

ROMANIZATION OF URBAN SPACES IN EPHEBUS

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ABSTRACT

ROMANIZATION OF URBAN SPACES IN EPHEBUS

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Expansion of the Roman sphere of influence over various societies and heterogeneous cultures prompted a unique acculturation in the provinces that is referred to as Romanization. The imperial cult, in general, is considered to be both an indicator of this cultural change and an agent that took an effective role in the process of acculturation. The imperial cult in the provincial context of Asia provides a remarkable case to grasp the acculturation under Roman rule, as a catalyst of defining individuals' and communities' identity, creation of collective memory, and an effective way for the locals to make sense of the intrusion of a foreign authority into their world. Eventually, this cultural change resulted in the metamorphosis of the urban spaces that especially manifested in the creation of convenient places for the accommodation of the imperial cult. In this thesis, the analysis of the imperial settings in which the architectural forms of the imperial cult were generated is treated as a convincing resource to grasp the process of Romanization and the various reactions of the local population to a new context. With a focus on the Augustan administrative-cult center, the project analyzes the role of the architectural language of the imperial cult in the metamorphosis of urban spaces in Roman Ephesus. In doing so, an experiential analysis of the urban spaces is

provided to have a thorough understanding of the Augustan cult center within its larger urban context as a smaller component of a grander scheme.

Keywords: Ephesus, imperial cult, Romanization, urban armature

ÖZ

EFES'İN KENTSEL MEKANLARININ ROMANİZASYONU

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Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

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Roma nüfuz alanının çeşitli toplumlar ve farklı kültürler üzerindeki yayılımı, eyaletlerde Romanizasyon olarak adlandırılan özgün bir kültürleşmeye yol açtı. İmparatorluk kültürü, genel itibarıyla, hem bu kültürel değişimin bir göstergesi hem de kültürleşme sürecinde etkin rol almış bir unsur olarak kabul edilir. Asya eyaleti bağlamındaki imparatorluk kültürü, bireylerin ve toplulukların kimliklerinin tanımlanmasında, kolektif belleğin yaratılmasında bir katalizör ve yerel halkın yabancı bir otoritenin kendi dünyalarına girmesini anlamlandırmasında etkili bir yol olarak, Roma yönetimi altındaki kültürleşmeyi kavramak için dikkate değer bir veri sunmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, bu kültürel değişim, özellikle imparatorluk kültürüne uygun ortamların yaratılmasında tezahür ederek kentsel alanların başkalaşmasına neden olmuştur. Bu tezde, imparatorluk kültürünün mimari biçimlerinin üretildiği imparatorluk ortamlarının analizi, Romanizasyon sürecini ve yerel halkın yeni bir bağlama yönelik çeşitli tepkilerini kavramak için ikna edici bir kaynak olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu çalışma, Roma dönemindeki Efes kentindeki kentsel mekanların dönüşümünde imparatorluk kültürünün mimari dilinin rolünü, Augustus dönemi idari-kült merkezine odaklanarak incelemektedir. Böylelikle, Augustus dönemi kült merkezini kendi geniş kentsel

bağlamında, daha büyük bir düzenin küçük bir bileşeni olarak, derinlemesine anlamak amacıyla kentsel mekanların deneyimsel bir analizi sağlanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Efes, imparatorluk kültürü, Romanizasyon, kentsel armatür

To my father

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| <i>AHB</i> | The Ancient History Bulletin |
| <i>AJA</i> | American Journal of Archaeology |
| <i>AnatSt</i> | Anatolian Studies |
| <i>AnnPisa</i> | Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa |
| <i>AntW</i> | Antike Welt: Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte |
| <i>AnzWien</i> | Anzeiger: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philologisch-historische Klasse |
| <i>AR</i> | Archaeological Reports (supplement to <i>JHS</i>) |
| <i>Archaeology</i> | Archaeology Magazine |
| <i>ARQ</i> | Architectural Research Quarterly |
| <i>ArtB</i> | The Art Bulletin |
| <i>ASCSA</i> | American School of Classical Studies at Athens |
| <i>BCH</i> | Bulletin de correspondance hellénique |
| <i>BSA</i> | The Annual of the British School at Athens |
| <i>CAH</i> | Cambridge Ancient History |
| <i>CP</i> | Classical Philology |
| <i>CQ</i> | The Classical Quarterly |
| <i>CR</i> | The Classical Review |
| <i>ÉPRO</i> | Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain |
| <i>FiE</i> | Forschungen in Ephesos |
| <i>Gnomon</i> | Gnomon: Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft |
| <i>GRBS</i> | Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies |
| <i>Hesperia</i> | Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens |
| <i>HSCP</i> | Harvard Studies in Classical Philology |
| <i>HTR</i> | Harvard Theological Review |
| <i>HTS</i> | Harvard Theological Studies |
| <i>IstMitt</i> | Istanbuler Mitteilungen |

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| <i>IvE</i> | Inschriften von Ephesos |
| <i>JAЕ</i> | Journal of Architectural Education |
| <i>JAS</i> | Journal of Archaeological Science |
| <i>JHS</i> | Journal of Hellenic Studies |
| <i>JRA</i> | Journal of Roman Archaeology |
| <i>JRS</i> | Journal of Roman Studies |
| <i>JSAH</i> | Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians |
| <i>Kernos</i> | Kernos: Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de religion grecque antique |
| <i>METU JFA</i> | Middle East Technical University – Journal of the Faculty of Architecture |
| <i>ÖAI</i> | Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut |
| <i>Öjh</i> | Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien |
| <i>PBSR</i> | Papers of the British School at Rome |
| <i>Phoenix</i> | Phoenix: Journal of the Classical Association of Canada |
| <i>RA</i> | Revue Archéologique |
| <i>SEG</i> | Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum |
| <i>SoSchrÖAI</i> | Sonderschriften Des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes |
| <i>SPh</i> | Studies in Philology |
| <i>TAPhA</i> | Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association |
| <i>TRAJ</i> | Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal |
| <i>TAS</i> | Tematik Arkeoloji Serisi |
| <i>YaleBull</i> | Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin |
| <i>ZfG</i> | Zeitschrift für Geomorphologie |
| <i>ZPE</i> | Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis concentrates on the architecture of the imperial cult and highlights its crucial role in the acculturation that is observed in Ephesus under Roman imperial rule. No doubt, the cult played a key role in the civic life of the empire both in the center and in the provinces, and it defined the relations between the emperors and their subjects. In this regard, the imperial cult stabilized religious/political order, secured the social hierarchy, enhanced the local elite's position in the social strata and simultaneously provided a venue for the masses to express their loyalty.¹

The imperial cult is a contested concept, and the nature of the deification of the emperor has also been debated as a religious phenomenon. Scholarship has profoundly focused on ancient records, texts, coins, imagery, statuary etc. regarding the imperial cult, often with less in-depth analysis on its architectural manifestation and its impact on the built space. Yet, the architectural expression in the fabric of the cities is arguably the most pronounced and prominent indication of the imperial cult. Indeed, the cityscape that was framed with several architectural typologies shaped by the imperial cult made a significant impact on the appearance of the cities, not least in those in Roman Asia Minor. Structures, sanctuaries, and sacred spaces that were dedicated to the imperial cult were generally located in the most prestigious and remarkable locations at hand, as a permanent expression at the heart of the community. In this sense, the transformation of urban spaces in the cities of Asia Minor that occurred under Roman rule reveals different degrees of Romanization on the basis of the architectural evidence which indicated and also prompted social, cultural, and political

¹ Momigliano 1986, 183; Price 1984b, 248.

changes. In time, this often went beyond the official prescriptions of the imperial cult and contributed to the overall ambience and appearance of the cities. In the thesis, the analysis of the settings in which the architectural forms of the imperial cult were generated and their derivative impact is treated as a practical and symbolic resource to grasp the nature of Romanization as it occurred in Ephesus and the various reactions of the local population to a new context.

Cities in Asia Minor under Roman rule provide ample case studies for the scholarly literature of the imperial cult in the provincial context.² In particular, major urban centers, prominent and vivacious cities in Asia Minor such as Aphrodisias, Pergamon and Ephesus, with their plenteous material record present an abundance of data on the imperial worship.³ In this regard, Ephesus, which was restructured as the administrative center of the province of Asia by Octavian himself by making the city the seat for the proconsul, provides an outstanding record with usable architectural evidence for the imperial worship, its materialization on the already existing built fabric of the city, and the process of transformation that ensued under Roman rule. Hence, this study aims to make an assessment of the metamorphosis that is observed in the built environment in the Roman period, the role of the imperial cult and its architectural expression by focusing on the urban spaces of Ephesus.

Following this Introduction in Chapter 1, the thesis essentially comprises three main chapters. In Chapter 2 is a discussion about the imperial cult starting from a general overview of its precedents and the apotheosis of the Roman emperors where the regional nuances in the adoption of the imperial cult are analyzed. By doing so, the meaning of the imperial cult to the rulers and the ruled, the elite and the masses is unpacked. The political and religious functions of the imperial cult are also questioned along with the consideration of the scholarly approaches that offer divergent standpoints. Here, the different meanings embedded within the imperial cult by various agents and their different expectations in the same setting are highlighted. This paves the way to understand the process of cultural change through Romanization and its

² For example, Price 1984b; Friesen 1993; Burrell 2004.

³ Especially see Öztürk 2013.

materialization in the public spaces of Ephesus as the centerpiece of this study, and the transformation of these spaces through the utility of the imperial cult in the acculturation under Roman rule.

What defined the identity of being Roman and what becoming Roman really meant are vital concerns in this study. In this context, understanding the imperial cult with its adoption in the provinces is considered pertinent in answering such questions. Yet, its presence in the urban spaces is not solely an evidence for the local communities being Romanized. Rather, religion and the imperial cult are treated as the instruments of defining individuals' and communities' identity, conceptualizing the past, present and future, the creation of collective memory, and a highly effective way of making sense of the world order which had drastically changed with the advent of Roman expansion. After an overview and assessment of the process and dynamics, the chapter continues with the nature of the emperor worship, locating emperors in the built environment, ending with the cults of the emperors in Ephesus.

In Chapter 3, the case of the adoption of the imperial cult in the urban spaces of Ephesus, in its widest sense, is revealed with an analysis concentrating chiefly on the new Augustan administrative-cultic center in a prominent location where the impact of the emperor on the public space was carefully designed with an intensive building program taking place in the early imperial period.⁴ First, the historical, geographical, and spatial context in which the adoption of the imperial cult took place is highlighted. A concise analysis of the historical topography of the settlements that were continuously founded, inhabited, and abandoned throughout time that went hand in hand with the changes in the geographical conditions is provided. The sacred landscape of Ephesus is also taken into consideration here in correspondence with the pattern of settling and abandoning. Thus, a brief history of the spatial development of the religious milieu is presented by focusing on the primeval sacred sites that were decisive in shaping the identity of the city, the communities, and individuals. This is particularly a significant part of the study considering that the imperial cult was eventually absorbed into the already existing sacred milieu of Ephesus in the imperial

⁴ Price 1984b, 145.

period which had long existed and successively developed through centuries. This is followed by the physical and the contextual treatment of the Upper Agora in Ephesus.

In this context, the Upper Agora which offers a salient case for the creation of a new cultic site on an already existing urban fabric is scrutinized with its material and abstract realities. The layout of the agora with the architectural components is examined within the scope of the architectural tradition of “agora” in the Hellenic East and of “forum” in the Roman West. This provides a typological comparison of the Upper Agora with the contemporaneous agoras and fora from different parts of the empire with a view of the historical development of the agoras. Following this, the agoras’ capacity of accommodating the emperors’ cult is highlighted with the question of whether the Upper Agora can be viewed as an imperial forum built in a provincial context. The peculiar juxtaposition of the intertwined imagery of the imperial cult, the ancestral goddess, the imagery of the emperor and the imperial family, members of local elite; the *polis*, the *boule* and *demos*, religious and civic institutions and other various agents are investigated to grasp more thoroughly the remarkable case of the formation of an imperial center in the Augustan era in a provincial context. The emergent identity of the new urban node is revealed in this section. Here, a picture of the physical and mental constructions and perception of the Augustan center is constructed by making a connection between the former and the latter, both considering the material and mental manifestation of the site.

Chapter 4 concentrates on the formation, experience and perception of the urban armature in Ephesus highlighting the *Embolos*. The core assumption in Chapter 4 is based on the premise of wholistic perception in a larger context. We do not perceive entities as isolated, but rather, within various contexts in our experiences. Hence, in addition to the typological and stylistic analysis of the Upper Agora, an experiential assessment of the spatial contexts is considered efficacious for a more effective comprehension of the social and cultural realities of the time, such as the practice of the imperial cult and Romanization. Thus, the spatial urban context of the Upper Agora is examined in this chapter, beginning with the urban armature as conceptualized by William MacDonald as a methodological apparatus. The chapter reveals how the manipulation of the urban armature is primary and vital in a study of the architecture

of the imperial cult in the cityscape, and thus, in Roman architecture and urbanism more generally. Employing a kinesthetic experience to comprehend and appreciate the architectural manifestation of the imperial cult in the urban context of Ephesus is put forward and given emphasis. Hence, a three-dimensional experience of the architectural spaces revealing the authority of actual presence in the site with close attention to the urban armature is structured to scrutinize the individual components. Moreover, a virtual model of the Upper Agora is generated to understand the visuality of the site of the agora. Through the three-dimensional experience, a framework is provided to understand the visual rhetoric and spatial choreography, otherwise incomprehensible, that were uttered with the urban artifacts including particularly the imagined presence of the emperor in the city.

The experiential analysis in Chapter 4 (Map 1, 2) particularly reveals the special emphasis given to echoing emperor's presence in the urban spaces of Ephesus, which was principally formulated by locals for a local audience in a local context. After all, a preponderance of the people from far-flung communities in the empire would never get to see the sole ruler in the flesh, "but the iconography of imperial power and symbols of the emperor permeated their daily lives,"⁵ which was also embodied through architecture, perhaps in its most conspicuous way. The monuments generated for the image and the cult of the emperor pervasively, if not ubiquitously, imprinted the emperor's presence in the local milieu. The fascinating frequency of such architectural edifices dedicated to the emperor with or without his family in the urban spaces of Ephesus especially attests to the extensive impact of the presence of the imperial image on the cityscape. Out of every monument mentioned in the thesis from the lower *Embolos* to the Upper Agora, which is twenty-two in total, (involving ten monuments alongside the *Embolos*, five in the Plaza of Domitian, two alongside the South Street and five in the site of the Upper Agora), a slight majority of them, twelve monuments, indicate dedications to, the imagery and the cult of emperor (Map 2). These twelve monuments include two structures (the Gate of Hadrian and the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora) located in the west end of the *Embolos*, two (the so-called Temple of Hadrian and the *Nymphaeum Traiani* in the middle of the *Embolos*),

⁵ Revell 2009, 82.

three at the opposite end (the Pollio Monument, the Fountain of Domitian, the Temple of the *Sebastoi*) and the other five in the site of the Upper Agora (the free-standing temple, the basilica-stoa, the *prytaneion*, the double *cella* monument and the *bouleuterion*). Simply put, during one's journey throughout the *Embolos* en-route to the Upper Agora, the emperor was never out of one's sight. The monuments featuring the imperial presence were unfolded before passers-by in specific locations at an extraordinary recurrence throughout their journey from the lower *Embolos* towards the Upper Agora (or *vice versa*), generating an imperial narrative in the urban layout.

Another kind of urban pattern is observed in the layout of the venues for the imperial worship in the cityscape. Among the abovementioned twelve monuments with imperial imagery, five of them were sanctuaries in which the imperial cult was received worship. Only one of these sanctuaries, the so-called Temple of Hadrian, was built on the *Embolos*, whereas the other four sacred venues, the Temple of the *Sebastoi* (the imperial neokorate temple of Ephesus), and the venues in the Upper Agora such as the free-standing temple, the *temenos* with the double *cella* monument, and the *prytaneion* were positioned in the upper city, in and around the Upper Agora. Overall, the requirement to build proper spaces for the veneration of the imperial cult induced the transformation of urban spaces that were predominantly in the upper city, at least until the second century CE. Such architectural endeavors efficaciously incorporated the imperial cult in the urban fabric, and thus, in the daily life of Ephesus.

Overall, in order to grasp the behavioral pattern of groups and individuals, and their interaction with the built and social environment, to comprehend their perception and attitude, it is necessary to search for the material expressions of people's actual needs in a social and spatial context.⁶ Thence, Chapter 4 exposes how the organization of the civic spaces reveals the people's ability to adapt and react to a novel social and political environment. It also shows that the architecture of the imperial cult, in its broadest sense, stands out as invaluable evidence to examine the experiences of the local communities in responding to a new world, which features varying degrees of adaptation and resistance. In this sense, it is shown how the architectural record of

⁶ Pfeiffer 1980, 35.

Ephesus especially, which displays many instances of the adoption of the imperial cult, gives us an extraordinary chance to get a handle on the individuals' and groups' mentality in response to transforming patterns of living, social connections, and social desires.

Lastly, Chapter 5, Conclusion, brings all together by highlighting the dynamics whereby past and present, religion and politics merge in the emergence of Ephesus as an important Roman city through architectural designs in the urban settings, in which the imperial cult played a crucial role. Indeed, the rites, rituals, festivities and other practices that surrounded the worship of emperor became essential parts of the public life of Roman Ephesus, which were generated by the locals and were carefully intermingled with the traditional belief system. Through such events and the imperial settings, in the built environment in which the presence of the emperor re-enacted, the imperial cult was aptly fused into the local milieu. This, perhaps most ostensibly, transpired through the encounter of the cult of the emperor with the local entities, and above all, the cult of the tutelary goddess of Ephesus.⁷ Thereby, the divine persona of the emperor was effectively expressed through the joint cult and imagery with the ancestral deity and was ingrained into the mindset of the individuals, which instilled the concept of Roman dominion into the communities of Ephesus.

In conclusion, the study shows how the adoption of the imperial cult into local Ephesian milieu was expressly manifested in the confident placement of the urban artifacts dedicated to the imperial cult and imagery in the spatial organization of the city. In its widest sense, the vital need for the creation of venues adequate for the significance of the imperial cult and imagery catalyzed the transformation of the urban spaces in Roman Ephesus. Thereby, the imperial presence permeated into the urban fabric through the ostentatious architectural settings dedicated to the imperial cult and imagery, and thus, turned into an imperative part of the public life, which, in turn, became crucial for defining the contemporaneous Ephesian identity. After all, changes in the urban spaces indicated the cultural change under Roman rule.

⁷ The juxtaposed cults of Augustus and Artemis was a momentous exemplification for the fuse of the imperial cult into the long-established local pantheon, which is attested both in an intramural (the double *cella* monument) and an extramural setting (the Artemision).

CHAPTER 2

ROMANIZATION AND THE ROLE OF THE IMPERIAL CULT

2.1. Romanization: An Overview

Spreading over vast territories from the Caucasus in the east to the British Isles and the Iberian Peninsula in the north and west, the reach of the Roman Empire encompassed multitudinous societies and various cultures. Romans encountered various heterogeneous cultures in many ways such as through war, conquest, trade and so on, followed by varying degrees of acculturation in the manner of importing and exporting traditions, cults, rituals, identifications intentional or otherwise. Indeed, as suggested by Michael Peachin, the empire, in its widest sense, established a “rather astonishing cohesive capacity” which was exceedingly “multi-ethnic, or multicultural, and that remained so over the long course of its political survival.”⁸

There were numerous agents that actively participated in the complicated process of Romanization. During the *Pax Romana*, the local elites of the conquered/annexed communities were granted more responsibility in administration – which endowed them with an avid interest in Roman identity – and local towns became regional centers which became the venues where Roman ideals and local pride encountered. Consequently, Romanized architecture in the provinces of the empire emerged as an effective vehicle in disseminating a new image and ideals. For example, the creation of public monuments and civic spaces in various parts of the empire (especially in the regional centers) that highly contributed to the process of generating a sense of “Romanness.”⁹ This process, however, occurred in highly divergent and nuanced

⁸ Peachin 2011, 12.

⁹ Peachin 2011, 16.

ways, in different corners of the Empire where Romanized local traditions and styles often possessed distinct features of their own rather than constituting one single hybrid culture. Stylistically, the Romanized arts of the provinces showed an extraordinary range. Even at the most expensive, imperially sponsored or sanctioned level, monuments relatively close in date could be very far apart in their appearance and influence,¹⁰ which was precisely due to the fact that different local cultures from different provinces displayed varied approaches in the adaptation and adoption of Roman ideals. At the same time, however, they were able to show even resistance to Romanization both consciously and unconsciously.

2.1.1. Scholarly Views: From *Mission Civilisatrice* to Acculturation

Romanization as a term referring to the cultural change in the Roman Empire was first used by Francis J. Haverfield, according to whom Romanization was a process by which the Roman provinces were bestowed civilization by a superior culture.¹¹ This view was most probably influenced by the discourses of rationale in the nineteenth century for British colonialism that considers it as a historical mission, in the name of mankind. In this respect, colonialism was an imperative apparatus whereby the British Empire shoulders the historical responsibility “to civilize” the “lesser” societies. Charles E. Trevelyan offers us a clear picture of the nineteenth and early twentieth century British viewpoint of the Romanization. He suggests that the Romans civilized the European nations and attached them to Roman rule by Romanization; “or, in other words, by educating them in the Roman literature and arts, and teaching them to emulate their conquerors instead of opposing them.”¹² Furthermore, according to Haverfield:

In material culture the Romanization advanced no less quickly. One uniform fashion spread from the Mediterranean throughout central and western Europe, driving out native art and substituting a conventional copy of Graeco-Roman or Italian art, which is characterized alike by technical finish and

¹⁰ Elsner 1998.

¹¹ Haverfield 1915, 11. Note that earlier studies of Romanization often focus on Roman Britain, e.g. Collingwood 1932; for a detailed historiographical analysis on the perception of Romanization in the scholarly studies, see Webster 2001.

¹² Trevelyan 1838, 195-6.

neatness, and by lack of originality and dependence on imitation. The result was inevitable.¹³

According to Greg Woolf, such views on the cultural change still have an impact on the provincial studies to presuppose a cultural uniformity, “sometimes seen as inevitable” rather than the regional variations.¹⁴ Moreover, according to Haverfield, the scale of Romanization in the provinces where the Greek culture civilization was dominant was small, as “closely as Greek civilization resembled Roman, easy as the transition might seem from the one to the other.”¹⁵ However, even the differences of the tradition of the emperor worship between Asia Minor and the imperial center might suggest otherwise. Philip Freeman notes that:

... while Haverfield’s achievements were great in terms of his own time and his influence on subsequent generations, his life’s work was based on a poorly articulated concept of Roman imperialism. This lack of theoretical or detailed argument about the underlying nature of imperialism has continued to undermine most subsequent work on the subject, and it has implications for the utility of the term Romanization.¹⁶

Romanization as conceptualized by the early British scholars as a historical basis of the rationale for British imperialism have been subject to vigorous deconstruction under the influence of recent social, political, economic, cultural and philosophical theories of globalism and post-colonialism.¹⁷ For example, Haverfield’s theory of Romanization as the inevitable spread of a superior culture was challenged in later studies. As Jane Webster points out, “Collingwood’s reading of material culture in Roman Britain was in some respects a direct challenge to Haverfield’s viewpoint.”¹⁸ According to Robin G. Collingwood, even in the most Romanized parts of Roman Britain, there is no pure Roman civilization that took over the preexisting local civilization.¹⁹ Instead, there was a fusion of Roman and Celtic elements creating “a

¹³ Haverfield 1915, 19.

¹⁴ Woolf 1998, 15; Webster 2001, 211.

¹⁵ Haverfield 1915, 12.

¹⁶ Freeman 1997, 46.

¹⁷ Dmitriev 2009, 124.

¹⁸ Webster 2001, 211.

¹⁹ Collingwood 1932, 92.

single thing different from either,” so “the civilization of Roman is neither Roman nor British, but Romano-British.”²⁰ As noted by Webster, nativist approaches emanated in the 1970s and 1980s which emphasizes the purity of local culture in the post-conquest era by which introduced for the first time the notion of resistance, inverting Haverfield’s conception.²¹ Haverfield’s model of Romanization and the nativist approach was later reconciled by Millett who perceives Romanization as native-led emulation within a spontaneous process.²² It is a non-interventionist approach in which Rome did not consciously pursue a policy of Romanization, the process came about with the active participation of the local elite of the conquered communities.²³

To set an example for the later viewpoints, David J. Mattingly asserts that “Romanization as understood today is the intellectual construct of a group of 19th-c. historians.”²⁴ According to him ambiguously delineated concepts of the meaning of being Roman and the process of becoming one have far too long been accepted.²⁵ He also notes that:

... the fundamental problem with ‘Romanization’ as a term is that it implies a unilateral transfer of culture, whereas it is clear that not only was culture exchange bilateral, it was also multi-directional. Another problem is that the word encourages generalization (“The people of Britain became Romanized ...”) as though this was a single, standardized process, rather than something experienced in myriad different ways.²⁶

In sum, Romanization is a contested term. This study neither aims to provide an alternative definition for Romanization that offers a deconstruction, nor to formulate a substitute appellation, not in the least to reject the term entirely. Instead, the aim is to assess the acculturation and metamorphosis both with regard to and beyond the

²⁰ Collingwood 1932, 92.

²¹ Webster 2001, 213.

²² Webster 2001, 213; also note that Romanization is regarded by Haverfield (1915, 14) as “a spontaneous process.”

²³ Grahame 1998, 1.

²⁴ Mattingly 1997, 17.

²⁵ Mattingly 1997, 17.

²⁶ Mattingly 1997, 9.

bilateral center-periphery, capital-province relations; especially questioning the notions of adaptability and resistance that come under the label “Romanization” by focusing on the architectural record of the imperial cult in Ephesus.

2.1.2. The Process and Dynamics

As briefly mentioned in the previous section, there have been various views on Romanization which changed throughout the decades. In this study, Romanization is regarded as a shorthand description to identify the process of cultural change occurring in the provinces that may also be traced in the material culture. In other words, it is considered as a “shorthand for the series of cultural changes that created an imperial civilization, within which both differences and similarities came to form a coherent pattern.”²⁷ According to Jas Elsner, this very process, whereby Gauls, Libyans, Anatolians, Spaniards, Levantines, Greeks and various other local communities might adopt and interiorize the ideals of a single culture, despite differences in the manifestation, is called Romanization.²⁸ It was not a simple linear process operating at the same rate and in the same manner at every level of society. It was loose, non-systematic, unplanned, and above all, it was not dictated from the center. Likewise, Kathryn Lomas asserts:

As a loose definition, the process could be described as the transmission of a characteristically Roman set of cultural attributes and assumptions, assuming that the speed and mode of transmission and the nature of their reception varies according to the nature of the recipient and the social and economic level at which the transmission operates at any given moment.²⁹

Indeed, the discourse of Romanization often focuses on the rich and well-connected peoples of the Roman Empire.³⁰ According to Charles Hedrick, “The state governed through local elites and implemented policies through cities, and not surprisingly it is in such contexts that the spread of an “imperial culture” can most readily be seen.”³¹

²⁷ Woolf 1998, 7.

²⁸ Elsner 1998, 118.

²⁹ Lomas 1993, 6.

³⁰ Hingley 2014, 6374.

³¹ Hedrick 2011, 175, fn. 8.

As a result, the elite started to become participants in the imperial authority which evolved as a devouring fascination for prestige and representation of power. In the cities of Roman Greece, Asia Minor, and North Africa, the elite not only enlightened huge crowds at public performances in city theaters and temple precincts but lavished their wealth on the collective community of their cities, above all on splendid buildings.³² This architecture donated or supported by such individuals may be conceived in terms of the idea of conspicuous consumption, as formulated by Thorstein Veblen, of valuable goods and services which served as a means of acquiring reputation for the leisure class.³³ Consequently, Romanized architecture in the provinces of the empire emerged as an effective vehicle in disseminating new ideals, in the practices of self-identification, and devising and maintaining power relations.

It is important to note that the Romanization of the locals cannot be labeled as a straightforward narrative of conquest by the “superior” Roman culture and traditions. The term does not refer to a process where the impact of the culture and traditions of the conquerors entirely took over the local environment, completely eradicating the traditional forms and practices. On the contrary, the outputs of Romanization clearly indicate that the propagation of imperial identity to the conquered territories demonstrates an important sensitivity to local conditions and needs. As Woolf asserts: “The nature of the indigenous society also plays a part in determining the end-product of these changes, retarding or accelerating change, or in determining which areas of culture are most affected.”³⁴ Moreover, the works of art and architecture produced in the provinces asserted the particularity of local nuances within the imperial context. In tandem, imperial art in the provinces tried to assimilate the message of imperial control within the local milieu. The compromise between the imperial sphere of influence and local needs was characteristically a “Roman” or “imperial” issue, beyond the boundaries of traditional stylistic analysis. As argued by Louise Revell, “Typologies cease to be an end in themselves, but instead become a way to understand regional

³² Thomas 2007, 13.

³³ Veblen 1899; Thomas 2007, 6.

³⁴ Woolf 1998, 15.

variability and the way in which the provincial populations responded to the new imperial context.”³⁵

The abovementioned continuum is identified by Lynne Lancaster as social/cultural/political acceptability that cannot be separated entirely from the evident need: the local needs that shape cultural expectations.³⁶ Concordantly, different and everchanging local needs from far-flung territories required to be uniquely addressed. Therefore, the process of acculturation occurred in highly divergent and nuanced ways, in every part of the Empire where Romanized local traditions and styles often possessed distinct features of their own rather than constituting one single hybrid culture. As reviewed by MacDonald, John B. Ward-Perkins states that distinct regionalism was a primary feature of Roman architecture.³⁷

Another important aspect in examining the phenomenon of Romanization is to avoid setting up a binary opposition of “Roman” and “non-Roman” whose identities and traditions met after the Roman conquest of the place. Instead, it must be noted, as Revell states, that the Mediterranean had long been a melting pot of cultural influences both before and while the Roman Empire was expanding, and “there were strong alternative cultural models.”³⁸ Besides, there was not a standard Roman culture with which provincial cultures can be compared.³⁹ The city of Rome was a natural center for the encounter of various cultures; the provinces in Italy went through cultural changes under Roman rule, as well.⁴⁰ Therefore, the result of Romanization was far from a cultural uniformity.⁴¹ Furthermore, a vivid and enriched regionalism is observed in the architectural record, which defies such binary stylistic classification. This was a farther sophisticated process of compromise, self-identification and

³⁵ Revell 2013, 398.

³⁶ Lancaster 2005, 172.

³⁷ MacDonald 1986:2, 252.

³⁸ Revell 2013, 389.

³⁹ Woolf 1998, 7.

⁴⁰ Woolf 1998, 7.

⁴¹ Woolf 1998, 7.

adaptation of the Roman ideals, sometimes showing resistance at the same time. Eventually, this process resulted in the outcome that the Romanized arts of the provinces showed an extraordinary range.⁴² Hence, the multi-layered evidence reveals a multilateral interaction between various participants.

In conclusion, instead of searching for precise typologies, the current studies on Romanization “look for the underlying ideologies and discourses embodied within the fabric of the buildings and the forms of behaviors and practices they enabled.”⁴³ The current approach is more agent centered that puts the emphasis on the indigenous people, their ability to adopt certain typologies and their creation of regional forms.⁴⁴ It is striking that the adoption of the imperial cult within the local physical settings was a noteworthy instance that offers us outstanding opportunities for grasping the “underlying ideologies and discourses” embodied within the material culture. In this respect, the architectural record of the imperial cult reveals drastic changes in the urban spaces, not least in the traditions, rituals, and everyday life. As it will be discussed later, the emperor worship in the Hellenic East, essentially, had its indigenous particularities, but, in principle, it was also something new and original; as it was a way of reacting to a new environment, that is being a small part of the complex body of the Roman Empire. In this context, the adoption of the imperial cult might be interpreted as an expression of the cultural change, and the cult itself might be regarded as an agent that partook in the acculturation process. Its impact on the physical settings of the cities was no exception. Despite persisting local expressions in the architectural record of the imperial cult, its architectural settings dramatically transformed the urban fabric of Ephesus. In order to understand the role of the imperial cult in the process of Romanization, a brief overview now follows.

2.2. The Imperial Cult

The apotheosis of Julius Caesar marked a turning step for a redefinition of the relations between the future Roman emperors and their subjects. Suetonius notes that Caesar’s

⁴² Elsner 1998, 119.

⁴³ Revell 2013, 397.

⁴⁴ Revell 2013, 398.

deification was more significant than a mere official decree because it echoed public conviction.⁴⁵ Yet, it was the cult of Augustus that set the essential framework in Rome for the rest of the empire.⁴⁶ The deification of the emperor eventually became a standard religious practice that was generally confirmed by senatorial vote.⁴⁷ Overall, the imperial cult, both in its Roman or provincial articulation, became one of the most common religious manifestations throughout the empire.⁴⁸

The imperial cult can be basically regarded as a religious and political entity that had its roots in the primeval concept of the sacred kingship that emerged in the prehistoric times, “by which a ruler is seen as an incarnation, manifestation, mediator, or agent of the sacred or holy (the transcendent or supernatural realm).”⁴⁹ It can be speculated that the notion of sacred kingship was as ancient as the concept of the kingship itself, as Claus Westermann indicates: “... when religion was totally connected with the whole existence of the individual as well as that of the community and when kingdoms were in varying degrees connected with religious powers or religious institutions, there could be no kingdom that was not in some sense sacral.”⁵⁰ Therefore, one could argue that the imperial worship attested in Ephesus is a succeeding proliferation of a primordial concept of sacral rulers in Roman times by which the local population expressed piety and loyalty to the new rulers.

As Rome’s sphere of influence grew over the Hellenic world at the expense of the Hellenistic kingdoms, new cults related to Rome emerged in the Greek *poleis*.⁵¹ It is also indeed necessary to acknowledge that the provinces in the Hellenistic East already had a long tradition of the ruler cult and the circumstances of Augustus’ deification

⁴⁵ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, 88. “He ... was numbered among the gods, not only by a formal decree, but also in the conviction of the vulgar. For at the first of the games which his heir Augustus gave in honour of his apotheosis ...”

⁴⁶ Lozano 2007, 140.

⁴⁷ Kreitzer 1990, 221.

⁴⁸ Lozano 2007.

⁴⁹ Westermann 2013.

⁵⁰ Westermann 2013.

⁵¹ Rives 2000, 265.

owe much to the tradition of the Hellenistic ruler cult, too.⁵² In other words, the sacred landscape of the Hellenic East that already had a long tradition of the ruler cult provided ample religious, political, ideological settings for the adoption of the imperial cult in the local contexts as well as it contributed to the practice of the emperor worship. Thus, a brief overview of the development of the tradition of the ruler cult in the Hellenic World prior to Roman rule is deemed necessary for understanding the historical context upon which the cults of Roman emperors were adopted.

In the Greek World, well-before Alexander's conquests, there had already been a well-established tradition of venerating exceptional figures (athletes, heroes, city-founders etc.) who had been receiving divine honors posthumously, but the first known individual who was bestowed with godlike honors while alive was Lysandros, the famous Spartan general.⁵³ This tradition was later followed by the practice of granting divine honors to mortals as an acknowledgment for their important services or extraordinary achievements, which was still substantially different than the act of worshipping the gods.⁵⁴

Whereas there was a deep-seated tradition of venerating extraordinary individuals in Ancient Greece, which certainly had a major impact on the development of the practice of the ruler cult, the immediate precursor of the Hellenistic ruler cult is considered to be the cults of Alexander's predecessors, the Macedonian kings, Amyntas III and his son Philip II.⁵⁵ A shrine is believed to have been dedicated to Amyntas III at Pydna, and Philip II was worshipped in Philippi during his lifetime as *ktistes*.⁵⁶ However, it was Alexander's cult which is simply regarded as the first example of the Hellenistic ruler cult. Unsurprisingly, Alexander's status, power and conquests lifted him to an unparalleled position, which resulted in the establishment of his cult and reception of

⁵² Bosworth 1999, 1.

⁵³ Chaniotis 2003, 434.

⁵⁴ On the essential difference between the worship of gods and honoring mortals, Chaniotis (2003, 434) notes: "there is, for instance, no reference to a cult statue or to a shrine, and there can be little doubt that these rituals were ephemeral."

⁵⁵ Chaniotis 2003, 434.

⁵⁶ Chaniotis 2003, 434.

divine worship. As anticipated, the cult of Alexander, whose achievements rivaled to those of Herakles and Dionysos, had its novelties, which was established in many places, if not everywhere, in the Hellenic World. Alexander already promoted himself as the descendant of famous heroes, Herakles and Achilles, who were also sons of gods, and later viewed himself as a son of Zeus.⁵⁷ Yet, the actual novelty was his divinization, which occurred towards the end of his life, when “as a result of a proclamation he had issued demanding divine honors for himself, the cities of the Greek mainland sent sacred envoys to Babylon to honor the king as a god.”⁵⁸

The cult of Alexander certainly set a firm precedent for the establishment of the cults of the new rulers in successor Hellenistic kingdoms.⁵⁹ It also persisted after his death, Alexander received worship as a god in Ptolemaic Egypt under the rule of Ptolemy I Soter,⁶⁰ which was later followed by the deification of Ptolemies. After Ptolemy II Philadelphos became king, he declared his late father, Ptolemy I, a god and promoted himself as the son of a god. Afterwards, Philadelphos proclaimed himself and his sister-wife Arsinoë gods during their lifetime whose cults were associated with that of Alexander.⁶¹ This practice appears to be a translation of pharaonic tradition to a novel environment in the Hellenistic period, which also signals the efforts of adaptation of the Hellenic rulers to the Egyptian ideals to further their legitimization as the new rulers in Egypt.⁶²

The practice varied outside Egypt, as Antigonos I Monophthalmus and Demetrius I Poliorcetes received honors as *soteres* (saviors) in 307 BCE for the liberation of

⁵⁷ Shipley 1999, 158.

⁵⁸ Chaniotis 2003, 435; Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 7.32.2. On the other hand, Shipley (1999, 159) argues that “it was not until well into the reign of Ptolemy I, however, perhaps in the 290s, that Alexander was honored as a god.”

⁵⁹ Walbank 1984, 91.

⁶⁰ Shipley 1999, 159.

⁶¹ Shipley 1999, 159.

⁶² According to Chaniotis (2003, 437), the Greek epithets of the cults of rulers (Eucharistos, Soter, Philadelphos, Philometor, Epiphanes, Philopator, Euergetes) sounded familiar to the Greeks, whereas it also resembled (or emulated) some aspects of the Egyptian monarchic titles, by which the local population of Egypt perceived the Ptolemaic rule with respect to a more familiar concept of the rule of pharaohs.

Athens, which resulted in the establishment of annual festivities, the construction of an altar and the foundation of the priesthood of the Saviors.⁶³ In addition, the successors of Alexander received honors with cults and were worshipped as *ktistes* in the cities that they have founded (or re-founded).⁶⁴ In sum, cults of rulers proliferated and became widespread in the Hellenistic kingdoms. Temples, altars and shrines were seldom dedicated to their cult, but the statues of rulers were placed in temples of ancestral deities in which the rulers received worship as the “temple-sharing gods.”⁶⁵ After all, the Hellenistic ruler cult was a complicated phenomenon that was prompted by complex political, religious and social reasons, and the recipient of worship did not always reach the full status of gods.⁶⁶

A brief overview of the development of the Hellenistic ruler cult is presented to understand the capacity of the *poleis* in adjusting to new contexts, which was, in general, manifested in the proliferation of the ruler cults in their traditional religious landscape, in the Hellenistic period. David Potter argues: “Greek *poleis* had always ... had the capacity to welcome new gods,” and “In the years after Alexander they welcomed more than they had before.”⁶⁷ Even though his remark is about the case of the propagation of the cults from Syria and Egypt into the traditional religious realm of Greek *poleis*, it also speaks much for the existence of a suitable environment for the adoption of the Hellenistic ruler cult. After all, as Jon Mikalson suggests: “The cities in Asia Minor that Alexander, Seleukos, Antigonos, Ptolemy, and their successors most benefited established god-like, not “hero-like” cults for them early and maintained them through the Hellenistic and Roman periods.”⁶⁸ Moreover, it is necessary to note that Anatolia had long been a flexible place for the incorporation of new gods into its religious system.⁶⁹ Thus, it can be argued that especially the cities in

⁶³ Chaniotis 2003, 436.

⁶⁴ Chaniotis 2003, 436.

⁶⁵ Chaniotis 2003, 439.

⁶⁶ Mikalson 2006, 219.

⁶⁷ Potter 2003, 426.

⁶⁸ Mikalson 2006, 214.

⁶⁹ For example, the Hittites are often referred to as “the people of a thousand gods.”

Anatolia provided a convenient environment for the later cultic developments including the proliferation of cults of the Roman emperors.

As implied before, the development of the tradition of Hellenistic ruler cult prepared a convenient environment upon which the cults related to Rome were eventually adopted. Initially, these cults were not necessarily dedicated only to rulers but also other entities such as the cults of the senate and *Roma*, the personification of Rome, by which the Roman cults differed from the Hellenistic predecessors. The cults specifically dedicated to the rulers became prevalent at the time when the emperors' authority was undisputed in the empire, starting from the reign of Caesar and especially that of Augustus.

2.2.1. The Nature of the Emperor Worship

The concept of the imperial cult has long been the subject of scholarly discourses. In this regard, it is necessary to note that although there is no disagreement on the fact that emperors were surely deified and were paid homage to, the essence of the divinization and the nature of the rituals related to the imperial cult were subject to a critical scholarly dispute: was the emperor worship an expression of political loyalty in the guise of a religious sentiment or was it a genuine devotion? Also noted by Michael Naylor, up until the 1980s, this question of whether the imperial cult should be considered “politics” or “religion” dominated the discourse.⁷⁰ Edward Gibbon was a proponent of the former conception who alludes to the deification of the emperor in pejorative terms; he writes that this “servile and impious mode of adulation” was “the only instance in which they [the emperors] departed from their accustomed prudence and modesty.”⁷¹ Moreover, it is claimed that the imperial worship was not a type of genuine devotion, and thus, it cannot be regarded as an authentic religious belief. For example, Arthur Nock's endeavors in formulating an outline to define what can be considered a genuine worship in the context of the imperial cult thoroughly reflect the mainstream view of the earlier scholarly views on the nature of the emperor-worship in the Roman Empire. Nock's formulation for a genuine worship that requires “the

⁷⁰ Naylor 2010, 209.

⁷¹ Gibbon 1854, 1:84.

expectation of blessing to be mediated in a supernatural way” implies that the devotion in emperor worship was of the nature of homage not a true religious worship.⁷² In a similar vein, Burton asserts that the emperors accepted the worship as a kind of political loyalty.⁷³ This standpoint on the nature of the imperial cult came hand in hand with the theory that the imperial worship was a sign of the great decline of Graeco-Roman religion in the first centuries in the first millennium CE. The narrative suggesting a disastrous decline of Graeco-Roman religion has been recently an issue that has been subject to vigorous deconstruction.⁷⁴ For instance, the conceptualization of the imperial cult as an irreligious form of flattery which signified the decline in religion is objected by Simon Price who put great efforts in deconstructing such ideas. Price recognized the “Christianizing assumptions” of the earlier studies and criticized the idea of the emergence of the imperial cult as a decay of the traditional Graeco-Roman religion which was only to be superseded by Christianity.⁷⁵ In response, he suggests that the emperor worship was “a way of conceptualizing the world”⁷⁶ and the imperial cult was a reaction of the Greeks for “making sense of an otherwise incomprehensible intrusion of authority into their world”⁷⁷. In tandem, Pieter Botha claims that the imperial cult was “a very important way of conceptualizing reality that is society and politics under Roman rule.”⁷⁸ Moreover, he considers the imperial cult as a crucial constituent of coeval societies’ self-definition, and thus, to question the cult is the same as rejecting its experienced reality.⁷⁹ According to more recent studies on the subject, the imperial cult was a conception of power, an embodiment of abstract

⁷² Nock 1934, 481.

⁷³ Burton 1912, 87. Latte (1960, 308) notes that “The cult of *Genius Augusti* has very little to do with religion itself.” (Mit der eigentlichen Religion hat dieser Kult des *Genius Augusti* nur sehr bedingt etwas zu tun.). On the apotheosis of the Hellenistic rulers, Ferguson (1928, 17) states that their cult was also an irreligious substitute for the hero-cult.

⁷⁴ Van Alten 2017, 1; Rives 2010.

⁷⁵ Price 1984b, 11-5.

⁷⁶ Price 1984b, 7.

⁷⁷ Price 1984b, 247.

⁷⁸ Botha 1988, 87.

⁷⁹ Botha 1988, 98.

Roman ideals and a reaction of the locals to the new environment. Yet, the devotion of the populations towards the imperial cult was not necessarily a form of pseudo-religion due to its political nature. In this respect, Harry Pleket provides a salient remark as follows:

Between the so-called genuine piety of the *exvotos*, and the mere expression of political loyalty, there is a wide field of ritual piety, the source of which need not necessarily be the actual hearing of prayers or the healing of illness; here we are faced with an expression of the general dependence of man on the god(s) which comes close to pious veneration.⁸⁰

It must also be noted that people of different social classes might have reacted to the imperial cult in divergent manners. There were indeed some individuals – “elites” such as Pliny the Elder and Pliny the Younger – who were doubtful about the religious nature of the imperial cult but accepted it only for its theoretical and practical value as a political institution.⁸¹ It is important to note that this cannot be interpreted as a premise for a distinction between religion and politics in the case of Roman statecraft. Cicero noted the close link between politics and religion, and the possibility of approaching divine power through political deeds by stating that “There is nothing in which human virtue approaches the divine more closely than in the founding of new states or preservation of existing ones.”⁸² In this regard, after restoring the state, Augustus increasingly approached the numen of the gods until, in effect, he joined their company, as maintained by Richard Horsley.⁸³

Here, it is important to note that the Roman imperial cult was affected, or maybe, shaped by the centuries-long tradition of ruler worship. Yet, it must also be asserted that each Roman Imperial Cult was unique in its development, in its rituals and its material manifestation, and above all, in the regional reactions towards it which characterized the regional nuances on the formulation of the imperial cult in the provincial contexts. According to Fernando Lozano:

⁸⁰ Pleket, 1965, 347.

⁸¹ For further information, see Scott 1932, 156-65.

⁸² Cicero, *On the Commonwealth*, 1.12.

⁸³ Horsley 1997, 14.

Each city used its own past rituals to design new imperial gods and introduce them into its ancestral pantheon. That is why we find going hand in hand a centrally designed and supported empire-wide ideological construction, together with local honors granted to emperors by Greek cities. The development of local imperial cult was mainly based on each city's cultural and religious milieu and usually resulted in a close relation of the foremost local deities with members of the imperial family. Previous religious frameworks were employed to accommodate the new central power.⁸⁴

In this study, the emphasis is put on the local expressions of the imperial cult in a specific site: Ephesus. Hence, local practices held a very significant place in the discussion. Provincials adopted the imperial cult in the local physical and mental realm with significant differences. In this sense, one could easily state that the concept of the cult and the rituals and practices that surrounded it differed in outlook and in essence in various places.⁸⁵ One such difference was that while in Rome emperors were only worshipped posthumously, which required the approval of the Roman Senate and an official apotheosis, in the provinces they could receive divine cult while alive, whose permission could have been granted to the provincial communities by emperor himself as a stately privilege.⁸⁶ Another striking difference is that while being worshipped in Ephesus, Augustus was promoting himself as *princeps* (first among equals) and the son of divinized Caesar in Rome. Furthermore, on the nuances of the imperial cult in the center and in the Hellenic East, Simon Price notes:

There [in Rome] the official position was clear. The emperor was not a *deus* ('god') in his lifetime, but after his death he might be made a *divus* ... The Greeks thus knew that in Rome the living emperor was not *deus* or *divus* and they could tell which emperors were *divi filius*. But they did not establish a simple term as a precise translation of *divus*. Occasional paraphrases, such as 'the heavenly emperor' or 'the emperor among the gods,' were employed, mainly in heavily Romanized contexts, but generally the term used was *theos*.⁸⁷

In conclusion, the Roman Imperial Cult with its traditions is essentially a disputed issue amongst the scholars. According to the scholars from the first half of the 20th century, it was simply a sign of political devotion to a powerful authority that was

⁸⁴ Lozano 2007, 149.

⁸⁵ Price 1984a, 83-4.

⁸⁶ Lozano 2007, 140; Price 1984a, 79.

⁸⁷ Price 1984a, 83-4.

irreligious in its essence. Yet, this view is subsequently challenged by later studies, in which the religious nature of the imperial cult is accepted as a genuine devotion. The religious aspect of the imperial cult is an important part of the discussion of the role of the imperial cult in Romanization, as religion is a crucial part of defining one's identity. However, it is important to note that the aim of this project is not to formulate a detailed discourse on the Roman and Greek religions. Rather, the focus will be on the essence of the imperial cult and its shaping role in the metamorphosis of the local culture and the built environment.

The identity of the emperor is a crucial issue that needs to be taken into consideration here also, since the political influence of such a powerful political position might have affected the scholars on their assumption that the emperor worship was solely an expression of political loyalty. Indeed, the personality of the Roman emperor took an eminent place in the minds of the average Roman and Greek.⁸⁸ In this regard, the role of the emperor was consequential both in the political system and the cultural fabric of the Roman empire, as both an actor and a symbol.⁸⁹ As a symbol, the emperor helped to universalize Roman imperial claims and legitimize the particular social order upon which the state rested, which together provided a new level of ideological unification for an otherwise fragmented empire.⁹⁰ In the entire Roman realm, the emperor was systematically depicted as a moral exemplar, who not only consolidated the power of the empire but also increased the collective authority of the local aristocracies upon which the empire's social and political order was based.⁹¹

Therefore, the physical manifestation of the imperial cult as the ultimate universal imperial symbol was widespread in the entirety of the empire, as the combination of literary references and the material record convey the impression that images of Roman emperors were ubiquitous.⁹² Clifford Ando argues that similar unifying and

⁸⁸ Pleket 1965, 331.

⁸⁹ Billings 2017, 54.

⁹⁰ Noreña 2011.

⁹¹ Noreña 2011; Beckmann 2012, 456-7.

⁹² Billings 2017, 54.

universalizing tendencies were attested in the distribution of the imperial art and monuments, in the creation of a shared calendar and history through the imperial cult, and in Rome's desire to establish her actions on the consensus of her citizens and subjects.⁹³ Here, the imperial ideology emerges as the product of a complex conversation between the center and periphery.⁹⁴

2.2.2. Locating Emperors in the Built Environment

The whole habitable world voted him no less than celestial honours. These are so well attested by temples, gateways, vestibules, porticoes, that every city which contains magnificent works new and old is surpassed in these by the beauty and magnitude of those appropriated to Caesar.⁹⁵

Philo's words are instructive of the circumstances in the built environment of the cities in the Roman Empire which was apparently dominated by the imagery of the Roman emperors. One could state that the tangible representation of the emperor in the urban spaces signaled the transformation of the image of the emperor from a rather vague and abstract notion into a concrete reality that signified the assertion of authority, the loyalty of the local population and a way to understand the world order. Essentially, the emperor gradually became a vital component of the cityscape especially in the Hellenic cities in the east. Therefore, the built landscape that was heavily marked with monuments related with the emperors is fundamentally an ample source for an investigation to comprehend the cultural and religious changes that was signaled by the imperial cult in the cities of the Roman Empire.

In order to understand people's behavior and interaction with the built and social environment, to grasp perception and attitude, it is necessary to look for the material expressions of people's actual needs in a social and spatial context.⁹⁶ As Toni Pfeiffer writes, "we are not in any way abstract,"⁹⁷ and thus, the conscious arrangement of the civic spaces is an important issue in examining the people's ability to change, adapt

⁹³ Ando 2013, xiiv.

⁹⁴ Ando 2013, xiiv.

⁹⁵ Philo, *The Embassy to Gaius*, 149-50.

⁹⁶ Pfeiffer 1980, 35.

⁹⁷ Pfeiffer 1980, 35.

and react to a new social and political environment, which primarily forms the core of the method of this study. Therefore, the material evidence provides us a great opportunity to grasp the people's attitude to the changing patterns of living, social interactions, and cultural expectations. The spatial organization can reflect the social structures as a sign of the people's experience of individual and social symbols and values.⁹⁸ Thus, in this study, the examination of the architecture that forms the material expression of the imperial cult is the way to comprehend the reactions of the local populations to a new context.

Early studies on the imperial cult which viewed it as “an impious form of adulation” also referred to its architectural manifestation as the “arts of flattery.”⁹⁹ This view on the material culture of the imperial cult was challenged and put into question in the later studies, which provide a different, more coherent and convincing frame for the architectural expression. In the more recent studies, architecture is considered as the way by which the emperor was placed in the civic spaces. For instance, as noted by Price:

The impact of the emperor on the architecture of the Greek cities was considerable. The various monuments in his honour, gates, fountains, porticoes and especially temples, placed the emperor within the physical framework of the city, which they thus transformed.¹⁰⁰

Then, architecture was, indeed, a prominent feature of the imperial cult. It transformed the physical appearance of the cities, and then it also transformed itself. Through permanent structures, the imperial cult was vividly incorporated in the built landscape, and in effect, in the quotidian life of the local communities.¹⁰¹

The physical presence of the places of the imperial worship constantly conveyed the message of the divinity of the emperor. The emperor became more of a god than a man where he was absent due to the physical settings of the emperor worship. The temples or sanctuaries are usually the first structures that come to mind when referring to the

⁹⁸ Botha 1988, 91; Kuper 1972, 411-5.

⁹⁹ Gibbon 1854, 1:84.

¹⁰⁰ Price 1984b, 169.

¹⁰¹ Taylor 1931, 245.

architectural presence of the imperial cult. Indeed, it is quite clear that imperial sanctuaries had a remarkable tangible presence in the cities of Asia Minor.¹⁰² Yet, it is also worth noting that temples constituted a small part of the civic architecture honoring the emperor.¹⁰³ Thus, the impact of the emperor on the cities was marked also by the provision of other special imperial spaces.

As already stated, Ephesus provides a promising case study due to the gradually evolving relations with the imperial authority which granted the city many privileges and honors including the permission for the adoption of the imperial cult whose architectural articulation played a crucial role in the Romanization of the urban spaces and the built environment. According to Paul Trebilco, the imperial cult became “a very significant feature of life in Ephesus, the largest and most important city of the region.”¹⁰⁴ Indeed, in Ephesus, there were abundant imperial related structures and imagery such as the imperial temples, a basilica-stoa and four gymnasia associated with the emperor, an impressive number of imperial statues (both in public buildings like the theater and council house and in the streets), fountains with statues and gates dedicated to the emperor.¹⁰⁵

2.2.3. Cults of Emperors in Ephesus

Ephesus has a rich record of ruler cults and conspicuous examples of various instances of their adoption into the local context. Yet, one should not overlook the scarcity of evidence in Ephesus for the cults of the rulers of the Hellenistic kingdoms such as the members of the Seleucid, Attalid, and Ptolemaic dynasties and that of the regional cults of Alexander’s empire.¹⁰⁶ There are some dubious records regarding the establishment of a divine cult of the Macedonian king, Philip II, in Ephesus, which

¹⁰² Botha 1988, 91.

¹⁰³ Botha 1988, 91.

¹⁰⁴ Trebilco 2007, 35.

¹⁰⁵ Botha 1988, 91.

¹⁰⁶ Kirbihler 2019, 195.

are, in fact, based on controversial testimonies.¹⁰⁷ However, an unequivocal documentation of the presence of the priests of King Alexander in Ephesus are observed in epigraphic evidence even in the second century CE under Roman rule,¹⁰⁸ which might also imply that the cult of Alexander was introduced to the sacred milieu of the city, most probably in the Hellenistic period. Another significant case of the Hellenistic ruler cult in Ephesus was that of Lysimachus, a successor of Alexander. Since Lysimachus re-founded the city (and re-named it after his second wife Arsinoë), he was worshipped as *ktistes*¹⁰⁹ within the framework of the traditional veneration of the city-founders in Greek *poleis*, which continued during the Roman period too, as “a silver statue dedicated in the theatre by a certain Gaius Vibius Salutaris in AD 104 is thought to reflect the revival of his worship as the city’s second founder.”¹¹⁰ Lastly, one other occurrence of the worship of Hellenistic rulers in Ephesus was manifested in the offering of a sacrifice and making a dedication to *Theoi Soteres* (i.e. Berenike and Ptolemy I), Arsinoë II and Ptolemy II by the soldiers and a commander of troops.¹¹¹ It is vital to note here that such performances (that were conducted by the garrisons)¹¹² – whether authorized by the royal authorities or not – were exceptionally important both for the royal administration and for the local population, as they reminded the locals of the innate characteristic of the divinity in the concept of kingship and accentuated the presence of the king in the city.¹¹³

In comparison with the historical development of the worship of Hellenistic rulers, the initiation of the cults of Roman related figures into the sacred realm of Ephesus had its own particularities. For instance, instead of the cult of a divinized prominent individual, the cult of *Roma*, the personification of Rome, played an important role in the initial forms of communication between the Romans and the Greeks in the wake

¹⁰⁷ Chaniotis 2003, 434.

¹⁰⁸ I.Ephesos 719; Chaniotis 2003, 435.

¹⁰⁹ Just like his peers, other successors of Alexander, who received worship as *ktistes* in different cities.

¹¹⁰ Lund 1992, 173.

¹¹¹ Chaniotis 2003, 441.

¹¹² This practice can be viewed as a stark distinction between the

¹¹³ Chaniotis 2003, 441; Chaniotis 2002, 108-9.

of the Roman expansion into the Hellenic World. In this sense, the adoption of the cult of goddess *Roma* can be considered as the earliest example of the explicit Roman influence in the religious realm of Greek cities. The cult of the goddess emerged ca. third and second centuries BCE, and the expansion of the Roman sphere of influence into the Hellenic World accelerated the propagation of the cult of *Roma* into Asia Minor and Greece, the earliest example of which is attested in Smyrna where the earliest temple in Asia Minor was dedicated to the goddess.¹¹⁴ In Ephesus, the cult of goddess *Roma* was probably established following the year 129 BCE honoring the victory of the alliance of Ephesus and Roma against Aristonikos.¹¹⁵

Following the growing influence of Romans in the Greek East, Ephesus became a distinguished city and prospered during Roman rule. It can even be stated that Ephesus was the epitome of the cities prospering during the *Pax Romana*, as noted by David Magie.¹¹⁶ In the Roman Imperial Period, the city was bestowed with great privileges granted by the imperial center and more specifically by the emperor.

That said, it should also be noted that the relations between Rome and Ephesus were not always favorable before Augustus rose to power as the *princeps*. For instance, in the First Mithridatic War, Ephesians (while they were under Roman control) sided with the Pontic Kingdom in the conflict. The Pontic king, Mithridates VI Eupator, was gladly welcomed in Ephesus, in 89 BCE.¹¹⁷ Probably while he was in Ephesus, Mithridates “wrote secretly to all his satraps and magistrates that on the thirtieth day thereafter they should set upon all Romans and Italians in their towns, and upon their wives and children and their domestics of Italian birth, kill them and throw their bodies out unburied, and share their goods with himself.”¹¹⁸ Ephesians responded to Mithridates’ order by first overthrowing “the Roman statues which had been erected

¹¹⁴ Kirbihler 2019, 195.

¹¹⁵ Kirbihler 2019, 195.

¹¹⁶ Magie 1950:1, 583.

¹¹⁷ Appian, *Appian’s Roman History*, 12.3.21.

¹¹⁸ Appian, *Appian’s Roman History*, 12.4.22; Rogers 2012, 94.

in their cities,”¹¹⁹ and playing a fervent role in the infamous event called the *Ephesian Vespers*, (also referred to as the *Asiatic Vespers*), the massacre all the Italics and Romans, including freedmen, women and children in Asia Minor.¹²⁰ As the five years of conflicts resulted in Roman victory, the Roman commander Lucius Cornelius Sulla punished Ephesians for the part they played in the war against Rome and the atrocities they committed against the Roman diaspora in Asia.¹²¹ Ephesus was imposed compensations of 20.000 talents and deprived of its freedom, which the city regained decades later.¹²²

Five decades later, Ephesus again found itself on the “wrong side” of another conflict during the final years of the Second *Triumvirate*. Mark Antony and Cleopatra visited Ephesus in 33 BCE and spent the winter of 33-32 BCE in the city while hostilities with Octavian were on the rise.¹²³ During their visit in Ephesus, three hundred Roman Senators opposing Octavian joined Mark Antony and Cleopatra in an attempt to establish a “government in exile” (Thus, Ephesus can be regarded as the seat of this government opposing Octavian). However, when the forces of Mark Antony and Cleopatra were defeated in the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE, the attempt of forming a government failed. Ephesus was, once again, on the defeated side, with an uncertain future under Roman rule.

Yet, Ephesus did not face punishments as in the aftermath of the First Mithridatic War. Instead, the problems of stabilizing the relations between Rome and Asia, the consolidation of Roman rule in the province and efforts of Octavian in strengthening his position as the head of the state led to peculiar events. Octavian visited Ephesus in 29 BCE, two years after the Battle of Actium, where he spent half a year.¹²⁴ During this time, Octavian designated Ephesus to be the new “capital of Asia” by reorganizing

¹¹⁹ Appian, *Appian's Roman History*, 12.3.21; Rogers 2012, 94.

¹²⁰ Appian, *Appian's Roman History*, 12.4.22; Rogers 2012, 94.

¹²¹ Scherrer 2000, 21; Rogers 2012, 94.

¹²² Scherrer 2000, 21; Rogers 2012, 94.

¹²³ Friesen 2001, 28.

¹²⁴ Scherrer 2001, 69.

the city as the seat of the proconsul, instead of Pergamon.¹²⁵ Furthermore, under such circumstances in the year 29 BCE, the local elite also took the initiative and, in the name of the *koinon* of Asia, requested for permission from Octavian¹²⁶ to establish a new cult recognizable to Asians, largely for securing the relations with the new authority.¹²⁷ Octavian responded to the request of the *koinon* of Asia by granting permission for the institution of the cult of *Divus Iulius* and *Roma* in Ephesus and in Nicomedia for Romans, and another cult of the goddess *Roma* and himself for the Greeks at Pergamon.¹²⁸ As a result, the cults of *Divus Iulius* and *Roma* were established in Asia Minor in a way that “they would be acceptable to Romans in the Greek east by combining the *divus* system of divinization with the eastern deification of the city of Rome.”¹²⁹ On the dedication of the sanctuaries of the cult of Caesar and *Roma* in Ephesus, Nicomedia and Pergamon authorized by Octavian himself, Cassius Dio’s account offers a rather detailed (and Romano-centric)¹³⁰ perspective:

Caesar, meanwhile, besides attending to the general business, gave permission for the dedication of sacred precincts in Ephesus and in Nicaea to Rome and to Caesar, his father, whom he named the hero [*Divus*] *Iulius*. These cities had at that time attained chief place in Asia and in Bithynia respectively. He commanded that the Romans resident in these cities should pay honour to these two divinities; but he permitted the aliens, whom he styled Hellenes, to consecrate precincts to himself, the Asians to have theirs in Pergamum and the Bithynians theirs in Nicomedia. This practice, beginning under him, has been continued under other emperors, not only in the case of the Hellenic states but also in that of all the others, in so far as they are subject to the Romans. For in the capital itself and in the rest of Italy no emperor, however worthy of renown ... divine honours are bestowed after their death ...¹³¹

¹²⁵ Scherrer 2001, 69.

¹²⁶ Note that Octavian may or may not have left Ephesus when this event took place.

¹²⁷ Friesen 2001, 28.

¹²⁸ The request for the establishment of a cult in his honor in Pergamon posed a dilemma for Octavian, as he rallied the Romans against Mark Antony by denouncing him accepting the royal pretensions and religious honors that did not befit a Roman but an eastern autocrat (Friesen 2001, 28). Therefore, accepting such honors for himself during his lifetime would have a negative impact on his image and authority in Rome, whereas it would also be very beneficial in asserting and solidifying the imperial authority in Asia Minor.

¹²⁹ Friesen 2001, 28.

¹³⁰ Friesen 2001, 26.

¹³¹ Cassius Dio. 51.20. The use of the word “hero” here by Dio was the result of the difference between the Greek and Roman systems of apotheosis, according to Friesen (2001, 28). Because the distinction of *divus* (divinized one) and *deus* (god) in Roman mindset did not exist in the Greek world, Dio

It is important to emphasize that Dio's account, if entirely authentic, reveals the distinguishing of paying homage to the imperial cult by provincials and Romans.¹³² The difference in tone when addressing the provincials and the Roman residents is exceptionally intriguing. In this sense, Augustus "permitted" the Asian and Bithynian provincials to dedicate sanctuaries for the cult of *Divus Iulius* and *Roma* in Ephesus and Nicaea, to which the Roman residents in those cities were "commanded" to "pay honor." Apart from that, the Asians and Bithynians were "permitted" to consecrate precincts in honor of Augustus himself in Pergamon and Nicomedia respectively. On the other hand, Magie's account unveils a slightly different version of the story: whilst Augustus reasonably declined the veneration of himself,¹³³ the Greeks were granted official permission by Augustus himself to erect temples in Pergamon and Nicomedia conjointly to Augustus and *Roma*, which was already in existence in at least eleven places in the province of Asia, the resident Romans in the cities of Ephesus and Nicaea, who had no part in the practice of the Greek worshipping the emperor and *Roma*, were "permitted" rather than commanded to establish the cult of *Divus Iulius* and *Roma* in Ephesus and Nicaea.¹³⁴ Either way, the basis behind this nuance is unambiguous. The emperors were worshipped only posthumously in Rome, whilst in the provinces they could receive divine cult while alive which was enabled largely due to the long tradition of the ruler cult in the Greek provinces.¹³⁵ In this sense, by establishing the cult of *Divus Iulius* and *Roma* instead of the cult of Augustus in Ephesus, future dilemmas that could potentially result from the ambiguity of the resident Romans' attitude towards the cult of a living emperor were avoided, and it provided the

labeled the Roman *divus* system "according to the closest analogy – hero worship," as noted by Friesen (2001, 28).

¹³² Harker 2018, 98.

¹³³ Magie (1950:1, 447) states that "A ruler-cult of the Hellenistic type, however, played no part in the policy and purpose of Augustus. In full knowledge of the distaste with which the bestowal of divine honours on his adoptive father during the latter's lifetime were viewed in Rome, but none the less emphasizing the deification of the dead Caesar, he had already shown the Romans his attitude toward any possible proposals of a similar nature by incorporating in his name the patronymic 'Son of the Deified'."

¹³⁴ Magie 1950:1, 447.

¹³⁵ Lozano 2007, 140; Price 1984a, 79.

possibility that both the locals and the Romans could legitimately venerate the same cult.

However, evidence for the joint cult of Augustus and Artemis suggests that the emperor himself actually received worship in Ephesus by the local population during his lifetime, which is not included in Dio's account. That the ruling emperor was worshipped with the tutelary goddess of Ephesus, generated a subtle narrative of Roman rule recognizable for the local population. In other words, the juxtaposed cults of the emperor and the ancestral goddess both helped ordinary Ephesians to make sense of the complicated nature of the imperial rule and tactfully asserted the Roman presence without irritating the local population and risking an outrage. Besides, the cult, by and large, endowed the emperor a permanent place among the gods, which further consolidated his status in the eyes of the locals.¹³⁶ This was deftly materialized in the urban fabric with the physical existence of the architectural settings dedicated for the imperial worship.

However, it should be noted that the cult that was granted to Ephesus in the year 29 BCE by Octavian did not precisely mark the beginning of the practice of the Roman imperial cult in Asia which actually had a "prehistory" dating to the second triumvirate, according to François Kirbihler.¹³⁷ He also notes that epigraphical and numismatic evidence in addition to a list of *eponymous prytaneis* and *agonothetes* attest that a prior form of the cult of *Divus Iulius* and *Roma* was present starting from 40-38 BCE, "but it was probably in its first form associated with Mark Antony, because as first *flamen* of *Divus Iulius* and ruler of the Greek East, he inspired or allowed this creation."¹³⁸ In this sense, Octavian's imperial decree could be interpreted as a modification of the cult that was essentially related with Mark Antony to erase this connection entirely and formulate an alternative link to his divinized father *Divus Iulius* in the case of Ephesus.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Magie 1950:1, 447.

¹³⁷ Kirbihler 2019, 196. A more detailed analysis of the institution of the imperial cult in Ephesus authorized by Octavian is provided in the next chapter, together with its architectural manifestation.

¹³⁸ Kirbihler 2019, 199.

¹³⁹ Kirbihler 2019, 201.

The imperial cult was a source of civic pride of Ephesians and an indication of imperial favor, which was arguably the ultimate defining factor determining the hierarchy between the *poleis* in Asia Minor. The primordial rivalry between the *poleis* in Asia Minor that had long existed before the Roman expansion changed in practices and in action under Roman rule whence virtually every *polis* in the Hellenic World was under Roman rule. In other words, the autochthonic rivalry between the cities underwent a transformation in appearance in accord with the inclinations of the time and was manifested in novel practices. In this context, gaining the imperial favor was a way for a city and its people to accentuate their esteemed recognition and reputation amongst the other cities in Asia Minor.

Perhaps the most conspicuous way of gaining such an imperial favor in the imperial period was the endowment of the *neokoros*. *Neokoros*, as an important phenomenon that must be touched upon, provides an outstanding case for the adoption of the imperial cult in the provincial context in the imperial era, that was local in its every sense. Initially, the title, *neokoros*, was a noun that referred to all “temple wardens,” but gradually it became a sort of adjectival qualifier of cities that were recognized for the honors they offered to the emperor.¹⁴⁰ According to Barbara Burrell:

The *neokoroi* were cities Greek in structure, though not necessarily in genealogy, and *neokoros* is a Greek title. The word originally designated an official whose basic responsibility was the care, upkeep or practical daily functioning of a sacred building, and whose duties could include the control of entry, safe-keeping of valuable items, and the enactment of ritual or sacrifice ... In the first century C.E. we begin to find this role attributed to entire peoples or cities, and then more specifically to cities that maintained a provincial temple to the Roman emperor.¹⁴¹

In the second and third centuries CE, the term spread throughout the eastern Mediterranean as the desired title of any city with a provincial temple dedicated to the imperial cult.¹⁴² This title became an outstanding source of reputation that was related to the imperial cult, and a practice that can be viewed as the reconceptualization of the primordial rivalry between the Greek cities fitting to the new world order under Roman

¹⁴⁰ Burrell 2004, 1-6.

¹⁴¹ Burrell 2004, 1.

¹⁴² Friesen 2001, 50.

rule.¹⁴³ In the new imperial setting, gaining the imperial favor became a significant mean of acquiring prestige within the hierarchical structure of the Greek cities. In other words, the status of a particular city relative to other cities was closely related to its relations with the imperial center.¹⁴⁴ The title of *neokoros* provided an effective connection between neokorate cities with the imperial center and secured a certain degree of hierarchy between the cities.¹⁴⁵ In sum, as Steven Friesen argues, *neokoros* proved a suitable metaphor for an age of imperialism, providing degrees of honorable subjection and religious devotion.¹⁴⁶ Thus, it is important to note that Ephesus was bestowed with the title *neokoros* four times, more than any other city of its day.¹⁴⁷

Friesen states that the term *neokoros* is a standard part of the modern interpretation of the provincial cults for the emperors, however, it was first used as a city title with the establishment of the cult of the *Sebasteoi* in Ephesus during the reign of Domitian.¹⁴⁸

According to Burrell:

... the coins issued by Ephesus under Aviola (65/66) make it possible that the title '*neokoros*' had already come to Ephesus for a provincial imperial temple in the reign of Nero, and that the 'temple of the Augusti' had been at some stage the temple of Nero (its image shown, but presumably as a projection, not yet built) for which the city had called itself *neokoros* on coins two decades before the time of Domitian, when the temple was completed. The delay would have been long, as noted above; but the period comprehended the disruption of an empire, the fall of one dynasty, and the foundation of another.¹⁴⁹

In sum, the *neokoros* title originally given to Ephesus under the Neronian rule had to wait for two decades to be inaugurated in its proper sense. This first provincial imperial temple in Ephesus was inaugurated in 89 CE,¹⁵⁰ which was formulated in the local

¹⁴³ Zajac 2017, 62.

¹⁴⁴ Zajac 2017, 62.

¹⁴⁵ Dimitriev 2011, 529.

¹⁴⁶ Friesen 2001, 50.

¹⁴⁷ Burrell 2004, 76.

¹⁴⁸ Friesen 1993, 50.

¹⁴⁹ Burrell 2004, 62.

¹⁵⁰ Kirbihler 2019, 204.

context in accord with the local expectations in its every aspect that was shaped with the coeval preferences and tastes. As Friesen writes:

The imagery, used to articulate the significance of the Cult of the *Sebastoi*, was not imposed from Rome. The concept of the *neokoros* city, the design of the temple, the sculptural figures, and the architectural program all originated in the Greek east. The symbolic systems employed in the cult show that the institutions were part of the Asian heritage reflecting local values.¹⁵¹

The second *neokoros* of a provincial sanctuary was conferred by Hadrian ca. 131 CE.¹⁵² In the following century, Ephesus was bestowed with the third *neokoros* granted by Caracalla and Geta in 211 CE, but the title was probably transformed into the temple-warden of the sanctuary of Artemis instead of the cult of the emperors after the murder of Geta.¹⁵³ Finally, Ephesus was granted the title of *neokoros* four times by Elagabalus that was revoked during the rule of Severus Alexander, and re-granted by Valerian and Gallienus ca. 255-258 CE.¹⁵⁴ Overall, the status of Ephesus and within the hierarchical relations between the cities of Asia Minor with its prestigious position in the organizational scheme of the imperial regime and its importance for the imperial center was effectively highlighted through the bequest of *neokoros* four times which was unequalled in the entirety of Asia Minor.

A considerable part of being Romanized was to adapt to a new environment by adopting new practices, and to translate these in the form of material culture. The adoption of the imperial cult in the urban spaces constituted a significant part of the process of Romanization. In the process of acculturation, the imperial cult had an important role with its novelty and its functions as a conveyor of imperial ideology, a focus of loyalty for the many, and a mechanism for the social advancement of the local elite.¹⁵⁵ The imperial center was pragmatic in allowing the cults related to Rome to be instituted in the provinces which was highly effective in asserting authority and

¹⁵¹ Friesen 1993, 75.

¹⁵² Burrell 2004, 66-7.

¹⁵³ Kirbihler 2019, 204; Burrell 2004, 70-5

¹⁵⁴ Kirbihler 2019, 204; Burrell 2004, 78.

¹⁵⁵ Garnsey and Saller 1987, 188.

defining the complex relations between the center and periphery including the hierarchy of the provincial cities and Rome. Hence, Rome's main export to the provinces was the cult of the emperors, as noted by Garnsey and Saller.¹⁵⁶ Harland draws attention to the empire's utilitarian approach in cultic associations, claiming that the imperial-related activities illustrate how local social and religious life could facilitate, directly or indirectly, the maintenance of Roman rule in the Greek East.¹⁵⁷ In this setting, the elite conceived a noticeable role for themselves as participants in Roman imperial power, rather than being passive agents waiting for top-down reforms. The provincial elite became more integrated in this system and imitated the "moral exemplar," in other words, the emperor. The alterations in the built environment which were supervised almost always by the local elite became the way by which the Roman ideals were professed. After all, "if the emperor's identity as monarch came in part to depend on his buildings in the provinces as well as in the center, that of his wealthy but locally based imitators was above all related to their public benefactions at home" as Elsner puts.¹⁵⁸ Consequently, gradually evolving relations of the local elite with the imperial system and the emperor resulted in the construction of lavish monuments such as temples, altars, libraries, honorific structures and other complexes in sumptuous settings that invoked ideas about the emperor and the imperial rule, including purposes associated with the imperial cult.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Garnsey and Saller 1987, 188.

¹⁵⁷ Harland 2003, 107.

¹⁵⁸ Elsner 1998, 123.

¹⁵⁹ Billings 2017, 54.

CHAPTER 3

IMPERIAL CULT MANIFESTED IN THE URBAN SPACES OF EPHEBUS

3.1. Historical Topography

The historical topography of Ephesus is, in the widest sense, a unique testimony of the correspondence and adaptation of the inhabitants to the natural environment. Natural spatial phenomena, sedimentation, flooding, earthquakes, tectonic activities and climate changes, resulted in multiple temporarily inhabited settlements within the distance of approximately nine kilometers in the Kaystros delta.¹⁶⁰ In other words, there is no continuously occupied settlement extant in the area but a number of settlements occupied and abandoned due to the natural events.¹⁶¹ Among these, the progradation of the Kaystros (Küçük Menderes), Marnas (Değirmen) and Selinous/Selenus (Ab-u Hayat) rivers and, as a result, the changes of the coastal line throughout several millennia were among the most profound challenges to the inhabitants who responded by relocating to new areas.¹⁶² In fact, it is plausible to state that the continuous change of the shoreline created a pattern of abandoning and resettling. Ultimately, it drastically influenced the development of the city of Ephesus and its harbor.¹⁶³ The progradation unceasingly silted the harbor areas, and thus, new harbors were built further to the west, which went hand in hand with the relocation of

¹⁶⁰ Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, 417.

¹⁶¹ Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, 417.

¹⁶² For the settlement history of Ephesus and its environs from prehistoric to Byzantine times under maritime and fluvial condition, see Scherrer 2007b.

¹⁶³ Kraft *et al.* 2000; Stock *et al.* 2013, 57.

the city (Fig. 1).¹⁶⁴ It is important to note here that as an operative harbor was the key necessity for the economy of the city, the marine regression impelled Ephesians to move the main harbor four times.¹⁶⁵

In short, the settlement pattern of Ephesus and its development had been decisively influenced by the seaward migration of the shoreline.¹⁶⁶ Therefore, it is indeed important to look for the outlines of the Ephesian landscape in antiquity to grasp the historical topography and the development of the Archaic-classic settlement and the Hellenistic-Roman city, as Peter Scherrer also states.¹⁶⁷ There have been a variety of paleo-geographical and geoarchaeological researches that provide a series of paleo-geographical maps of the ever-changing landscape of the Kaystros delta (Fig. 1), which also reveal the sequential relocation of the city of Ephesus, its harbor, and the physical setting of the Artemision (Fig. 2, 3, 4).¹⁶⁸

The progradation had been such a significant aspect of the city and a great challenge for the inhabitants that in the fifth book of the *Naturalis Historia*, in which cities were given shorthand descriptions, the progradation of the Kaystros takes its place when Pliny the Elder describes Ephesus and its environs:

On the coast are Notium and Ephesus built by the Amazons on the slope of Mount Pion, and watered by the River Cayster which rises in the Cilbian Range and brings down the waters of many streams, and which drains the Pegasaeian Marsh formed by the overflow of the River Phyrtes. From these rivers comes a quantity of silt that adds to the coastline and has now joined

¹⁶⁴ Stock *et al.* 2013, 57; for a detailed study on the relation of Ephesus and its harbors regarding progradation and relocation, see Steskal 2014.

¹⁶⁵ Stock *et al.* 2014, 14. Steskal (2014, 327), points to the vital role the harbor had for the city of Ephesus by noting: “the reasons for the prosperity of Ephesus are threefold: the sanctuary of Artemis, the rich and fertile *hinterland* and the harbor as pivotal commercial center where products were exported to the east and imported from the west of the empire. Ephesus was the final stop of an important caravan route that transported products from Anatolia and the Near East. These products were then redistributed to the entire Mediterranean.”

¹⁶⁶ Stock *et al.* 2014, 14.

¹⁶⁷ Scherrer 2001, 58.

¹⁶⁸ For further information, see Kraft *et al.* 1999, 2000, 2001, 2007; Stock *et al.* 2013, 2014, 2017, 2019.

the island of Syrie to the mainland by mud-flats. In the city of Ephesus is the spring called Callippia and the Temple of Diana.¹⁶⁹

This important record about Ephesus also unveils an ongoing struggle against a profound natural phenomenon that ceaselessly went on; that is, the efforts of cleaning and dredging the harbor in the imperial period to prevent it from becoming unserviceable in shipping (Fig. 4).¹⁷⁰ In addition, the six km long harbor channel, already laid out in the early Roman Imperial Period, itself is also a unique and outstanding testimony of the endeavors against the progression of the delta, which, in turn, had to be dredged, prolonged and architecturally equipped over time.¹⁷¹ Indeed, the marine regression and the reactions of Ephesians to this constitute some of the most decisive incidents that shaped the natural and built milieu of Ephesus and its environs.

3.1.1. The Primordial Sacred Milieu: The Artemision and the Cult of Cybele

In a similar manner, the sacred landscape of Ephesus should be taken into consideration in accordance with the aforementioned settlement pattern. It is tempting to speculate that the cultic developments and the rituals surrounding them might have been affected by this phenomenon as well and that the development of the sacred milieu is comparable to that of the built milieu. Studies show that in the sixth millennium BCE, during the mid-Holocene period, the sea level reached its highest level, extending at least 18 km inland from today's Pamucak beach, farthest to the swamps of Belevi (Fig. 1).¹⁷² Around a millennium before this period, the Late Neolithic settlements¹⁷³, Arvalya (Fig. 1, I) and Çukuriçi Höyük (Fig. 1, J) were formed whose populations had a close connection with the sea which can be attested from a variety of archaeological finds.¹⁷⁴ Female idols found in these mounds allow

¹⁶⁹ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 5.115.

¹⁷⁰ Kraft *et al.* 2000; Stock *et al.* 2007.

¹⁷¹ Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, 418.

¹⁷² Stock *et al.* 2014, 35; Stock *et al.* 2015, 566.

¹⁷³ According to Galik and Horejs (2009), a preliminary dating by Bernhard Weninger around 6000 BCE and possibly to 6200 BCE seems acceptable.

¹⁷⁴ Stock *et al.* 2015, 565; Galik and Horejs 2009; remains of marine species allow to suggest that from the Neolithic Age to the Bronze Age, inhabitants used the sea intensively.

the idea that these are the oldest testimonials to religious concepts and evidences for the mother goddess worship.¹⁷⁵

These prehistoric settlements were abandoned in the third millennium BCE for uncertain reasons, while around this time another settlement existed in the Ayasuluk Hill, which has a commanding location over its surroundings.¹⁷⁶ It has been proposed that this urban center may have been the capital of the kingdom of Arzawa, referred to in the Hittite sources as Apasa, during the second millennium BCE.¹⁷⁷ It is plausible that around this period, a cultic center may have been developed at the foot of the southwest slope of the hill.¹⁷⁸ In fact, this sanctuary was dedicated to a mother goddess who was later known as Artemis due to the Greek influence in the following centuries, yet whose Anatolian origin can still be attested from her iconography and character.¹⁷⁹ In tandem, according to Anton Bammer, “There is some evidence that the Artemision was originally dedicated to Cybele and Demeter and that the influence of Artemis became dominant only after the Lydian kings had built the great temple on the site of the former places of sacrifice.”¹⁸⁰ The hymn to Artemis by Callimachus reveals the mythical foundation of the cult in the area as follows:

To Artemis, Amazons, lovers of battle, set up a wooden image under an oak, in seaside Ephesos and Hippo offered a holy sacrifice to you; around the oak they danced you a war dance, Queen Oupis, first with shield and then a wide circle dance ... Afterward around that wooden image, wide foundations were built. Dawn sees nothing richer or more divine.¹⁸¹

As can be noted from the hymn, the legend reveals that the Amazons (ca. 1200 BCE) founded the sacred site of the Artemis of Ephesians, where, in the first millennium BCE, subsequent majestic temples would be dedicated for the Goddess Artemis. The

¹⁷⁵ Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, 423.

¹⁷⁶ Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, 423; Scherrer 2001, 58.

¹⁷⁷ Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, 423; Scherrer 2001, 58.

¹⁷⁸ Scherrer 2001, 59.

¹⁷⁹ Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, 423.

¹⁸⁰ Bammer 1984, 259.

¹⁸¹ Callimachus, Hymn III: To Artemis quoted from Kraft *et al.* 2007, 123.

cult site must be imagined as a natural sanctuary, as Ladstätter *et al.* suggest.¹⁸² As it can be noted from the hymn, before the construction of any temple, it must have been a wooden image that was supposedly dedicated by the Amazons in a sacred grove¹⁸³ that was worshiped initially. Even after the construction of the subsequent temples, the natural identity of the sanctuary was still perennial and constituted an important part.¹⁸⁴ Relying on geological studies, Kraft suggests that the earliest evidence for a temple in the precinct dates to ca. ninth century BCE, which was constructed by the coast of the Gulf of Ephesus (Fig. 2, 3).¹⁸⁵ In the following centuries, the sanctuary underwent a series of alterations including outright demolition and rebuilding (Fig. 5, 6). It was a canonical space for devotion, a source for identity of the city; either religious or otherwise. As noted as late as the second century CE:

But all cities worship Artemis of Ephesus, and individuals hold her in honor above all the gods. The reason, in my view, is the renown of the Amazons, who traditionally dedicated the image, also the extreme antiquity of this sanctuary. Three other points as well have contributed to her renown, the size of the temple, surpassing all buildings among men, the eminence of the city of Ephesians, and the renown of the goddess who dwells there.¹⁸⁶

It is intriguing that as it can be attested from Pausanias, the significance of the goddess – as a chief deity of the city – was still persistent in the second century CE, when the religious life in Ephesus was largely defined and shaped by the processions related to the cult of Artemis,¹⁸⁷ that continued well into the third century CE. Furthermore, it can be stated that the sanctuary dedicated to her always constituted an important part of the sacred milieu of the city starting from its establishment up until the prevalence

¹⁸² Ladstätter *et al.* 2016, 423.

¹⁸³ Note that the earliest examples of sanctuaries in the Hellenic World were groves. According to Bowe (2009, 235), “In ancient Greece, a sacred grove was a grove of trees dedicated to a god or gods, its use, or the use of its trees, being restricted to humans in one way or another. A sacred grove was a space comprised mainly of trees though it may have contained some man-made structures.” Bowe (2009, 243) also notes that they also “held a significant place in ancient Greek life over ten centuries. They formed significant landmarks in the landscape, both urban and rural.”

¹⁸⁴ For further information about the natural aspects of the sanctuary noted in a combination of ancient sources, see Falkener 1862, 317-20.

¹⁸⁵ Kraft *et al.* 2007, 128; Kraft *et al.* 2000.

¹⁸⁶ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 4.31.8.

¹⁸⁷ Portefaix 1993, 207.

of the Christian faith in the region.¹⁸⁸ Thence, it is also worth noting that in any study assessing the role of the imperial cult in Ephesus, it is all the more relevant to include the Artemision with the myths and rituals embedded to it.

Likewise, reading Pausanias' record echoes the continuing significance of the cult in the Roman Imperial Age. The "points" presented in his text are highly useful to grasp this. It was due to a combination of different aspects of the cult; famed mythical founders, the grand architectural expression of the temple, Ephesus' fame in antiquity, and the inherent connection of Artemis and Ephesus. On the one hand, the temple itself had its own value with its architectural qualities, on the other, it was inherently dependent on the city.¹⁸⁹ The fame of Ephesus where the goddess "dwelled" also partly depended on the temple, bestowing a sacred identity to the city.

Homage to the goddess held a very crucial position in the Ephesian *nous*. In fact, it was very significant for defining both collective and individual Ephesian identity. In this regard, the Artemision, as the chief concretization of the Artemis-worship, collated various rituals, subtle meanings, refined messages, purports, symbolism and mythology into an edifice, which was definitely much easier to be recognized by receivers also with the help of certain rituals and social practices taking place in and around the site. Due to the embedded qualities of the structure, it was a site of memory par excellence. By all manner of means, the site of the cult occupied an eminent place in the collective act of remembering. In and around the site, memories were formed, remembered and forgotten deliberately or otherwise. In short, as a mnemonic space, it can be suggested that the Artemision was very important for the identity of Ephesians under the premise that memory played a specific role in the construction of the individual and collective identity.¹⁹⁰ What is more, examining the site in regard to the

¹⁸⁸ Ionescu (2016) basically argues that the tradition of the worship of Artemis did not perish entirely with the advent of Christianization but transformed into the veneration of Virgin Mary as Theotokos (mother of God). Pülz (2008) also provides a study on the possible connection between the goddess and Virgin Mary. Note that, on the other hand, Gessel (1989, 368) argues that there is no vivid connection between the cult of Artemis in Ephesus and the worship of Virgin Mary.

¹⁸⁹ Thus, the sanctuary can be regarded as an "urban artifact" as in Rossi's (1984, 87) terms: "They (urban artifacts) possess a value 'in themselves', but also a value dependent on their place in the city."

¹⁹⁰ Therefore, concepts of *lieu de mémoire* and *milieu de mémoire* are pertinent for this very discussion, which will be further discussed and applied to various cases in this study.

cases of the Roman Imperial Cult in Ephesus may lead us to see the reaction of the locals to the recent changes concerning the present conditions and their re-conceptualization of the past. Thus, it is but necessary for the Romanization discussion to look for the place of Artemis within the sacred milieu in the Imperial Age, even if the emphasis is on the imperial cult.

It is difficult to claim that there is a location pattern of the religious sites in Ephesus exactly corresponding to the resettlement pattern of the towns. Nevertheless, it is also attested that there are other sacred *loci* located in the landscape. Among them, the natural sanctuary of the mother goddess, namely Magna Meter, or Cybele,¹⁹¹ a deity remarkably Anatolian in nature,¹⁹² attracts attention. The shrine was located at the northeastern slope of Mount Pion (Panayırdağ) 1000-1300 m away from the Artemision (Fig. 7, 8, no. 4). The site is considered to be the second oldest cult center in Ephesus dating to ca. fifth century BCE (Fig. 9). It was rather recently “rediscovered” in 2009, and in the 2011 campaign, it was revealed that the site contained various finds including twelve complete marble votive reliefs, four of them *in situ*, as well as terracotta, cult ware, spindle whorls and a small coin hoard.¹⁹³ The votive reliefs depict the goddess with one or two lions crouching on their haunches by her side (Fig. 10).¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, the iconography includes two other male divinities, depicting an old and a young male deity. Roller states that: “An inscription to Zeus Patroos on a nearby rock altar identifies the older god as Zeus, while other inscriptions record dedications both to Hermes and to Apollo Patroos, making the identity of the young god less certain.”¹⁹⁵ Roller asserts that the depiction of Meter with male deities was a novel type of iconography and is an evidence of syncretism between mainland Greek and Anatolian cult practices.¹⁹⁶ Therewithal, according to Susanne Berndt-

¹⁹¹ Note that there were many instances in the Greek inscriptions of the use of the epithet Meter Kubeleie/Kubilaya which shows the Greeks’ choice of the name Kybele to address the Phrygian Mother Goddess (Roller 1999, 68-9).

¹⁹² Roller 2012, 1; see also Rose 2017; Roller 1999.

¹⁹³ ÖAI 2011, 29.

¹⁹⁴ For the study on the collection of votives, see Keil 1915.

¹⁹⁵ Roller 1999, 200-1

¹⁹⁶ Roller 1999, 201-2.

Ersöz, “It should also be noted that several scholars have argued that the deities were of local Anatolian origin, and in Ionia they were identified with Greek deities.”¹⁹⁷

It is important to draw attention here to the intrinsically natural characteristics of the shrine which is a rock-cut mountain sanctuary¹⁹⁸ on a steep slope on the northeastern side of Mount Pion, comprising small niches that were carved in the bedrock and a large projection carved in the form of an altar.¹⁹⁹ Roller notes that “Several of the niches bear inscriptions, which variously address the goddess as Μήτηρ Ὀρείη, Μήτηρ Πατρώη and Μήτηρ Φρυγίη, indicating that to the Ephesians, she was the Mountain Mother, the ancestral goddess, and the Phrygian.”²⁰⁰ In particular, the use of the epithet Μήτηρ Ὀρείη, *Meter Oreia*, starkly connects the goddess’ realm of authority to the mountains which also clarifies the mindset behind the tectonic *locus* of the shrine on Mount Pion.

Despite the evidence indicating that the function of the shrine continued in the late Hellenistic or the Roman Imperial Period is circumstantial, it is well-attested that the worship of the Anatolian mother goddess became widespread in the Roman Republic and in the empire.²⁰¹ It would be inaccurate to assert that Meter was overshadowed by Artemis, or vice versa, it was not even the case that a rivalry existed between them. On the contrary, the remains found in the Artemision indicates that the worship rituals of Artemis and Meter took place either in the same sanctuary at different places or in two distinct close sanctuaries.²⁰² Either way, the mother goddess had a place in or next to the Artemision. Bammer notes that:

¹⁹⁷ Berndt-Ersöz 2014, 418.

¹⁹⁸ Note that the goddess’ association to the mountains was very strong as can be testified from numerous mountain shrines in a variety of places in Anatolia, mountainous landscape was directly related with the goddess’ realm of authority. For further information, see Roller 1999.

¹⁹⁹ Roller 1999, 200.

²⁰⁰ Roller 1999, 200.

²⁰¹ The configuration of the cult in Rome, however, became very divergent from that of in Asia Minor. In Rome, Cybele extensively found place in the military iconography, in addition to the cult’s previous associations with fertility, especially in commemorative programs involving war with the east (Rose 2017, 121). See also Roller 1999; Roller 2012, 3; Wilhelm 1988.

²⁰² Bammer 1974, 204.

It is difficult to say, but the original inhabitants may well have worshipped their nature goddess in a location separate from the one the Greeks selected for the practice of their cult. If so, the archaeological remains may give testimony to the beginning stages of the Hellenization of the Asiatic mother goddess and to a time when the two goddesses existed independently. Their assimilation must have been a gradual process, for only later are we certain that a single great nature goddess was worshipped at Ephesus.²⁰³

In point of fact, neither a colossal temple was dedicated to Meter, nor did she receive any sort of the public attention that had made Ephesian Artemis so conspicuous.²⁰⁴ Regardless, the Meter cult kept on being an important part of the religious milieu of Ephesus²⁰⁵ not to mention that it fused into the worship of Artemis Ephesia.

The degree of prominence of the world-renowned temple of Artemis persisted its importance and relevance during the following ages (until the advent of Christianity) and could still be considered the single most important figure in the religious milieu of Roman Ephesus as well, which became an imperial favored city and thrived under Roman imperial rule. According to Magie, Ephesus was the most noticeable example of the cities which profited from the prosperity during the *Pax Romana*.²⁰⁶ Already in the first century CE, Strabo could say about Ephesus that “the city, by the advantages which it affords, daily improves, and is the largest mart in Asia within the Taurus.”²⁰⁷ This opulence further improved in the following century. As reviewed by Magie, in the second century CE it was said of Ephesus that “it had increased in size beyond all the cities of Ionia and Lydia and, having outgrown the land on which it was built, had advanced into the sea,”²⁰⁸ and the *polis* was regarded by all as “the common treasury of Asia and her recourse in need.”²⁰⁹ In sum, the city prospered and gained many imperial-authorized favors and privileges in Roman times, especially starting from the visit and the rather long stay of Octavian in Ephesus. As a result, it can be claimed that

²⁰³ Bammer 1974, 204.

²⁰⁴ Roller 1999, 200.

²⁰⁵ Roller 1999, 200.

²⁰⁶ Magie 1950:1, 583.

²⁰⁷ Strabo, 14.1.24.

²⁰⁸ Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, 8.7.8.

²⁰⁹ Magie 1950:1, 583; Aristides, *To Rome*, 23.24 cf. Kraybill 1996, 82.

such circumstances paved the way for (or went hand in hand with) the willing adoption of the imperial cult by Ephesians in a local context, which then had taken a firm place in the spatial environment of Ephesus.

Under Augustan rule, the efforts for providing ample places for the accommodation of the imperial cult triggered the configuration of the so-called Upper or State Agora (Fig. 7, 8, no. 18).²¹⁰ Price suggests that the impact of the emperor on the public space was carefully crafted in this new urban center where an intensive building program took place during the reign of Augustus.²¹¹ Likewise, Friesen notes the importance of the role the imperial cult played in this precinct stating that “cults related to Rome and Roman figures loomed large in this area.”²¹² There are further indicants as well attesting that the imperial cult was incorporated in the fabric of the agora which was an important node in the religious milieu of Ephesus.

3.2. The Augustan Civic-Religious Center: The Upper Agora

In 29 BCE, Octavian spent half a year in Ephesus and reorganized the city as the administrative center of the province of Asia.²¹³ Consequently, the city prospered under the imperial rule and its urban sphere expanded beyond its previous limits. This was commenced with the construction of an entirely new civic center, the Upper Agora (Fig. 11), that lasted around forty years, compounding the government and the traditional cult of the city along with the imperial cult.²¹⁴ Considering its initiative quality “as a generator of a form” in the urban development of Roman Ephesus, the Upper Agora can be perceived as a materialized instance of the “urban artifacts,” as conceptualized by Aldo Rossi; these are primary elements often acting as “catalysts” and “capable of accelerating the process of urbanization in a city, and they also

²¹⁰ Note that both identifications, the “Upper” and “State” Agora, are modern constructions: the former refers to the topographical location of the agora in the city while the latter addresses to its political and administrative nature. Henceforth, the site will be referred to as the “Upper Agora” in this study.

²¹¹ Price 1984b, 145.

²¹² Friesen 2001, 95-101.

²¹³ Scherrer 2001, 69.

²¹⁴ Scherrer 2001, 69.

characterize the processes of spatial transformation in an area larger than the city.”²¹⁵ They are generally not even tangible in essence, for example, the prominence of an event (in this case Octavian’s decision regarding the political role of Ephesus) might trigger the spatial metamorphosis of a site.²¹⁶

The earliest modern record about the site of the Upper Agora is from an account by Richard Pococke published in 1745 in which he reveals his observations mainly on the *bouleuterion* accompanied with various sketches and drawings.²¹⁷ Excavation works in the site, however, began around a century later as the initial campaign commenced by John Turtle Wood. The British architect initiated the works at – as in his words – the “Odeum” in the year 1864 (Fig. 12).²¹⁸ The so-called Odeon, which is actually the *bouleuterion* of the city (Fig. 11, no. 6; Fig. 13), remained visible from antiquity up until its discovery by Wood, as he notes “The site of the Odeum, or lyric theatre, ... was built on the southern slope of Mount Coressus; and even before the excavations were begun, the outer semi-circular wall of the auditorium was to be seen above ground at each extremity.”²¹⁹ The other monuments that have close connections to the Upper Agora were mostly unearthed during the excavations between 1909 and the 1930s conducted by the Austrian Archaeological Institute.²²⁰ These monuments include a prodigious *castellum aquae* (Fig. 11, no. 11), next to which is the street that passes along the whole length and beyond the southern edge of the agora (Fig. 11), leading to the Magnesian Gate, a bath structure to the east (Fig. 11, no. 7); the *prytaneion* (Fig. 11, no. 4), the place where the city’s heart was located, was brought to light during the excavations in 1955, which was followed soon after with the discovery of a double *cella* monument (also has been dubbed the “doppelmonument,”

²¹⁵ Rossi 1984, 87.

²¹⁶ Rossi 1984, 87.

²¹⁷ Pococke (1745:2, 48) writes that “A few paces further to the west, there are remains of a semicircular building, which seems to have seats in it, made like steps, as in theatres, and is built in a rustick manner with pilasters on the outside at equal distances. This might possibly serve for an odium or theatre for music.”

²¹⁸ Wood 1877, 42.

²¹⁹ Wood 1877, 43.

²²⁰ Steuernagel 2019, 93.

the “double podium structure,” “*temenos* with double temples” and “Rhodian peristyle”)²²¹ within a peristyle enclosure that might have been the place for the worship of an earlier imperial cult (Fig. 11, no. 5).²²² The religious aspect of the Upper Agora was later enhanced in the early 1970s following the discovery of a peripteral temple of 6x10 columns with crepidoma positioned at the longitudinal axis of the site (Fig. 11, no. 1).²²³

Considering the holistic approach observed in the architectural arrangement of the site, it seems probable that an initial master plan envisaged the spatial organization of the site previously determining the specific placement of each component.²²⁴ It can also be suggested that this all-encompassing building program specifically employed ideological values of the Augustan regime in the tangible manifestation which conveyed messages of Roman dominion to the locals in a provincial setting. Not surprisingly, the Roman ideals were best reflected in the civic centers of the ancient city, specifically in the agora, which also represents a series of transformations that the Greek *poleis* underwent under Roman rule.²²⁵ According to Vasileios Evangelidis, numerous factors played role in the spatial and functional metamorphosis of the agora in the imperial period:

... such as the dynamic presence of the local elite, the exploitation of the past, the imperial presence and most importantly the will to maximize functionality and monumentality, contributed to the formation of the spatial and architectural framework of the agora. In many cities, the development of the agora is best described as the juxtaposition of old and new, which was achieved by the preservation and enhancement of the traditional landscape as well as by its enrichment with new buildings, many of which, like the Roman-style baths, improved the provision of services.²²⁶

It would be inaccurate to suggest, however, that the Romanized character of the architectural spaces of the Upper Agora simply derives from the supposed

²²¹ Hereafter, this space will be referred to as the double *cella* monument in this study.

²²² Steuernagel 2019, 93; Hölbl 1978, 27-8.

²²³ Steuernagel 2019, 93-4.

²²⁴ Steuernagel 2019, 94.

²²⁵ Evangelidis 2014, 335.

²²⁶ Evangelidis 2014, 335.

juxtaposition of the old and the new. Rather, the Upper Agora was the “new” urban component as a novel complex that is introduced to the existing framework of the city. Likewise, Scherrer notes that there was no urbanized district in the site before the intensive building program that took place under Augustan rule.²²⁷ There were, however, earlier structures detected in the site; archaeological sondages in 1966 revealed a single-aisled Hellenistic Stoa whose stylobate is approximately 1.30 m below than that of the Augustan Basilica and whose orientation is in the same direction with that of the later basilica.²²⁸ Moreover, there is a possibility of the existence of an earlier Hellenistic gymnasium in the site which dated back to as early as the second century BCE according to epigraphic evidence,²²⁹ of which nothing remains, perhaps except the retaining terrace wall under the basilica.²³⁰ Furthermore, relying basically on his theory that the fragmentary architectural remains unearthed in the archaeological campaigns in the site between 1960s and 1970s formed a coherent outline for the existence of civic buildings, Wilhelm Alzinger argued for the presence of a late Hellenistic predecessor beneath the Roman *bouleuterion*, adjacent to the Hellenistic Stoa (Fig. 14).²³¹ According to Lionel Bier, Alzinger’s assumption for the existence of an predecessor *bouleuterion* pre-dating the Roman period is correct, presumably in the same location, as Ephesus was a *polis* with a *boule*, and thus, it was evident that a meeting place for regular assemblies would already have been required before the Roman domination.²³² Nevertheless, Bier questions the sufficiency of Alzinger’s published documentations to support his conclusions and asserts that “We cannot, however, assume, as Alzinger did, that a *bouleuterion* dating to the time of

²²⁷ Scherrer 2001, 68.

²²⁸ Bier 2011, 29.

²²⁹ Thür 2007 cf. Raja 2012, 67.

²³⁰ Alzinger 1988, 21 cf. Raja 2012, 67.

²³¹ For further information, see Bier 2011, 29-30; 47-8.

²³² Bier 2011, 47. Bier (2011, 47) also reports that “A fragmentary inscription (Eichler 1962, 41: Hellenistic; IvE 740B: undated; Alzinger 1988, 23: first century BCE) cut in a block found in 1961 built as *spolia* into the north wall of the “Hestiasaal” has been cited quite reasonably as evidence for the existence of an early *bouleuterion*. It honored a certain Zopyros, son of Balagros, who had made alterations to a *bouleuterion* or provided furnishings. The inscription has been dated on paleographic grounds to the first century BCE and could thus refer to an Augustan building whose remains are yet to be identified.”

Lysimachus remains to be discovered in the “Staatsmarkt,” since it has not been proved that this was the civic center of Hellenistic Ephesos.”²³³ In line with this, the fragmentary nature of the architectural remains also makes it difficult to reconstruct a Hellenistic *bouleuterion*.²³⁴

Bearing in mind the precarious nature of the material evidence for the existence of a complex urban pattern before the Augustan intervention, it would be credible to state that the Romanized character of the site does not stem from the coeval existence of structures of different timelines. Rather, it was the Romanized mindset, a result of the reaction and the degree of adaptation of the Ephesians to the new imperial context that placed them as a component in a larger whole beyond the boundaries of the Hellenic World, that created the Romanized setting of the spatial configuration of the Upper Agora instead of the mere accumulation of the structures of different periods. In this regard, Romanization is a sophisticated process whose manifestation may be simply identified, as Evangelidis puts:

... the effort of each city to adapt to the requirements of the urban framework of the Imperial period, characterized by monumentality and functionality.²³⁵

The requirements of the new Roman life that led to the extensive transformation of the built (or unbuilt) landscape, mostly took place to provide a specialized environment in which particular services such as “public amenities (baths, latrines, fountains), religious precincts for the imperial worship, civic buildings (stoas, civic culture and spectacles; *odeia*, theatres)” were some of the novelties introduced to the agoras in the imperial period.²³⁶ Yet again, it is important to focus on the concept of the novel “requirements” that emerged due to the expansion of a new form of power and ruling system. Monumentality – considering the rhetorical nature of architecture – was certainly a response to this political shift that tremendously affected everyday life. According to Edmund Thomas, a set of issues must be taken in consideration in the

²³³ Bier 2011, 47.

²³⁴ Bier 2011, 30.

²³⁵ Evangelidis 2014, 335.

²³⁶ Evangelidis 2014, 345-6.

examination of monumentality; including the social ambitions of the patron, the political identity of a community, the sacral identity of a cult, users' attitude to a building, that is beyond its practical purpose, which responds to it as a deed of art or a monument.²³⁷ Moreover, Bruce Trigger asserts that the chief defining characteristic of monumental architecture concerns scale and elaboration that "exceed the requirement of any practical functions that a building is intended to perform."²³⁸ On the other hand, Guido Mansuelli claims that "Monumentalization did not have a purely rhetorical purpose, as a celebration of great scale, and should be explained rather as an adaptation to demographic reality."²³⁹ According to Thomas, fluctuating demography and expanding population not only in Rome but also in other cities including Ephesus, Carthage, Athens, Apamea, and Antioch during the *Pax Romana*, partly explain the increasing scale of the architectural edifices, "although this should not be overstated."²⁴⁰ In fact, population growth, particularly the increasing numbers of people ruled by one individual from the Hellenistic period onwards, went hand in hand with a changing sense of aesthetic that considered beauty being related to the objects of greater size.²⁴¹ Despite the importance of the demographic reality in this issue, however, it alone might not be enough to grasp thoroughly the prevailing inclination to monumentality in the Roman-ruled cities, as noted by Thomas:

Although increased demand may account in part for the size of amphitheatres and baths and the number of seats in latrine facilities, the scale of their monumental embellishment can also be seen in terms of a tendency to reduplicate space in Roman imperial design. The presence of a crowd gave a building monumental *celebritas*. Enlargement of scale can be interpreted as the architectural expression of 'an optimistic urban feeling, which was stamped by the desire for demographic growth'.²⁴²

In short, the response for the requirements of the new context that was shaped with the correspondence of the notions of adaptation and resistance is expressed partly, and yet,

²³⁷ Thomas 2007, 13.

²³⁸ Trigger 1990, 119.

²³⁹ Mansuelli 1982, 225; cf. Thomas 2007, 125.

²⁴⁰ Thomas 2007, 125.

²⁴¹ Onians 1979, 121–6; cf. Thomas 2007, 125.

²⁴² Thomas 2007, 125.

splendidly through architecture. As a consequence, the construction of new buildings donated/supported either by the local elite or by the imperial authorities, which was an eminent issue highly concerning the civic pride, profoundly elaborated the monumental character of the urban landscape.²⁴³ It is also vital to indicate that the aforementioned urban metamorphosis is attested in diversified ways, having distinct features in each place in question. Likewise, in Ephesus, responding to a new imperial context, basically to a new, if not somewhat alien, authority, is effectively manifested in the architectonic characteristics of the Upper Agora.

3.2.1. The Layout

First and above all, it is imperative to look for the architectonic layout of the agora within the landscape, as Spiro Kostof asserts regarding the planning of such grandiose approaches in urban settings: “The site comes first, and is studied with care.”²⁴⁴ Thus, it is important to have a glimpse of the site, its surroundings, natural or artificial environment. The site of the agora is located on the plateau on the southeast section of the valley between Mount Pion (Panayırdağ) and Mount Preon (Bülbüldağ) close to the Magnesian Gate. Contrary to expectations, then, the agora was not planned at the core of the city, and not in the least does it show any similarity to the basic urban layout of the Roman mindset in which basically are the *cardo*, *decumanus*, and at their intersection is located the forum. There is, however, another topographically remarkable sensitivity concerning the location of the site. The positioning of the agora in the city endows it an idiosyncrasy that is comparable to a kind of Roman(ized) acropolis, yet this should not be overemphasized. Indeed, the prominent location of the site in the upper part of Ephesus bestows the agora an imposing position overlooking the rest of the city. The absence of a stoa or a boundary wall in the western edge of the agora enhances the idea that this was a deliberate choice, a conscious attempt of having a commanding view of the city from the agora as well as imposing a dominating presence on the surroundings, revealing the designer(s)’ awareness of the remarkable position of the site in the topography. The vigorous command of the

²⁴³ Evangelidis 2014, 345-6.

²⁴⁴ Kostof 1991, 218.

sensory vision and the robust representation of the self-image employed within the physical layout and the topographical qualities of the agora can likely be identified as intrinsic Roman features.

Simply put, the Upper Agora is a large rectangular enclosure measuring 160 m in length to 58 m to width in the southeast end of the *Embolos*. The well-defined open space was bordered with *stoa*e carrying Doric capitals in the east and the south, while its northern edge was demarcated by the long and relatively narrow basilica-stoa.²⁴⁵ MacDonald identifies the basilica as a “catchall of the history of architecture ... [which] is used to refer to a public hall, a tribunal and place of public business, almost always bordering on the forum or agora.”²⁴⁶ Though this broad definition might refer to various forms and typologies that accommodate administrative, religious and commercial affairs, the narrow and long configuration with spatial compartmentalization provided with interior colonnades was a common type of basilica design in the East,²⁴⁷ perhaps as a result of the persistent influence of the local building tradition of the stoa. In a similar vein, Kostof comments on the architectural expression of the basilica and draws a formalistic parallel between the basilica and the typologies that are traditionally Greek by stating that “In formal terms we might view the basilica as an interiorized stoa or an externalized Greek temple without the peristyle.”²⁴⁸ It might even be the case that basilica-stoa of the Upper Agora implies the merging of the Roman basilica and the Greek stoa (According to Fikret Yegül and Diane Favro, a type that could be referred to as the *porticus basilicata*).²⁴⁹

The interior spaces of the basilica-stoa of the Upper Agora, measuring 180m in length and 20m in width, were arranged in a tripartite manner whose spatial compartmentalization is provided with the interior colonnades (Fig. 15). The central nave is wider than the aisles on either side (Fig. 15, 16); a flexibility that is obtained

²⁴⁵ Yegül and Favro 2019, 652.

²⁴⁶ MacDonald 1986:2, 114.

²⁴⁷ Yegül and Favro 2019, 652.

²⁴⁸ Kostof 1985, 203.

²⁴⁹ Yegül and Favro 2019, 652.

by the use of a timber roof structure above the central nave and the use of the marble architraves above the adjoining aisles, due to the material qualities of the timber beam that is able to span wider than the stone lintels. The specialization of the central nave is further enhanced with its height that is above those of the aisles, which provided a clerestory lighting for the interior space as well. Thereby, a keen spatial hierarchy between the interior spaces was obtained with the accentuation of the central axis.

The employment of a particular variant of Ionic capitals with the depictions of projecting bullheads (Fig. 17), an unusual ornamental motif, attracts considerable attention. It appears that one conceivable rationale can be explained with a structural motive, which is to reduce the span of the architrave. Yet, according to Bammer, there is a subtle message that lies in their symbolic, demonstrative nature.²⁵⁰ He notes that “they are intended to demonstrate the overcoming of gravity, the superiority of human technology over the forces of nature, and they also introduce an exotic motif into the sober classicist architecture.”²⁵¹ Further, Bammer makes a bold argument that through the utilization of the “exotic” (according to Yegül and Favro, it was a Persian derivation)²⁵², a bigger world was introduced to Ephesus, and it is aimed to show that employed techniques were based on the knowledge of the entire known world.²⁵³ In other words, it was an exquisite subtle demonstration of various techniques and hitherto know-how of the known world being at Ephesians’ service. I argue that this particular instance can be presented as an embodied outcome of the cultural mobility and the broad vision that the imperial *zeitgeist* stimulated, which is an indication that the acculturation observed in the material evidence was far more complex than the narrative of the respective influences that occurred merely between the center and the periphery.

Another important issue about the basilica-stoa is its organization as a transitory space which appears to be a deliberate design choice. Through a number of doors on the rear

²⁵⁰ Bammer 2008, 180.

²⁵¹ Bammer 2008, 180.

²⁵² Yegül and Favro 2019, 652.

²⁵³ Bammer 2008, 180.

wall, direct access was provided to the *bouleuterion*, the double *cella* monument and the *prytaneion* that are located behind the basilica-stoa (Fig. 18). At the east end, a separate chamber (*chalcidicum*, as Vitruvius denotes such chambers²⁵⁴) is located (Fig. 11, no. 3; Fig. 19), which accommodated the statues of Augustus and Livia (Fig. 20), displaying dedications to the imperial family, to the local donor C. Sextius Pollo and his family.²⁵⁵ There is also another, seemingly identical, a counterpart of the *chalcidicum*, located at the west end of the basilica-stoa in a symmetrical way, which is considered as a later addition and whose function is unknown.²⁵⁶ Both of these rooms protruded beyond the main open space,²⁵⁷ and access to these spaces was only through the basilical hall as the transitory space (Fig. 11, no. 2).

It is intriguing to note that the planar scheme of the early Christian basilica, which basically comprises the juxtaposed arrangement of a main basilical hall and an atrium on the same axis,²⁵⁸ in general, appears to be in line with the layout of the basilica-stoa in Ephesus which was planned as a three-aisled main space and a small rectangular chamber (the *chalcidicum*) located at its east end. Yet, there is a significant nuance in these planar arrangements that is overtly manifested: in the architectural scheme of the early Christian basilicas (such as the Basilica of St. John on the Ayasuluk Hill, constructed in the sixth century CE and the Church of Mary, constructed in the fifth century CE, located in the south stoa of the neokorate Temple of Hadrian, also known as the Olympieion²⁵⁹) atrium is the transitory space from which one enters the basilical hall which is the ultimate destination, whereas in the latter, the main basilical hall was arranged as a transitory space that provides access to many directions towards the

²⁵⁴ Vitruvius, 5.1.4. “The basilica should be situated adjoining the forum, on the warmest side, so that the merchants may assemble there in winter, without being inconvenienced by the cold. Its width must not be less than a third part, nor more than half its length, unless the nature of the site prevent it, and impose a different proportion; if, however, that be longer than necessary, a *chalcidicum* is placed at the extremity, as in the Julian basilica and the one at Aquileia.”

²⁵⁵ Yegül and Favro 2019, 652.

²⁵⁶ Süß 1999, 33; Kalinowski 2002, 141.

²⁵⁷ Süß 1999, 33.

²⁵⁸ For further information, see Ward-Perkins 1954.

²⁵⁹ For a general overview of the Basilica of St. John at Ephesus, see Plommer 1962; on the Church of Mary in relation to the Temple of Hadrian Olympius, see Karwiese 1995.

architectural spaces including the *chalcidicum*. The *chalcidicum* was entered from a tripartite gate whose plan was arranged in accordance with the structural axes of the basilica, and whose elevation was in relation to the basilica's section (Fig. 21). The significance of the central part of the gate was highlighted with an arcuated passage in addition to its proportions (taller and wider than the passages on either side). The employment of the arcuated passage in the basilica-stoa incites us to probe the tradition of the arcuated passageways in the agoras of Ionia.

To illustrate, the "Agora Gate" at Priene (Fig. 22) is one of the earliest extant precedents of such arcuated passages. According to Frederick Winter, the "Agora Gate" was designed to give a special emphasis to the main entrance to the agora, which afforded the most impressive architectural vista of the monuments located in the central part of the city.²⁶⁰ Further, Winter states that "in its location and in the emphasis it lent to the overall architectural effect of the agora, the Priene archway seems to be a more or less direct ancestor of the larger designs of Roman times such as the market gates of Ephesos and Miletos."²⁶¹ Although, in this case, he refers to the Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates of the Tetragonos Agora in Ephesus, I would like to suggest that the utilization of the arcuated passageway in the basilica-stoa leading to the *chalcidicum* is also a pertinent example of the persistent tradition of the construction of archways in the agoras. In this manner, one can state that an earlier, Hellenistic architectural innovation²⁶² of the arches and arcuated passages in the region tremendously influenced the later architectural practices of the Roman age. In other words, even though the arch was not widely employed in the cities of Hellenistic Asia Minor, the "Agora Gate" at Priene had indeed set a precedent for the subsequent architectural practices, and became a common feature of Roman architecture so much as it might had been discerned as a vivid Roman stamp on the built environment.

²⁶⁰ Winter 2006, 39.

²⁶¹ Winter 2006, 39.

²⁶² Note that "innovation" does not refer here to the first appearance of the arches in Hellenistic architecture in its literal sense, for the origination of the arch was a development of ancient Mesopotamian architecture. Instead, the term refers to the utilization of the monumental arcuated entrances and passageways in the agoras, specifically in the agora at Priene.

In agoras in the Hellenic world under Roman rule, except in the Roman colonies, “the most archetypical spatial feature of Roman urban design, the presence of an axially placed central building (usually a temple), is rare as Evangelidis suggests.²⁶³ Likewise, according to Jürgen Süß, a ruler-cult temple axially placed in the agora was unprecedented before the Roman influence, and it was rarely the case that temples of traditional gods were positioned at the center of the agora.²⁶⁴ Thence, it can be stated that the arrangement of the free-standing temple positioned at the east-west axis of the agora is a unique example of a novel design that somehow emulated the Roman tradition enriching the spatial qualities of the agora (Fig. 11, no. 1). Yegül and Favro rightly state that there is a vivid Roman influence in the design of this building which was modelled as a small, prostyle, peripteral temple elevated on a podium, distinctly following the Western exemplars (Fig. 23, 24).²⁶⁵ Hence, the temple can be regarded as an epitome of a postulated inclination to the Roman ideals. Yet, although one can speak of a vivid influence of the imperial center, it is not solely and exclusively expressive enough of the effectuation of the architectural form of the temple, nor does it divulge the impacts of the contemporaneous architectural trends in Asia Minor.

A conventional and rather conservative building practice is attested in the temples of later Hellenistic and early Roman Asia Minor regarding their planar layout, according to Ratté *et al.*²⁶⁶ There are numerous known pseudodipteral temples dating from this period, which infers a pattern that might imply the existence of a particular architectural tradition (Fig. 25).²⁶⁷ Furthermore, there are several Roman peripteral temples in Asia Minor, regular in plan and generally smaller in scale, that are characterized with distyle-in-antis *cellae* and an outer colonnade surrounding the temple on four sides between which is a missing interaxial row of colonnade only on the front side of the temple (e.g. the Temple of Antoninus Pius at Sagalassos, the

²⁶³ Evangelidis 2014, 338

²⁶⁴ Süß 1999, 59.

²⁶⁵ Yegül and Favro 2019, 652.

²⁶⁶ Ratté *et al.* 1986, 59-63.

²⁶⁷ e.g. the Temple of Apollon Smintheus at Chryse, the Temple of Artemis Leukophryne at Magnesia on the Meander, the Temple of “Apollo Isotimos” at Alabanda, Hekateion at Lagina, the Temple of Augustus at Ankyra, the Early Imperial Temple at Sardis etc.

Temple of Apollo and the Temple of Athena at Side) (Fig. 26).²⁶⁸ Each of the two typologies may be considered within the same tradition of temple building.²⁶⁹ In other words, both typologies were the material manifestations, that are divergent to some degree, of the same architectural custom and practice. As noticed by Ratté *et al.*, this very tradition appears to have endured, although not remaining unaffected entirely, in a period of progressive innovations observed in architecture such as the advancement of spatial impacts, coordinated perspectives and complex rhythms in plan by clinging to the “rigorously elegant and potentially monotonous regularity of Hellenistic planning.”²⁷⁰ In addition, they hypothesize about these anachronistic design choices that “the very conservatism of these buildings (rather than the specific plan type) may have been thought to lend authority and dignity to the imperial cult ... Stately architecture is often taken to be an image of orderly government.”²⁷¹

The temple in the Upper Agora can assuredly be considered as an outward specimen of this practice. In spite of the fact that the temple was destroyed in late antiquity and only its foundation remains *in situ* today,²⁷² the extant portion of the structure and the documentation drawings of the plan of the temple produced thus far enable us to make a firm comment on its layout (Fig. 23, 24). Relying on the data gathered from its plan, the temple seems to have incorporated the attributes of both the two aforementioned “branches” of the tradition of temple building in late Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor. Briefly illustrated, a prostyle porch can only be attested in the colossal pseudodipteral temples in Asia Minor whereas the plan of the smaller Roman peripteral temples exclusively involves distyle-in-antis *cellae*, for Ratté *et al.* inform us.²⁷³ On the other hand, the material evidence concerning the temple in the Upper Agora does not conform to a homogenous disposition of the layouts of either classifications of the same tradition, forasmuch as it displays a conscientious (or

²⁶⁸ Ratté *et al.* 1986, 59.

²⁶⁹ Ratté *et al.* 1986, 62.

²⁷⁰ Ratté *et al.* 1986, 62.

²⁷¹ Ratté *et al.* 1986, 63.

²⁷² Scherrer 2001, 69.

²⁷³ Ratté *et al.* 1986, 59

otherwise) coalescence of the planar organization of the pseudodipteral and peripteral temples of late Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor. For instance, the temple in the Upper Agora is rather small in scale that maintains the essential features of the Roman peripteral temples in Asia Minor – such as the perimeter outer colonnade, a missing interaxial on the front between the *cella* and the outer colonnade, and so on – with a vital exception, that is the utilization, instead of a distyle-in-antis *cella*, of the prostyle porch, which was regarded to be peculiar to the huge temples usually of pseudodipteral style such as the early Imperial Temple at Sardis and the Temple of Augustus and *Roma* at Ankyra. In this sense, it is tempting to speculate that the construction of the peripteral temple at the Upper Agora might be suggestive of a ramification in the tradition of temple building in Asia Minor. It is also worth pointing out that the building of pseudodipteral temples was an architectural tradition of the late Hellenistic and early imperial period, and the Roman peripteral temples (e.g. the Temple of Antoninus Pius at Sagalassos, the Temple of Apollo and the Temple of Athena at Side) were built generally in the second century CE. That is to say, it might be argued that the small temple in the Upper Agora was an intermediate step, if not marking a pivotal moment, between the colossal pseudodipteral temples and the smaller Roman peripteral temples of in the region.

It is necessary to indicate here that the free-standing temple situated in the open space at the western half of the agora conveyed a strong architectonic statement that has prompted various interpretations about its nature and projected dedication of which there is no certain evidence. For example, Alzinger put forward his theory that the temple was dedicated in honor of Cleopatra and Mark Antony, who were paid homage in the guise of the Egyptian deities, Isis and Dionysos-Osiris respectively, which is based upon the Egyptian artifacts he found in the vicinity of the temple.²⁷⁴ Furthermore, he proposed that the construction of the temple was the initiative of the planned re-development of the entire district that began during the first years of Augustan rule.²⁷⁵ Alzinger's view was later rejected as his claim that the aforementioned Egyptian artifacts and other findings were used in the rituals in

²⁷⁴ Steuernagel 2019, 94; see also Alzinger 1972-75, 283-94.

²⁷⁵ Steuernagel 2019, 94; see also Alzinger 1972-75, 283-94.

relation to the temple has been called into question.²⁷⁶ Moreover, it is seen that these findings were dated to second to third century CE, not related with the construction date of the temple.²⁷⁷ There is another and more plausible view concerning to whom (or which deity) the temple was dedicated. As a proponent of this opinion about the projected dedication, Scherrer posits that the temple was consecrated for the worship of the cult of *Divus Iulius* and *Roma*.²⁷⁸ Furthermore, it is mentioned in an inscription²⁷⁹ of 27 BCE as “the foundation of Augustus and the dedication of the sanctuary” which might refer to the dedication of the small temple in the agora to the cult of Augustus, as Jobst argues.²⁸⁰ In a similar vein, Cassius Dio’s account, according to which Octavian directly authorized the dedication of the sanctuary to the cult of Caesar and *Roma* in Ephesus, also provides a reliable basis for the projected identification of the temple at the Upper Agora.²⁸¹ The form of the temple could also be interpreted as indicative of the imperial worship since “many of the *pseudodipteroi* and *peripteroi* were in some way associated with the imperial cult,” according to Ratté *et al.*²⁸² Either way, it can be stated that the canonical expression of the temple starkly accentuated the religious identity of the agora, and reassured its significance in the sacred milieu of the city.

The Augustan Imperial policy in the provinces was embodied within the essential presence of many temples in Asia Minor, each of which had practically served the same purpose, and thereby, comparable to one another. In this manner, what was materialized with the body of the free-standing temple in the Upper Agora is ideologically evocative of its contemporaneous imperial temple at Ankyra that was dedicated to the cult of Augustus and *Roma* (Henceforth referred to as the Temple of

²⁷⁶ Steuernagel 2019, 93; Hölbl 1978, 27-32.

²⁷⁷ Therefore, these artifacts are entirely irrelevant to the dating of the temple. Steuernagel 2019, 93; Hölbl 1978, 27-32.

²⁷⁸ Scherrer 2001, 69.

²⁷⁹ I.Ephesos 902 = SEG XXVI 1243.

²⁸⁰ Jobst 1980 cf. Price 1984b, 254, cat. No: 29.

²⁸¹ Cassius Dio. 51.20.

²⁸² Ratté *et al.* 1986, 62.

Augustus). In its broadest sense, the peripteral temple of *Divus Iulius* and *Roma* in Ephesus was formulated to convey a similar message with the pseudodipteral Temple of Augustus in Ankyra, but in a dissimilar setting. Indeed, compared to the busy, crowded, highly urbanized western and southern shorelines of Asia Minor, the distant, less-urbanized, sparsely populated highlands of central Anatolia created a stark distinction, if not a contrast. In this manner, the imperial temple in Ankyra functioned fundamentally in a similar manner as the temple in the Upper Agora did with vital subtlety. The imperial cult together with its materialization through the temple lent a huge momentum to urbanization in Galatia, which had been an isolated place from urbanization and large building programs, by making possible anything the urban life had to offer to the citizens such as the feasts and banquets that accompanied public sacrifices, festivals, games and gladiatorial shows.²⁸³ On the other hand, the imperial cult did also significantly contribute to the civic life in similar public events mentioned above, Ephesus was already an urbanized place. Another difference comes from the architectonic arrangement of the Temple of Augustus with its monumental *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* inscription in both Latin and Greek texts, the former of which was carved in the *antae* walls of the *pronaos*, while the latter was situated on the entire south wall of the *cella*.²⁸⁴ It is striking that there are other well-preserved copies of the *Res Gestae* found in the province of Galatia: a Latin copy was found in Apollonia and a Greek copy at Antioch in Pisidia.²⁸⁵ According to Suna Güven, “Following fashion, the small Galatian cities of Ankara, Antioch in Pisidia, and Apollonia, which had little in common otherwise, became ideologically linked, no matter how tenuously, because

²⁸³ Mitchell 1993:1, 117; Kadioğlu *et al.* 2011, 93-7

²⁸⁴ Kadioğlu *et al.* 2011, 93-7. Note that the original coloring of the inscription and the Temple of Augustus must have given the monument an all the more impressive outlook that no beholder could have missed. According to Kadioğlu *et al.* (2011, 94), the yellowish spots on the interior and exterior walls show that the temple was entirely painted with a golden color, and the inscription was accentuated with a red color. Therefore, one should consider the original display of the temple with its colored form dominant golden color on which inscriptions were scraped and highlighted with a red color. As maintained by Kadioğlu *et al.* (2011, 97), this coloring made the inscription more readable for the literate few or perceptible for the illiterate masses. On the other hand, although the temple in the Upper Agora was probably painted, little is known about the outlook of its superstructure. Yet, there is no trace of such a prominent inscription like the *Res Gestae*.

²⁸⁵ Harrer 1926, 388. Harrer (1926, 388) also conveniently remarks that over many thousands of copies of the *Res Gestae* probably spread far-flung corners of the empire, the only well-preserved copies of the text are these four found in Galatia.

each was endowed with a temple of the imperial cult and a copy of the same *Res Gestae* inscription.”²⁸⁶ Moreover, Güven claims that:

... the message generated by the *Res Gestae* inscription, regardless of the language used, was very different in the remote highlands of Anatolia destined for Romanization. Far from the bustling western and southern coastlands of Asia Minor, these areas had not even become Hellenized. Thus, it hardly comes as a surprise that no *Res Gestae* inscriptions are known to have survived in the more established metropolitan centers such as Ephesus or Pergamum.²⁸⁷

Therefore, it can be stated that the inscription of the *Res Gestae* was a specific solution for the province of Galatia, serving the Augustan imperial ideology. In this sense, in Ephesus, the metropolitan center of Asia, the context in which the Temple of *Divus Iulius* and *Roma* was envisaged might not have required the lofty outlook of the *Res Gestae* inscription on the temple – perhaps due to the monumental presence of a bilingual inscription on the frontispiece of the basilica-stoa facing the agora which extended over the entire length of the architrave in a single line (Fig. 27) that will also be further mentioned – nor it did necessitate the same architectural manifestation.

One may point to further dissimilarities in the architectonic settings of the Augustan imperial temples at Ephesus and Ankyra, but I would simply suggest that such divergences stemmed from the unique backgrounds that the cities of Ankyra and Ephesus, both of which were the administrative centers of Galatia and Asia respectively, offered for the imperial vision. It appears that every place was considered with its own problems and the solutions were produced accordingly in the statecraft of the imperial rule. The common ground, however, was the repeated, though nuanced, message of imperial presence all over the empire. In this message, the imperial vision and ideals were personified by the entity of Augustus, the archetypical ruler that became an essential, universal symbol and a unifier of the remote places with heterogeneous populations of the empire, which made easier for the indigenous beholder to make sense of the complicated reality of the *zeitgeist* and concept of Roman rule.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ Güven 1998, 33.

²⁸⁷ Güven 1998, 32.

²⁸⁸ Güven 1998, 40.

Indeed, the concept of Roman rule was asserted through the presence of the emperor, but it is also necessary to draw attention to the importance of the spatial formulation of the architectural sites. In this manner, the hierarchical arrangement of different components took an exceptional role in subtly featuring Roman rule. Considering that the only surviving components of the temple in the Upper Agora other than its foundation are a number of Corinthian style capitals measuring 0.63-0.66 m in height,²⁸⁹ at this point, the use of distinct orders in the entirety of the Upper Agora certainly merits comment. The exquisite organization of the orders in the Upper Agora – the entranceways and southern and eastern stoas possibly built in Doric order, the basilica-stoa in Ionic order including the variants of Ionic capitals with the “exotic motifs” like bullheads, and the temple in Corinthian order – might indicate that the arrangement was the outcome of an intentional, cautious and premeditated design.

According to John Onians, there had been a clear tendency of earlier Greeks and Romans to observe the colonnades as consistent entities whose elegance derived from their impeccable regularity, but this cognizance changed around the turning of the millennium due to the necessity “to discern an order in the chaos of columns which most cities of the Roman Empire would have presented.”²⁹⁰ In the built environment, the spectator was expected to appreciate the columnar organization, including the pattern of architectural orders in a single architectural unit as well, which corresponded with the developing idea of visual awareness.²⁹¹ To illustrate, the Flavian Amphitheater in Rome demonstrates one of the most overt cases of such a columnar organization through which the main logic behind the design is starkly expressed. A visual hierarchy is clearly conveyed through the use of the pilasters in Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and “Roman” Composite order²⁹² each of which was exclusively placed at every level from the ground to upwards respectively. In other words, the confident

²⁸⁹ Scherrer 2001, 69.

²⁹⁰ Onians 1988, 58.

²⁹¹ Onians 1988, 58.

²⁹² On the Roman Composite order, Onians (1988, 47-8) writes that “What is distinctively Roman is the creation of a new form by the arrogantly imaginative fusion of elements which the Greeks had regarded as biologically separate ... From its initial function as an expression of Roman superiority over the Greeks, Composite came to be seen as a symbol of over the empire as a whole.”

hierarchy of orders is vividly expressed through their vertical arrangement on the elevation, from “simpler” order on the ground level to the more “complicated” on the upper levels.

In a similar but also distinctive manner, a peculiar hierarchy of architectural orders was achieved in the entirety of the Upper Agora. However, this hierarchy differs from that manifested in the Flavian Amphitheater with regards to the experience of how it was conceived spatially. A special hierarchy was vividly expressed in the Upper Agora that was perceived in motion. To illustrate, in order to get to the agora, one would first go through the entranceways in the east in Doric order then reach to the vast rectangular open space. The experience is followed possibly by the perception of the basilica-stoa built in Ionic order, and then the eastern and southern stoas in Doric order that borders the central space. The hierarchy between the stoas was also highlighted with their size (the basilica-stoa was a loftier hall than the southern and eastern colonnades). Lastly, as was mentioned above, the spatial focus of the agora was the free-standing temple positioned at the western half of the central space, at the longitudinal axis of the site. The visitor, then, would perhaps perceive the temple built in Corinthian order in the final and the most exquisite scenery that this experience provided. In this regard, the hierarchy was set in motion in the entirety of the agora through a special spatial experience of a set of sequential scenes that was unfolded as one moved in the site. Thereby, the sequential display of Doric-Ionic-Corinthian styles accentuated the varied significance of the components, conveying a vivid message of order and hierarchy in the entirety of the agora. Thence, one may state almost certainly that such a variation in the style of columns and capitals appears to be a premeditated design choice, and that the arrangement of the different types of orders might indicate that the agora had already been perceived as a single architectural unit even before the phase of construction.

It is worth noting that the architectural units in and around the agora are reciprocally “joined in meaningful, functional and symbolic ways.”²⁹³ In this manner, the Upper Agora displays a vivid inclination to the Roman ideals and a broad-mindedness in

²⁹³ According to MacDonald, (1986:2, 259) “Roman architecture is defined as much by the way buildings are joined in meaningful functional and symbolic ways as by any other.”

terms of the outside impacts. Yet, it must be noted that this receptivity to the outside impacts does not refer to an utter disregard of indigenous traditions. On the contrary, one can attest that the architectural language does not indicate the domineering presence of a new, if not alien, authority, but an eminent sensitivity to the local traditions, conditions and needs. Indeed, the material evidence attested in the Upper Agora reveals the tangled nature of the acculturation that had transformed the urban spaces in Ephesus, which does not indicate the imperious influence of the authorities but a nuanced interactivity between various agents.

In formal terms, considering the definiteness and closure of the boundaries of this strictly defined public space that also displays a great deal of spatial homogeneity within itself, this new Augustan urban center can certainly be perceived as a city “district,” according to Kevin Lynch’s definition.²⁹⁴ In this regard, the definitive spatial configuration enables us to effortlessly treat this public center as a single architectural unit, which might imply that a discussion about the Upper Agora necessitates an examination of its relevance with the contested term of the “Ionian Agora.”

3.2.1.1. The “Ionian Agora”

The uniform plan – particularly the Π-shaped (also called horse shoe) type of continuous planar arrangement of the positioning of the colonnades – of the Upper Agora, is also widely observed in many agoras throughout Western Asia Minor (Fig. 28).²⁹⁵ At first sight, this typology seems to diverge from the agoras in mainland Greece (i.e. in Elis and Athens) with more loosely arranged stoas that developed over time (Fig. 29, 30). This difference stimulated an idea on the basis of an ancient literary source that the ancient Greeks somehow formulated the classification of different types of agora which has become popular in modern scholarship.²⁹⁶ Pausanias, the literary source in question, while describing the agora in Elis notes that “[It] is not after the

²⁹⁴ Lynch 1960, 104-5.

²⁹⁵ i.e. the Agora in Priene, those in Miletus and Magnesia ad Maeandrum, the Lower Agora in Pergamon etc.

²⁹⁶ Dickenson 2016, 12.

fashion of the cities of Ionia and of the Greek cities near Ionia; it is built in the older manner, with porticoes separated from each other and with streets through them.”²⁹⁷ This formal difference observed by Pausanias led some modern scholars to envisage the “Ionian Agora” as a single architectural unit.²⁹⁸ In this framework, as also observed by Pausanias, the Ionian Agora was “laid out and built according to a single scheme” throughout Ionia with insignificant variations and contrasts with the “old-fashioned agora” where “the buildings in general and the stoas in particular were irregularly placed, and did not form a single architectural whole, except perhaps in a vague sense.”²⁹⁹ As reported by Christopher Dickenson, the use of the term is persistent also in more recent studies, though with less precision, that define the completely surrounded, peristyle type of open spaces that first emerged in the Hellenistic period and became popular during Roman rule as the “Ionian Agora.”³⁰⁰

Pursuant to the aforementioned conditions, it is tempting to suggest that the Upper Agora in Ephesus, by and large, falls into the category of the Ionian Agora. However, one must be aware of the fact that the term is actually a modern construct conceptualized by scholars such as Richard E. Wycherley in the 20th century. According to Dickenson, the term “Ionian Agora” can be misleading in grasping the conception of the agora in contemporaneous Greek minds as “far too much significance has been given here to what is actually a fairly casual remark in Pausanias.”³⁰¹ In other words, the term is not helpful in understanding whether the Greeks distinguished and categorized various agoras. Even the denotation of the “Ionian Agora” itself contradicts the evidence, as Dickenson notes that “fully enclosed agoras emerged in other parts of the Greek world earlier than in Asia Minor so that it is unlikely that at that time the Greeks would have associated the enclosure of the agora

²⁹⁷ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 6.24.2.

²⁹⁸ Wycherley 1942.

²⁹⁹ Wycherley 1942, 22.

³⁰⁰ Dickenson 2016, 13.

³⁰¹ Dickenson 2019. Dickenson (2016, 13) also argues, in view of the fact that Pausanias lived in the second century CE, that it seems improbable that “he can have been referring to a specific type of agora plan that emerged some five or six centuries earlier, the period in which Wycherley and Martin sought the origins of the Ionian Agora.”

with Ionia.”³⁰² Another drawback of putting too much emphasis on such a classification is that it downplays the significance of the evolutionary process that the *poleis*, and thus, the agoras underwent throughout centuries including the Roman period.³⁰³

I would like to mention here that the agora in the Roman period, in general, has suffered from the presumption that it somehow lost its function as a vibrant public center. The emergence of such premises could be explained with the impacts of the discourse of the decline of the *polis* starting from the time of the Alexander’s conquests and accelerating under Roman rule. Indeed, in the discussions of the *polis* under Hellenistic and Roman rule, one can easily attest the loss of the civic identity, hollowness of the public institutions and so forth which are thought to usher a profound degeneration.³⁰⁴ On the other hand, Harland claims that the underlying model of decline was based on a questionable compilation and interpretation of evidence, and argues that “despite changes and developments in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, we can properly speak of the continuing vitality of civic life, especially in its social and religious aspects.”³⁰⁵

Due to its innate characteristics as the vital element and the civic center of the *polis*, the agora under Roman rule was inevitably affected by the model of decline.³⁰⁶ In relation to this scheme, that the agora transformed into a completely enclosed plaza or a peristyle type of square is explained due to its loss of significance as a civic-religious center and a vibrant public space. As maintained by Dickenson, there has been a pronounced inclination in scholarly studies towards Greek agoras in the Roman period

³⁰² Dickenson (2016, 13) asserts that the earliest examples of the peristyle agora emerged in Macedonia.

³⁰³ On the historical evolution of agoras, see Dickenson 2016.

³⁰⁴ Harland 2006, 21.

³⁰⁵ Harland 2006, 21-2.

³⁰⁶ Wycherley (1962, 82) states that “City life had lost something of its old quality, and the agora had a less vital part to play, a less intimate relation with all the varied activities of the community.” In tandem, Martin (1951, 375) also asserts that “It was only when the notion of *polis* was emptied of its content that the agora became an isolated edifice” (C’est seulement au moment où la notion de polis s’est vidée de son contenu que l’agora devient un édifice isolé).

to compare them to museums.³⁰⁷ According to this view, the increasing number of buildings and monuments clustered around the agoras (both the Archaic-Classical agoras and the “Ionian Agora”) is basically an evidence for the alleged essential change of the agora in which representation overtook from quotidian human activity as the fundamental function.³⁰⁸ In other words, the essential feature of the agora as a civic center was terminated and it became merely a place for admiration of the spatial configuration of the edifices. This idea is later challenged by Dickenson asserting that the agora maintained being the *locus* for politics, administration and religion including the Roman period, as well.³⁰⁹ Furthermore, I would like to argue here that, on the one hand, the increasing number and growing scale of the edifices that are clustered in and around the agoras might indeed indicate a peculiar inclination to attract attention and to impel visual appreciation, admiration and memory creation; on the other, it can hardly be shown as a proof for the supposed loss of function of the agora as a venue for policy and administration in the Roman period. As it is implied in this study, the Upper Agora, for instance, was far from being empty of administrative, political and religious functions, as well as there was an eager tendency towards representation that aimed to provoke admiration observed in the material evidence.

Before embarking upon a further analysis on the material record of agoras and fora, it is necessary, in this section, to make a comment on how the places and memory affected each other or were linked to one another. Therefore, concepts of *lieu de mémoire* and *milieu de mémoire* are pertinent for this very discussion. The term, *lieu de mémoire*, conceptualized by Nora, was defined by him as follows: “If the expression *lieu de mémoire* must have an official definition, it should be this: a *lieu de mémoire* is any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial

³⁰⁷ Dickenson 2011, 47. Also see Dickenson 2011, 47, fn. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

³⁰⁸ Dickenson 2011, 47. On the agora becoming non-functional spaces, Wycherley (1962, 83-4) notes that “The second century A.D. saw a vigorous outburst of building activity; marked not only by the more complete enclosure of large open areas but also by the excessive and functionless architectural elaboration which had become popular by that time.”

³⁰⁹ Dickenson 2011.

heritage of any community (in this case, the French community).”³¹⁰ In addition, according to Pierre Nora, *milieu de mémoire* is a term for “settings in which memory is a real part of everyday experience.”³¹¹ In a similar vein, these concepts formulated by Nora for “rethinking the French past” can be applied to the relation between the place and memory in antiquity, in peculiar consideration of the persistent link between the built environment and memorization in their “Roman” sense. After all, any carnal whereabouts had particular *genius loci*, for the Romans.³¹² In this regard, “the method of *loci*,” which is a mnemonic technique known to the ancient Greeks and Romans³¹³ essentially linking the act of memorization with the place, is described by John O’Keefe and Lynn Nadel as follows:

In this technique the subject memorizes the layout of some building, or the arrangement of shops on a street, or any geographical entity which is composed of a number of discrete *loci*. When desiring to remember a set of items the subject ‘walks’ through these *loci* in their imagination and commits an item to each one by forming an image between the item and any feature of that locus. Retrieval of items is achieved by ‘walking’ through the *loci*, allowing the latter to activate the desired items.³¹⁴

The mnemonic technique dependent on the *loci* which was characterized and illustrated by famed Roman orators such as Cicero (first c. BCE) and Quintilian (first c. CE)³¹⁵ might help us to have ample acquaintance with how closely the memory and places are linked for the Romans. On the other hand, one must be aware of the fact that the public act of memorization taking place in the urban spaces, which is more pertinent to this study, did not occur as definitively as the individual mnemonic method of *loci* outlined by Cicero or Quintilian for the orators. On the contrary, the memorization process of the masses was spontaneous, more haphazard, somehow unpredictable and accidental, at occasion. In any case, the account of Marcus Piso

³¹⁰ Nora 1996, xvii.

³¹¹ Nora 1996, 1.

³¹² Favro 1988, 17.

³¹³ As noted by Reinhardt (2003, 28) and Mortensen (2008, 38), there is, however, a difference between the Cicero’s concept of *locus* and Aristotelian concept of the *topos*, as the former is an “associative process” whereas the latter is “a rule of inference.”

³¹⁴ O’Keefe and Nadel 1978, 389-90.

³¹⁵ See Yates 1966, 1-26; Cicero, *On the Orator*; Quintilian, *The Orator’s Education*.

concerning the Forum Romanum recorded by Cicero in their dialogue is constructive for our comprehension of how the Romans viewed the public spaces:

Whether it is a natural instinct or a mere illusion, I can't say; but one's emotions are more strongly aroused by seeing the places that tradition records to have been the favourite resort of men of note in former days, than by hearing about their deeds or reading their writings ... No wonder the scientific training of the memory is based upon locality.³¹⁶

In relation to the close tie between place and memory, Piso's words echo the "spirit of place" concerning the memory that stemmed from the intrinsic values of the site and the accumulative public inputs.³¹⁷ Indeed, this prominent aspect of forum as a place of remembrance was certainly inferred by Cicero and Marcus Piso. The text plainly gives us some clues about the particular characteristics of the Forum Romanum as a memory place. Thence, one might claim that the Forum Romanum vividly stands out amongst all components of the built environment as a venue in which memories were created, remembered, recreated and/or forgotten by individuals and masses. This resonates in Diane Favro, too: "the Roman Forum was not just an open space in urban Rome, it was a container of collective consciousness. The genius of the Forum was the genius of the state."³¹⁸ Even though the physical body, ideas and images that represent it altered over time, it had remained consequential for the collective consciousness of the Romans for centuries, extending to late antiquity.³¹⁹

In clarifying the issue better, the case of the Forum of Augustus in Rome also provides a salient case. The forum was jammed with the imagery of the past, or with objects that evoked the past. For instance, the *summi viri*, the collection of the statues of past heroes, which was positioned in the porticoes of the forum, along with the other groups of images and inscriptions can be seen to endow the forum with museum-like characteristics.³²⁰ On the other hand, the forum functioned as a vivacious public center

³¹⁶ Cicero, *De Finibus*, 5.1.2.

³¹⁷ Favro 1988, 17.

³¹⁸ Favro 1988, 17.

³¹⁹ Machado 2006.

³²⁰ Shaya 2013, 105.

as a venue for many public affairs, such as the undertaking of lawsuit cases, and the *summi viri* cannot be isolated from the public life of the forum.³²¹ In this manner, the forum, jam-packed with such imagery, shaped the public memory by urging the collective act of forgetting and remembering, conveying subtle messages for historical conclusions, and serving as a site of commemoration and a destination, which was to be appreciated, appropriated and translated to the other lands in the empire.³²² Therefore, the function of the forum was not being a mere museum, but a lively public center that took a crucial role in linking the immemorial past with the present, and the formation of the collective memory.

Likewise, a similar imagery is observed in the Athenian Agora where the monument of the Eponymous Heroes, that palpably represented the tribal structure of the Athenian state.³²³ As it was attested in the case of the *summi viri* in the Forum of Augustus, public notices, proposed laws, lawsuit notices, list of ephebes, list for military service were displayed by the monument of Eponymous Heroes, and “Honors were sometimes announced before the *Eponymoi* (Isokrates) and honorary statues might be set up there.”³²⁴ Hence it may be concisely stated that the monument of the Eponymous Heroes formed a monumental backdrop for the daily activities. Moreover, Shear states that:

In their persons, they linked historical present with immemorial past, the realities of government with the legends of remote antiquity. In their cults, they perpetuated that ancient marriage of ancestral religion and practical politics which formed so characteristic a feature of the Greek polis.³²⁵

Thence, the monument participated in the process of shaping the public memory with a very pragmatic idea of devising the present conditions which were also combined with what constitutes the Athenian identity such as the religion and the legendary past.

³²¹ Shaya 2013, 83-105.

³²² Shaya 2013.

³²³ Shear 1970, 145.

³²⁴ Wycherley 1957, 85-90.

³²⁵ Shear 1970, 145.

Yet another and an equally conspicuous instance of invoking the distant past and its utilization in the contemporaneous social and political agendas within the Athenian Agora is presented by Martin-Mcauliffe and Papadopoulos.³²⁶ The stoas were the primary components that delineated the borders of the central space, whilst functioned to form a spatial framework, invoking the sense of volume in the agora.³²⁷ They, in essence, were permeable structures on their facing side to the central space, and provided uninterrupted, instantaneous and ever-changing series of vistas within each frames created by the colonnaded frontispiece which “offered direct and immediate visual, as well as aural, contact with both places and people across the entirety of the Agora; and even beyond to the Acropolis and Areopagos,” as Martin-Mcauliffe and Papadopoulos claim.³²⁸ Moreover, Socratic dialogues affirm that these public spaces were places for gazing at.³²⁹ It is worth also highlighting that the framed views provided by the stoas were essentially dynamic pictures that were set in motion. These lively views within the row of columns also provided a tailored backdrop of deliberately organized settings, almost under any circumstance, for the daily activities that took place either in the stoas or in other visible parts of the Agora.³³⁰ To give an example among such premediated spectacles, the spatial formulation of the Stoa Poikile, which was not a space for a specific function but a place open to many activities,³³¹ in particular, was planned in such a manner that the north wall of the Acropolis, a preeminent war memorial, was framed to be observed from its colonnade, in its most convenient sense, and a similar experience was likely achieved in the Stoa

³²⁶ Martin-Mcauliffe and Papadopoulos 2012, 347-54.

³²⁷ Martin-Mcauliffe 2017, 133-4.

³²⁸ Martin-Mcauliffe and Papadopoulos 2012, 349; also see Martin-Mcauliffe 2017, 133-4.

³²⁹ Martin-Mcauliffe and Papadopoulos 2012, 349.

³³⁰ Martin-Mcauliffe and Papadopoulos 2012, 349.

³³¹ On the Stoa Poikile, John Camp (2004, 68-9) writes that “This stoa was a true public building, designed for no specific magistrate, group, or function. It served as a *lesche*, or place of leisure, open to all Athenians; anyone could pass the time of day there. It was therefore a popular meeting place, and those whose trade required a large crowd or audience were to be found there on a daily basis: jugglers, swordswallowers, beggars, and fishmongers are all specifically attested to. Among those attracted to the stoa were the philosophers of Athens, in particular Zeno, who came from Cyprus in about 300 B.C.; he so preferred this colonnade as his classroom that he and his followers became known as Stoics, taking their name from the Painted Stoa.”

Basileios with an engrossing variation.³³² Furthermore, the Stoa Poikile was not only a *locus* for viewing the outside, but was inside densely packed with a comparable imagery embodying the glorious past with that of the north wall of Acropolis. According to Francis and Vickers, “the Tyrannicide monument stood nearby, and in the stoa itself the bronze shields of the Scionians and their allies were still displayed in Pausanias’ day, together with spoils taken from the Spartans at Sphacteria.”³³³ What was perhaps more fascinating about the stoa was the four murals painted on the wall of the stoa which are nonextant at the moment, but we can get what was depicted on the basis of Pausanias’ detailed account. The paintings staged the mythical, legendary and actual moments of the Athenian past, or more generally the Greek past. The depictions included a battle of Athenians fighting with Theseus against Amazons, the battle of Argive Oeneo in which Athenian forces were assembled against the Spartan forces, the scene of the capture of Troy by the Greeks, which included the assembly of the kings “on the account outrage committed by Ajax against Cassandra,” and finally, the Battle of Marathon which was not only a memorial of the glorious past, but “probably the most celebrated picture in the city.”³³⁴

The long and short of it, owing to the murals, one may state that the message conveyed with the displayed *spolia* in the stoa, other monuments clustered around the agora and the north wall of the Acropolis became more engaging and urging. In other words, all of the devised components of the larger ideological theme were put in a clear context in such an integrated manner that no individual might have missed the enthusiastic message that was intended to be delivered. Lastly, I would argue that the agora was indeed an ideologically charged place taking the chief role in the creation of the Athenian memory, and thus, Athenian identity by facilitating the public practices of remembering and forgetting. In this sense, the stoa and the agora in its entirety can certainly be considered a valid case of *lieu de mémoire, par excellence*.

³³² Martin-Mcauliffe and Papadopoulos 2012, 349.

³³³ Francis and Vickers 1985, 99; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.15.4.

³³⁴ Robertson 1981, 106; cf. Francis and Vickers 1985, 99. For a detailed description of the murals, see Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.15.

Overall, the Athenian Agora presents a salient case for us to evaluate whether it had museum-like characteristics, and to question the supposed loss of importance in the city life. Just as in the case of the Forum of Augustus and the *summi viri*, it is problematic to assume that the agoras lost importance in the public life of the cities just because they became venues for visiting in the Roman period, not to mention how tricky it is to make a connection between the image-representing quality of agoras and the museums which can be regarded as a modern conception. Even so, long before the Roman influence, the agora had already been loaded with imagery to a substantial degree as in the case of the Athenian Agora. Even if we agree on the museum-like characteristics that the agora acquired at any moment in the history, it was partly because of this very feature that the agora remained as a relevant and vibrant public center. According to Beaujean and Talloen, honorific structures for the past rulers and legendary founders, memorials for the deeds of the heroes and other honorary monuments that reminded the glorious distant past and displayed paragons of social values transformed the agora in a consistent whole, both physically and ideologically, in such a way that it could have actually been presented as a museum on some certain occasions.³³⁵ Having said that, it is also important to mention that what was ideologically expected from the agora certainly went beyond that of the museum; it actively participated in shaping the public memory by urging the collective act of forgetting and remembering, conveyed subtle messages, and served as a site of commemoration. The visitors were impelled to appreciate and draw historical conclusions from the carefully organized imagery, which, in its broadest sense, had served the contemporaneous ideological purposes. In this manner, the pre-arranged imagery enabled the practice of forging images of the glorious past, which intermixed with the quotidian life insofar as the collective act of memorizing became a casual activity.

The idea that the agora ceased to be the center of the human activity that it had once been in the Archaic-Classical period is further complemented with the proliferation of the entirely enclosed agoras that were common in the province of Asia in the Roman

³³⁵ Beaujean and Talloen 2019, 117-8.

period.³³⁶ The increasing enclosure of the agoras, contrary to the earliest examples that were developed organically around the intersection of the streets, prompted various urban appraisals that claim a sort of detachment of the Roman agora from the flow of traffic, and thus, from the quotidian activities. In this regard, Wycherley asserts that “the influence of the Roman forum is clearly at work; the forum, though it takes on a variety of forms, shows a general tendency to become a self-contained unit, shut off from the streets and the rest of the town.”³³⁷ In this fashion, the transformation of the agora into a “mere building” indicated its “disintegration” from the city within this framework.³³⁸ Put differently, the agora was disintegrated from the street network of the city and had become a place to “go to” not to “pass through.” Not to mention that the Upper Agora, just like many of its counterparts, is located adjacent to the main thoroughfare of the city, the focus should rather be on the practices and routines that took place there for evaluating whether it was a profound public space. In a similar vein, Dickenson asserts that the focus should be on the kind of activities, practices and rituals instead of the convenience of access in the analysis of the significance of the agoras in the Roman period as follows:

... what matters are the reasons people would have had to go to the agora and whether those reasons were compelling enough to ensure that they *did* go there. After all, even in Classical times the crowds on the agora would have been made up mainly of people who had gone there with a purpose and not people casually passing through who had ended up loitering. There is no reason to think that closing off an agora with colonnades and entrances would have created such a major inconvenience as to create a compelling disincentive to stop people going there.³³⁹

³³⁶ As maintained by Dickenson (2016, 355), for Wycherley (1942) and Martin (1951, 392-408), the agora had reached its peak with the Π-shaped arrangement of the plan that proliferated in Asia Minor in the late Classical period, where three sides were delineated by a stoa with a street, lined by a stoa, crossing through the open space on the remaining side. In this sense, the entirely enclosed type of agora which is seen as the result of the Roman influence is observed as the antithesis of this typology. Although the Upper Agora has a Π-shaped plan and a street runs throughout and adjacent to the open west edge, the level difference between this street and the agora makes it impossible to reach the agora from the street, and thus, one can state that the agora was isolated from the street network, and the experience of entering it was similar to that of a monumental building from a passageway.

³³⁷ Wycherley 1962, 82-3

³³⁸ Wycherley 1962, 83.

³³⁹ Dickenson 2016, 356.

Yet again, this particular trait – the enclosure of the agora – is discerned as a proof for the agoras ceasing to be vibrant public spaces in the Roman period, which is a rather misleading assessment considering the degree of credibility of evaluating the prominence of an urban space by looking solely for its planar layout. Besides, it is worth noting also that the initial arrangement of the urban spaces cannot precisely prescribe and regulate their future use. As noted by Stevens:

Urban design often pursues such clear-cut instrumental goals as comfort, practicality and order. But the scope of everyday life in urban spaces is never completely subordinated to the achievement of predefined, rational objectives.³⁴⁰

In this context, it is but convenient to mention that Beaujean and Talloen befittingly indicate the absence of a special formula or a template for defining what an agora was, which was largely determined by the necessities and conditions of the location, period and “even the time of the day.”³⁴¹ What is more, the spatial development of the agora actually indicates the multifaceted relations, concerns and affairs of various groups of the community, which is why the ruins of the *agorai* mirror the everyday life, including both its mundane and monumental aspects.³⁴² In this manner, they (enclosed or otherwise) are indispensable for our conceptualization of the past.³⁴³

In sum, behind the standard discourse of decline and fall, a new political, social and cultural reality proliferated in which the *polis*, and thus, the agora took their place in accordance with the novel forms of power relations. That is to say, the agora underwent a metamorphosis that had long started under the reign of the Hellenistic monarchies and progressively proceeded to the Roman period. Yet, in this process, despite the remarkable transformation in the configuration to conform with the demands and conditions of the political, social and cultural reality, the agora surely maintained its function as a civic center. Likewise, it is precarious to claim that the Upper Agora built under the Augustus’ reign was devoid of civic function. Quite the contrary, the

³⁴⁰ Stevens 2007, 1.

³⁴¹ Beaujean and Talloen 2019, 121.

³⁴² Beaujean and Talloen 2019, 121.

³⁴³ Beaujean and Talloen 2019, 121.

architectural layout in which essential civic-religious buildings of the time such as the *bouleuterion*, the *prytaneion*, the basilica-stoa, the double *cella* monument, the free-standing temple and various eminent monuments in proximity display a meticulous arrangement of the Upper Agora established as a new civic center of Ephesus.

Nonetheless, it can also be attested from the material evidence that a remarkable change is observed in the layout of the agoras in general which demonstrates an important sensitivity towards a strict spatial configuration and controlling the movement. The formal variations between the Roman agora and the “old-fashioned” agoras perceptibly correspond to those between the Imperial Fora and Forum Romanum. In this context, the correspondence of the Imperial Fora and the Upper Agora regarding their similarities in form, function and development merits comment.

3.2.1.2. An Imperial Forum?

The Upper Agora was indeed an essential component of the grandiose mannerism of urban configuration in Ephesus conveying a strong architectonic expression of promoting the Roman ideals. In its formal expression that is grasped as a vast central space rigorously defined by the peristyle colonnades, the Upper Agora predominantly echoes the spatial qualities of the Imperial Fora, in general. The similarities and differences that might even be called contrasts in terms of their planning and development between the Imperial Fora / the agora in the Roman Period, and the Forum Romanum / the “old-fashioned” agora deserve a careful inquiry.

The first and overt aspect of the enclosed agora and the Imperial Fora is their well-defined spatial configuration masterminded through predetermined design codes, that appears to vary from the development of both the Forum Romanum and the Archaic-Classical agoras through a seemingly haphazard accumulation of a variety of monuments around a loosely defined central space. In this manner, the enclosed agora and the Imperial Fora are grasped as single architectural units (or individual buildings) that were detached from the street network, whereas the Forum Romanum and the Archaic-Classical agoras emanated on the junctions of the main arteries, in a somewhat uncontrolled process. This broad classification of basic spatial traits allows us to compare the Upper Agora in Ephesus with the Imperial Fora in Rome.

However, it must be noted that one should not put too much emphasis on such formal variations; as already mentioned, this can be misleading when assessing the vitality of a public space in the daily life. Preference of the enclosed configuration does not necessarily mean that the earlier exemplars of fora and agoras lost importance in favor of the new typologies, nor does the complete enclosure demonstrate an isolation from the public activities which demonstrate the enclosed agoras and fora were lacking any genuine civic function. Nevertheless, some discussions on the variations can be highly rewarding in our understanding of the cultural mobility and adaptability experienced in the empire.

One might conclude that the transformation of the ancient public spaces transpired chiefly due to the political shifts and new forms of power relations between the ruler and the ruled. After all, the authority of the state was concentrated on one individual (the Roman *princeps*) and the number of people ruled by a monarch considerably had grown in number beginning from Alexander's conquests. Furthermore, the genesis of the enclosed type in Macedonia corroborates this hypothesis, as noted by Dickenson:

The early Hellenistic agora of Pella in Macedonia ... represents a real revolution in agora planning ... The fact that such large agoras have been found in the same part of the Greek world has implications for rethinking both the potential Macedonian contribution to agora planning and the relationship often posited to have existed between agoras and democracy. Macedon was, after all, a monarchy.³⁴⁴

It is challenging to assert that a causation is clearly observed in the historical correspondence between the metamorphosis of the agoras and the increasing power of the monarch. Instead, a correlation between the rise of the monarchy and the intensified control over the public space would be a safer explanation. Indeed, one may claim that the evolution of the agoras and fora were comparatively in relation to the changing political environment; the dissolution of democracy in favor of the monarchy. The concentration of authority into a single individual (in this case the Roman emperor) conspicuously explains the propagation of well-defined and entirely surrounded public spaces throughout the empire in which the daily practices and rituals were intended to be stringently controlled and directed. As Martin puts in an assertive

³⁴⁴ Dickenson 2016, 27-8.

manner, a radical transformation of the very concept of the civic space is observed in places where the individual authority of the sovereign is extended substantially, and thus, the civic space was personalized and became his property.³⁴⁵ In this regard, the agora, as the main public space congested with symbolism, was not left unaffected from the rise of the monarchy, and embellished with royal-related imagery, various edifices and monuments “not only to facilitate the daily needs of the citizens but also to commemorate the order of power.”³⁴⁶ As Evangelidis asserts:

The Agora was first and foremost a symbolic space, which reflected the unity of the community and the relationship between the citizens and the state of authority. And clearly from the end of the 1st c. B.C. the authority of the Roman power was concentrated in a single individual, the Roman emperor (*princeps*) who solely ruled the Roman world and attracted the praise of all communities.³⁴⁷

In addition to the commencement of the enclosed agoras and the Imperial Fora in relation to the concentration of authority into the monarch, both the Archaic-Classical agoras and the Forum Romanum were affected by this very phenomenon and underwent a remarkable transformation. As already mentioned, the accumulation of monuments was the primary characteristics of the development of the “old-fashioned agora” and the Forum Romanum, which apparently accelerated during reign of the monarchs. A vivid tendency for an enclosure, placing bordering edges primarily with stoas and basilicas, creating entryways and controlling the access and the movement is surely observed in the fabric of these spaces. To illustrate, in the Athenian Agora, three lofty stoas (the two-aisled Stoa of Attalos and Middle Stoa, the single-aisled South Stoa II) bordering the central open space were built in the agora and the *Metreon*, the archive building, was rebuilt with a colonnaded façade in the second century BCE, when Athens was ruled by Alexander’s successors.³⁴⁸ In this manner, a spatial uniformity appears to have been attained. Furthermore, the traditional public spaces secured their importance within their urban contexts by following up the

³⁴⁵ Martin 1983, 31.

³⁴⁶ Evangelidis 2008, 125.

³⁴⁷ Evangelidis 2008, 125.

³⁴⁸ Camp 2003, 5.

grandiose mannerism that embodied the enclosed-type squares. In the Roman Imperial Period, cities such as “Athens ... could afford to keep up with the latest trends by adding a few gateways and colonnades to ensure that its agora looked suitably grand.”³⁴⁹ In this regard, one may posit that this innate trait of historical happenstance of the traditional public squares was actually the way through which they retained being significant urban spaces.

In a similar vein, the Forum Romanum³⁵⁰ went through a series of alterations in relation to the political developments that led to the change of regime from the Republic to the Empire. Haphazard accumulation of the monuments in the forum that were sponsored by the aristocratic patrons from different periods who aspired to promote their self-image and gain reputation was the practice in Republican Rome where was the scene of the agonism of multiple political agents, the vast majority of whom did not exercise an undisputed authority. Therefore, although little is known about the Republican forum, it can be stated that there was hardly a uniform outlook. However, these building practices in the development of the forum changed drastically together with the focus of power into the *princeps*. A momentous change occurred; after ensuring his unchallenged authority, Augustus dramatically modified the fabric of the forum with the constructions of a variety of basilicas, temples, a triumphal arch and so forth “although too politically astute to make any such claim.”³⁵¹ Such endeavors of Augustus (some of which were planned under the Caesarean rule) gave the traditional open piazza an unprecedented unity with the surrounding arcades on three sides.³⁵² In this manner, a clear inclination to enclosure in the imperial period, controlling the access, and movement, like in the Imperial Fora, is manifested in the architectural framework of the forum as in the “old-fashioned” agoras in the Hellenic East. It would not be entirely unreasonable to suggest that Augustan endeavors in the

³⁴⁹ Dickenson 2016, 357.

³⁵⁰ As Gorski and Packer (2015, 3) records “Established as a meeting place for the inhabitants of the adjacent, previously independent villages, the Republican Forum occupied an irregularly shaped, marshy valley below the Palatine and Capitoline Hills. Reclaiming the central marsh by massive earth fills in the late sixth century, its builders initiated the continuous evolutionary changes that, in the next five centuries (c. 525–44), transformed the site into the Forum of the late Republic.”

³⁵¹ Packer 2015, 79.

³⁵² Packer 2015, 81.

forum initiated a tradition that was eagerly followed by his successors.³⁵³ In this fashion, the forum became jammed with the imperial related imagery mainly for the visualization of power in consequence of the consecutive architectural additions to the forum by many emperors from Augustus to Diocletian.³⁵⁴ It is intriguing that the forum kept its prestige with this imperial form of accumulation in the following years after Augustus' reign in so much as "For the subsequent Flavian dynasty, an addition to the site, the prestige of which still apparently outranked that of the splendid new imperial fora of Caesar and Augustus, was an essential exercise in public relations."³⁵⁵

All in all, I would like to assert here that constructing a concrete duality of the traditional agoras and the peristyle enclosed agoras; or Forum Romanum and Imperial Fora, can be tricky, and such attempts may even be superficial. Instead, what should be noted is the clear inclination to enclosure of the public spaces, in which the daily practices were aimed to be controlled, shaped and directed, observed both in the traditional public squares and in brand-new civic centers. Yet, this inclination manifested itself in a divergent manner in the traditional ancient sites (i.e. Athenian Agora) and in the brand-new sites of the imperial age (i.e. the Upper Agora) because of their present material conditions respectively. In short, the traditional piazzas started to be surrounded and given a uniform view to a certain extent, whereas the new civic centers were masterminded with the same vision in a wholistic manner.

Considering the similar process through which both agora types came into existence and their spatial qualities, I propose an analogy between the Upper Agora – a brand new civic center of Roman Ephesus – with its contemporaneous Imperial Fora, Forum of Augustus and Forum of Caesar in Rome. Indeed, the overall layout of the Upper Agora, an enclosure framed by stoas with the temple building on the central axis, has been regarded homologous with the fundamental conceptions of Fora of Caesar and

³⁵³ Note that the most radical alterations ensued generally after the ending of political strife with ensuring the authority of the distinguished figures such as Augustus, Septimius Severus and Diocletian (in this case the tetrarchy).

³⁵⁴ Packer 2015.

³⁵⁵ Packer 2015, 83.

Augustus and Caesareum at Cyrene.³⁵⁶ The temple, therefore, would have been the core and the focal point of the precinct, formulated in accord with the imperial *temene* in the Greek provinces, and, most importantly, the Imperial Fora of Rome.³⁵⁷

As a matter of fact, the architectural setting of the Upper Agora can surely be regarded as an interpretation or reformulation of an exemplar of Roman architecture in a local setting in accordance with the demands of the new political and cultural reality. In its broadest sense, it is basically composed of a number of constituents such as the main open space, temple, *stoa*e and the basilica-stoa. It is surely intriguing that this setting evokes the archetype of the Roman civic center whose essential components were the forum, the temple and the basilica, as remarked by Kostof.³⁵⁸ These typologies (along with other building types) gave the Roman stamp to a vast array of towns within the empire without suppressing local traditions of construction and design.³⁵⁹ In this sense, the setting of the Upper Agora, in accordance with the imperial cult, clearly reveals the adaptation of this distinctively Roman grouping in a local context with more familiar components such as agora, temple, and basilica-stoa, with a prevailing local setting and arrangement. Thus, we can assume that the architectural language does not indicate the domineering presence of an alien authority, but an eminent sensitivity to the local traditions, conditions and needs. After all, one may conclude that endeavors of expressing the *Romanitas* of the masses in the provinces did not necessarily depend on an exclusive appropriation of distinctive Roman typologies, considering the provenance of the enclosed type in Macedonia and its common use in the Roman Empire.

Nevertheless, one cannot speak of a complete immunity of the Upper Agora from the forms and concepts that was proper to Italy and the Roman West. The essential spatial concepts evinced in the Fora of Caesar and Augustus; axiality, symmetry and frontality which were immediately apparent in the former but were displayed even more

³⁵⁶ Steuernagel 2019, 94.

³⁵⁷ Steuernagel 2019, 94.

³⁵⁸ Kostof 1985, 203.

³⁵⁹ Kostof 1985, 203.

markedly in the latter, as Von Blanckenhagen writes.³⁶⁰ These spatial qualities were subtly utilized within the spatial layout of the Upper Agora. There is an apparent axially that is articulated with the positioning of the free-standing temple at the east-west axis, on the western half of the agora. The open west edge enriched one's perspective standing there by bringing the surrounding landscape within the frame of the south stoa and basilica-stoa. In this way, the formulation of axially diverged from the tenacious axially of the Imperial Fora of narrower rectangular layout that are completely isolated from the exterior. Thence, the impressive scenery of the Upper Agora whose focus was the temple, can also be compared to the landscape-oriented scenery observed in the Hellenistic architecture. As Lehmann remarks for the Hellenistic sanctuaries that "... the taste for heights, for terrace architecture, is coupled in many cases with an equally pronounced taste for vista, for the sight of a sanctuary in the distance and, conversely, for the view from it," providing a couple of cases such as the Temple of Apollo on the Maiden Island in Apollonia ad Rhyndacum in Bithynia, and the sanctuary of Asklepios at Kos.³⁶¹ The taste for vista is, indeed, present in the Upper Agora but the spectacle of the landscape is behind of the temple whereas the background of the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Kos was comprised of the colonnades, and the view of the surroundings is in front of the temple.

The degree of axially in the Upper Agora was also reduced with the placement of the entrances, a pair of passageways, on the southern edge, not at the main east-west axis, contrary to the arrangement of the main entrance and the temple in the Fora of Caesar and Augustus. The placement of the temple also provided a sense of symmetry, that was toned down with the dimensional differences of the flanking south stoa and basilica-stoa. Likewise, a nuanced frontality which was not as strong as it was manifested in the Imperial Fora was emphasized with the special architectonic arrangement of the temple, while in its background the surrounding landscape was brought as a spectacle. All in all, the material evidence in the Upper Agora gives some clues about the intentional or otherwise, employment of primary Roman spatial qualities manifested in the layout of the Imperial Fora. On the one hand, this reveals

³⁶⁰ Von Blanckenhagen 1954, 22.

³⁶¹ Lehmann 1954, 17-8.

the keen interest of following the architectural trends in the Empire, which were not necessarily supposed to originate from the capital. On the other, the spatial arrangement points to a certain degree of clinging to the traditional tastes and practices.

In its broadest sense, the provincials in the empire adapted to a changing environment which was inherently manifested through architecture. The outcomes of this process, in general, may be seen as the indicators of a momentous transformation; in other words, the Romanization of the urban spaces. In this manner, it can be stated that the emergence of the Imperial Fora, which can be viewed as a novel architectural achievement of the Augustan Age, set a precedent to be emulated, followed and adapted in the provinces. Indeed, the change observed in the layout of the agora in general, and the genesis of the Imperial Fora can simply be shown as the indicator of this urban metamorphosis. However, one should be cautious that the impact of the culture of the center on the provincial context did not necessarily depend on the typologies that emanated from the capital. On the contrary, the process was far too complicated involving the interactive exchanges between countless agents throughout the empire. As was shown by Ward-Perkins, the architectural forms that were typical of the “provincial” Italy, as in his words, influenced the urban patterns of the western and African provinces in many ways.³⁶² According to him “when Romanization did come, most of the architectural types upon which it was based were Italian, but they varied considerably according to those parts of Italy with which each several province was in most immediate contact.”³⁶³ In this manner, Augustan rule turned the Italian Peninsula into “the obvious source of inspiration for an energetic and far-reaching program of urban Romanization.”³⁶⁴ In sum, the translation of the Roman architectural typologies – regardless of their place of origin – to the provincial contexts with subtle nuances reveals the locals’ enthusiasm of adaptation to the Roman ideals, which robustly echoed in the material culture.

³⁶² Ward-Perkins 1970.

³⁶³ Ward-Perkins (1970, 19) further suggests that “Gaul and the provinces of south-central Europe may have drawn heavily upon the recent planning-experience and building types of their North Italian neighbors, whereas North Africa seems to have looked rather to Campania, Sicily and Magna Graecia.”

³⁶⁴ Ward-Perkins 1970, 19.

Seeking formal correspondences are, indeed, useful for an adequate comparison as it has the capacity to reveal how the sites were physically perceived in their times. However, one must go beyond the corporeal body of the agora, which is the “first space” as in Edward Soja’s conceptualization, search for the mental constructs, ideas and representations of space, “the second space” and make a connection between the former and the latter.³⁶⁵ For the space can only be completely discerned by taking into account both its material and imaginary manifestation simultaneously according to Soja.³⁶⁶ In this way, we can grasp better the link between the Imperial Fora and the Upper Agora.

3.3. Imperial Imagery of the Imperial Cult in Urban Spaces

Thus, for the first six thousand years of the world’s history, from the most immemorial pagoda of Hindostan to the Cologne Cathedral, architecture was the great writing of mankind. And this is so true, that not only every religious symbol, but even each human thought has its page and its monument in this vast book.³⁶⁷

The renowned comparison between architecture and the printing press by Victor Hugo sheds light on the nature of architecture particularly at times before any type of mass media became widespread. In tandem, Larissa Bonfante congruently suggests that “In a society that had no regular newspapers, radio, or television, the official means of communication were mostly visual: coins, statues, paintings, relief sculpture.”³⁶⁸ According to this perception of architecture, the building is not the rigid end-result of various phases of designing and building, but a momentous medium of communication – which acquires new meanings and also loses some of its aspects in time – of the humankind throughout history. Therefore, a building is meant to be read as a whole with all the visuality it provides just like a book.³⁶⁹ Moreover, Hugo’s conceptualization, according to which “not only every religious symbol, but even each

³⁶⁵ Soja 1996.

³⁶⁶ Soja 1996.

³⁶⁷ Hugo 2012, 145

³⁶⁸ Bonfante 2001, 5.

³⁶⁹ Note that architectural spaces do not generally constitute the same immediate sequential organization of the book which is almost always meant to be read page by page.

human thought” was represented through architecture, might especially imply that Soja’s second space is also “written in stone” and reflected in various ways in architecture, peculiarly through imagery. In this regard, in this section, I aim to search for the mental constructs, ideas concerning the Upper Agora by looking closely to its imagery.

The Upper Agora, which formed a monumental backdrop³⁷⁰ for both the mundane, political and processional activities that took place there, displayed a hypersensitivity in image-representing in its entirety. Furthermore, it had been a significant locus for the self-image of the city and its citizens,³⁷¹ in which the public identities were merged with the ruling power, a venue for the expression of piety, civic identity, authority and power up till the Christianization of the city.³⁷² Thence, the Upper Agora definitely hold a significant place in the Ephesian mindset; as a venue, it helped the citizens to grasp the realities and circumstances of the era.

It is worth briefly mentioning the unequivocal political nature of the agora here, which considerably enlightens its intrinsic value of image-representing, in addition to the formal analogy sought in the previous section. To illustrate, Dickenson questions the consensus about the loss of political function by simply and persuasively suggesting that “it was only with the expansion of Roman power into the Greek World that *bemata*, or speakers’ platforms, became common on the agoras of Greece, a sign of a shift toward a new Roman conception of the agora as a venue for meetings.”³⁷³ Although there is no sign for the existence of a *bema* in the Upper Agora, the absence of shops and rooms in the surrounding stoas might imply that the precinct did not function as a commercial zone in the traditional sense and underlines the political and administrative character of the site, according to Raja.³⁷⁴ It is intriguing to note that the main function has been such an important issue that it seems to have affected the

³⁷⁰ Note that the term “backdrop” does not refer to a passive role of the agora in the daily activities. On the contrary, the agora shaped, directed and controlled the quotidian life in many ways.

³⁷¹ ÖAI 2017, 114.

³⁷² Rogers 2012, 282.

³⁷³ Dickenson 2016, 291. For further information on this issue, see Dickenson 2016, 292-9.

³⁷⁴ Raja 2012, 65-6.

modern scholarly studies in denominating of the two extant agoras in Ephesus with regard to their presumed purposes; on the one hand, the Tetragonos Agora, the historic, long-established Hellenistic agora in the lower city, is referred to as the “Commercial Agora” in an attempt to emphasize its disposition as a venue mainly for trade, whereas the Upper Agora is called as the “State Agora” highlighting its administrative nature, much like the case of denotation of the two agoras at Selge in Pisidia.³⁷⁵

One can firmly state that the functional arrangement of the agora, as an early imperial spatial complex with the structures profoundly political-administrative in nature such as the basilica-stoa, the *prytaneion*, the *bouleuterion*, the double *cella* monument within a *temenos*, makes it easier to draw parallels between the imperial fora, as maintained by Friesen: “Nearly all of the central institutions of Ephesian life were then in this area, giving it the character associated with fora of Augustus in other cities.”³⁷⁶ By navigating within the framework of the political nature of the Upper Agora, it becomes clearer why the cults and imagery related to Roman figures bulked large in and around the site,³⁷⁷ that were closely linked with the self-image of Ephesians and Ephesus, also considering that they had a vital role in the declaration and representation of the imperial rule both in Rome and in the provincial centers. In this regard, the profound utilization of the imperial imagery can assuredly be regarded another similitude between the Upper Agora and the imperial fora in Rome. Indeed, the Upper Agora as a vivacious civic center stands out as a venue for reflecting the imperial imagery that was also combined with the palpable manifestation of the imperial cult.

Among the extant architectural components of the agora, the free-standing temple bordering and defining the site immediately attracts attention for its potential to embody the imperial imagery. As discussed previously and more broadly, the small temple in the agora was most probably either the Augusteum or dedicated to the cult

³⁷⁵ Yegül (1984, 650) notes that the Upper Agora at Selge seems to have had a characteristic of a state agora whereas a larger commercial agora was built in the lower parts of the city as a venue mainly for trade in the Roman Period.

³⁷⁶ Friesen 2001, 101.

³⁷⁷ Friesen 2001, 101.

of *Divus Iulius* and *Roma*.³⁷⁸ Hence, it is worth reminding that if it is agreed upon that the cult building was consecrated for the imperial cult, be it for Augustus or *Divus Iulius*, one should be aware that a ruler's temple on a small Asian agora meant something completely new, as remarked by Süß.³⁷⁹ In this sense, the commanding and novel sort of presence that the small temple had at the center of the large, well-defined open space of the site probably endowed the edifice an overwhelming spatial impact. Indeed, the temple, regardless of its scale, is a salient example of monumentality³⁸⁰ (that might be called a monumentality of Roman sense) due to the imperial imagery attributed to it and the imperial vision reflected by it. In this regard, the temple in the Upper Agora is also comparable to the temples in the imperial fora in Rome.

The conspicuous imagery represented by the small temple can definitely be regarded as a significant part of a larger whole. In other words, one could blatantly conclude that the centrality of the imperial cult architectonically manifested at the centerpiece of the spatial arrangement of the agora clues in the possibility that imperial imagery was employed as well within the architectural layout in an extensive fashion in its entirety. In this regard, stoas in the Upper Agora might have displayed a possible set of imagery that could be comparable to that displayed in the stoas of the Athenian Agora, and *summi viri* as well.³⁸¹ As remarked by Raja, the stoas of Doric order that bordered the open space on the east and south had marble benches on their rear walls.³⁸² It is interesting to note hereby the Akurgal's account on the agora at Priene that it was a *locus* of memorial statuary that filled every part of the agora and the stoa, whose only extant part is their foundations and pedestals – which were basically

³⁷⁸ See page 58-9.

³⁷⁹ Süß 1999, 59.

³⁸⁰ For the brief discussion of monumentality in this study, see page 50-1. Thomas (2007) offers a meticulous study on the subject of “monumentality” in architecture in the Antonine Age. He (2007, 3) notes that: “Monumentality ... is something visionary. We recognize it when we see it, but we cannot predict or describe it exactly in advance. The future is made up of buildings as if we had seen them in the past: when a future building becomes past, or passed, it will be recognized as monumental.”

³⁸¹ See page 69-72.

³⁸² Raja 2012, 65.

exedrae and benches that also served as seats – remain extant.³⁸³ Hence, it is tempting to claim that the benches in the stoas of the Upper Agora might have served in a similar fashion. If we assume that it was the case, then the role of the southern and eastern stoas becomes more prominent in our grasping of the mental constructs, ideas and representations behind the spatial quality of the agora.

The existence of imperial imagery in the southern and eastern stoas is conceivable, but the case of the basilica-stoa on the northern edge of the open space enables us to make a firm judgment that can be verified more precisely by examining its material record. The basilica-stoa which constituted the monumental frontispiece at the north of the open space was built in 11 CE, donated by C. Sextilius Pollio and his family (who were originally from Italy but immigrated to Ephesus), and dedicated to Artemis, Augustus, Tiberius and the *demos* of Ephesus.³⁸⁴ It is worth drawing attention to the monumental bilingual inscription of the basilica-stoa on the agora side which was one of the few bilingual examples in Ephesus that extended over the entire length of the architrave in a single line (Fig. 27).³⁸⁵ The inscription basically addressed to the dedication, benefactors, the main deity, the emperor, his wife and Tiberius, in his role as the heir to the throne in this case, underlining the primacy of Rome.³⁸⁶ The way the building was denoted in the inscription of the basilica-stoa is particularly interesting as the inscription provided the Greek and Latin terms of the edifice, βασιλική στοά and *basilica* respectively.³⁸⁷ In this sense, the inscription offered two different manners of semantic perception of the building for the literate Greek and Roman population. Greek inscription identified it in a Romanized way incorporating two words, Latin “basilica” and Greek “stoa” as though acknowledging the creation of a novel form that brought together the traditional and Roman typologies in one building, whereas the Latin inscription rigidly (as if confidently) refers to the building as “basilica.”

³⁸³ Akurgal 1970, 193.

³⁸⁴ Kalinowski 2002, 141; Süß 1999, 33; I.Ephesos 410.

³⁸⁵ Kalinowski 2002, 141; Süß 1999, 33.

³⁸⁶ Kalinowski 2002, 141; Süß 1999, 33.

³⁸⁷ Süß 1999, 34; I.Ephesos 410.

As mentioned earlier, the over-life size statues of Augustus and Livia (possibly with that of Tiberius and other members of the imperial family) stood in the east *chalcidicum*, evidently constituted a fraction of the larger statuary program in the basilica-stoa.³⁸⁸ In a similar vein, Scherrer asserts that the basilica-stoa performed as a gallery for the display of imperial portraits.³⁸⁹ In this manner, the basilica-stoa is somehow comparable to the *summi viri* of the Forum of Augustus. Although it is not certain whether the statues of the imperial family indicate the practice of imperial veneration at this very place, it is possible to presume it so by comparing it with the case of Thera. The *chalcidicum* of the basilica-stoa of Thera, whose realization³⁹⁰ presumably based on the schema of the basilica-stoa at Ephesus as claimed by Le Quéré,³⁹¹ might have functioned as a venue dedicated to the imperial cult.³⁹² Süß claims that if the basilica-stoa at Thera was actually a place for the imperial veneration, the same practice can be expected to have ensued in Ephesus ca. 150 years earlier.³⁹³ In short, it is not entirely evident in the material record, nonetheless, we can still presume that the basilica-stoa was a place for the worship of the emperor and his family. If not, it can still be undoubtedly asserted that the basilica-stoa was filled with the imperial imagery within a wholistic iconographical program that extended throughout the material body of the edifice including in its basilical hall, *chalcidicum*, and its façade facing the agora.

Indeed, the basilica-stoa most likely served as a locale for imperial worship and, as was discussed before, the free-standing temple in the agora was dedicated to the imperial cult, it is also necessary to remark that there were also other spaces

³⁸⁸ Kalinowski 2002, 141. Note that since the late Republic, basilica in Rome had often been expanded to include a niche that was often used for holding court hearings, often with a raised podium (tribunal), and which was intended to house imperial statues in the Imperial Period, according to Süß (1999, 35).

³⁸⁹ Scherrer 2001, 71.

³⁹⁰ Note that the basilica-stoa at Thera underwent a series of alteration in the second century CE whence the *chalcidicum* was added to its north end where “some statues of the emperor and his family were erected on a large pedestal (*bathron*),” according to Le Quéré (2011, 333). Thence, as Süß (1999, 29) remarks, the place is regarded as a hall of the imperial cult.

³⁹¹ Le Quéré 2011, 339.

³⁹² Süß 1999, 29-30.

³⁹³ Süß 1999, 34.

consecrated for the imperial cult in which the imperial imagery loomed large in and around the Upper Agora. In this regard, the *prytaneion* certainly merits comment.³⁹⁴ It was the place of abode of the hearth of Hestia (κοινή ἑστία), the official hearth of the city,³⁹⁵ which therefore held a prominent place in the notion of Ephesian identity, as noted by Steskal:

The entire state or rather the polis viewed itself in respect to this hearth as a simple family ... The fire was cared for by the *synedrion* of Curetes that in Augustan time was relocated from the Artemision to the Ephesian *prytaneion* and is attested by many formulaic inscriptions on the building. They also acted as sacrifice assistants of the *prytaneis* during the often complicated cult practices that were regularly conducted in the *prytaneion*.³⁹⁶

The building also functioned as the official seat of civic and religious institutions such as the *prytaneis* (the *collegium* of Curetes was also transferred from the Artemision and installed in the building under Augustan rule),³⁹⁷ and a reception center for the esteemed citizens and guests, whereby the revered visitors of the city were “received in a house representing all the houses of the city.”³⁹⁸ Moreover, the *prytaneion* was an exquisite venue for self-representation, and a place for the worship of the imperial family.³⁹⁹

As noted by Steskal, the *prytaneion*, the sanctuary of Hestia Boulaia, was constructed in the Augustan period with a well-defined floor plan having a large Ionic *triporticus*

³⁹⁴ For an extensive study and a general overview of the building typology of *prytaneion*, its form and function in general, see Miller 1978.

³⁹⁵ Steskal 2010, 241.

³⁹⁶ Steskal 2010, 241.

³⁹⁷ Steskal 2010, 239. According to Rogers (2012, 12), the change of place of the *collegium* of Curetes should be regarded as the pinnacle of the Augustus’ policies that aimed to lend authority to an official of the *polis* to determine how and by whom some of the most crucial rituals of the mysteries were to be performed. In this regard, the relocation of the Curetes to the *prytaneion* is a defining event that marks a turning step in the definition, organization and system of authority in the *polis* of Ephesus. See, Rogers 2012, 12.

³⁹⁸ Steskal (2010, 241) states that the “Hestia Hall,” where the *prytaneis* assembled and which was a meeting place of the Ephesian council before the *bouleuterion* was instituted, “was mainly used as the location for the highly esteemed banquettes for outstanding and honored citizens and foreigners paid for by the government. Not only the *prytaneis* themselves were fed here but also the official guests of the city received and hosted.”

³⁹⁹ Steskal 2010, 241.

courtyard in the south (Fig. 31) facing the imposing Doric façade on the north (Fig. 32).⁴⁰⁰ In the center of the courtyard, there is a foundation that might have functioned as the base for the “Great Artemis” statue (Fig. 33). It is worth noting that the *prytaneion* of Ephesus was regarded by Martin Steskal and Sabine Ladstätter as the intramural “branch” of the Artemision, underlining the importance and predominance of Artemis Ephesia.⁴⁰¹ Moreover, three more Artemis statues (the “Beautiful Artemis” and two copies of the “Small Artemis”) were found in the *prytaneion* at various spots apart from the “Great Artemis” statue. They were probably placed in the courtyard and the galleries (fig. 34).⁴⁰² According to Steskal and Ladstätter, this could be taken as an indicator of the claim of authority and assertion of authority of Artemis within the city walls, which is an intriguing comment especially considering that her place of origin was traditionally denoted outside the city walls.⁴⁰³

Questions might arise concerning why the famed incident of Ephesians’ demonstration of devotion to their venerated goddess as written in the Acts of the Apostles, chapter nineteen did not occur in the agora but in another major urban compound of the city, considering the religious importance of the *prytaneion*, and thus, the Upper Agora, as discussed above. The record tells about a spontaneous riot in the theater which was instigated by the silversmith Demetrius, who provided work for numerous craftsmen, in response to the sermons by Paul about a new religion and the castigation of the craftwork gods which would forestall his trade of producing shrines for the goddess. In response, the crowd gathered in the theater jeered the apostle and cried out “Great is Diana (Artemis) of the Ephesians.”⁴⁰⁴ It was a resolute reminder in the middle of the first century CE that Ephesus was the warden (*neokoros*) of Artemis and of her image that had fallen from Jupiter (Zeus).⁴⁰⁵ Moreover, Parsons complement his assertion

⁴⁰⁰ Steskal 2010, 239.

⁴⁰¹ Steskal and Ladstätter 2009, 134.

⁴⁰² Steskal 2008; Steskal and Ladstätter 2009, 134.

⁴⁰³ Steskal and Ladstätter 2009, 134.

⁴⁰⁴ The New Testament, King James Version, The Acts of the Apostles, chapter nineteen, verse 34.

⁴⁰⁵ Rogers 2012, 6.

concerning the place and role of the Great Theater in the religious milieu of Ephesus, and its connection with the Artemision as follows:

Inscriptions found in the theatre confirm it to be a place of acclamations. They also suggest what constituted a lawful assembly, since they relate that gold-bearers were to carry to public assemblies and games in the theatre certain effigies and statues out of *Xhtpronaos* of the Temple of Artemis. Such a procession was to come from the temple via the Magnesian Gate and return to it via the Coressian Gate, a route that in its entirety would have encircled Mount Pion (Wood 1987, 33-43). This suggests that the theatre had a sacred role in the city and a specific relationship to the Temple of Artemis ...⁴⁰⁶

Parsons further suggests that the Great Theater at Ephesus was unique amongst the Greek theaters,⁴⁰⁷ that usually had no recognized place in the *polis*, and were positioned where the topography is convenient facing towards any possible direction.⁴⁰⁸ He also claims that there is a subtle and spirited connection between the Temple of Artemis and the Great Theater of Ephesus suggesting that both structures are similarly oriented corresponding to each other precisely, and the grid layout of the city plan also followed this orientation.⁴⁰⁹ Thence, Thus the theater and the city are associated with the celestial domain of the goddess, according to Parsons.⁴¹⁰ Moreover, Pliny the Elder's account recorded a sculpture competition to produce statues of Amazons for the first temple of Artemision,⁴¹¹ whose copies were thought to be placed in the stage of the Great Theater in the Roman period,⁴¹² which, according to Parsons, might imply that the theater might have been an intramural analog to the goddess' extramural sacred realm, an analysis that is confirmed by the inscriptions found in the Artemision that document the acclamations that took place in the theater and the sacred procession that incorporated the theater as well, as noted above.

⁴⁰⁶ Parsons 1989, 113.

⁴⁰⁷ Parsons 1989, 114.

⁴⁰⁸ Wycherley 1962, 162-3.

⁴⁰⁹ Parsons (1989, 113), based on astrological observations, claims that the Artemision is oriented slightly north of west, to the position of the setting sun on her date of birth.

⁴¹⁰ Parsons 1989, 113.

⁴¹¹ Parsons 1989, 113; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 34.8.

⁴¹² Richter 1959, 111-5.

Then, how do we interpret the fact that the riot sparked by Paul's visit to Ephesus happened in the theater not in the Upper Agora, that was next to the *prytaneion*, the intramural "branch" of the Artemision, as we previously observed? According to Parsons, the theater at Ephesus "was so much a part of the daily public life of the city, a communal outdoor room much like the agoras or the streets that it was never consciously perceived to be the institution that it was, the repository of the city's oral tradition, which was continuously reinterpreted within its walls." I assume that the incident sparked by Paul's visit to Ephesus happened in the theater cannot be held as a proof that the *prytaneion* (and the Upper Agora) was a less significant *locus* than the theater in terms of their place in the religious milieu of the city. Rather, it might be that the physical convenience played a major role in this spontaneous incident in choosing the theater which was also denoted as a place of acclamations in the inscriptions, as was remarked above. It is worth also noting that the processional route included both the Upper Agora and the theater marking them as significant spots. Although the incident followed by Paul's visit and the material evidence show the importance of theater in the religious realm of Ephesus, they naturally cannot offer any insight about the reason why the riot did not happen in the agora. What can firmly be stated is that the *prytaneion* was the seat of officials who designated how and with whom to conduct some of the most important regular rites in relation with the cult of Artemis Ephesia, whereas, the theater was a designated place of acclamations for the goddess, both structures being important intramural locations for the cult of Artemis Ephesia. On the other hand, this may attest to a kind of relocation (that was discussed in the first and second sections of this chapter) and expansion of Artemis' dominion into the limits of the walled city, and testify to her vast realm of authority in the city of Ephesus during the Roman period.

In addition to the primary function of housing the cult of Hestia Boulaia, and being the "branch" of the Artemision in the Upper Agora, the worship of the imperial family was incorporated in the fabric of the *prytaneion*.⁴¹³ In this regard, the cult of Livia in the guise of Demeter Karpophoros was installed in the building, in 20 CE.⁴¹⁴ It is worth

⁴¹³ Steskal 2010, 241.

⁴¹⁴ Steskal and Ladstätter 2009, 134. IvE 4337.

noting here that the Curetes could have had a direct relation to the cult of Livia, the emperor and the imperial family as they were referred to as φιλοσέβαστοι as a testimony of their sheer loyalty towards the emperor and his family.⁴¹⁵ Furthermore, the *prytaneion* was also home to numerous other cults including Sosipolis, Apollon Manteios, Apollon Klarios, Theos Kinnaios, Demeter Karpophoros (Livia) and her daughter Kore, *Tyche*⁴¹⁶ and the personified holy fire that are epigraphically attested,⁴¹⁷ which vividly demonstrates the importance of the building in the religious milieu of the city.

Overall, it can be stated that the *prytaneion* certainly held a significant role in the Ephesian identity as a significant constituent of the political and sacred milieu of the city. It was, without any doubt, a prestigious place for the city and the inhabitants, which thereby also functioned as a venue for self-representation and exhibition (of the prominent figures of the city as well as the deities and the imperial imagery), that is observed in the material record of honorific statues and bases located in the courtyard and hall. In point of fact, one can state that the *prytaneion* itself appears to be the very imagery the *polis* was represented through corporeal body of the building, which, as well as being in the realm of the first space, was also the materialization of the mental constructs, ideas and representation of the city of Ephesus, in its entirety.

Yet another significant architectural space for the imperial cult and the imagery that should not be overlooked is the *temenos* in which a double *cella* monument with prostyle arrangement stood (Fig 10b, no. 4). According to Steskal and Ladstätter, this monument within the *temenos* together with the basilica-stoa formed a coherent intramural center for the imperial cult during the Augustan Period.⁴¹⁸ In this regard, the interdependent nature of the structure as a *locus* for the imperial worship within the spatial organization of the Upper Agora is surely noteworthy, and thus, its projected dedication is exceedingly important for the discussion.

⁴¹⁵ Steskal 2010, 241.

⁴¹⁶ *Tyche* was essentially the deified personification of the city. For further information, see Matheson 1994.

⁴¹⁷ Steskal 2010, 241.

⁴¹⁸ Steskal and Ladstätter 2009, 134.

Scherrer makes a clear assumption in a very precise manner concerning to which cult (or cults) the double *cella* monument and the *temenos* was consecrated (Fig. 35, 36). According to him, the *temenos* and the structure were already in use before 25 BCE when an elite, leading citizen, Apollonios Passalas, dedicated a statue of Augustus there,⁴¹⁹ served as a venue for the cult of Artemis and Augustus. Moreover, this *temenos* could very likely be the place mentioned in a certain inscription dating to 27 BCE as “the foundation of Augustus and the dedication of the sanctuary.”⁴²⁰ Indeed, it was a common practice that the cult of the emperor whose statuary was set up in the local sacred milieu was conjointly worshipped with the traditional deities,⁴²¹ or rather, the practices and rites of the imperial cult essentially coincided or associated with those of the local divinities.⁴²² In this regard, the architectural arrangement of the double *cella* monument within the *temenos* coheres with the presumption that the monument might have functioned as a place of worship for the cult of the emperor, Augustus, with that of the sublime, much venerated Artemis, the main goddess of the city.

The problem of how to render the double *cella* monument in Ephesus precisely other than its outlined planar arrangement – two *cellae* within a *temenos* – which was identified as an intramural imperial cult center by scholars cannot be resolved without an exact building survey, as Süß contends.⁴²³ What is certainly clear is that the *temenos* and the double *cella* monument appealed to the public view less with its external

⁴¹⁹ IvE III 902, cf. Scherrer 2001 71. According to Scherrer (2001, 71, fn. 59), the head of another and possibly posthumously dedicated statue with a *corona civica* was found nearby the precinct. Also note that a gymnasiarch, Herakleides Passalas, the father of Apollonios, who was the *nearchos*, made a dedication to Augustus as the *ktistes* (founder) together with his *neoi*. See Scherrer 2001, 71; Rogers 2012, 105; IvE II 252.

⁴²⁰ I.Ephesos 902 = SEG XXVI 1243. Also note that, according to Engelmann (1993, 279), two different theories were put forward by the scholars concerning the Augusteum in Ephesus: according to the older theory, it was in the site of Artemision, whereas the more recent hypothesis suggests that it was located in the Upper Agora, both of them referring to the bilingual inscription I.K. 15.1522 (which actually does not give a clear answer as to whether the Augusteum was located within the Artemision or within the city). On the other hand, Engelmann (1993) claims that there were actually two official Augustea in Ephesus, one of which is located in the Artemision and the other was an intramural cult precinct in the city of Ephesus, which, as I would like to assert, could be identified as the double *cella* monument, for that matter.

⁴²¹ Warmind 1993, 213.

⁴²² Harland 1996, 322; Friesen 1993, 147.

⁴²³ Süß 2003, 255.

architectural appearance, as the complex was located behind the basilica-stoa, between the *prytaneion* and *bouleuterion*,⁴²⁴ and more with its internal spatial impact within the grander scheme of the imperial building program of the Upper Agora. Nonetheless, the *temenos* remained an important ideological component of the overall imperial urban planning concept in the upper part of the city, notwithstanding it concealed from the direct sight in the cityscape.⁴²⁵

Lastly, the imperial imagery was further enhanced in the site of the Upper Agora with the dedication of a statue group in honor of the imperial family of Antonines in the *bouleuterion*, which is assumed to date to 148-150 CE.⁴²⁶ On the basis of the inscriptions on the statue bases, it is suggested that P. Vedius Antoninus III, a prominent benefactor who financed the construction of the *bouleuterion* with the support of Antoninus Pius, also erected a group of statues representing the imperial family.⁴²⁷ The statuary, which included the images of Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius, Domitia Faustina, and possibly Faustina Minor and the ruling emperor, Antoninus Pius, was placed in the *scaenae frons* of the *bouleuterion*.⁴²⁸ Hence, as a whole, the Upper Agora's capacity of featuring the imperial imagery was complemented with the construction of the *bouleuterion* and the dedication of the statuary of the imperial family of Antoninus Pius during Antonine rule.

Overall, as maintained by Süß, in the Upper Agora, one had to follow the glorification of the *princeps* and his family throughout the public space as well as several related topographical points, due to the ingenious disposition of the imagery within the architectural layout, which implies that the effort of centering on the persona of the emperor in the urban fabric pertained to the architecture and urbanism in conjunction

⁴²⁴ Süß 1999, 39.

⁴²⁵ Süß 1999, 39.

⁴²⁶ Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001, 357.

⁴²⁷ Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001, 354-5.

⁴²⁸ Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001, 355. Note that another statue group of Antonines was erected in the Artemision too, depicting Marcus Aurelius, Faustina Minor and some of their children (Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001, 355).

with the imagery and statuary.⁴²⁹ Moreover, the material proclamation of the imperial imagery and the architectural design fits perfectly into the Augustus' worldview that the monuments and the imagery in the Upper Agora spanned the glorification of his divinized adoptive father, the exaltation of himself together with his wife and Tiberius, the successor to the throne.⁴³⁰ In other words, the monarchic and dynastic principle had thus properly manifested itself in the urban space.⁴³¹ To conclude everything, the design of the Upper Agora together with its imagery subtly asserted Roman rule in the public space, through which the might of Augustus and his family was also overtly manifested in the material record.⁴³²

⁴²⁹ Süß 1999, 39.

⁴³⁰ Süß 1999, 39.

⁴³¹ Süß 1999, 39.

⁴³² Süß 1999, 39.

CHAPTER 4

URBAN ARMATURE AND THE *EMBOLOS*: FORMATION, EXPERIENCE AND PERCEPTION

4.1. An Urban Evaluation / An Urban Compound

... That is how architecture is meant to be known. As the material theater of human activity, its truth is in its use.⁴³³

The statements of Spiro Kostof in his renowned book, *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*, introduce the reader to an agent-centered approach. That is to say, the architectural edifices are regarded as settings in which certain rituals and practices are performed by individuals and groups.⁴³⁴ In this fashion, it can be discerned that the architectural works are members partaking in civic life in an interactive way. Thus, civic routines and coeval perceptions become conspicuous issues that must be taken into consideration. By doing so, monuments instinctively become the primary sources to understand the essentials of the architecture, considering where the coeval records (texts, inscriptions, etc.) might not entirely reveal the public and individual perceptions from every part of the society. Put differently, one must turn to the buildings, most of them in fragmentary condition, and make of them what one can.⁴³⁵ However, it is a tricky road itself to read the buildings as independent objects ripped apart from their urban context; also the periodization and classifying labels are restrictive ways to understand the general mentality and the

⁴³³ Kostof 1985, 3.

⁴³⁴ Note that the statement may give the impression about the architectural settings as being merely passive stages where the rituals happened to take place. On the contrary, Kostof (1985) asserts by and large in his book that the architecture takes an active role in shaping and directing the rituals and practices. Thence, Kostof's words should be taken, in general terms, as an epitome of an experience-based method of examination of architecture.

⁴³⁵ MacDonald 1986:2, 248.

fundamental characteristics of architecture. On the contrary, buildings have to be read and studied not as isolated archaeological or typological instances, but as essential and interrelated parts of the urban configurations.

The premise that architectural edifices should be read within the urban context propels us to formulate a holistic approach on the monuments which aims to locate them in an urban framework. This, in the widest sense, requires incorporating broad-scale urban ideas into tangible historical contexts. Moreover, the holistic method favors the social experiences of various agents of the past including designers, patrons and users from various social strata; the interaction of the people and the sequential choreography of the urban spaces in the city over rigid two-dimensional plans.⁴³⁶ However, taking into account the impossibility of directly consulting the experiences of the contemporaneous users in the architectural settings, an urban vision is espoused in the field of the history of architecture rather than “sensory, emotive, or social experiential receptors,” as Favro notes.⁴³⁷ In tandem, this very vision demands a vigorous urban experience; an experience that requires a three-dimensional appreciation of the instrumentality of the urban spaces. As noted by MacDonald about the importance of the experimental approach in the analysis of the Roman settlements:

... There is another side to the matter, the high authority claimed in studies of classical urbanism for orthogonal planning. This was often practiced (though by no means always), but the textbook belief that grid plans were the norm, the basic formal urban determinant, of Roman cities and towns, simply won't wash, though the idea persists, elbowing out discussions of the realities ... But planning does not a city make, as a visit to Timgad (the textbook example par excellence of a gridded Roman town, but laid out at the end of the grid's classical life), Ostia, Pompeii, Ephesus, or Gerasa quickly proves. In all such places it is three-dimensional reality and local determination of design and placement of scores of public buildings, amenities, and open spaces that chiefly defined the urban experience.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁶ MacDonald 1986:2, 17. Note that, as also reviewed by Favro (2015, 107), MacDonald (1986:2) firmly acknowledges the importance of the carefully crafted orthogonal Hellenistic and Roman city plans, yet he asserts the eminence of the instrumentality of urban spaces which is explicitly highlighted in the remains of the numerous cities in the empire.

⁴³⁷ Favro 1999, 367.

⁴³⁸ MacDonald 1988, 30.

In order to expand the discussion, it is here worth noting MacDonald's systematization of a momentous analytical tool which facilitates an effective examination of the subtle visuality of the architectural spaces, avoiding a periodization or stylistic classification of traditional typologies of buildings and city plans.⁴³⁹ His conception of the scheme is based on the assumption that the cities of the Imperial age comprised a network of splendid thoroughfares, which conveyed a pan-empire vision of urban imagery throughout the empire despite their differences in size, plan and formal complexity from one place to another.⁴⁴⁰ These unmistakably fundamental urban components of the cities of the Imperial era constitute "urban armatures" according to MacDonald which:

... consist of main streets, squares, and essential public buildings linked together across cities and towns from gate to gate, with junctions and entranceways prominently articulated ... As the central arenas of public activity, they are integrated functional and symbolic wholes. Their dominant characteristic on the ground is directional and spatial unity, an invisibility underwritten by fluid, unimpeded constructions.⁴⁴¹

Furthermore, MacDonald resolutely asserts that the peculiar physical and visual organization of the Roman cities and towns that reflected a uniform vision distinctively diverging from other settlements both from the lands outside the empire and from different historical periods was endowed by armatures to a great extent.⁴⁴² At first glance, the urban armature might be seen as a characterization of certain physical objects, quintessential components of cities. But then, this representation of the armature alone would be inadequate to express its potency as a methodological apparatus that we should be cognizant of. Lately, recent technologies and mentality in the scholarly field stimulate the recognition of the urban armature as a tool that is employed in the analysis of the material remains, rather than as an empirical data derived from them.⁴⁴³ According to MacDonald, this understanding provides a number

⁴³⁹ Favro 1999, 368.

⁴⁴⁰ MacDonald 1986:2, 3; see also Favro 2015, 105.

⁴⁴¹ MacDonald 1986:2, 3.

⁴⁴² MacDonald 1986:2, 30.

⁴⁴³ Favro 2015, 105.

of promising opportunities as they cover more aspects of design and meaning than a single structure, building type, or regional style.⁴⁴⁴

Overall, the urban armature as an apparatus assists in constructing more embodied, evolutionary discourses and operational appraisals of ancient cities.⁴⁴⁵ Moreover, it provides a holistic method in the examination of monuments⁴⁴⁶ that might otherwise be perceived as piecemeal, arbitrary spots located haphazardly in cities and towns without respect to any coherent, overarching urban context. In other words, it renders a well-balanced account of the implicit logic behind the positioning of the monuments in the city, basically regarding them as smaller parts of a greater functional and symbolic whole. Thus, the armature is inherently a convenient instrument to make a conceivable assessment concerning the single architectural edifices, on the concept of monumentality and its tangible manifestation in the Roman cities.

The discussion leads us to another important issue about the scope of the armature in the scholarly domain. Indeed, the armature might be perceived as *prima facie* as a subject of city planning. In contrast, MacDonald recognizes a salient distinction between them stating that “the two are not much related.”⁴⁴⁷ On top of that, he propounds that the urban armature innately “contrasts” with the city planning in general, basically since the former is the outcome of a long accumulative and relatively disordered process, while the latter is formulated out of abstract theories, through the utilization of technical knowledge and application of forms and regulations, within a rather well-controlled procedure.⁴⁴⁸ Not laid out at once but gradually formed and developed by extension and addition, the urban armatures are regarded more of a concern of architecture than city planning as they are empathetically three-dimensional bodies, which are not derived from the omnipresent two-dimensional plans.⁴⁴⁹ In sum,

⁴⁴⁴ MacDonald 1986:2, 22.

⁴⁴⁵ Favro 2015, 107.

⁴⁴⁶ It is worth noting that, as in MacDonald’s (1986:2, 31) terms, urban armatures “are composed of public structures only.”

⁴⁴⁷ MacDonald 1986:2, 23.

⁴⁴⁸ MacDonald 1986:2, 23.

⁴⁴⁹ MacDonald 1986:2, 31; Favro 2015, 106.

the urban armature is effectively related to architecture – and thus, within the field of the history of architecture – regarding not only but especially its potential in the treatment of monumentality and its efficacy in the appreciation of the third dimension.

Intensified sensitivity in the third dimension is yet another important issue, as a potent pathway which allows us to develop an adequate evaluation of spatial arrangements and the mindset behind them. In effect, in relatively more recent studies on Roman architecture, a growing consciousness of the three-dimensional spaces has urged reappraisals on the heretofore supposed preference of the Romans' two-dimensional and planar thinking.⁴⁵⁰ The tendency towards a more radical reassessment of Roman architecture can be esteemed as a reflection of the discourses of a “spatial turn” in a variety of scholarly disciplines. Favro claims that the term might have different meanings in different fields; i.e., in archaeology, it may refer to an understanding of space as culturally constructed, whereas it may refer to the study of voids in architecture.⁴⁵¹ Yet, it is but intriguing that these two conceptions are not mutually exclusive as the “study of the intensified perception of three-dimensional urban recreations has refocused attention on the sensorial and social experience of past cities.”⁴⁵²

In order to understand the spatial turn better, it is necessary to look for the place of geography and space in the field of history, and its marginalized position in the modern consciousness as subordinate to time.⁴⁵³ This was intellectually articulated through historicism, as defined by Soja:

... as an overdeveloped historical contextualization of social life and social theory that actively submerges and peripheralizes the geographical or spatial imagination. This definition does not deny the extraordinary power and importance of historiography as a mode of emancipatory insight, but identifies historicism with the creation of a critical silence, an implicit subordination of space to time that obscures geographical interpretations of the changeability of the social world and intrudes upon every level of theoretical discourse, from

⁴⁵⁰ Favro 2015, 106.

⁴⁵¹ Favro 2015, 106, fn. 8.

⁴⁵² Favro 1999, 367.

⁴⁵³ Warf 2017, 1.

the most abstract ontological concepts of being to the most detailed explanations of empirical events.⁴⁵⁴

Influenced by Foucault and Lefebvre, Soja's intention, in general, was to provide a reinsertion of space into social theory.⁴⁵⁵ As noted by Zeynep Aktüre, Soja observes that space-focused studies in different scholarly disciplines either singly concentrate on physical, corporeal bodies called the "first space" that can be measured, mapped and quantified, or solely on the "second space" which can be basically identified as mental constructs, ideas and representations of space, and individual and collective meanings embedded to it.⁴⁵⁶ Claiming that space can only and solely be apprehended perceptibly and fictitiously in a simultaneous manner with the combination of the two, he alternatively proposes the conceptualization of the "third space" which refers to the connection between "first" tangible, geographical spaces and "second" mental, cultural representations of spaces.⁴⁵⁷ Indeed, this methodology provides promising opportunities for spatial studies with its capability to produce a broader picture of spaces within their cultural and material contexts. Likewise, it potentially facilitates a reliable urban evaluation of the monuments, procuring a firm placement for architectural spaces in an urban context both mentally and physically.

All in all, in order to look for the underlying impetus behind architectural spaces – for the most part, the spaces dedicated to the imperial cult in this study – and the architectural essence of Roman urbanism, it is required to incorporate pervasive urban notions into sustainable historical frameworks. It is also equally vital to go through a process of kinesthetic experience of comprehension and appreciation of urban spaces. Achieving a fruitful three-dimensional experience of the architectural spaces necessitates the authority of spatial presence in the remains. It would not be too naive to suggest that it is by the urban armature that these needs could be met properly. To realize this requires delicate attention as the urban armature may necessitate to scrutinize the individual components, building by building, or even, column by

⁴⁵⁴ Soja 1989, 15; Soja 1999, 117.

⁴⁵⁵ Warf 2017, 1. Also see Lefebvre 1991; Foucault and Miskowiec 1986.

⁴⁵⁶ Aktüre 2019, 320; Soja 1996.

⁴⁵⁷ Aktüre 2019, 320; Soja 1996.

column, if necessary, as MacDonald suggests.⁴⁵⁸ Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning that this method cannot provide us the immediacy of putting ourselves into the original users' shoes. That being said, it is also hard to neglect the great potential it offers either for this study, or in general, as an apparatus for the analysis of the urban instrumentality of the buildings including those dedicated to the Roman Imperial Cult. Indeed, the utilization of the urban armature in an inquiry on the Roman architecture is undeniably important. In so doing, we could make sense of the visual rhetoric and the spatial choreography, otherwise incomprehensible, that were uttered with the urban artifacts including particularly the physical presence of the emperor in the city.

4.2. An Urbanism of Grandeur

Typically, behind designs in the Grand Manner stands a powerful, centrist State whose resources and undiluted authority make possible the extravagant urban vision of ramrod-straight avenues, vast uniformly bordered squares, and a suitable accompaniment of monumental public buildings. This is, in fact, a public urbanism. It speaks of ceremony, processional intentions, a regimented public life. The street holds the promise of a pomp: it traverses the city with single-minded purpose and sports accessories like triumphal arches, obelisks and free-standing fountains.⁴⁵⁹

The striking correspondence between MacDonald's urban armature and Kostof's Grand Manner certainly merits comment. In fact, Kostof's words imply that the urban armature may very well be conceived not as equivalent but as related, or even, an actual part of a decisively urban paradigm⁴⁶⁰ conceptualized by him: the "Grand Manner."⁴⁶¹ In his notion of urbanism, this is grasped as an extravagant configuration of overwhelming vistas and configured with the complex arrangement of streets which "holds the premises of a pomp," squares and monuments, reciprocally linked with the ceremonial and processional aspirations.⁴⁶² In addition, it is yet another indispensable quality of the grand manner to possess a distinct theatricality.⁴⁶³ Yet, it is necessary to

⁴⁵⁸ MacDonald 1986:2.

⁴⁵⁹ Kostof 1991, 240.

⁴⁶⁰ Kostof (1991, 240) asserts that "The Grand Manner is not the currency of little towns."

⁴⁶¹ For further information on the "Grand Manner," see Kostof 1991, 209-78.

⁴⁶² Kostof 1991, 240.

⁴⁶³ Kostof 1991, 222-6; also see fn. 434.

note that the stage-like characteristics of the outputs of the grand manner are far from being passive settings providing only spatial backdrops for the rituals. As noted by William Dominik, both Martial, in his *Epigrams*, and Statius, in his *Silvae*, draw attention to the functionality of public spaces, which were the outputs of massive building programs of Roman or local administration or private initiatives of the local elite, “as spaces for Roman cultural life as well as the social and commercial behavior of Roman citizens, whose actions are shaped, directed, and controlled by the spaces in which they unfold.”⁴⁶⁴

At this point, it is important to reiterate that the conspicuous manifestation of the grandiloquent architectural and urban ideals is, in fact, led or motivated by “a powerful, centrist state.”⁴⁶⁵ Indeed, the grand manner is defined by Kostof as “an urbanism of dominion ... about empires and their capital outlets ... about the staging of power.”⁴⁶⁶ This visualization of power was indeed both a need and a strategy for the Roman State in the Roman capital as well as in the provinces. In this regard, the tangible manifestations of the principles of Roman architecture and urbanism, in its broadest sense, invariably display the characteristics of the grand manner both in the center and in the provincial contexts. Particularly in Roman Ephesus, as the administrative center of the province of Asia, the straight streets and grid planning, the “baroque diagonal,” succeeding arrangement of spaces, markers and monuments, a certain uniformity in the entirety, a vivid variety in that uniformity, sweeping vistas, the ceremonial axis and features as such⁴⁶⁷ can be deemed as the material display of the aforesaid conspicuous ostentation through architecture and urbanism.

Abundant material evidence of the imperial cult in Ephesus offers particularly profound and salient cases for the representation of such grandiose approaches that represented the power and the dominion of the Roman State. In effect, an inquiry about the various architectural manifestations of the imperial cult and the imperial imagery,

⁴⁶⁴ Dominik 2016, 417.

⁴⁶⁵ Kostof 1991, 240.

⁴⁶⁶ Kostof 1991, 271.

⁴⁶⁷ See Kostof 1991, 240-74.

bearing on the premise that it constituted a significant place in the urban spaces, can uncover the distinct underlying mentality behind the ostentatious designs of the majestic settings which can be seen as the outputs of a series of conflicts, collaborations and compromises between the central Roman vision and the local needs.

4.3. Urban Armature Employed

Armatures and connective architecture gave towns their underlying, organizational patterns, articulated by passage structures; widely distributed and often highly visible public buildings met collective needs. The dialogues among these features, the relationships and connections established by form and imagery, by location and directional focus, embody the intrinsic meaning of Roman architecture, whose ultimate product was less style or typology than the visible town.⁴⁶⁸

The typological analysis of the Upper Agora, the Augustan cult center, that has been carried out thus far is surely beneficial for a discussion of the Roman influence on the material culture. Yet, the paramount importance of visibility in Roman architecture and urbanism compared to style and typology, as indicated in the passage by MacDonald quoted above, compels an experiential examination of the site regarding its environs (Map 1, 2). Then, as was implied and advocated previously, providing an experiential study of the spatial contexts might be efficacious for a more effective comprehension of the social and cultural realities of the time, such as the phenomenon of the imperial cult and Romanization. Likewise, Soja points to the promising capacity of the exploration of spatial constraints in shaping human experience by suggesting to put the geographical realities first which also does not necessarily refer to a practice entirely segregated from social and historical realities of life.⁴⁶⁹ Instead, he states: “I cannot emphasize enough that foregrounding a spatial perspective does not represent a rejection of historical and sociological reasoning but an effort to open them up to new ideas and approaches that have been systematically neglected or marginalized in the past.”⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁸ MacDonald 1986:2, 256.

⁴⁶⁹ Soja 2010 16-7.

⁴⁷⁰ Soja 2010 17.

In its most general sense, the urban armature as a tool is aimed to be employed in this section to provide a more energetic and productive discourse on the Roman(ized) characteristics of the public spaces. Thereby, the status of the Augustan cult center in the grand manner of the Roman urbanism in Ephesus becomes clearer. In this regard, providing an urban experience is aimed in this section, as Le Corbusier asserts that architecture “is appreciated while on the move, with one’s feet ... ; while walking, moving from one place to another ... A true architectural promenade [offers] constantly changing views, unexpected, at times surprising” while developing the idea of *promenade architecturale*, presenting a cinematic outlook, as Giuliana Bruno claims.⁴⁷¹

The method, as previously described, is of an architectural experience, which involves the dynamics of space and movement.⁴⁷² In other words, the aim is simply to provide an experience by walking in the streets, as explicitly discussed by Christy Anderson and David Karmon “Walking is linear, temporal and provides a template for the discussion of architecture and its environment.”⁴⁷³ The sequential experience by walking enriches the experience of standing on a single place that provides a specific perspective, by offering multiple consecutive vantage points. Similarly, Anderson and Karmon puts that:

As we move closer and enter the building, we also begin a new relationship with it. The single, stable mass that we perceived at a distance fragments into multiple dimensions that are partial and momentary: perceived changes in ambient temperature, the inhalation of a particular scent, the sudden crunch of gravel or the creak of floorboards, the echoing sounds of a tiled corridor or an empty room. Any of these fleeting experiences may in turn trigger, unbidden, a specific memory: perhaps a sound or a smell of a space we once knew.⁴⁷⁴

In this regard, one approaches a building, appreciates and associates him/herself with it, just as psychologist Christopher Bollas’ conceptualization of the “evocative object World” where the edifices engage us on a psychological and somatic ground “framing

⁴⁷¹ Le Corbusier and Jeanneret 1943, 89; Bruno 2002, 58.

⁴⁷² Yoncaci Arslan 2007, 5

⁴⁷³ Anderson and Karmon 2015, 3.

⁴⁷⁴ Anderson and Karmon 2015, 3.

our present experiences while simultaneously recalling past associations.”⁴⁷⁵ Walking offers salient opportunities for the comprehension of the everchanging nature of buildings, even that of architecture. It can be asserted that the action of walking not only shapes one’s experience of architecture, but is also an intrinsic and significant part of the architectural practice and design, in general.⁴⁷⁶ As Anderson and Karmon posit that “From architecture’s earliest origins, walking and movement have shaped the experience of building.”⁴⁷⁷

In a similar vein, MacDonald claims that “walking around energizes architecture so it can play its part in the mobile observer’s narrative experience.”⁴⁷⁸ In tandem, while commenting on the North African Arab architecture Le Corbusier states that it “gives us an invaluable lesson. It is appreciated while walking, and it is only thus, in moving around, that the observer sees the architectural dispositions deploy.”⁴⁷⁹ To comprehend the complicated nature of the accumulated, and also vividly interrelated components of the assemble of various monuments shaped by the conspicuous deeds of the consecutive generations of Ephesians, it is only plausible to employ the same, *a posteriori*, essential method, that is “experiencing by walking.”

4.3.1. The *Embolos*

The main feature of the urban armature in Ephesus, the main thoroughfare of the city that stretched over the entire city (Fig. 7, 8, no. 36, 73, 78, 110), between the Magnesian Gate (Fig. 7, 8, no. 10) and the Coressian Gate (Fig. 7, 8, no. 107), which was the intramural part of the processional way, exclusively referred to as the

⁴⁷⁵ Bollas 2008; Anderson and Karmon 2015, 2.

⁴⁷⁶ Anderson and Karmon 2015, 5.

⁴⁷⁷ Anderson and Karmon 2015, 4.

⁴⁷⁸ MacDonald 1986:2, 269.

⁴⁷⁹ Le Corbusier, cf. Collins 1965, 290.

*Plateia*⁴⁸⁰ in the Ephesian inscriptions before the imperial period,⁴⁸¹ has already been the subject of various studies (Fig. 37).⁴⁸² It has been regarded as a venue for the creation of the feeling of collective consciousness that stimulated architectural development, that is the accumulation of layered edifices built by successive generations that were effectively connected to each and every other along the thoroughfare (Fig. 38; Map 2).⁴⁸³ In this manner, multiple narratives evolved through the movement along this backbone of the urban pattern, as a result of kinetogenesis (“i.e. a bringing into being through motion,” as MacDonald asserts).⁴⁸⁴ This experiential process in the urban setting invoked a grand conglomeration of intergenerational narratives where the memory fused with the present and daily life.⁴⁸⁵

The *Embolos* (ἔμβολος in Greek),⁴⁸⁶ today commonly known as the Curetes Street,⁴⁸⁷ is a vital section of the main thoroughfare of the city, whose section between Mount Pion and Mount Preon distinctly fits Kostof’s conceptualization of the “Baroque diagonal”⁴⁸⁸ (Fig. 7, 8, no. 36). The street, whose course is deterministically shaped

⁴⁸⁰ *πλατεῖα*, derived from *πλάτος* whose literal translation is “breadth,” employed in various sources to a major street or an open space as recorded by Burns (2017, 11). Particularly in the cities of the eastern Mediterranean, the title, *plateia*, was bestowed to the street(s) on the basis of size, that had often been lined with porticoes, yet this was just circumstantial. See, Burns 2017, 11; Williams 1979, 27-8.

⁴⁸¹ Scherrer and Trinkl 2006, 57.

⁴⁸² See Yoncacı Arslan 2007; Yegül 1994. Yoncacı Arslan’s (2007) thesis, in particular, provides a meticulous and comprehensive study on the urban armature of Ephesus.

⁴⁸³ Yegül 1994, 107.

⁴⁸⁴ MacDonald 1986:2, 268-9.

⁴⁸⁵ Yegül 2000, 148-54.

⁴⁸⁶ As noted by Burns (2017, 11), especially in the Late Roman and Byzantine eras, the term of the *Embolos*, which can be translated literally as “peg, wedge, or stopper” extensively referred to porticoed streets splitting a city.

⁴⁸⁷ Cook (1959, 44) notes: “Miltner has named this road the ‘Street of the Curetes’.” As reviewed by Thür (1995, 157), this denotation comes from the columns of the *prytaneion* found in the excavation of the *Embolos* with inscriptions praising the name of the members of the *collegium* of Curetes. Also see, Miltner 1956-58, 31-4.

⁴⁸⁸ On the Baroque diagonal, Kostof (1991, 232) notes that: “When the straight street is run sufficiently contrary to the grain of the extant urban fabric of the gridded matrix of a new plan, we talk of a Baroque diagonal. This is a seemingly willful slash to connect two points directly, either after the fact, or within an urban design created *ab ovo* for a new quarter of the city or for an altogether new city. In this sense, the Baroque diagonal is to be distinguished from more or less accidental diagonals ... The ancient

by the topography following the natural configuration of the valley between Mount Pion and Mount Preon, cuts the *insulae* of the grid plan diagonally (Fig. 38).⁴⁸⁹ In other words, the angle of the *Embolos* conforms to the topographical conditions and the path of the primordial processional way, the *Via Sacra* (Fig. 7, 8, no. 7), which is presumed to be originated in the Archaic Period,⁴⁹⁰ whose course also follows the natural landscape generally disregarding the Hippodamian grid system.⁴⁹¹ Indeed, the ancient route of the processional way (whose intramural section was also partly altered in the Roman period) had a paramount impact on the (re)configuration of the later urban developments, which is described by Pelin Yoncacı Arslan as follows:

... the *Via Sacra* not only affected but most of the time actually determined the main arteries of the city. The sections of this thoroughfare seem to have shaped the main streets of the Greco-Roman Ephesus after the Roman urban (re)constructions: the so-called South Street starting from the Magnesian Gate, the Lane of Domitian, the *Embolos* (modern Curetes Street), the Marble Road and *Plateia* reaching the Stadium.⁴⁹² (Fig. 37, 38)

Furthermore, as remarked by Scherrer, the oldest settlements and *nekropolis* transpired along the *Via Sacra*, which basically formed a somewhat circular path around the foothills of Mount Pion (Fig. 37, 39).⁴⁹³ It is significant that the *Via Sacra* reached almost all of the important areas in Roman Ephesus, and thereby, the *Embolos* either accommodated or touched many *loci* that were vital in the civic life of the *polis*.

It is important to emphasize here that the *Embolos* (and the *Via Sacra*) continued to operate as a processional way during the Roman period. Epigraphic evidence dating to the beginning of the second century CE provides a detailed account of a procession of statues that took place on the route of the ancient processional way. A monumental

Roman use of the diagonal is commoner than one might think, and the reasons are not always clear.” For further information, see Kostof 1991, 232-5.

⁴⁸⁹ Note that this phrase does not refer to a “cutting” of already extant urban fabric, but rather the orthogonal *insulae* that have diagonal edges facing the *Embolos* that were generated in proportion to the configuration of the thoroughfare.

⁴⁹⁰ Thür 1995, 159.

⁴⁹¹ Scherrer 2001, 81.

⁴⁹² Yoncacı Arslan 2007, 39.

⁴⁹³ Scherrer 2001, 81.

inscription in Greek,⁴⁹⁴ inscribed in 568 line on the south analemna wall of the Great Theater, records a foundation to finance lotteries and cash distributions financed by C. Vibius Salutaris in 104 CE, and his bequest “to the loyal *boule* ... and to the loyal neokorate *demos* of the Ephesians” of thirty-one gold and silver type-statues in the *pronaos* of the Artemision.⁴⁹⁵ This statuary dedicated by Salutaris included allegoric representations and personifications of distinct local and Roman entities: one gold and eight silver statues of Artemis; five silver images representing the emperor Trajan and his wife Plotina (who visited Ephesus in 113 CE),⁴⁹⁶ Roman Senate, Roman equestrian order and Roman people; fifteen statues representing the city of Ephesus, of the *demos*, each of the six tribes of Ephesus, the *boule*, the *gerousia* and the *ephebeia*. Annually on the Artemis’s birthday, at every assembly, gymnastic contests and during other days approved by the *boule* and *demos*, these statues were carried in an ostentatious parade starting from the *pronaos* of the Temple of Artemis to the Theater, and returned back to the Artemision, following the circular route of the *Via Sacra*.⁴⁹⁷

The guards of the Artemision, two *neopoioi*, the temple beadle, the *chrysophoroi* (sacred victors), and a sacred slave of Artemis, assistant to the weight master, picked up the silver type statues and images dedicated by Salutaris from the *pronaos* of the temple of Artemis and bore them along on a route to the Magnesian Gate and then along the processional route through the streets of the city; past the *bouleuterion* and the *prytaneion* on the northern side of the upper agora; then down the *Embolos* to the intersection with the Plateia; then due north up to and into the Theater, where the statues were placed on inscribed bases; and then back out of the city through the Koressian Gate and home to the Artemision.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁴ I.Ephesos 1a.27.

⁴⁹⁵ I.Ephesos 1a.27; Rogers 2012, 184.

⁴⁹⁶ Rogers 2012, 184. Portefaix (1993, 200) assumes that the statues of Trajan and Plotina were placed in Salutaris’ house during his lifetime.

⁴⁹⁷ Rogers 2012, 44-5, 184-5.

⁴⁹⁸ Rogers 2012, 184-5.

The statuary was carried on foot⁴⁹⁹ in a special arrangement of nine groups comprised of three statues in a specific consecutive order in the procession.⁵⁰⁰ It is intriguing that the arrangement of the triads appears to have conveyed a certain set of messages to attendees and crowds. Each of the triad of statues included the imagery of Artemis, formulating a prevailing familiar local tone in the procession, which shows the importance and relevance of the ancestral goddess for the public life of Roman Ephesus, and its prominent role in conceptualizing Roman rule. Furthermore, the concept of Roman dominion was subtly asserted in the procession without the expense of the local dignity. The personified image of the Roman Senate and that of the Roman people (likely with reference to *Senatus Populusque Romanus*)⁵⁰¹ were carried with the representations of the council of Ephesus and Ephesian *gerousia* respectively. In doing so, the vague concepts and unfamiliar institutions of Roman dominion became materialized and were represented with the personified representations of more familiar local entities, which provided a more apprehensible framework of Roman rule in Ephesus for the masses. Likewise, images of Trajan and Plotina revitalized the presence of the undisputed ruler of the empire and his wife in the urban spaces. In addition, the imagery of the procession included the revered founders of the city, Androklos, Lysimachus and Augustus, which were carried together with the statues of Artemis and different tribes of Ephesus.

In short, the Salutaris' procession invoked the local heritage together with Roman dominion within the visual framework of the monuments located alongside the

⁴⁹⁹ On the basis of the numismatic evidence, it is suggested that the statues might have been carried in a sacred wagon from the Hadrian's reign onwards, as they began to appear on the coins of Ephesus during that period (Rogers 2012, 185).

⁵⁰⁰ As listed by Kokkinia (2019, 220), triads of the statues and their consecutive order in the parade are as follows:

- “1. Artemis, the Roman senate, the council of Ephesus;
2. Artemis, the Roman people, the Ephesian *gerousia*;
3. Artemis of the ephebes, the *ordo equester*, the *ephebeia*;
4. Artemis, Augustus, the Ephesian tribe Sebaste;
5. Artemis, the Ephesian *demos*, the tribe of the Ephesians;
6. Artemis, Androklos (?), the tribe of the Karenaioi;
7. Artemis, Lysimachus, the tribe of the Teioi;
8. Artemis, Euonymos, the tribe of the Euonymoi;
9. Artemis, Mount Pion, the tribe of the Bembinaioi.”

⁵⁰¹ Portefaix 1993, 200.

processional way, which also featured a conspicuous narrative of Roman rule and civic pride for Ephesians. It is important to reiterate that the parade of statues recurred in an extraordinary frequency – at least once a fortnight⁵⁰² – alongside the circular route of the *Via Sacra*. The procession covered a distance of approximately seven kilometers, which is assumed to have lasted around ninety minutes before the masses of Ephesians.⁵⁰³ This implies that the civic and religious processions continued to take place in the *Via Sacra* even more frequently during the imperial period. There is no doubt that the *Embolos*, as a vital section of the *Via Sacra*, was a significant stage for such prominent public performances, which shows us that the street in the Roman Period was not important solely because of its function as the backbone of the transportation scheme, but also held a symbolic meaning that was essential to the Ephesian identity.

As mentioned before, the *Plateia* was the main artery of the planar layout of the city, which could clearly be distinguished as an exceedingly prominent element, if not the most, within the hierarchical organization of the urban forms of Ephesus in the Roman Period. In this regard, the *Embolos*, as a prominent section of the *Plateia*, connects the Upper Agora to the lower parts of the city extending to the vicinity of the library plaza and the Tetragnos Agora (Fig. 8, no. 36; Fig. 38, 39); where the *Plateia* turns north towards the theater and intersects with the Arcadiane,⁵⁰⁴ the colonnaded avenue that led to the harbor (Fig. 8, no. 83), and continues north besides the theater baths towards the Coressian Gate (Fig. 8, no. 78).⁵⁰⁵ To provide a general sense of the degree of prominence and the role of the *Embolos* within the urban form of Ephesus, I hereby emphasize that it was the shortest and main connection between the two agoras of the city, linking the Upper Agora to the Tetragnos Agora, in other words, provided passage from the Augustan administrative-cultic center in the upper city to the traditional major urban space in the lower zones that was mainly reserved for

⁵⁰² Rogers 1991, 136; Spawforth 1992, 383.

⁵⁰³ Rogers 1991, 110; Portefaix 1993, 200.

⁵⁰⁴ This part of the *Plateia* is called the “Marble Street,” a modern denotation evidently derived from the state of preservation of the marble pavement of the street that has remained intact.

⁵⁰⁵ This section of the *Plateia* was referred to as the *Plateia in Koressos* in Roman times. Kalinowski 2002, 124.

commercial purposes, and *vice versa*. Due to this physical and symbolic importance within the urban configuration, the *Embolos* was paved and repaved many times including the re-paving of the *Embolos* by Augustus (ca. 23 BCE),⁵⁰⁶ re-paving during the reign of Domitian by the neokorate *polis* of Ephesus (ca. 83-96 CE),⁵⁰⁷ and the last repaving as late as the sixth century CE.⁵⁰⁸

On the *Embolos*, Fikret Yegül notes that “Architectural monuments, formal peristyle courts, intersecting secondary streets, and plazas defined, embellished, and energized the thoroughfare.”⁵⁰⁹ In other words, it was the backbone of the underlying, organizational pattern of the city and the main artery on which it might even be stated that it formulated the transportation network. This network was not the outcome of a single-minded planning but a spontaneous process, yet somehow regulated, created by the unique history of Ephesus and geography which, in turn, shaped and controlled the development of the city and the urban form under Roman rule.⁵¹⁰

4.3.1.1. Accessibility of the Site

The abovementioned significance – both in physical and symbolic terms – of the *Embolos* is especially relevant in this study because access to the site of the Upper Agora was possible *only* through this thoroughfare (Fig. 40). As was previously remarked, the appreciation of the built space in motion with the experience of moving on foot is the premise of this thesis, and thus, this very experience should plainly start on the *Embolos*. However, it is also necessary to address the nature of the traffic here, that is, whether the site was accessible to pedestrian and/or carriage movement from the street from the lower city or from the Magnesian Gate in the east, and whether there had been specifically differentiated accessible or inaccessible zones on the *Embolos* for different means of transportation.

⁵⁰⁶ Graham 2013, 394; mentioned in IvE II 459.

⁵⁰⁷ Graham 2013, 397; IvE VI 3008.

⁵⁰⁸ Quatember 2014, 108, fn. 19.

⁵⁰⁹ Yegül 1994, 96.

⁵¹⁰ Yegül 1994, 96.

According to Ursula Quatember, the buildings facing the *Embolos* were not indiscriminately accessible to the public as entry was granted depending on various factors such as status, gender and so on, which could also be arranged based on time (see Fig. 41).⁵¹¹ To illustrate, the temples were kept closed except during the religious festivities and how street traffic was organized depended on the time of the day.⁵¹² However, it is difficult to hypothesize whether walking through the *Embolos* and getting access to the site of the Upper Agora depended on the social status, age and gender on the basis of the material evidence. In other words, it could not be overtly stated that being a slave, freedman, commoner or elite; citizen or otherwise; man or woman; old or young, determined one's use of the street and ability of getting access to the site of the Upper Agora.⁵¹³ On the other hand, it can also be argued that a considerable portion of the population frequently used the street, as the *Embolos* also provided direct access between the upper parts of the city where – apart from the Augustan urban district and the Temple of the *Sebastoi* – there was a considerable urban density and one of the major city gates (the Magnesian Gate), and the lower city where the harbor, the theater, the stadium, *xystoi*, baths, temples, the other city gate (the Coressian Gate) and so on. Moreover, structures of various functions including a temple, bath, latrine, *nymphaea*, etc. were located alongside the *Embolos* itself, which implicates that this backbone of the underlying urban pattern was not only used for *passing through* to get to the different parts of the city, but also a place to *go to*. Therefore, the *Embolos*, no doubt, was a critical component of the urban layout and must have had a dense flow of traffic at least during the day that had been frequently used by the vast majority of the people, if not by all.

⁵¹¹ Quatember 2014, 102.

⁵¹² Quatember 2014, 102.

⁵¹³ That said, it is also important to note that imperial freedmen were the head of the *conventus civium Romanorum*, which controlled the economic life in Ephesus in the Julio-Claudian period and to which Octavian/Augustus authorized to dedicate a cult center for *Divus Iulius* and *Roma*, according to Scherrer (2001, 69). Moreover, the local elite sponsored many of the buildings in and around the Upper Agora, became imperial priests, and held other significant official positions. That the elite and imperial freedmen had a remarkable role in governing might imply that these two social groups, compared to the other sections of the Ephesian society, were more likely to visit the Upper Agora frequently, as the agora was an administrative-cultic center.

Furthermore, what must be emphasized within this frame of discussion is the type of transportation that could get access to the *Embolos* and the site of the Upper Agora, simply because the perception of the built environment in motion is deeply dependent on the speed of the movement. Put another way, grasping the environs in motion at the pace of the travel on foot highly differs from that at the pace of a carriage, which might have been taken into consideration by the designers of the upper square of the city. In this respect, it is important to be acquainted with whether the Upper Agora and its environs were particularly arranged as a pedestrian zone, whose spatial arrangement only aimed to appeal to the pedestrians, which can have a significant impact on our understanding of the architectural disposition of the site. That is why, it is necessary to acknowledge the prevailing means of transportation in approaching the Upper Agora, and prevalent type of movement in and around the upper city.

Today, the two re-erected pillars and stairs of the Gate of Herakles (Fig. 42) at the eastern end of the *Embolos* starkly convey the impression that the upper city was closed to vehicular traffic and transformed into a pedestrian zone, as was also remarked by Scherrer,⁵¹⁴ but it is excluded from this study considering its rather late construction date (fifth century CE). Then, it should be noted that there was no physical obstruction such as stairs or pillars to regulate the traffic on the *Embolos* before late antiquity. This, however, does not mean that the vehicular traffic on this major artery was not regulated at all.⁵¹⁵ For instance, a certain picture emerges when the city of Rome is taken into account. Since the time of the Caesar, at least during the day, the wagon traffic had strictly been prohibited in the densely-built intramural areas in Rome, and limited to the evening and night hours apart from special permits.⁵¹⁶ Besides, passers-by could walk, be carried in a litter during the daytime, and had the opportunity to ride.⁵¹⁷ According to Quatember, due to the size and population of

⁵¹⁴ Scherrer 2000, 98.

⁵¹⁵ Also note that “traffic rules” in the sense of a strictly defined organization of transportation space, and binding division of the road space among the individual user groups did not exist; see Quatember 2014, 110.

⁵¹⁶ Quatember 2014, 109-10; on the subject of “traffic” in ancient Rome, see Eck 2008, 62-66.

⁵¹⁷ See Eck 2008, 62-6; Quatember 2014, 110.

Ephesus,⁵¹⁸ it can be assumed that the city had to deal with similar problems at least in the city center and appropriate solutions were sought.⁵¹⁹ She suggests that, during the day, pedestrians would have been able to use the entire street area, and the road would have been available for wheeled traffic and transportation in the evening and at night.⁵²⁰ In a similar manner, I would like to propose in this study that the entire spatial organization of the Upper Agora, most of the urban spaces leading there and the individual architectural units in the sites in question were designed and arranged *apropos* of the human-scale and appealed to the pace of on-foot motion, on the premise that the traffic flow was predominantly constituted by pedestrians in and around the Upper Agora. This is especially an important aspect of this study, after all, “travel by foot ensured that observers’ interaction with urban environments was immediate and personal” as pointed out by Favro.⁵²¹

4.3.1.2. Topography of the *Embolos*: “the Urban Canyon”

The main purpose of this section of the study is to provide a breakdown of the sensory experience of reaching the Upper Agora via the *Embolos* to grasp the essential qualities of the spatial formulation of the urban armature in Roman Ephesus in the imperial age.⁵²² It is indeed important to note the auspicious nature of the material record for this study: the *Embolos* was extensively unearthed during the 1950s under the direction of Franz Miltner,⁵²³ bringing to light a relatively large and coherent road space, as well as many adjacent buildings, and most of the extant archaeological structures correspond to the achievements and deeds of the imperial period. On the other hand,

⁵¹⁸ There are several estimations concerning the population of Ephesus in the High Imperial Period. The figures vary from 250.000 to at least 200.000 (Magie 1950:1, 585) and to a more recent number of 100.000 (Groh 2012, 71). Also see Warden and Bagnall 1988.

⁵¹⁹ Quatember 2014, 110.

⁵²⁰ Quatember 2014, 110.

⁵²¹ Favro 1996, 5.

⁵²² Visibility is the main concern of this part as the essential purpose is to formulate an analysis of the spatial relations of the architectural components en route to the Upper Agora. For a more inclusive study of the analysis of the sensory perception in general (including acoustics and so on) on the *Embolos* of Roman Ephesus, see Quatember 2017.

⁵²³ Quatember 2005.

as Quatember remarks, it must be noted that these were transformed and modified during late Antiquity and the beginning of the Byzantine period, and thus, a clear distinction must always be made between what can be attributed with certainty to this period and what can only be deduced in part from subsequent modifications, for an analysis concerning the imperial period.⁵²⁴ Last but not least, as Quatember also notes, there is a scarcity of detailed accounts (both ancient and modern) concerning the question of the perception of the city referring to the archaeological layers either for the imperial period or for the following period, so the architectural record together with the hitherto documentation constitute the material basis of this investigation.⁵²⁵

In the broadest sense, the spatial experience of getting to the Augustan cult center in the Upper Agora from the *Embolos*, was chiefly defined by the topographical characteristics of the site and its built environs. Accordingly, the *Embolos* followed a natural path between Mount Pion (Panayırdağ) and Mount Preon (Bülbüldağ), which was the shortest connection of the political, administrative and cultic center in the upper city to the commercial zones in the lower city (that is mainly on the level of the harbor and the Tetragonos Agora). Hence, walking alone on the *Embolos* must have given the users an indubitable impression of “street canyon” or “urban canyon” in Quatember’s words;⁵²⁶ one that also utters a solid sense of ascension as the gradient of the street is 10.5% on average (Fig. 43).⁵²⁷ It is also worth noting that in a similar vein, the topographical conditions affected the configuration of the streets branching off from the *Embolos* leading towards either Mount Preon or Mount Pion as those streets consist of many steps in order to overcome the problem of steeply rising slopes of the foothills (Fig. 44, 45). In this sense, the grid layout of Ephesus resonates the questioning of the premise that the orthogonal grid plan of ancient cities was innately a rational/functional conception representing the triumph of reason over instinct. As Waterhouse rightly suggests, the Hippodamian grid being overlaid onto the hilled landscape as in Priene led to the generation of extremely steep streets which became

⁵²⁴ Quatember 2017.

⁵²⁵ Quatember 2017.

⁵²⁶ “Straßenschlucht” quoted from Quatember 2014, 106.

⁵²⁷ Quatember 2014, 110.

steep urban staircases inclined forty-five degrees.⁵²⁸ This necessitated building terraces for attaining clear spaces over the rectangular grids which in turn resulted in the formation of artificial cliffs that precluded easy access between the blocks and created some inaccessible and unfunctional areas.⁵²⁹ In Ephesus too, the precipitation would cause the water, mud etc. sluicing from the side streets that were the outcome of the Hippodamian plan towards the *Embolos* that was the only street not conforming the orthogonal street layout of Ephesus, necessitating some other infrastructural solutions such as a sewage system beneath the main artery. Therefore, Waterhouse asserts that the Hippodamian grid plan of the cities was not a proof for the urbanism of tenacious rationalism but a system to visually connect the outer landscape with the city as the grid layout “confirmed the sense of being embraced by the landscape, carrying the eye beyond the confines of the street to the revered forests, outcrops, and hills shaped in the image of the deities. The landscape preceded the *polis*, and was still holier than the temple ...”⁵³⁰

Another significant impact of moving en route to the Upper Agora via the *Embolos* must have been a feeling of closedness, mostly due to the exquisite and rigid spatial arrangement of colonnades and monuments that lined up alongside the street. This effect was further enhanced with the visual *termini*, viz; the Library of Celsus on the western end (Fig. 40, no. 3) from the late Trajanic times onwards, and the so-called *Hydreion* on the eastern end (Fig. 40, no. 20), a well system that dates back to early imperial period,⁵³¹ behind which a portion of the adjacent Memmius Monument and the west *chalcidicum* of the basilica-stoa must also have been visible. Between these two poles, the street space had developed over time hand in hand with the construction of the adjoining buildings such as honorary monuments, a bathing facility, a temple and fountains in addition to colonnades and residential units.⁵³² Thereby, the monuments of different functions and forms were brought together in a cohesive

⁵²⁸ Waterhouse 1993, 102.

⁵²⁹ Waterhouse 1993, 102.

⁵³⁰ Waterhouse 1993, 103.

⁵³¹ Miltner (1960, 23-6) suggests that the construction of the *Hydreion* dates to the Augustan Period.

⁵³² Quatember 2014, 106.

manner, and this ensemble of buildings with diverse typologies on a single thoroughfare fit almost entirely in one's vision. Such densely built civic quarters that accommodated most urban activities with an extensive and rich urban repertoire within a beholder's immediate sight were, in fact, a hallmark of Roman architecture and urbanism that was manifested in the tissue of towns and settlements of the Roman Empire, like in Ostia,⁵³³ which distinctly diverged from Greek urbanism (and from any other long-established urbanism in antiquity in the Mediterranean Basin) prior to the Roman period.⁵³⁴ All in all, the well-defined spatial layout of the urban armature in Ephesus which must have provided a sense of enclosure during the imperial period, may be understood with regards to Robert Gutman's theorization of streets as closed systems.⁵³⁵

Before going any further, I would like to briefly reiterate here the intrinsic qualities of the *Embolos*, a place for memory that linked the past to the daily life, a venue for representation and promotion of the self-image of the city, its citizens and/or the distinguished individuals and figures, and a locus for the expression of piety, civic identity, prestige, authority and power, *par excellence*, just like the Upper Agora, as we have observed above. The ongoing contest over the control of shared memory, in Smith and Gadeyne's terms,⁵³⁶ whose dynamics are furnished by the ever-fluctuating nature of the elite-mass relation, the rivalry amongst the elites, and the rift within the commoners certainly must have taken place in the most vivacious urban spaces, particularly in the *Embolos*. This shaped the spatial attributes of the urban armature which, in turn, directed the pattern of everyday-life, human experience, social and cultural milieu, shaped the imagined past, and took part in the public act of commemorating the collective memory. Step by step, the experience of promenading on the *Embolos* starting at the location where it intersects with the Marble Street and

⁵³³ The diverse urban repertoire in Ostia included "gateway, thoroughfare, side Street, small plaza, fountain, loggia, *exedrae*, porticoes, taverns, shops, warehouses, other commercial structures, baths of the Porta Marina, house, sanctuary, tombs, cult center, *collegium* lodge," etc., as listed by MacDonald (1986:2, 266).

⁵³⁴ MacDonald 1986:2, 266.

⁵³⁵ Gutman 1978, 250.

⁵³⁶ Smith and Gadeyne 2013, 3.

continuing to the upper city unraveled all these. Such essential characteristics of the *Embolos* were mostly manifested through the examples of the monumental public architecture such as temples, fountains, tombs and other honorific edifices.

4.3.1.3. Lower *Embolos*

First and foremost, it is beneficial to note once again that a thorough analysis of the urban experience on the *Embolos* – the straight street that does not conform to the carefully laid out Hippodamian grid as it precedes the Roman and Hellenistic grid systems of Ephesus, running directly from the library plaza to the site of the Upper Agora – provides us significant insights about the peculiar character of the urban form of Roman Ephesus, which was manifested in the ostentatious display of the sequential choreography of buildings, monuments, landmarks and other urban features such as streets, plazas, and agoras (and naturally the Upper Agora). In this regard, the Upper Agora should be understood within the urban context, as an essential element of the grand mannerism of the Roman(ized) city. This necessitates an integrated approach that effectively places it in its ambient urban framework. The Upper Agora – which could also be deemed both an embodiment of the grandiose urbanism and a significant part of it – was intrinsically linked with the other urban features in a grander scheme, and expressly with the “baroque diagonal.” Hence, starting the experiential assessment on the other side of the *Embolos*, in the library plaza, is deemed necessary in this study to draw an exhaustive picture of the spatial qualities of this Augustan urban center which should include the corporeal body and the mental constructs, ideas and cultural representations, and an adequate connection between the two. For this reason, the Upper Agora is treated not as an isolated entity, but an urban compound positioned in a coherent urban context.

It appears that the experience of being in the lower *Embolos* immediately unravels the characteristics of this major artery as a venue for self-promotion, representation and memory creation, which might somewhat indicate that the site paralleled, or even mirrored, the Upper Agora in this sense (but not in spatial layout). In this regard, honorary structures and tombs bulked large at the busy intersection of the *Embolos* and the Marble Street and must have dominated one’s vision in the vicinity of this urban center. In particular, since the beginning of the Roman Imperial Period, the area

around the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora had apparently been designated for the funerary structures of the benefactors of the rebuilding of the Agora, which was followed in the second century CE by the construction of the adjacent Library of Celsus and by other sepulchers of Sophists under the stairs near the South Gate (Fig. 46).⁵³⁷ It is worth remarking here that the intramural burial was a privileged practice⁵³⁸ reserved only for the distinguished members of the society, and thus, it was a tangible manifestation of civic status in the quotidian life. In a similar vein, on the intramural burials:

The common denominator is their location in heavily frequented areas or next to major traffic routes; this made them noticeable and *permanently* (my emphasis) present to the citizens of the ancient city. The structure, the architectural design and the furnishings of the tombs so prominently sited served as vehicles for any kind of status display and a definition of social hierarchies. Intramural burials were very rare, and they were granted by cities only as a mark of high distinction and were typically restricted to exceptional cases ... The important rank of the owners of these monuments in Ephesian society was reflected by the centrality of their monuments within the civic landscape.⁵³⁹

Thereby, it can be stated that the intramural burials and tombs were vital elements of the spatial configuration of the lower *Embolos* (Fig. 47). Through these monuments, endeavors of the prominent individuals for self-representation were permanently echoed in the civic landscape in a confident manner. Moreover, as Joseph Rife has shown in his study focusing on the example of the burial of Herodes Atticus, rites, practices, rituals, texts, places and monuments could be effectively incorporated into the corporeal body of the entombments for specific ideological purposes to express the elite identity and to devise collective memory in the urban societies of Roman Greece.⁵⁴⁰ In this sense, the cases in Roman Ephesus were no exception. To illustrate,

⁵³⁷ Scherrer and Trinkl 2006, 372.

⁵³⁸ As Steskal (2011, 243) notes, apart from a number of individual examples, the typical burial sites, *necropoleis*, were located outside the city walls, which could be immediately explained as a “sanitary precaution and fear of defilement.”

⁵³⁹ Steskal, 2011, 243.

⁵⁴⁰ Rife 2008. The story of the entombment of Herodes Atticus is an exceptionally thought-provoking case. Herodes Atticus, “the Marathonian hero,” created an opulent burial for his family, his children and most likely his wife on his estate at Cephisia, but he wanted his grave to be placed on the Marathonian estate to identify himself with his forefathers which also would have demonstrated his wealth, noble ancestral lineage and territorial control. However, the popular will of the Athenians prevailed over Herodes’ wish, that took his body for a public funerary procession, which was a

at the intersection of the *Embolos* and the Marble Street where a ramp and stairs led down to the sunken Library plaza below street level, visitors were confronted with the illustrious aedicular façade of the Library of Celsus (Fig. 40, no. 3) with the adjacent imposing South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora (Fig. 40, no. 2), which was referred to as the *Triodos* Gate in antiquity (Fig. 48, 49). It is intriguing that *both* structures also served as burial sites, in addition to their “primary functions.” In this sense, the Library of Celsus is befittingly singled out as “one of the most eye-catching funerary monuments of Imperial date in Asia Minor” by Steskal,⁵⁴¹ which was named after its benefactor T. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, a distinguished member of the Ephesian society and also a Roman citizen.⁵⁴² Celsus offered a library to the city of Ephesus during his lifetime on the condition that he be buried underneath it.⁵⁴³ Another view suggests that after Celsus’ death, the edifice was built by his son Tiberius Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus, a Roman senator and a *consul suffect*, as a *heroon* dedicated to his father.⁵⁴⁴ Either way, it is certain that the remains of Celsus rested in a monumental sarcophagus in an underground chamber beneath the apse (Fig. 50).⁵⁴⁵ Thereby, the

ceremony extending urban and suburban spaces that attracted the popular attention, asserted a sense of social hierarchy. The grandiose entombment of Herodes alongside the stadium he had built for all Athenians was an outstanding token of gratitude by the city and the citizens (Rife 2008, 121). It is exciting to note that the urban tomb of Celsus built in the early first century CE and that Mazaeus and Mithridates built at the turn of the millennium predate the construction of the tomb of Herodes in Athens. Thence, it might have been the case that a provincial trend respecting the funerary practices that was attested in Ephesus was followed by another city like Athens (and probably in other cities, large and small, provincial capital or otherwise), which was one of the most famous *poleis* in antiquity, one of the most important provincial centers and a significant cultural hub in the east. Even if the intramural burial practice in the provincial context did not originate in Ephesus, which is admittedly a wild guess to claim so, it appears that Athenians echoed the burial practices in Ephesus in their homeland with the tomb of Herodes Atticus.

⁵⁴¹ Steskal, 2011, 250.

⁵⁴² According to Steskal (2011, 250), Celsus had an exceptional career in the Imperial government, lived in Ephesus as proconsul of the province of Asia. In tandem, based on the available data from the material and historical investigations, Finley (2014, 291) writes that “it appears Celsus Polemaeanus bridged the Greek and Roman cultures, and thus helped his Anatolian homeland thrive in the Roman Empire in the late first and early second centuries. To the Greeks of the Asian Province, Celsus was a native son who had overcome prejudice, worked his way through the *cursus honorum* of the rigid Roman government, and attained top leadership positions, which for centuries had been beyond the reach of men of Greek ancestry ... To the Romans, he was an effective administrator who helped peacefully “Romanize” the East.” For further information, see Finley 2014.

⁵⁴³ Scherrer 2001, 77.

⁵⁴⁴ Zadorojnyi 2013, 385.

⁵⁴⁵ Casson 2002, 117-8.

status of Celsus in the society was highlighted not only through the centrality of his building in a prominent civic space in the urban fabric but also by the fact that his library was also a mausoleum, which, as an intramural burial, granted a revered display of his late image.⁵⁴⁶ One could speculate that this might be interpreted as a local imitation of the imperial burial practices, such as emperor Trajan's intramural burial in Rome, underneath the honorific column, between the Greek and Latin reading rooms of the Ulpian Library, in his imperial forum, contemporaneous with the Library of Celsus.⁵⁴⁷ After all, as Elsner asserts, "If the emperor's identity as monarch came in part to depend on his buildings in the provinces as well as in the center, that of his wealthy but ultimately locally based imitators were above all related to their public benefaction at home."⁵⁴⁸

The commanding view of the sumptuous façade of the library would have doubtlessly attracted one's gaze almost immediately, and this visual experience continued towards the juxtaposed tripartite gate, the *Triodos* Gate, or the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora. The monumental gateway that had three passages spanned by arches and topped by a heavy entablature was built in the year 4-3 BCE and financed by Mazaeus and Mithridates, who were imperial freedmen (*liberti Augusti*). In its initial form, there were originally two flanking structures on either side of the gate that are no longer extant in which the two benefactor imperial freedmen were interred (Fig. 51). The flanking structure on the east was scaled down whereas the other on the west was entirely demolished during the rearrangement of the agora after the earthquake in 23 CE (Fig. 51). Mazaeus and Mithridates dedicated this monumental gate as their intramural tombs in a vibrant urban center implicitly for their own personal glory, and

⁵⁴⁶ Steskal 2011, 250-1.

⁵⁴⁷ Finley (2014, 290) states that it was not a well-established paradigm that Greek and Roman libraries were used as tombs or *heroa*. Nor was the intramural burial practice commonly attested in Ephesus during the second century CE, as claimed by Strocka (2003, 39). As for the case of Trajan's tomb, it should be noted that having a tomb within the borders of the *pomerium* was an exceptional honor even for the emperors, which "Trajan could not have presumed himself to merit with impunity," that was posthumously granted by the decree of senate, as asserted by Davies (1997, 45). In his *De Legibus* (*On the Laws*), Cicero (2.23.58) cites a law of the Twelve Tables: "Do not bury or burn a dead body in the city."

⁵⁴⁸ Elsner 1998, 82.

expressly to the *demos* of Ephesus and their patrons; Augustus, Livia, Julia and Agrippa.⁵⁴⁹

It is commonly attested that during their years of servitude, slaves of the imperial family were able to gain a considerable wealth, which enabled them to take a significant role in the civic life after they were freed. There is even evidence for their acquisition of authority as some imperial freedmen took important official positions with executive power. For instance, the economic life in Ephesus in the Julio-Claudian period was controlled by the *conventus civium Romanorum*, whose head members were *liberti Augusti*, to which Octavian gave permission to dedicate a sanctuary for *Divus Iulius* and *Roma*, according to Scherrer.⁵⁵⁰ Thus, it appears that the choice of the location of the tomb of the Mazaeus and Mithridates that was built as a monumental passageway to the Tetragonos Agora, a primary place for the commercial activities in the city, was arguably related to their authority in the economic life of Ephesus. After all, there are several cases attesting that the ascent of freedmen in the social strata resulted in the construction of conspicuous monuments dedicated for the promotion of their image in the urban fabric, of which the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora as an intramural tomb is certainly a remarkable example.

Two particular monuments built in honor of the imperial freedmen, one in Asia Minor and the other in Rome, which were contemporaneous with the monumental gate (and tomb) of Mazaeus and Mithridates, also attest to two different cases of upward social mobility briefly discussed above. The first of these, a funerary structure in Aphrodisias built for an imperial freedman, known as the Monument of C. Julius Zoilos, presents another story of a benevolent former slave, similar to those of Mazaeus and Mithridates. Zoilos, born in Aphrodisias, was enslaved and served Octavian. After he was freed, Zoilos turned to his hometown around 40 BCE with a great wealth, where

⁵⁴⁹ IE 3006; see Kalinowski 1996, 61. It is an interesting anecdote that the burial of Kenan Erim, one of the most influential archaeologists in Turkey, is located in the vicinity of the *tetrapylon* at Aphrodisias thanks to the decree of cabinet of the time. In this sense, the burial of K. Erim in Aphrodisias in the 20th century might be regarded as a reference to the ancient burial practices in Roman Asia Minor in the vicinity of passageways such as that of the Mazaeus and Mithridates in Ephesus.

⁵⁵⁰ Scherrer 2001, 69.

the imperial freedman apparently became a celebrated philanthropist,⁵⁵¹ and eventually attained a prominent official position as one of the priests of Aphrodite, who maintained the office for their lifetime.⁵⁵² As a public tribute to his benevolence and services in Aphrodisias,⁵⁵³ an intramural funerary monument was dedicated in honor of Zoilos (Fig. 52).⁵⁵⁴ The distinguished persona of the freedman was further emphasized with the design of the reliefs in which Zoilos was portrayed several times always as a central figure.⁵⁵⁵ In sum, the monument expressly testified to the eminence of the influential freedman in the public life of Aphrodisias, as a unequivocal reminder of the success of Zoilos for the inhabitants, elite, commoner, ex-slaves and slaves, in the daily life of the city.

Likewise, the other monument was, too, a tomb located in Rome (Fig. 53). The prodigious patron of the structure is assumed to be a freedman (*libertinus*) of Greek origin on the basis of his name, Eurysaces, a Greek rather than a Latin name.⁵⁵⁶ Moreover, it is quite obvious that Eurysaces was a *nouveau riche* who amassed a considerable wealth as a baker, whose labor-intensive activities were generally regarded unfitting to elite (commonly associated with slaves but freedman and non-elite citizens could also work as bakers).⁵⁵⁷ In this sense, the austere and unconventional form of his monument (Fig. 53), built in ca. 50-20 BCE, which seems “more modern than ancient; its strong, cold geometric forms suggest a Fascist-era monument rather than a two-thousand-year-old tomb constructed by a Roman baker,” is explained with the identity of Eurysaces as a freedman who vigorously climbed the

⁵⁵¹ Lichtenberger 2015, 115.

⁵⁵² Brody 2001, 103.

⁵⁵³ Zoilos’ benefactions include sponsoring monumental constructions such as a new marble temple in the sanctuary of Aphrodite, setting up the boundary stones of the sanctuary of Aphrodite and the dedication of the *proskenion* and the stage of the theater to Aphrodite and *demos* (Brody 2001, 95-108).

⁵⁵⁴ Lichtenberger 2015, 115.

⁵⁵⁵ Lichtenberger 2015, 115.

⁵⁵⁶ Petersen 2003, 230.

⁵⁵⁷ Petersen 2003, 230.

social ladder.⁵⁵⁸ On the other hand, according to Lauren H. Petersen, the unusual design of the Tomb of Eurysaces was actually an intended visual strategy to offer a catchy sight to visitors and passers-by, through which Eurysaces' achievements were praised and monumentalized in the urban space.⁵⁵⁹ In other words, the ostentatious display of the Tomb of Eurysaces immortalized Eurysaces' identity as an owner of a successful enterprise and deftly promoted his position in society.

The monumental tomb of the baker, who notably climbed the social ladder, was most likely a source of anxiety amongst the elite. The conspicuous architectural expression of the accomplishments of a vulgar (and even, once a commodity considering the possibility that Eurysaces was a freedman) must have challenged the image of the elite in the urban space who intrinsically had the means (or arguably the essential rights) of such an ostentatious public display. To illustrate, as Peterson indicates: "his tomb, built out of his financial success in manufacturing, rivaled those of the elite, such as the nearby tomb of T. Statilius Taurus," who held a high-ranking official position.⁵⁶⁰ In addition, the unique appearance of the Tomb of Eurysaces probably attracted the gaze of the Roman elite passing-by, who "perhaps stopped and contemplated" the monument "but then moved on; the tomb, after all, was a worker's display and therefore vulgar."⁵⁶¹ After all, freedmen's enthusiasm for self-promotion and social recognition, in general, was a source of mockery in the social domain of the Roman elite,⁵⁶² which was typified by Petronius in his *Satyricon* a century after the construction of the Tomb of Eurysaces within the fictional image of Trimalchio, an archetypical figure of *nouveau riche*.⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁸ Petersen 2003, 230.

⁵⁵⁹ Petersen 2003, 231.

⁵⁶⁰ Petersen 2003, 249.

⁵⁶¹ Petersen 2003, 249.

⁵⁶² Von Hesberg, 1994, 274, cf. Petersen 2003, 253, fn. 32. However, Von Hesberg (1994, 274) also notices that there are a few extant architectural examples that were built for the self-representation of freedmen (cf. Petersen 2003, 253, fn. 32.)

⁵⁶³ It is intriguing that Trimalchio's devouring interest in self-representation is also illustrated in Petronius's *Satyricon* with his wish to build a lavish tomb for himself. Trimalchio reveals us the way his tomb should be built by reminding the instructions to his friend Habinnas, who is a monumental mason. Trimalchio desires his tomb to be colossal, measuring 100x200 feet in plan, and wants to erect statues of him, his dog, his wife, with various paintings and other decorations. An inscription is also

Similarly, it can be argued that the growing influence of the imperial freedmen in Ephesus challenged the prestige of the elite, which most likely resulted in a strife for power in the local public life. The authority of the local elite was eventually compromised by the imperial freedmen, and the elite looked askance at these social climbers recently rising to power who were innately “vulgar” and at once “commodities” of the imperial family. Thus, I hereby argue that the Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates can be viewed in this socio-political context. The monumental gate and the mausoleum of the two *liberti Augusti* in a vibrant urban node was an architectural assertion of their achievements and new social status they reached after years of servitude. In this respect, the gate in the lower city perhaps made a contrast with the coeval Pollio Monument dedicated in honor of a prominent resident of Ephesus of Latin descent, C. Sextilius Pollio by his stepson adjacent to the terrace wall of the Upper Agora.⁵⁶⁴ In other words, the self-representation of the imperial freedmen in the lower city and that of the elite in the upper city might be viewed as a reflection of the rivalry between these two social groups on the urban spaces. In addition, one may speculate that the construction of the Library of Celsus as a *heroon* for an elite in a sumptuous manner, just next to the monument of Mazaeus and Mithridates more than a century later,⁵⁶⁵ can be understood within the framework of the abovementioned issues that was prevalent in the social fabric of the Roman and provincial societies.

As previously implied, the gate built by Mazaeus and Mithridates “was a demonstration of the wealth that these imperial freedmen had accumulated in the service of their patrons, a testament to their loyalty, and a reminder of the power of Rome.”⁵⁶⁶ Thereby, the messages of upward social mobility, Roman rule and loyalty were conveyed to the citizens of Ephesus in this major urban center as a routine of

indicated: “This monument does not go to the heir,” and “Here sleeps Gaius Pompeius Trimalchio, Maecenatianus (freedman of Maecenas). Elected to the Augustan College in his absence. He could have been on every board in Rome, but he refused. God-fearing, brave and true. A self-made man. He left an estate of 30.000.000 and he never heard a philosopher. Farewell. And you fare well Trimalchio.” See, Petronius, *The Satyricon*, 71.

⁵⁶⁴ The Pollio Monument will further be discussed in this chapter. See page 154-6.

⁵⁶⁵ In the beginning second century CE, when the imperial freedmen no longer had control over the economic life of the city.

⁵⁶⁶ Kalinowski 1996, 61.

civic life. Hence, one might state that this structure built by imperial freedmen was, in fact, a monument that also asserted the theme of Roman authority and signaled the social and cultural changes that arguably came with Roman rule.

The bilingual inscription on the entablature of the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora is worth mentioning here in association with the symbolism of Roman dominion employed in the monument. It is one of the few bilingual cases in Ephesus like the monumental inscription on the architrave of the basilica-stoa in the Upper Agora. According to Angela Kalinowski, the arrangement of the Greek and Latin inscriptions on the surfaces of the monument conveyed a message of hierarchy which gives primacy of place to Latin, the language of Roman control.⁵⁶⁷ In a similar vein, Abigail Graham mentions the same hierarchical arrangement by stating that the brief Greek text, which was a highly abbreviated version of the Latin text, was overshadowed by longer and more elaborately inscribed Latin texts, and that the protruding sides of the gate on which the Latin inscriptions were inscribed cast part of the Greek text on the recessed central part of the gate into the shade at certain hours (Fig. 54).⁵⁶⁸ It is intriguing that a century later, on the frontispiece of the adjacent library, the monumental texts were inscribed only in Greek, the *lingua franca* of the eastern provinces of the empire. Thence, this may refer to a change in the needs and conditions of the period that shaped the determinants of the language preferences that had occurred over time. It seems that the overt assertion of hierarchy observed in the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora was no longer needed, and the theme of *imperium* was embodied in the architectural works in different manners – as anticipated – in the following century.

The architectural form of the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora implies a clear Roman influence in its design: one could immediately notice that the structure was erected in the form of a tripartite Roman ceremonial arch in a nuanced manner to a certain extent. In point of fact, as Karwiese *et al.* suggest, the gate was originally

⁵⁶⁷ Kalinowski, 1999, 61.

⁵⁶⁸ Graham 2013, 392.

constructed as a “triumphal arch”⁵⁶⁹ but had been altered from the Augustan time onwards, and thus, it was transformed into the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora and incorporated within its structural fabric.⁵⁷⁰ However, contrary to such assumptions, the gate was genuinely designed from the beginning as an entrance to the agora and its northern façade designed as a part of the south wall of the agora that was pierced by three arches of the gate.⁵⁷¹ Notably, the monument has been regarded as a direct transfer of a Roman form to Ephesus,⁵⁷² on which Yegül comments as follows: “A magnificent specimen of the muscular but subdued classicism of the late Hellenistic and early Augustan periods.”⁵⁷³ Likewise, notable traces of the Greek architectural tradition are attested in its design; the gate, in its plan, is a typical Greek *propylon*, according to Burrell.⁵⁷⁴ Based on the stylistic formulation of the South Gate of the Agora and the Library of Celsus, tracing precedent, adaptation and evolution is not clear-cut but highly nuanced:

If Greek and Roman were polar opposites (and I do not think they were), these monuments at Ephesus would all fall somewhere between the two. The earlier ones, like the Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates, are hybrids from which disparate elements can be isolated, but the Library of Celsus is a blended architecture that its viewers probably read, not as “Greek” or “Roman,” but as “modern” and “expensive” and “theatrical,” its hero as “cultured” and “official” and “important.”⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁶⁹ Güven (1983) puts forward that the monumental arches in Asia Minor that were commonly called as triumphal arches were not actually triumphal in nature, but honorary and ceremonial. Thence, she recommends the use of the denotation “ceremonial arch” while referring to these structures, which reflects better the framework and circumstances that the triple arches were erected in Roman Asia Minor. After all, the concept of triumph was as suitable and useful in the center of the ruling power as it mostly was ill-suited in the context of the land of the ruled. In this regard, Güven’s proposal also validly implies not an outright duplication but an appropriate reflection of a Roman architectural form in the context of Asia Minor. Henceforth, these monuments will be referred to as either “ceremonial” or “triple” arches in this study.

⁵⁷⁰ Karwiese *et al.* 2000, 138.

⁵⁷¹ Scherrer and Trinkl 2006, 29.

⁵⁷² Ross 2017, 170.

⁵⁷³ Yegül 1994, 102.

⁵⁷⁴ Burrell (2009, 74) claims that the gate – with its U-shape plan and triple passageway – traces its origins back to Mnesikles’ *Propylaea* on the Athenian Acropolis.

⁵⁷⁵ Burrell 2009, 88. Note that there are numerous studies that point to a dual identity manifested in the architectural fabric of the library. As noted by Waelkens (1989, 79) it is one of the first buildings in Asia Minor with solid brick walls; Johnson (1980, 652-3). points to the utilization of the composite and Corinthian capitals (originally designed by Greeks but used more frequently by Romans) and to the

Yet, considering the influential architectural language that the south entranceway of the Tetragonos Agora possessed, it can be claimed that this monumental gate with its archetypical formulation set a precedent for the passageway architecture that was translated in different parts of the city of Ephesus. For instance, the Middle Harbor Gate (Fig. 8, no. 87) that was probably built more than a century later during the reign of Hadrian⁵⁷⁶ was certainly related with the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora in terms of architectural design (Fig. 55). The passageway at the harbor had a more columnar tripartite formulation compared to the massive, sturdy and arcuated design of the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora. Yet, the Middle Harbor Gate also starkly diverged from the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora with its distinguishing free-standing layout reminiscent of triumphal arches in Rome that endowed the Harbor Gate an idiosyncratic outlook certainly distinctive from that of the latter that was integrated into the surrounding built fabric. Furthermore, the Middle Harbor Gate reflected the aedicular architecture of the second century CE such as the illustrious façade of the Library of Celsus; all three passages of the gate were flanked with Ionic columns, which were also accentuated with the protruding entablature and pedestals (similar to the Hadrian's Gate at Antalya). Thereby, on the one hand, the buoyant and airy design of the building was reminiscent of the contemporaneous Library of Celsus, on the other, it both differed from the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora in this respect and also resembled it due to the explicit tripartite language. In this regard, one can argue that the Middle Harbor Gate can be considered as a variant of the passageway architecture, attested in the design of the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora, updated for the requirements, preferences and tastes of the second century CE.

Following the harmonious contrast of the austere formulation of the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora in somber classicism with the neighboring airy, lofty, richly ornamented façade of the library built in a baroque manner, one's visual experience

tripartite design of the façade as concrete Roman influences. Yet, a local technique, forced perspective, was also employed on the façade of the building to make the building look taller and wider, according to Finley (2014, 290-1), who also writes "The decorative pattern on the doorway pilasters consists of a Hellenistic *rincaux* scroll framed by "fasces of a Roman lictor, the familiar emblem of Roman political and administrative power," apparently a deliberate juxtaposition of Greek culture and symbols of Roman rule. On the optical "tricks" of the façade, see Strocka 2003, 33-4.

⁵⁷⁶ Zabełlicky 2000, 178.

continued towards another member of the building compound of the library plaza positioned on its southern edge where there was an unmistakably commanding display of a monumental structure measuring 22.20x8.40 m in plan, of which only the U-shaped foundations and the monumental stairs that connect it to the plaza remain extant today. The scarcity of evidence pertaining to the superstructure of the building makes it difficult to provide a definite, unequivocal picture of the appearance of the building in antiquity, although there are a few suggestions for its reconstruction. For example, Thür mentions the possibility that the remains of the U-shaped base are the foundations of the renowned Parthian Monument,⁵⁷⁷ which implicates that the building in question is the Great Antonine Altar.⁵⁷⁸ Other studies attribute various functions to the building and suggest divergent reconstructions of its superstructure. Either way, the certain issue about the building is the monumental language that was manifested through both grandiose formulation and its architectural setting. Overall, the structure surely had an imposing presence over the sunken library plaza since the altar was located at the street level above the level of the plaza. Moreover, the colossal stairs that provided access to the structure from the library plaza simply enhanced this perceived monumentality.

The alluring sight of the ensemble of buildings of the library plaza was followed by yet another ornate edifice of the Roman Imperial Period that was also probably perceived as “modern” and “expensive.” A contemporaneous structure of the Library of Celsus (113-4 CE) and the so-called Temple of Hadrian on the *Embolos* (begun in 117-8 CE)⁵⁷⁹ was built (the construction began between 114 and 117 CE, and finished

⁵⁷⁷ Thür 2000, 138.

⁵⁷⁸ In the second century CE, a massive altar was dedicated to the cult of the Antonines whose patrons were the provincial elite, which was aptly named after whom the monument was dedicated as the Great Antonine Altar. Vermeule (1968) comments on this altar as one of the finest surviving imperial monuments in all Asia Minor under imperial rule. On the marble slabs that surrounded the lower part of the monument, there was the pompous frieze that depicts “a story of imperial glory, earthly and divine in terms that represented a perfect fusion of Hellenistic drama with Roman sense of historical purpose,” according to Vermeule (1968, 123), who describes it as one of the monuments that are “the apogee of Roman art in the Hellenistic World.” The frieze clearly demonstrates the intention of provincials to express their loyalty and gratitude to their rulers, tying the imagery of protection of Ephesus from the Parthians to the dynastic glory of the Antonines, according to Elsner (1998, 83). By doing so, it is clear that Ephesians made great efforts to ground their celebration of rulers from distant Rome in a local context. For further information, see Vermeule 1968, 95-123.

⁵⁷⁹ As reviewed by Stone (1991, 755), according to Thür (1989)'s studies on the ornamentation of the structure, the Gate of Hadrian is contemporary of these mentioned prominent buildings.

around the mid-120s CE) at the juncture of the Marble Street and the *Embolos*, known as the Gate of Hadrian⁵⁸⁰ (also called the new *Triodos* Gate), but it might have been dedicated to either Hadrian, or his predecessor, Trajan, in accordance with the fragments of the dedicatory inscriptions on the lower architraves.⁵⁸¹ The gate, today partially restored (Fig. 56), had originally three stories, the top of which was accentuated with a “Syrian pediment”⁵⁸² like its contemporaneous Temple of Hadrian on the *Embolos* (Fig. 57). According to Guy MacLean Rogers, “A statue of Artemis was positioned perhaps beneath the statues of other gods, members of the imperial family, and donors that were placed in the inter-columniations adjacent to the large arch and on the top story of this monument.”⁵⁸³ This arrangement of the statues, the hierarchical logic behind the location of the statue of the patron goddess of the city below those of other deities, the imperial family and the benefactors merits a brief comment. In this fashion, the statue of Artemis must have been located on the first story as implied by Rogers, the tallest and the most spacious story with larger spans compared to the upper stories, which provided a larger frame for the image of the main deity of the city. Therefore, we can argue that the statue of Artemis was larger in size compared to the other statues in the Gate of Hadrian which would have conveyed a simple and obvious message of hierarchy in a straightforward manner. Furthermore, the location of the larger statue of Artemis at the ground level – put differently, at the eye level – must have instantly caught the gaze of passers-by before the other statues. This suggests that a definite visual hierarchy in the disposition of statues on among the three stories of the Gate of Hadrian was intended. In short, the architectural composition of the gate, the installation of the statues of deities, benefactors and the imperial family and the allegedly sheer scale of the statue of Artemis gave prominence

⁵⁸⁰ For a detailed study on the Gate of Hadrian, see Thür 1989.

⁵⁸¹ Burrell 2009, 82; IvE 329 (3). For a detailed account on these inscriptions, see Thür 1989, 69-75.

⁵⁸² As reviewed by Burrell (2009, 83, fn. 45), Butcher (2003, 290) briefly suggests that the denotation “Syrian pediment” used for the pediments with arched entablatures does not refer to a specific place of origin. The “Syrian pediments” were used, in Asia Minor and beyond, in the buildings that show a variety of functions such as *propylea* (e.g. the so-called Gate of Hadrian, the *propylon* next to the *nymphaeum* in Miletus and the so-called *Tetrapylon* in Aphrodisias), burial structures (e.g. the tomb of the Tib. Klaudia Agrippina), temples (the so-called Temple of Hadrian at Ephesus) etc. according to Quatember *et al.* (2017, 140-2).

⁵⁸³ Rogers 2012, 200.

to the image of the patron goddess of Ephesus within a consciously determined hierarchical arrangement. Hence, the statue of Artemis must have had an imposing view over the intersection of the *Embolos* and the Marble Street, and from this bustling urban center, under the commanding gaze of Artemis, “the sacred procession, perhaps bearing a cult image of Artemis as well, would have marched each year on the sixth of May up to Ortygia, perhaps after sacrificing at the altar of Artemis just south and west of the new *Celsus heroon*.”⁵⁸⁴ It is quite apparent that various deities, the imperial family, local elites, and above all, Artemis were brought *together* in one monument (like in the Upper Agora, or in the *prytaneion*).

Intriguingly, an inscription refers to the structure as “*propylon*,” although it does not provide entry to a precinct, to a defined area, to a *temenos*, or to a building in any sense.⁵⁸⁵ In this context, Groh *et al.* state that the inner-city Roman gates of Ephesus are built at the beginning or at the end of the visual axes of the new, monumentally designed colonnaded streets and thus separate individual parts of the city. The Gate of Hadrian is located on the border between the area of the urban expansion with public buildings and the residential area on the slopes of Mount Preon.⁵⁸⁶ One can also notice that the gate linked the Hellenistic-Roman city with the urban growth zone of the Roman city. In short, it connected one particular part of the city to another, just as the coeval Gate of Hadrian in Athens did, according to Yegül.⁵⁸⁷ Furthermore, the gate is widely considered to be a fusion of the elements of the Roman triple arch and the Greek *propylon*.⁵⁸⁸ Although not everyone agrees.⁵⁸⁹ In any case, the Gate of Hadrian certainly displayed a sense of innovativeness, originality and a newfangled mentality that was comparable to the mindset behind the glamour and cutting-edge modernity of

⁵⁸⁴ Rogers 2012, 200-2.

⁵⁸⁵ IvE 422A; Burrell 2009 82.

⁵⁸⁶ Groh *et al.* 2006, 85.

⁵⁸⁷ Yegül 1994, 102.

⁵⁸⁸ Stone 1991, 755; Burrell 2009, 83; Rogers 2012, 200.

⁵⁸⁹ Gros (1991, 170) argues that seeking to define a sort of balance between the components of the Greek *propylon* and those of the Roman triple arch, with a bibliographic unpacking not always controlled, do not really carry conviction. He thinks that the components which serve as a basis for reflection are in fact too schematic and are based on too heterogeneous realities to sustain a convincing argument.

the façade of the Library of Celsus. In this sense, the architectural configuration of the building was in harmony with the other buildings located in the vicinity of the lower *Embolos* and the library plaza, echoing some of their aspects. Yet, at the same time, the architectonic particularity of the building with its slender, tall, lofty and airy configuration that almost looked like a two-dimensional screen starkly contrasted with the design of the void and mass in the old, sturdy, massive South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora that was built more than a century before. Overall, the Gate of Hadrian was positioned at an oblique angle on the southern end of the Marble Street, as an elaborate visual *terminus*. It stood as an urban element that connected one of the rich ensembles of buildings in one particular place, the library plaza, to another, the lower *Embolos*, “as an effective visual reflector, redirecting the pedestrian’s gaze from the gently rising *Embolos*, leading southeast, back to the rich ensemble of architectural façades dominating the junction.”⁵⁹⁰

The Gate of Hadrian indeed led the gaze towards the series of monuments lined up on the south edge of the *Embolos*; that were positioned on the side of the *insula* of the densely built Terrace House II⁵⁹¹ facing the main artery (Fig. 58). After the Gate of Hadrian, visitors were confronted with the sequential parade of the spectacle of the so-called *Heroon* of Androklos, the so-called Octagon, the so-called Hexagon (Fig. 59)

⁵⁹⁰ Yegül 1994, 102.

⁵⁹¹ Here, the Roman influence on the built fabric of the Terrace Houses, which were the dwellings for Ephesians of upper social classes, merits a brief comment. The architectural evidence of the Terrace Houses does not demonstrate an outright reproduction of Roman forms but a highly nuanced manner of acculturation. For instance, although the residential units of the Terrace Houses were altered many times during the imperial period and in late antiquity, they never lost their original peristyle courtyard layout, which was a defining characteristic of the typology of ancient Greek house, and turned into a Roman *domus*. Rather, the Roman influence is observed in the creation of spaces and decorative programs that allowed precepts and rituals that can be identified as Roman. In other words, although none of the Terrace Houses has an essential atrium layout of a *domus*, certain ritual spaces of the Roman houses (such as *triclinia*) were incorporated in the layout of the Terrace Houses. Moreover, the character of the spaces and the decoration program of the houses were designed to display the dignity, literacy (*paideia*), power and the status of the head of the family, which can be regarded as a vivid Roman influence. Stylistically, the imagery in both the frescoes and mosaics of Terrace House II is also distinctively of Roman domestic decoration, some of which was especially popular in the third century in different parts of the empire, according to Parrish (1997, 595). Furthermore, luxurious amenities such as the installations for water supply both for practical uses and lavish display are attested in the dwelling units. In sum, the Terrace Houses in Ephesus demonstrate a clear Roman influence in a distinctive way that was manifested in the innovative manner of the production of spaces and décor for new functions and novel rituals. It is observed in their architectural record that Roman rituals and precepts were uniquely adapted to a provincial domestic context with a clear inclination to the local architectural tradition.

and the Hellenistic fountain (Fig. 60). According to Quatember, this group of monuments could not be entered, but were placed in the urban space due to their representative or monumental character that reminded the passers-by of the past and assisted in the process of memory creation.⁵⁹² The imagery in the urban armature reached a climax on the lower *Embolos* within the crescendo of the hierarchy of concepts, mental constructs and ideas that were blended with the imaginative past, the genealogical features of Ephesian identity (e.g. the ancestral goddess). In this sense, these honorary monuments of the Hellenistic and early imperial periods affirmed the inherent aspect of the *Embolos* as a memory place.

There are a number of studies concerning the interpretation of these burial and memorial structures.⁵⁹³ What can be briefly stated about the *Heroon* is that the combination of an honorary monument with a fountain served as a commemorative building for Androklos, the legendary founder of the city.⁵⁹⁴ It is also worth indicating that the imagery of Androklos – sometimes together with the depiction of the foundation legend of Ephesus – could be found in many places that dotted the processional way, the *Via Sacra*. When this processional way was followed starting from the Artemision, one first passed the tomb of Androklos,⁵⁹⁵ on which stood a statue that showed him as a warrior. Within the city, this was followed by the statue in the *Nymphaeum* of C. Laecanius Bassus on the so-called Domitian Street; the statues and reliefs in the *Nymphaeum Traiani*, the so-called Temple of Hadrian and the Hellenistic fountain on the *Embolos*; and a bronze statue of the mythical founder of the city had stood on the corner of the *Embolos* and the Marble Street until the third century CE.⁵⁹⁶ Moreover, on the basis of Pausanias' account, Thür puts forth the

⁵⁹² Quatember 2014, 110.

⁵⁹³ Thür 1995; Rathmayr 2011; Waldner 2009; Berns 2003, 39–50.

⁵⁹⁴ Quatember 2014, 112.

⁵⁹⁵ Knibbe (2002, 212-3) suggests that the east of the Panayırdağ, the area of the Koressian city is a likely place for the location of the tomb of *ktistes* Androklos that does not contradict Pausanias's (7.2.9) record concerning the place of this tomb. Thus, it can be stated that the tomb of Androklos was most likely outside the Hellenistic city walls to the Magnesian Gate.

⁵⁹⁶ Rathmayr 2011, 44.

possibility that another statue of an armed man could have stood on the upper story right under the arch or on the ridge of the roof, on top of the building.⁵⁹⁷

Therefore, it may thus be stated that this *Heroon* was a constituent of a grander ideological scheme, and held crucial place (arguably the most important place) – both physically and psychologically – within the imagery program of the legendary founder of the city that was displayed throughout *both* the intramural and extramural part of the processional way. I suggest that one could envisage the *Heroon* of Androklos as a substantial unit within a coherent ideological spatial installation that was gradually developed on the *polis*-scape and beyond the boundaries of the city. This is comparable to the *summi viri* in the Forum of Augustus or the monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the Athenian Agora in function, purpose and meaning in the civic life, but remarkably differed in manifestation and exceedingly varied in scale. In this respect, the distribution of the monuments for Androklos that was amalgamated with the aggregation of other dedications for different entities shows that the imagery, statuary and inscriptions along the processional way gathered attention not only for the deities, rulers and members of the upper class of the society, but also for the mythical figures, above all, Androklos as κτίστης,⁵⁹⁸ since the early imperial period.⁵⁹⁹ In this regard, I would further argue that the previously discussed loss of function argument respecting the agoras in the Roman period, which hinges upon the assumption that the agoras were reduced to a more static museum-like function and were no longer vivacious urban centers due to the Roman influence can also be objected to in view of the fact that the major urban spaces of Ephesus possessed similar museum-like characteristics, as just attested in the junction of the *Embolos* and the *Plateia*, and still were undeniably important venues in the religious and civic life of the city.

The sequential experience of the lined-up monuments in the lower *Embolos* continued with the eight-sided structure, (hence called the “Octagon”), a late Hellenistic and the earliest monument in the ensemble of buildings that are mentioned in this section. Just

⁵⁹⁷ Thür 1995, 176.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ktistes*: “founder.”

⁵⁹⁹ Rathmayr 2011, 45.

as many structures in the vicinity of the library plaza and the lower *Embolos*, the Octagon is thought to be another lavish burial, in which Arsinoë IV, half-sister of Cleopatra VII, assassinated in Ephesus, was entombed (Fig. 61).⁶⁰⁰ The unique physical attributes of the structure, octagonal prism resting on a rectangular base and surrounded by eight-sided Corinthian colonnade topped with a pyramidal roof must have offered a catchy sight (Fig. 62).⁶⁰¹ The monument had an unparalleled design that presented a distinctive view in the urban space. According to Thür, the singular architectural language of the structure is a reference to the Pharos of Alexandria, which was one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.⁶⁰² This is a remarkably persuasive and also intriguing assessment as the very architectural scheme of the illustrious lighthouse of the native town of the Ptolemaic dynasty (composed of three stages; a square base on which an octagonal mass rested with a cylindrical construction on top)⁶⁰³ had already been a source of inspiration for the burial architecture in Egypt before the construction of the Octagon in Ephesus. For instance, the tomb in the form of a tower known as the “lighthouse” of Abusir⁶⁰⁴ outside the city of Taposiris Magna which appears to be a scaled-down copy of the famed lighthouse of Alexandria provides a conspicuous case (Fig. 63). The tower was certainly an outstanding deed to exalt the image of the individual entombed there who, according to Adriani, seems to have wanted his tomb to be in the same form of the Pharos, like the Pyramid of Caius Cestius which echoed the Pyramids of the pharaohs of Egypt in Rome.⁶⁰⁵ El Fakharani concurs by asserting:

... an important personality in the Graeco-Roman epoch to which both the tower and the temple belong wanted to draw attention to his tomb by erecting a funerary monument above it. He not only placed this monument as high on the crest of the hill as the temple, but also had it built in the form of the famous

⁶⁰⁰ Thür 1995, 180-3.

⁶⁰¹ Thür (1995, 182) writes: “As far as I know, the octagonal shape had never been used before as a funerary building.”

⁶⁰² Thür 1995, 182.

⁶⁰³ El Fakharani 1974, 258-9.

⁶⁰⁴ Note that the word “Abusir” is an Arabicized version of the ancient word “Taposiris,” El Fakharani 1974, 257, fn. 1.

⁶⁰⁵ Adriani 1942, 138, cf. El Fakharani 1974, 266.

Pharos. This outstanding funerary monument, because of its unusual form and its location, must undoubtedly have emphasized the importance of the cemetery.⁶⁰⁶

In light of the brief exposition concerning the transfer of architectural form Pharos of Alexandria to different places for burial purposes, like in the example of the tower tomb in Taposiris Magna, it is clear that Thür's claim gains even more credibility. Yet, it has to be asserted that an altogether undiluted duplication of the architectural scheme of the Pharos of Alexandria is not observed in the case of the octagon in Ephesus, so an idiosyncratic translation of an architectural typology to a different and relatively distant context is a more appropriate explanation to define this incidence. In this regard, the burial of Arsinoë IV was prudently highlighted in a peculiar manner in the urban space reverberating the architectural traditions of the homeland of the Ptolemaic princess, and appears to have remained as a striking monument because of its memorable form, and its prominent location in the following centuries since its construction in the second half of the first century BCE.

The unusual visuality of the octagon was followed by another smaller, contemporaneous⁶⁰⁷ polygonal structure built in the second half of the first century BCE that was called the "hexagon" because of its six-sided planar layout. According to Quatember, the hexagon must also have been a grave or honorary monument, but the state of preservation does not allow making a certain comment.⁶⁰⁸ In tandem, it is intriguing that the grave monuments in the form of monopteros that are attested in the material record of Ephesus are somehow reminiscent of the appearance of the hexagon, such as the tomb of Titus Flavius Damianus⁶⁰⁹ and his family located 3-3.5 km away

⁶⁰⁶ El Fakharani 1974, 268.

⁶⁰⁷ For the dating of the hexagon, see Waldner 2009, 123-5.

⁶⁰⁸ Quatember 2014, 112.

⁶⁰⁹ As noted by Quatember and Scheibelreiter-Gail (2018, 223) T. Flavius Damianus had a reputation that went far beyond the boundaries of Ephesus during his lifetime, which was due on the one hand to his lecturing and teaching as a sophist, and on the other hand to his immense wealth which was used for the common good (e.g. the Damianus Stoa that covered the processional way from the Magnesian Gate to the Artemision, the *oikos* in the Varius Baths etc.). Kalinowski (2006, 117) notes that as one of the most famed local citizens, his life was recorded in a brief biography by Philostratus (PIR² F 253), in twelve inscriptions (IvE 672, 672A, 672B, 676A, 678, 735, 811, 2100, 3029, 3051, 3080, 3081) and perceptibly in the material record of Ephesus.

from the city center of Ephesus on the road to Magnesia (Fig. 64).⁶¹⁰ Thür offers a hypothetical suggestion that this structure could have been the tomb of the T. Cladius Aristion, a local elite and benefactor, based on a monumental sarcophagus that she presumes to belong to him whereas the dating by Waldner contradicts this idea.⁶¹¹ Either way, the hexagon is most probably a tomb of a distinguished individual – due to being an intramural burial – and a prestigious incarnation of a confident statement of status that was palpably echoed in the lower *Embolos*.

The last urban component of the ensemble of the monuments on the lower *Embolos* mentioned in this section is the Hellenistic fountain⁶¹² in the *taberna* in front of the Terrace House II that was in operation during the imperial period.⁶¹³ Quatember notes that a clear sense of functionality is attested in the layout of the building (Fig. 60), and it is apparent that entry to the fountain was intended and achieved unlike the other monuments on the south side of the lower *Embolos*.⁶¹⁴ The prostyle structure consisted of a water basin and a portico in front, so that the basin as well as the people who fetched water from there were both protected from the weather and dirt.⁶¹⁵ The austere and unpretentious architectural language in Doric order highlighted the practical and serviceable nature of the building as a water supply facility that distinctly diverged from the illustrious manner manifested in the public fountains of Roman Ephesus. This modest well is the first specimen of a certain number of fountains and other water-related structures that passers-by observed on their way to the upper city from the lower *Embolos*.⁶¹⁶

⁶¹⁰ For a detailed study on the tomb of T. Flavius Damianus and his family, see Quatember and Scheibelreiter-Gail 2018.

⁶¹¹ Thür 1995, 187.

⁶¹² According to Waldner (2009a, 27-32), the fountain dates to the late third or early second century BCE.

⁶¹³ Note that there is another Hellenistic fountain in Ionic order installed to the north of the stage building of the Great Theater of Ephesus, Ladstätter 2016, 247.

⁶¹⁴ Quatember 2014, 112-3.

⁶¹⁵ Quatember 2014, 112-3.

⁶¹⁶ Note that this fountain is the first to be encountered if one starts his/her journey from the lower *Embolos* to the upper city. As implied before, there are plenty of fountains along the route of the *Plateia*, and any location to start a movement would define the first monument to be encountered.

From the simple Hellenistic fountain opening into the theater plaza to the Magnesian Gate, an Ephesian was never completely out of reach of water. As the sights and sounds of one water monument faded, another along the same course, equally sumptuous, equally refreshing, almost miraculously appeared and served to delight the eyes and satisfy the needs of the pedestrian. The civilizing presence of water was one of several master themes that bound together all other institutions along this thoroughfare.⁶¹⁷

To summarize, the experience of getting to the Upper Agora from the east end of the *Embolos* revealed its intrinsic qualities immediately. In other words, the honorary monuments of the Hellenistic and early imperial periods affirm the inherent aspect of the *Embolos* as an archetypical memory place, *par excellence*. The intersection of the *Embolos* and the Marble Street was a *locus* where the main goddess of the city, other deities, the legendary founder, the emperors and their families, a Ptolemaic princess, the local benefactors and elites; numerous cults, imagery, ideas and representations were physically and mentally brought together, designedly or otherwise by the accumulation of the urban components, that formed a coherent assemblage especially in the imperial period. The crafted histories, the recollection of the past through the material body of the monuments of various forms, practices and traditions, together with the mental constructs and ideas that they embodied blended with the public life, mundane and ceremonial. The layered monuments of various periods around this spot enabled to build the notion of awareness of the present and partook in the public act of creating the collective consciousness, civic pride and histories that were essential to the identity of Ephesians. In brief, the experience in the lower *Embolos* is the epitome of what one would have had in his/her journey to the upper city via the major artery.

4.3.1.4. Upper *Embolos*

The lower *Embolos* was a vital urban space in the general layout of the city marked and defined with structures from the late Hellenistic and imperial period. On the other hand, it is almost exclusively the case that the monuments that were unfolded throughout the experience of moving upwards towards the upper city through the *Embolos* date to the imperial period. Therefore, one can simply deduce from the material record that the urban armature had undergone a significant transformation

⁶¹⁷ Yegül 1994, 107.

which had endowed a monumentalized character to the major urban artery over time. Besides, similar representative and monumental features of the monuments in the lower *Embolos* that reminded the passers-by of the past and assisted in the process of memory creation are also observed in the architectural language of other structures that are located on the upper parts of the street. Last but not least, it can arguably be claimed that the imperial imagery was manifested more firmly on the upper sections of the street through the imperial-related edifices, and above all, the imperial cult whose presence was felt more powerfully as a more prominent element of the urban ambience by passers-by who moved upwards through the *Embolos*.

The upper parts of the street in the imperial period were spatially defined by a continuous design of façade architecture that was formulated in a more uniform and homogeneous manner compared to the group of monuments on the south edge of the lower street that was covered in the previous section. Here, the *Embolos* was lined with colonnades on both sides which were only interrupted by specific buildings and stairways leading to the residential areas on the slopes of Mount Pion and Mount Preon on each side of the street.⁶¹⁸ These monuments are mostly located on the north side of the street whereas the colonnades on the south were mostly uninterrupted except the structures on the lower *Embolos* and the stairways that led to the residential areas. That is also to say, as the colonnades were not laid out continuously, the pedestrians who wanted to walk under the shade of the colonnades were not provided with continuous pathways and had to switch sides of the street.

As previously mentioned, the spatial experience on the *Embolos* in the imperial period must have offered a strong impression that can be called the “street canyon” or “urban canyon.” Indeed, in view of the topography, the colonnades and relatively high-rise buildings behind them, the spatial experience – *both* in motion and otherwise – on the street must have provided such an impact on the users (Fig. 65). That is to say, the buildings, residential or public, located within the *insulae* on both sides of the street had a discernible impact of being in-between on the passers-by. A little further up from the lower *Embolos*, the four-story high façade of the *taberna* in front of Terrace House

⁶¹⁸ Quatember *et al.* 2009, 111.

I (that was most probably to obtain a certain degree of privacy in the houses) dominated the vision on the right (Fig. 66),⁶¹⁹ whereas the sight on the left-hand side was defined by the well-integrated arrangement of the frontispiece of the Bath of Varius, also known as the Baths of Skolastikia, and the unique, splendid façade of a small temple, the so-called Temple of Hadrian (Fig. 67).

The integrated design of the structural fabrics of these two public buildings of different functions in one single *insula* (that can be observed both in the arrangement of their frontispieces as mentioned before and in the layout of their plan) is stimulating which also gives the impression that both monuments are coeval structures that were part of the same building program (Fig. 68, 69).⁶²⁰ Indeed, one of the entrances of the bath is on the immediate east of the *antae* of the temple, and the bath was innately linked to the temple through architectural details, “First, the east side of the pillar of the eastern *antae* was worked as a connecting surface for the door frame, which can be attributed to the first building phase because the decoration of the pilaster is symmetrical on the front, and the original surface on the side therefore still remains; second, the entablature of the temple, namely the architrave, frieze and cornice, still extends above the doorway to the bath (Fig. 67).”⁶²¹ Furthermore, the same masonry technique is observed in the initial building phases of the bath and the temple.⁶²² In tandem, epigraphic evidence also links both buildings to each other as the bath complex was identified by Merkelbach and Knibbe as the Bath of Varius based on epigraphic study,⁶²³ and the name of the very same person is cited in the inscription on the architrave blocks of the temple.⁶²⁴ To conclude, one can claim, as Quatember does,

⁶¹⁹ Note that there is a series of colonnades on the *taberna* front of the Terrace House I erected in the late antiquity.

⁶²⁰ Likewise, the opinion of Quatember (2010, 382) is that the baths and the temple are contemporaneous structures.

⁶²¹ Quatember *et al.* 2017, 154.

⁶²² Quatember *et al.* 2017, 125-31, 154.

⁶²³ Merkelbach and Knibbe 1978, 99.

⁶²⁴ Quatember 2010, 393

that the Bath of Varius and the so-called Temple of Hadrian were parts of a single architectural program that was implemented in the entirety of the *insula*.⁶²⁵

The smaller component of this building system, the Temple of Hadrian, is arguably one of the most appealing monuments today for modern visitors as one of the re-erected structures in Ephesus (Fig. 70).⁶²⁶ An extensive study on the temple has only been published rather recently which provides a comprehensive analysis of its chronology, function, and reconstruction,⁶²⁷ but the identification of the temple has long been the subject of scholarly attention and a decades-long dispute. Since unearthing prominent edifices during the large-scale excavations of the 1950s highly anticipated, F. Miltner labeled the building as the neokorate temple built for the provincial cult of the emperor Hadrian, based on the inscription on the architrave blocks which records that the building was dedicated to Hadrian and the *neokoros demos* of Ephesus by P. Quintilius Valens Varius (the same person after whom the bath was named) together with his wife and daughter.⁶²⁸ Indeed, the title of *neokoros*, and thus, the permission to build a neokorate temple for the imperial cult, for the second time, was bestowed to Ephesus by Hadrian between 130 and 132 CE, who had already been hailed by Ephesians as “founder” for his benefactions prior to the twice *neokoros* of the city, as stated by Burrell.⁶²⁹ However, the identification of the small temple on the *Embolos* by Miltner was disregarded in the following decades; for example, Ewen Bowie suggested the impossibility that this small temple could be a

⁶²⁵ Quatember *et al.* 2017, 154.

⁶²⁶ The *Embolos* was one of the major excavation sites in Ephesus in the 1950s under the supervision of Franz Miltner. One of the main objectives of this momentous works was to re-erect monuments to offer a more inviting environment for modern visitors. The so-called Temple of Hadrian was one of such structures that were excavated rather hastily and re-erected from 1956 to 1958. See, Quatember *et al.* 2017, 153; Quatember 2013, 60.

⁶²⁷ Quatember *et al.* 2017.

⁶²⁸ Quatember 2010, 381.

⁶²⁹ For further information on the second times *neokoros* of Ephesus, see Burrell 2004, 66-70. Note that the neokorate temple at Ephesus authorized by Hadrian was one of the three provincial cult centers in Asia Minor that were instituted for the cult of emperor Hadrian (the others were at Kyzikos and Smyrna). According to Burrell (2004, 66-7), as Hadrian had shown willingness to authorize more than one cult centers for the imperial cult in Asia Minor, Ephesians enthusiastically lobbied for the second *neokoros*, that brought the city at the same level with other cities like Pergamon and Smyrna that had already been granted twice *neokoros*.

proper neokorate temple for the cult of Hadrian.⁶³⁰ Two decades later, Christopher Jones put forth the possibility that the huge sanctuary that had already been named as the Olympieion in the lower city in the area of progradation (Fig. 7, 8, no. 98; Fig. 71), in which Zeus and Hadrian were both worshipped, could be the actual Hadrianeion.⁶³¹ Likewise, Dieter Knibbe, too, identifies this sanctuary as Hadrianeion and suggests that together with the prevalence of Christianity, it was usual for the imperial sanctuaries to be ravaged and demolished to their bases (which is exactly the case for the “Hadrianeion” in the lower city).⁶³² In a similar way, Burrell argues that the large sanctuary in the lower city was indeed the neokorate temple of Hadrian in Ephesus, but he was not worshipped there with or as Zeus,⁶³³ which contradicts with the naming of the sanctuary as the Olympieion.

Concerning whether the small temple on the *Embolos* had a religious value, Quatember asserts that although the structure was not the actual neokorate temple of the province of Asia, the term *naos* in the inscriptions indicates that the building was a part of the religious milieu of Ephesus.⁶³⁴ In this regard, within the contextual placement of the temple in the urban layout; one should take into account the particular architectural setting of the temple on the *Embolos* which provided a backdrop for various rites, rituals and processions, and it is in this context the temple should be treated.⁶³⁵ Moreover,

With the shrine attached to the baths, P. Quintilius Valens Varius opened the structure to one of the main thoroughfares of the city and ensured its presence in the cityscape as well as during festivities. Therefore, the Temple on Curetes

⁶³⁰ Bowie 1971.

⁶³¹ Jones 1993, 152.

⁶³² Knibbe 2002, 212-3.

⁶³³ Burrell 2003, 31-2. It is worth noting the possibility that Zeus already had a specific *locus* for his worship in the religious realm of Ephesus that was probably in the sanctuary of Magna Meter on the foothills of Mount Pion.

⁶³⁴ Quatember 2010, 394. For the inquiry whether the small temple on the *Embolos* was the Temple of Hadrian, see Quatember 2010; Quatember 2013.

⁶³⁵ Quatember *et al.* 2017, 159.

Street should be considered the built manifestation for processions and festivities, which can otherwise only be assessed through inscription.⁶³⁶

Overall, the building was actually a temple and the emperor Hadrian was one of the recipients of the dedication. The construction was triggered not due to the official permission that was granted from Rome but as a self-declared initiative by P. Quintilius Valens Varius in Ephesus. Nevertheless, one can assert that this small, yet elaborate structure was an architectural embodiment of the imperial imagery, and the monument of the avid expression of loyalty of the local elite to the emperor in the middle of the major urban street. It is not difficult to see that the distinct visual and spatial language of the temple would have made a peculiar impact on the viewers befitting the dignity of the emperor and the efforts of euergetism by Varius. In this sense, the temple which has a tetrastyle prostyle plan with a latitudinal rectangular *cella* (Fig. 72), has rectangular columns on either side that formed the outer frame of the façade facing the street whereas the circular columns at the center carry the central arch that presumably pierced the triangular pediment (hence constituting the form that is the so-called Syrian pediment, see Fig. 70). It is intriguing that the forms that were employed in the Gate of Hadrian to evoke the imperial image were manifested similarly in another structure that was also dedicated to Hadrian. In other words, certain architectural forms encountered on the western section of the street were repeated at this very spot. Thus, the emperor's presence was carefully re-enacted and a place for the worship of the emperor was confidently marked in the urban layout.

For Waelkens, it appears that the local benefactors asserted their Romanness by employing the construction techniques of Roman architecture in their projects in the provinces,⁶³⁷ and Thomas similarly notes that “For provincial elites building in the East, in Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria, the architectural style of the Roman West was a sign of cultural status; its forms demonstrated a “Roman-ness” that indicated their loyalty to Roman government.”⁶³⁸ In this regard, we can read the sail vault covering the central part of the *pronaos*, the barrel vaults of on either side of the *pronaos*, and

⁶³⁶ Quatember *et al.* 2017, 159.

⁶³⁷ Waelkens 1989, 79.

⁶³⁸ Thomas 2007, 90.

the barrel vault that probably covered the *cella* as the concrete efforts made by Varius to demonstrate his “Romanitas” in the public space.

The decoration program of the temple starkly tied the imagery of the emperor with that of the local community, legendary figures and deities that were more familiar to Ephesians by which the emperor in distant Rome was deftly absorbed in a vernacular context. To illustrate, the bust of *Tyche*, that was the representation of the citizens together with the corporeal and ethereal constituents of the *polis*, was placed on the keystone of the central arch which framed the view of another female figure on the wall above the entrance whose upper body arises from a *calyx* that holds tendrils, which can presumably be identified as Artemis in this very context in this temple.⁶³⁹ This expressed the duality of the sanctuary of Artemis and the city of Ephesus, which was also actively revitalized during the festive processions that took place on the *Via Sacra* that started from the Artemision, continued in the city and ended where it was started.⁶⁴⁰ Moreover, Artemis Ephesia is also represented in the friezes that partly surrounded the *pronaos* which included a depiction of the assembly of gods, the foundation story of Ephesus, Androklos, the legendary founder, and Amazons that are also related with the foundation of the city and the sanctuary of Artemis according to legend.⁶⁴¹ After all, the temple centered on the veneration of the ancestral goddess of Ephesus, although Hadrian was one of the recipients of the dedication.⁶⁴² In sum, the temple was an epitome that embodied the dual existence of the *polis* in its every aspect and its citizens with the Artemision, putting together the mythical stories concerning the foundation of Ephesus, the legendary figures and communities related with the foundation myths; with the benefactor of the temple, the provincial elite, Varius and his family and the emperor in distant Rome, in a cohesive manner. Thence, it appears that the vital importance of the so-called Temple of Hadrian in the urban spaces came from its particular context that most of the major aspects of the Ephesian mindset under

⁶³⁹ Quatember *et al.* 2017, 157. According to Matheson (1994, 25) there are some examples in which *Tyche* was fused into the representation of the patron deity of some cities, such as in Ephesus and Gerasa where Artemis, the ancestral goddess, was represented as *Tyche*.

⁶⁴⁰ Quatember *et al.* 2017, 159.

⁶⁴¹ Quatember 2010, 388-9; Quatember *et al.* 2017, 156-7.

⁶⁴² Quatember *et al.* 2017, 159.

Roman rule, and the way Ephesians remembered the past, perceived the present world that enabled envisaging the future were manifested in the material reality of this small temple.

The so-called Temple of Hadrian was an essential part of a building program that included the bath structure which covered most of the *insula* (Fig. 69) This bath can be understood on the major urban street as a testimony of the Roman Peace, because the existence of the baths (and other water-related monuments) was dependent on the operative aqueducts carrying water steadily from outside the city which, in turn, hinged on the *Pax Romana* as such waterworks “had to cross the boundary of the city walls, thereby negating their defensive value,” as noted by Mitchell.⁶⁴³ There had already been an earlier construction of conduits in Ephesus before Roman times; the Lysimachean Aqueducts built by Lysimachus in the first half of the third century BCE,⁶⁴⁴ which implies that the Greeks had adequate technology to build aqueducts in earlier periods. However, the rise in the building activities of the water-related architecture in the city in the imperial period, and the construction of more aqueducts (such as the Aqua Throessitica built between 4 BCE – 14 CE which was originally laid out as clay pipelines in the first half of the second century BCE, the Aqueducts of Aristion built under the rule of Trajan, and the Değirmendere Aqueducts which had still been in use until fifty years ago to supply Kuşadası)⁶⁴⁵ reveals the sheer scale of the efforts put for the water-related architecture during the imperial period underlining the essential importance of the *Pax Romana* for the construction of waterworks (Fig. 73).⁶⁴⁶

Therefore, the next building that one encountered after the so-called Temple of Hadrian was another water monument, the *Nymphaeum Traiani*, that has been regarded as one of the earliest specimens of the architectural tradition of monumental

⁶⁴³ Mitchell 1993:1, 216.

⁶⁴⁴ Wiplinger 2011, 96-7.

⁶⁴⁵ Wiplinger 2011, 97-101. On the Değirmendere Aqueducts, also see Wiplinger 2013.

⁶⁴⁶ For an overview of the water supply and distribution system of Ephesus in the imperial period, see Ortloff and Crouch 2001.

fountains with an aedicular façade attested in Asia Minor during the Roman period.⁶⁴⁷ The monumental *nymphaeum* that was incorporated in the fabric of the colonnades on the north side of the street was unveiled to passers-by approximately 70-80 m from the small temple (Fig. 74) (today, visitors encounter a modern installation, an architectural collage made up of original and modern materials by Bammer, Fig. 75). The building consisted of a larger main pool which was surrounded on three sides with the aedicular façades in a Π-shaped plan and fronted with another narrower pool on the street side (Fig. 76). As one of the two monumental *nymphaea*⁶⁴⁸ in the city financed by famous local elites, Tiberius Claudius Aristion and his wife Iulia Lydia Laterane, the *Nymphaeum Traiani* was the terminus and a distribution center of Aristion's monumental project of providing additional water supply to Ephesus with the 35-40 km (210 stadia) long aqueducts which are recorded in an inscription that includes the name of the emperor Trajan and implicates a construction date between 102-114 CE.⁶⁴⁹

The logic behind the design of the aedicular façade with projections and recesses alternatively positioned on the first and second floor is similar to that of the lavish façade of the Library of Celsus, but the decoration program of the *Nymphaeum Traiani*, in general, was more modestly articulated (Fig. 77).⁶⁵⁰ The aedicular form within which niches and small pavilions were set up provided appropriate places and formulated a hierarchical arrangement for various sculptures (Fig. 78). The statuary program included both the imagery that are commonly found in the tradition of *nymphaea* such as satyrs, nymphs and Apollo, and the type of representation that is peculiar to the case in Ephesus such as Androklos whose statue was probably depicted as well as carrying the portraits of the benefactors, Tiberius Claudius Aristion and Iulia Lydia Laterane, and emperor Nerva (Fig. 76).⁶⁵¹ However, the visual focus of the entire display was the over-life size statue of Trajan, the largest figure in the statuary

⁶⁴⁷ Quatember 2011, 110.

⁶⁴⁸ The other *nymphaeum* was built on the street that led to the Magnesian Gate. For further information about this public fountain sponsored by Aristion, see Quatember 2008.

⁶⁴⁹ Quatember 2011, 110.

⁶⁵⁰ Quatember 2011, 110.

⁶⁵¹ Quatember 2011, 111.

of the *nymphaeum* that was placed at the center of the façade between two elaborately embellished spiral columns that had reliefs with the representations of some figures and flora (Fig. 78).⁶⁵²

The special placement of the emperor within the layout of the *Nymphaeum Traiani* might affirm the idea that there is a sense of connection between the aedicular façade with the imperial imagery (and even with the imperial cult as was implied with the term “Kaisersaal” used to refer to aedicular rooms such as the room in the palaestra of the Harbor Bath-Gymnasium in Ephesus, the Marble Court at Sardis).⁶⁵³ For instance, Yegül makes an assessment on the acceptance of imperial cult within the framework of the aedicular rooms the bath-gymnasium complexes.⁶⁵⁴ According to him, the *Kaisersaal*, "Emperor-Hall" (or "Imperial Hall") in the Vedius Bath-Gymnasium, emerges as a kind of "Hall of Honor" for the ruling emperor and the imperial family; it is a "religious place" devised for a popular and public level.⁶⁵⁵ As reviewed by Burrell, although Yegül sees the aedicular façade as an expression of royal symbolism,⁶⁵⁶ the emperor's (and the imperial family's) place in the aedicular forms remains circumstantial as observed in some cases including the *bouleuterion* at

⁶⁵² Quatember 2011, 110-1. Note that these ornate columns constituted a lavish frame for the statue of Trajan within the more modestly articulated façade and gave a striking emphasis to it within the spatial formulation of the *nymphaeum* befitting Trajan's personal grandeur and prestige.

⁶⁵³ Here, it is worth mentioning the religious roots of the *nymphaea*, as noted by Segal (1997, 151), that are considered to have been the architectural successors of the Classical and Hellenistic sanctuaries dedicated to nymphs founded around the wells or in caves with springs, but this religious connection vanished during the Roman period when they were transformed into public fountains built along the thoroughfares whose water supply was then provided with aqueducts and pipelines. Thus, Segal (1997, 151) states: “Roman architects did no longer have to limit themselves to a sacred site as such and erected *nymphaea* wherever aesthetic and/or urban considerations made such desirable.” Likewise, the word *aedicula*, as the diminutive of *aedes*, may denote a small temple or a chapel in the consecrated area of a temple, as Fishwick (1993, 238) asserts. Subsequently, *aedicula* became a broader term that referred to a specific architectural form, as noted by Üçer Karababa (2017, 50).

⁶⁵⁴ Yegül 1982.

⁶⁵⁵ Yegül 1982, 30-31; Yegül 2008, 111.

⁶⁵⁶ Burrell 2006, 437.

Ephesus.⁶⁵⁷ Rather, the aedicular façade “was a sign of the theater,⁶⁵⁸ of Roman elite status, and even a form of conspicuous consumption; but many gods, personifications, and civic donors, not just the emperors, were associated with it.”⁶⁵⁹ In a similar vein, Quatember states that “aedicular fountains in Roman Asia Minor served a particular purpose: Within the architectural schema, statues could be grouped and arranged in order to form a desired relationship with one another, and therefore, nymphaea of this type are ideally suited for the purpose of self-representation of the Roman elite in Asia Minor.”⁶⁶⁰

So, in its widest sense, the efforts of highlighting the local identity and heritage through the statuary program was prevalent in the aedicular architecture of *nymphaea* (and of theaters) of the prosperous cities in Roman Asia Minor which included the imagery of local deities and occasionally that of the emperor in an important spot.⁶⁶¹ In this manner, the decision whether to include the imperial imagery was decided by the benefactors which might have resulted in either way.⁶⁶² In other words, the aedicular architecture was utilized by the local elite for self-exhibition in the civic space, and the decision to represent themselves with the imagery of the imperial family was up to them.⁶⁶³ That Aristion held a number of important religious and civic offices such as “*neokoros* and provincial high-priest of the imperial cult, *asiarch* three times,

⁶⁵⁷ Burrell 2006; for the Antonine statuary and the inscription in the *bouleuterion* in the Upper Agora, see Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001.

⁶⁵⁸ For a study regarding the link between the façades of theaters and those of nymphaea, see Aristodemou 2011.

⁶⁵⁹ Burrell 2006, 437.

⁶⁶⁰ Quatember 2011, 111.

⁶⁶¹ Aristodemou 2011, 188-9.

⁶⁶² Burrell 2006, 462.

⁶⁶³ Üçer Karababa (2017, 61) postulates that the aedicular façades (specifically those in Aphrodisias and Perge) “can be thought of as large-scale versions of the familial paraphernalia in the atria of Roman houses. Sebasteion Gate at Aphrodisias and the reconstructed Hellenistic Gate at Perge set up stages on the colonnaded avenues of their cities, representing their city as an extension of the empire. Through this representation not only subjugation to the unity of the empire was legitimized through the family metaphor, but also willful loyalty and devotion to the alien authority of the Roman emperor was sealed through the evocation of a common ancestry.”

prytanis and *grammateus*”⁶⁶⁴ clarifies his decision of underscoring the link between him and the emperor in a conspicuous manner through the imagery employed in the fountain he commissioned which displayed the local roots of the local elite and his relation to the Roman authorities of topmost position.⁶⁶⁵ As his image was worthy of being carried by the legendary founder of the city, Aristion proved to be a distinguished and reputable Ephesian; and the statuary including the imperial imagery accentuated his strong ties with the center of the empire that were in no way attainable for an ordinary Ephesian. In short:

The importance of the *Nymphaeum Traiani* lies not in its function as a fountain. It rather represents a symbolic terminus and celebration of the monumental aqueduct commissioned by Ti. Claudius Aristion and Iulia Lydia Laterane. The architectural form of this structure, especially its aedicular façade, is hardly necessary or suited for the withdrawal of drinking water. Instead, its architectural form provides an excellent venue for the purpose of self-representation of the Roman elite in Asia Minor. In short, the *Nymphaeum Traiani* is a monument that can be seen as a dedication to the honor of its donors and their contribution to the city of Ephesus as well as their ties to the Roman emperor.⁶⁶⁶

Such lofty endeavors of the provincial elite transformed the appearance of the cities in Asia Minor, which resulted in the visually corresponding, if not identical, urban spaces that were unmistakably the outcome of the “spirit” of Roman times. The urban spaces in different cities exhibited similar outlooks that echoed each other’s visual aspects that can be said to have proliferated due to the process of “Romanization.” For example, the Agora at Miletus was surrounded with the colossal three-storied aedicular façade of the monumental *nymphaeum* and a *propylon* with the “Syrian pediment” on the south-east side (Fig. 79), and another aedicular façade of the “Market Gate” on the south-west side. One can speculate that this is an indication of the long-standing rivalry between the *poleis* in Asia Minor transformed during the Roman period which ironically led to the similar looking public spaces in various cities.

Past the monumental *nymphaeum*, the continuous colonnades framed the visitors’ range of view on both sides, leading the eyesight towards the upper end of the street

⁶⁶⁴ Richard 2011, 76.

⁶⁶⁵ Richard 2011, 90.

⁶⁶⁶ Quatember 2011, 111.

(Fig. 80). Thus, the visitors' vision was confined in a well-defined space. Today, modern visitors see an array of pedestals lined up on the north side of the street (Fig. 81), which suggests that there had originally been a spectacle of statues of various figures in front of the colonnades on the upper part of the street (Fig. 82). This parade of sculptures of significant figures affirms the very characteristics of the *Embolos* as a venue for self-representation. In this sense, the statuary on the upper section of the street was a built reverberation of these characteristics that were manifested on every section of the major urban artery, as it was previously attested.

As it was mentioned before, the Gate of Herakles dates to late antiquity and is out of the scope of this study and the visual terminus of the east end of the *Embolos* was – as can be anticipated during the experience on the street – a water-related structure, the so-called *Hydreion* (Fig. 83). The structure was a small fountain measuring 11.70x1.60 m in plan⁶⁶⁷ that is located at the intersection of the *Embolos* and the so-called “Hanghausstraße” at an oblique angle to the former and perpendicular to the latter. The fountain installation had a tripartite arrangement, a semicircular apse possibly covered with an *exedra* was the visual focus of the structure that was framed by a large arch flanked by two *aediculae* on either side (Fig. 84). Moreover, the elongated water basin was divided into three parts with partition walls that were on the same axis with the four columns of Corinthian order that divided the façade into three.⁶⁶⁸ On either side, the façade projected outside, forming a sort of aedicular form. Thus, the monumental aedicular architecture that was attested at various spots along the *Embolos* was again repeated in a modest manner at the east end of the street. After all, it was a typical aspect of the Roman urbanism that a common collection of forms and typologies was available within one's sight and the beholder's smaller scale environs often corresponded with remote monuments.⁶⁶⁹

Thus far, in this section, we have mostly dealt with the imagery, symbolism and metaphors that the fountains and other water-related structures on the *Embolos*

⁶⁶⁷ Thür 2000, 98.

⁶⁶⁸ Quatember 2008.

⁶⁶⁹ MacDonald 1986:2, 255.

possessed. Yet, the plain and equally prudent design of the *Hydreion* and its context in the urban layout provide hints about the very practical and functionalist aspect of Roman urbanism in two different ways. Firstly, the structure was built on the east end of the *Embolos* to ameliorate the vague passage between the street and the large plaza on its east end.⁶⁷⁰ Thus, the connection between the *Embolos* and the so-called Plaza of Domitian was ambiguously defined prior to the construction of the *Hydreion*, which is considered a part of the efforts in the massive building program of the assembling of the Upper Agora in Augustan times which included the rearrangement of the *Plateia* and thus the plaza.⁶⁷¹ As such, the physical setting of the fountain in the urban fabric testifies to the massive interventions on the urban layout of Ephesus during the Augustan era.

Secondly, as already mentioned, along the urban armature of Ephesus, water as a vital resource was generously (and lavishly) offered at plentiful spots with fountains that were located remarkably close to each other. The utility of this is obvious when we consider the excessive heat during a considerable part of the year in the region and that the marble paved streets and their environs only enhanced the impact of the hot temperature. In this sense, the presence of water in close vicinity was required, though luxurious, and Ephesians were never left out of water in the urban spaces at least in Roman times. Moreover, the refreshing sound of water must have never faded during the movement on the *Embolos*, and pedestrians could drink, wash their hands and heads from the abundant number of public fountains that were accessible close at hand, and with the rejuvenating effect of water, they could carry on their businesses. As the prerequisite for the community life and indispensable part of the city, the water supply was opulently dealt with by incorporation in the daily life of Roman Ephesus through fountains that appeared frequently especially on its main thoroughfare. The copious provision of water and the system of public fountains in Roman Ephesus signal the keen pragmatic facet of Roman urbanism.

⁶⁷⁰ Scherrer 2000, 88.

⁶⁷¹ Scherrer 2000, 88.

In front of the *Hydreion*, beholders were also under the towering impact of another monument whose decorative and sculptural program, the symbolism and imagery it represented had an exceptional tone unparalleled in the material record of Ephesus. Immediately past the *Hydreion*, the Memmius Monument came into full view before visitors on the left-hand side (Fig. 85). The architectural setting of the Memmius Monument provided two distinct perceptions, one of which, as already mentioned, was from the *Embolos* beyond the so-called *Hydreion* which visually covered the lower sections of the towering structure, and the other from the large plaza to which the *Embolos* gave direct access which unraveled the full presence of the monument. The building erected during the third quarter of the first century BCE⁶⁷² in a very prominent location was not a burial structure in its proper sense but a conspicuous landmark that exemplifies the manner of self-representation and self-portrayal of Romans in the first century BCE.⁶⁷³ Furthermore, this tower-like structure of an ambiguous functional nature can even be interpreted as a victory monument. In this regard, the historical background of the monument and the events that were concretized through its corporeal body merits comment.

During the First Mithridatic War, Ephesians made an alliance with the Pontic Kingdom, and Mithridates VI was welcomed as a liberator in Ephesus in 89 BCE, which led to the event called *Ephesian Vespers*, the massacre of all the Romans in many cities of Asia Minor. The Roman commander Cornelius Sulla waged war against Mithridates VI, punished Ephesus in 88 BCE imposing compensations.⁶⁷⁴ For the role the Ephesians played in the massacre, the city was deprived of its freedom in 84 BCE, which the city regained decades later.⁶⁷⁵ Thence, one can state that these events were arguably later monumentalized through an honorific structure which was built by Memmius, the grandson of Cornelius Sulla who was represented with his important family members (perhaps including Sulla) and the personalization of Memmius'

⁶⁷² For the construction date of the monument, see Outschar 2000, 96.

⁶⁷³ Steskal 2011, 249.

⁶⁷⁴ Scherrer 2000, 21; see also Rogers 2012, 94.

⁶⁷⁵ Scherrer 2000, 21; Rogers 2012, 94.

virtues⁶⁷⁶ (like in the example of the Library of Celsus nearly two centuries later) on the reliefs of the structure (Fig. 86).

In form, the monument is a square planned structure and the arches framing the niches were supported by Caryatid figures (Fig. 87).⁶⁷⁷ An examination of the depiction of caryatids in this honorific monument might be helpful to grasp the possible meanings attached to the structure. Vitruvius describes the origins of the depiction of Caryatids as follows:

Caryae, a state in Peloponnesus, sided with the Persian enemies against Greece; later the Greeks, having gloriously won their freedom by victory in the war, made common cause and declared war against the people of Caryae. They took the town, killed the men, abandoned the State to desolation, and carried off their wives into slavery, without permitting them, however, to lay aside the long robes and other marks of their rank as married women, so that they might be obliged not only to march in the triumph but to appear forever after as a type of slavery, burdened with the weight of their shame and so making atonement for their State. Hence, the architects of the time designed for public buildings statues of these women, placed so as to carry a load, in order that the sin and the punishment of the people of Caryae might be known and handed down even to posterity.⁶⁷⁸

Although Vitruvius' account is now commonly regarded as a late fabrication, it is still instructive to examine how this view came about.⁶⁷⁹ It is stimulating that Vitruvius' account on Caryatids appears to be in line with the context in which the Caryatids depicted in the Memmius Monument. Ephesus, like Caryae, made a similar strategic mistake in a war, made an alliance with the party that would eventually be defeated, and finally was punished by the victors. In addition to Caryatids, the display of the victorious commander of Cornelius Sulla on the surfaces of the monument which was located at a very prominent place was probably a notorious sign in the quotidian life of Ephesus to remind the Ephesians their strategic mistake in the First Mithridatic War which was consequently followed by the punishment and compensations. In this regard, the monument of Memmius can be interpreted as a victory monument that

⁶⁷⁶ Outschar 2000, 96.

⁶⁷⁷ Outschar 2000, 96.

⁶⁷⁸ Vitruvius, 1.1.5.

⁶⁷⁹ Vickers 1985, 3-4.

commemorated the events that followed the *Ephesian Vespers*, honored the victors, and evoked the unpleasant past for the locals. The tone of the monument was unparalleled in the material record of Ephesus, and the construction of the *Hydreion* on the *Embolos* side might be viewed as an effort to tone down the unsettling language that the Memmius Monument possessed for the locals.

The so-called *Hydreion* and the Memmius Monument marked the ending of the *Embolos* and the beginning of the so-called Plaza of Domitian. It is remarkable how diverse the urban experiences of the visitors were during a regular walk in the major thoroughfare both with regard to the imagery, symbolism and metaphors; as well as the visual perception. The *Embolos* materialized the transformation of Ephesus that was once a city punished by Sulla (through the Memmius Monument) and became a focal point of the Roman ideals in which the elite ambitiously emulated the Roman precepts while also incorporating the local customs, identity, religion and the history of the city. Furthermore, the street – both literally and figuratively – paved the way for the creation of memory, defining the local identity, making sense of the realities of the time, together with the dense imagery program that included the distant rulers, the founder, the legends, the myths and all. Although the imagery in one place might seem haphazard, almost chaotic to a modern eye, the meaningful assemblage that was there to be observed throughout the street makes it more discernible. Lastly, the presence of the imperial imagery that was essential to the Roman city and reaching a crescendo during the movement on the *Embolos* as we have observed, reaches a peak in the civic spaces. This will be discussed in the next section to see how it is definitely the case that the imperial cult was overtly and more intensely manifested in those spaces as an essential urban component.

4.3.2. A Place for the Emperors: The Plaza of Domitian and the *Sebasteion*

In Ephesus, the emperor's presence was confidently marked with appropriate architectural and other types of installations on the urban spaces, as seen already. The upper city starting from the Plaza of Domitian is an exalted example of such venues for the emperor(s) observed in Ephesus. In this regard, it should also be noted that the large plaza on the east side of the *Embolos* was confined with the substructure of the

Upper Agora and some monuments embedded on its built fabric on the east and the imperial temple on the south.

First of all, it is propitious to begin with drawing attention to the change in the sensory perception of the space on the “threshold” of the *Embolos* and the Plaza of Domitian (Fig. 88). Indeed, this location signified a dramatic transition in perception, from that of a street that was ca. 10m wide and bordered with the cluster of colonnades and monuments on either side hence possessing an “urban canyon” impact, to that of a large plaza bordered with the Upper Agora, the neokorate temple and a variety of monuments. The assemblage of structures on the Plaza of Domitian consisted of buildings that had a similar degree of diversity in form, shape and function compared to group of monuments on the lower and middle *Embolos*. On the other hand, it can also be clearly seen that the journey along the *Embolos* terminated in a profoundly Roman(ized) civic space which had probably been viewed new and modern by the ancient visitors.

On the northeast corner of the plaza, immediately after the Memmius Monument, passers-by would spot a path that led up to the group of buildings beyond the north side of the Upper Agora (Fig. 89). Just like the narrow path frequently used today by modern visitors for passage between the Upper Agora (and the group of monuments on the north side of the basilica-stoa) and the Plaza of Domitian, this was the shortest route from the *Plateia* to the religious and administrative center, the *Prytaneion*, the double *cella* monument and the *bouleuterion* in antiquity as well. The street was called the *kathodos* (κάθοδος) in antiquity, which literally means “descent” or “way down.” There is a kind of threshold that was referred to as the *Embasis* in antiquity where the *kathodos* opens to the Plaza of Domitian, on either side of which there are two pedestals with identical reliefs.⁶⁸⁰ The depiction of Hermes and his ram on the side of the pedestals oriented towards the *Plateia* possibly symbolized the realm of men, with life and death; whereas the representation of Apollon’s tripod *cauldron facing the Embasis* might have signaled (or foretold) the passage to an entirely different domain

⁶⁸⁰ Scherrer 2000, 86.

that was reserved for the cults stressing the purity symbolized by the tripod.⁶⁸¹ Scherrer's assessment is particularly convincing given the setting of the pedestals on the *Embasis* which implies the designation of the differentiation between the earthly and ordinary realm of men and the divine place of the cults with an architectural installation in the urban space.

Next to the *kathodos* is the monumental substructure of the *chalcidicum* that has a distinct view today due to its construction made up of large blocks (Fig. 11, no. 16; Fig. 90). There are three rooms directly opening to the plaza whose function is unclear. Past the substructures of the *chalcidicum* is an honorific structure erected adjacent to the retaining wall of the Upper Agora on the side of the plaza (Fig. 11, no. 15). This structure is referred to as the Pollio Monument after the well-known Ephesian philanthropist, C. Sextilius Pollio. Measuring 8x6.5m in plan with a height of 6.4m, the building can be considered small in size, but its context in a prominent urban area, its nature and the meanings attached to it monumentalize the structure conspicuously. Pollio had been known for the achievements of public benefactions such as the monumental construction works of the aqueducts, the Aqua Throessitica⁶⁸² (Fig. 91), and the construction of the basilica-stoa on the Upper Agora.⁶⁸³ As Pollio gained acclaim for his grand scale euergetic benefactions, his deeds were acknowledged through an honorific monument dedicated for him.⁶⁸⁴ Moreover, a statue pedestal dedicated by the *boule* and the *demos* found nearby indicates Ephesians' acknowledgment of his contributions to the city.⁶⁸⁵ As a remarkable example of self-representation through architecture, the monument was built in the Augustan age in

⁶⁸¹ Scherrer 2000, 86.

⁶⁸² IvE 402. An intact part of this water conduit, the Pollio Aqueduct, that spans the riverbed of Marnas (Değirmen) is found 3.5-4 km outside Ephesus (Fig. 91). Weiss (2011, 85) notes that a bilingual inscription on this bridge of aqueducts mentions Pollio as the benefactor with his wife Ofillia Bassa, and his son C. Ofillius Proculus which was also dedicated to Artemis, Augustus, Tiberius, and to the *demos* of Ephesus that was correspondingly observed in the bilingual dedicatory inscriptions of the basilica-stoa in the Upper Agora which was also built by Pollio. Moreover, as maintained by Weiss (2011, 27), this aqueduct bridge was the first above-ground arcaded water conduits in Asia Minor that was firmly related with the Roman waterworks engineering.

⁶⁸³ IvE 404; Steskal 2011, 249.

⁶⁸⁴ Thür 2000, 90.

⁶⁸⁵ Kalinowski 1996, 62.

association with the Aqua Throessitica as the elaborate terminus of this water conduit system.⁶⁸⁶ Thus, it was probably the earliest example of the honorific fountains arranged as the final destination and distribution center of the water conduits that wealthy residents of Ephesus sponsored,⁶⁸⁷ which set a precedent to be deliberately emulated by Aristion a century later with his project of the aqueducts and the inner-city terminus, the *Nymphaeum Traiani*.⁶⁸⁸

The reconstruction of the building by Thür shows the central niche framed by pilasters and flanked by bilingual inscriptions; the Latin text to the left and the Greek to the right (Fig. 92).⁶⁸⁹ It is striking that the contemporaneous Augustan inscriptions attested in Ephesus, such as the inscription on the entablature of the South Gate of the Tetragnos Agora, the inscription of the basilica-stoa and the inscription on the aqueduct bridge built by Pollio (though this bridge was not in the city), were bilingual, inscribed both in Greek, the *lingua franca* of the eastern provinces of the empire and Latin, the language of Roman control, according to Kalinowski.⁶⁹⁰ It might have been the case that the dual identity of Pollio and his family, the residents of Ephesus originally of Italic descent was reflected through the bilingual inscriptions.

There are other views concerning the function of the Pollio Monument considering the building as an intramural tomb which was a suitable honor in Pollio's case and a dignified commemoration reserved for the esteemed citizens (who had notably contributed to the civic landscape of Ephesus) as already discussed before in this thesis,⁶⁹¹ while Steskal makes a more secure comment as an "intra-urban private representation of a worthy citizen of the city" stressing the ambiguous character of honorific monuments and tombs (just as he does for the Memmius Monument as well,

⁶⁸⁶ Weiss 2011, 86.

⁶⁸⁷ Weiss 2011, 86.

⁶⁸⁸ That said, unlike the Aqueducts of Aristion and *Nymphaeum Traiani* which were both donated by Tiberius Claudius Aristion, the Aqua Throessitica was sponsored by Pollio himself while the Pollio Monument was dedicated by his stepson, C. Offilius Proculus.

⁶⁸⁹ Weiss 2011, 86-7.

⁶⁹⁰ Kalinowski, 1999, 61.

⁶⁹¹ Thür 2000, 90.

and compares both honorific structures in this respect).⁶⁹² Besides, the monument can be considered as one of the built testimonies in the cityscape affirming that Pollio and Augustus took the role of the *ktistes* in the re-foundation of the city.⁶⁹³ After all, the momentous changes came with the Augustus' rise in power to the rank of *princeps* and Ephesus being re-organized as the provincial capital were partly reflected through one of the first monumental fountains of the Roman Ephesus in the vicinity of the newly built Roman(ized) center of administration and the imperial cult, the Upper Agora.⁶⁹⁴ The novelties of the new age materialized in the new urban center was not necessarily disconnected from the history of the city either, as Weiss writes:

Augustus and Pollio echoed the actions of Androklos by tapping a new source of water for the city, just as Androklos found a water source for the future colonists at the Hypelaian Spring. By creating a monument that drew on mythological and topographical associations through its architectural arrangement and manipulation of water, C. Ofillius Proculus was able to make the claim that his father Pollio and his family, too, were founders of the city. Siting the Pollio Building at the edge of the new State Agora further emphasized the new status quo, while simultaneously making reference to the mythological foundations on which the city was built.⁶⁹⁵

The next building in the array of the monuments on the terrace wall of the Upper Agora had a captivating outlook with the hefty arch on its façade (Fig. 11, no. 14). In fact, the monument still possesses an imposing sight today (Fig. 93), whose façade facing the plaza consisted only of a prodigious arch rising on pilasters, on top of which a pediment above another pair of taller pilasters on either side and a balustrade below closing off the basin from the street level that was elevated on stairs (Fig. 94). This monumental structure is considered to be yet another fountain in the urban waterworks system of Ephesus dating to 92-3 CE, known as the Fountain of Domitian. Two inscriptions which were identical in their record were found in the debris of this fountain and were inscribed only in Greek unlike the inscriptions of the Pollio

⁶⁹² Steskal 2011, 249.

⁶⁹³ Weiss 2011, 89.

⁶⁹⁴ It is vital to note once again that the basilica-stoa on the North of the Upper Agora was donated by Pollio and his family as well.

⁶⁹⁵ Weiss 2011, 89.

Monument.⁶⁹⁶ These inscriptions clearly indicate that the dedication of the fountain was explicitly to Artemis Ephesia and Domitian, emperor for twenty-three years.⁶⁹⁷ Another inscription specifies Calvisius Ruso, the proconsul of Asia at the time who had ancestral ties to Ephesus, as the benefactor of the fountain together with the construction of the water conduit system, the Marnas Aqueduct.⁶⁹⁸ Ruso was a well-known individual, an Ephesian who had an exceptional career as a Roman administrator, attested in the inscriptions at Ephesus.⁶⁹⁹ Through the fountain he donated, Ruso displayed his ties with the imperial center *and* with Ephesus, combining his name with the emperor's and Artemis in a prominent urban node. The monument was thus the embodiment of the self-representation of a local elite working keenly and enthusiastically with the imperial rule, the prestigious demonstration of the connection of himself with Domitian and Artemis in an important civic center. It is also worth noting here that the manner of the display of loyalty towards the imperial center neither overruled, nor overshadowed the expression of devotion to the ancestral goddess of the city.

The connection to Rome was not only attested in the epigraphical evidence but also in the architectural language of the Fountain of Domitian. Indeed, the design of the fountain was certainly unprecedented in Asia Minor; the apsidal basin that was defined with an *exedra* was remarkably unusual and innovative judging by the time and place of dedication (Fig. 94).⁷⁰⁰ Such fountains with semi-circular apsidal basins are commonly attested in the architectural record of the west of the Empire whereas it appears that this typology had not had a firm place in the tradition of Asia Minor, except an *exedra* fountain built in the fourth century BCE on the island of Tenos (Fig.

⁶⁹⁶ After Augustan times, inscribing texts both in Latin and Greek does not seem to be prevalent.

⁶⁹⁷ "To Ephesian Artemis and to the Emperor [Domitian] Caesar Augustus [Germanicus], pontifex maximus, year twelve of his tribunician power, emperor for twenty-three years, consul for the nineteenth time, censor, father of the fatherland." Translation by Longfellow 2011, 64.

⁶⁹⁸ Longfellow 2011, 64.

⁶⁹⁹ Longfellow 2005, 92.

⁷⁰⁰ Longfellow 2005, 93.

95).⁷⁰¹ In this context, Longfellow claims that the so-called *Hydreion* with a semi-circular apse adjacent to the Memmius Monument during Augustan rule was the earliest departure from the standards of the architectural tradition of fountains in Asia Minor.⁷⁰² Thence, it can be stated that the Augustan *Hydreion*, a building from the early imperial period with a peculiar layout on a very prominent urban space (it was the visual terminal point of the east-end of the *Embolos*), was the source of inspiration in the process of formulation of the Fountain of Domitian for the architect(s) and the benefactor who emulated the architectural language of the Augustan fountain and remodeled it in order to provide an innovative and apt form fitting to the context of a different time.

As was mentioned before, the fountain had an uncomplicated but certainly not modest design that manifested a peculiar presence on a prominent civic space of Ephesus with its unusual repertoire of architectural elements. The original outlook of the fountain was truly imposing; the outer pilasters on either side seemingly carried a large pediment under which an arch was placed supported by another and shorter pair of pilasters. All pilasters rested on the balustrade made up of vertical orthostates that closed off the main basin that was not accessible for pedestrians from the street level.⁷⁰³ That is why another smaller draw basin was added just in front of the orthostat blocks in order for pedestrians to be able to easily reach the water when needed in a place like the Plaza of Domitian, a marble cladded crowded public space of Ephesus, where the prevailing climatic conditions were high humidity and hot weather roughly in half of a year. This reveals the pragmatic aspect of the architectural design of the monumental fountain other than the propulsive ideological and political purposes that were embodied in the manifestation of building. Behind the arch, pedestrians

⁷⁰¹ Longfellow 2005, 94. According to Gros, the *exedra* fountain from the island of Tenos consisted of a draw basin, the pavilions on either side and the semicircular *exedra* at the center. The *exedra* did not play any role in the distribution or circulation of water but only served for a place of relaxation providing seats for visitors. Despite the originality of the architectural language, the fountain is not regarded a departure from the Greek architectural tradition, in which the fountains accommodated water in the foreground of the building without displaying it on the forefront as the Roman fountains. See Gros 1996:1, 421.

⁷⁰² Longfellow 2005, 95.

⁷⁰³ Longfellow 2005, 93.

confronted the colossal *exedra* which was adorned with the theatrical display of the Polyphemos statue group (Fig. 96) that was produced before the construction of the fountain whose original location is unknown but a different context than the fountain.⁷⁰⁴ As reviewed by Thomas, B. Andreae conjectured that this statuary group from the Fountain of Domitian could be originally designed to decorate the pediment of the small temple in the Upper Agora, but D. Lenz objects to this theory on the basis of iconographic and stylistic grounds stating that the logic of the entire program does not suit an arrangement on top of a pediment.⁷⁰⁵ Either way, the statuary group re-enacted the renowned Homeric story of Odysseus offering wine to the cyclops Polyphemos – a well-known iconography – at the back of the apsidal basin.⁷⁰⁶ It is vital to note that the theatrical display of the statuary group must be taken into account with its spatial setting to grasp better its impact on viewers. The statuary group was positioned above eye level which would have enhanced the imposing sight of the sculptural program hand in hand with the effect of the visualization of the well-known and reputed *epos*. One should also consider the role of the waterflow from the backwall to the apsidal basin in two ways; first, the movement, the view and the sound of the water complemented the lively drama of the ensemble of statues, and second, the setting, the statuary program with the waterflow and the collected water on the basin in front of them created a spirited scenery that evoked the imaginary environment of the story of Odysseus and his companions with Polyphemos taking place on the island of the Cyclopes. Furthermore, the entire scenery was framed with the huge arch and the orthostates below, in which the viewers saw the theatrical display of the sculptural program as if looking at a colossal three-dimensional painting. The figure on the keystone of the arch may have been the representation of *Tyche* that was an abstract embodiment of the citizens with the corporeal and ethereal elements of the city, just

⁷⁰⁴ Thomas 2018, 155.

⁷⁰⁵ Andreae 1982, 75-88 and Lenz 1998 cf. Thomas 2018, 155, fn. 37.

⁷⁰⁶ Longfellow 2005, 97. Thomas (2018, 156) provides a comprehensive Picture of this re-enactment: “The group centers on a (now very fragmentary) representation of Polyphemos, who was shown seated with the half-eaten corpse of one of Odysseus’ companions splayed over his (proper) left thigh, and with the lifeless bodies of two more companions lying on the ground before his feet. To the (viewer’s) left, Odysseus approaches the giant and presents him with a cup of wine, filled from the wineskin carried by one of his two accompanying companions. To the right, three further companions sharpen the stake with which they will blind the beast in his drunken stupor.”

like in the case of the so-called Temple of Hadrian, but such a statement is but a speculation. Nevertheless, it is certain that through the decorative and epigraphic program, many entities (In this case, at least the emperor Domitian, the proconsul Calvisius Ruso, his family with the depiction of a renowned Homeric *epos* of Odysseus) again were brought together in the built fabric of the fountain.

The unusual repertoire of the structural and decorative elements employed in the Fountain of Domitian suggests the emulation of architectural traditions observed in the western cities of the Empire where apsidal *nymphaea* were ordinarily attested.⁷⁰⁷ It might have been likely the case that Ruso's accomplishments (i.e. having the highest provincial rank in the imperial government) were a driving factor for the construction of the Fountain of Domitian in his native city which was certainly aimed to be a venue for the manufacturing and demonstrating an explicit link between himself, the proconsul and Domitian, the emperor.⁷⁰⁸ Thence, one may speculate that the architectural elements of the fountain that were unprecedented in Asia Minor were also intentionally borrowed to intensify the link between Ephesus and the imperial center. In a similar manner, Longfellow notes:

Following the lead of their imperial predecessors and contemporaries in Rome, most local patrons of monumental fountains employed architectural and decorative elements typically found in imperial and wealthy residences, and these euergetists followed Domitian's lead in establishing such decorative elements as facets of public display. This borrowing of elements associated with imperial residences – including the iconography of Odysseus and the use of water staircases – trumpeted the local elites' emulation of the emperor and enhanced their own claims to high status.⁷⁰⁹

Whereas the Fountain of Domitian itself had a meaning in its own context dedicated for the self-promotion of a provincial elite, representation of status and connection with the imperial center, it is also a small component of a momentous building program towards the end of the first century CE (Fig. 97). This refers to the immense transformation of the upper city that had started under Augustan rule after the rearrangement of the city as the provincial administration center and continued with

⁷⁰⁷ Thomas 2014, 99.

⁷⁰⁸ Longfellow 2005, 92-3.

⁷⁰⁹ Longfellow 2005, 17-8.

the extensive building campaign program in the same district in tandem with the first *neokoros* title of Ephesus.

The urban spaces of the neokorate city of Ephesus under Domitian's rule were ineradicably transformed with an extensive campaign of construction related to the imperial cult. Thence, it can be claimed that this building campaign was centered on the provincial temple dedicated to the cult of the emperors. Because this temple was thoroughly destroyed and ransacked to its foundations which was a common occurrence observed in the imperial sanctuaries after Christianity became the prominent religion,⁷¹⁰ definite assertions concerning the construction years are not possible based on the epigraphic materials, the architectural decoration, or the statuary program.⁷¹¹ On the other hand, looking at the remaining architectural evidence, it is obvious that the temple complex dominated the south of the so-called Plaza of Domitian with its imposing presence and made a significant impact on the built environment (Fig. 97, 98).

The temple known as the Temple of Domitian or the Temple of the *Sebastoi* reveals different opinions concerning the cult occupant of the site. As noted by Sabine Ladstätter, the inscriptions dating from 88 CE to 91 CE formerly addressed the emperor Domitian, but following his *damnatio memoriae* in 96 CE the names Domitian and Germanicus were erased from all extant inscriptions except one seemingly accidental omission, and later re-dedicated to his father, Vespasian.⁷¹² Moreover, Friesen argues that the temple complex was dedicated to the *Sebastoi*, specifically to the cult of the imperial house of the Flavian dynasty and refers to the sanctuary as Temple of the *Sebastoi*.⁷¹³ It is also important to note that Domitian was the central figure in the multiple cult figures of the *Sebastoi* installed in the sanctuary, prior to his *damnatio memoriae*.⁷¹⁴

⁷¹⁰ Knibbe 2002, 212-3.

⁷¹¹ Ladstätter 2019, 22.

⁷¹² Ladstätter 2019, 21; Friesen 1993, 36-7; Burrell 2004, 61.

⁷¹³ Friesen 1993. Henceforth, the temple will be referred to as the Temple of the *Sebastoi* in this study, too.

⁷¹⁴ Fischer 2012, 150.

The temple was built west of the so-called state agora (Fig. 11, no. 17), to the south of the Plaza of Domitian on an artificial terrace (Fig. 38, 99). The borders of the *temenos* and the sanctuary in general were defined by a spacious podium that rested on a substructure system of *cryptoporticus* – an unambiguous typology of western architecture and engineering that indicated the Roman mindset (Fig. 99, 100).⁷¹⁵ That said, the employment of the *cryptoporticus* in the imperial temple can be explained as a pragmatist solution to create a vast levelled area for the sanctuary on the slope of Mount Preon. Moreover, the series of *cryptoportici* as an architectural solution which was well suited for the Mediterranean climate, in which “the strong sun accentuates the volumes and features of a building conceived on multiple planes by casting deep shadows; thus, a portico (or *cryptoporticus*) can be creatively used to embellish a façade that would strike a viewer from afar.”⁷¹⁶ Moreover, the *cryptoporticus* (and *porticus*) also created convenient places that provided shaded areas for pedestrians that must have been a refreshing relief in the hot and humid days of the Mediterranean climate.

The monumentality of the structure was probably intended to match the grandeur of the concept of the imperial cult and the persona of the emperors and the dignity of their family, but it is also necessary to address the fact that massive construction works initiated after being granted the title of *neokoros* had aptly foreseen the emperor’s future presence in the urban spaces. The emperors’ presence was not only marked with the buildings in the urban spaces when they were completed but also during the grand efforts of their construction. In this regard, a surface area of 5550 m² was levelled, the earlier structures that were located in this area were entirely demolished, on which colossal substructures of the temple complex, which included a *cryptoporticus* with three wings covering a width of 3.9 m and a total length of 175 m were built, in the second half of the first century CE.⁷¹⁷ In this sense, the massive efforts and the

⁷¹⁵ MacDonald (1982, 135) comments on *cryptoporticus* that: “These versatile, adaptable corridors, in a sense internalized stoas, were typical results of Roman architectural thinking: begin with an axis, and then carry out along that axis the logical extension of a simple concept, in this case the arch.”

⁷¹⁶ Zarmakoupi (2013, 375) makes this comment concerning the *cryptoportici* in Mediterranean villas, but I believe it is suitable to make a similar assessment on the employment of the *cryptoporticus* in different context such as in the Temple of the *Sebastoi* at Ephesus.

⁷¹⁷ Ladstätter 2019, 23-4. For a detailed account, see Vettors 1972-75b, 319-23.

tremendous scale of construction works which necessitated the essential know-how, experience, specialization and expertise in engineering and workmanship together with the colossal amount of manpower implicated beforehand the future significance of the building during the process of construction. In short, the emperor's presence was not only marked after the construction was completed, but also *during* the process of construction as well.

Hence, a Roman stamp imparted its monumental effect on the appearance of the city as the artificial terraces on which public monuments rested was one of the most prevalent sights in Roman towns.⁷¹⁸ MacDonald further states that the creation of a terrace, that was “a prime Roman occupation,” required a levelled ground, and then it must be elevated by *cryptoporticus* (which lessened the amount of fill for a suitable ground) above an area whose presence is a prerequisite for the definition of the terrace.⁷¹⁹ As can be observed in Ephesus too, the terrace lifted the sacred ground above the street level, juxtaposed to a large plaza below that created a spatial duality between the sanctuary and the plaza (which was a section of the *Plateia*, and thus, that of the processional way. This was an architectural solution that was the result of a Roman mentality aiming to increase the visibility of the public buildings – “if that building was a temple, it was elevated in turn on a podium, a kind of artificial mound of prismatic shape from which the familiar columns rose” – which in turn intensified their symbolic meaning.⁷²⁰

The elevated terrace created a strong symbolism for the sanctuary above, and the terrace also generated functional spaces beneath the street level owing to the flexibility of the *cryptoporticus* substructure. On the sides facing the street on the north and the east, there were square-shaped rooms, that could have been *tabernae* or workshops, which transformed a part of the so-called Plaza of Domitian into a place of commercial activities (Fig. 101, 102).⁷²¹ Yet, the room at the northeast corner is an exception in

⁷¹⁸ MacDonald 1986:2, 135.

⁷¹⁹ MacDonald 1986:2, 135.

⁷²⁰ MacDonald 1986:2, 135.

⁷²¹ Öztürk 2013, 141.

this sense which could be identified as a public lavatory.⁷²² The series of rooms at the north side of the terrace was interrupted with the monumental stairs articulated in a baroque manner whose flight rises frontally from the ground level to the middle level (Fig. 102). Here, visitors reached a landing with an apsidal fountain niche on the south wall which can be identified as a vestibule, where the stairs branch both to east and west opening to the *temenos* lifted on the artificial plateau (Fig. 103).⁷²³ It should also be noted that the *cryptoporticus* was somehow concealed with a post-lintel system covering the entire façade at least in the north and the east in manner that can be explained in Kostof's words: "the methodical march of columns."⁷²⁴ The façade basically consisted of three levels. These were hierarchically arranged regarding their architectural orders, the Doric at the ground level, the Ionic at the middle, and Corinthian columns at the terrace level (Fig. 104),⁷²⁵ which could be viewed as a similar hierarchy with that observed in the façade design of the contemporaneous Flavian Amphitheater at Rome. Eight of the Doric half-columns can be precisely reconstructed on the north side, above which the first level architrave was adorned with the decorative figures such as rosette, palmette and lotus.⁷²⁶ The second story is thought to have consisted of more elaborate columns of the Ionic order, with engaged human (or deity) figures. Only two of them, a male and a female figure, are preserved to this day that were re-erected (Fig. 105) whose identification is a disputed matter: some scholars think that these figures were the representations of eastern deities, Isis and Attis,⁷²⁷ others suggest that these were the representations of caryatid

⁷²² Ladstätter 2019, 27. It is remarkable that the space at the northeast corner at the intersection of the so-called Domitian's Lane and the plaza which was expected to be the most prominent, readily accessed and open amongst the array of rooms at the sides of the substructure of the artificial terrace was reserved for a mundane function in a utilitarian approach which provided an essential public service for passers-by.

⁷²³ Ladstätter 2019, 29; Vettors 1972-75b, 315-16.

⁷²⁴ Kostof 1985, 193.

⁷²⁵ Ladstätter 2019, 29; Friesen 1993, 70-71. Note that the Ionic and Corinthian capitals are not shown in the reconstruction of the northern façade of the Temple of the *Sebastoi* by Onur Öztürk in Fig. 104.

⁷²⁶ Friesen 1993, 71.

⁷²⁷ Friesen 1993, 72; Friesen 2001, 51; Vettors 1972-75b, 311-5; Biguzzi 1998: 283; Bammer 1978-1980, 81-8; Bammer 1985, 124-5 cf. Öztürk 2013, 142, fn. 56.

barbarians.⁷²⁸ The former theory implies an imperial-religious symbolism in which the representation of deities supported the terrace of the imperial sanctuary, whereas the latter represents a more earthly theme of imperial triumph.⁷²⁹ On the other hand, Öztürk suggests that these figures were the metaphor for the provinces or the people (nations or *ethne*), on the basis of the presentation of these figures with a confident and free posture, unbound hands and a firm *contrapposto* unlike the demeanor of the representation of the captives and conquered foes displayed on other monuments in Ephesus (such as the Memmius Monument).⁷³⁰ Either way, it would be entirely hypothetical to suggest that similar figures embellished the second story of the entire north façade. The top story is deemed to consist of columns in the Corinthian order which also constituted the outer row of the two-aisled north portico of the terrace (Fig. 102).⁷³¹ According to Ladstätter, the western half of the northern façade must be postulated as closed off from the neighboring plaza and the eastern half open to the square.⁷³² The architectural arrangement of the northern façade, which appears to be influenced by the western examples of façade design gave an underlying prominence to the monumental vaulted entrance that was the direct access from the plaza at the ground level to the *temenos*, the altar and the temple above.⁷³³

The double-aisled porticoes of the *temenos* partly concealed the sanctuary from the vision of passers-by from the plaza at the ground level. That said, the temple dedicated for the imperial could be partially seen from the plaza, though the perception changed in different viewpoints and perspectives, as the portico left visible at least the roof, the capitals and the upper portion of the columns of the temple (Fig. 104). In this sense, the temple was elevated on a podium which increased the level of its visibility from the street level which seems to be an intentional design choice.

⁷²⁸ Burrell 2004, 64; Thür 1985, 184; Ladstätter (2019, 29) writes: “a male oriental barbarian and a female figure in the form of a caryatid.”

⁷²⁹ Burrell 2004, 64

⁷³⁰ Öztürk 2013, 143.

⁷³¹ Ladstätter 2019, 29.

⁷³² Ladstätter 2019, 29.

⁷³³ Thür 1985, 184; Ladstätter 2019, 29.

Both the temple dedicated to the cult of the *Sebastoi* and the altar were modeled on traditional forms in Asia Minor (Fig. 106).⁷³⁴ Broadly speaking, the temple had a pseudodipteral layout that can be attested in many cases of temple building in Asia Minor (both in the Hellenistic and Roman period, see Fig. 25) consisting of 8x13 encircling columns whose *cella* was fronted with a prostyle porch without an opisthodomos at the back. In other words, the temple was an assertion of a conservatist approach in architecture clinging to the tradition of temple building in Asia Minor that can be traced back to Hellenistic times in a time of progressive innovations (e.g. the elevated terrace with the innovative system of *cryptoporticus*). As already discussed, this very tradition seems to have endured in the Roman period in which novel ideas in architecture and engineering were eagerly produced and commonly put into practice by adhering to the “rigorously elegant and potentially monotonous regularity of Hellenistic planning.”⁷³⁵ In this sense, the conservatism observed in the design of the Temple of the *Sebastoi* that can also be viewed as an anachronistic formulation can be regarded to have aimed to be worthy of the dignity of the imperial cult and the authority of the concept of imperial rule. After all, “Stately architecture is often taken to be an image of orderly government.”⁷³⁶ Moreover, the form of the temple can be construed as an indication of the dignified existence of the imperial cult because “many of the *pseudodipteroi* and *peripteroi* were in some way associated with the imperial cult,” as maintained by Ratté *et al.*⁷³⁷ The pseudodipteral arrangement can also be shown as the level of persistence of the local expectations even in an architectural setting to house the imperial cult.

There is no definite place attested for the location of the cult statues due to the absence of bases, but Ladstätter states that they must have been inside the temple.⁷³⁸ Thus, they were basically not visible from the plaza. If the cult statues had been placed in the *temenos*, they could have been seen by the passers-by in the plaza as they were very

⁷³⁴ Friesen 1993, 67-8.

⁷³⁵ Ratté *et al.* 1986, 62.

⁷³⁶ Ratté *et al.* 1986, 63.

⁷³⁷ Ratté *et al.* 1986, 62.

⁷³⁸ Ladstätter 2019, 15.

large in scale three-times of the life-size, estimated ca. 5-5.5m. (Fig. 107, 108).⁷³⁹ Such ideas concerning reconstruction are based on the over-life size remaining forearm and head of a colossal statue. This statue was initially thought to be a representation of Domitian, but it was later attributed to Titus. Friesen asserts that there had originally been at least three statues of similar size depicting Titus, Vespasian and Domitian, who was reestablished as Nerva, after Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*.⁷⁴⁰ Scherrer suggests that the statuary group of the cult of emperors included the colossal depictions of five emperors: namely Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian (Fig. 108).⁷⁴¹ All in all, the Temple of the *Sebastoi* utterly transformed the built environment in the upper city enhancing the qualities of this district⁷⁴² as a venue arranged for the image and cult of the emperors, which was commenced with the monumental building program of the Upper Agora during the reign of Augustus.

It is also worth noting that the impact of the *neokoros* and the imperial cult in the transformation of the urban spaces of Ephesus was not confined only to the construction of the Temple of the *Sebastoi*. An ambitious building program was initiated within various urban configurations. For the Olympics that were associated with the new temple, a public space – *xystoi* – measuring 220x200m (Fig. 8, no. 94); Sebaston Gymnasium and Sebaston Baths were constructed. The temple at the upper city and the *xystoi*, gymnasium and bath near the harbor were connected with the *Plateia* – both the *Embolos* and the “Marble Street” – around this period.⁷⁴³ The entire building program was sponsored and directed by Ti. Claudius Aristion, who was the high priest of the imperial cult in Ephesus.⁷⁴⁴ In short, the *neokoros* triggered a vigorous building activity that extensively transformed the urban spaces of Ephesus both in the lower city towards the harbor and the upper city.

⁷³⁹ Ladstätter 2019, 15.

⁷⁴⁰ Friesen 1993, 62.

⁷⁴¹ Scherrer 1997, 106-7.

⁷⁴² The term “district” is used here to refer to the Lynch's (1960, 104-5) definition.

⁷⁴³ Scherrer 2001, 74.

⁷⁴⁴ Scherrer 2001, 74.

The monumental mindset intrinsically related to the general *atmosphere* of the imperial era (that was constituted by the religious, political, social, cultural milieu) was materialized in the corporeal reality of the imperial temple above an artificial terrace which must have further boosted the already prestigious urban image of Ephesus. Moreover, the fact that the sanctuary was the provincial center for the imperial cult also had a huge impact on the mental image, status and reputation of the city. It can be stated that the sanctuary built a strong connection between the city – including its material and mental realities, and its inhabitants – and the abstract notion of the imperial rule. Common Ephesians became familiar with the somewhat obscure concepts of authority, dominion, and the personality of the rulers. Yet, grasping the meaning of the temple’s presence in the city is nuanced. As in Öztürk’s words, the temples of Roman rulers in Asia Minor “may have played a significant role as a part of a dialogue between Roman rulers and cities of Asia, they may have been important for regional competition, but we should not forget that they were primarily built for the inhabitants of their cities, and they were meaningful and powerful only through their interaction with these inhabitants.”⁷⁴⁵ In other words, the imperial temples (and thus the Temple of the *Sebastoi*, too) were significant urban landmarks designed specifically for the locals having an interactive relation with the new urban identity.⁷⁴⁶

Last but not least, the sanctuary interacted with people not only during the mundane daily activities but also with festivals, processions and ceremonies. The temple created new spaces for the practical purpose and transformed the plaza it was juxtaposed into a center for commerce, which was intrinsically merged with the religious aspect of the precinct. This is highly suggestive of Favro’s conceptualization of urban image that basically views it as the physical features and the cultural backgrounds of visitors⁷⁴⁷ which can also be related to the concept of “third space” referring to the connection between “first” tangible, geographical spaces and “second” mental, cultural representations of spaces.⁷⁴⁸ In this regard, the urban image of Ephesus was enhanced

⁷⁴⁵ Öztürk 2013, 28.

⁷⁴⁶ Öztürk 2013, 28.

⁷⁴⁷ Favro 1996.

⁷⁴⁸ Soja 1996.

with the Temple of the *Sebastoi* including its physical attributes and the conceptualization of the imperial cult which included the act of worshipping, rites, processions festive activities.

4.3.3. Entering the Upper Agora: Climax of Civic Consciousness

Past the Temple of the *Sebastoi*, the urban experience of visitors continued in the street known as the Domitian Street that is narrower and shorter than the *Embolos*. This street which was the outcome of the alteration of the built environment starting from the early imperial period continuing under Flavian rule was part of the ancient processional way of Ephesus. Notably, the construction of the terrace of the Upper Agora in the Augustan age necessitated the re-arrangement of the old route of the *Via Sacra* which originally followed more or less the same course of the *Embolos*, so this street was a part of the efforts for redefining the course of the processional way in Roman times. Later, the so-called Domitian Street acquired a street canyon impact with the construction of the artificial terrace of the Temple of the *Sebastoi* in the next century. Even today, a modern visitor can easily feel the closedness while walking on this street (Fig. 109, 110). Furthermore, the shops or *tabernae* on both sides of the street endowed it with a utilitarian commercial function which the Upper Agora designedly lacked. In short, this sloped street led the visitors from the Plaza of Domitian towards the “South Street” and the Upper Agora.

Close to the summit of the so-called Domitian Street, it is instantly felt that the width of the street increases, where in antiquity passers-by came across one of the entrances of the Upper Agora (Fig. 11; Fig. 111). Another monumental *nymphaeum* was located here (Fig. 11, no. 12; Fig. 112). This structure is considered to be the earliest example of the practice of marking the cityscape in Roman times with monumental *nymphaea* that broadly comprised a main water basin surrounded on three sides by illustrious aedicular façades.⁷⁴⁹ The fountain identified as the *Nymphaeum* of C. Laecanius Bassus in Ephesus was built during the time when Laecanius Bassus was the proconsul under the rule of Vespasian and Titus in 78-79 CE.⁷⁵⁰ The location of the *nymphaeum*

⁷⁴⁹ Rathmayr 2008.

⁷⁵⁰ Rathmayr 2014, 311, fn. 22.

can be regarded as a prestigious site at the intersection of the so-called Domitian Street and the so-called South Street, which were developed after the re-arrangement of the old route of the ancient *Via Sacra* (Fig. 37, 38). In this regard, one must consider that in the course of the processions on the *Via Sacra*, which were initiated from the Artemision passing the Magnesian Gate, inside the city, proceeding on the “South Street,” the “Domitian Street,” the *Embolos* and the Marble Street, attendees passed by almost all of the public fountains with illustrious facades (respectively, the fountain on the road to the Magnesian Gate in Ephesus, the *Nymphaeum* of C. Laecanius Bassus, the Fountain of Domitian, the Pollio Monument, the *Hydreion*, the *Nymphaeum Traiani* and so on).⁷⁵¹ This appears as part of a system of *nymphaea* which formed an excellent backdrop for the processions taking place on the main artery with their illustrious statuary program including the imagery of deities, heroes, founders, and other mythical-legendary figures and those of the municipal magistrates, dignitaries, donors and emperors which in turn considerably contributed to the religious-political landscape of the city.⁷⁵²

Form-wise, the fountain originally consisted of a main basin surrounded on three sides by the aedicular façade in front of which a narrow draw basin was placed for pedestrians to reach water easily (Fig. 113). The aedicular composition of the façade enabled a hierarchical arrangement for the statuary program that was carefully placed in the *aediculae* (Fig. 114). Indeed, a group program of sculptures had their place in the façade in the *Nymphaeum* of C. Laecanius Bassus, too (Fig. 115). It is striking that the ruling emperor was neither honored in an inscription nor with a statue in the *Nymphaeum* of C. Laecanius Bassus considering that emperor Trajan was at the center of the imagery program in the *Nymphaeum Traiani* and that the imagery of the emperors, in the general sense, made a huge influence on the physical and mental outlook of the urban spaces in the Roman period. However, it must be noted that this appears to be the case in some other public fountains with *scaenae frons*, for instance, no emperor statues are documented in the *nymphaea* in Miletus, Side and

⁷⁵¹ Rathmayr 2014, 323-4.

⁷⁵² Rathmayr 2014, 323-4.

Stratonikeia.⁷⁵³ On the other hand, proconsul Bassus who was in charge of the construction received both an honorary statue and an inscription recording his merits.⁷⁵⁴ The statuary program included Androklos as well, tying the imagery of the legendary founder with that of the proconsul Laecanius Bassus who was also the donor of the building. In short, the *Nymphaeum* of Laecanius Bassus was the earliest known example of the architectural tradition of the *nymphaea* with aedicular façades that promoted the image of their benefactors. Indeed, the *nymphaeum* was the material result of Bassus' efforts for self-promotion manifested at a very prominent spot on the main artery of the city. His name, as a local elite who climbed the ranks of the imperial administration to the highest provincial position available, was confidently reverberated in an important urban node complementing his self-representation and image. In this sense, the pragmatist nature of the fountain (providing water to passers-by) only contributed to his efforts that aimed to strengthen the portrayal of Bassus' image in the urban landscape of Ephesus.

The fact that the fountain of Laecanius Bassus was built next to the west entrance of the Upper Agora implies that this entrance was regarded significant and embellished with a monument of public waterworks. This spot was the first entrance of the Upper Agora that one encountered on the journey from the Plaza of Domitian towards the "South Street" (or from the lower city to the upper city, in its widest sense) (Fig. 11). While climbing up the "Domitian Street," a visitor would turn left to pass the gate to finally enter the Augustan city center, the Upper Agora. The gate opened to the south stoa of the agora. Then, the visitors found themselves in the southwest corner of the agora under the large roof of the double-aisled south stoa. For the first time, the temple at the central space of the agora – which is the venue for the imperial cult of the Augustan era – became visible and framed within the columns of the double-aisled stoa. Within the visual frames that the colonnades of the south stoa formed, the viewer saw the free-standing temple whose background was dominated by the colossal basilica-stoa. In other words, the view of the peripteral colonnaded temple with the series of columns of the basilica-stoa at the background was observed between the

⁷⁵³ Rathmayr 2014, 320, fn. 125.

⁷⁵⁴ Rathmayr 2014, 311, fn. 22.

columns of the south stoa which must have given an impact of a forest of columns. Furthermore, at first instance, visitors confronted the southwest corner of the temple, put differently, the back of the temple (just as in the case of the Parthenon in Athens after climbing up the Acropolis passing the *propylon*), on which one could speculate that the observers' perspective and vision were taken into account in the arrangement of the layout of the temple considering the ambiguity of the frontispiece and the back side of the peripteral temples. Moreover, the crepidoma with stairs on all sides on which the temple was erected bolstered this sense of ambiguity that the viewers could not immediately recognize the front or the back of the building by simply looking at the structure. As a climax, the peripteral arrangement provided an apt sight for the viewers who entered the Upper Agora from the gate at the southwest corner.

Visitors entering the Upper Agora from the southwest gate encountered a remarkable sight at their left-hand side that was basically a view of the city from the central space of the agora owing to the absence of a wall or a stoa at its west edge. Yet, it is necessary to take into account here the massive construction of the Temple of the *Sebastoi* in the second half of the first century CE as it drastically altered the view from within the Upper Agora. Before the construction of the artificial terrace of the neokorate temple, a remarkable view of the rest of the lower city must have unraveled before the beholders who stood in the agora. On the other hand, this same view must have been dominated by the neokorate temple that rested on the artificial terrace that had a higher altitude than the floor level of the Upper Agora after the construction of the Temple of the *Sebastoi*. Ultimately, it was the partial view of the city that the visitors saw before Ephesus got the title of *neokoros*, after which the neokorate imperial temple that was the architectural manifestation of the imperial cult loomed large over the Upper Agora which was the cult center of the Augustan Ephesus.

Entering the Upper Agora from the southwest corner was not the only option for visitors who wanted to get to the Augustan cult/administrative center. There were two other gates one of which was located at the center of the south edge of the stoa and the other at the southeast corner. To reach the other two entrances, visitors walked along the "Domitian Street," past the *Nymphaeum* of Laecanius Bassus, turned left to another street, the "South Street," a narrower colonnaded street that led straight up to the

Magnesian Gate (Fig. 11, 116). After walking ca. 60-70m, visitors noticed the upper parts of a building of a very distinct typology rising above the colonnade on their right-hand side, the *castellum aquae* that can be defined as the “main water distribution tower at the highest point in the town” (Fig. 11, no. 11; Fig. 117).⁷⁵⁵ The *castella aquae* (literally translated as the “water castles” but commonly referred to as the water towers in modern studies) were crucial components of the urban water supply system of cities functioning as a water reservoir and distribution place which were also commonly attested structures in the entire empire.⁷⁵⁶ Likewise in Ephesus, the *castellum* functioned as a terminal point for the water conduits supplying water from outside the city. A distribution center consisted of individual compartments with a number of terracotta exit pipes that carried the water to numerous places in the city including fountains, the theater, baths and residential quarters.⁷⁵⁷

In front of this essential component of the urban water supply system of Ephesus, on the other side of the street, visitors saw at their left-hand side the gate at the center of the south wall of the agora that was the second entrance to the Augustan urban district (Fig. 11, 118). This second gate was the outcome of the necessity to provide an additional passageway because the entrance at the northwest corner of the agora was subsequently blocked by another monumental structure (Fig. 11, no. 13).⁷⁵⁸

Based on the architectural evidence of the gate structure, it can simply be deduced that this entrance had a tripartite arrangement (Fig. 119). As such, another conspicuous example of an archetype of architectural language widely considered to be Roman was reverberated in the Upper Agora too, in parallel with the other examples in the urban layout. The gate thus echoed a prodigious element of Roman architecture in the Upper Agora that was incarnated as monumental passageways in various parts of the city, as

⁷⁵⁵ Crouch 1993, 179.

⁷⁵⁶ Ortloff and Crouch 2001, 845.

⁷⁵⁷ Ortloff and Crouch 2001, 845. Ortloff and Crouch (2001, 845) sum up the urban water system of Ephesus by stating that it consisted of “long distance water lines and/or open channel aqueducts tapping distant springs, onsite springs with collection basins, one or more *castellum* structures, distribution pipelines to fountains and housing areas then gutters and sewers to provide site drainage; a further but essential category is on-site wells and cisterns.”

⁷⁵⁸ Steuernagel 2019, 100.

the Middle Harbor Gate, the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora, the Gate of Hadrian were all tripartite passageways (not to mention that there were numerous buildings in vibrant urban centers with tripartite frontispieces other than monumental passageways such as the Library of Celsus and the Temple of Hadrian on the *Embolos*). Therefore, we can argue that the appearance of the city of Ephesus in Roman times had repetitive elements which would have enabled both individuals and crowds to foster a consciousness concerning the city as a perfected, highly integrated and consistent body. In this regard, the tripartite design can be understood as a unifying urban compound that built visual and spatial affiliation between divergent and seemingly unrelated urban spaces.

It can certainly be commented that the monumentality of the very act of entering the agora was accentuated and further boosted with the ceremonial nature of the tripartite gate which certainly provided an extraordinary experience for visitors. In other words, entering arguably the most prestigious intramural site of the Augustan city was highlighted with the monumentality and symbolic importance of the tripartite gate. First, the visual frame of the passageway provided a glimpse of the busy Augustan quarter and a part of the basilica-stoa. Past the gate, visitors encountered the free-standing temple on their northwest side and were faced with the front and south façades of the temple unlike the case of entering the agora from the southwest corner (Fig. 120). Nevertheless, the visual experience of viewing the temple from the second entrance did not differ much from the experience of entry from the southwest corner, as the temple was laid out as a *peripteros* which offered a nearly uniform appearance to recipients standing at different places in the agora. However, what differed in perception in entering the agora from the south gate was observing the fountain structure that was at the west edge of the central space of the agora behind the temple. This fountain which was reached from the agora level rested on the Pollio Monument and the Fountain of Domitian and probably had a U-shaped plan opening to the main space of the agora with an entablature carried by columns of the Corinthian order.⁷⁵⁹ In this regard, the statues of river gods, the depictions of Marnas and Klaseas, were

⁷⁵⁹ Thür 2000, 90.

aply placed in the *aediculae* on the north and south side of the fountain.⁷⁶⁰ The other difference in the visual experience in entering the south agora from the south gate must have been the significant impact of facing the voluminous architectural language of the basilica-stoa behind which the bulky mass of Mount Pion must have arrested the perception of viewers (Fig. 118). One can thus argue that it was a different experience, if not entirely, to enter the Upper Agora from the south gate, for the gate led visitors to particular aspects of the architectural disposition of the agora.

Finally, there was yet another option for reaching the Upper Agora as there was a third passageway that was probably built in the first century BCE⁷⁶¹ at the northeast corner of the agora (Fig. 11, no. 10). The gateway building, basically a *propylon* of Doric order consisting of four columns, was reached through the “South Street” (Fig. 121, 122). Somehow unexpected, the *propylon* was not a hefty structure measuring 3m in depth and 8.45m in width facing the “South Street” with a four-columned Doric porch, and two pillars to the north.⁷⁶² Although smaller in scale, there was a sense of monumentality of this gate building too that was expressed with its tripartite layout whose scale was also boosted with the experience that visitors encountered the gate structure on a narrow street lined by colonnades on either side. It is remarkable that the *propylon* did not provide a direct passage to the south stoa or directly to the central space of the agora. Rather, it led to an intermediary space, “the North-South Street,” as noted by Steuernagel (Fig. 123).⁷⁶³ The width of “the North-South Street” measured approximately the same as that of the “South Street” that led to this entranceway on the northeast corner of the Upper Agora. It may be seen that this intermediary space particularly bestowed the entranceway with a particularly more ceremonial character, which led visitors towards the south stoa. When visitors got to the south stoa at the northeast corner of the main central space through the “North-South Street,” the *entire* agora visually unfolded before them (Fig. 124). At this point, beholders were confronted with the entire view of the agora that had a precise rectangular layout whose

⁷⁶⁰ Thür 2000, 90.

⁷⁶¹ Steuernagel 2019, 96.

⁷⁶² Steuernagel 2019, 96.

⁷⁶³ This intermediary space was named as such by Gerhard Langmann. Steuernagel 2019, 96.

boundaries were constituted with porticoes on three sides (Fig. 125-135). Thus, they saw the main space regulated with an archetypical architectural formulation that was commonly observed in the disposition of the fora in the west and the agoras in the east during the imperial period. To reiterate, the complete view of the agora was exquisitely unveiled before visitors at the northeast corner, as this location had a commanding view over the agora including its hustling main space and colonnades, the basilica-stoa in front, the free-standing temple dedicated to the imperial cult at the center of the central space and behind which the view of the environment seen from the west edge that did not have colonnade.

Visitors entering the agora from any one of the passageways described above, immediately recognized the imperial influence over the Upper Agora, one of the most important civic / religious / administrative centers of Ephesus for several reasons. Upon entering, they were confronted with the huge structure of the basilica-stoa on whose architraves the monumental inscription mentioned the dedication of the building, Artemis, the emperor Augustus, his wife Livia, the benefactors and his adopted son Tiberius in his role as the heir to the throne in this case, underlining the primacy of Rome.⁷⁶⁴ From the inscription, one would fathom the power of Rome, the earthly and divine order brought by it, and the peace supervised by the emperor himself. Moreover, the emperor being mentioned with the ancestral deity of Ephesus signals the intention to develop and display a mutual relation between the emperor in distant Rome and the city of Ephesus together with its people, just as the carefully linked imagery of the emperors and Artemis had been displayed for similar intentions in the urban spaces that were already described in this study.

Yet, one should acknowledge the fact that the inscription with its content was comprehensible to the literate citizens and other literate visitors which must have constituted a very small fraction of the Ephesian society. Therefore, another mode of transmission was engineered with the monumental inscription that must have appealed to masses, that were not able to conduct the act of reading the text in its literal sense,

⁷⁶⁴ Kalinowski 2002, 141; Süß 1999, 33.

and aimed to provide them with another manner of reading.⁷⁶⁵ In this sense, the architectural language of the colossal letters on the front façade of the basilica-stoa interacted with the individuals and groups either literate or otherwise. In other words, beholders regardless of their verbal literacy certainly perceived and made sense of the monumental letters in some way. After all, the Augustan inscription in question displayed in the Upper Agora should be treated as a monument of material and visual culture, instead of a mere text of a large size, in spatial relation to the other Augustan monuments in the agora.⁷⁶⁶

It can unequivocally be stated that the free-standing temple that was dedicated to the imperial cult was indeed the climax of the assemblage of the monument in the Upper Agora. By all manner of means, the temple was the focal point in the arrangement of the layout of the agora accentuating the prominence of the imperial cult in a profound urban space in the city. Obviously, the temple was the quintessential component of the Augustan urban center whose spatial location can be deemed to have expressed that it was a venue for the imperial cult.

Throughout the Upper Agora, one could easily perceive the exaltation of the emperor and the imperial family in the civic and religious milieu in several related topographical points, which means that the endeavor of centering on the charismatic image of the *princeps* was dealt with architectural and urbanist efforts.⁷⁶⁷ The architectural language of monuments and their purposeful arrangement in a stately assemblage are basically ideological tools in the Augustan agenda materially manifesting itself in the Upper Agora, and ultimately, in the built fabric of the city of Ephesus. In this regard, the material realities and the mental constructs that followed were intentionally devised in the newly founded civic center of the city which had become the seat of the proconsul, and thus the administrative center of the province of Asia. The meaningful assemblage of the architectural components, decoration,

⁷⁶⁵ Similar to the kind of reading Augustus intended to conceive in the case of the *Res Gestae* on the Temple of Augustus at Ankyra, as presented by Güven (1998).

⁷⁶⁶ Just like how Elsner (1996) and Güven (1998) consider the *Res Gestae*, a quintessential inscription of the Augustan era, as a visual and spatial monument. Also see, Elsner 1996, 38.

⁷⁶⁷ Süß 1999, 39.

iconography, inscriptions, imagery; the rituals, ceremonies, festive and mundane activities; and mental constructs that were duly created and purposefully attached to the built fabric, all perfectly fit into the Augustan worldview, and fueled the intention to create a narrative of *imperium* that would resonate in the following periods. Essentially, the Upper Agora, together with the monuments and the imagery, covered the glorification of Caesar, Augustus' divinized adoptive father, exaltation of himself together with his wife and Tiberius, the successor in line, which shows that the monarchic and dynastic principles of Rome had been properly highlighted in the built space.⁷⁶⁸ In this sense, the Upper Agora reflected and promoted the ideals of the Roman *imperium* as conceptualized by Augustus, subtly asserting Roman presence in the entirety of the public spaces. The imagery of the *princeps* and the imperial family with the grandeur and nobility of their personas, that was intricately interwoven with the main goddess, the imagery of the city with its *boule* and *demos*, and that of the local elite (individually or with their family) who came out as the benefactors of the public building programs, were confidently and overtly manifested in the material record of the Augustan urban center.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁸ Süß 1999, 39.

⁷⁶⁹ Süß 1999, 39.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The imperial cult was definitely a crucial part of the religious milieu of Ephesus. This study reveals the conspicuous physical presence of the imperial cult through architectural works in the cityscape there. It is argued and convincingly shown that the urban spaces in Roman Ephesus underwent extraordinary transformation through the idiosyncratic process of the adoption and adaptation of the imperial cult and the essential requirement of creating satisfying settings for emperor worship. Such venues were formulated with respect to the dignity of the emperor which in turn resulted in the grandiose creation of lavish spaces in the cityscape. The stately architectural ensembles shaped by the cult of the emperor displayed the image of orderly rule and civic pride.⁷⁷⁰ In this regard, the concept of Roman dominion became materialized through the architectural settings which were simultaneously backdrops and catalysts of the ceremonial and mundane activities in the city.

The study also shows that the imperial cult, and the practices, rituals and festivities surrounding it did not thwart the ancestral belief system of Ephesus. On the contrary, all were deftly embedded onto the existing traditional religious milieu forming a coherent and consistent whole. The emperor intermingled with the religious identity of the city in the religious milieu of Ephesus and beyond. This appeared most evidently through the encounter of the cult of the emperor with the local entities that were crucial in defining the contemporary Ephesian identity. For instance, the cult of Augustus and Artemis came together in *both* an extramural and intramural setting that were paramount to the identity of the city. In doing so, Ephesians venerated the emperor in the most exalted way possible but without the expense of the local dignity. I argue that

⁷⁷⁰ Ratté *et al.* 1986, 63.

forging a close link between the emperor and the goddess was a unique and persistent practice that is attested within the span of at least two centuries, a monumental way of expressing gratitude and honor towards the imperial authority and response, in general, by Ephesians to the new contexts and realities. In this regard, an Augusteum was consecrated at the sanctuary of the Artemision (Fig. 6), the pristine cultic site of the *polis*, and the cult of Augustus and Artemis might have been worshipped jointly in the Upper Agora (in the double *cella* monument in the *temenos*),⁷⁷¹ that can be viewed as the ultimate site where the Augustan ideals were concretized in the built environment of the city. Thereby, the Roman *princeps* was confidently fused into the Ephesian religious landscape by which Ephesians were given a tangible meaning about the Augustan concept of *imperium*, the transformation of Republic into Empire, and being a part of it. Similarly, in the small Temple of Hadrian which actually centered on the worship of Artemis Ephesia, Hadrian was also a recipient of homage in the temple.

The cases of the cults of Artemis and Augustus were not the only instances of the integrated representation of Roman and local entities. Imperial dedication in the urban spaces of Ephesus is itself innately pertinent to the encounter of the local and Roman identities as it implies that the imperial presence carefully fit in a local context. Among the monuments – all located in the trajectory of the urban experience along the *Embolos*, within the so-called Plaza of Domitian, and in the Upper Agora – the incidents of highly prominent imperial dedication expressed in architecture is indeed striking. More specifically, such architectural manifestations with explicit dedication to emperors or to the imperial family from west to east on the *Plateia* are as follows: the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora, the Gate of Hadrian, the so-called Temple of Hadrian at the *Embolos*, the *Nymphaeum Traiani*, the Pollio Monument, the Fountain of Domitian, the Temple of the *Sebastoi*, and the buildings in the Upper Agora, such as the free-stranding temple, the basilica-stoa, the *prytaneion*, the double *cella* monument and the *bouleuterion* (Map 2). Simply put, out of the monuments that are alongside the path of the experiential analysis of this study from the lower *Embolos* to the Upper Agora, that are twenty-two in total, twelve monuments indicate dedications

⁷⁷¹ The architectural arrangement of the double *cella* monument within the *temenos* might have provided a place for the worship of the imperial cult and the patron goddess of the city, as claimed by Engelmann (1993).

to emperors or to the imperial family. These monuments were continuously unraveled to passers-by at designated spots in the urban armature, which seems to have been formulated in accord with an urban pattern in the entirety of cityscape. Out of the twelve monuments hereby recorded, two structures (the Gate of Hadrian and the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora) located in the west end of the *Embolos*, two (the so-called Temple of Hadrian and the *Nymphaeum Traiani* in the middle of the *Embolos*) and the other three at the opposite end (the Pollio Monument, the Fountain of Domitian, the Temple of the *Sebastoi*) defined the boundaries and the appearance of the Plaza of Domitian, a bustling civic center, while the remaining five were assembled in and around the Upper Agora. In this regard, this study reveals that the monuments of imperial dedication formulated an urban pattern that appears to have been generated in a crescendo reaching the apogee in the upper city. This imperial dedication expressed in the urban spaces intensified in the Plaza of Domitian, and further in and around the Upper Agora. Thereby, the imperial presence was conspicuously and willingly stamped onto the urban spaces in an idiosyncratic manner by the locals in the local milieu.

It is important to note here that some of the abovementioned places were also genuine sanctuaries where the imperial cult was worshipped and paid homage. For example, the so-called Temple of Hadrian on the *Embolos*, the Temple of the *Sebastoi* (the imperial neokorate temple of Ephesus), and the venues in the Upper Agora such as the free-standing temple, the *temenos* with the double *cella* monument, and the *prytaneion* (the cult of Livia in the guise of Demeter Karpophoros received veneration) were prominent intramural venues of the sacred landscape of Ephesus. In this respect, these venues in which the cult of the emperors or the members of imperial family were worshipped implicates another type of pattern. Amongst these places, the small temple of Hadrian is the only *naos* in the middle of the *Embolos*, whereas all the other sacred places were erected in the upper sections of the city. This gives clues about the prominence of the upper city in the religious landscape of Ephesus, in which the imperial veneration acquired a well-established and firm place. It is also intriguing to see that none of the sacred places in question were built in the lower *Embolos* but all were concentrated in the upper city. It is thus observed that the places for the imperial worship were generated predominantly in and in the environs of the Upper Agora until

the reign of Hadrian, when Ephesus was bestowed with the title of *neokoros* for the second time, and a sanctuary for the imperial cult of Hadrian was built in the lower city in the land naturally reclaimed by the regression of the shoreline. Thus, the upper city appears to have been designated as a district in its proper sense as an ultimate environment for the imperial cult.

In addition to the perspective into the sacred landscape, Roman and local entities were uniquely coalesced in various venues in divergent contexts as well. Signifiers of the Roman presence were frequently represented with the local figures, ideas, legends and imagery in the prominent urban spaces of Ephesus. In particular, it was principally the image of the emperor(s) that was depicted together the local images, which helped building a connection between the *polis* and the outside world at large. The utilization of the image of the emperor can arguably be regarded, by and large, as the way of how Ephesians constructed a coherent world view, found a plausible place for their city and for themselves in the outer world that made sense of the notion of *imperium* in the imperial period.

In short, the representation of the emperor indicated worldly realities in the urban spaces of Ephesus to a great extent. It is also important to realize that this was not dictated but willingly created in Ephesus by Ephesians. Put differently, the expression was mostly created by locals, for a local audience, in the local environment. In this regard, an overview of the imagery that was depicted within the scope of the urban experience that is provided in this study is beneficial to appreciate how the locals reacted to the new environment and where different entities came together and what their prudent combination really meant in prominent, vivacious civic spaces. The general breakdown of the material record including the imagery reviewed in this study presents a convincing ground to grasp the material nuances of Romanization.

The imagery of the emperors and/or the imperial family was, for the most part, in public display along with images, symbols and representations that were inherently local. For instance, in the lower *Embolos*, a large statue of Artemis was exhibited possibly along with the statues of other deities, some members of the imperial family, and benefactors. In front of the street, there was a bronze statue of the legendary founder, Androklos, at the intersection of the Marble Street and the *Embolos*.

Androklos' presence in this spot was even more accentuated in the lower street with the *Heroon* dedicated in his name. In this respect, it may be claimed that the imagery of the imperial family composed and framed with the representations of figures that were crucial to the Ephesian identity loomed large at this busy crossroads. Concerning the set of imagery in the lower *Embolos*, it is seen that the depiction of the local figures was more prevalent in the composition, if not entirely overshadowing the imperial imagery. Indeed, apart from the prudent assertion of dedication to the imperial authority in the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora, it may be argued that the local imagery had a prevailing tone in the lower *Embolos*.

The thesis clearly shows that the variants of combined representations were again repeated over and over throughout the urban armature of Ephesus, differing in combination at every turn. In this respect, the middle *Embolos* emerged as the locale of one of those public representations seen in the civic space. The Temple of Hadrian facing the street displayed *Tyche*, the embodiment of the physical and mental elements of the *polis* including the citizens, a female figure on the wall above the entrance that can be identified as Artemis, that is also duly represented in the friezes that partly surrounded the *pronaos*. Moreover, the friezes included the depiction of Androklos, the foundation story of Ephesus, the assembly of deities, and Amazons who were related with the foundation myth of both the city and the Artemision. Then, the cult of the emperor was juxtaposed with the myths, legends, memories and the figures of the local pantheon that were essential elements of the Ephesian identity. Likewise, in the *Nymphaeum Traiani*, the statuary program comprised alongside depictions of flora, satyrs, nymphs and Apollo, Androklos carrying the portraits of the benefactors, and the over-life size statue of Trajan as the visual focus of the ensemble. However different the settings were, both cases could be understood as the instances of public portrayals where the image of the emperor was brought together with prominently local and other images in the everyday life of the city.

Likewise, similar settings are observed in the plaza of the Domitian. For instance, various entities were purposely embodied together with the decorative and epigraphic program creating a meaningful ensemble, in the Fountain of Domitian. In this regard, Artemis, Domitian, proconsul Calvisius Ruso, his family and the display of a Homeric

epos of Odysseus were conjoined in the fountain building. In a similar vein, the Pollio Monument can also be considered as an assertion of the personalities of Pollio and Augustus as the new founders of the city, drawing parallels to Androklos' mythical role of being the *ktistes*.⁷⁷²

On the basis of the material record, it is shown that the tone of the imperial imagery reaches an apogee in the upper city within its grander scheme gradually crafted on the *polis*-scale. Indeed, the Temple of the *Sebasteoi* here emerges as the epitome of the imperial aura. The sanctuary was dedicated to the cult of the imperial house of the Flavian dynasty within which Domitian was the central figure in the multiple cult figures of the *Sebasteoi*. In the temple, there were at least the colossal statues of Titus, Vespasian and Domitian, who was re-dedicated as Nerva, after his *damnatio memoriae*.⁷⁷³ Although, another view suggests that the cult statues included the depictions of five emperors: namely Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian,⁷⁷⁴ it nevertheless appears that the Roman imperial figures dominated the area. Yet, they were all but local expressions, as “the concept of the neokorate city, the design of the temple, the sculptural figures, and the architectural program all originated in the Greek east.”⁷⁷⁵ In other words, the imagery consisted of Roman figures in dedication, but their material expression was formulated by local and provincial standards, in the widest sense.

In a similar vein, after the Plaza of Domitian, patterns of interwoven representation are observed in the Upper Agora, too. To illustrate, the imagery of the *Divus Iulius* and *Roma*, and then Augustus with Artemis, in addition to the dedication of the basilica-stoa to Artemis, Augustus, Tiberius, and the *demos* by Pollio and his family⁷⁷⁶ were assembled in the layout of the Upper Agora. Moreover, various cults (including that of Livia) and the abstract representations of the physical and mental constructs of the

⁷⁷² Weiss 2011, 89.

⁷⁷³ Friesen 1993, 62.

⁷⁷⁴ Scherrer 1997, 106-7.

⁷⁷⁵ Friesen 1993, 75.

⁷⁷⁶ Kalinowski 2002, 141; Süß 1999, 33; I.Ephesos 410.

polis and the people were displayed in the *prytaneion*. In addition, also considering the possible display of other figures under the shade of the stoas and the basilica-stoa not mentioned here, this study confidently asserts that the Upper Agora was a venue for exhibiting imagery (of the crucial figures to the identity of Ephesus and Ephesians, together with the deities, divine beings, and the imperial imagery), expressing gratitude, allegiance and devotion to the emperor in distant Rome which in turn made him a familiar figure in the everyday life of the city, a place for the self-representation of the local elite, and a *milieu de mémoire, par excellence*.

The choice of language of the inscriptions in Greek, Latin or both associated with the monuments illustrated in the thesis also gives hints about their intended impact. Their organizational placement in the civic spaces changed in time fitting the fluctuating tendencies. It is observed that bilingual texts were exclusively inscribed on the Augustan monuments that are covered in this study, that are namely the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora in the library plaza, the Pollio Monument in the Plaza of Domitian, and the basilica-stoa in the Upper Agora. These were three of the few examples of the bilingual inscriptions in the city that also date to the Augustan period. In contrast, the monolingual inscriptions were displayed nearly at every step of the movement in the urban armature from west to east. For example, the texts on the monuments dating to the Age of Antonines such as the Library of Celsus and the Gate of Hadrian in the lower city, the Temple of Hadrian and the *Nymphaeum Traiani* in the middle *Embolos*, the inscriptions from the Temple of the *Sebastoi* (that actually dates to the Flavian period) in the Plaza of Domitian, were all inscribed only in Greek. In this regard, based on the language, inscriptions dispersed along the urban armature, one could tell apart the Augustan monuments (though not all of them) from other buildings in the built environment. In other words, the bilingual inscriptions that are displayed on three monuments mentioned here enable us to assess the intended impact and audience of the Augustan buildings. The hierarchical juxtaposition of the bilingual texts in Latin, the language of Roman dominion, and Greek, the *lingua franca* in the east,⁷⁷⁷ on the Augustan monuments conveyed the concept of *imperium* that newly emerged during the Augustan regime. Thence, it appears that the circumstances of the

⁷⁷⁷ Kalinowski, 1999, 61.

era, such as the regime change, Augustus' rise to power as the *princeps*, was reflected in such architectural settings that asserted an unmistakable message of hierarchy into the quotidian life. Whereas, nearly a century later, these practices of the Augustan era that resulted in the bilingual inscriptions appears to have lost urgency and pertinence in the following century. Indeed, the abovementioned monumental texts that are from first and second century CE were primarily in Greek. Such overt assertions of dominion through bilingual arrangements in architectural settings appear not to have been needed under the Flavian and Antonine dynasty.

Last but not least, the conjoined presence of the local and Roman entities was not only limited to their representations in the urban settings through architecture, decoration, and imagery. The Roman and Ephesian figures were also brought together in many activities for which the architectural edifices, monuments, and structures together with the statuary and decoration programs provided conspicuous backdrops which constituted the grandiose settings during active participation in the rituals. On many occasions, the Roman presence alongside the Ephesian heritage was frequently revitalized in the urban settings through many rituals and activities that were religious and/or civic in nature. In this regard, Salutaris' procession of statues can be considered an apex of the representation of the cultural and religious identity of Ephesus demonstrating the Romanized characteristics along with the persistent local heritage of the city during Trajanic times. Salutaris, a member of the equestrian order, a prominent resident of Ephesus⁷⁷⁸ and a significant *euergetes* of his time, conceived the civic "procession of statues" which was approved by the *demos*.⁷⁷⁹ This procession recurred in an exceptional frequency – once in two weeks⁷⁸⁰ – in which epebes and others carried images that evoked the local heritage along with Roman control and authority within the visual framework of monuments located throughout the processional way which also created a palpable narrative of Roman rule and civic pride

⁷⁷⁸ Kokkinia (2019, 215) notes that Salutaris' ancestors were not from Ephesus. Furthermore, Hoskins Walbank (1994, 90) pointed out the Italic roots of Salutaris by stating that he was actually descended from the Roman tribe of Oufentina, which is also indicated in the monumental inscription on the south analemma wall of the Great Theater, I.Ephesos 1a.27.

⁷⁷⁹ Rogers 1991, 81.

⁷⁸⁰ Rogers 1991, 136; Spawforth 1992, 383.

for the participants and observers.⁷⁸¹ Therefore, Salutaris' civic "procession of statues" was a remarkable instance that shows the extent of the Ephesians' capacity of the adaptation to the Roman ideals together with a response reverberating with civic pride.

During Salutaris' procession, monuments played an integral part in constructing a vision of Ephesian identity, with the procession passing through a series of important *loci* with a prevailing local tone such as the Coressian Gate and the *Heroon* of Androklos that created a tangible connection to the mythical past of Ephesus, and "Roman" monuments such as the buildings dedicated to the imperial cult mentioned in this study that were useful in conceptualizing the present.⁷⁸² Overall, this procession was one of the many instances showing that the city became a place for the promotion of Roman ideals that almost always came with a confident demonstration of local pride as well.

Ephesus' identity in Roman times was defined by its legendary past that was constructed upon stories, myths and legends, and by the coeval contexts and circumstances mostly defined by the realities of the imperial rule. The autochthonic past of the city which was also created in line with the coeval contexts provided an excellent environment upon which the Roman ideals that were personified by the emperor and concretized by the architecture of the imperial cult were embraced. Ephesus was a proud city in tune with contemporary politics but also alive with its esteemed legendary past in the present.

⁷⁸¹ Rogers 1991, 86; Spawforth 1992, 383.

⁷⁸² Rogers 1991; Spawforth 1992, 383.

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APPENDICES

A. FIGURES

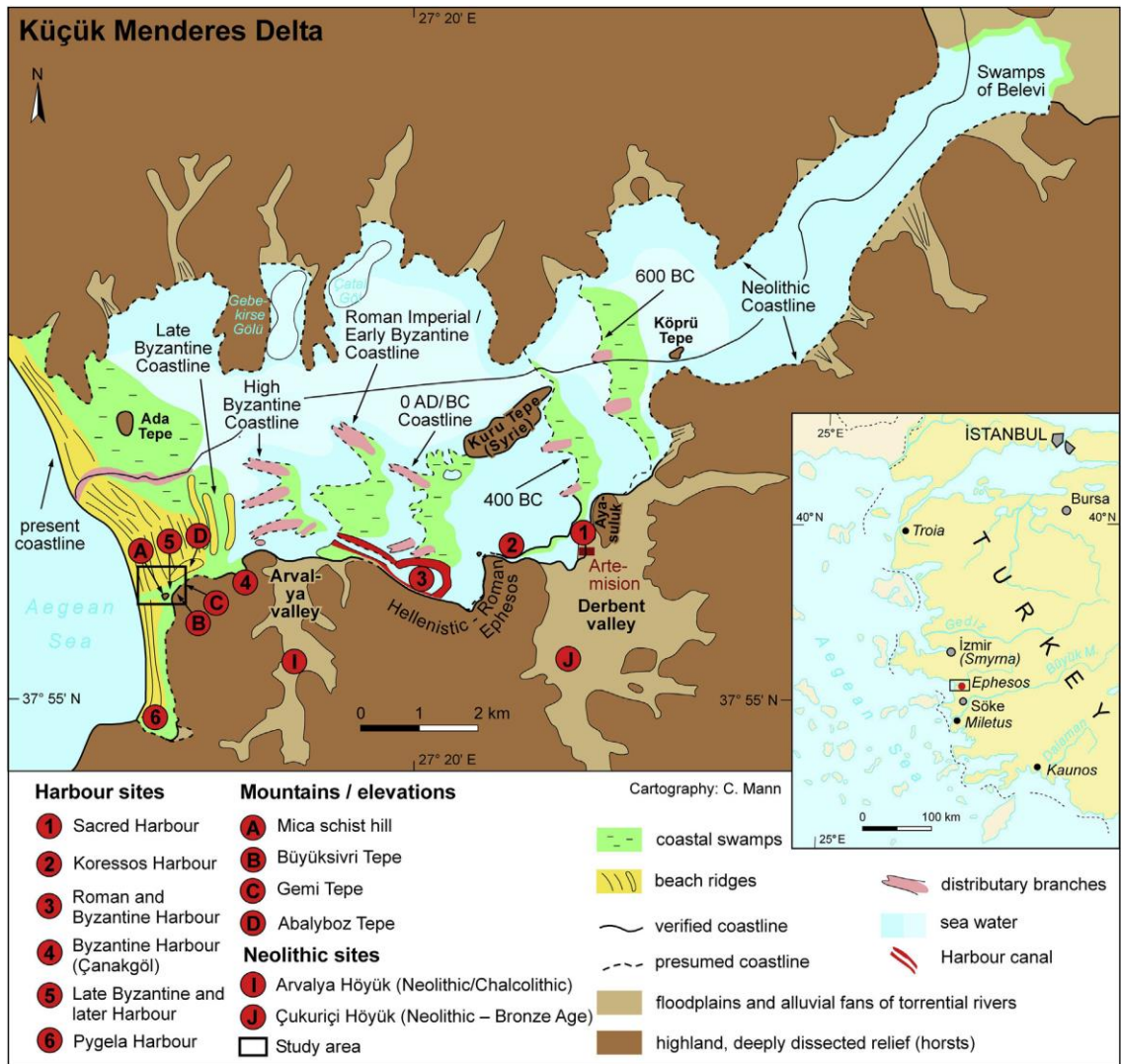


Figure 1 – Paleographic Map of Kaystros (Küçük Menderes) Delta showing the delta progradation since the maximum marine transgression

Source: Stock, F., S. Halder, S. Opitz, A. Pint, S. Seren, S. Ladstätter, and H. Brückner. 2017. “Late Holocene Coastline and Landscape changes to the west of Ephesus, Turkey.” *Quaternary International*: 1-15. 2, fig. 1.

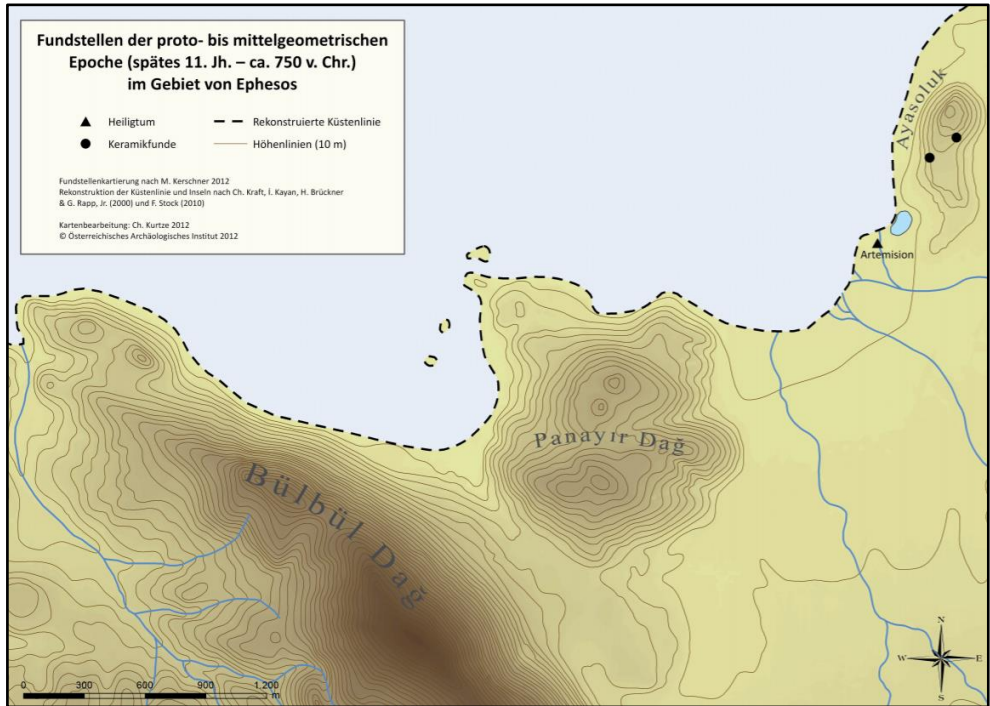


Figure 2 – Ephesus and the Artemision in the early Iron Age (late 11th century – ca. 750 BCE) (Map by C. Kurtze 2012. Site map by M. Kerschner 2012. © ÖAI Wien)

Source: Kerschner, M. 2015. “Der Ursprung des Artemisions von Ephesos als Naturheiligtum. Naturmale als kultische Bezugspunkte in den großen Heiligtümern Ioniens.” In *Natur-Kult-Raum. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums Paris-Lodron-Universität Salzburg*, 20.–22. Jänner 2012, edited by K. Sporn, S. Ladstätter, and M. Kerschner, ÖAI Sonderschriften Band 51: 187-243.

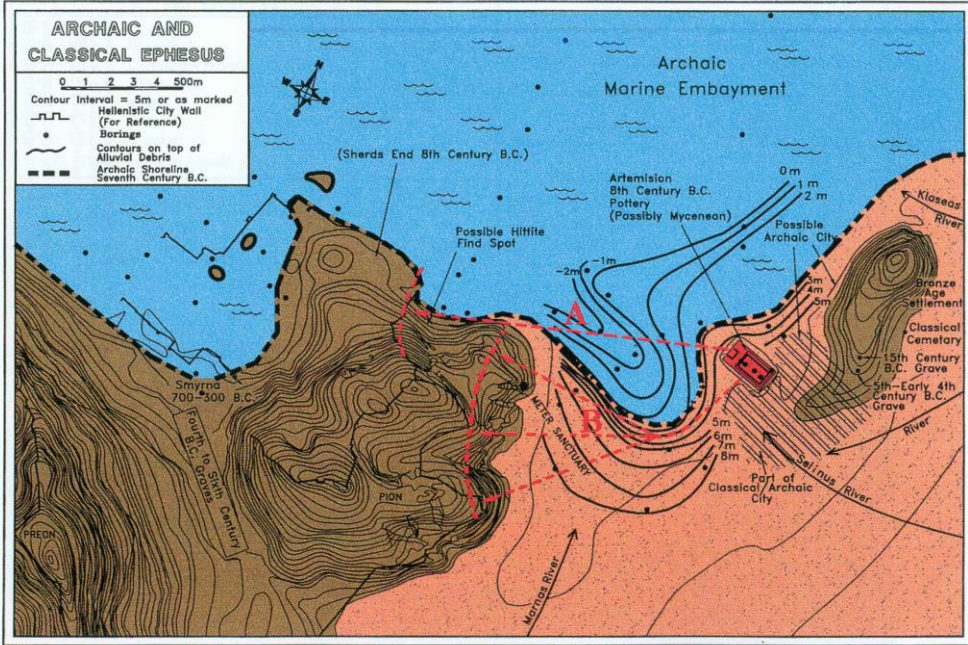


Figure 3 – Ephesus in Archaic and Classical Times

Source: Kraft, J. C., İ. Kayan, H. Brückner, and G. Rapp. 2000. “A geological analysis of ancient landscapes and the harbors of Ephesus and the Artemision in Anatolia.” *Öjh* 69: 175-233. fig. 6.

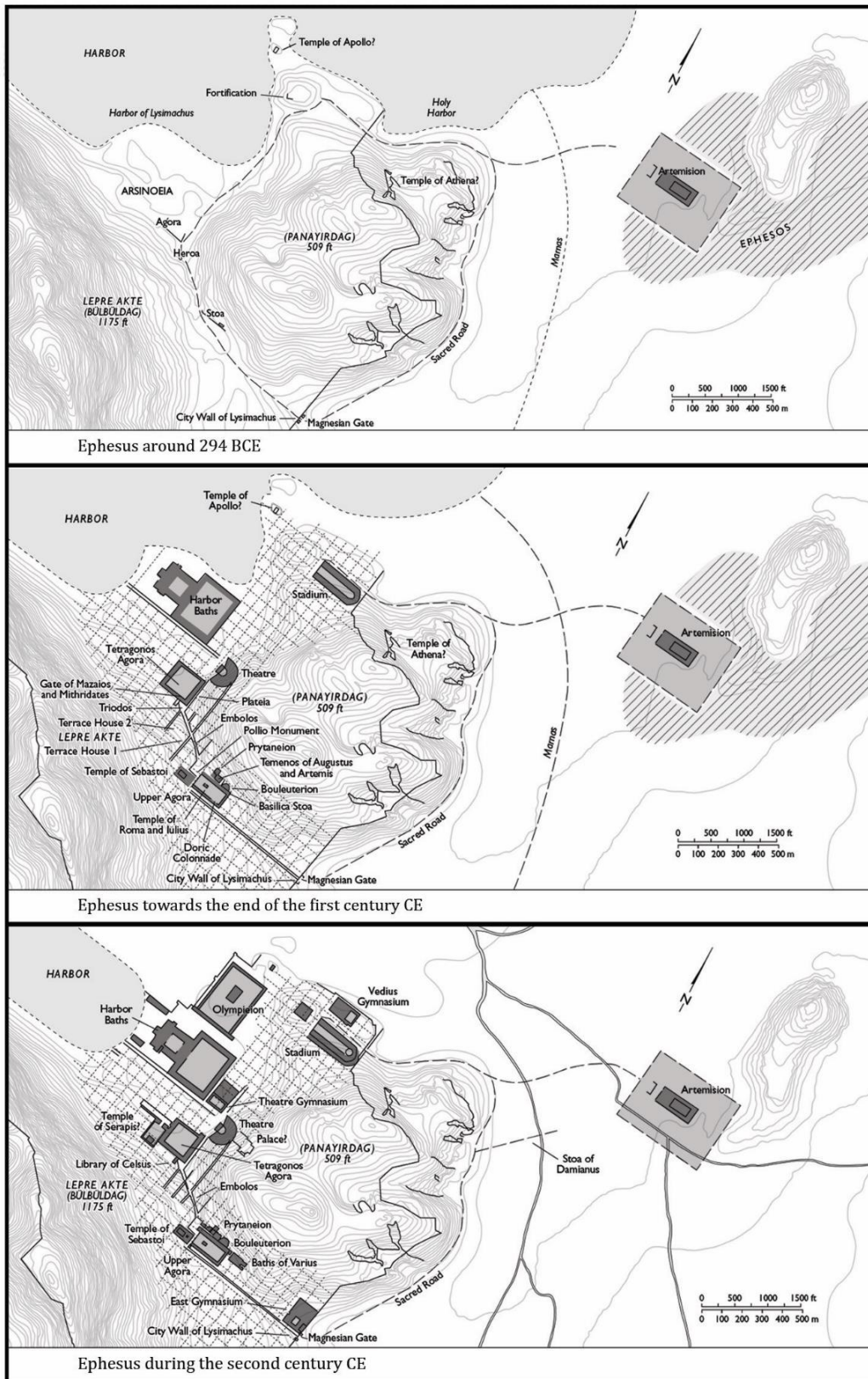


Figure 4 – The historical development of Ephesus from the Hellenistic period towards the Roman Imperial Period

Adapted from, Rogers, G. M. 2012. *The Mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos: Cult, Polis, and Change in the Graeco-Roman World*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. [Map 3, 4, 5](#).

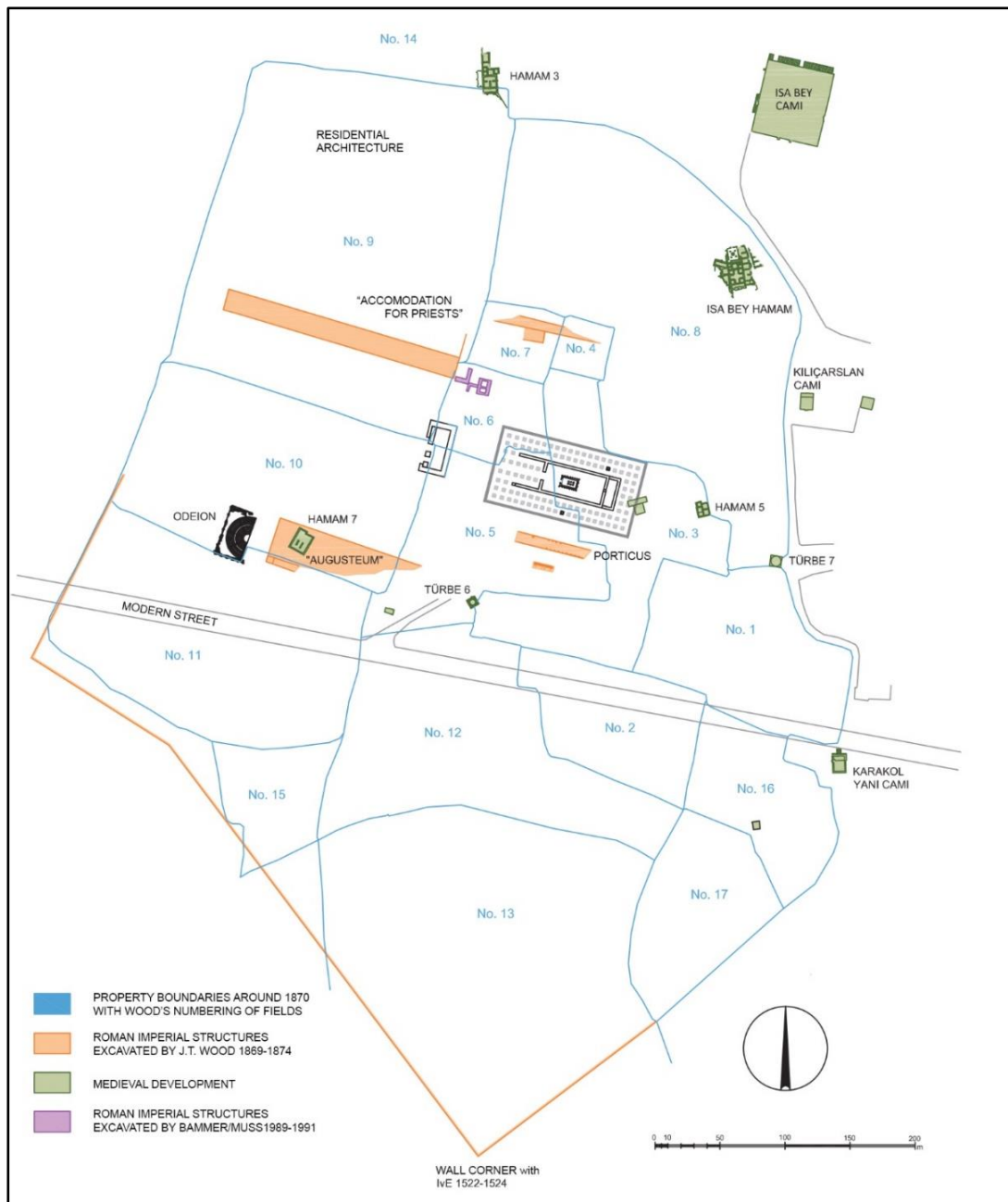


Figure 5 – Plan of the Artemision showing its *temenos*

Sources: Zabrana, L. 2018. *Das Odeion im Artemision von Ephesos*. FiE XII/6. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Plate 1, Fig. 2.

Zabrana, L. 2019. “The Artemision in the Roman Era.” In *Religion in Ephesos Reconsidered*, edited by D. Schowalter, S. Ladstätter, S. J. Friesen, and C. Thomas, 158-70. *Novum Testamentum Supplements* 177. Leiden: Brill. 163, Fig. 9.1.

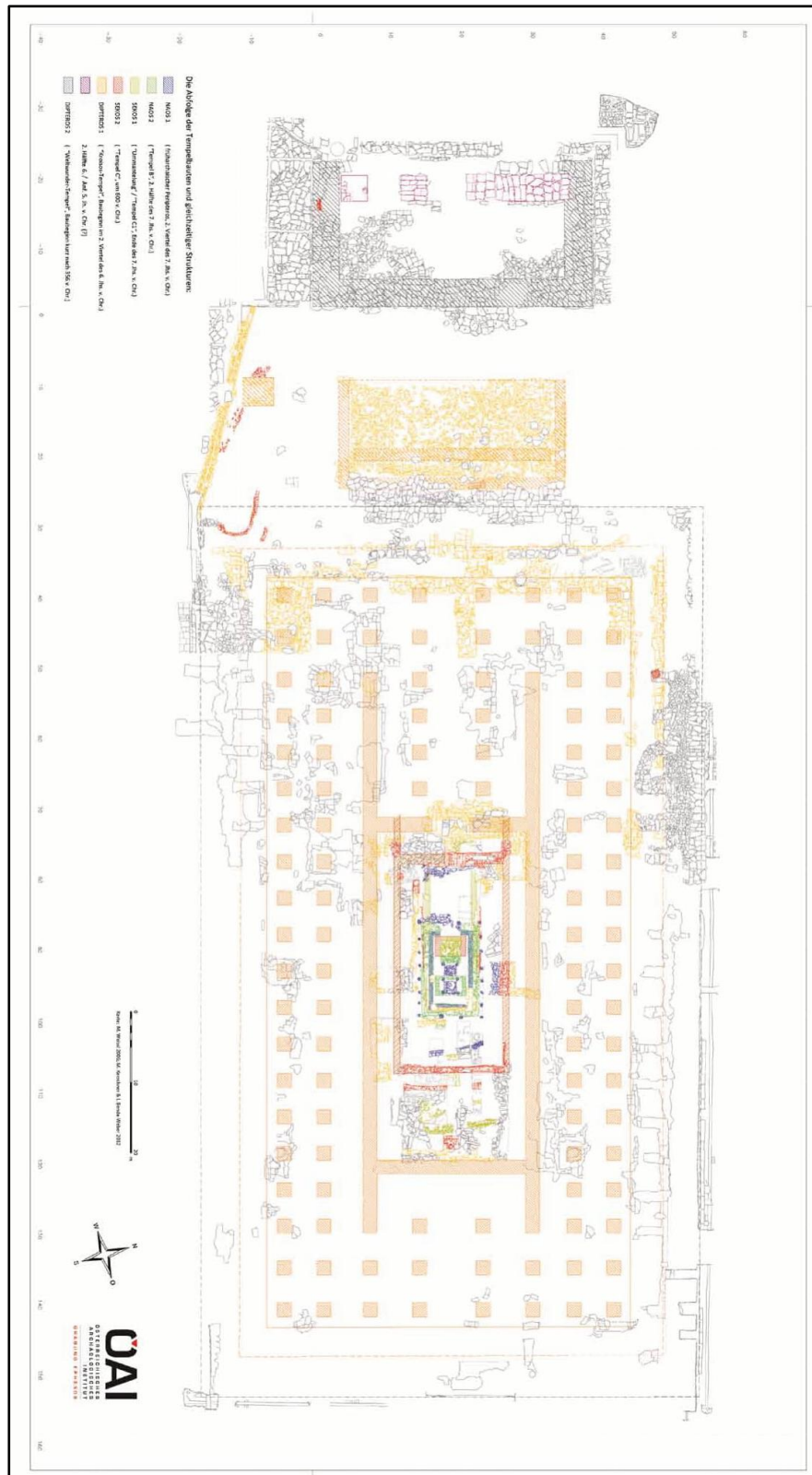


Figure 6 – Plan of the Artemision showing different construction phases of the temples, altars and other architectural units in the area of the excavations between 1965-1994

Source: Kerschner M., and W. Prochaska. 2011. “Die Tempel und Altäre der Artemis in Ephesos und ihre Baumaterialien.” *Öjh* 80: 73-154. 92, Plate 12.

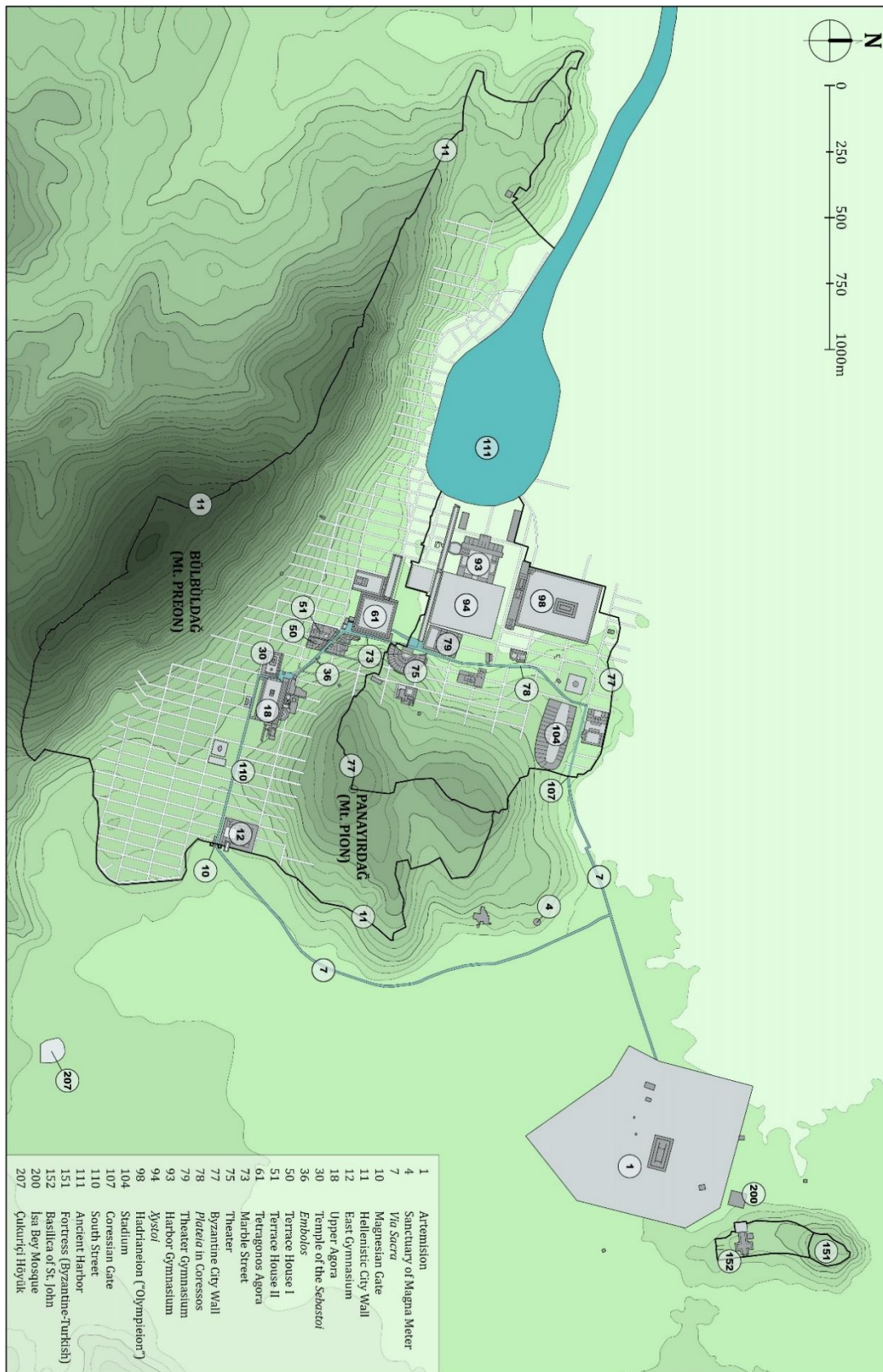


Figure 7 – City Plan of Ephesus including the surroundings

Adapted from, Schowalter, D., S. Ladstätter, S. J. Friesen, and C. Thomas, eds. 2019. *Religion in Ephesus Reconsidered. Novum Testamentum Supplements* 177. Leiden: Brill. [Plan 1](#).

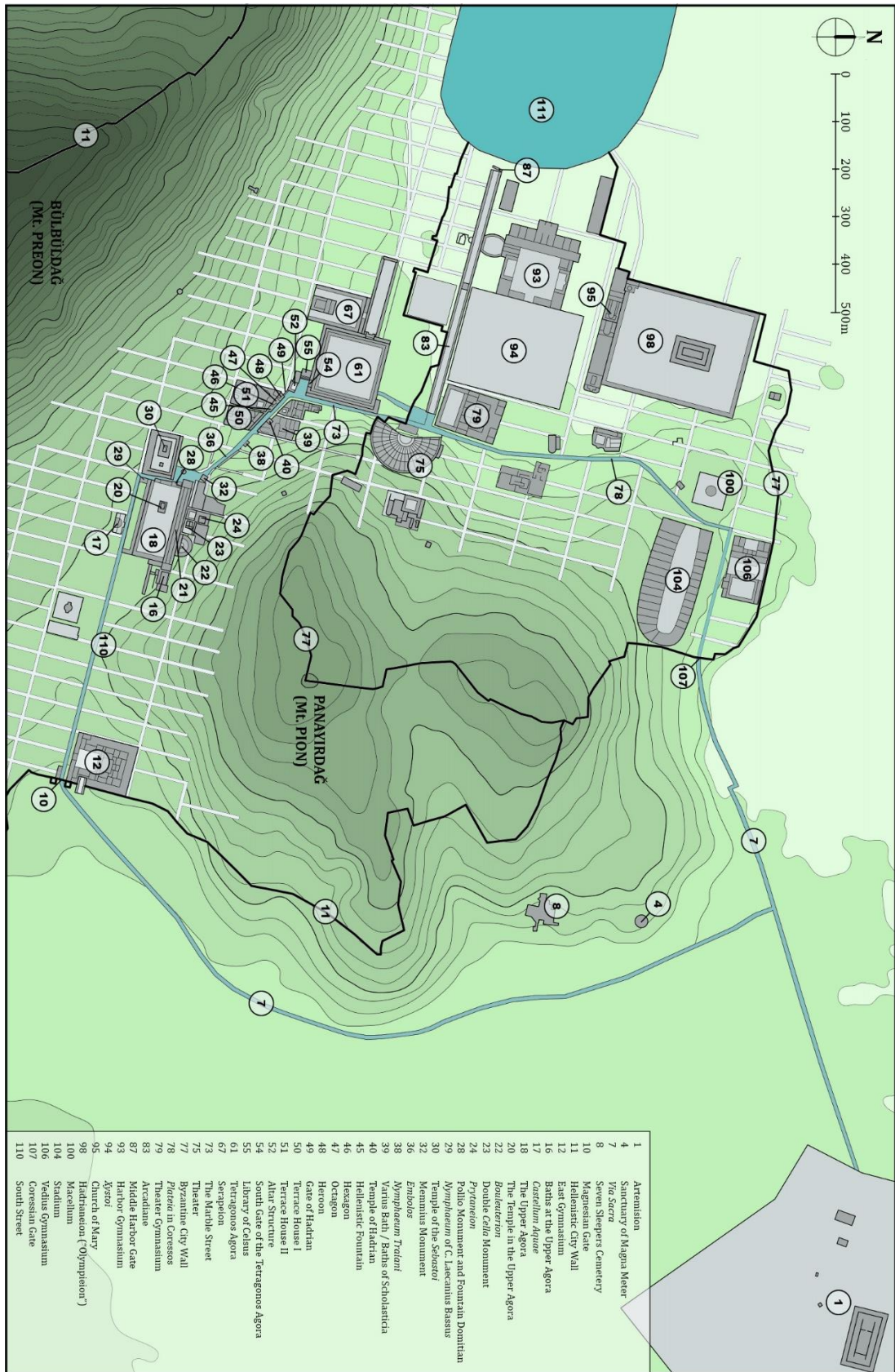


Figure 8 – City Plan of Ephesus

Adapted from, Schowalter, D., S. Ladstätter, S. J. Friesen, and C. Thomas, eds. 2019. *Religion in Ephesus Reconsidered. Novum Testamentum Supplements 177*. Leiden: Brill. Plan 2.



Figure 9 – The Sanctuary of Meter at the foot of Mount Pion (Panayırdağ)

Source: Ladstätter, S., M. Büyükkolancı, C. Topal, and Z. Aktüre. 2016. “Ephesus.” In *UNESCO World Heritage in Turkey 2016*, edited by N. Ertürk and Ö. Karakul, 413-43. Ankara: Grafiker. 424.



Figure 10 – On the left; the installation of the votive reliefs in the Ephesus Museum in the semblance of the rock-cut shrine (author’s photograph)

On the right; One of the early Hellenistic reliefs from the Sanctuary of Magna Meter

Source: <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/oeai/public-relations/events/event-detail/article/der-kult-der-meterkybele-in-westanatolien/> (Photo: ÖAW-ÖAI/N. Gail)

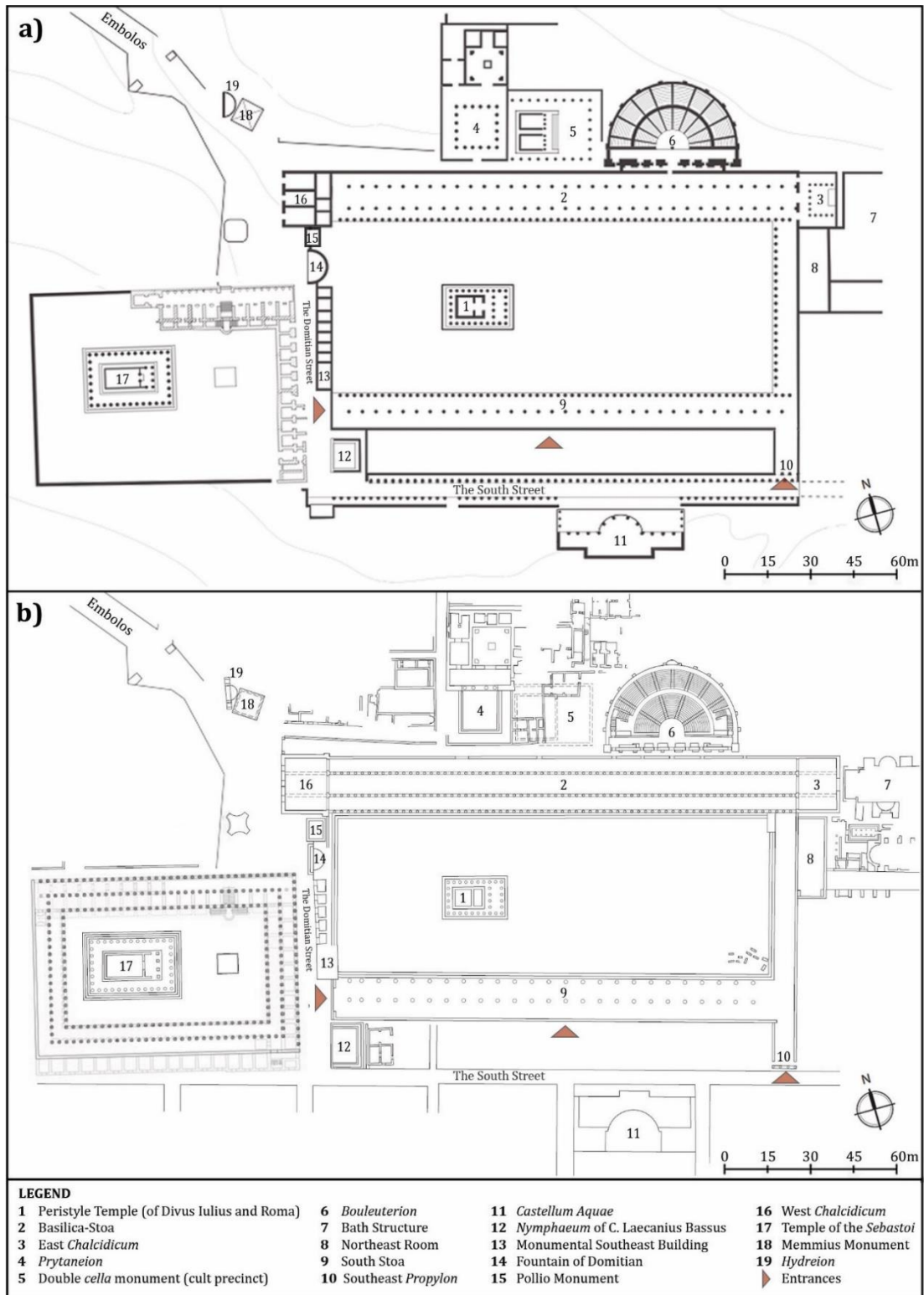


Figure 11 – Plans of the Upper Agora

Figure 10a: Reconstructed plan, adapted from, Yegül, F. and Favro, D. 2019. *Roman Architecture and Urbanism: From the Origins to Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 660.

Figure 10b: Plan by ÖAI 2012, adapted from, Schowalter, D., S. Ladstätter, S. J. Friesen, and C. Thomas, eds. 2019. *Religion in Ephesus Reconsidered. Novum Testamentum Supplements 177*. Leiden: Brill. Plan 4.

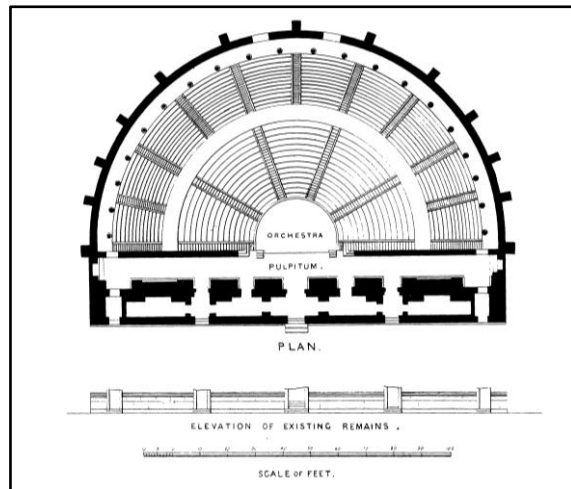


Figure 12 – J.T. Wood's drawing of the “Odeon”

Source: Wood, J. T. 1877. *Discoveries at Ephesus, Including the Site and Remains of the Great Temple of Diana*. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company. 52.

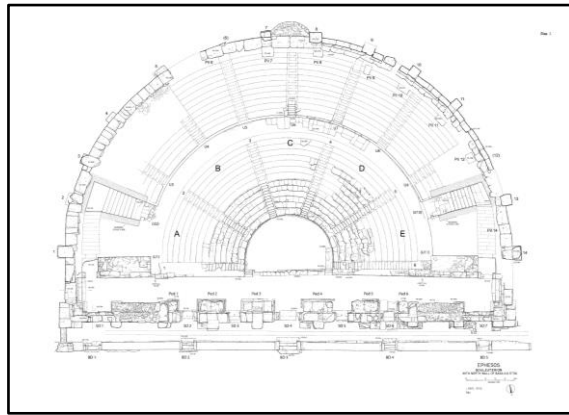


Figure 13 – *Bouleuterion*, plan

Source: Bier, L. 2011. *The Bouleuterion at Ephesos. FiE IX/5*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. plan 1.

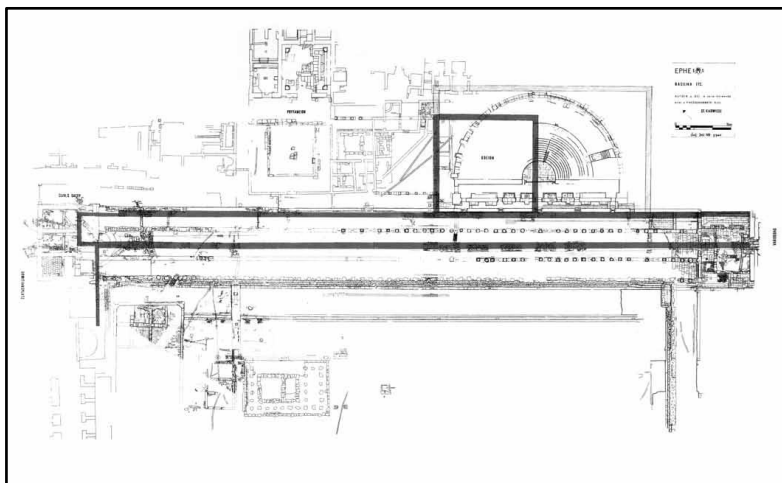


Figure 14 – Alzinger's reconstruction of the Hellenistic *Bouleuterion* and Stoa

Source: Bier, L. 2011. *The Bouleuterion at Ephesos. FiE IX/5*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Plate 44.

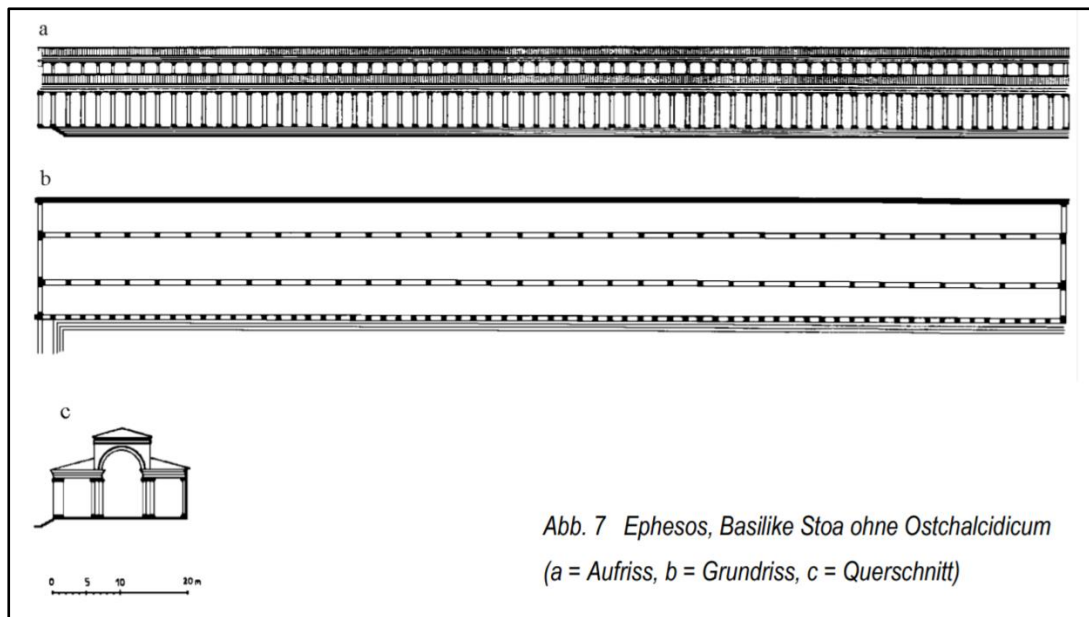


Figure 15 – Basilica-stoa; elevation, plan, section

Source: Süß, J. 1999. *Kaiserkult und Stadt. Kultstätten für römische Kaiser in Asia und Galatia*. PhD. Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München. 35, Plate 7.

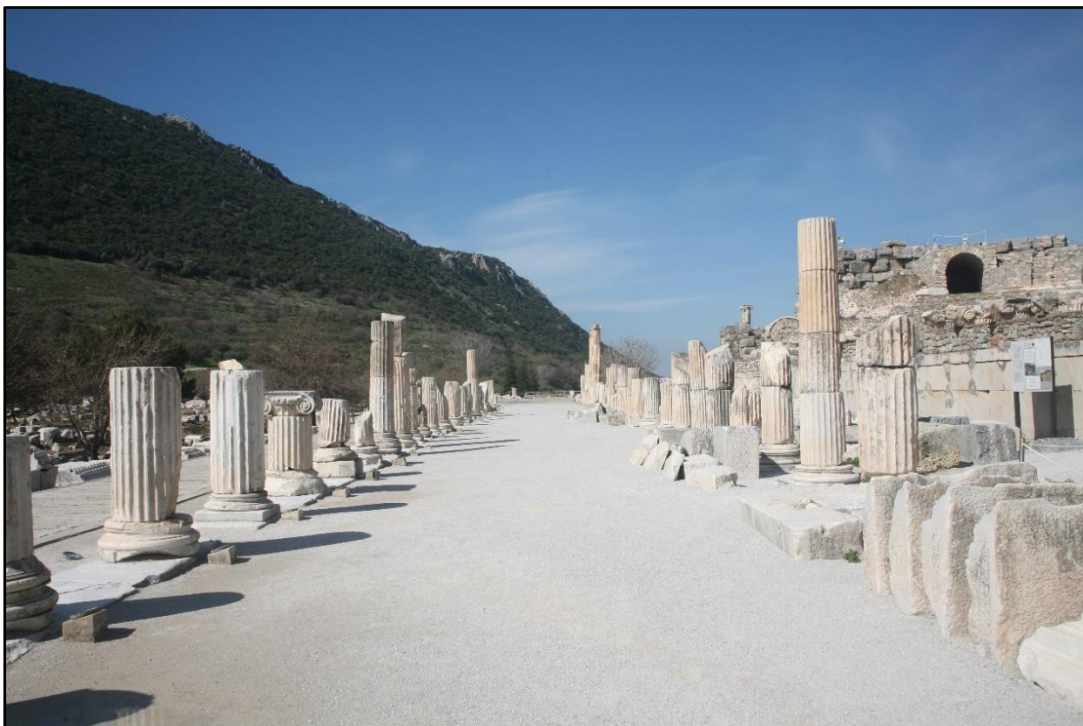


Figure 16 – View from the central nave of the basilica-stoa looking west (author's photograph)



Figure 17 – An Ionic capital with the projecting bullheads of the basilica-stoa
(author's photograph)



Figure 18 – A door on the rear wall of the basilica-stoa opening to the *bouleuterion*
(author's photograph)



Figure 19 – View of the *chalcidicum* from the basilica-stoa (author's photograph)



Figure 20 – The statues of Augustus and Livia originally located in the east *chalcidicum* (author's photograph)

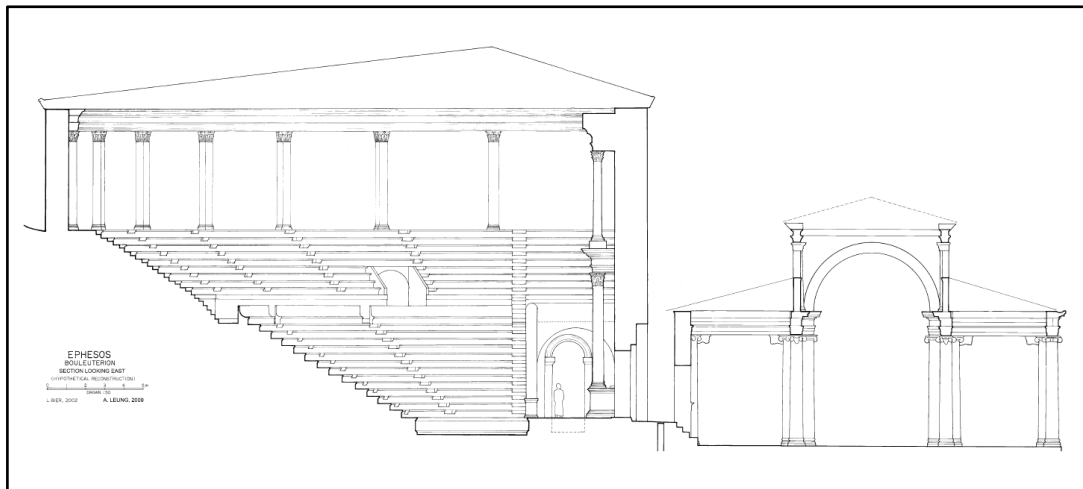


Figure 21 – *Bouleuterion*, section view looking east

Source: Bier, L. 2011. *The Bouleuterion at Ephesos*. *FiE IX/5*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. [plan 7](#).

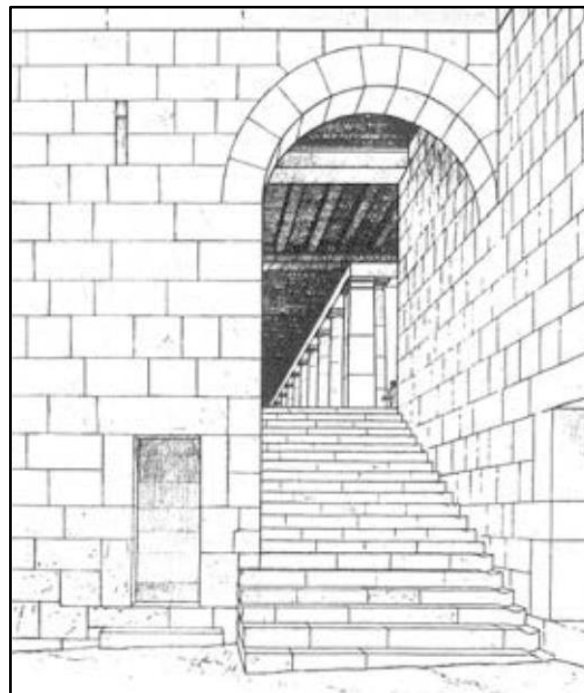


Figure 22 – Illustration of the southeast entrance to the agora at Priene by Martin Schede (1964, *Die Ruinen von Priene*)

Source: Winter, F. E. 2006. *Studies in Hellenistic Architecture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. [Fig. 121](#).

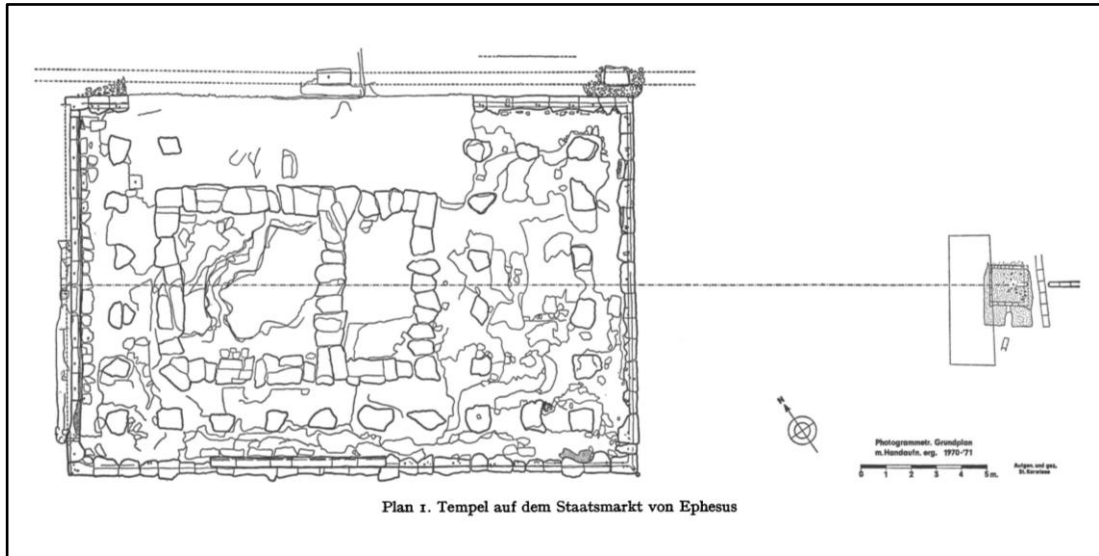


Figure 23 – The temple in the Upper Agora, plan

Source: Hölbl, G. 1978. *Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religionsvorstellungen für Ephesus*. ÉPRO 73. Leiden: Brill. 28, plan 1.

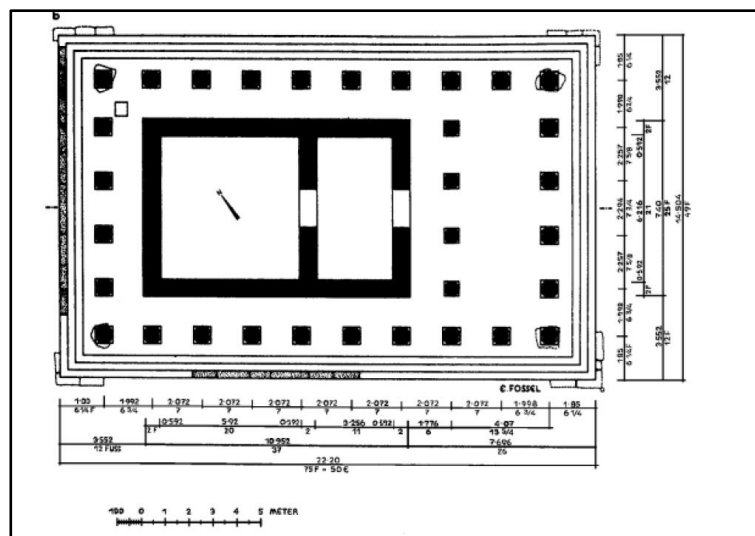


Figure 24 – The temple in the Upper Agora, plan (drawing by C. Fossel)

Source: Süß, J. 1999. *Kaiserkult und Stadt. Kultstätten für römische Kaiser in Asia und Galatia*. PhD. Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München. 216, Plate 45.

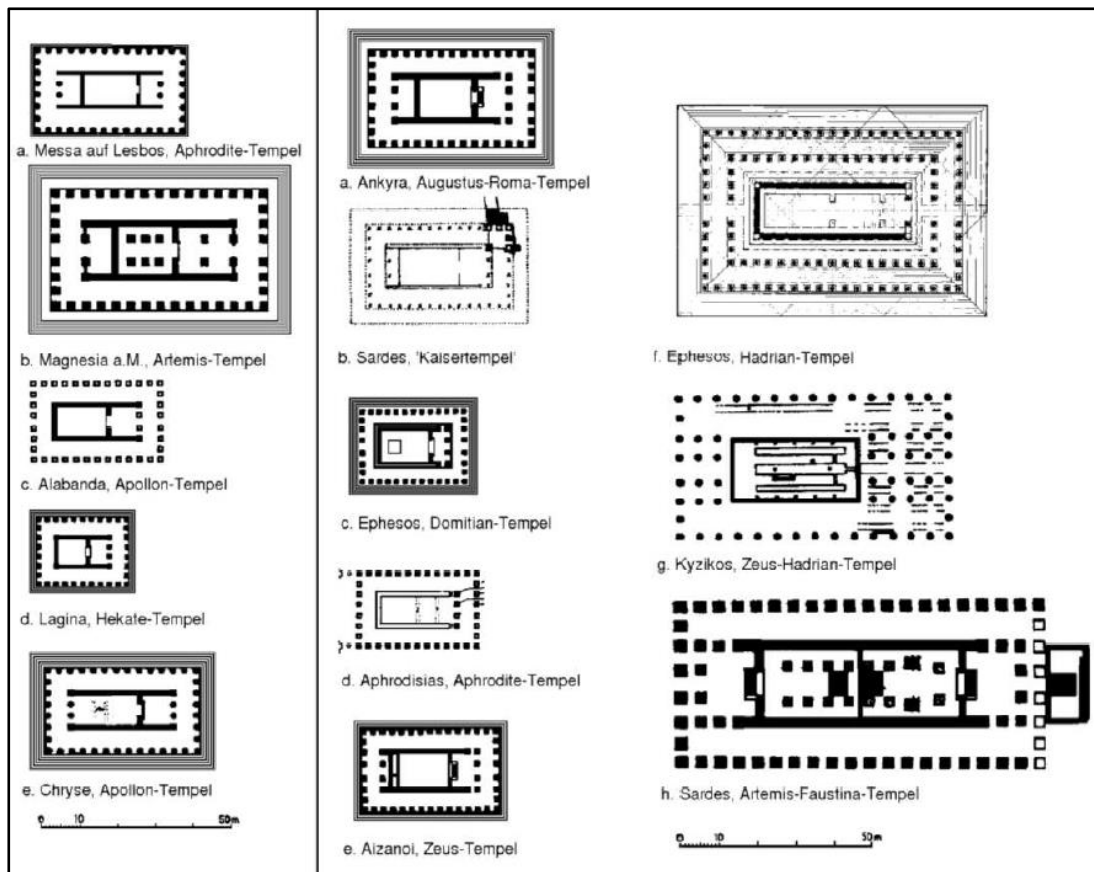


Figure 25 – Examples of pseudodipteral temples in Asia Minor (Hellenistic period on the left, Roman Imperial Period on the right) by J. Süß

Source: Süß, J. 1999. *Kaiserkult und Stadt. Kultstätten für römische Kaiser in Asia und Galatia*. PhD. Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München. 478, Plate 60.

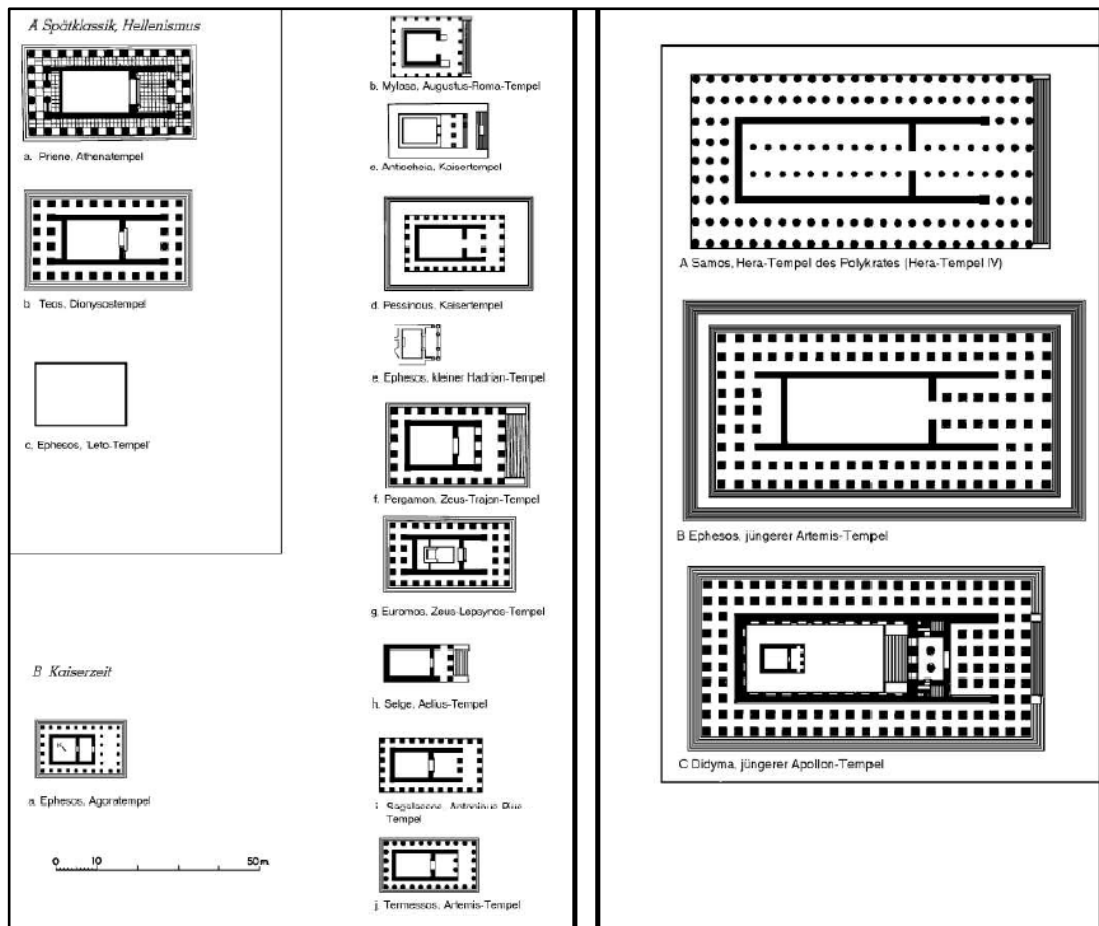


Figure 26 – On the left; prostyle and peripteral temples in Asia Minor, (A: Late Classic, Hellenistic, B: Imperial), on the right the dipteral temples in Anatolia, plans by J. Süß

Source: Süß, J. 1999. *Kaiserkult und Stadt. Kultstätten für römische Kaiser in Asia und Galatia*. PhD. Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München. 477, Plate 59.

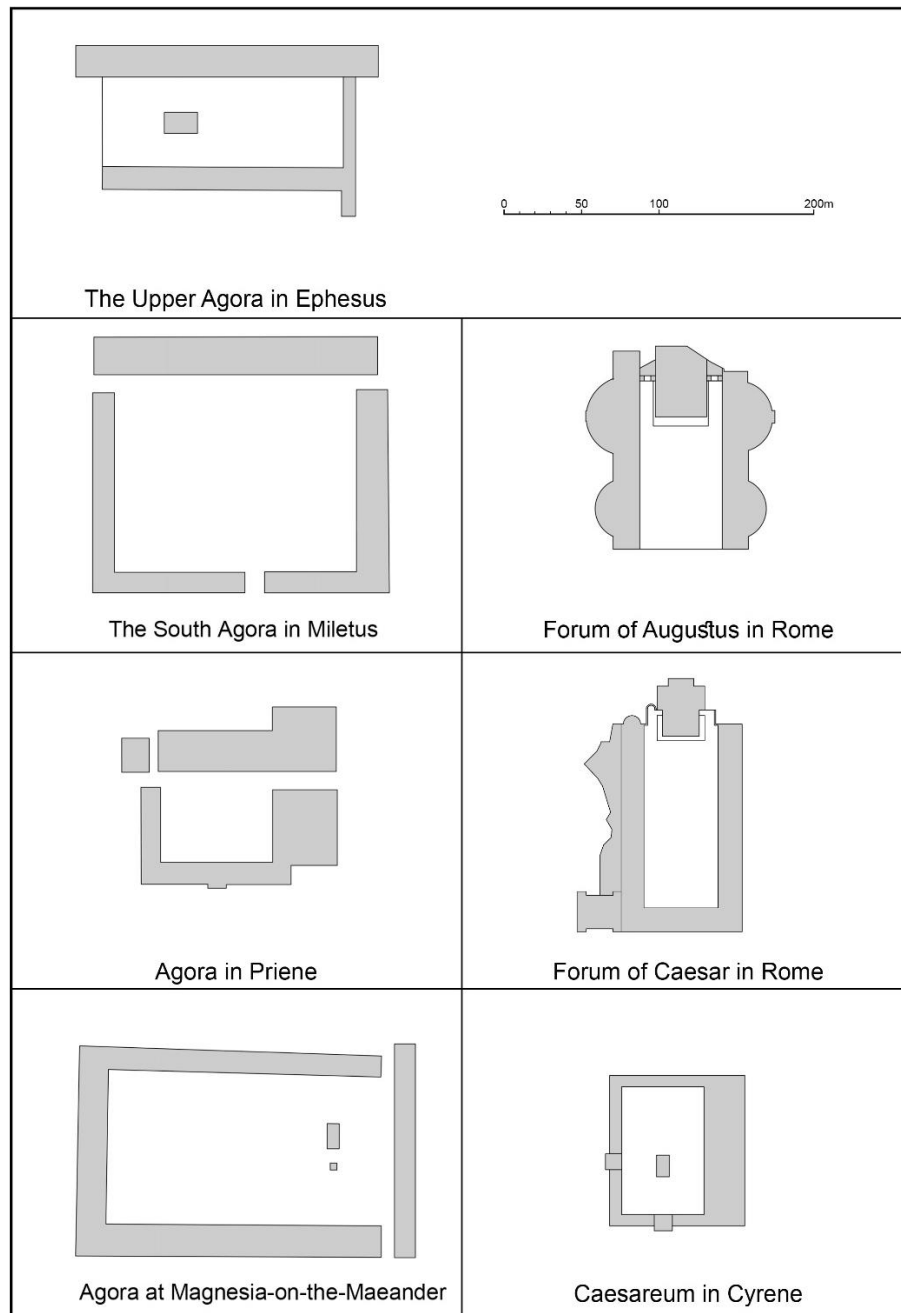


Figure 28 – A comparative illustration of the Upper Agora with II-shaped agoras (on the left) and the fora (on the right)

Sources: The drawing of the agoras; after Dickenson, C. P. 2019. “The Myth of the Ionian Agora: Combining Archaeological and Historical Sources to Investigate the Enclosure of Greek Public Space.” *Hesperia* 88(3): 557-93. [571, Fig. 6.](#)

Forum of Augustus; after Yegül, F. K. and Favro, D. 2019. *Roman Architecture and Urbanism: From the Origins to Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [204, Fig. 4.17.](#)

Forum of Caesar; after Senseney, J. R. 2011. *The Art of Building in the Classical World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [24, Fig. 13.](#)

Caesareum in Cyrene; after Ward-Perkins, J. B., M. H. Ballance, and J. M. Reynolds. 1958. “The Caesareum at Cyrene and the Basilica at Cremna, with a Note on the Inscriptions of the Caesareum by J. M. Reynolds.” *PBSR* 26: 137-94. [139, Fig. 1.](#)

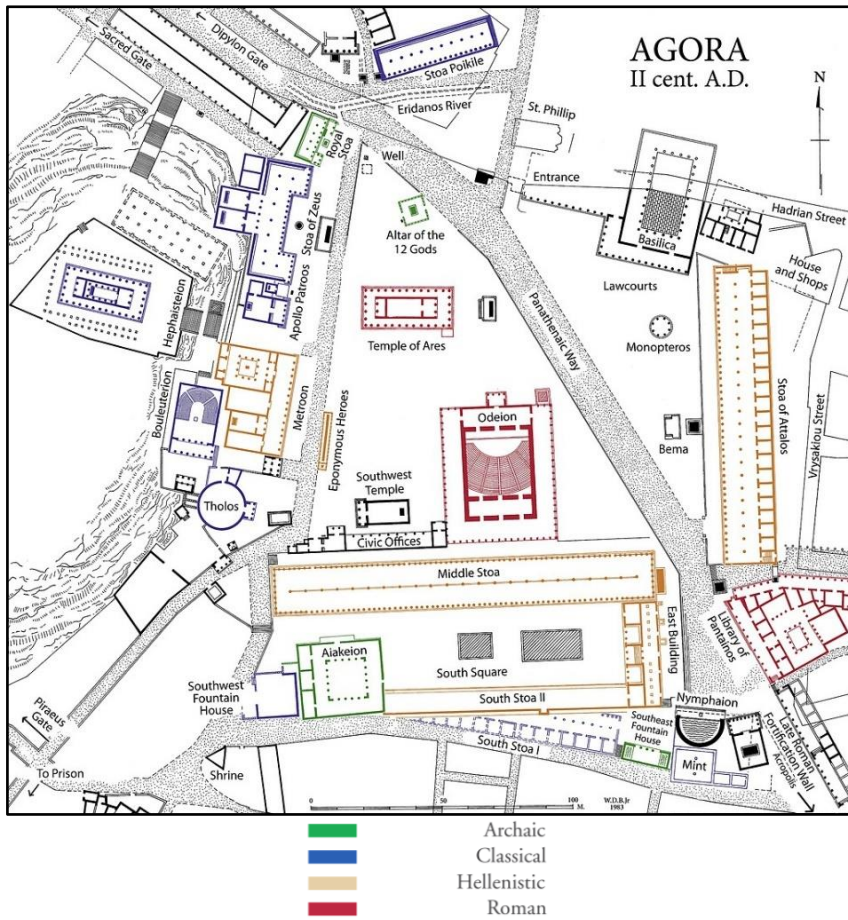


Figure 29 – Plan of the Athenian Agora ca. 150 CE showing the different development phases

Source: <http://agora.ascsa.net/id/agora/image/2008.18.0013>.

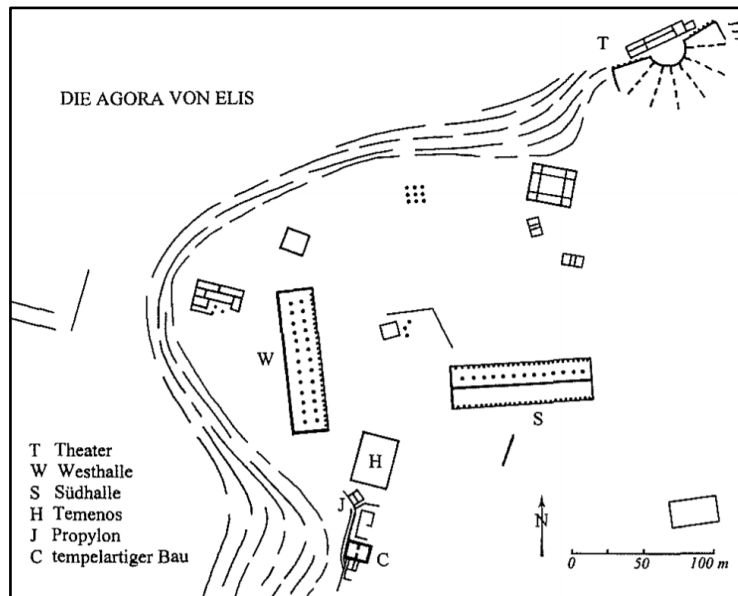


Figure 30 – Plan of the Agora at Elis

Source: Eder, B., and V. Mitsopoulos-Leon. 1999. "Zur Geschichte der Stadt Elis vor dem Synoikismos von 471 v. Chr." *Öjh* 68: 1-40. 5-6, Fig. 1.

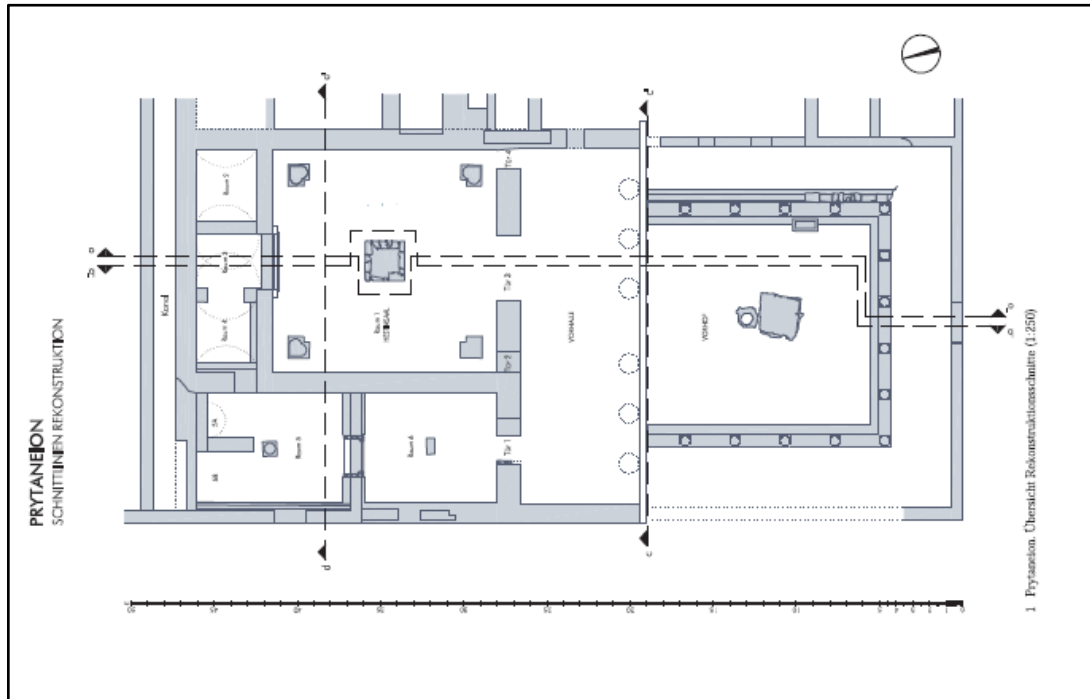


Figure 31 – Reconstructed plan of the *prytaneion*

Source: Steskal M. 2010. *Das Prytaneion in Ephesos. FiE IX/4*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Plate 255.

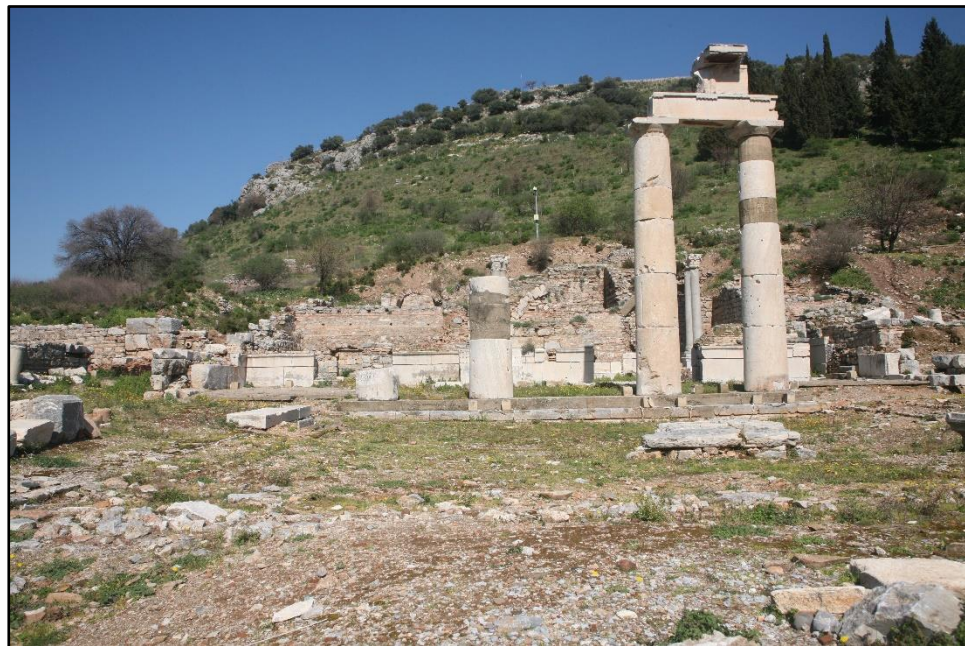


Figure 32 – The two re-erected Doric pillars at the north side of the courtyard of the *prytaneion* (author's photograph)

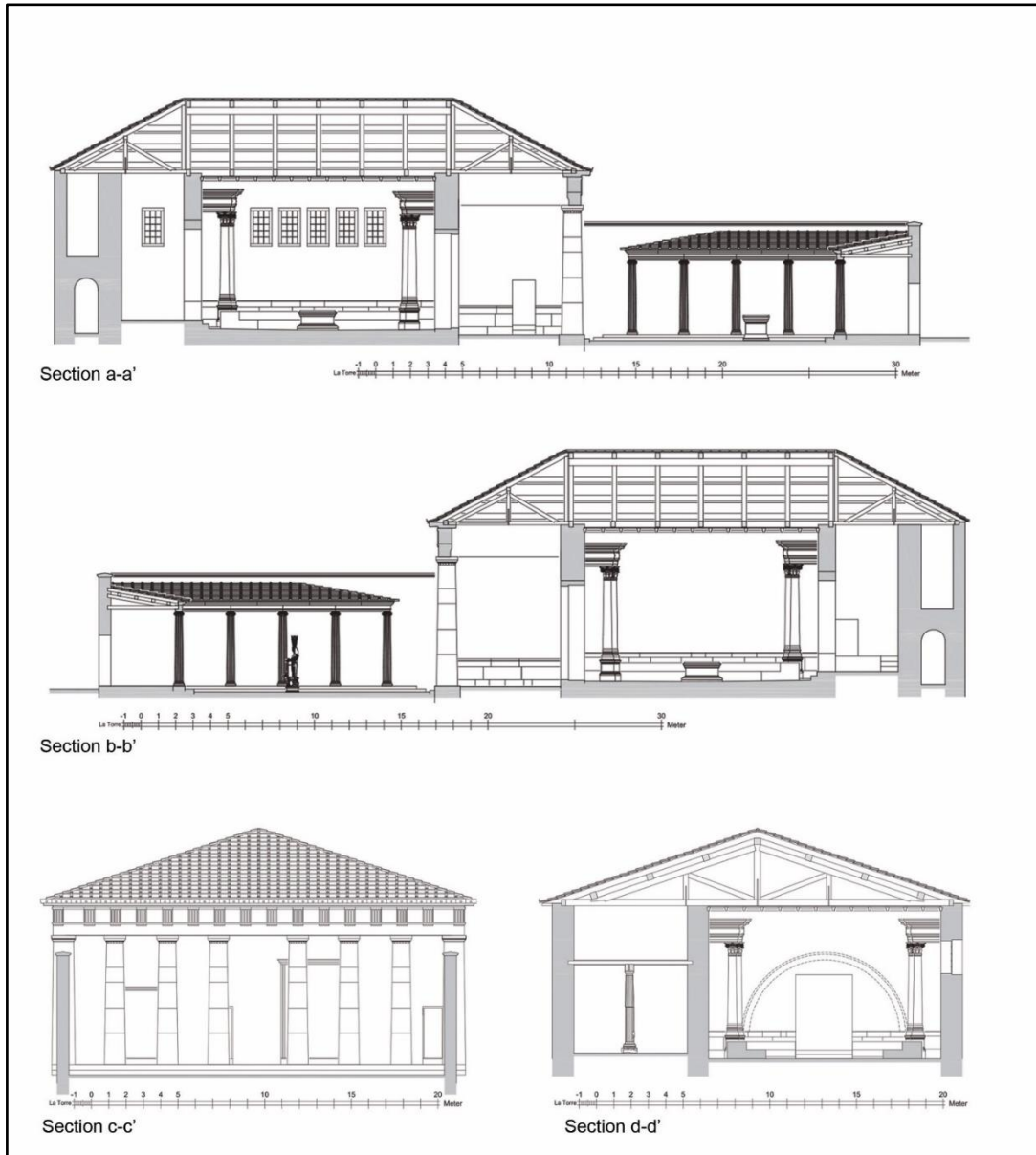


Figure 33 – Reconstructed cross section views of the *prytaneion*

Source: Steskal M. 2010. *Das Prytaneion in Ephesos. FiE IX/4*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Plate 256, 257, 258.

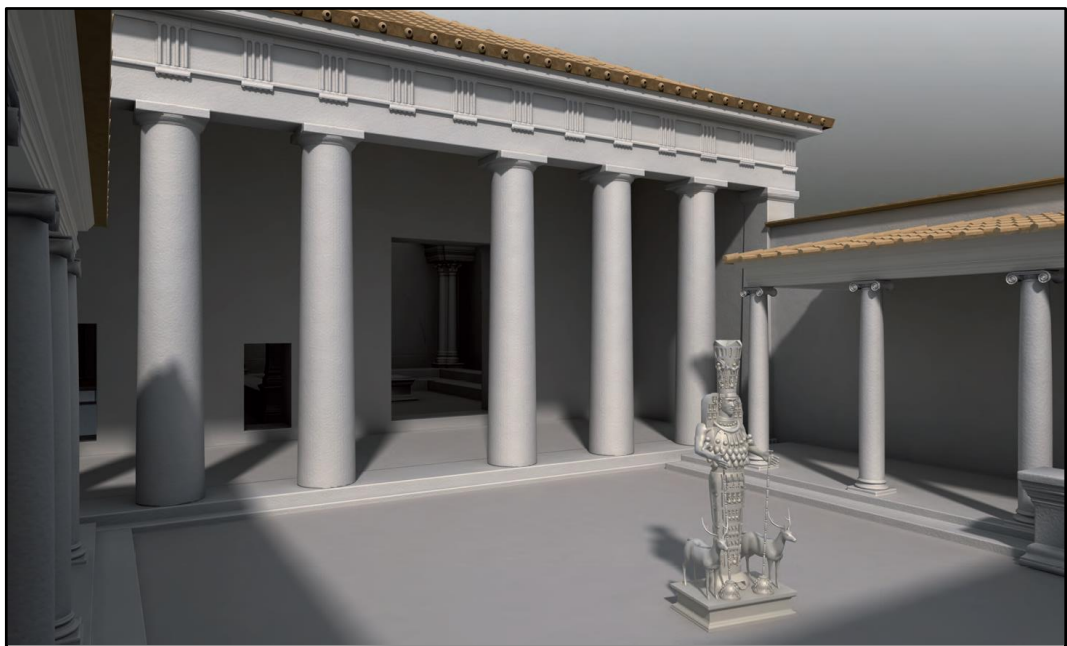
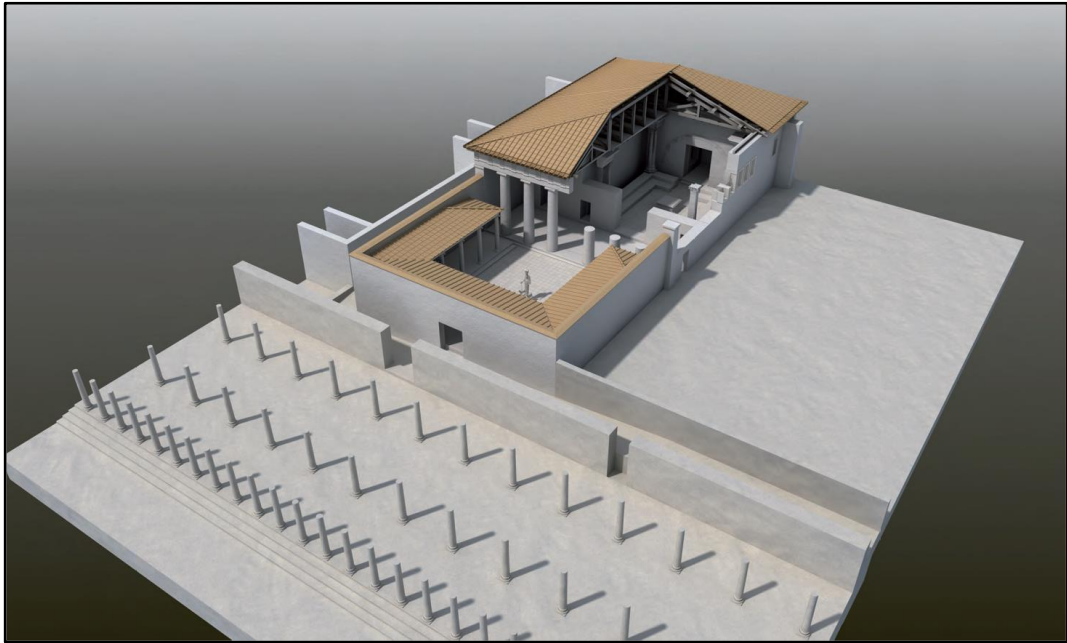


Figure 34 – Reconstructed views of the *prytaneion*

Source: Steskal M. 2010. *Das Prytaneion in Ephesos*. FiE IX/4. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Plate 260, 262.

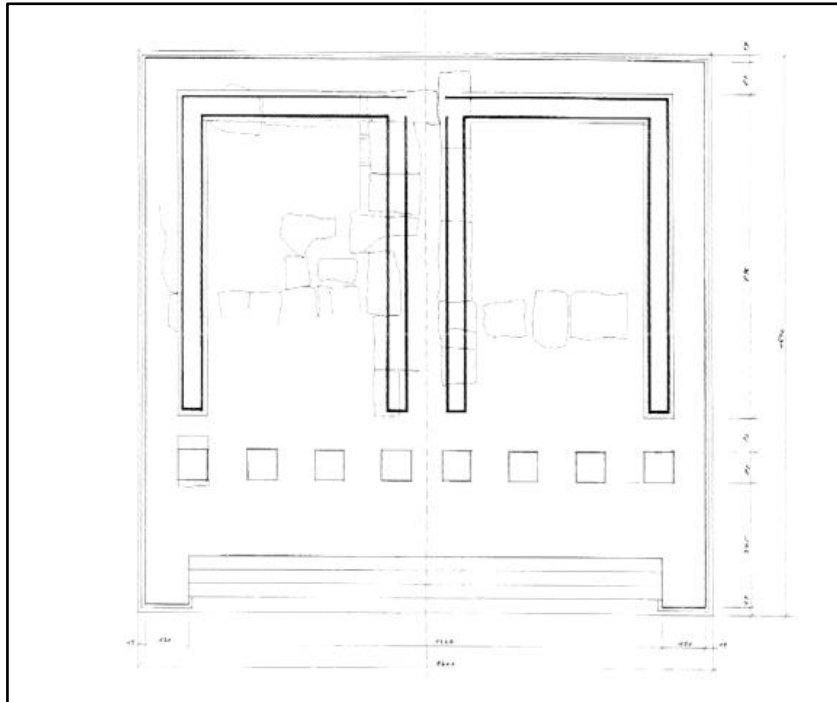


Figure 35 – Reconstructed plan of the double *cella* monument with prostyle arrangement

Source: Bammer, A. 2008. “Zur Dekonstruktion römischer Architektur (Studien zur Architektur im Nordbereich der sog. Oberen Agora von Ephesos).” *Anatolia Antiqua*, Tome 16: 165-180. 176, Plate 11.

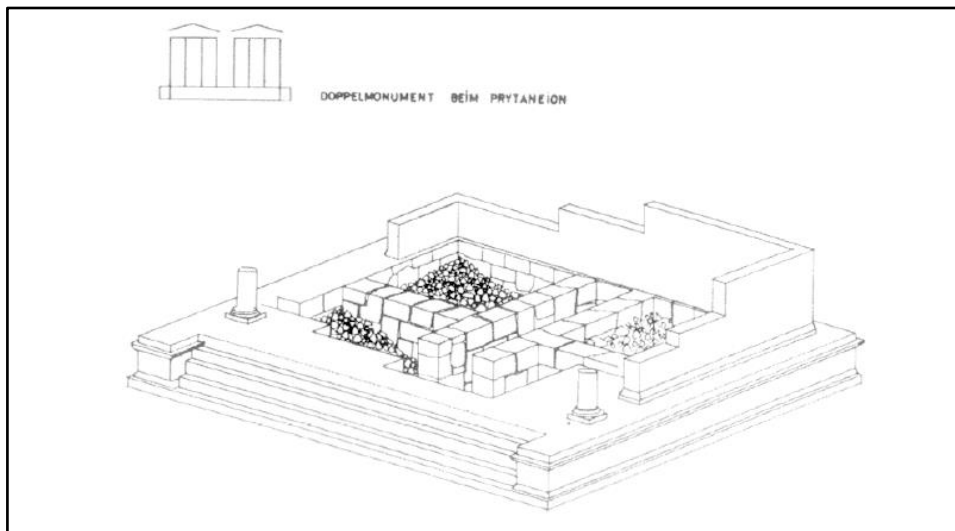


Figure 36 – Axonometric view of the foundations with an overall layout of the double *cella* monument

Source: Bammer, A. 2008. “Zur Dekonstruktion römischer Architektur (Studien zur Architektur im Nordbereich der sog. Oberen Agora von Ephesos).” *Anatolia Antiqua*, Tome 16: 165-180. 177, Plate 14.

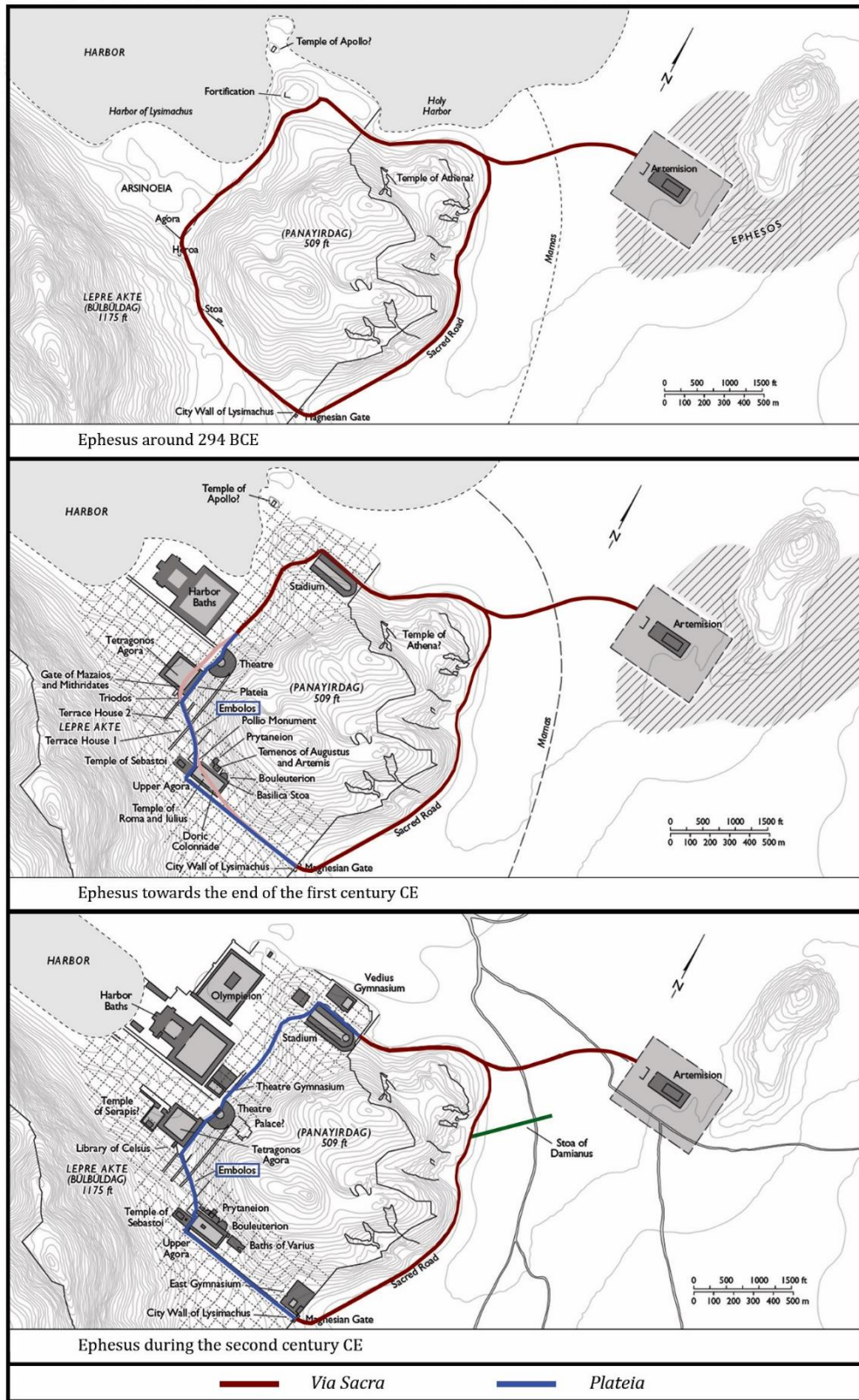


Figure 37 – The development of Ephesus and the *Via Sacra*

Adapted from, Rogers, G. M. 2012. *The Mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos: Cult, Polis, and Change in the Graeco-Roman World*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. [Map 3, 4, 5](#).

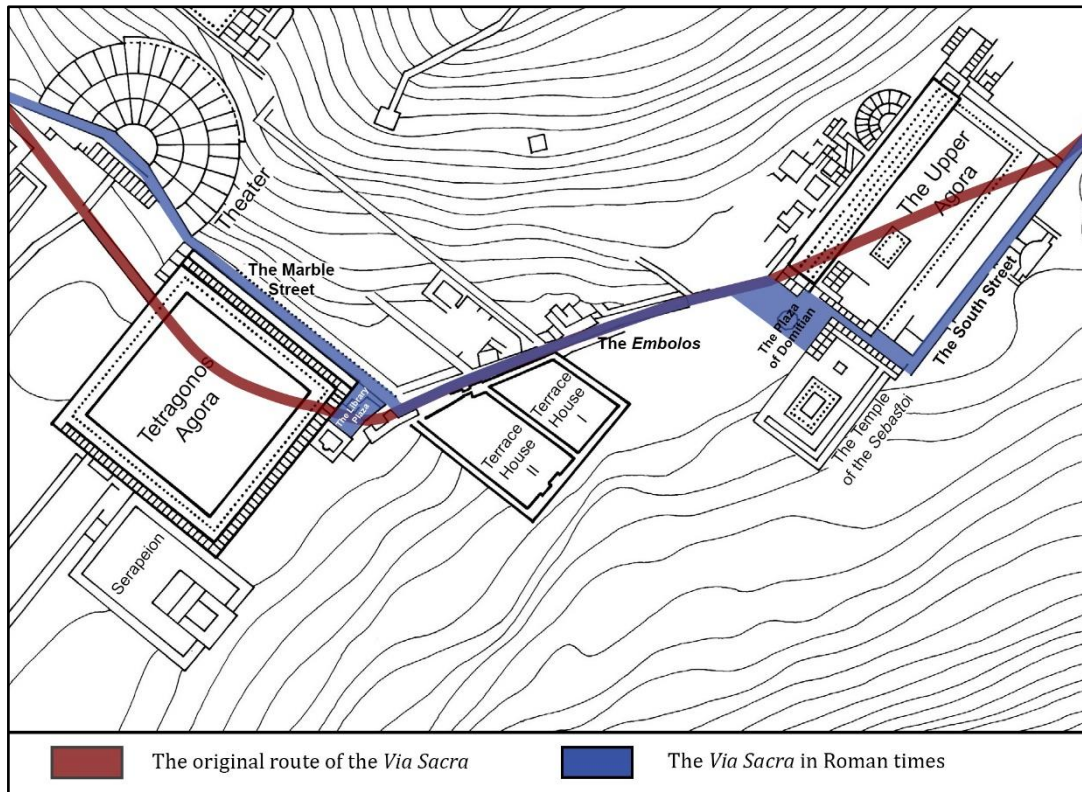


Figure 38 – Intramural part of the *Via Sacra*, the two agoras built over it, the *Embolos* and the *Marble Street*

Adapted from, Bezezcky, T., P. Scherrer, and R. Sauer. 2013. *The Amphorae of Roman Ephesus: Contributors Peter Scherrer and Roman Sauer*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 5, Fig. 5.

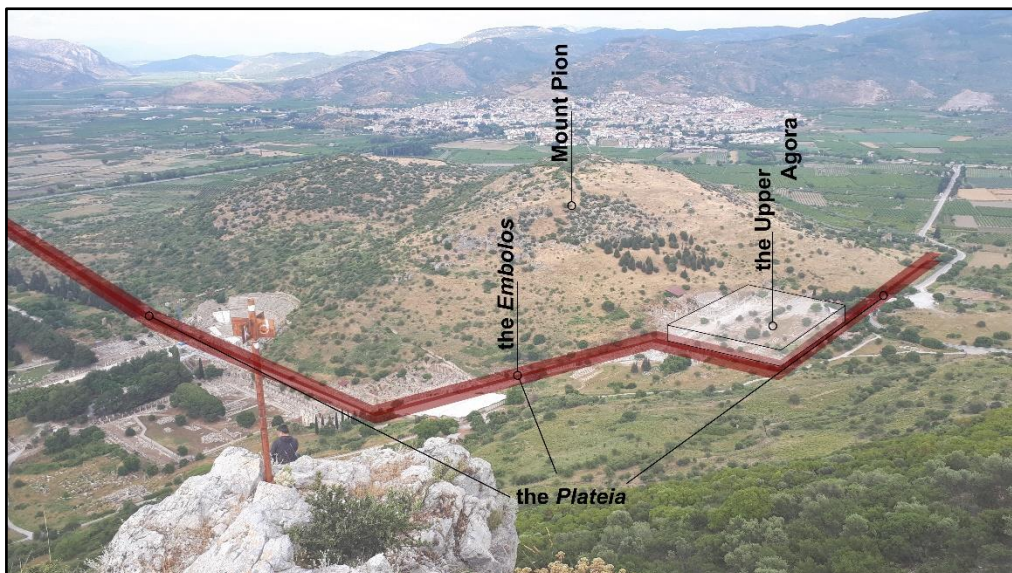


Figure 39 – The processional way circling around Mount Pion, the *Plateia* that extends from the *Magnesian Gate* to the *Coressian Gate* along which many significant monuments were built, seen from Mount Preon (author’s photograph)

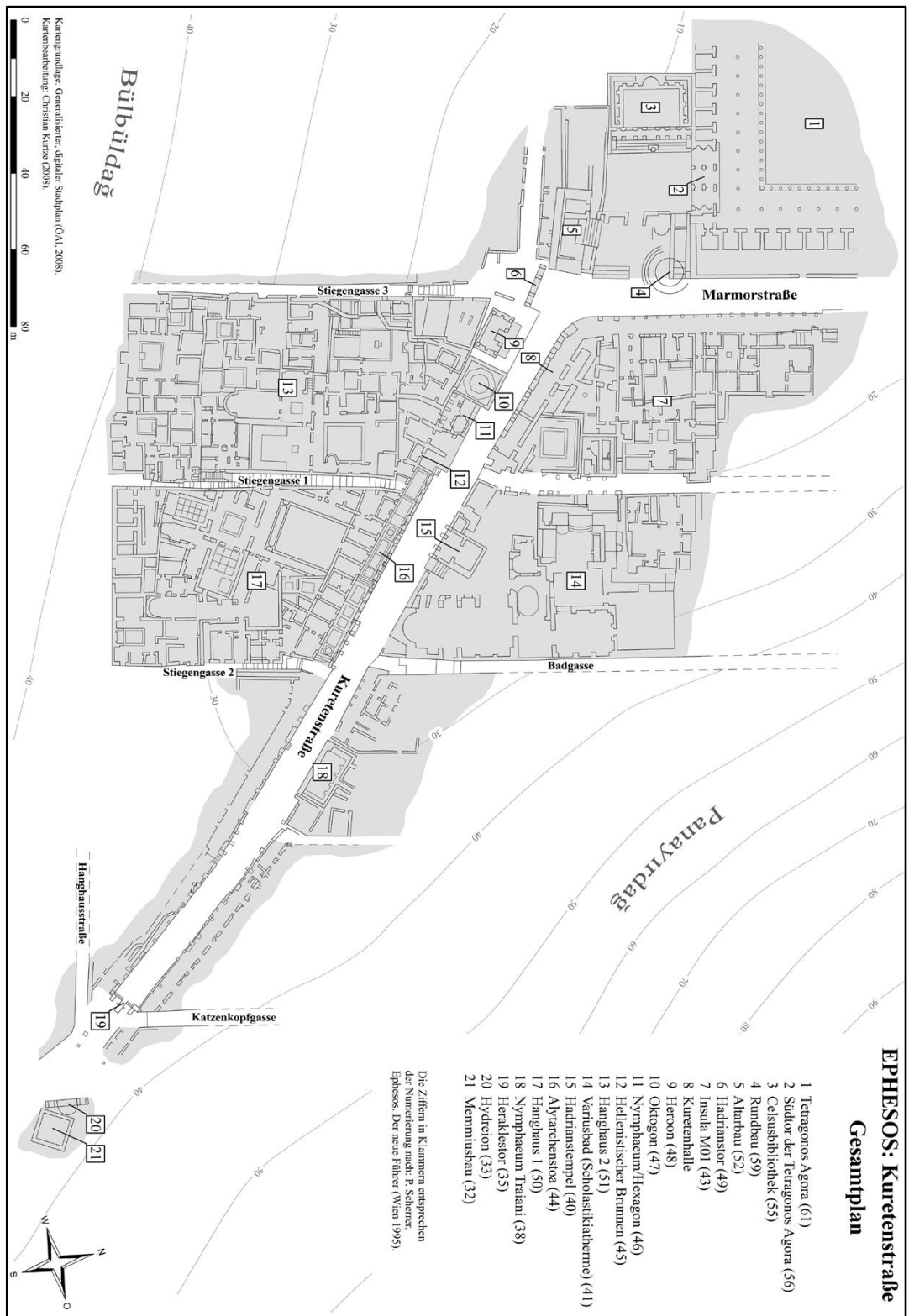


Figure 40 – Plan of the *Embolos* and its environs

Source: Quatember, U. 2014. “Betreten verboten, möglich, oder gar erwünscht? Überlegungen zur Zugänglichkeit antiker Gebäude und Stadtbereiche anhand der sogenannten Kuretenstraße in Ephesos während der römischen Kaiserzeit.” In *Diskussionen zur Archäologischen Bauvorsuchung* 11: 102-20. Regensburg: Verlag Schnell und Steiner. 104, Fig. 2.

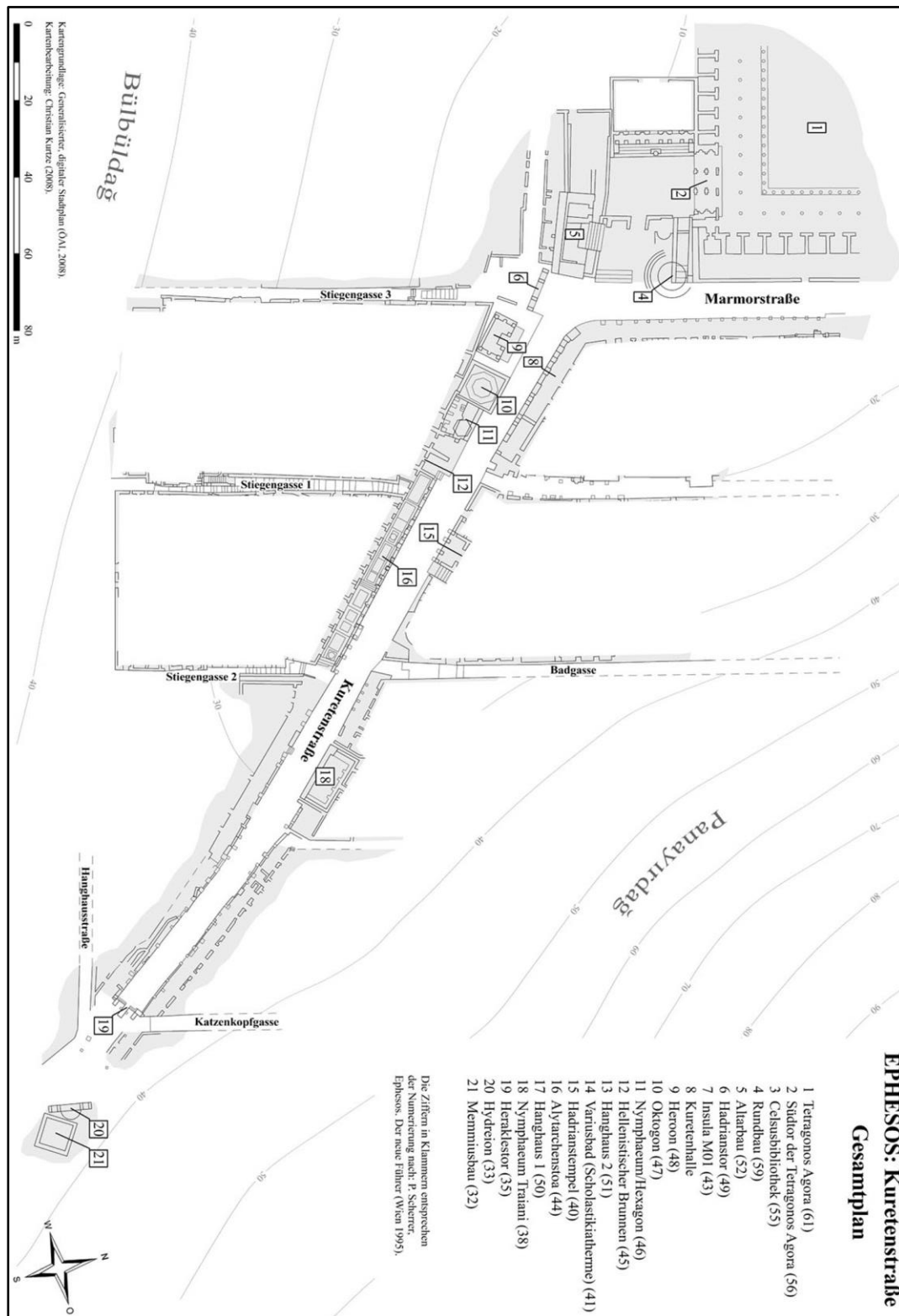


Figure 41 – Plan of the *Embolos* with those areas of public space that were accessible to a non-local person without any special permission

Source: Quatember, U. 2014. “Betreten verboten, möglich, oder gar erwünscht? Überlegungen zur Zugänglichkeit antiker Gebäude und Stadtbereiche anhand der sogenannten Kuretenstraße in Ephesos während der römischen Kaiserzeit.” In *Diskussionen zur Archäologischen Bauforschung* 11: 102-20. Regensburg: Verlag Schnell und Steiner. 115, Fig. 17.

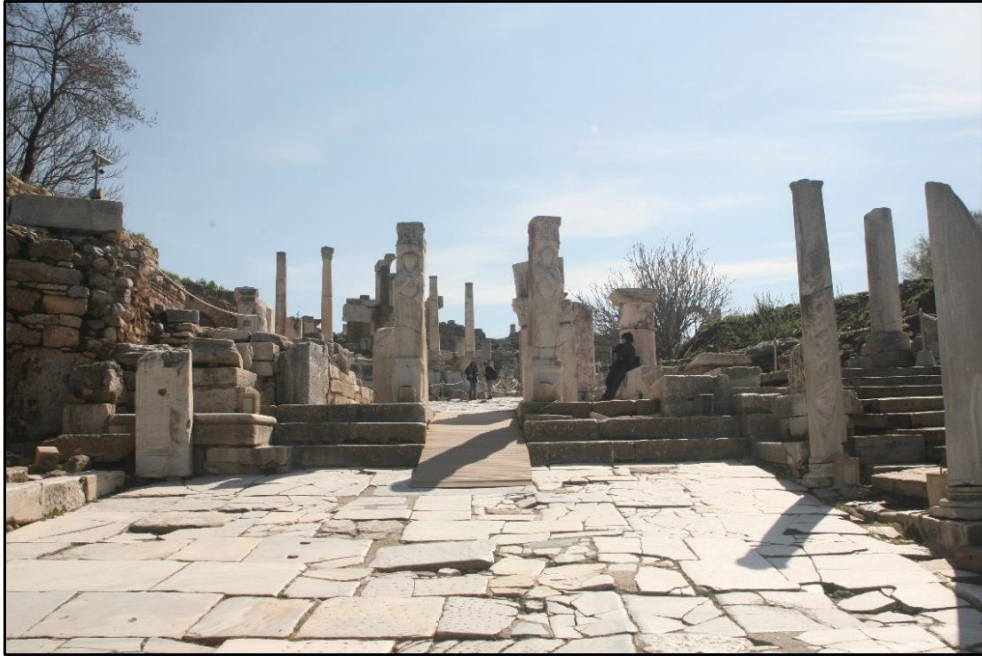


Figure 42 – Herakles Gate from the *Embolos* (author’s photograph)



Figure 43 – The *Embolos* today; the impression of “urban canyon” (author’s photograph)



Figure 44 – View of the street (Stiegengasse 2, see Fig. 40, 41) branching off from the *Embolos* towards Mount Preon (Bülbüldağ) (author’s photograph)

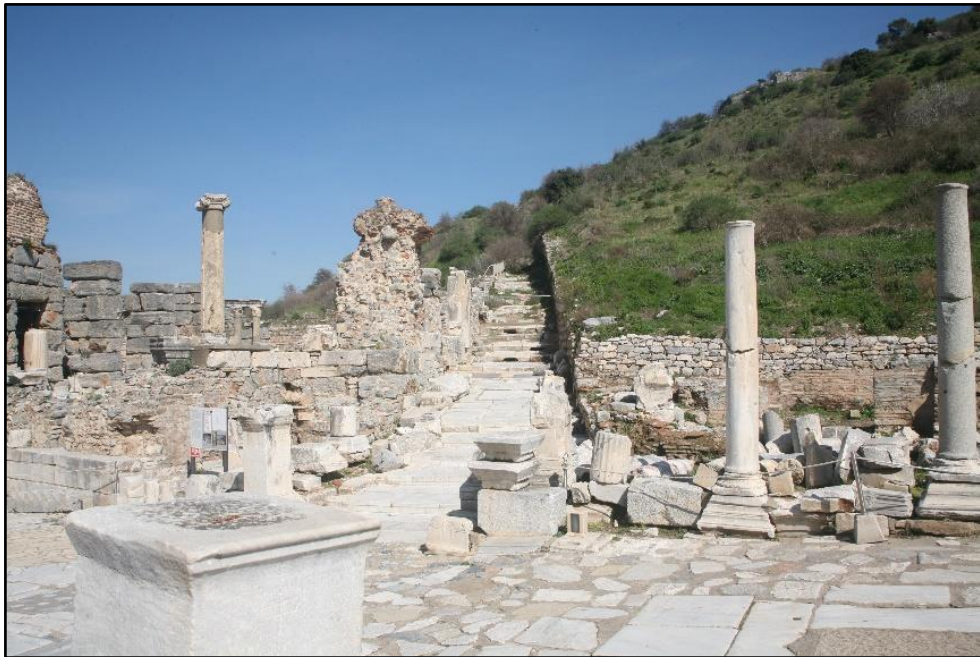


Figure 45 – View of the street (Badgasse, see Fig. 40, 41) leading towards Mount Pion (Panayırdağ) (author’s photograph)

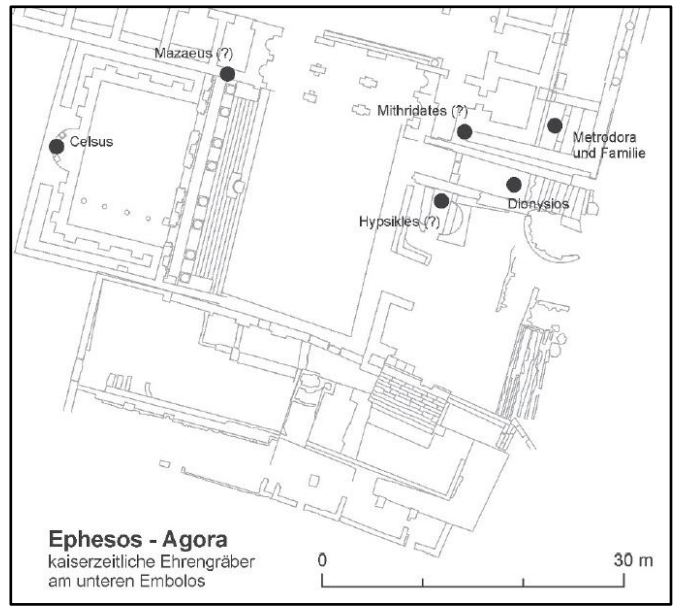


Figure 46 – Map showing the imperial burials in the vicinity of the library plaza

Source: Scherrer, P., and E. Trinkl. 2006. *Die Tetragonos Agora in Ephesos: Grabungsergebnisse von Archaischer bis in Byzantinische Zeit – Ein Überblick Befunde und Funde Klassischer Zeit.* FiE XIII/2. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 351, plan 17.

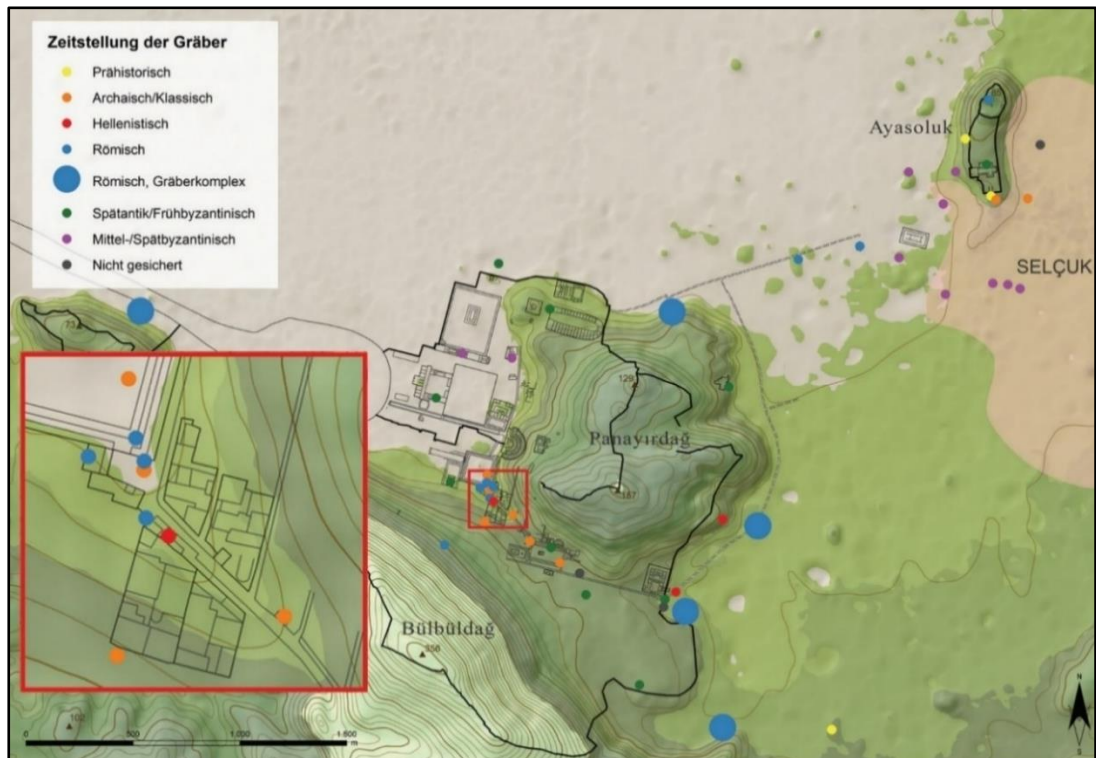


Figure 47 – Map of the Ephesian burial places – intramural tombs around the lower *Embolos* at the lower left corner

Source: Steskal, M. 2011. “Wandering Cemeteries: Roman and Late Roman burials in the capital of the province of Asia.” 244, Fig. 1.



Figure 48 – The reconstruction sketch of the junction of the *Embolos* and the Marble Street, looking west, by F. Yegül. From left to right: the Gate of Hadrian, the Library of Celsus, the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora and the south end of the portico of the Marble Street.

Source: Yegül, F. 1994. “The Street Experience of Ancient Ephesus.” In *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, edited by Z. Çelik, D. Favro, and R. Ingersoll. 95-110. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press. 101, Fig. 5.



Figure 49 – View of the library plaza from the intersection of the *Embolos* and the Marble Street (author’s photograph)

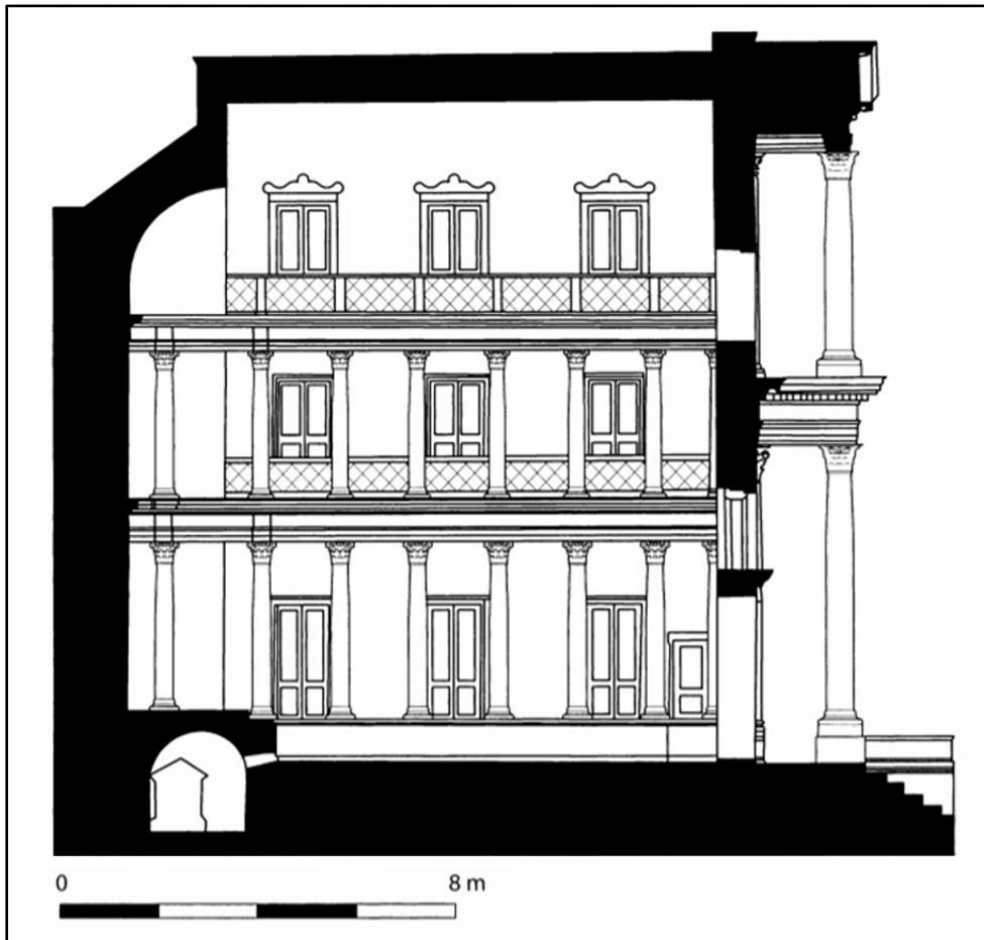


Figure 50 – The section of the Library of Celsus showing the burial chamber

Source: Burrell, B. 2006. "False Fronts: Separating the Aedicular Facade from the Imperial Cult in Roman Asia Minor." *AJA* 110(3): 437-69. 456, Fig. 12. Drawing by T. Eby.

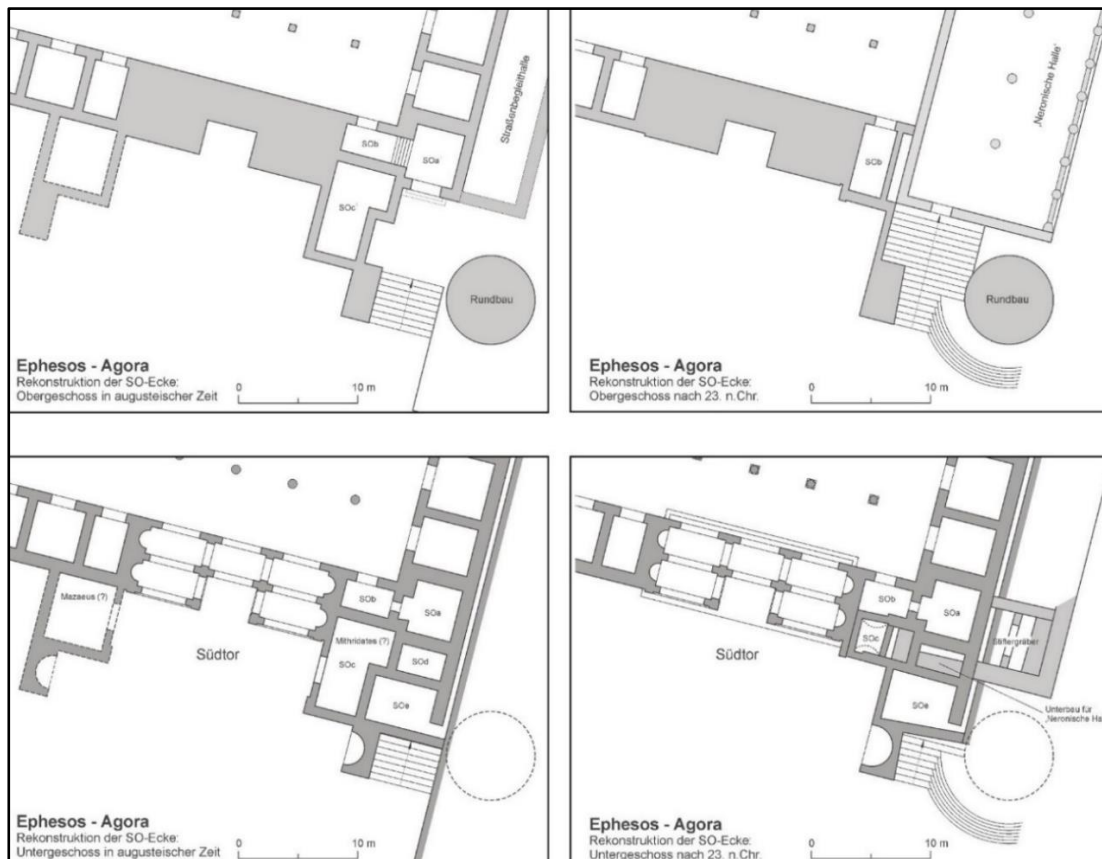


Figure 51 – Reconstructed plan of the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora

On the left: the ground floor (top) and the upper floor (bottom) during the Augustan period

On the right: the ground floor (top) and the upper floor (bottom), the reconstruction after the earthquake 23 CE

Source: Scherrer, P., and E. Trinkl. 2006. *Die Tetragonos Agora in Ephesos: Grabungsergebnisse von Archaischer bis in Byzantinische Zeit – Ein Überblick Befunde und Funde Klassischer Zeit. FiE XIII/2*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 348-9, plan 14-15.

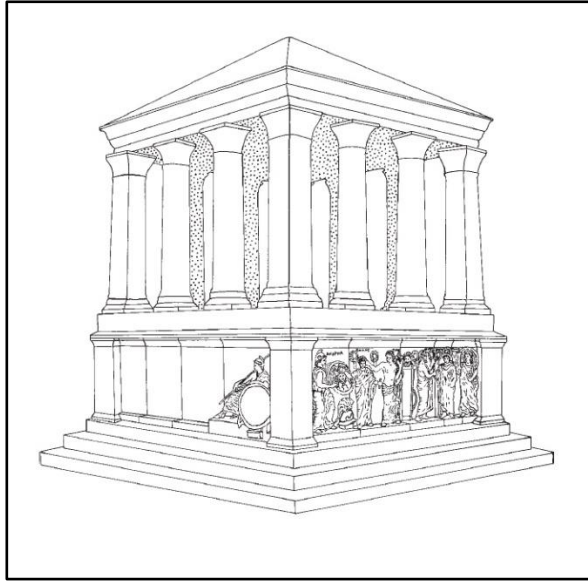


Figure 52 – Reconstructed Drawing of the Monument of Zoilos at Aphrodisias

Source: Lichtenberger, A. 2015. “Herod, Zoilos, Philopappos. Multiple Identities in the Graeco-Roman World.” In *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* 31, edited by Z. Weiss, 110-22. Jerusalem: Old City Press. 115, Fig. 7. Drawing by Smith 1993, 22, fig. 4.

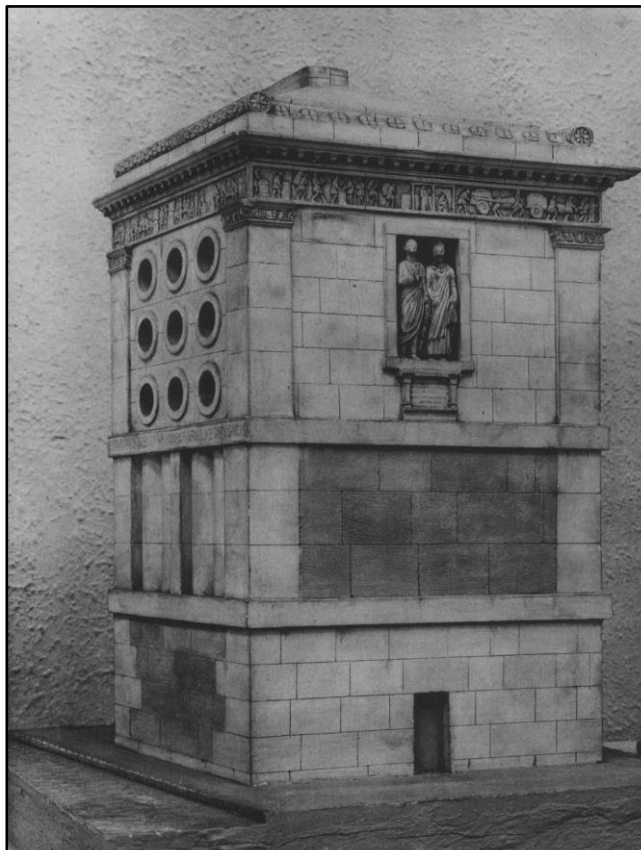


Figure 53 – Three-dimensional model of the Monument of Eurysaces in Rome

Source: Petersen, L. H. 2003. “The Baker, His Tomb, His Wife, and Her Breadbasket: The Monument of Eurysaces in Rome.” *ArtB* 85(2): 230-57. 236, Fig. 14. Photo: Fototeca Unione, 13259.



Figure 54 – Front view of the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora from the library plaza (author's photograph)

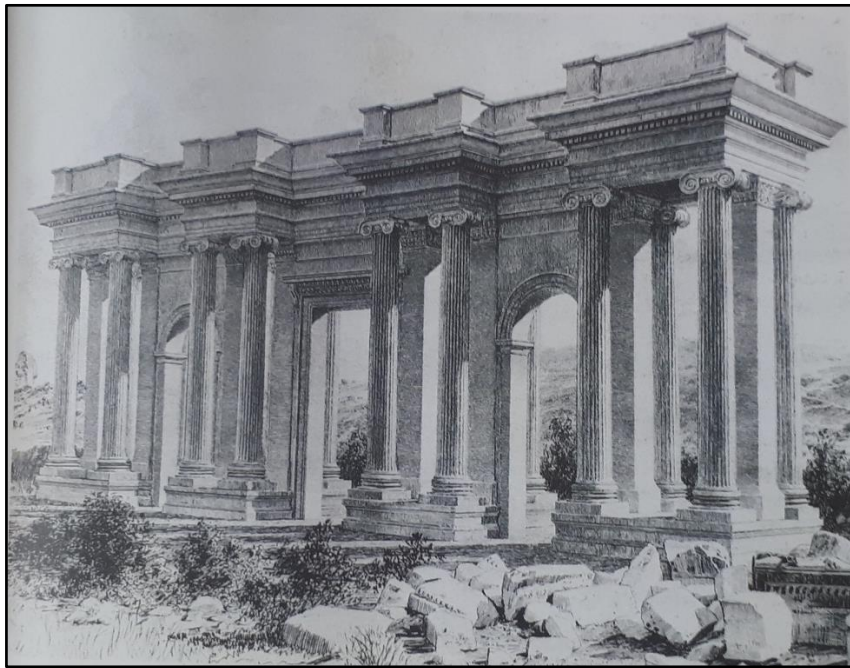


Figure 55 – The Middle Harbor Gate, reconstruction by Niemann

Source: Scherrer, P., ed. 2000. *Efes Rehberi*. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları. 179.



Figure 56 – The Gate of Hadrian and the view of Mount Preon in the background, from the intersection of the *Embolos* and the Marble Street (author’s photograph)

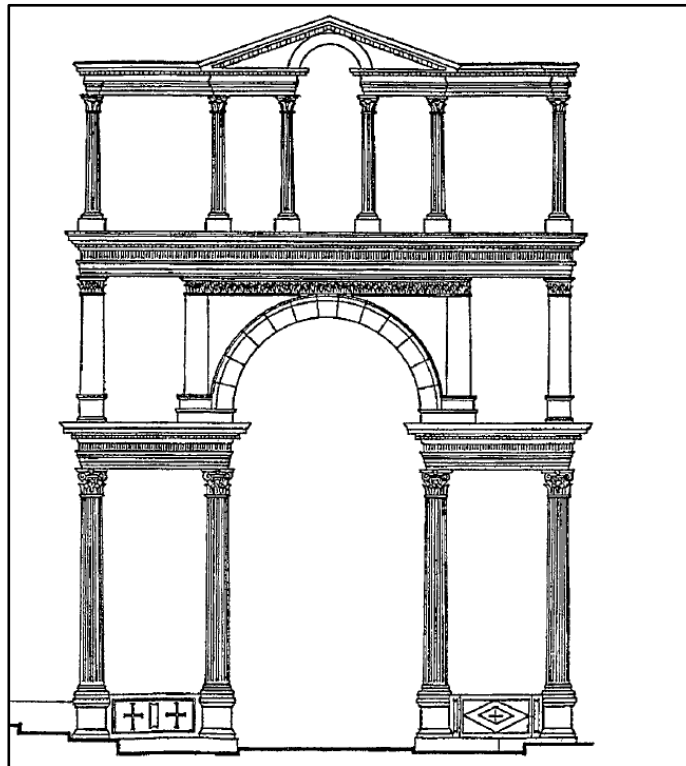


Figure 57 – Reconstruction of the Gate of Hadrian by H. Thür

Source: Quatember, U. 2010. “Zur Bewertung von schematischen und steingerechten Rekonstruktionen in der archäologischen Bauforschung.” In *Standortbestimmung. Akten des 12. Österreichischen Archäologentages Wien 2008*, edited by M Meyer and V. Gassner. 335-41. Wien: Phoibos. Fig. 5.

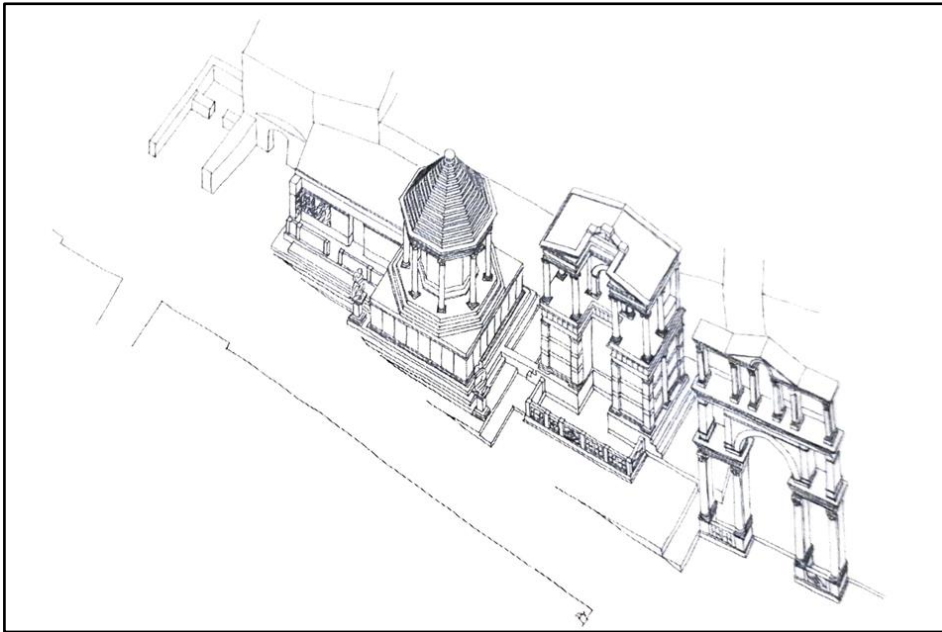


Figure 58 – Oblique view of the lower *Embolos* showing the reconstruction of the monuments on the south side (excluding the so-called hexagon and the Hellenistic fountain)

Source: Thür, H. 2009. “Zur Kuretenstraße von Ephesos – Eine Bestandsaufnahme der Ergebnisse aus der Bauforschung.” In *Neue Forschungen zur Kuretenstraße von Ephesos. Akten des Symposiums für Hilke Thür vom 13. Dezember 2006 an der ÖAW*, edited by S. Ladstätter, 9-28. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 25, Fig. 6.

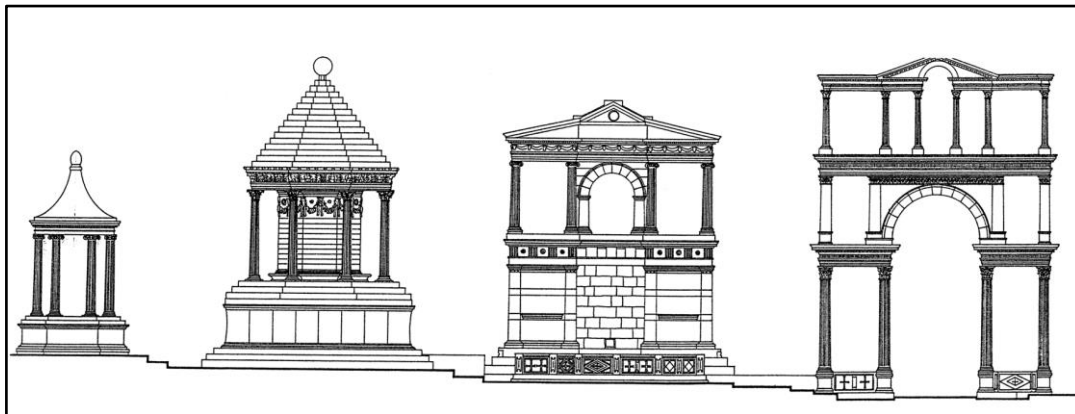


Figure 59 – The façades of the lined up monuments on the south side of the lower *Embolos*, from left (east) to right (west): “Hexagon,” “Oktagon,” “Heroon of Androklos” and “the Gate of Hadrian”

Source: Scherrer, P., and E. Trinkl. 2006. *Die Tetragonos Agora in Ephesos: Grabungsergebnisse von Archaischer bis in Byzantinische Zeit – Ein Überblick Befunde und Funde Klassischer Zeit. FiE XIII/2*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 348-9, plan 14-15.

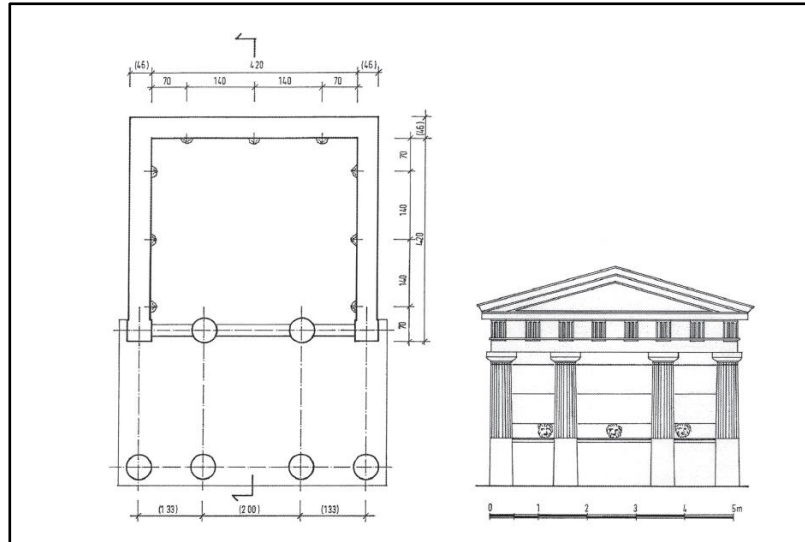


Figure 60 – The Hellenistic fountain east of the Hexagon, ground plan (left), the reconstructed north elevation (right)

Source: Quatember, U. 2014. “Betreten verboten, möglich, oder gar erwünscht? Überlegungen zur Zugänglichkeit antiker Gebäude und Stadtbereiche anhand der sogenannten Kuretenstraße in Ephesos während der römischen Kaiserzeit.” In *Diskussionen zur Archäologischen Bauforschung* 11: 102-20. Regensburg: Verlag Schnell und Steiner. 111, Fig. 12.

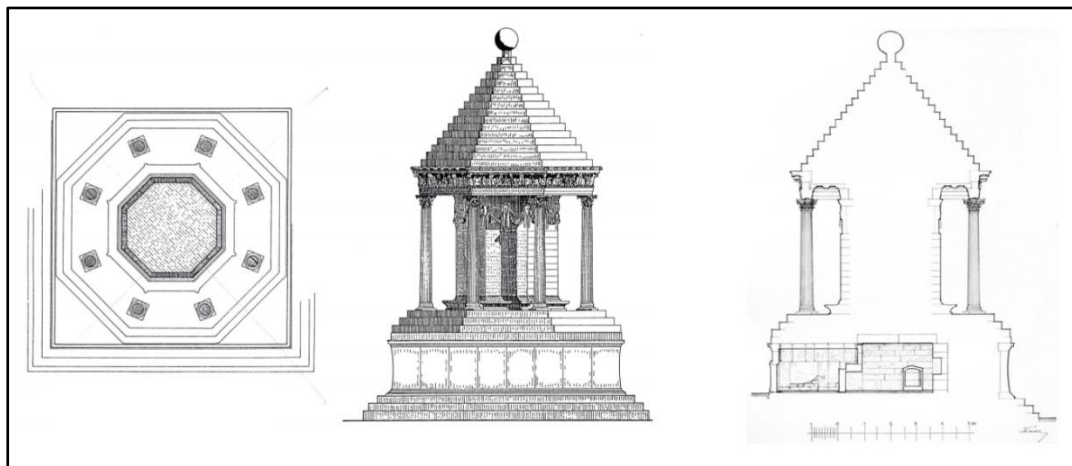


Figure 61 – Reconstructed plan, elevation (by Wilberg) and section showing the burial chamber of the Octagon

Adapted from, Thür, H. 1995. “The Processional Way in Ephesos as a Place of Cult and Burial.” In *Ephesos. Metropolis of Asia. An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, edited by H. Koester, 157-99. Trinity Press International. Fig. 12-13.



Figure 62 – Reconstructed model of the Octagon placed on its original urban context by ÖAW-ÖAI/B. Thuswaldner

Source: <https://www.ephesos.at/die-gesellschaft/der-vorstand/>



Figure 63 – The Pharos of Abusir

Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abusir_\(Lake_Mariout\)#/media/File:Pharos_at_Abuqir.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abusir_(Lake_Mariout)#/media/File:Pharos_at_Abuqir.jpg)

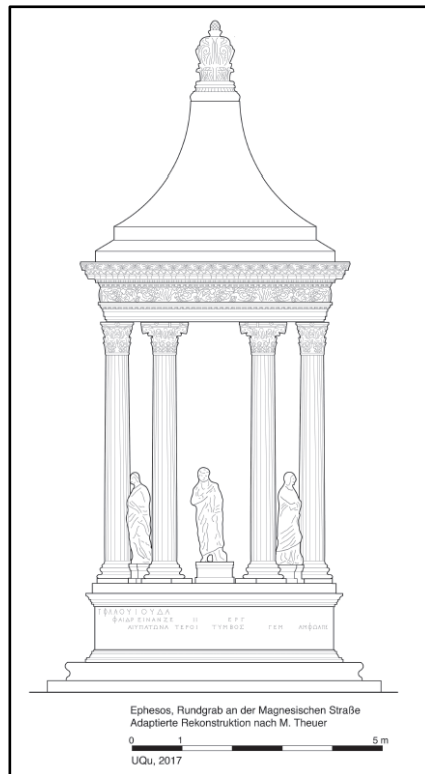


Figure 64 – Reconstruction of the monopteros (the tomb of Titus Flavius Damianus and his family) with the inscription and the positioning of possible statues

Source: Quatember, U. and V. Scheibelreiter-Gail. 2017. “T. Flavius Damianus und der Grabbau seiner Familie.” *ÖJh* 86: 221-354. [268, Fig. 38.](#)

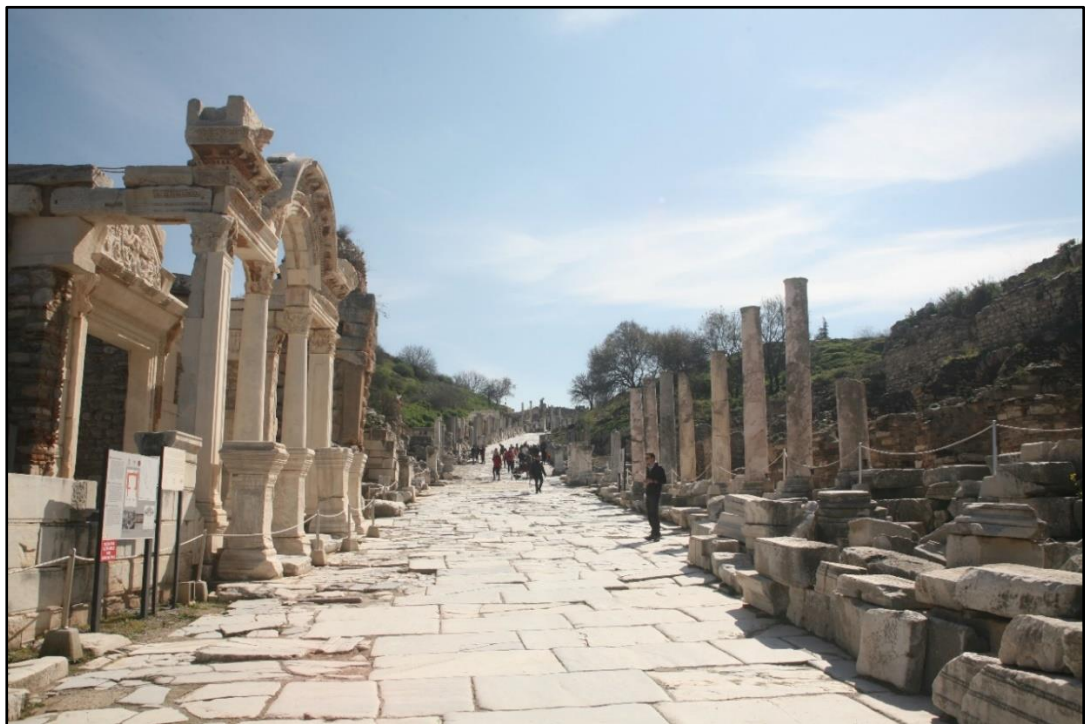


Figure 65 – View of the *Embolos*, a little further up towards east (author’s photograph)

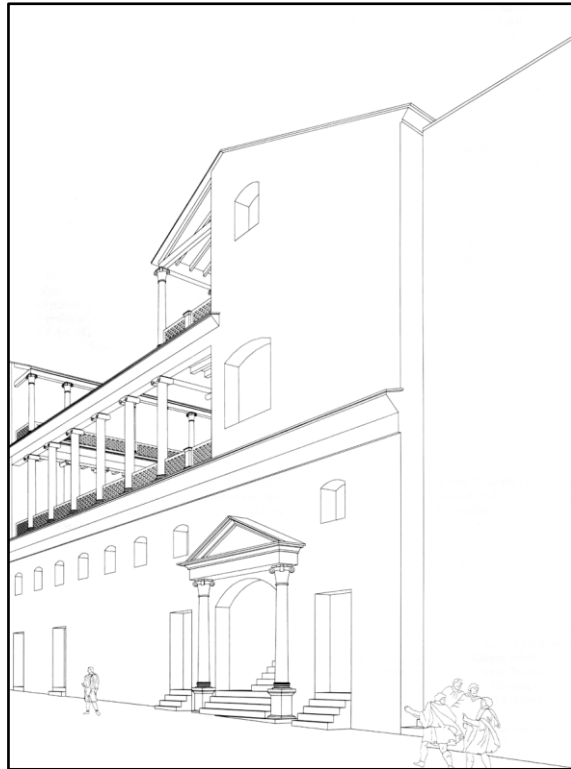


Figure 66 – Street façade of Terrace House I

Source: Quatember, U. 2014. “Betreten verboten, möglich, oder gar erwünscht? Überlegungen zur Zugänglichkeit antiker Gebäude und Stadtbereiche anhand der sogenannten Kuretenstraße in Ephesos während der römischen Kaiserzeit.” In *Diskussionen zur Archäologischen Bauforschung* 11: 102-20. Regensburg: Verlag Schnell und Steiner. 106, Fig. 6.



Figure 67 – Reconstructed street view of the so-called Temple of Hadrian and the so-called Bath of Varius

Source: Quatember, U. 2013. “War der Hadrianstempel wirklich Hadrians Tempel? Aktuelle archäologische und bauhistorische Untersuchungen an der Kuretenstraße in Ephesos.” *AntW* 2: 59-66. 62, Fig. 4.



Figure 68 – The *insula* with temple and the so-called Bath of Varius seen from the opposite side of the *Embolos*

Source: Quatember, U. 2013. “War der Hadrianstempel wirklich Hadrians Tempel? Aktuelle archäologische und bauhistorische Untersuchungen an der Kuretenstraße in Ephesos.” *AntW* 2: 59-66. 62, Fig. 4.

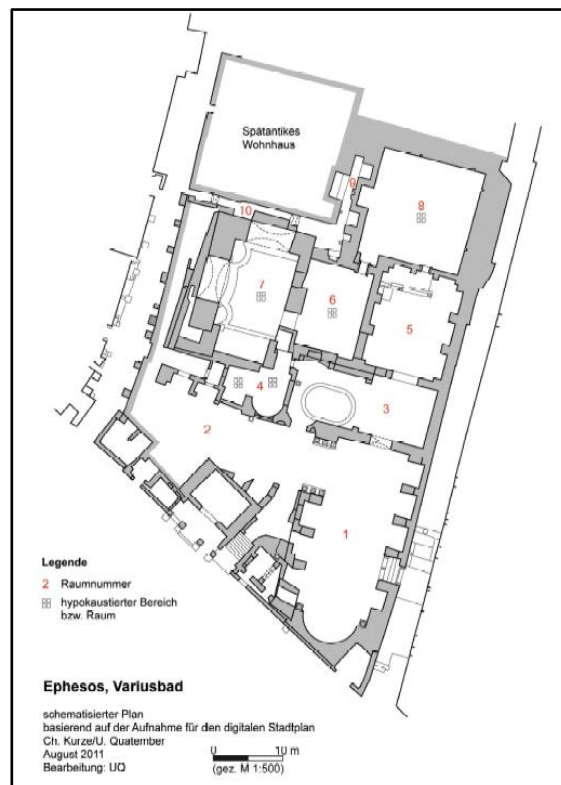


Figure 69 – Plan of the *insula* with temple and the so-called Bath of Varius

Source: Quatember, U. 2017. *Der sogenannte Hadrianstempel an der Kuretenstraße. FiE XI/3.* Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Plate 80.



Figure 70 – The street view of the so-called Temple of Hadrian

Source: Quatember, U. 2013. “War der Hadrianstempel wirklich Hadrians Tempel? Aktuelle archäologische und bauhistorische Untersuchungen an der Kuretenstraße in Ephesos.” *AntW* 2: 59-66.

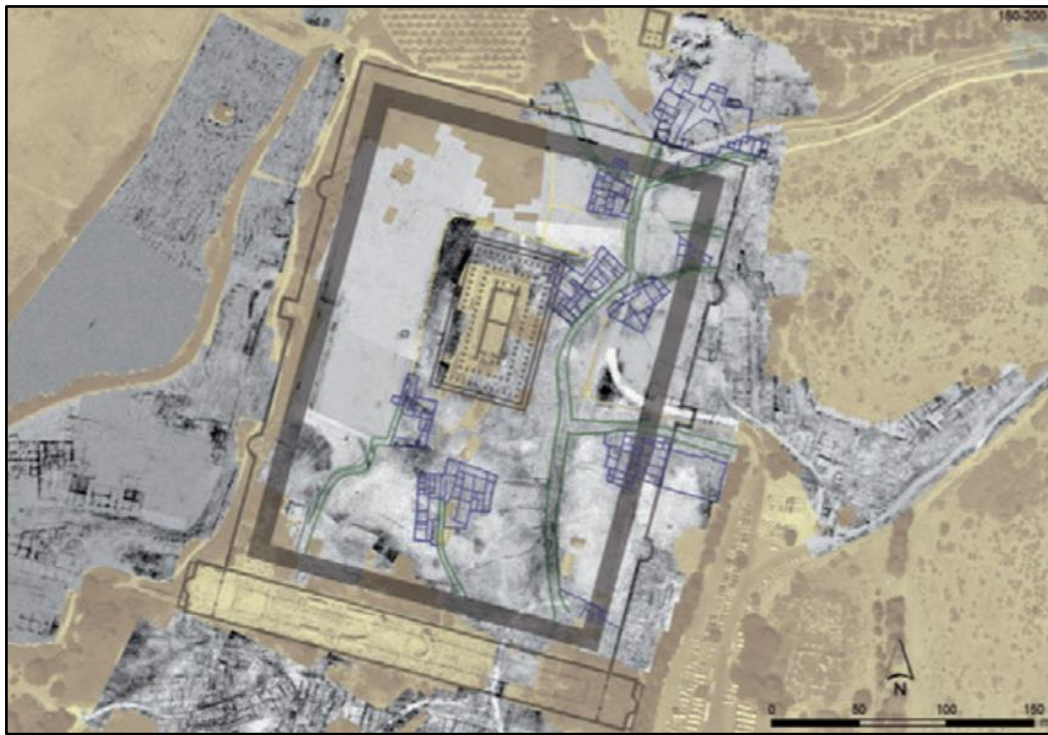


Figure 71 – Plan of the Hadrianeion (the neokorate temple dedicated to the imperial cult of Hadrian) with the results of the georadar measurements in and around the sanctuary (by S. Seren and N. Math)

Source: ÖAI (Ed.). 2015. *Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht des ÖAI 2015*. Wien. 28.

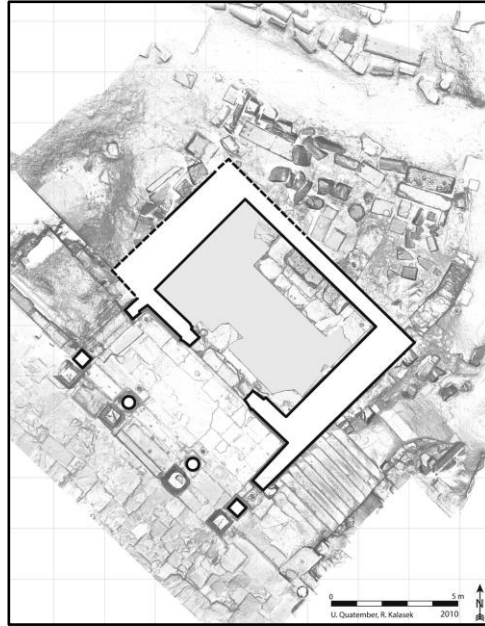


Figure 72 – Plan of the so-called Temple of Hadrian superimposed on the three-dimensional point cloud (© ÖAI)

Source: Quatember, U. 2010. “The “Temple of Hadrian” on Curetes Street in Ephesus: new research into its building history.” *JRA* 23: 376-94. 2010 p. 378, Fig. 3.

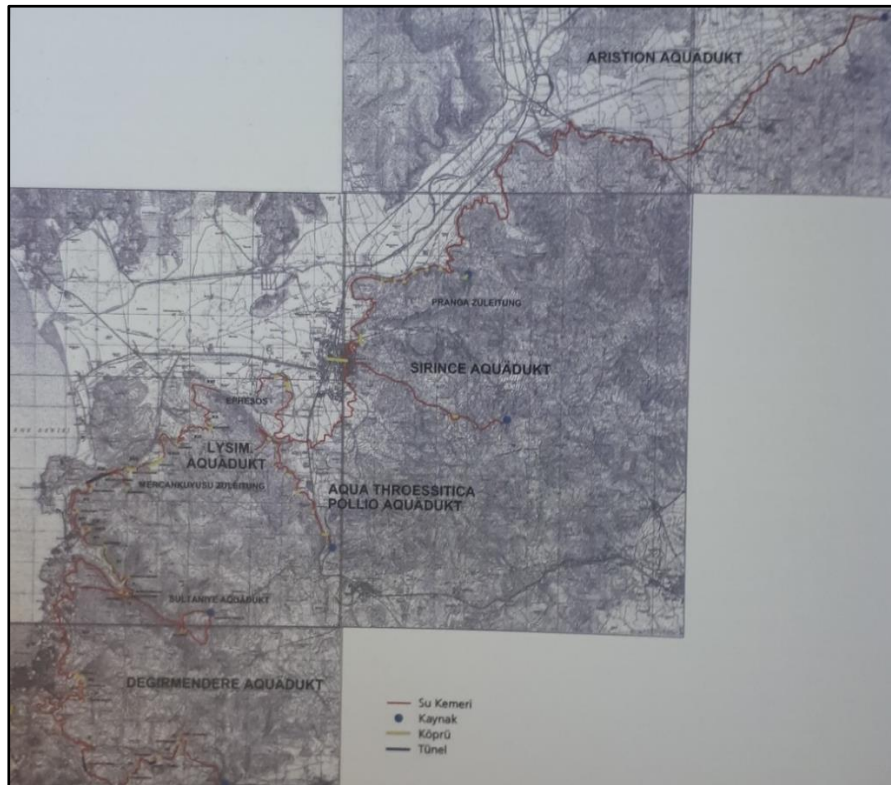


Figure 73 – Map of the aqueducts and water conduits supplying Ephesus, by Wiplinger on the basis of the map by the General Command of Mapping

Source: Wiplinger, G. 2011. “Ephesos Bizans Dönemi su yolları.” In *Bizans Döneminde Ephesos*, edited by F. Daim and S. Ladstätter, 95-114. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları. 96, Fig. 1.

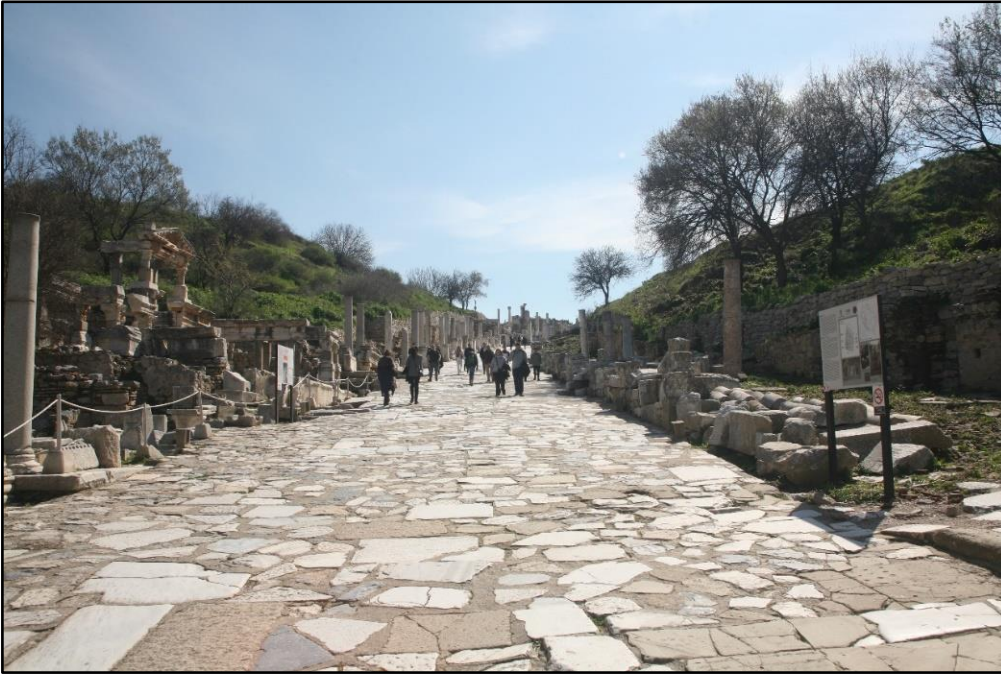


Figure 74 – The *Embolos*, the *Nymphaeum Traiani* on the left-hand side (author's photograph)



Figure 75 – The modern installation of the *Nymphaeum Traiani* by A. Bammer (author's photograph)

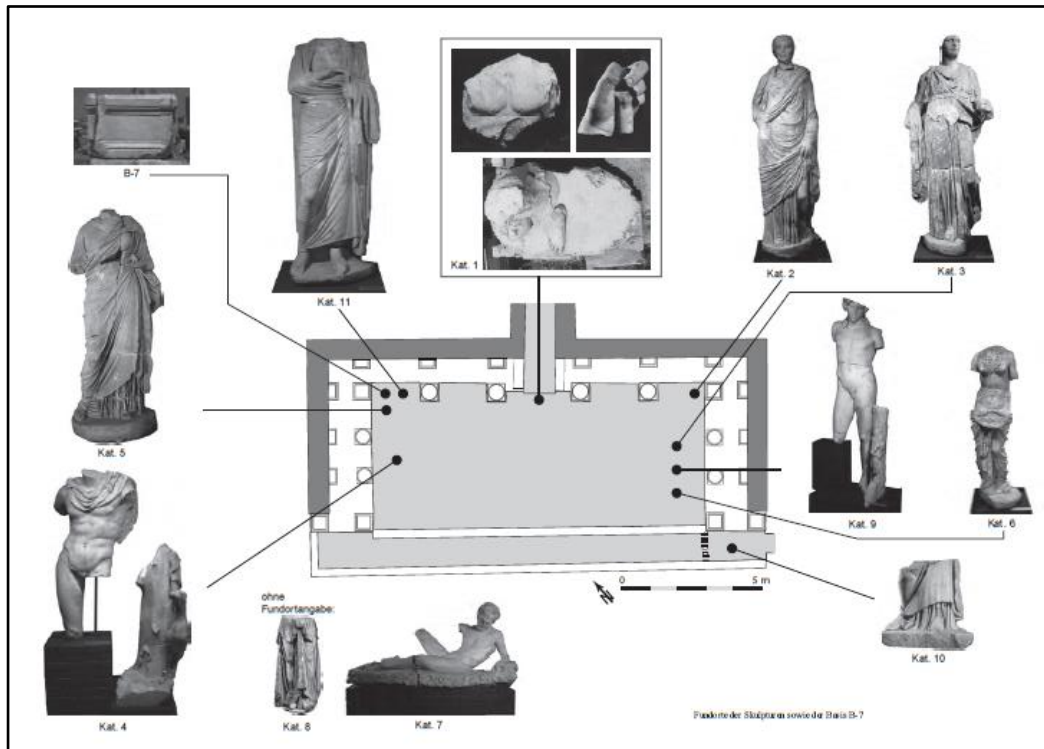


Figure 76 – Plan of the *nymphaeum* with the finding spots of statues

Source: Quatember, U. 2011. *Das Nymphaeum Traiani in Ephesos. FiE XI/2*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Plate 123.

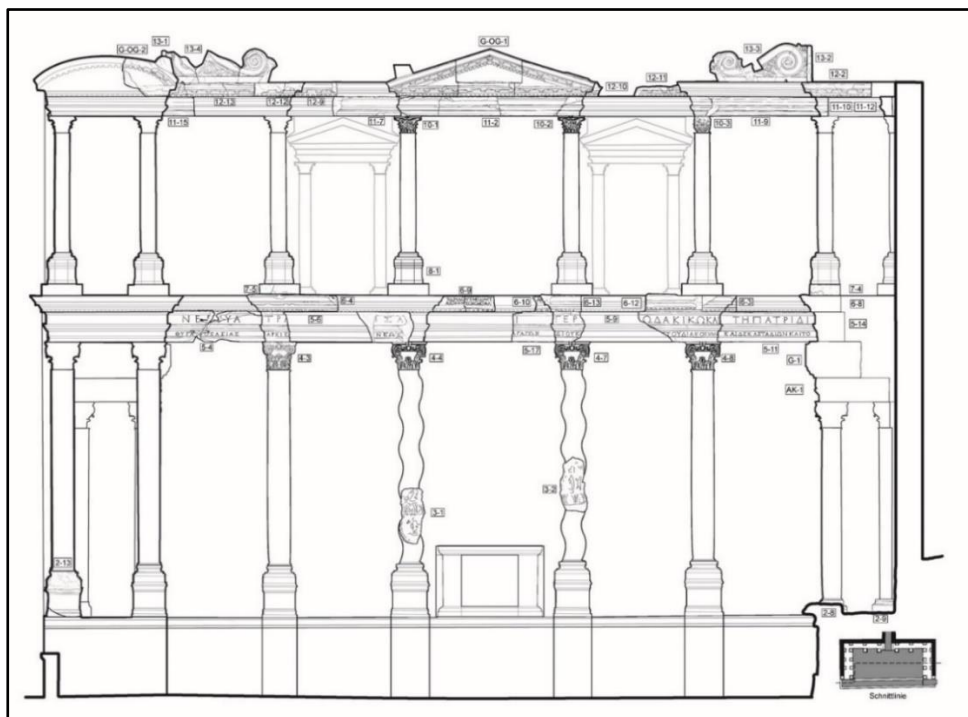


Figure 77 – Reconstructed elevation of the *Nymphaeum Traiani*

Source: Quatember, U. 2011. *Das Nymphaeum Traiani in Ephesos. FiE XI/2*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Plate 110.

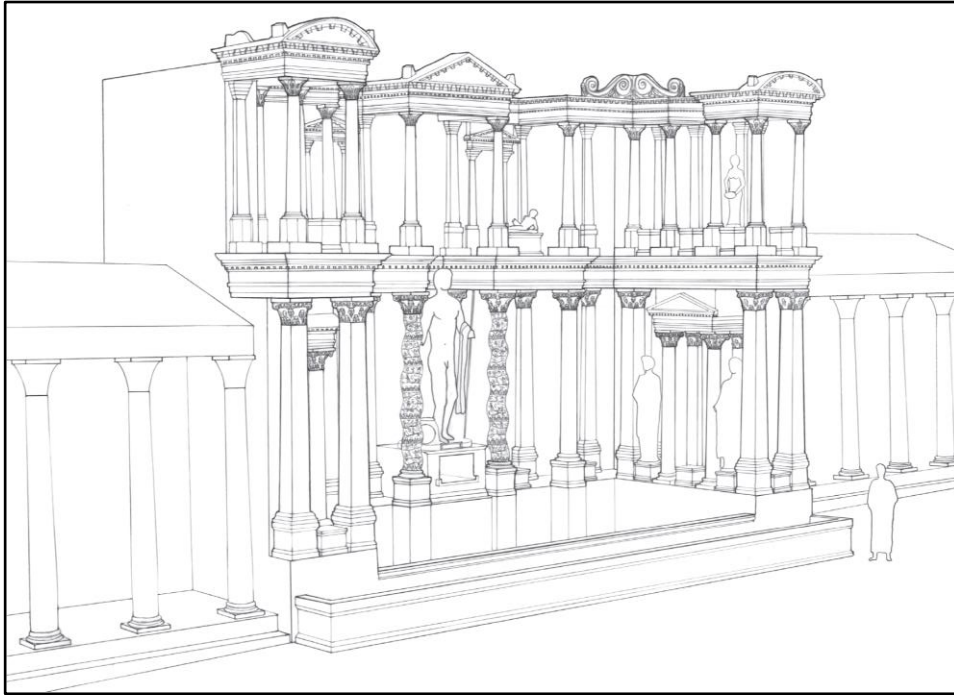


Figure 78 – Reconstruction of the *Nymphaeum Traiani*

Source: Quatember, U. 2011. *Das Nymphaeum Traiani in Ephesos. FiE XI/2*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Plate 112.



Figure 79 – The public space in Roman Miletus, Asia Minor, the aedicular façade of the *nymphaeum* on the left and the *propylon* with the “Syrian pediment” on the right

Source: Quatember, U. 2011. *Das Nymphaeum Traiani in Ephesos. FiE XI/2*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Plate 135.



Figure 80 – View of the *Embolos*, past the *Nymphaeum Traiani* (author's photograph)

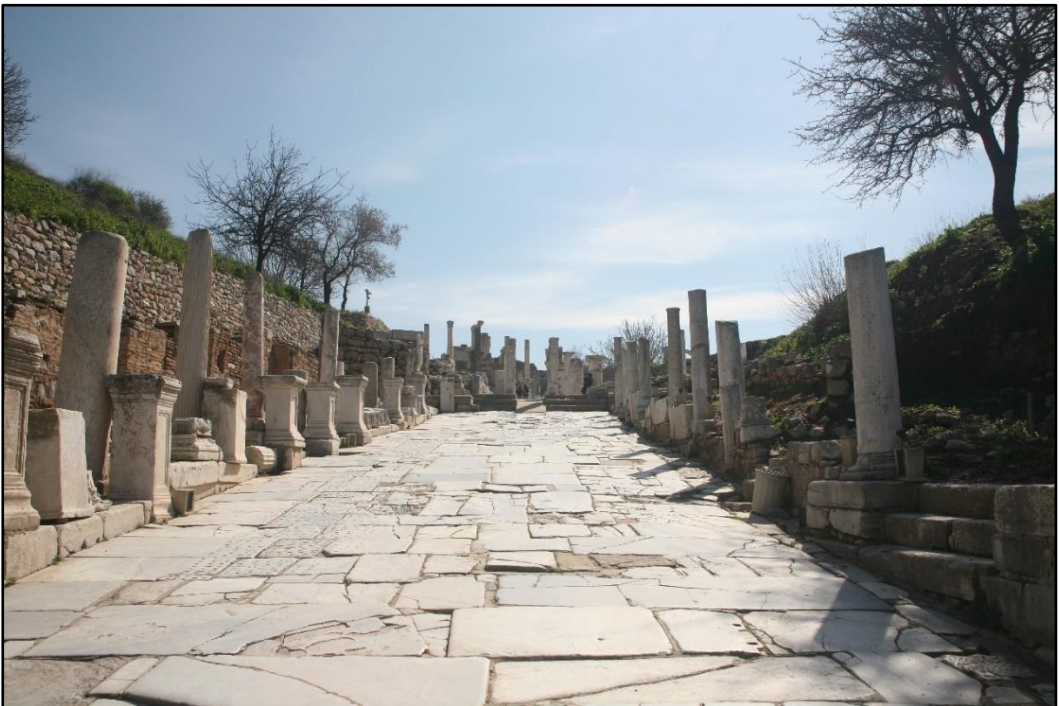


Figure 81 – View of the *Embolos* framed by colonnades, pedestals lined up on the north side of the street (author's photograph)

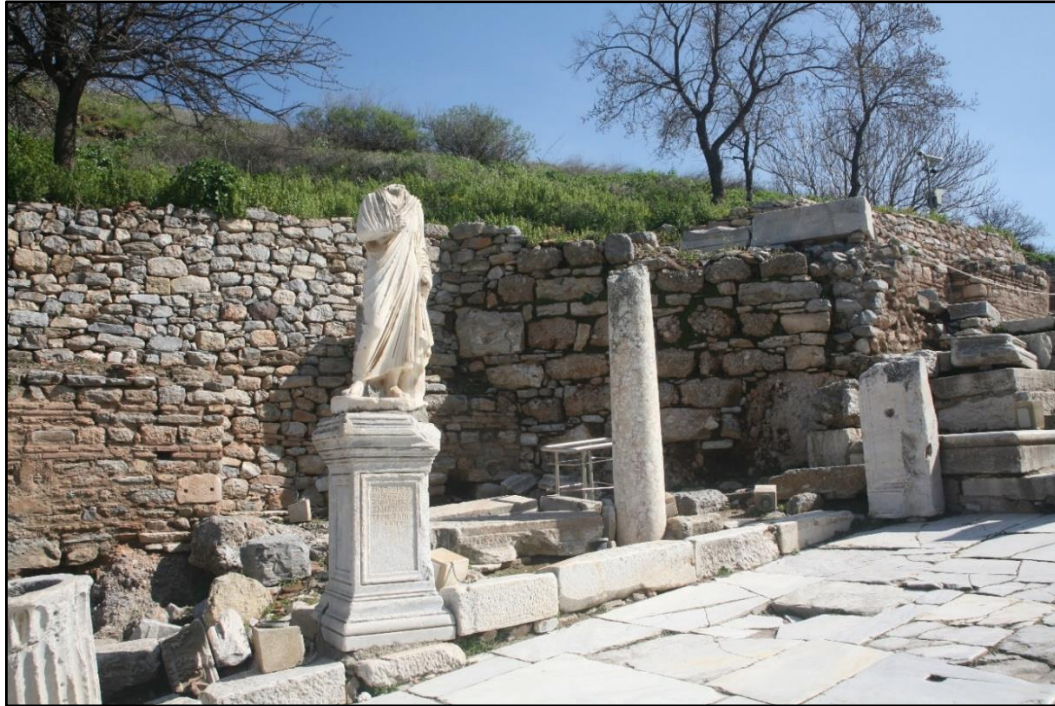


Figure 82 – A view of the statuary display in front of the colonnades in the upper *Embolos* (author's photograph)

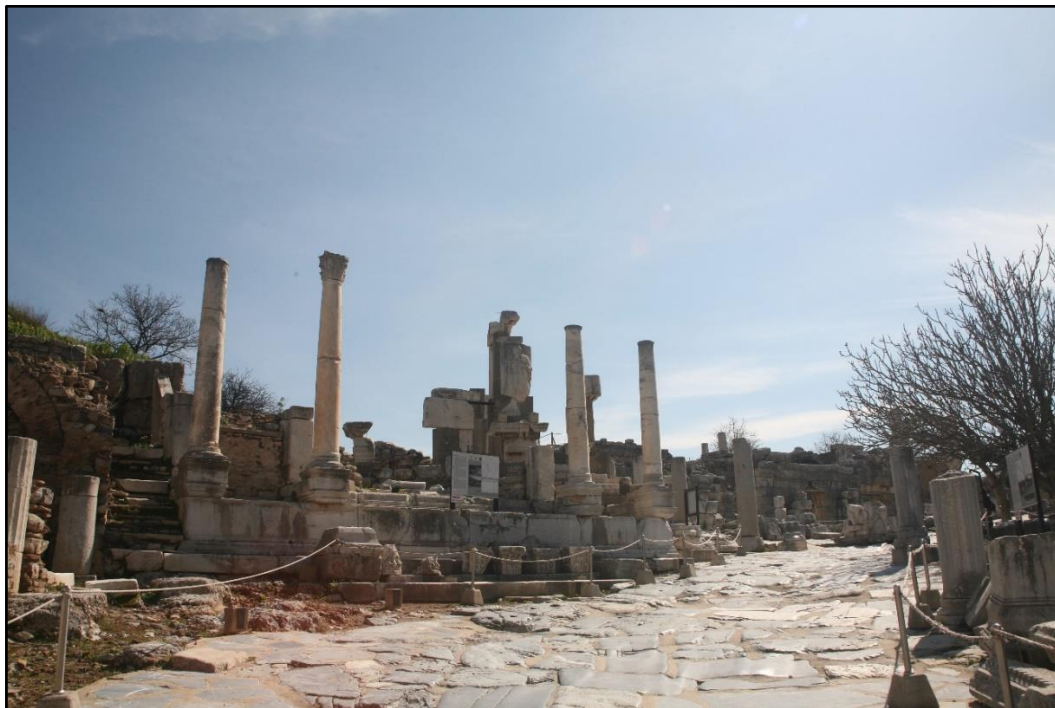


Figure 83 – The so-called *Hydreion*, view from the east end of the *Embolos*, behind which is the Memmius Monument (author's photograph)

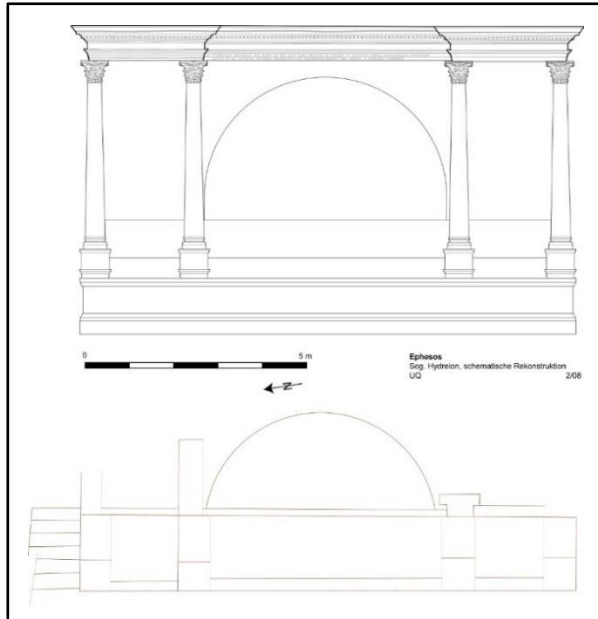


Figure 84 – Elevation and plan drawings of the so-called *Hydreion*

Source: Quatember, U. 2017, 19 December. “Une ville des sens? La perception sensorielle à Éphèse sous l’Empire Romain.” *Trivium*. Accessed in 1.04.2020. <http://journals.openedition.org/trivium/5597>. Fig. 4.

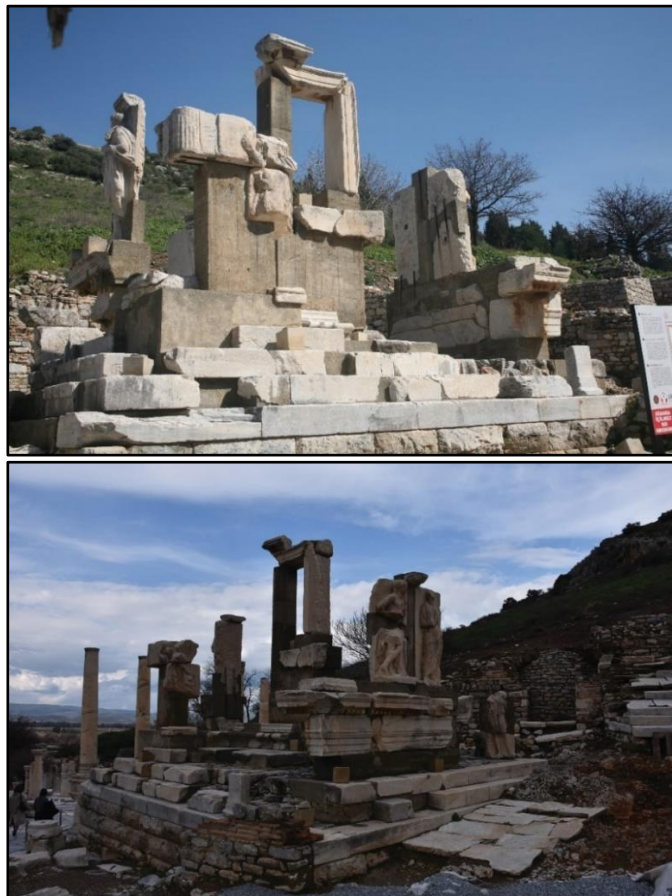


Figure 85 – The Memmius Monument today (author’s photographs)



Figure 86 – Part of the reliefs of the Memmius Monument (author’s photograph)

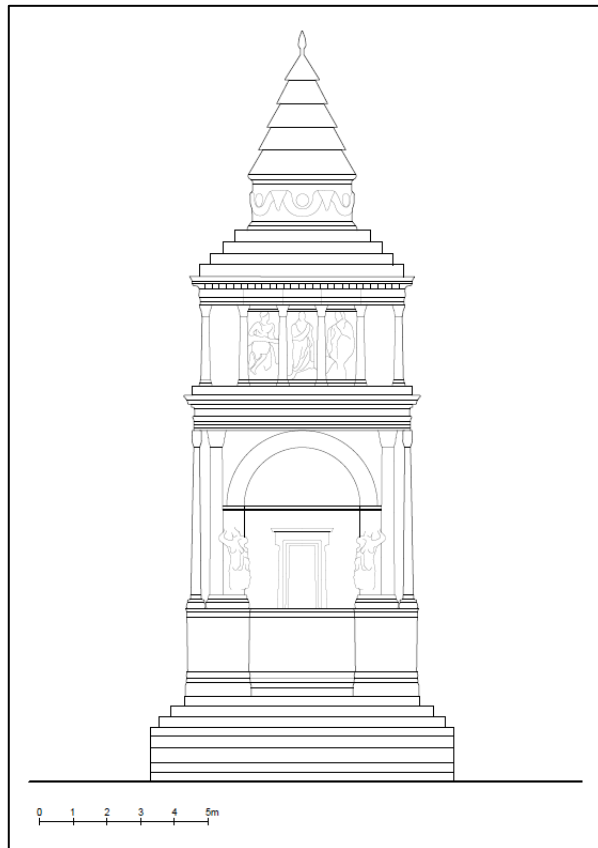


Figure 87 – Reconstruction drawing of the Memmius Monument

Adapted from, Outschar, U. 2000. “Memmius Yapısı.” In *Efes Rehberi*, edited by P. Scherrer. 96-7. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları. 96.



Figure 88 – The Plaza of Domitian (author’s photograph)



Figure 89 – The *kathodos* viewed from the Plaza of Domitian (author’s photograph)



Figure 90 – The substructures of the west *chalcidicum* on the left, and the Pollio Monument on the right, the peak of Mount Pion at the background (author's photograph)



Figure 91 – The Pollio Aqueducts, part of the water conduit called the Aqua Throessitica

Source: <http://selcuk.bel.tr/icerik/34/3/yuvarlak-yapi-ve-pollio-sukemeri.aspx>.

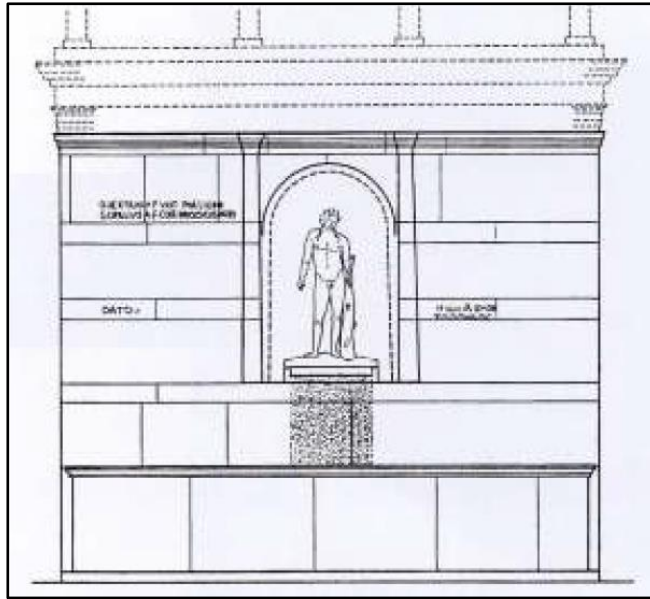


Figure 92 – Thür's Reconstruction of the Pollio Monument in Ephesus (Augustan period, 27 BCE – 14 CE)

Source: Thür 1997, Plate 28, cited from Weiss, C. F. 2011. *Living Fluidly: Uses and Meanings of Water in Asia Minor (Second Century BCE – Second Century CE)*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Brown University. [123](#), [Fig. 3.12](#).



Figure 93 – The monuments adjacent to the terrace wall of the agora; Pollio Monument on the left, the Fountain of Domitian on the right (author's photograph)

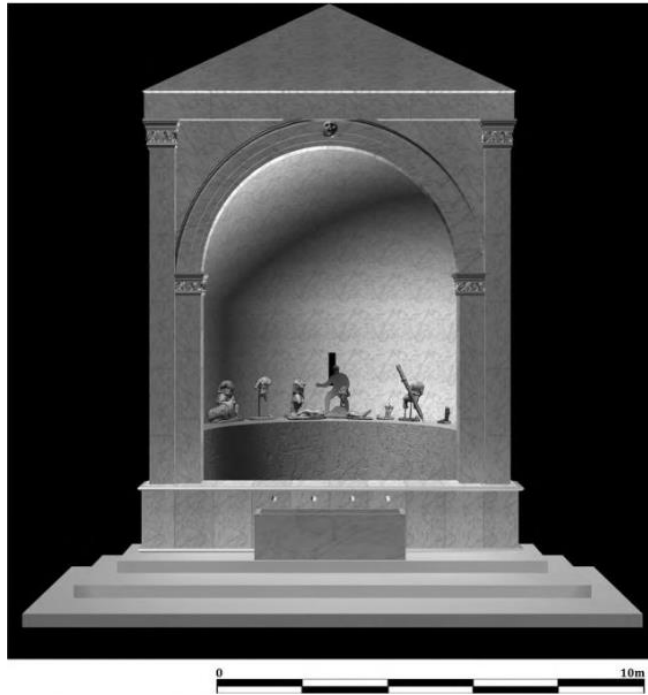


Figure 94 – Reconstruction of the Fountain of Domitian, model by H. Scates

Source: Longfellow, B. J. 2011. *Roman Imperialism and Civic Patronage: Form, Meaning, and Ideology in Monumental Fountain Complexes*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 66, Fig. 17.

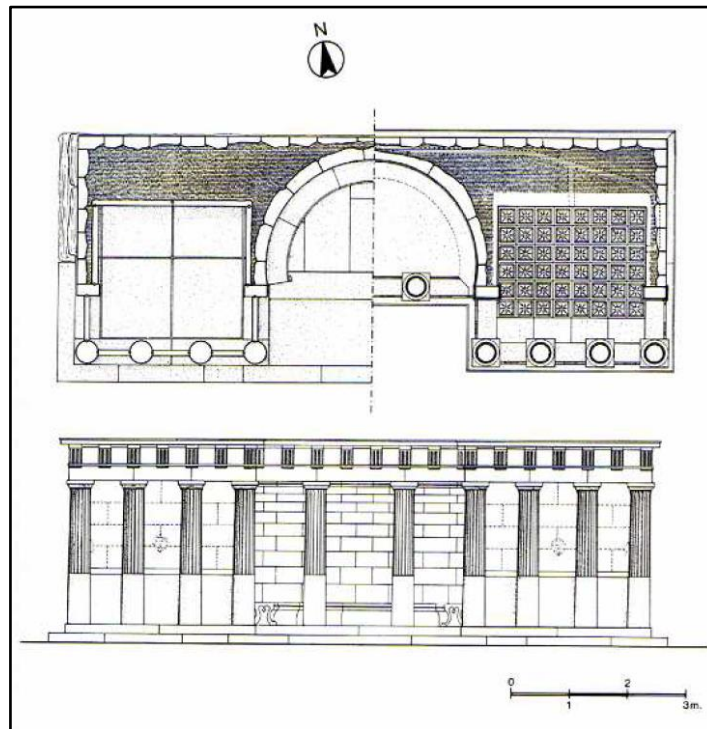


Figure 95 – The *exedra* fountain built in the fourth century BCE on the island of Tenos

Source: Gros, P. 1996. *L'architecture romaine: du début du IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire. Vol. 1. Les monuments publics*. Paris: Picard. 419, Fig. 472.



Figure 96 – The statue group displayed on the *exedra* of the Fountain of Domitian (author's photograph)



Figure 97 – View of the Fountain of Domitian on the left, the Temple of the *Sebastoi* on the right (author's photograph)



Figure 98 – View of the north façade of the substructures of the Temple of the *Sebastoi* from the plaza (author’s photograph)



Figure 99 – The artificial terrace of the imperial sanctuary, view from Mount Pion (Panayırdağ) (author’s photograph)



Figure 100 –View into the *cryptoporticus* of the artificial terrace of the Temple of the *Sebastoi*

Source: Ladstätter, S. 2019. “The So-Called Imperial Cult Temple for Domitian in Ephesos.” In *Religion in Ephesos Reconsidered*, edited by D. Schowalter, S. Ladstätter, S. J. Friesen, and C. Thomas, 11-40. *Novum Testamentum Supplements* 177. Leiden: Brill. 24, Fig. 1.9.

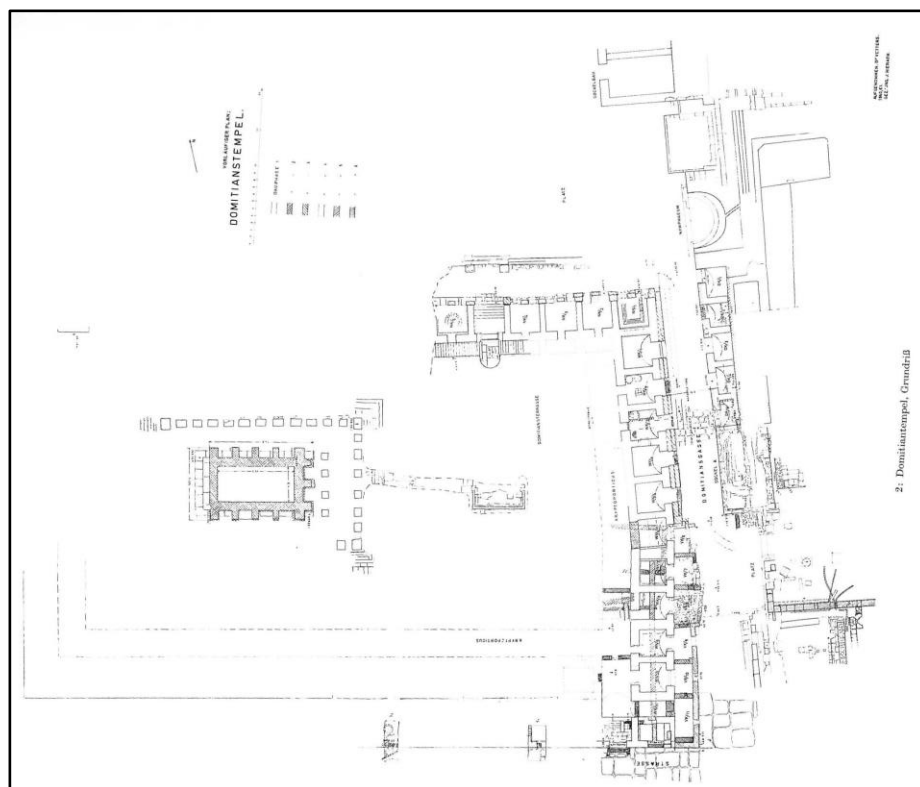


Figure 101 – Plan showing the Temple of the *Sebastoi* with its environs and the series of rooms on the north and the east of the terrace

Source: Veters, H. 1972–75b. “Grabungen in Ephesos von 1960–1969 bzw. 1970: Domitiansterrasse und Domitiangasse.” *ÖJh* 50: 310–30. Fig. 2.

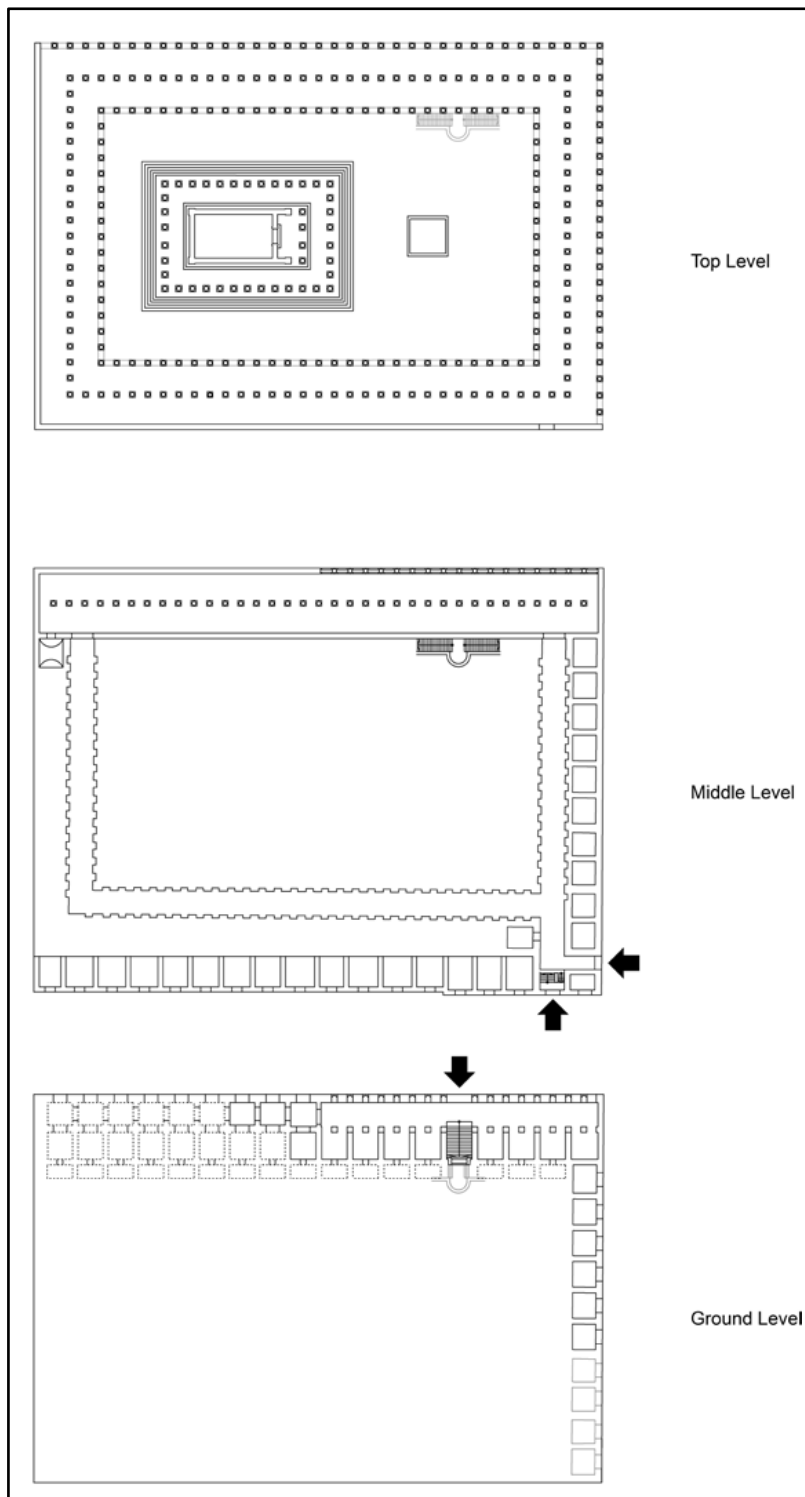


Figure 102 – Plan of the three levels of the artificial terrace of the Temple of the *Sebastoi* showing the entrances providing access to the *temenos* (from the north) and the *cryptoporticus* (from the south and the east)

Source: Ladstätter, S. 2019. "The So-Called Imperial Cult Temple for Domitian in Ephesus." In *Religion in Ephesus Reconsidered*, edited by D. Schowalter, S. Ladstätter, S. J. Friesen, and C. Thomas, 11-40. *Novum Testamentum Supplements* 177. Leiden: Brill. [14, Fig. 1.1.](#)



Figure 103 – The monumental stairs on the north side of the terrace leading to the *temenos*

Source: Ladstätter, S. 2019. "The So-Called Imperial Cult Temple for Domitian in Ephesos." In *Religion in Ephesos Reconsidered*, edited by D. Schowalter, S. Ladstätter, S. J. Friesen, and C. Thomas, 11-40. *Novum Testamentum Supplements* 177. Leiden: Brill. [30](#), [Fig. 1.14](#).



Figure 104 – A theoretical reconstruction of the northern façade of the Temple of the *Sebasteion* (by Onur Öztürk)

Source: Öztürk, O. 2013. *Temples of Divine Rulers and Urban Transformation in Roman-Asia: The Cases of Aphrodisias, Ephesos and Pergamon*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin. [397](#), [Fig. 3.48](#).



Figure 105 – Two re-erected columns of the north façade of the temple with a male and a female (either human or deity) figure on the second story (author’s photographs)



Figure 106 – A reconstruction of the Temple of the *Sebastoi*, a view above the artificial terrace in front of the temple (by Onur Öztürk)

Source: Öztürk, O. 2013. *Temples of Divine Rulers and Urban Transformation in Roman-Asia: The Cases of Aphrodisias, Ephesos and Pergamon*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin. [363](#), [Fig. 3.12a](#).

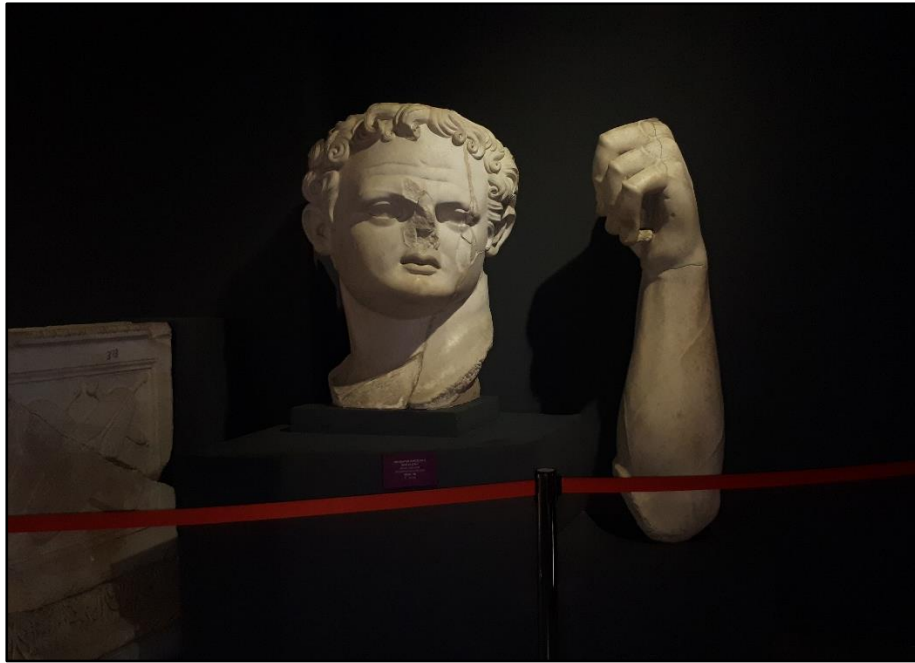


Figure 107 – The remaining head and arm of the colossal statue of Titus (author’s photograph)

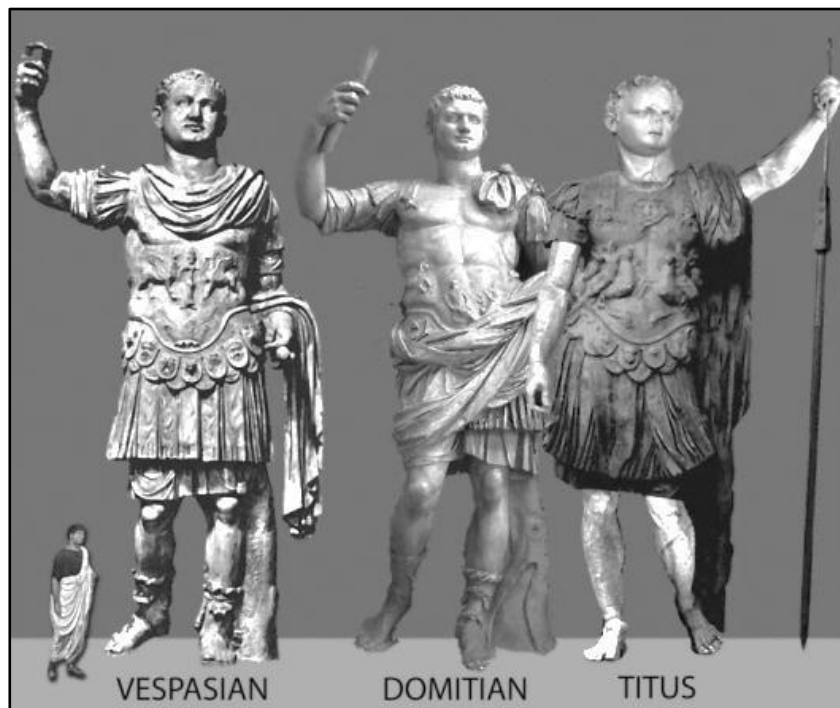


Figure 108 – A reconstruction of the cult statues in the Temple of the *Sebastoi*: Vespasian, Titus and Domitian (re-carved as Nerva) (by Onur Öztürk)

Source: Öztürk, O. 2013. *Temples of Divine Rulers and Urban Transformation in Roman-Asia: The Cases of Aphrodisias, Ephesos and Pergamon*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin. [377](#), [Fig. 3.25](#).



Figure 109 – The “Domitian Street” with the shops lined up on both sides (author’s photograph)



Figure 110 – The “Domitian Street” viewed from the south (author’s photograph)

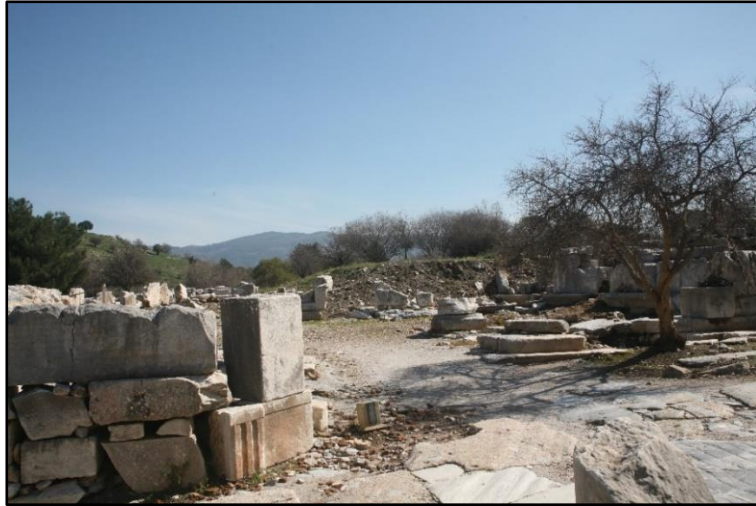


Figure 111 – The entrance to the Upper Agora from the Domitian Street (author’s photograph)



Figure 112 – The *Nymphaeum* of C. Laecanius Bassus (author’s photograph)

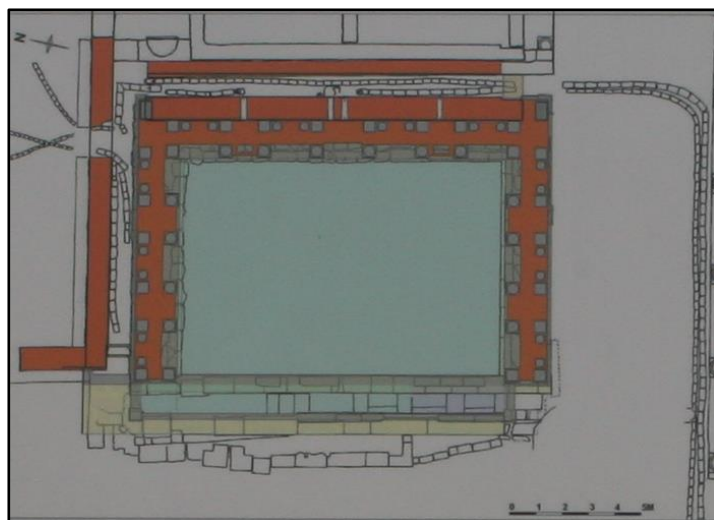


Figure 113 – Plan of the *Nymphaeum* of C. Laecanius Bassus, displayed on the information board in the site (author’s photograph)

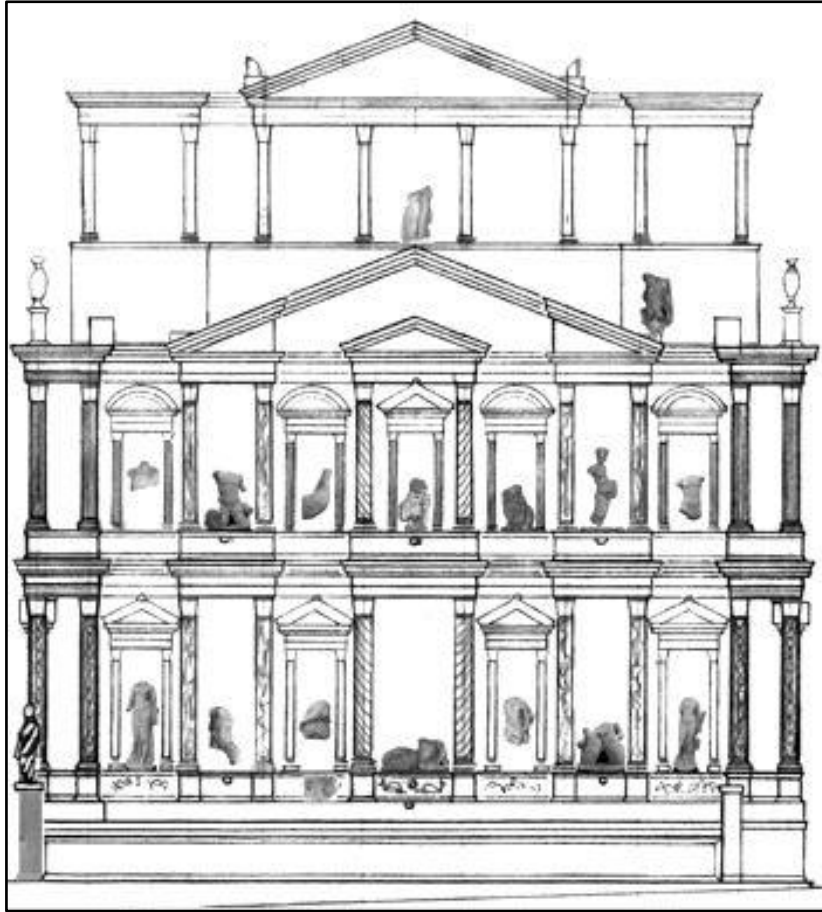


Figure 114 – Reconstruction of the *Nymphaeum* of C. Laecanius Bassus by K. Jung with reconstructed statues by E. Rathmayr

Source: Rathmayr, E. 2008. “Die Skulpturenausstattung des C. Laecanius Bassus Nymphaeum in Ephesos.“ *Forum Archaeologiae – Zeitschrift für klassische Archäologie* 48(9). Fig. 3. Accessed in 05.06.2020. <https://homepage.univie.ac.at/elisabeth.trinkl/forum/forum0908/48bassus.htm>.



Figure 115 – The statue group of the *Nymphaeum* of C. Laecanius Bassus (author’s photograph)

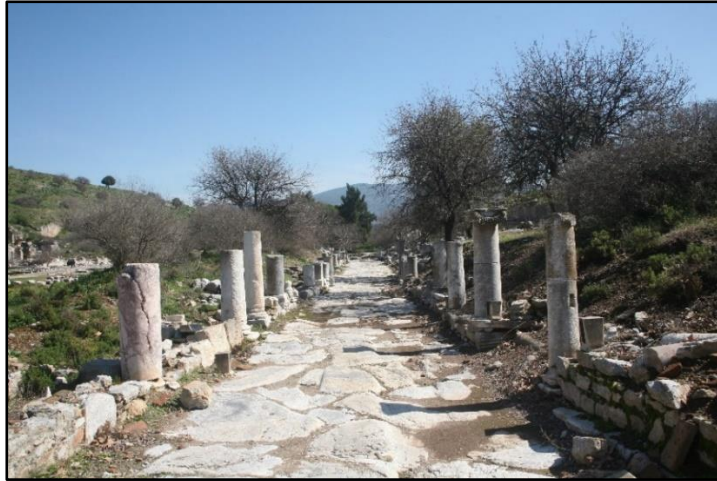


Figure 116 – The so-called South Street (author's photograph)



Figure 117 – The *castellum aquae* (author's photograph)

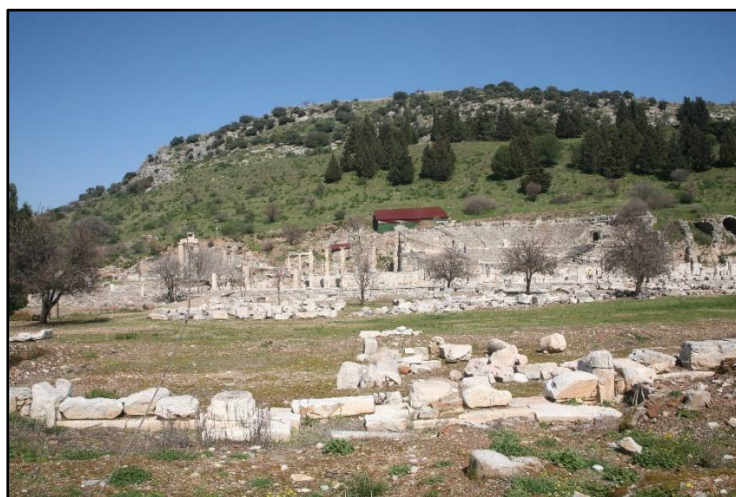


Figure 118 – The gate at the center of the south edge of the Upper Agora, viewed from inside the south stoa (author's photograph)



Figure 119 – The gate at the center of the south edge of the Upper Agora, viewed from inside the agora (author’s photograph)



Figure 120 – The view in the agora past the gates at the south (the temple was next to the pine tree at the right-hand side) (author’s photograph)

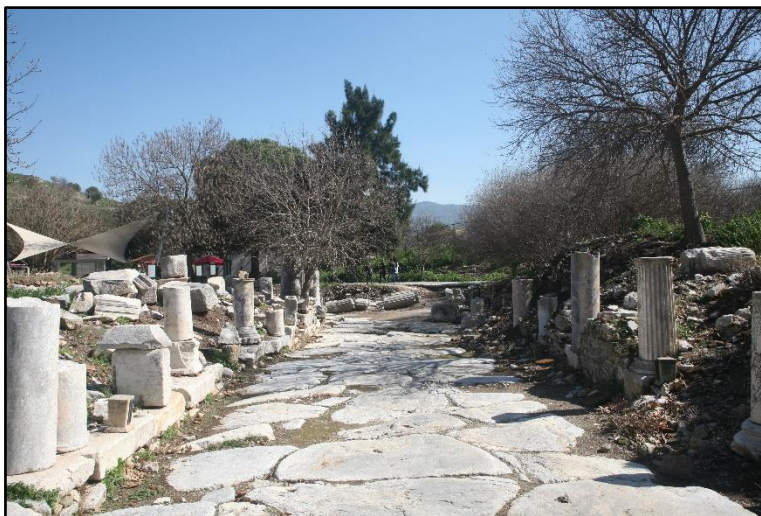


Figure 121 – View on the ‘South Street’ towards the northeast passageway, looking east (author’s photograph)



Figure 122 – The *propylon* structure of the northeast passageway viewed from the “South Street” (author’s photograph)

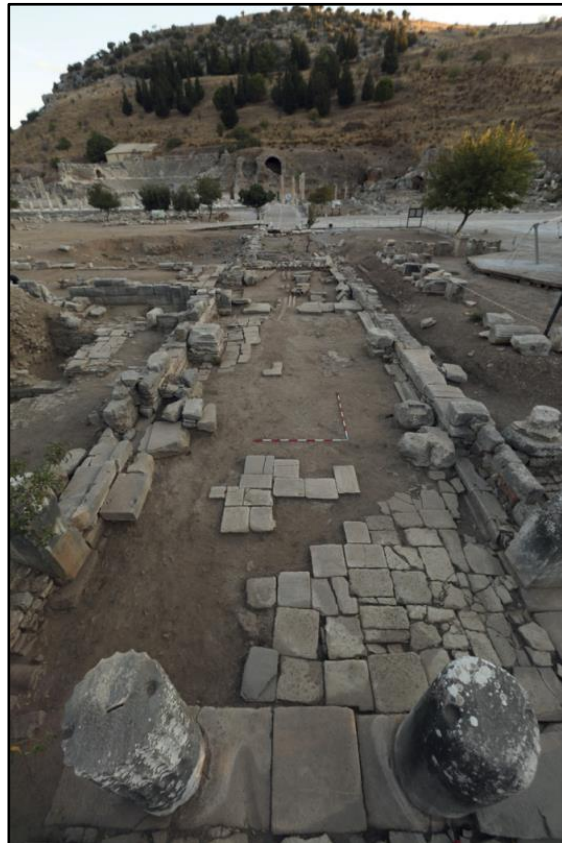


Figure 123 – The *propylon* at southeast with the intermediary space (the so-called North-South Street), viewed from the south

Source: Steuernagel, D. 2019. “The Upper Agora at Ephesus: an Imperial Forum?” In *Religion in Ephesus Reconsidered*, edited by D. Schowalter, S. Ladstätter, S. J. Friesen, and C. Thomas, 93-107. *Novum Testamentum Supplements* 177. Leiden: Brill. [99, Fig. 5.3.](#)



Figure 124 – View of the agora from northeast (author’s photograph)

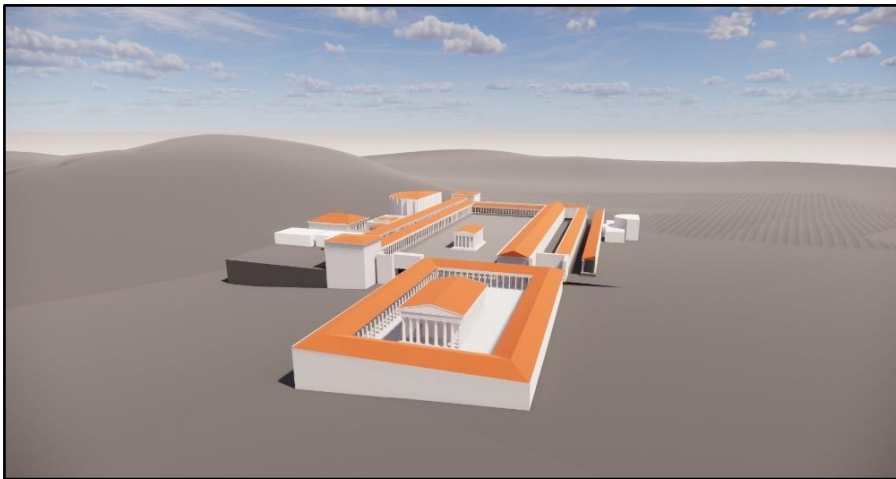


Figure 125 – Three-dimensional model of the Upper Agora and its environs in the second century CE, viewed from west (model produced by the author using Rhinoceros and Enscape)



Figure 126 – The *prytaneion*, the double *cella* monument and the *bouleuterion*, viewed from west



Figure 127 – The model viewed from east



Figure 128 – Close-up view of the model from east



Figure 129 – View from inside the Upper Agora, looking west

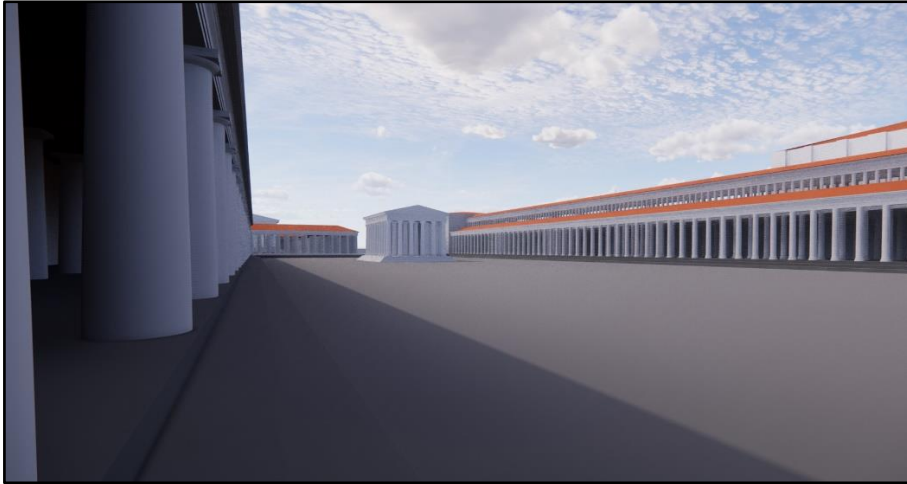


Figure 130 – View of the agora from the southeast corner



Figure 131 – View of the free-standing temple, including the south stoa on the left, the basilica-stoa on the right, the east colonnade of the Temple of the *Sebastoi* at the background, looking west



Figure 132 – A close-up view towards west including the partial view of the free-standing temple on the right, the south stoa on the left, the east colonnade of the Temple of the *Sebastoi* at the background, looking west



Figure 133 – The temple viewed from southwest of the agora



Figure 134 – The temple and the basilica-stoa viewed from the southwest corner of the agora



Figure 135 – View from the southwest corner of the agora, looking towards its open west edge



Figure 136 – The temple and the agora viewed from the west edge of the agora looking east



Figure 137 – View of the temple from inside the basilica-stoa, around the northwest corner of the agora

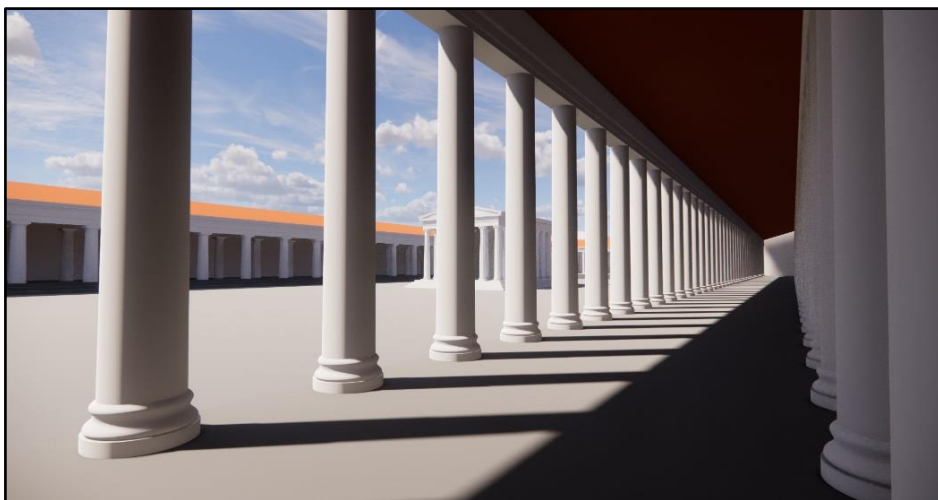


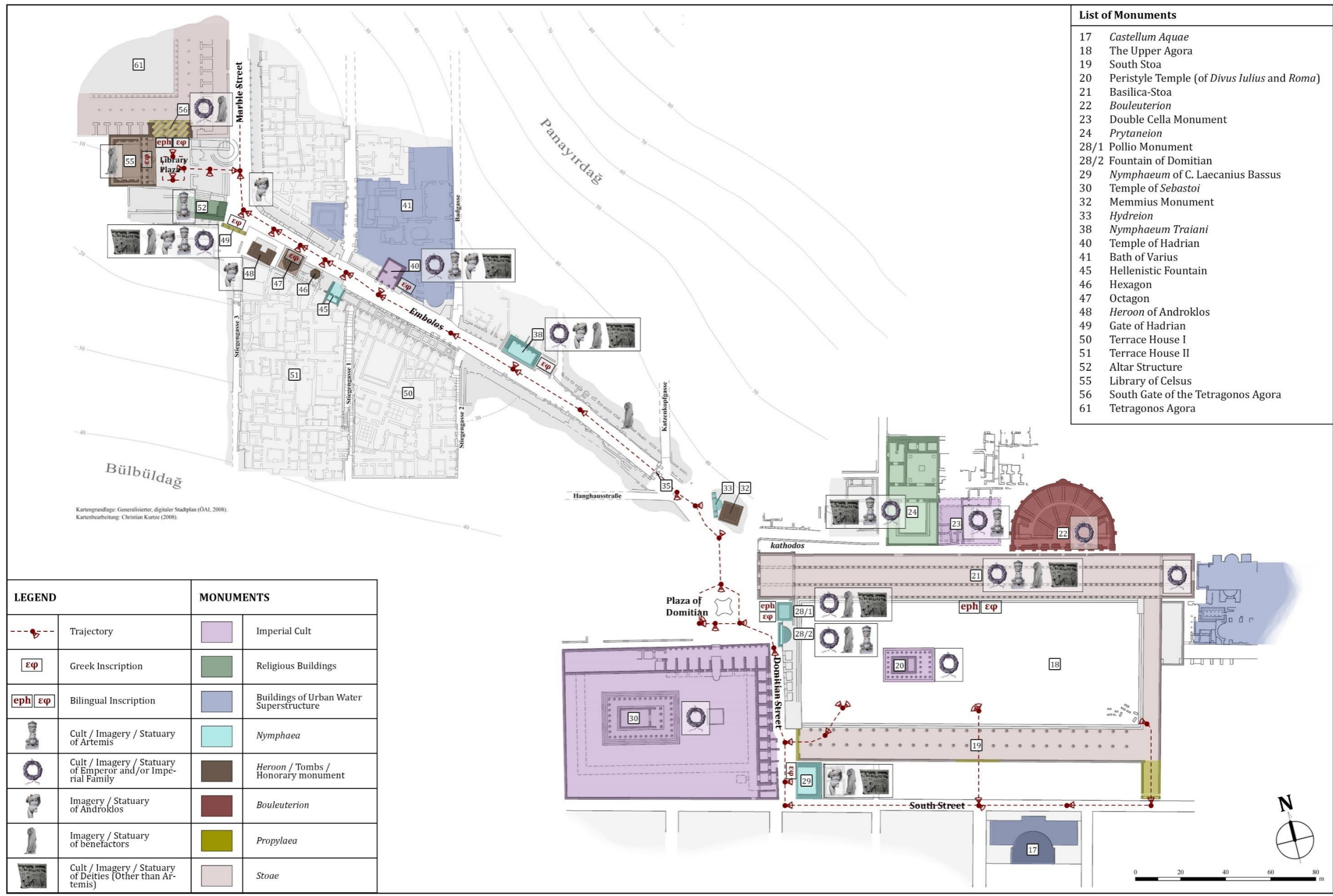
Figure 138 – View from inside the basilica-stoa

B. MAPS



Map 1 – The trajectory of the experiential analysis showing the monuments that are mentioned

Adapted from, Schowalter, D., S. Ladstätter, S. J. Friesen, and C. Thomas, eds. 2019. *Religion in Ephesos Reconsidered*. Leiden: Brill. Plan 1, 2.



Map 2 – The trajectory of the experiential analysis from the lower *Embolos* towards the Upper Agora

Adapted from, Quatember, U. 2014. "Betreten verboten, möglich, oder gar erwünscht? Überlegungen zur Zugänglichkeit antiker Gebäude und Stadtbereiche anhand der sogenannten Kuretenstraße in Ephesos während der römischen Kaiserzeit." In *Diskussionen zur Archäologischen Bauforschung* 11: 102-20. Regensburg: Verlag Schnell und Steiner. 104, Fig. 2; Schwalter, D., S. Ladstätter, S. J. Friesen, and C. Thomas, eds. 2019. *Religion in Ephesos Reconsidered*. Leiden: Brill. Plan 4.

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu tez, imparatorluk kültürünün mimarisi üzerine odaklanarak, kültürün Roma İmparatorluğu yönetimi altında Efes'te gözlemlenen kültürel değişim sürecindeki önemli rolünü vurgulamaktadır. Kuşkusuz, imparatorluk kültürü, merkezde ve eyaletlerde, imparatorluğun sosyal yaşamında kilit rol oynamış ve imparatorlar ile tebaaları arasındaki ilişkileri tanımlamıştır. Bu bağlamda, imparatorluk kültürü, dini ve siyasi düzeni yeniden tanımlamış, sosyal hiyerarşiyi sağlamlaştırmış, yerel seçkinlerin sosyal tabakadaki konumunu güçlendirmiş ve aynı zamanda kitlelere sadakatlerini ifade etmeleri için uygun bir alan sağlamıştır.⁷⁸³

Iulius Caesar'ın tanrılaştırılması, gelecekteki Roma imparatorları ve tebaaları arasındaki ilişkilerin yeniden tanımlanması için bir dönüm noktası olmuştur. Suetonius, Caesar'ın tanrılaştırılmasının sadece resmi bir karardan daha kapsamlı bir anlamı olduğunu, çünkü toplumun inancını yansıttığını belirtmiştir.⁷⁸⁴ Fakat, imparatorluğun geri kalanı için imparatorluk kültürü pratiklerinin temel çerçevesini belirleyen Augustus kültürüydü.⁷⁸⁵ Sonuç olarak, imparatorların tanrılaştırılması senatonun onayına sunulan standart bir dini uygulamaya dönüştü.⁷⁸⁶ Tarihsel süreç içerisinde, imparatorluk kültürü hem merkezde hem de eyaletlerde en yaygın dini uygulamalardan biri haline geldi.⁷⁸⁷

Roma imparatorluk kültürü, genel itibariyle, Roma İmparatorluğu'nda gözlemlenen, önemli ve karmaşık yapıda bir dini fenomeni tanımlamak için kullanılan modern bir ifadedir. Ayrıca, imparatorların tanrılaştırılması literatürde tartışmalı bir konu olarak

⁷⁸³ Momigliano 1986, 183; Price 1984b, 248.

⁷⁸⁴ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, 88.

⁷⁸⁵ Lozano 2007, 140.

⁷⁸⁶ Kreitzer 1990, 221.

⁷⁸⁷ Lozano 2007.

ele alınagelmıştır. Diğer taraftan, imparatorluk kültürü, basitçe, kökeni tarih öncesi zamanlarda ortaya çıkan kutsal krallık kavramına dayanan, dini ve politik bir olgu olarak da kabul edilebilir. Kutsal kral figürü doğaüstünün cisimleşmesi ve doğaüstü alemin bir arabulucusu olarak görülmüştür.⁷⁸⁸ Bu anlayışla, bireyler ve toplumlar bir kral tarafından yönetilmelerini mantıksallaştırmış, karmaşık bir kavramı ve süreci kuramsallaştırmış ve bu sayede kralların otoriteleri pekiştirilmiş, yetkilerine meşru bir zemin hazırlanmıştır. Buradan yola çıkarak kutsal hükümdar kavramının da krallık kurumunun kendisi kadar eski olduğu söylenebilir. Çünkü “din, bireyin yanı sıra toplumun tüm varlığı ile tamamen bağlantılı olduğundan ve krallıklar değişen derecelerde dini güçlerle veya dini kurumlarla doğrudan ilişkili olduğundan, bir anlamda kutsal olmayan bir krallıktan söz edilemezdi.”⁷⁸⁹ Bu nedenle, Efes'teki imparatorluk kültürünün, yerel halkın yeni Romalı yöneticilere dindarlık ve bağlılıklarını ifade ettiği bir yöntem olarak, krallık kurumunun özünde var olan kutsal yönetici kavramının Roma Dönemi'ndeki güçlü ve yaygın bir yansıması olduğu ileri sürülebilir.

İmparatorluk kültürü hakkındaki akademik çalışmalar, genellikle antik kaynaklar, metinler, sikkeler, imajlar, heykeller vb. üzerine derinlemesine odaklanmış, imparatorluk kültürünün mimari eserlerinin yapısal çevredeki etkisine ise daha az değinmiştir. Buna karşın, imparatorluk kültürünün kentsel mekanlardaki mimari tezahürü, kültürün maddi kayıttaki en belirgin ve gösterişli göstergesi olarak kabul edilebilir. Nitekim, imparatorluk kültürünün şekillendirdiği çeşitli mimari tipolojilerle çerçevelenen yapısal çevreler, Roma İmparatorluğu'ndaki kentlerin görünümünde önemli bir etki yaratmıştır. İmparatorluk kültürüne adanmış yapılar ve kutsal alanlar genellikle toplumların merkezinde kalıcı bir ifade olarak kentlerdeki en prestijli ve dikkat çekici yerlere konumlandırılmıştır. Bu anlamda, imparatorluk kültürü, Küçük Asya kentlerindeki sosyal, kültürel ve politik değişim süreçlerinde bir katalizör olarak davranmıştır. İmparatorluk kültürünün yerel ortama uyarlanması pratikleri zamanla resmi amaçların ötesine geçmiş, kültürün anlamı yerel bağlamda, yerli toplumlarca yeniden tanımlanmıştır. Sonuç olarak, imparatorluk kültürü ve tetiklediği sosyokültürel

⁷⁸⁸ Westermann 2013.

⁷⁸⁹ Westermann 2013.

dönüşümler kentsel mekanlarda olabildiğince gösterişli bir şekilde tezahür etmiş, kentlerin fiziksel görünümüne ve karakterine dikkate değer bir şekilde katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu bağlamda, imparatorluk kültürünün ve sebep olduğu söz konusu dönüşümlerin mimari kanıtları farklı derecelerde Romanizasyon deneyimlerini ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çalışmada, imparatorluk kültürünün mimari formlarının üretildiği ortamların analizi ve bunların kentsel mekana etkileri, Efes'te meydana gelen Romanizasyon'un doğasını ve yerel halkın yeni bir bağlama çeşitli tepkilerini kavramak için pratik ve sembolik bir kaynak olarak ele alınmıştır.

İmparatorluk kültürüne adanmış, kentin mekansal organizasyonu içerisine gösterişli bir biçimde yerleştirilmiş anıtları incelemenin önemi, ayrıca mimarinin gündelik yaşam üzerindeki etkisiyle de açıklanabilir. Kuşkusuz, mimari eserler gündelik kamusal yaşam içinde sürekli olarak görkemli bir arka plan oluşturmuştur. Fakat, buradaki asıl önemli konu, mimarinin toplumsal ve bireysel ritüelleri düzenleme kapasitesinin farkında olmaktır. Kültürel değişimin ortaya çıkardığı yeni gereksinimler imparatorluk kültürünün ortaya çıkışına ve imparatora adanmış anıtların kentsel peyzajda baskın bir biçimde yerleştirilmesine neden olmuştur. Söz konusu anıtlar yeni ritüellerin şekillendirilmesinde aktif bir rol almış ve halihazırda var olan kamusal ritüellerin de genellikle yeniden düzenlenmesine yol açmıştır.

Roma egemenliği altındaki Küçük Asya'daki kentler, imparatorluk kültürünün eyalet bağlamı hakkında, bilimsel literatür için önemli veriler sunmaktadır.⁷⁹⁰ Özellikle, Afrodiasias, Pergamon ve Efes gibi Küçük Asya'nın önde gelen ve canlı kent merkezleri, zengin maddi kayıtları ile imparatorluk ibadeti hakkında bol miktarda veri içermektedir.⁷⁹¹ Bu bakımdan, bizzat Octavianus tarafından Asya Eyaleti'nin idari merkezi olarak yeniden yapılandırılan Efes, imparatorluk ibadeti, imparatorluk kültürünün kentsel doku üzerindeki meydana geliş biçimleri ve Roma yönetimi altında gerçekleşen kültürleşme süreci üzerine dikkate değer mimari kanıtlar barındırmaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma, Efes'in kentsel alanlarına odaklanarak,

⁷⁹⁰ Bkz. Price 1984b; Friesen 1993; Burrell 2004.

⁷⁹¹ Bkz. Öztürk 2013.

Roma Dönemi'nde yapılı çevrede gözlemlenen dönüşümü ve bu süreç içerisinde imparatorluk kültürünün ve mimari ifadesinin rolünü değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Bu tez esas olarak, Giriş ve Sonuç Bölümleri hariç, üç ana bölümden oluşmaktadır. Giriş Bölümü'nün ardından, 2. Bölüm'de, imparatorluk kültürünün öncellerinin, Roma imparatorların tanrılaştırılmasının ve kültürün benimsenmesindeki bölgesel nüansların analiz edildiği genel bir incelemeyle başlayarak, imparatorluk kültürünün doğası hakkında bir tartışma sunulmaktadır. Böylece, imparatorluk kültürünün yönetenler ve yönetilenler, seçkinler ve kitleler için değişken anlamlarının ortaya çıkarılması amaçlanmıştır. Ayrıca, imparatorluk kültürünün sosyal, siyasi ve dini işlevleri, farklı bakış açıları sunan çeşitli bilimsel yaklaşımların da dikkate alınmasıyla birlikte sorgulanmaktadır. Burada, çeşitli etkenler tarafından imparatorluk kültüne yerleştirilmiş değişken anlamları ve aynı ortamlarda birtakım aktörlerin farklı beklentilerini vurgulamak hedeflenmiştir. Bu şekilde, Efes örneğinde, Romanizasyon terimiyle açıklanan kültürel değişimin ve bu süreçte imparatorluk kültürünün kapsamlı bir anlatısının sunulması amaçlanmaktadır. Başka bir deyişle, Romanizasyon'un, bu çalışmanın da odak noktası olan, Efes'in kentsel mekanlarında somutlaşmasını ve kentsel mekanların kültürleşme sürecinde imparatorluk kültürünün etkisiyle dönüşümünün bir çerçevesi sunulmuştur.

Romanizasyon kavramının doğası ve nitelikleri de ayrıca 2. Bölüm'de sorgulanmaktadır. Kısaca, Romanizasyon, Roma kontrolü altındaki bölgelerde özgün bir biçimde gerçekleşen, maddi kültürde de gözlemlenebilen kültürel değişimi tanımlamak için üretilmiş modern bir ifadedir. Başka bir deyişle, Romanizasyon hem farklılıkların hem de benzerliklerin tutarlı bir imparatorluk medeniyeti modeli oluşturarak bir araya geldiği bir dizi kültürel değişimi ifade eden bir kavram olarak kabul edilebilir.⁷⁹² Jas Elsner'e göre, Galyalıların, Libyalıların, Anadoluğların, Yunanların ve diğer çeşitli yerel toplulukların, tezahürdeki farklılıklara rağmen, tek bir kültürün ideallerini benimseyebildiği ve içselleştirebildiği bu sürece Romanizasyon denir.⁷⁹³ Bu kültürleşme toplumun her düzeyinde aynı hızda ve aynı

⁷⁹² Woolf 1998, 7.

⁷⁹³ Elsner 1998, 118.

şekilde gerçekleşen basit, tek yönlü ve doğrusal bir süreç değildi. Aksine, gevşek, sistematik olmayan, plansız ve her şeyden önce merkezden dikte edilmeyen bir süreçti.

Özetle, Romanizasyon karmaşık ve tartışmalı bir kavramdır. Bu çalışma ne Romanizasyon kavramının bir yapışökümünü, ne de alternatif bir terim üretmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bunun yerine amaç, hem merkez-çeper, Roma-eyalet, yöneten-yönetilen ilişkileri bağlamında hem de ötesinde, kültürleşme ve buna bağlı kentsel mekanlardaki dönüşümü değerlendirmek; özellikle Efes'teki imparatorluk kültürünün mimari örneklerine odaklanarak, “Romanizasyon” teriminin altında toplanabilecek uyum ve direnç kavramlarını bir bütün halinde sorgulamaktır.

Romalı kimliğini tanımlamak ve Romalı olmanın farklı kişiler ve toplumlar için değişken anlamlarını sorgulamak, Romanizasyon tartışması açısından ayrıca önemli konulardır. Bu anlamda, imparatorluk kültürünün eyaletlerdeki bağlamında anlaşılması, bu tür soruların cevaplandırılması için gerekli görülmüştür. Fakat, kültürün kentsel alanlardaki varlığı, yalnızca yerel toplulukların Romalılaştığına dair edilgen bir kanıt olarak ele alınmamıştır. Aksine, dinin ve imparatorluk kültürünün, bireylerin ve toplulukların kimliklerinin tanımlanmasında, geçmişin, güncelin ve geleceğin kavramsallaştırmada, kolektif belleğin yaratılmasında ve artan Roma nüfuzuyla beraber ortaya çıkan yeni dünya düzeninin anlamlandırılmasında son derece etkili araçlar olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Başka bir deyişle, imparatorluk kültürü hem kültürel değişimin bir göstergesi hem de kültürel değişim sürecinde aktif rol almış bir olgu olarak kabul edilmiştir.

3. Bölüm’de, erken imparatorluk dönemi Efes’inde, imparatorluk kültürünün benimsenmesinin ve kentsel mekanlardaki tezahürünün bir örneği, en geniş anlamıyla, imparatorun kamusal alan üzerindeki etkisinin dikkatli bir şekilde tasarlandığı önemli bir yerde, Augustus dönemi idari-kültür merkezi üzerinde yoğunlaşan bir analizle göz önüne serilmiştir. Bu bölümde, ilk olarak, imparatorluk kültürünün benimsenmesinin gerçekleştiği kentsel bağlamın tarihi, coğrafi ve mekansal gelişimi kısaca sunulmuştur. Coğrafi koşullardaki değişiklikler sonucu, yüzlerce ve hatta binlerce yıllık süreçler içerisinde kurulan, iskân edilen ve terk edilen yerleşimlerin tarihi topografyasının kısa bir analizi sağlanmıştır. Efes’in kutsal alanlarının gelişimi de söz konusu yerleşme ve terk etme örüntüsüne uygun olarak dikkate alınmıştır. Bu nedenle, Efes’in dini

peyzajının mekansal gelişiminin kısa bir tarihi, kentin, toplulukların ve bireylerin kimliğini şekillendirmede belirleyici olan kadim kutsal alanlara odaklanarak sunulmaktadır. Bu kısım, özellikle, imparatorluk kültürünün uzun zamandır var olan ve yüzyıllar boyunca sürekli olarak gelişen halihazırdaki kutsal topografyanın üzerine yerleştiği göz önüne alındığında, Efes'teki imparatorluk ibadetleri konusundaki tartışmanın önemli bir parçasıdır.

Söz konusu tartışmanın bağlamında, halihazırda var olan bir kentsel doku üzerinde yeni bir kült alanı oluşturulması için dikkat çekici bir örnek olan Yukarı Agora, hem somut hem de soyut gerçeklikleriyle irdelenmektedir. Yukarı Agora'nın mimari bileşenleriyle birlikte genel düzeni ve kentsel dokudaki yerleşimi, imparatorlukta benzer kamusal alan tipolojileri dikkate alınarak, yani Yunan "agorası" ve Roma "forumu" mimari gelenekleriyle kıyaslanarak incelenmiştir. Böylelikle, agoraların tarihsel gelişimiyle beraber, Yukarı Agora ile imparatorluğun farklı bölgelerindeki çağdaş agoraların ve forumların tipolojik bir karşılaştırması sunulmaktadır. Ayrıca, agoraların imparatorların kültüne uyum sağlama kapasitesi, Yukarı Agora'nın eyalet bağlamında inşa edilmiş bir imparatorluk forumu olarak görülüp görülemeyeceği sorusuyla vurgulanmaktadır. İmparatorluk kültürünün, Efes'in ana tanrıçasının, imparatorun ve imparatorluk ailesinin, yerel seçkinlerin, *polis*, *boule* ve *demos*'un, dini ve sivil kurumların ve diğer çeşitli aktörlerin iç içe geçmiş imgelerinin Yukarı Agora'da özgün bir şekilde bir araya gelmesi, Augustus döneminde, eyalet bağlamında imparatorluk kent merkezinin oluşumunun dikkat çekici bir örneğini etrafıca kavramak için araştırılmıştır. Kısaca, Efes'te, Augustus döneminde ortaya çıkan yeni kamusal alanın kimliği bu şekilde açıklanmaktadır. Burada, Augustus kent merkezinin fiziksel ve zihinsel yapılarının ve algılarının genel bir resmi, bu kamusal alanın hem fiziksel hem de zihinsel tezahürleri dikkate alınarak ve bunlar arasında bir bağlantı kurularak göz önüne serilmiştir.

Genel olarak, Yukarı Agora'daki ziyaretçiler, ilgili topografik noktaları takip ederek, agoranın genel mimari düzeninin bütününde çeşitli imgelerle yaratıcı bir şekilde dile getirilen, Caesar'ın, Augustus'un ve imparatorluk ailesinin yüceltiildiği mimari bir

anlatıya şahit olmaktadır.⁷⁹⁴ Gerçekten de, Yukarı Agora'da, mimari tasarım ve imgelemlerin bütünüyle, imparator Augustus, eşi Livia, tanrılaştırılmış üvey babası Caesar, halefi Tiberius, bazilika-stoanın inşasını finanse etmiş ve onuruna agoranın batı duvarına bitişik bir anıt adanmış yerli bir seçkin, C. Sextilius Pollio, Artemis ve *demos* onurlandırılmıştı.⁷⁹⁵ Buradan, Yukarı Agora'nın, Augustus dönemine hâkim imparatorluk ideolojisine ve dünya görüşüne uygun bir şekilde tasarlanmış ve inşa edilmiş olduğu sonucu çıkarılabilmektedir.⁷⁹⁶ Başka bir deyişle, Augustus dönemi imparatorluk ideolojisi ve ilkeleri, Roma hakimiyetini de gösterir şekilde, Yukarı Agora'da kapsamlı ve tutarlı bir biçimde ortaya konulmuştur. Ayrıca, Yukarı Agora'nın ölçeğine bakarak, imparator figürünü kentsel dokuda merkeze alma çabalarının özünde mimari tasarım ve kent planı ölçeğiyle ilgili olduğu da söylenebilir.

4. Bölüm, imparatorluk kültürü ve imajını kentsel ölçekte kavramayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu bölüm, *Embolos* özelinde, Efes'te kentsel armatürün oluşumu, deneyimi ve algılanması üzerine yoğunlaşmaktadır. 4. Bölüm'deki temel varsayım, daha geniş bir bağlamda bütüncül bir algının kurulması öncülüne dayanmaktadır. Ne de olsa, varlıkları ve olguları izole edilmiş olarak değil, deneyimlerimizdeki çeşitli bağlamlar içerisinde algılarız. Bu nedenle, 3. Bölüm'de sunulan Yukarı Agora'nın tipolojisinin ve mimari stiline analizine ek olarak, mekansal bağlamların deneysel ve duyumsal bir değerlendirmesi, imparatorluk kültürünün pratiği ve Romanizasyon gibi dönemin sosyal ve kültürel gerçekliklerinin daha etkili bir şekilde anlaşılması için gerekli görülmüştür. Böylece, William MacDonald'ın metodolojik bir araç olarak kavramsallaştırdığı kentsel armatürden başlayarak,⁷⁹⁷ Yukarı Agora'nın kentsel ve mekansal bağlamları incelenmiştir. Ayrıca, kentsel armatürün metodolojik bir araç olarak kullanılmasının, kent peyzajındaki imparatorluk kültürünün mimari ifadelerinin (ve dolayısıyla, daha genel anlamıyla, Roma mimarisinin ve şehirciliğinin) incelenmesindeki ortaya koyduğu kapasite ve sağladığı elverişli imkanlar gösterilmiştir. Dolayısıyla, Efes'te kentsel bağlamda imparatorluk kültürünün mimari tezahürünü daha kapsamlı bir şekilde

⁷⁹⁴ Süß 1999, 39.

⁷⁹⁵ Süß 1999, 39.

⁷⁹⁶ Süß 1999, 39.

⁷⁹⁷ MacDonald 1986:2.

anlamak için kinestezik bir deneyim gerekli görülmüştür. Bu nedenle, sahada bulunmanın getirdiği otoriterin sağladığı imkanlarla gerçekleştirilen mimari mekanların üç boyutlu deneyimi, kentsel armatüre odaklanarak, hem kentsel bütünü hem de bu bütünü oluşturan mimari bileşenleri tek tek incelemek için yapılandırılmıştır. Böylelikle, özellikle imparatorun Efes'teki varlığını da formüle eden, kentin bütününde mimari eserlerle dile getirilen görsel retorik ve mekansal koreografiyi anlamak için genel bir çerçeve sağlanmıştır.

4. Bölüm'de yapılan deneyimsel analiz (Map 1, 2), özellikle yerel bir bağlamda, yerel bir izleyici kitlesi için, yerel halk tarafından formüle edilen imparatorun fiziksel varlığının Efes'in kentsel mekanlarındaki yoğunluğunu ve bunun için gösterilmiş mimari çabaların ve girişimlerin ölçeğini ortaya koymaktadır. Ne de olsa, imparatorluk sınırları içindeki sayısız farklı topluluklara mensup bireylerin çok büyük bir çoğunluğu hükümdarı kişisel olarak görme imkanına sahip değildi, ama imparatorluk gücünün ikonografisi ve imparatorun sembolleri bu toplumların günlük yaşamlarına etkili bir şekilde nüfuz etmişti.⁷⁹⁸ Söz konusu simbolizm gündelik yaşamda, belki de en göze çarpan şekilde, mimarlık yoluyla somutlaştı. Örneğin, Efes'te imparatorun imajı ve kültü için inşa edilen anıtlar, imparatorun fiziksel varlığını yerel kamusal alanlara dikkat çekici bir şekilde işlemiştir. Efes'in kentsel mekanlarında, imparatorluk ailesi ile olsun ya da olmasın, imparatora adanmış bu tür mimari yapıların etkileyici sıklığı, özellikle imparatorluk imajının kentsel peyzaj üzerindeki geniş etkisini göstermektedir. Bu tezde, aşağı *Embolos*'tan Yukarı Agora'ya kadar yapılan deneyimsel analizin içerdiği yirmi iki anıtın (bu anıtlardan on tanesi *Embolos* boyunca, beşi Domitian Meydanı'nda, ikisi Güney Cadde boyunca ve beşi Yukarı Agora'da ve çevresinde konumlanmıştır) çoğunluğu, on iki anıt, imparatorun imgesine ve kültürüne adanmıştır (Map 2). İmparatora adanmış bu anıtlar konumları itibarıyla kentte özgün bir örüntü yaratmıştır: on iki anıt içerisinde iki yapı *Embolos*'un batı ucunda (Hadrianus Kapısı ve Tetragnos Agora'nın Güney Kapısı), diğer bir ikisi *Embolos* boyunca (Hadrianus Tapınağı ve Traianus Çeşmesi), üçü *Embolos*'un doğu ucunda ve Domitian Meydanı'nda (Pollio Anıtı, Domitian Çeşmesi ve *Sebastoi* Tapınağı) ve kalan beşi Yukarı Agora'da ve çevresinde konumlanmıştır (agoradaki tapınak,

⁷⁹⁸ Revell 2009, 82.

bazilika-stoa, *prytaneion*, çift *cella* anıtı ve *bouleuterion*). Basitçe açıklamak gerekirse, *Embolos*'tan Yukarı Agora'ya giden güzergahtaki bir yolculuk sırasında, imparatorun imajı asla görüş alanının dışında kalmıyordu. Yoldan geçenlerin aşağı *Embolos*'tan Yukarı Agora'ya (ya da tam tersi yöndeki) doğru yolculukları boyunca, imparatorun varlığını gösteren anıtlar olağanüstü bir yinelenmeyle ortaya çıkıyor ve kentsel düzende görkemli bir emperyal anlatı yaratıyordu.

Kentsel peyzajdaki imparatorluk kültürüne adanmış mekanların düzeninde ise başka bir kentsel örüntü gözlemlenmektedir. Yukarıda belirtilen, imparatorluk imgelerinin kamusal alanlarda temsil edildiği on iki anıt arasından beşi, imparatorluk kültürünün ibadet edildiği kutsal mekanlardı. Bu kutsal mekanlardan sadece biri, Hadrianus Tapınağı, *Embolos* üzerinde konumlanmışken, diğer dördü, *Sebastoi* Tapınağı (resmi *neokoros* tapınağı), agoradaki tapınak, çift *cella* anıtı ve *prytaneion*, kentin üst bölümlerinde, Yukarı Agora'nın içinde ve çevresinde konumlandırılmıştır. Buradan yola çıkarak, imparatorluk kültürü için uygun alanlar inşa etme ihtiyacının, en azından MS ikinci yüzyıla kadar, çoğunlukla kentin yukarı bölümlerinde bulunan alanların dönüşümünü tetiklediği yorumu yapılabilmektedir. Özetle, bu tür mimari çalışmalar, imparatorluk kültürünü kentsel dokuya ve dolayısıyla Efes'in günlük yaşamına etkili bir şekilde dahil etmiştir.

Genel olarak, toplumların ve bireylerin davranış kalıplarını, yapılı ve sosyal çevre ile etkileşimlerini kavramak, algılarını ve tutumlarını anlamlandırabilmek için, insanların gerçek ihtiyaçlarının maddi ifadelerini sosyal ve mekansal bağlamda sorgulamak gerekir.⁷⁹⁹ Bu nedenle, 4. Bölüm, kentsel mekanların organizasyonun, bireylerin ve toplumların yeni bir sosyal ve politik ortama uyum sağlama ve direnç gösterme yetilerinin bütününe maddi dışavurumu olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Ayrıca, imparatorluk kültürünün mimarisinin, en geniş anlamıyla, yerel toplulukların değişken derecelerde uyum ve direnç pratiklerini içeren yeni bir dünyaya tepki verme deneyimlerini de incelemek için çok değerli bir kanıt olarak öne çıktığı da görülmektedir. Bu çerçevede, özellikle, dönüşen yaşam kalıplarına, sosyal bağlantılara ve toplumsal beklentilere yanıt olarak gelişen imparatorluk kültürünün benimsenmesinin

⁷⁹⁹ Pfeiffer 1980, 35.

birçok örneğini içeren Efes'in mimari kaydının incelenmesinin, Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde, bireylerin ve grupların değişen düşünce yapılarını ele almak için olağanüstü bir olanak sağladığı gösterilmektedir.

Son olarak, Sonuç Bölümü, imparatorluk kültürünün gösterişli anıtlar yoluyla kentsel mekanları şekillendirmesini vurgulayarak ve bu süreçte geçmişin ve güncelin, dinin ve siyasetin birleştiği dinamikleri de göz önünde bulundurarak, önceki bölümlerdeki tartışmaları bir araya getirmektedir. Özetle, Efesliler tarafından üretilen ve geleneksel inanç sistemi ile dikkatlice iç içe geçmiş olan, imparatorluk kültürünü çevreleyen ayinlerin, ritüellerin, şenliklerin ve diğer uygulamaların, Roma Dönemi'nde Efes'in kamusal yaşamının önemli parçaları haline geldiği görülmüştür. Bu tür kamusal pratikler ve kentsel mekanlardaki imparatorluk ortamları sayesinde, imparatorun varlığı yapıyı çevreye uygun bir şekilde kaynaştı. Bu, belki de en görünür haliyle, imparatorun kültürünün yerel kimliklerle ve her şeyden önce ana tanrıça kültürüyle karşılaşmasıyla ortaya çıktı. Bu bağlamda, hem kent surları içinde (çift *cella* anıtında) hem de kent surları dışında (Artemision'da) yan yana ibadet gören Augustus'un ve Artemis'in kültleri, imparatorluk kültürünün yerel panteonla kaynaşmasının en önemli örneklerinden birisi olarak gösterilebilir. Ana tanrıça ile ortak kült ve imgelerle bir araya gelen imparatorun tanrısal kişiliği, Efeslilere, mimari eserlerle etkili bir şekilde ifade edilmiş ve bu yolla, Efes toplumuna Roma egemenliği kavramı aşılacaktır.

Yerli ve Romalı kimliklerin iç içe geçmişliği, kamusal alanlarda sadece anıtlarla, kültürle ve imgelerle ifade edilmemişti. Ayrıca, anıtların ve kentsel peyzajın gösterişli arka planlar oluşturduğu toplumsal ritüellerde, Romalı ve Efesli figürler yapıyı çevrede etkili bir şekilde bir araya getirilmişti. Bu tür ritüellerde ve etkinliklerde, Efes'in tarihsel mirasıyla beraber Roma hakimiyeti ve otoritesi, Efeslilerin kavradığı haliyle, kentsel mekanlarda sık sık yeniden canlandırıldı. Örneğin, Salutaris'in heykeller alayı, Traianus döneminde, kentin kalıcı yerel mirasının yanı sıra Romalılaşmış özelliklerini de gösteren, Efes'in kültürel ve dini kimliğinin temsilinin bir zirvesi olarak düşünülebilir. Efes'in önde gelen sakinlerinden, aslen Romalı olan, zamanının önemli bir bağışçısı ve *Equites* sınıfı üyesi olan Salutaris,⁸⁰⁰ *demos*'un onayıyla gerçekleşen

⁸⁰⁰ Kokkinia 2019, 215; Walbank 1994, 90.

bir heykeller alayı organize etmişti.⁸⁰¹ Artemision'da başlayan Salutaris Alayı, Efes'in antik alay yolunun üzerindeki önemli noktalara uğrayarak, Panayırdağ etrafında tam bir tur attıktan sonra, geri Artemision'a dönmekteydi. Alay, öncelikle Artemis Tapınağı'nın *pronaos*'unda Salutaris tarafından dikilmiş olan heykelleri alıp Magnesia Kapısı'na kadar taşıyor, kent surları içinde Güney Cadde boyunca ilerliyordu.⁸⁰² Daha sonra, alay, Yukarı Agora'ya girerek *bouleuterion* ve *prytaneion*'un önünden geçiyor, *Embolos* ve Mermer Cadde boyunca ilerleyip, Büyük Tiyatro'ya geçiyor ve burada heykeller, üzerinde yazıtlar bulunan kaidelerin üzerine oturtuluyordu.⁸⁰³ Sonrasında, alay, heykelleri buradan alıp tekrar taşımaya başlıyor, Koressos Kapısı'na doğru *Plateia* boyunca yürüyor, kent surlarının dışına çıkıp alayın başladığı yere, Artemision'a geri dönüyordu.⁸⁰⁴ Bu kadar zahmetli, gösterişli ve içerisinde çok fazla kişinin rol aldığı Salutaris Alayı, Efes'in toplumsal yaşamında şaşırtıcı bir sıklıkta, iki haftada bir gerçekleşiyordu.⁸⁰⁵ Bu sayede, Salutaris Alayı süresince, Efes'in yerel mirasıyla alakalı figürlerin yanı sıra Roma kontrolü ve otoritesini çağrıştıran heykeller ve imajlarla, alay yolu boyunca yer alan anıtların oluşturduğu görsel çerçeveye de ilişkili olarak, yerel tarihsel mirası ve gururu da yansıtan görkemli bir emperyal anlatı yaratılıyor ve bu somut anlatı kamusal yaşamda olağanüstü bir sıklıkla tekrar ediliyordu. Bu sebeple, Salutaris Alayı, Efesliler'in özgün bir şekilde Roma ideallerine uyum sağlamalarının dışı vurulduğu toplumsal ritüellerin en önemli örneklerinden birisi olarak kabul edilebilir.

Sonuç olarak, bu çalışma, imparatorluk kültürünün eyalet bağlamında, Efes'te benimsenmesinin, imparatorluk kültüne adanmış kentsel mimari elemanların ve imgelerin, yerel toplum tarafından, kendinden emin bir şekilde, kentin mekansal organizasyonu içerisine yerleştirilmesiyle dışı vurduğunu açıkça ortaya koymaktadır. En geniş anlamıyla, imparatorluk kültürünün ve imgesinin önemine yaraşır mekanların yaratılması için duyulan ihtiyaç, Roma Dönemi Efes'indeki kentsel mekanların

⁸⁰¹ Rogers 2012, 184.

⁸⁰² Rogers 2012, 184-5.

⁸⁰³ Rogers 2012, 185.

⁸⁰⁴ Rogers 2012, 185.

⁸⁰⁵ Rogers 1991, 136; Spawforth 1992, 383.

dönüşümünde bir katalizör görevi görmüştür. İmparatorluk kavramı da imparatorluk kültürüne ve imgelerine adanmış gösterişli mimari eserler aracılığıyla kentsel dokuya nüfuz etmiştir. Böylece, imparatorluk kültürü ve imgesi kamusal yaşamın ayrılmaz bir parçasına dönüşmüş ve çağdaş Efesli kimliğini tanımlamak için çok önemli hale gelmiştir. Ne de olsa, yapıları çevredeki değişimler kültürel değişimin de bir göstergesi olagelmıştır.

Efes'in Roma yönetimi altındaki kimliği, çeşitli hikayeler, efsaneler ve mitler üzerine inşa edilmiş efsanevi geçmişi ve imparatorluk yönetiminin getirdiği yeni gerçekliklerin şekillendirdiği çağdaş koşullar ile tanımlandı. Aynı zamanda, çağdaş bağlamlar doğrultusunda kısmen yeniden üretilen ve şekillendirilen kentin kadim geçmişi, imparator figüründe kişileştirilen ve imparatorluk kültürünün mimarisiyle somutlaştırılan Roma ideallerinin kucaklandığı mükemmel bir ortam sağlamıştır. Kuşkusuz, Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde Efes, saygın efsanevi geçmişiyle yaşayan ve çağdaş siyasi koşullar ile de uyum içinde olan bir kentti.

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