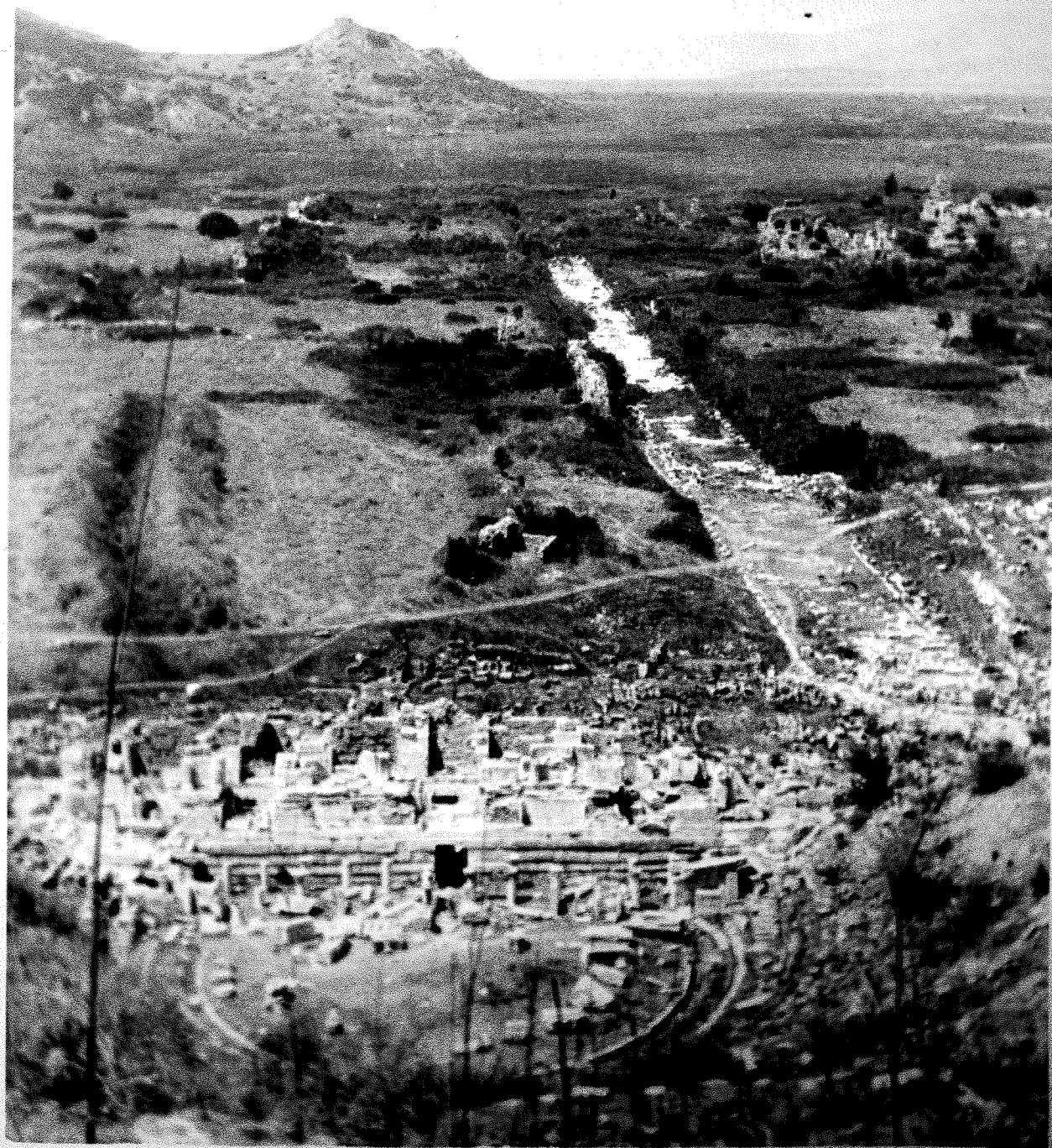


THE PLACE OF EPHEBUS
IN
THE EARLIEST DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

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THE PLACE OF EPHEBUS
IN
THE EARLIEST DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

By

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A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SACRED THEOLOGY
in
The Biblical Seminary in New York

New York, New York

1938

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To

Dr. Howard Tillman Kuist

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Professor, The Biblical Seminary in New York

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For making available the negatives of the pictures
illuminating these pages,
taken by him on his visit to the site of Ephesus
or gathered by him from the files of
the New York Public Library

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But I will tarry at Ephesus
until Pentecost; for a great
door and effectual is opened
unto me . .

THE PLACE OF EPHESUS
IN
THE EARLIEST DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

PROLEGOMENA

THE PLACE OF EPHESUS
IN
THE EARLIEST DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

PROLEGOMENA

A. The General Field of Study

1. A Definition of History

There is an old Chinese adage which brings us directly to our problem: "He for whom yesterday has no lesson, has no lesson for today." Today is but the child of yesterday, the mother of tomorrow, and well says Shakespeare, "What's past is prologue."¹ History is the apologetic for contemporary events. The bonds of connection in the chronology may be hardly discernible, but a wiser hand than ours has provided that there be concomitance, in concord or discord, action or reaction, in the series of events which mark the progression of time.

2. The Nature of the Subject

Our subject is historical and archeological in nature, and thus our appeal must be, in the course

.

1. "The Tempest"

of narration, to unimpeachable evidence. Our incredulous age has the characteristic, variably good or bad, of granting no homage to fanciful reconstructions of the past. Justly it countenances no appeal to fictional traditions, and by its insistent demand for the truth and the whole truth it has stripped our heritage of much of its encrustation of myth, its impediment of inaccuracy, and its agglomeration of fanciful and fragmentary data.

Archeologists, with no reverence for legend contra facto, have torn away the cerements of dead civilizations and robbed the earth of her choicest truths. Moving like magic shuttles across the loom of history, they weave the warp of place and the woof of time into a whole, colorful and withal harmonious pattern.

3. Excavations at the Site of Ephesus

The arduous work of excavating the site of ancient Ephesus was begun in May, 1863, by J. T. Wood. In the face of intolerable conditions, lack of funds, distinguished visitors, vexatious delays due to political red tape, and ill health, he—by prodigious effort and patient faith in the merits of his cause—discovered after six long and bitter years the site of the Great Temple of Diana on the last day of the year 1869.

But general apathy on the part of his support-

ers forced Mr. Wood to discontinue the excavations soon after this momentous disclosure (April, 1874). One of the greatest archeological romances had only begun. A generation passed before the task was resumed in 1894 by archeologists subsidized by the Austrian government. The five exhaustive volumes, Forschungen in Ephesos 1902-1933, which represent their findings, are in themselves a tribute to the meticulous scrutiny and painstaking accuracy of their work. They have been of inestimable value to us in reconstructing the history of the ancient city, and in revealing the character of a Graeco-Roman city in the halcyon days of its prosperity. They also added very valuable contributions to our knowledge of Ephesian topography, an important discussion of which has been translated and preserved in the second chapter of this thesis.

The site of the Temple, however, lay desolate until 1904, the Austrians confining their activities to the city area, when the trustees of the British Museum commissioned Mr. Hogarth to reexamine the remains exhumed by Mr. Wood. He succeeded in tracing the outlines of the traditional, "original" sanctuary, and in correcting and clarifying the necessarily abortive conclusions of his predecessor; his findings are presented and discussed in the third chapter following.

B. The Specific Problem and Our Approach

Christianity before 40 A.D. was hardly more than a Jewish sect, with only the yet undeveloped potentiality for a universal appeal. With the advent of the converted Paul, however, its latent powers were unleashed. With Antioch as his base, and the Holy Spirit as his guide, he established a chain of mission churches throughout the then known world. Of these Ephesus was one of the most important, and his efforts there single him out as the great Pontifex (pons facio) of Christendom.

Long the greatest metropolis and chief commercial mart of the province of Asia, it was justly labelled the great "eye" of Asia. Its heart, the Temple of Diana, fostered and nourished the superstitions of the pagan world of its time. To its worship came countless thousands to do obeisance to Diana, mythological goddess of the Ephesians.

Here at the confluence of the streams of traffic was deposited the best and the worst of the cultures of the East and the West. Paul, fully aware of the strategic position of the city, visited and evangelized it. Thus it became a cache of spiritual strength which leavened the whole of Asia Minor, and which ultimately influenced the thinking of all Christendom. It will be the problem of this thesis to delineate the

character of the Ephesian contribution to the beginnings of Christian church history.

1. The Relation of Geography to a Study of History

Sir William Ramsay brings a larger contribution to the field of church history and geography than one at first supposes. His distinctive approach to these subjects represents a release from the mere scholastic and academic. He writes in the prolegomena of his Historical Geography of Asia Minor:

"The narrowness which would limit the study of antiquity to fireside perusal of a few great authors, is so easy and seductive an error, that few are conscious of its narrowness."¹

Critical scholars have too often looked at the drama of antiquity with as little feeling as the chemist or biologist at the human heart. To the latter, man is a matter of blood and bone; to the former, history is but sticks, stones, monuments, dates, all impersonally viewed and coldly adjudicated. But we can not view the chronicle of time's steady footfall impersonally and hope to assimilate it comprehensively. If we might, then we could conceive of such a thing as a thoroughly unbiased history. But as long as man must narrate the processes of contemporaneous life, the impact of his personality will impress itself on the narration which

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1. William Ramsay: The Historical Geography of Asia Minor; Vol. IV for the Royal Geographical Society; Prolegomena, p. 5

transmits his message to posterity.

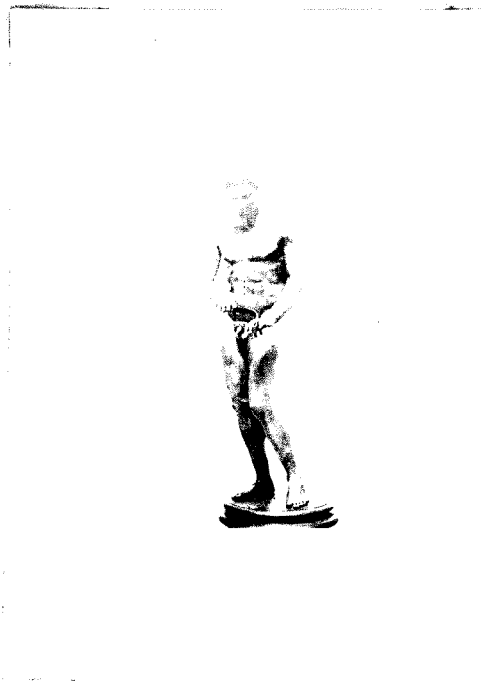
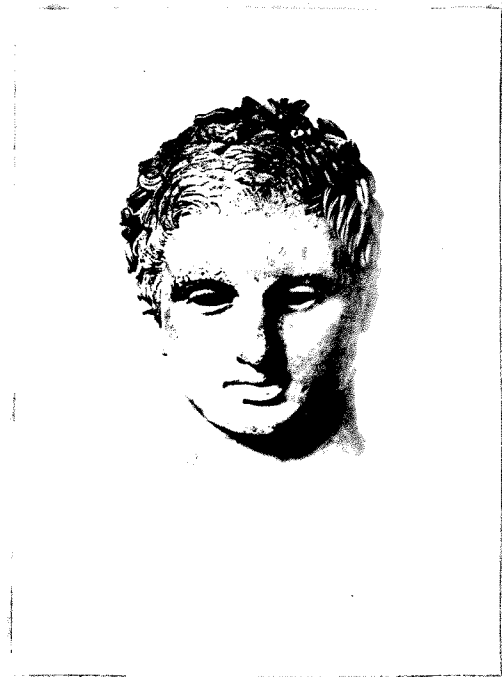
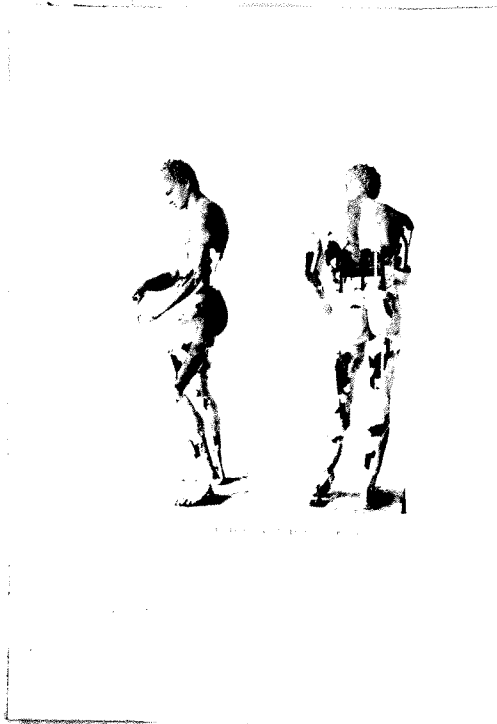
2. The Form and Substance of History

The message of yesterday comes to us perforce by the vehicle of language. But language can never comprehend the full scope of our thoughts. It represents psychological attitudes, it does not exhaust them; it symbolizes psychic processes, it can not fully state them. Language is but the shadow of thought, not its whole content.

Thus history, forged out of human experience, is primarily an intangible thing; thoughts, not words; conceptions, not mere facts. If this be true, then the corollary is inevitable that it can not be approximated by cold, dispassionate logic alone. Hammer Homer out on the steely anvil of the mind and he becomes a purveyor of incredible myths; burn the Iliad in the crucible of pure logic and it dies a corpse inanimate; let the exigencies of humanistic intellectualism tear the Gospel narrative into shredded rags, it leaves nothing but a shadowy figure behind a veil of superstition and delusion.

3. True Validity

We are not disparaging a systematic or scientific approach to history. We are defining its limits, weighing its ability to judge and to discern validity.



Bronze Statue Before and After Restoration
Amid the diversity of fact a principle of unity

We are seeking a norm which will not define authenticity as mere verbatim exactitude. Our standard must be rigid enough to guard us against mere assumption, to insure us against that type of inference which is more ingenious than intelligent. It must also be flexible enough for us to distinguish the substance from the form; to see history on the larger horizon of the mind, as the chronicle of man's total experience in thinking, in seeing, in doing, yea more, in believing.

The story of Ephesus is not for him who will argue ad infinitum about the veracity, in every detail, of a few great authors. It is for the discerning spirit who will find amid the diversity of fact a principle of unity; who will seek the story in the earth, in the stones, as these relate themselves to the whole environment, the total culture, the Weltbilt and Weltanschauung of the age of which these are the chronicle.

4. Conclusion

History is not a mathematical formulation, a mere scientific compendium of data; it is a great symphony. It speaks not as a mere aggregation of voices, a concourse of sound, but as complexity woven into one harmonious chord. Its exposition and development must correlate isolated fact, categorize event, analyze, synthesize; its composition develops the main themes,

and subordinates the minor, until like some magnificent musical score it tells a story, the terminus a quo and terminus ad quem of which we can not fully know till Almighty God Himself shall reveal it.

CHAPTER I
A BRIEF SURVEY
OF
THE TOPOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF ASIA MINOR



CHAPTER I
A BRIEF SURVEY
OF
THE TOPOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF ASIA MINOR

A. Topography

"Topography is the foundation of history."¹

Few men have more right to make this statement than the eminent topographer and historian, the late Sir William Ramsay. A student can not proceed in the study of the geography of Asia Minor without a complete mastery of his works. In content and, more, in method they are his textbooks.

If we are to know the history of Ephesus, its people, culture, and religions, we must be familiar with the land in which the Ephesians lived. Dr. H. T. Kuist writes:

"A philosophy of history will not overlook geography. It was Cousin who stressed the importance of geography in history. He taught, 'Everything in the world has a meaning, nothing is insignificant, and consequently every place represents an idea . . . Given a country you may tell what the people will be, or given a people what sort of country they must inhabit.'"²

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1. Ramsay: Historical Geography of Asia Minor, p. 51
2. Howard T. Kuist: Is a History of the Philosophy of History Worth While? p. 6

If, then, geography can be regarded "as the study of the influence which the physical features and situation of a country exert on the people who live in it,"¹ the following study should reveal much of value in an approximation of the unique character of the history of the Ephesian peoples whose city long stood as the capital of the Roman province Asia.

1. The Term "Asia Minor"

The general geographic name which is now applied to the Turkish Republic, Asia Minor, was not used by classical geographers until the fifth century A.D., nor is it so used today. The name may have arisen as some vague distinction between the larger continent and the Roman province of Asia, which at one time included most of the western part of the peninsula. Geographically, however, the name has a definite significance, for the country is in reality a small Asia with, as we have noted, its sparsely populated interior and closely peopled coastland.

"The name Anatolia (Anadol) is used locally for the part of the peninsula west of the Halys, i.e. with Cappadocia and Pontus. This name appears first in literature in the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th century)."²

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1. W. M. Ramsay: Luke the Physician, p. 105
2. Hogarth, David G.: "Asia Minor"; The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. II; Fourteenth Edition

2. Physical Features of the Land

The physical features of the land are strongly marked; its position is unique and its history can be observed over long centuries; but ever amid infinite variety there is strongly marked unity, "with certain clear principles of evolution, standing in obvious relation to the geographic surroundings."¹

A glance at the map will immediately reveal that the Anatolian peninsula serves as a connecting strip of land between eastern Asia and Europe. It is a bridge over which marched the armies of the East and West in their continued struggle for dominance of the early world. Owing to the great barrier of the Caspian, the Caucasus, and the Black Sea, "all migrations between Asia and Europe must either keep the northern side, through Siberia and Russia, or the southern, along the Anatolian road."² Ramsay continues: "the great mountain wall of Taurus on the southern side of the plateau, has always been the most effectual boundary line in the Anatolian peninsula."³

Though Professor Ramsay believes the Taurus virtually impassable, D. G. Hogarth, with the former a

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1. Ramsay: *Luke the Physician*, p. 105
2. Sir William M. Ramsay: "History and Religion in Asia Minor"; *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. XX, pp. 257-8
3. Ibid.

master geographer by virtue of his extensive travels in the land, feels otherwise. He states that the Taurus is "perhaps the most passable range in the world,"¹ that is, of course, as far as mountain ranges can be considered traversable. The point of difference is very minor and is relative to their positions on historical matters which have no importance for us here.²

From the very beginning, then, this peninsula has been a battlefield where clashing men have enriched the terrain with their blood and where the survivors have deposited a varied mixture of culture. In this area of conflict the civilization of Greece which followed in the wake of Alexander's armies fused with that of the indigenous culture, and when later his troops recrossed the bridge they brought from the treasure of the East the spoils which their conquests had claimed. So always, as each successive wave of contenders for world power crossed the span of Asia, the complexion of its culture changed.

a. A Land of Contrast

The great mass of Asia Minor consists of a low-lying plateau some three to five thousand feet above sea level, around which there is a fringe of coast line

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1. D. G. Hogarth in discussion with Ramsay, in The Geographical Journal, Vol. XX, p. 278
2. Cf. op. cit., pp. 276 ff.

dropping away to the sea. The plateau seems to be the extension of that vast immobile plain of central Asia to the north. The western coasts, along the Aegean, are broken and full of variety, with long projecting arms and prominent capes.

The scenery of the plateau stands in marked contrast to that of the coast. The plateau from the Anti-Taurus westward is a monotonous, rolling plain. The tone everywhere is melancholy, but yet not devoid of that vast spaciousness which plainsmen call its greatest charm and beauty.

The climatic variations are severe. The summers, intolerably hot, are marked by irregular and intermittent rainfall. The winters are long and cold, the more to impress man with his own insignificance in the face of an implacable natural environment. The cold blast of frigid wind and torrid sun have impressed themselves on the character of the legends and religions of the plateau.

"The legends are always sad—Lityerses slain by the sickles of the reapers in the field, Marsyas flayed by the God Apollo, Hylas drowned in the fountain—all end in death during the prime of life and the pride of art."¹

The coast land provides a profound contrast. Here one finds no monotony of contour, but rather an

. . .

1. Ramsay: Historical Geography of Asia Minor, p. 24

keeping the channel clear from these deposits.¹

3. Conclusion

Thus Anatolia is a land of contrast planted in the sea, its great plateaus edged by rugged coast and guarded by high mountains, like some vast battlements to protect its borders. The arena of many struggles for world mastery, it has remained as unconquerable as its rock, as aloof as its far-flung chorus of mountains. Greece and Persia were its antagonists for two centuries and the story of their strife inspired the Iliad and gave the motif for Herodotus' epic history. Rome, Christianity, the Saracen, the Russian, and at last the Turk made their bid for fame. Who will not walk amid the ruins of its ancient glory and fail to see written—Asia Minor, the graveyard of many civilizations, the borrower of many, the cradle perhaps of none.

Here, on the western coast with its affable Mediterranean climate, stood mighty Ephesus. In its famous harbor at Cenchreae there once gathered the proudest fleets of the ancient world. In the confines of the metropolis emperors stood, marvelled and even loved. Here the ingenuity of man bent the sea to serve him, converted a bottomless swamp into a magic carpet on

.

1. Cf. "Asia Minor"; The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. II

which floated Diana's Temple, incredibly huge, exquisitely beautiful.

But the land has ever conquered and played havoc with the machinations of men. Now the harbor walls are swallowed in the sea, the Cayster buries the city with the silt it shovels from the distant plains. The miasmatic exhalations of the swamp have driven the last dwellers from its vicinity, and the marsh has sucked within its maws one of the greatest architectural wonders of the ancient world. Dumb is Diana now, imprisoned perhaps with the ugly image which personified her being, in the mud. The city, the Temple—only their bleached bones remain—and none come to do the Ephesian Diana homage; none sing as of old, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." One recalls the words of our Lord, "And the winds came and the rain fell and beat upon that house—and great was the fall thereof."

B. The History of Asia Minor

The history of Asia Minor has been one of constant variety, startling vicissitudes. Its governments have changed with each new influx of a conquering race, and certainly it can be called the land of change.

From earliest times it has been the arena in which the East and the West have struggled for predominance. Here, unlike in Syria, especially on the western

coasts, it may be said that we find the East westernized. The Seleucidae, though they endeavored for over two hundred fifty years, never quite succeeded in breaking the bonds which fettered the Syrian peoples to their Oriental cultures. In fact, it may be said that in the Levant we find an easternized West. The decay of the Seleucid Empire was due to an impossible compromise. Where it should have purged, it absorbed, finally falling victim to the passions of eastern barbarism which gnawed at its vitals.¹

The coastal regions of Asia Minor enjoyed, amid all its critical upheavals and periodic changes, a more progressive general direction of development toward Occidentalism. Its coast line, with many excellent harbors, has always facilitated the infiltration of moving peoples, predominant among which, especially in the great cities, have been the more aggressive Europeans. Their armies and migrations of emigrants have always moved eastward across the bridge which is Asia Minor. In their wake came their arts, knowledge, new thoughts and new religions.

About 1950 B.C. western Asia Minor appears to have been held by the first dynasty of Hittites. Some

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1. Cf. C. R. Eberhardt: Antioch in Syria—Keystone City of Pauline Missions—As a Strategic Center in the Early Christian Church, ch. II

two centuries later the influx of Aryan races can be seen and the influence of their language on the former is discernible. About 1500 B.C. the ruthless Hittite emerges suddenly as a powerful empire, with their capital at Hatí. They soon were rulers of all Asia Minor and moved to challenge the Egyptians for the right of control of Syria.¹

Much of the subsequent history of the land is shrouded in a veil of uncertainty. We have intimations of the coming of Indo-European races, from various inscriptions which adorn ruins of ancient edifices.² These were in all probability Greeks, who crossed the Hellespont from Europe to Asia, and who with their superior heat-tempered iron weapons defeated the bronze-equipped Hittites. The Indo-Europeans established themselves along the Aegean coast and slowly penetrated into the hinterland. From this stock arose the Phrygian kingdom. Traces of this race can be found in various rock forts, tombs, towns, and in numerous legends retained by the Greeks.

In the eighth century the Cimmerians, coming from Armenia, overran the Phrygian kingdom. We are aware of a second influx of Armenians, but Algattes (617-586 B.C.), a Scythian, was successful in withstand-

.

1. Cf. "Asia Minor"; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed. Vol. II
2. Cf. *ibid.*

ing their attack.

King Croesus of Lydia¹ was successful in subjugating the Greeks of western Asia Minor and was able to establish his jurisdiction as far as the Halys. Although an effort was made to consolidate the Europeans against the intruder it proved vain. Demoralized by luxury and jealous of each other, they could not combine and Persia's victory was complete.²

We are told by ancient Greek historians that in the period preceding Cyrus the Persian the following countries existed in Asia Minor. On the plateau, Phrygia and Cappadocia, with the Halys providing a natural boundary between them. In the north on the coast, Paphlagonia and Bithynia, separated by the Biliacus. On the western coast there were three territories, Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, with the Aeolian, Ionian, and Dorian Greeks occupying the greater part of the seaboard. The southern coast was also subdivided into the three provinces of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia.

The chief cities of these states were Sardis, capital of Lydia; Dascyleium of Bithynia; Gordium in Phrygia, Xanthus of Lycia; Tarsus, of Cilicia; and Caesarea or Mazaea, of Cappadocia. In the Grecian set-

.

1. C. 560-546 B.C.

2. Cf. "Asia Minor"; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed. Vol. II

tlements we find the cities of Miletus, Phocaea, Smyrna, Halicarnassus, and Cnidus on the west; Cyzicus, Hera-clea, Sinope, Amisus, Cerasus, and Trapezus on the north. Ephesus on the Aegean ranked with Smyrna and Halicar-nasus in primary importance among the Grecian settle-ments.¹

The Persians adopted their unique system of satrapies in Asia Minor as they had so successfully in other lands under their sway. There were four of these, but they enjoyed few years of peace. The Greek cities had been allowed to retain native governorship and in-terior tribes were permitted their indigenous aristocracy of petty chiefs and priest dynasts. These proved a source of constant irritation to the unity of Anatolia. The long struggle between Persian and Greek over a period of two centuries finally subsided when the mighty Alexander invaded and conquered Asia Minor.

When Alexander died, his generals were quick to divide his vast and unwieldy kingdom. At length various of his generals established their rule over the greater part of the peninsula. During this period Rhodes became a great maritime republic, and there arose the kingdom of Pergamum.²

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¹ Cf. George Rawlinson; A Manual of Ancient History, p. 29
² Cf. "Asia Minor"; Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. II

Our information regarding this little kingdom is very scant. It ruled Asia Minor within the confines of the Taurus for over half a century; from 228 to 223 and, after the defeat of Antiochus at Magnesia in 190, from 188 to 133.

W. W. Tarn believes that it was an "organized machine for the accumulation of wealth, which from the point of view of Hellenism stood on a lower level than the Seleucid."¹ That this estimation is warranted can not be denied, for we can see that the rulers of Pergamum were consistently friendly to Egypt and invariably resisted any amicable overtures of the Selucidae.

They founded military colonies of the usual type, but depended on mercenary armies to man these posts. Their relations to the Greek cities in their kingdom were clearly exposed at the peace treaty which was consummated after the defeat of Antiochus III, when Rome gave Seleucid Asia Minor to Eumenes II. Rhodes pleaded for the complete freedom of the Greek cities, while Eumenes asked that they be his subjects. Rome compromised, and offered him as subjects all those who had been unfortunate enough to have aided Antiochus. The rest were declared free. Ephesus was one of the cities which fell prey to his greed, and its discontent showed

.

1. W. W. Tarn: Hellenistic Civilisation, p. 142

itself in an intense hatred of Eumenes.

The non-free Greek cities under the Attalids had little autonomy. They were placed under the jurisdiction of a provincial general and were heavily taxed to swell the coffers of their rulers. When some Attalid confiscated the revenues produced by the fisheries in the sacred lake of Artemis at Ephesus he perpetrated a crime which they could never forget.¹

Pergamene power was not long tolerated. Rome was only awaiting a propitious time to strike. Now Ephesus, at the concentration of the eastern trade on the Apamea-Ephesus route, seized greedily upon the chance for revenge which her strategic position afforded. In 132 B.C. her fleet defeated Aristonicus at sea and the way was clear for Rome's entry into Asia.² Thereon, though Pergamum was the formal capital, Ephesus became the chief city, with the treasury and the governor's seat. She had repaid the Attalids whom she hated.³

C. The Culture of Asia Minor

We have endeavored to show how Anatolia, by its very geographical pattern, became the natural battle-

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Cf.

1. Tarn: op. cit., p. 145

2. Cf. "Asia Minor"; Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. II

3. Cf. Tarn: op. cit., pp. 149 ff.

ground of the ancient world. Whether she was more than an intermediary, in the development of the culture of the various peoples who met on her soil, is a question upon which scholars have disagreed.

Ramsay is at least correct in affirming that:

" . . most certain and most typical of Anatolia is its religion, the influence of which on the Greek and Roman world is the one form in which Anatolian influence has been long recognized by modern scholars."¹

One feature of its religion is certainly impressive even to the most cursory examiners. The ordinary idea of God is that He is the Father of all mankind. Here it was the motherhood of divinity which was primary, the male sex playing only a minor part in the drama of religion. It is not fortuitous, thus, that Mariolatry in Christianity should have developed at Ephesus in Asia Minor.²

D. Review

Asia Minor was the stage upon which the immemorial story of conflict between Europe and Asia was enacted. "The central point of that never-ending battle varies from age to age."³

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1. Ramsay: Luke the Physician, p. 128
2. Cf. post, ch. III
3. Ramsay: Luke the Physician, p. 110

From this focus the observer can watch the Greeks as they gather for the siege of Troy, or the Persian as he sweeps across the land to destroy and raze the embattlements of a great empire. We see the great Alexander, invincible, securing the treasure of Asia Minor at one bold stroke; watch the petty Attalids, puppets of the Ptolemy, enjoy prosperity till Rome was ready to pounce again on the choice morsel which would provide entrance into far Asia. As we cast our eyes back there march in successive waves the Arabs, the Crusaders, the Seljuk, and at last the Turk.

None of these conquests was real or complete. The influence of the conquerors passed and died soon after their vigilance grew lax. The mighty efforts of powerful European empires to westernize the land were slowly and finally dissipated until the Oriental character of the interior again asserted itself.

The only movement of abiding significance in Asia Minor, from our point of view, was that of Christianity. Yet even here the generalization must be closely examined. The Christianity of Anatolia was never quite like that of the West, and peculiar sects always flourished there. These in the end enervated the church to such an extent that it fell prey and died the victim of the more virulent faith of Islam.

The city of Ephesus, however, was peculiarly

well fitted to be the sanctuary of Christendom. Here, amid the vicissitudes of complexity, was a distinctly Greek city. For many centuries class differences and clannish custom were at least superficially extirpated. With all the change without, the city remained a religious center whose cult of Diana was of universal appeal.

Here were found the Greek mind, Jewish passion, pagan sentiment; here Paul resided, himself of a Greek environment, by birth a Jew, by inheritance a Roman, through Christ debtor to all men, and found a society especially fitted to deliver Christianity from the womb of provincial Judaism. At cosmopolitan Ephesus came the breaking down of caste and a new world view of Christian brotherhood developed.

Gatekeeper of the bridge over which Christianity passed into Europe, Ephesus remained guardian of the faith until it firmly rooted itself in the West. Where the conqueror's sword failed Christianity was successful. Though the stones of Ephesus be scattered, the character of the city's contribution to the history of the church remains indelibly imprinted on its whole later development.

CHAPTER II

EPHESUS, FIRST CITY OF PROCONSULAR ASIA

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Who shall fully narrate the saga of an irrecoverable past? The validity of the historian's picture depends entirely on the delicacy of intuitional perceptions which he brings to bear on the agenda of facts providing the materials he must use in composition. The mind immured in the age-long aloofness of its cold logic finds the step into the realm of reflection, where the elements must find their correlation, a difficult one.

Thus, the answer to our initial question must of necessity be negative. For the events of past time appear dimly, and we see only that twilight reality which comes from partial sight. As we set our hand to a reconstruction of Diana's Aegean home, the majestic Ephesus, we are not unconscious of the limitations which circumscribe our human ability to accomplish the task. Her glory is now hid behind the veil of forgotten years. Centuries of upheaval of cataclysmic proportion; earthquakes which toppled buildings and cast them into vast earthen fissures; ravaging, barbaric hordes eager to tear down, plunder, and despoil; armies come to burn and to capture; these have levelled the once-proud city. The Cayster, less hurried but as destructively certain,

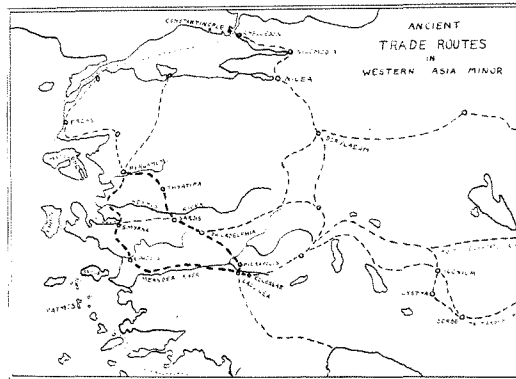
has completed the interrment by shovelling tons of mud and silt over the Ephesian grave.

What is left, a few reliquiae, is the precipitate of a Providence which has ordained that the texts of yesterday, however few, shall abide to tell the dead man's tale.

What is that tale? That races, nations, civilizations and their cities will pass away, leaving an imprint, however faint, on the tablet of time that a coherent story may be told. It is the story of the transiency of the mutable, the permanence of the immutable; the story which points to the one unseen invariable where contingency will at last find its immortality, not in the aspiration of man, but in the counsel of Almighty God.

A. The Location of Ephesus

Ephesus, in the first century the capital of proconsular Asia, lay close by the coast of the Icarian Sea. In a region of volcanic mountains, a tract of country extends to the Aegean. This broad valley is watered by the Hermus and the Meander, streams of life fertilizing the land and the creative abilities of the people that dwelt on the land. Like some subtle magic, these names conjure up the beauty of a never-to-be-



forgotten culture. Here, some six hundred years before Christ, among the Ionians, appeared the first blossoms of Grecian art and literature.

"Homer sang the deeds of the Trojan heroes and the return of Ulysses, and Anacreon the light, momentary joys of the heart; . . . Mimnermus bewailed the rapid flight of youth and love; . . . Thales, Anaximenes, and Anaximander first woke the spirit of philosophical inquiry concerning the origin, meaning, and end of existence."¹

Along with Antioch in Syria and Alexandria in Egypt, Ephesus was one of the great metropolae of the Eastern Roman Empire. A series of excellencies, of topography and climate, conspired to make the site of Ephesus preëminent among the cities of Asia Minor.

Herodotus says of the cities of the Ionians, all notably situated, with access to the world by waterway, or by road to the interior land routes: οἱ ἰωνεὶς τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγχανον ἰδρυσάμενοι πόλιν πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν —1.142; and Strabo says of Ephesus: Ἡ πόλις τῇ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα εὐκαιρίᾳ τῶν τόπων ἀξέεται καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐμπόριον οὕσα μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἐντὸς Ταύρου —xiv.²

"Of the three great river basins of Ionia and Lydia, those of the Herm s, Caÿster and Maeander, it commanded the second, and had access by easy passes to the other two."³

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1. Philip Schaff: History of the Apostolic Church, p. 278
2. Quoted from W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson: The Life and Epistles of St. Paul, p. 18, n. 4
3. David G. Hogarth: "Ephesus"; Encyclopaedia Britannica, Fourteenth Edition, Vol. VIII

From the beginning Ephesus competed with Miletus for the trade which reached the Aegean port cities for destinations in Europe or Asia. Owing to the configuration of the coast and of the valley, the line from the Lycus down the Meander and across the mountains by pass was shorter by many miles than the line down the Meander to Miletus.¹

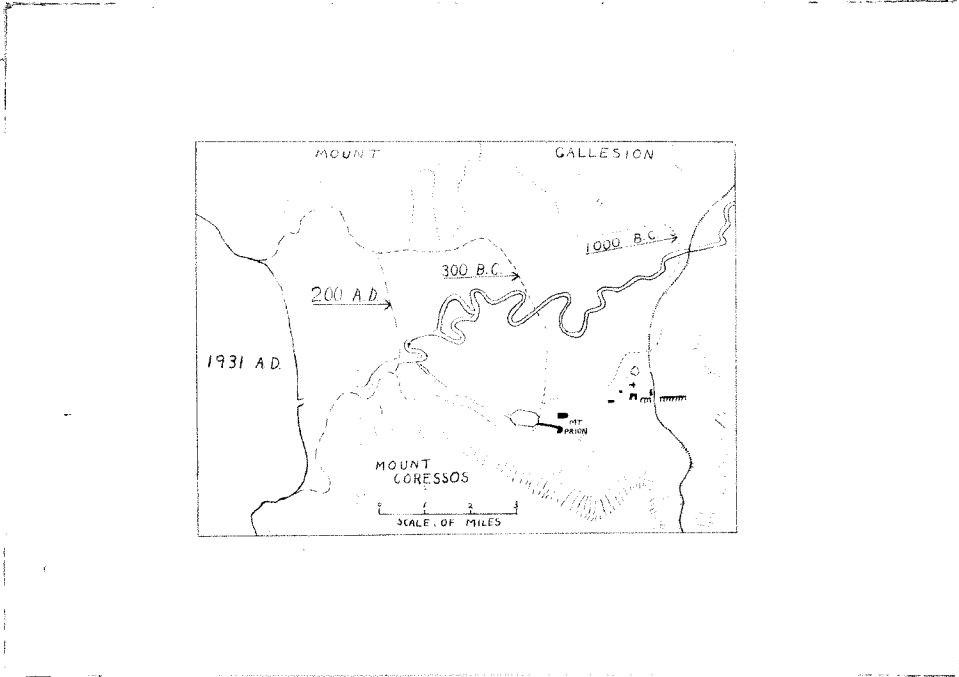
The thoroughly Greek character and industry of the people of Miletus, combined with a superior natural harbor, gave them the advantage in early times; but later the Greek kings and Roman emperors gave their patronage to Ephesus, and thus its supremacy was secured. Miletus also suffered because of the silting up of its harbor by the Meander.

Thus Ephesus stood on the great line of trade between Rome and the East, where many side roads from the north and south converged. Coasting ships and lumbering caravans brought a motley group of travelers into the city. It was a regular stop for those who were en route to Rome.² Similarly, those who journeyed from Rome to other parts of the province were obliged to pass through Ephesus. It was a regulation that Roman governors must land here on their way to the provinces, for a system of

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1. Cf. W. M. Ramsay; "Ephesus"; A Dictionary of the Bible, James Hastings, ed., Vol. I

2. Cf. Acts 19:21, 20:1, 17; I Timothy 1:3; II Timothy 4:12



MAP

Showing Recession of the Sea from the City's Site

roads afforded easy entrance into every part of Asia.¹

1. The Harbor

The connection of the city's harbor with the sea depended on the proper clearing of the Cayster channel. The river, which drains a valley of fertile alluvial soil, carried much silt in its water and deposited it toward its mouth as its current slackened and weakened. The distance from Ephesus to the sea in ancient times was approximately three miles, but we are told that the channel was navigable, at least for smaller vessels.² So it remained for many centuries, until, with the passing of Roman power, the great task of dredging necessitating constant care and vigilance was given up, the sea receded, and the harbor became again the marsh it once had been.³

Evidences of the city piers may still be seen

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1. Cf. Ramsay: "Ephesus"; A Dictionary of the Bible, James Hastings, ed., Vol. I
2. Cf. J. McKee Adams: Biblical Backgrounds, p. 421. Note: Wood, in contradiction to earlier writers, who give the distance as three miles, states: "The city port was fully four miles from the sea, which has not, as has been supposed, receded far, if at all from the ancient seaboard. This fact is proved by the extensive remains of the massive stone embankment on the north bank of the river Cayster, which I succeeded in tracing, without difficulty, to a distance within 400 yards of the present seaboard." J. T. Wood: Discoveries at Ephesus, p. 4
3. Cf. H. V. Morton: In the Steps of St. Paul, p. 376

in the swamp and in the immediate vicinity of the ancient town; foundation stones of the municipal wharf, where vessels received their cargoes, are still in situ, while the dim outlines of ancient canals from the city and temple area can be followed to the channel of the river Cayster.

Strabo makes mention of the blunder of King Attalus' (159-138 B.C.) engineers which increased the tendency of the river to choke up.

"The city has an arsenal and a harbor; the entrance of the harbor was made narrow, by order of the king, Attalus Philadelphus, who, as well as the engineers who constructed it, was disappointed at the result. The harbor was formerly shallow, on account of the embankment of earth accumulated by the Cayster; but the King supposing that there would be deep water for the entrance of large vessels of burden if a mole (probably a breakwater) were thrown up before the mouth of the river, which was very wide, gave orders for a construction of a mole; but a contrary effect was produced, for the mud, being confined within the harbor, made the whole of it shallow to the mouth. Before the construction of the mole, the ebb and flow of the sea cleared the mud away entirely by forcing it seaward."¹

Such, then, was the nature of the harbor upon which the importance of Ephesus as a great commercial mart depended. When, as we have shown, it was not properly maintained, the city's importance decayed, its qualification as a seaport at an end.

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1. Strabo: Geography, Vol. III, XIV.1.24

2. The City's Origin

"Of the origin and foundation of Ephesus we have no historical record."¹ Legends, some with the mark of credibility, abound and give intimations of the reasons for the choice of the city's site. In historic times it was situated on the lower slopes of the hills, Coressus and Prion, which rise out of the fertile Cayster river valley.²

"Among the earliest inhabitants, the Phoenicians introduced their religion, and the people worshipped the symbol of the moon" as their goddess.³ Clark does not give the source from which he derives this information and little credence can be given to his conclusion that the religion of Aegean Asia Minor was of Phoenician origin.⁴ With Ramsay, we have noted the peculiar characteristic of ascribing the creative prerogative to a female divinity.⁵ Thus Svoboda, in accepting the more common mythological story which is handed down to us by Strabo, more closely approximates a correct theory of the religious origin of the city.

"the foundation of Ephesus dates from the era of . . . Hellenic tribes; and it is from Ortygia, the

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1. Wood: Discoveries at Ephesus, p. 132
2. Cf. translation of extract from Josef Keil, post, pp. 40-64
3. Cf. Francis E. Clark: The Holy Land of Asia Minor
4. Cf. post, Chapter III, Part A, "The Religions of Asia Minor"
5. Cf. idem

birthplace of Diana, a dependency of the city, that it acquired its origin and celebrity."¹

Svoboda refers us to Strabo who says:

"On the same coast also (as Ephesus), at a little distance from the sea, is Ortygia, a fine wood, with trees of all kinds, but with cyprus in the greatest abundance. Through this wood flows the river Cenchrius, in which Latona is said to have bathed after the birth of her child: for here is laid the scene of the birth of the child, the caves of the nurse Ortygia, the cave in which the birth took place, the neighboring olive tree under which the goddess first reposed when the pains of childbirth had ceased."²

Here, out of the bowels of the earth which gave her the form but of which she was the life and energy, came Diana. Here she slew Orion,³ and asked of Mount Coressus, "Whose place is this?" and received the reply, "Thine, O maiden." Thereupon Diana allowed her image to fall from the bosom of Jupiter to be placed at the base of Mount Coressus whose answer had won her favor. That this myth was popular in Saint Paul's time is shown by the mayor's address in Acts 19:35:

"Men of Ephesus, who is there, I ask you, who needs to be told that this city of Ephesus is the Temple-Keeper of the great Diana, and of the statue which fell from Jupiter?"⁴

The rites attending the worship of Diana are said by Strabo to have been ordained by the Amazon

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1. M. A. Svoboda: The Seven Churches of Asia, p. 15
2. Strabo: Geography, Vol. III, XIV.1.20
3. Cf. William Burnet Wright: Cities of St. Paul, p. 31
4. The Twentieth Century New Testament, loc. cit.

Smyrna, who found and placed the image in a rustic temple, formed in the trunk of a large tree. His description is as follows:

"Smyrna was an Amazon, who, obtained possession of Ephesus. From her the inhabitants of the city (of Smyrna) derived their name, in the same manner as the Ephesians were called Sisyrbitae from Sisyrba."¹

So it was that the site of Diana's Temple was chosen, but beyond this myth we have no knowledge of how the city which grew up around it came into being. When the Ionians, a thousand years before Christ, came to the Aegean coast they were no doubt attracted to this locality where on the upper Caystrian meadows, "partly on the detached circular eminence of Mount Prion—and partly on the plain itself, near the windings of the Cayster,"² they found a site of great natural advantage where the level plain from the interior met the open sea, affording ingress and egress for their wanderings.

3. The Exact Site of the City

The first light, in modern times, thrown on the topography of Ephesus, its site and extent, came with the excavations of Mr. J. T. Wood. He was later followed by Austrian archaeologists, but so far the work has not progressed beyond the removal of the soil of the Roman

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1. Strabo: Geography, Vol. III, XIV.1.20
2. Conybeare and Howson: op. cit., p. 70

city. We therefore know little of the ancient city. The extant writings of ancient historians are exasperatingly vague and conflicting as regards the exact location of Ephesus and its famous Temple.

Thus, in an endeavor to bring new material on the question before the reader, it has been deemed advisable to present, in the following pages, a translation of an article which treats the earlier history and especially the topography of the city.¹

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1. The author wishes that his personal command of German, in which this account is written, were more fluent. He is fully aware of the fact that this translation, made in conjunction with a German friend, is often rendered too literally to be easily read and digested. It is hoped that this deficiency will not be construed as inaccuracy of content. The translators have, in all cases, remained faithful to the import of the text. For the purposes of this thesis the Greek has been deleted wherever it added no new light to the argument and was advanced only as corroboration of assertion. Again, where the author, Keil, indulges in disputations which are of no value in the matter before us, they have been omitted.

"The Topography and History of Ephesus"

by

Josef Keil

From: Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen
Archaeologischen Instituts in Wien; Band 21-22.

In his introduction to the first volume of Researches in Ephesus, Otto Benndorf made efforts to develop the foundations of that city's history from tradition and from the picture of the landscape. He called this an effort which would always have to be repeated anew, if truly historical results were to be obtained. If I in the following make another attempt, in a manner different from his, and seek to bring into harmony our tradition and the location of the ancient Ionic city, based upon my familiarity with the topography obtained through long years of residence there, I arrive at the conclusion that Benndorf erroneously placed it upon the hill Ayasoluk. Yet I am fully aware of the fact that I too am greatly indebted to Benndorf for stimulation and information.¹

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1. Since Benndorf, L. Buerchner and G. Radet have written about the topography of Ephesus without decided progress. R. Heberday never agreed with Benndorf's placing the old Ionic city upon mount Ayasoluk, and in particular E. Petersen disagreed in this respect with Benndorf in a lecture before the Archaeological Society of Berlin. In his own discussion of the topographic problems in *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum*, XIII, 1906, pp. 713ff., which is

The fundamental statements as to the city's history are to be found in Strabo.¹ According to these, Strabo clearly shows three periods in the development of the city, separated by changes in the location, which in the following discussion will be named the old Ionic, the Greek, and the Lysimachic cities. The location of the Lysimachic city and its extent are very definitely known to us through the wall surrounding it. This wall is to a large degree extant to this day. Beginning with the mighty tower on the shore of the sea, up to the saddle between the heights of the Panajirdagh,² its location is known almost without a break. From there on, however, the wall exists only in a later reconstruction. There can be no doubt, however, that as far as the stadium the newer wall followed, fairly exactly, the line of the old fortification, and that from there on to the harbor, approximately at least, it followed the lines of the Lysimachic construction.

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in many respects a step forward, he also failed to give a clear understandable conception of the location of the ancient Ionic city. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff called Benndorf's construction "a violation of the entire good tradition," while R. Herzog points out the difficulties encountered and states that a better solution of the problem has not as yet been found.

1. XIV.1.20; cf. ante, p. 37

2. Panajirdagh and Bulbuldag are Turkish names for the two hills (dag) which mark the topography of Ephesus.

The location of the Greek city can not be placed so positively, but the words of Strabo also give us splendid leads. According to him it was situated in the lower territory surrounding the Artemision, and its principal parts were particularly exposed to innundations caused by the torrential brooks after cloud-bursts. The Cayster, which rises very gradually, formed no danger point in this respect. Thus it is shown that the city did not incorporate mount Ayasoluk, and that it must have adjoined the Artemision district toward the south, for of the swiftly flowing brooks¹ only one of the two Selenutes runs northward of the temple, while the others, the Selenus and the Marnas, coming from the Derwendere hills passed the Hieron on the south and flooded the valley in antiquity—as they do now after a heavy rainfall. A small uncertainty remains, inasmuch as we do not know whether the center of the Greek city was more to the southeast, the south, or the southwest of the Artemision.

The extent of the Greek settlement must have been very considerable. With the destruction of the southerly rival Miletus, the position of Ephesus as the maritime gateway to Sardis, the capital of Greek Asia Minor, had caused the city to prosper greatly as early

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1. Small streams in the vicinity of the Artemision (Tr.).

as the fifth century B.C. This fact is attested by the large contribution of funds made by Ephesus to the Attic maritime alliance. During the Peloponⁿesian War, Ephesus attained prominence as headquarters of Lysandros, and later, during the warfare of the Spartans against the Persians, as principal depot for weapons of war of Derkidas, Agesilaos, and Thibron. The continued interruption of connection with the hinterland after the peace of Antalkidas, as is shown also by its coinage, was equally important for the sacred places as for the harbor and contributed to the further growth and prosperity of the city. It remains uncertain whether we should consider the Greek Ephesus as surrounded by a wall or as an unguarded city. Its location undoubtedly frequently endangered it, particularly after it joined the Attic maritime alliance; and later, when it was the pivotal point during the struggles between the Spartans, Athenians, and Persians. These circumstances seem to indicate that the city was surrounded by a wall in this period, which must also have included the Artemision.

An exact conception of the location and the extent of the Greek city, in so far as possible, is also important in the establishment of the location and extent of the ancient Ionic city, inasmuch as Strabo's report does not claim a complete territorial separation of the two settlements. According to his description, the old

Ionic city and the Hypolaios spring were chiefly in the valley and surrounded the Athenaion only in part, extending to the hillsides surrounding Coressus. Insofar as the city was in hilly territory, it was surrendered by Croesus. On the other hand, Strabo does not mention the surrender at this time of those parts of the settlement located in the valley. His words, therefore, permit the assumption of a certain continuity of the settlement in that the people living on the hillsides joined those occupying the lower areas, and in this manner the gap originally existing between the Ionic city and the Artemision is explained.

The size of this gap is known to us exactly, thanks to a particularly valuable definition by Herodotus. He reports that the Ephesians, besieged by Croesus, realized the futility of further resistance and dedicated their city to Artemis by stretching a rope from the Temple to the city wall.¹ The fact that Benndorf attempted to set aside this perfectly clear statement, through an artificial interpretation, in order to uphold his contention that the ancient Ionic city was located on the Ayasoluk hill, is the best proof of his error. In order to utilize Herodotus' definition in establishing the location of the ancient city we have only to use a

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1. Herodotus, I, 26.5

radius of seven stadia (approximately 1150.6 meters) to describe a circle around the Artemision, and then, if possible, to find where the periphery of this circle touched the old city, taking into consideration the conditions of the terrain and the points left us by tradition.

By considering a sketch of the terrain, it becomes clear that the ancient town was located on the shore of the sea arm and included both valley and mountain slopes. Thus it can not be looked for in a northwesterly, northerly, northeasterly, or easterly direction from the Artemision, for such directions would have been contrary to the conditions previously outlined for a settlement. Neither can it be assumed to have been in a direct southwesterly direction, for in such a position it would have been necessary for it to roost on the heights of the Panajir. This would have made of it a definitely mountain town without immediate access to the sea. Thus there remain only the two possibilities of it having been located either to the westward or southward of the Temple.

Inasmuch as a city west of the Temple, in the sixth century B.C., seven stadia distant from the shrine of Artemis, would have touched the sea, a settlement to the south of the Artemision could only have touched the shore if the reach of the sea had been extended that far

inland. But this would be incredible. It would also be difficult to harmonize such a conception with the description of the removal of the city given by Strabo, inasmuch as a removal from the vicinity of the Temple in a southerly direction could have been possible only if there were land in that direction, but certainly not if the sea raged there.

How, then, does the rest of tradition coincide with the deductions derived from the conditions of the terrain, from Strabo's principal report, and from the definition by Herodotus?

The Athenaion and the Hypelaios spring, which Strabo mentioned as being within the Ionic city, are mentioned only twice elsewhere, in Strabo and in Kreophylos.¹ Their exact location can not be found in tradition, but one point is made which may lead us to the location of both the sacred place and the spring. The Athenaion was outside of the Lysimachic city, and the Hypelaios at the port, which at the time of Kreophylos was called "the sacred one." If we consider the distance mentioned by Herodotus as seven stadia between the Artemision and the ancient city, the Athenaion can only have been north or east of the Panajirdagh, that is, we can only choose a general location near the stadium or in the valley

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depression south of the Artemision. The sacred port of Kreophylos is not mentioned elsewhere, but its name points toward the vicinity of the Temple. In the vicinity of the stadium the only place that can be considered is the low ground to the north of this building, to the north of the present roadway, which may have extended close to the western extremity of the city. The spring Hypelaïos, so important for the location of the settlement, may have bubbled forth from the edge of the Panajir or out of the valley.

It is inconceivable that Bendorf thought this spring an outlet of an aqueduct of the Marnas canyon, which could not have been in existence at the time of the foundation of Ionic Ephesus. The existence of this spring undoubtedly was one of the principal reasons why a settlement around it was undertaken.

No name has brought more confusion into the topography of Ephesus than that of Coressus. Formerly it was generally assumed that in antiquity it meant the long mountainous stretch which rises abruptly and ruggedly to the south of the Lysimachic city, and the very crest of which appears as a long continuation of the city wall. This conception was very badly upset when Wood found the famous fragment of the Salutarian inscription in the ruins of the theater.

According to this inscription, the great pro-

cession of the festival of Diana coming from the Artemision was received by the Ephesians at the Magnesian gate, and after the celebration at the theater was escorted by them as far as the Coressian gate on the return to the Temple.¹

These two great names made clear that only gates of the wall of the Lysimachic city could be meant, and that the procession returned to the Artemision by another route than the one by which it had left the Temple. It also became convincing to everyone familiar with the Ephesian landscape that only those two roads could be considered which are at the service of the visitor at this day, one of which skirts the Panajirdagh to the south and southeast, the other to the north.

The former road enters the city through the gate through which runs the street leading to Magnesia by the sea, and which therefore can be recognized with certainty as the Magnesian gate of the inscription. The other road passes the city wall at the eastern end of the stadium, so that Wood's Coressian gate can confidently be assumed to have been there.²

A gate located in the city wall, near the stadium, could not have been known by the ancient name of

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1. Cf. Forschungen in Ephesos, Band II, 137, No. 27, p. 423

2. Cf. Wood: Discoveries at Ephesus, pp. 81 and 116

the present-day Bulbuldagh (Prion), for there is scarcely a single spot in the entire city territory which is farther away from the Bulbul than this one. Wood was not justified in exchanging the two names of the mountain chains of the city to avoid this difficulty. Aside from this, it is difficult to imagine that the name specifying the entire mountainous stretch should have been applied to a gate at the northern edge of the town. If one wishes to retain the former application of these names there could be no possibility of locating the site of the Coressic gate.

Excavations conducted by Knoll and myself in 1912 proved that there never has been a gate in the city wall facing the Bulbuldagh, the wall continuing uninterruptedly to the shore where it ended in a massive tower. This also proves that the name Coressus can not have meant either the Panajirdagh or the Bulbuldagh. Neither can it have been applied to one of the two separate hills within the city proper. This result, however surprising at first glance, does not conflict with our tradition, but merely justifies the data given by it, as will now be shown. Strabo states that Androclus built the city about the Athenaion and the spring Hype-laïos and also included in it the slopes of the mountains surrounding the Coressus, which at another point he placed as above the Coressus. According to Kreophylos,

the oldest settlement consisted of the Tracheia and the district on or toward the Coressus. Inasmuch as he in his account pictures the legendary boar as fleeing along the hill Tracheia, this can only be understood to mean that the Tracheia, as is indicated by the meaning of the word, meant that part of the settlement on the hillsides, the upper town; while the lower town, in the valley, adjoined the harbor. Therefore, instead of connoting the idea of mountain with Coressus, it evidently meant distinctly a lower section located in the valley, which on at least one side bordered on higher ground.

According to Herodotus' report, the Ionians during their coup against Sardis, in the year 498 B.C., sailed with their fleet to Ephesus, left their vessels in the Ephesian Coressus, and marched inland. Therefore Coressus meant, to Herodotus, either a harbor or a settlement adjoining it in Ephesian territory. How is it possible to think of a mountain in this connection?

In the year 409 B.C., the Athenian strategist Trasylos, attempted an assault upon the city of Ephesus which was defended by Tisaphernes.¹ Xenophon describes the result of this undertaking as follows. Trasylos landed his hoplites at Coressus, his cavalry, peltards, and other ships' crews near the swamp on the other side

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1. Xenophon: Hellenica I.2,6

of the city, and let the two wings of his army advance at daybreak against the city. Tissaphernes and his allies, who had learned of the invasion, first attacked the hoplites in the Coressus, drove them to flight killing about a hundred, and then turned against the others near the swamp inflicting a crushing defeat upon them. Then they erected trophies in commemoration of their victory on both scenes of conflict, near the swamp and on the Coressus. This description by Xenophon also shows clearly that Coressus did not designate a hill but either a harbor or its adjacent land.

If we try to get a conception of the locality from the accounts of the Trasylos expedition, we must take into consideration the fact that the city at that time surrounded the Artemision, principally in a southerly direction as previously shown. The port of Coressus can not be sought to the south of the Temple, inasmuch as the sea can not have reached that far inland four centuries before the Christian era. If one were, nevertheless, to insist upon the other designation of Coressus, mentioned in a preceding paragraph, he would have to assume that Trasylos, whose attack undoubtedly was planned as a surprise, would have had to sail his ships to within sight of the city. But even now, west of the Artemision at the foot of the Panajirdagh and northward of the eastern end of the stadium, there is a stretch of

deeply depressed ground which may easily be conceived to have been the location of the anchorage, and which fits in perfectly with the description of the attempt by Trasylos. It leads us directly to the spot where, according to the Salutaris inscription, the Coressian gate must have been. At a later period there may have been, conceivably, a somewhat more easterly location of that gate, but there is nothing to indicate that the histories of the founding of the city by Kreophylos, and the writings of Strabo, are in error.

With the progressive filling up of the gulf, the old anchorage naturally disappeared and became land. It is therefore easy to understand that in later reports a city quarter was referred to by the name Coressus. A passage in Pausanias¹ is particularly important, for it gives us a conception of this quarter in relation to the Lysimachic city. The Periget was particularly impressed in Olympia by the dedicatory inscription on a statue of Zeus erected by the Chersonesians in Knidos. He states that the Knidian Chersonese was an island situated in front of the mainland where the larger part of the city was built, and connected with this land by a bridge. If the inhabitants of the island erected a statue for themselves, it could be possible that the people of the

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1. Pausanias: V.24,7

Coressus also dedicated a shrine for themselves, separately from the rest of the city. This comparison has found a partial substantiation in the Anabasis, which, if it is correct, means that the inhabitants of Coressus in Ephesus belonged to the demos of the city.¹ Yet their domicile must have been outside of the wall surrounding the Lysimachic city, thus being conspicuously separated and forming a suburb. This also fits the description of the location of a settlement in the valley north or northeast of the stadium and very satisfactorily explains the name of the Coressic gate which, it seems must have been the gate leading to the Coressus quarter.

The other references to the Coressus can be disposed of quickly. The rhetor Aristides takes one of the many baths, prescribed for him by Asklepios, in the gymnasium, which possibly may be sought in a building situated to the north of the stadium. This building, which rested upon a mighty substructure of vaults, has not yet been thoroughly explored. E. Falkener, in Ephesus and the Temple of Diana, gives a plan of it and calls it a gymnasium. Wood considers it "a tyrant's palace," and F. Adler took it to have been the headquarters of a high Roman official, probably the Governor of Asia. Its location close to the stadium seems to bear

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1. Jahreshefte XVIII, 1915 supplement, p. 282

this out. Stephanos of Byzans speaks of a town of Coressus in Ephesian territory, and Pausanias¹ states that Autochton Coressus, together with Ephesus the son of Cayster, founded the Temple of Artemis. This Autochton Coressus is pictured upon a coin of Machrinos as welcomed by Androclus, taking the other's hand across the body of the slain boar. Evidently the artist fashioning this coin did not look upon Coressus as a mountain, for in his personification he does not depict him as a mountain deity; rather, when we examine the second inscription speaking of a pavement, he evidently refers to a city quarter and not to a mountain.

The only place where there is actual mention of a Mount Coressus, which therefore principally led to the confusion in the Ephesian topography and the wrong conception of the location of the ancient Ionian city, is in Diodorus' report of the campaign of the Spartan strategist Thibron against the Persians in the year 391 B.C. While Xenophon² tells that Thibron used Ephesus and the places Priene, Leukophrys, and Achilleion in the Meander valley as bases for his marauding forays into the country of the Great King, Diodorus lets him occupy the place Jonda and a high hill named Cores-

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1. Pausanias: VII.2,7

2. Xenophon: Hellenica, IV.8,17

sus forty stadia distant from Ephesus. We can no longer ascertain how far Diodorus' report is reliable, but it is perfectly clear that a mountain forty stadia, or approximately seven kilometers, from Ephesus can not have meant either the Panajirdagh or the Bulbuldagh, and can have no connection with the anchorage of the ancient city which was only seven stadia distant from the Artemision, or a place near the stadium of the Lysimachic city.

Inasmuch as we know of places called Coressus or Coresia, outside of Ephesian territory, it is possible that the name applied to another place outside of Ephesus as the hill which Thibron considered a suitable base for his operations against the Great King. According to another tradition the scene of these operations was the Meander valley, and one may assume that the Aladagh, which is about forty stadia from Ephesus, dominating the passes leading from that direction, the steepest and most commanding mountain in the entire vicinity, is the hill referred to.

Having utilized all reports referring to the Athenaion, the spring Hypelaios, and the Coressus, we have now to attempt to locate the places meant by the traditional names of Tracheia and Lepre Akte.

According to Strabo, Tracheia meant that part

of the ancient Ionic city built by Androclus upon the mountain slopes. This fits in with Kreophylos' report of the boar which was startled up near the spring Hype-laïos and ran along the hill called Tracheia before it was killed near the Athenaion. After what we have learned of the location of the Coressus, the Tracheia must have designated a part of the Panajirdagh or Prion.

The bronze coin of Severus Alexander discussed in detail by Imhoof-Blumer¹ shows a mountain deity sitting toward the left, its upper body nude and crowned with a wreath, holding aloft in its right hand an image of Artemis Ephesia, the left hand holding a cornucopia. Behind and above the deity the ridge of a mountain is depicted, upon which the fatally wounded boar is fleeing toward the right. This conforms completely with the tradition, according to which the mountain god saw the slaying of the boar by Androclus in the latter's domain.

It may be a sort of proof of the correctness of my findings that they harmonize with the oldest topographical description we possess.

According to Strabo there existed in the Ephesian territory a settlement called Smyrna, located between the Tracheia and the Lepre Akte. As Strabo quotes verses of the poet Hipponax, a native Ephesian,

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1. Jahreshefte III, 1888, p. 294

he may be credited with positive correctness.

The gymnasium of Strabo is generally assumed to have been an imposing structure, the lofty ruins of which are in part still standing near the Magnesian gate as previously mentioned. Based upon the fragmentary quotation from Hipponax and Strabo's commentary, it is generally believed that Lepre Akte meant the southern part of the Panajirdagh or its eastern slope, and in this connection to consider the Tracheia to have been either the entire chain of the Bulbuldagh, or its eastern portion, or even an eminence of the Aladagh, is not compatible with the geographical characteristics of the Bulbuldagh.

Knowing that Tracheia was the name of that part of the city founded by Androclus which stood upon the slopes of the Panajirdagh, it may also have been used as a designation of that entire mountain chain. Thus it is clear that Lepre Akte was the ancient name of the Bulbuldagh which extended far toward the sea. Furthermore, it would be difficult to find a better characterization of this mountain than Strabo's. If the geographer states that even in his time there were plots of land back of the Lepre Akte, designated as located in the Opistheolepreia, they were not to the east of the Panajir, but to the southward of the Bulbul, where to this day one finds fields, orchards, and grazing land

as well.

Thus, having located all the places traditionally mentioned in connection with old Ephesus, we now have to concern ourselves with the location of the ancient Ionic city—insofar as it can be learned from the foregoing array of testimony.

As mentioned several times, a location seven stadia west or west-southwest from the Artemision, that is, about in the vicinity of the stadium, appears best to conform to the indications of tradition. The port Coressus, north or northeast of that structure, extended possibly in the direction of the Artemision. The level part of the city may have been to the west of the stadium, while the hilly part stretched along the northwestern slopes of the Panajirdagh. If the settlement were to be able to defend itself—an absolute necessity for the ancient Ionic city—not only the isolated mount west of the stadium (itself suitable for a splendid small acropolis, but insufficient for the protection of the city) but also the entire slope of the Panajir up to its northern height had to be included in the ring of the city wall. This is indicated by the tradition that Androclus included the entire heights around the Coressus and the Tracheia in the city's defensive structure.

Until now no characteristic remnants of archaic time have been discovered within this space, but neither

have they been sought with the necessary care and thoroughness, because the ancient city was assumed to have been located elsewhere. Upon the isolated rocky height which Schindler's map designated as a stone quarry, and also on the hill west of the stadium which on its center shows the foundation of a circular structure, many traces of rock work can be seen, but they in themselves are timeless and may just as easily date back to great antiquity or may have been of Roman origin. The entire surroundings of the stadium and the ruins to the north have experienced such structural changes during the Roman period that all definable traces of previous centuries have been obliterated. In the level part of the ancient city we can not expect to find ruins of buildings reaching up through the surface of the cultivated farm land. Whatever is left there is under ground, as was the Artemision before Wood's excavation uncovered it. It may be assumed that the slopes of the Panajirdagh were occupied very closely, and whatever structures were there in all probability were poor, primitive dwelling places. The materials of which they were built may have been utilized elsewhere during the migrations after the siege by Croesus, as well as for later burial places. Even if the location of the ancient city assumed here should prove erroneous, the placing of the city by Benndorf upon the Ayasoluk hill would still be impossible. In such

case it would only be possible to assume that the ancient city was built in the valley south of the Artemision, where in my Ephesosführer I thought it had been. This placement has a certain support in the location of the grave of Androclus, according to Pausanias.¹ The exact location of that grave is unknown, as is the spot where the Olympieion stood. Wood, in Discoveries at Ephesus, places the grave in a building about half way between the Artemision and the Magnesian gate, but the correctness of this is doubtful. My change of opinion as to the location of the Ionic city is based upon tradition, which does not conform to the earlier opinion or to the topographical peculiarities of the vicinity.

The eastern slopes of the Panajirdagh, which apparently would have to be looked upon as the location of the hilly part of the settlement, do not show the slightest traces of the ancient settlement, not even of rock workings, which evidently would have to have been undertaken in the building of houses or walls. The level portions of the valley trough have not yet been sufficiently investigated. Yet, about two hundred meters east-northeast of the Magnesian gate, three testing trenches have been excavated with not the slightest trace of archaic fragments. A deep well, dug by the own-

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1. Pausanias; VII.2,9

er of a fig orchard about nine hundred meters north of this spot, also failed to show such fragments. I am not taking these observations as conclusive evidence, but they seem to me to form some basis for the assumption that the ancient city was not located here.

A decisive factor in locating the Ionic city was the necessity of its direct access to the sea, as shown by the saga of the founding of the city given by Kreophyles. Thus the port of the city had to be located within the city wall in order to assure the Greek colonists of an open road to the sea in case the people of the interior should prove hostile. A city on the top of the Ayasoluk hill, as pictured by Benndorf, could never have given such assurance, even if the sea at that time did come close to the area occupied by the Artemision. In such a case that hill would have lost its strategic importance, inasmuch as its defensive wall would have to have been placed atop of the hill. In connection with this it may be pointed out that neither on top of that hill nor at its base is drinking water available. The location of ancient Ephesus proposed by us above would have given a guarantee of accessibility to the sea in that splendid manner represented by other ancient Ionic cities such as Miletus and Old Smyrna.

When the Greek colonists under Androclus entered the bay, the vicinity was sparsely settled by an

agricultural population, and the newcomers chose the north slopes of the Panajirdagh as the site of their settlement, giving them a harbor protected against storm, containing good spring water, and making possible the erection of a protecting city wall. Thus defense was easy, and in case of a siege an open way to the sea was assured.

Aside from this Ionic city there existed another settlement called Smyrna between the Panajirdagh and the eastern part of the Bulbuldagh, which, it appears to me, had supplanted a pre-Greek, perhaps Karic settlement. It is possible that Smyrna was older than the city founded by Androclus, and that it was occupied by a mixed population of Greeks and barbarians as farmers, while the Ephesians depended upon their commerce and shipping for sustenance.

After the siege by Croesus, the Ephesians had to give up their fortifications. This led to the abandonment of their possessions on the mountain slopes, which were uncomfortable at best. The Greek city during the Persian time spread out in the valley about the port of Coressus, which remained in use, and also in the vicinity of the Artemision, which by that time had attained great fame. Then, as the silt deposits washed down from the mountains, and the dune-forming action of the sea obliterated the harbor, a far-seeing ruler,

Lysimachus, compelled a removal of the city to a more advantageous location nearer to the sea, against the wishes of the people, who wanted to stick to their ground. His action brought the commerce of the city to prosperity and assured its existence for another thousand years.

When the people no longer had the strength to keep the harbor clear, the city, endangered by the miasmatic, fever-laden evaporation of the swamp, deteriorated more and more and the inhabitants migrated to the healthier east side of the bay, where around the site of the Temple, destroyed long ago, and around the famous Saint John's church on the top of the Ayasoluk hill, a settlement already existed. At this spot the city, under the rule of the Seljuks, once more experienced a brief period of prosperity and bloom until it ceased to exist during the warfare between the Seljuks and the Turks. (End of translation from Josef Keil.)

4. Ionian Ephesus

As a preface to the section on the city itself, one can do no greater service than to present in full the passage by Strabo on Ephesus. It would be unfortunate to include this classic in any abbreviated form.¹

Strabo was born at Amasia in Pontus. He lived during the reign of Augustus and the earlier part of the reign of Tiberius. His exact dates are not known, but we may perhaps be satisfied in placing his birth not later than 54 B.C.² The translation from Strabo follows.³

Strabo: On Ephesus, Ionia

This city of Ephesus was inhabited both by Carians and Lelges. After Androclus had expelled the greater part of the inhabitants, he settled his companions about the Athenaeum, and the Hypelaeum, and in the mountainous tract at the foot of the Coressus. It was thus inhabited till the time of Croesus. Afterward, the inhabitants descended from the mountainous district and settled about the present Temple, and continued there to the time of Alexander. Then Lysimachus built a wall

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1. Cf. Strabo: Geography, Vol. III, on Ephesus, Ionia
2. Cf. Ibid., Preface to Vol. III
3. Casaub. 639, B, XIV.C,I,21-22

round the present Temple and, perceiving the inhabitants were unwilling to remove thither, he took advantage of a heavy storm of rain which he saw approaching, and obstructed the drains so as to inundate the city, and the inhabitants were glad to leave it for another place.

He called the city Arsinoë, after the name of his wife, but the old name prevailed. A body of elders was enrolled, with whom were associated persons called Epicleti, who administered all the affairs of the city.

Chersiphron¹ was the first architect of the Temple of Diana; another afterwards enlarged it, but, when Herostratus set fire to it,² the citizens constructed one more magnificent. They collected for this purpose the ornaments of women, contributions from private property, and the money arising from the sale of pillars of the former Temple. Evidence of these things is to be found in the decrees of that time. Artemidorus says that Timaeus of Tauromenium, in consequence of his ignorance of these decrees, and being otherwise a calumniator and detractor (whence he had the name of Epitimaus, or reviler), avers that the Ephesians restored

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1. Chersiphron was of Gnossus in Crete. The ground being marshy on which the Temple was to be built, he prepared a foundation for it of pounded charcoal, at the suggestion of Theodorus, a celebrated statuary of Samos.
2. The Temple is said to have been burnt the night Alexander the Great was born. Cicero; de Nat. Deo. II.27.

the Temple by means of the treasure deposited there by the Persians. But at that time no treasure was deposited, and if any had been deposited there it must have been consumed altogether with the Temple. After the conflagration, when the roof was destroyed, who would wish to have a deposit lying there with the sacred enclosure exposed to the air?

Besides, Artemidorus says that Alexander promised to defray the expense of its restoration, both what had been and what would be incurred, on condition that the work should be attributed to him in the inscription, but the Ephesians refused to accede to this; much less, then, would they be disposed to acquire fame by sacrilege and spoiliation. He praises also the reply of an Ephesian to the king "that it was not fit that a god should provide temples in honor of gods."

After the completion of the Temple, which, he says, was the work of Cheiocrates (the same person who built Alexandria, and also promised Alexander that he would form Mount Athos into a statue of him, which he should represent him as pouring a libation into a dish out of a ewer; that he would build two cities, one on the right hand of the mountain, and another on the left, and a river should flow out of the dish from one to the other), --¹ after the completion of the Temple, he says that the multitude of other sacred offerings were pur-

chased by the Ephesians, at the value set on them by artificers, and that the altar was almost entirely full of the works of Praxiteles. They showed us also some of the performances of Thraso, namely, the Hecatesium, a Penolope, and the old women Eurycleia.

The priests were eunuchs who were called Megabyzi. It was the practice to send to various places for persons worthy of this office, and they were held in high honor. They were obliged to appoint virgins as their colleagues in their priesthood. At present some of their rites and customs are observed, and some are neglected.

The Temple was formerly, and is at present, a place of refuge, but the limits of the sanctity of this asylum have been frequently altered; Alexander extended them to the distance of a stadium. Mithridates discharged an arrow from the angle of the roof, and supposed that it fell a little beyond the distance of a stadium. Antonius doubled this distance, and included within the range of the sanctuary a certain portion of the city. This was attended with much evil, as it placed the city in the power of criminals and malefactors. On this ac-

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(Note to Page 66)

1. Plutarch says that the artist offered Alexander to make a statue of Mount Athos, which should hold in the left hand a city capable of containing 10,000 inhabitants, and pouring from the right hand a river falling into the sea.

count Augustus Caesar abolished the privilege.

Among illustrious persons in ancient times who were natives of Ephesus were Heracleitus, surnamed Scoteinus, or the Obscure, and Hermodorus, of whom Heracleitus himself says:

"The Ephesians, youths and all, deserve hanging for expelling Hermodorus, an honest citizen (*δυνάστης*) a citizen distinguished for his virtues, and saying, Let there be no such amongst us; if there be, let it be in another place and among other people."

Hermodorus seems to have compiled laws for the Romans. Hipponax, the poet, was an Ephesian, and the painters Parrharius and Apelles.

In more recent times there was Alexander the orator, surnamed Lycanus, or the Lamp. He was an administrator of state affairs, a writer of history, and left behind him poems which contain a description of the heavenly phenomena and a geographical account of the continents, each of which forms the subject of a distinct poem.

Next to the mouth of the Cayster is a lake called Selinusia, formed by the overflowing of the sea. It is succeeded by another, which communicates with this. They afford a large revenue, of which the kings, although it was sacred, deprived the goddess, but the Romans restored it; then the tax-gatherers seized upon the tribute by force and converted it to their own use. Artemidorus, who was sent on an embassy to Rome, as he

says, recovered possession of the lakes for the goddess, and also of the territory of Heracleotis, which was on the point of separating from Ephesus, by proceeding in a suit at Rome. In return for these services, the city erected in the Temple a statue of gold.

In the most retired part of the lake is a Temple of a king, built, it is said, by Agamemnon. (End of the translation from Strabo.)

5. Summary

A brief general restatement of the history of the city will perhaps serve to clarify the details which Keil and Strabo have brought to bear on the question of the city's site and the date of its foundation.

The earliest inhabitants of Ephesus mentioned by Greek writers are the Amazons. In the eleventh century B.C. there is a tradition that Androclus,¹ son of the Athenian king Codrus, landed his Ionian soldiers and a mixed group of colonists, and proceeded to drive away the natives who dwelt on the site of Ephesus.

The deity of the city was Artemis,² whose cult existed before the Ionian conquest.³ In early Ionian

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1. Cf. Keil

2. Greek equivalent of the Latin Diana

3. Cf. ante, p. 36

times she seems to have been represented as a matronly figure, often accompanied by a child, and in all respects was more the typically Hellenic goddess than she is depicted in the later Greek and Roman periods.¹

Twice in the period from 700 to 500 B.C., the city owed its preservation, according to the superstitions of the people, to the protective interference of the goddess; once when the Cimmerians ravaged Asia Minor, and again when Croesus made ready to besiege the city. It is told that he withdrew when a rope was stretched from city to sanctuary, thus dedicating it to Artemis.

The city seems to have been under tyrannical rule more than once. Among its foreign kings were Croesus and Cyrus. When Xerxes returned from his triumphant march against Greece (478 B.C.), he bequeathed much of his spoil to the Ephesians who had remained submissive to the Persian rule throughout the war. Thereafter it paid tribute to the Athenian, who defeated Persia in 466 B.C. at Eurymedon. For a brief period it again fell under the sway of Persia and remained its subject until Alexander broke the yoke of Persian bondage.

After the demise of the great Macedonian, it fell prey to Eumenes and the Attalid kings who followed him. The third Attalus of Pergamum dedicated the city to

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1. Hogarth: "Ephesus"; The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. VIII (14th ed.)

Rome of necessity. It remained under his rule and prospered, becoming the chief city and first port of Asia, which was perhaps the richest province in the Empire.

Ephesus joined in the revolt of the cities of Asia Minor against Rome, and again in the civil wars of the first century supported the unsuccessful pretensions of Brutus, Cassius, and afterwards Antony.

Today as the traveler views Ephesus, he realizes little of the size and certainly none of the glory which was its pride for almost a thousand years. He sees only a plain stretching east and west, closed in by the ranging Bulbuldagh and Panajirdagh. The Temple area is now a malarial, stagnant lake; the city area, a reedy swamp; the modern shore, a harborless sandy beach. The Cayster has silted up the gulf until Ephesus, which Strabo in 20 A.D. called "a city of the coast" now seems like an inland metropolis.

Ephesus and her goddess, whom all Asia and practically the whole civilized world worshipped; by whose harbor few trading ships passed without tarrying; where Paul found unity in the complexity of races, in its religion; is now little more than a bog around whose edge a few natives venture to grow a few acres of beans.

The first city in proconsular Asia, perhaps the oldest of the cities which later became Christian;

"the passageway," as Ignatius calls it, "of those who are slain unto God"; with a people who once labored for the Christian church with energy and endurance; is now become desolate. Spiritually dead, rotten with vice, she could not brave the onslaughts of the barbaric tribes who descended upon her after Rome's protective hand was removed.

She had lost the right of life—"thou didst leave thy first love." The prophecy was fulfilled, and the death she chose still hovers over her humid, boggy grave.

B. Ephesus in the First Century A.D.

The Mediterranean world was the world of Saint Paul, who perhaps best epitomized in his uniquely integrated personality its one greatest characteristic—unity. It was a political unity, over which the proud Roman eagle brooded to insure the continuance of the peace it had so dearly won. It was relatively uniform in the geographical and natural conditions which determined its civilization. Its religious convictions were broadly similar. The great pagan shrines drew the credulous from all parts of the Empire. Finally, it was, at least along the coastal regions, a cultural unity.

"Such is the world of St. Paul, lapped by the same wave, blessed by the same sun, and when viewed from

within, not a chaos of alien bodies artificially forced together, but an organism of relatively great solidity."¹

One master, one language, one hope, characterized its being. Into this universalized society Paul introduced an ecumenical religion. Its appeal was immediate.

The heart of this "organism" was that wonderful district of the Aegean, western Asia Minor. Here, at the confluence of the Meander and the Cayster, stood the undisputed queen city of the richest province of Rome's far-flung Empire. Its natural position converted the city into an emporium of sea and land trade. All roads must ultimately reach Ephesus. Here converged the maritime trade lanes which connected Europe with Asia, her vassal. "This city, owing to the advantages which it affords, daily increases, and is the largest mart in Asia on this side of the Taurus," remarks Strabo.² A pagan city of the first rank, it became the third capital of Christianity.

"Ephesus was the third capital and starting point of Christianity. At Jerusalem, Christianity was born in the cradle of Judaism; Antioch had been the starting-point of the church of the Gentiles; Ephesus was to be its witness, its full development, and the final amalgamation of its unconsolidated elements in the work of John, the Apostle of Love."³

Vast, wealthy, the Vanity Fair of Asia, the veritable

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1. Adolf Deissmann; A Study in Social and Religious History, p. 44
2. Strabo; Geography, Vol. III, XIV.1.24
3. F. W. Farrar; The Life and Work of St. Paul, p. 354

headquarters of occultism and magical imposture, it was nevertheless deemed by Paul an open door, "great and effectual."¹ This it proved to be, and the little church which he had founded became an eminent Christian center with a long line of famous martyrs, whose names read like a litany of praise to Him who had redeemed them.

1. Arts and Architecture

Few will dispute the claim made by Ovid, that Ephesus was the most magnificent of what he calls "the magnificent cities of Asia."² Though much of the city's fame came from the Temple, which stood in full view of the crowded haven, it yet had many other beauties of surpassing quality.

It lay in the fair Asian meadow where myriads of swans and other waterfowl disported themselves upon the winding Cayster. Its buildings were clustered under the protecting shadows of Coressus and Prion.³

a. Coressus and Prion

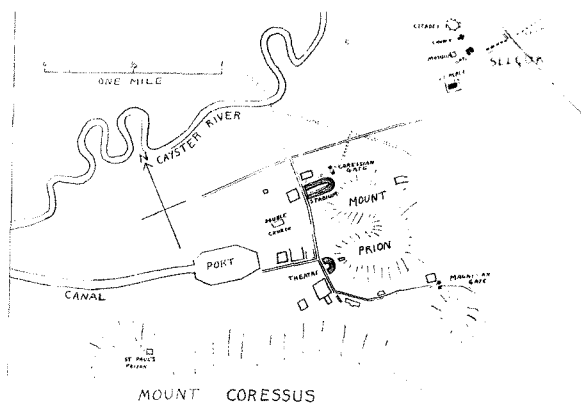
Coressus and Prion were rather steep hills separated by a narrow valley; one of them, some thirteen hundred feet high, ran nearly due east and west. From

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1. Cf. I Corinthians 16:8, 9

2. Ovid; Pont. II.x.21, cit. de Farrar; The Life and Work of St. Paul, p. 357, note 4

3. Cf. ante, pp. 47-58



Showing the Accepted Locations of Coressus and Prion

its shape and perhaps because of its serrated crest the latter was named Prion, that is, "the Saw." "The other hill, a little higher than Prion and north of its east end, was named Coressus, or a Lady's Hill."¹ Wright follows Mr. Wood's identifications. He remarks:

"Falkener calls Mr. Wood's Prion "Coressus" and his Coressus "Prion!" In spite of Professor Ramsay's great authority I believe Mr. Wood's identifications to be correct, because they harmonize best with known facts. The Austrian discoveries have not yet been published, but I do not see how they can affect this conclusion."²

Unfortunately, the Austrian excavations did seriously affect this conclusion, as we have shown, and Wright's theory, with Wood's and others, have been disproved. Professor Ramsay, with his usual astute reasoning and careful aversion to dogmatic assertion where there is any evidence of conflict, places Ephesus in the general locality, on "a plain stretching east and west, closed in on the north and south by long lines of mountain, Gallesion and Koressos."³ The latter terms are not used specifically, but connote ranges of mountains, not individual hills. Here Ramsay follows Benndorf, the Austrian archeologist, who places the theater at the base of Mount Prion, rather than with Wood at the foot of Mount Coressus. If Keil is correct in his contention

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1. Wright: Cities of St. Paul, p. 30

2. Ibid.

3. W. M. Ramsay: The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia, p. 211

that Coressus was a city district, rather than a term used to designate a hill, then the term had better be totally discarded. But, though Keil has made much of this point, its importance for us is negligible and we shall follow the identifications of Ramsay and Benndorf.

b. A Cultural Center

Herodotus declares that the coast of Asia Minor was the home of the best Hellenic culture. Perhaps no region of the world has been the locus of so many memorable events as the shores of the Aegean. It was from Lesbos, Smyrna, Ephesus, and Halicarnassus that lyric and poetry took their rise. Of the Ionian strand Homer sings, and Anacreon writes the light songs which so depict the soft, almost feminine temperament of the Greek colonists in their luxurious environment.

Its very air was charged with romance. Here Memnemos wrote his elegies, Thales his principles of philosophy, Anaximander and Anaximenes had startled even the enlightened Athenians with their cosmogonic theories. In the great Ionian capital we find at work the dark Heracleitus, deepest thinker of all Hellenistic Greece. It was this indifferent city that had ostracized Hermodorus for daring to rebuke the vice and immorality of its residents. It was the glittering beauty of Ephesus that furnished the lone man of Patmos with the local

coloring of those passages of the Apocalypse in which he speaks of

"merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stone, and pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet; and all thyine wood, and every vessel of ivory, and every vessel made of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble; and cinnamon, and spice, and incense, and ointment, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and white, and cattle, and sheep; and merchandise of horses and chariots and slaves; and souls of men."¹

Ephesus was also a city of many schools and from all of Greece came the scholars to teach those whose wealth could pay them well. Apollos, a native of Alexandria, had imbibed considerable Scriptural learning in the Jewish schools which were numerous in that city, where active trade and a commensurate opulence attracted them. From his native city Apollos had come to Ephesus, where he arrived about the same time as did Aquila and Priscilla. It is probable that he often discussed Christianity with the Apostle of love and deep spiritual discernment John, who without a doubt met him there as he journeyed about the Mediterranean. The connection which undoubtedly exists between John and Philo, in the use of the λόγος form into which the former put so profound a content, takes on a new significance when we realize that Apollos and Philo were contemporaries and

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1. Revelation 18:12,13

both had studied in the Alexandrian school.

"Philo . . . for charm of style and elevation of mind often reminds us of Plato: "De hoc vulgo apud Graecos dicitur, ἡ ἑλάνη φιλονεικίαι, ἡ φιλονεικία πλατωνική (St. Jerome: De Vir. Illus., cap. xi.). Though not attaining to any such perfection as this, the ease and fluency with which Apollos must have developed his thoughts would be sure to lend him great authority among the humbler brethren who surrounded him."¹

c. Its Buildings

Few landmarks remain to give any correct conception of the city. Professor Hawley depicts the scene as it appears today, with admirable success:

"I looked over the landscape at my feet towards the Gulf of Smyrna and the westering sun. A small river shone with its broken silver reaches along the middle of the scene, and noble hills bounded the broad vista, right and left . . . From the nook where I sat a wide hollow in the general level, a sort of small sunken field, overgrown with thorn bushes, and heaped with the confusion of wrecked walls, columns, and steps . . . The scene was one of beautiful but pathetic silence and repose, the quiet of a vast cemetery of the ancient days."²

Another recent visitor, Morton, says, "I spent hours wandering over the ruins, which are spread over an immense area." As he gazed across the ruins from the theater he writes, "There were white ruins . . . showing in the marsh like the bones of an exhumed skeleton."³

How shall we restore in vivid colors, or adorn again in her beautiful raiment this ghostly memory of a

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1. Constant Fouard: Saint Paul and His Missions, p. 223n
2. Walter A. Hawley: Asia Minor, p. 163
3. Morton: In the Steps of St. Paul, p. 378

long-dead past? In the study of ancient history, we have long followed the erroneous practice of deducing our conception from the dry pages of ancient literature alone. Literature was only a small part of the ancient world, and the dearth and paucity of that which is extant makes our knowledge extremely fragmentary. The great archeological discoveries have opened up a new world to us and now a new wealth of material is revealed. We must use both the historical and archeological sources of information in our reconstruction of the city.

The Hellenic Ephesus was well situated, a fact which is understood when we remember that the city stood on its later site for over a thousand years. Its shape was like that of a bent bow, the two ends having Prion on the east and the hill of Astyages on the west; while the sea washed up in the gap between, forming a placid inner harbor along whose quays rose stately colonnades any many public buildings, the outlines of which can yet be traced.¹

A great street ran from the harbor directly to the base of Prion. The visitor would traverse this long straight street, edged by porticos, stately mansions and magnificent buildings, till he reached the

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1. Cf. Ramsay: The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia, p. 224

great Theater and the beginning of the steep ascent of Prion. This Via del Teatro bears the dedicatory inscription of the Emperor Arcadius (395-408 A.D.); but this represents a reconstruction, as the Austrians have shown, of the street which had originally been laid about 287 B.C.¹ Over this very path came Paul and the quickly-gathering throng who rushed along the street and finally entered the Theater shouting, "Great is Diana; Great is Diana."

Near Prion was the great forum and close to it the school of Tyrannus in which Paul taught. Here he lectured, from eleven o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon, to anyone who cared to attend.²

When one comes from the Cayster valley westward to the sea, approximately two miles from the city, he finds the hill of Ayasoluk. From this point he gets an accurate picture of Ephesus in the distance, and the approach thereto. Just below the edge of the ridge will appear the twin domes of the great court of the Mosque of Isa Bey. Approximately three hundred yards to the southwest, one can discern the site of Diana's Temple,

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1. Cf. Ramsay: The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia, p. 224
2. Cf. Acts 19:9. "The expression from the fifth to the tenth hour (i.e. 11 A.M. to 4 P.M.) is attested by ancient texts." Shirley Jackson Case: The Social Triumphs of the Ancient Church, p. 176

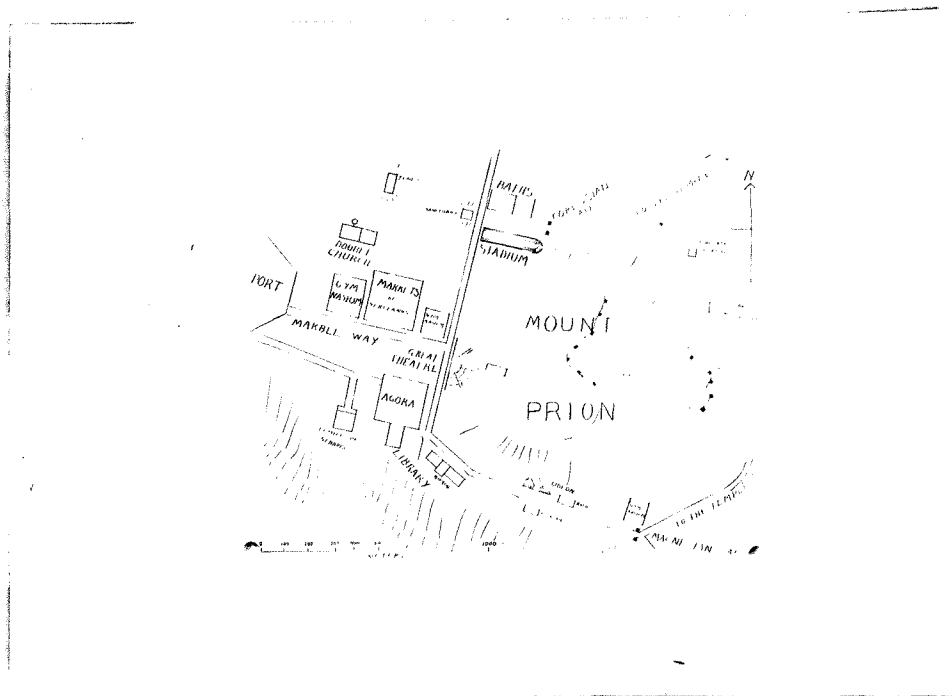
now indicated only by scrubs and rank weeds that cover slight elevations of earth where the foundations of the wall rested; and looking about a mile farther to the southwest he will see the twin peaks of Prion against the higher range of Coressus, "the hill of the nightingales, which stretches westward to the sea."¹

There on the flanks of Prion and Coressus and in the valley between them, the citizens built the stadium, the forum, and most of the ancient city where Antony and Cleopatra whiled away hours of forgetfulness.

From the Temple area, which witnessed the concourse of thousands of peoples, two roads lead to the southwest, where brush and straggling trees are now climbing over the relics which were seen by Paul over nineteen hundred years ago. Along the way one passes the northern side of Mount Prion to the stadium; the other, an ancient road, turns toward the south, and enters the city by the low divide between it and Mount Coressus. In part, at least, this road was the Via Sacra, which was lined by tombs of Greeks, Romans, and Byzantines. One of them is said to be the tomb of Androclus, the reputed founder of Ephesus, the son of the Athenian king Codrus.

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1. Cf. Hawley: Asia Minor, p. 156. Hawley follows Ramsay in his geographical indications of the city and its terrain.



Sketch of Ruins at the Base of
Mount Prion

"A few hundred yards farther and due south of Mt. Prion, it passes through the Magnesian gates, so called because they opened on the old highway to Magnesia on the Maeander."¹

From this gate a street extends over the divide, passing a Roman gymnasium, the Odeum, which had a white marble proscenium and a Corinthian colonnade of red granite. On one's left it passes in succession a circular Greek temple which was surrounded by sixteen columns, once regarded as the tomb of St. Luke; the woolmarket; a Roman temple, of which there remains but a few Ionic shafts; and a Byzantine church which now is fast crumbling to dust. A little distance beyond, the road turns almost at right angles to the north as it approaches the site of the library and the Roman agora, where a beautiful colonnade surrounded a mosaic pavement, and passes the Theater on the right continuing some two thousand feet to the stadium.

From Mount Prion most of the city is discernible. To the left rises Mount Coressus as a long ridge, on which were many of the houses of the people, the citadel, the wall of Lysimachus, and the two-storied Greek tower where, according to tradition, Saint Paul was imprisoned. To the right flows the Cayster, now sluggish, and "four miles to the west the Aegean Sea appears dis-

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1. Hawley: op. cit., p. 160



tinctly, as the waves reflect the glittering sunbeams."¹

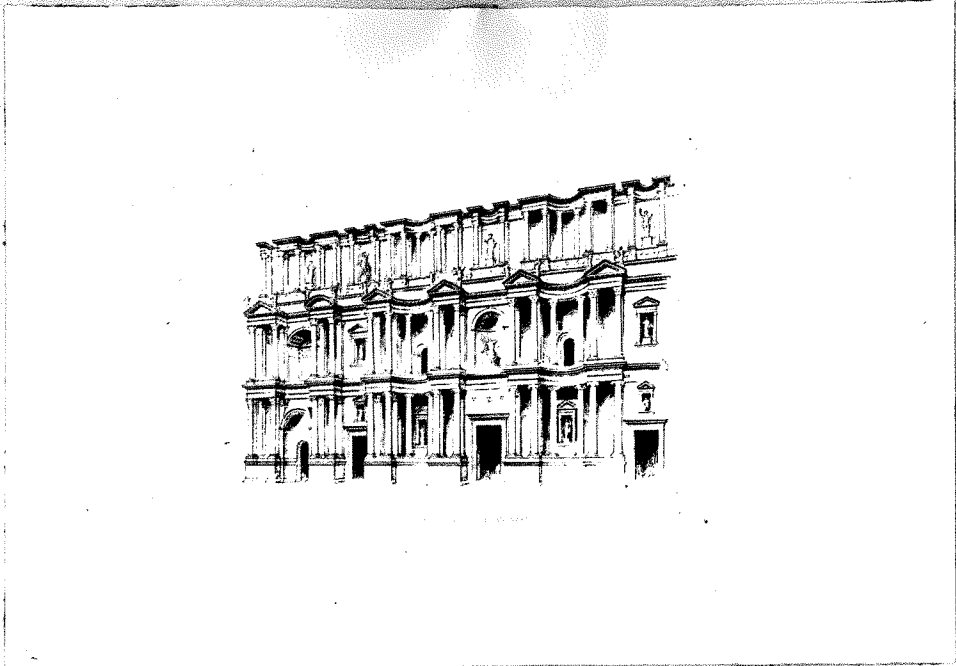
d. The Theater

It was in the Theater that the mongrel Greek crowd, like so many howling dervishes, raised their incessant cries, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians."² The mob howled for almost two hours,³ shouting their prayers and invocations.

The vast, empty building offered a convenient place for hasty assemblage. It was built on the western slope of Mount Prion.⁴ Its diameter is 495 feet, and like most theaters of this description it is of horse-shoe form. As the wings approach the proscenium, the width is diminished by 28 feet, the measurement at the end of the walls being 467 feet. "By my computations this vast theatre was capable of seating 24,500 persons."⁵ Some give the more general figure 30,000.

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1. Hawley: op. cit., p. 161
2. Farrar (The Life and Work of St. Paul, p. 373) preserves the Greek name, rendering it, "Great is Artemis . . ." because he says, "their Asian idol, who was really Cybele, had still less to do with Diana than with Artemis."
3. Note: Two hours is mentioned, according to the ancient rule of counting, that anything above one is roundly called two. Cf. A Dictionary of the Bible, James Hastings, ed., Vol. V, p. 474
4. Wood says it was built on the western slope of Coressus (cf. Discoveries at Ephesus, p. 68). His error and confusion of these terms have been discussed in an earlier section of this thesis; cf. ante, pp. 74-75
5. Wood: op. cit., p. 68



Architect's Reconstruction of the Theater's Stage

The Stage of the Theater as it Appears Today

Hawley estimates its capacity at about 25,000.¹ Wood's figure probably represents the seating capacity rather than a general estimate of its possibilities of accommodation. It was, in any case, the largest theater in Asia.

The stage or pulpitum was nearly twenty-two feet wide; the orchestra, 110 feet in diameter. The proscenium, built almost entirely of pure white marble, was adorned with granite columns and highly enriched tablets of fine marble, in two tiers.²

Its sixty-six rows of seats were divided into three tiers by horizontal passages. The seats were made of semi-circular stone forms also covered with marble slabs. Only the forms on which the slabs rested remain. The wings which gave access to the passages at each end rose one hundred feet high. But these, with the floor of the proscenium, are now almost entirely gone. Most of the triple rows of columns which supported the proscenium are still standing. A collection of broken shafts, capitals, and scattered architraves with exquisite carvings occupies the floor of the scena, whose walls are now entirely demolished.

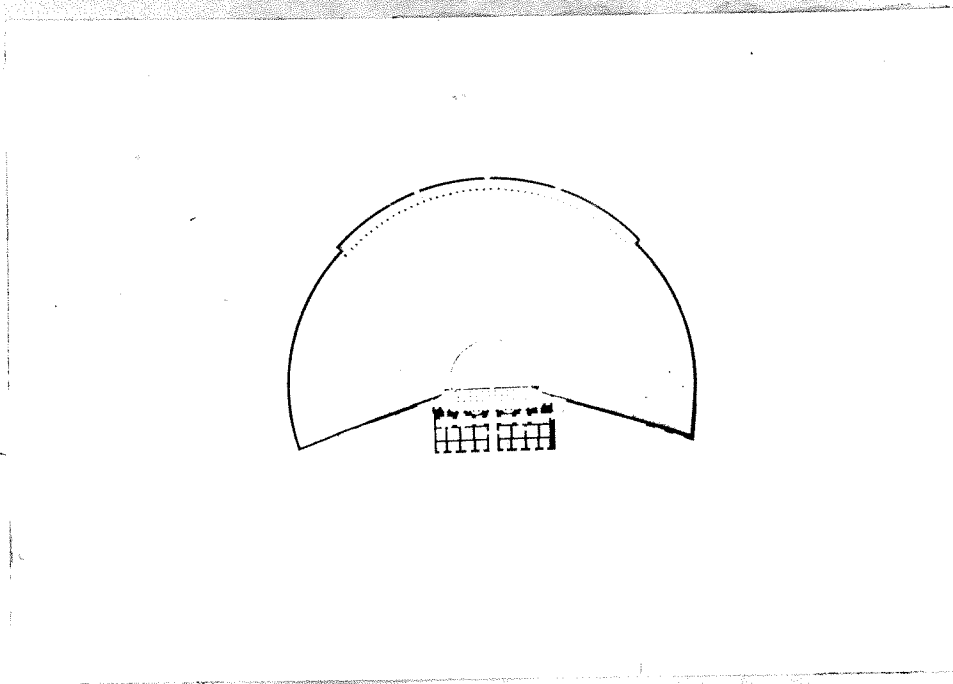
"The theater was the work of Lysimachus, though many changes and additions were subsequently made."³ It

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1. Cf. Hawley: op. cit., p. 63

2. Cf. Wood: op. cit., p. 69

3. Hawley: loc. cit.



Architect's Plan of the Theater

was used not only for spectacular displays, but for religious and political assemblages, "and seems to have served also as a bourse or meeting-place for the Board of Trade."¹

e. The Salutarian Inscription

Wood uncovered many municipal decrees inscribed on the panels of the Theater's enormous stage. These inscriptions are devoted to the mention of those who endowed the games, of victories gained by athletes in various contests, of ordinances and great assemblages.

Most of these inscriptions were of more or less general interest, but there was a much greater prize awaiting discovery by Wood. After searching some six years for the location of the Temple site (1863-69), he happened upon an inscription which enabled him to determine its location. On the eastern wall of the Theater he found numerous decrees relating to a number of gold and silver images, weighing from three to seven pounds each, which were voted to Artemis and ordered to be placed in her Temple by a certain wealthy Roman named C. Vibius Salutaris.²

The inscription speaks of the procession of

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1. Wright: Cities of St. Paul, p. 33

2. Cf. Wood: Discoveries at Ephesus, Appendix: Inscriptions from Theatre, No. 1

images from the Temple to the Theater, passing through the Magnesian gate, and as going out on its return to the Temple through the Coressian gate. Wood later discovered the Coressian gate and the Magnesian gate. He says:

"Pausanias, in his description of Greece, tells us that the Sepulchre of Androclus . . . was in his time to be seen in the road which led from the Temple of Artemis to the Temple of Jupiter Olympius and the gates called Magnesian."¹

He searched anxiously for this monument and located it, 2600 feet from the Magnesian gate, on the last day of the year 1869. Encouraged by this, he continued his excavations with renewed hope of success. He opened up the road which passes from the Sepulchre and explored it carefully. He came upon an ancient street, or bridle path, which led toward the Forum on the west side of the city.

"I here found the road I had been so anxiously looking for. . . . This road was 45 feet wide, 10 feet wider than the road I had been exploring from the Magnesian Gate. This discovery was another great stride towards success."²

He could not continue his work, for the area before him was planted in barley now ripe for the harvest. His funds, every dollar of which he had virtually to beg from his indifferent trustees in England, were

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1. Wood: op. cit., p. 126
2. Ibid., p. 129

not ample to enable his cutting the barley. Such were the petty exasperations which continually harassed him.

Those who are quick to point to the errors in his calculations and to condemn him as a blunderer "who ignored existing information and wasted 6 years"¹ have passed a heartless and unsympathetic judgment which, we fear, shows a total misconception of the tremendous difficulties which Wood had to overcome.

When all seemed lost and in the nick of time his application for an advance of two hundred pounds was granted, on condition that he succeed in finding something more satisfactory than a road and some walls. If not, his "hopeless enterprize" was to be discontinued. Wood comments, "Thus it will be seen what a narrow escape we had of losing the prize which ultimately rewarded our perseverance."²

He now carefully studied the ground in the immediate vicinity of a morsel of wall found in an olive grove in the barley field. We shall let him tell the story himself:

"I observed that the wall took the same direction as that of a modern boundary which formed an angle near the trench I had dug. Suspecting that the modern boundary might mark the position of an

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1. "The Temple of Diana at Ephesus"; The Builder, Vol. VC, London, 1908
2. Wood: op. cit., p. 131

ancient wall, I cut another large trench and hit most fortunately upon the angle of the wall into which were built two large stones, equidistant from the angle, with duplicate inscriptions in Latin and Greek, by which we are informed that this wall was built by order of Augustus in the twelfth year of his Consulate and in the eighteenth year of his Tribunitian power B.C. 6 . . . This was therefore, without doubt, the peribolus wall of the Temenos of the temple of Artemis, described by Tacitus as having been built by Augustus to restrict the limits of the sanctuary or asylum for criminals which had been duly enlarged by Alexander the Great, Mithridates and Mark Antony. . . . The great question as to the whereabouts of the Temple was now decided. Six years had elapsed since I had first begun the search. This seems a long time, but the actual time devoted to the search did not extend over more than twenty months, and the cost of the work did not exceed 2,000 £.^{#1}

The importance of this discovery was inestimable. Later archeologists, the Austrian and British, were able to proceed from this point to locate the various buildings in the city and also to correct some of the confusion which existed in matters of the immediate topography of Ephesus.

2. Its Peoples

a. General Population

Though the cast of the civilization of Ephesus was distinctively Hellenic, it was deeply imbued with Oriental influences. This eastern strain manifested itself in an almost abject servility to those who ruled. The Ephesians crawled at the feet of the Roman emperors

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1. Wood: op. cit., pp. 132-3

to court their favor and deified them in return for favors. The Romans, seeing they had nothing to fear from these degenerate peoples, flattered them as a master would a cringing dog. When an earthquake wrought havoc they quickly subsidized the reconstruction of the damage sustained. They flung them empty titles of honor, and let them practise without interference their dissolute and extravagant rites in honor of the Panionic, Ephesian, Artemisian, and Lucullian deities.

Pauline Ephesus was more

"Hellenic than Antioch, more Oriental than Corinth, more populous than Athens, more wealthy and more refined than Thessalonica, more skeptical . . . than Ancyra or Pessinus. It was, with the single exception of Rome, by far the most important scene of his toils."¹

The character of the Ephesians was held in ill repute by the Romans of Paul's time. The imperial Senate had determined to limit the rights of asylum which the superstitious people had attached to their world-renowned temple of Diana. Legend told how Mithridates, when the Temple was finished, stood on its summit and declared that the right of asylum should extend in a circle around it as far as he could shoot an arrow. Miraculously that arrow flew a furlong's distance (one eighth of a mile). The consequence was that this sanctu-

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1. Farrar: The Life and Work of St. Paul, p. 356

ary had become a haven for all the scum and villainy of Asia. Ephesus, vitiated by the influences which affect all great seaports and by this center of pollution in her very midst, became the corruptress of Ionia, the theater of her wildest scenes of debauchery.

Ephesus, amid its vast population, contained specimens of every kind of belief, and yet within a generation this city had become the center of Asiatic Christendom. Ramsay asks,

"Did these men, when they as Christians looked back on their pagan life, regard those moments of religious experience as being merely evil and devilish, or did they see that such actions had been the groping and effort of nature towards God?"¹

Ignatius looked with shame on the years he had spent in paganism, but Ignatius speaks of his personal sin, a natural condition of the convert. Ramsay's latter supposition seems more nearly to approximate the truth. Christianity spiritualized and enlarged, it ennobled the ceremony. It did not reject it as totally vile, for it was at least an honest search for a step in religion. In Antioch, in Ephesus, in Rome, centers of moral degradation, the church grew as it did not and could not in Jerusalem. The story of Christianity's triumph over paganism shows that moral depravity does not present the obstacle to the saving work of Christ that

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1. Ramsay: Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia, p. 159

mental obstinacy and racial and religious pride do. The pagan was credulous and followed his cult with earnest infatuation. Yet, though deluded, he was not as invincible as was the bigoted, credo-sated Jew. The former aspired but could not attain; the latter, because of his supposed attainment, had lost even the power of aspiration. The pagan would listen, though cum grano salis; the Hebrew could not, for he was so spiritually deaf he could not hear. The notable exceptions to this generality but prove the quality of its veracity.

b. The Jews in Ephesus

Here, as in Syrian Antioch,¹ the Jews formed a sombre element in a fastidious community. In Ephesus they, indebted to the enlightened policy of the emperors, especially Caesar and Augustus, rather than to the Ephesians themselves, were guaranteed the undisturbed exercise of their own religious observances. Josephus gives the Ephesian decree of toleration (42 B.C.):

"When Menophilas was prytanis, on the first day of the month Artemisius, this decree was made by the people:—Nicanor, the son of Euphemus, pronounced it, upon the representation of the pretros. Since the Jews that dwelt in this city have petitioned Marcus Julius Pompeius, the son of Brutus, the proconsul, that they might be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and to act in all things according to the customs of their forefathers, without impediment from any body, the pretor hath

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1. Cf. Eberhardt: Antioch in Syria, pp. 80-83

granted the petition. Accordingly, it was decreed by the senate and the people, that in this affair that concerned the Romans, no one of them should be hindered from keeping the Sabbath-day, nor be fined for so doing; but that they may be allowed to do all things according to their own laws."¹

In consequence of this decree Judaism here, as elsewhere in the Roman Empire, "acquired such a legal standing that it came to be treated as a *religio licita*."² Even after the war of the year 70, the Jews enjoyed the rights of citizenship in the Hellenistic cities. The advantages that accompanied the possession of such rights are nowhere more manifest than in the career of Paul whose appeal to the Roman courts, to which alone he was subject, often saved him from the wrath of his brother Jews.

(1) Their Synagogues. The constant contest of the Jew with the Gentile in the dispersion could not fail to influence him. The cultured Hebrew was not only Jew, but Greek as well,

"alike in respect of language, education, and habits. . . . he was impelled to find ways and means of harmonizing and combining Jewish and Hellenistic idiosyncrasies."³

One of the principal means of preserving the faith of his fathers was regular worship in the synagogues on the Sabbath. In the course of his travels through

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1. Josephus: Antiquities, XIV.x.25
2. Emil Schürer: The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 259
3. Ibid., p. 282

Asia Minor, Paul everywhere met with these synagogues.¹ In fact, in just such a synagogue was Saul of Tarsus nurtured in a family exclusive as Jews, proud as Roman citizens. His writings and the success in winning converts of which they tell, illustrate how familiar he was with Graeco-Asiatic life and with these centers of Judaism within Hellenism.

(2) Importance of the Synagogue to Paul. The Ephesian synagogue presented that open door of which Paul writes. Here Apollos, the Alexandrian, had found the Jews well disposed to hear him, for Paul on his first visit had sowed the first seeds of faith. When the learned master spoke out of the way of the Lord, as preached by John the Baptist, great was the joy and equally the disappointment of Aquila and Priscilla, who had attached themselves also to the sanctuary of the synagogue. When Apollos had finished his exhorting and as he was leaving the service they invited him to their house, where they "expounded unto him the way of God more accurately."²

When Paul returned a second time, he found a group of Christians already in existence. Thus, the way

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1. E. g. in Antioch of Pisidia (Acts 13:14), Iconium (14:1), Thessalonica (17:1), Berea (17:10), Athens (17:17), Corinth (18:4, 7), and Ephesus (18:19, 26; 19:8).

2. Acts 18:26

was open in the synagogue to win new souls, and to establish this little nucleus of a church on a firmer basis. The synagogue, the door to Ephesus; Ephesus, the threshold of Asia; the road was clear for the evangel Paul to carry his message to the Jew, the Greek, the pagan, yea, to all men.

3. The Political Constitution of Ephesus

Asia, because of its great wealth, was always a favored province in the Roman Empire. Though Pergamum continued to be the titular capital, Ephesus, as the chief harbor of entrance into and exit from Asia, came to be the seat of the proconsul and thus in reality the seat of Roman rule for all Asia.¹

The governing officers left its municipal constitution untouched. By this constitution, the Ephesians endeavored to maintain balance between the diverse elements in the city. There were originally three districts: Epheseis, including the native population; Eponymoi, or the Athenian colonists; and Bembinaioi, for the colonists of other Greek regions. Two more were formed to accommodate the tribes, Téioi and Karenaioi, who came from the Ionian cities of Teos and Mysia. Later a sixth was created, insofar as we can determine, by

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1. Cf. Ramsay: The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia, p. 227

Antiochus II.¹

Each of these tribes had its own religious rites, to which all members were obliged to conform. The Jews presented a problem in segregation, the disposition being made by placing them in the sixth section last created. Thus we may infer that it was composed of peoples of a general nature who had migrated subsequent to the revision of the constitution under Antiochus II (261-246 B.C.).²

There is abundant proof that Ephesus enjoyed the privilege of maintaining her own senate and assembly. The senate, of which Josephus speaks,³ met in the Agora below the Theater. We have frequent notice of the demos or people and its assembly which may have been convened in the Theater itself.⁴

Again, the city had its magistrates, as Thessalonica had its politarchs, and Athens its archons. One of these, in all probability, was the officer who is described as "town-clerk" in the Authorised Version of the Bible, *πολιτευς*, in Acts 19:35. His position, as his ability to pacify the howling crowd, whom Demetrius had harangued into a frenzy, shows, must have

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1. Cf. Ramsay: The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia, p. 235
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 236
3. Cf. Josephus: Antiquities, XIV.x.25
4. Cf. Conybeare and Howson: The Life and Epistles of St. Paul, p. 80

been one of exceeding importance. In the Ephesian records he is called γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου and γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως.

"He had to do with state papers; he was keeper of the archives, ex-officio officer of the temple treasury. . . . No magistrate was more familiar to the citizens; . . . no one was so likely to be able to calm and disperse an angry and excited multitude."¹

By first flattering, then intimidating, he soothed the people by reminding them that since Asia was a senatorial, not an imperial province—governed by a proconsul with a few officials, not by a proprætor with a legion, they were responsible for good order and would be held accountable for any breach of the peace. He probably called their conduct undignified, unjustifiable, and if all else failed suggested that the power of Rome would be invoked to restrain them. So pronouncing these shrewdly suggestive words he dispersed the gathering.

The friendly Asiarchs, Acts 19:31, who advised Paul to secrete himself, were officers elected annually to preside over the national games which convened with the Ephesian assises. Ten of the towns in provincial Asia chose one of its wealthiest citizens to discharge the duty of Asiarchs.

This brief treatment on the political status of Ephesus throws interesting light on the narrative of the Acts. It seems to be spring when the occurrences

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1. Conybeare and Howson: op. cit., p. 81

given by Luke at the close of the nineteenth chapter are given. Paul purposed to stay at "Ephesus until Pentecost."¹ May was the "month of Diana" in which the great religious gathering took place to celebrate the games. The silversmiths were expectant of a large trade at this season. One can now appreciate the audacity of Paul, to whom this pagan festival was "a great door and effectual,"² and understand that he was possessed of more than human courage when he preached the one almighty God and His Christ before the very men whose business depended on their ability to sell silver replicas of those deities whom he had said were "no gods."³

C. Conclusion

No more profitable study for an understanding of the narrative of the Acts and the Epistles of St. Paul can be undertaken than that of the religious, political, architectural, and historical background of the conditions which existed under the Roman Empire. This chapter has endeavored, by reconstructing the physical proportions of the city, to provide just such an exposition or unfolding of certain facts which are not apparent in the summary character of Saint Luke's narrative. It is

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1. I Corinthians 16:8
2. Idem
3. Acts 19:26

hoped that the picture just portrayed in the foregoing pages now gives a new significance to the reader of the Acts and the Pauline epistles.

The great gymnasium, circus, agora, ~~the~~ baths, and theater speak of the wealth and grandeur of ancient Ephesus. All along below these superb edifices flowed the city's commerce. Men from every clime held congress in this world market. Here were representatives of the most diverse classes, from the common people to the wealthy men who had filled the position of Asiarch.

Paul recognized the strategic importance of this capital city of Asia. When on his initial visit he received so exceptional a hearing from the Jews he promised to return.¹ His second visit was protracted over a period of three years,² a testimony in itself of the importance with which Paul regarded the city. He realized that as Antioch stood as a tower of light, "from which Christianity might illuminate all of Syria,"³ so Ephesus, so rich, and as "populous as either Antioch or Corinth"⁴ would be just such a beacon in Asia Minor. That this judgment was warranted can be inferred from the success of his efforts in reaching vast numbers of pagans, Jews,

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1. Cf. Acts 18:18ff.

2. Cf. Acts 19:8-10, 20:31. Eusebius gives two years.
Cf. Fouard: St. Paul and His Missions, p. 226

3. Ibid., p. 225

4. Idem

and Greeks,¹ who lived in or visited the city. Beautiful for its situation; preëminent of Asiatic cities for the splendor of her buildings; the birthplace of two of the most arresting intellectual conceptions yet given to mankind; the city where Paul "fought with wild beasts"; "called by the whole Ionic race 'The Good Old City'";² Ephesus was another legitimate nexus in the series of Christian missionary cities from Jerusalem to Rome which were so greatly to influence the whole later development of the history of the church, and more, of the world.

Now all that is left on the outskirts of the Ephesian plain is the fever-stricken little village Aya Souluk, in Turkish Ayatholog or the holy theologian, named after Saint John the Divine, about whose tomb the last Christians settled. The Turks have now destroyed even this connection with the past by changing the name of the village, more than a mile northeast of the ancient city,³ to Seljuk.⁴

This squalid Mohammedan hamlet does not now count one Christian in its insignificant population. Ephesus, "thy candlestick" is moved "out of its place." From the squalor of Aya Souluk one proceeds along the

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1. Cf. Acts 19:9, 10

2. Wright: Cities of St. Paul, p. 27

3. Cf. Hogarth: "Ephesus"; The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Fourteenth Edition, Vol. VIII

4. Cf. Morton: In the Steps of St. Paul, p. 369

muddy road to the grave of Ephesus. Oblivion reigns
supreme over the place

"where the wealth of ancient civilisation gathered
around the scenes of its grossest superstitions and
its most degraded sins. 'A noisy flight of crows,'
says a modern traveller, 'seemed to insult its si-
lence . . .';¹

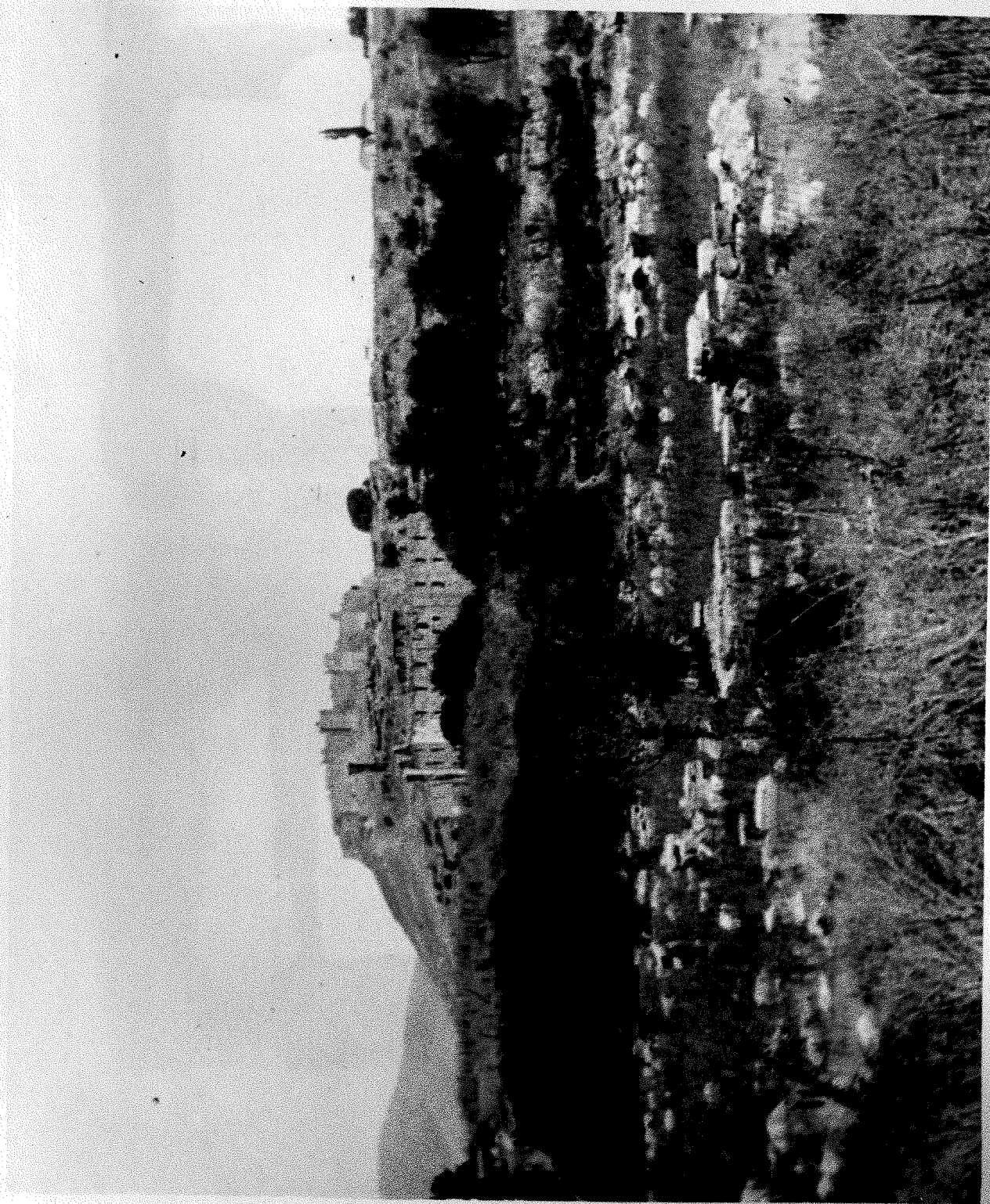
that weird silence which haunts the tombs of glory long
since departed.

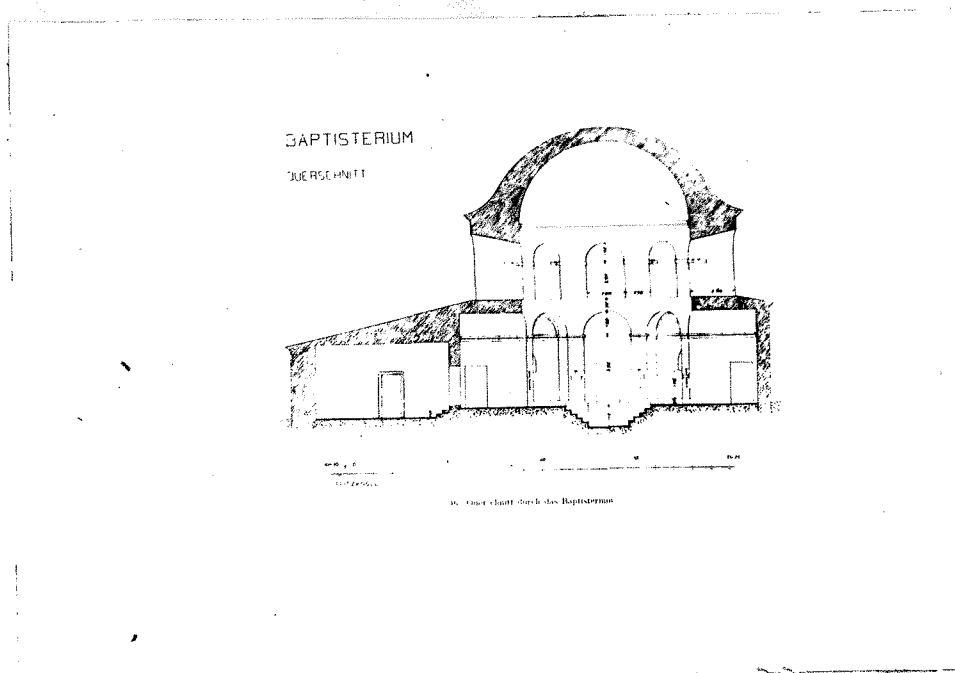
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1. Farrar: The Life and Work of St. Paul, p. 376

CHAPTER III

EPHESUS THE RELIGIOUS CENTER OF ASIA





**Architect's Reconstruction of Baptistry
of St. Mary's Church**

Baptistry of St. Mary's Church Today

CHAPTER III

EPHESUS THE RELIGIOUS CENTER OF ASIA

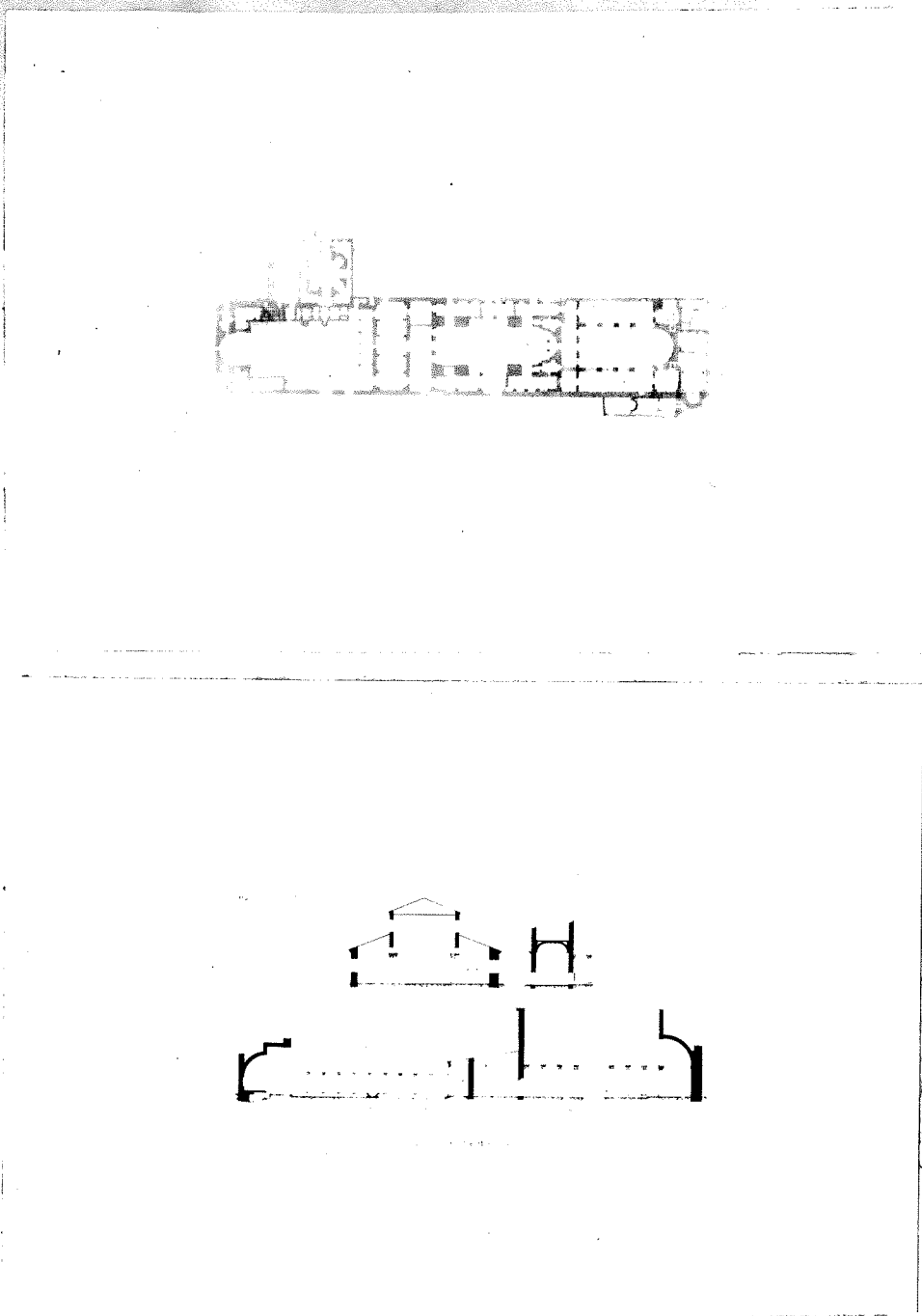
In one of his illuminating passages Strabo says: "Not only was Ephesus the greatest trading city of the Province Asia, and also of all Asia north of Taurus . . .";¹ but it also derived a certain religious authority in the whole province from the great goddess Artemis inshrined there.²

It is certain that a student of the life and work of Paul must familiarize himself with the religious backgrounds of the countries in which he labored. Ephesus, synonymous for Asia in the thought of the early world, was as we have already shown the commercial capital of the province. It was also the headquarters for the pagan cult worship of the East. Later it became the locale of the ministry of Saint John the Divine, whose inspired genius guided the little Christian church there into a position of primary importance during the first four centuries of its history.

Christianity left the impress of its spirit on the peoples of the city. That the culture of Ephesus

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1. Strabo: Geography, Vol. III,
2. Cf. Ramsay: The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia, pp. 228-9



Pavement of St. Mary's Church

Architect's Reconstruction of St. Mary's Church
Here the Council of Ephesus was Held in 431
A.D.

likewise left its mark on the new religion, is equally true. One example will suffice to make this clear. Witness the growth of the worship of the virgin Mary at Ephesus, and of its acceptance later by the Greek and Roman churches. Mariolatry smacks so distinctly of Ephesian cultism that only the wilfully blind can fail to see its ugly resemblance. Mary, in this form, has perpetuated the worship of Diana, as a monument of stone never could.

We devote this chapter to a study of the city of Ephesus, the religious center of Asia, that we may more closely analyze the character of that religion over which Christianity triumphed but whose influence she never fully eradicated.

A. The Religions of Asia Minor

The religions of Anatolian peoples, not distinctly Greek nor strictly Oriental, are relatively obscure. Their influence, the one on the other, is decided, and their relationship and effect on early Christianity in Asia Minor is a fact which can not be overlooked. The investigation into the antiquity of these middle Graeco-Eastern religions has been on the whole haphazard and intermittent. The only reliable work on the subject has been done by Sir William Ramsay, to whom

we are indebted for the evidence which forms the substance of the following discussion.

The lands that border on the shores of the Aegean were preëminently the birthplace and nursing home of Hellenism. As we journey away from this area the more faint and indistinct become the traces of the Greek spirit, and the more marked the evidences of barbaric influence.

The religion of the Anatolian race, or races, was to a considerable extent an idealized representation of the actual life of the time, exhibiting a divine counterpart or model for the existing customs and institutions in family and society as a whole. It was the external authority for the daily routines which were necessary to insure the peace and tranquility of the industry and agriculture which afforded the essentials of their living. The punishment for the recalcitrant was usually sickness meted out by divine power; disease generally or fever, so prevalent, was the price of disobedience.

The divine power, through its visible representation, the kings and the priests, was the ruler of the people. There is every probability that the king was the priest: "The priest kings or priest dynasts are a most characteristic feature of Anatolia."¹

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1. W. M. Ramsay: "Religion of Greece and Asia Minor"; A Dictionary of the Bible, James Hastings, ed., Extra Volume, p. 110

Such a religion is not that of a barbaric people, but of a relatively civilized race. On the whole its history is one of deterioration. Any slight improvement which takes place is attributable to some admixture of an extraneous culture, which seems to act as a stimulant to the indigenous religious concepts, placing its fundamental and essential idea, which was not basically idolatrous, in contrast with the polytheism and image-worship which was introduced from without. The accretion of pagan customs which attached themselves to the actual truths ultimately proved successful in obliterating them. The subsequent development in Asia Minor toward polytheism and idolatry was thus gradual, external, and accidental rather than natural and necessary.¹

In primitive Anatolian and pre-Hellenic religion, as is to be expected, we do see certain evidences of nature worship. Sacred stones and other inanimate objects were held in deep veneration; the worship of trees, which were the home on earth of divine life, is a wide-spread phenomenon in the early Greek world. Various animals are held in religious awe, doubtless because they were the companions and consorts of the gods. To this class belong these representations which show Cybele with her lions or of Artemis with her stags. Such de-

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1. Cf. Ramsay: "History of Greece and Asia Minor"; loc. cit.

pictions make it clear that the original conception did not regard the deity as of human form.

1. The Bee as Representative of Divinity

Most instructive of all, however, in regard to the nature of divinity, is the bee. The bee was the sacred symbol of Ephesus. A large body of priestesses connected with her worship were called *milissai*, or working bees. There was a misconception, common to most of Greece, about the sex of bees. The queen was thought to be a male, called *essen* or *basileus*.

"But, when we look at the Ephesian cult, we find that it was founded on a true knowledge. The goddess was the queen bee; and her image makes this plain."¹

Herein we find the source of the great myth of divine motherhood, the one feature which specially distinguishes the Anatolian religion; the ascription of divine being to the mother, not the father, of all mankind. The god, the male element, is relegated to a secondary place. He is recognized as a subsidiary figure in the drama of life, while the permanent feature of the divine nature is its kindly protecting power.

This conception is attributable to the physical characteristics of the land. We have already noted the

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1. Ramsay: "Religion of Greece and Asia Minor"; loc. cit., pp. 116-7

sense of inadequacy which rugged, impregnable coast, vast sea, and equally vast plain, instilled in the hearts of the people. Nature was implacable, but she was withal kind to her poor earth-bound offspring. She gave good gifts, the wind for the ship, the rain for thirsty crops, the warmth of sun to color the fruits and brown the nut. Yes, the mother of life was protecting, watchful, munificent.

The character of the god mother is permanently impressed on the history of the land and the people;

" . . not vigour and initiative, but receptivity and impressibility, swayed the spirit of the people, breathed through the atmosphere that surrounded them, and marks their fate throughout history; and this spirit can be seen as a continuous force, barely perceptible at any moment, yet powerful in the long run, acting on every new people, and subtly influencing every new religion that came into the land. Thus, for example, the earliest trace of the high veneration of the Virgin Mary in the Christian religion is in a Phrygian inscription of the second century; and the mother of god . . . is at Ephesus, where her home among the mountains is probably as old as the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431."¹

The life cycle of the queen bee is perhaps the best explanation of the source of the Attis legend and the worship which it inspired. As regards reproduction, the opinion once maintained that the queen needs no contact with the male, is now known false. It has long been clearly demonstrated that the queen comes in contact

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1. Ramsay: "Religion of Greece and Asia Minor"; loc. cit., p. 122

with the drone while taking flight in the air. In the intercourse the male is robbed of the organs involved and thus perishes. This description applies with striking exactness to the relation between the mother and her consort, a relatively insignificant personage.

The unimportance of the male is discerned in the social structure of Asia. We find women magistrates and women guards at the Temple gates. Descent, in genealogies, was at times reckoned through the mother. The very life of man was the gift of the god mother, from her he proceeded, to her he at death returned. On this ugly myth the Temple worship of Ephesus was built, with what result the iniquity and immorality which characterized its orgies give sufficient testimony.

2. Diana and Cognate Deities

"Diana of the Ephesians is the Latinized rendering of the name Artemis (*Ἄρτεμις τῶν Ἐφεσίων*), by which the Greeks designated a goddess whose sanctuary was situated close to Ephesus."¹

The goddess had her seat in the rich valley of the Cayster long before Greek colonists had set foot on the Asian coast. She had little in common with the chaste virgin Artemis of Greek poetry and mythology.² She does, however, take her origin in the same ultimate religious

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1. W. M. Ramsay: "Diana of the Ephesians"; A Dictionary of the Bible, James Hastings, ed., Vol. I, p. 605

2. Cf. *idem*

conception, presenting in her Ephesian form the purer Greek Artemis in her Anatolian garb.

"Artemis was supposedly the twin sister of Apollo, the Maiden-Huntress of Greek woods and mountains. . . . As we begin to make inquiry as to Apollo and Artemis in the pre-Homeric days, we find that allusions to the twin birth disappear, and a suspicion arises that the twin relation is a mythological afterthought."¹

Harris, after a very detailed discussion, shows that the two were considered the father and mother respectively of Greek medicine, and thus in later mythology were considered twins.²

According to the Homeric accounts and the records of Hesiod, Artemis was the daughter of Jupiter and Latonia, born with Apollos at Delos. As the tutelary divinity of Ephesus, which alone concerns us here, she was undoubtedly a representative of the same power which presides over "conception and birth which was adored in Palestine under the name of Ashtoreth."³

She was worshipped over the whole of Lydia; and the Lydian Artemis, like the Cappadocian Ma, the Phoenician Astarte, the Syrian Atargatis and Mylitta,⁴ is related to the cognate deities of greater Asia.⁵

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1. J. Rendel Harris: "The Origin of the Cult of Artemis"; The John Rylands Library, Vol. III, p. 147
2. Cf. idem
3. "Diana"; Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature, John McClintock and James Strong, ed., Vol. II, p. 782
4. Cf. Ramsay: "Diana of the Ephesians"; loc. cit.
5. Cf. "Diana"; loc. cit.

The grosser feature of her worship was undoubtedly borrowed from the voluptuous religions of the East, introduced by the great invasions which occurred during the seven centuries before Christ.

B. Diana of the Ephesians

The Ephesian goddess was represented by a rude idol, which as we have already mentioned¹ was said to have fallen from heaven,

" . . . a tradition which attached to many sacred and rude old statues, such as that of Cybele at Pessinus (said to be merely a shapeless stone), Athena Polias on the Athenian Acropolis, etc."²

To this heaven-descended image the Ephesians gave a most slavish devotion. The term *ναυκῶρος*, literally "temple-sweeper," originally an expression of humility,

" . . . applied to the lowest menials engaged in the care of the sacred edifice, became afterwards a title of the highest honour, and was eagerly appropriated by the most famous cities . . ."³

of which Ephesus, her greatest devotee, was the most proud, as is seen by the boastful exhibition of the title on her coins.

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1. Cf. ante, p. 37

2. Ramsay: "Diana of the Ephesians"; loc. cit.

3. Conybeare and Howson: op. cit., p. 79

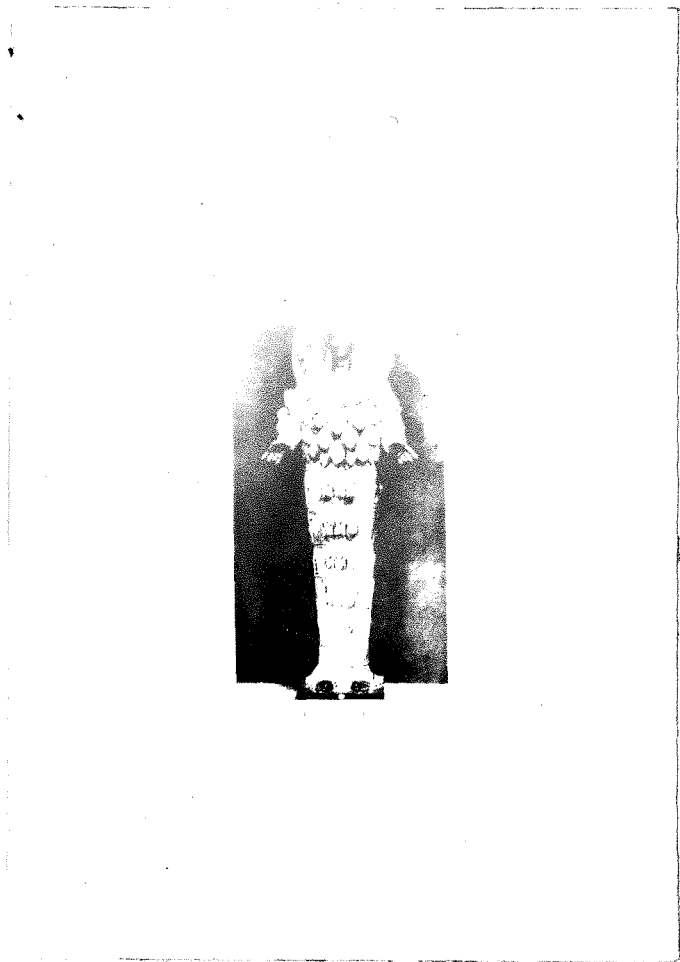


Image of Diana of the Ephesians

There is much dispute among ancient authorities concerning the materials from which this idol was constructed. The majority say it was of ebony, the black color being symbolical. Others say its substance was of vinewood, cedar, or of stone. Pliny relates that Mucianus, who had seen it, affirms that it was of the wood of the vine.¹ According to Xenophon, it was of gold.²

The variations are due, no doubt, to the fact that these authors are not referring to the same image. There were undoubtedly many reconstructions and a distinct religious evolution can be seen in her representations, at first simple, later complex, due to the fusion of Greek and Oriental conceptions; until at last a careful observation reminds us of an idol of the far East, rather than of a Greek Olympian.

1. The Image Itself

The image familiar to us, from coins, statues, and statuettes, shows the goddess as a standing idol like some great mummy partly human, partly animal. So she is represented by the one statue we have, now reposing in the Naples Museum.³

The upper section is covered with rows of breasts, the connotation of which is that she is possessed

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1. Cf. Pliny: Natural History, xvi.79

2. Cf. "Diana"; loc. cit.

3. Cf. Morton: In the Steps of St. Paul, p. 372

of abundant fountains of nourishment. The lower part is merely an upright block, without the distinction of legs, and often with no semblance of human feet, upon which base, or pedestal, are cut figures of animals, symbolical perhaps of her concern for the brute creation which she supposedly sustains. The hands in some representations are supported by props; the head support^s~~ers~~ three turrets, a token perhaps of her guardianship over the cities that are her sanctuaries. Ramsay calls this headgear "a lofty ornament, polos" or perhaps it is a crown of honor.¹ Something like a veil hangs down on either side of her shoulders; her breastplate is a necklace of pearl, ornamented with the signs of the zodiac "pointing out the seasons of the years throughout which Providence (or Nature according to the heathen system) continually dispenses its various bounties."²

2. The Hierarchy of the Cult

The chief priest of the Ephesian cult of Diana bore the Persian title Megabyzos, and in earlier times had to be a eunuch. Strabo tells us that in his time this requirement was no longer made (c. 19 A.D.).³ Some authorities lead us to believe that there was a body of

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1. Cf. Ramsay: "Diana of the Ephesians"; loc. cit.
2. Scripture Illustrations, p. 69
3. Cf. Strabo: Geography, Vol. III, XIV.c.1

Megabyzoi in the ritual; but Canon Hicks seems rightly to argue that the title was appropriated to the single high priest, "who represented the divine associate of the goddess, Attis or Atys, whom she herself mutilated."¹ The priests were assisted by virgins, chosen from the wealthiest families, who were obliged to pass three degrees of initiation to become priestesses or Hieraeae (venerable).² Some apply the name Melissai, Bees, to them. A single priestess, *Ispeia*, is mentioned in inscriptions; probably she was the head of the cultus and representative of the goddess.³

There was also a body of priests, to whom the name Essenes was given. This group seems to have been appointed for one year only, and were officials both of the city and of the sanctuary. Various other bodies were in attendance in the Temple, such as the Koureies and the Akrobatai, who were similar, perhaps, to the modern dervishes.

There can be no doubt that the ritual of the cult was of an orgiastic type accompanied with ceremonial prostitution and like abominations. On many occasions Paul must have beheld with sorrow and righteous indignation this ritual of bestial wantonness.

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1. Ramsay: "Diana of the Ephesians"; loc. cit.
2. Cf. Svoboda: The Seven Churches of Asia, p. 15
3. Cf. Ramsay: "Diana of the Ephesians"; loc. cit.

The priests were amply supported by the proceeds of wide domains and valuable fisheries. The value and fame of the Temple were enhanced by its being the treasury, in which a large portion of the wealth of western Asia was stored. The bank, as we can rightly call it, was in the area behind the Adytum, where the Praxiteles altar and the classic idol of Diana were placed, and was under the divine protection of the goddess.

3. Magic and Diverse Superstitions

We are not surprized to find that in the shadow of such a pagan worship there abounded every type of sorcery, astrology, fortune telling, amulet, exorcism, and a veritable congerie of quackeries which made of Ephesus the world's supreme bazaar of magical imposture. On the base of Diana's statue were engraved certain mystic formulae, to which were assigned magic efficacy. This led to the manufacture and world distribution of the celebrated Ephesian writings.

"Among these were the words askion, kataskion, lix, tetras, damnameneus, and aisia, which for sense and efficiency were about on a par with the daries, derdaries, astataries, or ista, pista, sista, which Cato the elder held to be a sovereign remedy for a sprain, or the hauriri, uriri, iriri, riri, iri, ri, accompanied with knockings on the lid of a jug, which the Rabbis taught as an efficacious expulsion of the demon of blindness."1

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1. Farrar: The Life and Work of St. Paul, pp. 359-60

A most bitter attack on the Ephesus of his day was that of the pseudo-Heraclitus, who was banished for his merciless criticism of moral practices such as these which have just been mentioned.

One of the idolatrous customs of the ancient world, with which we are familiar through the narrative of the Acts, was the use of portable images or shrines. The Ephesian image makers were world famous for their gold, silver, or wooden replicas of Diana and of her Temple. Few of those who came to Ephesus and once imbibed the intoxications of all this pagan profligacy in display and orgy, could forget it; one resolved by the grace of God to obliterate it, and by God's grace he did. Though he might be torn to pieces for his bravery, yet Paul counted his adversaries as naught and at the very Temple steps preached his message which ultimately succeeded in its utter demolition, with the image it contained lost forever.

C. The Mysteries

According to Ramsay's view, the Anatolian religious ritual was an endeavor to dramatize the various stages and actions of the divine life.¹ Man sought,

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1. Cf. Ramsay: "Religion of Greece and Asia Minor"; loc. cit., p. 124.

by acting as the gods, to lead a right and holy life. The name *Mysteria*, which was given to these rites, was indicative of secrecy and a certain uncanny and supernatural character supposedly attached to the devotee of the cult. The idea of the recurring death and new birth of the natural world, regarded as the annual death and rebirth of the divine life, was combined with the fact of the sequence of generations in human life. The divine becomes the prototype and counterpart of the human, the mystery cult providing the means through which the whole drama could be presented to the worshipper.

In this portrayal we see the life of nature in all the stages of its history. The divine parents and the divine child correspond to the human, and again to the annual sequence of birth and death, spring and fall. What is true of the divine and of the natural must be true of the human sequence. Humanity is as continuous, as immortal as its counterpart; as permanent and everlasting as that of which it is a likeness.

Thus the mysteries fostered a hope of immortality. The human race was possessed of the stuff of the immortal gods whom they worshipped, and who breathed their own spirit of endless life into the breast of the believing initiate. At best the mysteries may be considered the moralization of Hellenic religion. Its ritual requisitioned certain sacred rites to meet deep

spiritual needs. Among these rites were those of purification accomplished by baptism, sometimes by water, sometimes in blood, as in the blood purification—taurobolium.

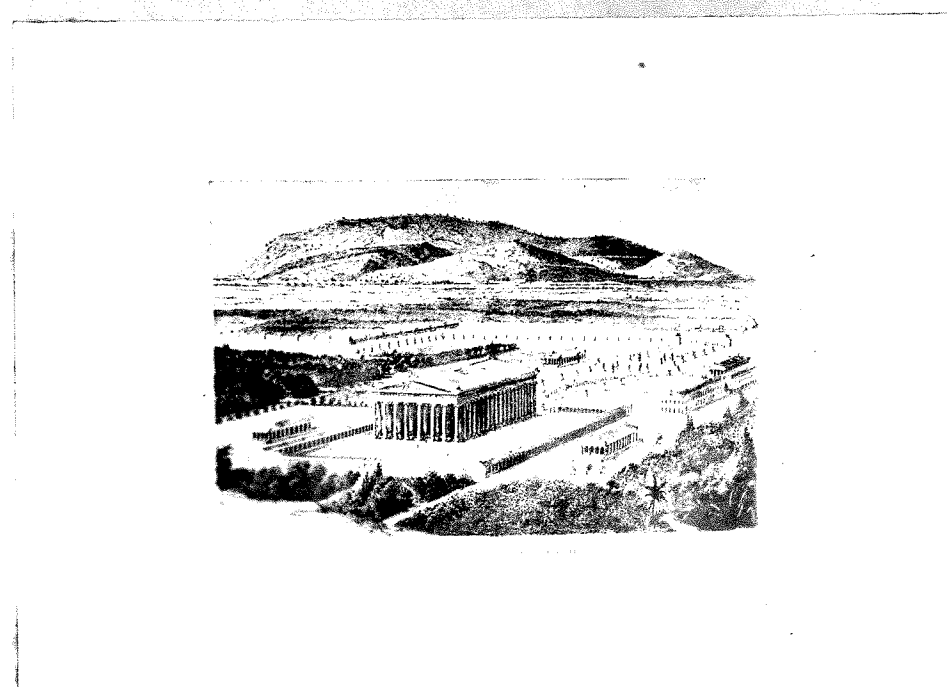
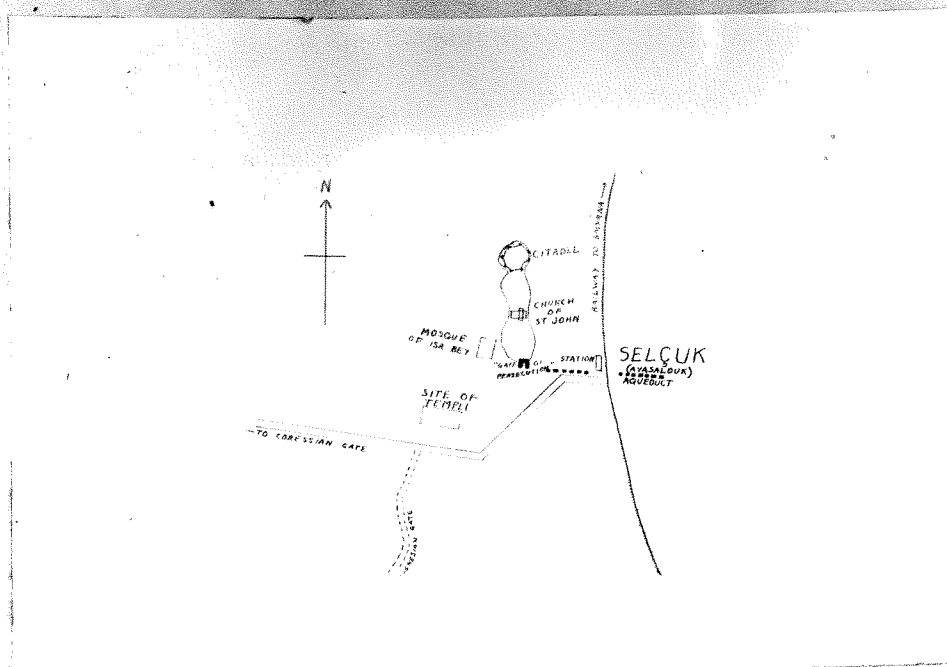
What the Greek sought, it seems, in the mysteries was the establishment of communion with a divine being resulting "in an infusion of the divine life."¹ Plato describes this infusion as inspiration or, because of the spiritual exaltation which attends it, regeneration. For others, of less lofty frame, it was emotional release, esthetic ecstasy. At its worst, and because the tendency was innately towards release, the show of ritualistic externalities led to mere sensual exhilaration, which unchecked produced every type of excess in the endeavor to gratify the emotional and physical appetites.

Dr. Paterson's concise contrast of the Jewish and Grecian concept of religion gives us a pointed summary sentence which we may use in closing this brief review of the mysteries:

" . . if the Jewish mind dwelt chiefly on the awful penalties of Sin, and magnified the sacrifices as the means of atonement, it would seem that the devout Greek mind was rather oppressed by a sense of human weakness and mortality, and was attracted to the mystic rites as a means of vivifying union with a divine being."²

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1. W. P. Paterson: The Nature of Religion, p. 404
2. Idem



Temple Area
In Relation to the Modern Village of Ayasoluk

Temple Area
(From J. T. Wood)

D. The Artemision

If the idol Diana's statue was itself crude and ugly, the Temple in which it stood was magnificent. Ancient writers can hardly find words fit to describe it. It was larger than the Parthenon, and much more renowned. Of its antiquity Pausanias said it "is much more ancient than the colonization of the Iones."¹ Of its awe-inspiring grandeur,

"Another ancient writer says, 'I have seen the walls and hanging gardens of Old Babylon, the statue of Olympian Jove, the Colossus of Rhodes, the great labour of the lofty Pyramids, and the ancient tomb of Mausolus. But when I beheld the Temple at Ephesus towering to the clouds, all these marvels were eclipsed.'"²

Certainly this building at Ephesus, considered one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, surpassed all the rest in its sheer magnificence of architecture.

1. The History of the First Four Temples

The Temple area was located, about a mile northeast of the ancient city, less than a mile from what now is the little village of Ayasoluk.³ The sun, which saw nothing of more surpassing beauty, now shines hotly on a water-logged ruin.

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1. Pausanias: The Description of Greece, Vol. II, p. 169
2. Morton: In the Steps of St. Paul, p. 371
3. Cf. Hogarth: "Ephesus"; The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Fourteenth Edition, Vol. VIII; also Morton: op. cit., p. 370

We know of no temple previous to the Ionian occupation of the site of Ephesus, the primeval seat of the nature goddess having been in the southern hills at Ortygia.¹

Pausanias speaks of a pre-Ionian shrine to the Ephesian goddess, at Didymi, older of course than any at Ephesus, ἥ καὶ ἀ τὴν Ἰωνῶν ἐσείκησιν, and in addition πολλὰ δὲ πρεσβύτερα ἐστὶ ἢ κατὰ Ἴωνα τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν Ἐφεσίαν ἐστίν.²

The precise locality of the earliest Hieron (temple) is not known, unless we deem it feasible to accept the notice of Tacitus (Ann. iii.61) which records the pleadings of the Ephesians before Tiberius for recognition of the ancient right of asylum, as a credible one. If so, this plea may be taken as proof that local tradition, in the earlier imperial age, did not regard the Artemision site in the plain as having been occupied from the earliest times by a sanctuary of the mother goddess.³ The notice but gives the more credence to the inference that the idea of a sanctuary was inherited from Ortygia.

Towards the end of the eighth century before Christ, a small shrine came into existence on the plain of the Cayster. But this was not regarded by any Greek

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1. Cf. ante, pp. 36-37.

2. Cf. David G. Hogarth: Excavations at Ephesus, p. 142

3. Cf. Ibid., p. 142

tradition as an Artemision. It was no more than a small platform of green schist, with a sacred tree and an altar, on which was placed a small wooden image, the whole being enclosed in a Temenos.¹

Presently a stone building was erected around and over this earliest shrine, and the whole was enriched by the Greeks with many and splendid offerings of Hellenic workmanship. After the Cimmerian sack of 650 B.C., the shrine was embellished, enlarged, and raised, though it is doubtful whether its character was altered.²

About the close of the century, the shrine was replaced by a temple of regular Hellenic form. Mr. Wood's excavations removed the whole stratum of superficial deposit which overlay the huge area of the Temple. He exposed the scanty remains of the earliest temple and the platform of an earlier temple, now known to be built in the sixth century, to which Croesus was a large contributor. Mr. Hogarth's reëxamination disclosed the remains of other shrines, the earliest of which was, it is believed, the post-Cimmerian temple.

The third or Hellenic edifice was built in relation to the earlier central statue-base and at a higher level, for dryness' sake, than the earlier ones. It was the work, in all probability, of Chersiphron of Knossos,

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1. Cf. Hogarth: "Ephesus"; loc. cit.
2. Cf. idem

and was remembered by the prevalent tradition as the original Artemision. The latter's son, Metagenes,¹ carried on the work which was continued and completed by Demetrius and Paeonius.²

This fourth temple of Demetrius and Paeonius is, beyond question, that to which Croesus contributed many columns, and it was, therefore, in process of building about 540 B.C.³ Pliny calls it the most wonderful monument of Grecian magnificence, "one that claims our genuine admiration." It

"occupied two hundred and twenty years in building,⁴ a work in which all Asia joined. . . . The entire length of the temple is four hundred and 25 ft. The columns are a hundred and 127 in number, and 60 ft. in height, each of them presented by a different king."⁵

We have no means of checking the accuracy of these measurements. Mr. Hogarth's excavations show that its central point was still the primitive statue base, now enlarged and again heightened. About half of its pavement, parts of the cella walls and of the three columns of the peristyle, are still in position. Fragments recovered show that all was of finely grained, white marble, exquisitely worked in the most excellent

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1. Cf. Hogarth: "Ephesus"; loc. cit.
2. Cf. Conybeare and Howson: The Life and Epistles of St. Paul, p. 74
3. Cf. Hogarth: "Ephesus"; loc. cit.
4. Hogarth says 120 years to complete. Pliny no doubt counts from its earliest conception by Chersiphron.
5. Pliny: Natural History, xxxvi.21

Ionic style; the whole presenting "a variety of ornament rare among Hellenic temples."¹

The whole ground plan of the sanctuary covered about 80,000 square feet. Its height is doubtful, but judged by the diameter of the drums the columns of the Croesus temple were not two-thirds of the height of those of the Hellenistic temple. The gigantic machines used in its construction, on a foundation mat which virtually floated on the marshy plain, indicate that it was of tremendous proportions.

It was dedicated between 430 and 420 B.C., "and the famous Timotheus, son of Thersander, carried off the prize for a lyric ode against all comers."²

The temple survived until 356 B.C. when, it is said, it was burned by one Herostratus, who sought by his audacity to acquire eternal fame. His name was erased from all civic records and only comes to us through a record of the fact in the history of Theopompus—the evil that men do lives after them.

Whether the Croesus temple was totally destroyed all at once, or by two conflagrations, is doubtful. Eusebius, in an isolated statement, says that it was burned about 395 B.C., and Mr. Hogarth ventures the suggestion that Herostratus may have done no more than

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1. Hogarth: "Ephesus"; loc. cit.
2. Idem

complete, after some restoration, the destruction first sustained thirty-nine years earlier.¹

Thus, history tells us that the Croesus temple came to an end on the very night that Alexander the Great was born. "The exactness of this portentous synchronism makes the date suspect," avers the cautious archeologist.²

2. The Last or Hellenistic Temple

The Croesus temple was succeeded by the larger, greater, and more magnificent one. It was probably begun immediately after the destruction of its predecessor. That it might be more sumptuous in its appointments, a subscription of jewelry from all the ladies of Ephesus was ventured and proved highly successful. So great was the national pride in the sanctuary that, when Alexander offered the spoils of his eastern campaign if he might inscribe his name on the building, the honor was declined.³

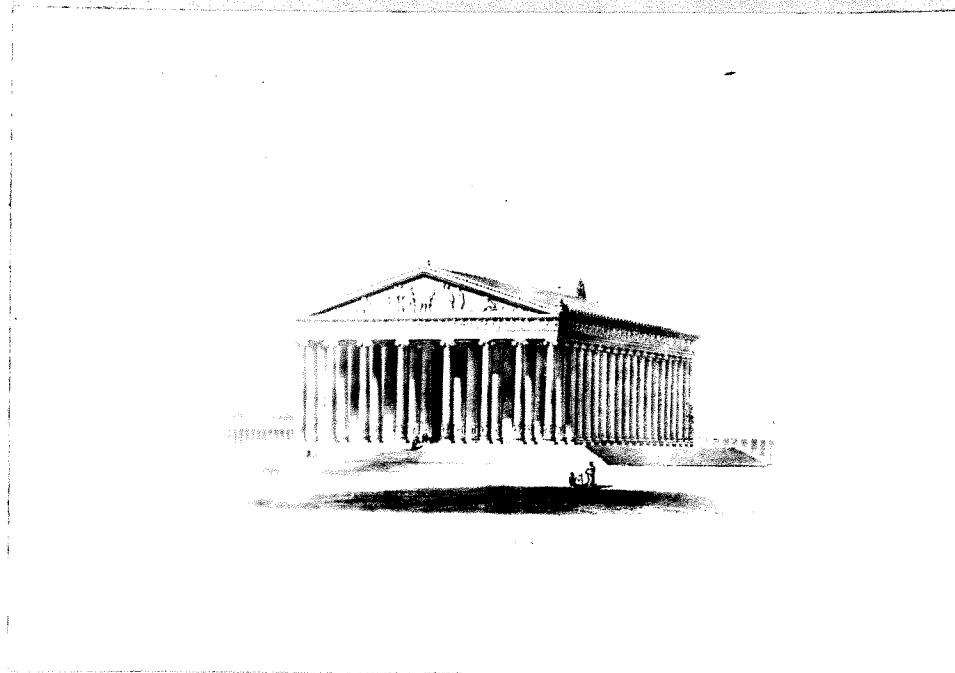
The best description, though by no means complete, of the general proportions and accoutrements of the Hellenistic temple is found in Wood's Discoveries at Ephesus. No less a personage than Hogarth commends it, and so it is presented in full that it may be preserved. Only those remarks which do not speak directly to the

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1. Cf. Hogarth: Excavations at Ephesus, p. 6

2. Cf. Hogarth: "Ephesus"; loc. cit.

3. Cf. Strabo: Geography, Vol. III, XIV.c.1



Restoration of the Last or Hellenic Temple
(From J. T. Wood)

point of the description of the Temple are omitted.¹

"The platform upon which the Temple was raised, called by Pliny the 'universum Templum,' was 418 feet 1 inch by 239 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches (English), measured on the lowest step, the dimensions given by Pliny being 425 by 220 feet (Roman). The height of the pavement of the peristyle from the pavement beyond the platform was 9 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The height of each step was little more than 8 inches; fourteen steps, therefore, were needed to mount to the peristyle. The 'tread' of the steps was 19 inches.

"The Temple itself was 163 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 342 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and was octastyle, having eight columns in front; and dipteral, having two ranks of columns all round the cella. This accords with the description of it by Vitruvius.

"The columns of the peristyle were, as Pliny has described them, one hundred in number, twenty-seven of which were the gifts of kings. They were 6 feet $0\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter at the base; and adopting the proportion given by Vitruvius for the improved Ionic order, that is $8\frac{1}{2}$ diameters in height independent of the base upon which they were raised, they would be 55 feet $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, including the base. This nearly accords with Pliny's dimension for the height of the columns, viz., 60 feet (Roman), a Roman foot being about one-third of an inch shorter than an English foot. Pliny describes thirty-six of these hundred columns as 'caelatae' (sculptured), and I have no doubt they occupied the positions shown on my plan of the Temple, viz., eighteen at the west end, and the same number at the east end. The data in our possession do not enable me to state with certainty to what height the sculpture of these 'columnae caelatae' was carried up. The medal of Hadrian illustrated by the woodcut A distinctly represents one tier of figures only with a band of mouldings above it. The medal of Gordianus, B, published in Professor T. L. Donaldson's 'Architectura Numismatica,' gives a similar representation; but the band of mouldings is much higher up the shaft of the column. Of the five examples of the sculptured

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1. Wood: Discoveries at Ephesus, pp. 262 ff.

columns in our possession, the diameter of three of the frustra or drums can be clearly ascertained; of these three, two measure the same at the base as the lowest drums of the fluted columns (6 feet $0\frac{1}{2}$ inch), the third measures only 5 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches across its upper end. This would make it appear that the sculpture was carried up to the height of about 20 feet, or for three tiers of sculpture divided by bands of mouldings. . . . The question then arises whether the columns at the west end were sculptured to the height of one tier only, as shown by the medals, and those at the east end, where the smaller drum was found, to the height of three tiers. . . . Fragments of dedicatory inscriptions deeply incised were found on the torus of the outer fluted columns of the peristyle. The columns thus inscribed were probably the gifts of communities or individuals. The twenty-seven columns, gifts of kings, mentioned by Pliny, were probably among the thirty-six sculptured columns, and their dedications might have been inscribed upon a band above the first tier of sculpture.

"The intercolumniations between the columns on the flanks were 17 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, excepting the two intercolumniations at each extremity of the Temple, where they were increased to 19 feet 4 inches, to allow, I suppose, for the projection of the sculpture on these columns, which, in one of the examples found, was, as I have before stated, as much as 13 inches.

"The spacing of the columns in front deserves particular attention. Vitruvius, in his book dedicated to Augustus, describes the intercolumniations in front of a temple as equal, excepting only the central one, which was made wider than the others to allow the statue within the temple to be well seen from the road through the open door. But I found that there was in the great Ephesian Temple a beautifully harmonious gradual diminution from the center to the angles, which made the increased width of the central intercolumniation quite unobjectionable. All the ordinary columns of the peristyle were fluted with elliptical flutings $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide near the base, these were separated by fillets very little more than one inch wide. The outer columns had 24 flutings, the inner columns 28. Vitruvius describes the inner columns of the peristyles of temples as having 'thirty' flutings.

"The cella was nearly 70 feet wide, and I have supposed the Temple to have been hypaethral or partly open to the sky. A double tier of columns must have been employed in the cella, but the only fragment found which might have belonged to the interior is part of a Corinthian capital, elliptical in plan. What the hypaethron of the Greeks really was has not yet been determined. There are many reasons for believing that it was a large space in the cella which was open to the sky like the central court of the Royal Exchange of London. The literal meaning 'under the sky,' seems to admit of this arrangement only. The size of the aperture remains an open question. The pavements of Greek temples were sunk in the centre, which appears to prove that the rain was allowed to fall there, and by this contrivance the remainder of the cella was kept dry.

"Mr. Fergusson has supposed that the statue of the god or goddess could not have been exposed to the rain or snow, but that the whole of the Temple was roofed over, and that the cella was lighted from above, not by an aperture in the roof, but by a clerestory, which he obtains by countersinking the roof on both sides. The question is, whether such an arrangement would answer to the term hypaethral? The statue may have been protected from the weather by a species of canopy or baldacchino. Remains of the altar were found in position as shown on plan. In rear of the altar must have stood the statue of the goddess. The foundations discovered are large enough for both the altar and the statue. The statue of the goddess which was said to have fallen from Jupiter (Acts xix) was probably similar in character to the traditionary many-breasted goddess represented by old engravings, and the well-known statue of the Asiatic goddess in the Museo Reale at Naples. . . .

"The works of Phidias and Praxiteles with which the altar was said to abound, I have supposed to have been placed in a deep recess behind the altar and statue, such as I have shown in my plan. Here pedestals for statues and groups of sculpture might have stood, and numbers of bas-reliefs might have been placed on the walls between the antae of the recess.

"To return to the exterior of the Temple, the fragments of sculptured frieze found in the

excavations prove that the whole of the frieze was sculptured with familiar mythological subjects in which Diana, Hercules, Theseus, Amazons and others figured.

"A large fragment of sculpture, representing the winged figure of a man leading a ram, was found at the west end of the excavations. This massive block of marble formed a corner-stone, and was probably part of an altar which might have stood on the platform outside the Temple.

"The cymatium was beautifully decorated with the conventional Greek honeysuckle ornament, intercepted by boldly and well-executed lions' heads which measured nearly two feet across the forehead. Above the cymatium were antifixa of white marble.

"Fragments of the architrave which were found together with those of the frieze and cornice have enabled me to complete the whole of the entablature, a small portion of the cornice only having been left to conjecture.

"The roof was covered with large white marble tiles, of which many fragments were found, as well as of the circular cover tiles. Unfortunately the size of the flat tiles can be determined only approximately by the probable distance apart of the lions' heads in the cymatium. If I am correct in this, the tiles were about 4 feet wide; the circular (elliptical) tiles covering the joints were $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide.

"Such, then, was the building which ranked as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the beauty of which attracted such multitudes to Ephesus, and which is alluded to in Acts xix. St. Paul, during his three years' sojourn at Ephesus, doubtless often gazed upon it with admiration, at the same time that he deplored its consecration to the worship of a heathen goddess."

Though the Temple was of huge proportions, it was not mere size that earned for it its world renown. Hogarth remarks that

"since . . . other Greek temples had colonnades hardly less high, and were of equal or greater area,

it has been suggested that the Ephesian temple had some distinct element of grandiosity, no longer known to us—perhaps a lofty sculptured parapet or some imposing form of podium."¹

It was Mr. Hogarth's good fortune to discover and reveal the true significance of Mr. Wood's supposed "great altar." He had been digging many weary months without finding anything worth reporting. In November, 1904, having nothing better to do, he set his men to work on the small oblong structure of the supposed altar. It was not marble, as had been supposed, but merely veneered with marble, and beneath the top slab were piled countless

"limestone slabs and beds of mortar, and in each bed of mortar the most astonishing treasure. . . . earrings, . . . necklaces, jeweled hairpins and brooches . . . the whole treasure trove evidently coming from the best era, 'the Ionian springtime' of Greek art."²

What did this mean; that these had been votive offerings? No; Mr. Hogarth immediately sensed the true solution to the puzzle. These were of the ancient "foundation deposit" made when the Temple was first built, and represented the base on which Diana's statue rested. Among other things, which virtually made scholars gasp with envy at his success, he found statues of Diana which

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1. Hogarth; "Ephesus"; The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Fourteenth Edition, Vol. VIII
2. Camden M. Cobern; The New Archeological Discoveries and Their Bearing upon the New Testament and Upon the Life and Times of the Primitive Church, Second Edition, p. 469

showed that the common representation of her as ugly, many-breasted, eastern, was not popular. As early as the fifth century, though her original was as commonly depicted, she was portrayed in replica as a beautiful woman or as a mummy.¹

Hogarth's work shows that the fifth Temple represented an epoch in the history of art. Here was Ionic sculpture, femininely beautiful, at its best. It represented the true genius of the Asiatic Greek more aptly than the sterner and plainer Doric art.

Begun, probably, before 350 B.C., it was completed by the end of the century. It stood intact, except for repairs, alterations, and partial restorations, until 262 A.D., when it was sacked and burned by the Goths; but it appears to have been restored again, to some extent, at a later period, and its cult survived no doubt till the edict of Theodosius which closed all pagan temples (about 389 A.D.).²

What may have become of the remains of the last Temple is suggested by Hogarth when he says:

"If the Church of St. John is ever excavated, more fragments of the Artemision will probably be found in its ruins than have ever come to light on the site of the temple itself."³

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1. Cf. Cobern; op. cit., p. 470
2. Cf. Hogarth; "Ephesus"; loc. cit.
3. "The Temple of Diana at Ephesus"; The Builder, Vol. VC, 1908, p. 550

Are some of these fragments, perhaps pieces of the very pavements of the Temple, reposing in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York? Recently tiles from the Church of St. John at Ephesus have been brought to this Christian sanctuary, where they may now be seen.

E. Conclusion

When Paul came to Ephesus, the Temple and the intricate organization connected with it were at the height of their power and fame. Every department of Ephesian life was dominated by the Temple of Diana. It was a museum of fine arts,

"a savings bank for the poor, a bank of deposit and discount for the rich, a mont de piété for the shiftless, and an asylum sanctuary for criminals."¹

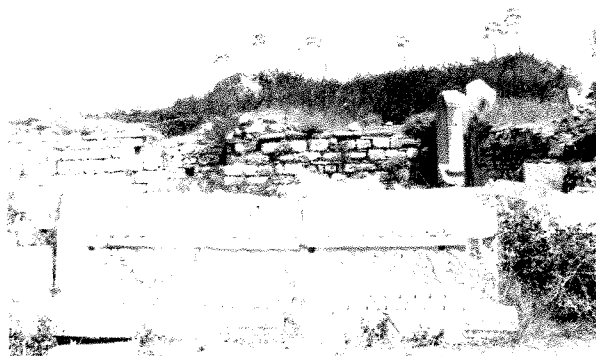
During the great festal occasions, the harbor of Ephesus was filled with pilgrim ships, the Temple with awe-struck strangers. No work was done for a month, the people giving themselves to a "daily programme of athletic contests, plays and solemn sacrifices. Thousands of silver shrines were purchased by the visitors"² as votive offerings.

Paul did not tremble in awe but, faithful to his mission and His Christ, at the very doors of the

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1. Wright: Cities of St. Paul, p. 41

2. Morton: In the Steps of St. Paul, pp. 372-3



Beam of a Doorway between Narthex and Small Church
- St. Mary's Church. An inscription reads, This
doorway placed by order of the most holy archbishop
John (Fifth Century)

Crosses engraved on pillars of St. Mary's Church
Later defaced by Mohammedan invaders

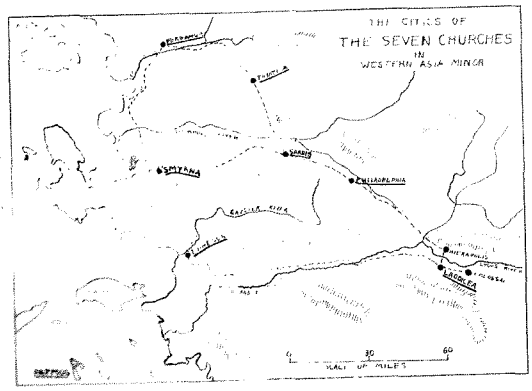
Temple, he taught that all this was much ado about nothing, and seeing the silver shrines and golden idols he had said, as Demetrius quotes him, "they are no gods that are made with hands."¹

What he taught, he first believed, and with such power, says St. Luke, that the word of the Lord which he spoke grew and prevailed.

The city once famous for its temples of Diana became in the time of Justinian renowned for its Christian church of St. John Theologos—the word grew and prevailed.

CHAPTER IV

THE EPHESIAN CONTRIBUTION TO
THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIAN CHURCH HISTORY



CHAPTER IV
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Though our Lord did not undertake a mission beyond the borders of His own land, He yet preached a gospel whose scope was universal. The disciples, before the Jerusalem conference, had not fully understood the implications of Christ's commission, "Go ye into all the world." It remained for the ecumenically-minded Paul to catch the vision of the full sweep of his Master's kingdom.

With a divinely mediated insight and premeditated strategy, Paul chose the great cities as missionary centers of early Christendom. The Hellenistic towns were uniquely prepared for the reception of the gospel. "Jew and Greek in collision were working out a new language and new conceptions of religion"¹; in such an atmosphere the gospel could be preached with immediate effect.

In Asia Minor Hellenism had assumed a form which rendered it particularly susceptible to Christianity. Numerous bodies of Jews were dispersed about the land. These, though on the whole bitterly hostile to

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1. T. R. Glover: The World of the New Testament, p. 199

Christianity, had yet prepared many an individual's heart for its message.

"Here singular mixtures of Judaism and paganism were to be met with, in the realm of ideas (cp. the worship of θεὸς ὑψίστος) as well as in mythology; the population were open for a new syncretism."¹

The great cults were in a way an anticipation of universalism in religion, but only an anticipation. They did not and could not satisfy the religious nature of the age.

Culture and manners diffused widely throughout the Asian provinces where, in the west, trade, commerce, and industry flourished. This culture, in the great Aegean metropolae particularly, was always Hellenic. Here, perhaps more than in any other country, Christianity amalgamated with Hellenism, and the resultant transition and infusion affected all departments of human existence.² Thus the Apostle Paul was drawn to Asia Minor, not only by a desire to evangelize the country of his birth, but by the natural advantages which its culture afforded.

A. The Evangelization of Ephesus

Ephesus has been called "the second fulcrum of

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1. Adolf Harnack: The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, Vol. II, p. 327
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 328

Christianity, after Antioch."¹ Antioch had been the cradle of the movement to liberate Christianity from the synagogue and from Mosaism.

"But Antioch was at arm's length from the center of the Greek world. It was on the periphery. Ephesus was at the center;"²

and it was thus a more distinctly Hellenistic city.

Paul came first³ to Ephesus⁴ on his way from Corinth to Jerusalem, arriving with his friends, Aquila and Priscilla, in 53 A.D.⁵

He did not tarry long,⁶ but leaving his companions he went on to Jerusalem, reaching his destination perhaps at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, September 16, A.D. 53.⁷ During his absence, Apollos visited Ephesus, received Christian instruction from Aquila and Priscilla, and passed on to Corinth.⁸

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1. Harnack; op. cit., p. 328
2. Edgar J. Goodspeed: New Chapters in New Testament Study, p. 22
3. "The earliest New Testament allusion to the region of Ephesus may be found in Acts 2:9, where we find pious Jews from 'Asia' among the crowd at Pentecost. Through these men, or some of them, the first intimations of the Gospel may have reached the plain of the Cayster." Handley C. G. Moule: The Epistle to the Ephesians, p. 11
4. Cf. Acts 18:19
5. Cf. G. T. Stokes: The Acts of the Apostles, Vol. II, p. 332; also Deissmann: St. Paul, pp. 235 ff.; cf. Sir William Ramsay: Pauline and Other Studies, p. 365
6. Cf. Acts 18:20
7. Cf. Stokes; op. cit., p. 338
8. Cf. Acts 18:24-28

St. Paul's second visit,¹ which he had promised, lasted over three years,² from 54 to 57 A.D.³ He found a group of disciples there who had been partially instructed by his predecessors. These he questioned, corrected, and baptized, and no doubt requisitioned to assist him in the work of evangelizing the city. He himself preached for three months⁴ in the synagogue where he had been so well received on his previous visit.⁵ But as elsewhere "the offence" of the cross told on the Jews of the synagogue, and their opposition drove him to the "school of Tyrannus." Here he labored for two full years, preaching powerfully, his ministry attended by many miracles which served to expose the magical practices of which Ephesus was a center.⁶

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1. Cf. Frederic Rendall; The Epistle to the Galatians, Introduction, pp. 129-141, for a very admirable account of Paul's travels, especially pp. 136-8
2. Cf. Acts 20:31. Called three years according to the ancient custom of reckoning two years and a fraction as three years; cf. W. M. Ramsay; Pictures of the Apostolic Church, p. 255
3. Cf. Moule; op. cit., p. 11; Stokes; op. cit. Late 54 A.D.; Ramsay, December 53 to March 56. A variation of a year must be allowed, for scholars can not agree on the exact date of Gallio's proconsulship; cf. Eberhardt; Antioch in Syria—Keystone City of Pauline Missions—As a Strategic Center in the Early Christian Church, p. 104, n. 1
4. Cf. Acts 19:8
5. Cf. Acts 18:20
6. Cf. Acts 19:11-20

B. Ephesus as a Literary Center
in Early Christianity

Ephesus is conspicuously important as a literary center in early Christianity, not only as a place of origin of literature but also in the promotion, collection, and circulation of early Christian writings.

The question of the place of composition, authorship, date, and historical setting of the various New Testament writings, is one of great magnitude. Even the more limited problem of the identification of the Pauline literature composed at Ephesus is a subject beyond the scope of full treatment in this thesis, and must be presented here in briefest outline.

It is now generally accepted that Galatians,¹ and certainly I Corinthians,² were written at Ephesus. Goodspeed even suggests that "of Paul's four letters to Corinth, three were composed at Ephesus."³ He, with other scholars, supposes, from the difference in tone between chapters 10 to 13 and chapters 1 to 9 in II Corinthians, that chapters 10 to 13 are actually the epistle sent in anguish (II Corinthians 2:4), which may have been

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1. Cf. Adolf Deissmann: *The New Testament in the Light of Modern Research*, p. 33; also Ernest DeWitt Burton: *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, pp. xlv-xlix
2. Cf. Deissmann: *loc. cit.*
3. Cf. Goodspeed: *op. cit.*, p. 24

written previous to the other portion of II Corinthians.

Deissmann's much-discussed theory, based on the literal acceptance of Paul's statement, "I fought with beasts at Ephesus," indicative of one or more Ephesian imprisonments,¹ leads him to attribute the encyclical "Ephesians,"² Colossians, Philemon, and Philip-
pians, to Ephesus as their place of composition.³ Duncan accepts the hypothesis of one or more imprisonments at Ephesus and develops it, adding a very cogent argument for the Ephesian origin of Philippians.⁴

These conclusions have been challenged by C. Harold Dodd,⁵ who feels that the evidence still demands the acceptance of the traditional view which ascribes these epistles to the Roman imprisonment.⁶ Goodspeed adds to the Pauline corpus of letters written from Ephesus, the Luke-Acts narrative and the Revelation of John.⁷

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1. Cf. Deissmann: loc. cit., also St. Paul, pp. 20ff.
2. Cf. Goodspeed: op. cit., p. 32, who, though he will not accept Pauline authorship for the letter, yet correctly calls it "a great encyclical."
3. 55-55 A.D.; cf. Deissmann: loc. cit.
4. Cf. G. S. Duncan: St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry, pp. 295-9
5. Cf. Charles Harold Dodd: The Meaning of Paul for Today, p. 29, n. 13
6. About 60-62 A.D.; cf. Ramsay: Pauline and Other Studies, p. 365
7. Cf. Goodspeed: loc. cit.

If this brief summary be sound, Ephesus is to be credited with great significance in the formative years of Christian literature. In this judgment Goodspeed concurs when he concludes:

"So for one momentous generation, Ephesus was the literary focus of early Christianity, and by its compositions—three letters to Corinth, Luke-Acts, Ephesians, Revelation, the Gospel of John, the letters of John; and by its compilations—the Pauline, Ignatian and Johannine letters and the four gospels—influenced Christianity more than Jerusalem, Antioch or Rome."¹

C. Paul's Later Contacts with Ephesus

That Ephesus was cut out by natural advantages to be a missionary center, whence the gospel should radiate out into the whole countryside, is shown by the success which attended Paul's work there, not only with the Jews and Greeks in the city, says Luke,² but throughout all Asia, cries Demetrius,³ instigator of the riot⁴ which made it impossible for him to remain in the vicinity.⁵

Saint Paul's last voyage to Syria, A.D. 58,⁶ touched at Miletus,⁷ approximately thirty miles south of

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1. Goodspeed: New Chapters in New Testament Study, p.49
2. Cf. Acts 19:17
3. Cf. Acts 19:29
4. 57 A.D.
5. Cf. Stokes: The Acts of the Apostles, p. 362
6. Idem
7. Cf. Acts 20:15

Ephesus. He avoided another visit to Ephesus, for he wished to hurry on to Jerusalem, perhaps that he might be there before Pentecost.

Ephesus is mentioned in I Timothy 1:3, where Paul exhorts Timothy to stay on there; and in II Timothy 1:18, where the Apostle commends the Ephesian Onesiphorus to Timothy and advises his young disciple that he has sent Tychicus to aid him in his work.

D. Paul's Success at Ephesus

We have briefly traced the ministry, and alluded to the labors and suffering, of St. Paul in Ephesus, where in three years the Apostle had laid the foundations for a work which was to turn the chief seat of pagan idolatry into a stronghold of orthodox Christianity. Once again he had proved his claim to be the foremost champion of Gentile rights and the most formidable adversary of Judaism. Imperially-minded Paul, he alone, had struck the blow which sounded the death knell of paganism!

More than twenty years had elapsed since the crucifixion of our Lord, and little or nothing had been done towards the conversion of the Gentile world. When Paul arrived at Ephesus, the new religion had already planted itself, but only in an imperfect form. It is probable that Aquila, Priscilla, and Apollos had only

addressed themselves to the Jews. The fact that they remained apparently unmolested by them during Paul's absence is sufficient proof that the trio had not fully expounded the gospel news which testified to Christ as the Son of God. It remained for Paul to tell of the purpose of Jesus' death, the power of the cross, and of Christ's invitation to Jew and Gentile alike to become one people, children of God.

As Ephesus was the commercial capital of the Roman province Asia, it was visited for trade and various reasons by vast numbers of people from other Asian centers, and thus every city in the province was affected by Paul's preaching.

By birth and training, he above all others was fitted to deal with the grossness of paganism which overspread the city; the prejudices of the Jews, who were numerous there; and the ignorance of the Greeks, whose superficial philosophy colored the intellectual thought of the entire populace. When the mixed audiences to which he preached dispersed, they did so by an elaborate system of roads and ship lanes which emanated from the city throughout the Empire; with them they carried the news they had heard.

Nor was Paul deterred by the fact that his message attacked the very foundations of the pagan worship which had its center in Ephesus. The town's

"spiritual and moral atmosphere simply reeked with the fumes, ideas, and practice of Oriental paganism, of which magical incantations,"¹

pageantry and idolatry were a prominent feature. He realized that all this worship was but a quest for the very thing he had to offer—the ecumenicity of religion. He precipitated a revolution of the whole religious economy, not by attacking its form, but by changing the lives of the men who had accepted that form for lack of a better. There was a dire reality behind all this superstitious worship, and Paul knew it. By conserving the zeal and fervor, not by banishing it; by fulfilling the quest, he gave the Greek and pagan devotee of the mystic cult the answer to the divine something he sought: "Ye seek Jesus the Christ." Here is the one supreme reason for Paul's great missionary success, he had been given the message for which the world was waiting; at the cost of his life, nothing daunted, he shared it.

E. Summary

The problem of this thesis has been to delineate the character of the Ephesian contribution to the beginnings of church history. Historical and archeological research have supplied the necessary data for

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1. Stokes; op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 351ff.

this work. Culturally, artistically, geographically, and religiously, Ephesus became by natural advantage the third great link in the chain of cities: Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Rome, which were to bind the world in one Christian brotherhood.

Adolf Deissmann has said that the world still lives from the power once generated in Ephesus,¹ a power which came with release, for at Ephesus came the breaking down of religious caste; here too a new world-view of Christianity developed, and here its deliverance from the womb of Judaism, begun at Antioch, was accomplished. This is the supreme Ephesian contribution to the whole later history of the Christian church.

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1. Cf. Adolf Deissmann: "Das Wiedererstehende Ephesus"; Die Woche, March 12, 1927

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