

Early Christianity

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Volume 7
2016

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Early Christianity

Herausgegeben von Jens Schröter (Geschäftsführender Herausgeber), Jörg Frey, Simon Gathercole und Clare K. Rothschild

Manuskripte, redaktionelle Anfragen und Rezensionangebote werden an die Redaktion erbeten:

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Verlag: Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, Postfach 2040, 72010 Tübingen
Vertrieb: erfolgt über den Buchhandel.

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Printed in Germany.

Satz: Konrad Triltsch GmbH, Ochsenfurt.

Druck: Gulde-Druck, Tübingen.

ISSN 1868-7032 (Gedruckte Ausgabe)

ISSN 1868-8020 (Online-Ausgabe)

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The Artemision in Early Christian Times

Das Artemision von Ephesos in Ionien gehörte zu den berühmtesten Heiligtümern der antiken Welt. Der Tempel des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. wurde bereits im späten Hellenismus zu den Sieben Weltwundern gezählt. Neben dem Tempel und seinem Altar lassen sich für die Zeit der römischen Republik und der Kaiserzeit Bauten nachweisen, die auch für die Frage der Entstehung des Kaiserkultes in Ephesos von Bedeutung sind. Nicht nur archäologische Evidenzen, vor allem epigraphische und literarische Zeugnisse zeichnen das Bild des Artemisions und der Göttin Artemis in diesen Jahrhunderten. Im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr. wird eine Kirche in den Hof des Tempels gebaut, der Kult der Artemis wurde wohl im 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr. aufgegeben.

Keywords: Artemision, Augusteum, imperial cult, Roman buildings, church

1. Discovery and Excavations

Huge remains of walls were what many eighteenth-century travellers were expecting to find as the remains of the World Wonder temple. Frequently, the ruins of the Harbor Gymnasium in Ephesus were mistakenly thought to belong to the Artemision.¹ For more than 1,000 years, the Temple of Artemis, the most celebrated shrine of classical antiquity, completely disappeared from view. The Temple of Artemis at Ephesus was the first monument of the ancient East that Europeans and their governments set out to find, even before Heinrich Schliemann went to dig at Troy and Mycenae. The man who went looking for Artemis' temple was an English engineer working for the company that was building the first railway lines through south-western Turkey, The Smyrna and Aydin Railway Company.² In his book *Discoveries at Ephesus*, published in 1877, John Turtle Wood de-

1 A. Bernhard-Walcher, "Das Heiligtum der Artemis von Ephesos: Ein verschollenes Weltwunder," in *Das Artemision von Ephesos: Heiliger Platz einer Göttin* (ed. W. Seipel; Vienna, 2008), 15–23.

2 J. and E. Romer, *The Seven Wonders of the World: A History of the Modern Imagination* (London, 1995), 129–164.



Fig. 1: View of the Artemision with reerected column (right): in the front (left) parts of the *sekos* walls and the southernmost pier of the church, in the background St. John's basilica and Isa Bey Mosque (photo U. Muss)

scribes his search for one of the seven wonders of the world, which he found on the last day of 1869 (fig. 1).³

In 1904/05 excavations in the Artemision were carried out by David George Hogarth together with Arthur E. Henderson, under the auspices of the British Museum. These excavations produced sensational results, as it was discovered that there existed older architectural installations in the temple's court, even before the first large marble temple dating to the sixth century BCE. In addition, hundreds of mainly archaic objects, made of gold, silver, bronze and ivory, as well as coins, which are among the earliest we know, were unearthed during these excavations.⁴

The Austrian archaeologist Otto Benndorf and the discoverer of the Pergamon Altar, the German Carl Humann, searched for the altar associated with the temple in 1895, but it was not until 1965 that it was discovered by Anton Bammer. At this time, excavations in the Artemision were

³ J.T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (London, 1877).

⁴ D.G. Hogarth et al. (eds.), *Excavations at Ephesus* (London, 1908).

reactivated after a long intermission.⁵ These continued until 1994. The focus of these excavations was also on both temples and the smaller archaic structures which existed before the first archaic monumental temple. Great attention was paid to the discovery of a small geometric *peripteros* in the courtyard of the subsequent temples (fig. 2) but also to much later structures and evidences which survived in the *temenos* of Artemis.⁶

2. The Monumental Temples of Artemis

Construction of the first marble temple, a *dipteros*, began around 560 BCE.⁷ The building of the archaic *dipteros* was a milestone for Greek architecture. The large blocks of marble used here had never previously been transported, and the technological innovations used here were greatly admired and are reflected in the legend that the lintel of the great door was put in place by the goddess Artemis herself.⁸ The temple was just under 60 m wide but its length is not known. It probably had 104 columns.⁹ Of particular interest are the temple columns carved with figures – the *columnae caelatae*. Many fragments of the architectural sculpture were re-used in the pillars of the church built in the *sekos* of the temple, which was blown up by John Turtle Wood. Fragments of column drums with reliefs, as well as rectangular column bases, still survive and portray a procession of people and animals on their way to performing a sacrifice.¹⁰

Various ancient sources state that the Croesus Temple, also called the “Older Artemision” was set on fire by a certain Herostratus who allegedly wished to immortalize his name through this act.¹¹ The ground plan can

5 U. Muss, A. Bammer and M. Büyükkolancı, *Der Altar des Artemisions von Ephesos* (FiE 12.2; Vienna, 2001).

6 A. Bammer and U. Muss, *Das Artemision von Ephesos: Das Heiligtum in archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Mainz, 1996). The finds from both excavations have first been presented in an exhibition in the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul from May to September 2008. For the exhibition catalogue see *Artemision von Ephesos: Heiliger Platz einer Göttin* (see n. 1).

7 Ae. Ohnesorg, *Der Kroisos-Tempel: Neue Forschungen zum archaischen Dipteros der Artemis von Ephesos* (FiE 12.4; Vienna, 2007); U. Muss, *Die Bauplastik des archaischen Artemisions von Ephesos* (Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 25; Vienna, 1994).

8 Bammer and Muss, *Heiligtum* (see n. 6), 45–60.

9 Pliny, *Nat.* 36.21.95. Bammer and Muss, *Heiligtum* (see n. 6), 45–59; Ohnesorg, *Kroisos-Tempel* (see n. 7).

10 Muss, *Bauplastik* (see n. 7), 43–54; I. Jenkins, *Greek Architecture and Its Sculpture* (London, 2007), 47–55, 57–61.

11 S. Karwiese, *Groß ist die Artemis von Ephesos* (Vienna, 1995), 57f.

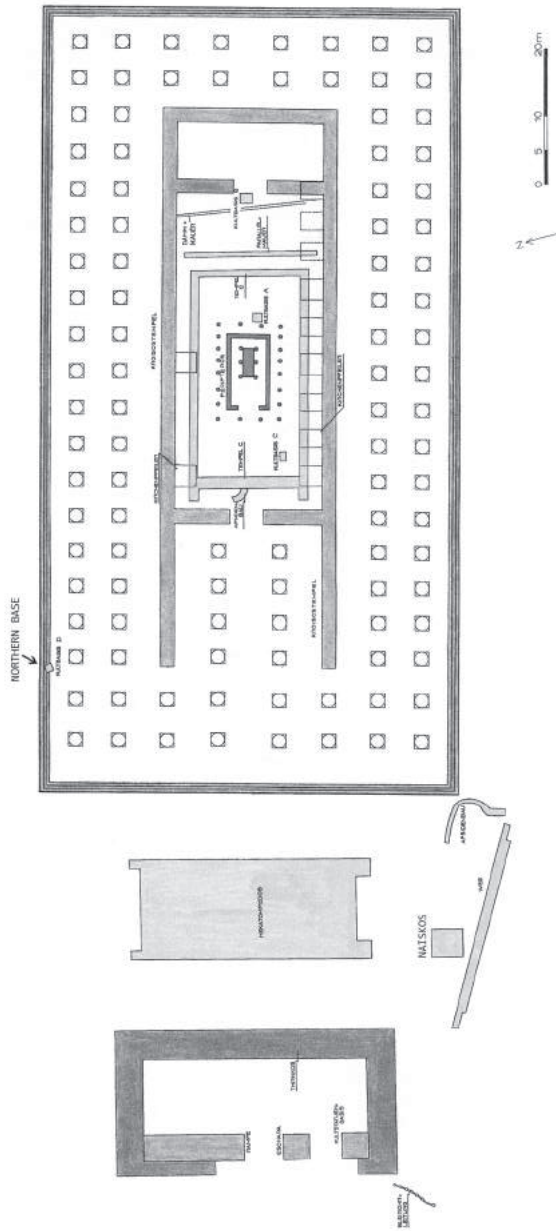


Fig. 2: General plan of the Artemision (A. Bammer)

only be reconstructed with the help of the dimensions of the archaic temple lying approximately 2.76 m below it. All essential elements of the archaic structure were retained including the columns decorated with reliefs.¹²

No more than 21 columns can be assumed to have stood along the long sides of the temple, while eight columns remain on the west front, or entrance side. Two rows of nine columns can be reconstructed on the rear facade. The height of each column can be recalculated to approximately 18.40 m using literary sources and the remaining fragments.¹³

A main feature of the sanctuary is its orientation towards the west which corresponds to that of the temples in Sardis and Magnesia on the Meander. This orientation relates back to the earliest architectural structure, the *peripteros*, and determined that of all later structures (fig. 2).

Like the Temple of Apollo at Didyma, the Artemision was not a temple in the sense of a covered building, but rather the walls enclosed an open court area, the *sekos*. The *sekos* surrounded the small *peripteros* temple from late geometric times whose *cella* was now used, in its eastern half, as the foundation for a small temple-like building (*naikos*) which housed the divine image of the subsequent temples.¹⁴

In the sixth century CE a church was built inside the *sekos* of the temple. Simultaneously the gulf of Ephesus was refilled with deposits, with the result that the Artemision and the modern town of Selçuk is today situated 8 km inland from the present coast. Finally the site of the Artemision was buried under sediment after its destruction and abandonment.¹⁵

3. The Artemision in the Imperial Period

Numerous literary sources and inscriptions originating from the Artemision and from Ephesus preserve information on Artemis and her sanctuary in the imperial period. These references concern the asylum,¹⁶ the structure of the cult,¹⁷ the rituals,¹⁸ the bank,¹⁹ and the wealth of the sanc-

¹² A. Bammer, *Die Architektur des Jüngerer Artemision von Ephesos* (Wiesbaden, 1972); A. Rügler, *Die Columnae Caelatae des jüngerer Artemision von Ephesos* (IstMitt, Beiheft 34; Tübingen, 1988), Jenkins, *Greek Architecture* (see n. 10), 61–70.

¹³ Pliny, *Nat.* 36.21.95.

¹⁴ Ohnesorg, *Kroisos-Tempel* (see n. 7).

¹⁵ Bammer and Muss, *Heiligtum* (see n. 6), 21–24.

¹⁶ Cicero, *Verr.* 21.33.85; Achilles Tattius 7.13.3; 8.2.2; Plutarch, *Mor.* 828D.

¹⁷ Achilles Tattius 7.12; Diogenes Laertius 2.51; Xenophon, *Anab.* 5.3.6; Plautus, *Bacch.* 312; R. Strelan, *Paul, Artemis and the Jews in Ephesus* (BZNW 80; Berlin, 1996), 42, 77.

tuary in arable land and pasturage as well as in vineyards, salt mines and fishing rights in the Cestrus Valley.²⁰ Contrary to this wealth of data much less evidences survived concerning the appearance and the furnishing of the sanctuary in the imperial period.²¹ The center of the town of Ephesus is located about 2 km away from the Artemision in the imperial period.²² The sanctuary had already lost its location at the border of the sea, it was situated in swampy land and between farmlands.²³ The huge amounts of land belonging to the sanctuary in the Cestrus Valley had been remeasured in the time of Augustus after the troubles of the civil war.²⁴ Under the emperors Domitian and Trajan this land was resurveyed.²⁵ Inscribed boundary stones allow us to reconstruct the dimensions of this property.²⁶

It was John Turtle Wood who first mentioned archaeological remains which date to the imperial period. Before reaching the temple²⁷ he found the remains of domestic buildings with mosaics and hypocausts, inter-

18 O. Jessen, "Ephesia," *PW* 5.2 (1905), 2753–2771, here 2761; *Anecdota Oxoniensia* 2.435 (Cramer).

19 D. Knibbe, R. Meriç and R. Merkelbach, "Der Grundbesitz der ephesischen Artemis im Kaystertal," *ZPE* 33 (1979), 139–148; G.M. Rogers, "From the Greek Polis to the Greco-Roman Polis: Augustus and the Artemision of Ephesos," in *Regionalism in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor: Acts of the Conference Hartford, Connecticut, August 22–24 1997* (ed. H. Elton and G. Reger; Pessac, 2007), 137–145, here 141.

20 R. Meriç, *Das Hinterland von Ephesos: Archäologisch-topographische Forschungen im Kaystros-Tal* (Ergänzungshefte zu den Jahresheften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 12; Vienna, 2009), esp. 29 ff., 88 with fig. 91. See *ibid.*, fig. 2, with indication of the Holy Land of Artemis in the Cestrus Valley.

21 U. Muss, "The Artemision at Ephesos: Paul, John and Mary," in *Contested Spaces: Houses and Temples in Roman Antiquity and the New Testament* (ed. D.L. Balch and A. Weisenrieder; WUNT 285; Tübingen, 2012), 495–511; *ead.*, "Republik und Kaiser im Artemision von Ephesos," in *Neue Zeiten – Neue Sitten: Zu Rezeption und Integration römischen und italischen Kulturguts in Kleinasien* (ed. M. Meyer; Vienna, 2007), 243–250; H. Engelmann, "Inschriften und Heiligtum," in *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos* (ed. U. Muss; Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 37; Vienna, 2001), 33–44; U. Muss, "Das Artemision von Ephesos in römischer Zeit," in *Ramazan Özgan'a armağan: Festschrift für Ramazan Özgan* (ed. M. Şahin and I. Hakan Mert; Istanbul, 2005), 249–263.

22 P. Scherrer, *Ephesos: The New Guide* (rev. ed.; Vienna, 2000).

23 Achilles Tatius 7.13.2.

24 *Die Inschriften von Ephesos (IEph)*, vol. 5 (IGSK 15; Bonn, 1989), nos. 1522–1526; *IEph* 7/2.3513, 3516; D. Knibbe, H. Engelmann and B. İplikçioğlu, "Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos XI," *JÖAI* 59 (1989), 161–238, here 223–224 no. 59; H. Engelmann, "Inschriften aus Metropolis," *ZPE* 125 (1999), 137–146, here 143–146; *id.*, "Inschriften und Heiligtum" (see n. 21), 36, 40.

25 *IEph* 7/2.3506–3512; Engelmann, "Inschriften und Heiligtum" (see n. 21), 41.

26 Meriç, *Hinterland von Ephesos* (see n. 20), 29–31.

27 Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (see n. 3), 132–133 and 149–155.

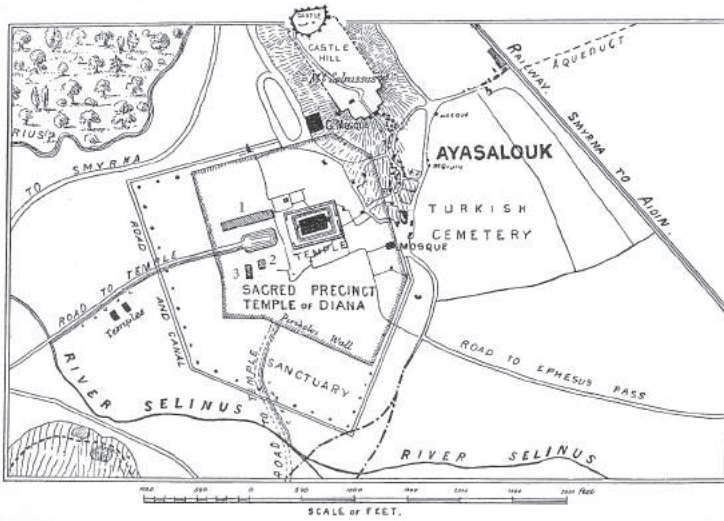


Fig. 3: Plan of the Artemision area (J.T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* [see n. 3]).

preted by him as “dwellings of the priests”²⁸ located west-south-west of the temple (fig. 3, no. 1).²⁹ One of the mosaic pavements represents a triton with a dish of fruit and an attendant dolphin carrying the trident.³⁰ The position of this long trench is marked on Wood’s map, just north of the temple (fig. 3, no. 1).³¹ When he sank a number of deep trial holes southward he found the remains of a Roman building at a distance of 445 ft. (135.6 m), which he describes as a small temple erected on a stylobate of three marble steps (fig. 3, no. 2). Here he discovered a life size imperial female statue which he left at the site.³² Wood then found the remains of another building close to that Roman building, also mounted on three steps. “Amongst the debris of this building were found a small seated figure of Jupiter, with an eagle in bas-relief on the side of a chair,³³ a curious

28 Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (see n. 3), 132–133, 149.

29 He traced the buildings about 700 ft. (213.4 m); Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (see n. 3), 132–133 and 149–155.

30 R.P. Hinks (ed.), *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum* (London, 1933), pl. 28.

31 Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (see n. 3), 152.

32 Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (see n. 3), 152.

33 A.H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, vol. 2 (London, 1900), inv. no. 1263.

bas-relief of Pan as a warrior,³⁴ a headless statue of Minerva, and other fragments of statuary, like the head of Caesar Augustus³⁵ together with a number of inscriptions, chiefly of thanksgiving to Artemis”.³⁶ Wood supposes that this building was probably the Augusteum referred to in the inscriptions he had found in the *peribolos* wall surrounding the *temenos* of Artemis.³⁷ The inscription indicates that in the Artemision an Augusteum was dedicated to Augustus as a new god,³⁸ and that this Augusteum existed 6/5 BCE.³⁹

Via epigraphic and literary sources, we know about other buildings in the *temenos* or the immediate vicinity of the temple and the altar, which were erected in the imperial period.⁴⁰ In the imperial period there was at least one gymnasium inside the sanctuary: an inscription mentions an ἀγορανόμος, who donated a certain amount of anointing oil to be distributed in the gymnasium of the sanctuary of Artemis.⁴¹ A stoa, which starts from the sanctuary, is mentioned for the Trajanic period⁴² and Pausanias reports a πινακοθήκη (a hall with paintings).⁴³ Philostratus mentions a ἐστιατήριον (a banqueting hall), which Flavius Damianus funded and which was apparently furnished with every luxury.⁴⁴

Visible buildings of the imperial period in the Artemision and its surroundings are an *odeion* of which a vaulted substructure is left. This building can also be seen on Wood’s general plan (fig. 3, no. 3). It lies 180 m southwest of the temple at the border of the *temenos*, which was the distance of one stadium at the time of Strabo. The orientation of the *odeion*

34 Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture* (see n. 33), inv. no. 1270; for a figure see Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (see n. 3), 153.

35 Nothing is known about the fate of the head and the statue.

36 Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (see n. 3), 153. In the Appendix to his book Wood mentions 13 “Inscriptions from the Augusteum.”

37 For the *peribolos* wall, cf. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (see n. 3), 132–133; L. Zabрана, “Vorbericht zur sogenannten Tribüne im Artemision von Ephesos: Ein neues Odeion im Heiligtum der Artemision,” *JÖAI* 80 (2011), 341–363; F. Kirbihler and L. Zabрана, “Archäologische, epigraphische und numismatische Zeugnisse für den Kaiserkult im Artemision von Ephesos,” *JÖAI* 83 (2014), 102–104.

38 *IEph* 2.412; the damaged surroundings of the new cult area were restored under Emperor Titus (79/80 CE) at the cost of the temple treasury.

39 *IEph* 5.1522–1526, bilingual, known in six copies. Nos. 1522 and 1524 are boundary stones, found by Wood in the *peribolos* wall. Cf. Kirbihler and Zabрана, “Zeugnisse” (see n. 37), 104–105 fig. 2, 3.

40 Engelmann, “Inschriften und Heiligtum” (see n. 21). For the time of the Roman Republic, cf. Muss, “Republik und Kaiser” (see n. 21).

41 *IEph* 3.938.

42 *IEph* 5.1545.

43 Pausanias 10.38.6–7.

44 Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 2.23.2; Suidas, s.v. Damianos.



Fig. 4: Aerial view of the Artemision with Roman buildings in the north (photo F. Hueber, 1997)

generally conforms to that of the temple.⁴⁵ The building with a rectangular ground plan measures approximately 40×22 m and consists of a system of substructures with underground chambers. The upper structure shows parts of the rows of seats for the audience.⁴⁶ Since *odeia* functioned as venue for musical contests, this place seems to have been used during the holy games in honor of Artemis, the Ephesia or Ephesia Sebasta.⁴⁷ A date in the second half of the first century CE has been proposed for the building.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Zabrana, "Vorbericht" (see n. 37), 342 fig. 1. Dieter Knibbe first identified this building as a "cult theatre" and as the starting point for processions to Ephesus. Anton Bammer first called the place a tribune and later interpreted it as the place where the so-called Parthian Monument, an altar in the form of a huge "u," originally was located. Cf. A. Bammer, "Zum Standort des Parthermonuments," *Anat.* 26 (2004), 11–24; W. Oberleitner, *Das Parthermonument von Ephesos* (Vienna, 2009), 420–423; A. Bammer, "L'Architecture hellénistique en Asie mineure et ses concepts rétrospectifs et anticipants," in *Images et modernité hellénistiques: Appropriation et représentations du monde d'Alexandre à César* (ed. F.-H. Massa-Pairault and G. Sauron; CÉFR 390; Rome, 2007), 91–101; id., "Zu kleinasiatischen Monumentalaltären," in *Festschrift für Ramazan Özgün* (see n. 21), 15–27

⁴⁶ Furnishings of the building has also been detected by Zabrana, "Vorbericht" (see n. 37), 347–358.

⁴⁷ Zabrana, "Vorbericht" (see n. 37), 346–347, 361.

⁴⁸ A conversion phase has also been attested and dated to the third century CE but it seems that the original use as an *odeion* had been abandoned at that time. Cf. Zabrana, "Vorbe-



Fig. 5: Roman buildings (photo U. Muss)

At the end of the second century CE, the well-known Ephesian sophist T. Flavius Damianus, who was also the donor of the above-mentioned banqueting hall, embellished the processional way connecting the Artemision with the Hellenistic-Roman city with a covered colonnade, the so-called Damianus Stoa.⁴⁹

In the north-west of the Artemision area, three Roman (or late Hellenistic, early imperial) structures have been partially excavated (fig. 4) forming a rectangular building of about 9×11.5 m. For the construction of the building natural stone masonry has been used. On the outside the socle was covered with marble orthostats standing on a profile. At its southern side one can detect remains of an exedra which probably has been added later. The workmanship of the orthostats shows high quality and may point to a date in the first century CE. West of the rectangular building

richt" (see n. 27), 35, for the later uses of the *odeion*, and A. Bammer and U. Muss, "Continuity and Discontinuity of Cults in the Artemision at Ephesus," in *The Lands of the Crossroads: Essays in Honor of R. Meriç* (ed. S. Aybek and A. Kazim Öz; Istanbul, 2010), 63–76.

⁴⁹ Remains of this stoa are visible today at the south side of the Panayirdağ. Cf. D. Knibbe and H. Thür (eds.), *Via Sacra Ephesiaca*, vol. 2: *Grabungen und Forschungen 1992 und 1993* (BerMatÖAI 7; Vienna, 1995); D. Knibbe, "Via Sacra Ephesiaca: New Aspects of the Cult of Artemis Ephesia," in *Ephesos: Metropolis of Asia* (ed. H. Koester; HTS 41; Valley Forge, Pa., 1995), 141–155.

part of a podium building has been excavated. The podium lies on four steps which lead to a courtyard in the south. In the courtyard a rectangular foundation of $3,5 \times 2$ m is preserved – perhaps an altar. At its eastern side the building made use of an older, stepped marble structure. The building technique of this building is of outstanding quality (fig. 5). The ground plan of the podium building cannot be exactly reconstructed due to the incomplete status of the excavation. The remains of the earlier stepped structure probably date to the first century BCE, for the podium building we suppose a date at the end of the first or beginning of the second century CE. From the débris above these two structures comes a female head, dating to about the end of the first century BCE⁵⁰ (fig. 6). Other pieces of architecture have been found there which probably belonged to the end of the first, beginning of the second century CE.⁵¹ The reconstruction drawings of these buildings show a podium temple, whose lengths has been calculated to about 25 m. The building is oriented towards the Great Altar of Artemis and situated very close to its northern side. The rectangular building to the east of the podium temple is oriented towards the north and does not open to the temple and the altar area (fig. 7).

That both the rectangular structure and the podium building were cultic in nature can be deduced from the fact that they were both dismantled and destroyed almost down to their foundations – most probably during the Christian era.⁵² These buildings are the only visible testimonies still in situ in the sanctuary of Artemis which point to an imperial cult. The podium temple stood on the remains of a stepped structure of late Hellenistic, early Roman date. The form and function of the stepped structure cannot be determined at the moment, but the proposed date for this building fits well to the date of the female head mentioned above which has been excavated in the débris. The head is 48 cm high, belonged to a statue of about 3 m and originally wore a bronze helmet. Most probably it belonged to a statue of Dea Roma.⁵³

50 Bammer and Muss, *Heiligtum* (see n. 6), 61 fig. 71; Muss, “Artemision von Ephesos” (see n. 21), 252–255 fig. 9–12. In Kirbihler and Zabrana, “Zeugnisse” (see n. 37), 110 fig. 6. Zabrana gives a wrong indication of the find spot of the head which is followed by wrong conclusions.

51 The head is in the Ephesos Museum in Selçuk and the architecture is stored in the *Steingarten* immediately west of the Artemision.

52 This attitude towards the imperial cult buildings is known from other places at Ephesus as well, like the temple on the upper agora, the Temple of Domitian etc. Cf. Scherrer, *Ephesos* (see n. 22); Muss, “Paul, John and Mary” (see n. 21), 502.

53 Muss, “Artemision von Ephesos” (see n. 21), 252–254.



Fig. 6: Head, most probably representing Dea Roma (photo U. Muss)

The introduction of the imperial cult into a traditional sanctuary generally belongs to a process of socio-cultural change/exchange related to the coming of Rome and the following changes in the religious life (Romanization).⁵⁴ In the early Empire sanctuaries and shrines of the ruler cult came to dominate the most prestigious locations of *coloniae*. The first suggestions for the location of an imperial cult in the Artemision came from John Turtle Wood who thought that one of the stepped buildings he had found has been the Augusteum (fig. 3, no. 2).⁵⁵ In 1990 Peter Scherrer proposed the hypothesis that the Altar of Artemis was the place where a cult for Augustus had been established (fig. 2).⁵⁶ This is interesting in respect to the

⁵⁴ D. Steuernagel, "Synnaos Theos: Images of Roman Emperors in Greek Temples," in *Divine Images and Human Imagination in Ancient Greece and Rome* (ed. J. Mylonopoulos; RGRW 170; Leiden, 2010), 241–253, esp. 248–250 (Priene); P. Talloen, "One Question, Several Answers: The Introduction of the Imperial Cult in Pisidia," in *Neue Zeiten – Neue Sitten: Zu Rezeption und Integration römischer und italischer Kulturgüter in Kleinasien* (ed. M. Meyer; Vienna, 2007), 233–242.

⁵⁵ Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (see n. 3), 153.

⁵⁶ P. Scherrer, "Augustus, die Mission des Vedius Pollio und die Artemis Ephesia," *JÖAI* 60 (1990), 87–101.

fact that the imperial cult was often attached to the most prominent cult of the city. The owner of the sanctuary is in most cases the same deity that was associated with the emperor.⁵⁷ As a prominent example for the establishment of the ruler cult in Asia Minor during the early imperial period, one can mention the sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene which was rededicated to house the cult of the emperor Augustus. Here statues of the divine Augustus and his successors were placed, making the emperors *synnaoi* (temple sharing gods) of the goddess.⁵⁸ Nothing has been preserved in the altar or the temple of Artemis to allow a similar suggestion for Ephesus. But traditional sanctuaries also came to include the emperor by erecting separate buildings or monuments within the sanctuary.

The stepped building and the head – which seems to represent Dea Roma⁵⁹ – might point to the possibility that the traditional sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia was supplemented by a precinct dedicated to Dea Roma. That the veneration of Dea Roma and Divus Iulius at Ephesus actually can be traced back to an early date between 41 and 38 BCE has recently been shown by François Kirbihler. According to Kirbihler the Artemision in all probability is the place which located this cult.⁶⁰

This cult place in the Artemision had obviously later been modified with the podium temple – this time using a western architectural concept.

Apart from the altar it was the temple, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World since the second century BCE, which retained the continuity of the cult of Artemis during all the centuries. John Turtle Wood found an elliptical Corinthian capital, which he presumed had been used in the upper tier of the columns decorating the *cella* of the temple in the time of Marcus Aurelius, when probably great alterations were

57 A. Bendlin, "Peripheral Centres – Central Peripheries: Religious Communication in the Roman Empire," in *Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion* (ed. C. Cancik and J. Rüpke; Tübingen, 1997), 35–68, here 56; Steuernagel, "Synnaos Theos" (see n. 54). The owner of the sanctuary is in most cases that same deity who was associated with the emperor. Augustus was mostly associated with Apollo.

58 Steuernagel, "Synnaos Theos" (see n. 54).

59 Further arguments for the identification of the head in Muss, "Artemision von Ephesos" (see n. 21), 253–254.

60 Kirbihler and Zabrana, "Zeugnisse" (see n. 37), 121–125. Another reference for the Augustan period in the Artemision exists with a monumental architrave found in 1969 west of the altar naming a building as a donation of Augustus and Lucius Caesar: *I Eph* 2.408. Further there exists an inscription with a reference to the restauration of a building about 160 CE: *I Eph* 7/2.4327. For the general problem of the localization of the Augustea in Ephesus: H. Engemann, "Zum Kaiserkult in Ephesos," *ZPE* 97 (1993), 279–283; P. Scherrer, "Augustus, die Mission des Vedius Pollio und die Artemis Ephesia," *JÖAI* 60 (1990), 87–101; Rogers, "Greek Polis" (see n. 19), 137–145.

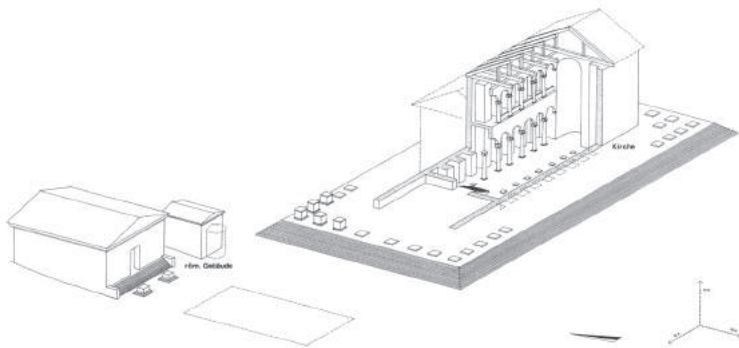


Fig. 7: Reconstruction of Roman buildings and the church inside the temple (A. Bammer)

made in the interior. This emperor's name, with that of his wife Faustina and his daughter Fadilla, were found on the lintel of the door at the west end.⁶¹ Wood also found remains of a portico which probably surrounded the temple on at least three sides.⁶²

In the mid-first century CE Paullus Fabius Persicus wrote that the sanctuary was the gem of the province: its fame was based on the great antiquity of the cult, the impressive scale of the temple, and the abundance of wealth which Augustus had restored to the goddess. Pausanias later reports about the veneration of Artemis during the imperial period.⁶³ But in the second century CE, other gods and goddesses who appeared to be more popular than Artemis received the right to reside in the *prytaneion*, the official religious center of the city. These included Demeter and Kore, the oracular sanctuary of Clarian Apollo and others.⁶⁴ All these phenomena document the decline of Artemis, who now also assumed func-

61 Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (see n. 3), "Appendix III: Inscriptions from the Site of the Temple of Diana," 18–19 no. 16; O. Benndorf, "Studien am Artemision," in *Forschungen in Ephesus* (FiE 1; Vienna, 1906), 215–220; Muss, "Republik und Kaiser" (see n. 21), fig. 4.

62 The portico was nearly 31 ft. (9.45 m) distant from the lowest step of the temple, and was 25 ft. (7.62 m) wide; cf. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (see n. 3), 249–250, visible on his general plan; Zabrana, "Vorbericht" (see n. 37), fig. 1, above right; Kirbihler and Zabrana, "Zeugnisse" (see n. 37), fig. 3.

63 Pausanias 4.31.8; cf. Engelmann, "Inschriften und Heiligtum" (see n. 21), 33; id., "Ephesos und die Johannesakten," *ZPE* 103 (1994), 297–302; *IEph* 1.24 for the extension of the cult of Artemis.

64 Knibbe, "Via Sacra Ephesiaca" (see n. 49), 144–146.

tions that she did not have in earlier times.⁶⁵ At that time the cult of Artemis had not only lost its single location in the Artemision, it had been linked to the city of Ephesus, and to the entire Empire, where statues of the goddess have been found.⁶⁶ In addition to that, “mass production” of small statues of Artemis in terracotta and bronze points to the “globalization” of her cult.⁶⁷

The cult of Artemis Ephesia survived the early Christian controversy in the mid-first century CE. The Acts of the Apostles⁶⁸ report a rebellion against Paul, who, during his third missionary journey, spent two years in the metropolis of Asia Minor. He directed his energies against the trade in devotional objects, in the form of silver votives representing Artemis and her temple.⁶⁹ In Paul’s time the Temple of Artemis and its altar were already some hundred years old. In the *temenos* of Artemis a cult for the emperor Augustus existed and at least some of the monuments listed above.⁷⁰

According to Acts, Paul spent two years and three months in Ephesus.⁷¹ Paul preached in a synagogue, the place of which is not known,⁷² and he

65 Knibbe, “Via Sacra Ephesiaca” (see n. 49), 147–148.

66 R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien* (EPRO 35; Leiden, 1973); id., “Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien Supplement,” in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Friedrich Karl Dörner* (ed. E. Schwertheim, S. Sahin and J. Wagner; EPRO 66; Leiden, 1978), 324–358; id., “Artemis Ephesia,” *LIMC* 2 (1984), 757–762.

67 J. Elsner, “The Origins of the Icon: Pilgrimage, Religion and Visual Culture in the Roman East as ‘Resistance’ to the Centre,” in *The Early Roman Empire in the East* (ed. S.E. Alcock; Oxbow Monograph 95; Oxford, 1997), 178–199, esp. 180–185; R.E. Oster, “The Ephesian Artemis: ‘Whom All Asia and the World Worship’ (Acts 19:27),” in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies* (ed. J.W. Childers and D.C. Parker; TS 4; Piscataway, N.J., 2006), 212–231.

68 Acts 19:23–20:1.

69 The story of the silversmiths reflects the milieu of Ephesus, but it is questionable that the story is historical. See H. Koester, “Ephesos in Early Christian Literature” in *Ephesos* (see n. 49), 119–140, esp. 129f.

70 Whether Paul ever visited the site of the Artemis Temple is unknown. A wood engraving made after a drawing by Gustave Doré in the nineteenth century shows Paul teaching and behind him a temple which can be imagined as the Artemision. The scene in the foreground shows a furious group of men, throwing books into a fire. Paul, standing above them on a stepped podium, with his right arm stretched out to the men, looks backwards to the temple; F. Hueber, *Ephesos: Gebaute Geschichte* (Mainz, 1997), 94 fig. 117.

71 Very little is known of early Christianity and Judaism before the fourth century; cf. R. Strelan, *Paul, Artemis and the Jews* (see n. 17).

72 Acts 19:8; cf. A. Bammer, *Ephesos: Stadt an Fluß und Meer* (Graz, 1988), 154–155, with no. 20 as a possible place for the synagogue.

taught in the school (σχολή) of Tyrannos⁷³ which has to be imagined as a location in an existing public building in the city. Monumental gates, like those of Mazaeus and Mithridates, existed at this time, as did the theatre, where Paul talked and taught, the monument of Memmius, and the basilica on the so-called State Agora, only to name a few. From the terrace houses we also know how rich Ephesians lived in the first century. But these are not the places Paul could be expected to frequent. His place was more likely the harbor area, where the more mobile population like fishermen would be located.

In the second century CE the apostle John is directly connected with the Temple of Artemis. The Acts of John (19:27) report his visit to the Artemision: during a festival he destroyed the altar, numerous offerings, statues of the divinity – and elements of the architectural structure.⁷⁴ An illustration of this destruction found its way into a French manuscript of the thirteenth century CE which today is in the Trinity College Library at Cambridge.⁷⁵ Even if this event cannot be historically verified, it at least provides a clear message which was handed down in Christian circles. John's victory over Artemis stands for the superiority of Christian belief and the defeat of paganism.

Despite all these developments, the Artemision seems to have remained the cultic centre of the city also during the second and third centuries CE.⁷⁶ Although the exact scope and impact of the plundering by the Goths in 263 CE are not precisely known, this did not signal the end of cult practices. Measures for the preservation of the "historical substance" of the building are attested in the form of repair to the *cella* door. John Turtle Wood found six stones inside the *cella*, five of them display the incomplete profile of the frame of the *cella* door.⁷⁷ The original monument included eight statues, each with a separate honorary inscription standing on a long base with an inscription of two lines. The motive and the occasion of the dedication is unknown⁷⁸ as well as the original location inside the temple or close to it.⁷⁹

⁷³ Acts 19:9.

⁷⁴ R. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire, A.D. 100–400* (New Haven, 1984), 26.

⁷⁵ Cf. B.L. Trell, "The Temple of Artemis at Ephesos," in *The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World* (ed. P. Clayton and M. Price; London, 1990), 105–133, here 131 fig. 47.

⁷⁶ R.E. Oster, "The Ephesian Artemis as an Opponent to Early Christianity," *JAC* 19 (1976), 29–44.

⁷⁷ Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (see n. 3), 128. The texts are reproduced *ibid.*, "Appendix III: Inscriptions from the Site of the Temple of Diana," 18 n. 16; O. Benndorf, "Studien am Artemision" (see n. 61), 214.

⁷⁸ *IEph* 2.287.

4. The End of Pagan Cult and the Church

In the fourth century, when Christianity acquired the status of a *religio licita* in 313 CE and eventually was elevated to the position of state religion in 391 CE, consequences had been inevitable for the Artemision itself. To begin with, a series of imperial edicts forbade the practice of pagan cult, ordered the closing of pagan temples,⁸⁰ or recommended a new, altered usage. Frequently, however, the cult spaces were simply destroyed and completely demolished.⁸¹ At the same time, decrees existed which prohibited the destruction or allowed the preservation of the monument if crosses were applied. Immediate abandonment or Christian adaptation of all pagan sanctuaries, however, are not to be assumed; rather, it is much more likely that pagan and Christian cultic spaces existed next to each other for some time. Christian re-consecration of pagan buildings is attested at Ephesus at, among others, the Olympieion (Temple of Hadrian), the so-called Serapeion, the so-called tomb of St. Lucas (an imperial-period circular fountain building), the east gymnasium and at the Artemision.

When John Chrysostom stayed in Ephesus in 401 CE, he worked hard to prohibit the continuing practice of pagan cult at the Artemision, by stripping the cult statue of Artemis down to the *xoanon*, i. e., they robbed the divine image of its jewelry and allowed it to be burned.⁸² Even if this event cannot be confirmed historically, the tradition suggests, at the very least, that the temple was finally closed at the beginning of the fifth century and the cult ceased.⁸³ A socle inscription from this time also attests the de-

79 Muss, "Paul, John and Mary" (see n. 21), 505–508. The conclusion, however, seems strange, that at a time when the worship of the Roman emperors still exists, the monument would have been used for a repair. Therefore another suggestion would be to interpret the repair of the *cella* door as a much later intervention from the time when the temple was converted into a church in the sixth century CE. Two other monuments for Marcus Aurelius and his family (*IEph* 2.288 and 289) have been reused in the Byzantine aqueduct, passing the modern town of Selçuk.

80 F.R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370–529*, vol. 1 (2nd ed.; RGRW 115; Leiden, 2001), 1–94.

81 F.W. Deichmann, "Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern," *JdI* 54 (1939), 105–136; R. Meier, "Alte Tempel – Neue Kulte: Zum Schutz obsoleter Sakralbauten in der Spätantike und zur Adaption alter Bauten an den christlichen Kult," in *Innovation in der Spätantike* (ed. B. Brenk; Wiesbaden, 1996), 361–376, here 363 ff.

82 R.C. Kukulka, "Literarische Zeugnisse über den Artemistempel von Ephesos und inschriftliche Zeugnisse über das Artemision," in: *Forschungen in Ephesos* (see n. 61), 237–282, esp. 269 no. 405; Procopius, *or.* 20.

83 O. Dally, "Pflege und Umnutzung heidnischer Tempel in der Spätantike," in *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung* (ed. G. Brands and H.-G. Severin; Wiesbaden,

clining demise of Artemis. On it, a certain Demeas is glorified for destroying the existing Artemis statue and replacing it with a cross.⁸⁴ Subsequently the Artemision served as quarry and provided building material for civic, Christian and Islamic buildings, like the Basilica of St. John, the Isa Bey Mosque (fig. 1) and the Byzantine aqueduct located in Selçuk. It is interesting that *spolia* from the Artemis Altar were found above all in the region of the Church of St. John – in the walls built since the sixth century against the attack of Arabs⁸⁵ – and in Ephesus itself. Here, many stones were laid down as street pavers in front of the theatre, while many stones from the temple itself were discovered in the Byzantine aqueduct which crosses the modern town of Selçuk.⁸⁶ Apparently, the altar was demolished first. Parts of the temple even appeared in St. John's basilica, for example a *geison* of the late classical temple, which was reworked into a capital for the church.⁸⁷

It was John Turtle Wood who, during his excavations in 1870, discovered walled piers in the interior walls of the temple courtyard which he identified as the remains of a church.⁸⁸ During the course of renewed excavations carried out by us in the 1980s in the *sekos* (courtyard) of the temple, the remains of these piers were rediscovered and re-excavated (fig. 1 and 2). They lay on the inner wall of the archaic *sekos* and there were eight piers per side.⁸⁹ The piers were tangent to the archaic courtyard wall on its inner face, and their lower edges extend below the archaic level of the *sekos*: they thereby indicate that the religions kept contact through the architecture, and therefore we have to speak of a church in a temple, not of a church instead of a temple.⁹⁰ The roof of the church must have been supported by heavy piers, like those known from the church of "tria DONTIA" in

2003), 97–114, here 97 ff. On the Demeas inscription see A. Chaniotis, "The Conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias in Context," in *From Temple to Church: Deconstruction and Renewal of Local Topography in Late Antiquity* (ed. J. Hahn, S. Emmel and U. Gotter; RGRW 163, Leiden, 2008), 243–274, here 243–244.

84 Dally, "Pflege und Umnutzung" (see n. 83), 97 ff. On the Demeas inscription see Chaniotis, "Conversion" (see n. 83), 243–244.

85 M. Büyükkolancı and U. Muss, "Die Fundsituation der Werkstücke," in *Altar des Artemisions* (see n. 5), 28–29.

86 Hueber, *Ephesos* (see n. 70), 109 fig. 134.

87 M. Büyükkolancı and K. Zhuber-Okrog, "Architektur eines Weltwunders: Das Jüngere Artemision und sein Altar," in *Artemision von Ephesos* (see n. 1), 93–103, here 97 fig. 5.

88 Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (see n. 3), 190, fig. after p. 262.

89 Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (see n. 3), 190, with fig. after p. 262; Bammer and Muss, *Heiligtum* (see n. 6), 35 fig. 33, 42 fig. 43.

90 Ohnesorg, *Kroisos-Tempel* (see n. 7), 133 with fig. 29, with a summary of the investigations concerning this building.

Samos which are 2×4 big supporting pillars.⁹¹ In the west, the *pronaos* of the temple could have served as a *narthex* of the church. Evidence for a division of the interior space, ca. 15 m wide, into a central nave and two side aisles has not been found. The exact location and the form of the eastern termination of the church are not known, as the temple in its eastern part is not excavated. Nothing of the furnishing has been found in situ. According to Eugenio Russo, who studied the architectural elements which have been collected in the Artemision, all pieces date to the sixth century CE or were reworked during this time.⁹² Based on the preserved architectural sculpture, the capitals, and the liturgical furnishings the construction of the church can be assumed to have taken place in the sixth century. Among the pieces are several capitals⁹³ and a parapet with lions paws, originally decorated with a cross on both sides. One was erased at an unknown date.⁹⁴ Interesting is a piece of an *ambo* which has been worked from a column drum of the fourth-century temple, judging by its diameter.⁹⁵ The church was roofed either with a wooden timber-truss roof, or possibly also with domes, suggested by the presence of lumps of tufa at the site. Whether or not the church was divided into aisles and nave is not clear, as no foundations for central columns are preserved. Similarly, the height of the floor level of the church is unknown.⁹⁶

The church was frequently altered, as shown for example by a parapet re-used as *spolia* in a door threshold.⁹⁷ Worked pieces from the Middle Byzantine period are also preserved in the Artemision.⁹⁸ One can further assume from the evidence of a stalactite capital and the already mentioned parapet which shows an erased cross that the church was later converted into a mosque like St. John's basilica.

The church within the Artemision can be counted amongst the numerous Christian sacred buildings which were created through the rebuilding of an ancient pagan sanctuary (fig. 7). The western orientation of the tem-

91 R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Die antike Stadt Samos* (Mainz, 1969), 69 fig. 36; K. Taskos, *Samos: Historischer und Archäologischer Führer* (Athens, 2003), 53–57 fig. 51.

92 E. Russo, "Sculpture paleocristiane et bizantine dell'Artemision di Efeso," in *Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos* (see n. 21), 265–278.

93 Bammer and Muss, *Heiligtum* (see n. 6), 61 fig. 72; Russo, "Sculpture" (see n. 92), 266–267 fig. 3–5.

94 Russo, "Sculpture" (see n. 92), 268 fig. 11–13.

95 Russo, "Sculpture" (see n. 92), 267 fig. 6.

96 Around the church or even in the church, burials took place; these were covered with sarcophagus lids, one of which was inscribed; cf. Russo, "Sculpture" (see n. 92), 274 fig. 24, 25.

97 Russo, "Sculpture" (see n. 92), 276 fig. 26, 27.

98 Russo, "Sculpture" (see n. 92), 277 fig. 28, 29.

ple with its main entrance in the west made the conversion easier, as the main portal could also be used for the church. Temples which have been changed into churches play an important role in the development of Christian cult places. The result is different in every case.⁹⁹

The Christian adaptation of the Artemision as a world-famous center of a pagan cult is understandable; but by which saint could Artemis be followed? The Third Ecumenical Council in 431 CE at Ephesus, and the resulting recognition of Mary as Θεοτόκος (bearer of God), became the basis for a considerable increase in the worship of Mary.¹⁰⁰ The dedication of the church inside the Artemision to the Θεοτόκος is therefore under consideration, as it was Mary who was predestined to replace the pagan female divinity, and to re-consecrate that very place which for centuries “had represented the most perfect expression of pagan religiosity.”¹⁰¹

While the pagan worship of Artemis has no more than historical value in the present, the early Christian monuments as well as the house of Mary in Ephesus still animate the use of these places today and endow them with contemporary religious value.

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⁹⁹ *From Temple to Church* (see n. 83); A. Gutsfeld and S. Lehmann, “Pagane Heiligtümer im christlichen Umfeld: Zur Geschichte ‘panhellenischer’ Heiligtümer im spätantiken Griechenland,” *Das Altertum* 53 (2008), 190–202.

¹⁰⁰ A. Pülz, “Von der Göttin zur Gottesmutter? Artemis und Maria,” in *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis* (ed. U. Muss; Vienna, 2008), 67–75.

¹⁰¹ B. Köting, *Peregrinatio religiosa: Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche* (Zetemata 14; Münster, 1980), 33ff. and 171ff.

Early Christianity

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Publisher: Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, Postfach 2040, 72010 Tübingen
The journal may also be purchased at bookstores.

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Printed in Germany.
Typeset by Konrad Tritsch GmbH, Ochsenfurt.
Printed by Gulde-Druck, Tübingen.

ISSN 1868-7032 (Print Edition)
ISSN 1868-8020 (Online Edition)

Early Christianity

volume 7 (2016), no. 3

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1868-7032(201609)7:3;1-2

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