2020, pp. 85-90)

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-91; Sewing 2021, pp. 248-253.

Mosaic styles in the southern aisle and in the nave indicate different construction periods of the building. The southern aisle is probably a later addition to the 5th or 6th century (Sewing 2020, p. 86).

The crypt underneath the nave was cut from the rock. This, a barrel-vault in form, measured 11 x 6m, and was 4m deep. A marble reliquary in the form of a chest was found there (Figure 3.47). The object may have contained relics of the sanctuary and could probably be displayed in the church.⁵⁰⁵ Literary sources of the 6th century demonstrate that a display of the relics and of sacred oil was the usual pilgrimage ritual enacted in the churches. The reliquary in the church could have been used for similar public presentation purposes.⁵⁰⁶

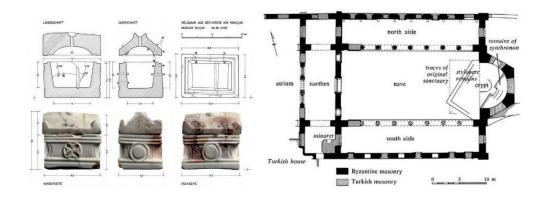


Figure 3.47. The Church in the Bay of Pamucak, the reliquary (Ladstätter 2019, p. 250) and ground plan (Sewing 2021, p. 252)

East of the apse, a gallery running along the whole of the east side of the hill was placed. The gallery's ground floor was connected to the crypt via a staircase. The same staircase leads also to the second and upper floor of the gallery. The gallery was also joined to the church through multiple stairways. According to Sewing, two external staircases leading to the crypt and the two-storey gallery indicated that the church was deliberately constructed to give access to the crypt. 508

There was a designed route planned for the display of the reliquary according to the Ladstätter (2019, p. 52) a vaulted passageway towards the crypt, a narrow staircase from the harbor to the southern aisle of the church and the display of the relic, again descending to the exterior via a staircase back to the harbor.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-88.

⁵⁰⁷ A large staircase from the northern aisle to the gallery, another one from the southern aisle to the gallery, another one between the crypt and the apses of the gallery all establishing access and connection to the church: Sewing 2020, p. 88.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

There are two main fundamental features that declare a pilgrimage complex. There are two main fundamental features that declare a pilgrimage structure: a development of the building complex over the years and additional installations for pilgrims to move about the place easily, such as large ambulatories or several entrances to the crypt. The church in the Bay of Pamucak has no traces of a slow development; however, its several entrances, long rooms, and vast circulation areas would have allowed the pilgrims to move about in the complex freely. Also the displayed reliquary is evidence for the pilgrimage interpretation of the structure. 509 The location of this pilgrimage church was also remarkable. The two-story structure on a hill was the first visible structure of the town for visitors arriving by sea. With its unique architecture combined with the location, the church in Pamucak may have been 'the flagship of Christian Ephesus' (Figure 3.48). 510





Figure 3.48. The Church in the Bay of Pamucak, 3D reconstruction and the viewshed analysis demonstrating the areas from which the church is visible are marked in red (Sewing 2021, pp. 250-260)

The House of the Virgin Mary

Some 4 km south of the archaeological site of Ephesus, the House of the Virgin Mary lies, surrounded by forest (Figure 3.49).⁵¹¹ This 13th-century structure was named

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁵¹¹ Scherrer 2000, p. 232.

'Panagia Kapulu' or '3 Kapılı Azizler Azizesi' in Ottoman sources. ⁵¹² The supposed house of the Virgin Mary was located underneath a Late Byzantine Chapel. Around the church, a baptismal pool and a fountain were also to be found. ⁵¹³



Figure 3.49. The House of the Virgin Mary (Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, p. 421)

The church known as the House of the Virgin Mary is a popular pilgrimage site. Before it became popular, the residents from Şirince already attributed a pilgrimage value to the site. They followed a mountain track as a pilgrimage route from Şirince to the House of the Virgin Mary. ⁵¹⁴ In 1891, Lazarist priests from İzmir interpreted an abandoned monastery as the residence of the Virgin Mary, according to a bedridden nun's visions. ⁵¹⁵ In the following years, this monastery was repaired, and in 1896, the pilgrimage started. In 1951, Pope Pius XII granted permission for pilgrimage to the House of the Virgin Mary, and the area became a popular pilgrimage destination. ⁵¹⁶ After that, multiple associations provided financial support for site management in the area. Pope Paul VI visited this significant pilgrimage site in 1967, Pope Jean-Paul II in 1979, and Pope Benedict XVI in 2006. ⁵¹⁷

⁵¹² Gallagher 2016; Mercangöz 1997, p. 59.

⁵¹³ Pülz 2012, pp. 252-253.

⁵¹⁴ Gallagher 2016.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid*. After that, excavations were held, and multiple researches were published. In 1965, a grave dated back to the 1st century was found during the archaeological excavations: Mercangöz 1997, p. 59.

⁵¹⁶ At the same time, Pope Pius XII elevated the status of St. John's tomb and the Virgin Mary's Church to holy places: Aktüre 2010, pp. 339-340.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 339-340; Aktüre 2011, p. 78; Ladstätter 2018, pp. 264-273.

Every year on the 15th of August, Christians visit this structure to celebrate the 'Assumption of the Virgin Mary' and to make wishes by fixing small pieces of cloth to the 'Wish Wall' – constructed for this specific purpose, to the bushes and trees, as is done too in the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers. The House of the Virgin Mary, or *Meryem Ana*, is also a significant site for Muslims as they also make wishes by fixing pieces of cloth even though it is acknowledged as a superstition and not associated with any Islamic practice. Additionally, on the same day (August 15) in the 19th century, the Greek Orthodox community used to celebrate a mass on the feast of Mary's Dormition in Şirince.

3.4 Interim Evaluations

Positioned at a trade crossroads and surrounded by a rich agricultural hinterland, Ephesus was a significant city since the Prehistoric period. The natural and geographical characteristics of the area enabled the city center to constantly migrate throughout its settlement history. The city thus maintained its importance for a long time. This circumstance depended on the natural features of the area and the social, political, and religious identity that evolved. This in turn attracted ancient writers and travelers. Therefore, it is no surprise that the early Christians visited Ephesus, and that this new religion spread quickly in the city.

Ephesus is an outstanding example of the transformation of a Roman metropolis within the Early Christian and Late Antique periods. The city remained as an important political center during the Byzantine period, even if it was solely at a regional level. The urban transformation reflected Ephesus' social, cultural, and spiritual side, and their evolution. Many religious structures were erected in the city, which morphed into pilgrimage centers. The pilgrimage industry of Ephesus can be

⁵¹⁸ Gallagher 2016; Pülz 2012, pp. 252-253.

⁵¹⁹ Gallagher 2016.

somewhat 'compared to the economic role that the Artemision used to play in antiquity'. ⁵²⁰ Especially in the Late Antique period, numerous public, private and religious structures were constructed or refunctioned. Among the religious buildings in Ephesus, the Church of the Virgin Mary is remarkable for its unique and unparalleled structure. However, some literary sources did not consider the church a pilgrimage one. According to the discussions in the previous chapter, it should be regarded as one. Ephesus also has two main pilgrimage sites: The Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers still attracts Christian pilgrims and Muslim visitors since the myth of the seven young men is also a Muslim belief and the Basilica of St. John.

Beyond the city center of Ephesus, on the coast of Pamucak, there is a pilgrimage church specifically and purposefully designed. The unique structure of this church positioned on a hill was the first image of the town that greeted visitors coming by boat during the Late Antique and Byzantine period. East of Ephesus, and embracing the first settlement of Ephesus, is located the Ayasuluk Hill. The hill was a part of the sacred route, the *Via Sacra*, and led to a large pilgrimage church where the grave of St. John the Evangelist is located. The archaeological finds declare that this basilica of St. John attracted many pilgrims. On the southwest skirts of Ayasuluk Hill, on Bülbüldağ, another pilgrimage center is located. This site, the House of the Virgin Mary, only gained its pilgrimage character in the last century, but now draws millions of pilgrims and tourists to the site annually.

For a better interpretation and presentation of the mentioned periods, especially that of the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus and the pilgrimage characteristics of the city, the advantages offered by Ephesus need to be appreciated in detail. The site's strengths and weaknesses must be clearly realized. This analysis and a critical view of the already existing management plan comprise the topic of the next chapter.

⁵²⁰ Ladstätter 2017, p. 238.

CHAPTER 4

A RE-ASSESMENT OF EPHESUS AS A LATE ANTIQUE AND BYZANTINE HERITAGE SITE

In the previous chapter, the archaeological site of Ephesus and the Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage areas were set out in geographical, natural, historical, architectural, and archaeological terms. This chapter first describes the socioeconomic structure of Selçuk, the conservation status, interpretation, presentation of, and visitor orientation approaches towards cultural heritage.

In this next step, Ephesus and its Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage with particular emphasis on religious architecture, are evaluated with regard to the features mentioned in Chapter 2 (the conceptual framework). The values and opportunities of and threats to the site are assessed in the light of the guidelines and strategies of ICOMOS and UNESCO. These studies constitute a base for further interpretation and presentation proposals.

4.1 Current Situation of Selçuk and the Archaeological Site of Ephesus

4.1.1 Socio-Demopraghic and Economic Structure of Selçuk

Selçuk is a small city with 37,689 inhabitants according to the 2021 population census.⁵²¹ Population density is relatively low compared to the average for the province of İzmir. Selçuk has 14 districts, 5 of which have urban characteristics, with the rest assigned rural ones.⁵²² Despite Selçuk being a small county, the city center has multiple educational institutions. There are 3 preschools, 17 primary and

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⁵²¹ URL 24.

⁵²² The Draft Management Plan 2022, p. 122.

elementary schools, 6 high schools, Dokuz Eylül University Ephesus Vocational School, 2 vocational training centers, an evening art school and 6 other educational institutions.

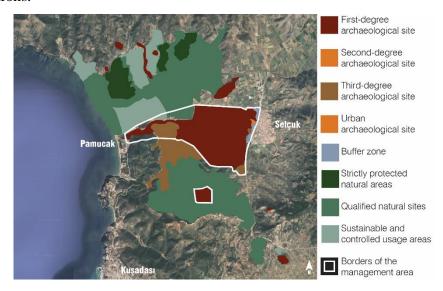


Figure 4.1. Ephesus, map showing the conservation status of the region and the borders of the management area covered by the management plans (adapted from URL 58 and the Draft Management Plan (2022))

The region consists of several cultural and natural areas (Figure 4.1). Numbers of the first-degree, second-degree, and third-degree archaeological sites exist (birinci, ikinci ve üçüncü derece arkeolojik sit alanları) together with an 'urban archaeological site' (kentsel arkeolojik sit alanı) around the Ayasuluk Hill. Between these archaeological sites and the city center of Selçuk, a 'buffer zone' (etkileşim geçiş sahası) has been established. The region also comprises of 'strictly protected natural areas' (kesin korunacak hassas alan), 'qualified natural sites' (nitelikli doğal koruma alanı) and 'sustainable and controlled usage areas' (sürdürülebilir koruma ve kontrollü kullanım alanı). The Natural Park around Meryem Ana (Meryem Ana Tabiat Parkı) on the south and Selçuk Gebekirse Lake Wildlife Development Area

(Selçuk Gebekirse Gölü Yaban Hayatı Geliştirme Sahası) on the north limit the archaeological site of Ephesus. The city center of Selçuk is positioned in between. 523

Tourism, agriculture, and industry are the three primary economic sources in the region. Infrastructure for the tourism sector mainly comprises accommodation facilities. The region has multiple hotels of various sizes in the city center of Selçuk and the Bay of Pamucak. The area meets the needs of the different tourism types. Because of the abundance of cultural areas in the region, cultural tourism constitutes the core of the sector of tourism. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the region has a strong religious component. Religious tourism is thus another substantial branch of tourism in the area. The archaeological site of Ephesus, the Ayasuluk Hill, the House of the Virgin Mary, the Museum of Ephesus, and the village of Şirince attract both cultural and religious tourists (Table 4.1). There are multiple other cultural heritage sites and museums in the region as well.⁵²⁴ Cruise tourism and seabased tourism are alternative types in the region. Cruise tourism was highly successful in the first five years of the 2010s. However, according to the records of the Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure General Directorate of Maritime Affairs (Ulaştırma ve Altyapı Bakanlığı Denizcilik Genel Müdürlüğü) in the last years, the number of cruise ships arriving the port of Kuşadası has dramatically decreased. 525

Table 4.1 Visitor statistics of museums and archaeological sites in the last five years (URL 59) prepared by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism for the total amount of visitor increase from 2016 to 2019. The statistics for 2020 and 2021 are not available on the website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The number of

The Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change (Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı) is an authorized body in the natural sites: *Ibid.*, p. 68; URL 25; URL 26.

⁵²⁴ These heritage sites are: the Cemetery of Seven Sleepers, the Byzantine Aequeduct, the İsa Bey Mosque, Selçuk Çamlık Outdoor Steam Locomotive Museum (Çamlık Açık Hava Buharlı Lokomotif Müzesi), and Çetin Village Culture Museum (Çetin Köyü Kültür Müzesi).

⁵²⁵ Between 2011 and 2013, approximately 1450 ships arrived at the port of Kuşadası. However, in 2020, only three cruise ships came. In 2021, 27 cruise ships put in, but in the first four months of 2022, the number rose to 32.

visitors to the Museum of Ephesus, the archaeological site of Ephesus, and the Basilica of St. John with their totals is indicated. The total number of visitors to all Turkey's museums and archaeological sites is also set out. The three museums in the Selçuk region attract almost six percent of the total visitors annually.

| | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 |
|----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| The Museum of Ephesus | 63,860 | 63,870 | 82,698 | 105,147 |
| The Archaeological Site of | | | | |
| Ephesus | 897,803 | 996,800 | 1,555,559 | 1,855,694 |
| The Basilica of St. John | 123,924 | 82,385 | 118,540 | 165,151 |
| Total | 1,085,587 | 1,143,055 | 1,756,797 | 2,125,992 |
| Turkey | 17,409,048 | 20,508,499 | 28,297,881 | 35,048,417 |

The second income source of the region is agriculture. Mainly, the agricultural activities in the region are the cultivation of fruit (olives, grapes, citrus fruits and drupes). 526

Tourism and agriculture together make up the main income of Selçuk. In contrast, the industrial sector has remained undeveloped. The companies in Selçuk are mainly interested in retail trade or wholesale trade and there is no heavy industry nor an organized industrial site.⁵²⁷

4.1.2 Accessibility of the Site

The city center of Selçuk is accessible through highways, railroads, airports, and a nearby harbor. The city center of İzmir, located 80 km north of Selçuk, is connected via highway E87 and the main road D550. The main roads provide access to all

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⁵²⁶ The Management Plan 2012, p. 33.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33; Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, p. 419. Outside these three sectors, only a few investment projects exist. In the region, there are several wind-power plants, and around the archaeological site applications for solar energy power plants are pending. Also, in the Bay of Pamucak, there are two mining areas: The Draft Management Plan 2022, pp. 148-150.

cultural heritage sites in the area. The suburban train, İzban, has several services from the city center of İzmir to Selçuk during the day. There are two adjacent airports in the area. Adnan Menderes Airport of İzmir is 60 km away, and Milas-Bodrum Airport is 135 km away from Selçuk. Selçuk-Efes Airport, which lies within the boundaries of the first-degree archaeological site of Ephesus, is utilized only for educational purposes by the Turkish Aeronautical Association. The port of Kuşadası is twenty kilometers away from the city center (Figure 4.2).



Figure 4.2. Ephesus, map showing the close surrounding and transportation of the region (URL 58)

The cultural heritage sites in the area can be reached via public transport, personal vehicle or by foot. Leaving the train station, the Byzantine Aequeduct and Selçuk Ephesus Collective Memory Center (*Selçuk Efes Kent Belleği Merkezi*) are set on a pedestrian road that passes over the main road and directs visitors to the main entrance gate of the Ayasuluk Hill. The pedestrian crossings and footbridge on the main road provide access to the Ayasuluk Hill (Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3. The Byzantine Aequeduct, leading visitors from the train station to the Ayasuluk Hill

At approximately 3 km southwest of the museum, the north entrance of the Ephesus archaeological site is located. The north entrance and the ancient sites on the slopes of Panayırdağ are readily reached by car through a well-maintained main road. A narrow asphalt road encircling Panayırdağ serves two entrances to the archaeological site; the upper entrance on the east, near the Magnesian Gate, and the lower on the north. The planned visitor route in the archaeological site starts from the upper entrance, follows the main visitor route within Ephesus, and ends at the lower entrance. A few pathways make their way to particular places, such as the Church of the Virgin Mary, the Terrace Houses and the Great Theater. The pebble floors, concrete and wooden pavements and the original marble-paved streets provide easy access to the ancient site, and ramp installations ease access for disabled visitors (Figure 4.4). However, such installations at the individual structures or on the pathways are infrequent.

There are two pilgrimage sites which are restricted for the public access: the Church in the Bay of Pamucak and the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, which is reached by a short narrow pathway separated from the main road circulating Panayırdağ. The only way to observe the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers as a whole is by climbing

up a small hill to obtain an overview of the cemetery making the site visually accessible (Figure 4.5). Even though accessibility to the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers is challenging, the devoted Catholic faithful specifically request tours that include this site.



Figure 4.4. Ephesus, different visitor paths



Figure 4.5. The Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, the visitor path

The House of the Virgin Mary, located in Bülbüldağ and surrounded by a forest, has the most challenging access. Connection is achieved via an asphalt road through Bülbüldağ, following the main road connecting Selçuk to Ephesus.

4.1.3 Conservation Strategies Regarding the Site

The archaeological site of Ephesus, together with Selçuk and its vicinity, has been subjected to numerous development and conservation plans (Table 4.2). Several institutions have been responsible for these plans. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the İKVKBK have to approve planning decisions concerning the archaeological aspects of the site. In contrast, the Municipality of Selçuk alone is in charge of preparing the management plan of Ephesus. Different institutions, such as İZSU, which has authority in dealing with infrastructure services, can also make decisions in the areas within the borders of Municipality of Selçuk. The mentioned area is also within the borders of the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. Further, the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization, and Climate Change and the Ministry of Forestry and Water Management are responsible for natural parks and natural sites.

During Ephesus' long-term excavations, multiple conservation attempts have focused on the structure and the archaeological site. The archaeological site of Ephesus, the Çukuriçi Mound, the Ayasuluk Hill, and the Artemision were placed under preservation orders in 1976 and 1979 by GEEAYK. From the last quarter of the 20th century, the edifices on these archaeological sites have been registered. There are 286 registered cultural assets within the borders of the Selçuk district, with 84 of them located within the borders of the Ephesus Management Area. Throughout the years, the borders and status of the archaeological sites have been revised and updated by İKVKBK and İTVKBK (Table 4.2).

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⁵²⁸ These preservation orders are indicated by GEEAYK in the Act no: 262 of 11.12.1976 and Act no: 1704 of 14.07.1979. According to this registration of 1979, the archaeological site of Ephesus was designated as a 'first-degree archaeological site'. In contrast, the areas around Ayasuluk Hill were determined as a 'third-degree archaeological site'. For more information, see the Draft Management Plan 2022, pp. 14-15.

⁵²⁹ Act no: 1704 of 14.07.1979. In the archaeological site of Ephesus alone, there are 43 single structures registered by GEEAYK. The registration documents regarding those structures could not be obtained from İKVKBK (as mentioned in Chapter 1).

⁵³⁰ The south of the Ayasuluk Hill area determined as an urban site in 13.04.1989 and it was restated as an urban archaeological site by İKVKBK on 11.09.2018: The Draft Management Plan 2022, p. 15. İKVKBK declared the area where the Church in the Bay of Pamucak was positioned as 'first-degree archaeological site' in 1990 (Act no: 2417 of 08.11.1990). The area surrounding the House of the

Table 4.2 Multiple acts regarding the conservation status of Ephesus

| Date | Act no | Approved Institution | Importance |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 11.12.1976 and 14.07.1979 | 262 and 1704 | GEEAYK | First registrations of the monuments in the Ayasuluk Hill, Çukuriçi Mound and archaeological site of Ephesus |
| 13.04.1989 | 974 | İKVKBK | Designation of an urban site on the south of Ayasuluk Hill |
| 08.11.1990 | 2417 | İKVKBK | Declaration of first-degree archaeological site on which the Church in the Bay of Pamucak is located |
| 09.06.2010 | 5827 | İKVKBK | Last updates on the borders of the archaeological sites |
| 17.08.2012 | _ | İKVKBK | Approval of 1/5000 Efes-Selçuk Archaeological Site Conservation Development Plan |
| 30.12.2014 | 21137 | Ministry of Environment, Urbanization, and Climate Change | Approval of the most comprehensive plan: 1/100.000 İzmir-Manisa Planning District Environmental Plan |
| 12.08.2016 | 4894 | İKVKBK | Approval of 1/1000 Efes-Selçuk Archaeological Site Conservation Development Plan |
| 27.07.2017 | 6342 | İKVKBK | Approval of the environmental design projects concerning the entrance of the archaeological site of Ephesus |
| 11.09.2018 | 7997 | İKVKBK | Designation of an urban archaeological site on the south of Ayasuluk Hill |
| 04.10.2018 | 8067 | İKVKBK | Approval of the environmental design projects concerning the entrance of the archaeological site of Ephesus |
| 31.10.2018 | 8167 | İKVKBK | Last updates on the borders of the archaeological sites |
| 13.12.2018 | 8456 | İKVKBK | Approval of a visitor center near the Artemision |
| 04.10.2019 | 753 | İTVKBK | Designation of the area around the House of the Virgin Mary as 'qualified natural site' |
| 13.09.2021 | 1721888 | Ministry of Environment, Urbanization, and Climate Change | Approval of a coastal defense facility in the Bay of Pamucak |

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Virgin Mary was designated as a 'qualified natural site' (*nitelikli doğal koruma alanı*) site in 2019 by İTVKBK (Act no: 753 of 04.10.2019).

In the first years of the 21st century, studies on an appropriate management plan concerning the region had begun. As mentioned before, the management plan was a necessary document for the nomination to World Heritage List and it is prepared for this purpose. 531 Later the management plan was renewed as a procedural requirement due to World Heritage Site status. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the İzmir Development Agency (İzmir Kalkınma Ajansı) commenced on the management plan of Ephesus in 2009. In 2010, the Municipality of Selçuk also participated in this process. The management plan of 2014-2019 comprises the first-degree and thirddegree archaeological sites, the urban site, the areas up to the İzmir-Aydın highroad, the House of the Virgin Mary, and its vicinity. There are some minor overlapping between natural sites and natural parks within the borders of the management plan. 532 In the same period, the 1/5000 Efes-Selçuk Archaeological Site Conservation Development Plan has been in preparation. 533 Since the conservation development plan and the management plan were being worked on at the same time, they followed similar attitudes and plans for the region. In the following years, the region has been subjected to multiple legal regulations to various extents.⁵³⁴

⁵³¹ See above, p. 44.

⁵³² The Management Plan 2012, pp. 6-13.

⁵³³ The 1/5000 plan was prepared by the Municipality of Selçuk, and approved by İKVKBK in 2012. The plan suggested positions for entrance gates and parking lots. The lower gate is planned to be the main entrance with a paved pedestrian path and parking lots. However, in practice the lower gate is used as the exit. The (sloping) Curetes Street and the difficulty of climbing up to the Upper Agora and the upper entrance may have altered the theoretically planned entrance's viability. For the legal document concerning the approval of the conservation development plan and the suggested places of the landscape projects, see Appendices B and C.

The most comprehensive among them is the 1/100.000 İzmir-Manisa Planning District Environmental Plan (İzmir-Manisa Planlama Bölgesi 1/100.000 Ölçekli Çevre Düzeni Planı) approved by the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change in 2014 (Appendix A) (Act no: 21137 of 30.12.2014; URL 27). The 1/25.000 İzmir Metropolitan Environmental Plan (İzmir Büyükşehir Bütünü 1/25.000 Ölçekli Çevre Düzeni) and 1/5000 Selçuk Master Plan approved in 1974, with several later revisions, also include the site: Kap Yücel 2019, pp. 62-63. For more detailed information on the revisions of the master plan of Selçuk, see Kap Yücel 2019. Ephesus Archaeological Site Itinerary Environmental Design Projects (Efes Antik Kenti Yeni Ziyaretçi Merkezi ve Çevre Düzeni Projesi) approved by İKVKBK also proposed several interventions regarding the area (Act no: 6342 of 27.07.2017; Act no: 8067 of 04.10.2018). Similar to the management plan and the conservation development plan, the borders of these plans also overlap.

The more elaborate plan regarding the archaeological site of Ephesus came into force in 2016: the 1/1000 Ephesus Conservation Development Plan was approved by İKVKBK (Appendices B and D). The plan comprises the decisions on the continuation of agricultural activities, determination of new and alternative routes, parking lots, stores, and construction of new entrance gates to the archaeological site of Ephesus. 535

Following the conservation development plan, several environmental design projects were introduced to the archaeological sites within the borders of the management plan. ⁵³⁶ A visitor center near the Temple of Artemis, ⁵³⁷ and a coastal defense facility on the Bay of Pamucak are the two large-scale projects concerning the site. ⁵³⁸

In the last years, studies concerning Ephesus' second management plan have commenced. In 2021 and 2022, this second management plan was prepared by the Municipality of Selçuk and transferred to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism for approval.⁵³⁹ This draft management plan was prepared with a more holistic approach than the previous one. The site definition, strategies, and action plans are more

⁵³⁵ The 1/1000 Archaeological Site Conservation Development Plan has a holistic approach to urban development as to the urban and archaeological sites. The plan defines sub-projects to tackle the numerous accessibility-circulation and visitor problems in a balanced conservation/utilization. Despite the comprehensive attitude followed in the development plan, some problems exist. Such as the large-scale environmental design project proposal for installing an observation terrace on the slopes of Bülbüldağ (The project was rejected in the following years on the suggestions of the international organizations).

⁵³⁶ İKVKBK approved the environmental design projects (Act no: 6342 of 27.07.2017; Act no: 8067 of 04.10.2018). The project suggests that the Lower Gate's main entrance be removed, and that a visitor center, administrative center, and market space will be constructed. Rehabilitation with a visitor center is also planned for the Upper Gate's secondary entrance. Due to the significant visitor numbers to the Cemetery of Seven Sleepers, rehabilitation is provisioned for the area; a visitor center and parking lots will be constructed: The Draft Management Plan 2022, p. 29.

⁵³⁷ The visitor center near the Artemision was approved by İKVKBK (Act no: 8456 of 13.12.2018). A steel structure is designed as the visitor center, with exhibitions and observation platforms. Refill at the existing ground level around the temple to form a visitor route, connecting this route to the visitor center square, and arranging for a parking lot and box office area are parts of the project: The Draft Management Plan 2022, pp. 31-32.

⁵³⁸ The approval is indicated in the Act no: 1721888 of 13.09.2021 by the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change; URL 28.

⁵³⁹ Since the ministry has not yet approved the plan, the management plan for the years between 2022 and 2027 is addressed as the draft management plan.

comprehensive. The strategies now are formed around different predicted scenarios for different periods. Additionally, the action plans follow a detailed structure based on the preservation, sustainability, visitor management, development of a social aspect of the region, and risk management plan.⁵⁴⁰ There are also observations on the previous management plan's action plan.⁵⁴¹

In addition to the national bodies, the site and its preservation status are already on the agenda of international organizations. In 1994, the archaeological site of Ephesus, the Artemision, the Basilica of St. John, and the Ayasuluk Hill were included in the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List. In 2015, Ephesus was declared as a cultural heritage site with an outstanding universal value by the World Heritage Committee according to the following criteria: ⁵⁴²

• Criterion iii: "to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or a living civilization that has disappeared."⁵⁴³

The action plans comprise multiple projects with various focus points. There are large-scale projects such as visitor reception and introduction center environmental design projects for both the Ayasuluk Hill and the archaeological site of Ephesus, installation of observation platforms, revisions on existing *anastylosis* projects, and renovations and additions to the urban fabric. Present-day technology also benefits: projects on composing a database, archive, and library, the digitalization of the inventory of the Museum of Ephesus. All to be shared with researchers. The action plans include a transportation master plan preparation and a designation of bicycle and trekking routes between Selçuk-Ephesus-Ayasuluk Hill-the House of the Virgin Mary. Visitor management is achieved via the determination of needs and habits of different visitor profiles, design of the itinerary programs accordingly, and the formation of various itineraries, generating a network for sharing visitor experience. Activities are also encouraged in the archaeological site with assigned cultural and social dimensions. For visitor management purposes, volunteers are assigned to promote the site and the creation of an internet portal compatible with the Ephesus management plan operation, and visitor plans are the desired outcomes of the draft management plan (pp. 190-234).

The management plan (pp. 127-147) proposed multiple actions such as preparing a photographic survey concerning the site, establishing bicycle and trekking routes, and increasing the parking lots. However, these proposals were not executed due to permission, funding, and planning problems.

⁵⁴² The nominated area includes four components: the Çukuriçi Mound (Component 1), the Ancient City of Ephesus (Component 2), the area of Ayasuluk Hill with the Basilica of St John, the Medieval Settlement and the Artemision (Component 3), and the House of the Virgin Mary (Component 4): ICOMOS 2015, p. 320. After the determining of the area as a World Heritage Site, multiple international organizations such as ICOMOS, ICCROM, and World Heritage Committee published conservation reports evaluating the site's conservation status in 2017 and 2019.

⁵⁴³ URL 29. According to ICOMOS (2015, p. 324), this criterion has been demonstrated by the first three components.

- Criterion iv: "to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history."⁵⁴⁴
- Criterion vi: "to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance."⁵⁴⁵

4.1.4 Interpretation, Presentation, and Visitor Orientation Approaches

In addition to the above-mentioned conservation decisions, multiple actions regarding the preservation of the archaeological and architectural heritage were taken. Accordingly, numerous interventions were proposed and implemented to enhance an effective site interpretation and presentation with visitor orientation. ⁵⁴⁶ For site interpretation, written and oral communication tools are often used. These tools transmit brief historical and architectural information to the visitors before and during the site visit. Written sources here mainly comprise the recently modified website of the Municipality of Selçuk, information panels scattered around the region, and booklets prepared by the legal bodies. ⁵⁴⁷ The audio guides, which have been much used on the archaeological sites, and the tourist guides are the primary oral communication tools in the area. Several methods are used to present the cultural heritage in a visual aspect, such as *anastylosis* (the actual reconstruction of a

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.* According to ICOMOS (2015, p. 324), this criterion has also been demonstrated by the first three components.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid*. This criterion was justified by the continuity of religious significance from the cult of Artemis to the Marian commemorations in the House and Church of the Virgin Mary and the Basilica of St. John as some of the most significant religious sites in the Mediterranean. However, the ICOMOS evaluation dossier stated that solely the House of the Virgin Mary bears the 'direct or tangible evidence of association with religious beliefs and pilgrimage of outstanding universal significance' and not the others. As a result, ICOMOS stated that the selection of all four components is not appropriate as component 4 does not meet the criteria (iii) and (iv). Therefore, component 4 was proposed to be excluded from the series: ICOMOS 2015, pp. 324-325.

⁵⁴⁶ For another evaluation of the preservation and presentation of the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus, see Gümüşlü 2021, pp. 419-425.

Although the signboards are sufficient to procure directions, a holistic presentation approach to the cultural heritage areas is missing in the city center of Selçuk.

structure), virtual reconstructions, topographic site models, and three-dimensional models. As well as these attempts to transmit knowledge, the Museum of Ephesus and Selçuk Ephesus Collective Memory Center, which acts as a visitor center and gives brief information regarding the site, interpret and present the site in written, oral and visual forms and approaches.

These interpretation and presentation methods are now described in some more detail, starting from the city center of Selçuk and proceeding to the Ayasuluk Hill, the Artemision, the archaeological site of Ephesus Byzantine and its close vicinity, and the House of the Virgin Mary.

The cultural heritage areas in the city center of Selçuk (mainly the Byzantine Aequeduct) are briefly explained via a few information panels. By following the aequeduct, the ruins on the Ayasuluk Hill and the entrance of the open-air archaeological site of Ayasuluk are reached. This archaeological site is interpreted and presented via a few implementations; multiple information panels describing the structures, and a small 3D model of the Basilica of St. John (Figure 4.6), a reconstruction of a small part of the north nave wall between two piers (Figure 4.7).

The information panels provide historical knowledge regarding the site and its structures, detailed architectural data of the edifices, and the Ayasuluk Hill excavation history. Old photographs, aerial views, maps of the Ayasuluk Hill, and plan drawings of the structures support such information. The data regarding the religious significance of the site is given in almost every information panel in the Ayasuluk Hill, and the data concerning the life of St. John is also given in detail. The in-situ ruins, which have been conserved and restored, demonstrate the construction techniques employed. There is no visitor center.



Figure 4.6. Selçuk, the Basilica of St. John with different presentation techniques





Figure 4.7. Selçuk, the Basilica of St. John with the reconstructed nave wall (left) and bema (right)

The interpretation and presentation techniques at the Temple of Artemis are slightly different from those of the Ayasuluk Hill. The temple's location is indicated via the repositioned and irregularly rebuilt column, and the original structure and the historical background are demonstrated via three information panels. The panels consisted of restitution drawings of plan and elevation, a partial reconstruction drawing, and one photograph of the peripteros of the temple. Historical and architectural information with excavation history introduce the site to the visitors. This presentation technique does not do service to the former glory of the temple.

On the road directing to the temple's ruins, there is another information panel demonstrating the *Via Sacra* and trekking routes (Figure 4.8). This 32-km hiking route from Ephesus to Magnesia is partially overlapped with the Processional Way of Artemision and a pathway between the House of the Virgin Mary and the Ayasuluk Hill used by the Christian pilgrims. More detailed information regarding those pathways, maps and photos of them are inscribed in the information panel.





Figure 4.8. Ephesus, the Artemision, information panels

In the archaeological site of Ephesus, the visitor management starts with the environmental design projects for both entrances of Ephesus (including shops, a cafeteria, audio guide units, and box offices) (Figure 4.9). The main route of the archaeological site of Ephesus officially starts from the upper entrance and follows the city's ancient streets. A few signboards and the topography of the archaeological site lead the visitor from the upper entrance towards the lower entrance. The route consists of specific nodes (the State Agora, the square in front of the Celsus Library,

the Lower Agora) and the streets (*Embolos*, the Theater Street, the Arcadiane) connecting them.⁵⁴⁸



Figure 4.9. Ephesus, upper entrance (left) and lower entrance (right)

Ephesus' written, oral and visual interpretation and presentation techniques are rather elaborate. The long excavation history and the existence of the ancient sources constitute a base for the data regarding the site interpretation and presentation. The archaeological site presents this data to the visitors via multiple brochures, guidebooks, and information panels (Appendix E). Audio guides and tourist guides also provide oral presentations in Ephesus. The archaeological site is displayed by varied methods. The 3D topographic model of the Roman Ephesus with scaled models of multiple monuments gives a succinct and absorbable overview on the geographical situation of the city and how to locate oneself in the vast archaeological site (Figure 4.10). The information panels around this model describe the research and excavation history of Ephesus with rather detailed historical information of the different periods from the Chalcolithic Age up to the Byzantine periods (the significance of Ephesus in Christian history and Christian pilgrimage is also indicated in the panels) along with old documents, old photographs, aerial photos, maps of different periods and plan drawing of the archaeological site. The restored Upper Agora and many restored structures on the travel route direct the visitors to the lower parts of Ephesus. These mentioned structures are restored with different methodologies: the modern restoration of the Domitian square, the 'avant-garde'

⁵⁴⁸ Some parts of this modern visitor route overlap with the Processional Way (described in the previous chapter). However, the visitors are unconscious that they follow the footsteps of the ritual participated by the young Ephesians: Aktüre 2019, pp. 319-332.

architectural composition of the Memmius Monument, or the partial *anastylosis* of the Hadrian Gate (Figure 4.11).⁵⁴⁹



Figure 4.10. Ephesus, different presentation techniques



Figure 4.11. Ephesus, the Domitian square (left), the Memmius Monument (middle) and the Hadrian Gate (right)

The information panels positioned around almost every structure demonstrate the edifice in its historical and architectural aspects. The style of the panels is similar: brief historical and architectural information, the position of the building on the base

⁵⁴⁹ For more detailed information on the restoration techniques in Ephesus, see also Ladstätter 2018, pp. 253-288.

map, old photographs, aerial views, plan drawing, and, if available, reconstruction images, and a detailed photograph of the structure. The information on the domestic architecture is represented at the Terrace Houses, that are separated from the main visitor route with a protective shell-like structure (Figure 4.12).



Figure 4.12. Ephesus, the Terrace Houses, the protective structure

The most observable *anastylosis* of Ephesus is the Celsus Library and the buildings encircling the square in front of the library. This square mainly attracts visitors since it is an example of a human-scaled open public space that imparts a sense of an actual living public square. The restored and partially reconstructed Great Theater and the socio-cultural activities that take place in the theater enhance this visitor attraction. Besides these visual representations, there are also virtual reconstructions of Ephesus and the significant monuments in the archaeological site (Figure 4.13; 4.14). A virtual tour of Selçuk and Ephesus with cultural heritage sites indicated can be found on the website of the Municipality of Selçuk.

According to Aktüre (2019, pp. 326-332), this node is a 'hot spot' filled with tourists taking photographs. Aktüre describes that 'hot spot' as a consumed destination image transformed into the cultural mode.

⁵⁵¹ The concerts that have taken place in the theater since the 1990s attract visitors. For more detailed information on the previous activities and the restoration works in the Great Theater, see also Aktüre 2010, pp. 337-339; Aktüre 2011, pp. 75-78.

⁵⁵² Examples of those virtual reconstructions are the studies of Ádám Németh (URL 30), the previous studies of virtual reconstructions by using the program 3DMAX (Koyuncu and Bostancı 2009, pp. 233-236) along with the studies of Koob, Mieke and Gellert (2011, pp. 229-241).



Figure 4.13. Ephesus, the 3D reconstruction of the Arcadiane in the 6th century CE (Koob *et al.* 2011, p. 235)



Figure 4.14. Ephesus, the 3D reconstruction of the Curetes Street and the aerial view of the city in the 1st century BCE (URL 30)



Figure 4.15. The Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, information panels

The interpretation and presentation techniques are somewhat different again in the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers which is positioned on the eastern slopes of Panayırdağ. A few information panels give only brief information on the historical and architectural qualities of the site with a plan drawing and photographs from the cemetery (Figure 4.15). There is no specific effort in the visual or oral dimensions made as this religious site is restricted as to what visitors can do. Even though there

are no specific interpretation and presentation techniques to enhance and display the religious characteristics of the site, that aspect is well acknowledged by Christian and Muslim pilgrims. The visits of Muslims and their spiritual activities (mentioned in the previous chapter) make the site appear quite different from the norm.

Like the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, the House of the Virgin Mary is a religious site for Christians and has spiritual significance for Muslims. Accordingly, the religious quality is more apparent here in *Meryem Ana* as the site is a world-known living religious heritage. The establishment of the House of the Virgin Mary as a pilgrimage site by the Vatican and the organizing of the daily mass here in the first half of the 1950s enhanced this attribution.⁵⁵³ In the following years, the economic contributions enabled by the multiple associations of the site improved its management and procured an adequate site interpretation and presentation, ensuring a universal recognition. The site interpretation and presentation techniques are also peculiar to this heritage site. Booklets and information panels are presented in various languages such as Turkish, Greek, French, English, etc., and the restored structures in the pilgrimage site give information regarding the historical and architectural features of the site. The continuous religious activities and the annually celebrated religious festivals emphasize the living religious character of the site and represent it admirably to the visitors (Figure 4.16).



Figure 4.16. The House of the Virgin Mary, during the celebrations of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary on August 15

⁵⁵³ Aktüre 2011, p. 78.

Religious routes connect the spiritual sites or connect them with the community: the Processional Way commenced from the Artemision encircling Ephesus, the Processional Way's development in the Byzantine period, and the processions started from Şirince to the Grotto of St. Paul and the House of the Virgin Mary. Some part of the Processional Way overlaps with the main tourist route in Ephesus. Besides, despite the presence of the routes carrying a significant religious and cultural potential, no particular interpretation and presentation value is attributed to them by the authorities.⁵⁵⁴

Selçuk and Ephesus are also interpreted and presented in a socio-cultural aspect in addition to the above-mentioned written, oral or visual methods. Every year at the end of August, Ephesus Opera and Ballet Festivals take place in the Great Theater of Ephesus. International İzmir Festival also take place in the archaeological site of Ephesus.⁵⁵⁵ The festival includes classical, traditional and contemporary works in music, theater, opera and ballet (Figure 4.17). In a more local sense, various events are organized throughout the year in Selçuk: theater plays in the Bay of Pamucak, Selçuk-Ephesus Culture, Art and Life Festival (EFEST), and a camel wrestling festival.⁵⁵⁶ Multiple museums with different focuses in the city center of Selçuk promote the area's cultural identity. Selçuk Ephesus Collective Memory Center

These attempts are usually expressed as private tours led by a guide, shaped for different users, and arranged for the different chronological periods. According to the web searches, there are daily tours consisting visits to the archaeological site of Ephesus, and the House of the Virgin Mary, with lunch at the city center of Selçuk. The Artemision, the Basilica of St. John, the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, the Museum of Ephesus, and the small village of Şirince are optional in the itineraries. Another option is the biblical tour consisting of the pilgrimage sites and the spaces representing religious incidents. Occasionally, daily trips are enlarged to a couple of days and link the close-by archaeological sites into the itinerary, such as Hierapolis, Kuşadası, Didyma, Priene, Miletus, Laodicea, and Pergamon. However, none of those trips suggested visiting Ephesus for more than one day. In addition, Ephesus is on the itinerary of the 'Seven Churches of the Revelation' tours: URL 31; URL 32.

⁵⁵⁵ URL 33; URL 34. The festival was held various places in Ephesus: in the State Agora, in front of Celsus Library, the Great Theater and the Odeon.

⁵⁵⁶ The camel wrestling festival was organized around the North Gate and the Stadium of Ephesus. The festival was forbidden in the archaeological site and reorganized in another district: Haşal Bakıcıol 2017.

provides permanent exhibitions on how the city is perceived by the inhabitants and the historical facts of Selçuk. Displays of documentaries, various workshops targeting different age groups, conferences, and temporary exhibitions are held in the center (Figure 4.18).⁵⁵⁷ Another socio-cultural activity organized on site is the weekly classical music concert performed in the Museum of Ephesus. The natural beauties of the region are also a significant component in the site interpretation and presentation. Several ecotourism routes are conducted, including motorsports, treks, and hikes taking in the *Meryem Ana* and Belevi Galesion Castle.⁵⁵⁸



Figure 4.17. Ephesus, Opera and Ballet Festivals took place in the Great Theater and in front of the Celsus Library (URL 60)



Figure 4.18. Selçuk Ephesus Collective Memory Center, permanent exhibition

These varied site interpretation and presentation techniques attract numerous visitors from different backgrounds. The visitors, made up of individuals as much as tour groups of different ages, are mainly motivated by several objectives working together, such as cultural, religious, or educational.⁵⁵⁹ As mentioned, several and

⁵⁵⁷ A virtual tour of the structure is also available online: URL 35.

⁵⁵⁸ URL 36

⁵⁵⁹ In the guide websites, the religious potential of the site is addressed: URL 37.

varied presentation techniques are implemented in the archaeological sites and the city center of Selçuk to fulfil the visitor's needs.⁵⁶⁰ Even so, visitors often participate in tours and are directed by their guide.⁵⁶¹

4.2 Assessment of Values and Opportunities of and Threats to the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus within the General Context of Selçuk

The site's current situation and historical and architectural characteristics have been described in the previous chapters. The evaluation of these properties is the main aim now. Firstly, theoretical discussions on values and threats concerning cultural heritage sites are presented here. Then, the values and opportunities of the Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage within the context of Selçuk are identified. This section will also discuss the problems and threats to the site to form a comprehensive assessment of the region.

The debates on heritage values commenced in the early 20th century. Alois Reigl analyzed the values of historical monuments and differentiated these values in multiple ways. Since then, multiple standpoints on the heritage values existing in cultural heritage conservation have been discussed. Feilden and Jokilehto have addressed these points and the management guidelines operating in sundry cultural heritage sites. According to them, a cultural heritage definition should be based on a

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⁵⁶⁰ For example, a brochure is prepared by the Municipality of Selçuk, which suggests 6 different routes for the visitors. The routes are ordered according to their lengths. The first is the cultural route consisting of the railway station, the Byzantine Aequeduct, Mr. Carpouza Café, Selçuk Ephesus Collective Memory Center, the Basilica of St. John, and the İsa Bey Mosque, the Artemision, and the Museum of Ephesus. The second one is the religious route comprising the archaeological site of Ephesus, the House of the Virgin Mary, the *Via Sacra*, and the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers. The third one is the route of Aziziye, consisting of the Pollio Aequeduct, the locomotive museum, and the House of Atatürk. The route of Belevi, as the fourth, involves the Galesion Castle. The fifth one, the route of Şirince, includes the small village of Şirince. The last one, the nature route, is comprehensive, including all the natural sites around the region.

⁵⁶¹ URL 38.

⁵⁶² The value framework of Reigl (1903, pp. 69-83) is divided into two. First are historical, artistic and commemorative values (age and deliberate commemorative values), and the second concerns present-day values (use and newness values).

clear understanding of the heritage object's consideration and values.⁵⁶³ Conservation of a heritage resource is a process where raising an appreciation of the heritage as a fundamental element of contemporary society is the first step. For this to be successful, a framework for value assessment and management policies and interpretation and presentation techniques should be put in place.⁵⁶⁴

Heritage values are integral to heritage conservation, according to Randall Mason and Erica Avrami. They argue that cultural heritage, which is formed by the dynamics and needs of the society, is conserved, or not, thanks to the values attributed to it. ⁵⁶⁵ The definitions of 'value' in the preservation process fall into two sets: it may refer to principles, morals or ethics which "serve as guides to action", or in the second meaning attributed, it may concern the characteristics of things or objects. ⁵⁶⁶ As values are interrelated with cultural heritage (which is a social construct, not a scientific phenomenon), the term itself highly depends on the subjective aspects of a site, such as identity and history. Both definitions of value help shape the subjective and context-bound characteristics of values. Therefore, values attributed to a specific site or a heritage building are of different kinds, albeit highly interrelated. Moreover, these different values can not only complete each other but also conflict with one another. ⁵⁶⁷

Due to this subjective nature of values, the value assessment itself is a complicated process and depends rather on who is evaluating the heritage site. To form a common and more objective reference point, values are mostly evaluated by typologies. However, a heritage site cannot be accurately explained or defined by one specific typology. Rather the assessment should be exclusive to a particular project or site.

⁵⁶³ Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, p. 12.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁶⁵ Mason and Avrami 2002, p. 25.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁶⁷ Avrami and Mason 2019, p. 11; Mason and Avrami 2002, p. 25.

Obviously, this assessment is always an individual process as it depends on one's perspective towards the site.⁵⁶⁸

To achieve a holistic value assessment, multiple frameworks must be introduced. The framework in the management guidelines of Feilden and Jokilehto is a comprehensive example of such. The values of World Heritage Sites are divided into cultural and contemporary socio-economic values. Cultural values are associated with heritage sources and their relation to contemporary observers. The varied cultural values have a substantial impact on conservation since they derive from the emotional perceptions of the society. Contemporary socio-economic values fall into varied categories: economic, functional, educational, social, and political. The distinction within the values can be further exemplified; however, the common ground of the values should not be ignored, a matter mentioned in the Burra Charter of the Australian ICOMOS (1999), namely that "conservation of a place should identify and take into consideration all aspects of cultural and natural significance without unwarranted emphasis on any one value at the expense of others".

Feilden and Jokilehto saw their framework as a reference or starting point for the creation of a more elaborate and site-specific assessment process.⁵⁷² To achieve this, a value attribution system mentioned by Webber Ndoro could act as an example. As remarked above, value is a subjective field. Therefore, its interpretation and

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⁵⁶⁸ Mason and Avrami 2002, pp. 15-22.

⁵⁶⁹ Cultural values are identity, relative artistic or technical, and rarity. Identity is the emotional ties of society to something. It includes aspects like age, tradition, continuity, memorial, legendary, wonder, sentiment, spiritual, religious and symbolic, political, patriotic, and nationalistic. Relative artistic or technical value is based on scientific, historical evaluations, technical, structural, functional concepts, and workmanship. These groups of values ensure a base for classification and strategy for treatment. Rarity value is about the representativeness or uniqueness of the heritage element: Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, pp. 18-19.

⁵⁷⁰ First, the economic value is created by the heritage element or the conservation act; tourism, commerce, use, and amenities. Functional value is either a continuation of the original one or a newly attributed use. The educational value is related to integrating the heritage object to promote awareness of culture and history. The public's contemporary social interaction with present-day use constitutes social and political value: *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁷¹ ICOMOS 1999, p. 4.

⁵⁷² Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, p. 21.

evaluation by the academics and locals living in or around a cultural heritage differ. The differences in the value assessment process may challenge the locals' attitudes toward the cultural heritage. To prevent this challenge becoming negative, a value system influenced by social issues such as tourism, commerce, or housing may be easier to relate to for the inhabitants.⁵⁷³

As value assessment constitutes a significant part of the conservation process, the threats towards a heritage site and how to prevent them constitute an essential task to be dealt with. Besides the most visible threat, material decay, there are multiple other natural and human-made threats. According to Palumbo, these threats cannot be utterly eliminated, but they can be managed with an extensive development and management planning process. 574

To overcome threats to World Heritage Sites, Feilden and Jokilehto assert several suggestions. For example, mass tourism is a severe threat that dramatically influences a heritage site and makes it more vulnerable to further physical damage. Its effects could be reduced by establishing different attractions in the vicinity, thus diverting the visitor's attention to lesser-known heritage sites or developing new attraction places. Limitations to the number of visitors, managing arrival times, or forming alternative routes for visitors may be parts of the solution. ⁵⁷⁵

4.2.1 Values

The value framework in this thesis is based on the framework proposed by Feilden and Jokilehto, as their system is more comprehensive and adaptable than the others.

Feilden and Jokilehto constructed a basic framework that could then be developed according to the heritage site's particular characteristics. Thus, few alterations were

⁵⁷³ Ndoro 2018, pp. 24-25.

⁵⁷⁴ Palumbo 2002, pp. 3-12.

⁵⁷⁵ Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, p. 102.

made in adjusting the value framework to the site values. First, cultural values and socio-economic values of the site are presented. Cultural values are not divided into three subsections, as Feilden and Jokilehto suggested. This decision is based on the fact that the cultural aspects related to the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus are interrelated and cannot be fully covered by three sub-sections. Cultural values are listed according to Feilden and Jokilehto; however, for that specified reason, pilgrimage value focusing on the past pilgrimage activities and living religious heritage value, a site identity for Ephesus, are also added to cultural values. These values are arranged from a general to a specific perspective.

First, the outstanding universal values of Ephesus and their content are presented in detail. After that, values concerning Ephesus together with the Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage of Ephesus (with a specific focus on its religious significance and pilgrimage aspects) are set forth. Following that, socio-economic values with the general context of Ephesus are examined.

The archaeological site of Ephesus has been on the Tentative List of UNESCO since 1994 and became a member of the World Heritage List in 2015. According to the three criteria designated by UNESCO, the site has an 'outstanding universal value'. ⁵⁷⁶ Criterion (iii) points out the cultural traditions of the Hellenistic, Roman Imperial, and early Christian periods and their reflections in the monuments in Ephesus and the Ayasuluk Hill. The continuous settlement history, dating back to the 7th millennium BCE and, with shifts in the landscape due to environmental factors constitutes the content of Criterion (iv). During its long history, the area underwent multiple settlements: they include the mounds, the skirts of Ayasuluk Hill, the settlement of Croesus on the north of Panayırdağ, the area around the Artemision, the archaeological site of Ephesus, the Byzantine settlement on the Ayasuluk Hill, and the Artemision and the modern city center of Selçuk. Ephesus' religious character can be observed in the pagan site of the Temple of Artemis, and

⁵⁷⁶ URL 41.

the Processional Way that started from the temple and circuited Ephesus, which was an essential religious and social structure for the city's identity. The transformation of this pagan pilgrimage into a Christian one and its importance as indicated in the Basilica of St. John and the Church of the Virgin Mary are demonstrated with the Criterion (vi). However, these criteria do not include the living religious heritage and the pilgrimage routes in Ephesus.

Table 4.3 The cultural and socio-economic values of the site – values of the Late

Antique and Byzantine heritage of Ephesus are presented

| | | The Content | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|------------|
| | | Late Antique and | Religious | Pilgrimage |
| | | Byzantine | Heritage | (Past and |
| | | Cultural Heritage | | Modern) |
| | V.1. Historic Value | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| nes | V.2. Legendary Value | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Cultural Values | V.3. Religious-Spiritual Value | ✓ | ✓ | √. |
| | V.4. Pilgrimage Value | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Cult | V.5. Relative Artistic and Technical Value | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| | V.6. Representativeness Value | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Socio- Economic Values | V.7. Economic Value | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| | V.8. Conservation Status | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| | V.9. Education Value | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

4.2.1.1 Cultural Values

V.1. Historic Value:

The site indicates a diversity from the Archaic through to the Hellenistic, Roman, and Christian periods. A functioning early Christian community's presence in Ephesus clearly indicates that Ephesus was an influential site in Christian history. The visits and missionary activities of St. Paul and his letter to Ephesians also signify Ephesus' social, political, and religious role in the Christian world. Besides the activities of these saints, mentions of the city and its Christian community in literary

sources (the Book of Revelation) indicate its important place in Christian history. Ephesus' political and geographical importance led to its hosting the 3rd Ecumenical Council (431) gathering in the Church of the Virgin Mary.

V.2. Legendary Value:

The area houses several legends and myths alive in the Byzantine period. According to the myths, the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and St. Lazarus are believed to have come to Ephesus and died there. The legend of the Seven Sleepers, and the legend of St. John the Evangelist are also among those myths. They are an outcome of the historic features of Ephesus and gave a religious significance to the city. This value had even turned into a pilgrimage character at some specific sites.

V.3. Religious-Spiritual Value:

Since the establishment of Lydian rule in the region, the area has had clear religious and spiritual dimensions. The presence of several myths support this spirituality. The Christian community forms one of the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse, and St. Paul visited Ephesus twice. These features prove that Ephesus was a significant city for Christian believers. The cults of Mary Magdalene, St. Timothy, St. Lazarus, and St. Luke are also associated with Ephesus. In later years, the legend of the Seven Sleepers also played out here (Figure 4.19).



Figure 4.19. The Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, Muslim women fixing small pieces of clothes to bushes in front of the cemetery (Pülz 2012, p. 248)

Besides the shared beliefs, there are also historical facts and archaeological finds pertaining to Ephesus' religious identity, such as the 3rd Ecumenical Council (431)

gathering in the Church of the Virgin Mary or the multiple Christian structures constructed in and around Ephesus. The continuation of the Processional Way (*Via Sacra*), with additional paths connecting the Basilica of St. John, the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers and the Grotto of St. Paul to the original way points out the continuous spiritual character of the site.

V.4. Pilgrimage Value:

The region, already significant on religious grounds, is an outstanding example of how an ancient pagan pilgrimage site got transformed into a Christian one. It has kept this characteristic until the present day. The pagan pilgrimage site, the Artemision, lost its *raison d'etre* after the institution of Christianity as the state religion. According to the Christian legends, the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers and the Basilica of St. John were then developed as the new pilgrimage centers in the area. The archaeological finds prove the pilgrimage activity in the Basilica of St. John. Although the Church of the Virgin Mary lacks any architectural characteristics or archaeological findings identifying it as a pilgrimage site, its venue of a significant religious event in the 5th century and the continuity of its religious nature in the present day help establish a pilgrimage value. The Byzantine *Via Sacra* connecting these structures was also a pilgrimage route. Another church with a pilgrimage characteristic is the Church in the Bay of Pamucak.

Although the phenomenon of pilgrimage in Ephesus lost its importance during the period of the Ottomans, in the 19th century another pilgrimage site had emerged. This new pilgrimage center, the House of the Virgin Mary, was acknowledged as a Christian pilgrimage center by Pope Pius XII (1951) too. The annual procession from Şirince to the House of the Virgin Mary, along with another procession from Şirince to the Grotto of St. Paul, and the "Feast of the Dormition" celebrated by the Orthodox community in Şirince support the past pilgrimage value of the region.

The above-mentioned pilgrimage value was about the past pilgrimage activities in the region. As the pilgrimage phenomenon in Ephesus, specifically the Christian pilgrimage is a continuous one, which can also be addressed as the spirit of the place, the site possesses a living religious heritage value. The Christian community is rather influential in the area. In the House of the Virgin Mary, the holy mass is held every day, and annually, on the 15th of August, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary is celebrated there. On the 11th of October, the same community celebrates the Feast of Theotokos in the Church of the Virgin Mary in Ephesus. Similarly, the Orthodox community celebrates the miracle of St. John annually on the 8th of May in the Basilica of St. John. The Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers is still on the itinerary of the Catholics even though the cemetery is a restricted site in terms of accessibility. The continuation of pilgrimage activities into modern times suggests the endurance of the memory value of religious characteristics of the site as well. Even though the past religious communities (such as the Orthodox community in Şirince) could not sustain their activities, the commemorative value attributed by that religion still functions in the living religious heritage sites.

Pilgrimage, as defined in the Christian World, is a journey, a movement in space, and a quest for the sacred. As indicated in Chapter 2, the difference between tourists and pilgrims is rather vague. Through the journey, motivations of both groups can merge, resulting in more personalized meanings of pilgrimage. The House of the Virgin Mary, the most renowned religious heritage site in the area, exhibits this ambigous definition of pilgrimage. In *Meryem Ana*, the tourists can become religious tourists and even pilgrims, and in return, they secularize this pilgrimage center. ⁵⁷⁷

V.5. Relative Artistic and Technical Value:

The region houses spatial and architectural features, typical construction techniques, and materials of the Late Antique and Byzantine periods. The construction technique of the Church of the Virgin Mary displays examples of the recessed-brick technique

⁵⁷⁷ Gallagher 2016.

and alternating courses of brick and stone. The Church of the Virgin Mary had multiple construction phases. The last phase is a typical cross-domed church of which only a few examples of this type have survived. Another significant religious structure, the Basilica of St. John, also has multiple construction phases. The basilica was a typical Byzantine church with its atrium and the baptistery.

The construction materials of the Hellenistic Ephesus and the Artemision were reused in the Byzantine city walls, the city walls of Ayasuluk, and the Byzantine structures in both Ephesus and Ayasuluk.

The urban layout altered in the Late Antique period with the renovated fountain system, and some newly constructed ones, as well as older structures refunctioned as fountains.

There are a few architectural examples in the region designed explicitly for pilgrimage purposes. Such a one is the Church in the Bay of Pamucak. The church has multiple wide staircases providing access to the structure from various levels.

The artistic features of note in Ephesus are visible in the wall paintings, mosaics, and marble paneling of the Terraces Houses. It is the living conditions of the Late Antique period that are demonstrated in the Terrace Houses. Outside the city center of Ephesus, there are other later examples of wall painting. The Grotto of St. Paul is richly decorated with Byzantine wall paintings depicting scenes from the Old Testament and the portraits of St. Paul and St. Thekla.⁵⁷⁸

V.6. Representativeness Value:

Ephesus is a significant Late Antique and Byzantine settlement with its Byzantine city walls, the harbor, and other well preserved and impressive monuments.

⁵⁷⁸ Pillinger 2011, pp. 176-180.

The Ayasuluk Hill, also known as *kastron*, with its fortification walls, the basilica, the infrastructure buildings including administrative ones, is a good representative settlement of the Byzantine period. Besides the architectural features, the archaeological finds demonstrate some representative aspects of life on the Ayasuluk Hill. The usage of the *ampullae*, found in the Basilica of St. John, are a common accompaniment to Christian pilgrimage. Also, the *manna* raising from the saint's grave and the specific structure of the grave itself show how the phenomenon of pilgrimage was handled in the basilica.

The Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers is considered the first known catacomb in Asia Minor and indicates several similarities with the catacombs of Spain, North Africa, and Rome.

4.2.1.2 Socio-Economic Values

V.7. Economic Value:

Due to its universal cultural value, the long-term excavation history and the pilgrimage sites, the area is internationally recognized. This in turn results annually in excessive visitor attraction motivated by culture, religion and education. Continuous tourism ensures constant income for the local community and the state.⁵⁷⁹ Cultural tourists not only visit the archaeological sites and museums throughout the year but also attend the festivals mentioned in the previous section. As a result of these cultural assets, tourism is on the increase recently in the region. The increased number of accommodation and catering facilities in Selçuk is a result of this rise.

The area was a pagan religious center and sustained this component of its identity during Christianity. The Ayasuluk Hill with the Basilica of St. John and the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers were significant venues in the Byzantine and Middle

⁵⁷⁹ That economic value is also a threat mentioned under 'Challenges and Threats'.

Ages. Annual celebrations held in the basilica indicate the ongoing pilgrimage characteristics. Comparably, the Grotto of St. Paul was a significant religious site to judge from the continuous visits of the locals, and yet again the site is restricted to visitors.

As a modern continuation of those past pilgrimage activities, the House of the Virgin Mary has taken on their mantle as the new pilgrimage center in the area. *Meryem Ana* draws millions of international and national visitors and pilgrims to the site. Distinct from the other Christian pilgrimage sites in the area, the house was recognized as a pilgrimage center only in the early 20th century.

V.8. Conservation Status:

The excavation and research history had commenced in Ephesus even before the Ottoman state enacted the first regulations on the ancient monuments. Therefore, the archaeological site of Ephesus had been subjected to various changes in the national legal regulations. The cultural heritage and the natural sources were protected via several acts. For example, on Bülbüldağ, the 363 ha of land around the House of the Virgin Mary was designated as a 'natural park' in 2008 by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (Tarım ve Orman Bakanlığı). And on the alluvial plain of the River Cayster, Selçuk Gebekirse Lake Wildlife Development Area was established in 2006. In the last decade, conservation studies were increased by the two management plans and conservation development plans. Although the management plans were prepared upon the requirement of UNESCO (for being a part of the World Heritage List and sustaining this membership), preparing such documents gathered professionals from different backgrounds and formed a suitable environment for cultural heritage preservation discussions.

V.9. Education Value:

The area's vast historical and architectural features are most instructive for visitors and students. The site's educational value mainly consists of schools arranging one-

day visits to the archaeological site of Ephesus and the museum. In addition, multiple cultural heritage sites are open to the public, such as the Byzantine Aequeduct, the Temple of Artemis, the Locomotive Museum, and Selçuk Ephesus Collective Memory Center. The Collective Memory Center is a museum housing documents, photographs, and books regarding the collective history of Selçuk and its cultural and educational activities. Brochures of the archaeological sites and museums promote this value.

4.2.2 Challenges and Threats

The attitudes towards the cultural and socio-economic characteristics of the site can and have created challenges and threats. Should these challenges increase, the resultant problems could metastasize into full-blown threats and affect the integrity, authenticity, and preservation of the cultural heritage site. Within the scope of this thesis, the site's threats are discussed as general challenges regarding the legal and administrative problems which affect the whole site and the ones related to the Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage and its religious and pilgrimage characteristics. These challenges and threats have originated due to the neglect of the values and the insufficient or incorrect presentation of these values.

Table 4.4 Challenges of and threats to the Late Antique and Byzantine heritage of Ephesus

| | The Content | | |
|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|------------|
| | Late Antique and | Religious | Pilgrimage |
| | Byzantine | Heritage | (Past and |
| | Cultural Heritage | | Modern) |
| C.1. Legal Challenges | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| C.2. Evaluation and Interpretation Challenges | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| C.3. Presentation Challenges | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| C.4. Infrastructure and Accessibility Challenges | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| T.1. Mass Tourism | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

C.1. Legal Challenges:

The legal issues mentioned here are common challenges applicable to all heritage sites in Turkey. Nevertheless, scrutiny of these problems in Ephesus, where excavation history dates back to more than 150 years, and where a large amount of conservation, interpretation, and presentation studies have been conducted, suggests that even such rich history does not prevent their negative impact on the site's interpretation.

National legislation on the conservation of cultural heritage overlooks the archaeological sites' heterogeneous nature. Specific areas of the past can be neglected in the conservation process due to this attitude. When the conservation of cultural heritage is challenging, the interpretation and presentation of that heritage also become challenging, as with the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus. Ephesus' management and conservation development plan do not support this legal attitude and pay little attention to the interpretation and presentation of Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage in Ephesus. Absence of national legislation on the conservation, interpretation, and presentation of Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage challenges this heritage and the monuments of that period in Ephesus.

C.2. Evaluation and Interpretation Challenges:

In contrast with other archaeological sites of Turkey, Ephesus has been the subject of various conservation studies since the 1970s, when the site did not face an urbanization threat. Despite these studies, the evaluation of Ephesus and its interpretation and presentation as a further phase of this evaluation remains problematic. This situation is readily observed in the action plans of the management plans. Although these management plans should not be assessed as the primary and effectual source in site interpretation, they indicate a particular point of view regarding the Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage of Ephesus.

The Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage and its monuments, even though they remain isolated within the general context of Ephesus, draw visitors to the site. While the Byzantine era's significance is noteworthy, nothing is tailored to promote the period. This lack is indicative of the total obliviousness to the interpretation, presentation, and preservation of the Byzantine heritage within the content of the management plan.⁵⁸⁰ Although visitor-oriented interpretation and presentation studies are encouraged in the mentioned documents, in practice this is not visible. According to the current interpretation and presentation practices, the audience of Ephesus is evaluated as cultural tourists spending little time in the heritage sites and not focused on the various features of the rich cultural heritage in the area.⁵⁸¹ It prevents a full and proper understanding of the site's cultural heritage, which may induce an insufficient cultural heritage appreciation in the visitors.

C.3. Presentation Challenges:

The visual and written communication tools regarding the Byzantine cultural heritage are either unavailable, insufficient, or need improvement. In particular, the visual tools do not meet the need for an effective heritage presentation. Also, the information panels often need more data regarding a structure. Most of the Late Antique and Byzantine structures are presented via information panels, and their historical and architectural characteristics are but briefly given. However, they do not transmit comprehensive or detailed data on those monuments within the context

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⁵⁸⁰ Both management plans mentioned the Byzantine period as part of the historical values. However, the only proposed intervention regarding this period of history was the preservation of the Byzantine city walls. The reasons for this neglect of the Byzantine cultural heritage in national and international senses are presented in Chapter 2.

⁵⁸¹ Interpretation and presentation strategies mainly focus on the 'meaning-taking' approach (for more information on this approach, see above p. 23). Site experience obtained via different techniques is not encouraged. The content of the interpretation and presentation techniques remains too general and primarily concentrates on the basic cultural aspects of the site, such as historical and architectural features. Even though the religious significance of Byzantine structures is evident, this aspect of the Byzantine period is not fully promoted through these presentation methods. This attitude suggests that site interpretation and presentation focus more on cultural tourism, not the cultural-religious audience. Additionally, according to Ladstätter (2018, pp. 274-275), the time visitors spend on Ephesus is around an hour. The lack of more specific and detailed information or diverse interpretation and presentation techniques also contribute to the short period spent on the site.

of the period or specifically indicate their period. In addition, information about some Byzantine buildings that remain outside the visitor route (the Church in the East Gymnasium, the Church in the Serapeion, the Grotto of St. Paul, and the Church in the Stadium) are not presented. Also, some information panels are now illegible, such as the one in the Church in the Bay of Pamucak. As a result, the religious heritage of Byzantine Ephesus cannot be presented to the visitors.

Another presentation challenge is that Ephesus is not specifically interpreted and presented to cater for a variety of visitor types. There is no particular presentation technique specially designed for – say – spiritual or religious tourists, for large tour groups or individual visitors. The tour guides transmit the data regarding the archaeological sites to groups. However, individual visitors could gain the same knowledge only through the existence of basic information panels provided on the site, or they could pay extra for audio guides. The lack of thematic presentation techniques, such as seen in the Hadrian's Wall, or a visitor-oriented approach as in the case of Caesarea Maritima, Mystras, or the Camino de Santiago de Compostela, negatively affects the site interpretation and presentation.

C.4. Infrastructure and Accessibility Challenges:

In the area within the borders of the management plan, there are arrangements to deal with the disabled, and the acknowledged present accessibility, infrastructure and parking lot inadequacies. However, there are still problems with these arrangements. There is a lack of comprehensive guidance, information, and warning labels in Ephesus. Therefore, information on the cultural and natural assets and routes around the site as transmitted to the visitors remains unsatisfactory. There are inadequate spatial arrangements and presentation techniques for disabled visitors.

There are also challenges regarding the accessibility of the area, such as the lack of appropriate transportation facilities providing connection within the cultural heritage

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⁵⁸² The Management Plan 2012, p. 38.

sites scattered around Ephesus. Although the region is highly suitable for cycling or trekking, the routes provided for both activities are insufficient. The accessibility of the archaeological sites in the area also has economic aspects too: such as the high entrance fee for local people. 583 Also, some Late Antique and Byzantine monuments are either completely excluded from the visitor routes or only restrictedly accessible to visitors.

T.1. Mass Tourism:

At Ephesus, as the most visited site in Turkey with visitors up to 1.8 million annually, visitor pressure is a critical issue.⁵⁸⁴ The increasing number of visitors worsens tourist gridlock, already a significant issue within the city. The archaeological site of Ephesus, the House of the Virgin Mary, and the Ayasuluk Hill are the worst affected by mass tourism pressure and the unregulated visitor traffic. Mass tourism not only physically damages the site but also exposes inadequacy in infrastructure and creates and management challenges (Figure 4.20).⁵⁸⁵ Since mass tourism weakens the spirit of the place, especially in the living religious heritage sites, it remains a significant threat. During the ceremonies at the House of the Virgin Mary, crowds of tourists affect the usual continuum and create an inappropriate environment for the believers.





Figure 4.20. Ephesus, intense visitor presence in the archaeological site (Ladstätter 2018, pp. 259-273)

⁵⁸³ The Draft Management Plan 2022, p. 187.

⁵⁸⁴ ICOMOS 2015, p. 325.

⁵⁸⁵ Aktüre 2011, p. 71; The Management Plan 2012, p. 46.

4.2.3 Opportunities

Table 4.5 The opportunities of the site

| Values | Challenges and Threats | Opportunities |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| V.1 - V.2 - V.3 - V.4 - V.5 - V.6 - V.8 | C.1 | O.1. Awareness of Local Authorities |
| V.1 - V.2 - V.3 - V.4 - V.5 - V.6 - V.7 - V.9 | C.1 - C.2 - C.3 | O.2. The Byzantine Cultural Heritage |
| V.2 - V.3 - V.4 - V.5 - V.6 - V.7 - V.9 | C.1 – C.2 – C.3 – C.4 – T.1 | O.3. The Cultural Aspect of Pilgrimage |
| V.2 - V.3 - V.4 - V.5 - V.6 - V.7 - V.9 | C.1 – C.2 – C.3 – C.4 – T.1 | O.4. The Living Religious Heritage |

O.1. Awareness of Local Authorities:

The government officers in the Municipality of Selçuk and the units under the municipality are both competent in cultural heritage conservation and concerned with their presentation and preservation. Their attention to Ephesus and the other cultural heritage sites in the region could be a significant opportunity to introduce and ensure adequate site interpretation and presentation regarding the Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage.

O.2. The Byzantine Cultural Heritage:

The region has multiple cultural heritage sites, sufficient to constitute excellent opportunities to represent the social and religious structure of the Late Antique and Byzantine periods. The already existing significant number of visitors could also financially support these implementations. The Byzantine cultural heritage and its interpretation and presentation via different methods can also be used as a tool to disperse the mass tourism more evenly across the site.

O.3. The Cultural Aspect of Pilgrimage:

As mentioned in Chapter 2, pilgrimage, religious tourism and cultural tourism are interleaved and interactive in both meaning and deeds. Trying to separate them weakens their meaning and creates problems in their assessment. That situation is

observable in Ephesus. The pilgrimage structures of the past and the pilgrimage routes connecting them could be a critical opportunity in interpreting and presenting the spirit of the place. For that reason, the cultural aspect of pilgrimage should be presented more.

O.4. The Living Religious Heritage:

Except for the past pilgrimage activities that took place in the area, and there are still living religious heritage sites drawing pilgrims and religious and secular tourists. In particular, the pilgrimage center *Meryem Ana* is hugely visited by cultural tourists and pilgrims. Earlier pilgrimage centers, the Basilica of St. John and the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, are also visited by cultural tourists and pilgrims. Emphasizing the existing potential of the relationships, and tapping into them, between pilgrimage, religious tourism and cultural tourism could be a considerable opportunity for helping to interpret the site.

4.3 Interim Evaluations

The UNESCO World Heritage Site of Ephesus is an internationally and nationally known heritage site, including varied components. The archaeological site of Ephesus and its environs have been subjected to numerous conservation policies over the last fifty years, and the area has been excavated for even longer. Due to multiple strategies and approaches contained in those policies, the interpretation and presentation of the site have also varied. Despite these efforts, the cultural heritage in Ephesus still needs a holistic approach to fully comprehend every aspect of each historic stratum. In particular, the religious aspect of the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus is not as fully and specifically interpreted and presented through varied visitor orientation approaches as the cultural heritage of the same period. There are also administrative and legal challenges preventing effective site interpretation and presentation.

The Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage of Ephesus has an important place in Christian history with its historic, religious, and pilgrimage values. Almost half of the mentioned religious monuments of Ephesus have a past pilgrimage value, and a few continue in their pilgrimage value as living religious heritage areas or modern pilgrimage sites. Due to several challenges and threats, Ephesus' spiritual importance cannot be accessed entirely and simply through site interpretation and presentation.

To respond to the challenges in site management, multiple proposals are addressed in the following chapter. The mentioned site qualifications and the values and opportunities of and threats to the site are considered in forming the proposals for a more effective site interpretation and presentation.

Despite the abundance of cultural and social values regarding the Byzantine cultural heritage, the area lacks an extensive Byzantine interpretation and presentation. This circumstance, intentionally or unintentionally created, has caused the neglect of this socially, politically, culturally, and religiously significant period. Actions explicitly focusing on the Byzantine heritage will be presented and reviewed in the next chapter to suggest ways to overcome that problem. Thereby, the values of Byzantine heritage will be promoted, and threats to this heritage will reduced, if not eliminated. The proposals will focus on the opportunities identified and seek ways to realize them more fully.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS FOR THE INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF LATE ANTIQUE AND BYZANTINE EPHESUS WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON ITS RELIGIOUS HERITAGE

5.1 Concluding Remarks

This thesis addressed how the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus could be effectively interpreted and presented. The approach employed is formulated on the understanding and acceptance that even in the best-preserved heritage site, interpretation and presentation problems will occur. Ephesus, with its historical, social, religious and architectural significance and universally known heritage values, is a clear example of such a cultural heritage site. To answer this main challenge facing Ephesus, this thesis has focused on comprehensively understanding and interpreting the features of Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus.

The character of a place is formed with experiences of all sorts. Experiences of the community with spirituality, and religion and the phenomenon of pilgrimage has defined the character of Ephesus. The history of the region – the myths, religious centers, and processional routes of before Christianity continued their identity in the Late Antique and Byzantine periods. Though such centers could not sustain their religious identity, their spolia used in constructing Christian structures in the area suggests a spiritual constancy according to some scholars. The Processional Way continued to be used with new additions of Christian religious centers, and pilgrimage routes formed over time bear witness to this continuity. The past local communities' memory on the religious significance should have played a role in

⁵⁸⁶ The mentioned use of spolia concerns those from the Artemision used in the Basilica of St. John and the fortification walls of the Ayasuluk Hill: Çağaptay 2020b, p. 196; Külzer 2022, p. 179.

sustaining the spirit of the place. In addition, the living religious heritage in the region is another feature confirming Ephesus' religious identity.

To achieve this goal one should first comprehend the contextual framework for interpretation and presentation. The studies produced defined these concepts via objective principles and guidelines. However, as interpretation is ultimately something between the heritage being viewed and the observer, ⁵⁸⁷ approaching such a subjective concept with purely objective or dogmatic principles may not be sensible. Principles and guidelines do, after all, have a considerable impact and constraint on a site's appreciation and acceptance by the public, not always for the best. The World Heritage Convention determines such principles and guidelines in the World Heritage Sites. All stakeholders in a World Heritage Site and their relations with each other are emphasized via these documents. Although clarity on stakeholders and guidelines constitutes a basis in the preservation of cultural heritage, including all the elements of a heritage site might not be the primary objective of those determinants. The international and national approaches toward Byzantine heritage are discussed to understand the grounds for this specific situation and challenge.

In Turkey, the public's acceptance of the Byzantine cultural heritage as part of its national identity is somehow challenging. Mainly, it is religious and cultural reasons and political approaches that are responsible for the situation. For the self-same reasons, the Byzantine identity of Ephesus has been disregarded. Although in recent decades several publications on Byzantine Ephesus have striven to overcome this neglect. However, that sterling development did not in fact alter the public's awareness of Byzantine cultural heritage. The interpretation of Byzantine cultural heritage in Ephesus remains problematic and languishes.

⁵⁸⁷ Silberman 2006, pp. 28-29.

Despite there are some challenges in interpreting Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus, the significance of the period for its social, religious, economic, and architectural achievements cannot be denied. In particular, religion and the phenomenon of pilgrimage were a substantial component of Ephesus' identity then. Well before Christianity, Ephesus was a pilgrimage center with the Artemision as its focus. Religion and pilgrimage sustained their importance with the coming of Christianity as well. Religious structures were constructed and pilgrimage centers were developed in the area. Over time, those centers were relocated, some lost their functions, but others continued to be pilgrimage sites. The changes that occurred in the pilgrimage sites can be explained on political, social, and economic grounds. According to many sociological theories on pilgrimage formation and development, the possible reasons why communities gather in specific areas for such purposes could be a search for a shared brotherhood or for the purpose of solving or abetting dispute and contestation. Both of these emphasize the significance and effects of social structure in forming the physical environment and why people are attracted to specific sites. Reputation or advertisement of a cultural heritage site can draw people to places where they can abandon the social structure of the world (as in the communitas idea) or contest their interest in cultural heritage (as in the contestation idea). The same might be said of people visiting an archaeological site: both phenomena share likenesses.

It is not only the pilgrimage character of Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus which defines that period, but also the historical and architectural features demonstrating cultural values. Several structures help narrate the Late Antique and Byzantine social life in Ephesus: the Church of the Virgin Mary, where the 3rd Ecumenical Council (431) gathered, multiple other churches, the residential areas, and the public structures. Beyond the city walls of Ephesus, the Ayasuluk Hill and the city center of Selçuk are also rich in cultural heritage. The structures involved have been presented in detail in the previous chapters.

Most of these Late Antique and Byzantine structures are religious, and some among them have pilgrimage characteristics. The development of a building complex over the years and additional installations for easy accessibility of pilgrims, such as large ambulatories or several entrances to a crypt, possession of a reliquary, and archaeological findings, for instance, *ampullae*, are all features related a pilgrimage church. However, a structure does not necessarily need such elements to have a pilgrimage nature. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the character of a space is determined by the spirit of this place. The Church of the Virgin Mary is an example of such an areas. Even though the church is not determined as a pilgrimage structure by scholars, its significance in Christianity, the religious events that took place there, and the annual ceremonies held there mark it as of a pilgrimage nature and bestow on it a living religious heritage identity.

The region has an excavation history of 150 years, and research is still ongoing on the Ayasuluk Hill and in Ephesus, despite the pauses in excavations, particularly in recent years. This continuity has spurred the interest of the administrative bodies. The registrations of the monuments and the sites commenced in the last half of the 20th century, and conservation development plans were approved in 2012 and 2016. When the site is evaluated within the Late Antique and Byzantine context, values related with the site's spirituality stand out. Besides that, Outstanding Universal Values as defined by WHC create an international cultural value. The Byzantine structures of the site, with diverse values, have been subject of extensive conservation studies and attract numerous visitors. Despite that, these structures are observed as individual heritage assets distant to the general context of Ephesus. A potential solution to this interpretation challenge of Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage is aimed at in the following section. A set of proposals focusing on the effective interpretation of those structures within the general context of Ephesus by enhancing their visibility and accessibility in both physical and intellectual aspects is needed, to establish a bond between the Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage and the present day audience.

For this purpose, the values and opportunities of and threats to the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus and the site's features are evaluated. Religious heritage, along with the phenomenon of pilgrimage, including both past and present pilgrimage, is assessed as the main features pertinent to this specific period. The interpretation of Ephesus' religious character is focused upon here to restore the loose connection of the context of Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus to the general context.

5.2 Principles and Proposals for the Interpretation and Presentation of Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus

5.2.1 The Main Concepts for the Interpretation and Presentation of Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus

To fulfill the need for a comprehensive interpretation and presentation strategy that focuses on the Late Antique and Byzantine period, some proposals are now formulated. The proposals are generated according to the interpretation principles mentioned in the previous chapters and the evaluation chapter, where the values and opportunities of the site and threats to the site were expressed.

As mentioned earlier, all physical and intellectual interventions made alter a site's appreciation by others. Consequently, the interpretation and presentation of a cultural heritage site should be executed with specific attention to all possible effects of any implementation. To this end, international organizations and scholars have discussed the subject for over a century. As a result of these debates, numerous ideas on the principles and guidelines of interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites have been established. A couple of common points among those principles are that the efforts should be site-specific and also involve the local community. WHC

has also examined the role of stakeholders through the site preservation and management process in all of the World Heritage Sites.⁵⁸⁸

Such guidelines should primarily focus on the questions of 'what', 'why', and 'for whom', rather than 'how'. The content to be interpreted, for what purpose, and for whom are the key questions in understanding the past. How that comprehension will be achieved should only emerge once these questions have been faced.

Ephesus' interpretation and presentation problems are viewed in the light of these fundamental concepts just mentioned. Interpreting the cultural heritage in Ephesus with a specific focus on these base questions constitutes a different approach from that of the current management plans. The interpreter, in accordance with the basic concept in post-processual archaeology, should work through interpreting the meaning and how it is transmitted from one party to another. Also, the interpreter should pay attention to all heritage elements, but concentrate on fundamental aspects shaping a cultural heritage site. Although these questions are here developed with Ephesus in mind, they can be applied elsewhere too.

- What to interpret in conserving a cultural heritage site?

 In shaping a holistic understanding of the cultural heritage of Ephesus, the primary focus is the content and context. The site's contents and the site's formation in historical, social, cultural, and religious contexts should be the focus here. The values and opportunities of these features and threats towards them should be evaluated. Through this first question, the significance of a cultural place can be determined and delineated.
- For what purpose and for whom is a cultural heritage site interpreted?
 In sustainable heritage conservation, one must understand, appreciate and respect a cultural heritage site. This primary purpose can only be achieved when a connection between the heritage area and the audience is formulated.

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⁵⁸⁸ URL 39.

Interpretation constitutes this sought relation. The goal of the interpretation should have been formed within the first question – what to interpret. That decided it will shape the interpretation approach that needs to be specific to the cultural heritage site involved and suggest a way for effective site conservation.

In this second step, the visitors and the public interacting with the cultural heritage site should also be carefully defined. A specific site interpretation can be achieved through assessing these evaluations of a cultural heritage site and its clientele.

How can a cultural heritage site be understood by the public?

The answer to this question should only emerge after the defining of the content and the context of the heritage site and the understanding of the reasons for their interpretation have been achieved. Providing an understanding of a cultural heritage site to the public should be formed by raising public awareness by means of different techniques identified as appropriate by establishing the different visitor profiles. These techniques may well need to be enhanced to correspond with the changing needs of the visitors. Interpretation of the surviving data is the first focal point in this process. All else should follow.

5.2.2 The Proposals for the Interpretation and Presentation of Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus

The three basic questions underlie the proposals made for interpretation and presentation of the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus. The proposals aim to alter the public perspectives on the neglected cultural and religious heritage, and enhance their appreciation. The primary purpose of the proposals is not to form another

management plan. On the contrary, the proposals aim primarily at working out and presenting a cultural heritage site for different visitor profiles, and only secondarily to create a basis for effective heritage conservation.

The concerned parties, the Ephesus Site Management or the Municipality of İzmir and the Municipality of Selçuk, did not provide any comprehensive study regarding the visitor profile in Ephesus. A specific study for this purpose was not prepared as such a study is not a part of the aim and scope of this thesis. However, according to the site visits and literature survey, it is observed that the audience consisted of cultural, cultural-religious, and religious tourists and pilgrims. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the current interpretation and presentation studies do not specifically focus on the cultural-religious aspect of Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage and, therefore, unintentionally neglect this type of visitor. This thesis' proposals aim to welcome all visitor profiles by creating a comprehensive interpretation and presentation plan for Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus. According to the discussions in Chapter 2, the difference between these visitor profiles is rather vague; separating them would not clarify their content or intention but rather lessen those features. To support this ambiguity, the proposals are all interrelated in various nodes; the 'during site visit' ones in particular focus on different motivations of visitors.

First of all, the proposals aim to continue enhancing the physical preservation and legal protection afforded in the first and draft management plans. Then, a three-phase proposal for an effective interpretation and presentation of Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus is submitted. These proposals are shaped by the outcomes of previous studies, such as on Ephesus' geographical, natural, historical, and architectural features. The values and opportunities of the site and threats to the site are also accommodated in the proposals.

These three-phase proposals establish a set of themes with different focus points to ensure a comprehensive site interpretation and presentation. The themes target the relationship of visitors from different backgrounds with the site and enhance that relationship via interpretation and presentation techniques. The main objective is not to produce innovative presentation methods in particular places but to direct the visitors to ultimately ask of themselves the questions – what is the cultural heritage in this place, why is it important, why and how should we preserve it. In formulating those questions, the interpreters of the site should ask them of themselves and so produce the answers appreciable to the visitors. In this way, the visitors can observe the site through the interpreters' visions, but also be encouraged to form a vision and an interpretation of their own. The interpretation and presentation strategies in Caesarea Maritima aim for a similar outcome. The practices target diverse visitors and transmit data regarding the different values of the site via various presentation methods. The religious aspects of Caesarea Maritima are displayed via tours presenting the city from a perspective connecting the material world to the spiritual one. A guide presents the architectural elements related to the Jewish community through storytelling and wandering around the city through a specified path (Figure 5.1).⁵⁸⁹ This thematic route is a remarkable example of a 'meaning-making' interpretative approach as Uzzell argued. 590



Figure 5.1. Caesarea Maritima, the Synagogue and the performances within the thematic tour (URL 66)

⁵⁸⁹ URL 40.

⁵⁹⁰ For more information on this approach, see above p. 23.

The themes here proposed concern the different contents of Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus. The interpretation and presentation examples given in the previous chapters are also made part of the proposals. For an effective and sustainable interpretation, the proposals are planned to take place in three stages: before the site visit in anticipation, during the site visit in participation, and afterwards in reflection.⁵⁹¹

1. Before the Site Visit:

Ephesus is one of the most known and visited archaeological sites in Turkey. Many international and national types of research and publications on the site have helped to give it this profile. There are also several publications and studies on the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus that have come out in the last decades. Although the interest in the Late Antique and Byzantine heritage of the site is as powerful as it is for the Hellenistic or Roman periods, the intellectual connection of it to the context of Ephesus is rather challenging. For a comprehensive understanding of the site, the information on all the elements of this later history should be shared with the general public via interpretation and presentation methods. Here, the academic parties, the research groups and the excavation teams have a fundamental role. As indicated by WHC, all stakeholders should actively be involved in the identification, preservation, and management procedure. 592 The legal authorities should encourage a relationship between these parties and the local community. As previously mentioned, the Hadrian's Wall is a World Heritage Site with the equivalent relationship. A regularly updated management plan, a management system coordinating all international parties, and a national legislation system determine the task of each state party, along with the protection status of properties within this cultural heritage site, and define this strong relationship in the management front.⁵⁹³ In the case of Ephesus, such relationships are formed, but they can be developed. When that kind of relationship

⁵⁹¹ For a similar approach, see Hetemoğlu 2019, pp. 225-242.

⁵⁹² UNESCO 2002.

⁵⁹³ URL 41.

is not formed, problems in presenting the acquired data occur. The Church of the Kathisma and the lack of introduction the structure has to the public, is an example of that situation. After retrieving the academic data from the excavations, the church was refilled with earth.⁵⁹⁴ Action may indeed have ensured the acquisition of academic knowledge. However, the lack of communication of this has made this heritage site and that knowledge quite irrelevant to the wider world.

To form connections between multiple stakeholders, the following are some of the avenues to be followed:

Interpretation and presentation strategies collaboratively prepared with the administration

The administration in Selçuk is highly concerned about the conservation and presentation of the cultural heritage in the site. This gives a welcome opportunity to form collaborative strategies, as is now explained.

Linking the different heritage sites around Ephesus is a significant step here. Currently, accessibility is achievable by vehicles, but pedestrian access is not so possible. Therefore, there is a need for an urban design project where a pedestrian route is designed. That project should connect specific heritage sites (which are in the close circle of the city center of Selçuk) and tie them into transportation points that already provide focal points in the modern city center of Selçuk. Such a project will likely to encourage most individuals (as opposed to groups). There is already a route connecting the city center of Selçuk and Ephesus. However, this route is not interpreted and presented to the visitors as an urban design project. Reinterpreting and representing this route as an urban design project that could also be made a part of an architectural competition held by the local authorities is the main aim of this proposal. The Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage and religious structures of different religions are planned to be the focus of this route.

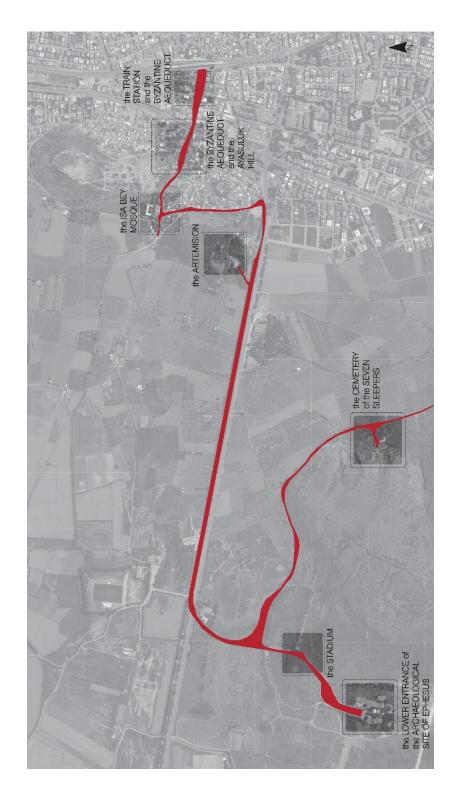


Figure 5.2. The map showing the suggested pedestrian route (from the start to the lower entrance of Ephesus is approximately four kilometers and to the upper entrance of Ephesus is approximately six kilometers)

This planned route should start from the train station, following the Byzantine Aequeduct to the Ayasuluk Hill, then the İsa Bey Mosque, and turning then to the Artemision (Figure 5.2). From the Temple of Artemis, following the already existing Mulberry Road and emphasizing this natural aspect of the site, the route can return to Ephesus proper. From the western skirts of Panayırdağ, the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers and the upper entrance of Ephesus can be reached and another branch can reach t the lower entrance of Ephesus (Figure 5.3). The route should capable of being used all year round and to take in/access the nature routes in the region.



Figure 5.3. The Ayasuluk Hill, a part of the suggested pedestrian route

- Through routes such as that suggested above, challenges in the site's accessibility can be countered. Mass tourism is a burden to the site even now. An amelioration of this can be achieved via creating many longer-term itineraries focusing on different heritage sites/periods in the region or even could include natural values of the region. Including other cultural sites such as multiple museums, which have been mentioned under site values and opportunities in Chapter 4, can also help to reach this aim. These itineraries may be better organized for the winter period. Itineraries of a minimum of two days of travel are suggested. Siphoning off people can reduce the density all round, and make the accommodation facilities in Selçuk become more sustainable on an annual basis. The proposal would benefit the local community and be a workable action plan.
- Beyond proposing routes and itineraries of multiple days of travel, there is still a desperate need for more elaborate action plans. In the draft

management plan, it has been proposed for a refunctioning of an old structure as a visitor center. In addition to that, more accessible and effective resources should be encouraged to present the site, such as smart-phone apps.

• As mentioned before, there are already several data sources on the site available. The virtual tour of Ephesus and Selçuk on the website of the Municipality of Selçuk is a proper example. This website also includes multiple routes with different aims in parallel to the ones mentioned on the brochures of the Municipality of Selçuk. While these opportunities are effective examples for site presentation before any site visit, the interpretation of the data they present is not the most comprehensive. The holistic approach used in the presentation technologies in Mystras could be an example for improvement. The presented data could be marked with their periods, and monuments constructed for specific purposes (such as the religious structures mentioned in the previous chapters) can also be indicated in those studies.

Interpretation and presentation strategies collaboratively prepared with the universities

• Collaborative work should be conducted within the research teams and universities. In that way, different and regularly updated heritage aspects of the site could be made available, without increasing the existing workload of the excavation teams. A video game could be made part of this step. Anything utilizing the cultural heritage sites as backgrounds could be a significant step in promoting the heritage: the settings might create a sense of wonder and curiosity in the players. The game's interface, characters, and non-player characters (NPC) could be used in the following steps when a visitor is actually on site.

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⁵⁹⁵ For more information on the interpretation and presentation techniques of Mystras, see above pp. 49-50.

During the Site Visit:

The archaeological sites of Ephesus and Ayasuluk enjoy varied tools for communication: audio guides, guides, booklets, information panels, digital reconstructions, consolidation, restorations, reconstructions, and *anastylosis*. The sites are both accessible via personal vehicles and public transport. There are also environmental projects designed to enhance the entrances of those sites. Even though these presentation techniques could doubtless be developed, they are already more effective in representing the archaeological site than many other archaeological sites in Turkey. Therefore, the main problem during a site visit is not the lack of presentation but the lack of interpretation, especially in the interpretation and presentation of Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are incompletenesses in the management plans especially in site interpretation and evaluation regarding the Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage. Nonetheless, the planned proposals here transform this challenge into an opportunity. This section presents interpretation and presentation proposals for the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus. These proposals specifically and deliberately focus on different user profiles. However, the differences between these profiles are not rigorously or exclusively distinguished. This position is in accordance with the remarks made in the theoretical chapter: the differentiation between user profiles is to be kept fluid and porous. Interpretation focuses on expanding the visitors' perspectives, making connections with the site, and developing a historical awareness. Thus, particularly devised themes targeting foreign and domestic audience, locals, children, and academics are required. A comparable process worthy of emulation is observable in the example of Hadrian's Wall in Britain. This World Heritage Site is interpreted through two themes focusing on different aspects of the site. They employ multiple interpretation and presentation techniques to display Hadrian's Wall to its visitors. 596

⁵⁹⁶ For more information on the interpretation and presentation techniques of Hadrian's Wall, see above, pp. 29-31.

The themes here proposed for Ephesus form a continuous (hi)story line from the Byzantine era's beginning, taking in the period's highlight down to its very end; they demonstrate how this Byzantine city could be presented. The opportunities arising from the site characteristics are now converted into action plans and thematic routes. The themes are effectively organized by enhancing the content and quality of the information panels, preparing a map where the routes of the themes are presented, establishing technological tools, and enhancing interpretative activities.

As discussed before, Ephesus' information panels give basic information on the structures. A more comprehensive content where the geographical, historical, and architectural features of the structures are demonstrated in a general concept is called for. Rather than giving detailed information which the visitors cannot relate to easily, presenting the structures as a part of history is the main objective here. These information panels will also have a map of the interpretative themes, so that visitors can locate themselves in this vast archaeological site. Such examples include information panels with broad data on cultural heritage's social, political, cultural, religious, and architectural aspects and thematic maps in Mystras (Figure 5.4).

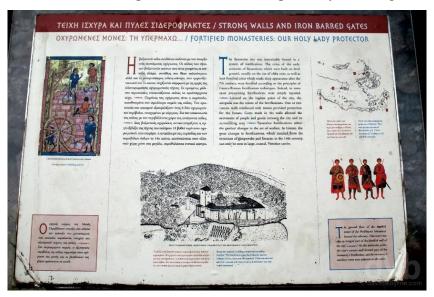


Figure 5.4. Mystras, an information panel with sketches and drawings (URL 47)

The interpretative themes use technological tools to present the site to the visitor. In this section, the continuation of a phone application (which is the second phase of the collaborative studies with the universities within the scope of the 'before the site' experience) is proposed. Having accessed material earlier, the visitor will already be acquainted with the content and interface of the phone application. This app presents the interpretative themes on a base map so that the traveler can select a specific theme of their choice and follow it.

Consequently, the themes are presented as static, static-dynamic, and dynamic elements to interpret the site without excluding any data due to physical inaccessibility. In the static themes, the subjected sections of the region are demonstrated on the map on the phone application. The 3D reconstructions of the related structures and data regarding them are indicated via the app. The static-dynamic ones are presented with the same steps, but additionally, the structures positioned in the accessible areas are viewed on-site through the 3D reconstructions prepared with AR. Following a cultural route to reach the monuments along with those presentation techniques is the key element of dynamic themes (Figure 5.5).

The highlighted places and structures in the themes are presented as stations, at each of which the highlighted object is explained via audio guides. These audio guides are the non-player characters (NPCs) who were the narrators in the previous work. The NPCs are specifically chosen to be related to the themes. For example, Theme 2 – "The Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus – Trade Activities" can be introduced to the visitor with a non-player character who is a merchant, and Theme 3 – "The Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus – The Daily Life" can be interpreted by a child non-player character which should catch the interest of the younger visitors of Ephesus. The information regarding the highlighted places in the themes will be presented in digital reconstructions. General historical information about the structure, its architectural details, and functions over time is planned to be presented in digital reconstructions.

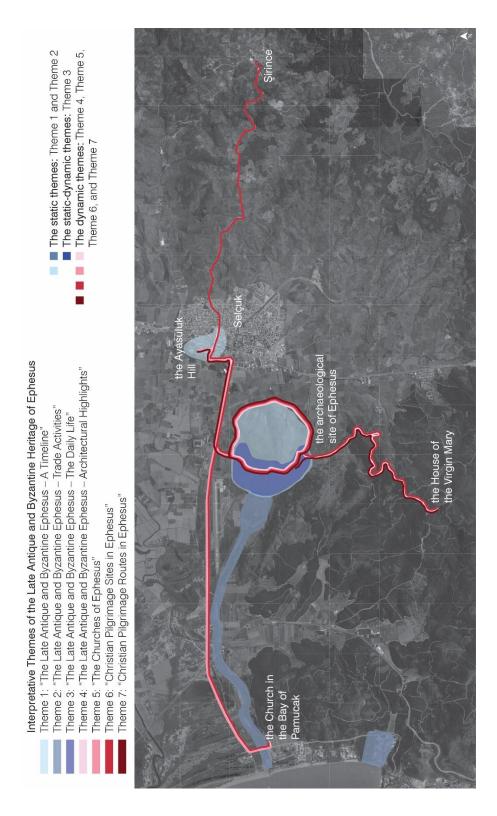


Figure 5.5. Interpretative Themes of the Late Antique and Byzantine Heritage of Ephesus, map showing the proposed action areas for Ephesus

Interpretative Themes of the Late Antique and Byzantine Heritage of Ephesus Theme 1: "The Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus – A Timeline"

Though religious Byzantine monuments are visible in Ephesus, their connection to the Byzantine history needs to be brought out. Due to this lack of information, many visitors are unaware of the Byzantine heritage in Ephesus. To remedy that, some brief information on a timeline and highlights of the Byzantine Ephesus is given in the first three themes. Then, more specific information on the religious structures is given.

Theme 1 focuses on a timeline constructed with the significant components shaping that period (political, historical, economic, social, architectural, and religious elements). The timeline can be followed via the phone application and the information panels prepared specifically for Theme 1.

Theme 2: "The Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus – Trade Activities"

Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus was enriched by trade. The main physical focus of this trade was Ephesus' harbor, which had been a significant economic factor in shaping the city since the Hellenistic period. Due to geographical reasons, the shoreline and the harbor's borders changed. Eventually, the harbor lost its function. These changes are presented as a timeline in the phone application under Theme 2. Another trade activity was the phenomenon of pilgrimage which exerted a strong economic pull. That subject is narrated in-depth in Theme 6.

Theme 3: "The Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus – The Daily Life"

The excavation studies in the Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus residential units are still very much ongoing. To protect the vulnerable remains, visitor entrance to the residential area is prohibited. However, since the visitor cannot observe the residential units and so does not visually relate to the centers of daily life during the period, it is challenging for them to understand the period comprehensively. To overcome this setback, a route touching on the highlights of daily life is presented to the visitors in this theme. Digital reconstructions of the residential units are

combined with visits to other public structures where daily life was enacted, such as the Lower Agora, the Great Theater, or the Arcadiane.

Theme 4: "The Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesus – Architectural Highlights"

As mentioned in the previous chapters, Ephesus possesses many Byzantine structures. The previous theme touches repeatedly but briefly on them. Here, those same structures are described in detail. The construction techniques, spatial development, and architectural details are explained. The data on the subject is interpreted according to different user profiles: children, public and academic. The one focusing on the younger audience describes the structure with more attractive methods while others narrate the information in more elaborate and/or scientific ways. Digital reconstructions are also used in this theme. Also included are the Byzantine structures on the Ayasuluk Hill and in Selçuk.

Accordingly, Theme 4 starts from Selçuk and continues towards Ephesus (Figure 5.6). After Ephesus, the route divides into two, one going to the House of the Virgin Mary and the other to the Church in the Bay of Pamucak. The whole route can be followed by pedestrian and/or vehicular transportation. The connection between Selçuk and the archaeological site of Ephesus can either be provided through the pedestrian route project (proposed in the collaborative strategies with the administration) or by vehicular transportation. After the archaeological site of Ephesus, vehicular transportation is used to reach the two other destinations since pedestrian accessibility to them is challenging.

Additionally, suitable routes for hiking and cycling are also planned to be introduced within the scope of this theme. Such routes will be followed in the latter themes. The total duration of Theme 4 is expected to last four (with vehicular transportation) to six hours (with pedestrian access). When hiking and/or cycling are included, this theme is expected to make up a two-day itinerary.

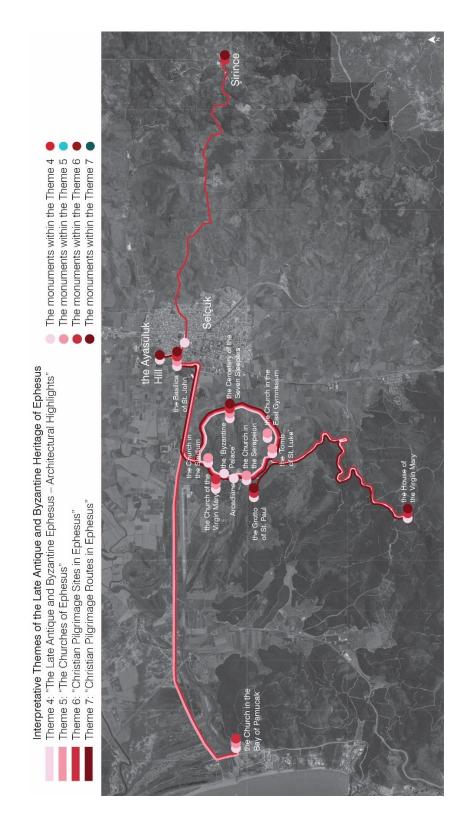


Figure 5.6. Interpretative Themes of the Late Antique and Byzantine Heritage of Ephesus, map showing the dynamic themes and their related religious structures

Theme 5: "The Churches of Ephesus"

This theme is a more detailed version of the previous one. The phone application demonstrates the historical and architectural features of the churches (the Church in the East Gymnasium, the 'Tomb of St. Luke', the Church in the Serapeion, The Grotto of St. Paul, The Church of the Virgin Mary, the Church in the Stadium, the Church in the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, the Basilica of St. John, and the Church in the Bay of Pamucak) in detail via digital reconstructions. The audio guides also narrate the importance of each church and the myths related to the churches on the phone application. These features are also to be displayed via information panels located in or around the structures, like the information panels introducing the canons decided in the Council of Laodicea (343-381) or the letter to the Church of Laodicea. Without any interpretation, either physical or intellectual, significant sites like the Church of Philadelphia go unheeded. The lack of any interpretative study condemns this church to invisibility in the general layout of the county of Alaşehir. Service of the county of Alaşehir.

Theme 5 starts from the Ayasuluk Hill and continues towards Ephesus and the Church in the Bay of Pamucak. The pedestrian route project proposed in the collaborative strategies with the administration is integral and vital here. Similarly, pedestrians and/or vehicular transportation can follow the whole route. The connection between Selçuk and the archaeological site of Ephesus can either be provided through the pedestrian route project or by vehicular transportation. The total duration of Theme 5 is expected to last three (with vehicular transportation) to four hours (with pedestrian access). This theme is expected to be a whole day-long activity when cycling is included.

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⁵⁹⁷ For the presentation techniques and visitor management of the archaeological site of Laodicea, the Church of Laodicea, and the Church of Saint Nicholas in Myra, see above, pp 62-65; 67-70.

⁵⁹⁸ For Philadelphia's site interpretation and presentation, see above, pp. 65-67.

Theme 6: "Christian Pilgrimage Sites in Ephesus"

This theme is a second stage to the previous one, where the churches of Ephesus are demonstrated. Theme 6 is designed for people particularly interested in the phenomenon of pilgrimage. The itinerary (which could be combined with the already existing biblical tours) includes the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, the Church of the Virgin Mary, the 'Tomb of St. Luke', the Grotto of St. Paul, the Basilica of St. John, the Church in the Bay of Pamucak, the House of the Virgin Mary, and the Church of St. Demetrius where the "Feast of the Dormition" was celebrated. As some of those sites are inaccessible, digital reconstructions of these structures are promoted. To form a more comprehensive understanding, those reconstructions should focus not only on the structure itself but also on the nearby surroundings of these structures. The theme can be further emphasized with restoration and conservation studies. For example, the Church in the Bay of Pamucak and its pilgrimage identity can be interpreted and presented similarly to structures in Demre-Myra or Laodicea (information panels focusing on the phenomenon of pilgrimage in the site, protective shelters, and pavements ensuring passage without damaging the original structure). More than one day is needed for this itinerary to complete the observation of the pilgrimage sites around Ephesus.

The sociological aspect that operates to form a successful pilgrimage site is also focused upon in this theme. The formation of pilgrimage centers has been subjected to multiple theories and opinions. These theories can be presented via intellectual interpretations within the scope of this theme.

Theme 6 starts from the Ayasuluk Hill and continues towards Ephesus. After Ephesus, the route divides into two: one part goes to the House of the Virgin Mary and the other to the Church in the Bay of Pamucak. The whole route can be followed by pedestrian and/or vehicular transportation. The connection between Selçuk and the archaeological site of Ephesus can either be provided through the pedestrian route project or by vehicular transportation. The total duration of Theme 6 is expected to

last four (with vehicular transportation) to five hours (with pedestrian access). When hiking/cycling is included, this theme is expected to be a two-day itinerary.

Theme 7: "Christian Pilgrimage Routes in Ephesus"

The Byzantine pilgrimage centers described in the previous theme are connected via several pilgrimage routes: *Via Sacra* starting from the Ayasuluk Hill and encircling Ephesus, the pilgrimage routes from Şirince to the Grotto of St. Paul, and the other pilgrimage path reaching the House of the Virgin Mary. Their reinterpretation as cultural routes is the main objective of Theme 7. As mentioned in Chapter 2, religious and cultural tourism are not the two ends of the spectrum. Both can be strong motivations in a heritage site. The cultural routes proposed in this theme are engaged with them both. The trail of St. Paul in Pisidian Antioch and Santiago de Compostela are outstanding examples of such routes.⁵⁹⁹

Theme 7 starts from the Ayasuluk Hill and continues towards Ephesus while parts overlap the Processional Way. After Ephesus, the route continues to the House of the Virgin Mary through the hiking route. The whole route is, deliberately, a pedestrian one. As with the previous themes, the connection between Selçuk and the archaeological site of Ephesus is provided through the pedestrian route project. The total duration of Theme 7 is expected to be a whole day-long activity.

Beyond and After the Site:

The proposals for interpreting Byzantine heritage at Ephesus seek to establish a bond between the visitors and the cultural heritage site. Such relations between the public and heritage are fundamentals in fostering public awareness, a desire to adopt the heritage as relevant. Accordingly, the Byzantine period's geological, historical, religious, and architectural features are demonstrated on-site to promote an understanding of the Byzantine heritage.

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 $^{^{599}}$ For the trail of St. Paul, and Santiago de Compostela, see above, pp. 70-73; 72-75.

This section mainly focuses on the management of these proposals along with the sustainability of their outcomes. The continuity of the region's cultural and socio-economic values while facing minimum challenges should be the primary aim of authorities. For that purpose, the administrative and local authorities should keep the collaborative studies conducted with the local people and universities. Their contribution is absolutely essential in this process. In that sense, the site's awareness of the Late Antique and Byzantine cultural heritage can be sustained through social activities, which is an already existing value and offers ample opportunity. The scope of social activities can be extended to Byzantine themed performances. Activities including human interpreters demonstrating the suggested themes and the NPC in those themes can be presented to the public in the region and close regions as a part of a broader theme.

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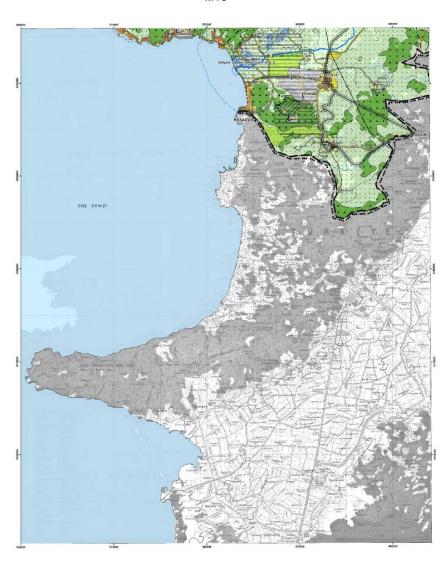
APPENDICES

A. The 1/100.000 İzmir-Manisa Planning District Environmental Plan

İZMİR - MANİSA PLANLAMA BÖLGESİ 1/100.000 ÖLÇEKLİ ÇEVRE DÜZENİ PLANI



M18



B. The official decision concerning the approval of 1/5000 and 1/1000 Ephesus Conservation Development Plans

T.C. İZMİR BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ

Karar No : 97509404.301.05.971 Karar Tarihi : 23/09/2016

MECLİS KARARI

Meclisimizin 21/09/2016 tarihli toplantısında İmar ve Bayındırlık - Kültür ve Turizm Komisyonlarına havale edilen Başkanlık Önergesine ilişkin, İmar ve Bayındırlık Komisyonunun 22/09/2016, Kültür ve Turizm Komisyonunun 22/09/2016 tarihli Komisyon Raporunda;

Belediye Meclisimizin 21/09/2016 tarihli toplantısında Komisyonlarımıza havale edilen, Bakanlığın UIP-18738 işlem numaralı 21/09/2016 tarihli ve 7802 sayılı Uygulama İmat Planlama Şube Müdürlüğü ifadeli Başkanlık Önergesi, İmar ve Bayındırlık Komisyonumuzun 22/09/2016, Kültür ve Turizm Komisyonumuzun 22/09/2016, Kültür ve Turizm Komisyonumuzun 22/09/2016 tarihli toplantısında incelendi. Selçuk Belediye Meclisinin 04/04/2016 tarihli, 118 sayılı Kararı ile kabul edilen ve 06/04/2016 tarihli, 201601558 sayılı yazı ile onaylanmak üzere Belediyemize iletilen; İzmir Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisinin 11/01/2012 tarihli, 05.40 sayılı Kararı ile uygun görülerek onaylanan 1/5000 ölçekli Efes (Selçuk-İzmir) Arkeolojik Sit Alanları Koruma Amaçlı Nazım İmar Planı değrultusunda hazırlanan, 1/1000 ölçekli Selçuk İlçesi Efes I. Derece Arkeolojik Sit Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı ve Planı Raporu; Belediye Meclisimizin 15/04/2016 tarihli, 05.436 sayılı Kararı ile uygun bulunarak, 2863 sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu gereği işlem yapılmak üzere 16/05/2016 tarihli ve 4432 sayılı yazı ekinde İzmir I Nolu Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulunun 12/08/2016 tarihli ve 4894 sayılı Kararı ile plan notlarının 4.8, 5.8, 5.10, 5.12, 5.13, 6.1, 6.1.1, 6.8 ve 6.11 maddelerinde yapılan düzeltmeler ve ilaveler doğrultusunda tadilen uygun görülen ve Selçuk Belediye Meclisinin 07/09/2016 tarihli, 238 sayılı Kararı ile kabul edilerek, Selçuk Belediye Başkanlığının 08/09/2016 tarihli, 201604690 sayılı yazısı ile onaylanmak üzere Belediyemize iletilen; 1/1000 ölçekli Selçuk İlçesi Efes I. Derece Arkeolojik Sit Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı ve Plan Raporu, Komisyonlarımızca oybirliği ile uygun bulunmuştur. Sayın Meclisimizin onaylarına sunulur. Denilmektedir.

Yukarıda metni yazılı Müşterek Rapor, Başkanlıkça okutturularak görüşülmüş olup; söz konusu raporun, İmar ve Bayındırlık – Kültür ve Turizm Komisyonlarından geldiği şekilde kabulüne, 5216 sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanununun 7/b maddesi gereği, Meclisimizce oybirliği ile karar verildi.

ASLININ AYNIDIR

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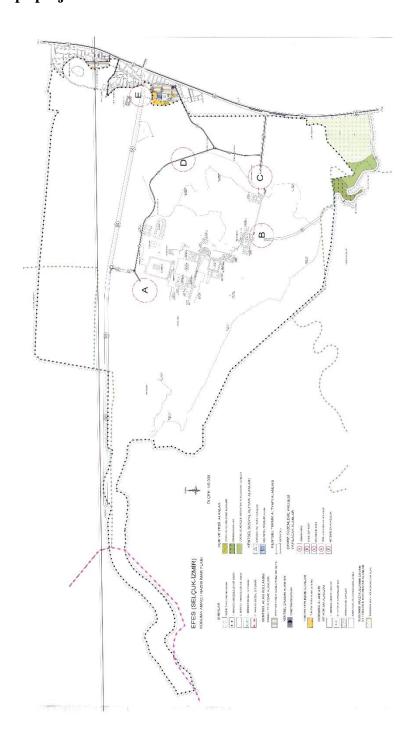
E. Ayfer RAKIPOĞLU Uyguloma hibi Planlama Suhe Mildirü V Süleyman Sırrı AYDOĞAN Meclis I. Başkan Vekili Meclis Başkanı

Filiz CERITOĞLU SENGEL

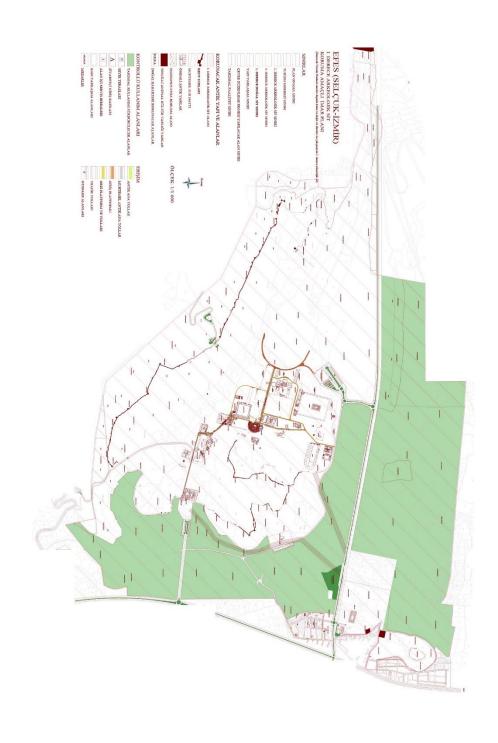
Pinar USLU Katip Wil Nurhan EBREN Katip

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C. The 1/5000 Ephesus Conservation Development Plan and the proposed landscape projects



D. The 1/1000 Ephesus Conservation Development Plan



E. The brochures in different contexts regarding the archaeological sites and museums in Ephesus



F. The 1/1000 plan of the coastal management system in the Pamucak Bay

