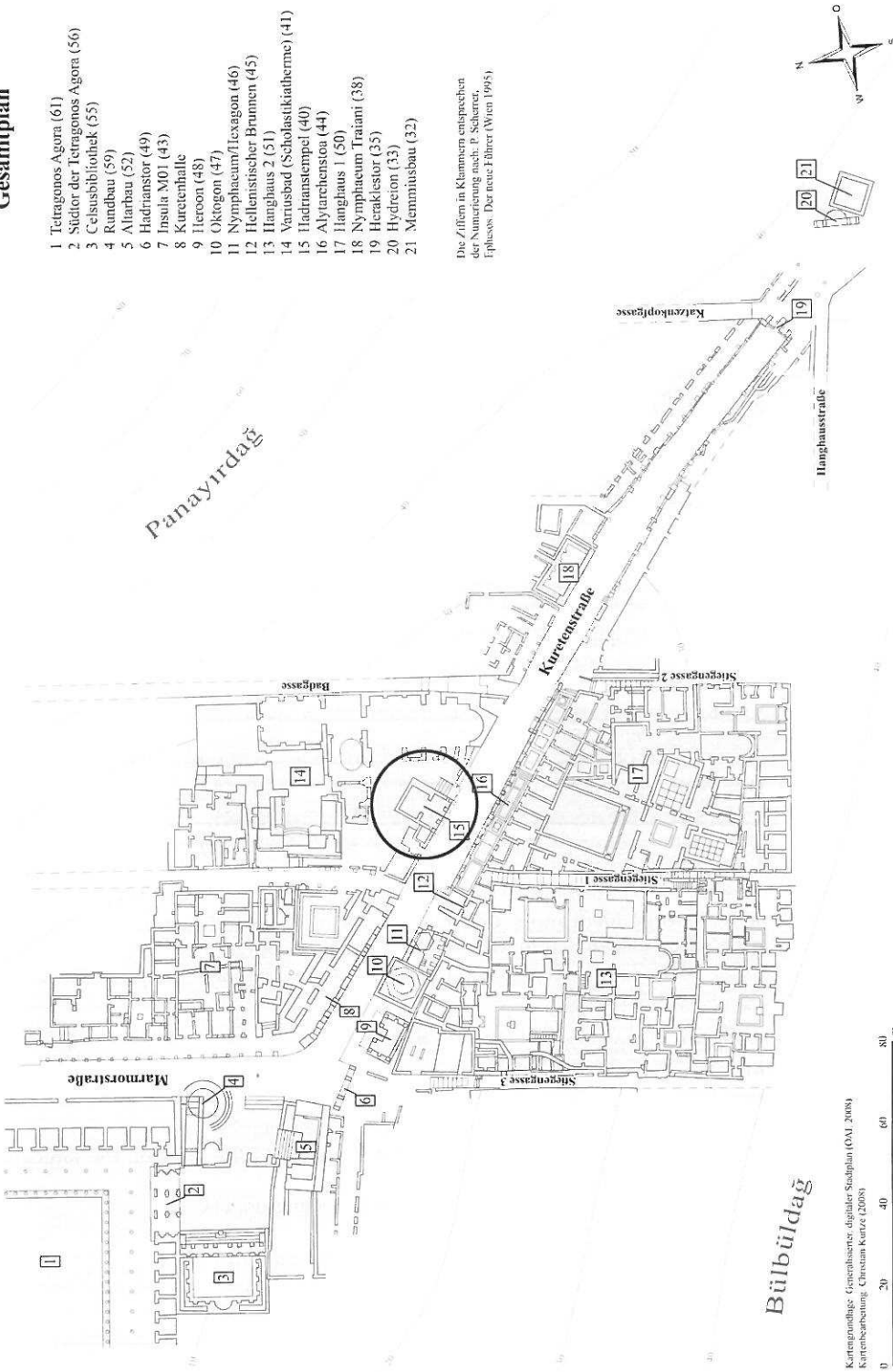


**EPHESOS: Kuretenstraße
Gesamtplan**

- 1 Tetragonos Agora (61)
- 2 Südter Tetragonos Agora (56)
- 3 Celsusbibliothek (55)
- 4 Rundbau (59)
- 5 Altarbau (52)
- 6 Hadrianstor (49)
- 7 Insula M01 (43)
- 8 Kuretenhalle
- 9 Hieroon (48)
- 10 Oktagon (47)
- 11 Nymphaeum/Tetragon (46)
- 12 Hellenistischer Brunnen (45)
- 13 Hanghaus 2 (51)
- 14 Varrusbod (Scholastikatherme) (41)
- 15 Hadrianstempel (40)
- 16 Alytarchenstoa (44)
- 17 Hanghaus 1 (50)
- 18 Nymphaeum Traiani (38)
- 19 Herakleostor (35)
- 20 Hydreion (33)
- 21 Memmiusbau (32)

Die Ziffern in Klammern entsprechen der Nummerierung nach: P. Scherrer, Ephesos. Der neue Führer (Wien 1995).



Kartengrundlage: Generalisierter digitaler Stadtplan (ÖAI, 2008)
Kartebearbeitung: Christian Kurtze (2008)

Fig. 2. Plan of Curetes Street in the city centre (© ÖAI).

The “Temple of Hadrian” on Curetes Street in Ephesus: new research into its building history

Ursula Quatember

The building commonly known as the Temple of Hadrian is one of the best-known buildings of Roman Ephesus (fig. 1), occupying a prominent location in the W section of Curetes Street (fig. 2), one of the chief thoroughfares of the Roman city. The street lies in the valley between the two hills that shape the urban layout, the Panayırdağ to the north and the Bülbüldağ to the south.¹ Discovered in 1956 and re-erected during the following two years, the “Temple of Hadrian” has never been systematically analyzed, and scholars have been unable to establish its chronology, function, and definitive reconstruction. A new project is underway at the Austrian Archaeological Institute to address these questions² and the present article presents preliminary results on the building phases and history of the structure.



Fig. 1. The “Temple of Hadrian” on Curetes Street (© ÖAI).

Its layout (fig. 3) is essentially a variation of the tetrastyle prostyle plan, with two pillars anchoring the axis of the *antae* and two regular columns between them. The building is divided into a front hall (*pronaos*) and a main room. The main façade, facing the street, is

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- 1 For the latest research on Curetes Street, see the various contributions in S. Ladstätter (ed.), *Neue Forschungen zur Kuretenstraße von Ephesos. Akten des Symposiums für Hilke Thür* (Denkschr. ÖAW, phil.-hist. Kl. 382, 2009).
 - 2 Conducted at the Austrian Archaeological Institute under the direction of the author, the project is funded by the Austrian Science Funds FWF (Project P20947-G02).

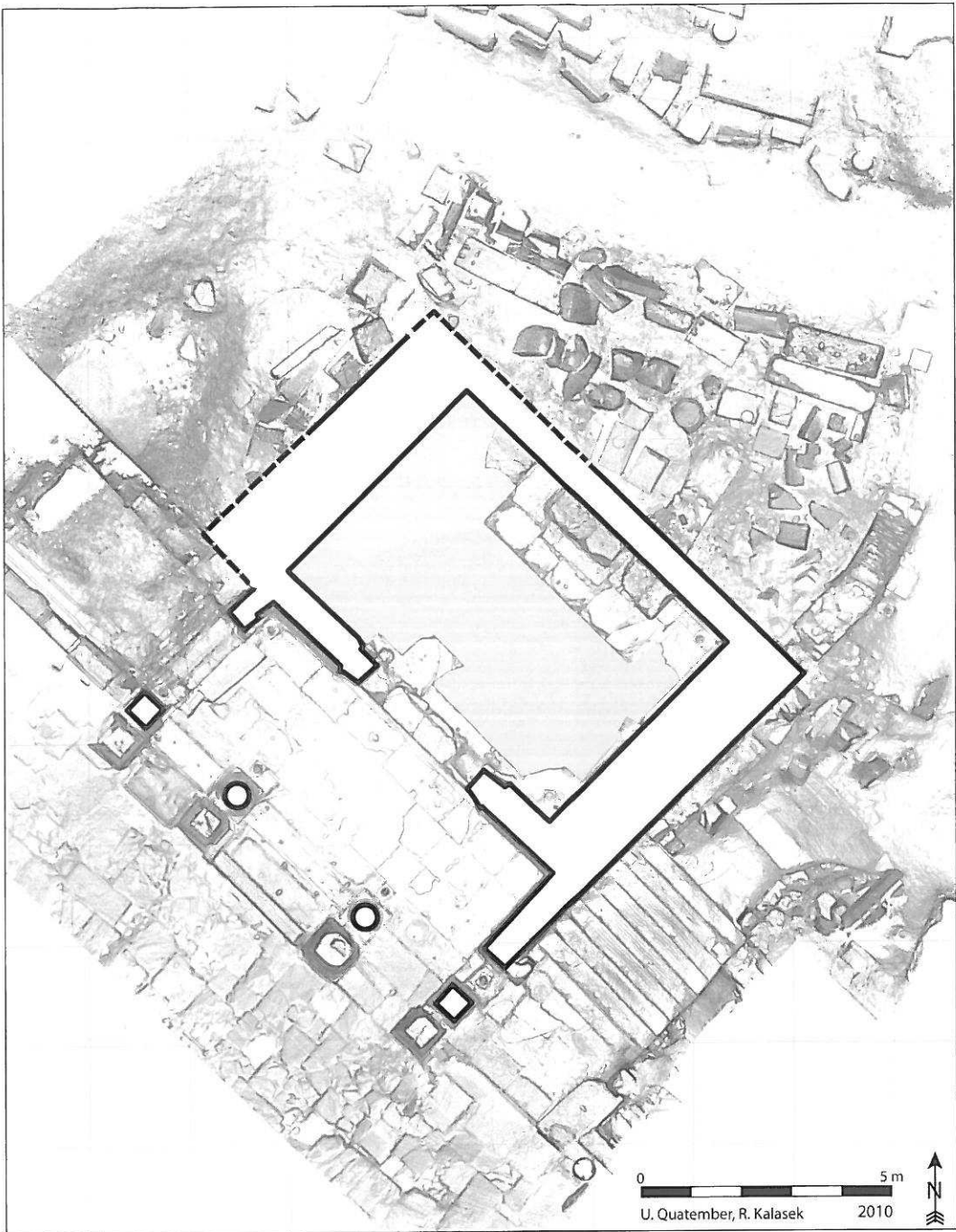


Fig. 3. Plan of the temple superimposed on the 3D point cloud (© ÖAI).

dominated by a Syrian pediment. The building is integrated into the adjacent structure known as the Varius Baths or Baths of Scholastikia.³ Even though its original interpretation

³ See F. Miltner's reports, referring to it as the "Baths of Scholastikia": "XX. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos," *ÖJh* 42 (1955) *Beibl.*, 34-40; "XXI. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos," *ÖJh* 43 (1956-58) *Beibl.*, 17-25; "XXII. Vorläufiger Bericht über

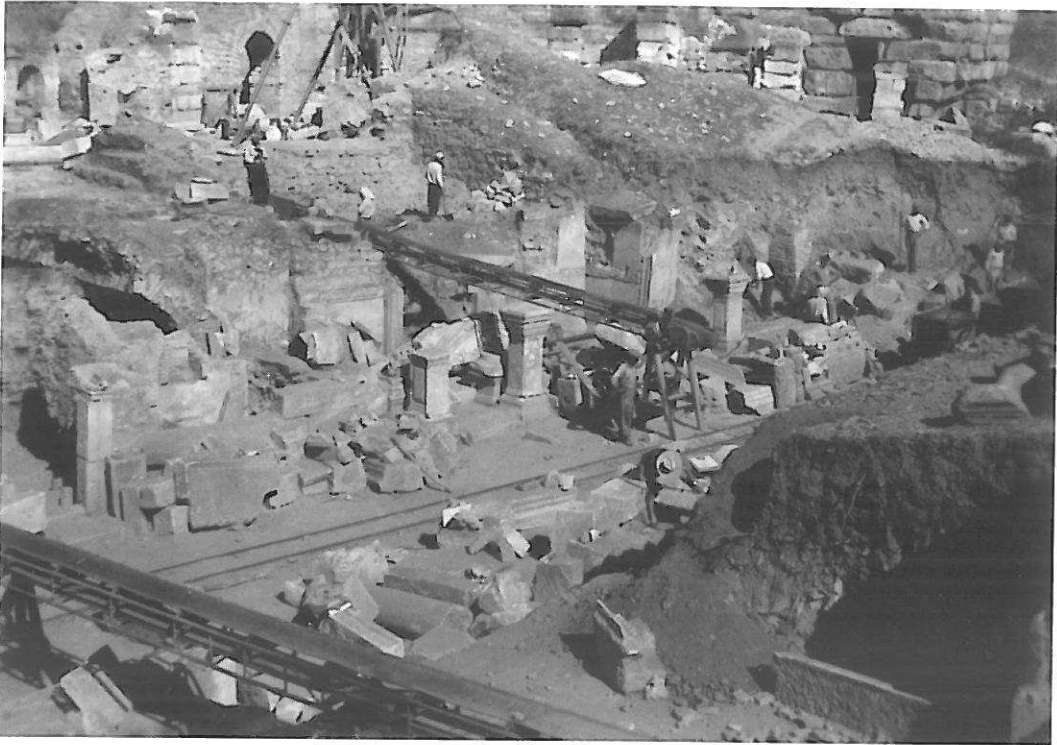


Fig. 4. "Temple of Hadrian" during excavation in 1956 (© ÖAI).

as a "neorate temple" (i.e., official temple for the worship of the emperor in the Roman province of Asia Minor) now seems more than doubtful, we shall adhere to the name "Temple of Hadrian".

History and state of research

The main question in the study of the temple, even before issues such as function and interpretation can be addressed, is its chronology. Permission to build a neorate temple for a provincial cult of the emperor was granted to Ephesus by Hadrian between A.D. 130 and 132.⁴ During the extensive excavations of the 1950s, expectations of finding prominent structures were high,⁵ prompting the director, F. Miltner, to identify the small building on Curetes Street (fig. 4) as this long-sought-after structure in his preliminary

die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos," *ÖJh* 44 (1959) *Beibl.*, 250-56. For a summary, see *RE Suppl.* 12 (1970) 1619 f. s.v. Ephesos B. Archäologischer Teil (W. Alzinger). Alzinger too calls it "Baths of Scholastikia", mistakenly regarding a building on the Upper Agora as the Varius Baths. Later this was corrected and the Baths of Scholastikia on Curetes Street identified as the Varius Baths: D. Knibbe and R. Merkelbach, "Ephesische Bauinschriften 3. Das Variusbath," *ZPE* 31 (1978) 99.

⁴ Synoptic: B. Burrell, *Neokoroi. Greek cities and Roman emperors* (Leiden 2004) 66-70, with further references. See also S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984).

⁵ Miltner had resumed fieldwork in Ephesus in 1954 and was under pressure to justify this undertaking during economically-difficult times for post-war Austria. See U. Quatember, "Zur Grabungstätigkeit F. Miltners an der Kuretenstraße," in B. Brandt, V. Gassner and S. Ladstätter (edd.), *Synergia. Festschrift F. Krinzinger* (Vienna 2005) 271-78.



Fig. 5. NW corner of *pronaos* with reliefs A (left) and B (right). An ancient repair on the architrave is visible in the top left corner (© ÖAI).

report.⁶ Indeed, according to the inscription on the architrave blocks, the building was dedicated to Hadrian and the *neokoros*⁷ *demios* of Ephesus by P. Quintilius Valens Varius, his wife, and his daughter under the *grammateus* Ti. Claudius Luceianus; it was inaugurated under the the proconsul Q. Servaeus Innocens and the twice *grammateus* and asiarch P. Vedius Antoninus.⁸ Although the beginning of the text is missing, on analogy with other contemporary inscriptions from Ephesus we may assume that it incorporated the Artemis of Ephesus as first recipient of the dedication.⁹

In 1973, M. Wörrle proposed a new dating of the inscription to 117/118 or 118/119, based mainly on prosopographic grounds.¹⁰ This revision would place the completion and dedication of the "Temple of Hadrian" some 10-15 years *before* permission to build such a structure was received by the Ephesians. Since Wörrle's chronology has been generally accepted, it contradicts the initial interpretation of the monument as a neocorate temple for Hadrian.¹¹

The monument's continued significance for the urban layout of Ephesus in late antiquity cannot be doubted. Inscribed statue bases for the tetrarchs were erected in front of the façade. Those for Diocletian, Constantius I and Galerius remain *in situ*.¹² Later, Theodosius I possibly substituted the one for the Maximian with a statue and a base for his father, as part of his refurbishment of Curetes Street (fig. 1).¹³

Aside from the date of the building's initial construction, the chronology of its parts has also been called into question. The figural reliefs of the *pronaos* (figs. 5, 13 and 14) have been the subject of numerous art-historical discussions.¹⁴ The 4 blocks bearing the

6 F. Miltner, "XXII. Vorläufiger Bericht," *ÖJh* 44 (1959) *Beibl.*, 264-73, figs. 125-34.

7 This is the honorary title referring to the status of a city housing a neocorate temple: cf. S. Friesen, "The cult of the Roman emperors in Ephesus," in H. Koester (ed.), *Ephesus: metropolis of Asia* (Harv. Theol. Stud. 41; 2nd edn. 2004) 229-36.

8 Ch. Börker and R. Merkelbach (edd.), *Die Inschriften von Ephesos II* (IGSK 12, 1979) no. 429 with references to other editions.

9 Cf., e.g., the similar wording on the inscriptions of two fountains from the Trajanic period: Börker and Merkelbach *ibid.* nos. 424-424A. Consecrations to the city god and reigning emperor are common in Asia Minor in that period: E. Stephan, *Honoratioren, Griechen, Polisbürger. Kollektive Identitäten innerhalb der Oberschicht des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (Hypomnemata 143, 2002) 94.

10 M. Wörrle, "Zur Datierung des Hadrianstempels an der Kuretenstraße in Ephesos," *AA* 1973, 470-77, with references to previous approaches. His reasoning is complex: his main arguments concern two persons mentioned, Q. Servaeus Innocens and P. Vedius Antoninus. A person of the name Q. Servaeus Innocens is known as *consul suffectus* in 101. If he underwent a regular career progression, he must have occupied the position of *proconsul* at a maximum of 17 years after that. The person bearing the name P. Vedius Antoninus must then be a contemporary of Q. Servaeus Innocens and can be identified as the progenitor of the Ephesian dynasty of the Vedii. On the Vedii, see now M. Steskal in *id.* and M. La Torre, *Das Vediusgymnasium in Ephesos* (FiE 14.1, 2008) 304-6; A. Kalinowski, "The Vedii Antonini: aspects of patronage and benefaction in second-century Ephesos," *Phoenix* 56 (2002) 129 f. (both with further references).

11 The first to raise doubts about the identification of the neocorate temple was E. L. Bowie, "The 'Temple of Hadrian' at Ephesus," *ZPE* 8 (1971) 137-41, and "The Vedii Antonini and the Temple of Hadrian at Ephesus," in E. Akurgal (ed.), *Proc. Xth int. Congress of Classical Archaeology, 1973* (Ankara 1978) 869-74.

12 Börker and Merkelbach (*supra* n.8) no. 305.

13 For the text, *ibid.* no. 306. On representations of Theodosius and his family on Curetes Street, cf. C. Roueché, "Die Kuretenstraße: the imperial presence in late antiquity," in Ladstätter (*supra* n.1) especially 158-61.

14 The originals are on display in the Efes Müzesi, Selçuk (inv. nos. 713-16). Casts were used for

reliefs were inserted in the walls directly below the architrave course. Most scholars follow either B. Brenk, who argued for a date under the Tetrarchs at the end of the 3rd c.,¹⁵ or R. Fleischer, who dated them to the third quarter of the 4th c.,¹⁶ both dates implying that the reliefs were later additions to the building. In that case their positioning within the structure would have required major construction activities, including a dismantling of the front hall's roof. This matter has never been satisfactorily resolved, and P. Scherrer has recently called for attribution of the reliefs to the original Hadrianic structure.¹⁷

In the early 1990s, two new theories were published concerning the building's interpretation. U. Outschar would like to see it as a memorial for Hadrian's companion Antinoos.¹⁸ Even more radically, F. Hueber discounts the reconstructed remains as a temple at all.¹⁹ Currently there seems to be a general consensus that the "true" neocorate temple can be found in the so-called Olympieion in the N part of the harbour area.²⁰ Hueber suggests that the building on Curetes Street was merely the propylon of that grand structure in the harbor plain; according to him, the propylon would have been re-used in the renovation of the Varius Baths when it was moved to its current position. Our view, however, is that the Varius Baths and the "Temple of Hadrian" are coeval.

The issues of architectural chronology and reconstruction

At the beginning of the new project, two crucial issues had to be clarified: the architectural chronology and the reconstruction of the building. This article presents the latest results that will lay the foundation for a farther-reaching understanding of the structure. The function and interpretation of the building will be discussed in the final publication, to appear in the series *Forschungen in Ephesos*.

Our main source for the building history is the structure as it stands today since little documentation of the architectural blocks is available²¹ and the reconstruction from 1957/

the architectural reconstruction on site. For discussion with further references, see R. Fleischer, "Die Amazonen und das Asyl des Artemisions von Ephesos," *JdI* 117 (2002) 187-92.

15 B. Brenk, "Die Datierung der Reliefs am Hadrianstempel in Ephesos und das Problem der tetrarchischen Skulptur des Ostens," *IstMitt* 18 (1968) 238-58.

16 R. Fleischer, "Der Fries des Hadrianstempels in Ephesos," in *Festschrift F. Eichler* (ÖJh Beih. 1, 1967) 23-71.

17 P. Scherrer, "Die Stadt als Festplatz: Das Beispiel der ephesischen Bauprogramme rund um die Kaiserneokorien Domitians und Hadrians," in J. Rüpke (ed.), *Festrituale in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Tübingen 2008) 51 f.; earlier than Scherrer, R. Bol, *Amazones volneratae. Untersuchungen zu den ephesischen Amazonenstatuen* (Mainz 1998) 132 f. n.783, had already suggested a Hadrianic date.

18 U. Outschar, "Zur Deutung des Hadrianstempels an der Kuretenstraße," in H. Friesinger and F. Krinzing (Hrsg.), *100 Jahre österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos* (AF 1 = DenkschrWien 260, 1999) 443-48.

19 F. Hueber, *Ephesos. Gebaute Geschichte* (Mainz 1997) 86-88.

20 Cf., e.g., S. Karwiese, "The Church of Mary and the Temple of Hadrian Olympius," in Koester (supra n.7) 312-15; P. Scherrer, "Am Olympieion vorbei ...? Pausanias' Wegbeschreibung in Ephesos und der hadrianische Neokorietempel," in id., H. Taeuber and H. Thür (edd.), *Steine und Wege. Festschrift Dieter Knibbe* (SoSchr ÖAI 32, 1999) 137-44.

21 At the start of the project, only a few reconstruction drawings were available in the archives of the Austrian Archaeological Institute. Meanwhile, a limited number of block drawings retrieved from the estate of K.-H. Göschl have provided valuable information on the bearing

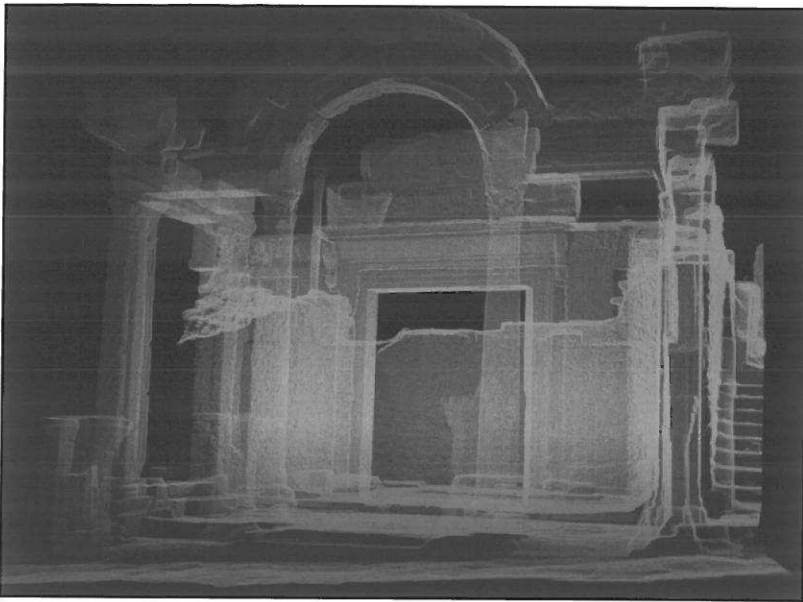


Fig. 6. “Temple of Hadrian”, point cloud created from the 3D surface scanning (© ÖAI).

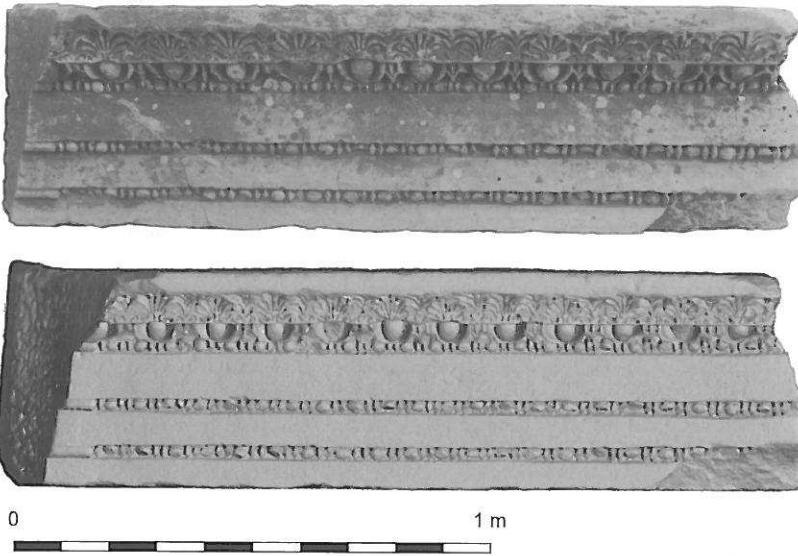


Fig. 7. Architrave from the access to the Varius Baths: view (top) and ortho-projection created from a 3D scan (below) (© ÖAI).

58 cannot be dismantled.²² From what we can conclude from its present state, the modern rebuilding generally seems to be accurate for the original position of the blocks. We recorded it by means of 3D-surface scanning in 2009,²³ documenting the remains *in situ* (fig. 6) as well as additional individual architectural members (fig. 7); our documentation will be used to establish a definitive stone-by-stone reconstruction, and ortho-projections of the scans will be presented in the final publication.

surfaces (now concealed as a result of the anastylosis).

22 The re-erection was conducted under the supervision of K.-H. Göschl. See F. Miltner, “Denkmalpflege in Ephesos,” in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 13 (1959) 6-8.

23 U. Quatember *et al.*, “The virtual and physical reconstruction of the octagon and Hadrian’s Temple in Ephesus,” in M. Winkler (ed.), *Proc. 2nd Conference on Scientific Computing and Cultural Heritage 2009, Heidelberg* (forthcoming).



Fig. 8 [left]. NE corner of the *pronaos* (© ÖAI).

Fig. 9 [right]. Exterior of *pronaos*, E side, with pillar, doorframe and access to the Varius Baths. Inset shows the dressing of the pillar for the doorframe (© ÖAI).

The present article aims to offer a general overview of the building history, since not all details of the stone-by-stone reconstruction can be discussed. Additional evidence (e.g., from excavations) is very limited;²⁴ in 2009, a small trench was planned in the interior in order to retrieve dating evidence from the foundation pit, but the excavation showed that the entire structure is built upon a platform and foundation of solid *opus caementicium*, impossible to penetrate and seemingly devoid of finds.

The main evidence for dating the structure is thus the building inscription and its conclusive prosopographic interpretation by M. Wörrle.²⁵ The architrave blocks carrying the inscription, thereby dated to the Hadrianic period, predefine the overall structure, so that the dimensions of the façade as well as the position of the pillars and columns also must date to Hadrianic times.²⁶ The architraves become the starting point for the architectural history, and in this article I wish to bring together all the evidence from the architecture, for the first time²⁷ assembling and analyzing all the facts, including stone cuttings and dressings as well as fastenings (dowels and clamps); these elements are the cornerstones for an explanatory model of the building's history, so for now stylistic and art-historical considerations will be left aside.

The pronaos and the connection to the Varius Baths

The most important evidence is found in the *pronaos*. A thorough analysis of the details in this area has led to a determination of two main phases. The E half represents the unaltered original Hadrianic version, whereas the W half of the *pronaos*, including parts of the roof, collapsed at a certain point and was re-erected, this repair constituting the second main building phase (other activities, such as the erection of statue bases on the street front, are additions and cannot be called phases). In detail, the evidence is as follows. The front hall is an oblong space formed by an extension of the W and E walls (fig. 3). Pillars on their axes support the architrave on the street front. In between the pillars, columns form the load-bearing elements of the façade. All 4 supporting elements are set on pedestals, which are partly integrated into the steps that lead into the front hall. On the E side of the *pronaos*'s interior (fig. 8) the original design is still visible. Shallow orthostats face rubble walls with two shallow courses (the lower one decorated with a meander motif) tying into the rubble construction to stabilize the structure. On top of these walls and directly below the architrave the figural reliefs were inserted. A pillar forms the front of the E *anta*. Its E face is dressed (fig. 9) to provide a connecting surface for the neighbouring door-frame.²⁸ Whereas the front and W sides of the *anta* are adorned with reliefs, this connecting surface is only smoothed with a fine tooth-chisel. Since the pilaster itself is nevertheless

24 Excavations outside the "Temple of Hadrian" on the E side are impossible due to the marble staircase. Directly adjacent to the north where the floor level in the Varius Baths is much higher, no evidence on the temple is to be expected from excavation. On the W side of the "Temple of Hadrian", Miltner's renovations have made it impossible to understand the interaction between the two structures.

25 Supra n.10.

26 The front columns as well as the eastern and part of the western pillar are modern reconstructions.

27 Some observations were made previously: see G. A. Plattner and A. Schmidt-Colinet, "Beobachtungen zu drei kaiserzeitlichen Bauten in Ephesos," in Brandt, Gassner and Ladstätter (supra n.5) 250-54.

28 The treatment of such a connecting surface with a fine tooth chisel is typical for this kind of construction; further smoothing or *anathyrosis* was not required.

symmetrical, this feature is original to the block, not the result of a later redressing.²⁹ The doorframe forms part of the staircase that provides access to the Varius Baths. The connection between baths and “Temple of Hadrian” is further attested to by other members of the entablature above this doorframe: the architrave (fig. 7), frieze and cornice, which rest on top of the door lintel, tie into the temple and carry identical ornamentation.

These connections show that in its original conception the “Temple of Hadrian” was planned and erected together with the Varius Baths. In the E part of the *pronaos* no traces on the architectural members suggest any secondary changes. The same is true for the main room (figs. 1 and 3): all the walls consist of rubble once covered with revetment. No building seams exist within the temple structure itself, yet there is also no connection of the main room to the bath complex. Because of the sloping terrain from the Panayırdağ ridge, most of the Varius Baths is located on a level c.3-3.5 m above the floor of the temple and can be reached from Curetes Street by way of the staircase flanking the E side of the temple (fig. 1). The phases of the bath structure have never been studied in detail. From an inscription we know that a Christian lady named Scholastikia carried out renovations in the bath.³⁰ From our preliminary analysis in 2009, we believe that her changes were mainly carried out in brick.³¹ Brick structures which also abut the back wall of the temple are likely to be part of Scholastikia’s renovations.³² If the temple had been moved to its present location during that period, as Hueber proposed, its walls would have been bonded with the brickwork of that later phase, so the negative evidence tends to support a Hadrianic date for the temple.

In summary, the original E side of the *pronaos* suggests that the whole structure was connected to, and erected together with, the Varius Baths in Hadrianic times. By contrast, the W side underwent massive changes. Sometime after its initial construction it collapsed³³ and was re-erected using members from the first phase, which in some cases had to be mended, as well as replacements for pieces probably damaged beyond repair. This destruction and renovation phase can be discerned most easily in the architrave

29 If we assume that there had been ornamentation also on the E face of the pillar, it might have been chiselled off to create a connecting surface. Such a later working would diminish the material on this side considerably; in that case the decoration on the front would not be centered but its axis shifted to the right. However, this is not the case.

30 Börker and Merkelbach (supra n.8) no. 453. See also V. M. Strocka, “Zuviel Ehre für Scholastikia,” in M. Kandler (ed.), *Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft. Festschrift H. Vettors* (Vienna 1985) 229-32. Scholastikia and her renovations cannot be dated securely: P. Scherrer, “The city of Ephesos: from the Roman period to late antiquity,” in Koester (supra n.7) 19; P. Scherrer and E. Trinkl, “Die Tetragonos Agora in Ephesos. Grabungsergebnisse von archaischer bis in byzantinische Zeit — ein Überblick,” *FiE* 13.2 (2006) 49 f., suggested a date for the renovation around 400. A. Waldner, *Keramische Evidenzen zur Baugeschichte des unteren Embolos* (Diss., Univ. of Vienna 2009) 192, has now argued for a date in the early 6th c.

31 In contrast, the original walls were mainly executed in rubble (similar to the temple) and some piers constructed from large blocks.

32 A column whose stylobate partly cuts into the rear wall of the temple probably belongs to the renovations.

33 A possible cause for the damage are earthquakes that hit Ephesus repeatedly. For further references, see S. Ladstätter, “Die Chronologie des Hanghauses 2,” in F. Krinzinger (ed.), *Das Hanghaus 2 von Ephesos. Studien zu Baugeschichte und Chronologie* (AF 7 = DenkschrWien 302, 2002) 23-33.



Fig. 10. Western horizontal architrave of the street façade, ancient replacement (© ÖAI).

on the W side, which broke into two pieces and was repaired using iron clamps³⁴ (fig. 5). The westernmost horizontal architrave on the street front (fig. 10) is an example of a replacement of an original block. The decoration of the soffit reveals major differences in the decoration, also visible at the front. The soffit panel lacks the framing kymation and its decoration is only a schematic copy of the original. The egg-and-dart at the front, particularly the casing of the eggs, is much coarser, and the bead-and-reel is decidedly less filigreed than its Hadrianic counterparts (fig. 7 and 11). This substitution of an older piece also explains why the beginning of the original dedicatory inscription is missing. Further, two cornice blocks of the front arch deviate from the rest of the ornamentation and might be replacements. To judge by its design, the base underneath the westernmost front column (fig. 12) must also be part of this repair.³⁵ The above evidence shows that the W part of the front hall, including the western column and therefore the arch of the Syrian pediment, collapsed. Replacements of blocks and ancient repairs can only be found in this part of the *pronaos*. During the rebuilding, the *anta* wall on the W side was shortened (figs. 3 and 5) and, in accordance with the change, the relief underneath the architrave was probably cut back. This W side was designed as a doorway to the next-door structure, but because this neighbouring area subsequently underwent changes the appearance and function of that space is hard to discern.

³⁴ Probably we have to assume internal dowelling of the two fragments. This method (external bracing with iron clamps, as well as internal dowelling) is quite common for repairs of stone blocks in antiquity: cf., e.g., H. Thür, *Das Hadrianstor in Ephesos* (FiE 11.1, 1989) 122 f.

³⁵ On these repairs, see also Plattner and Schmid-Colinet (supra n.27) 253; they also consider the western column capital a replacement.



Fig. 11 [above], Eastern horizontal architrave of the street façade, with inscription (© ÖAI).



Fig. 12. Column base beneath the western column, ancient replacement (© ÖAI).

The relief blocks in the *pronaos* walls

Much has been written about the stylistic dating of the relief blocks that were inserted in the *pronaos* walls directly below the architrave. The two reliefs in the NW corner (fig. 5) are usually interpreted as Androklos (block "A", fig. 5 left), the mythological founder of Ephesos, and Amazons ("B", fig. 5 right);³⁶ according to legend, the latter are also connected with the city's foundation and with the sanctuary of Artemis.³⁷ The two blocks in the opposite corner show mythological scenes with Amazons ("C", fig. 13) and an assembly

³⁶ I follow the numbering of Fleischer, who refers to the reliefs as A-D. On the interpretation of all 4 scenes see id. (supra n.16) 34-51. On a new interpretation, see Scherrer (supra n.17) 52.

³⁷ Fleischer (supra n.14) 185-216.

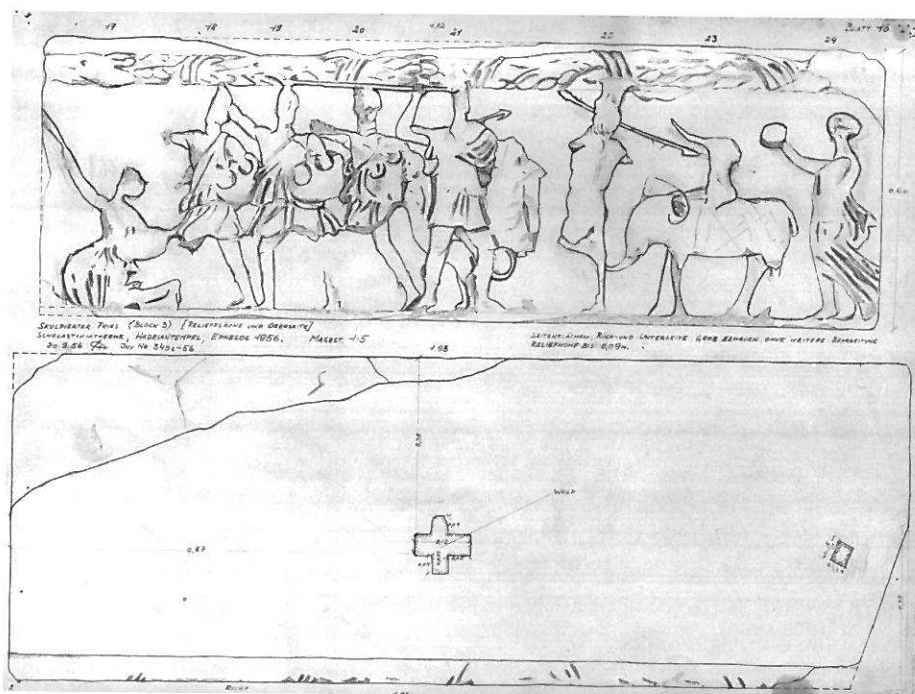


Fig. 13. Relief C from the *pronaos* (© ÖAI).

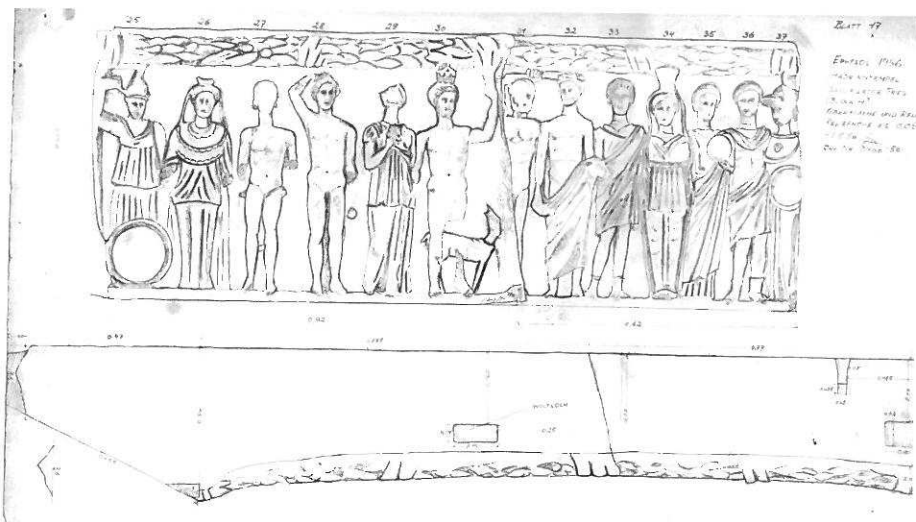


Fig. 14. Relief D from the *pronaos* (© ÖAI).

of various gods ("D", fig. 14). Since the stylistic features of the reliefs yield no conclusive results for their dating,³⁸ we turn to the technical characteristics of the blocks, such as

³⁸ Serious doubts about the model of development commonly used in classical archaeology have been raised since the first publications on the reliefs appeared: cf., e.g., R. R. R. Smith, "The use of images: visual history and ancient history," in T. P. Wiseman (ed.), *Classics in progress: essays on ancient Greece and Rome* (London 2002) 59-102. As a result, the iconography and style of the pieces have to be re-assessed, but only a few points can be mentioned here. The reliefs have to be evaluated within their context — i.e. the installation in an architectural surround, high up in the wall and at a relatively small scale. A similar iconographic layout with static, solitary figures

surface dressing and building joints, to interpret their place within the building's history.

Any kind of a date later than the Hadrianic period for the relief blocks — both Fleischer's placement in the third quarter of the 4th c. or Brenk's tetrarchic date — would involve major building activities, including a dismantling of the roof, to install the pieces in their position directly below the architrave. Fleischer assumed that the reliefs had been worked for a different building and re-used in the "Temple of Hadrian" shortly afterwards. Apart from stylistic and iconographic considerations, his arguments for re-use rest upon the lewis holes, mainly those on block C. He also postulated that the relief blocks A, B and C were shortened. From the architectural evidence, we exclude such a major alteration in the NE corner of the *pronaos* where reliefs C and D are installed. For this reason, these relief blocks will be carefully re-examined.³⁹

The top of block C (fig. 13) shows two lewis holes arranged in the shape of a cross. Fleischer assumes that they come from the two different phases: according to him, after its first usage in another building the piece was shortened to fit its new position in the "Temple of Hadrian" and lifted there by means of a new lewis hole.⁴⁰ No technical details hint at a redressing of the piece, and the lewis holes do not necessarily prove a re-use setting of the relief. If the block had been longer, the lewis hole from the first building phase probably should have been in a different position, in the (former) centre of gravity.⁴¹ Only if the block had been shortened to exactly the same extent on both sides would the placement be the same. As this is rather unlikely, it seems more probable that the first lewis hole was misshaped (or parts of its edge had broken off), necessitating that a new one be cut in the same position but orientated at an angle of 90°. ⁴² Further, the clamp hole in the top of relief C matches the block's arrangement in the temple and secured the miter joint to block D, where its counterpart seems to be broken off.

as, e.g., in relief D can be seen (as P. Scherrer [supra n.17] recently pointed out) in the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum. The position of the reliefs might also explain the relatively low quality of the craftsmanship: the difference between the high-quality architectural ornamentation and the reliefs seems curious. Still, a similar discrepancy can be found, e.g., in Heroon II in Miletos: R. Köster, *Die Bauornamentik von Milet 1* (Milet VII.1; 2004) 85-98. The reliefs from the Civil Basilica at Aphrodisias represent a case similar to ours: long considered a late 3rd- or early 4th-c. refurbishment, B. Yıldırım has shown convincingly that they are original to the Flavian structure: "The date of the reliefs from the colonnades of the Civil Basilica," in C. Ratté and R. R. R. Smith (edd.), *Aphrodisias papers 4. New research on the city and its monuments* (JRA Suppl. 70, 2008) 107-29.

39 Relief blocks A and B can be left out of the discussion: the NW corner certainly underwent a later repair, so adaptations to these pieces are to be expected. For a detailed description, see Fleischer (supra n.16) 24-29.

40 See Fleischer *ibid.* 29-34 and 55, where he argues that the piece was shortened on both sides; in his article of 2002 (supra n.14) 188 n.26, however, he claims that block C was only shortened on the left side.

41 Lewises were positioned at the centre of gravity to ensure the block's equilibrium during lifting. See, e.g., J.-P. Adam, *Roman building: materials and techniques* (London 1994) 48 f. On lewises and their potential for dating, see also W. Aylward, "Lewises in Hellenistic and Roman building at Pergamon," in M. Bachmann (ed.), *Bautechnik im antiken und vorantiken Kleinasien* (Byzas 9, Istanbul 2009) 309-22 with further references.

42 According to Göschl's drawing, it seems as if the N edge of the lewis hole oriented N-S broke off; this could have happened either during installation of the lewis hole or during an initial lifting process, caused by imperfections in the marble block.

In block D (fig. 14), the technical joints again do not indicate secondary alterations. What look like breaks from the top and front are, according to Fleischer, two joining fragments,⁴³ but even he considers the style and craftsmanship consistent and attributes both pieces to the same building phase.⁴⁴ Indeed, there is no reason to assume otherwise.⁴⁵ Further, clamp holes at the S edge and on the E side match the installation in the temple (fig. 9). To the south, the connection to the pilaster capital of the *anta* wall was secured, while to the east the adjoining doorframe (the entrance to the Varius Baths) was stabilized. In summary, from the technical perspective there is no conclusive evidence that relief blocks C and D were installed in the NE corner after the original Hadrianic phase. This strongly suggests that they are original to the Hadrianic concept of the structure.⁴⁶

Reconstruction of the roof over the *pronaos*

From the architectural evidence we can reconstruct the roof over the front hall⁴⁷ (fig. 15). The two sides were covered by barrel-vaults parallel to Curetes Street. The middle part with the Syrian arcuated pediment was roofed with a dome-like structure, probably of the simplest form as a sail vault, since any other arrangement would have been too complicated to execute in marble.⁴⁸ The springings of three transverse arches can be seen on both sides and on top of the lunette, as well as on the back of the Syrian arch (fig. 16). The two lower transverse arches served both to support the sail vault and the respective barrel-vaults on each side; the middle one had to secure the construction of the sail vault. Dowel holes and cuttings show that all the architectural members of the roof were made

43 Fleischer (supra n.16) 31 and 45 f. In their present installation at the Efes Müzesi Selçuk the surface in question is not visible, so his statement cannot be verified.

44 The lewis hole is centred in relation to the length of both adjoining pieces. This might indicate that a whole block was installed first; then perhaps during this process some damage occurred and the right (S) part had to be replaced. Scherrer (supra n.17) 52 has recently suggested that the building was begun under Trajan and that after his sudden death in 117 the iconographic programme of block D had to be changed so that the deceased emperor could be incorporated among the gods. According to him, this is the reason why the right part of the already-finished relief was replaced.

45 Whether the hole in the NW edge of the miter joint really once held a clamp, as Fleischer (supra n.16) 31 suggests, is doubtful. However, this is no indication for a second building phase.

46 The interpretation of the scenes will be dealt with in the final publication. For a recent approach, see Scherrer (supra n.17) 51 f.

47 On the reconstruction of the roof over the *pronaos*, see previously Outschar (supra n.18) 448 n.28; in *Ornament und Fläche. Konstruktion, Gliederungsschema und Dekor römischer Steindecken in Ephesos* (Diss., Univ. of Vienna 1989) 48-50, the same author suggested attributing vaulted coffer elements to the "Temple of Hadrian". However, as the precise measurements from the 3D scans show, the curve of these blocks does not match their counterparts on the temple, so they were certainly not part of the roof construction: see U. Quatember and R. Kalasek, "Handaufmaß gegen High Tech: Zur Aufnahme eines kassettierten Tonnengewölbes aus Ephesos," in *Von Handaufmaß bis High Tech III (Conf. Cottbus 2010)* forthcoming. Nevertheless, Outschar's assessment of the roof construction is correct in my opinion.

48 Already Outschar (supra n.18) 448 n.28, followed by Plattner and Schmidt-Colinet (supra n.27) 253, suggested a sail vault over the middle of the *pronaos*. Neither a groin vault, as suggested by Alzinger (supra n.3) 1651, nor a more complicated dome structure (e.g., using pendentives) would have been executed using marble blocks, in my view.

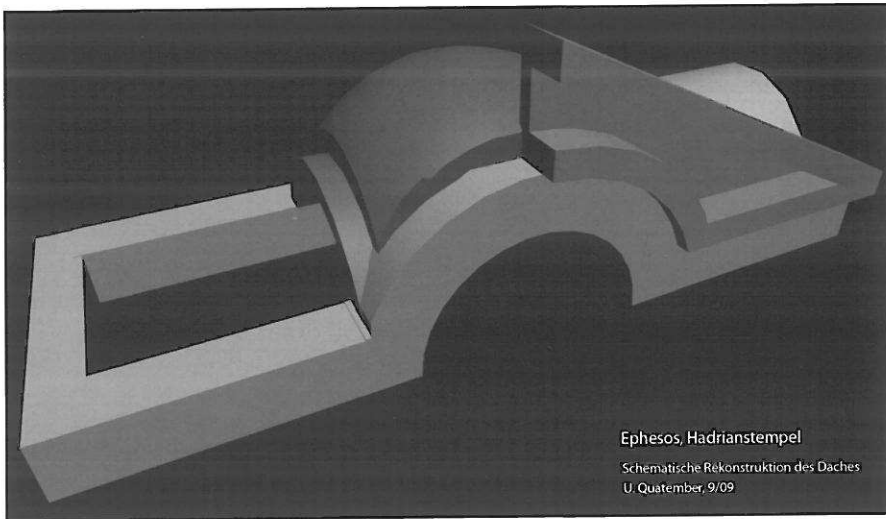


Fig. 15. Schematic reconstruction of the roofing system over the *pronaos* (© ÖAI).



Fig. 16. Springings of three transverse arches at the back of the Syrian arcuated pediment (© ÖAI).

of marble.⁴⁹ The tripartite structure of the roof also explains why the western and middle part could collapse while the eastern barrel vault remained intact.

⁴⁹ Dowels always interconnect marble blocks with other architectural elements made of stone; they do not tie marble to brick construction. A tripartite half-dome from the *scaenae frons* in the theatre provides an example of how these stones might have been cut: R. Heberdey, G. Niemann and W. Wilberg, *Das Theater in Ephesos* (FiE 2, 1912) 69 f. fig. 139 f. See also A. Öztürk, "Zwei Deckenabschlüsse der *scaenae frons* des Theaters in Ephesos," in Brandt, Gassner and Ladstätter (supra n.5) 221-25.

Summary

Nothing indicates that the "Temple of Hadrian" is not a homogeneous structure of the early Hadrianic era. Only the W part of the *pronaos* shows clear signs of repair; nowhere else does architectural evidence (such as building seams) suggest a later date for the any part of the structure. A later date for the reliefs does not fit the architectural evidence; instead, we should probably re-evaluate the stylistic criteria that were applied to arrive at their dating.

Not only is the "Temple of Hadrian" integrated into the Varius Baths, but both structures are tied together by their architecture. This discounts Hueber's interpretation of the building as the initial *propylon* of Hadrian's temple precinct. It is surprising that the connection between baths and temple has never been made so clearly: as early as 1978, D. Knibbe and R. Merkelbach identified the so-called Baths of Scholastikia as the Varius Baths (previously known only from inscriptions⁵⁰), and it is the same Varius who is mentioned in the building inscription on the "Temple of Hadrian".⁵¹ The architectural evidence confirms the connection between the two monuments.

All later alterations to the "Temple of Hadrian" are restricted to the W and middle part of the front hall and are connected to some destruction and re-erection, the date of which is hard to pinpoint. One might assume that the crudeness of the unfinished column base (fig. 12) on the front is an indicator that it was not visible from the street and that it was concealed by the statue base in front of it. According to its inscription, the base carried Theodosius, father of Theodosius I, probably replacing the original one for the tetrarch Maximian. Thus it seems likely that the destruction and re-erection took place within the 4th c., between the age of the Tetrarchs and the reign of Theodosius I. The fact that such an effort for a rebuilding was made while other structures lay in ruins⁵² shows the continuing significance of the temple.

The latest minor adaptations on the building are additional steps, which encompass some of the columnar and pillar pedestals on the front. Their installation is probably connected to the renewal of the Curetes Street pavement in the early 6th c.⁵³ After its final destruction at an unknown date, blocks from the temple, together with architectural members from other buildings, were used for a retaining wall (undated) in the middle of the

50 Knibbe and Merkelbach (supra n.3) 99.

51 P. Scherrer has assumed that Varius was related to two other outstanding benefactors of his day, Ti. Claudius Aristion and C. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, for whom the Celsus Library in the city centre was erected as a monumental tomb: "Die Fernwasserversorgung von Ephesos in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Eine Synopse der epigraphischen Quellen," in G. Wiplinger (Hrsg.), *Cura Aquarum in Ephesus. Proc. 12th Congress* (BABesch Suppl. 12 = SoSchr ÖAI 42 [2006]) 55; id. (supra n.17) 49.

52 E.g., so-called Terrace House 2, an *insula* with 7 dwelling units on the S side of Curetes Street in the immediate vicinity of the "Temple of Hadrian" (fig. 2). It was destroyed and mostly abandoned after an earthquake in the third quarter of the 3rd c.: S. Karwiese, "Das Beben unter Gallien und seine anhaltenden Folgen," in Kandler (supra n.30) 126-31; cf. also Ladstätter (supra n.33) 9-40 for further references.

53 Waldner (supra n.30) 163 f.

street,⁵⁴ the main purpose of which was to keep débris from devastated structures and abandoned hillside areas off the street.

While the structure probably does not represent the neocorate temple of the province of Asia, the term *naos* in the building inscription still places it in the religious realm. This now seems curious when work on the building history has yielded a definite connection to the Varius Baths, a quintessentially profane structure. While this and some other questions remain unanswered, our new understanding of the building history provides a solid basis for re-examining its position within the sacred landscape of Ephesus.

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54 J. Auinger, "Zum Umgang mit Statuen hoher Würdenträger in spätantiker und nachantiker Zeit entlang der Kuretenstraße," in Ladstätter (supra n.1) 31 f.