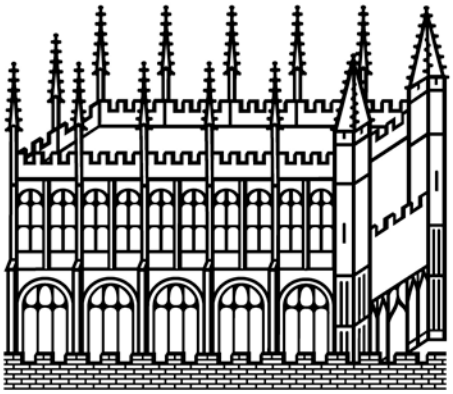

To

C. T. Newton Esq.

grateful remembrance

of visit to Ephesus.

ASM.

Ephesus and the Temple of Diana.

By ALEXANDER S. MURRAY.

EPHESUS AND THE TEMPLE OF DIANA.

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1. *Ephesiaca.* Scripsit ERNESTUS GUHL. Berolini. 1843.
2. *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana.* By EDWARD FALKENER. London. 1862.

AMONG the first Greek colonists of Asia Minor was a mixed band of Arcadians and Athenians, who, after an unsuccessful attempt to settle in the island of Samos, upon the advice of an oracle, again took ship to sail whithersoever a fish and a wild boar might lead them. Sailing northwards along the coast of the mainland, and with a favourable wind, they would reach, perhaps within an hour, a fine bay at the mouth of the river Cayster. A lake near the shore, and thick wood on the hill sides, gave unmistakable evidence of the presence of fish and of wild boar. Here obviously was the spot indicated by the oracle. Here the wanderers disembarked and remained. Such is the tradition of the foundation of Ephesus, and the peculiar interest of it now lies in the fact, that after centuries of splendour in art and learning, wide religious influence and commercial prosperity, the plain of the Cayster has reverted to nearly its primitive condition. The lake and the river itself still abound in fish; the wild boar is hunted in the neighbouring woods. The stag of Diana may be met less frequently, but her bees still hum numerously among the fragrant flowers. The marshy banks of the river are haunted, as in Homer's time, by multitudes of cranes and geese; and if any one would hear an echo of the din of an Homeric army,—

Τῶν δ' ὥστ' ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ
χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων
Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι Καυστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα
ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ποτῶνται ἀγαλλόμεναι πτερύγεσσιν
κλαγγηδὸν προκαθιζόντων, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λειμών,—

let him go where Homer found his comparison, to Ephesus in the spring, when flocks of returning cranes darken the air and bewilder the ear with their discordant noise. The sun still gilds with extraordinary beauty the mountain heights, or in the morning casts a vividness of pure, clear light over the landscape which fascinates a traveller from these darksome islands. Lovely as are the light and air of Italy, even they are dull and crass compared with those of Ionia. A luxuriant vegetation covers the plain and the hill sides. The people, those of them who have fixed habitations, are probably as few in number as when the first colonists arrived, and if not descendants of the Prehellenic inhabitants, are at least Asiatics for the greater part; while the Turcomans or nomadic population, whose black huts are to be seen wherever a sheltered piece of verdure promises food for their herds for a few months, are certainly of the race that has lived in the same fashion among these valleys from time immemorial. When the grass round their encampment is eaten up, the black huts and furniture are packed on camels, a vast display being made of costly coverlets of brilliant hues. The men start in advance with the herds to seek out a new home. The women and children follow, the latter dangling by the sides of reinless ponies, the former mostly walking beside the camels, which stride forward in a long line, the tinkle of their bells sounding far across the silent plains. But though this manner of life carries us back admirably to Prehellenic times, a comparison of these Youruk women, masculine as they are in strength and hardiness, with the ancient Amazons whom, according to tradition, the Greeks encountered, is not satisfactory.

While in these respects the country seems to have returned so completely to its primitive state that we are tempted to speculate as to the possibility of another band of colonists landing at Ephesus and again raising it to the rank of civilisation, we must note certain changes which would militate severely against such an attempt. In the first place, an immense increase of marshy land has resulted from the annual inundations

of the river, which, it appears, has gone on unchecked since the second century B.C., as in the case of the Nile. Regularly, every year, as the inundations recede, an alluvial deposit remains, which raises the level of the plain, and slowly encroaches on the sea. That this habit of "making land" as it was called, was a tendency of the Cayster from the earliest times, and that Herodotus was right in his conjecture that the whole plain of Ephesus, such as it was in his time, had been gained in this way from the sea, there is every reason to believe. In later times the same observation was made by Pliny, who speaks of what had once been an island as then part of the mainland. In the most flourishing days, and when the evil was still of small proportions, the Ephesians appear to have succeeded without difficulty in keeping the mouth of the river clear. As early, however, as B.C. 295, the danger had become serious. Report says that thousands of people perished in one winter. But instead of an effort to clear the river, the remedy employed was to build a new town on the high ground near. At last, B.C. 159–138, the harbour became threatened with a total loss of its shipping trade unless effectual measures were speedily taken to clear it. This Attalus II., in whose kingdom Ephesus was then included, determined to do. But his great and bold undertaking proved a signal failure, and remained as a warning against further attempts. From this time we have to imagine the harbour slowly filling up, the old town round it abandoned, its buildings submitting to gradual entombment, until finally the whole town is buried as completely as Pompeii, though by singularly opposite means. At what depth it now lies it is impossible at present to say, but that it is more than twenty feet may be inferred from the fact that remains of buildings have been found at this depth towards the inland end of the plain, and at a considerable distance from the main scene of the inundations.

This increase of marshy land has been attended by an increase of malaria, which renders life insecure, and which, when not fatal, invariably leaves a taint that enervates the convalescent for the rest of his life. This, and the frequent raids of Samiote robbers, combine to thin the population, and hold those who remain in constant dread and consequent misery. As a proof of this, let us describe the present village which we call Ephesus, but its inhabitants, Ajasluk (or "The Ruins" as

some interpret the name). Standing on dry and still very fertile ground towards the upper end of the plain, on the side opposite to the ancient city, and removed to a considerable distance from the river and marshes, it consists of a few miserable houses and a few hovels, some of them leaning against the pillars of the great aqueduct that strides across the plain, others in some way standing independently. It has several cafés, as they are called, where travellers to and from Scala Nova rest their horses in the heat of the day, and refresh themselves. The men are idle, and their families live but a squalid and poor life at the best. And yet there is here a railway station, a train passing every day with its lesson of regularity and speed, if with no other advantage. The journey from Smyrna, which formerly occupied thirteen hours, and was withal full of danger, now requires only three hours of quite safe travelling. The number of visitors increases every year, but except at the station, no increase in accommodation has taken place. The lethargic native only smiles complacently at what he considers the foolish tastes of European travellers, and rarely exerts himself to fleece them. The whole neighbourhood of the village is strewn with marble, sculptured, inscribed, or finely jointed, and every step discloses fresh traces of the ancient civilisation; inscribed blocks placed indifferently upside down, with pieces of sculptured capitals and cornice are of constant occurrence in the remaining piers of the aqueduct and in the gateway of the now prostrate Castle. From some of the inscriptions on the latter, it would appear that the marble seats of the theatre had been employed in its construction. But while in the village and near it, there is a sense of meanness and degradation about the ruins, crossing the plain in a south-westerly direction, we come face to face with the fresh disasters of earthquakes and the merciless sack of barbarians. A small hill called Prion detaches itself from mount Coressus; and in the valley between them, and round the slopes of Prion, lie the ruins of many great public buildings, some nameless and in vast heaps, others, as the great theatre, well ascertained and partly cleared: its seats rose row above row up the west side of the hill, and had room for 56,700 people. It was perhaps the largest theatre in Greece. The Odeum or lesser theatre is also partially cleared. Among the other distinguishable buildings are the Stadium and Gymnasium. The outline of the harbour may still be traced by the rankness of

its reeds. The city walls crop up here and there in massive blocks. These are remains of the new town, so to speak, that was founded by Lysimachus at the beginning of the third century B.C., the old town being completely buried. The sight of these colossal remains gives no impulse to the modern Greek, while the Turk and the Turcoman pass them regardless. Both races live together in the village, satisfied, it seems, with their lot. How they obtain education, if they obtain other than that which comes by nature, we do not know, but in the matter of religion they obviously enjoy many conveniences. The praying-places of the Turks dot the upper end of the plain; the Greeks have a Christian chapel on the castle-hill. This small chapel looks down on the ruin of a splendid mosque, and the mosque in turn looks down on the site of Diana's temple. Noting this fact one evening as the sun dipped westward into the Ægean, and the gloom of the plain rose fast up the mountain sides, dislodging at last the topmost radiance, it seemed the time and place to quote

> . . . . "Religions take their turn:
> 'Twas Jove's—'tis Mahomet's—and other creeds
> Will rise with other years, till man shall learn
> Vainly his incense soars, his victim bleeds."

To return to the early colonists. Of their history previous to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C., nothing positive is known. That they had enjoyed, however, no small share of prosperity is extremely probable. For the valley of the Cayster formed the commencement of the highway into Asia, and Ephesus, as the starting and landing place for caravans engaged in the Eastern trade, must soon have become a considerable emporium. This much is certain, that at the period we have mentioned, the Ephesians, in conjunction with the other Greek colonists of the district, had commenced the erection of a temple to Diana on a scale of extraordinary magnificence. The choice of Ephesus as the site of a common temple may perhaps be taken as a proof of the comparative importance of that town. Their neighbour Crœsus, the rich King of Lydia, proved a munificent friend to the undertaking, contributing columns of precious stone and golden figures of oxen. The site chosen was a marsh, a foundation of this kind being considered a safeguard against the shock of earthquakes —probably not less frequent then than now; and the architect

to whom the work was entrusted was Theodorus, a Samiote, famous in antiquity not only as an artist, but also for a certain inventive faculty. He invented casting in bronze, and as an artist, the wonderful ring of Polycrates is mentioned as an example of his skill. In the present case the difficulty was to find a concrete which should be imperishable by moisture. He met the exigency by a plan which seems to have been a startling novelty at the time, and may have recommended itself more on that account than from a clear appreciation of its merits. This plan was first to lay down a thick bed of crushed charcoal mixed with wool, and upon this foundation to raise an immense substructure of marble. Here a tradition should be mentioned, which, if true, records a happy coincidence. Previously the nearest marble quarry was in the island of Paros, from which the expense of carrying the stone was very great. But one day a shepherd tending his flocks on mount Prion, a hill near the city, observed that where the soil had been torn up in the course of a fierce conflict between two of his rams, the stone underneath had the appearance of marble. His tale was at once tested, and the hill found to contain excellent white marble to apparently an inexhaustible extent. The distance from the temple was less than a mile and a half. On the completion of the substructure, and perhaps the walls of the cella, ceases the connection of Theodorus with the work. His task may have occupied many years, and these the last of his life; for we are unwilling to look on him as superseded. The erection of the columns proceeds, the work being now directed by Chersiphron. Stupendous blocks of marble are moved from the quarries, exquisitely chiselled and jointed, and erected. The fame of the new architect becomes widely spread. The columns are completed and in position; a third architect, Metagenes, enters on the task of placing the architrave and cornice. He was a son of Chersiphron, it is said, and inherited his father's skill. The task became more and more laborious and the demand for ingenuity greater. For a time the difficulty of placing the great stone over the doorway proved insuperable, till, during a sleepless night, the goddess herself appeared to him and communicated a solution of the problem. He adopted her method with success. Such is the legend. He did not complete his task; at what stage he left it is not known, but it is highly probable that the building had been employed

for all the necessary purposes of a temple even long before his time.

We have now arrived at times of sore trouble to the Greeks both in Asia Minor and on the mainland of Greece. The power and resources of Persia had advanced to great proportions, and tokens of hostile feeling had been given sufficient to alarm the Greeks. The first collision took place shortly after Cyrus ascended the Persian throne, and in that battle Crœsus, who stood between him and the Greeks, surrendered (B.C. 546), and Lydia was incorporated with Persia. The submission of the various Greek towns followed in quick succession; and so grievous was the system of taxation imposed on them that, at an assembly of deputies from the oppressed cities summoned to devise a remedy, Bias of Priene, renowned as one of the seven wise men, proposed that the entire Greek population should emigrate to new homes. In what direction he intended them to sail is not known; but it was probably westward, as has so often been the direction since then, towards Marseilles. His advice was not accepted, the assembly apparently having dispersed without coming to a definite resolution.

Cyrus was followed by Cambyses, and Cambyses by Darius, the condition of the Greeks changing for the worse with each change of rulers on the Persian throne. Meantime, increasing exasperation drove the Greeks to measures of resistance. The first effort was an attack on the citadel of Sardes. Familiar with Sardes from the proximity of the towns, and their former intimacy with Crœsus, whose capital it had been, Ephesians were chosen to lead the attack. The force included a band of Athenians and Eretrians, who, through this exploit, brought down on their respective towns most dire vengeance. After surprising the citadel of Sardes and setting it in flames, the Greeks retired to Ephesus pursued by a Persian force, were overtaken, and for the greater part perished. The conflict had now seriously commenced. The Greeks, trusting mainly to their fleet, assembled the various contingents of ships at their command in the bay at Miletus. Thither the Persian fleet followed, and a battle ensued, in which the Greek fleet was completely destroyed. A small band of Chians, it is said, succeeded in reaching land, and fled along the coast to Ephesus, where they did not arrive until darkness had set in. Unfortunately there happened to be proceeding in the neighbourhood

of the gate which they approached, a nocturnal festival of women. An alarm of robbers was raised, and the poor waifs of the great battle were slain to a man by the Ephesian guard. The Persians took Miletus, destroyed the harbour, razed the walls and public buildings, and even set fire to the temple of Apollo, long revered for its learned priesthood of the Branchidæ and their valuable oracles. The captive inhabitants of the town were transported to the banks of the Tigris. The galleys of Miletus had been the first to trace the stormy shores of the Black Sea, carrying with them, in the course of trade, at least some elements of civilisation to the unenlightened natives; her school of philosophy, her opulence and contempt of the Persians, had been renowned; and on the day of her destruction she stood perhaps on the pinnacle of her greatness, B.C. 493. A fate little different befel the other Greek towns of Ionia, with the single exception of Ephesus. No Ephesian ships had taken part in the battle, and the Ephesian guard had murdered, in a pretended mistake, the sole remnants of that fight. This may have been deemed service sufficient to deserve an exemption. That the mistake was other than pretence it is impossible to believe, when we consider the nearness of Ephesus to the scene of battle, of the fact that no Ephesian ships were engaged in the battle, and that on the issue of that day was staked the independence, if not the existence, of every patriotic Greek in Asia Minor.

Xerxes followed Darius on the throne of Persia, and continued the oppression of the Greeks, who still clung to the country, endeavouring to revive their desolate towns. His ambitious scheme was to reduce to a similar condition the whole of Greece. His preparations, admonished as he was by the disaster of Darius at Marathon, were on a vast scale, and his success for a time unchecked. The flames of sacred temples rose all over Greece, till at last, in the battle of Salamis, his fleet was annihilated, and at Plataeæ his army was put to the rout. On the same day on which the battle of Plataeæ was fought, the remainder of his fleet stationed on the Ionian coast was destroyed by Athenian ships off the headland of mount Mycale, a little to the south of Ephesus, and with that event culminated the disasters of Persia, and commenced a period of peace and unexampled activity and progress in Greece.

It was in all probability during this period of peace that the temple of Diana was completed. From the time of its foundation something like a century and a half had elapsed, and we can imagine the joy and congratulation with which its accomplishment at last must have been hailed. But at this moment of general rejoicing, the insanity of one man, Herostratus, took the form of a determination to identify his name with the destruction of the great work. He put flames to it, and history has done him the service he desired. This was in the year 356 B.C., and on the night when Alexander the Great was born. It would be impossible to picture the agony of the Ephesians as they beheld the fire undo their long labour, and threaten even the image that had fallen from heaven. Fortunately the image and the treasures appear to have been saved, and the walls of the temple left standing. The first impulse was to rebuild it in greater splendour than before, and for this purpose the other Greek towns at once agreed to send contributions. The women of Ephesus, eager to help, sold their jewels and trinkets. Many of the old columns had been made of precious stone, and were now sold to obtain labour for the new works. Mount Prion proved the extent and quality of its white marble. But with all this goodwill at the commencement, a work of such magnitude necessarily proceeded very slowly, and hence we find it still far from completed when Alexander arrived at Ephesus on his great expedition of conquering Asia. In the meanwhile, moreover, the town had experienced times of considerable vicissitude, now compelled to pay tribute to Persia, and now elated with freedom, as when the Spartan King Agesilaus held magnificent court there, and equipped the army with which he drove back the Persians. Four days after his victory on the Granicus, Alexander arrived at Ephesus, and was received with tumultuous rejoicings. He restored the democratic institutions which had long lapsed. He ordered the taxes that had formerly been exacted by Persia to be paid thenceforth into the treasury of the temple. Banquets and festal processions, in one of which the whole of the army that accompanied him took part, occupied several days. For the completion of the temple he presented the services of his favourite architect, Dinocrates, a man amply endowed with that passion for gigantic enterprises which characterised his master. He even offered to discharge all

further cost in the matter on the condition that he should be permitted to dedicate the completed structure to the goddess. To this degree Ephesian pride could not bow; yet so singularly amiable were the terms in which the refusal was conveyed, that the young conqueror, even if he withdrew the proffered contribution, can scarcely have left Ephesus in anger. "Sire," said the chief priest, "it does not become a god to dedicate a temple to a god."

Less fortunate in their reply were the priests of the temple of Minerva at Priene, a town at the mouth of the Mæander, and opposite to Miletus. There an exquisitely beautiful temple of the Ionic order had just been completed when Alexander arrived, and proposed to remit taxation on the same terms as he had proposed at Ephesus. His offer was accepted, as one of the corner stones of the temple testifies, on which is written in bold, clear letters—

"ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΗΙ ΠΟΛΙΑΔΙ."

On another side of it is written, "The people in the villages round shall pay tribute. It is the town of Priene that I exempt." This stone is now in the British Museum.

Failing further records, we must now imagine the temple of Diana completed a second time. It covered an area of 425 feet in length by 220 feet in width, and stood on a high basement commanding the plain. The cella was surrounded by 127 columns, each 60 feet high. Its proportions throughout were so admirable that it at once became the type of the highest possible achievement of Ionic architecture. It was adorned with sculpture from the hands of the greatest masters of the time, contained pictures by Apelles and others of the Ephesian school, relics and curiosities in great numbers, was a library, and above all, the shrine of the sacred image. A numerous priesthood of eunuchs and Hierodulæ managed its affairs and conducted its rites. It gave sumptuous banquets and held annual games and processions to which all the Greeks of Ionia might repair, and to these festivities one month of every year was devoted. In one of these annual processions the image was taken from the temple and carried with stately ceremony through the town to assert its tutelage. Within the

temple neither armed men nor married women durst enter. It was surrounded by large grounds enclosed with a wall, within which the oppressed and the penitent criminal found an asylum. Its revenue was derived, among other sources, from the fisheries in the neighbourhood, from gifts, and perhaps from taxation of various kinds, but mainly, it would seem, from an extensive banking business which it carried on. The security it had enjoyed when the other temples of Greece were being burned down by the Persians, entitled it to preference in the minds not only of wealthy private persons, but of communities. The integrity of the priests was acknowledged; and perhaps a better example of it could not be desired than that related by Xenophon (Anab. v. 3). In the course of the expedition of the Ten Thousand, a certain sum of money, accruing from the sale of prisoners, fell to Xenophon, as one of the generals, to be devoted by him to the services of Apollo and Diana. Proceeding afterwards to Ephesus in the train of the Spartan King Agesilaus, he took with him Diana's share, but without the intention of handing it over to the services of the goddess in that town. But on leaving Ephesus again on what appeared a dangerous expedition, he deposited the money with a priest to be employed, in case of his death, for the good of the temple there. The dangers he foresaw befel the expedition, and he himself was driven into exile in Elis, where, without hope of recovering the money, he was constantly reminded of it by the coincidence in the name and properties of the stream near which he lived with those of the Selenus that flowed by the temple at Ephesus. To his surprise, after a time, there came to Elis an Ephesian priest who had found out his place of exile, and though primarily only a visitor to the Olympic games, managed also to combine the business of restoring to Xenophon the money; which the latter at once employed in building, by the banks of his own Selenus, a small temple in imitation of the great one at Ephesus.

The priests being thus mainly occupied with business matters, sacrifice and the ordinary rites of the temple appear to have been delegated to the priestesses. In regard to these rites, it is impossible to say in what, besides sacrifice and processions, they consisted. For the worship of Diana at Ephesus differed widely from that of Diana elsewhere, except, indeed, in the few places where the Ephesian worship had been transplanted, and in Magnesia ad Mæandrum, where under the

title of Leukophryne, apparently a coeval and almost identical worship of her existed. Whether it was that the early colonists found the worship of a Moon goddess presenting considerable affinity to Diana, and engrafted upon that stock the peculiarities of their own deity, retaining the native priesthood and the image with its tradition of having fallen from heaven, or whether, commencing with a purely Greek worship, they gradually, from constant intercourse with the east, adopted into their system oriental ideas, can only be a matter of conjecture. The presence of a large Asiatic element in the religion is all we are certain of. Witness the priesthood of eunuchs and Hierodulæ, the form of the image with its many breasts—an admirable instance of the obviousness of oriental symbolism—and the tradition of its having fallen from heaven. That this last feature is entirely un-Hellenic we do not affirm, but it is worthy of notice at the same time, that the other renowned example of such traditions, the Palladium of Athens, fell at Troy, no great distance from Ephesus. Both were images of virgin goddesses; but unlike Pallas, Diana was a nurse, under whose care was the growth of all vegetation in moist places. The brute denizens of dark woods were in her hands. She ruled the tides, and appeared in the pale wandering moon, whose influence mankind acknowledged. She was called twin-sister of Apollo, the moon being likened to the sun as a sister. The Ephesians pointed to a grove, Ortygia, near the mouth of the plain, as the place where she was born. Time was, they believed, when, accompanied by troops of Amazons, she chased the stag and the wild boar on these hills. Her temple was adorned with sculptures by the greatest masters, Phidias and Praxiteles, representing these ecstatic warlike companions of her's. Like her brother, she had prophetic power, but seems to have exercised it more seldom. Every object within the boundary wall of her temple was inviolable; and so firmly was this believed by the Ephesians, that once when Crœsus marched against them, they fastened every house in the town to the temple by means of ropes, and confidently proclaimed the sanctity of the whole. In later times we find her worship deeply encrusted with superstition, and Ephesus a centre of the art of magic. The formula (Ephesiæ literæ) which people carried about as a charm against all human ills, was inscribed on her image, and the high priest wore it on his robes.

As we approach Christian times, the records of her influence become fainter. Augustus looked with veneration on her shrine, enlarged its boundaries, and to commemorate his visit, raised another temple to Diana and the mighty Julius conjointly. St John had but a small band of followers, and even St Paul, under more favourable circumstances, as we should conceive, was stoutly opposed. Considering the number of priests and tradesmen dependent on the temple, this was not strange. We can fancy the vexation of the silversmiths, whose trade in shrines, (miserable articles, if they were no better works of art than those represented on the coinage of Ephesus), must only have provoked indignant comments from St Paul. As yet the reference to Christian events which has been brought to light by excavation, is a reference to these shrines. It occurs in by a long but very fragmentary Greek inscription recording the munificence of a wealthy Roman, Vibius Salutarius, and citing among his other gifts certain images of Diana in silver and gold. It is true that the word employed by Paul is *ναοὶ*, which admirably describes the representations on the coins, the front of a temple with a statue of the goddess before the doorway, while the words of the inscription are ΑΡΓΕΙΚΟΝΙΣΜΑΤΑ and ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΥ, that is, "representations" and "figures of the goddess;" but this expression there can be little strain in identifying with the shrines mentioned by Paul. In any case the reference is to the class of workmen who were most aggrieved by his teaching. The stone on which it is written was found, curiously enough, among the ruins of the theatre, most probably the very building where the stormy meeting took place. The date of the inscription is 104 A.D. Other memorials of Christian times are indeed supplied to credulous travellers. There is, for example, St Paul's prison, a massive structure on the top of a small hill between the city and the sea, apparently a stronghold in connection with the walls of the town. There is the tomb of St John, and the cave of the Seven Sleepers; even the school of Tyrannus is pointed out by unusually imaginative guides.

As to the ultimate history of the temple, it is not known whether it survived the sack of the city by the Goths, A.D. 262, or if it did, how the edict of Arcadius and Honorius, 399 A.D., ordering all Greek temples to be destroyed that could not conveniently be converted into Christian churches, affected it. The town itself, we know, revived after the Gothic raid, and

under the neighbouring influence of Constantinople, became of some importance, but probably only for a short time. The Sibylline oracle, if not already, must soon have been, fulfilled:

"Ephesus laid low shall weep by her river's banks, calling for her temple that is no more known."

From the completion of the temple, the political history of Ephesus is marked by strange vicissitudes. After the death of Alexander and the partition of his conquests among his generals, it experienced a variety of rulers more or less regardless of its affairs. But about 295 B.C., it was decidedly fortunate in falling into the hands of a man so able as Lysimachus. Finding the old town subject to inundations, he at once set about building a new one on the slopes of the hill Prion that rises near the harbour. The poorer people clung to their dangerous homes, and the new town was, for a time, perhaps used as a residence only by the well-to-do. Still, in that quarter were the places of public amusement and instruction where all classes met, and wherever buildings of this kind were found, the ancient Greeks rarely had their habitations far distant; so that probably the entire population was soon withdrawn to the new town. He fortified it with a new wall, the massive ruins of which are still to be seen crowning the crest of Mount Coressus. For a time he seems to have been deservedly popular, but latterly, what with its dislike of the new-fangled buildings, and the leaning of Lysimachus towards an aristocratic government, the democracy became uneasy, and at last, when the news was brought of his having fallen in battle (B.C. 281), the people pulled down the gates and part of the wall which he had built, and refused admittance to his wife, Arsinöe, who fled thither for refuge.

Conspicuous among the rulers who succeeded Lysimachus was Attalus II., whose unsuccessful endeavour to clear the entrance of the harbour has been already mentioned. Ephesus by this time had become part of the kingdom of Pergamus, and shared in the benefits of its excellent administration. It was in that kingdom that the Greek sense of nationality lingered longest. Art was fostered, and a school of sculpture created of no mean kind. But this revived activity soon proved to be only the last flicker of the Greek lamp. When Attalus III. bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman Senate (B.C. 133), there commenced

a period of disquietude and oppression. Roman officers, arrogant and unchecked in the rapacity with which they enriched themselves, over and above the grinding taxation which it was their duty to exact, soon excited a universal feeling of indignation, which waited only for an opportunity of revolt. Such an opportunity presented itself (B.C. 88), when the brilliant successes of Mithradates became known. The Ephesians declared themselves for his cause, and commenced hostilities by putting to death every Roman found in the town. Roman monuments were thrown down, and every possible trace of them erased. But the freedom of Ephesus on this occasion was short-lived, for Mithradates soon made terms with his enemy, and the rebel town was restored to its former masters, a heavy indemnity being exacted for its exploit. The officer sent to impose this tax was Sulla, a name of sufficient guarantee for the rigour of the impost. One lesson, however, was not enough, and again (B.C. 44) Ephesus revolted in the cause of Brutus and Cassius. The result of its rashness was speedy submission and another indemnity; this time the officer selected for the task of enforcing payment being Marc Antony. His short residence was signalised by splendid sacrifices to Diana, processions and banquets, at which he appeared as Bacchus, Ephesian ladies assumed the part of ecstatic Bacchantes, and his courtiers were disguised as Satyrs. Night and day the streets rang with music and tumult; houses were hung with garlands of ivy to please the new wine-god. To his servants and followers he gave freely of that which was not his, and the whole of Asia Minor was amazed at his excesses.

Under the favour of successive emperors, the trade of Ephesus flourished. Its inhabitants were celebrated for luxurious habits and for cunning in trade. It was said the lions of Greece became sly foxes at Ephesus. But besides this general description, nothing more is heard of it until the inroad of the Goths. Thoroughly sacked, as it appears to have been then, and again revived with a lingering and probably short existence, we find it at the commencement of the thirteenth century a complete ruin. The Turks were just beginning to press hard on the effete civilisation of the Greeks and Romans, and a band of them from Caria, perceiving in the ruins of Ephesus the convenience of the hewn marble, built themselves a new town on the other side of the plain,

calling it "The Ruins," as some interpret the name Ajasluk. After a century it was destroyed by Timur, and from that time the history of Ephesus ceases.

In modern times, few places have had greater attraction for travellers than the desolate, swampy plain of the Cayster. At first easily satisfied and highly imaginative, few of them returned with any doubt of having seen the "Ephesian miracle." But gradually as the principles of Greek architecture and the skill of Greek masonry became known, it became impossible to accept the theatre or the gymnasium, much less the stately-ruined mosque, as the remains of the famous temple, and the conclusion generally arrived at was, that the latter must lie buried somewhere under the plain. But the plain being of great extent, and giving nowhere the least indication of a great ruin underneath, there was scope enough for a variety of theories as to the probable site. The appearance of Mr Falkener's book on Ephesus, however, clearly reduced the number of theories to two, the one adopted by him at the west of the town, beside the harbour; the other, previously proposed by Guhl (Ephesiaca), and rejected by Falkener, on the north of the town, out in the plain. Both theories were based on literary records, which certainly are of a most meagre description; and the difference in the two hypothetical sites arose from a difference in the interpretation of these records. It is stated that a wealthy sophist, Damianus, living at Ephesus in Roman times, built, for the convenience of people passing to and fro between the city and the temple in inclement weather, a portico extending from the Magnesian gate to the temple. With the position of the Magnesian gate ascertained, coupled with the tradition that the temple had been built on marshy ground, the area of research would have been greatly limited. But while the shortest and direct route to the neighbouring town of Magnesia ad Mæandrum would start from the east side of Ephesus, it seemed equally possible to Mr Falkener and others that the road may have led from the opposite side of the town. It was also suggested that the gate might have derived its name from other reasons than its proximity to that town. With this gate at the east, and the temple, according to Mr Falkener, at the west side of the town, a portico between the two was obviously useless, seeing that the greater part of the route would go through the heart of the city. With the

gate on the west, as well as the temple, a very short portico, if any, would be required, unless the town had withdrawn from the harbour to a much greater extent than we have reason to suppose it did. On the other hand, Mr Falkener appeared to have a powerful ally in the ancient geographer Strabo (c. 639), who, describing the passage from the island of Samos, says that you come first to the "harbour called Panormus, with a temple of the Ephesian Diana, and then to the city." If he means that you sight first the temple, and next the town, the expression will apply to either theory; but if he means that you arrive in this order, Mr Falkener's alone can be correct. He may, however, refer to a smaller temple in advance of the town, or there may be an inaccuracy in the order of the text; for, after mentioning the city, he at once returns to complete the description of the ground he had passed between it and the sea.

On neither side of the town was a trace of the gate visible, but nearly midway along the north side of mount Prion, round which the new town stood, were seen massive remains of masonry, which appeared to Guhl susceptible of identification with the missing portico. Prolonging the line of these remains northward across the plain to the banks of the Cayster, he placed at its extremity the probable site of the temple. There is a marsh not far off, and in that direction points the dry bed of a stream on the south-east of the plain. The temple having been washed by the stream Selenus and built in a marsh, the exigencies of tradition were thus met, but not to the satisfaction of Mr Falkener, who saw no necessity for giving this name to the dry bed in question; and thus the rival theories remained.

But there existed another clue to the road between the Magnesian gate, wherever it might be, and the temple, in the statement that it passed the famous tomb of Androclus. It was the custom of the Greeks to build their tombs by the road side, beyond the gates, the chief ones, no doubt, on the most frequented roads; and we may fairly imagine that the tomb of Androclus was not alone, but only conspicuous in a long line of such structures. So long as the gates were not determined, it was of course impossible to decide in which direction to look for this particular *via sacra*. At the same time, it is curious that the only line of tombs now visible at

Ephesus runs along the east end of mount Prion, and commences just where the shortest road to Magnesia would naturally branch off. And it is an instructive example of the effect of prejudice to see Baron Prokesch make a note of these tombs, and refuse to draw the most natural inference, that they were the chief tombs of the town, and on the road which he desired so much to find. In the same manner Guhl passed them by, preferring to shoot his line from the vague ruins on the north side of the hill. To better purpose Mr Wood examined them, and, prolonging the line northward, commenced to dig a series of pits, which at last brought him to the boundary wall of the temple. From the boundary wall he worked his way slowly and arduously to the temple itself, which he is now engaged in clearing. As yet the work has not advanced sufficiently to warrant any conjecture as to the condition in which the great wonder of architecture may ultimately be found. But to have found it, even if in dreadful ruin, to have dispelled all controversy as to its site, to have discovered if only the wreck of a building, the name of which is familiar wherever civilisation has reached, is a valuable service; and to have done this in the face of extraordinary difficulties and dangers, is a claim to unusual praise. Meantime, we must await the result, and probably we shall have to wait for some time. It is no easy task to clear twenty feet of soil from an area of such extent, and to do this with all the liability to floods in winter and fever in summer, for which the place is notorious. While waiting, we cannot but hope, that amid the wreck may be found enough to give an idea of the building in its days of splendour, and some memorials of the events which it has been our object to describe.

GUIDE TO EPHESUS,

AND THE

Temple of Diana recently Found.

By J. T. WOOD,

ARCHITECT.

1871.

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So many travellers in these days of locomotion are induced to visit the Ruins of the ancient City of Ephesus, famed for its colossal Temple of Diana, as the chief mart of Asia, and one of the "Seven Churches of Asia," that I have thought a concise Guide would be acceptable to visitors, as, without such guidance, it is common, after a fatiguing day, for them to return almost as ignorant of the true nature and extent of the Ruins as they were before visiting them.

The railway from Smyrna brings the visitor to the village of Ayasaluk, which is little more than a mile from the Ruins of the City of Ephesus. Ayasaluk is distant from Smyrna nearly fifty miles, and the ordinary trains take about three hours to perform the journey. Special trains however may be engaged, for which the charge is very moderate; and it often happens that travellers cannot otherwise spare sufficient time to visit Ephesus. Horses may be procured at the station at Ayasaluk, and the charge for these has hitherto been one medjid each; but for

those who can walk four or five miles, they had better be dispensed with, as it is very difficult to see much of the Ruins on horseback; it is prudent however to take a horse or two for those who may be fatigued. It is still better for the whole party to be mounted on starting, if expense is not of particular consequence; they can then ride to and from the Ruins, giving the horses in charge of attendants taken for that purpose. It is also well to take a hamper of provisions, which may be sent forward to the Great Theatre, and there in due time discussed.

As the horses are only provided with the men's saddles for the country, it is advisable to procure saddles in Smyrna, especially if there are ladies.

On leaving the station at Ayasaluk, notice the Piers of the Aqueduct, which was built chiefly with large blocks of white marble from the Temple of Diana. Follow the road which runs by the side of this for some distance, and which leads to the lower part of the village; here, as you ride through, remark the picturesque old Mosque, with its colonnade of granite and curious brickwork; and the Fountain, to the left of which the faithful prostrate themselves in prayer; while to the right, the women of the village wash their clothes in an old Sarcophagus. Pass on now through the Turkish Cemetery; then turn to the right as soon as you can, and, passing between two fields, make for the dip in the round mountain now before you. But before you have gone 100 yards, notice to the right a group of fine olive trees—these mark the south-east angle of the Peribolus Wall, found by me in May 1870—which enclosed the Temple of Diana, and the Augusteum, or Temple of Augustus. This was proved by four inscriptions found in the wall, showing it was that built by Cæsar Augustus, restricting the limits of the sacred precinct.

Arrived at the foot of the mountain, you will see some piers of a Colonnade, or portico, which was carried all round the mountain, from the Magnesian Gate to the Coressian Gate; you will also see traces

of the road, 45 feet wide, which lead from here to the Temple.

If you are desirous of seeing the cleft in the rock which is called the "Cave of the Seven Sleepers," you will find it about 200 yards to the right (northward) of the path which leads over the mountain.

Now, turning southward towards the Magnesian Gate, you will soon come upon a confused group of trenches, among which you will discover what remains of the beautiful base of the Tomb of Androclus, described by Pausanias as having been situate "near the road which led from the Temple of Diana to the Magnesian Gate." Several courses of "cushion" masonry remain undisturbed, surrounding a massive plinth. This Tomb dates back as far as 1,000 years B.C., and is the most ancient masonry to be seen at Ephesus.

The road from this tomb to the Magnesian Gate is open on one side, exhibiting the remains of Tombs of every description, amongst which are many Sarcophagi; a group of three of these, near the point at which the road changes its direction at rather a sharp angle, are worthy of especial notice; mark also, as you pass on, the remains of the ancient City Wall on the mountain to your right. The Colonnade before alluded to may be traced the whole of the way to the Magnesian Gate. This and the chariot road ran side by side; the deeply-cut ruts in the latter may be distinctly seen in several places where cross-cuts of the road have been made through its entire width. Following the direction of the road, the visitor will soon arrive at the Magnesian Gate, sufficient of which remains for you to see the three openings, two of which were for chariots and waggons, and one for foot passengers; the chariot ruts in the pavement may also be distinguished; the extra depths of those in the road leading to the Temple assisted in some degree towards the discovery of it. Near this gate an inscription was found, which informed us that the water of the "Little *Marnas*" was brought this way into the city. Near to the Gate is a very handsome

Sarcophagus, the front and sides of which are decorated with human figures supporting festoons of fruit and flowers; the name inscribed upon the front was "Polycarpos." I do not pretend to say that this must have been the tomb of the Martyr, but although he suffered martyrdom at Smyrna, his half-burnt remains might have been removed for sepulture at Ephesus. Near the Magnesian Gate will be seen a large Gymnasium, the plan of which can be easily made out by those who are sufficiently interested in such buildings. In front of this lies prostrate a colossal Statue of a Persian, which was probably one of many employed to support the massive masonry of the enclosure screen. You are now fairly inside the City Wall; pass inward by the well-worn bridle-path, and about 300 yards distant from the gate you will come to the front of a Basilica which has been partially excavated, laying bare the front, which was adorned with columns and statuary—some caricatures may also here be seen, traced on the walls with the sharp point of some instrument. This Basilica very likely became the Church of St. Luke in the fourth century, as it is close to this that St. Luke's Tomb was discovered. The sides of this Basilica appear to have been originally fitted up with shops, like those of the Royal Exchange in London; and in one of them were found sawn bones, which were evidently prepared for the handles of knives and other instruments.

St. Luke's Tomb, proved to be so by the Saint's emblem of the Bull, and the Cross carefully carved upon the door-post, is a circular building a little more than 50 feet in diameter. It was adorned by sixteen columns and pilasters, and a handsome entablature; and the whole was doubtless covered in with a dome. This beautiful building stood in the centre of a quadrangle 150 feet square, which was surrounded on all sides by a Colonnade, the remains of which may be distinctly traced on the north and west sides. The whole of this quadrangle was paved with large slabs

of white marble; under several of these, which were removed, were found graves. These were probably the graves of Christians of the fourth and fifth centuries, who paid large sums of money for the privilege of being buried near the Saint, and within the city. Three, more wealthy Christians, or they might have been Bishops of Christ's Church in those days, appear to have been allowed the greater privilege of being buried within the walls of the shrine itself. The remains of St. Luke himself were probably deposited in a vault in the centre of the building, which will be undisturbed. No inscription was here found to prove beyond a doubt that this was the veritable Tomb of St. Luke, but the account of his having died at Ephesus, related by an ancient historian. . . . . The existence of ancient Christian tombs or graves within the quadrangle, together with the Saint's emblem of the Bull on the door-post, make it more than probable that when Christianity had become popular at Ephesus, and Diana's Temple had been destroyed, the Christians of those days were authorized to remove his remains from their original place of interment outside the city, and deposit them in a vault within the city, over which they erected the shrine to the ruins of which we have directed your attention.

On leaving St. Luke's Tomb, and proceeding onward, thirty or forty yards to the left of the beaten track or bridle-path, and taking care to keep on the low ground, you will find on your left hand a square building with arched openings of brickwork, surrounded by a paved court or diaulos, which was decorated with pedestals, one of which, we are informed by an inscription still legible, supported a statue of Vedius Antoninus, erected to his honour by the wool-factors; I conclude therefore that this building was the Wool Market, or wool-factor's hall. Near to this is a circular building, very much in appearance like a Mausoleum; but as there were pedestals for equestrian statuary projecting from the base, I think this must have been a war trophy.

Opposite this is the Odeum, or Lyric Theatre, which appears, from inscriptions found in it, to have been built in the time of Antoninus Pius. It is 153 feet in diameter; the stage is narrow, being about 10 feet in depth. The five front entrance doors are distinctly visible, also the steps leading down into the orchestra. The auditorium is partly laid bare. The beautiful polished Egyptian syenite columns formed part of a Colonnade around the upper part of the theatre. The niche on the right at the eastern extremity contained a Statue of Euterpe with the seven-stringed lyre; the statue was unfortunately lost for a time in its passage to England by a vessel which was wrecked on the way, and when recovered the lyre was missing, and all the sharpness of the drapery had been worn off by the sea. The Odeum was capable of containing an audience of 2,400 persons. On leaving the Odeum, the visitor should pass by an easy winding path up to the high ground at the back of the Great Theatre, and not pass down to the lower ground, as many are persuaded to do. Having arrived at the back of the Great Theatre, rest a while on the large blocks of Greek masonry which you will find a little below you. From this point you will see the sea, distant nearly three miles, the Selineusian Lakes to your right, and near them the vast marshes which make the Ephesian plain unhealthy during the summer months. The ancient Fort on the rock before you in the middle distance has been commonly called "St. Paul's Prison," for what reason I have never been able to ascertain. It was the Fort necessary for the accommodation of the soldiers who were required to watch the approach to the city from the sea. The large space marked by rushes is the ancient City Port, which communicated with the river Cayster by means of an artificial canal, also defined by rushes. Near the head of the port the great Gymnasium stands, a majestic ruin on the west side of the large Forum. To the left, in the foreground, will be seen the Agora, on the south side of which is the interesting ruin of a Roman Temple.

Nearly opposite the theatre, a little to the right, are the remains of a large public building, which I presume must have been the Prytaneum. Note also from here the magnificent City Wall, with its towers of defence, which runs the whole length of the ridge of Mount Prione. Finally, from this point of view we come to notice the Great Theatre itself, with its lofty proscenium, ample stage and orchestra, and auditorium capable of accommodating 24,500 persons. The diameter of the Great Theatre is nearly 495 feet, which is contracted at the proscenium to 474 feet. The back wall of the Theatre may be clearly seen some distance beneath your feet, at the top of the cutting which has been made, showing the steps and seats; descend now by this cutting, or by the winding path to the right, down to the stage, at the south end of which, near the entrance, will be found a convenient place to rest and take refreshment. Notice the Ruins of the Proscenium, which appears to have been built in the time of Trajan; the width of the stage is 22 feet. On leaving the Theatre, if you have time, cross the Agora, and pass on to the Fort already described as "St. Paul's Prison." The view from this point will well reward any one who has sufficient time and determination to make the ascent, which is easily done on horseback by a circuitous route, passing the Fort, and returning upwards to it. The Fort itself, too, is a most interesting building, consisting originally of eight chambers, the upper tier having been approached by stone steps on the north side.

From St. Paul's Fort cross over to the City Wall on the mountain opposite; and if you can climb well, pass on upwards as high as you can get, taking care to note the towers and posterns on your way—remember that from this point you will want at least an hour to get to the station at Ayasaluk. On your return pass round to the edge of the City Port, and you will find a bridle-path leading through the Great Gymnasium in the Forum, on the opposite side of which you will find a large basin of stone, which must,

I think, have been a Baptismal Font: notice the absence of all arrises or sharp edges, which might hurt those who were to be baptized, and who probably clambered up over the edge: the form of the basin also is peculiar, and is particularly adapted for its especial purpose. The Baptizer might have stood dry-shod in the middle, while the persons to be baptized stood around in water at least 15 inches deep. The early Christians were probably publicly baptized in batches of ten or twelve persons at a time on certain days appointed. On the north side of the Forum is a double church, with two apses, one behind the other.

Now onward to the Stadium, the front of which was not shut in by a close wall, but by a columniated screen, the bases of the columns of which, with their pedestals, remain undisturbed. Having glanced at the interior, which appears to have been almost entirely denuded of its seats, climb the mound opposite, on which will be found the Ruins of the Temple of Jupiter Serapis, consisting of a circular rock-cut altar with steps on four sides and pedestals for columns, which enriched it, and supported a domed roof. The quadrangle in which this Altar stands was doubtless fitted up with small rooms or cells, as at Puteoli near Naples. Notice from here the Great Theatre, and the other buildings around the Forum; also the mountain, along the ridge of which runs the ancient Greek Wall for its entire length: from here, too, the views all around, especially that towards Ayasaluk, for in that direction, a little to the right of the large Mosque, stood the Temple of Diana in all its glory. At your feet on the north side you may still trace the remains of the City Wall, and, just outside the wall, the Pnyx with its bema and rock-cut steps, similar to that at Athens.

Now descend, and pass on along the road which leads outside the Stadium, and which was provided on each side by a covered portico or colonnade. Notice the narrow Vomitoria, through which the spectators

issued forth on to a terrace, which ran the whole length of the Stadium, and from which broad steps in several places led down to the road below. On the north side of this road are the Ruins of a larger public building, which was probably the Palace of the Tyrants or Governors of Ephesus.

Before you arrive quite at the end of the Stadium, you will pass through the Coressian Gate, and proceed now by a well-worn path to the site of the Temple of Diana, which is from this gate less than a mile distant. This, the actual and positive site of the Temple of Diana (Artemis) was discovered at Christmas 1869 by the author of this Guide, and this was proved beyond a doubt soon after Christmas, 1870, by the discovery of the remains of a column *in situ.*

The pavement of the Temple is about 13 feet below the present surface; and as this has been almost entirely removed, the excavations are necessarily continued down to the pavement of a sort of crypt, which is 8 feet lower, making the excavations 21 feet deep.

Frusta, or drums, of the external columns, which were more than 6 feet in diameter at the base, may be seen lying where they fell fourteen or fifteen centuries ago: many of these have been squared for other buildings, the fate of the remainder of the Temple may be therefore easily conjectured—the steps, the pavement, the walls of the cella, the architraves, friezes, and cornices, and finally the columns themselves, have almost all been carried away, first for Christian buildings, afterwards for mosques, aqueducts, &c. No wonder then that the site has hitherto remained a secret, and a subject for controversy amongst intelligent travellers and savants, none of whom suspected that it was placed on this side of the city. Dr. Guhl comes nearest with his suggestion that it was directly north of the city; but his site is a mile from the real one. So much of the Temple had been removed before the plain of Ephesus was silted up, as it now is, to the depth of 12 or 14 feet, that there

was no mound, no sign of the existence of the ruins in the barley-fields in the midst of which it was found.

Now, if you have any time left, visit the great Turkish Mosque, which is probably of the latter end of the fourteenth century, when Tamerlane invaded the country and settled some of his followers in these parts. There are some fine windows richly decorated, which are worthy of notice. You may pass through the Mosque on foot, or by it on horseback over the hills, to the station, leaving the Castle on the hill well to the left.

I will now take my leave of you, trusting my guidance has in some measure assisted you in the enjoyment of your visit to Ephesus.

R. CLAY, SONS, AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS, BREAD STREET HILL.